In ancient times the well-field system reached its limit (was in practice). The laying out of land boundaries (kyōnggae 经界) was all rectified, and all affairs were completed and all the people had a firm (foundation) for steady occupation (hang'op 恒業). In military affairs, there were no evils (problems) in the search for (men to serve on duty. suhwal 植拵). Among noble and base, upper and lower (kwich'on sangha) there were none which did not each have its job (chik 職). For this reason men's minds were firmly established (chojong 底定), and the customs of the people were harmonious (tonbu 敦厚). This is why things were firmly established and maintained for several hundreds and thousands of years in ancient times. The fact that rites and music flourished was because of this root and foundation.

In later ages, the land system broke down, and there was private occupation without limit (of land) (sajom muhan 私占無限), so that there were evils in all affairs, and every thing was contrary to this.

Note: Taxation (puyōk 即役) was not regulated and there was no equality between poor and rich (pinbu pugyun 貧富不均). Because of the accumulation of land (kyōmb'yōng 兼并) and the search for profit (年利). The "good people" (yangmin) lost their places (silso 失所). Households and population were easy to seize (t'al 脱). Lawsuits proliferated. There were no distinctions between noble and base (kwich'on mu pyōl'un 貴賤無別). Numbers were not clear, and because of this powerful households found it easy to act wilfully, and morality and virtue did not flourish. Bribery was easy to do, and there was no long (foresight) in the administration of punishments. The minds of the people were unsettled.
Customs (and manners) were crude (and uncivilized). And also land and soldiers were divided into two (parts), so that many of the people avoided labor service by deceit and the people were oppressed by officials searching for able-bodied males (for military service). The wealthy households used a hundred plans (all kinds of trickery) to avoid (service), and thus every one who was registered for service was poor and destitute. Thus in normal times there seemed to be no one firm of will, and in wartime, it was easy for them to be dispersed and scatter. These evils were so bad that one cannot find the words to talk about them (they surpass comment). In general there was no one who could again take charge of the affairs of the world. People in charge of the state in later times merely delayed for time, and there was no (reign) that lasted as long as the Three Ages (of the past).

In the interval there were sage rulers and good advisers who were good at government affairs, but the effects (of their rule) did not last for long, and the reason for this was that there was no root (basis) for the grand structure of things in the world (ch'ŏn ha taech'e).

It was like the case of a man who builds a room. If he does not build it straight on the foundation... then it topples over. (END OF NOTE)

-Even though there might be a ruler who wants to govern, if he does not rectify the land system, then the production of the people in the end cannot be stabilized (hange); taxes in the end can not be equalized (kyun). Households and population, in the end, can not be made clear. The ranks (and files) of the army, in the end, can not be put in order. Lawsuits, in the end, can not be stopped. Punishments, in the end, can not be reduced. Bribery, in the end, can not be stopped. Mores, in the end, can not be restored to health (hu).

There has never been a person who can govern and teach (the people) in a situation like this.
What is the reason for a situation like this? Land is the great root of the empire. Once the great root is established, then all things will follow along. If the great root is in confusion, then in all other matter, there is nothing that is not done incorrectly. Unless one has deep knowledge of the t'ii (substance) of governance, indeed how can one know that in the principles of Heaven and in human affairs, doing the right thing and (obtaining) what is of advantages all stems from this? But those men of will who came afterwards, none of them did not want to practice this in the present time, but it was difficult to set boundaries for well fields in hilly and watered land so that it was difficult to make kongjon (official or lord's fields). And there were doubts and obstacles involved in distinguishing between (types of?) land.

Note: As for the fact that what was later called the "well fields" was difficult to restore was that 1 well occupied 1 li; the land was not flat, and because of hills and swamps, narrow and broad places, it was difficult to set boundaries. This means that people did not study thoroughly the words of the ancient system. But if you take it to mean that one must make a well (field scheme) for every field, then indeed there would be places that would be inconvenient (to fit into a well-field pattern). Also according to the chobop, 8 households would pool their labor to help cultivate the lord's fields, and the officials would take the produce from the lord's fields. At the present time, if you let the officers of agriculture and farmers take charge of harvest and (tax) payments, then it is difficult to completely obtain the proper men, and there is always corruption. If you want to chongsu (determined fixed quantities? of tax?), then the court and official agencies...
In ancient times there had to be a law that was loyal, trustworthy and detailed, but at the present time, we can not study (it).

Moreover in ancient times, the taebu (島) had ch'aeji (米地) land grants?, and the officials had serok (世禄: hereditary salaries). But everyone nowadays only lives off official taxes (公費), and that was all.

This land is basically land from which produce is harvested for the people. Eight men from the same well (field) jointly pay taxes and provide military service, and the families of the taebu (ta-fu) are able not to personally engaged in the tasks of agriculture and commerce. (In later ages they gained in irregular fashion exemptions and dismissals (by using other people). In later ages there were irregularities in the appointments and dismissals of people (to office?), and there were things in this system that could not be carried out. If they had only used the well-field system, they still nakki did not have that nukbap with which to handle it.

This is the reason why taebu who were dismissed from office had nothing with which to sustain their livelihood. In a situation like this, it was extremely difficult to get by. If one is to apply the well field system, it is necessary to grant fiefs ( pongson 封建), and only then can the system be fully carried out. (END OF NOTE)

-The equal field system of the T'ang period also came close to the intention of the ancients. The Koryo dynasty used it in order to produce wealth and strength, but the (Koryo) system did not make land the chief (object). It took people as the basis and therefore registered able bodied males (ch'ong) and granted them land in grades of many categories. When land was granted, there was always the problem of too many people and too little land, or vice versa.
After the land was granted, there was also the problem of having surplus at present but deficiencies (shortages) in the future; or having shortages at present and surplus later on.

NOTE: According to the ancient law, land was taken as the base. Taxes were paid on the basis of land. Therefore you had the problem of an unequal balance between the number of males and the amount of land. Eventhough this appears to be close (to the ancient system), in fact it is not the same as the ancient system. (END OF NOTE)

-This is the reason why (people) were placed in difficult circumstances and later had to abandon and destroy (the system). IF WE COULD IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTENTION OF THE ANCIENTS AND PUT IT INTO PRACTICE, WE WOULD HAVE A METHOD.

With regard to the shape of the land, it would not be necessary to have broad (and flat) (Fields) (for the well-field system), and the system would still be all right. It would not be necessary to set up lord's lands (kongjön), and still we could tithe the land. It would not be necessary to establish ch'aeji (fiefs or prebends), and still every one would have his support. To be in accordance with the principles of nature (chayön ji ri) and change in accordance with present day circumstance, then all people would obtain what (they need?), and all plans would turn out well. Even though you would not delineate the shape of a well-field, the essence of the well-field system would all be in it. And also you would not have the fear of the
the difficult situation of the T'ang and Koryo. If something is most fair (kong) and correct, then it can be put into practice for a long time. If it is most simple and to the point (essential, yo 要), there is no place where it may not be appropriate. I earnestly submit proposals below:

100 po 步) make 1 mu (畝). 100 mu make 1 kyông (頃).
(Note: It does not make any difference whether the quality of the land is high or low. The same (measurement) is used for land surface. According to the Chou foot (chuch'ok 周尺) used at the present time, 6 "feet" are equivalent to 1 po. 1 po (pace) in width and 100 po (paces) in length make 1 mu (It is the same as 10 paces (po) of length and width. 1) 100 mu makes 1 kyông (that is, 100 paces length and width, making 10,000 (sq) paces) One one kyông of land, you can plant 40 tu. The equivalences between the kyông-mu system and the kyol-bu system under use at the present is given below:)

4 kyông makes 1 chon (個). The character, chon (田), was used originally, but because it was in common use, they added the "man" radical. It is also permissible to use the word, chong (町)....

- Every farmer (me ilbu) "occupies" (chōmsu 受) and receives 1 kyông. (note: 1 chon (個) is what 4 farmers receive).
- (from this) taxes are collected in accordance with law.

The taxes will vary in accordance with the quality of the land; see below for details:
- every 4 kyông will furnish 1 soldier
- 1 healthy and robust male will be chosen from among the 4 farmers.
- One of them will be a soldier (pyǒng) and three will be support personnel (po). For regulations pertaining to cavalry and infantry, see details below and in the military section.
P'angye on land system - 7 - P'angye surok, 6 (kwon 1)

Those "scholars" (sa) who first enter school (that is to say, the chungwangsaeng(增廣生), also called oesasaeng(外舍生)) will be granted 2 kyong. Those who enter (are included in) the Naesa(內舍生) (that is to say, the Naesasaeng内舍生) will be granted 4 kyong. They will be exempted from (provided soldiers) military service.

- As for the Ch'ungmwi and Ch'ungsunwi, see the oesasaeng. As for the Naegumwi(内禁衛士: also called musön 武選) and the sejok(世嫡) hereditary main line sons? who have fathers and the privilege (yuch'in yuimja 有親有蔭), see (the regulations for) Naesasaeng.

- As for the Hak-naeoesa(學內外舍), see the school system (hakche). As for the Ch'ungmwi and Ch'ungsunwi, and Naegumwi, see below and see the military system (pyöngje) discussion. As for the sejok(世嫡), yuch'in(有親) and yuim(有蔭), for all of these, see below.

-the land tax for all of those exempt from military service is the same as above.

- for officials of rank 9 and up (in all cases follow the actual rank post, and not the rankchagye(資階)) up to rank 7, (grant them) 6 kyong. All the way up to rank 2A, then (grant them) 12 kyong. And for all of them, they are exempted from provided soldiers (for military service).

(land grants of 8 kyong for rank 6 and up: 10 kyong for rank 3 and up, 12 kyong for rank 2A and up. Even if officials who receive land are dismissed from their posts and return their land, they are not to be required to provide military service.

-as for those on duty as officials (sija仕者, if they are on duty (si仕), then they receive salaries (surok受禄).
For the detailed figure for each rank, see the discussion of 
the salary system (nokche).

The families of dismissed officials (p'agwan kagô) are also to be provided with land (cha ki chôn).

Except in the case of officials who have violated regulations and morality, or embezzled funds, or surrendered to the enemy, or other serious crimes, do not confiscate their land.

As for clerks and servants who work for officials (isô chye), in the capital, they are to be given superior salaries sufficient for the support of their old and young.

In the capital the clerks and subordinates do not receive land grants. They have salaries. As for sôri and choye and other clerks, each has his grade. See the essay on the salary system.

In the province then they are to receive salary land (nokchôn), and 1 kyông is to be granted for every two men.

-the iye (clerks) in the provinces, calculate what they ought to (have) as salary land and reduce it for the capital (clerks).

Each clerk is to receive 50 mu of land. As for the clerks and servants in each chu, hyôn, chin, and yok, in accordance with fixed quotas, calculate the amount of land (to be granted). In each case see the section on salaries.

They also are to be exempted from military service.

In general, anybody who has a post (job, chigyök) for the government is to be exempted from military service.

If you calculate land at the present, then the ancient 70 mu is equivalent to 1 kyông. In general this is enough land to plant 26-7 tu.
It is also enough to allow 1 man (farmer) the wherewithal to live. But this is not sufficient to support his father and mother and bring up his wife and children. In a bad crop year during starvation, the people cannot be without regrets. Through the Hsia and Yi dynasties (they granted) 50 mu and 70 mu, and the Chou people again made it at 100 mu, and from this we know that they had it.

At the present time 100 mu makes a kyŏng, on which can be planted 40 tu of rice plants. (NOTE: The amount that can be planted varies with the land. I take wet paddies on flat land as my standard and calculated in terms of rice plants, so that for various other grains on dry fields, one can also make an adjustment (ch'ung: guess, estimate).)

Only after it is done like this (a grant of 100 mu?) will it be sufficient for taking care of the living and sending off the dead, meeting official tax requirements and satisfying the accounts for the family (making a living for the family). For this reason I have established the figure at 100 mu (for a minimum grant).

Some perhaps might say that this 40 tu of land might be insufficient. If one takes it as (equivalent to) 100 mu of the present Chinese (system), then it is close to 80 tu (in terms of the grain that can be planted on it). If this is the case, then it is even more (true) that a household would have plenty, and there would be no fear of poverty.

(Some people) say, "It is not that I do not want people to have a surplus. I have investigated and thought about it, and made broad inquiry about it, or one should have tried it out in an area."

If it is really like this, then there will be extremely many people who do not obtain land, and the ones who do receive it will also have more than they (can cultivate) with their strength.

As for the people at present in the mountain and narrow areas (in the hills), what one man and his wife can manage is scarcely 10 tu of paddy (and) 1 or more ilgyŏng (日 餘 翋) of dry fields. Taken together, it is
7) 1:4b.

no more than the amount of land on which 20 tu of rice plants can be sown. One can indeed have more than enough.

As for people who live on the abundant plains, one man can manage fields for the planting of 30 or more tu of rice plants, and yet still there are those who starve and go cold. As for those who live in the mountains, their land is dear, so they cultivate a little of it (in area), but they are diligent and hard working, so that they obtain double in harvest. But the people who live in the broad plains and they occupy a lot of land, but they are slow and dull and what they receive (from the land) is not fruitful, and that is the reason.

Viewed from this standpoint, whether people are poor or prosperous is due to whether they are diligent or lazy, and does not exclusively depend on whether they have large or small amounts of land. (If the land possessed) is in accordance with the strength (of the cultivator to cultivate it), then every one will be diligent in their tasks. This, then, is the way to make the people prosperous (abundant and sufficient). The inclusion of the inclusion

At present this 40 tu's worth of land basically permits (the use of) servants? solchong (underlings?) on it. How could you say that it is insufficient? Moreover with this 100 mu, then where there is more than enough land but insufficient labor. If there should be surplus labor, then it would be necessary to again set up farmers to cultivate it. Naturally there would be no desire to use up (exhaust) one's labor. As for people who have not been able to obtain land, if they had 100 mu of the present Chinese mu, then in places where there was a labor surplus and a land shortage, there would be very many people who would lose their occupations (be without work), and they would be hired and put to work by wealthy people. (8) 1:5a: This is also what the situation would demand, but there would be those who would profit and lose from this greatly.
The reason why I know chose 100 mu is not because I want to copy the ancients. I calculate the (labor) power of the people (milnyok 民力), and I estimated productivity (san'op). I compared it with the fertility of the land and the personnel situation (insula), and also compared the old with the new (situation). There was nothing with (I?) changed this. It is only that being like this, I made my determination (of amounts). And only after making my calculations did I realize that the method used by the ancient sages (was good for) 100,000 generations and could not be changed.

(Note: As for this 1 kyong, in talking about dry fields, then in general 1 ox can cultivate (this amount of land) in four days. In places like Kyonggi and Yongnam, they use 1 ox, so that they can cultivate it in 4 days. In places like Yangho (Ch'ungch'ong and Cholla) where in many cases they use two oxen, then they can cultivate it in 3 days. I hear that the people of Liao-tung can cultivate (this amount of land?) in 6 days. This country's land (system?) has the mu (亩), but does not have the kyong. The land in Liao-tung has 3 kyong per mu (myo). A cultivating ox goes back and forth and does it twice, so that it is like this, they say. I also hear that not only do they obtain in harvest several times the amount we get from land in our country, but that even though the land is rich and fertile, they planting method is most appropriate and excellent. Our country should also do it in accordance with the ancient system of 1 myo and 3 kyong in order to get the most out of management of land. For this explanation, see the kosõlp'yôn (考說篇).

I refer to the (phrase in the) Chou-li, (which says that), "households with land that is not changed (land which is not allowed to lie fallow any year), (get) 100 mou, and household with land that is "changed" once (lies fallow every other year?), get 200 mou, and household with land
that is "changed" twice (allowed to lie fallow for two years) (get) 300 mou. 8 Households share a well (well-field), and everybody receives land, but it is not known by what plan this system worked.

(Note: Cheng Chung(鄭眾) and Cheng Hsuan(鄭玄) have commented that 2 mu (plots) are equivalent to 1 well (ching 井). He Hsien(何休) and Pan Ku(班固) have commented that every three years (the land allotments) were changed and given (out); that special (certain?) households returned land and changed their residences. But nobody knows whether this was really in accordance with the circumstances (the best thing under the circumstances) or not.)

According to the Mencius Wang-chih(孟子制), it states that 100 mou per households was the standard, therefore you had a distinction between upper peasants (shang neng-fu 上農夫) and lower peasants (hsia neng-fu 下農夫). In general those who received lower (quality?) land (hsia-t'ien 下田) were not as good (as well off) as those who received upper (quality?) land (shang-t'ien 上田). But it was the nature of things that everyone high and lower had no disappointments.

(Note: The system was not in which the officials determined and gave (land). The people themselves hoped for (asked for) and received it, and that was why it was like this (that was why everyone was content).)

Also even more so was 100 mou of land basically sufficient for all to sustain a household, but people were either diligent or lazy, and there was either a bumper crop or a crop disaster in accordance with dry or wet weather. Alternately there was gain or loss, or taxes might be heavy or light... If someone because of thin (unfertile) (land) wanted additional k'yang, that there might be those who would be inconvenienced. At present the quality of the land varies, might be rich or poor (in mixed in iron?) the fertility is not the same.
F'angye surok, 6 (kwŏn 1) 1:6a

If you add (land to) those of the 9th rank, the ones in the 8th rank will be upset. If you add (land) to those in the 8th rank, then the seventh rank will also be like this (upset). And if the additional grades of land (grants) are not necessarily attached next to (the land they have already), how will they handle (mix cultivate) it? Moreover, in the case of additional kyŏng (land) grants, (people) would want to rent out fallow land (代耕休地). If people are not necessarily like this and happen to have enough to take care of their small households and are lazy in agricultural activity, then in bad crop years they would be in difficult circumstances. How much more so in the case of a labor shortage area, then the people ought not to abandon fertile land and receive infertile land. If the land is narrow and infertile, then there will be many who will not be able to obtain it. Is this even more not to be worried about? If the situation is like this, and there are many disputes (over land), and the (land) registers are not clear, then the corrupt will, because of this, run about working their evil ways, and the people's livelihood will be disturbed.

At present all the grades (should be) set as 100 myo (mou). (note: Most of this country's land is narrow. The quality of the land is such that there are no particularly large (plots) that cover a whole tip (adm. town) or village (hyang). Within one territory there are also high and low places, fertile and infertile places, mixed together. Also there may be flood or drought, alternating between good and bad. Therefore it is rare that the people would let the land lie fallow for one or two years, but only in the areas of labor shortage do they abandon unfertile land and cultivate the fertile. In place where the land is narrow, only there do they cultivate the infertile land every year. Because the situation is like this, therefore I have determined (the amount of land grant) like this. This is suitable to be a standard law. As for land square on four sides, you cannot (have it all in one place??) because of hills that cut across it, towns
and other places. There are some areas (towns) where all the land is infertile and you cannot cultivate it every year. Then you give double amounts of kyŏng and have it taejŏn
(rented out?). That also is possible.

The above seems to be two extremes, but the law (method) is not uniform. But if calculate what is right and use it the best way, then each situation has what is appropriate (to it). In general at the present time, the land in the south is cultivated normally. You may have some areas that are infertile. If there are enough people, then you can put double fertilizer (on it) and get some harvest. Basically one cannot talk about this. (But) if you really have land which is all infertile and produces (no grain) even though it never lies fallow, then cultivation is poor. You do not have people congregating there. The land is unused and there are few people.

In areas where there are few people living and the land is infertile and empty, then it is also appropriate to grant double amounts of land and have it cultivated by someone else (rented out? taegyŏng). If you are talking about times when there are extremely flourishing (nos) of people, then this land will also gradually become overgrown (flourishing). If it is like this, then how would the people be willing to receive double (grants) or to be completely without grants? (land)? How much more so when neighboring villages would naturally ask the officials for shares (of land)?

(Note, note: ?? land which lays fallow and where the people find it difficult to gather together? If it gradually becomes luxriant, then they will naturally divide it up, and if so, then they will also put double fertilizer on it (??))

In general everything is not a natural condition, and there will never be any harm to equality and what ought to be.)
8) 1:6b.

Also in observing ancient times, everybody who received land got 100 mou, but the households of the ta-fu-shih (taebusa 大夫士) had outright grants (ch'aeji 来地) and ㎜ hereditary salary land (serokch'ın 世禄品). With regard to these two types of land, they also allowed them only to consume the income from official taxes (kongse 公税) and that was all. (sounds like PREBENDS). In a situation like this, there was no evil from increases or reductions of the amount of land received, and no evils from failure to register people for military service, or from people moving and changing (their residences). It was extremely well regulated. But in later ages, in appointing people to office, promoting and demoting them, there was no system established for the consumption of taxes (assignment of tax revenues to designated recipients; mu ch'ǒng sikse chi 母充色使之). The situation was difficult for it to be carried out. They did not again restore the granting of yet still want to adopt this system but without granting fiefs (ponggon), but only wanted to use this (they only wanted to be without the problem of the redistribution of the number of hereditary ministers (officials), surok, 6 (kwŏn 1) Therefore they spoke of the method of taking (away) and limiting what was at present held (as private property). As for the Confucian scholars (yusa 魯士), because they are superior, they have more in the land that is determined (for their grants), and they are exempt from military service.

(Note: Some say that the limitation of land (hanjŏn 限田) is really appropriate. The designated scholar (ch'ŏngsa 貝士) gets 4 kyŏng. For those of 9th rank and above, 6 kil; for rank 6 and above, 8 kyŏng; for rank 3 and above, 10 kyŏng; for rank 2A and above, 12 kyŏng. Even though these accords with the circumstances, those on official duty already have rank and salaries in order to distinguish them from lower people, so that the land (grant) is basically for the nourishment of their families, and that is all.
9) 1:7a

If the problem is so great, then one can determine that a 

sefolk (rank 9) from rank 7 and below gets 4 kyong, 

and rank 6 and up gets 9 kyong, and rank 2 and up gets 12 kyong. 

4 kyong makes 1 grade. If the figures for each class is definitely set, then how could anybody say that this wasn't the best system? 

Some say that the scholar (sa) does not engage in agriculture, how can you give him greater land grants (than commoners)? (ch'ongjon yusa)

(I) say that this can be done because we use the land limitation system (hanjon).

Only after it is done like this can you allow them to maintain their families. If you do not give them land grants, then the officials ought to provide them with salaries, but the situation does not allow for providing monthly salaries to people who do not hold public office. In estimating the intention of the ancients, we ought to copy the principle of sikh'ae (land grants, prebendial grants?).

According to the royal tax grant regulations, everybody from the Confucian scholars (yusa) to the chief minister (taebugyông), calculations and determination (grants of sikhe (sikhe: "feeding taxes", prebends?), were made in the case of Confucian scholars (yusa) and officials of rank seven or below, for their lifetime (the amount was reduced by half for those without sons, but the grant lasted for the lifetime of the wife); for officials of rank 6 and up to their sons; for taebu and kyông, to their grandsons and great grandsons. If it is done like this, then the families of the sadaebu (scholar gentry) will get more than half the state's tax lands, and there will not be enough for state finances. If still, it goes without saying that...
If the system of granting fiefs (ponggon) is not restored and we only order it like this, then the fragmented parcels of sikse(食物) land will be scattered about in a thousand places, and each parcel will belong to a thousand people. Not only will it be more bothersome in keeping ledgers for making allotments or raising and eliminating them than in a (direct) land grant, but every year because of crop damage from natural disasters the people will hope for adjustments, and it will necessarily lead to inequality in taxing the people. And after it became common practice, then the burdens of taxation on the people would get gradually heavier. This would be of great harm to the empire (ch'ŏnha).

Would it not be better not to carry out a land system (reform) at all? How would this not be of great concern? Moreover in previous ages when good government was sought, when the people suffered military invasion and privation, the king might grant people half their land taxes. If this method were used, then it would cause inconvenience with regard to other matters. In general, the management of land and levying taxes up and tribute upon it is a matter that concerns the men of the fields (farmers). Studying the way, performing official duties, and consuming taxes are matters that involve the scholars and princely men (sa'gunja + 파자). This then is a penetrating (universal) principle, and is also the intention of the ancients.

But the ancients granted fiefs (ponggon), so that the households which received prebendal towns (ch'aeup(채업) and "fed on" taxes (sikse(食物) were given control over the land; responsibility for governing the people was given to the kiin (专人:agents, stewards?). (Even though the kiin were public officials, the court ordered their household heads to manage (lands?) in place of them as in the case of a household of a hundred chariots being (absorbed?) into a state of 1,000 chariots. If the official households had some use (expenses? ), they would also have the kiin manage it.)
This situation being like this, therefore they could (do it) like that, but the ta'bu of later ages who did not produce officials, even though they were different from the common people in their houses and residences, in fact they were the same as the men of the fields (yain: farmers). How much worse for those families who never produced an official? This is the reason why the sikse (prebendal grant, to incumbent officials?) method, although it seems to be the intention of the ancients, in fact is not appropriate.

All things have their warp and woof. Only after that can you achieve their use. It is comparable to cotton and silk which seem to have warp but no woof. If you try to carry it out, then naturally you will understand the difficulty in doing it. It is only that even though the land limitation (hanjön) system is one that is in accord with the times, it is orderly and without confusion and all matters will come out suitably (favorably). The gist (fruit) of the well-field system is all contained within it, and as for the government of the three kings, there is nothing that can not be achieved (by it). (END OF NOTE)

Some say, how can you exempt from military service the land of scholars and their status? If you do so, then how can you prevent the reduction of the numbers of men for military service? I say that a system for cultivating scholars is something you can not be without. The state's cultivation of scholars is nothing if it is not done for the people. Therefore, if we were to strive spiritually and physically to make appointments? Those who labor with their minds vs. those who labor with for high and low posts and did not take care of the scholars as well as we did the military, then how would this be right? (!). We ought to instruct, guide, rectify, encourage in the hopes that we will not turn our backs on that which should be cultivated (taken care of).
We cannot abandon support for soldiers just to economize on expenditure. We can not be stingy in providing expenses and abolish the means for the cultivation of the sadaebu.

(Note: If you abolish the means for the cultivation of the sadaebu, then the world will be (in confusion) with strife and contention, and the people will have no way to eke out a living. (END OF NOTE)

How much more so if this law were really put into practice, then the military service quotas (men available for service) would be double what it is now, and the tax revenues would be greater than what they are now. You can see this if you judge the facts.

(Note: What we ought to discuss is whether this is appropriate or not, and not whether it is profitable or harmful, but profit or harm is also not separated from right and wrong. With regard to the military service and taxation provisions of this method and the figures for the numbers of adult males on military service and grain taxes at the present time, see the following for reference.

At the present time, there is no military service and taxation and taxes reach the smallest person. There are none who are not transgressed upon by military service and military service reaches the smallest person. In general the reason for this is that there are no figures (quotas - punsu), and also that the law is bothersome (cruel) and the people are pressed. Therefore the people all want to avoid them. The adults and property all ends up (in the hands) of the powerful houses, causing a situation where the corrupt clerks manipulate the law. (END OF NOTE).
...the present laxity and ignorance where there is no knowledge of the virtue of the state and no consideration of the urgent (situation) the state is in. If the sadaebu all know how to uphold the public (good) and devote their lives to the country, then in times of danger it will be of advantage. How could it be only (a case of?) one soldier?

For taegun and kun (大君, 君) (both legitimate and illegitimate princes (wangja chŏksŏ 王子嫡庶), and for legitimate and illegitimate princesses (kongju 公主, ongju 妾主), all (will receive) 12 kyŏng of land.

(note: The crown prince (seja 世子), other princes (chungja princes) and kunju 郡主 will also get 12 kyŏng. The princess of the crown prince by a concubine (hyŏnju 息主) will get 10 kyŏng. This then is the land to be occupied and received (chŏmsu chi 進賜).) According to other regulations, taxes will be paid on all land to the state, but military service will not be required. Also there are separate articles for royal tax grants (sase 賜稅). The land distributed to the royal house is all done in accordance with rank, just as in the case of the civil and military officials. (END OF NOTE)

Royal tax grant (sase 賜稅): for taegun land of 500 kok(単: dictionary says 10 tu per kok, but next phrase here says the kok equals the sŏk) 万

(note: kok is equivalent to sŏk. In the case of first class land, then 50 kyŏng. Additional amounts will be added on for every grade up to the 9th grade of land, which will be 250 kyŏng. (END OF NOTE)

420 kok of land for a kun. (That is, 42 kyŏng for first class land, up to 210 kyŏng for 9th class land).
340 kok for a kongju (princess) (note: 34 kyong for first class land, down to 170 kyong for 9th class).

260 kok of land for an ongju (princess by titie concubine of crown prince). (Note: From 26 kyong for first class land to 130 kyong for 9th class land. 250 kok for the crown prince and other princes by legitimate queens, and 200 kok for princes by concubines. 150 kok for kunju (princesses), and 100 kok for hyonju (princess of crown prince by a concubine). This land is to be allotted from people's land (minjon), but it is only the tax that will be transferred and given (to them). (PREBENDAL SYSTEM). These (land grants) will be subject to military service requirements in accordance with other regulations. The quotas for royal-tax-land grants (sasejon) are all based on calculations of tax revenues for previous years. If 500 kok, then (it is equivalent) to a 9th grade land (grant) of 250 kyong; for 8th grade, 166 kyong, for 7th grade, 125 kyong, for 6th grade land, 100 kyong, up to 1st grade land, then 50 kyong. The grades entered erroneously (??) is also all estimated by copying from this. (?) Fractional amounts of land will be calculated in marc (mune).?}

As for yearly adjustments because of crop damage, each magistrate after inspecting and determining other land will make tax collections in accordance with how heavy or light the official taxes are. In all cases the land will be lined off for determining (taxes? grants), as when the land was first apportioned and granted. (?) There will be no further transfers (of land) because of reclamation. The same situation will apply to military land (yong) land, military garrison land (chin), school, and post-station land.

Those people who receive royal tax grants (sase), if they want to exempt the land that they received and calculate and determine the rest from people's land (minjon), take into consideration the tax receipts from one person; you cannot divide it up into two places (parts).
The grant of tax (lands) to merit subjects will be modelled after this, but how much will be determined at the time in accordance with the degree of merit earned. In general, tax grant land (sase) may be transmitted to sons and grandsons (descendants). It will be granted to the eldest son of the legitimate wife (chokchang) and jointly (held) by the main line of the lineage (chongjok). But if (the son of the main line) lives in a different place, then the inheritance will be divided into three parts; two thirds will be distributed equally among the surname grandsons (descendants), and the eldest son of the main line will get an extra third. In the case of princes and merit subjects, (inheritance of the prebendal sase grant) will be limited to the great grandson, and to sons in the case of princesses of kings. (If the great grandsons of princes and merit subjects and sons of princesses of kings die early and their sons inherit the responsibility of making sacrifice, then grants will be limited to their sons.) 30 kok of land for performance of sacrifice will not be limited to daughters of the crown prince; they will stop at great grandsons.

The receipt (of taxes) from the royal prebendal land grants (sasejön) will be in accordance with the regulations for office land (chikchön) in the Yi dynasty Code (Taejön) (Kyongguk taejön?), and the same as other taxes, will be paid to the magistrate's granary and will be exchanged for stored grain [which will be given to the recipients of the prebend]. If descendants of recipients of royal prebendal grants (sase) commit a crime that ought to be control of the dealt with (punished), (the prebend) will be transferred to the/second son of the legitimate wife.

Some people might ask, isn't a prince too young to be given 12 kyong of land? I would reply that it is an ancient principle that the taebu (ta-fu) do not engage in agriculture. The household of...
a prince, how could it engage in agriculture. But in the present age, every body has land; if the scholars (sa) and taebo (officials) have already been granted land (chöngjon), therefore the princes should also not be without land grants (chöngjon), and this, too, has been very great (in number). The receipt of land by the house of a prince ought to be small (in amount?); the grant of a royal prebend (sase) ought to be superior.

(Note: If the receipt of land is small, then you eliminate the expecting evil of (princes?) searching for land and waiting for a palace (myöchöng taewö).) (END OF NOTE)

Some might say that the princes and merit subjects already have their salaries and hence also receive land, so that in addition to make them special prebendal tax grants (pyöchöng sase) would be to add an annoying regulations (kwajo). If taegun were given 80 kyöng of land, and kun, kongju, and ongju were given land in (descending) rank order, then all were granted tax exemptions, and also if they were required to meet military service requirements or (wealthy) soldiers were sent out to be their retainers, and if they were allowed to pass on their land hereditarily, but their descendants not be given special land grants and the inherited portions not be as much as would be equivalent to their rank, then only after that would each receive land in accordance with his grade (kwa) as in the regulations. If the merit subject land were also modelled after this, then how would that be?

I say that military service is (determined) by the extent of land (possessed), and taxation (is determined) by the quality of land (possessed). If the princes and merit subjects taxed the same, then the exemption from military service will not be equal. If they are subject to the same military service (requirements), then the exemption from (land) tax will not be equal. Also the inherited portions of their
Some might say that: Princes and merit subjects already are provided with salaries, and in addition receive land grants (sujōn), so that if you also establish another special categories of prebends (pyōl chōng sase), wouldn't that be a bothersome regulations? If (instead) you were to allot 80 kyōng of land to a taegun, and decreasing sizes of allotments to kum, kongju, and ongju, exempt all of them from the se (land tax) and also require that military service be performed by their retainers (pangdang), and permit the land to be passed on hereditarily to their sons and grandsons, but without making other separate grants of land to the sons and grandsons, until such time as the bequeathed portion of inherited land was less than the rank allotment the heir was entitled to, and only after then would each of them receive a land allotment (sujōn) in accordance with his rank, in accordance with regulations; and also that we could copy this for merit-subject land as well. How about that?

To this I would reply: In general military service is determined by the area of land and taxes are determined by the quality of land. If the princes and merit subjects are allowed to pay the same land tax, then the exemption from military service would not be (would have to be?) equal; and if they were permitted to have the same military service requirements, then the land tax exemption would be (would have to be?) unequal. Furthermore, if you allow the inherited portion of the sons and grandsons to decrease in size and then give them a supplemental land grant to bring their land allotment up to the size they are entitled to by rank, then the land received by a single individual would contain some land that was tax-exempt and some that was taxable. And when he received an additional allotment, his holdings would be fragmented and difficult to unify. This would be extremely difficult to carry out.

Someone says that: If you use minjōn (people's land) for granting the sase (prebends) and only allow the recipient to consume
the taxes while being obliged to provide soldiers (for military service), then it would be like ordinary regulations. This prebend (sase) would not be permitted to be divided among his ordinary sons (from the second son on), but would be exclusively inherited by the eldest son of the legitimate wife (ch'okch'ang) until the last generation that royal status was retained (taejin), and then the prebend (sase) would be taken in (su: by the authorities) and each (soke: heir) would receive a regular land allotment (sujon) in accordance with his rank (category). If it were done like this, then how about that?

I would say: This is close to the ancient system and seems to be well regulated and equal, but it is only that the ts'ai-ti (fiefs) of ancient times combined overlordship over the people (as well as the grant of land). At the present time, even though they (the recipients) would consume the taxes from the prebend, they would not be exempted from military service (providing soldiers). If it were done like this, then it would seem that although it were designed to benefit them (give them superior treatment) cause them difficulty in fact it would have the effect of injuring them. Moreover if you think of the matter, there are also many aspects of it that are inconvenient (note: There would be many cases where if there was no land, a person would not be able to obtain a small piece of land for the graves of his parents. There are many situations that would occur like this (if the above plan were adopted). I consider the above law to be most fair and without obstruction. Even though it would seem to have many aspects to it, the essence is that land grants (sujon) and land tax exemption (myönse) are combined in one (go together) and are not bothersome. As for land and exemption from military service or exemption from (land) taxes, there are there is a logic (chori) for each provisions pertaining to each, and in no case are they not equal and uniform, in accordance with human feelings and easy to implement.
exemption from military service, and exemption from (the land) tax.

Everything would be have its logic, and everything would be equal and uniform and accord with human feelings, and easy to implement.

If you try talking about the current situation, the families of merit subjects already have their land and also have their tax-exempt land, and they have salaries, so that this also could be said to be complicated, but is not seen to be complicated.

Generally speaking, to act in accordance with the times and in accordance with human feelings in restricting (cheon, regulating) and making it equal in allowing each man his share would be the best method.

(Note: This case prebendal system is an idea inherited from the ancient system of dividing land (yolt'o), but what about the limitation on generation (inheritance?) of the present? In the former case there were no (tax) collections, but in the latter, there was no end (to them?), so even though in the grand situation of the world there are limits (to things when they became exhausted, used up), if you look at the (situation) in the Han and Chin dynasties, none of them had permanent and hereditary (landholding).

One's descendants generally were not counted beyond one or two generations, and then cut off in accordance with the situation. At the present time when the granting of fiefs (ponggon) has not yet been reestablished, to cut off upper (generations?) from lower in accordance with the situation has its drawbacks. It would be preferable to regulate this with a fixed law to make sure that both public and private interests are made secure; therefore I have determined (a plan) like this. But temporary adjustments; at any given time these matters only depend on how the laws are at one time, they are not involved in the land system (as such). (END OF NOTE)
Even though the princes and merit subjects ought to be given prebendal grants (sajon) so that they might consume the income, we must be careful not to allow the practice of royal grants of land (sajon) to begin. (That is, special royal land grants (pyōlsajon) in addition to these regulations (presented by mer here)). Once this path is opened, then there will be no way to rectify later evils. The destruction of the Koryô land system was because of this.

The tu-čok system of land measurements has held since the ancient past that there were 10 tu per kok. It is only in this country that 15 tu have constituted one kok. If you want to follow the customs of the country in calculating numbers and make it 15 tu per kok, it would not basically be correct (kyŏngbop). Not only would it (leave) strange fractions when accounts were kept, but it would be difficulty to use this throughout (universally) in determining land (prebendal grants). The kyŏng-mu system also leaves some surplus (fractions--in calculations), therefore I follow the 10 tu per kok system in making calculations. This ought to be ordered and everything be modelled after this. This position is explained in full in the regulations for weights and measures. (Note: The kok is equivalent to the sŏk. In ancient times they did not treat the kok as the same as the sŏk, but since the Ch'in dynasty, the kok was used for sŏk, so because of this there would be nothing to prevent using this appellation.) (END OF NOTE)

The kyŏl-bu system will be changed for the kyŏng-mu. (Note: This country's kyŏl-bu system is basically not a method inherited (from olden times?). It if you carry out kongjŏn (official or public land), it is even more necessary to make changes and use the kyŏng-mu system. Under the kyŏng-mu system, each grade of land tax (corporate to provincial system)
area is the same, but there are differences in the grades of tax. This means that land is taken as the base. In the kyŏl system the amount of each grade of tax is the same, but there are differences in the area of the land. This means that taxation is taken as the main emphasis. At the present time only the land tax is collected from land, and for military service an investigation is made of adult able-bodied males. People who have land do not necessarily have military service, and people who have military service do not necessarily have land, so that land and people are divided in two (as far as taxation is concerned), and still you can use the kyŏl-bu system. The khak kongjon (state or official land—national ownership?) system equalizes people with land. It assesses military service by calculating land. Those who have land must also have military service, and those with service requirements must have land, so that both land are people are combined in one. We must the kyŏng method in order to rectify land boundaries, then later things will be made equal. (kyun). (END OF NOTE)

The ancient kyŏngmu system: (See above this has been determined on)

x 6 feet made one pace (po). (note: every pace is thus 6 feet square, and the actual area would be 36 (square) feet.) 100 paces make 1 mu (note: actual area, 3600 (sq) feet). 100 mu make 1 kyŏng (actual area 360,000 (sq) feet)

The kyŏng-mu system currently used in China. (note: in the ancient system 100 paces made 1 mu; since the Ch' in and Han, 240 paces make 1 mu) 5 feet make 1 pace (po) (note: every pace is thus 5 feet square, or 25 sq feet); 240 paces makes 1 mu (mou) (ik actual area, 6,000 sq feet), 100 mu makes 1 kyŏng (in actual area 600,000 sq feet)

(According to ancient practice, 6 feet made 1 pace. Now 5 feet makes 1 pace, therefore, the ancient 1 li was 300 paces for 1 li, and now it is 360 paces for 1 li.)
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The kyŏl-bu system as used in this country. Land is divided into 6 grades, and the land (measurement) feet are of different sizes. All of them take 10 feet square as a pu and 100 pu as a kyŏl. (1 kyŏl for each grade (of foot) means that each kyŏl is 100 feet square, with the true area being 10,000 square feet.

Each 1st class kyŏl is equivalent to 36 mou at presently in use in China. (The length of the foot is the Chou foot, which is ch'ŏk, ch'ŏon, 4 feet, 7 inches, 7 pun, 5 ri.)

2nd grade land is equivalent to 44 mu 7 pun (length of the foot is 5 ch'ŏk, 1 ch'ŏon, 7 pun, 9 ri)

3rd grade land is 54 mu 2 pun (length of foot is 5 ch'ŏk, 7 ch'ŏon, 3 ri)

4th grade land is 69 mu (length of the foot is 6 ch'ŏk, 4 ch'ŏon, 3 pun, 4 ri)

5th grade land is 95 mu (length of the foot is 7 ch'ŏk 5 ch'ŏon 5 pun)

6th grade land is 152 mu (length of the foot is 9 ch'ŏk 5 ch'ŏon 5 pun)

(Note: This system was taken over by this dynasty at its founding from the Koryŏ system with some adjustments in it. At first the old system of 57 mu per kyŏl was used. In a very good crop year (sangsangnyŏn) the amount of grain produced was investigated. 1st class land produced mu 85 sŏk of unhulled rice (that is, kŏmsŏk) [3/20], and the tax rate was 1/20 (5%), the tax being 30 sŏk (the only trouble with this is that a 5% tax on 80 sŏk would be 4 sŏk, not 2 sŏk—unless the tax is on hulled rice, which is half the amount in volume of unhulled rice). Every grade of land involved a reduction of 12 sŏk per grade in productivity. (I have organized the info into a chart, supplying the volume productivity by my own calculations, subtracting 12 sŏk from 80 sŏk for each grade of land:}
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Grade of land (unhulled (hulled tax) rice prod) rice) rate is 5% (mod.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Unhulled Rice Prod (sŏk)</th>
<th>Hulled Tax Rice</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>80 sŏk</td>
<td>40 tu (2 sŏk)</td>
<td>30 tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>34 tu</td>
<td>25 tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28 tu</td>
<td>21 tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22 tu</td>
<td>16 tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16 tu</td>
<td>12 tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10 tu</td>
<td>7 tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you estimate on the basis of this grain to make calculations, you add on 20 tu for the same grade (?), and in determining (the area) of kyŏl, 1st class land is 38 mou, up to 6th grade land which is 152 mou (mi). (END OF NOTE)

In considering the ancients, government was based on taking care of cultivating the people (yangmin), therefore the determination of land (ch'ŏngjo) (for the purpose of granting it to the people) was done on the basis of a calculation of their strength. All land was 100 mou. (all land grants?) In later ages only land tax was collected from the land, so that the kyŏl was determined by dividing the amount of tax in accordance with the amount of tax paid, the same grade (was used) in determining the kyŏl. Under the kyŏng method of measurement, the area of the land is the same, but there are grades of tax in accordance with the fertility of the land. (This means that land is taken as the main emphasis. The terms, kyŏng, and mu, both indicate the amount of land.) Under the kyŏl system, the taxes are all the same, but in accordance with the fertility of the land, the area (of the kyŏl) varies. (This means that taxes are taken as the main subject, and the terms, kyŏl and pu, both indicate the amount of tax collected.)

One can thus see from this how the intentions of the ancient laws since ancient times were divided. If you talk about the pros and cons, advantages and disadvantages, then the kyŏng system of land area is easy to rectify, but there are special categories for each grade of tax quota and there is no fear that land will escape or
In the kyǒl system, the amount of tax is easy to grasp, but there are differences in the land area (per kyǒl of each grade of kyǒl); there is nothing to be feared from proliferation of account ledgers, but even though the officials may make clear the exemptions and hiding of land (from taxation) it is difficult to maintain surveillance over it.

In general the kyǒl system is equivalent to the t'i (ch'e) (fundamental, substance), or the pon (root), and the kyǒl system is equivalent to the yung (yong) (practical use), or the mal (end, tip, branch). If calculated by making clear the root, then the numbers will all be before your eyes and the practical utility (yung) will reside in it. If you hold on to the branch and hand it down to the matter of drawing land boundaries, then the basic land will be in confusion and there will be no way to investigate and rectify it. (Note: It is not that the kyǒl method does not have "feet figures" (numbers in feet); it is only that they are only recorded in the ledgers and are not equal in land area. Another shortcoming and complication is that in making additions or subtractions, the official cannot make thorough investigation, even less so in the case of the land and people.

If the officials cannot investigate thoroughly and the people cannot know use deceit to completely, then it is easy for the clerks (sōri) to obstruct the investigation. If you want to eliminate the corruption of the clerks, you do not have the power to do so. This is why there is no place that does not have the evils of bribery, improper requests, illicit exemptions, and fraud, and in the end the taxes are also (not levied) equally.) (END OF NOTE)
In considering the control of land, there is nothing better than the kyŏng method, and nothing is worse than the kyŏl method. Even if we cannot implement the nationalization of land (kongjon), still it would be best to reform the kyŏl-bu system and adopt the kyŏng-mi system. In general, if the linear foot for the measurement of land area is unified, then the fractions (of that foot) will be clear, and thus it will be easy to make clear and visible any gradations that are not clearly made, and they can be rectified after the fact.

But under the present kyŏl system, if once the granary clerks divide (the measurements) (small parcels) up (the land) into classifications, it is easy to make errors. Then when (the fractionated land parcels) are combined to make a kyŏl, it is not easy to see the errors. Even though one may be aware of it, it is still difficult to rectify it after the fact. (Note: At present there are errors in the grades (tangje) and many people have unequal (portions of land), but they say that the crop produced from the parcels is uniform (when it isn't), therefore the small people alone suffer from inequalities and are much concerned about the mistakes in the grades (subdivisions). Also, if you want to rectify this, the records of kyŏl parcels have already been entered onto the land registers, so that if you change the tang (grade, classification)(of kyŏl) in one place, you have to make changes in all the rest of the places, and this is why it is difficulty to rectify.) (END OF NOTE)

If in calculating the amounts of tax the grades (of kyŏl) were clear (and correct) and the law was done regularly (in accordance with regular order), then both the officials and the peoples would be aware of it and what difficulties would there be in maintaining surveillance? Some people think that in this country since the Samban period this method was in comprehensive use, so that it is now difficult to tolerate any discussion (criticism) of it. This is mistaken. I have read the statement of King T'aejo of the Koryŏ dynasty, which said: "The lord of
The people wanted 1 kyōng of land, (levied) a tax of 6 sōk. Also in the biography of Pak Yong-gyu (朴英規), it states: "Once T'aejo had pacified the spirits (country), he granted Yong-gyu 1,000 kyōng of land." Thus the name, kyōl-bu, must have originated after this.

Also when a land survey was carried out in Munjong's reign of Koryŏ († 1046-83; ca. 1049), the various grades in number of feet and the area of land was all the same, but the taxes varied in accordance with the quality of the land, thus the regulation that called for variance in the size of the land (unit?--the kyōl), must have been created in the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty, and not in the Samhan.

Furthermore, we should only be discussing whether (this reform) is proper or not. What difference does it make whether it began in the Samhan period or not?

Also some people say that there are many mountains and valleys in our country and that the rivers and land are not flat. This is also knowing one thing and not knowing two (???) Even though there are high and low, broad and narrow places in the topography, if you measure the land in feet to determine the area in mu, it will be uniform. How much more so in controlling fractions of land (yōjōn).

Then even though you have one mu or half a mu, there is also no harm. How could the world have produced the kyōl-bu system and not produced the kyōng-mu system of land(measurement)? You do not have to wait for a genius to know this.

There are also those who consider that if we change an old law, it will cause many people inconvenience, but this is even more wrong. We would just be swapping kyōng for kyōl; that's all. The people's taxes still come from the actual same thing. It would only cause trouble to the ruler and his ministers because they have never
P'angye surok (kвпн 1)

tried it before. What inconvenience would there be for the people?
(Note: When it would first be implemented, even though you would
not avoid some complications and concern, it would not be more than
the problems caused by a taxonomy cadastral survey at the present time.
The mountains and valleys of the state of Shu(蜀) were not flat. It is
not only our country (that is that way), but I have never heard that
the "mu" system could not be applied because of mountains and valleys.
One can also see the statement of Chu-ko (偽) and Wu-hou (武侯 )
that in Ch'eng-tu(成都), there was 15 kyōng of thin (poor) land.)

There is a reference in Chu Hsi's Kyōngyejang(經界狀 )
which says: "As for the numbers of feet in surveying land, for every
mu of "土地 establish so many wen (分) of cash in taxes in accordances
with 9 grades (of taxes). Thus in China, even though they did not
did not carry out the well-field system, in their land system, they
still determined land area in po and mu (feet and mou), and
had nine classifications for tax purposes. I湖南 criticize Korea for
not reaching (the heights achieved by) China since ancient times in
various matters. Only after reforming (this) can it be said that
the so-called Ch'i (state of Ch'i?) is completely changed into Lu (state
of Lu). (??)

Also if you look at Kang Hanggam's? Kanyangnok(康弘齋 看羊錄 )
which contains a description of the Japanese land system. The Japanese
say that five of their feet in length makes 1 kan(間 ), and 55
kan makes 1 cho(町 ), and 36 cho makes 1 ri(里 ). One Japanese
ri is equivalent zm in length to 10 Korean ri. Paddy land they call den(田 )
and mountain (dry) land they call (山 ). The whole country is divided
into 66 zhu shu(十 ), and from east to west it is 415 ri in length,
and north to south, 80 ri (that is in their country's ri). They have
92,000 kō (hyang: 陽 :that is, wherever there is a castle and a moat).
They have 109,856 townships (ch'on), and 899,160 cho(町 ) of land (rice land),
and 112,148 cho of dry land (旱 ). (It is also said that their male
population is 1,994,828 and female population is 2,914,820 (4.8 million)

But even though the Japanese have vulgar (mean) barbarians throughout the islands they are still able to fix boundaries in making calculations about land and keep clear the figures of land and population.

Is it that a country known for its respect for rites and righteousness is not as good as a country: an island of barbarians?

(Note: It is also said that when a minister in Japan has earned merit, they apportion a piece of land and give it to him as under regulations for enfeoffment (ponggon). The peasants receive their land from the shuto (recipient of the land) to cultivate it and collect the harvest, and they pay their taxes (to) feed (them?).

1,000 sok of land is sufficient to support 50 troops, and 10,000 sok of land provides for 500 men. They take this as the standard, but this is (used to support) leaders and followers, the soldiers who do not engage in agriculture, so that the collections are very heavy.) (END OF NOTE)

In managing the land, everything should be divided off in squares to make mǔ (Note: As for plains, even though there may be high and low spots, there is no obstacle. Everything can be marked off in squares in accordance with the high and low places. Even in hilly areas and valleys, there does not have to be extreme adjustments; it must also be done like this.) (END OF NOTE) It is only in cases of land mg adjacent to mountains and near rivers where the shape is ( vulgar ) that you cannot mark it off into squares. In such places, follow the shape. In making squares, cut off some places and add to others to accomplish in it in places where it cannot be done. Or you can count 10 mǔ, and perhaps have 1 or 2 mǔ left over...

Except for land that cannot be cultivated, such as mountains, swamps, and deserts, all should be surveyed using the kyŏng, but as for fallow land (chinjŏn) which is not received (given out?),
it will be called *hwang* (荒; ruined); as for that which has been for a long time far (distant?), call it *kuhwang* (久荒; ruined for a long time) and record it in the land registers under each kyŏng as is done in the land registers at the present time.

The officials in charge of land surveys in the present age always are concerned about shortages, and they force the determination of "additional kyŏl" (kagyŏl 增額), therefore the clerks (kamsaek 計算) of survey not only for that reason raise the grade of land *kum* and *shik* thereby increase the kyŏl, but if they happen upon land adjacent to mountains or near to swamps, they record much of it as *chin'gyŏl* (陳給; fallow land) in order to fill up the numbers (quotas). This is so because of the lack of land boundaries and those higher and lower mutually steal each other's (property). If we change the kyŏl to kyŏng, and everything (is measured) in *faakt* po (paces) and ch'ŏk (feet), then land boundaries will be clear, and those high and low will all have land to rely on. Strive to require that everything is in accordance with the facts, and be strict in prohibiting the leaving out or hiding (of land), and know that we have a uniform law.

Some might say that not only are taxes (dependent on) the kyŏl method, but also that food for the people comes from it; and if in accordance with the present kyŏl, we follow the different sizes (of it), then how about (just) rectifying land boundaries?

I say that 100 mu is what one man can manage with (his own) labor.

(Note: The Kuo-yü (國語) (says) that former kings registered land in accordance with labor (ryŏk) and marked with a stone? (polished? noted) what was near and far and footnoted it in accordance with labor, so that 1 man received 100 mou of land.) (End of note)

If it is not that upper (class) land is difficult to manage while lower (class) land is easy to manage, then basically you cannot allow there to be difference.
Furthermore in rectifying the land boundaries, you want to clarify the division of numbers (fractions? punsu). You must make uniform the linear measure, and only then will the fractions (punsu) be clear. This is why the land grades of the present only make grades in the taxes, and cause errors (in doing so). If in rectifying and changing it is it is still difficult to obtain the right men for it, how much more difficult is it to rectify land boundaries after the fact? (Note: Supposing it is done like this, then what is seen at one time is increased or decreased in determining the kyŏng. Once the increases or decreases (in land area?) are made, it will mean that much land will permanently be made equal and appropriate. Even though sages would not be able to do a thorough and correct job on the land of one myŏn. How much less so considering that there is a thousand or ten thousand (unit amount of land?) in a myŏn and the officials in charge are not necessarily sages? If also above there are no standards to be relied upon, then below private land will be permitted; then there will be mutual doubt between those above and those below, and each will rob the other many times over 2 (?). And this will give rise to private confusion. If it is done like this how will the law not be this (kind) of law? Generally speaking laws should prize simplicity and ease for a matter to be well regulated. If it is not simple and well regulated and you let people each (follow) their own (way) and not (?), both in past and present it will not be done right.) (END OF NOTE)

Whether people are wealthy or poor does not depend exclusively on land; it also depends on whether people are diligent or lazy. From year to year there are also changes/(differences) based on flood, drought, high, or low (land). Whether things are done right or wrong depends on the way a sage handles things, he makes equal (what can be
made equal and strives to do what can be done right, and that is all there is to it. If you have land (delinfeated) on four sides that differs greatly (with each parcel). As long as you don't have people who rest from cultivation and do not feed (themselves), then you can allow double (the amount of) kyŏng kyŏng to be granted and allow other people to cultivate it (and it: t'aejeon). When it comes to making the kyŏng, you have to do it uniformly in paces and feet, and make increases and reductions in accordance with grades, and basically be desirous of equalizing the people (kyŏmmin). If you open up the gates of inequality, not only will this give rise to evils at the time, it will also give birth to harm for 10,000 generations.

In the method of determining kyŏng, if you happen upon roads and streams, in every case they must act as boundaries for the making of kyŏng. (Note: In the case of roads and small dikes that cut across the land, then allow transfers within a boundary (limit) of 2 kyŏng. If it is an official road or a river or stream, then in every case make this a boundary in determining kyŏng, but if the land is not sufficient, make it fractional land (yŏjon). If you run up against streams and ( ), then judge whether the condition is light or serious with regard to the boundary, and in many cases 1 or 2 paces outside the boundary can be used to provide for deficiencies. When making the surveys, if there are places where there is fractional land left over (yŏjon), then follow the secondary (method) of pacing it off. Even though it crosses over streams, roads, or hills, it can be accomodated to the condition of the land, so that in light of the number of mu of this yŏjon, you can also make yŏjon (left over fractional plots), and regard it all as equivalent to 1 kyŏng. Only after doing it like this, where you have many places that cannot be made into kyŏng because of mountains and hills, you can avoid strange faction and the difficulty evils involved in places where it is difficult to make it uniform. (che ) (END OF NOTE.)
Some say that if the king of land is like paddy land, you have complications caused by streams, hills, rocks and hills, and if it is dry land, then you have such things as streams, hills, rocks and hills, and also roads that cut across where you cannot transfer (the land?)—so what about that?

My response is that if you have things like this, if they are as small and minute as this, then even though you might have some small (discrepancies) in uncultivated land, there will not be do things in accordance with the many disputes about it. We ought to do things in accordance with what is cultivated, and land boundaries are not correct, but the situation will not allow for not calculating and eliminating such things as lumps of earth, uncultivable in rice paddies, and hills and rocks in dry fields. Even though these areas may not be small and minute, you can allow people by their efforts to open up new land to supplement it. That is, at present, much of the land is not well regulated. All of it ought to be correctly (measured) in king; you cannot make additions and subtractions. (Note: As for such things as and hills, once the land system has been established for a long time, then naturally there is a gradual expansion of cultivated land by the labor of the people, usually in flat places. At present much of the land is not well regulated, but once the land boundaries are completed, it will be difficult to change for a hundred generations, and whatever harm there is will become permanent. That is why you cannot add paces (to the standard king dimensions) like this. You should only calculate the land that is not cultivable and exempt it from taxation. Also you might in assessing it, lighten (reduce) its grade, in order to give it favorable treatment.)
This is not something that can be accomplished by human labor (alone), you have to calculate the amount in accordance with standards, and add paces (extra paces) to make a kyŏng. But this will easily produce evils. You must clearly note the cause and record it in the land registers. (Note: In the land registers under the entry for the kyŏng, you must note that in the kyŏng (area), there are (lumpy areas? obstructions? ), ponds, and hills, or cliffs (rocks), roads that cut across, or empty and abandoned places, or paces (po) and how many they are in area, and you add in the number of and paces (po).) (END OF NOTE) to provide a reference for making choices.

If there are places where there is a great or many obstructions, then you ought to regard it as (miscellaneous, fractional leftover land), and also not treat it according to these regulations. Generally speaking, if you add paces (extra area) in making a kyŏng, then the land (measurement) system regulations will be changed; it is not necessary, and you should be careful lest it be allowed to be changed to use this.

(Note: In making a law you must be uniform. Within 1 kyŏng even though there are places that cannot be cultivated, you ought only to exempt it from taxation, but in drawing boundaries, you cannot because of this increase or decrease the area. (of the areal measurement unit ). In places like this, irrespective of whether you can allow people by their labor (to cultivate it or not), it should all be measured and determined in accordance with the standard pace (measurement). But if the land that cannot be used is large in area, then it should be treated as misc. (fractional) land ( ). If it is done like this then the kyŏng system will be correct. This then is the way to greatly open up the labor of the people. If, however, you only grasp one (aspect of it) and do not make it comprehensive, then
the production of the people will be lacking and small in many cases. Moreover in mountainous areas, 80-90% of the land will be yŏjŏn, and this will also be difficult to handle. In the three ancient ages, even though princelands (kuo) were endowed with 50 or 70 li, they could not determine the mts and rivers, flatlands and precipitous places, therefore all of it was calculated as chŏn (田: cultivable land?), and they did not calculate it as (plain) land (? chi地). From this it can also be seen.) (END OF NOTE)

In setting land boundaries, you must strive to make it uniform and correct, and also it is not necessary to be in a big rush to do it all at one time. At first when the land survey starts, first in general signposts begin regulating (things) in accordance with the inserted stickers (sapp'yo), and then in subsequent years the spaces that gradually are under cultivation will each be sealed off and diksan (surrounded with) dikes and ditches by the farmer. (Note: The sealing of the land (pong't'o: 封土) will be done either by opening up dikes, or by piling up stones, in accordance with the circumstances. Each kyang of territory will have a small ponggu (sealing ditch), and each chŏn (田) of territory will have a large ponggu (sealing or boundary ditch). In making the land survey, for small ditches, leave a pace and a half and for large ponggu (ditches), leave 3 paces (for the construction of ditches or dikes?). If originally there is a road, then 12 paces for a state road (kungnok 国路) ... and 9 paces for an official road (kwanno 官路) (for communication between two local magistrates), and 6 paces for a village road (hyangnok ... 饕餮), and 3 paces for a village road (iro) (for a thoroughfare between villages, this ought to begin from a large boundary ditch (ponggu) ...). A deputy from the magistrate (suryŏng kyŏngch'agwan 孝令発差官) will make the rounds of the fields to investigate. (Note: Every fall the magistrate will inspect...in-}

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P'angye on land reform -40- P'angye surok (kwŏn 1)

P'angye on land remrn

-40-
P'angye surok (kwŏn 1)
as in the case of the present regulations for the repair and maintenance of roads. And also a commissioner (Kyôngch'agwan) will make the rounds enforcing the law and making punishments of those who failed to keep the law. Also have each myön copy out the land registers for their myön and prepare a land foot (measure) and store it, and let everybody inspect it and see it easily so that everybody knows that the land boundaries are right.) (END OF NOTE)

In my opinion at the present time if all matters pertaining to the people are not made urgent, then everything is forgotten and abandoned. If it is like this with regard to small matters that are not done, then how much more important is it with regard to a very important matter like the land boundaries that are involved with the state and people for 10,000 generations? Truly if this is done with a sincere mind and gradually, and is not forgotten or abandoned, then when and it is first established, it will have results, but by 6 or 7 years later the land boundaries will all be completely firm and can be maintained forever. (Note: Some say that if you don't draw the land boundaries all at once, then you cannot avoid the evil of people privately invading each other's territory. I say to this that once the people each have received their yearly (allotments?), how will they trespass on each other? At the present time the land boundaries have not completely been fixed; the people each have received difficulty, and still they do not trespass against each other, so it is not necessary to be overly concerned about this (doing it gradually). Generally it is in the nature of people not to forget and abandon (matters pertaining to land boundaries?), so if one is urgent about this rectification, it will still not be much aid in cultivating rice plants (?). (END OF NOTE)

According to the Chou-li(周礼)( section on managing fields (反治野), among the people (夫) there are sui (道路 :highways),
and above the sūi there are ch'ing (径) : byways. Every 10 men (shippū) have a ditch (溝), and above the ditch there are chen (蹊: raised paths between fields). Every 100 men (fu) have a hsi (洫: ditch), and above the ditch there is a t'ū (涂) or path. Every thousand men have a kua (濬: drain), and above the kua there is a t'ao (道: road). 10,000 men have a river (川), and above the river there are lu (路: roads). The sūi, kou, hsi, and kua are all thoroughfares by which carts go to the capital. The ch'ing is big enough for oxen and horses; the chen allows large carts; the t'ū permits 1 track chariots; the t'ao permits two tracks; the lu permits 3 tracks. (And thus) the system of a sage is well established even if at the present time it cannot be done like this, we still must have pong, ku, kyong, and to (封, 閉, 徑, 道) to make boundaries.

Also in considering the ancients, great matters exclusively depended on this. What was called spending all one's energy on the ditches (kou and hsi), was just this.

Also according to Han Ku-am's Kijōn tosō (畿界圖說: Illustrated Explanation of Kija's land system), Kija's land system in P'yongyang established 70 mu as 1 ku (區), x 4 ku as 1 ch'ōn (田) (that is, in the shape of the character, ch'ōn). The roads that bounded the ku were 1 mu in width, and the roads that bounded the ch'ōn were 3 mu in width. Also the system of 4 ku making 1 tan (段) was also a system devised by the ancient sages.
When the people reach the age of 20 or over, they will receive land. (Note: If a household (people's household) has a lot of sons, then when they reach the age of 16 or over, they will receive special fractional land but are younger than 20, (yǒjŏn 餘田). If they want to receive a full share, then they must wait until the age of 20. Those who are residing in outside houses, if they are in the main line of succession, or have a father, or have the ēm privilege, each will receive fractional (lands) in accordance with their g rank (grade), altogether (totalling?) 2 kyông. After they enter the inner (main) household, they will receive additional amounts in accordance with the regulation.) (END OF NOTE)

A transferred official (chŏn'gwan 要官) who ought to receive land will receive extra amounts up to his x office rank (as in the case of rank 6 or 3). Clerks (iye 數部) receive land when they go on duty. (Note: in the case of the sosa(小史), even though they are not yet 20 years old, they also receive land because of their office) (END OF NOTE)

In the case of the household of one man (pu夫), above him he has a father and mother, and below he has a wife and son, making a standard household of 5 or 8 people, and he receives 1 kyông of land. If he has many sons, then at the age of 16 they receive fractional land (yǒjŏn 餘田), wait until they become adult males and establish a household, after which they receive in additional amount (up to) 1 kyông. If this is the system of the ancients. In general both (land) taxes and military (service) quotas are in accordance with this land (grant), then there is no limit established within the kyông area according to the number of able-bodied males or population, and yet everything it comes out equal by itself.

Everybody who is due to receive land has his grade. Everybody who hopes to receive land petitions the magistrate to determine what he will receive. (Note: Those people who are to receive land must obtain an empty space, and then they may hope for a designation (of land).
In general, land grants are not calculated by the magistrate on his own and given. If someone wants to receive land (he applies for it), and the magistrate just approves and his request. As for those people who subsequently receive wasteland (hwangjon 荒田), the magistrate again makes a survey and determines kyông (area), attaches a sticker to the register... or also establishes a separate register. (record) (END OF NOTE)

When the land is first divided and received, each (parcel) has its lord (owner, chu), and the land parcels are all included in the kyông that are received. Then it is in accordance with the amount (of land there is?).

When the land is first divided up and received, if in the kyông many people make application to get the same piece of land received, the land of many people is together included (in it), then follow the one with the most. (Note: If the land is the same (مَعْتَرَب) then do it in accordance with the one who has the most important official post. In ancient times when people received land together at the same time, preference was given to the poor over the wealthy. In general if the same land is desired by several people... give first preference to the household with the most people. (too small to read subnote).

If the number of people (in the households applying) is the same, then give first preference to those who have received inferior land. In determining population follow the hojok (don't do it unless they are registered). For the quality of the land, see the land registers (chǒnjok). (END OF NOTE)

All men, whether important or small (unimportant) will receive land from the magistrate where they reside. (Note: Gentry (sabu 大夫) who live in the capital and who want to receive land in the provinces will also be heard (by the local magistrate).) (END OF NOTE)

As for men exempted from military service and up, if they move to another (residence), their home magistrate will issue a certificate (ib'an 牒) which they will present to the magistrate in the place to which they have moved, after which they will receive (their land grant).
As for those who live in the capital but receive land in their towns in the provinces, the capital agency will set up a ledger and give them a certificate (ib'an). After it is received by the magistrate, he will carry out (the grant of land) in order to ensure that there be no double granting of land. (Note: Those who have received a royal prebend (ása) will be together (registered) in this ledger (which will be stored in) the Ministry of Taxation. People who have received land, it must be registered without regard to the amount, will not be able to receive shares of land in two villages.) (END OF NOTE)

If the recipient of land himself dies, then (his land will be returned). In the case of officials and scholars (taebu-sa), after three years the land will be (transferred?). (Note: After the funeral a report will be made, after three years another report will be made and the land will be increased (for the people living together with him).) (END OF NOTE). As for soldiers and people, after 100 days transfer? the land. (Note: This means people who have died before they became old and were eliminated (removed from land grants?), then after 100 days, report it to the magistrate and transfer? the land. Transfer receipts of land in fall and summer, but if seed has been planted, limit it to the fall. . ) (END NOTE)

As for their male descendants who inherit their grant, they are due to receive more than (his) grade. (Note: As in the case of a scholar due 4 kyōng, vs. kummin(soldiers and people) due 1 kyōng) (END NOTE) then allow other people to receive (some of the deceased's share). (Note: If people living with him or relatives want to receive it, then do not allow other people to do so. If people in the same village want to receive it, then do not allow people from other villages to do so. Even if relatives from other villages want it, let people from the same village (have it).) (END NOTE)

In the case of young and orphaned children, (note: in the case of
sons of scholars (sa) and below, let them be given all of it. In the case of sons of officials (taebu), let them also have 4 kyŏng.
As for officials of rank 2 and up, merit subjects, and those who died in the war who do not protect (get?) their father's land, do not make any special mention (of them). (END NOTE) Wait until they reach the age of 20 and give them a grant (a grant) in accordance with their grade. (Note: In the case of sons of sabu (scholars) who reach the age of 20 but do not study, and cannot gain entrance to school, only then give them a grant equivalent in grade to that of a commoner (mín).

As for girl children, after they marry return their (grant). (END NOTE)

If a man dies without male descendants, but his wife is still alive, give her a kubunjŏn (分田). (Note: In giving kubun grants, in the case of taebusa (officials and scholars), make it half their land. If officials of rank 6 and above, give the wife 4 kyŏng. If the wives of wife of a scholar (sa), give 2 kyŏng. For Ch'ungwangsaeng (增廣生) and members of the Ch'ung'ni (忠義) and Ch'ungsun'wi (忠順儒), give them 1 kyŏng. The wives of kummin (soldiers and people) and clerks will get 20 mu. For Ch'ungwangsaeng and above, the grants they receive will not include military service. For Ch'ung'ni members and below, their wives will receive land and will be liable for support payments (pogā 保安) (for soldiers). (END NOTE)

If an official of rank 2A and up dies and leaves a wife, then give her half his land. (Note: This means that even though he has male descendants, still give her half his land.) (END NOTE). Wives of merit subjects, clerks of reputation, those who have died in chastity and in war will get all the grant. (Note: Below I talk about soldiers who die during wartime. In all cases do it like when the man was alive. If the wife remarries with another man, return it.) (END NOTE)

I note that after her husband dies a wife follows her son and has
no obligation to take charge of the household, but the state treats its officials different from common people. Because they share in government and share the concerns (of the king), they exert an effort or the living people. Those who have earned merit in virtue, loyalty, righteousness in an outstanding way must be given good treatment, and that is why those who earn merit in dying (for the king) must have (land grants) applied to them when they leave alive. (Note: Some say about the heirs of the taebusa (officials and scholars) that the person himself is an official or scholar for the state, and that even though they were not liable for military service, it was like performing military service. Once they themselves die, even though their wives get half their land grant, they still must be liable for military service. (On the Land Grant)

I say (in answer to this) that the way of ancient kings is not transmitted for long, therefore virtue among the people must be treated well. That is why when an old horse dies, you (cover it?) with a skirt, duty requires that you give it thought. How much more so when a pu (official) dies without sons, a man who had maintained propriety throughout his life, how is it not what human morality should aid and cultivate? Moreover, in talking about the situation (involved here), those people who receive grants are all liable for military service, then even though they have their land, still it would be difficult for them to protect their households. In talking about the households of widows of scholars and officials at the present time, if their young members of their families were all liable for military service, really what would this be like for affairs? (End Note)

When a soldier (kunsan) reaches the age of 60, he is exempt from service and returns his land. (Note: If he has sons or grandsons or relatives who can stand in his place, then transfer the land (to them). If he is without sons or grandsons and wants to receive land as a support person (pobu), then after he attains the age
of 70 give him kubunjŏn of 20 mu, and transfer the leftover (yŏjon) one-fifth the 80 mu to his substitute. This 20 mu will also aid in paying/support tax (pogap). In general slaves of officials are liable for service, and return their land all are exempted from the registers/when reaching the age of 60.

Give kubun grants to those without sons and grandsons in accordance with regulations. As for those who once had service but were eliminated from service because of dismissal or sickness and have nothing to rely on, treat them the same way. As for those people who maintain kubun (grants) and transfer the yŏjon (rest of their original allotment) to others, whether they are their relatives or live together (with the substitute?) and mutually rely on others, entertain their request for a transfer and give them the grant. After the person dies (give the substitute) the entire grant. (END NOTE)

Widowers, widows, those left alone, orphans, and those dismissed for sickness, ought to have special pity taken on them by the state to support them, and in making grants of land and taking it back in accordance with the land system, that everything should be well ordered. This was the way of the ancients, but in using the land limitation method (hanjŏn) degrees of land once received, and with regard to the eight men who shared the well (of the well field system), small differences were permitted. Also in cases where people failed to make reports, it was difficult to (report) everything to the officials, and among them there were many who lacked livelihoods. For that reason I have adopted the systems of the T'ang and Koryŏ and established it like this.

Since the requirement of military service is based on land (grants), then in forming the ranks of soldiers, you must do it in the order of the villages. (Note: as for the cavalry, footsoldiers, and sog'ogun( ), even though each of them are formed into units on the basis of their military category, you should also form them according to their village.
Even though military service is based on land calculations, the military registers should record the name, age, identifying marks, and residence, in accordance with present regulations. The ancients based military service on land, therefore the ranks of troops were determined in the village (ri), and the military system was accomplished in the (suburbs?). Men in the ranks in general give each other mutual support. Their families and groups are mutually allied. They go about together in the places where they reside. They go together in going out and coming in. By humanity they can take pity on one another. By righteousness they can aid one another. They are separated in their clothing, and have knowledge of each other's sounds and voices. This is why in protecting (themselves), they are firm, and in fighting they are victorious. In later ages after the breakdown of the land system the way soldiers were control was only by investigating the able-bodied males and wherever they could be found enrolling them for service as substitutes. That is why in the district eastern myŏn were mixed with those from one village, the people in the eastern myŏn were mixed with the to form units. Western myŏn and in a province the people of the southern kun were mixed together with the people of the northern kun to form units. Even though it was said that it was the same unit and same rank, they were not mutually reliable in this situation. If the names of the myŏn were not mutual (the same), how could the spirit and intent be shared? Moved (from the village?) People who ran away hid their traces, and those who transferred (to other places) were allowed to live in peace by deceit. The military system was in confusion, therefore in approaching a crisis people could only run around in confusion. Even though you might have good people, still there was nothing that could be done. If (my) in land system is carried out, then the formation of men into military ranks ought to be done. We ought to do it by village. (end note) will furnish both cavalrymen and infantrymen will receive. Kyŏng and supply
one man as an infantry man to be on duty (ponsang), the cavalrymen will supply provide horses and will not serve on duty.

Note: The (common) people (min) all receive 1 kyong. Of four men who receive 4 kyong, one man will be the main subject (chu), and the other three will be support persons (pobu). Each support person will provide 12 tu of rice per year, or 2 p'il of cloth in order to aid the infantryman (on duty) who will serve on duty in eight periods (gun). The rice collection of one support person will be eliminated (while the man is on duty?).

While on duty the monthly salary (of the infantryman) will be 6 tu.

Cavalrymen will supply their own war horses and will not serve on duty but will train at home. Twice a month they will practice shooting (arrows), and will go on bivouac in spring and fall.) *(END) NOTE*

In the case of official and private slaves (ch'on) who are "outside residents" (oeg) and receive land, they will be sog'o gun (Jun) and will receive 2 kyong of land, and supply one man (for military service). They, too, will not go on active duty, but will train at home, xx in accordance with present regulations.

(Note: Outside resident official and private slaves must also receive land, but the system of the state is such that ch'on' in (base persons) can not be regarded as regular soldiers (ch'ongbyong), therefore a special sog'o gun unit was created. If within a 4 kyong area there are no commoners (yangmin), then 2 sog'o soldiers will be produced (required for duty). Support will be provided for each man in rice and cloth the same way as the regulations for support for regular soldiers (ch'ongun). In the case of official slaves who are enrolled as sog'o (gun), they all will be exempted from personal tribute (s'in'gong). In the case of private slaves, theirs will also be reduced to 1 p'il, the same as in support of able-bodied males. For other information details, see the "military system" (essay).
You must have sog'o soldiers, but at the present time commoners are regarded as regular cavalrymen and infantrymen. The official and private slaves organized into units are called sog'o-gun, therefore for the time being we refer to them in accordance with the present (usage).)

Some might think that it is not necessary to set up a special sog'o-gun (category), and that in conjunction with the 4 ky'ong (unit) for regular soldiers, they can simply be treated as regular troops. But I say that in both the land and military systems, the best way is to simply to have regular soldiers do it, but without changing the slave law, we cannot first confuse things and thereby cause disruption. If everybody is a regular soldier, than everybody ought to be formed into units (together), but if this is done, there will be much obstruction and difficulty. If we set up a special sog'o category, there will be nothing to obstruct present day practice.

Some say that since this law exempts from military service scholars in school (kyósa) and above, that they each out to be provided with support personnel (poso). (They also say) that the slave law ought to be reformed and also that private slaves ought to be required to provide military service the same as if commoners, but you can not exempt them completely from tribute (personal tribute payments), there will be one-sided difficult burdens (placed on them). I say that the law of hereditary slavery is basically something in the king's government that ought to be reformed, but this situation is not one that can be changed quickly, and until it is reformed, slaves must also receive land, so that even though (their burdens) will be lighter than before, still we cannot avoid some degree of excessive burden placed on them, for this is the way things are. There is nothing that can be done about it. In making plans for the present, we only ought
taxation equally carry out equally (apply to everyone equally).

the matrilineal slave succession law (chongmobop), and gradually there will no longer be the evil where slaves constitute a majority (of the population), and the system of former kings can be restored. This explanation is set forth in the essay on the military system and the article on slaves.

Naval troops (Sugun), as in the regulations for cavalrrmen and infantrymen, one man will be required for duty for every 4 kyong, but this will be required in seacoast areas near to the main headquarters or garrison. (Note: There are fixed quotas for oarsmen and grain transport sailors, which are allotted in coastal areas in the vicinity (of the unit). After the quotas are filled, the rest will be soldiers. If it cannot be done like this (if there are not enough men to fill the quotas?), set quotas scattered around in the mountain towns. With regard to able oarsmen, also require among official and private slaves that one man be designated for service for each kyong without support. Since their main occupation is the what profit they can obtain from the sea, it goes without saying that they will not receive a land (grant). Both commoners and slaves will furnish one man (for service) for every two. The other man will provide support and pay yearly 6 tu of rice or 1 pil of cloth as aid. As for grain transport sailors, every 3 kyong will furnish one man, and two men will provide support. For details see the section on grain transport and the military system.) (END NOTE)

Some say that in assessing military service, in every case it is based on land grants, but in the case of able oarsmen, even though they do not receive a land grant, they should be required to provide service. How about that? I say that with regard to soldier on board ship, they must be selected from people who have experience on the water, but that in most cases those people who live in coastal towns are mainly
occupied in fishing and salt manufacture, and they do not cultivate land. They can earn livelihood from the profits of the sea (more than) from the land. But even those engaged in fishing and salt manufacture must have their boats, their fishing weirs, their salt basins (flats) as their basic land (ponji), and only then can they work at obtaining benefits from them, which is also like the farmer’s possession of land.

With regard to the present directorates of capital soldiers (note: that is, the posu and madae 马队 of the capital), recruit them from people in the capital, provide them with regular salaries. They will not receive land. (note: the Togam capital soldiers (kyŏngbyŏng) were established in recent times. If they are not abolished, that it ought to be like this.)

As for such minor officials as the myŏnjuin (面主人) who encourages agriculture in each myŏn, the sahu(進督), ch'abigun(差備軍), mokcha(牧子), chinbu(津夫:fermen), xomba guards (chenting 陵寢guard), forest guards (kŏmsanji), shrine guards (sajik idanji), military agency attendants (moch'ŏngjik), they will all receive 1 kyŏng and will be exempted from cloth support taxes. (Note: According to the ancient law, anybody who received land was liable for military service, except if he personally had an official post, then he was exempted from military service, because having an official post was regarded as the same as performing military service. Since all of them receive 1 kyŏng, then each kyŏng provides 1 man for service. Exempting them from payment of cloth support tax is equivalent to exempting them from military service.

There are fixed quotas for the Suhogun, mokcha, sanjik, and tanjik 山道, 塔道). All will be given land from areas near them (their work). There will be no increases or decreases or transfers.

As for the beacon soldiers, it will be the same as this.
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As for the Ch'ambong (參奉), konggye (供餳), chegwan (雉官),
and chigong (支供; food offerings), every four of them (officiate for)
all of these are official expenses, and shall not be, as at present,
extracted from the Suhogun (守護軍). For details see  thix  (elsewhere in)
this essay. 

Each myónjuin in receives 1 kyóng of land and is also exempted
from the 20 tu basic tax (wónse). Since clerks (kaksap) and functionaries (kamgo)
in charge of forests, swamps, dikes, roads, bridges are not main
soldiers (that is to say, support personnel, pobu), it will be
determined that they will be exempted from the service required of

With regard to sanjik (山直) and kamgo (陽考) types, surveillance
will be maintained only over their responsibilities. It will not at all
be like the present where they are made responsible for miscellaneous
items. Also there will not be a monthly check and investigation. (END NOTE)

As for those people who in the inside (capital?) receive
military posts, and who are at present members of the various guards;
each will receive land in accordance with his basic rank. (To receive
a military post (Sugunjik, 使軍職) means that at present the person
does not have an actual post, but he has an appointment (yusoimja 有所任者).

The members of the various guard units (xkkx like the present Sóbok (wi)
(司僕衛) and the Urimwi (羽林衛) each have their basic grade (rank)
(ponkwa) as if they were xkkx carrying out an actual post. Then post
in accordance with their basic xkkx (ponjik, 本職), such types as
the naesasaeng (內金生), xkik (武選), and yóum (有蔭)
receive 4 kyóng (of land). The ch'únggwangsaeng (增廣生), Ch'ungčiwi
(忠義衛) and Ch'ungsunwi (忠順衛) receive 2 kyóng. The others
get 1 kyóng. All of these are not actual posts. They only receive
salaries when actually on duty in their posts, and are not included in
P'ungye on land reform -55-  P'ungye surok (kwŏn 1)

The changgwān (將官) and hyanggwān (郞官) of each administrative town will all copy this (regulation). (That is: This also will apply to the hyangggwan and hyangjŏng of each adm. town).

(Note 1: Hyangggwan will be chosen from former officials of rank 7 and below, and also from select sŏnse scholars (sŏnse students, and from (students?) of the naesa exempt from going on duty.

The hyangjŏng will be chosen from naesa ch'anggwān students exempt from going on duty (myŏnbon). For details see the section on local administration (the kun-hyon system).)

This (regulation) will also be copied with regard to the changgwān (將官) and kun'gwān (軍官). (note: The changgwān of each adm. town will be selected and appointed from among former officials, musŏn (武進) and ch'anggwān students exempt from going on duty, those with parents (yuch'in), those with the um privilege (yuŭim), and members of the Ch'ung'ŭi and Ch'ungsunwi. It will be the same for the Kun'gwān. In general, those people commissioned with a post, while on duty in their post have a basic duty position (ponbon), so for the exemption (exclusion) of the basic duty position, for details see the section on the kun and hyŏn (local adm.) and the military system.

The military posts (kunjik) basically ought to be eliminated. The kŏmnae and sugi (修衛) ought to be appointed from the people qualified as musŏn (武進), to be Naegŭi, but as for the other misc. posts, such as the Urim (위) and Sabok (박), they basically ought to be abolished. In this I am temporarily relying on the present situation in talking about it, and that is all.)

(END NOTE)

In general the fractional land (Yŏjŏn) (that is yŏgyŏng) is in every case fractional land in the vicinity; military service is required from all of it.
Note:
(Yǒng is also comprehensively calculated with the kyǒng standard, but with the exception of those who ought to be exempted from support in cloth taxes, you calculate in the vicinity 1 kyǒng, from which together 1 support tax (porga) is paid, based on the standard of one soldier for every 4 kyǒng. Within the kyǒng area, if perhaps because of divided grants there is not enough for 1 person, then follow this regulation.

HEADNOTE: If you have capital soldiers, then this means that all will be ordered to provide support cloth to be given to the capital soldier.

**URBAN AREAS**

Places where people congregate together in residence in general under the kyǒng method are referred to as yǒri (闕里). The land area in kyǒng is determined and taxes are paid in cloth.

The yǒri (yǒri) area is exempted from military service. (Note: Places where people's houses are located are called yǒri. The yǒrigyǒng (闕里元) is not based on grades of land. Each kyǒng per year p is required to pay 3 p'ull of cloth, or in hemp villages, it is paid in hemp; or in villages that produce silk, it is paid in 1 p'ull of silk, equivalent to 2 p'ull of cloth (cotton). (too small to read). Except for in excluding (making an exception of) military service requirements, the residents within the kyǒng once they have received land are liable for military service, therefore in this kyǒng they are exempted from support cloth taxes (pop'o 稅). (HEAD NOTE)

(Omit two headnotes)

As for yǒrigyǒng, about 20 households of the (common) people will be determined for 1 kyǒng. (Note: General within 1 kyǒng you can accommodate 40 people's households, but to determine 20 households is also to calculate for streets... (small note on dimensions of back streets, streams etc.) and for allowing fractional households (yǒhọ 養戶).
The site (for a house) for the (common) people was 2 and 1/2 rank mu, but in local village residences another 1/2 mu was added making 3 mu, because of plants (vegetables and roots?). In the case of sadaebau (scholars and officials), then the house site land will be determined for each of them on the basis of their rank. One of their houses will be equivalent to 2-3 (commoners) houses, or 7-8 (commoners) houses. (subnote: Village residences of 5 mu and above also are superior (because of) plants (growth, vegetables?). Extra land in accordance with grade will be given up to 4 mu for 2nd rank.)) (END NOTE)

For 40 houses then establish 2 kyŏng; for 60, then est. 3 kyŏng. If there is fractional land left over, then for each 16 houses and over add 1 kyŏng and wait for others to come. (Note: In the space between villages, for 8 houses and up, add 1/2 kyŏng. As for the other 50 mu, then temporarily treat it as fractional land (yǒjn).) (END NOTE)

In determining the kyŏng, the man in charge (that is the k'amguan) will discuss the situation with the villagers. If in the village you have disputes over east and west (direction, boundaries?), then follow the place where most people are residing. (Note: That is to say, at present many people have scattered about in their residences and do not form a yǒri (village community). In places like this you must go around the neighborhood and make calculations. Establish 1 kyŏng for every 20 houses. If people on the Eastern border want to establish a kyŏng in their residence and the Western border people also want to establish a kyŏng in their residence, and both dispute with one another, then first establish the kyŏng in accordance with the place where the most people reside.) (END NOTE)

Even though it results in the piling up of kyŏng, if the form of the land is connected (連), then you must connect the kyŏng in establishing them, you cannot leave intervals between.
If the land is narrow in shape and cannot be made into a kyŏng, then treat it as fractional land (yŏjn). On the basis of this, if we are talking of about 50 mu of fractional land, then make that equivalent to ten households. (Note: If in these narrow areas the residents are few and cut off, even though they are in the vicinity but in the end do not number 20 households, also permit ten households to be established on half a kyŏng.) (END NOTE)

If within the yŏrigyŏng (関里頃) you have empty spaces in addition to the house sites, then the residents within the kyŏng will temporarily cultivate them on an equal basis and wait until houses are made.

As for yŏrigyŏng where groups of residents are not congregated, then the house sites of the residents will all be included in the kyŏng that they are granted. They can not receive extra land grants. If their house is on the kyŏng (grant) of somebody else, then the person will exchange some of the land that he has been granted (in return for the house site land).

If then the yŏrigyŏng was first established it did not conform to the lay of the land and it is desired to move it to another kyŏng (area), then entertain a petition from the people and report it to the magistrate who will inspect the situation. Only then permit the move to be made. (Note: If you have people who want it and people who do not, then follow the (wishes of the)majority, and whether or not the form of the land is convenient or not.) (END NOTE)

If later on there is a gradual increase in the population (households), then in every case up to the limit determine additional kyŏng (1 at a time) in accordance with procedure to be yŏrigyŏng. (Note: What is meant by limit is that 20 households make 1 kyŏng, and if there is a fractional remainder, then 16 households or more may be allowed to establish a kyŏng and wait for others to come. Fractional land (yŏjn) can also be discussed in accordance with this standard.)
In entertaining a petition from a large number of people, investigate and discuss it and make a decision. If it is not a case of establishing a new village and the lay of the land makes it unavoidable (necessary), in all cases they must build a neighboring yōri. If it is not an empty space, then allow the men of the kyōngjōn (bu) (要田夫) to change and receive other land. (END NOTE)

Headnote: Abolishing yōri only occurs after a war, when the population has been reduced. It would never happen in peacetime.

If the number of population and households is reduced, and also is reduced by more than half, then reduce the kyōng to the status of chōnyagyōng (野頞) (open field?). (Note: If there is less than 10 households on a kyōng, then reduce it by half a kyōng.) If on a half a kyōng there is not 5 households, then reduce all of it.

(Subnote: As for fractional land (yōjōn) of 50 mu or more, in accordance with this (regulation) divide it in half. If there is less than 50 mu, make it as one pun (部 : part), and regard it as yōjōn. If you are talking about 80 mu of yōjōn, then it is not sufficient and there is not 8 households, or not 4 households on 40 mu, then (reduce?) the remaining 40 mu. . . .) In an absolutely deserted place or one where there are few people, make reductions (in the number of kyōng), and permit one man to receive land (if he wants).) (END NOTE)

Men must congregate and live together, and only then can they support and sustain one another, can they share the cultivation of mores and achieve cultural transformation (教化). But in later ages, (good) government is lost and many of the people are broken up and scatter. It is even more severe if they reside (stay?) in their home country. Even though you can not put everything in order, you must consult toward the establishment of a system and gradually move toward rectification. The Wen-chung-tzu (文仲子) (k: Hanhandaesajōn, p762. Book by Wang T'ung (王通) of the Sui dynasty, modelled after the Lun-yū) says, "If the land is not given as well (fields?), and the people do not live in villages, then even through a Shun or Yu could not manage...
p.19, 1:27a

"Truly what this says that even a Shun or Yu in the end could not manage it."

(Note: Some say that if the above law is established, then when the kyongs are first determined and established, it would seem to be difficult and too rigid (고만). (They say that) it is not necessary that the magistrate determine and establish the yorigyong (community land), that everything ought to be based on the grades of the land in collecting taxes, but that only when 20 or more households enter into 1 kyong of territory may it (then) be called a yorigyong (community land), and it will be exempted from support cloth tax.

If 10 or more households enter the land, then they also will share the same yorigyong, but for the time being will be allowed (made) together to produce one man for support tax (poganga), and then wait for households to fill (up the kyong area). When new people arrive to the place and the number of population and households fills the quota, then (est. of) (in?) the yorigyong can be carried out to the old community (yori) where they reside. But if the households have been destroyed and the people scattered and the number of people does not fill the quota, then you also can treat it as chonagyong (empty fields) (agr. land) in places where the people do not live congregated in communities, then their household sites may all be included in the land grants, and you cannot give separate land grants. If their houses are on somebody else's kyong grant, then they can exchange some land from their own land. If it is done like this, then even if the magistrate does not determine the kyong (allotments) for the yorigyong (community land), and the people naturally move to form communities at their convenience, there is no reason why they can't.

I say this is also all right. It is only that this method will not be established within villages. Land that can be regarded as community land (프조 yorigyong) is naturally small, while the number of people is large, and it is a method of restraining and controlling this.
If in accordance with the above method it seems difficult but in fact is easy, and things will be well regulated in accordance with what ought to be, if it is like this, then it would seem easy, but in fact is difficult and obstructs, and there are many evils. If you try putting it into effect, then naturally you can see this. What is the reason why this is so? A village residence is second to an adm. town residence.

Basically one ought to have a fixed place, but at present the reason (principle) of the pondang has been lost, and it is entrusted to things. What one basically ought to do? has been lost, and the reason why this (kuch'a) has been lost, and it is entrusted to things. A fixed place, but at present the reason why this (kuch'a) has been lost, and it is entrusted to things. If in accordance with the above method it seems difficult but in fact is easy, and things will be well regulated in accordance with what ought to be, if it is like this, then it would seem easy, but in fact is difficult and obstructs, and there are many evils. If you try putting it into effect, then naturally you can see this. What is the reason why this is so? A village residence is second to an adm. town residence.

Some might say that if things are determined as above, then it will definitely be well regulated; the law will be established and affairs done the best way. But the establishment of this will all be determined at the beginning of a cadastral survey. In general the place of residence of a (village community) must take into account the topography of the land and whether it is convenient for the people, and only then can the decision be made to establish it. If the supervising officials (kamgwan) all get it (do it?) like this, won't people who are concerned and knowledgeable also have difficulty?

I say in response to this that it is not necessary to search deeply into the hidden details to speak (on this). Anybody from a up is capable (of doing it). The real father of heaven and earth. (?) At present people in congregating and living together naturally will not congregate and live together in a place where the shape of the land is not convenient for them. But in viewing the villages of today, and in having discussions with the people (in them) in order to establish (yörigyöng areas), it would in general seem that in every case it will have been well done. If perchance a mistake should be made in the choice of a place and the people protest and petition the shortcomings after the change, there will indeed be no fear that the mistake can not be changed.
Some might also say that this might be so, but at the present time the households of the people are scattered about. If once their kyŏng (community areas) were established, then there would have to be evils from (making them move) one time (temporary) moving (dislocations)? To this I say that even though the kyŏng area were determined and established, those people who did not live congregated together in a group would also be allowed to do what they pleased. It is just that living in a community (yŏri) is more prosperous and profitable (advantageous). How would it be in human nature to turn one's back on prosperity and go against advantage (profit)? After a long time things gradually would become rectified, and there would be no need to force people to move (from their present homes to the new homes in a community area).

(It might be) said (by some) that would there not be fighting and disputes if there were any empty land in the kyŏng area and after (the land) was divided up for cultivation there later. Were (came) some families? I say (in response to this) that at the present time even in the case of private land (sajŏn) where people have themselves exclusive control, still it is said among the people that, 'Even though this is my land, I can't help but give somebody else 3 pu worth of land to live on. How much more so in the case of yŏri (community) (house) site land, which is public land (kongjŏn); in treating incoming families would anybody dare to refuse them? Even if they wanted to refuse them, the law exists, and the number of mu for house site land would basically be determined and reported to the magistrate, so that if there were a crime (violation), how could there be any dispute? This, then, is nothing to be concerned about.

Some might say that if the law is like this, then before long it was put into effect then naturally all of it would be well
regulated in residence. But after the yōiri (community) was established there would gradually be a reduction in the number of households so that 10 or more families would still constitute a residential area (yōrigyōng), but with a gradual expansion of the place 16 or more families would plan to increase the area with new k kyōng (allotments), so that the people would probably harbor private (intentions) and many people would move there and occupy land.

If near and ear (?) a 20 house area (kyōng) each produced 7 or 8 families, then how could you make (get) 16 families to occupy and establish a new village? If there were many cases like this, then you could not avoid a situation where the households (living) in the kum (designated) community would be few, while there would be excessive occupation of the (designated) kyōng.

I say that if you consider it from the standpoint of what is right, this would not happen. When people establish residence, each of them will go to a place near their fields. It is not characteristic of people to move away from their fields. That's the first reason.

As for empty house sites in the community area (yōiri), even though this is advantageous to the people who continue to live there, there is no advantage to people who would (have to) move (there). To make it advantageous (profitable) to others, but for oneself to go to the trouble of moving, is also not characteristic of human nature. This is the second reason. The officials would also be aware of the amount of land within the village, kum the number of households, and the amount of area in the community residence area (yōrigyōng). Even if the people altogether wanted to occupy large amounts of land, the officials would be aware of it and keep surveillance, and would not permit it.

This is the third reason. Also if these places that were newly established were empty and ruined (land), then there would be no obstacle to it.

Even if (however) it were not like that, how would the peoples who (were recipients) of land (grants) be willing to practice
for the benefit of others and in secret give them their land?
The officials would definitely hear of it. This is the fourth reason.

The fact that the people at the present time have been dispersed in

their residences is not the fault of the people. If farm land and

(house site) land is privately owned by people, then the situation

would cause it to be thus. If on the contrary there basically was

regularity in the way (of things), then for what reason would

the people (with) surnames bend their wills to conduct fraud and lead

each other to make things difficult (for themselves)?) (END NOTE)

There will also be a kyŏng system applied to (the area)

within the walls of xx towns (Sŏng'ŭp). It will be called

walled-town areas (sŏng'ŭpkyŏng), and it will be exempted

from taxation and military service. It will only be required to

provide able-bodied adult males for labor service. (Note: The land

inside the walled towns will also be governed by the kyŏng system, but

it will be exempted from both (land) taxes and military service. It is

only that an area of 2 1/2 mu will furnish 1 able-bodied male for one
day's worth of labor service a year. In the capital (kyŏngsŏng), this

is reduced by half. (Subnote: A cultivator of well (fel) 5 mu will furnish

1 able-bodied adult male.) It goes without saying that 2 1/2 mu of

land grade (chŏndŏng) furnishes one able-bodied male. If
two households reside within an area of 2 1/2 mu, then they together
furnish 1 able-bodied man. If the land that they occupy is more
than this, then for every 2 1/2 mu an additional one able-bodied male
is furnished. If it is a case of an empty house site, but there is

cultivation (a cultivator?), then the cultivator will be liable for
labor service. In the case of walled town of military units and garrisons

(yŏngjinsŏng) among those in the same chu or hyŏn each provincial
school (hyanggyo) and post station will consider and determine the
amount of kyông (land) and make it so that the P'angye residents attached to them are exempted from (land) tax and military service, also in accordance with this regulation. (Subnote: In general if labor service is not permitted then reduce it by half. If 5 mu altogether will furnish 1 able-bodied male. If there are none (no males?), then exempt them.)

As for miscellaneous labor service requirements for wood, grass, fusi and ice within walled town areas (kyông'ýpkyông), in all cases exempt the residential areas (ýrigyông). Shop areas and station land, post-station land, and ferry land will all be (treated) the same way. Street shops and public arcades in the capital will have the number (of kyông, area land units) fixed according to this basic system and a special ledger will be drawn up.) (END NOTE)

As for house site land within walled towns, if there is land which within a period of three years on which a house has not been built then allow people to petition the magistrate and receive permission to receive it (ch'ulzón). (Note: If a house has not been built because somebody is away on business, then do not permit (someone else to receive it).)(END NOTE) A Taegun (大君) (will have) 30 mu. A Wangjagun (王子), and Kongju (公主) (will have) 25 mu. An Ongju (翁主) and those of rank 2 and above (will have) 20 mu. Those of ranks 3 and 4 (will have) 15 mu. Ranks 5 and 6 will have 10 mu. Rank 7 and below, scholars (sa) and those with the ìm privilege will have 7 1/2 mu. Oesasaeng (外養生), members of the Ch'ung'Buí and Ch'ungsunwi will have 5 mu. Commoners (sòmin, 竹民) will have 2 1/2 mu. (Note: In general houses ought to be bequeathed to sons and grandsons, but if there is an interval (between?) the lands (and fields) (in which?) high officials (kyôngdaebu) bequeath through the generations their household property, then even though their sons and grandsons exceed their own share, there can be no taking
away (of property) within their walls. If a scholar or commoner rises

to become a high official (kyöngdaebu卿大夫), then even though

he does not have a full share, he cannot be without an empty lot for a house, but he also cannot encroach on land (of others). As for the quota of mu for house site land for each rank (official), it will also be the same for residential areas

(yörigędng 陋里贖). If there is a hill behind a house, then it will be permitted for (someone) to reside there and divide it up and make a garden. This will not be combined in the calculation for a house site.\(\text{\textcopyright END NOTE}\)

(NOTE: Some might say that in ancient time, the noble, worthy, and those engaged in public service were all \(\text{\textcopyright the nobility? \textcopyright given aim? \textcopyright }\)

and not taxed (chöng征 : subject to labor service?), but that this (article) makes no mention of this. How so? I reply to this that this (tax discussed above) is not a tax on the person's family (puga 大家); it is a tax (pře 財) on the house site. Even relatives of merit subjects (who, and?) receive prebendal grants (sase 賜), are not included in this.\(\text{\textcopyright A}\)

Some might say that none of the land in the capital is presently taxed, but that even though (this proposed tax) is light,

still it is a tax. How about that? I say to this that in all matters there ought to be differences of degree. Taxing people's residences is lighter than (taxing) land; taxing residences in administrative towns (up) is lighter than (taxing) residential community areas (yörigędng 陋里), taxing kun the capital is lighter than taxing the chu and hyön (prefectures and districts), and this is the way it ought to be. If there were no tax at all, then on the contrary this would be contrary to what ought to be. Since at present there is no puyök(貢役: land and labor taxes)
on land in the capital, there are more than 100,000 people living within the capital walls and none of them have any connection with official \(\text{\textcopyright families. For such things as \textcopyright walls, ponds, and (}}\)
they also had to exhaustively use the people (labor) from outside areas. In instances like national funerals, summonses were issued to raise people from the area of a 5 li radius from the capital. These were called "borrowed labor" (ch'anyök 借力), but the ignorant (those unknowledgeable), perhaps resented it because they regarded it as irregular.

Even though the people of the capital ought to be treated better (than others), when it comes to things like this, is this really correct since have been according to principle? It is not only this; if matters are handled like this, then miscellaneous labor service required of the people has been completely cut off from the eyes and ears and customs of the people in the capital for a long time. The great and the small, the noble and the base, even though they take to mind (prefer) leisure and enjoyment and splendor and magnificence (yuyi yumi 逸豫浮靡), they are completely in the dark as to what to do about affairs concerning the people. How can the nature of the people in the capital alone be special (different)? The legal system has that which has caused (this?) to be that way. 2 The ancients had (an official called) the ling-t'ai-tau(令太子) who was located among the people for a long time in the desire to learn about the people's affairs.

The ancients in handling affairs in every case did not forget this purpose. In this case (above) we have a difference from the intention of the ancients. It can not be forgotten that this is a major turning point (hinge upon which turn) for whether or not the people's minds and the way of the generations will be empty or full (fruitful), rise or be sunk.

(Some)people say this is not so, that when the capital was built at the beginning of the dynasty, it gave superior treatment to the peoples who newly came to gather (and live there). If it were not like this, then people would not come to live (in the capital) in large numbers. I say in answer to this that if it were really like this, then
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When new prefectures or districts (kunhyön) were established, they, too, ought to receive (tax) exemptions in order to bring in people to live in security, even more than the capital. We ought to limit to 10 or 20 years tax exemption status (pokch'ae) in order to avoid what cannot be established as a regular law. 38 (END NOTE)

As for ch'umk'ya (站店)(in common parlance, 'wine tent' merchants) reside, they will be called wine shop xak areas (ch'amjön gyöng (站店頌); they will be exempted from (land) taxes and military service, but will pay a household cash tax. (Note: It makes no difference what the grade of land, for every kyöng there will be 20 households, and every household will pay 40 min in cash a year. (Subnote: equivalent in rice to 2 bu. At the present time 1 sing of rice is equivalent to 2 min of cash.) This will be a permanent (rate) in both bumper crop and crop disaster years. (Subnote: If within the kyöng area there is not a full 20 households, and there is empty land that has been abandoned, there is no tax on it. If there is someone cultivating it, then he will pay the cash tax.) Every 30 ri there will be established one wine shop (ch'amjön). Or it will be all right to have one every 15 ri.

In this area the roads will all be included in it. If the road is 18 paces (po) in width, then on both sides (of the road) there is a ditch which is 2 feet wide (on either side), then outside the ditch are the shops, then outside the shops are the residences, then the area occupied by one house site, shop site and residence altogether will come to 10 paces north to south, and 37 paces east to west.

The shop will be 2 kan (1/2) in width (note: 1 kan is 2 paces).

The site of under the eaves will be 5 paces) and 4 kan in length.

The empty space between houses will be 5 paces to provide land for piling up manure (nitesoil). Walls will be used to check the spread of fires throughout the road, and (for this purpose) there also ought to be an empty space of 5 paces between the shops and residences. The
The residential site will be 10 paces north to south and 24 paces east to west. We will strive to achieve the ultimate in the regulation and equalization for houses and roads. If the shape of the land by the side of the land is not suitable for holding markets, then in accordance with the shape of the land either one side of the road will be open as a road and one side used for shops and residences, and we will cut the width and run them together lengthwise to make up a kyǒng (in area). If there is not enough for a kyǒng, then treat the area in accordance with regulations for fractional land. In opening market areas, also do it in accordance with circumstances and with what is convenient. There will also be a wall around the circumference of the wine shops. Put in a rimun (village gate) north and south, open it at dawn and close it at dusk. (Note: As for the wine shop area, in accordance with a big or small road. Even though it extends to an area of 4 kyǒng, you must have one wall in a continuous (connect and touching) line.)

Each of the households residing (in the wineshop area) will receive 1 kyǒng of land, and will be exempted from payment of the (military) support cloth tax. (pop'ǒ) (Note: In each case calculate and determine the amount of land by what the shop is next to or near to categories of (taero, soro) and divide it into/big and small roads.) A big road (route) will be 40 kyǒng, a middle sized road (chungno) will be 30 kyǒng, and a small road will be 20 kyǒng. A Western (route) road will be 80 kyǒng, and an Easter (route) route will be 40 kyǒng. Also, we will establish shop land (p'oja) 2 kyǒng for each shop in a large route, and 1 kyǒng for each shop in a middle or small route, 4 kyǒng for a Western route, and 2 kyǒng for an Eastern route. In each case we will divided up an determine land boundaries and prohibit farming or cultivation by people...
When opening and establishing p'oja (shops), they will also receive 1 kyŏng of land and be exempt from cloth support taxes.

(Note: These p'oja (shops) will be established in each administrative town, military unit or garrison (yŏnjin), each post-station, and each wine shop area. People who are suitable will be recruited to open them, and they will receive 1 kyŏng of land and be exempt from support cloth taxes. They will only pay a shop tax of 240 min of cash (subnote: equivalent to 12 tu of rice). In the chu and hyŏn they will calculate the remainder or surplus, either as 4/3 or as 1/2 (3 to 4 or 1 to 2 ?) shops. Post-station and garrison towns (chin) will also by this make 4 grades in determining this land. /Within the adm. town, there ought to be ch'am (wine shops?) places, then establish (the shops, p'oja) together with the wine shops, and not separately. When they are first established, the magistrate will xun the shop...

(small three character subnote, can't read last character). Permit rice or grain to be borrowed xun in accordance with the basic price (ponjik?), and permit a liberal number of years for repayment in cash. In addition to shops that receive (official) land grants, also permit the private establishment of shops in residential areas (yŏri), and these will not be subject to the shop tax. Those people who have 2 kyŏng (of land) and want to establish a shop should be permitted to do so, but they will be subject to tax on 2 shops.

The households of the shops (po'ja) and the wine shops (ch'anjŏm) will both be exempted from the miscellaneous labor service required of the land recipients (kyŏngbu). (END NOTE)
exempted from miscellaneous labor service. (Note: That is gathering of wood, grass and ice required of able-bodied male kyöngbu or land recipients)(END NOTE). They will be required to live adjacent to one another. (Regulations for their house site land will be the same as that for the wine shop areas (ch'amjöngyöng)).(END NOTE)

If in addition to the shops there is another place where people privately congregate to establish shops, they they too will be exempted hostel from misc. labor service and also winex shop labor service. (Note: vagrant except for maintaining surveillance over wandering Chinese, do not permit requests from people on urgent missions or from post-station personnel providing food and other matters.) (END NOTE)

(next to old hostels)

When new people arrive/to establish hostêls, exempt fr them from the household tax for 3 years. If people build hostels, then exempt them from the household tax for 10 years, and also exempt them from household tax for one year within their 1 kyöng area to give them some help in capitalizing (their venture). (Note: As for the no. of household within the kyöng area, follow them whether it is large or small (how many there are).(END NOTE). With regard to such matters as travellers, giving them rooms, the rent?(hwajöng), and prohibitions against various evils, this will be recorded in detail after the fact. (Note: As for such matters as tax amounts for shops in the capital or provinces and new construction and tax exemptions, recorded these also will be xapunxaxt afterward in detail.)(END NOTE)

Some say that in this country since olden times in places where there were hostels there were won(院) and hostel lands (wönjöng), but that this regulation does not provide for hostel land (wönjöng), How so? I say to this that once you have established hostels (ch'amjöng), it is not appropriate to re-establish himxaxt ch'amjöng. The so-called won were only established on roads where there was no lord (owner) and empty (places), therefore they were always many times in ruins and abandoned. Even though the intention was good, they