

Yulgok on Military Service

Opinions of famous officials

-1- P'angye surok, chönje hurok, ha

of the Yi dynasty on problems of govt

-Famous Officials of the Dynasty Speak on the Problems of Government

(Kukcho myönsin non p'yejōng chejo-pu

國朝名臣論弊政諸條附

-Yulgok's discourses (Yulgok-non *栗谷論* states: "Saving

the people depends on reforming abuses (hyökp'ye *革弊*). At the present time if you have one man who runs away (from his village), then

without fail (they) will encroach on his ~~family~~ ^{relatives} and neighbors so that the ~~family~~ ^{relatives} and neighbors will not be able to support themselves.

They, too will be forced to take flight, so that again (the officials) will encroach upon (ch'im *侵*) ~~their~~ ~~neighbors~~ ~~neighbors~~ ~~neighbors~~

~~neighbors~~ the relatives' relatives and the neighbor's neighbors.

When one man runs away, the harm extends to a thousand households.

(This) necessarily will go on until there are no people left at all,

and only then will it stop. This is the reason why villages ~~in~~ in the

past that had a hundred families today do not have 10; and villages

that in ~~the~~ ~~past~~ former years had 10 families now don't have one.

The towns and villages ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~completely~~ ~~emptied~~ are deserted and there

are no people left. There is no place is not like this. If this basis

evil is not reformed (kyōngjang *更張*), then the root of the

country will be overturned and it will no longer be a state. If you

want to eliminate this evil (abuse), you ought to send down orders

to the districts of all areas to consult the (population) registers,

and if there are any discontinued households (chōrho *絶户*) who have

abandoned, then immediately delete their names and do not make

encroachments on their relatives or neighbors, and then what the

state will lose will only be the person who has taken flight, and

the people who have not yet scattered ~~is~~ will be ~~x~~ to some extent left

in peace and security. If they enjoy and cultivate their livelihoods

and if the population flourishes, then ~~the~~ ~~military~~ the unfilled

military service quotas will also be filled at an early date (chiil *指日*).

Some ~~x~~ (might) say that today half the military quotas are taken up

p.86, 7:4a
7:7a

7 4:7b

MILITARY QUOTAS

write off tax from the registers who have abandoned their villages

yulgok on military service

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with people registered as slaves and empty households (chörho *絶户*: people who have absconded). If we adopt what you (Yulgok) say, then there will be no way to meet the needs right before our eyes (meet our immediate needs). What about that?

I (Yulgok) say that present customs are in every case like this, and this is why the nation in the end has no strength to rise (chin'gi *振起*). At the present time the difficulties of the living people are worse than if they were suspended upside down in mid-air. If we do not urgently (do something) to save the situation, we will have an empty country. And after the country is empty, ~~how~~ ^{from what place} will ~~be~~ we be able to provide for our immediate needs? This ~~is definitely the~~ principle that is most correct. ~~will definitely come about.~~ (*此必至之理也*).

4:8a

military rosters are meaningless troops don't exist

The reason why (you) desire that there be no reductions in the quotas of soldiers (kun'aek *軍額*), is that (you believe) that these troops really exist and can be provided and used. But at the present time, with regard to the soldiers from the missing households (chörho *絶户*), (they) only encroach upon their ~~z~~ relatives to collect a cloth equivalent tax (kap'o *價布*), and ~~z~~ that is all. If there should be an emergency requiring the soldiers to be ~~xxx~~ called up, all the relatives (ilchok *一族*) carrying in the end would not be sufficient for transporting the spears, and the cloth payment (kap'o) would ~~xxx~~ in the end not be sufficient for (paying for) the recruitment of other men. How can you be so stingy (in the use of) empty rosters (military service rosters) and thereby cause the people to suffer ~~xxxx~~ real harm? From ancient times to the present there really have been many cases of defeat in war, but I have never heard of a country being lost because of the evils of (illegal transfer of military service obligations) to relatives and neighbors! (I.E.: our country is about to be lost because of this problem, and if so, it would be unprecedented). I don't know when our country first began the practice of this evil; it is really a problem that ~~they~~

價布

Yulgok on mil. Service

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they did not have a thousand years ago (in remote antiquity, ch'on'go *千古*).

We cannot allow later generations to hear about this. The shu (Book of History ~~say?~~) says: Punishments do not extend to one's ancestors; rewards extend to (future?) generations. (*罰不及嗣, 賞延于世*)

The reason why the people are scattering ~~and~~ about the country derives ~~from~~ their

from ~~the~~ difficulty and suffering. We ought to extend benevolent (protection) to them without resting, but on the contrary, a cruel administrative system causes those people/who have not yet scattered (left their homes). How is this something that a humane man and a princely man (jen-jen, chün-tzu) could bear?

(Someone might) say that what you ~~sa~~ (Yulgok?) say is correct. It is only that people skillfull at deception are all avoiding service and in the end the military service rosters do not have even one person (onthem), so what about this?

~~this is definitely no reason (for doing it).~~
(I) say (to this that) there is definitely no reason for this to be. The reason why people leave their villages and relatives and turn into unsettled vagrants is all because they are hard pressed and have no other choice. Even if people were skillfull at deception, if they had their ~~producti~~ occupations (san'öp) and could sustain themselves, then who would ~~willingly~~ be willing to choose the difficult life of a vagrant? ^{if they} Even ~~sa~~ did not have ~~the~~ the worry of (extra levies on) relatives and neighbors (of those that had absconded) and only were responsible for the service due from one man (themselves), then the people could live in peace and enjoy their occupations, as much as if they had just escaped from a flood or fire. How would there be any reason for everybody to avoid service? Once this method is reformed, then we ought to order the districts to slowly to eliminate the idle able-bodied males (hanjōng *閑丁*) and use them to fill up the empty slots in the military service quotas; and (have the district magistrates) ^{abolish}

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(opinions on problems of govt)

p.86, 4:8b

(district magistrates) abolish outside travel (yöoe 旅外) in order
to fill up the regular soldiers (chönggun 正軍). And when it comes
to the newly established guard (units) that were not included in the
law code (taejön), and the practice of listing names on the rosters
of idle-men service (kimyöng ö hanyök chi chök 寄名於閑役之籍)
which is of no benefit to the public, then have these men ~~eliminated~~
eliminated and recruited into the army, and have the official in
charge of military affairs take full charge of these ~~affairs~~ matters.

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Once you get the true figures, then even though you do not establish
a separate agency for (handling) the military registers, the military
registers will have been completed. And only then ~~will~~ can you again
investigate the ~~idle~~ able-bodied males and when the time requires
use them to fill in (slots for military service). Every year, order the
local districts to forward the military rosters to the Ministry of War
and the slave registers (yejök 隸籍) to the appropriate bureau.
Just record the true figures and cut out all "empty" (false) names.
anybody who is able to ^(record) 10 households or more of ~~idle~~ able-bodied
males (put on the registers, where previously left off), cite him
for an award. And if anybody should be responsible for new empty
households (chörho--of those who have absconded) resulting in a reduction
by ~~xxxx~~ by 5 households or more ~~from~~ the figures in the register, then
indict ~~xxxx~~ him for a crime, and either dismiss him or demote him. In serious
cases give severe punishment. Where the increases and decreases match,
don't bother inquiring. If after three years of administering (this
system) there is no increase in the population, then also indict
(the official) for crime. If this (system) is really put into practice,
then the magistrates will FEAR THE LAW (wiböp 畏法) and devote
all their mind to upholding it. In less than 10 years the people will
be able to support themselves and the military quotas will be filled.

p.86, 4:9a

富強

In ancient times the King of Yüeh (越王), Chü Chien (句踐) with 5,000 troops camped for the night at Hui-chi (會稽) (mountain); one could say that he was very weak. (Note: He was defeated there by my new births (saengch'wi 生聚) the king of Wu). But after 10 years of ~~births and people coming together~~ (increase in population) and 10 years of training, then he was able to enrich the state and strengthen the military (puguk kangbyöng) and thereby destroy his enemies. How much more (applicable) is this in the case of our great state of 10,000 chariots. If we completely fulfill the way of increasing population and training them, then how would we not have a state at peace and people who are wealthy with great results from the change in customs and mores?

Yulgok also said: At the present time the various categories of service, such as regular soldiers (chönggun 正軍), support personnel (posol 保率), najang (將 羅將), choye (皇 皇諫) and chewön (諸 諸員), either serve on permanent tours of duty (changbön 長番), or are divided into 2 tours (pön), or are divided into from 3 to as many as 6 or 7 tours. Either they can't stand the burden and take off like rats, or they somewhat are able to rest secure in their occupations and can support themselves together with their children. Why is it that some of the are troubled and others are happy, and (not all) have the same (lot)? The high officials at present ~~xxxxxx~~ who devise policy together with the appropriate bureaus should study and tailor (the system) by reducing the over-long service, and extended the too-short service and try to make it so that all service is equal and correct in (its distribution) of work and rest, ~~xxxxxx~~ If there are no evils of some having it too hard and others too easy, Then those who have absconded will return and the people will not devote themselves to devising ways to escape service.

Yulgok on bribery

-1- P'angye surok, chönje hurok, ha

(opinions of famous officials of the

Yi dynasty on problems of govt)

Yulgok said: Since the period of confusion from arbitrary and corrupt

(use of authority) (kwön'gan tangnan 權奸濁亂) (refers to what?), those

above and below have only made their business the collecting of bribes.

✓ One does not get an official title unless he pays a bribe; lawsuits

and disputes are not decided without bribes; people are not absolved

of crime unless they pay a bribe, causing the officials and the clerks

(are corrupt). When it is time to pay various goods to the officials,

no distinction is made between quality and bad goods, no calculation

is made of the amount, but only of the grade of bribe to be paid

in taking or rejecting (the tribute offering). It gets to the point

where if 1 clerk or one slave has the slightest jurisdiction, then

immediately he seeks to make money from it or seize (property). It

is ~~not~~ not only this; important matters involving imprisonment and

lawsuits are also entrusted to the hands of the wily clerks who take

bribes and twist (the matter). This is really a plague ~~x~~ that

confuses government and will destroy the country. ~~if~~ ^{At the present time} the corrupt

people ~~right before our eyes are done away with~~ ^{have been} (getten rid of), and ~~if~~ ^{was been}

just speech ~~is~~ gradually practiced at court, ^{would be} and there is some small

reform of old practices, but the corrupt clerks compared to before are

even worse. ~~Want~~ ^{If you want} to abolish this evil, then you should issue strict

instructions to all the officials and explain clearly the laws on

embezzlement, ~~xxxxxxx~~ revive ~~xxxxx~~ destroyed standards (?),

purify the court, so that people will know and be warned; and only then

can you prohibit all the practices of extortion and bribery, and

(will you) reveal what is hidden and expose what is lying in hiding in

order to get the (true) situation; and (will you be able to) allow people

to petition their suits in order to investigate their grievances.

If you have a ~~clerk~~ clerk or runner who takes a bribe or who extorts funds, and

the matter ~~is~~ revealed, then for 1 p'il of cloth (taken in bribes or extorted)

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by officials + clerks

權奸濁亂

BRIBERY

4:10a -

(if)

(C)

p.87. ~~4x8h 4:7b~~

4:10b

or more, then punish the whole family (of the guilty party)

- and (exile) them to the Yukchin (6 garrison) area or an empty and remote place. Then not only will you wipe out the practice of bribery, but also you will assist the defense of the frontier (by shifting criminals out there for settlement). Even though you will be able to put a stop to the clerks demanding bribes, still you must provide them with funds in place of their cultivating the fields.

In ancient times the fu-shih(府史) and sŏto(胥徒) all had regular salaries and looked up to their superiors for food. * The clerks of the present time do not have any salaries in particular, and if they do not extort funds, then it is difficult for them to avoid starvation and cold. This is a feature of our country's institutions that is not yet complete (perfect).

p.87, 4:10b

非必盡合
於上供也

(Yulgok) also said: What is known today as the so-called chinsang (進上) is not necessarily completely the same as royal tribute (sanggong 上供). Of the smallest items there are none which are not completely presented (to the throne). The products of land and water are ferreted out until none are left, ~~and they~~ choose ~~them~~ for presenting to ~~the imperial cuisine~~ (öson 御膳). The

but sage kings of ancient times believed that one man should rule the empire; they did not believe that the empire should support one man.

Even though they had products presented (to the throne) in tribute, in every case it all was in accordance with (regular) Royal Tribute (sanggong). Also they were obliged to reduce (the amounts demanded) in order to give relief to the (burdens on) the people's labor. How much more so in the case of non-emergency needs which might do harm to the common people?

p.88, 4:11a

Reduce royal tribute
sunshine law!

If you want to ~~reform this~~ reform this evil, then you ought to order the chief officials and the appropriate bureaus to take up (investigate) all the categories of chinsang tribute, and study whether (the need for them) is urgent or not, and only take those things for royal tribute (sanggong) which ~~are~~ are indispensable.

As for the other unnecessary items, (the demands for them) should all be reduced or eliminated. ~~Even~~ Even in the case (of those articles) which are suitable as royal tribute, if there are ~~too~~ many categories of them, ~~they should~~ their quotas should also be reduced. If it is done like this then the benevolence of the sage kings' love for the people can be extended below (hagu 下究), and the correct tribute of Wen-wang (the cultured king. of the Chou?) will not be the only beautiful system (that every existed)?. (puldük chönmi 不得專美)

Some might say that if you do as you say, then we will only know about loving the people, and will not know about supporting the king (pongsang 奉上). This is not the sincere (fulfillment of obligation) of the subject (to his king). I (Yulgok) say to this:

p.88, 4:11a

Alas! If customs at present are all like this, then this is the reason why we cannot look up to and supplement (give aid to) the virtue of the sages. A loyal subject loves his lord (king) by (following) the great way, and not by showing sincerity over small matters (sosŏng 小誠). If he can cause the state to be well governed and secure and the ~~king~~ people wealthy and numerous, then what our king will obtain will be much. How could (worrying about) ~~the~~ the increase or decrease of petty and small matters be sufficient to be of a benefit or disadvantage to our king? In ancient times Shun made a piece of lacquer ware and all the officials criticized this on the grounds that someone as noble as the Son of Heaven could not use lacquer ware. According to what you (Yulgok's critic) say, then/the officials at Shun's court ~~said~~ that they did not love their lord. However, Emperor Shun was a sage ruler over all the world, and his officials were good ministers (aides). Cockscrow! (嗚呼) How can you discuss the advantages and disadvantages (of sincerity, loyalty, any matter?) with men with commonplace mores?

4:11b

(Yulgok) also said: the court of our ancestors severely prohibited the practice of pangnap(防納). With regard to all kinds of tribute articles, they only had the common people pay them directly to the official bureaus, and the officials of the various bureaus also submitted them to the king (pongsang 奉上). The intention was not to allow the clerks to deceive (anybody), and they had no worry about squeeze (todŭng 刀蹬) and obstruction (of tribute payment? chogyŏk 阻隔), and the common people had no difficulty with (paying) the tribute articles. But the way of the times (sedo 世道) gradually declined and evil practices grew by the day. Corrupt clerks and deceitful slaves privately obtained the various articles and they manipulated the officials for their private interest and obstructed the peasants (from paying tribute).

p.88, 4:11b

Even though they held goods of superior quality, in the end they held them back and did not pay them, but definitely paid the goods that they had privately acquired, and only then would they demand a price that was 100 times greater (than what they paid for them). The laws of the country were destroyed and it was not possible to prohibit them (from doing this). This went on for a long time, and hardly anything could be added to state finances, while among the people the looms are empty (the people are in want: igong chöch'uk

已空杼軸

In recent times, even though it was desired to reform this, they still have not been able to obtain the essentials (do what is needed). It is only that they have allowed the common people to make payment themselves, but they have not established a suitable policy, and it has been a long time since the people have not been able to provide

take care of

(tribute) themselves. One morning they hear of the evil of pangnap but without any plan to provide for payment (of tribute), and they are unable to avoid buying (the tribute articles) at high prices privately from the/pangnap people. ~~former~~ The (goods) ~~xxx~~ have been stored away in deep recesses by them, and they force the prices up to double what they were in former days. Thus even though the name of pangnap has been abolished, the practice of pangnap in fact, on the contrary has become worse.

Some might say that if you want to reform this evil, you ought to come out with some kind of plan.

(Yulgok)

I say to this that when an accomplished man (tar'in 達人) takes on some matter he makes a good plan and adjusts it to the circumstances. ~~Why would anybody who sticks to what is standard and old be able (to do it)?~~ How would anybody who sticks to what is standard and old be able (to do it)? I (Yulgok) have seen

the way the tribute articles (are paid) in Haeju. On every kyöl of land they collect 1 tu of rice, and the official himself obtains the articles (buys them?) and pays them to the capital. All the people

But the people corner the market on tribute items + make profits from selling them to tribute tax-payers

precedent for 大田 tax

p.88, 4:17a

know is that they pay a rice (tax), and that is all. The evils of squeeze (todŭng 刀證) are not heard of. This is really a good method for saving the people today. If this method is spread to the four quarters, then the evil of pangnap will be reformed by itself in less than a day.

4:17b

Some might also say that ~~max~~ in fact the districts in our country are not like Haeju. How would it be possible to carry out in all the districts of the eight provinces what is done in Haeju? I (Yulgok) say to this that if there is no change in the standard regulations, then what you say is ~~is~~ true. But if you have the important officials and appropriate bureaus take all the charts and registers (tojök 圖籍) from the eight provinces and study the quantity of people and goods and how much land there is, and whether there are many or few local products, and then again levy a tax on tribute products, and perhaps equalize the burdens. ~~up~~ And if you calculate what is appropriate and reduce tribute ^{must} to the point where tribute does not cut into state finances, ~~then~~ Youj will definitely ~~will~~ enable the districts of the 8 provinces to provide for the payment (of tribute), ~~h~~ and have ever place like Haeju where land is taxed at the rate of 1 tu/kyöl. Only then ~~will~~ should you promulgate this order, and if so, then how would there be an place (reason why) it could ~~not~~ not be carried out?

Kim Yook +
18th c.

Yulgok on frugality ~~1~~ P'angye surok, chönje hurok, ha

tribute

p.88, 4:12b

Yulgok also reported to Sönjo saying: The courts of our

ancestral (kings) were extremely simple (yak 約) in their expenditures, and extremely mild (cheap 廉) in what they took from the people.

Since the middle of Yönsan(gun)'s reign, (royal) expenditures have expanded and become extravagant, and regular tribute (offerings) are not sufficient to provide for their needs. Therefore additional

(tribute) requirements were set in order to fulfill their desires. stories (about this)

I, in past days, heard various ~~stories~~, but I was old and did not dare to put deep faith (in the stories). Formerly when

I was in the Royal Secretariat I picked up the tribute rosters (kong'an 貢案) of the Ministry of Taxation and looked at them,

and ~~saw that~~ ~~the~~ various kinds of tribute were ~~widely~~

~~under~~ all items that were added on (kajöng 加定) in year period

sinyu year of the Hung-chih/(Hongch'i 弘治: i.e., 1501), and they have been respected and used up to the present. When I determined

the period, (if ~~found~~) that it was during Yönsan's reign.

Without realizing it I closed the book and ~~uttered~~ a great sigh,

and said (to myself), ~~the~~ 1501 is 74 years(before) the present time

(hence, he's writing in 1575!) when we have a sage ruler on the throne,

but how is it that this law has not been reformed (abolished)?

When I search for the reason for it, (I find that) during the past 70 years in every case (in everything) there are kwön'gan(權奸: arbitrary? and corrupt officials) who have been in control of the country.

Even though two or three princely man (kunja) might perhaps have been established at court, their will (intentions) could not be set forth

(spread out, extended: chön 展), ~~and~~ Strange calamities had to follow, so what time was there for any discussion on this (problem)?

But did it necessarily have to wait for the present day (to be resolved)?

Moreover, the products that are produced perhaps change in accordance

with the times; people, goods, and land ~~increase~~ increase or decrease with the times.

Yönsan's origin of X's royal tribute

1501 Yulgok invest. the records

1575!

p.89, 4:13a

At the present time in many cases the tribute required from the districts are not what is produced there. It is like climbing a tree to catch a fish. They cannot avoid buying the goods from other ~~xxxx~~ districts or buying them from the merchants in the capital and spending 100 times (the cost, value). There is not enough for official expenditures, and furthermore the population is gradually shrinking; the land is gradually being ruined, so that (the tribute) that in previous years was paid by 100 persons, last year was the responsibility of 10 people. And what 10 people paid last year, now 1 person has to take responsibility for it this year. This situation will end up where there is not one person left before it will stop.

4:13b
pop. shrinking?

At present what I am saying extends to the reform of the tribute register (kong'an **貢案**), ~~xxxx~~ but those who deliberate (on this matter) ~~must~~ will definitely argue (**諉**: lay the blame on others) that its the law of our ancestors and it cannot be changed lightly. Yet even though it is the law of our ancestors, when the people are as in/extreme difficulty ~~xxxx~~ as this, you have no choice but to change (the law), and how much more so considering it was a law (promulgated by) Yönsan(gun)?

Yönsan(gun) + the imperial monarchy

I humbly hope that the throne will choose men of intelligence ~~xxx~~ who are clear (well versed) in affairs and give them exclusive charge ~~fix~~ over this matter and put the Taesin (high officials) in command of them, and eliminate all of the additional tribute levies (kajöng **加定**) established by Yönsan(gun) in order to restore the old system of our ancestors. (Also) if a study is made of the products of the districts, how much land there is, how great the population, and changes (shifts) are made in calculating and determining (the tribute required) so that it is made equal and fair (kyunp'yöng **均平如一**) and uniform, ~~xxx~~ then it will be like saving the people from a precarious situation (hanging upside down).

p.89, 4:13b

Yul gok, when he was the governor of Hwanghae, submitted a memorial (changgye **狀啓**) which said: Chinsang (royal tribute)

4:14a

is disturbing the whole province. The poor people (have to) go hunting in the mountains and fishing in the rivers (to obtain the tribute products) and have no time left over. If they are given land, it gets overgrown and is not cultivated. If their houses are run down (destroyed), they don't repair them. (They) are knocked over (upset) and have to leave (their homes and scatter) and they have no place to live. If (the tribute required) is not a product of a given ~~area~~ locality, then the taxes are forced from them (tuhoe? kiryöm **頭會箕歟**)

and they have to buy the goods from distant areas and expend in effort (labor) 10 times (what should be required). In the extreme (case?) ~~xxxxxxx~~ it is like ^{rounding} sealing up? (pong **封**) ajang (**牙獐** young deer?) and pojang (**南獐** big deer?). You capture the deer and tie them up, but they are not ajang nor pojang, so then you cannot stop the hunt. (?) In my opinion it is like presenting everyday medicine (yag'i **藥餌**) as tribute. It should be presented to the Physicians' Bureau (üisa **医司**); it should not be presented to the official (royal?) cook (ong'in **饗人**). It is the same with deer. But you have to seek out the ajang and pojang ~~2~~ (special kinds of deer). I really do not understand the principle behind this.

It is also like (the problem of) deer tongues and deer tails (nokhwal, nongmi **鹿舌尾**). If they are not the best tasting (kinds), they are not suitable for presenting to the king. But all are ~~xxxxxxx~~ purchased in the capital with cloth and are obtained in quantity by the noble (kwigün chi ka **貴近之家**) families, and the prices (of them) are very expensive. Once something becomes a tribute item, it is presented (paid) over and over again in endless repetition (chain of causation).

And the property of the people is extracted from them (junmin kot'aek **涸民膏澤**) and is regarded as something which the noble and near (close relatives of king?-- kwigün **貴近**) can round up (exploit) for profit,

p.89, 4:14a

4:14b
perishables

and that is all there is to it. If you think how the situation has come to this, it may be permissible to do it in the ŭp 2 (adm. towns). (Meaning unclear.) Moreover, the distance between this province and the capital (kyŏngsŏng) is several days journey, and when it is warm it also presents living products (saengmul) (to the throne). Things prepared in the morning are presented as tribute (pong 封) in the evening. During the spring and summer, there would definitely be a change in the color and taste (of such products, due to time of transport), so it is necessary to prepare them in advance and set them aside in an ice house (nŭng'ŭm 凌陰) for several days before sending them to officials in the city (tohoegwan 都会官). Therefore (the goods) have lost a lot of their nature already by the time they are ~~pong~~ presented as tribute (pong 封). How much more so in the case of goods that have to be send to the capital (kyŏngsŏng) from several hundred li away? If preparing (tribute food items) which spoil and become rotten is regarded as disrespectful (to the throne), then the situation is unavoidable that/the temporary warehouse clerks (ch'angsŏl 倉卒) cannot ~~do~~ handle it, and if you blame people for things they cannot do and ~~do~~ punish them for it, how could that be the government of a sage king? In cases where (tribute items) ~~xxxxxxx~~ are sealed and presented (pongjin 封進) from ~~the~~ several days before and there is no problem, it ~~is~~ is only because they have bribed the clerks of the Royal Cuisine; it is not a question of the products not spoiling (there being no change in color and taste). ~~It~~ It is my humble hope that the king, out of concern for the suffering of the people, give thought to making reductions of (in the quotas) of live deer and ^{salt} ~~xxxx~~ pork (napchŏ 臘猪). Even if (the quota were) reduced by 5-6 head, the royal beneficence extending to the people would be ~~of~~ great. As for the ajang and pojang, it is not necessary to have separate categories (for these species of deer?), but just to specify "live deer" (saengjang 生獐 2), which will be

p.89, 4:14b

presented as tribute (pongjin) as they are caught. If so, they there can be some slight relief from the difficulties of the hunt.

p.90. 4:15a

As for deer tails and deer tongues, if they are all abolished (from the tribute quotas) as we know they don't taste good (anyway), and this would give some slight relief from the difficulties of buying (those items) from distant places ~~xx~~ at higher prices.

If this province were required to present live (perishable) goods only between the 10th and 2nd months (winter), while in the period from the third to 9th months, live (perishable) goods from this province would be exchanged for dried goods (foods) in the Kyŏnggi area, then it would suit the culinary needs of the king while the local districts would avoid extremely difficult responsibilities. These few items would be as easy for the sage king in his bright intelligence to do as turning over his hand.... (etc. people would benefit and it would be fortunate for making strong the foundations of the country--pangbon)

--. Cho Chung-bong (趙重峯) went to China as an envoy and returned home. He submitted a memorial to Sŏnjo which stated: I heard that what the Chinese imperial court uses for suisine is all obtained from the people's taxes (minbu 民賦). Silver is collected and the Chief of the Imperial Cuisine Agency (Sangsŏn'gam t'aegam 尚膳監 太監) pays out silver every day in order to buy food from the marketplace, and the kamim (low culinary official) presents it. (End of quote)

4:15b

China is a country that has ~~many rivers~~ large land area, and many people and horses, ~~many rivers~~ and it also has river (and ~~many~~ canal) grain transport facilities. Their idea behind their providing that rare delicacies from the mountainous areas and seas that must be recently gathered be purchased with tax silver in the marketplace is because their sage emperors of the past felt that if they were to require live products (perishables),

p.90, 4:15b

then the labor ~~xxxx~~ required to transport it a thousand or ten thousand li would be greater than the expense of water transport, and in calculating the costs in silver liang, what would take 600 horses to transport could be transported by one horse. Once this law was enacted, the people were no longer~~ed~~ bothered with multiple costs (contributions), and the horse-transport stations were not burdened with excessive transport (costs). Meanwhile the shops in the marketplace had all sorts of goods that could be bought with silver at prevailing prices, and there was nothing lacking in the (needs of) the royal cuisine. This is the reason why the people of the Central Plain (chungwön--China) get richer by the day and the foundations for a Great Peace (t'aep'yöng) are firm and strong.

The people in our country, in addition to regular tribute (sanggong 上貢), also have to make payments of chinsangx mulson (進上物膳) which they purchase. If the resentment of the people is extremely great, it is of concern to the (welfare of) the state, (so much so) that I cannot describe it all. The king should not consider this a minor matter and neglect it. For one matter to cause the ~~xxxx~~ multitude of the people to lose their sincerity (sincere respect for the king) is not something which he I can bear to sit by and see without doing something to save the situation.

p.90, 4:16a

With regard to the payment of items for the royal cuisin^e, in some cases items that were produced in the past no longer are produced. But (the officials) do not ask whether the item exists or not, but demand that all of them be ~~xxxx~~ provided for, ~~xxxx~~ just barely securing a surplus for the people day and night, who had to purchase things from a distance at double the price. A fish at several days journey may not have been worth more than a few süng of rice near one's own home territory, but if you had to get it from people living in distant places, then it could not be bought for less than 4-5 tu. And if you couldn't provide the costs for hired labor, you had no choice but to hire land (rent land) in order to pay~~x~~ the costs. In the case of a local produce like the Kyöngju ch'ön'ö

p.90 4:16a

(hickory shad, gizzard shad), it would cost 1 p'il of silk in exchange. Or the Pyongyang tongsu-ö cost 1 p'il of chöngp'o (正布 :pure cotton).

If the cost of g tribute items of all adm. districts is like this, what limit is there to it? And how much worse when at the time (the goods are) transported, the costs for feeding the clerks and paying bribes to the capital clerks all are paid by the people. And if it is not a severe winter, then accordingly? ice is loaded heavily(on the horses), and if there are no horses with strong backs, then the cost for using post-station horses is ~~xakamfomaxthaxpasp~~ made by by using the people's oxen. Furthermore, the costs of providing for the expenses of large and small official missions as they pass through the post stations of the provinces, and the comings and goings of the Wae (Japanese) and Manchus (yain), also cannot be paid for, and nine out of 10 houses are empty. How will the state be able to pass on its life to a later day?

4:16b

書經

In ~~xx~~ studying the Yi-kung (禹貢) :HHDSJ p.1114, section of the Shu-ching on ancient geography dealing with geog. and products of the 9 chou of China), (places like?) Ch'eng-hsü and? (青徐荆揚) were all () seacoast areas, but there was only the sea tribute? ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ for Ch'eng-chou and the Huai and Han river tribute. There was no place without fish, but you only had the Huai-i-kung (tribute) in fish which was offered for sacrificial rites, and that was all. The enlightened kings of ancient time did not ~~xxxxxxxx~~ impoverysh the people of the emprie to fill their own stomachs. If one judges the situation on the basis of this, then the payment of live products (perishables) from distant provinces stopped at the use of items for ritual purposes, thereby providing the starving people and the impoverished post-stations (with sustenance? 以藉其飢民...). This is what ~~the~~ a sage government out to put first in its considerations.

The fresh fish and fowl presented as tribute by the people of Kyönggi are a great burden on them. I heard from a very old person that in fact

90, 4:16b

Sejong

at the beginning of the dynasty this (tribute) ~~was~~ was not required. The Changhön taewang (莊憲大王) ordered that for the people along the water (coast), ~~every~~ (every) * 300 households would (take turns) in rotation providing fish only three times (a years?) At that time the price of fish was extremely high, and there was not (enough?) rice set aside (to pay for it?).

In the last years of the reign of the K'ang-ch'ing tai-wang (? 康靖大王) (~~there's a Ch'ing-kang year period for Ch'in-tsung 欽宗, the last ruler of the Southern Sung, 1126-27~~)(maybe another name for Yi dynasty king ruling in this year period?). Son Sun-hyo (孫詢孝) was Kamsa (governor) at the time that an envoy arrived from China, and fearing that a prolonged stay (by the envoy) would ~~require~~ require the levying of fish and fowl from the people, he made preparations in advance to provide for his welcome.

90. 4:17a

~~But on the envoy's rapid return there was no fish to be used, so daily he would send a list to the Saongwön (司饗院 :Office of Royal Cuisine). When (the supplies) were about to run out, Son Sun-hyo felt that the (responsibility?) for (meeting) the urgent daily needs (??) ought to rest with him, and he subsequently ~~levied~~ levied a second levy on the people to present as tribute. Those who succeeded to Sun-hyo regarded him as a superior official and did not dare to abolish (this precedent, and it subsequently became an old regulation that has lasted down to our own time, so that the cost of (providing) fish has gradually become heavy, so that (the production from) 4 kyöl (of land?) is fixed as the cost of 1 fish. If 4 kyöl is not sufficient for providing the cost, then 8 kyöl is set aside, and on each kyöl (a tribute tax) of 2 tu is levied, making a total of 16 tu of rice in order to purchase 1 fish. I do not know how much fish is presented as tribute daily to the four palaces (sajön), so I do not know how many multiples of 16 tu are paid from each district for providing (for the fish).~~ But on the envoy's rapid return there was no fish to be used, so daily he would send a list to the Saongwön (司饗院 :Office of Royal Cuisine). When (the supplies) were about to run out, Son Sun-hyo felt that the (responsibility?) for (meeting) the urgent daily needs (??) ought to rest with him, and he subsequently ~~levied~~ levied a second levy on the people to present as tribute. Those who succeeded to Sun-hyo regarded him as a superior official and did not dare to abolish (this precedent, and it subsequently became an old regulation that has lasted down to our own time, so that the cost of (providing) fish has gradually become heavy, so that (the production from) 4 kyöl (of land?) is fixed as the cost of 1 fish. If 4 kyöl is not sufficient for providing the cost, then 8 kyöl is set aside, and on each kyöl (a tribute tax) of 2 tu is levied, making a total of 16 tu of rice in order to purchase 1 fish. I do not know how much fish is presented as tribute daily to the four palaces (sajön), so I do not know how many multiples of 16 tu are paid from each district for providing (for the fish).

91, 4:18b

And they do not dare collect even 1 chicken or 1 foot of cloth from the people. So that outside of the regular land tax (chönbu) and personal service tax (sinyök), there are no other miscellaneous & labor service levies. (yo 徭). Even the greedy magistrates do not dare transgress the law to exploit the people. Therefore the people flourish and the land is productive.

It's a sad thing that in our eastern area from Yanggae (兩界) to the Tumen (river?) that much of the fertile plains and fields (in this area) is not cultivated. People lived there in the past, but in the present, it is overrun with weeds. No more than 10 or 20 percent of the houses have a single ox or horse, and it is also an extremely rare household that has several children. How is it that the living things of the earth are particularly insufficient in this corner of the sea?

In general, evil laws have long been in existence, and there are all kinds of unauthorized, arbitrary levies (on the people). A cloth tax on 8 kyöl of land/is transported yearly, and a pongjok (奉足 :military personnel levy) in the sum of 5 p'il is paid by the year. For ~~xxxx~~ the encouragement of agriculture, the clerks and officials form the households into large and small t'ong (統 :groups) for work six times a month, and if there should be a vacancy (somebody missing), they punish (the people) with a cloth levy. Once a month the people are required to serve as officials clerks (kwansok 官席), and if someone fails to show up, his is punished with a cloth ~~xxx~~ levy. For a family's labor service, (the officials) don't ask if the person lives near or far (from the work), or ~~whethaxm (thaxpsophsmkakamfsoxmsmk) xxxchxxx~~ ~~fxthemsx (mksaxmshtbxess)msmxxshx (thexhaxxmsmsmsm?)x~~ close or distant. The costs involved in paying for three or four men were like the looms being completely empty & (exorbitant?). Would a newly made suit of clothes leisurely regard a child's quilt? (What's this mean?) That is why children go cold and cannot be protected. Official taxes and

4:19a

p.92, 4:19a private debts cannot be managed, and one tu's worth of taxes might call forth 4 tu (in payments). When 4 tu is transported from a remote area to the granary, then the amount (cost) is quadrupled. Payments for milling (yongjǒng 卷正) come to 8 tu per year. The cost of tribute pheasants and deer comes to 5 tu per household. When the larder is bare (? 瓶粟已罄) and there is nothing with which to finish out (close) the year, then people ~~xxxxx~~ sell off their oxen and calves, but still find it difficult to continue (to get along). This is why the people are starving and cannot support themselves. Cockscrow! If you have an ox, it should be used for the spring planting, but at present they are sold off in order to feed the young. They should be used ~~x~~ to nurture people as they approach old age, but they also are starving and dieing and in need of relief. There is no man who wants to die early (rapidly). (??)

Furthermore, when there is a vacancy in the military or people run off (to become) slaves, their neighbors are rounded up and put in jail. This is the reason why lots of good land (goes to waste? is not cultivated? pulhagye 不暇計), and people ~~x~~ grab their gourds and abscond to faraway places.

4:19b

royal tribute

Moreover the cloth tribute (chinsang) revenues from Mangyǒng ~~provinces~~ do not amount ~~of~~ ^{to} as much as 100 p'il, and within the province, there are regular levies of fine cloth (to provide expenses for) minor food costs for officials (kusiŋ kwanch'ae 苛金官債), ~~and a tax of 1 sok per year on salt flats~~ which is sufficient for extra expenditures. ~~But yearly~~ And (the above?) yields a yearly amount of 4 sok. In addition there is a levy of 4 rolls of paper (so that) the ^{salt} families have not been able to make ends meet and (as a result) destroyed their salt flats) and the flats have been in ruins for a long time; yet in accordance with registers (regulations) the collection of these taxes has been passed down as a service tax from our forefathers. When the northern provinces

92. 4:20a

Also with regard to the source of living things ~~be~~ (beings), ~~gwanin~~ they should not be allowed to die out because of idleness (in idleness). It ~~is~~ ^{is} a crime for a grown women not to be married Men should not allowed to be idle and women resentful (out of lack of a husband?). If in a hundred years people are born and raised, and each ^{as} a secure place to live, then within the eight provinces there will be no idle and empty places, and things will proper without expecting it.

4:20b

-Yulgok also said: I have heard that in China, ~~the~~ the clerks of the ~~capital~~ agencies and districts, ~~yamen~~ yamen (部府椽吏), in the provinces down to the clerks of the local districts--all who look up to (serve) the officials, such as the gate guards, painters, petty functionaries, and jailers--there are none who do not receive monthly salaries (Note: 2 1/2 liang of silver). If one man works for an official (is in an officie), then even though he has 4-5 family members, none of them have assigned labor service. (end of quote) This truly accomplishes (carries out) the intention of the Chou (dynasty?)(with regard to) various clerks (周府史,胥徒,祿同,下士 (punct. mine)). As for our country, with regard to the capital clerks like the sŏri (書吏), choye (皂隸), and chŏnbok (典僕), and those in the provinces including the ajŏn (衙典), sŏwŏn (書員), saryŏng (使命), and others, they do not leave the official yamen any day and their burdens are extremely great, but they are not provided with even one copper nor do they have the time for cultivation. Nor can they become artisans or engage in commerce. They do not have the wherewithal for their food or clothing. They don't have the free time to become bandits, nor do they have the leisure to beg. This is the reason why they dedeive the officials with their wily tricks, (threaten?) the people and demand their property,

4木?

92, 4:20b

cut off (cut out) (pages from?) the account ledgers and steal goods (from official warehouses?), enter the granaries and steal millet, and not be concerned about honesty or shame. If ~~увидели~~ with severe you would punishments and strict laws you stop these evils, then ~~они~~ not be any better than (be victorious over) ~~они~~ over the 100 manifestations of their corrupt plans.

Would it not be better to provide them with the resources of food and clothing, teach them honesty and shame, so that they ~~они~~ would not commit (these acts) on their own?

93, 4:21a

Some knowledgeable men might say that the finances of the country have been used up, and it is difficult to obtain much goods and grain to divide up among the numerous clerks for their expenses. (But) in my humble opinion, I don't know how many and what kind of instances there are where the numerous clerks, unable to obtain income, have devised many corrupt stratagems in order to lead the country into error (誤國). Nor do I know how many times and in what quantity they have stolen state property; nor do I know how often and how much of the property of the kunmin (軍民 :people) they have destroyed. It would be better to divide up what they have stolen ~~они~~ equally among them as their salaries and not allow them to deceive the nation and harm the people. Then if there were those who broke the law, ~~они~~ those above (the king?) would have reason to arrest them, while they would admit to their crimes themselves.

The Hung-fan (洪範) says: 凡厥正人既富乃穀俾其饑寒之切身而望其奸弊之不作, 雖使皋陶執法無所施其明矣.

Even upright men should be given enough grain so that they do not suffer from starvation and cold, in the hopes that they will not be corrupt, for even sage officials who uphold the law would not be able to act (in an upright fashion without sustenance). (?)

93, 4:21a.

At the present time, there are a large number of those who
 ✓ consume food unnecessarily (superfluous expenditures? _____).
 In addition, costs for paper (stationery?) for the tribute products
 of the various bureaus (in the capital), and cloth taken as fines for
 officials in the provinces have been collected and are stored. But
 they perform no other function ~~that~~ than as material (funds for the support
 or use) of the officials and their friends, and that is all. These are
 indeed public goods (property). If you calculate them all together
 and cut down on what should not be spent, and only use what should be
 spent, then the clerks of those offices would have no fear that they
 would not have enough food (income, salaries).

4:21b

Furthermore, in the district towns of the outer provinces, if you
 should have an original grain fund of 10,000 sŏk, then the pimo (expense
 surcharge) (費耗) would be as much as 1,000 sŏk. Every year, 400 sŏk
 is stored against unexpected needs. 600 sŏk could be divided among 50 people
 to provide a year's salary. (Note, 1 sŏk as monthly salary~~x~~, of unhusked
 grain~~x~~, per person). How much ~~x~~ more (would this be so) in a territory of
 100,000 sŏk, where the pimo (expense surcharge) comes to 10,000 sŏk.
 Every year, you could give out 6,000 sŏk, which could pay (the salaries for)
 500 people. (But at the present time) this is not recorded in the ledgers;
 it is only used for the private expenditures of the magistrates. How
 could this be the mind (intention) of Heaven, to get some of the people's
 grain in order to fulfill one person's private desires and cause a lot of
 people to starve and freeze?

As for the system in China, like the Li-pu ta-ch'u, san tang-shang,
 chua-ch'i (礼部大慶三堂上坐起之所), these
 are limited to 9 clerks. With regard to ceremonies and sacrificial rites, the
 Four Bureaus (ssu-ssu 四司) each have 9 men, while the clerks of
 the provincial district towns ought to be reduced (to a figure lower than)
 this.

93, 4:22a

Because of the large number of people and the complexity of affairs in China, those who high officials use as their servants (underlings) are limited to those on service duty for specific jobs. They do not dare take (even) one clerk (along) to dazzle the eyes of those in the marketplace and alleyways, *以偏方人物不得擬於遼薊一面而...*

Both capital and provincial officials really like flattery. What one clerk can handle they divide up among three or four clerks. It only increases the commotion, while the matter is really not taken care of. When they go out, the streets must be filled with flatterers, who they order about on small jobs (places) and who praise them on everything.

Cockscrow! They commit the excess (mistake) of extravagance (luxury) and make mistakes in all affairs. With things like this, we really should adopt the Chinese system and first reduce the number of clerks in the six ministries, and reduce the clerks at the bureaus and the provincial districts and establish quotas. If we have a surplus, then when there is a vacancy, transfer a clerk (from another place) to fill it in and give salaries to those people on the job responsible for affairs. Then they will have something to ~~eat~~ eat, and government expenditures will be extremely equitable (equal). The clerks will take delight in their tasks, and public affairs will also be pure (without corruption).

*reduce
no. of
clerks*

93, 4:22b

Someone asked Yulgok: You think that saving the people depends on reforming evils. At the present time what problems cause the people the most trouble?

Yulgok said: The first is the evil of requiring family members and neighbors (to make up the tax and service obligations of others in default) (ilchok pangnin chi p'ye *一族功隣*).

The second is the bothersome and burdensome tribute payments (chinsang). *進上*

①

②

89 93
4:22xb

3
4
5

The third is the middle-man system of tribute payments (kongmul pangnap 貢物防納). The fourth is inequality in (the distribution of) labor service (yöksa pulkyun 役事不均). The fifth is the extortion of the clerks (petty officials, isö).

These are the ones that are particularly bad, but how would it be that the evils of the present time stop only at this (are only these)?

(How would these be the only evils that exist at present?) There has been no resurvey of the land, and fallow and uncultivated wasteland is

still subject to taxation. Buddhism (sökkyo 釋教) still exists and vagrants do not return to their fields. Unexpected (emergency) needs

are all handled by merchants (siin 市人), but the merchants are in danger of imminent calamity. Demands for arbitrary exactions go around

(circulate) to inside the pang (pangnae???) (防內), and when the marrow of the pangnae has been used up, then nameless taxes are levied

in excess in the district towns (adm. districts), and the exactions are on the contrary heavier than the regular taxes. (kongbu 貢賦)

The law of matrilineal determination of status (of offspring of mixed slave and commoner marriages) (chongmo chi pö 從母之法) is

not applied to commoner women (must mean, that when the child's mother is a commoner, the child is not regarded as a commoner as it is supposed

to be, but is kept as a slave), and (as a result) commoners have completely been changed into private slaves (sach'on 私賤).

Supernumerary officials are extremely numerous and "floating" (unnecessary) expenditures are quite extensive. The people's households are gradually

shrinking, but the kun and hyön (adm. districts) are very numerous. So if you want to talk about the evils of the present age, there isn't

enough time in the day to do so. If present conditions are not changed, then even with a Yao or Shun at the top (on the throne), with a Kao

or a ? (皋夔) serving under them, it still would be of no benefit ~~to the government~~ for bringing order to confusion in today's gov't.

6 Land
7 Buddhism
8 merchant

9 徧
Surtaxes

10 slavery

11

12

p.94, 4:23a

94, 4:23a

In a few years' time, the people will become rotten at the core, and ~~h~~ the land will be in ruin. This should be of great concern. At the present time the people are like dangling before death and are running out of breath. They work all day but cannot ^{protect} support themselves. If there should be some alarm from abroad (news of an invasion?) in the south or north, ~~it would~~ (the enemy?) would ~~be~~ be like a fierce wind sweeping through fallen leaves. What do the people and the ancestral shrines have to rely on? When I think (and talk) of this, without realizing it, I shudder and cry.

按

I submit (and ~~talk~~ ^{or is it Yulgok?} ~~talk~~ _{-must be Yu Hyöngwon commenting on Yulgok?})

that we have seen here in brief form what the evils of the present day are. If you would want to discuss them in detail, the day would not be long enough (there wouldn't be enough days). Nevertheless, ~~in all affairs~~ in all affairs there are those things which are fundamental, and those which are nonessential. If you take care of the fundamentals, the nonessentials will rectify themselves. (For example), once a land system is put into practice and military service requirements are based on land (allotments), then the evil practice of forcing neighbors and relatives (to assume labor service requirements levied on individuals who have absconded) will disappear without having to take action to eliminate it.

4:23b

Once the taedong system is applied equally throughout the country and standard yearly quotas to meet the king's needs are determined, then the evil of the royal tribute (chinsang kongmul) will be reformed without having to do more about it.

If you calculate the number of jobs and fix the number of clerks, everyone will have a job to do and a salary (to go with it), and then the evils of the unequal distribution of labor service (as clerks) and the exactions of the petty clerks (to provide for their sustenance in lieu of salaries) will be eliminated without having to do more about it.

94, 4:23b

If the production of the people is made equal and taxes and labor service is uniform (minsan i kyun, ^均 puse i il ^{賦役} 民產既均, 賦役既一) and there are no extra levies and arbitrary exactions (on the people), then nothing more will have to be done to sustain the lives of the people and make them prosperous.

Only

if things are done like this can you issue government edicts and achieve good government. If they are not done like this, then even if you wanted to achieve humane government (injŏng, jen-cheng), it would only be empty talk. But even though this is the method for governing, laws cannot be administered by themselves. The ruler should first obtain worthy officials and put them at his left and right (side), search far and wide for talented men and distribute them among the ranks of officials (sŏwi? 庶位). Only then (can his orders) be carried out. Choosing the great officials (taesin) basically depends on clarifying the virtue of one (all) minds. (ilsim) And the essentials for clarifying the mind are only (all) (to be found) in the sage teachings. In general, ^{are} ~~making~~ laws ~~is~~ like an artisan's marking line and rule, like a tinsmith's mold. ^{If a so-called} ~~if the~~ line and ruler are not (true) lines and rulers, and ~~if the~~ a so-called mold is not a (true) mold, then even the best artisans in the empire cannot make a one-~~room~~kan (roomed) house or a single utensil. The world only ~~says that~~ talks about good artisans and says it is not necessary to use lines, rulers and molds, but this is an extremely erroneous idea.