

6). 1:1a.

An ancient times the well-field system reached its limit (was <sup>the</sup> <sup>of perfection</sup> in practice). The laying out of land boundaries (kyönggae 經界) was all rectified, and all affairs were completed and all the people had ~~their own~~ a firm (foundation) for steady occupation (hang'öp 恒業). In military affairs, there were no evils (problems) in the search for (men to serve on duty, suhwal 搜括). 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 (chöjong 底定), and the customs of the people were harmonious (tonhu 敦厚). This <sup>was</sup> 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 (puyök 賦役) was not regulated and

there was no equality between poor and rich (pinbu pugyun 貧富不均). Because of the accumulation of land (kyömbuyöng 兼并) and the search for profit (牟利). The "good people" (yangmin) lost their places (silso 失所). Households and population were easy to <sup>evade taxation?</sup> seize (t'al 脫). Lawsuits proliferated. There were no distinctions between noble and base (kwich'on mu pyölbun 貴賤無別). Numbers were not clear, and because of this powerful households found it easy to act wilfully, and morality and virtue ~~were~~ 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.

- equal for burden but hierarchical status distinction  
contradiction?

6) 1:1a-b.

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 ~~xxxx~~ 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'on ha taech'e 天下大體).

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 (<sup>made regular</sup> hang 恒); 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 厚). There has never been a person who can govern and teach (the people) in a situation like this.

*Land system  
is the foundation  
of good govt  
institutions  
over men*

- Land system*
1. production
  2. taxation equal
  3. pop. reg.
  4. army service
  5. lawsuits
  6. bribery
  7. mores
  8. mores

6) 1:1b-2a.

What is the reason for a situation like this? Land (~~xxxxx~~ t'oji) is the great root of the empire (ch'onha ji taebon ya). Once the great root is established (kö 樹), then all things will follow along, ~~xxx~~ and there is nothing that is not done correctly. 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'i (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 (溪) ~~xx~~ land so that it was difficult to make kongjön (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 ~~xxx~~ indeed there would be places that would be inconvenient (to fit into a well-field pattern). Also according to the choböp (助法), 8 households would pool their labor to help cultivate (chogyong 助料) the lord's fields (kongjön 公田), and the officials would take the produce from the lord's fields (kongjön). At the present time, if you let the officers of agriculture (chönjun 田賧) and farmers (chönbu 田夫) take charge of harvest and (tax) payments, then it is difficult to completely obtain (the proper) men, and there ~~xxx~~ is always corruption. If you want to chöngsu (定數: determined fixed quantities? of tax?), then the ~~xxx~~ court and official agencies

Adminis the well-field like Ch'ang 15 ai De Bays, I. p. 403-406 Just,

like Su Hsin De Bays - I. p. 407-08 Impractical to restore the well-field

well-field

準之地 俱無執據焉

?

6) 1:2a - 4

? must all have no land to hold to and proect as a standard (??). *that they can rely on (for their income?)*

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 (大夫) had ch'aeji (世祿) land grants?, and the officials had serok (世祿) hereditary salaries).

But everyone nowadays only lives off official taxes (kongse 公稅), and that land is basically land from which produce is harvested for the people. \* 8 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 exemptions and dismissals/ (exemptions?) 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 ~~would~~ did not have that ~~method~~ 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 (ponggon 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 Koryö dynasty used it in order to produce wealth and strength, but the (Koryö) system did not make land the chief (object). It took people as the basis and therefore registered able bodied males (chöng) and granted them land in grades of many categories. When land was given granted, there was always the problem of too many people and too little land, or vice versa.

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米地 land grants?  
世祿 hered. salaries

exempt 大夫 from agr. + commerce

大夫 out of office need support a grandson view of the inheritance  
fiefs necessary for well field

believes Koryö dynasty used it (traditionalistic vs. rational argument) 26

Chang Tsai de B. I. p. 399 ancient Tang reserved in alternate form wanted post. of feudalism; you think it cannot be restored

ts'ai-ti 米地

仕者 (incumbents)

公稅 (taxes) and that was all

paid moved

he

getting far

even?

6) 1:2b.

After the land was granted, there was also the problem of having surplus at present but deficiencies (shortages) in the later on; or 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. The people resided?

in the midst, therefore they set the land boundaries straight.

(Taxes were based on?) what each man collected (in harvest), and there

were no evils. The T'ang and Koryö system took men as the base, granted

land to able-bodied males. Therefore you had the problem of an unequal

balance between the number of men 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)

granting of x law to people, with lack of calculation, amt of land available, distribution on advance adm'r, problem of incorrect application of well-field principles

land vs. men as subject of taxation, tax on men = inequality in taxation

Trad. Distic argument: not good enough. Approximate forms of classical system

-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 (kongjon), and still we could tithe the land. It

would not be necessary to establish ch'aeji (采地) : fiefs or prebends),

and still every one would have his support, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

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

but, like Sa-him de B, I. 408 + Way An-shih de B I. 409, 411 (采地), Restoration of feudalism not necessary

6) 1:2b-3a

the difficult situation of the T'ang and Koryö. 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 (亩). 100 mu make 1 kyöng (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'ök 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.) 100 mu makes 1 kyöng (that is, 100 paces length and width, making 10,000 (sq) paces) One one kyöng of land, you can plant 40 tu. The equivalences between the kyöng-mu system and the kyöl-bu system under use at the present is given below:)

-4 kyöng makes 1 chön (佃). The character, chön (佃), is named for xxxxxx was used originally, but because it was in common use, they added the "man" radical. It is also permissible to use the word, chöng (町)....

-Every farmer (mae ilbu 每一夫) "occupies" (chömsu 占受) and receives 1 kyöng. (note: 1 chön (佃) 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 kyöng will furnish 1 soldier

-1 healthy and robust male will be chosen from among the 4 farmers.

One of them will be a soldier (pyöng) and three will be support personnel

(po) (保). For regulations pertaining to cavalry and infantry, see details below and in the military section.

100 sq paces = 1 mu  
1 mu = 100 sq paces

4840 sq paces = 1 acre  
2 acres

10,000 sq paces (plant 40 tu on it) for every man ✓

graded taxes

-military service based on land distributed 保 system

6 7)1:3a

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

-As for the Ch'ungüi and Ch'ungsun wisa (忠義忠順衛士) see the oesasaeng. As for the Naegümwisa (內禁衛士: also called musön 武選) and the sejök (世嫡 hereditary main line sons?) who have fathers and the ün privilege (yuch'in yuümja 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'ungüwi and Ch'ungsunwi, and Naegümwi, see below and see the military system (pyöngje) discussion. As for the sejök (世嫡), yuch'in (有親) and yuüm (有蔭), for all of these, see below.

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

職官九品以上 從實職 for officials of rank 9 and up (in all cases follow the actual rank post, and not the rank chagye (資階)) up to rank 7, (grant them) 6 kyöng.

All the way up to rank 2A, then (grant them) 12 kyöng. And for all of them, they are exempted from provided soldiers (for military service).

(land grants of 8 kyöng for rank 6 and up; 10 kyöng for rank 3 and up, 12 kyöng for rank 2A and up. Even if EXEMPT 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 授祿).

larger grant for young scholars ✓

military exemption ✓

蔭

incorporation of principles of Conf. morality in the taxation system ✓

greater grants for officials ✓

military exemption ✓

land grants ✓

salaries for incumbents ✓

入學者

增廣生

外舍生

內舍生

內舍生

忠義忠順衛士

內禁衛士

武選

世嫡

有親有蔭

學內外舍

世嫡

有親

有蔭

職官九品以上

從實職

資階

7)1:3b

For the detailed figure for each rank, see the discussion of the salary system (nokche)

The families of dismissed officials (p'agwan kagö **罷官家**) are also to be provided with land (cha ki chön **資其田**).

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 (isö **吏胥僕隸**), 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 söri and choye (**數, 是隸**) and other clerks, each has his grade. See the essay on the salary system.

In the province then they are to receive salary land (nokchön **祿田**), and 1 kyöng is to be granted for every two men.

*clerks get less than farmers*

**吏隸** -the eye (clerks) in the provinces, calculate what they ought to (have) as salary land and ~~xxx~~ (?) reduce it for the capital (clerks).

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

~~xxxxxx~~ section on salaries.

They also are to be exempted from military service.

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

*clerks: mil. exemption*

*Exemption as criterion for mil. exemption*

→ *diminution of hereditary yangban aristocracy is implied!* ← ?

If you calculate land at the present, then the ancient 70 mu is equivalent to 1 kyöng. In general this is enough land to plant 26-7 tu.

*was*

7) 1:3b-4a

4a) 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 ~~xxx~~ know that they had it.

At the present time 100 mu makes a kyöng, 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'u <sup>推</sup>: guess, estimate).)

Only after it is done like this (a grant of 100 ~~xxx~~ mu?) will it be sufficient for taking care of the living and sending off the dead, meeting official tax requirements and ~~establishing~~ 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) ~~the~~ 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.

check  
? But (Some people) say, "It is not that I do not want people to have Either one once (should?) have a surplus. / ~~xxxxxx~~ investigated and thought about it, and made broad inquiry about it, or one should have g 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 ilgyöng (日餘耕) 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).

At present this 40 tu's worth of land basically permits (the use of) servants?

solchöng (率丁 underlings?) on it. How could you say that it is insufficient? Moreover with this 100 mu, then ~~insufficient~~ 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) 5a: This is ~~also~~ also what the situation would demand, but there would be those ~~with~~ who would profit and lose from this greatly.

prosperity due to diligence!

family dependents?

problem of surplus labor areas

8)1:5a.

confirming method of ancients by rational calculation

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 (millyök 民力), and I estimated productivity (san'öp). I compared it with the fertility of the land and the <sup>population</sup> personnel situation (insa), and also compared the old with the new (situation). There was nothing with <sup>which</sup> (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 kyöng, in talking about dry fields, then in general 1 ox can cultivate (this amount of land) in four days. In places like Kyönggi and Yongnam, they use 1 ox, so that they can cultivate it in 4 days. In places like Yangho (Ch'ungch'öng and Chölla) where in many cases they use two oxen, then ~~in six days~~ 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 kyön (畝). The land in Liao-tung has 3 kyön 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 kyön in order to get the most out of management of land. For this explanation, see the kosölp'yön (考說篇).

周礼  
不易之地家百畝，一易之地家二百畝，再易之地家三百畝

-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" önce (lies fallow every other year?), get 200 mou, and household with land

8) 1:5a-b.

that is "changed" twice (allowed to lie fallow for two years) (get) 300 mou. 8 Households share a well (well-field?), and everybody ~~has~~ receives land, but it is not known by what ~~plan~~ plan this system worked.

(Note: Cheng Chung (鄭衆) and Cheng Hsüan (鄭玄) have commented that 2 mu (畝) are equivalent to 1 well (ching 井). He Hsiu (何休) and Pan Ku (班固) have ~~x~~ 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, 王制), 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 (憊).

(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... (錯金銀?). If someone because of thin (unfertile) (land) wanted additional kyöng, that there might be those who would be ~~xxx~~ inconvenienced. At present the quality of the land varies, ~~xxxx~~ might be rich or poor (in mixed in iron?) the fertility is not the same.

何休

inequality

grants based on request by officials

different circumstances

鄭衆

鄭玄

畝

井

何休

班固

and the

孟子, 王制

of the Foli si-chi

上農夫

下農夫

下田

上田

憊

錯金銀

1:  
8)/5b. 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

1:6a

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 (~~it~~ cultivate) it? Moreover,

*problem of granting additional fallow system?*

in the case of additional kyong (land) grants, (people) would want to ~~rent out~~ <sup>cultivate</sup> fallow land <sup>instead</sup> (?? 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. <sup>overpopulated?</sup> 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.

*a fixed 100 mu necessary*

(At ~~present~~ 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 up (adm. town) or village (hyang). Within one territory (一時) ~~it~~ there are also high and low places, fertile and infertile places, mixed together. Also ~~it~~ there may be flood or drought, alternating between good and bad. Therefore it is ~~it~~ 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 infertile land and cultivate the fertile.

*overpopulated? labor surplus?*

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

8) 1:6a-b.

and other places. There are some areas (towns) ~~was~~ where all the land is infertile and you cannot cultivate it every year. Then you give double amounts of kyŏng and have it taejŏn (代田) : tae-Han rented out?). That also is possible.

The above seems to be two extremes, but the law (method) is not uniform. But if <sup>you</sup> 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 代耕). *use the fallow system of cultivation*

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 luxuriant, 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.)

*fertilizer for poor land* ✓

*tenancy ok in infertile + underpop. areas* ✓

*he notes that as pop. needs become smaller inputs will decrease to maintain per capita production* ✓

*ty* ✓

8) 1:6b.

*I note that in*

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 采地) and ~~xx~~ hereditary salary land (serokchön 世祿田). With regard to these two types of land, they also allowed them only to consume the income from official taxes (kongse 公稅) and that was all. (sounds like PREBENDS). In a situation like this, there was no evil from *(variations in)* (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 chöng sikse chi pop 無定食稅元法).

Prebends

*Because it was done like this*

*(variations in)*

*decline from prebendal grants to private property*

*(Fief = can be taken away!!)*

*limitations*

*restore the grants of yet still want* They did not again grant fiefs (pongöñ), but only wanted to use this (they only wanted

*if you do not you cannot avoid*

to adopt this system but without granting fiefs), ~~so that they could not be without~~ *evil opening the way to the* the problem of ~~the~~ hereditary ministers (officials). ~~xxxxxxx~~ (1:7a) Therefore they spoke of the method ~~They~~ of taking (away) and limiting what was at present held.

*of the spring + autumn period*

*at the present time*

*(the best) method*: As for the Confucian scholars (yusa 儒士), *and higher ranking people,* because they are superior, they have ~~a~~ more in the land that is determined (for their grants), and they are exempt from military service.

*儒士以上 定田有加*

*The yusa and up are given additional land allotments since then*

(Note: Some <sup>might</sup> say that the limitation of land (hanjön 限田) is really appropriate. The designated scholar (chöngsa 宗士) gets 4 kyöng. For those of 9th rank and above, 6 kyöng; for rank 6 and above, 8 kyöng; for rank 3 and above, 10 kyöng; for rank 2A and above, 12 kyöng. 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. ~~is the main problem of land grants~~

9) 1:7a

If ~~the problem from excessive land grants is great~~, then one can

determine that a sa (  $\pm$  official) from rank 7 and below gets 4 kyong,

and rank 6 and up gets 8 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 because the scholar (sa  $\pm$ ) do not engage~~

in agriculture, <sup>so</sup> how can you give him greater land grants (than

commoners) (chöngjön yuga 定田有加)? (I) say that this can

be done because we use the land limitation system (hanjön 限田).

Only after it is done like this can you allow them <sup>to use</sup> solchong (  $\pm$  ):

tenant cultivators?) to maintain their families. ~~If you do not give~~

them land grants, then ~~you~~ 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~~ intention of the ancients, ~~we~~ we ought to copy the principle

of sikch'ae ( 食米 : land grants, prebendial grants?).

According to the ~~Hasa~~ Hasa seryöl ( 下賜稅例 ),/everybody from the

Confucian scholars (yusa 儒士) to the chief ministers (taebugyong 大夫卿)

calculat~~ion~~ and determin~~ation~~ (grants) of sikse ( 食稅 : "feeding taxes",

prebends?), ~~were made~~ in the case of Confucian scholars (yusa) and

officials of rank seven or below, <sup>the grants of taxes last</sup> 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 ~~is~~

~~and their sons; for taebu and kyong~~ the grant extended

~~to~~ to their sons; for taebu and kyong (大夫, 卿), 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, ~~it~~ still

~~it goes without saying that~~

~~and what is allocated will be the majority of revenues~~

12 } only 3 categories  
8 }  
4 }

the land grant system is bothersome because of too many categories  
煩數 弊之 大者

every 4 kyong makes 1 grade. and simplify the number of grades. How about doing it like this? I would reply that there's no reason why you can't do it this way.

Indented text:

$\pm$  Scholars

intention of the ancients

lifetime prebendial grants to scholars

VS.!! inheritance rights for high officials

王

大夫卿

the grants of taxes last

note.

大夫, 卿

more than half

p.9

1:7a

If the system of granting fiefs (ponggön) is not restored and we only order it like this, then the fragmented parcels of sikse (食稅) land will be scattered about in a thousand places, and each parcel will

1:7b

belong to a thousand people. Not only will it be more bothersome in keeping ledgers for ~~in~~ 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'önha).  
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 ~~the~~ people half their land taxes.

賜民田租之半 (Cui)

If this method were used, then it would cause inconvenience with regard to other matters. In general, the management of land and levying taxes 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 (sagunja 士君子). This then is a penetrating (universal) principle, and is also the intention of the ancients.

Principle

But the ancients granted fiefs (ponggön), so that the households which received prebendial towns (ch'aeüp 采邑) and "fed on" taxes (sikse 食稅) were given control over the land; ~~xxxxxxx~~ responsibility for governing the people, as well as the land, was given to the kiin (其人 :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? 費用), they would also have the kiin manage it.)

functional-based distinctions

division of labor peasants scholars + chin-tzu

其人 stewards?

p.9 1:7b

This situation being like this, therefore they could (do it) like

that, but the taebu of later ages who did not <sup>hold office</sup> produce officials,

even though they were different from the common people, in <sup>terms of</sup> their

houses and residences, ~~in fact~~ they were the same as the men of the

fields (yain: farmers). How much <sup>more so</sup> worse for those <sup>士 (sa= scholars)</sup> families who

never <sup>served in office?</sup> produced an official? This is the reason why the sikse (食稅)

prebendial grant, to incumbent officials?) method, although it seems to

be the intention of the ancients, in fact is not appropriate. <sup>不盡命</sup>

All things have their warp and woof. Only after that can you

achieve their use. Its 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 <sup>an adjustment to (present)</sup> 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)&

deplores fact that imposed 夫 become no different than common peasants those families that never produced an official. VS. Prebends

Seems to be training land limitation here

problem of mil. service exemption for scholars

1:8a

prop.

their strength is the basis for distinguishing the jobs of the noble & base

Some say, how <sup>might</sup> can you exempt from ~~their~~ military service

land <sup>the</sup> recipients of land of scholar <sup>sa</sup> and <sup>higher</sup> above (status)? <sup>(should apply)</sup> If you

do so, then how can you prevent the reduction of ~~their~~ the numbers

of men for military service? <sup>to reply to this</sup> I say that a system for cultivating <sup>providing for</sup>

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 apportionments?~~

~~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~~

~~of we did not provide for scholars as we provide for soldiers,~~

~~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).

井井不紊

institutions must fit the circumstances

心勞力止 貴賤之 分

p.9 1:8a

We cannot abandon support for scholars just to economize on expenditures.  
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 ~~is~~ will be (in confusion? 買賣) with strife and contention, and the people will have ~~no way to eke out a living.~~ place to put their hands + feet (no one to rely on for leadership). (END OF NOTE)

my other reforms

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 <sup>right</sup> 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 ~~is~~ 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.

tax rates are low  
& mil. service quotas  
are low BUT people  
are still suffering from tax  
taxation.  
X5 mil. svc.

At the present time ~~everyone~~ all of the people ~~are~~ suffering from taxation, and taxes reach the smallest person. There are none who are not transgressed upon by military service, and military service reaches the smallest man. but the taxes (tax rates) are extremely small quotas but the quotas are very few.

In general the reason for this is that there are no figures (quotas) punsu 分數, 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).

few tax  
by  
rank  
or  
grade  
(aristocr.)

vs. concentration of  
wealth by certain  
families  
& corrupt clerks

Suppose we if you say that a reduction of the (tax) quotas military 分數

were made clear, then the sa (scholars) and taebu (gentry?) would all know that the state's intention to take care of them and not

p.9 1:8a-b

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ dare abandon themselves, and would not be like (?)  
the present <sup>situation where (scholars + officials) just lay around enjoying themselves</sup> laxity and ignorance where ~~there is~~ <sup>they have</sup> no knowledge of the  
virtue of the state and no consideration of the urgent (situation)

14世書

?

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?

need to build up morale of sadaebu  
civic duty + patriotism!

land grants to nobility

limits on ownership?

12受之田

For taegun and kun (大君, 君) (both legitimate and illegitimate) main wife concubine  
princes (wangja chöksö 王子嫡庶), and for legitimate and illegitimate  
princesses (kongju 公主, ongju 翁主), all (will be limited to?)  
12 kyöng of land.

(note: The crown prince (seja 世子), other princes (chungja 象子) and kunju 郡主 will also get 12 kyöng. The princess of x the crown prince by a concubine (hyönju 縣主) will get 10 kyöng. This then is the land to be occupied and received' (chömsu chi 占受之田).

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. I (END OF NOTE)

Prebend?

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

賜稅田  
Kok 斛 = amt of tax revenues?  
10 Kok / kyöng? taxes?

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

每等適?

420 kok of land for a kun. (That is, 42 kyöng for first class land, up to 210 kyöng for 9th class land).



p.10 1:9a

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/royal (prebendial) tax grant land (sase) may be transmitted to sons and grandsons (descendants).

It will be granted to the eldest son of the legitimate wife (chökchang) and jointly (held) by the main line of the lineage (chongjok 宗族). 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 prebendial 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 ancestral 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.

inheritance of royal (prebendial) tax grants limited primogeniture? or divided inheritance? 3-generation limit or possibly 4-generation ancestral

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

important clue on to operation of 4-4-1 system !!

isn't 12 kyöng of land too little for a prince? 冊乃已少耶

1:9b \* 宗 do not engage in agriculture? //

Some people might ask, isn't a prince too young to be given 12 kyöng of land? I would reply that it is an ancient principle that the taebu (ta-fu) do not engage in agriculture. The household of

p.10 1:9b

a prince, how could it engage in agriculture. But in the present age, every body has land; if the scholars (sa) and taebu (officials) have already been granted land (prebends), therefore the princes should also not be without land grants (chöngjön 定田), 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 empty land? (? myökhön taegwöl 覓田待闕). (END OF NOTE)

indicates that you would provide 3 incomes and income for princes  
1) Salaries  
2) 田 (land allotments)  
3) 賜田 (prebends)

Some might say that the princes and merit subjects already have their salaries and ~~have~~ will also received land, so that in addition to make them special prebendial tax grants (pyölichöng sase) of grades would be to add an annoying regulations (kwajo 科條). If taegun were given 80 kyöng of land, and kun, kongju, and ongju were given land in (descending) rank order  $\frac{1}{2}$  rate second to that, and all were granted tax exemptions, and also if they were required to meet mil. service requirements on it, ~~and their retainers~~ 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 were not 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?

check!

opponents advocating that descendants be given add'l allotments to increase their income

1:10a

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 ~~are~~ were 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

but you against that

p.10, 1:9b Some might say that: Princes and merit subjects already are provided with salaries, and in addition receive land grants (sujŏn 受田), so that if you also establish another special categories of prebends (pyŏl chŏng sase 別定賜稅), wouldn't that be a bothersome regulations? If (instead) you were to allot 80 kyŏng of land to a taegun(大君), and decreasing sizes of allotments to kun, kongju(公主) and ongju(翁主), exempt all of them from the se (land tax) and also require that military service be performed by their retainers (pangdang 伴當), 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 (sujŏn 受田) in accordance with ~~his~~ his rank, in accordance with regulations; and also that we could copy this for merit-subject land as well. How about that?

1:10a

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?)~~ equal; and if the 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.

~~I say~~ (someone says) that: If you use minjŏn(民田 :people's land) for granting the sase(賜稅) prebends and only allow the recipient to consume

*if the land tax is kept equal (by varying area of land on which taxes are assessed to produce a uniform exemption when military service is performed) then exemptions will be unequal (because person is based on land area); if military service is kept constant, then land tax exemptions will be unequal.*

*be unequal*

[

]

民田

賜稅

p.10, 1:10a the taxes while being obliged to provide ~~xsoldiersx~~(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 (chökchang <sup>嫡長</sup>) until the last generation that royal status was retained (taejin <sup>代盡</sup>), and then the prebend (sase) would be taken in (su <sup>收</sup> :by the authorities) and each (son~~x~~ heir) would receive a regular land allotment (sujön <sup>受田</sup>) 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 (<sup>采地</sup> :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) <sup>cause them difficulty</sup> in fact it would have the effect of injuring them. Moreover if you think of the matter, there ~~is~~ 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 ~~thexxf~~ land grants (sujön <sup>受田</sup>) and ~~xxx~~ land tax exemption (myönse <sup>免稅</sup>) 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 <sup>條理</sup>) 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.

1:10b

p.10 1:10b

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 ~~be~~ easy to implement.

自有其田

If you try talking about the current situation, the families of merit subjects already have their <sup>own?</sup> land and also have their tax-exempt land, ~~but~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~if~~ <sup>too</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>thought</sup> 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 (制), regulating) and making it equal in allowing each man his share would be the best method.

免稅田  
多端

Acting in accordance with the times + in accordance with human feelings (= interests of the elite. Does not care about the feelings of the common peasants?)

(Note: This same prebendial system is an idea inherited from the ancient system of dividing land (yölt'o <sup>splitting</sup> 列土), but ~~what about the limitation on generation (inheritance?) of the present?~~ <sup>how about at the present</sup> In the former case there

time in poor limits

列土

(I would reply)

而已 (to inherit)

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

the state didn't take back the prebend

are limits (to things when they become exhausted, used up), if you look at the (situation) in the Han and Chin dynasties,

this concern is with preventing hereditary ownership

none of them had ~~hereditary~~ permanent and hereditary (landholding).

One's descendants generally were not counted beyond one or two generations, and then cut off

wants to insure hereditary rights for nobility + reach a compromise with feudal system of inheritance.

in accordance with the situation. At the present time when the granting of fiefs (ponggon) has not yet been reestablished, to cut

purpose: to reconcile both public + private interests.

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 these matters only ~~depend on how the laws are at one time,~~ <sup>temporary adjustments;</sup> they

Seems to like idea of Kwajin system, but need for taking steps to prevent death in private ownership.

are not involved in the land system (as such). (END OF NOTE)

related to

p.11 1:11a

Even though the princes and merit subjects ought to be given prebendal grants (sase) so that they might consume the income, we must be careful not to allow the practice of royal grants of land (sajön <sup>賜田</sup>) to begin. (That is, special royal land grants pyölsajön <sup>別賜田</sup> 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 Koryö land system was because of this.

FOR PREBENDS NOT OUTRIGHT GRANTS.

clear distinction between the limited prebendial grant (sase) and the current royal grant (sajön) of privately owned land

The tu-gok (斗斛) 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 (kyöngböp <sup>經法</sup>). Not only would it (leave) strange fractions when accounts were kept, but it would be difficult to use this throughout (universally) in determining land (prebendial) grants). The kyöng-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 sök. In ancient times they did not treat the kok as the same as the sök, but since the Ch'in dynasty, the kok was used for sök, so because of this there would be nothing to prevent using this appellation.)(END OF NOTE)

change units from 15斗 per kok to 10斗

adoption of a decimal system of measurement based on Chinese precedents

1:11b

The kyöl-bu (結負) system will be changed for the kyöng-mu. (Note: This country's kyöl-bu system is basically not a method inherited (from olden times?). It is you carry out kongjön (official or public land), it is even more necessary to make changes and use the kyöng-mu system. Under the kyöng-mu system, each grade of land

standard unit of area, + graded tax of land (opposite to prevailing system)

p.11 1:11b

area is the same, but there are differences in the grades of tax.  
 This means that land is taken as the base. In the kyōl 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 kyōl-bu system. Thexka kongjōn  
 (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 and people are combined  
in one. We must <sup>use</sup> the kyōng method in order to rectify land boundaries,  
 then later things will be made equal. (kyun). (END OF NOTE)

*criticizes present  
 system because  
 duplication between  
 landholding &  
 tax requirements  
 calls this system  
 in H. = note ownership*

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

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 kyōng  
 (actual area 360,000 (sq) feet)

*38,100 sq. ft. = 1 mu  
 9 paces?  
 9.4 paces? =*

The kyōng-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) (in actual area, 6,000 sq feet), 100  
 mu makes 1 kyōng (in actual area 600,000 sq feet)

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(According to ancient practice, 6 feet made 1 pace. Now  
 5 feet makes 1 pace, therefore, the ancient li was 300 paces for 1 li,  
 and now it is 360 paces for 1 li.)

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The kyöl-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 kyöl. (1 kyöl for each grade (of foot) means that each kyöl is 100 feet square, with the true area being 10,000 square feet)

6 acres?

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

7 acres

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

9 acres

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

1:12b

10.5 acres

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

16 acres

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

25 acres

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

(Note: This system was taken over by this dynasty at its founding

from the Koryö system with some adjustments in it. at first the

old system of 57 mu per kyöl was used. In a very good crop year (sangsangnyön)

the amount of grain produced was investigated. 1st class land produced

85 sök of unhulled rice (that is, kümsök 釜石? ), and the (tax rate) was 1/20 (5%), the tax being 30 tu (2 sök)

(the only trouble with this

is that a 5% tax on 80 sök would be 4 sök, not 2 sök--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 sök per grade in

productivity. (I have organized the info into a chart, supplying

the volume productivity by my own calculations, subtracting 12 sök

from 80 sök for each grade of land:

15  
3  
2  
1  
↓

9.5 acres

I think this is it!

!!!!!!!

p.11 1:12b

Grade of land	(unhulled rice prod)	(hulled rice)	tax
1	80 sök	40	30 tu (2 sök)
2	68	34	25 tu 5 süng
3	56	28	21 tu
4	44	22	16 tu 5 süng
5	32	16	12 tu
6	20	10	7 tu 5 süng

rate is 5%

(prod.)  
40 sök

10 sök

63 acres to 26 1/2 acres.

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

In considering the ancients, government was based on taking care of ~~the people~~ <sup>is included 養民</sup> cultivating the people (yangmin), therefore the determination of land (chöngjön 定用) (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 kyöl was determined~~ ~~the kyöl was determined~~ in accordance with the amount of tax paid, the same grade (was used) in determining the kyöl. Under the kyöng 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, kyöng, and mu, both indicate the amount of land.) Under the kyöl system, the taxes are all the same, but in accordance with the fertility of the land, the area (of the kyöl) varies. (This means that taxes are taken as the main subject, and the terms, kyöl and pu, both indicate the amount of tax (collected).)

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One can thus see from this how the intentions of the ~~laws~~ ~~laws~~ laws since ancient times were divided. If you talk about the pros and cons, advantages and disadvantages, then the kyöng 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

Keep straight

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be hidden (from the tax collector), but if the officials do not maintain surveillance, then perhaps there would be some fear that mistakes would be made in the accounting (hoegye).

In the kyŏl system, the amount of tax is easy to grasp, but there are differences in the land area (per ~~kyŏl~~ each grade of kyŏl); ~~as~~ 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) ~~in~~ it is difficult to maintain surveillance over it.

accounting diff. in the system

In general the kyŏng system is equivalent to the t'i (ch'e) (fundamental, substance), or the pon (root), and the kyŏl system is equivalent to the yung (yong)(practical use), or the mal (end, tip, branch). If ~~you can clearly calculate the total~~ calculated the total 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 kyŏl 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

体

essence

t'i-yung

1:13b

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 can not know completely, then it is easy for the clerks (sŏri) to use deceit to

obstruct the investigation. Even ~~if you want to eliminate the corruption of~~ /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~~ fraud, and in the end the taxes are also (not levied) equally.) (END OF NOTE)

in system give clerks opportunities to corruption

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分田

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 (kongjŏn), still it would be best to reform the kyŏl-bu system and adopt the kyŏng-mu 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 ~~the~~ 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, ~~it~~ 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 (tŭngje <sup>次第</sup> /) 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 tŭng (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)

Poor people suffer from inequalities of kyŏl measure-

ixi4h 1:14a

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?

refuses to retain that kyŏl system in use since the Samhan period

Some people think that in this country since the Samhan 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

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Tx'aebong, because the people wanted 1 kyŏng of land, (levied) a tax of 6 sŏk." Also in the biography of Pak Yŏng-gyu (朴英規), it states: "Once T'aejo had pacified the spirits (country), he granted Yŏng-gyu 1,000 kyŏng of land." Thus the name, kyŏl-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 kyŏl), 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 they 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 (yŏjŏn). Then even though you have one mu or half a mu, there is also no harm. How could the world have produced the kyŏl-bu system and not produced the kyŏng-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 kyŏng for kyŏl; 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 tried it

*notes:*  
cites Koryŏ T'aejo for precedent in use of 1000 mu home, must have originated in mid-Koryŏ also in 1040's area of feet of land while tax rates varied.

*!! direct attack on the reliance on historical precedent*

*refutes argument that hills & rivers defeats the kyŏng-mu measurement system*

*refutes idea that trad'l practice must be adhered to*

*抄*

p.12: 1:14b

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 ~~xxxx~~ 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 (諱葛) and Wu-hou (武侯) that in Ch'eng-tu (成都), there was 15 kyŏng of thin (poor) land.) (END OF NOTE)

~~xxxx~~ There is a reference in Chu Hsi's Kyŏnggyejang (經界狀) which says: "As for the numbers of feet in surveying land, for every mou of ~~the~~ land establish so many wen (mun) 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 ~~xxxx~~ determined land area in po and mu (feet and mou), and had nine classifications for tax purposes. ~~xxxx~~ We ~~xxxx~~ may 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 Hang ~~xxxx~~'s? Kanyangnok (姜沆看羊錄) which contains a description of the Japanese land system. The Japanese say that ~~the~~ 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 ~~to~~ in length to 10 Korean ri. Paddy land they call den (田) and mountain (dry) land they call (畠). The whole country is divided into 66 ~~xxxx~~ shu (州), 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 kŏ (hyang: 鄕): that is, wherever there is a castle and a moat). They have 109,856 towns (ch'on), and 899,160 cho (町) of land (rice land), and 112,148 cho of dry land (畠). (It is also said that their male

*cite Chu Hsi for precedent*

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*1668!*  
*姜沆看羊錄*  
*secret report of Korean POW in Japan, after Adushihis invasion?*  
*Japan.*

*畠*

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population is 1,994,828 and female population is 2,914,820 (4.8 million)

1:15b

17th c.  
Japan

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 (pongōn). The peasants receive their land from the shuto (守土; <sup>protector</sup> recipient of the land) to cultivate it and collect the harvest, and they pay their taxes (to) feed (them?).

守土

1,000 sok of land is sufficient to support 50 troops, and 10,000

sōk 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

mou

to make nyō (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, they does not have to be extreme adjustments;

it must also be done like this.) (END OF NOTE) It is only in cases

of land ~~is~~ adjacent to mountains and near rivers where the shape is

(尖仄) that you cannot mark it off into squares. In such places,

尖仄

follow the shape. In making squares, cut off some places and add to

others to accomplish ~~it~~ it in places where it cannot be done. Or

you can count 10 mou, and perhaps have 1 or 2 mu left over. . .

1:16a

Except for land that cannot be cultivated, such as mountains,

swamps, and deserts, all should be surveyed using the kyōng, but as

for fallow land (chinjōn 陳田) ~~is~~ which is not received (given out?),

陳田

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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 kyōng 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 kyōl" (加額 加額), therefore the clerks (kamsaek 監色) of survey not only for that reason raise the grade of land ~~land~~ and ~~land~~ thereby increase the kyōl, but if they happen upon land adjacent to mountains or near to swamps, they record much of it as ~~land~~ chin'gyōl (陳結 :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 kyōl to kyōng, and everything (is measured) in ~~land~~ po (paces) and ch'ōk (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 kyōl method, but also that food for the people comes from it; and if in accordance with the present kyōl, 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 (ryōk) 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

1:16b  
fit the land allotment to labor  
productivity  
cites Kuo-yü

註

?

p.13 1:16b

Quotes?

there to be differences in area (of the unit of measurement, area). Furthermore in rectifying the land boundaries, you want to clarify the division of numbers (fractions? punsu 分数). 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 ~~ix~~ 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 (? 倍地). 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 ~~ex~~ 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)

vs. private land

variance in prod. based upon effort + natural causes

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 ( 齐 ) what can be

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p.14 1:17a

made equal and strives to do what can be done right, and that is all there is to it. If you have land (delimited) 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 (rent it: taejŏn 代田). 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 (kyŏnmin) 均民. 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, it is also OK to make it fractional land (yŏjŏn) 餘田. 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 two 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 (yŏjŏn), then follow the secondary (method) of pacing it off. Even though it crosses over streams, roads, or hills, it can be accommodated to the condition of the land, so that in light of the number of mu of this yŏjŏn, you can also make yŏjŏn (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 fractions and the ~~difficulties~~ evils involved in places where it is difficult to make it uniform. (che 齊). (END OF NOTE.)

*if persons are by 4, give double the amount & allow tenancy!*

*Equality is necessary (but can be achieved by surveying the land smart?)*

1:17b

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Some say that if ~~you have paddy land and you have some of your kyöng~~  
 the 1 kyöng of land is like paddy land, you have complications caused by  
 ( **塍封** , tŭröng ? **促數** ), and if ~~you~~ it is dry land, then you have  
 such things as streams, hills, rocks and hills ( **泉窰石屯** )  
 (toi tamil ? ), and also roads that cut across ~~that~~ 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  
 many disputes about it. We ought to ~~do things in accordance with the~~  
 present, it goes without saying. ~~present (the present situation?)~~. (NOTE: Even though at present the  
 kyö1 is calculated 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 ( **塍封** : lumps of earth?,  
 uncultivable in rice paddies?) and hills and rocks in dry fields.)  
 (END OF NOTE). 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 kyöng;  
 you cannot make additions and subtractions. (Note: As for such things as  
 ( **促塍** ) and hills ( **窰屯** ), once the land system has been established  
 for a long time, then naturally there is a gradual expansion of cultivated  
~~xx~~ land by the labor of the people, usually in flat places. At present  
 much of the ~~xx~~ land is not well **regulated**, but once the land boundaries  
 are completed, it will be **diffiucit** to change for a hundred generations,  
 and whatever **harm** there is will become permanent. That is why you  
 cannot add paces (to the standard kyöng dimensions) like this. You  
 should only **calculcate** 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 faorable treatment.) (END OF NOTE)

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1:18a

This is not something that ~~can~~ 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 ~~xxx~~ 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? 促膝), ponds, and hills, or cliffs (rocks), roads that cut across, or empty and abandoned places, or paces (po) <sup>mu</sup> and how many mu/they are in area, and you add in the number of ~~xxxx~~ 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 yŏjŏn (餘田: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 한평 한락). 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 (yŏjŏn). 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

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the production of the people will be lacking and small in many cases. Moreover in mountainous areas, 80-90% of the land will be yōjōn, and this will also be difficult to handle. In the three ancient ages, even though <sup>(kingdoms)</sup> princedoms (kuo) were enfeoffed with 50 or 70 li, they could not determine the mts and rivers, flatlands and precipitous places, therefore all of it was calculated as chōn (田 : cultivable land?), and they did not calculate it as (plain) land (? chi 地). From this it can also be seen.) (END OF NOTE)

1:18b

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, ~~it~~ in general begin regulating (things) in accordance with the inserted signposts? (sapp'yo 挿標), and then in subsequent years the spaces that gradually (ponggu 封溝) are under cultivation will each be/sealed off and ~~diked~~ (surrounded with) dikes and ditches by the farmer. (Note: The sealing of the land (pongt'o 封土) will be done either by opening up dikes, or by piling up stones, in accordance with the circumstances. Each kyōng of territory will have a small ponggu (封溝 : sealing dike), and each chōn (佃) 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 (kungno 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 (hyangnoŏ) (...garbled), and 3 paces for a village road (iro) (xxxxxx) (a thoroughfare between villages, this ought to begin from a large boundary ditch (ponggu) . . .). A deputy from the magistrate (suryōng kyōngch'agwan 守令敬差官) will make the rounds of the fields to investigate. (Note: Every fall the magistrate will inspect, as in

regions for ditches, dikes and roads

(End of Note) A and a special commissioner

p.14, 1:18b

*surveillance  
& punishment*

*standard  
measures*

as in the case of the present regulations for the repair and maintenance of roads. And also a commissioner (Kyŏngch'agwan) will make the rounds enforcing the law and making punishments of those who failed to keep the law. Also have each myŏn copy out the land registers for their myŏn 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 it is first established, it will have results, ~~but~~ <sup>and</sup> 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 ~~take care~~

draw the land boundaries all at once, then you can not 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 still will not be much aid in cultivating rice

plants (?). (END OF NOTE)

According to the Chou-li (周礼) (section on managing fields (自冶野), among the people (夫) there are sui (遂) :highways),

p.15, 1:19a

*6-7 years  
for fire  
conversion process*

*Chou-li*

p.15, 1:19a

and above the sui <sup>遂</sup> there are ching<sup>4</sup> (徑) :byways). Every 10 men (shippu <sup>十夫</sup>) have a ditch (kou<sup>1</sup> (溝), and above the ditch there are chen<sup>3</sup> (畛) :raised paths between fields). Every 100 men (fu) have a hsü<sup>1</sup> (洫) :ditch), and above the ditch there is a t'u<sup>2</sup> (涂(途) path). Every thousand men have a kuai<sup>4</sup> (澮) :drain), and above the kuai there is a tao (道) :road). 10,000 men have a river (川), and above the river there are lu (路) :roads). The sui, kou, hsü, and kuai (遂, 溝, 洫, 澮) are all what the water flows through on its way to the river. The sui ditch is two feet wide and deep, and the kou (溝) is double that. The hsü (洫) is double the kou. The kuai is 2 hsin (翻尋) :measure of 8 ft) long wide, and 2 jen<sup>4</sup> (仞) :measure of 8 ft) deep. The ching, chen, tao, and lu (徑, 畛, 道, 路) are all thoroughfares by which carts go to the capital. The ching (徑) is big enough for oxen and horses; the chen (畛) allows large carts; the t'u (途) permits 1 track chariots; the tao permits two tracks; the lu (路) permits 3 tracks. (And thus) the system of a sage ix flourishes. Even

waterways + roads to be modelled after the Chou-li.

1:19b

still must have pong, ku, kyŏng, and to (封, 溝, 徑, 道) to make boundaries.

ancient precedent

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

KSDSJ, I, 247  
this text in the 箕田圖說, compiled in 1550-1613  
in 1550-1613  
the author linked as 韓百諫, 1550-1613  
in 1550-1613  
referred during Healy's invarious

Also according to Han Ku-an (韓久庵) 's Kijŏn tosŏl (箕田圖說: Illustrated Explanation of Kija's land system), Kija's land system in P'yŏngyang established 70 mu as 1 ku (區), x 4 ku as 1 chŏn (田) (that is, in the shape of the character, chŏn 田). The roads that bounded the ku were 1 mu in width, and the roads that bounded the chŏn were 3 mu in width. Also the system of 4 ku making 1 tan (段) was also a system divided by the ancient sages.

land, an Easterner?

田制, 上

p.15, 1:18x  
19b

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, (yöjön 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 ün privilege, each will receive fractional (lands) in accordance

with their g rank (grade), altogether (totalling?) 2 kyöng. After they

enter the inner (main) household, they will receive additional amounts in accordance with the regulation.) (END OF NOTE)

A transferred official (chön'gwan 遷官) 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 吏隸) 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 há has a wife and son, making a standard household of 5 or 8 people, and he receives 1 kyöng of land.

If he has many sons, then at the age of 16 they receive fractional land (yöjön 餘田), wait until they become adult males and establish a household, after which they receive an additional amount (up to) 1 kyöng.

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 kyöng 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).

System of Land Distribution  
# of 5-8 people get 1 頃  
extended family  
ancient precedent  
均 regulate land + take about pop. differences

petition system for land grants

有親 *legal relatives*

遷官

吏隸

小史

夫

餘田

p.15 1:20a

grants by application; takes authority away from mag. of w. Japanese system!

In general, land grants are not calculated by the magistrate on his own and given. If some one wants to receive land (he applies for it), and the magistrate just approves ~~and~~ his request. As for those people who subsequently receive wasteland (hwangjŏn 荒田), the magistrate again makes a survey and determines kyŏng (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 kyŏng 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 kyŏng ~~each of the~~ many people make application to get the same piece of land received ~~the land of many people is together included (in it), then~~ <sup>persons per household -</sup> follow the one with the most. (Note: If the land is the same (amount)

1:20b

~~far~~ 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 hojŏk (don't do it unless they are registered). For the quality of the land, see the land registers (chŏnjŏk.) (END OF NOTE)

科人 - officials of higher or lesser rank

All men, whether important or small (unimportant) will receive land from the magistrate where they reside. (Note: Gentry (sabu 士夫) 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 magistracy will issue a certificate (ib'an 立案) which they will present to the magistrate in the place to which they have moved, after which they will receive (their land grant).

land grant at place of residence only

p.15, 1:20b

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 (sase) will be together (registered) in this ledger (which will be stored in) the Ministry of Taxation. People who have received land, ~~irrespective~~ with or 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 **大夫士**), after three years the land will be (transferred? **帝**). (Note: After the funeral a report will be made, after three years another report will be made and the ( **帝** land) will be increased (for the **增廣生** the same (rule will apply to) **增廣生** people living together with him.) (END OF NOTE). As for soldiers and people, after 100 days transfer? (**帝**) 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)

*limits on large scattered holdings + absentee landholders*

*return of land grants at death, or 3 yrs after, or 100 days after*

*Saengwon who passed a special palace exam(?)*

p.16, 1:21a

As for their male descendants who inherit their grant, <sup>if</sup> they are due ought to receive more than (his) grade, (Note: As in the case of a scholar due 4 kyŏng, vs. kunmin (soldiers and people) due 1 kyŏng)(END NOTE) then allow other people to receive (some of the deceased's share). (Note: If people living with ~~wh~~ 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

p.16, 1: 21a

Sons of ± and K.K. get father's land!

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 ~~xxxx~~ (a grant) in accordance with their grade. (Note: <sup>+off.</sup> 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~~s~~ to that of a commoner (min).

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

If a man dies without male descents, but his wife is still alive, give her a kubunjŏn (二分田). (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/chŭnggwangsaeng (增廣生), and members of the Ch'ung'ŭi (忠義衛) and Ch'ungsunwi (忠順衛), give them 1 kyŏng. The wives of kunmin (soldiers and people) and clerks the wives of will get 20 mu. For/chunggwangsaeng and above, the grants they receive will not include military service. For Ch'ungŭiwi members and below, their wives will receive land and will be liable for support payments (poga 保家) (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 ~~men~~ 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

1:21b

make registration in school a criterion of status seems to indicate that a ± is a student, not a degree-holder, suggesting some prestige of ranked scholars. In China, a degree essential for status.

no military service required of land grants to wives of deceased ± K.K. (see next page)

p.16, 1:21b

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  
 || for 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 their ones 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)

Some say that widows who receive land grants should be obliged to serve for mil. service on land

of 夫 免 from military service. maintain status of privilege for descendants + soldiers

邊田

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, ~~as you do to a thing about its right 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), if 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 (kunsu 軍士) 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 (連) the land (to them). If he is without sons or grandsons and wants to receive land as a support person (pobu 保夫), then after he attains the age

1:22a

連?

連

保夫

p.16, 1:22a of 70 give him kubunjon of 20 mu, and transfer the leftover (yöjön) one-fifth the 80 mu to his substitute. This 20 mu will also aid in paying/support tax (poga) **保伍.**

Slaves (of officials)  
① liable for service  
② get land grants  
③ eligible for 12令田

**收養子**

In general slaves of officials are liable for service, and 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 yöjön (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)

old age security

Widowers, widows, those left alone, orphans, and those dismissed ~~xxxxxx~~ 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, the everything should be well ordered. This was the way of the ancients. But in using the land limitation method (hanjon) **限田** ~~has been adopted~~ (different degrees) **once** there were degrees of land received, and with regard to the eight men who shared the well (of the well field system), small differences were permitted. Also

problems w. 3令田 + 1令田

are granted.

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 Koryö and established it like this. ~~xxxxxx~~

so he has adopted the Tang and Koryö systems.

request land from (land) **兼取** (combined rice + well system) in combination

after adoption of the limited field system, those who received land + rice system different from the well system. When 8 men shared the well:

military org. based on land; units org. by villages

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) **東伍軍** 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. **organize**

p.16, 1:22a

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? 郊). 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 ~~of their~~ 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~~ <sup>destrigured</sup> in their clothing, and have knowledge of each others 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

ancients

1:22b

mutual aid in village + mil. units

gives solidarity

vs. universal recruitment and service

we found enrolling them for service as substitutes. That is why in district eastern myŏn were mixed in with those from one village, the people in the ~~suburbs were separated from those in 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 ~~and~~ (from the village?) People who ran away hid their traces, and those who transferred (to other places) were allowed to ~~live~~ <sup>live</sup> 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) land system is carried out, then/the formation of men into military ranks, ~~ought to be done~~ <sup>ought to be done</sup> we ought to do it by village.) (END NOTE) Both cavalrymen and infantrymen ~~will receive~~ <sup>(each)</sup> 4 kyŏng ~~and supply~~ <sup>will furnish</sup>

village units instead of national integration

With regard to

will furnish

p.16, 1:22b

one man <sup>for duty when</sup> as an infantry man <sup>is</sup> to be on duty (p'onsang **番上**), The cavalrymen will <sup>be on reserve to take care of</sup> supply provide horses and will not serve on duty.

民 common people  
主 + 保夫

(Note: The (common) people (min) all receive 1 ky'ong. Of four men who receive 4 ky'ong, one man will be the main subject (chu **主**), and the other three will be support persons (pobu **保夫**). 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

[**yun 運**]. ~~(while on duty) this rice~~ 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 <sup>of</sup> official and private slaves (ch'ŏn) who are "outside residents" (oegŏ **外居**) and receive land, they will be sog'ogun (**束伍軍**) <sup>for every</sup> and will receive 2 ky'ong of land, and supply one man (for military service). They, too, will not go on active duty,

外居 束伍  
incorporates post-  
Koryŏli system

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'ŏn'in (base persons) can not be regarded as regular soldiers (ch'ŏngby'ong **正兵**), therefore a special Sog'ogun unit (was created). If within a 4 ky'ong 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'ŏnggun **正軍**). In the case of official slaves who are enrolled as sog'o (gun), they all will be exempted from personal tribute (sin'gong **身貢**). In the case of private slaves, theirs will also be reduced to 1 p'il, the same as in support of able-bodied males.

p.17, 1:23a  
discrimination  
vs. slaves  
in mil. service

For other ~~information~~ details, see the "military system" (essay).

SLAVERY

p.17, 1:23a

You must have sog'o soldiers, but at the present time commoners <sup>are</sup> ~~was~~ regarded as regular cavalrymen and infantrymen. The official and private slaves organized into units are called sog'ogun, therefore for the time being we refer to them in accordance with the present (usage.) (END NOTE)

takes up proposal for treating slaves like commoners

Some might think that it is not necessary to set up a special sog'ogun(category), and that in conjunction with the 4 kyŏng (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.

sees too many problems in reforming the slave law  
the current category is a good compromise; maintain the distinction between slaves & those having slaves  
into the system

If everybody is a regular soldier, than everybody ought to be formed into units (together), but if this is done, ~~there will be many difficulties~~ in both official and private matters there will be much obstruction and difficulty. If we set up a special sog'o category, there will nothing to obstruct present day practice.

東征

Some say that since this law exempts from military service scholars in school (kyosa 校士) and above, that they each out to be provided with support personnel (posol 保卒). (They also say) that the slave law ought to be reformed and also that private

criticism of exemption from mil. service is req. in school as a student 校士

slaves ought to be required to provide military service the same as 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

again: talks about problem of abolishing slavery

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

p.17, 1:23b

See the *Hyŏn* as the means to gradual elimination of slavery! (1669-1731) must have been written in the midst of this debate

~~the matrilineal slave succession law~~ carry out equally (apply to everyone equally) the matrilineal slave succession law (*chongmobŏp* *從母法*), 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* *水軍*), as in the regulations for cavalrymen and infantrymen, one man will be required for duty for every 4 kyŏng, 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 can not be done like this (if there are not enough men to fill the quotas?), ~~we should~~ 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 kyŏng 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

in slaves also included in svc. requirements for rowers, oarsmen no land grant

1:24a

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 p'il of cloth as aid. As for grain transport sailors, every 3 kyŏng 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 ~~have~~ *are mainly*

p.17, 1:24a

occupied x in fishing and salt manufacture, and they do not cultivate only secondarily? 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

capital troops in land farms

(togam kyŏngbyŏng 都監宗兵) (note: that is, the p'osu 砲手 and madae 馬隊 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. (\*END

(NOTE)

petty local officials

As for such minor officials as the myŏnjuin (面主人) who encourages agriculture in each myŏn, the sahu (向候), ch'abigun (差備軍), mokcha (牧子), chinbu (津夫 : ferrymen), x tomb guards (chenŭng suhogun 諸陵守護軍, forest guards (kŭmsanjik 禁山直), shrine guards (sajik idanjik 社稷壇直), military agency attendants (much'ŏngjik 鍊武序直), they will all receive 1 kyŏng and will

ancient precedents  
office as criterion for mil. serv. exemption

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 taxes is equivalent to exempting them from military service.

There are fixed quotas for the Suhogun, mokcha, sanjik, and tanjik (山直, 壇直). 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.

p.17, 1:24b

As for the Ch'ambong (參奉), konggwye (供饋), chegwān (祭官), and chigong (支供 : food offerings), ~~such of the same (officers)~~ all of these are official expenses, and shall not be, as at present, exacted from the Suhogun (守護軍). For details see ~~this~~ (elsewhere in) this essay. ㄹ

Each myŏnjuin in receives 1 kyŏng of land and is also exempted from the 20 tu basic tax (wŏnse 系稅). ~~such of the same (officers)~~ ~~such of the same (officers)~~

Since clerks (kaksae 快物色) and functionaries (kamgo 監考) 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 a man who receives land (kyŏngbu 頃夫).

With regard to sanjik (山直) and kamgo (監考) 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 受軍職) 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 ~~such of the same (officers)~~ like the present Sābok(wi) (司僕衛) and the Urimwi (羽林衛) each have their basic grade (rank) (ponkwa 本科) as if they were ~~such of the same (officers)~~ carrying out an actual post. Then in accordance with their basic ~~such of the same (officers)~~ (ponjik 本職), such types as the naesasaeng (內金生), ~~such of the same (officers)~~ (武選), and yuŏm (有蔭) receive 4 kyŏng (of land). The chŏnggwangsaeng (增廣生), Ch'ungŭiwi (忠義衛) and Ch'ungsunwi (忠順衛) receive 2 kyŏng. The others get 1 kyŏng. All of these are not actual posts. They only receive salaries when actually on duty in their posts, and are not included in

受軍職  
military  
positions

p. 18, 1:25a the chŏnkwa (land distribution grades.) (END NOTE)

田科

The Hyangggwan (鄉官) and hyangjŏng (鄉正) 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 ~~scholars~~ scholars (sŏnsa 進士), (naesa 內舍) students, and from (students?) of the naesa exempt from going on duty.

The hyangjŏng will be chosen from naesa chŭnggwang students exempt from going on duty (myŏnbon 免番). For details see the section on local administration (the kun-hyŏn system.) (END OF NOTE).

based on existing system

This (regulation) will also be copied with regard to the changggwan (將官) and kun'gwan (軍官). (note: The changggwan of each adm. town will be selected and appointed from among former officials, musŏn (武選) and chŭnggwang (增廣) students exempt from going on duty, those with parents (yuch'in 有親), those with the ūm privilege (yuŭm), and members of the Ch'ung'ŭiwi and Ch'ungsunwi. It will be the same for the Kun'gwan. In general, those people commissioned with a post, while on duty in their post have a basic duty position (ponbon 本番), 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 軍職) basically ought to be eliminated.

The kŭmnae and sugwi (禁內縮衛) ought to be appointed from the ~~mu~~ people qualified as musŏn (武選), to be Naegŭmwi, but as for the other misc. posts, such as the Urim(wi) and Sabok(wi) (羽林, 司僕), 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 餘田) (that is yŏgyŏng 餘頃) is in every case fractional land in the vicinity; military service is required from all of it.

hints for abolition

Note:

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(Yöjön is also comprehensively calculated with the kyöng standard, but with the exception of those who ought to be exempted from support ~~in~~ cloth taxes, you calculate in the vicinity 1 kyöng, from which together 1 support tax (poga) is paid, based on the standard of one soldier for every 4 kyöng. Within the kyöng area, if perhaps because of divided grants there is not enough for 1 person, then ~~in~~ 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 ~~and reside~~ in residence in general under the kyöng method are referred to as yöri (閭里). *yöri-gyöng* 頃  
The land area in kyöng is determined and taxes are paid in cloth.

The ~~xx~~ (yöri) area is exempted from military service. (Note: Places where people's houses are located are called yöri. The yöri-gyöng (閭里頃) is not based on grades of land. Each kyöng per year is required to pay 3 p'il of cloth, or in hemp villages, it is paid in hemp; or in villages that produce silk, it is paid in 1 p'il of silk, equivalent to 2 p'il of cloth (cotton). . . (too small to read). ~~Exempt~~ In excluding (making an exception of) military service requirements, the residents within the kyöng once they have received land are liable for military service, therefore in this kyöng they are exempted from support cloth taxes (pop'o) 桑布). (NOTE)

(Omit two headnotes)

As for yöri-gyöng, about 20 households of the (common) people will be determined for 1 kyöng. (Note: General within 1 kyöng 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 (yöho 頃戶)).

*The residential areas.  
yöri 閭里*

1:25b

*residential land taxes like tribute*

p.18, 1:25b

The site (for a house) for the (common) people was 2 and 1/2 ~~mu~~ mu, but in local village residences another 1/2 mu was added making 3 mu, because of plants (vegetables and roots? 菜根 ). 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)

*Grades for home sites  
+ + +*

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 (yŏjŏn.)) (END NOTE)

*creation of territorial village units*

In determining the kyŏng, the man in charge (that is the kamgan 監官) 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 yŏri (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)

1:26a

Even though it results in the piling up? of kyŏng (累頃), if the form of the land is connected (連), then you must connect the kyŏng in establishing them, you cannot leave intervals between.

p.18, 1:26a.

If the land is narrow in shape and cannot be made into a kyŏng, then treat it as fractional land (yŏjŏn). 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 (閭里頃) 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 when 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 (yŏjŏn) can also be discussed in accordance with this standard.

*restricted choice of residence*

1:26b

*majority rule on determination of residential areas (districting laws)*

p.18, 1:26b

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), adjacent in all cases they must build a neighboring y'ŏri. If it is not an empty space, then allow the men of the ky'ŏngj'ŏn (bu) (頃用夫) to change and receive other land.) (END NOTE)

Headnote: Abolishing y'ŏrigy'ŏng 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 ky'ŏng to the status of ch'ŏnyagy'ŏng (田野頃 : open field?). (Note: If there is less than 10 households on a ky'ŏng, then reduce x it by half a ky'ŏng.

If on x half a ky'ŏng there is not 5 households, then reduce all of it.

(Subnote: As for fractional land (y'ŏj'ŏn) 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 (本 : part), and regard it as y'ŏj'ŏng. If you are talking about 80 mu of y'ŏj'ŏn, 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 ky'ŏng), and permit one man to receive land (if he wants).) (END NOTE)

Mood of postwar reconstruction  
ganansel spirit

Men must congregate and live together, and only then can they support and sustain one another, can they share in the cultivation of mores and achieve cultural transformation (kyohwa 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 (文中子 k: Hanhandaesaj'ŏn, p762.

p.19, 1:27a

Book by Wang T'ung (王通) of the Sui dynasty, modelled after the Lun-yü ) says, "If the land is not given as well (fields?), and the people do not live in villages, then even though a Shun or Yü could not manage

importance of communities to a state

p.19, 1:27a

it." 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 kyŏng are first determined and established, it would seem to be difficult and too rigid (ko 固). (They say that) & it is not necessary that the magistrate determine and establish the yŏrigyŏng (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 k l kyŏng of territory may it (then) be called a yŏrigyŏng (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 yŏrigyŏng, but for the time being will be allowed (made) together to produce one man for support tax (poga 保餉), and then wait for households to fill (up the kyŏng area). When new people arrive to the place and the number of population and households fills the quota, then (est. of) (in?) the the yŏrigyŏng can be carried out ~~to the~~ old community (yŏri) 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 chŏnyagyŏng (田野頃 : 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 kyŏng 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 kyŏng (allotments) for the yŏrigyŏng (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 (yŏrigyŏng) is naturally small, while the number of people is large, and it is a method of restraining and controlling this.

resents opposing argument that it would be better not to have such a rigid system of community land grants (in order to produce a stable + settled pop.), but better to allow people to move about.

P.19, 1:27a

he says, ok, but present situation is one where people are not settled are ought to have a fixed place!

If in accordance with the above method it seems difficult but in fact is then will be easy, ~~and~~ things ~~are~~ well regulated in accordance with what ought to be, if it is like this, ~~then~~ it would seem eas y, but in fact is difficult and obstructs, ~~and~~ there are many evils. If you try putting it into effect, then ~~n~~aturally you can see this. What is the reason why this is so? A village residence is second to a adm. town residence.

Basically one ought to have a fixed place, but at present the reason (principle) of the pondang (本當) :basic place? what one basically (destitution, poverty?) ought to do?) has been lost, and it is entrusted to ~~haphazard~~ (carelessly done things) (kuch'a 苟且). left to haphazard arrangements

1:27b

Some might say that if ~~it~~ 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 yŏrigyŏng will all be determined at the beginning of a cadastral survey. In general the place of residence of a yŏri (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 (kangwan) 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 chung'in (中人) up is capable (of doing it). It is in the nature of man? The real father of heaven and earth. (? 天地之生夫). At present people in congregating and living together ~~n~~aturally 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 (yŏrigyŏng 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 ~~xxxx~~ changed.

leeway for adjustments

p.19, 1:27b

objection that people would be forced to move to consolidated areas but he is flexible people will naturally prefer to live in a community

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 kyōng (community areas) were established, then there would have to be evils from one time (temporary) moving (dislocations)? To this I say that even though the kyōng 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 (yōri) is more prosperous and profitable (advantageous). How would it be 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).

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

(It might be said) ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ said (by some) that would there not be fighting and disputes if there were any empty land in the yōri area and after (the land) was divided up for cultivation there later, were (came) some (new) families? I say (in response to this) that at the present time even in the case of private land (sajōn 租田) 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 yōri (community) (house) site land, which is public land (kongjōn); 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.

mainly seen from in-migrants, no disputes over property residential land us 租田

1:28a

Some might say that if the law is like this, then before long after it was put into effect then naturally all of it would be well

井比屋

p.19, 1:28a

regulated in residence. But after the yŏri (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 (yŏrigyŏng), but with a gradual expansion of the place 16 or more families would plan to increase the area with new kyŏng (allotments), so that the people would probably harbor private (intentions) and many people would move there and occupy land. If near and <sup>far?</sup> ear (?) a 20 house area (kyŏng) 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 ~~xxx~~ (designated) community would be few, while there would be excessive occupation of the (designated) kyŏng.

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 (yŏri), 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, ~~and~~ the number of households, and the amount of area in the community residence area (yŏrigyŏng). 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. ~~being that way~~ IF (however) it were not like that, how would the ~~people~~ who (were recipients) of land (grants) be willing to practice

*official surveillance to maintain equal allotments for villagers*

p.19, 1:28a

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 towns (Sŏng'ŭp 城邑). It will be called walled-town areas (sŏng'ŭpkyŏng 城邑頃), 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 kyŏng (well) 井 of 5 mu will furnish 1 able-bodied adult male.) It goes without saying that 2 1/2 mu of land grade (chŏn'dŭng 田等) 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 empty 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 營鎮城), among those in the same chu or hyŏn each provincial school (hyanggyo) and post station will consider and determine the

amount of ky

present situation of scattered residence patterns due to private ownership.

walled towns

labor service tax

井 #altogether

營鎮城

p.19; 1:28b

amount of kyŏng (land) and make it so that the ~~people~~ 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. ~~On~~ 5 mu altogether will furnish one able-bodied male. In the capital, 10 mu will furnish 1 able-bodied male. If there are none (no males?), then exempt them. )

As for miscellaneous labor service requirements for wood, grass, fuel and ice within walled town areas (kysŏng'ŭpkyŏng), in all cases exempt the residential areas (yŏrigrŏng). Shop areas and ~~station land~~ <sup>wine shop</sup> ~~(station land)~~ <sup>酒店</sup>, 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 kyŏng, 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 ~~xxx~~ 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 (chŏlsu 折受). (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 (王子君), 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 ūm privilege will have 7 1/2 mu. Oesasaeng (外舍生), members of the Ch'ung'ŭiwi and Ch'ungsunwi will have 5 mu. Comonomers (sŏmin 庶民) will have 2 1/2 mu. (Note: In general houses ought to be bequeathed to sons

weak ownership rights over unutilized residential property

chŏlsu for residential sites in walled towns

grades of house site by status

property inheritance

20, 1:29a

(and grandsons, but if there is an interval (between?) the lands (and fields) (in which?) high officials (kyŏngdaebu 卿大夫) bequeath through the generations their household property, then even though their sons and grandsons exceed their own share, there can be no taking

permit to private property inheritance

p.20, 1:29a

away (of property) within their walls. If a scholar or commoner rises to become a high official (kyōngdaebu 卿大夫), then even though he does not have a full share, he cannot be without ~~an empty lot for a house~~ 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 (yōrigyōng 閭里實). 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~~ and make a garden. This will not be combined in the calculation for a house site.) (END NOTE)

(NOTE: Some might say that in ancient time, the noble, worthy,

and those engaged in public service were all <sup>let alone</sup> (released? given alms? sa 捨) and not taxed (chōng 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 夫家); it is a tax (pu 賦) on the house site. Even relatives of merit subjects (who, and?) receive prebendial grants (sase 賜錢), are not included in this. 々

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 (ūp) is lighter than (taxing) residential community areas (yōri 閭里); taxing the capital is lighter than taxing the chu and hyōn (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 puyōk (賦役: 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 ~~and~~ families. For such things as <sup>ruined (fallen down)</sup> walls, ponds, and ( 楠 ),

envisions upward mobility from commoners + scholars to high officials

捨而勿征  
tax house site land (instead of people), thereby preserving status distinction

objection on grounds that at present land in the capital is untaxed.

his grade of residential land tax!

he complains about tax exemption on capital residents

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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'angyōk 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 according to principle? It is not only this; ~~if~~ matters ~~are handled~~ like this, then miscellaneous labor service required of the people ~~will~~ 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 (p'uyue pumi 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. & The ancients had (an official called) the ling-t'ai-tzu (令太子) who ~~had~~ 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 people who newly came to gather ~~and~~ (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

use of labor in capital

1:29b

system

ancients

preferential treatment for capital residents in early yi

p.20, 1929b

tax exemptions to induce people to move to cities (take contemporary tax breaks)

Hostels.

shouldn't when new prefectures or districts (kunhyŏn) 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 (pokche 復除) in order to avoid what can not be established as a regular law.) (END NOTE)

places where As for/ch'amjŏn (站店) (in common parlance, "wine tents & merchants' (chumakcha 酒幕者) reside, they will be called wine shop <sup>hostel</sup> ~~xxx~~ areas (ch'amjŏngyŏng 站店頃); 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 kyŏng there will be 20 households, and every household will pay 40 mun in cash a year. (Subnote: equivalent in rice to 2 tu. At the present time 1 sŭng of rice is equivalent to 2 mun of cash.) This will be a permanent (rate) in both bumper crop and crop disaster years. (Subnote: If within the kyŏng 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'amjŏn). Or it will be all right to have one every 15 ri.

PRICE DATA

172=300x=370  
1升=2文

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 (間) 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

1:30a  
fixed areas for shops

p.20, 1:30a

reach the ultimate in regulation + equalization!

The residential site will be 10 paces north to south and 24 paces east to west. ~~한가지로 도로와 집을 짓기~~ We will strive to achieve the ultimate in the regulation and equalization (mugük chongje) for houses and roads. If the ~~지형에 따라~~ 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<sup>9</sup> 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 kyöng (in area). If there is not enough for a kyöng, then treat the area in accordance with regulations for fractional land (yöjön) <sup>餘田</sup>. In opening market areas, also do it in accordance with circumstances and with what is convenient. There will also be a wall

務極整齊

! regulation of market activity

around the circumference of the wine shops. Put in a rimun (village gate <sup>里門</sup>) north and south, open it in at dawn and close it at dusk. <sup>안팎?</sup> it will be determined (Note: As for the wine shop area, /in accordance with a big or small road. Even though it extends to an area of 4 kyöng, you must have one wall in a continuous (connect and touching) line.) (END NOTE) <sup>wineshop</sup>

1:30b

Each of the/households residing (in the wineshop area) will receive 1 kyöng of land, and will be exempted from payment of the (military) support cloth tax. (pop'o <sup>保布</sup>). (Note: In each case calculate and determine the amount of land by what the shop is next or near to categories of (taero, soro) and divide it into/big and small roads. ~~(2) A big road (route) will be 40 kyöng, a middle sized road (chungno) will be 30 kyöng, and a small road will be 20 kyöng. A Western ( <sup>西蓋路</sup> ) road will be 80 kyöng, and an Eastern ( <sup>東蓋路</sup> ) route will be ~~40~~ 40 kyöng. Also, we will establish shop land (p'oajajön <sup>鋪子田</sup>), 2 kyöng for each shop in a large route, and 1 kyöng for each shop in a middle or small route, 4 kyöng for a Western ? route ( <sup>西蓋路</sup> ), and 2 kyöng for an eastern ( <sup>東蓋路</sup> ) route. In each case we will divided up an determin<sup>e</sup> land boundaries and prohibit ~~外國商人~~ people~~

道 東萊直路

東萊直路

西蓋路 道

鋪子田

p.20, 1:30b

from moving in to cultivate fallow land.) (END NOTE)

When opening and establishing p'oja (鋪子 :shops?), they will also receive 1 kyöng 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 (yöngjin), each post-station, and each wine shop area. People who are suitable will be recruited to open them, and they will receive 1 kyöng of land and be exempt from support cloth taxes. They will only pay a shop tax of 240 mun of cash (subnote: equivalent to 12 tu of rice). In the chu and hyön 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 grades in determining ~~this~~ <sup>if</sup> this land. /Within the adm. town, there ought to be ch'am (站 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 ~~run~~ <sup>make (est.)</sup> the shop. . .

(small three character subnote, can't read last character). Permit rice or grain to be borrowed ~~tax~~ in accordance with the basic price (ponjik? 本直), 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 (yöri), and these will not be subject to the shop tax. Those people who have 2 kyöng (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'amjöm) will both be exempted from the miscellaneous labor service required of the land recipients (kyöngbu 頃夫). (END NOTE)

One wine shop will be established every 30 or 15 ri. They must also be established within an adm. town or post-station, and in both cases they will be lined up (next to one another) in the adm. town or post-station. If in addition to people who receive land there are others who come to reside next to them to establish shops, they also will be

financing shops by loans

limits

p.21, 1:31a

p. 21, 1:31a

exempted from miscellaneous labor service. (Note: That is gathering of wood, grass and ice required of able-bodied male kyŏngbu 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'amjŏngyŏng)).(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 <sup>hostel</sup> from misc. labor service and also wine shop labor service. (Note: 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 hostels, exempt 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 kyŏng area to give them some help in capitalizing (their venture). (Note: As for the no. of household within the kyŏng area, follow ~~it~~ whether it is large or small (how many there are).(END NOTE). With regard to such matters as travellers, giving them rooms, the rent? (hwajŏn <sup>火錢</sup>), 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, these also will be <sup>recorded</sup> ~~reported~~ afterward in detail.)(END NOTE)

Some say that in this country since olden times in places where there were hostels there were wŏn (院) and hostel lands (wŏnjŏn 院田), but that this regulation does not provide for hostel land (wŏnjŏn 院田), How so? I say to this that once you have established hostels (ch'amjŏn) it is not appropriate to re-establish ~~hostels~~ ch'amwŏn (站院). <sup>站店</sup>

The so-called wŏn 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

1:31b.