

11.24-39.

118, 6:9b

The Koryŏ land system was in general modelled after the T'ang system. amount of

They made a total (survey) of the/cultivated land and divided it into

categories in accordance with its fertility. From the civil and military

6:10a

officials down to the pubyŏng (府兵) soldiers and the han'in (閑人),

everyone's qualifications were determined (科) and was given a land

grant (su授). If a person died, his share was returned to the government.

Even the pubyŏng (府兵) first received (a land grant) when he attained

the age of 20, and when he became 60, he returned it. If a man had

sons and grandsons or close relatives, then his land was transferred

to an adult male (chŏng丁) eligible to receive it). (Note: He was also

allowed to transfer land if he were sick). Those people without either

sons, grandsons or close relatives, were registered as kammunwi (監門衛)

kammunwi (監門衛) (gate guards).

After reaching the age of 70 they were given kubunjŏn (口分田) (5 kyŏl),

and the extra land (difference between 5 kyŏl and their original allotment)

was taken back. The wives of those who died without heirs, or those who died in

battle, were also all given kubunjŏn.

In addition there was yamen land (konghaejŏn 公廨田)

which was granted in grades for chang (庄), t'aek (宅),

palaces (kungwŏn 宮院), official bureaus (paeksa 百司),

chu and hyŏn (州縣) (magistrates), hostels (kwan 館) and post

stations (yŏk 驛).

-T'aejo first established the category of yŏkpunjŏn (役分田)

at a time when the country was (first) unified. It was

(applied to) all the court officials and military men at

the time, irrespective of their official rank. People were observed

for their character and behavior, whether it was good or bad, and whether

their merit and effort was large or small, and they were (granted this

type of land) in grades (according to their behavior and accomplishments).

Kyŏngjong (景宗) first established the chŏnsikwa (田柴科)

for incumbent officials (chikkwan 職官). This, too, did not depend

太祖

皇室 royal relations

監門衛

宮院

州縣

驛

役分田

景宗

職官

田柴科

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on the official's rank, but was determined on the basis of personal quality (rank? inp'um 人品).

(note: For those of (紫衫) rank and above, there were 18 ranks (p'um 品). ~~Everybody~~ Rank 1 received 110 kyŏl of both farm land and woodland (chŏnsi 田柴). And the grades were then proportionately reduced to rank 18, which got 32 kyŏl of farmland (chŏn 田), and 25 kyŏl of woodland. 柴

For those of (丹衫) rank and up, they were divided into 10 grades. Grade 1 got 65 kyŏl of farm land and 55 kyŏl of woodland; the grades were then proportionately reduced to the 10th grade which got 30 kyŏl of farm land and 18 kyŏl of woodland.

With regard to those in (緋衫) grade and up, these were divided into 8 grades (p'um). Grade 1 got 50 kyŏl of farm land and 40 kyŏl of woodland; and the grades were proportionately reduced to grade 8 which got 27 kyŏl of farm land and 14 kyŏl of woodland.

As for those in (緋衫) rank and up, these were divided into 10 grades; grade 1 got 45 kyŏl of farm land, and 35 kyŏl of woodland, and the grades were proportionately reduced to grade 10 which got 20 kyŏl of farm land and 10 kyŏl of woodland.

In addition to this there were the various grades for miscellaneous posts (chapchik 雜職) which did not reach to (were not as large as) these amounts of land (categories). All of them received 15 kyŏl of farm land.

(END NOTE)

--Mujong (穆宗) carried out a reform and established the munmu yangban (chŏnsikwa 文武兩班田柴科) (farm and woodland allotments for the civil and military officials)

--In Munjong (文宗) 's reign there was another reform of this system, and all officials from the Chungsŏ-ryŏng (中書令), Sangsŏ-ryŏng (尚書令), Munha sijung (門下侍中) down to the soldiers (kunsa 軍士), han'in (閑人) and misc. categories (chamnyu 雜類),

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all were divided up into 18 grades (kwa 科), and received land in allotments descending from 100 kyŏl to 17 kyŏl, which were regarded as the standard amounts.

(Note: Grade The first grade	100 kyŏl
2nd grade	90
3rd grade	85
4th	80
5th	75
6th	70
7th	65
8th	60
9th	55
10th	50
11th	45
12th	40
13th	35
14th	30
15th	25
16th	22
17th	20
18th	17 kyŏl.

The amounts of woodland are not included for each of these grades. (END NOTE)

-For officials from rank 6 and up down and rank 7 and up (ranks ~~y~~ 6 and 7) who have no male descendants to carry on (the family), their wives ~~wix~~ got 8 kyŏl of kubunjŏn(口分田). For officials of rank 8 and down, soldiers who died in the war, their wives got 5 kyŏl of kubunjŏn. For officials of rank 5 and up, where both they and their wives had died and there were no sons, (nam 男) but unmarried daughters, they were given 8 kyŏl of kubunjŏn,

119, 6:11a

and after they married, this allotment was returned to the authorities. (END NOTE)

1054

In the 8th year of Munjong (1054), it was decided that with regard to the quality of the land, land ~~was~~ which was cultivated ~~year~~ every year would be regarded as superior (sang 上). Land which was cultivated every other year was regarded as middle (chung), and land which was cultivated every third year was regarded as inferior (ha). 下 1 kyŏl of Mountain land that was cultivated every year was deemed equivalent to 1 kyŏl of regular land. 2 kyŏl of land cultivated every other year was regarded as equivalent to 1 kyŏl of ordinary land; and 3 kyŏl of land cultivated every third year was regarded as equivalent to 1 kyŏl of ordinary land. Every 23 years, a land survey (yangjŏn) was to be carried out. With regard to the number of paces

步數

119, 6: ~~xx~~ 11a

1 kyŏl of land was 33 paces (步) square. (Note: 6 inches (寸) made 1 pun (分); 6 pun made 1 foot (尺), and 6 feet made 1 pace (po 步) (END NOTE) and 4 pun ()

2 kyŏl was 47 paces square; 3 kyŏl was 57 paces/square; 4 kyŏl was 66 paces square; 5 kyŏl was 73 paces ~~xx~~ and 8 pun square; 6 kyŏl was 80 paces 8 pun square; 7 kyŏl was 87 po 4 pun square; 8 kyŏl was 90 paces 7 pun square; 9 kyŏl was 97 paces square; 10 kyŏl was 104 paces 3 pun square.

taxes
918

--. In the first year of T'aejo's reign (918), T'aejo said to his officials The ruler of T'aebong (泰封主: Kungye 弓裔) did as he pleased with his people. He only concerned himself with collecting taxes from them, and he did not respect the old institutions. He collected about 6 sŏk (石) in taxes from 1 kyŏng (頃) of land, and he levied a silk thread tax of 3 (束) from households in charge of post stations, and subsequently he caused the people to abandon farming and give up textile production, and the people absconded (left their homes) without cease. Starting from now, in levying taxes we ought to use the old laws.

25% on
公田

In Sŏngjong (成宗) 11 (992) it was decreed that the cho tax on public land (kongjŏn-jo 公田租) would be 1/4 (of the crop) (25%).

On wet (rice) land of superior grade, the tax on 1 kyŏl (cho) would be 3 sŏk 11 tu 2 sŭng 5 hap 5 chak (勺); on 1 kyŏl of middle grade land, 2 sŏk, 11 tu 5 hap; of inferior grade 1 sŏk 12 tu 1 sŭng 5 hap

-the cho tax on superior grade dry fields, on 1 kyŏl, 1 sŏk 12 tu, 1 sŭng 5 hap, 5 chak; on middle grade, 1 kyŏl, 1 sŏk, 10 tu 6 sŭng, 2 hap, 5 chak; on inferior grade, 1 kyŏl (xx 缺: no tax?).

(Note: Also:

on wet rice fields, 1 kyŏl

superior grade: 4 sŏk 7 ~~tu~~ 5 sŭng 升

middle grade 3 sŏk 7 tu 5 sŭng

inferior grade, 2 sŏk 7 tu 5 sŭng

dry fields:

119, 6:12a

an additional 7 kyŏl of land be given to the original fixed (quotas of grants --wŏnjŏng 元定) of the able-bodied males (chokchŏng 是丁) or could this be a term for land?) in order to pay the costs of taxes. -in the second year of King M Sin U (辛禑 :1376), the Hŏnsa (憲司) repeated ~~xxxxxxx~~ requested that because of the effects of ~~xxxxxxx~~ war and crop disaster and the exhaustion of military food supplies that a cho tax of 1/3 the crop be levied on merit subject land (kongsinjŏn), and that 1/2 the crop ~~be~~ of monastery and shrine land (sisajŏn 寺社田) be taxed; and that all the grain left over after the payment of taxes on official yamen land (kwansajŏn 官司田) belonging to the king and queen ~~xxxxxxx~~ be used to defray military expenses. The king approved it.

1376

taxes too high in Koryŏ?

At present I note that in Koryŏ times the tax laws underwent several changes over time, but because the history (Koryŏsa) does not record these clearly, at present I cannot discuss them in detail. However, if you look at the memorial of Paek Mun-bo, then it is only that at the beginning of the dynasty they regarded the tithe (1/10 tax) as standard. (END NOTE)

--. According to the non(論 :Kim, 476, says this is nonp'yŏng 論評 : historians' evaluations in the Koryŏsa?) of the Koryŏsa, after T'aejo unified the Samhan (three han states), he first rectified the land system, divided up (the land) and gave it to the ~~officials and~~ officials and people (sinmin 臣民). The state had a fixed system, and the officials and common people (sasŏ 士庶) were secure in their occupations. Munjong(文宗) respected frugality and was sparing in his expenditures. The people all had enough, and the grain in the granaries accumulated in such amounts that it rotted. After the reigns of Yejong(毅) and Myŏngjong(明), the powerful (officials) and deceitful (officials) ran government affairs as they pleased. The barbaric Yŏan(胡元) were not reluctant to make exactions and demands, and there were all kinds of taxes so that the population declined by the day. By the decline of the dynasty virtue was lost (Kim 476: there were more rulers who were without virtue)

Yuan
6:12b
dynasty decline

119, 6:12b

and the land and population (p'anjŏk ^{版籍}) was not clearly *known).
 The farm land and woodland (chŏnsi chi kwa ^{田柴之科}) grades were
 abandoned and became private ~~land~~ land (sajŏn ^{私田}), and the influential
 families and hereditary lineages (sejok ^{世族}) competed with one another
 to accumulate land (kyŏmbyŏng ^{兼并}). Their (large holdings) extended
 across the paths and roads dividing the land (^{連阡陌}), and they used
 the mountains and rivers for boundary markers (for their huge holdings).
 The common people (yangmin ^{良民}) were all absorbed into their huge
 houses (kŏsil ^{巨室}), and as a result of it, the state gradually fell
 into decline (nung'i ^{陵夷})

Yi Che-hyŏn (^{李齊賢}) said T'ang? Wen-kung (^{滕文公}) asked
 Mencius about the well fields and Mencius said: Human government must begin
 with the regulation of the land boundaries. If the land boundaries are not
 correct, then the well fields will not be equal (kyun ^均), and the
 (food produced) and salaries (for officials)
 grain (for) salaries will not be fair (p'yŏng ^平). Because of this
 tyrannical rulers and corrupt officials will necessarily neglect the land boundari
 If the land boundaries are rectified, then with g regards to dividing up the
 land (punjŏn ^{分田}) and regulating salaries (^{制祿}), one can sit by
 (and do nothing), and (everything will be) determined (correctly). (Must be
 end of Mencius quote). The land of the Samhan (Three Han states--Korea) is
 not a place where the boats and vehicles of the 4 directions (the world)
 congregate; there is no surplus of production (mulsan) and no profit from
 wealth (property--hwasik chi ti ^{貨殖之利}) what the people look up to
 (as the source of) their livelihood is only the strength of the land.
 From the Yalu river south, most of the land is mountainous. There is
 absolutely no land that is rich and fertile and can be cultivated without
 lying fallow; or if there is any, there is just barely some. If one
 neglects the land boundaries, then the harm is 10,000 times greater than
 what China would suffer.

Land boundaries

(quote contd). T'aejo (of Koryŏ) succeeded to the Silla dynasty which had declined
 and was in confusion, and to the state of T'aebong which suffered from

120,6:13a

extravagance and tyranny. All kinds of things were being created (established for the first time), and perhaps because there was not sufficient time, he was only able to enact a law for granting kubun (口分) land allotments (the people). After 4 generations, Kyŏngjong (景宗 :975-981) enacted the chŏnsi farmland and woodland grades (allotments). Even though the system had some crude and rough elements in it, it contained within it the intention of the ancients for establishing (a system of) hereditary salary provisions (serok 世祿). As for such methods as the 1/9 the tax that was characteristic of the (well-field) aids (九一而助) or the 1/10 tax (什一而賦), which were the means by which (the ancients) provided superior treatment for the princely men (kunja, chŏn-x-tzu) and (distinguished them) from the small men, there was no mention of this at all. In later generations several times it was desired to regulate it (li chi 理之: institute such systems), but in the end it was not done (neglected? 終未苟而已), and that was all. If in the beginning one does not regard the (adjustment of) the land boundaries as an urgent matter, then the source (of a stream) will be muddied (means disturbed), so how then could you expect the water downstream to be clear? What a pity that the officials at the time did not conduct a study of (the ancient) laws and systems on the basis of what Mencius said, [wake down the teaching (enlighten the king) up the king engaged in the task of creation] (kyejŏk 啓迪) 後人 and devote their strength to carrying out (such a task--setting the land boundaries straight). (End of Yi Che-hyŏn's memorial)

early Koryŏ land dist. OK
 but takes too long!

終未苟而已

Kim's transl. p. 498

land
 wake
 Mencius
 後人

120, 6:13a.

憲官

At the end of the Koryŏ dynasty, the Hŏn'gwan (憲官), Cho chun

(趙浚) and others submitted a memorial requesting the restoration of

the land system. It stated: Human government must begin with (regulating)

the land boundaries (kyŏnggye). Whether a state's destiny will be long or

short is a product of whether the people's lives are happy or difficult,

and whether their lives are happy or difficult depends on whether the

land system is equal (equitable: kyun 均) or not. Kings Wen and Wu

and the Duke of Chou (in the Chou dynasty) used the well-field system

to nurture the people, and for that reason the Chou dynasty lasted over

800 years. The Ch'in dynasty destroyed the well field system, and fell

after (only) two generations. T'aejo (Of the Koryŏ) dynasty unified

the Samhan (three Han states) and established land (allotments)

and regulated the officials, granting land (allotments) in accordance

with rank (p'um). If a person died, his land was collected (taken back).

If he was a pubyŏng (府兵) soldier, then at the age of 20 he received

(his land grant), and at the age of 60 he gave it back. In the case of the

sadaebu (士大夫) who received land, if they committed a crime,

their land was taken back. Every person took care of himself and did not dare

break the law. Rights and principles (yeŏi 禮義) flourished and

customs and mores were beautiful. The pu-wi (府衛) soldiers

(regular and guards soldiers), and the clerks of the chu, kun, ferries,

and post-stations each were supported with land grants. They were settled

on the land and were secure in their occupations. Because the

state was wealthy and powerful, even though the Liao and Chin dynasties

kept a hungry eye on the world and were situated next to our borders, they

did not dare swallow us up, which was because T'aejo had divided up the

land of the Samhan and shared with his officials and people in the

enjoyment of its benefits, and the enhancement of their livelihoods, and

the resolution of their minds, creating the original spirit which would

cause the state to last for a thousand or 10 thousand generations.

趙浚

6:13b

富強

富其祿
unification

basic

120, 6:13b

*Succession
or
equal
field
system*

From that time on through every generation there were increasing amounts of land grants given to people in the name of grants for idle people (han'in 閑人), grants for sons of those with merit (kong'um 功績), grants to foreigners who became naturalized and entered military service (tuhwa ipchin 投化入鎭), additional grants, and supplemental grants, and special grants to those who achieved rank (passed the exams? tŭnkwa 登科). Officials in charge of the land, bear, bear up with (堪) did not keep up with the bothersome aspects of land management, and the laws for granting and receiving land gradually became lax, and

6:14a

corrupt officials took advantage of the situation to deceive and cover up (land) in endless ways. People with office or married women obtained the land of ~~it~~ (set aside for) idle people (han'in 閑人) (Kim, 479. as he translates above, Kim interprets han'in as sons of men of merit who were without office but still merited land grants), and men who were not in the ranks of the soldiers still dared to receive ~~xxxxxxx~~ soldier land (kunjŏn). Fathers concealed their holdings and privately (secretly) gave them to their sons. Sons hid and stole the land and did not return it to the government. Once the law of the ~~xxx~~ founding fathers was destroyed, then the gates for the accumulation of large holdings (kyŏmbyŏng) was opened.

*recurrence
of
private
property*

⊕

Soldiers were the means by which the royal house was guarded and the borders defended against invasion. The state set aside fertile land in order to provide salaries for the ~~xxxxxxx~~ (Kim, 480, ~~xxxxxxx~~) over 100,000 armored soldiers (kapsa 甲士) (attached to) the 42 tobu (都府: Kim 480. tohubu). Their clothes, food, implements and weapons were all ~~x~~ paid for from the land. Therefore the state had no expenses for taking care of the troops. This plan was a legacy from the principle of the three dynasties of antiquity that you should maintain a close relationship between soldiers and farming land (藏兵於農). support soldiers by farming). But at the present time both the military and the farm land systems have both disappeared, and if there should be

藏兵於農

120, 6:14a

recruit
 a sudden (incident, invasion), then we would have to ~~force~~ the peasants
 into the army (force the peasants to become soldiers in order to make
 the soldiers are weak
 up for the lack of soldiers). Therefore the army is weak, and are food
 for the enemy (will be eaten up by the enemy). Because food has been taken away
 from the peasants in order to feed the troops, the number of peasant households
 has been reduced and the villages are disappearing. The land which our
 founding father so justly (in the public interest) divided up and granted
 has become the private property of individual families or persons.
 There are some persons who never once leave their homes to serve as
 official at court, never once put their fut forward (pongjok 奉足)
 to serve in the army, (yet both types receive land?--Kim's translation, 480--
 his interpretation, but this statement not in the text. How could it be
 so since the land grant system is supposed to have fallen into disuse?),
 they wear
 yet in ~~their wearing~~ of fancy clothes and eating ~~of~~ fine foods, and they
 sit and enjoy the benefits (of position, without doing what they're supposed to).

6:14b

But on the contrary, the officials who serve on duty guarding (the king) day
 and night, and the soldiers who fight hard in a hundred battles did not get even
 1 mou's worth of land to cultivate in order to provide for their fathers,
 mothers, wives and sons. How can they be encouraged to be loyal and righteous
 and meet their responsibilities for earning merit in what they do?

(Ever since the custom of private ownership and accumulation of
 large property began), (the officials) in charge of the land (p'ando 版圖)
 and laws in the capital, and the magistrates and governors in the provinces
 have abandoned their basic tasks (don't have the time to perform them),
 and every day listen to lawsuits over land. Whether in heat or cold, they
 cannot escape (the task) of investigating documents (munkwŏn 文卷), and
 searching evidence (kŏmbok chŏngjwa 檢費証左), questioning tenant
 farmers (chŏnho 佃戶), and questioning the elderly. The words accumulate
 and (the farmers) fill the lawcourts
 fill the lawcourts and abandon their farming while they wait several months

private property

the cases that take

120, 6:14b

for a decision, ~~and the cases~~ pile up like hills and mountains. The dispute over 1 mou of land can stretch out for several decades. They forget to sleep and give up eating. Even when a decision is rendered they don't get what they want (剖決了給者 ??), and this is because private land (sajŏn 私田) has become a cause for competition (struggle 爭端) and over minor matter and lawsuits over petty trifles (? 訟煩).

If sons don't get what they want in seeking 1 mou's worth of land from their fathers and mothers, this on the contrary ~~causes~~ gives rise to feelings of resentment. How much worse is it when brothers are involved? This is because the existence of privately owned land (sajŏn) has caused people to fall from moral behavior to (the behavior) of animals.

Chŏ Chŏn

In recent years the accumulation of large landholdings has become even worse. Corrupt and cheating people straddle whole counties and wrap up districts (in their holdings), and they use the mountains and rivers as boundaries (for their property), which they point to and ~~x~~ claim is the patrimony of their ancestors. The mulberry ~~g~~ trees planted over the generations and the houses built over generations by other people are ~~xx~~ all taken over and become the property (of the large landowners). And our innocent people are forced to abscond and scatter in four directions. Private landownership (sajŏn) has become the head (source) of rebellion (confusion).

121, 6:15a

The Kan'gwan (鍊官), Yi Haeng (李行) said: It is due to the evil of private landownership (sajŏn) that the wealthy and powerful families accumulate large landed property, that the state has nothing for its expenses, that tax burdens have doubled, that the people are fallen and distressed, that the strong devour the weak, that disputes and lawsuits are prolific and numerous, that flesh and bone (flesh and blood?) suspect one another, and that customs and mores have been destroyed. If the rich and powerful lose their profits it is difficult to repress their resentment and criticism (complaints); if the scholar families (sajok 士族) lose their occupations, it is difficult to continue their means of livelihood.

Yi Haeng

✓

p.121, 6:15a

If the land (owned by individuals?) is broad and great, it is difficult for the officials to investigate all of it, and if ~~there are too many ledgers and it is bothersome (to keep them up), then (the officials) cannot keep close track of the facts.~~ ^{If} cunning clerks ~~hide things and keep them/~~ ^{(land) (it) hidden} (from the officials), it will be difficult to know about it. These are the ~~difficulties~~ ^{difficulties} involved in reforming evils.

Nevertheless, if matters are handled fairly and justly and in accord with human feelings (insim ^{人心}), many people will be happy and it will be possible to repress (control) resentment and criticism.

If the scholars 2 (sa ^士) who have no jobs are given land, they will be enabled to cultivate it (to earn a livelihood), and if those with posts are given salaries in place of (the income they would earn) from cultivation, their means of living ~~is~~ can be continued.

Then you select the fair, honest men of important reputation and appoint them to be provincial governors; and you select these who are pure (honest), astute, skillful and competent and appoint them magistrates. And each of the magistrates will oversee one administrative district in order to examine the facts. And the governors will control a province and promote and demote the magistrates. (Then) the land can be fully investigated, and the ledgers can be thoroughly inspected, and (the land) that the clever (corrupt) clerks are hiding can be found out. How ~~then~~ ^{like this} would it be difficult with a method/for reforming the situation?

6:15b

Thus if the granaries are full, ~~there will be more than enough saved (to meet state expenses).~~ If salaries are adequate (good), then honesty and knowing shame will rise. If arbitrary tax levies cease, then the people will have some respite to earn a living. If disputes and lawsuits come to an end, then customs and mores will be good. If the land is opened to cultivation and taxes are light, the population will increase (prosper ^{人口}) and misc. labor service (requirements) will be equalized (made equitable). If these reforms are carried out, how great will be the profit from it!

121, 6:15b

According to an ancient tradition (chuan) (Tso-chuan?). "If ~~you~~ a transformation takes place, things can be managed well." (更化則可善理).

And also it is said: "Humane government must begin with the regulation of land boundaries."

-(P'an'gye): ㄹ At present in noting the arguments of Cho Chun and the others, one cannot say that all their opinions were equitable (kong 公), but ^{great} their words are truly statements that cannot be changed (altered).

(Note: The above section deals with the Koryŏ land system).