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Household Patterns in Early 18th-Century Korea

— A Study Based on the Triennial Household Register Data of Danseong-Hyon, Kyongsang Province, 1720* —

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≪Contents≫

Ⅰ. Introduction

1. Why Research on Household Pattern?

In a by now almost forgotten book(Coale et al., 1965, p.ix) written in the sixties, a group of demographers and anthropologists advanced a thesis that the change with modernization from the extended to the nuclear family household pattern is an ideal rather than an actual, and with this thesis, they made it quite clear that there exists an inevitable discrepancy between the ideal and the actual household size.

In that book, focusing on the distinction between the ideal and the actual household structure and size, they pointed out that most descriptions of ideal household structure are inconsistent with the actual household structure that in fact prevailed in the past. The main thread of their argument in that book was that the household types that have been described as the traditional pre-modern ex-

This is revised version of a paper presented at the usual Monday Evening Seminar at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure(HPSS), Cambridge University, on June 5th, 1989, while the author was a fellow in historical demography and sociology at Darwin College, Cambridge University for the 1988~89 academic year. Thanks are due to all members of the Cambridge Group, in particular, Prof. Peter Laslett who insists on "reading history forwards", Dr. E.A. Wrigley(also at All Souls College, Oxford University), Dr. Roger S. Schofield. Dr. Richard Wall, and to Dr. Kevin Schürer who helped the author with the tedious work of SAS programming for data analysis.

tended ones were not the actual household types but the ideal ones that are somehow believed to have existed in past society. Later arguments in the similar vein have been documented by Wachter(1978, p.11) and Collins (1986, pp. 286 -289), and it is to this theme that the paper addresses itself.

That is, this paper purports to get an insight into what the pre-modern Korean household structure could have been by analyzing the household register data of a particular county in the southeastern section of the country for the year 1720.

But before going further into the details on the needs for studies on the pre-modern household pattern, one might as well explain the reason why this research has utilized the household register data instead of the genealogical materials that appear to be much more useful and promising, at least on the surface, in doing this type of study. The household register is far more useful than the genealogy material, since the former is primarily designed to capture the cross-sectional contour of a unit of co-residence at a point in time, whereas the latter is designed to focus on the longitudinal aspect of what a particular family patriline could have been. The household register is useful in analyzing how a unit of peole, whether they are family members or not, interact with one another at one "frozen moment," regardless of how they would have behaved at some other points in time, whereas the genealogy data concentrate on the diachronic aspect of a family tree enabling one to trace the origin of particular families.

The genealogy data sometimes provide information on the composition of household members but the information contained in the genealogy is limited in the sense that a large segment, if not all, of the female members are omitted and the data on slave population, both male and female, are entirely missing. Moreover, only a small segment belonging to the upper-crust society had their genealogy, since genealogy compilation was and still is simply a matter for the individual families, not controlled by the government as was the case for the household register.

In constrast, the household register, a counterpart to the modern-day household census drawn up by the government for taxation and corvee purposes, provide detailed information on members of the household at the time the register was made, including the clan seat of the household head, the ownership of slaves, surname and personal name of the father-in-law of the household head's spouse. In most instances, with the household register data, one can trace up to the fourth generation of the household head. However, unlike the genealogy data, the household register data do not go further than four generations, thus lacking in some of the vital information that one can glean from the genealogy material.

2. Research on Household Register Data in Korea

An important reference on the usability of the household register for historical demographic researches on the pre-modern household pattern and family system is a small monograph by a sociologist (Choe, 1975), in which the author, with an introduction into the history of Korea's household register

system, provides a description of the nature of the register data and of the patrilineal family system that he could construct on the basis of the household register data. But he stopped short of giving any systematic methodological advice as to how to analyze the data, since in his monograph, the author does not seem to be concerned much with the household composition pattern. Nevertheless, he at least succeeded in locating one of the best possible sources for historical demographic researches on Korea's pre-modern household pattern. As is the case in the research works done on genealogy materials in Korea, historical demographic researches on household register data are still in undeveloped stage. For instance, a paper on the data source on Korean household register by a local historian(Han, 1985, pp.191－398) does provide specific reference sources to which one can refer in locating household register materials scattered throughout the country, but it does not suggest a direction in which research should follow in the analysis of household register data.

Much of the rich household register data on the pre-modern household compostion pattern in Korea remains a terra incognita in his work, as far as the household structure of pre-modern Korean society is concerned.

II. Data and Methodology

The primary souce materials for this paper are the household register data for the 390 sampled households in Hyonnae-Myon subcounty, Danseong-Hyon county, Kyongsang Province, for the 46th regnal year of King Sugjong(1720). Hyonnae-Myon was one of the eight sub-counties constituting Danseong-Hyon. The total 390 households under study were scattered in 16 separate villages that again constituted Hyonnae-Myon sub-county. That is, there were on the average 25 households per village ; namely, the total resident population size within the 390 households at the time the register was drawn up stood at 2,294. The average household size was 5.9, but if one excludes the 850 resident slave population, the average household size shrinks to 5.1, some 37 percent of the total resident population being accounted for by slaves, and 28 percent of the total 390 households headed by slaves.

The Danseong-Hyon household register carries data for 14 separate periods. They are 1606, 1678, 1717, 1720, 1729, 1732, 1735, 1750, 1759, 1762, 1780, 1783, 1786, and 1789. Ideally, the household register should have carried data every three years for the 184 year-period (1606 through 1789) but some of the data for the years intervening between 1606 and 1789 are missing, either because they were destroyed or illegible even if not destroyed.

As the household register data were collected for taxation and corvee purposes, they seem to be reasonably rich in contents on those male population in the taxable category, and moreover, on the female and the slave population who were not liable to taxation or corvee labor. The 390 house holds covered in this paper are less than one percent of a total of over 41,000 households listed in the Danseong-Hyon Household Register for the 14 separate periods.

The household register data of Danseong-

Hyon contain a great deal of information, including family names, personal names, alias, relationship of the individual listees to the household head, sex, age, birth year, birthplace, and marital status, as well as such information as the social class of the listees, health condition, current residence, year and month of migration if applicable, and year of death.

Therefore, with the household register data, one can attempt analyses of the mortality and fertility patterns, along with studies on the household structure. But one has to bear in mind that the register data often do not provide information on the age, year of death, and marital status of the individuals listed, and often the information on these items has to be inferred indirectly from other materials contained in the register data. The item on social class describes the occupation of the household head, of his or her father, grandfather, great grandfather, and more often than not, of grandfather and great grandfather of the household head's spouse.

With information on social class even from one particular year, one can gauge the social mobility pattern of the individual household in question, since the register data cover 14 separate periods, they can be used for a longitudinal analysis of the individual households over a period of time.

Nevertheless, one should not overlook the possibility that a large number of those children who died in their infancy and those who died within a few days or even within a few months or a few years from their births could have well been omitted from the register records, thus distorting the mortality picture (Lee, 1989-a) that in fact prevailed in early eighteenth-century Korea.

The methodology made use of in this paper includes simple descriptive statistics and the CAMTAB computer program developed at the Cambridge Group for the HPSS for the analysis of the household structure following the Laslett-Hammel classification scheme. A brief description of the three main historical demography methods being utilized at the Cambridge Group for the HPSS can be found in a recent paper by the author(Lee, 1989-b).

III. Household Pattern in Pre-modern Korea

1. Definition of Household, Family, and Relatives

Following the standard definition of family historians(Wall et al., 1983, P. 35, p. 46) the concept household is here defined as the co-resident domestic group comprising not only the household head, the household head's spouse, and the relatives but also the resident servants, and in the case of pre-modern Korea, the life-time "live-in" slaves. Despite that the household register data were collected for taxation and corvee purposes, the register data occasionally carried information on lodgers whose numbers were virtually negligible, therefore, it would not cause much inconvenience if one adopts the above definition of household in the register data analysis.

One is, however, well aware of the fact that the definition of household varies depending on the inclusion or exclusion of the temporary lodgers and boarders from the household membership. A much more difficult issue

has to do with the relationship between the household and the family, the two key concepts to be dealt with in this paper. The relationship between the two can be summarized in the following manner : the household is a unit of people who share common residence and commensality and, thus by definition, comprises household head, spouse and children of the household head, and co-residing kin and non-kin (lodgers and boarders) members ; therefore, household is the configuration of a coresident unit as it is captured at a point in time, but family is the very process whereby household is generated (Bradley, Mendels, 1978, p.381). The similarity between the two is analogous to the one between the household register data and the genealogy data in historical demography.

As for the definition of relatives or the kin, one can define them as a unit consisting of the affinal and consanguineous members of the household head, excluding the household head, the spouse of and the direct unmarried offspring of the household head (Wall et al., 1983, p. 46). By direct offspring is meant the children born of the household head, the household head's step-children, and in the case of pre-modern and present-day Korea, the household head's adopted children of whom there were (Peterson, 1974, p. 28) and are quite a few. Unlike in Western society, the continuation of adoption to carry on lineage seems to have been, and still appears to be, common in Korean society. In pre-modern Korean society, however, the adoptional non-agnates were not totally unknown. But the adoption in Korea usually took the from of child adoption from a lineage family member as can be witnessed in the genealogy and household register data. Though the postmortem adoption was most frequent, adoptions did occur when the father grew old and any lingering hopes of having a male heir proved to be out of the question.

2. Age and Sex Composition of Population

Table 1 sets out the age and sex structure of the population of Hyonnae-Myon, Danseong-Hyon, which exhibits a rather unusual demographic pattern for a pre-modern society. The age structure indicates that, as one might have expected, those in the lower age category are grossly under-estimated. Again, an interesting feature of the age pattern is that both male and female population in the 25 59 age category seem to have been over estimated, probably due to the fact that the household register data were collected for the primary purposes of levying taxs and enforcing corvee labor.

The population economically most active and who shared the major burden of taxation and corvee, namely those in the 25 59 age cate -gory, account for 56 percent of the total 1720 Hyonnae-Myon population, supporting the con -tention that the 1720 population age structure is grossly distorted. Therefore, one has to bear in mind in analyzing the household register data that a large segment of those falling in the under-14-year-old age category were omitted, which renders the register data unreliable for fertility analyses, not to speak of those of mortality and household composition and size.

In Table 1, one finds the sex ratio for those in the 0 4 year category unusually low,

an indication that the household register data appear to be the most unreliable for those in this age bracket. The low sex ratio in this lowest age category could have been affected by a higher male infant and childhood mortality rate vis-a-vis that of the female population in the corresponding age group. It is tempting here to advance an hypothesis that the low sex ratio could have been due to the reluctance among the lower-echelon people to report their male children to evade the future corvee labor or due to the then prevailing custom of treating those male population aged less than five as non persons. The rather high sex ratio for those in the 5-14 age category in Table 1 renders credence to this hypothesis, however small the size of population within this age category may be.

If one compares the data in Table 1 with those in Table 2, one can notice that the under-estimation or the under-registration of the population in the lower age category is greater in the former than in the latter.

The data in Table 2 come from an analysis of the data for Daoyi, a village in the northern suburbs of Fengtian, Manchuria, (Lee ; Eng, p.47). The Daoyi data are based on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Qing dynasty

Table 1. Population Age and Sex Composition of Hyonnae-Myon, Danseong-Hyon (1720)

Age Bracket	Total Population(%)	Male Population(%)	Female Population(%)	Sex Ratio
0 - 4	63(2.8)	28(2.6)	35(3.0)	80.0
5 - 9	138(6.1)	76(6.9)	62(5.3)	122.6
10 - 14	170(7.5)	99(9.0)	71(6.1)	139.4
15 - 19	196(8.6)	97(8.8)	99(8.5)	98.0
20 - 24	130(5.7)	64(5.8)	66(5.7)	97.0
25 - 29	181(8.0)	81(7.4)	100(8.6)	81.0
30 - 34	229(10.1)	115(10.5)	114(9.8)	100.9
35 - 39	281(12.4)	128(11.7)	153(13.1)	83.7
40 - 44	215(9.5)	100(9.1)	115(9.9)	87.0
45 - 49	156(6.9)	83(7.6)	73(6.3)	113.7
50 - 54	126(5.6)	61(5.6)	65(5.6)	93.8
55 - 59	79(3.5)	35(3.2)	44(3.8)	79.5
60 - 64	93(4.1)	44(4.0)	49(4.2)	89.8
65 - 69	80(3.5)	32(2.9)	48(4.1)	66.7
70 - 74	47(2.1)	17(1.6)	30(2.6)	56.7
75 and over	82(3.6)	38(3.5)	44(3.8)	86.4
All ages	2,266(100.0)	1,098(100.0)	1,168(100.0)	94.0

Table 2. Population Age and Sex Composition of Daoyi (1792)

Age Bracket	Total Population(%)	Male Population(%)	Female Population(%)	Sex Ratio
0-4	248(8.4)	165(9.8)	83(6.5)	198.8
5-9	252(8.5)	162(9.6)	90(7.1)	180.0
10-14	249(8.4)	161(9.5)	88(6.9)	183.0
15-19	253(8.5)	162(9.6)	91(7.2)	178.0
20-24	318(10.7)	171(10.1)	147(11.6)	116.3
25-29	260(8.8)	145(8.6)	115(9.0)	126.1
30-34	258(8.7)	133(7.9)	125(9.8)	106.4
35-39	210(7.1)	117(6.9)	93(7.3)	125.8
40-44	187(6.3)	105(6.2)	82(6.5)	128.0
45-49	169(5.7)	91(5.4)	78(6.1)	116.7
50-54	119(4.0)	67(4.0)	52(4.1)	128.8
55-59	167(5.6)	81(4.8)	86(6.8)	94.2
60-64	120(4.1)	70(4.1)	50(3.8)	140.0
65-69	69(2.3)	31(1.8)	38(3.0)	81.6
70-74	42(1.4)	14(0.8)	28(2.2)	50.0
75 and over	44(1.5)	18(1.1)	26(2.0)	69.2
All ages	2,965(100.0)	1,693(100.0)	1,272(100.0)	133.1

household register data, that are an exact copy of the Hyonnae-Myon household register data. The Qing dynasty household register data were also designed for taxation and corvee services, and hence the two do not differ from each other in contents, nor in the order in which they are arranged.

An examination of the data in Table 2 reveals that the sex differentials in under-registration for the lower age category are far greater for the Daoyi population in Table 2 than for the Hyonnae-Myon population in Table 1, and the unusually high sex ratio in Table 2 is attributable to the greater sex differentials in under-registration rather than to sex differentials in infant and childhood mortality rate.

In Table 1, one confronts difficulties in interpreting the rather large number of females aged less than five years, since if male population in the 0-4 age bracket was under-registered, the figures for females in the same age category would have been likewise affected. But the figures in Table 1 point out this was not the case, however. One also has an impression that in most age categories, male population is consistently being under-estimated, except for the 45-49 age category

where the household headship rate is the highest. More on this point in the later section of the paper. In Table 1, the largest proportion of the population, both male and female, is found to be concentrated within the 30-44 age group, whereas in Table 2, at least for female population, the largest segment of the population is found in the 20-34 age category, another indication of the haphazard manner in which scribes handled the female population data.

3. Characteristics of Household Heads

Pre-modern Korean society had a four-tiered social stratum system (Lee, 1977, p. 331). The four are :

a) literati (aristocrats)
b) middle class (lower-echelon bureaucrats and military)
c) commoners (peasants), and
d) slaves (low-borns)

In Danseong-Hyon, it appears that a disproportionately large number of the households were headed by commoners. For instance, at least in the Hyonnae-Myon data, as much as 54.4 percent of the total 390 household heads is accounted for by commoners, followed by slave household heads who account for 28 percent of the total, while literati household heads follow with only 11.8 percent. The lower-ranking military and bureaucrats account for the smallest portion of the total household heads with 4.4 percent.

As one might have surmised from the above distribution, Hyonnae-Myon in 1720 was largely settled by commoner peasants and slaves tilling the demesne lands of their absentee landlords. Fig. 1(a) and Fig. 1(b) represent the male and female headship rates for Hyonnae-Myon broken down by the household head's five-year age category.

In Fig. 1(a), the lower curve represents the male headship rate calculated with the slave population included, and the upper curve shows the male headship rate with the slave population excluded. Except for the unusual dip of the 50-54 age category, it emerges that the male headship rate assumes an inverted "U" pattern with the highest headship rate recorded for the 55-59 age bracket.

In Fig. 1(b) are presented the female headship rates with and without the slave population included in the calculations of the rates. The highest female headship rate is observed in the 65-69 age brackt, but the total female household head is too small in number to derive any definitive conclusion from the curves in Fig. 1(b), as is clearly seen in Table 3 on the composition of the Hyonnae-Myon household members by age group.

According to Table 3, on the average, slave household headship accounts for about 25 percent of the total male headship rate, with the highest proportion found in the 35-39 age bracket. For the female slave household headship rate, virtually all female-headed households in the 30-39 age category are slave households, though one cannot attach much significance to this ratio because of the small number of households headed by the distaff.

There exist a number of papers on the origin of the slave population in pre-modern Korean society (Y.-H. Yi, 1987, p. 91 ; S.-M. Yi, 1987,

Fig. 1(a). Male Headship Rate for Hyonnae-Myon Population (1720)

Fig. 1(b). Female Headship Rate for Hyonnae-Myon Population (1720)

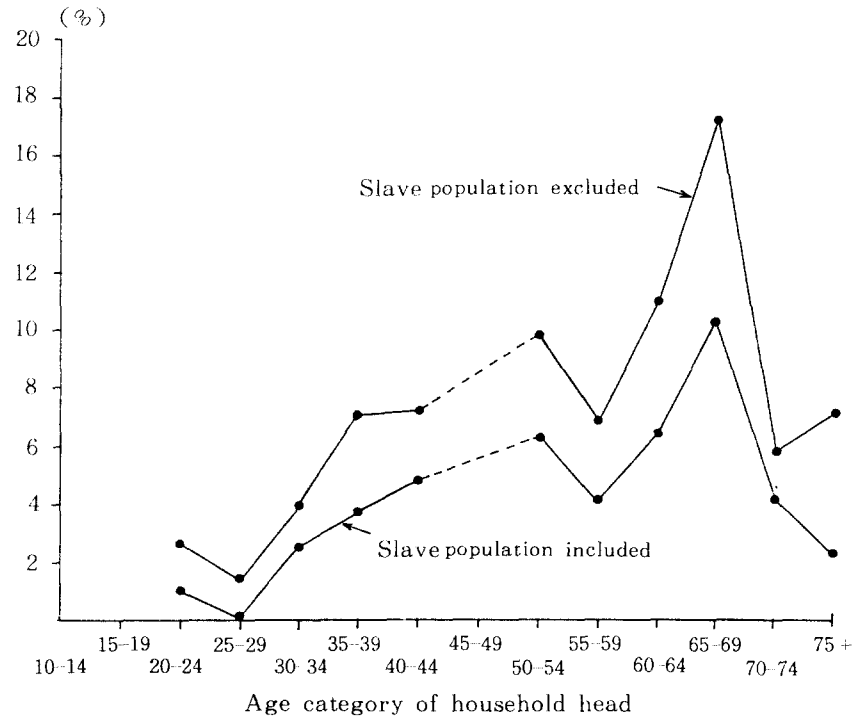


Table 3. Composition of Household Members by Age Group(1720)

Age	Total Population		Household Head		Spouse of Male Household Head(F)	Slave Household Head[a]		Offspring[b]		Relatives		Married Children[c]		Slaves	
group	M(%)	f(%)	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M(%)	F(%)
0-4	28(2.6)	35(3.0)	-	-	-	-	-	23	30	-	-	-	-	5(1.4)	-(-)
5-9	76(6.9)	62(5.3)	-		-	-	-	50	40	10	9	-	-	16(4.4)	13(2.7)
10-14	99(9.0)	71(6.1)	2	-	-	-	-	56	41	11	7	-	-	29(7.9)	22(4.6)
15 19	96(8.8)	99(8.5)	3	-	2	1	-	43	29	15	9	2	-	30(8.2)	59(12.2)
20-24	64(5.8)	66(5.7)	5	1	12	1	-	3	1	24	22	8	-	31(8.2)	30(6.2)
25 29	81(7.4)	100(8.6)	18	1	32	5	-	1	-	29	20	12	-	30(8.2)	47(9.7)
30-34	115(10.5)	114(9.8)	38	2	42	8	3	-	-	31	21	13	1	45(12.3)	48(9.9)
35-39	128(11.7)	153(13.1)	58	6	67	23	6	-	-	25	13	8	1	45(12.3)	67(13.9)
40-44	100(9.1)	115(9.8)	58	5	53	13	2	-	-	11	10	3	1	31(8.5)	45(9.3)
45-49	83(7.6)	73(6.3)	51	-	38	16	-	-	-	4	8	-	-	27(7.4)	26(5.4)
50-54	61(5.6)	65(5.5)	36	4	27	8	2	-	-	3	10	2	-	20(5.5)	24(5.0)
55-59	35(3.2)	44(3.8)	27	2	30	5	-	-	-	1	8	-	-	6(1.6)	14(2.9)
60-64	44(4.0)	49(4.2)	27	3		6	2	-	-			-		13(3.6)	21(4.3)
65-69	32(2.9)	48(4.1)	16	5		3	3	-	-			-	-	12(3.3)	18(3.7)
70-74	17(1.5)	30(2.6)	7	1	31	-	-	-	-	28	56	-		7(1.6)	13(2.7)
75+	38(3.5)	44(3.8)	10	1		1	1	-	-			-	-	19(5.2)	30(6.2)
All ages	1,098(100.0)	1,168(100.0)	357	33	324	90	19	176	141			48	3	365(100.0)	481(100.0)

(a) Included in the total number of household heads.

(b) Offspring refer to unmarried children.

(c) Included in the total number of relatives.

p.173 ; Peterson, 1985, p. 31) that shed light on a particular aspect of the social structure in Korea during the period. Slaves in early eighteenth - century Korea maintained a rather peculiar position in that they were not expected to identify their interest with those of the society in which they found themselves. They were *in* the society but not of the society, as the sociological jargon goes. But in strict economic terms, slaves were in no worse a position than were the commoners who stood one notch above them although in their social position they were no match for the commoners. But even among the slave population, there were many a fine grad ings that served to separate one category of slaves from another. For instance, one particular category of slaves, at least in their economic standing, stood above the commoners and the lower-ranking bureaucrats (Jeon, 1989, p.30). An analysis of the household register materials of Sanom, Kyongsang Province shows that in that particular area in 1570, about 64 percent of the literati and the military households owned slaves, as did 18 percent of the commoners, while 14 percent of the slave households were found to have owned their own private slaves. That is, slaves themselves could own their own slaves. Now, how could this be possible ?

Before touching on this point, a few more words on the fine gradings among the slave status are in order. The private slaves owned by the individuals during the later Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) were subdivided into *solgir nobi* and *waegir nobi*, the former being the bona fide "live-in" life-long slaves ; namely the virtual chattel slaves of the literati and the military. In general, this category of slaves constituted, with their owners' household members, a houseful. By houseful here is meant "all the individuals who reside in a house or a similarly defined set of premises"(Wall, 1983, p. 514). Most of them did not own land.

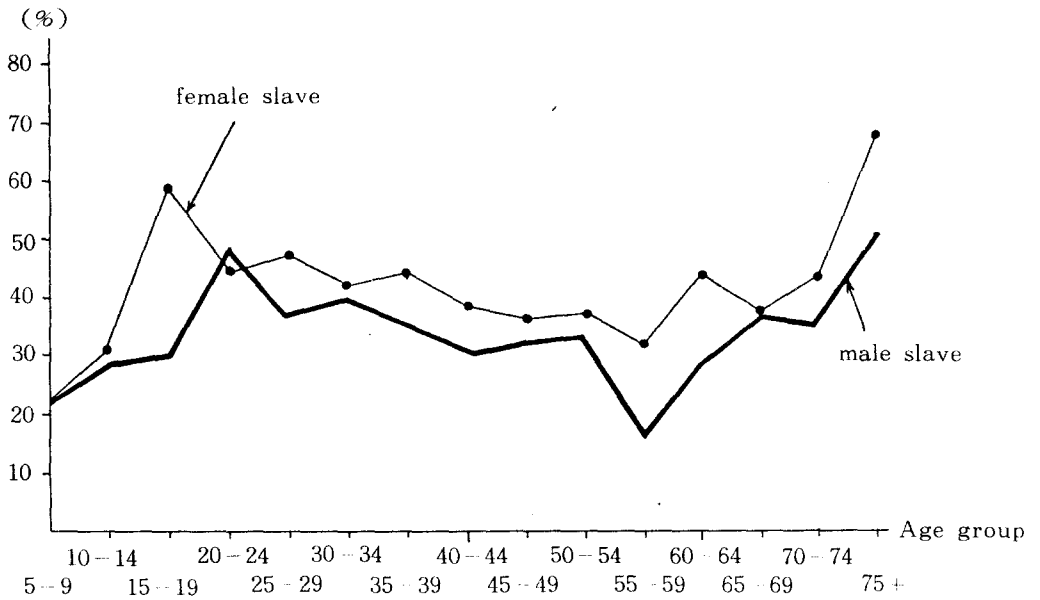
Waegir nobi were similar to life-time serfs, a few of whom in fact obtained commoner status through manumission, though the situation changed somewhat near the end of the Dynasty. The majority of slave household heads found in Hyonnae-Myon belonged to this waegir nobi category who, like the solgir nobi slaves, were exempt from military sevices in theory(Jeon, 1989, pp.169-178 ; Hiraki, 1982, p.129, p.154) and in times of great civil disturbances and wars, quite a few number of commoners were reported to have "escaped into slave status"(self-enslavement) to evade military services. Waegir nobi were allowed to own their own land called "sajeon," which literally is translatable into *peculium* (Finley, 1980, p.102). That is, in fact the slaves did not "own" the land but merely "possessed" it.

Besides solgir nobi and waegir nobi, there was a third type of slaves, and to this third category belonged the private slaves owned by slave household heads, and they were considered to be a particular breed of slaves, dissimilar to *servus vicarius* (Patterson, 1982, p.184), though similar at first glance. They were at least at first sight dependent upon their slave masters, but ironically, they in practice enjoyed a certain amount of freedom from their master-slaves. They were in a camaraderie relationship with their slave masters (Han, 1979, p.81).

The proportion of slaves in the total Hyonnae -Myon population varies between one fourth and one third of the total population as is shown in Fig. 2. The proportion of male slaves among the total male population hovers around 30 percent on the average, and a higher proportion spread throughout the 20-39 age bracket where they seem to have been economically the most produtive, and the lowest in the 55 - 59 age group.

For female slaves, the proportion is far higher for the 15 - 19 age group, while the trough is found in the same 55 - 59 age bracket as is the case for male slaves. Why is this

Fig 2. Proportion of Slaves to Total Population by Age Category and Sex



peak in the 15 - 19 female age category ?

Might it be that the female slaves in this age category were in demand either for domestic chores or ancilliary out-door works ? It is yet to be determined from where the upsurge in the number of these young female slaves originates.

The mean age of household heads, derived from Table 3 falls within the 40 - 44 age category for both non-slave and slave-headed households, whereas the largest proportion of the "live-in" or solgir nobi slaves are found in the 30 - 39 age category, roughly the age group when slaves would have been most productive. Table 3 shows that a few married children, in particular, married daughters occasionally remained in their parents' households as shown in the ante-penultimate column of the table. Understandably, a greater number of those married sons aged 20 - 39 years are found staying in their parents' households, but in the 40 - 44 age category

where the mean age of male household headship is located, the number of married sons coresiding with their parents dwindles as some of them would have by then assumed the headship of a household. Married daughters found staying in their parents' households appear to be rather exceptional.

As for the marital status of the household heads, 89.7 percent of the total 390 household heads were married with their spouse present, 7.2 percent widows, and the rest 2.8 percent were unspecified in their marital status. Only one of the 390 household heads was registered as unmarried, indicating that in premodern Korean society, one rarely assumed household headship before marriage.

There seems to have been a considerable time gap between marriage and male household headship as can be seen in the fourth column of Table 3, though it is difficult to calculate the exact age at marriage with the register data. The low male headship rate in Fig. 1(a) and Fig. 2(a) also support this explanation.

This is similar to what obtained among the rural population in Pisa, Tuscany, in the early fifteenth century studied by Hajnal (1983, p. 87). For the rural Pisan people the mean age at entry into household headship was around 30 years, and 67 percent of those married males aged 38 - 42 years were household heads. In Hyonnae-Myon in the early eighteenth century, according to Table 3, 51percent of the males in the 40 - 44 age category were household heads, a rate far lower than that found in the fifteenth-century Pisa. Since in Hyonnae-Myon, almost 97 percent of the household heads were either married with their offspring present or widowed, it appears that the mean age at marriage for male household heads was much lower than was the case in Pisa.

Data in Table 4 enable us to obtain an approximation of the singulate mean age at marriage. In Table 4, by the time males reach the 25 - 29 age bracket almost all of them were married, and about 80 percent of those males in the 20 - 24 age category were married. Given that only 17 percent of males age 15 - 19 were married, the mean age at marriage falls within the 20 - 24 age bracket. For females, by the time they reach the 20 - 24 age group, virtually everyone of them was married, and more than 20 percent of those females in the 15 - 19 age bracket were also found to have married. Therefore, one may reasonably assume that the average age at marriage for female in 1720 was far below age 20. Again, it should be borne in mind that this average age at marriage for males and females is but an approximation since only for 70 percent of the male and 65 percent of the female population their marital status could be identified in the 1720 household register data for Hyonnae-Myon. Even if we assume that men in Hyonnae-Myon married on the average at around 25 at the latest, it would have taken for them some 15 to 20 years before half of them could become household heads, a time span considerably longer than that experienced by the inhabitants of Pisa.

In Table 5, for the total 380 household heads whose age and that of their spouses could be identified in the register data, the mean inter-spousal age gap stands at 5.91, a figure not greatly different from what one could

Table 4. Proportion Single in Hyonnae-Myon (1720)

Age Group	Male			Female		
	Total Population(a)	Single Population(b)	Proportion Single(b/a)	Total Population(a)	Single Population(b)	Proportion Single(b/a)
0 - 4	28	28	1.000	35	35	1.000
5 - 9	76	76	1.000	65	63	0.969
10 - 14	98	96	0.980	98	93	0.949
15 - 19	96	80	0.833	67	52	0.776
20 - 24	64	14	0.219	78	1	0.013
25 - 29	81	2	0.025	101	-	-
30 - 34	115	1	0.009	115	-	-
35 - 39	128	-	-	477	-	-
40 +	412	-	-	477	-	-
All ages	1,098	297	0.270	1,168	244	0.209

have estimated from data in Table 4. However, the high value (5.77) of the standard deviation does indicate that there was a large variation in the age-gap difference. The largest age gap between the spouse is 36 years, and this unusually large age gap could have resulted from marriages among slaves who were more or less forced to marry whenever such an occasion presented itself, as the slaves were not expected to "form the type of marriages as we know them today"(Laslett, 1977, p.233).

In Table 5, in over two thirds of the cases (68.2%), wives are younger than their husbands by 7.24 years, while in only one fifth of the cases (20.5%) husbands were younger than their wives on the average by 4.75 years with a large standard deviation. For only 11.3 percent of the marriages, were husbands of the same age as that of their spouses. If the present data provide any suggestion,

Table 5. Inter-spousal Age Gap, Hyonnae-Myon, 1720

	Mean Age Gap (Years)	Standard Deviation	Range in Age Gap	Population (%)
a) Spouse - same age	-	-	-	43(11.3)
b) Wife older	4.75	6.07	1↔36	78(20.5)
c) Wife younger	7.24	5.46	1↔28	259(68.2)
Total	5.91	5.77	0↔36	380(100.0)

they disprove the assertion that in pre-modern Korean society, brides were in general older than bridegrooms. An entirely different picture may emerge if the social class of the population is controlled for, however.

4. Household Size

Table 6 presents summary information on the mean household size and the size of conjugal family unit (CFU), according to the differentials in the household head's social class. The CFU is defined here as a unit consisting of a married couple, or a married couple with offspring, of a widowed person with offspring' : i.e., the household types labeled 3-A, 3-B, 3-C, and 3-D under the Laslett-Hammel classification scheme (Laslett, 1972, p.29).

The mean household size in Hyonnae-Myon in 1720 stood at 5.9, with the size ranging from one to 62, hence a large standard deviation. On the other hand, the mean conjugal family unit size was 2.7, indicating that on the average during the early eighteenth century one conjugal unit had less than one child, married or unmarrid. This rather "seemingly" low level of fertility reflects the omission of a large number of children, in particular those aged less than five years. In fact, the reconstructed population pyramid of the 1720 Hyonnae-Myon residents (Lee, 1989-a, p.155) as set out in Fig.3 does confirm a substantial portion of the population under 20 years of age is under-registered. In Fig.3, an attempt has been made to reconstruct the age structure on the basis of the two regional model populations, West level 7 for male and West level 5 for female populations respectively.

Fig 3. Estimated Model Population (West, levels 5 and 7) Superimposed on Observed Household Register Population (Hyonnae-Myon, Danseong-Hyon, 1720)

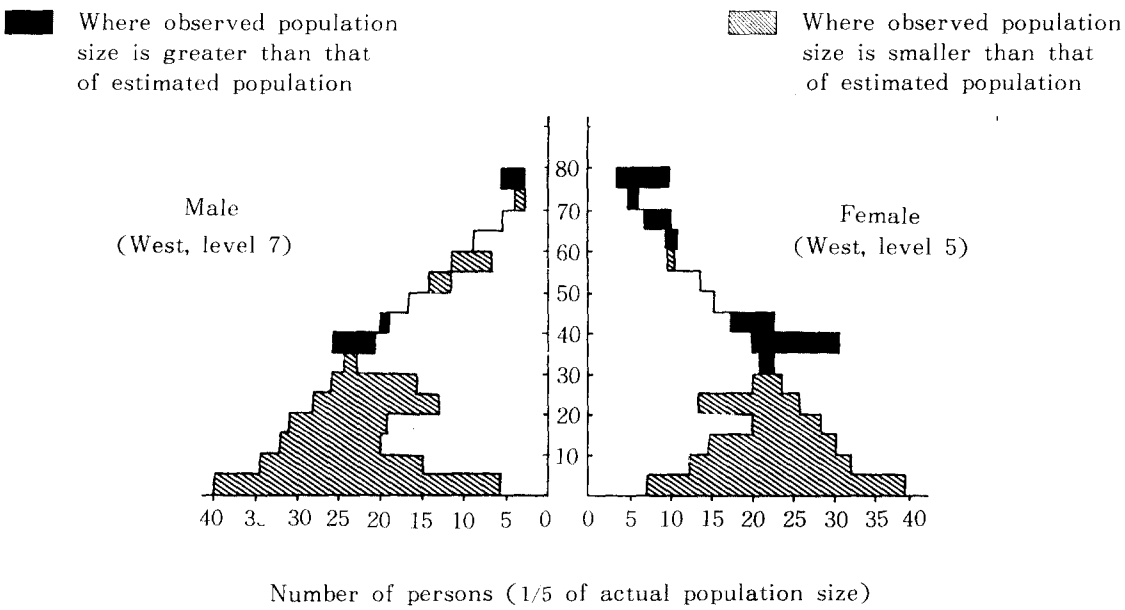


Table 6. Mean Size of Household and of CFU, and Household Components by Household Head's Social Class

a) Mean Size of Household and CFU

	Household	CFU
Mean Size	5.9	2.7
Standard Deviation	5.91	0.96
Range of Size	1↔62	1↔9

b) Household Size by Household Head's Social Class

Social class	Mean size	Range of Size
Ⅰ (Literati)	16.0(11.74)*	2↔62
Ⅱ (Military, Bureaucrat)	8.6(5.97)	3↔26
Ⅲ (Commoner)	4.4(2.86)	1↔25
Ⅳ (Slave)	3.9(1.70)	1↔9

c) Number of "live-in" Slaves by Household Head's Social Class

Social Class	Mean Number	Range of Variation
Ⅰ	12.6(11.47)*	0↔50
Ⅱ	5.5(6.44)	0↔24
Ⅲ	0.7(2.03)	0↔15
Ⅳ	0.1(0.28)	0↔1

d) Number of Offspring (Unmarried Children) by Household Head's Social Class

Social Class	Mean Number	Range of Variation
Ⅰ	0.3(0.58)*	0↔3
Ⅱ	0.4(0.87)	0↔3
Ⅲ	0.8(0.88)	0↔4
Ⅳ	1.2(1.09)	0↔4

e) Number of Relatives (which Include Married Children) by Household Head's Social Class

Social Class	Mean Number	Range of Variation
Ⅰ	1.2(1.67)*	0↔7
Ⅱ	0.4(0.99)	0↔3
Ⅲ	1.0(1.44)	0↔8
Ⅳ	1.0(1.36)	0↔6

* refers to standard deviation.

Unlike the case of the mean household size, the standard deviation for the mean conjugal family unit is small, as has been indirectly confirmed (not shown in Table 6) by the median and the mode values that stand at 3.0 and 2.5 respectively. Size of the conjugal family unit varies between one and nine, denoting that the largest number of surviving children in the conjugal family unit stood at seven, provided both parents were alive, a fertility level yet lower than had been expected.

As one might have expected, the literati class has the largest household size with 16 persons per household, followed by the lower-ranking bureaucrats and military with 8.6 persons. The commoners and slaves fall far behind the literati and the lower-ranking bureaucrats with 4.4 and 3.9 persons each. The household size for the literati ranges from two to 62, and there is not a single one-person household for this class. The bureaucrats-military households, though less widely dispersed than those for the literati, compete with the commoner households in their range of size, but again for this bureaucrats-military class, there are no one- or two-person households.

The slave household, though it differs from the commoner household in its mean size, shows a narrower range in household size variation. The social class differentials in the mean household size emerge much clearer when one notices that the mean household size of the literati is almost twice that of the bureaucrats-military, which in turn is twice that of the commoner class, but between the households of the commoner and the slave classes there are no great differences. These social class differentials in the household size confirm our thesis that, except for the social class differences, the commoners were more or less on the same footing as the slaves. That is, the slaves' social position could have been lower than that of the commoners, but their economic conditions, namely their living standard, might not have been worse than those of the commoners, hence the hazy economic boundary between the two social classes. One in fact wonders, whether there did exist such a strict divide between the two in sheer economic terms.

The mean number of "live-in" slaves stands at 2.2, but there exist large social class differentials, as is shown by the differences in range of variation between social strata. Not surprisingly, the literati have the largest number of slaves with almost 13 slaves per household, and one literati household boasts 50 slaves. If one takes into account the non-resident slaves in the literati class, the average number of slaves would be even higher. The average number of slaves of the bureaucrats-military is less than half (5.5) that of the literati and the range in the number of slaves for this class is considerably smaller. The commoner and the slave classes own on the average less than one slave per household, with the number of slaves owned by the slave households virtually negligible. The maximum number of slaves owned by the slave household does not exceed two, and a glance at Table 7 shows that only about six percent of the total slave-headed households owned slaves, whereas as many as 91.3 percent of the literati had slaves in their households.

The social class of the household head is directly related to the proportion of household owning slaves, with the proportion of the literati household having slaves in their households far greater than that of any other social group.

The average number of resident relatives stands at 1.0, with large variations among

Table 7. Distribution of Household Members by Household Head's Social Class

Social Class of household head	Total No. of households(%)	Number of Households with		
		Slaves(%)	Relatives(%)	Offspring(%)
I	46(100.0)	37(91.3)*	22(47.8)*	11(23.9)*
II	17(100.0)	14(82.4)	9(52.9)	4(23.5)
III	212(100.0)	47(22.3)	97(46.0)	113(53.6)
IV	109(100.0)	6(5.5)	6(5.5)	73(66.4)
Total	384(100.0)	104(27.1)	134(34.9)	201(52.3)

* Percentage to the total number of households in each social class

differing social strata. The maximum number of relatives in one household is eight. Contrary to what one might have expected, only 24 percent of the listerati have relatives in their households. Table 6 points out that the mean number of relatives residing in the literati households does not differ much from that of relatives in either the commoner or in the slave households. Again, in the variation in the number of relatives, the literati and the slave households do not differ from each other, indicating that the much greater household size of the literati arises from, in the main, a larger number of resident slaves.

Comparing the number of offspring by the household head's social class, one finds that the mean number of offspring in the literati households is only 0.3, against 1.2 for the slave-headed households. It appears that the mean number of offspring is negatively associated with the social hierarchy of the household head. For instance on the number of households with offspring, over 66 percent of the slave-headed households are found with offspring residing with their parents, followed by the commoner households with 53.6 percent. The range of variation in the number of offspring per household is more or less invariant between differing social strata of the household heads. Of greater significance, however, is the rather small average number of offspring per household (0.7) in early eighteenth-century Korea, regardless of the social strata differentials of the household heads.It is interesting to note that, unlike in the case of relatives, the range in the number of resident offspring is restricted within the narrow 0—4 age span across all social strata, which indicates a possible differential registration of infants by social

class. That is, here once again one has to bear in mind the possibility that the household register data might have suffered from under-estimation of a sizable portion of the population aged less than five.

To obviate the shortcomings deriving from the cross-sectional nature of the houselhold register data, one might attempt as many social demographers and family historians have done (Glick, Parke, Jr., 1965, p.187 ; Berkner, 1972, p.398 ; Hareven, 1978, pp.1-16) the life-cylcle approach to have a better grasp of the changing pattern of household size depending on the age of the household head. But this would require a separate paper.

5. Household Structure

The generational span of the individual households provides another perspective on the household patterns of pre-modern Korean society. Table 8 indicates that the largest proportion or 49.5 percent of the total 390 households under study are limited to two generations only, with the household heads living with members of their offspring generation, with or without members of the household heads' own generation(Type 2-a). This two-generation household type is not direct equivalent of the simple or the nuclear family household in that the latter does not include members of the household head's own generation, except of course the household heads themselves and their spouses

Therefore, in general, the two-generation households are greater in their membership size than the nuclear conjugal-type households that contain only the parents and their unmarried children to the exclustion of their

Table 8. Distribution of Generation Types, Hyonnae-Myon, 1720

Generation Type	Number of Households(%)
Type 1	93(23.8)
Type 2-a	193(49.5)
Type 2-b	37(9.5)
Type 3-a	14(3.6)
Type 3-b	1(0.3)
Type 3-c	47(12.1)
Type 4 and others	5(1.3)
Total	390(100.0)

married children. Hence, in the case of pre-modern Korea where often times members of the household heads' own generation were present, the proportion of the two-generation households among the total households could have been greater than that of the conjugal family households.

The next largest proportion in Table 8 is accounted for by one-generation households (23.8 percent), composed of solitary heads or related individuals (Type 1). Taken together, in pre-modern Korean society, as much as 73.3 percent of the all households studied in this paper were either two-generation households with or without members of the heads' own generation or solitary heads or unrelated individuals. The remaining 26.7 percent were either the two-generation households with members of the household heads' parent generation present(Type 2-b) or the three- to four-generation households (Type 3 and Type 4). The three-generation households alone accounted for 16 percent of the total households.

One may conclude that in pre-modern Korean society, the two-generation household predominated contrary to what one might have thought. As for the proportion of the two-generation households with members of the household head parents' generation present (Type 2-b), only 9.5 percent of the total households belonged to this category. The number of the households where four or more generations were found living together accounted for just over one percent of the 390 households studied.

An evidence indicating the representative household structure of the early eighteenth-century Korea can be drawn from the data in Table 9, which classifies the household composition pattern following the Laslett-Hammel classification scheme (Laslett, Wall, 1972,

Table 9. Classification of Household Types in Hyonnae-Myon, 1720, Based on the Laslett-Hammel Classification Scheme

Types of Household Structure	Number of Household(%)		Slave-headed Households(%)	
Type 1-A	12(3.1)	4.4%	5(4.9)	5.9%
Type 1-B	5(1.3)		1(1.0)	
Type 2-A	1(0.3)	4.4%	-(-)	4.9%
Type 2-B	13(3.3)		4(3.9)	
Type 2-C	3(0.8)		1(1.0)	
Type 3-A	68(17.4)	48.9%	27(26.2)	43.7%
Type 3-B	105(26.9)		17(16.5)	
Type 3-C	4(1.0)		-(-)	
Type 3-D	14(3.6)		1(1.0)	
Type 4-A	46(11.8)	29.3%	9(8.7)	24.3%
Type 4-B	26(6.7)		3(2.9)	
Type 4-C	17(4.4)		5(4.9)	
Type 4-D	25(6.4)		8(7.8)	
Type 5-A	10(2.6)	12.8%	4(3.9)	20.3%
Type 5-B	29(7.4)		9(8.7)	
Type 5-C	3(0.8)		3(2.9)	
Type 5-D	6(1.5)		3(2.9)	
Type 5-E	2(0.5)		2(1.9)	
Unclassifiable	1(0.3)		1(1.0)	
All types	390(100.0)		103(100.0)*	

* excluding six of the total 109 slave-headed households

p.31 ; Hammel, Laslett, 1974, pp. 91-99). Of the total 390 households in Hyonnae-Myon, 48.9 percent were the simple or nuclear family households (Type 3), and only about half of these simple family households were the households with married couples with their unmarried children (Type 3－B), and slightly less than half of them(17.4%) found to be with married couples but with no unmarried children (Type 3－A).

One may raise an objection here to the effect that there could have been a number of married children co-residing with their parent(s) that one has to take into account in analyzing the household structure. But the data on married children in Table 3 point out that the number of married children was not so large as to exert any substantial influence. What one has to look for in this particular instance is rather the number of children under age five who were not enumerated in the household register.

As for the extended family household (Type 4) that consists of one conjugal family unit with relatives other than offspring, 29.3 percent of the total 390 Hyonnae-Myon households belong to this category, whereas only 12.8 percent of the total households are found to be large multiple households (Type 5), namely the type of households believed to have been predominant in pre-modern Korean society so far. Interestingly, the proportion of the households where at least two conjugal units co-resided and where father or mother of the household head co-resided (Type 5－A) accounts for only 2.6 percent of the total households. The multiple family households where the household head's married son lived with the head along with his wife or with his offspring (Type 5－B) account for 7.4 percent of the total, but the "joint family" household where sibling co-resided with their parent(s) (Type 5－C) represents only 0.8 percent of the total.

Tough small in number, pre-modern Korean society did not lack in frērêche type households (Type 5－D) where married siblings lived together but not with their parent(s) present, and stem family households (Types 5－A plus 5－B plus 4－A and plus 2－A) constitute 22.1 percent of the total households in Hyonnae-Myon.

The next question is whether there were in fact a large number of households where only the solitaries (Type 1－A and Type 1－B) or persons not at all related (Type 2－C) lived together. According to Table 9, only 5.2 percent of the total households are of these categories. That is, there were not many people living alone those days. But was this in fact true for people of all social categories ? Data in Table 9 provide a partial answer to this question. Though small in its total number (103), the percentage of the slave households headed by the solitaries or by unrelated "co-habiting" persons does not seem to have been large either, contrary to the expectation that a substantial number of solitary households could have been headed by slaves, in particular, by solgir nobi slaves who had to live apart from their offspring. Rather unexpectedly, in Table 9, some portion (20.3%) of the slave-headed households are of the multiple family household type.

It apears that a sizable number of slave-headed households (43.7%) were also of the

simple conjugal family type. To better under stand the household composition pattern for the period, one could analyze the indivi dual components constituting households of various sizes. If one excludes the household heads and their spouses, one could subdivide the household components into three separate categories : offspring, relatives, and slaves. Besides these three components, one could also include lodgers ("shikgaek"), but since the number of the lodgers found in the household register data is so small, they can be safely ignored in alalyzing the household components.

From Table 10, it can be seen that for the nuclear or simple conjugal family household (Type 3), more than 62 percent of the all household members were resident slaves. This is an evidence that even in conjugal family households, slaves played an important role. The number of slaves in conjugal family households is almost twice the number of offspring, and at this point one wonders whether the early eighteenth-century Korean households could have existed in the absence of the large number of resident slaves. In extended family households (Type 4), the proportion of resident slaves among the total household member is greater than that of any other components. Virtually half of the total household members were resident slaves, which is in turn again twice that of offspring residing with their parents. In multiple family households (Type 5), the proportion of slaves among the total household member is smaller than that of relatives. This over-representation of relatives that include married children could be attributed to the fact that in this type of households, a complex network of kinship had to prevail.

As for other types of households, slaves again predominated the Type 1 and Type 2 family households. The number of solitary households headed by slaves was small in pre-modern Korean society, but most of those living within the solitary households were slaves, because slaves were needed to look after the solitary household heads, hence in Table 10, almost 99 percent of the solitary household members are slaves.

The overall picture that emerges from Table 10 is that 54 percent of the 1,576 household members (namely, the total population with

Table 10. Components of Household Members by Household Types

Household Member	Houshold Types*					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Offspring	( )	1(1.2)	191(36.5)	97(16.9)	28(8.7)	317(20.1)
Relatives	( )	34(39.1)	( )	188(32.8)	168(52.3)	390(24.8)
Slaves	70(98.6)	50(57.5)	326(62.2)	279(48.6)	123(38.3)	848(53.8)
Others	1(1.4)	2(2.3)	7(1.3)	9(1.6)	2(0.6)	21(1.3)
Total	71(100.0)	87(100.0)	524(100.0)	573(100.0)	321(100.0)	1,576(100.0)

*refer to Table 9

the household heads and their spouses excluded) were slave population, followed by 25 percent who were relatives, and again by 20 percent who were offspring. We have here an impression that pre-modern Korean society was dominated by a vast number of slaves as far as the Hyonnae-Myon area is concerned, a society rarely exemplificed in other parts of the world in the past. A few studies on Korea's pre-modern household structure hesitated to focus on this slave population simply because of the unfounded assumption that slaves contituted a residual category attached to their owners' households. Considering that there were also a large number of non-resident slaves owned by individual households, it appears that Korean society in the early eighteenth century exhibited a societal pattern totally alien to the type of society that we know of Korea today. What is more, a closer look at Fig. 4 (a) reveals that half of the male household members falling within the 20 24 age bracket was accounted for by slaves, and except for the 55 - 59 age category with high male headship rate almost 35 percent of the male household members aged 25 years and over were slave population. Even among the very young under five years of age, the slave population accounted for almost 20 percent of the total male household members. No relatives were found in the 0 - 4 age group.

In Fig.4(b) among female household members, 60 percent of them aged 15 - 19 years were slaves, as were almost 40 percent of the female household population over 20 years, a higher proportion than was noted for the male population. In contrast to the large number of slaves among the male and female household population, the number of relatives is limited, except for the 20 - 39 age category for males and for the 20 - 34 age category for females. Fig. 4(a) and Fig. 4(b) give an indication of the changing pattern of the household member composition across different age categories. For instance, Fig. 4(a) shows that up to the 15 - 19 age category, male offspring predominated as most of the unmarried children belonged to this age category. But starting in the age category 20 - 24, the proportion of male relatives increases, along with that of male heads, as an increasing number of males got married and yet had to wait a substantial period of time before either they established their own separate households or gradually began to achieve household headship as their parents relinquished their headship.

In Fig. 4(b), the relatively large proportion of female relatives found in the 0 4 age bracket appears to have to do with a number of resident children of the household heads' siblings, like nephews and nieces. However, it is difficult to attach any greater significance to the number of female relatives in this youngest age category as the total number of female household members within this age category is too small. The large proportion of female relatives aged over 55 years has to do with a number of co-residing mothers of the household head, reflecting the longer life expectancy of the female population.

One would think that households of differing structure would have different age structure in the sense that the household structure determines the age structure as

Fig 4. (a) Composition of Male Household Members by Age Group (Excluding Lodgers)

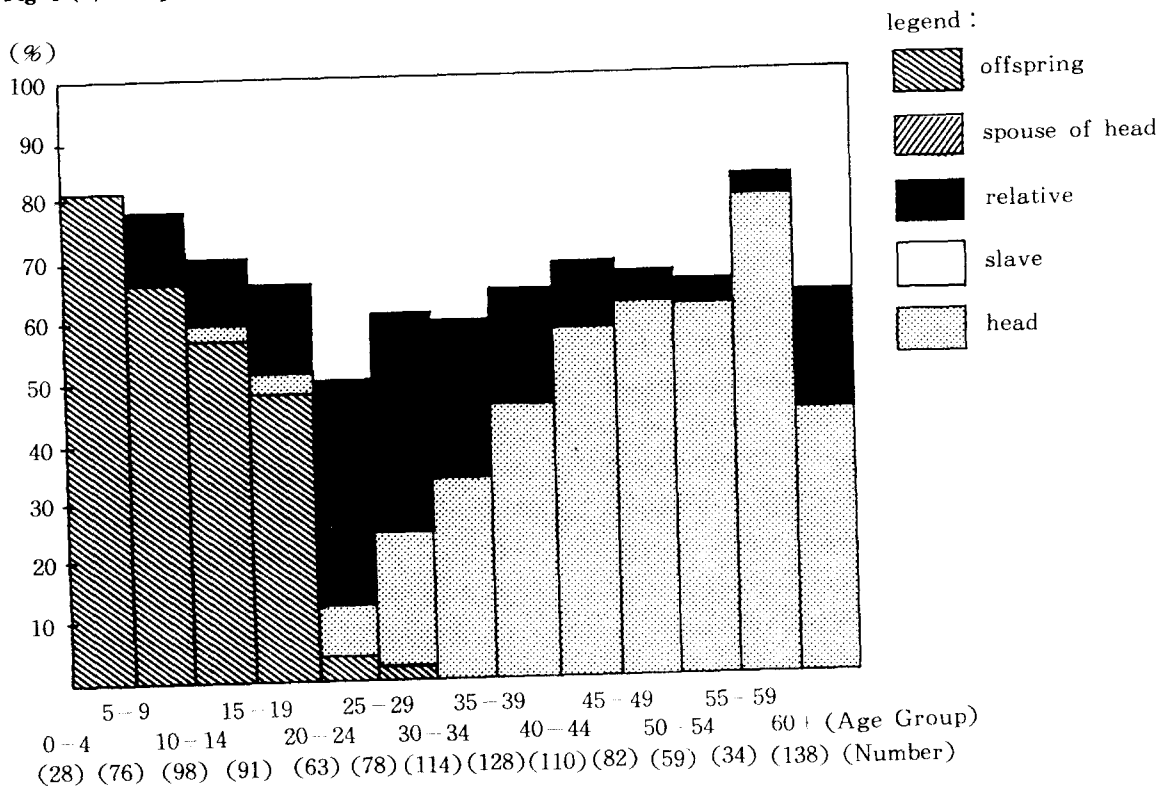


Fig 4. (b) Composition of Female Household Members by Age Group (Excluding Lodgers)

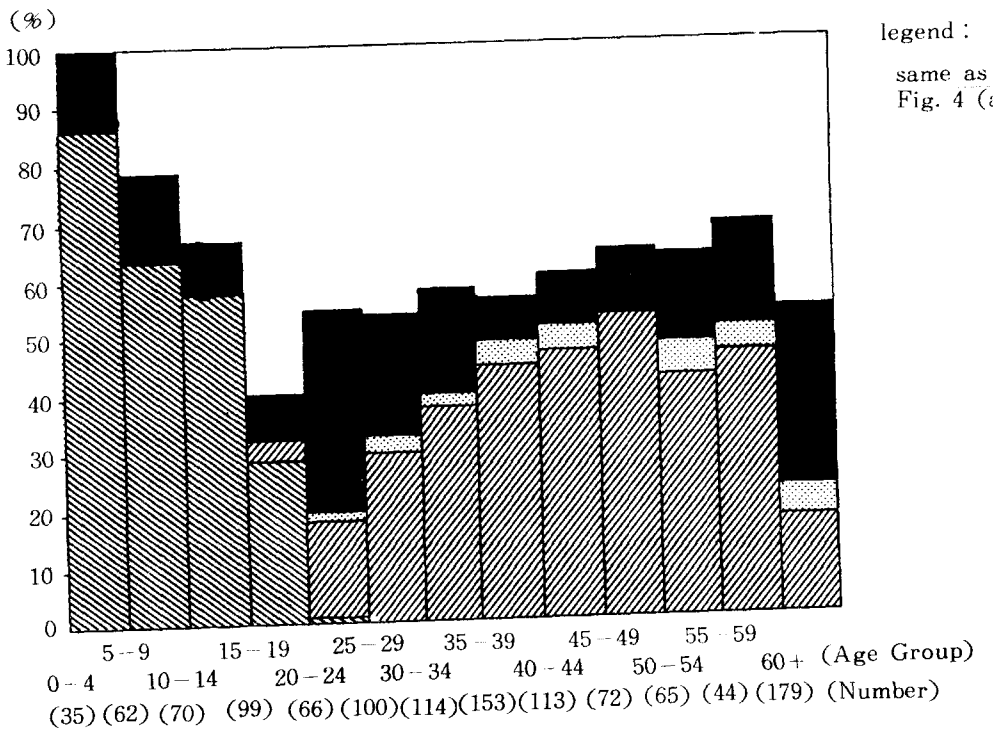


Table 11. Age Structure of Household Members by Household Type

Age Group	Household Types						Proportion Multiple (5)/(6)	Proportion Simple (3)/(6)	Proportion Simple and Extended (3)-(4)/(6)
	Type 1(1)	Type 2(2)	Type 3(3)	Type 4(4)	Type 5(5)	Total(6)			
0-4	-	1	32(5.8)	18(3.6)	7(2.4)	58(4.1)	12.1	55.2	86.2
5-9	-	4	59(10.6)	32(6.3)	14(4.8)	109(7.8)	12.8	54.1	83.5
10-14	-	2	66(11.9)	39(7.7)	10(3.4)	117(8.3)	8.5	56.4	89.7
15-19	1	4	33(6.0)	39(7.7)	24(8.1)	101(7.2)	23.8	32.7	71.3
20-24	1	1	7(1.3)	29(5.7)	30(10.2)	68(4.8)	44.1	10.3	52.9
25-29	-	6	30(5.4)	33(6.5)	32(10.9)	101(7.2)	31.7	29.7	62.4
30-34	2	8	46(8.3)	48(9.5)	31(10.5)	135(9.6)	23.0	34.1	69.6
35-39	3	4	70(12.6)	56(11.1)	36(12.2)	169(12.0)	21.3	41.4	74.6
40-44	4	4	58(10.5)	55(10.9)	17(5.8)	138(9.8)	12.3	42.0	81.9
45-49	1	2	58(10.5)	28(5.5)	13(4.4)	102(7.3)	12.7	56.9	84.3
50-54	1	3	38(6.9)	25(5.0)	13(4.4)	80(5.7)	16.3	47.5	78.8
55-59	1	-	23(4.1)	17(3.4)	17(5.8)	58(4.1)	29.3	39.7	69.0
60-64	1	2	14(2.5)	25(5.0)	17(5.8)	59(4.2)	28.8	23.7	66.1
65-69	1	6	12(2.2)	25(5.0)	6(2.0)	50(3.6)	12.0	24.0	74.0
70-74	-	2	5(0.9)	14(2.8)	7(2.4)	28(2.0)	25.0	17.9	67.9
75-79	1	-	-(-)	10(2.0)	12(4.1)	23(1.6)			
80-84	-	-	1(0.1)	5(1.0)	1(0.3)	7(0.5)			
85-89	-	-	-(-)	1(0.2)	( )	1(-)	44.0	3.1	53.1
90-94	-	-	-(-)	-(-)	1(0.3)	1(-)			
All ages	17	49	552(100.0)	499(100.0)	288(100.0)	1,405(100.0)	20.5	39.3	74.8

much as the latter determines the former. Data in Table 11 seem to support this hypothesis in part. In the table, the largest proportion of the simple conjugal family household (Type 3) population is concentrated in the 35 - 49 age bracket, whereas with extended family households, the largest proportion is located in the slightly younger 30 - 44 age bracket, perhaps due to the concentration of a number of married children in this age category.

For multiple family households, the largest proportion of the household population is focused on the much younger 20 - 39 age group, again perhaps due to the greater number of co-resident married children in this age breacket.

Ⅳ. Conclusion

The over-all picture that emerges of the household structure in the early eighteenth -century Hyonnae-Myon area is that, at least for the area studied, pre-modern Korean society was a society not dominated by the large multiple households housing at least two families with grand-parent(s) co-residing and sheltering a large number of children.

If the data we have here at least partly represent the then prevailing household structure of Korean society as a whole, one would infer that the household pattern of Hyonnae-Myon, Danseong-Hyon, does share some of the important features that negate the general assumption on the prevalence of large multiple family households during the pre-modern period.

However, a caveat should be entered here in reading the data on Korea in Tables 9 and 11. That is, the total 390 households that we have dealt with here is too small a sample size to derive a definitive conclusion regarding the prevailing household pattern of the early eighteenth -century Korean society, and more importantly, the rather excessive under -registration of those aged less than 30 could have produced (see Fig. 3) a distorted picture of the then prevailing household pattern. As is the case for the parish register data, the data defectiveness is the major issue awaiting further research in analyzing the household register data.

Apparently, a distinctive feature of pre-modern Koren society (if the Hyonnae-Myon household structure provides any guide) must have been the large proportion slave population accounted for among the total population, not only among the higher social stratum but also among the lower and the lowest social strata of the society. One has here a suspicion that pre-modern Korean society could have been largely dependent upon slave population for its economic activities, both domestic and non-domestic. Much more future research need to be done on this slave population, if one were to understand pre-modern Korean society.

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≪國文要約≫

1720年度 丹城縣 戶籍臺帳資料를 通한 李朝中期 家口形態 分析

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1720年 慶尙道 丹城縣 縣內面 소재의 390 家口를 대상으로 1970年代 初 케임브리지大學의 歷史人口學硏究所(Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure)에서 開發한 Laslett Hammel 家口形態分類法을 적용하여 본 結果 表 9에서 제시된 바와같이 全體 家口의 48.9퍼센트가 核家族의 形態이며, 42.1 퍼센트가 大家族으로 밝혀지고 있다.

붉은 圖表 3에서 지적되고 있드시 5歲이하의 人口에 대한 資料가 未備한 상태라 戶籍資料만으로 당시의 家口形態에 대한 정확한 分析이 어렵다고 하드라도, 이제까지 一般的으로 믿어져왔던 大家族 形態의 李朝中期의 宗家制度나 일반 庶民들의 家口形態 및 奴婢家口에 대한 보다 具體的인 硏究가 戶籍資料에 대한 면밀한 分析으로 可能해질 것으로 믿어진다.

驛村, 즉 下流階層의 사람들이 주로 많이 寄居하였던 丹城縣 縣內面의 전체 調査對象家口의 거의 折半이 核家族의 形態를 보이고 있는 것은 當然한 것으로 받아들여 질 수도 있겠으나, 表 6에서 나타나고 있드시 上流階層에 속하는 兩班階層(Social Class Ⅰ)의 경우도 平均 家口規模 16名 中에서 약 13名이 率居奴婢로, 實際 家口의 크기는 家族構成員數 4名을 넘지않는 核家族의 形態였을 가능성이 짙음을 보여주고 있다. 한가지 特記할 만한 事實은 上流, 中流, 그리고 下流階層 다같이 平均 家族構成員數가 4名을 넘지 않고 있다는 點이다.

丹城縣이 驛村들로 구성되어 있는만큼, 앞으로 上流階層이 密集되어 있었던 慶北 月城郡의 良洞地域 鄕案資料나 戶籍草案資料를 丹城縣의 資料와 比較分析함으로써 李朝中期의 家口形態에 대한 보다 信憑性 있는 結果를 導出해 낼 수 있을 것이다.

丹城縣의 資料는 李朝中期의 奴婢人口와 奴婢家口形態에 대한 硏究에도 귀중한 資料로, 앞으로 歷史人口學의 方法論 開發에 큰 寄與를 할 것으로 期待된다.