

p.40, 2:1a

secretary
from
common
people

(Note: This man will be chosen) from among ~~the common~~ common people
circumstances who know how to write and are simple and respectful (sun'gŭn 淳謹).

The supervisors (kangwan) will ~~make~~ discuss and recommend them and report it to the official who will commission them. As for the

appointment of the secretary, in the present age the groups of clerks
engage in corruption and look for bribes; they cut the records in two

and change the characters (in them), and ~~instruct~~ these practices
are thoroughly ingrained into their nature, so that we are in danger

of having a virtuous government of a time transformed into something
unpure. If we especially set up (appoint) men who are good and who

are not dyed with these types (of habits), then when the land survey
is first begun nothing can be done. We ought to choose from the people

of the village men who know how to write to do it. If there are not
enough of them, then it is also all right to choose a monk who knows

letters. Even if the man is crude and rude (soya 疎野) if
he can hold a pen, it is enough. Being crude and rude is no obstacle

to the matter. When it comes to making good plans, then basically
the supervisors should do it; it ought not to be entrusted to the

secretary.) (END NOTE)

In accordance with the law (the land) will be paced off and surveyed. For every myŏn and ri the magistrate will personally conduct an inspection. (Note: Even more so should he carry out (our) intentions with regard to the grading of land.)

The inspector (sasin 使臣) should also personally make the rounds and inspect every ūp (adm. town) and every myŏn. (Note: Exclude the present

practice of him sitting on a palanquin or horse and simply following after (the land surveyors). (He should) personally conduct inspections

of the land and not just inspect the land registers.) (END NOTE)

In every case they should make inspections and make thorough plans for beginning (it) and take responsibility for completing the task.

to bypass
the

2:1b

corrupt
clerks

Choose people
from the
village.

like TWG's
reform of
the 12

superior
by
mag. +
inspectors

Confucius
max
line

rude

疎野

rude

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And after it is completed they will consider and grant rewards.

A half year before the order is given, the selected supervisors and secretary will study the regulations for (surveying) land boundaries (kyŏnggye samok **經界事目**) and the method for making calculations and tying (knotting and cutting? (yujŏi **紐折**), and they will become thoroughly familiar with them, and after that they will carry it out. (Note: Every adm. town will set up a special office (ilch'ŏng **一方**) and have it meet daily to discuss and study (these matters). The magistrate will personally (lead) the discussions, and also will pulling the survey lines straight? first try out fixing them (survey) strings (kyŏnsŭng? **牽繩**) by practicing on empty (idle) fields, and only after that will they carry out (the survey).) (END NOTE)

When the survey is carried out ~~the (the) registers~~ in addition to the provision of food and draft registers (ch'ojŏk **草籍**), the expenses for paper for making the registers will all be deducted from regular funds (kyŏngbi **經費**). They will not be allowed to levy payments from the people.

If the right men are obtained for (survey) officials, then the land system will be equal and just (kyunjŏng **均正**), and the benefit for 10,000 generations may be accomplished. If you do not obtain the right men, then the harm is also like this. Personal control over the men in charge is even more the responsibility of the supervisors (kangwan), but the duties of the supervisor are without parallel in their (requirements for) diligence and fidelity, such as treading on (inspecting) the dew on the ~~xxx~~ plants (straw), going in and out of the paths between the fields, ~~xxx~~ managing the ridges and furrows of the fields (cultivation?), distinguishing the quality of the land, and ensuring the equal distribution of taxes, but at the present time they are punished and beaten, and when they are moved to do good, they get no reward for it. Therefore the name (job) of

expenses to be deducted from regular funds -
 2:2a
 no special levies ✓

present inspectors are abused.

P'angye on land reform -5- P'angye surok (kwön 2), chönje, ha first
In every case when the land is/ measured ~~and~~ into kyöng and divided up
determine ~~and give~~ this land and ~~wait~~ after the business is
completed, then they will receive it. (END NOTE)

(Note cont.: As for the secretary (sögi), (as a reward) he will
be permanently exempt from the miscellaneous labor service required
of ordinary peasants (kyöngbu 頃夫). Monks will be permanently exempted
from large and small labor projects and misc. labor service in the
monastery (temple). To encourage agriculture it is not necessary
to (urge) every man in every myön. Just let ~~the~~ each of the ijang
(village chiefs 里長) take responsibility for it. Holding the
marking line (chipsüng 執繩) and other responsibilities will be done by
the peasants (chönbu 田夫).)(END NOTE)

punishments

If you have someone who is really exceptional in merit and
ability, you can also make an additional selection. As for those
who err and do not perform their duties, and who use deceit in
pursuit of private ends, punish them according to law, and select
another suitable person to replace them in their duties. (Note:
Those people who increase or decrease the linear measurements of
the land, who hide land from registration, and who are not fair
in determining the grades of land will all be subject to standard laws.
The farmer (involved) will be punished the same ~~xxx~~ (as them).)

(Note cont.: With regard to the above granting of additional
rank, or special award of land and other special regulations, later on
they cannot become regulations. (?) If after the land survey
is completed there is a ~~xx~~ customary survey, then you ought just
to do it in accordance with standard regulations.)

(Note: Rewards for the supervisors (kangwan) should only
include the two items of a land grant or exemption from taxation,
and that is all. If have given serious thought to this, and to grant
land (as a reward) is appropriate). Perhaps 10 kok worth of land

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might be regarded as a (standard) grade (of reward?), and that
also
he should be exempted from taxes for life. This would/be all right.

It is only because this is an important matter (that will last for)
make
10,000 generations that we must give special and important provisions
and make everybody aware of it and encourage them. If it is like this, then
there will be many evils in public affairs (? doesn't follow). In
good
receiving (things, awards), nothing is as important as receiving land.

Moreover, I am concerned that in the future there might be those
without deep understanding of affairs who will say that because the
state has insufficient resources and people without merit are receiving
excessive ~~xxx~~ awards, will abolish it (my system of rewards for merit),
and then ~~xxxxxx~~ trust in the state will be lost. This is indeed not
a minor matter.)(END NOTE)

圖籍

Once the illustrated registers (tojōk 圖籍) are completed, in
each register the names of the inspector (sasin 使臣), magistrate,
supervisors(kangwan), and secretary (sōgi) will be carved into the
last line as proof (a basis for) merit awards or punishment. (Note:
Even though ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ it may be a long time since the surveying
was done, if there should be (discovered) any impropriety or
misfeasance, then the person may be indicted for crime after the
fact and his reward taken away. If in a province or administrative
town the proper men (for carrying out the survey?) are not obtained
and if (the survey) is not done according to law, then the sasin (inspector)
and magistrate will be held responsible. If in a myōn the grading of
the land is not fair and the surveying measurements are ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~
in violation of regulations, then each of the supervisors will be
held responsible. Even if someone has been promoted to the post of a
high official, merit awards and punishments must be carried out.

The sealing ditches (pongu 經界封溝) for the boundaries of land during
the time when it is being done will all be inspected by the supervisors.)(EN)

經界封溝

p.41, 2:3a-b.

In brief the above land system measures land on the basis of the (chibang--local area) in order to verify the facts of ~~xxxx~~ the provision of military service and (land) taxes.

If you determine the number of kyŏng of land equivalent to ~~xxxxxx~~ li (里), then 1 li square is equivalent to 9 kyŏng. (Note: 1 li is 300 paces long and 1,800 feet (ch'ŏk). In later ages 5 ch'ŏk (feet) made 1 pace (po), so that 360 paces (po) made 1 li. This fact then is the same.)(END NOTE)

Moreover in the case of the land in 1 hyŏn, ~~pa~~ Puan (扶安), North-South it is 60 li, and East-West it is 30 li. If it is 30 by 60 li, pangilli (方一里) then that means that 1 li square is 1800 (square li), which makes 16,200 kyŏng of fields. On the borders of this land one part was occupied by a mountain. If you exclude the mountain, forests, rivers, samps and barren fields, and the walled administrative town and residential backstreets (area) (which constituted) 11,200 kyŏng, that gives you about 5,000 kyŏng of cultivated land (silchŏn 實田) (note: equivalent to cultivated land, kanjŏn 墾田) (END NOTE)

-school scholars (kyosa 校士), 20 men (note: each with 4 kyŏng) with 80 kyŏng of land.

-yamen clerks, assistants to the magistrate, clerks attached to the school altogether amounted to 196 men (each with 50 mu)--a total of 117 kyŏng (note: Altogether included in determining the number (amount) of land))(EN

-myŏnjuin (面主人) for each myŏn, 10 men (1 kyŏng each), a total of 10 kyŏng.

-20 agricultural encouragement officials for each myŏn (kwŏnnong 勸農), (1 kyŏng per man), a total of 20 kyŏng

-88 tax-exempt men (pokpu 復夫) attached to local schools and village granaries (sach'ang) in each myŏn (1 kyŏng per man), for a total of 80 kyŏng

- 171 sŏhu (伺候: people who inquire after superior's well being?)

dimensions of 1 li
Sample area.
扶安
1,800 步
or 16,200 畝
of which, 5,000 實田
Kyŏng.

20
200
10
20
80
170
509

勸農

復夫

伺候

P'angye on land reform -8- P'angye surok (kwön 2), chönje, ha

p.41, 2:4a

500
2

for each place (ch'ö 處), (1 kyöng each), for a total of 171 kyöng

-2 shrine guards each for the sajik idanjik (社稷厲壇直)

* altogether 4 men (1 kyöng each), a total of 4 kyöng

2

-2 changgwan ch'önjik (將官方直) : yamen guards (1 kyöng each)

for a total of 2 kyöng

40

-land for incumbent officials (~~nikksukukukuk~~ chikkwan-jön) of rank

9 and above, you can (allot) 40 kyöng. (Note: At the present time

there are not a full 4 men from rank 9-6. You should calculate

in accordance with the best (possible allotment for them.) END NOTE

160

-gentry (scholars?, saryu 士類): (note: As for oesasaeng

(外舍生 內外舍), naeoesa who are exempt from tours of duty, and

musön (武選), and people who are hereditarily first sons of

legitimate wives, and those with the protection (äm) privilege--all

are included in this (category.) (END NOTE), you can (allocate) 160

kyöng of land (for them). (note: As for hyanggwan (鄉官), hyangjöng (鄉正)

and changgwan (將官) types, all of them are to be assigned (lands) in

this category.) (END NOTE)

-As for land for ijöng (里正), post-station clerks and runners,

ferryman, and hostel houses (ch'amho (站中)) and miscellaneous types

of land you can (allot) 212 kyöng.

-the above (categories) total 1,000 kyöng. If you subtract this it leaves about 4,000 kyöng.

-those who owe military service (ch'ulgün 出軍) can be (estimated)

as within 1,000 men. (note: cavalymen, infantrymen, grain transport

sailors combined can be estimated at 500 men. Sog'ogün (練伍軍) can

be estimated at 900 men. Able oarsmen (能櫓軍) can be estimated at

152 men, soldiers at 2 beacon stations are 48 men, and support households

(hobo 中保) combined total 4,000 men. In addition to this you also have

extra support personnel for grain transport soldiers and able oarsmen

along the coast with no land.) (END NOTE)

士類
160 Kyöng

212
910

1/5 of land set aside for above categories.
1000 elite

300?

p.41, 2:4b

-If you also calculate and subtract the garrison g troops (chin'gunja 鎮軍者), school, post-station horse, ferries --these types of tax-exempt land, it comes to about 500 kyöng. (Note: These categories are about 300 or more kyöng, but you calculate and subtract the maximum estimate.)(END NOTE) That leaves about 4,500 kyöng.

-Tax payments in an inferior year come to about 8,100 kok. (Note:

In terms of the present kok which is 15 tu, then it makes 5,400 sök. In general there is a small amount of high grade land and a large amount of low grade land, so that in general one ought to take grade 7 (land) as standard. But among this there are fallow and damaged places. If you also make the maximum estimate, then you ought to take 8th grade land (as the average, standard)* in estimating it. 8th grade land in an inferior year yields 18 tu of taxes, then this makes 8,100 kok.

p.42, 2:5a

You divide this between taxes that are transported (to the capital)

(chöse 漕稅) and taxes that are kept on reserve (yuse 留稅).

The amount kept on reserve could be estimated at 5,800 or more kok.

The amount transported (to the capital) could be about 2,200 or more kok.

In addition to this you have cloth (taxes) on residential land (yörkyöng

園里頃) which can be estimated at about 600 or more p'il.)(END NOTE)

!!! -At the present time there is more than 2,000 kyöi of

cultivated land (customarily called sigi 時起). (Note: It goes without saying that you ~~exclude~~ exclude years of crop damage. Even though the figures may be slightly higher or lower than this for an average year, in general it is like this.

(Note cont.: The land survey of ürhae(乙亥 1635) yielded on

the basic land registers a total of 7,956 kyöi and a fraction of land.

Of this the amount of cultivated land was 3,369 kyöi and a fraction.

The places that were uncultivated at that time at present are also ~~uncultivated~~ uncultivated (or)cultivated, but the officials and clerks willfully (arbitrarily) illegally hid it, but it is only a small amount (and for this) see the record, therefore the yearly standards are like this.

taxes:
5,800 of 8,100
kept on reserve in
the district
or 71.7%!
of 2,200 to
central part
to capital
or 27.1%
percent of cult. land
5,000 kyöng
2 1/2 kyöng to 1 tu?

p.42, 2:5a

Other ~~xxxxxxxx~~ adm. towns are all like this.)(END NOTE)

-At the present time the quota of military troops are 414 men.

(Note: The cavalrymen, infantrymen, muhak(武学:military students),

sinsön(新選), and pyölp'ajin(別破陣) altogether come to

180 men. Members of the Ch'unsunwi and Ch'ungch'anwi(忠贊衛)

together come to 16 men. & the öyönggun(御營軍) total 114 men.

Sailors (sugun) total 15 men. Grain transport soldiers (chogun) total

89 men, and their support households (hobo), together come to a total

of 1,272 men. There are 444 sog'ogun(東伍軍), 36 pyöltae(別隊),

33 beacon station soldiers, 122 able oarsmen soldiers (subnote: There are

48 warboat firearms men (chönsön sap'osu 戰船射砲手)(sub-subnote:

As for the above cavalry and infantrymen, military students (muhak),

and various types of support households (hobo 戶保) also double (? 雙)

as sog'o, pyöltae, able oarsmen, and firearms soldiers (sap'osu 射砲手).

Therefore all of them are counted ~~as~~ double in these figures. The

beacon station soldiers are also all retired because of age and are

people who perform double service.)(END sub-subnote and note)

double service

-At the present time in an average year the land tax and the

three soldiers tax (samsuryang 三手糧) combined (yield) over 900 sük.

(Note: If you (calculate in terms of) the 10-tu kok, then it comes

to over 1,350 kok. In addition to this, the taedong (rice tax) is

13 tu per kyöl. ~~xxxxxx~~(END NOTE)

(Note: The three soldiers tax (samsuryang) is rice for the

soldiers of the capital. It is an additional levy to the normal taxes

(kyöngse 經稅). As for normal taxes, in recent years the grade of

crop year has not been used in accordance with fact; they have ~~xxx~~ used

the inferior-inferior grade of crop year so that the tax revenues

have been extremely small. The tribute articles and miscellaneous

taxes have been extremely many, but all of them are outside of normal

taxes, therefore at the lightest (taxes) are 20 tu, and at the heaviest

land tax 900 石 per year

2:5b

p.42, 2:5b

they are 70-80 tu. In recent years the seacoast administrative towns have begun to implement the taedongböp w set at a standard rate of 13 tu/kyöŕl. (End note)

taxes
20-80 斗/頃

全州

Also as in the case of K Chönju (全州), you (can) cut the long parts and add to the short parts. square to make (a square of land) 80 li on each side. Thus ~~one~~ square li (pangilli 方一里), comes to 6,400 (li), which makes 57,600 or more kyöng of fields (chön 田). If you exclude 32,000 kyöng of mountain and forest, river and swamp, non-arable lands and walled-town land and residential area land, that gives you about 25,600 kyöng of cultivated land (silchön 實田).

-88 scholars in school (kyöŕ kyosa 校士) (each with 4 kyöng) gives (a total of) 320 kyöng

-282 yamen clerks, and yamen retainers, school clerks and retainers (will have) 169 kyöng

2:6a

-governors' yamen?? clerks and retainers (yöngni yöngsok 營吏營屬) and governor's school retainers (yöngghaksok 營學屬) combined (will use) 144 kyöng

-16 men attached to the Kyönggijön (慶基殿) will have 9 kyöng

-40 myönjuin (1 kyöng each) will have 40 kyöng

-80 agricultural encouragement officials (kwönnong) in each myön (1 kyöng each) will have 80 kyöng

-320 tax exempt persons (pokpu 復夫) in local schools and village granaries (sach'ang) in each myön (1 kyöng each) will have 320 kyöng

-593 sahu (伺候) in each ch'ö (place?) (1 kyöng each) will use 593 kyöng

2:6b

-a total of 4 guards for the sajik and idan (厲壇) and other shrines (1 kyöng each) will use 4 kyöng

p.42, 2:6b

-5 changgwan ch'öngjik(將官子弟) (1 kyöng

each) will use 5 kyöng

-land for officials of rank 9 and up may (use) 226 kyöng

(at present there are less than 20 persons, it is said who are officials of rank 9 and up)

-scholar or gentry land (saryujön), may use 1,200 kyöng

-miscellaneous categories of land for each ijöng, post-station clerks and runners, ferrymen, and hostel houses may use 980 kyöng

-the total of the above comes to 4,100 kyöng; if this is subtracted that leaves 21,500 kyöng

-of the 5,375 persons liable for military service (ch'ulgün 出軍)

(Note: 2,690 persons are cavalrymen and infantrymen, 5,370 persons are sog'ogun, and hobo (support personnel households) combined total 21,500 men.)(END NOTE)

1/5 for above cent.

p.43, 2:7a

-If also you calculate and subtract about 2,200 kyöng for yönggun (either garrison soldiers, or governor's yamen soldiers) military provisions fields, school land, post-station horse land, ferry land and other misc. categories of tax exempt land (myönsejön), then that leaves about 23,400 kyöng.

-Taxes yielded in an inferior year ~~xxx~~ will be about 42,120 kok

(note: making at the present time (in present calculations) 28,080 sök. Much of

The land in Chönju is fertile and of high grade and compared to the land in Puan ought to be raised 1 grade. But at the present time if for the time being you do it in accordance with the best (optimum), you also in general should calculate the ~~xx~~ land as 8th grade land, making 42,120 kok (of taxes?), divided into taxes to be transported (to the capital) (chöse 漕稅) and taxes kept on reserve (yuse 留稅). The reserve taxes will be over 20,000 kok and the transported taxes will be ~~xxxx~~ over 21,000 kok. In addition to this the cloth tax on residential areas (yörip'o) is about 3,000 or more p'il. (END Note).

credits 28,080 2/2 of taxes vs. present 5,000 2/2

50% on reserve

p.43, 2:7a

-The amount of cultivated land (kanjön) at the present time is 14,000 or more kyöl. (Note: This is also completely left out and missing from the land registers) (END NOTE)

-Present military quotas.

-at the present time (the revenues from) the land tax (chönse) and three soldiers tax (samsuryang) combined is 5,000 or more sök. (Note: That is, 7,500 or more kok). (In addition to this tribute articles and fees for miscellaneous labor service are all without fixed quotas and are in addition to (regular) tax payments. In general w in provinces where the taedong system is not practiced, all adm. towns are like this. (END NOTE)

5,000 vs. 28,080 under Yui's system

2:7b

-Also, like our country is 2,400 li from North to South, and 1,000 li from East to West, but the length and width are both not uniform. If you cut off (the long part) and add to (the short part) and calculate it, then it is equivalent to a length of 2,000 li and a width of 800 li. 2000 by 800 li in terms of square li (pangilli 方一里) comes to 1,600,000 (square li), which yields 14,400,000 kyöng of land (chön). If you subtract 80% of the land which is mountains, forests, rivers, swamps, roads, gardens, and non-arable, together with walled towns and residential areas, then you get about 2,880,000 kyöng of arable land (silchön 實田).

Natl estimates

-If from the above calculation you subtract the various types of ~~tax-exempt lands~~ military-service-exempt lands (myönbyöngsjön 免兵田), such as lands for high ministers (konggyöng 公卿), officials and scholars (taebusa 大夫士), clerks, post-station, shepherd (ox raising?), ferry, and hostel households, about a total of 400,000 kyöng (note: this is an optimum calculation), then it leaves about 2,418,000 kyöng.

tax exempt lands.

-there are about 620,000 men liable for military service (ch'ulgun 出軍). (Note: cavalrymen, infantrymen, grain transport sailors combined come to 310,000 men (subnote: included also in this figure are the members of the

620,000 men liable for mil. service

P'angye on land reform -14- P'angye surok (kwōn 2), chōnje, ha
Loyal and Righteous Guards (ch'ung'ūiwi) and Loyal and Obedient Guards
(Ch'ungsunwi)(END subnote). The Sog'ogun come to 620,000 men. The
hobo(戸保:households and support personnel?) combined are about
2,418,000 men.(END NOTE)

-If you also subtract the approximately 350,000 kyōng of various
and categories of tax-exempt land (myōnsejōn) for royal princes/merit
subjects/ prebendial land grants (sase ^{賜稅}), and military supply garrison
land, school land, post-station horse land, ferry station land (note:
these are also optimum estimates), then that leaves about 2,513,000 kyōng.

-the amount of taxes produced in an inferior year will be
about 4,554,000 kok (note: which is at present 3,036,000 sōk)
If in general you make calculations on the basis of 8th grade land,
then these taxes will be divided into 2 categories: taxes sent by
grain transport (to the capital)(chōse) and taxes kept on reserve (yuse).

The reserve taxes will be about 3,850,000 kok and the grain transport
taxes will be about 700,000 kok. If it is like the administrative
towns of the yōngdong(嶺東 ^{嶺東}) area, then it will be converted to
cloth and remitted up (to the king) (chakp'o sangnap ^{作布上納}). If
several places in it is/the two northern provinces and administrative towns on a direct
route (to the north?) (chingnoūp ^{直路邑}), then either all of it
will be kept on reserve or a calculation will be made of reserve and
transport taxes in order to provide for military guest? expenses
in the area. But the basic figure will be like this. In case of
a middle crop year and up, then in accordance with the crop year the tax
yield will naturally be increased. If it is a bad crop and a famine
year, then in accordance with the crop damage, there ought also to
be a reduction of taxes. Neither case can be predicted in advance.

In addition to this, the cloth tax on residential areas (yōrigyōngp'o
嶺里頃布) will be in an average year about 400,000 or more p'il.
As for such miscellaneous taxes as those on salt, iron, fishing traps,
boats, market shops, hostels, artisans, and merchants, these taxes are

estimates
land taxes in an
inferior year
at 3,036,000 石

of which
700,000 kok
(or 466,000 sōk)
or 180% of taxes
available to
central govt

400,000 石
of cloth
taxes

P'angye on land reform -16- P'angye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, ha the households and support personnel of the regular soldiers (chŏngbyŏng hobo) and the ~~household~~ persons in a household (hojol 戶) of the three guards are also (counted) double in the (figures for) various types of sog'o(gun). All are double counted in this figures.)(END NOTE)

-The total taxes in peace time during a normal years in rice and yellow beans combined comes to over 300,000 sŏk. (note: that is, 450,000 or more kok). If you exclude the amounts kept in the provinces of the two northwestern boundary provinces, then the taxes for the (other) six provinces are over 260,000 sŏk which are transported to the capital. (Note: Within this, the Japanese provision rice (waeryomi 倭料米) for Yongnam(嶺南) is more than 8,000 sŏk, then it is transported to Tongnae. Also you have/(taxes) converted to cloth and sent up (to the capital). Below, copy this.)(END NOTE)

present taxes.
300,000 石
(the province
700,000 石
by new system)
260,000 石
to capital

2:9b

-Total taxes at the present time during a normal year are over 190,000 sŏk (note: That is to say, over 292,500 kok)(END NOTE) If you exclude the 2 over 23,000 sŏk that is kept on hand in the northern two provinces, then the taxes for the other six provinces is over 172,000 sŏk, which is transported to the capital. (note: Within this you have the Japanese provision rice (waeryomi 倭料米) and the amounts converted to cloth and sent to the capital (chakp'o sangnap).

present taxes!
190,000 石

172,000

(According to the national system all land taxes are transported to the capital. As for tribute articles remitted to the king (kongmul chinsang 貢物進上), and what is received by the magistrates, and what is used in the provinces, all of this comes from what is outside of the land tax (chŏnse), therefore customarily you have double collections from the people. This is why things are different from district to district and in their regulations, and why there also is no no standard for that light or heavy (taxes). The expenses (for) the people/come from 1 kyŏl of land is at the least 20-30 tu, and at the most 80-90 tu, but the tax revenues are like this (relatively small?). In general there

present taxes
20-90 tu

p.44, 2:9b

0

is not enough to pay the salaries of regular officials, and there are no regular salaries for the clerks in the eight areas (provinces), and each of them has to provide his own (income). All of them have to parasitically eat off the official (revenues), and privately receive bribes and fish and hunt (for income). In recent times not only are the households of the people eaten into greatly by all kinds of levies, but ~~all kinds of~~ related corruption in government is carried out arbitrarily by the lesser clerks. The evils of fraud and tax evasion are even worse than before. The amount of (registered) land has been more underreported and the regular tax revenues have gradually decreased.) (END NOTE)

(Note: The total tax receipts for the Ming dynasty in China was 36,085,000 or more sök. Of this 4,000,000 sök was transported to the capital granaries. There was 205,000 or more p'il of silk (絹), more than 197,000 kün (斤) of raw silk (絲); more than 246,500 kün (斤) of cotton wadding? (棉花), over 130,800 p'il of cotton cloth (myönp'o 綿布) over 1,490,000 taels (liang) of silver. I do not know how much wasteland and cultivated land (there is), nor how much greater than the ancient 10% the (Ming) tax rate is that enabled the Ming to obtain such fruits. Also the present tou and shih (tu, sök) are much greater than the ancient measures.) (END NOTE)

(Next line has a picture of a ruler--the Chou foot)

This (the above) then is the ~~present chuch'ök~~ (yangjönch'ök) Chou foot (Chuch'ök) presently in use as the land survey foot (yangjönch'ök).

(Note: The present land survey foot is calculated and made on the basis of this Chou foot.) (END NOTE) Compared to the picture in the Chia-li (karye 家礼), this Chou foot in length is 90%? (pun) weak (Yak? less?). Compared to the picture (diagram) in the Sangnye-biyo (丧礼備要) this Chou foot in length is 70%? (parts) weak (less?). Compared to the

Ming taxes

2:10a

P.44 of the Picture of the ruler

p.44, 2:10a

the present Military Training Agency Chou foot for pace length (posu 步數), in length it is two parts (20%). In establishing the kyŏng method at present, use this foot. (Note: In using this foot, 6 feet makes a pace (po); 100 paces make a mu (畝); 100 mu make a kyŏng, then an area of 1 kyŏng is an area 100 paces (po) square.)

3600 sq-ft

In studying the length of the Chou foot currently contained in several books, I find that the length is not the same. Whether the livelihood of the people is difficult or happy, whether the number of soldiers is many or few exclusively depends on this. We must study it in detail and strive to obtain what is appropriate.

2:10b

When the method is first carried out, we should calculate what is appropriate and grant 1/2, 1/3 or 2/3 (exemption?) of the rent (chŏnjo 田租) on people's land in order to give superior (treatment) for labor on ditches and sluices.

In carrying out this law all the people will obtain their places. It is only in the case of widowers, widows, orphans and the sick that we ought to be concerned. Those in charge of government should ~~be~~ show more pity on them. When the ancient sage kings conducted government and displayed jen (humaneness) they first had to start with these four things. In general it is with this (that they did it).

Chon-li?

Like in the piryŏ (北周) mutually protecting one another, and the chok-tang (族黨) mutually aiding one another, feeding those suffering from natural disaster and taking pity on those in trouble, accomplishing rites and customs, and promoting schools etc. Regulations for these things naturally were institutionalized in ancient times. It is only that we ought to carry them out in order.

(Note: for details see the discussions of the hyangyak (village contract) and school systems)(END NOTE)

p.44, 2:10b

Miscellaneous Discussion on the Land System, Addendum. (Chönje chab'üi-bu

田制雜議附).

Some might say that this method is perfect and complete, but that there is a limit on what one household receives. ^{when a son becomes an adult,} If there are able-bodied sons, then there must be separate grants of land (for them), ^{he should receive a separate land grant}

and If there are no empty spaces in places nearby ^{and} they will be given land grants from distant villages, and if this is done then you cannot avoid having fathers and sons live in different places.

I say to this that in ancient times during the age of the well-field, fathers and sons lived in the same place. Shang Yang (商鞅)

of the Ch'in hated the fact that the fathers, sons, and brothers of the people were living in the same place, therefore he ordered that they be divided up into different (places) and abolished the well-field (system). But ^法 the method of later ages, ^{caused} they made the fathers

and sons of the people change and be scattered. This definitely ^{is} not what ^{you came to be} people ought to be concerned about in (administering) a national land system (kongjön 公用).

In general if the people have their regular production, then relatives mutually depend (on one another).

If they do not have regular production, then fathers and sons do not mutually protect one another. Moreover if you compare the present situation to this, it can also be easily seen. At the

present time even though people have lots of land, if they have many sons, then they have to buy land and ^{only} ~~extension~~ after (buying

more land) then they can obtain room to live. But if they cannot buy land in places nearby, then they have no choice but to buy land in

distant areas. As for this, at the present time there is also nothing that can be done about it. If somebody has died and possesses privately owned land (sajön), then it is not necessary to sell it to (someone else).

If it is nationally owned land (kongjön), then it is necessary to give it to someone else in substitution (taeyö 代與). Even though

criticism that land grants should be given to people (not families) including sons, but if I would separate families

you insist on keeping the family together

clearly Shang Yang broke up families

mutual reliance of family members on one another

present system of private ownership has broken up the families note: freedom et. al. on writing the family leading to division of property

p.45, 2:11a

in the case of privately owned land

you have someone who sells off land, in the case of privately owned land (it is sold) for a price, and only then can it be bought.

In the case of nationally owned land (kongjön), ^{if} ~~then it is granted to someone~~ someone deserves to receive land, he can receive (obtain) it. ~~can that (the land)~~

~~that ought to be received (granted to someone else) conveniently~~ therefore, ~~which~~ *under which of the in? two systems is it* can be received (granted). ~~But is it easy to have (fathers and sons) living in different places under a system of national ownership~~

or land, or under a system of private ownership of land? (Implication is that separation of families can occur ~~under both systems.~~ *under private ownership*)

2:11b

skewed pattern of landholding; concentrated ownership!

How much more so at the present time when those who have a large amount of land are only about 10% (of the population), while those who have no land are usually about 80-90% (of the population)!

Some might also say that at the present time the people of our country have both dry fields and paddy fields, therefore they plant both rice and beans mixed together and (the plants) in mutual harmony (thrive?) and (it is found?) useful. If you divide up the land for (the purpose of) determining land allotments, then within 1 kyöng's worth of land ~~you do not have to have both dry and wet fields.~~ There will necessarily be many cases where people have dry fields without wet fields and wet fields without dry fields.

I say to this that even though this is so, after a national land ownership system (kongjön) is put into effect, the people will not find themselves in a situation that is very far from what prevails today. Even though boundaries are determined in a national landownership

system (kongjön koggjön), it is not that there could not be people making requests of one another and harmoniously making exchanges (of land?). (Note: What I mean is that each person in accordance with

what he needs can reach a private agreement (harmony) with another person and divide up the mu (land) and exchange cultivation (labor).) (END NOTE)

Among relatives and neighbors, naturally there could be mutual adjustment

envision harmonious swapping of land even under a in a system. wouldn't that defeat his purpose? (i.e., xch. of dry for paddy land)

exchange of land (barter) even after in a system

P'angye on land reform -21- P'angye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, ha in accordance with the circumstances, (Note: To give an example of one family sharing the same production, then if a father had dry land and his son asked for paddy land, he receives it; and if an elder brother had paddy land, then his younger brother asked for dry land and received it. This also would be in accordance with what is appropriate.) (END NOTE) in order that (people) could help each other out. At the present time also if a man has dry fields it is not necessary that he have paddy land, and if a man has paddy land, it is not necessary that he have dry land, but how much more so when those with no land at all, neither

✓ dry nor wet are extremely numerous? (Note: If it is a plain, then naturally it is equal(ly distributed). ~~But~~ But for the several thousand li of the north all the land is dry land and there is no paddy fields. The land in the northwest of our country is also completely without paddy land, so how can you discuss it? Even in the case of hillside towns at present in the south, the people there customarily for the most part engage exclusively in tilling dry fields. As for such places as Kŭmch'e(金堤), Tongjin(東津), P'yŏngnyŏ(坪礪), San'gyŏng(山耕), and Unhyang(雲鄉), then the fields are continuous and completely paddy fields without any dry fields. In this case everything is done by the people naturally in accordance with the situation. Each engages exclusively in his ~~own~~ own affairs and makes mutual exchanges in order to help each other out. I have never heard where because of this (there was a lack in utility?) and cause for poverty not comparable to other places. This matter is (let's do it) basically not worth touching, and for the time being, in accordance with what one sees before one's eyes and human affairs (will work themselves out) to destroy the opposing arguments, and that is all.) (END NOTE)

2:12a

Some might also say that if this method is carried out, we will not be able to avoid a situation where there is a small amount of land and a large number of people. This is also not right. Nature is such that it has no such principle. People are born on the earth like fish

天地造化 却無如此之理

p.45, 2:12a

arbitrary rejection of idea of growth + land scarcity
How can you not be concerned about large land ownership + be concerned about a few people left over after land reform??

are born in water. I have never heard that there were too many fish and not enough water, or that naturally causing there to be not enough land. At the present time one man accumulates land and the mass of the people have no land, is something not worth worrying about? But if after all the people equally divide up the land there perhaps might be some people left over, is this worth worrying about? In general irrespective of whether it is nationally owned land or privately owned land it is all generally the same thing. Basically one does not establish separate situations for this land and these people. It is only that in the case of nationally owned land (kongjŏn),

equal distribution of land

(land) is openly (kong) and equally (distributed); and in the case of privately owned land, then (land) is privately and unequally (p'yŏn) (distributed). If publicly (kong) (distributed), then the people have regular production and the minds of the people are fixed (settled); moral transformation can be accomplished and mores and customs can be good, and in all things there is nothing in which each does not obtain its share. If (land) is privately (distributed), then everything is contrary to this, and that is all there is to it. Moreover if this method is carried out, then foodstuff will be like water and fire.

2:12b
Mencius economic base for moral transformation is private ownership in禹 mansion!

How could you have (the same) situation (kyŏngsang) as in the present age? (Note: At present those who have a lot of land have too much land (land left over), but there is a limit to their (labor) force, therefore not all of it is cultivated. Those who have no land are vagrants and they do not have this land, therefore they cannot get land to cultivate. That is why there is much land that is wasteland. If you had a regulation for sharing the cultivation (tenancy? pyŏngjak) (Notes: Subnote: At the present time the practice of giving land to others to cultivate and dividing the produce is customarily called 'pyŏngjak') (END SUBNOTE), and those

probably an erroneous economic argument:

Just are hired as tenants or labour?

Suggests that tenancy is not practiced. See tenancy as solution to land-labor relations where land is concentrated in hands of few. Surplus treated!

Supplies treated!

p.45, 2:12b

with a lot of land gave it to others to sharecrop, to expand and combine their production, then naturally they could be settled in security and (have enough to) eat. Therefore those who have no place (of their own) engage in labor. Those who have no land temporarily cultivate the land of others and every year they find it difficult to regard as regular the possession of that ~~with~~ which is not their own. Therefore they also do not give a thought to proper fertilization, and that is why a lot of land is not fertilized. If this (my) method is put into effect, then there will be no wasteland and all the land will be diligently worked. If you calculate all the production from the land, then compared to the present not only will it be doubled, but year after year forever you will have constant double production. How would it be that foodstuffs would not be (as plentiful) as water and fire?)(END NOTE)

knowing no good!

incidental private ownership of public land?

another sophisticated point because tenants have little incentive to make minimal inputs (fertilizer)
 Next ownership is equal distribution of land + increased inputs (raised prod.) will double production!
 then cites a classic!

Confucius said: To be equal and without poverty is the word of a sage. How would this not be completely right for everywhere?

Some might say that when this ~~tax~~ method is first implemented the wealthy will not avoid difficulty. At the present time the people live in idleness, do not study, and are without virtue, but the wealthy people in the villages who have fields that extend beyond boundaries lined up one after the other definitely exceed what is due them. But people have long become accustomed to wealth. If all of a sudden this were to be taken away from them (reduced), it also would be something that human nature would find difficult to bear.

compensation to rich landowners suggested!

lenient treatment for rich peasants
 i.e. buy off the wealthy peasants!

We should treat them with leniency. We should allow them to purchase honorary posts (napsok p'aegyŏngjik 納粟拜影職), such as such present offices as ch'ŏmjŏng (殿正) or ch'albang (察訪), and in accordance with regulations for actual posts grant them land and exempt them from military service, and order that in the future this not become standard practice. If it is done like this, then the implementation of the land system will forever do no harm.

p.46, 2:13a

one-time purchase of petty offices + tax exemption as sop to them!

p.46, 2:13a

(Note: After a long period of time naturally (the situation) will be rectified.)(END NOTE) And the first thing (to be concerned about) is that the rich people are not resentful.

I say to this that for such matters as these it is a question of making slight/adjustment^{temporary}st to the circumstances. If you investigate the situation in accordance with the times and there are things that have to be done, then the ancients also had ways of doing it, but in this case, I fear that it is not necessarily so. The implementation of this law is not a case where the official will take away people's land. They will calculate (the no. of) people and divide up and grant (land to them). Each of the people will naturally have hopes to receive (land), and then the wealthy will naturally divide up (their land) among their sons and slaves (and servants), and do no more than set up title and perform military service, and that is all. (ipho ch'ulse

이 事 出 矣

Accordingly if a (wealthy) household worth 1,000 gold has its property reduced, in the end it will definitely be better ~~of~~ than the poor people of before. Even if you give detailed thought and deep concern, if when you first implement the law you also open up this path, then there will be more disputation among the people, they will run after property, and this will not be the way for the mass of the people to establish their will. Since ancient times the creation of institutions by sage kings to make the people secure has used no other method. That which preserves this is to make plans

on behalf of the world and not to make plans on behalf of one (person) himself, (if so), then there will be no person who does not submit and maintain it with correctness and carry it out with fairness (kong 公), then there will be no matter that is not established. If it is like this, then every man will obtain his place and rest secure in his share. It will not be necessary to twist the law in order to benefit the people.

gradual
present
opp'n of
upper persons
His reply.

No
Confiscation

1st step: Have
few big things
grant title to
sons + slaves;
not so disruptive

you can't
compensate the
landowners.

2:13b

Fair laws
will be adhered
to by all —
you don't need
to bend the
law to get
the wealthy
to conform

p.46, 2:13b

Some might say that after ancient institutions were abolished, reside in (be owned by) land did not depend on the public good (kong 公), but depend on the people. The wealthy owned tracts of land strung together and the poor did not have enough land to stand an awl on. This is why the wealthy got wealthier and the poor got poorer. After a long time then those people who seek after profit all had land while the "good people" (commoners) led one another into vagrancy and became the laborers of others. The harm done was so great that one cannot speak enough of it. But at the present time all the land is privately owned and every man regards it as property which he hereditarily transmits (to his descendants), so that it is also extremely difficult to change this (situation) in a day. If we continue to have private land and do not prohibit the purchase and sale (of land) and only limit the amount, then from the highest officials to the common people, all will have fixed and limited (amounts of) land (yujŏng hanjŏn 有定限田). Those who have too much land will be permitted to sell it off, and those who have too little will buy (obtain) sufficient amounts by buying it. How about doing it like this?

I say to this that first you also have to rectify the land boundaries and also clarify (the registers) of able-bodied males and households and distribute able-bodied male (status) on the basis of land. Only after that is done ~~can~~ will it be all right. If not, then with regard to the people's households the officials will not be able to maintain thorough surveillance and in the end you will not be able to prevent the evil of false registration and fraudulent registration. But if you do not rectify land boundaries and clarify the registers of able-bodied males and households, when even a system of national landownership (kongjŏn) cannot be accomplished. Therefore if you have the land boundaries ~~once~~ are rectified and the (registers) of able-bodied males and households ~~once~~ are clarified and then permit private ownership, ~~but~~ restore a system of limitation, the

opp'n argument
decline from
ancient times to
private property.

private property
too impaired to
change too quickly

PEA as
a transitional
measure to
the
land system

2:14a
use the market
as a means of
equalization

pop. reg.
land survey

not a good idea
then to permit
private ownership
even w. limits

accurate
survey
essential
to both
equal
status
+
limited
ownership

if one does not implement

it
are

are
but

and then check it with limitation

p.46, 2:14a

situation will be such that it will be difficult to carry out.

In general if you have a system of national landownership (kongjōn)

and people are able to obtain (land) from the officials, then people

who have a large number of sons will not (have to) worry about having

no land. If the father is a high official (taebu) and the son is

a scholar (sa), then even though they are different in rank, they

will receive (land) without difficulty. If once you have private

land and no land is received from the officials, then the living sons

of households will not avoid buying land (in advance). The sons of

officials (taebu) who are not yet officials (themselves) will

necessarily make (them) sell their excess land. Given the problems

of the old and the young, the living and dead, the number of sons

and grandsons, purchase and sale, and the difficulty of changing things,

the situation will cause obstruction and a hundred evils, and

accordingly the corruption and decadit will be too gxxx botherseem.

Even though you have strict laws and carve the punishments (on stone

or wood?), still many people will break the law. If you want to

expect that it will definitely be carried out, if done this way would

be like setting a snare to entrap the people and then following after

them and punishing them. If you want to do it like Shang Yang and

by force establish punishments for one time (temporarily), then when

(the system) becomes lax in the slightest, then the law will still

be abolished (disappear). Really what kind of method of government is

this? Even though a matter may seem difficult (to do?) ^{and} at one time you might lose the way?; to cause the people to have perpetual rest from their labor is something that by a swift effort

but the princely men (kunja) must do it. If the method (law) is like

this, then even those who have a slight knowledge of the principles of

things will know that it cannot be done.

Some might say that the evil of the accumulation of large landholdings

A system for providing land for families with lots of sons

limited land ownership is not feasible for a population in thousands

You can't allow purchase + sale of land → it induces people to airt!!

opposed to the use of force to achieve reform at once, like negotiations

事難似難於一時供道使民一勞永逸者

See p. 29

Alternate argument

you can't tolerate private ownership

Law + force not effective in stopping desire for profit

(the above suggestion)

p.46, 2:14b

(kyŏmbyŏng 兼并) was something that since ancient times knowledgeable people wanted to prohibit, but it was always difficult to restore the ancient system. The fact that land limitation (hanjŏn) was ~~xxxx~~ impossible to carry out was also like this. Thus if land is not self-cultivated, then a law should be promulgated that it g be given to others to sharecrop (pyŏngjak 耕作). The cultivator will consume 4/5 of the crop and the landowner (chŏnju 田主) will take 1/5. (Note: The taxes, as at present will continue to be paid by the landlord.) (END NOTE)

If anybody violates (the law), he may be reported to the official who will divide up and grant (his land to someone else?) in accordance with law, and also take over and confiscate his 1/5 (portion of the crop). If it is like this, then peasants with labor will be able to feed their strength (labor), and those who do not cultivate their land themselves x will have no way to profit from excess land. Even non-distorted (straight) actions will be prevented, but the evil of accumulation of excess land (kyŏmbyŏng) will naturally die out.

So: transitional step: were self-cult. with limit of 20% rent + taxes paid by landlord.

to both restore ancient (land-just) or inst. the limited ownership systems.

penances

if landlords violate the law, give their rent to another (owner) [rather than giving land to peasant!!!]

gradual means to eliminate xs holdings

I say that even though this method seems right, when you give it detailed thought there are some intricacies (twists and turns) to it. is the same as

In general this ~~xxxxxxx~~ private contracts between persons, and it is difficult for the magistrate to control and determine the purchase and sale (of land). Moreover once you allow land to be privately owned, and then you want to control it with regard to the profit from it, there will be no limit to the deceit and fraud, and the matter will be hard to carry out. On the contrary, it will be worse than limiting landholdings (hanjŏn). Moreover in later ages, ~~prebendal land~~ (ch'aeji 采地), and hereditary salary land (serokchŏn 世祿田), which are the means to the nurturing of scholars (yangsa chi ku 養士之具) will all disappear (be abolished), and the scholars and officials (sadaebu) ^{had} each of them ~~have~~ to live off their lands, and that is all. If you do not restore regulations for the nurturing of scholars and

His response!

private ownership itself is too hard to control above things seem worse than PZ A

Bad is to have to live off lands (as in private ownership)

p.47, 2:15a

just want to do it like this, then the taebu (those eligible for office) without official posts, and their sons and descendants who are local Confucian scholars, down to the clerks who work for the officials, and their orphaned children and widows will all lose what they rely on (to support them). These are the people who dislike the accumulation seeking of large amounts of land and dislike ~~making profit~~ profit, and (this

大夫
can't exist
without state
allocation system

method) will altogether sink (destroy) the intention of making distinctions between the princely man (kunja) and man of the fields (yain 野人: common peasant). It will only allow those who carry their rakes and hoes

2:15b

in their hands to obtain food, while the officials and scholars (taebusa) will have no way to place themselves (take care of themselves). The proper way to do things in the world is indeed not like this. (~~XXXXXXXX~~ Note:

US. too
egalitarian
a system!!

Must be
distinctions in
society - does not
reward here
virtues + the
scholars!!

You can understand this by consider what Confucius replied to the questions of Fan? Ch'ih (樊遲) and Hsieh Chia (學稼), and what Mencius said about mental labor, physical labor, and rewarding merit (lao-hsin, lao-li, shih-kung 勤心, 勞力, 食功).(END NOTE) If you cause

the court to have no hereditary subjects (officials), the state will be poor in wandering scholars. How ~~would~~ would this be of profit to the people and country? (Note: In the final analysis you just cannot must have a be without the scholar-official class (taebusa 大夫士), and that is

He wants
to # but
not
to #!!

all there is to it. The noblemen (kwija 貴者) cannot suddenly become men who ~~husbandry~~ grow crops. If those who do not engage in cultivation ~~can~~ find it difficult to feed themselves, then this is a bad (situation). If the officials (taebu) have salaries and you

Present situation
is intolerable!!

allow the scholars (sa) to seek salaries (emoluments) by advancing in competition, and the corrupt clerks devote themselves to seeking bribes, then not only will you produce (a situation) like what exists at present, but the way of (knowing) shame will be lost and fraud and thievery will become customary. The harm will be so great that how could one use up enough words in talking about it? This is the ~~worst~~

situation that will definitely come about.) (END NOTE) Moreover, even though it is like this, once you do not set limits to the land (owned), then you cannot in the end equalize poverty and wealth. And also if you do not distribute (tax, labor? obligations?) among the people on the basis of land, then those who escape labor service will increase and change into vagabonds (refugees). In general if you do not restore a system of public ownership of land (kongjŏn), then in making laws for all matters, not one of them will be done right.

不
以
田
配
人

Some might say that a national landownership system (kongjŏn) is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ really the best. ^{But} ⁱⁿ if ~~it~~ the present age we cannot put it into practice, then we might for the time being carry out a land survey and use a tally system (hop'ae ^{號牌}).

I say to this that this seems to be a sage (plan), but there ^{as for the 2 (different methods?)} are two matters (involved). The matter would require constant bother easily and/lead to corruption/ ^{at one effort we} It is not the way (in which) all work will be (changed) ^{at one fell swoop to solve the problem forever} to perpetual ease (?? illo yŏng'ŏl chi to ^{一勞永逸之道}).

The difficulties involved in carrying (this suggestion) out will be double those of the national landownership system (kongjŏn), and the sometimes it happens that results ~~xxxxxx~~ obtained will be shallower and shorter. In general/if something has to be done because there is no choice, then there is nothing you can do about it, and for the time being you adopt one things which

is better than another. The people (~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ we're concerned with here) are our people, and the land (we're concerned with) is our land. It only depends on our prince and his ministers (kunsang ^{君相}) to do it and to spread it (around), and that is all. It basically is not (a situation) where we have no choice but ~~to~~ to do it this way. Also to have a land survey at the present time would also mean that you could not avoid a temporary disturbance, yet before long it would revert to obscurity (darkness). (Note: This is because the land (parcels) would only be recorded on the registers, but the land boundaries would not be made clear on the actual land itself.) (END NOTE) As for a household

Utopianism??
External "case" achieved by one great effort!

之 勞
之 道
永 逸
See 1:26
2:16a

Opposed to simple land survey household tally reg.

Everything depends on the 君 + 相
Duty of P'angye to persuade the king not to take action
Optimistic confidence in powers of persuasion

p.47, 2:16a

land surmises
no less trouble
than with national
benefits !!

He sees
land grants
as an
incentive
to labor +
military service
& proper registration

2/57 = 2/12

tally system (hop'ae ~~PHH~~), then at one time there would be many matters (involved in doing it) and it would not be any different than (what is needed for) a national landownership system (kongjōn), but as for what the people would like or dislike, it would differ (not as good as) from the national landownership system. Therefore unless you have strict laws and punishments carved (on stone?), you will not be able to carry it out. (Note: In general under a national landownership system (kongjōn), if somebody has labor service, he also ~~xxxxxx~~ has land. The people naturally receive land and are entered on the registers. Under the household tally system (hop'ae), there is no mutual distribution between land and people (no correlation between the distribution of land and the distribution of tax burden). There is no advantage to the people to be entered on the registers, but there is an advantage for them to evade registration, so that ~~ix~~ all the people will want to avoid labor service, and only the men above (them?) will want to register them. This is why in establishing this system you must ~~ixxxx~~ carry out the laws extremely strictly, and in implementing the laws you must be extremely lofty. Only by doing so will you have in the country no people who do not (obey) the law? (mu 無不用之民).)(END NOTE) Supposing that you ~~ix~~ are able to carry it out for a time, if the punishments become lax in the slightest, p'ae--destroyed then the law will fall into disuse (be abolished). (Note: As I commented in the above remarks (on the problems in) the land limitation system.)(END NOTE).

2:16b

4

+ 爲民

check

The national landownership system (kongjōn) combines the advantages of both systems ~~ixxxx~~ and kills two birds with one stone (gets two things for the price of one). Add to this the fact that poverty and wealth are equalized and that all the people will be happy and follow (the system, the law), ~~ixxxx~~ If you cannot have the advantages of both, or if you get one and lose the other, and add to this the fact

p.47, 2:16b

that all the people do not want it and there are none who like it, then you are abandoning what is important and picking up (holding onto) what is bothersome, or dropping what is completely good and without

a one-time effort that leads to perpetual ease vs. perpetual labor that provides only temporary relief

evils and picking up something that is half good and half bad; or dropping what would give perpetual ease to all labors (ille yōng'il 一劳永逸)

and picking up what would give constant labor and would be easy to

abandon (abolish). How could this be something that a wise man would

regard as appropriate? The method of national landownership (kongjōn) is extremely favorable (sun 順), and secure (an 安), simple (kan 簡),

and necessary (important, yo 要). How could you shirk from it and

not put it into practice? When an emperor or king ruled the nations

of the world, there is no other method than this. If later generations

in the end could not adopt it, then in the end there is no hope for

(sage) rule. If a brave and bright sovereign resolutely implements it,

then there is no (difference between) ancient times and the present,

and no (difference between) cultured and barbarian (hwa-i 華夷), and

basically there is nothing that cannot be done.

a brave + bright sovereign (the answer to problems of implementation)

p.48, 2:17a

-Some might say that ~~the masses of people might~~ the masses of people might

basically like this law (method), but that the powerful and wealthy

will not be able to avoid having their profit taken away from them

and that they will all cause confusion (trouble).

basis tone of hell wealthy class

I say to this that there is definitely no reason (for this to

happen). If the ruler's virtue is not clear and those officials

in positions (of officials) all pursue profit for their own benefit,

then it is not just this matter (that will fail), there will be no

hope for any matter, and it will also be difficult to protect the

altars of the state. If (the virtue) of the ruler is made bright above

and those subjects in (official) position devote their minds to the

benefit of the state (協心徇國), then when you take measures,

all the people will gladly follow it with sincere minds. If there are

unrealistic assessment of the forces necessary for land reform

BS Conf. Moralism !!! 貴學??

p.48, 2:17a

deceitful people who commit excesses in exclusively concerning themselves with profit, they might harbor resentment, but who will act with them in causing trouble? I would say that this comes from something that definitely could never be so, but if perhaps there might be ~~some~~ those who would cause trouble, they can be made to submit to punishment, and that is all there is to it. How can they cause worry to the state? Since ancient times men who caused trouble were all men who sought their own benefit, and affairs were confused (**淫昏**). I have never heard of a case where humane government was practiced in utmost sincerity where there were people who caused trouble. In general all the things of the world only (depend on) two things: the principles of heaven and the desires of men (ch'ölli inyok **天理人欲**), and that is all there is to it. If you take the one mind that is closest (to you) and extend it far to the matters of the world, then everything (is governed by) one principle (regulation, standard). If man preserves heaven's principles, then the desires of people will naturally retreat and listen (give heed to it?), and luckily there will be nothing that is not profitable (advantageous). Who has ever seen a case where Heaven's principles were preserved and there were sick people? What a sage holds as the main things is in every case Heaven's principles and that is all. Where Heaven's principles exist, even though you have efforts (required) for punishing and attacking (people, countries), there is also no need to shrink from it. Shun's punishing the four evil ones, and Wen-wang's wiping out 50 states, and Hsüan-wang's (**宣王**)'s attacking the barbarians (**薄伐大戎**), they all ~~stuck~~ were like this. If you do not have that which (should be) held as the main (thing), and half is up and half down, there is fear of the head and tail and you fear that the deceitful might bear resentment, then the small people will not be able to retreat. If you fear that the wily clerks might possibly be resentful, then you will not be able to

He can only recognize immoral people; not people with legitimate economic interests
 he abandons his moralism + then reverts to punishment!
 then back to 仁政!!

Neo-Conf. at the core!
 2:17b

↑ These who practice influence?

天理

Principle vs. human desire
 Pick to principle and don't let the latter deterred!!

you will not be able to get the common people to forbear wrongdoing

p.48, 2:17b

P'angye on land reform -33- P'angye surok (kwön 2), chönje, ha really regard put a stop to bribery. If you ~~make~~ as the way of ruling a state to let matters drift and be indulgent (insun kosik 因循姑息), then (you would have to) regard Te-tsung (德宗) 's continuing to allow arbitrary attacks (inheritance? tansüp 擅襲) as a good policy, while regarding Hsüan-tsung's (憲宗) resolutely cutting to pieces various rebels as a mistaken policy. (You would have to regard)

Kao-tsung (高宗) of the Sung dynasty's making peace with the enemy as a correct policy, while (regarding) the ~~make~~ of various sages ~~in~~ for ~~making~~ the restoration (of old times) as mistaken. In considering it from this standpoint, even though (in deciding) what is good and what bad, what gives security and what causes danger, ~~make~~ what causes prosperity and what the fall (of a state), there are differences, the principle

(involved) is one (and the same). How much more so in ordering our people to carry things out and guiding them in following (orders) where great and small, noble and base all obtain their share. It is like avoiding falling into a ditch (disaster) and being placed on top of a sleeping mat. I only fear that the ruler of men (in'gun 人君) will not be able to abandon private selfish desires and clarify the virtue in his one mind. (As for rich men causing trouble, it is not something that one need be concerned with. ← About as far as you can get from MARX.

Some might say that if according to this law grades are fixed for the granting of land and other grades are divided up for the collection of taxes, then it also could not but be good to adopt the system of the Chou house by which 10 men ~~possessed~~ possessed a ditch (sippu yugu chi che 十夫有溝之制), but at the present time we ~~ought~~ ought to set the boundary at 4 kyöng. How about this?

I say to this that we have narrow strips of land in this country. Even a country like China is also not without ~~places~~ places where the (cultivable) land is narrow, therefore it is like this.

a single principle governs all political actions - be resolute + during in carrying out what is right

Class interest + opposition can be overcome by the will of the resolute emperor!

the Neo-Conf. King will overcome the ruling class!!

Connection between theory + action

p.48, 2:18a

Why would it not be all right also to have a system based (on units of) 10 men or a hundred men? This would be like Yi Chōng? (李靖) x units of troops who because the land was narrow changed 8 ~~units~~ into 6 flowers.(?)

(變八陳陣為六花之竟) The principle of the 8 units of troops was all included within the "six flowers" (yukhwa 六花). (check to see if this is from Chu-kuo Liangix, 梁 or San-kuo chih). It does not have to be 4 kyōng, even 1 kyōng or 1 mu, it could be calculated

2:18b

in either of these. It is only necessary to rectify the land boundaries in order to equalize the people and clarify the numbers of population in order to equalize labor service, and make it so that people have regular production and each man obtains his share, and that is all there is to it.

Some might say that if there are differences in grades for allotted land, then you should just make it a uniform 1 kyōng. But still it is necessary to make 4 kyōng the boundary (limit on landholding?). How about it?

I say to this that the ditches, water sluices etc. that transport people through the fields all go from the small to the big, so that you cannot help but do it this way. Moreover, even though this law is suitable for the present time, it is in fact the system of the three great ages of antiquity, and there is no reason why it cannot be thoroughly put into practice. After the land boundaries are all accomplished it will be difficult to change, therefore you should want to be careful at the start. (Note: In ancient times when the

receipt of land and the furnishing of military service by the people was regulated altogether equally. This (my) law is in accordance with what should be at present, therefore there are differences in ~~the~~ the amounts that the taebusa (officials and scholars) receive in land (grants). That is why in comparison with the ancient (system), there are still minor points (which my system) does not come up to (as compared with the ancients). In our country, we have commoners, base

Thomism
Revelation + Ancient precedent!

Complete equality in ancient times; some inequalities in yours; no an... to present times

wow!

P'angye on land reform -35- P'angye surok (kwön 2), chönje, ha
persons (slaves) and regular and sog'ogun soldiers, so you can't
help but have a different system and also separations by 1 grade
(grades).)END NOTE)

*Acknowledges
status diff.
common slave*

Some might say that in this country most of the land is taken up with
mountains, hills, and forests, or useless land. If it is like this,
then what can be done about it?

I say to this that when sages devise systems, all of them do
it in accordance with the natural situation and guide it profitably.
If it is in accordance with principle, then in each case you have
what ought to be done. In the case of land that can be cultivated, then
you make fields in kyöng. In the case of land that cannot be cultivated
such as mountains, hills, and forests, then in each case in accordance
with what is convenient, you can ~~make~~ set it aside as places for
trees or animal husbandry. (Note: The mountainous lands in our country
provides little profit to the people and are abandoned lands. As for
the places where walled towns and villages are located in most cases
they are next to hills, and they can be made into fruit orchards. If
the people can plant jujube trees, chestnut trees, persimmon trees (柿),
pear trees (梨), mulberry bushes, paper trees (楮), (蒸), and
bamboo, then in accordance with what is suitable for the land, each
household can have 10 or 100 trees and profit from them, ~~make~~
~~make~~ and have no reduction in what is received from their land (grant).
But what about it if the people are not skilled in the raising of trees?
This is also a case of those leading the people injuring the people
when they touch a matter, At the present time some towns have chestnut
groves, so they order the people to guard them and require double
amounts (of labor, taxes) from them, making the people privately
purchase them from far off places in order to make (tax) payments.
So the people hate the chestnut orchards, as one would hate an enemy.
In the southern regions if a family once gets a pomelo tree (柑樹),

理

p.49,2:19a

*enables one
to adapt
to ancient systems
to any period &
- circumstances change
but principle does not*

柿

梨

楮

蒸

柑樹

p.49, 2:19a

then it is put on the register and ~~maximized~~ in addition to the levying of personal labor service (sinyök) in addition other labor service is levied on ~~him~~ them. Even after the tree rots, the labor service is still levied and is passed on to sons and grandsons, the harm also extends to neighboring villages. Therefore once a seed is planted people warn one another and pluck it out and ~~throw it away~~ throw it away.

Even with the keeping of beehives, they are put on registers and the people in mountain areas find it difficult to raise honey. If people have horses or falcons (雁) they are recorded....and people find it difficult to raise horses or falcons. Once you have any one of these categories of things, in all cases it cause harm to the people.

Middlemen put pressure and force on the people and the corruption of the clerks is also too great to be described. Alas! how unfortunate the appeared (lived)? people are not to have come out (?) in the age of the ancients.

If at present you want to benefit from the raising of trees ~~or~~ in order to benefit the people who live in hilly areas (without much arable land), it is first necessary for the court to cut down or eliminate royal tribute (chinsang 進上) in order to cut off the route for (pressing taxes on the people) on the basis of pretexts, and to make clear the laws in order to prevent all exactions. Only by doing this can you encourage the people and promote their livelihood and provide the wherewithal for their profit. If it is done like this, then land

everywhere, whether hilly, or swampy, or plains could be used for grazing of animals or as reserves for trees, or as reservoirs. There would be no place without its suitable (use). The people would have something to rely on and the state naturally would have abundance.)(END NOTE)

Some might say that in previous ages many people talked about the benefits of the colonyland system (tunjön). What should be done about this?

I say to this that the colony land system was basically a great method

local product
levies +
labor service,
blocks freedom +
mod.

eliminate
royal
tribute

state should
buy off
non-grain
lands

2:19b
allow the
people to
develop them

屯田

p.49, 2:19b

for providing for expenses for soldiers, but that during peacetime for the various military garrisons, you only have to establish military provision land (kunjajön 軍資田), and do not have to revive the military colony land. (Note: In the case of military provision land (kunjajön), then have the people receive land to cultivate and furnish military service, and just collect regular official taxes from them and transfer (these taxes) to the garrison to which they are attached, and that is all there is to it.)(END NOTE)

In general as for military garrisons, even though they have troops on tours of duty, basically you cannot have men who are on tours of duty for defense and are training in the military arts abandon their training and go off to the colony lands. Moreover the expenses for land, oxen, and agricultural tools are not small, and would cause inroads and loss to the troops and people (kunmin). If the expenses of this land and the troops cause harm to the people, it would be better to give the people (land) and collect taxes from them and with it require military service (from them). (Note: What this says is that when there is one ox in a household it is a difficult route, so you sell it off and get 5 sheep, but you forget the loss of 1 ox and boast about the obtaining of 5 sheep. The colony lands of all the yamen in the present age are all of this type.)(END NOTE)

This (the idea about having military colonies?) is no good, and clearly so. It is only that in corners along the border you have colonies (military) for defense, and that you cannot disband (the defenses of) the borders, but if you give (expenses) from the public reserves, then calculate what is convenient and set up camps in empty places, and in accordance with ancient methods open up military colony lands in order to cut down on transportation and expand the armed forces, then it is all right. Once the incident (invasion, war) is over, then you also ought to abolish them and have

colony lands as a burden on the peasantry during peacetime

2:20a

✓

p.49, 2:20a

(the land) divided up and given to the people. (Note: Even military colony land can also be made into kyöng in accordance with law.)(END NOTE)

In general in fixing taxes and labor service, nothing is better than basing it on land, and nothing is ~~is~~ worse than basing it on (the number of) people. The results from doing so in ancient times and the present can all be seen. The ancients based the payment of taxes and the providing of service on land. (that is, military service ch'ulbyöng 出兵), so that if someone died then he was replaced that the land always have someone to cultivate it. Therefore the state did not have the evil situation of households left off ~~tax~~ (the registers) and the people did not have labor service without production.

In later ages they determined taxes on the basis of people and they determined labor service on the basis of people, so that if someone died or ran away, then you had the evil situation that existed with the taxes of the T'ang dynasty, ~~that~~ in which taxes were apportioned on neighbors (t'anse pirin 攤稅比鄰). (Note: As for the land tax, labor service tax, and tribute tax (of the T'ang: tsu, yung, and t'iao 租庸調) even though land was granted to the people,

still the ting-hu (households with able-bodied males 丁戶) was made the subject (of taxation). Even though the double tax system (yangseböp 兩稅法) took property as the base (for taxation), still they first determined the tax quota and then divided up households into large, medium, and small in determining (taxes on them). In all cases they were not able to avoid this evil.)(END NOTE) In this

country with regard to military service you have the evil where (service) is levied on relatives and neighbors. This is an extremely (bad) situation, but the poison spreads to the mass of the people.

Li Po (李渤), Ch'iu Chün (丘濬), and in recent times, Yulgok, 's opinion (on this) is worthy of study, and I see that those who make plans on behalf of the state and people ought to give deep thought to this.

land vs. people as basis of taxation and labor service

leads to full utilization of land for prod. + guaranteed income for those required to perform service for the state

Korea tax based on pop.

2:20b

3 authorities

p.49, 2:20b

(Note: In the time of Hsüan-tsong (憲宗) of the T'ang,

Li Po (李靖) memorialized that: 'This subject in the past talked about (the fact that) in the South the village of Chang-yüan (長源) in old times had 400 households, but at present scarcely has over a 100; and that the village of (閩) in the past had 3,000 households, but at present scarcely has a 1,000. This seems to be similar in general to the situation prevailing in other prefectures and districts (chou-hsien).

If you trace the reasons for it, it would seem that it is all due to (people trying to) avoid household taxes (hose). Then (when the taxes) are apportioned on neighbors (pirin 比類), it causes people to run away, ~~xxxxxx~~ This is all because the strip to the skin their inferiors tax collectors fleece the lower (people) while fawning on their superiors. They only think of 'draining the pond to ~~xxx~~ catch the fish.' (killing the goose that laid the golden egg), and they give no thought to the fact (that by doing so) they will have no more fish.

(Note cont.: Ch'iu Chün said: 'The Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu (呂氏春秋) says: 'How would ~~xx~~ you not catch fish by draining the pond to catch them, (but) next year there will be no fish.' What Li Po said was only to think about draining the pond, and not to think about having no fish. In general when later ages taxed the people, in general it was like this and the harm from distributing taxes was even more poisonous. Not only (was the pond) drained, but it was about to be drained two and ~~xxxx~~ three times without stopping. How would it not lead to the waterways drying up and the seeds of the fish being cut off? If it wasn't stopped, then ~~xxx~~ what? Thus the production from one household of the Chinese was ~~xxx~~ barely sufficient to pay the taxes of one household. If they happened to suffer flood, drought, or disease, they could not avoid borrowing in order to supplement (income) deficiencies. How much more so in having other people substitute (and pay taxes for them?).

vs. 戶稅
the conservation principle of taxation - preserve the species for more taxes!

p.49, 2:20b

problems with fixed tax quotas for villages.
TAX QUOTAS based on population is

In talking about 1 village, of a hundred households in a year, one household only ~~produce~~ should produce taxes for one household. Supposing that this year 20 households run away and the taxes due from those twenty households (every) are distributed among the ~~remaining~~ 80 households; then/4 households have to pay the taxes for 5 households. Then the next year 30 households run away and again the taxes due from those 30 households are distributed among the (remaining) 70 households. This means that every 5 households has to pay taxes for 7 households. And again the next year 50 households run away, and again the taxes of 50 households are distributed among (the remaining) 50 households, which means that every households has to pay taxes for 2 households. The amount (of taxes) left behind by those who run away increases by the day, and the amount of taxes distributed on those who remain(in the village) piles up by the day so that those who stay cannot endure it and lead each other all to run away. And this adds up year by year and day by day, so that how could the common people bear it? Not only would the people be unable to earn a living, but the state would also not be able to be a state.)(END NOTE)

p.50, 2:21a
No good

Yulgok

During the reign of Sönjo, Yulgok reported to the throne, saying:

At present the commanders who ^{collect payment} make loans (? 債帥) ^{from troops} fleece the defense troops (panggun 防軍) who have to make payments (taenap 代納) in cotton cloth. The quotas of troops (are decided on) by calculating the households that live (on the borders) for defense, and they are hanging (by a thread) and cannot support themselves and continue to run away. If next year the requirements (for military service) are done according to the registers, then one family ought to be ~~not~~ required to perform the service for one family. Also if one family runs away the burden placed on another family would extend like weeds and the loss of order would be extreme so that the people would have nothing left over. He also said that at present if people run away, then it is necessary to place ~~burden on other families~~ the burden of that one

vs. fixed quota system
one man, one wife, one family, one soldier

p.50, 2:21a

family on all neighbors so that neither the one family nor the neighbors would be able to support themselves and would run away and scatter, and then again one family's (burden) would be placed on another, and (the burden) of neighbors (would be placed on) neighbors, so that if one person runs away the difficulty extends to a thousand households, and it would necessarily come about that the people would have nothing (would disappear) left over. Only then would it stop. It is necessary to reform this evil after which the people who do not run away would have the wherewithal to be secure and harmonious. / Some might say that at the present time their quotas of military troops are tied to the registers but that half of them are taken up by missing households (chōlho 欠戶). If this is the case, then there is no way to meet the needs that are before our eyes. Moreover, those people who are good at fraud will all escape service. I say to this, Alas! This is the reason why the state in the end cannot save itself. At the present time the difficulties of the people are worse than being placed in an upside down position and hanging. If we do not immediately save the situation, the country will become empty, and after that the (expenses) that we need right before our eyes, from what will they be forthcoming?

(END NOTE)

Even though both a national landownership system (kongjōn) and taxation tribute payments (taxes? konggō 貢納) are put into practice, in later times tyrannical rulers, corrupt clerks and groups of people who are insincere and love profit will definitely advocate the restoration of private landownership and graded taxation? (kwagō 科興). This is involved with whether or not the state will be well governed or in confusion, and whether or not the minds and customs of the people will be correct or in error. The ruler of the people ought to issue clear instructions and bequeath them to later generations and promulgate them to the capital and provinces like the instructions by which the

with ownership
2:21b +
recommutation
?

v.s.
private ownership
&
examination
system
rules !!

exam system 科興

欠戶

貢納

P'angye on land reform -42- P'angye surok (kwön 2), chönje, ha imperial progenitor (hwangjo **皇祖**) admonished Hwarö? (**和虜**).

-Appendix giving the various Chou feet. (Note: these feet are at present not use for land and mu but are appended at the end of this k2ön as a reference.

standard foot

-next has a picture of a ~~xuxux~~. (Note: This (foot) is drawn in the

Sangnye piyo (**喪禮備要**). ~~This is the same as~~ Compared to the one drawn in the Chia-li (**家禮**), (this one) is longer by 2 inches (ch'on) and 3 pun (**分**); compared to the present land survey ~~foot~~ Chou foot that is in use, it is shorter by 7 pun or more.

-next a picture of another standard foot: (Note: This is

a Chou foot use for measuring paces (po) (that is inscribed on?) the stone column at the archery grounds at the Military Training Agency (Hullyönwön). Compared to the Chou foot currently in use for land survey, it is shorter by 2 pun.

-next a picture of another standard foot: (Note: This is the Chou foot of King Sejong in our dynasty. With the cloth=silk foot (**布帛尺**) presently stored at Samch'ökbu (**三陟府**), you can deduce the length of the various "feet" mentioned in the law code (taejön). (This foot) compared to the Chou foot currently in use for land survey, it is shorter by 6 pun. Compared to the Chou foot used for measuring pases in the stone pillar of the Military Training agency, it is shorter by 4 pun or less. Compared to the Sangnye piyo Chou foot, it is longer by 1 pun.

-next a picture of another standard foot. (Note: This is the ^{and 1/2 ?} copper cast Sejong dynasty cloth-silk foot/ (**布帛尺**) currently stored at Samch'ökbu. The year, no. month, day that are incised on it are all done with a refined degree of workmanship even to the smallest ~~ix~~ degree. At that time all the rulers were cast in cooper feet and stored in each bureau, administrative town and granary and mt, but at present after several wars none of them are extant, but fortunately

p.50, 2:22a

(this one) was preserved in this pu (Samch'ökpu). People also see it as standard. Before long it also will be buried or sunk. At present the cloth-silk foot currently in use in both official and private matters compared (with this one) is larger by an additional 7 pun or more.

Consulting the law dode (taejön), it says that if the Chou foot is equivalent to the Yellow Bell foot (hwajongch'ök ^{黃鐘尺}), then ~~the length of the Chou foot in length~~ the Chou foot in length is 6 inches (ch'on), 6 ri (^釐). If the yongjoch'ök (^{營造尺}) is taken as equivalent to the Yellow Bell Foot, then in length it is 8 ch'on, 9 pun, 9 ri. If the choryegich'ök (^{造禮器尺}) is taken as equivalent to the Yellow Bell Foot, then in length it is 8 ch'on, 2 pun, 3 li. If the cloth-silk foot (~~pxak~~ p'obaekch'ök) is (calculated) in equivalency to the Yellow Bell Foot, then it is in length 1 foote (ch'ök) 3 ch'on, 4 pun, 8 ri. If you take this foot that is presently on hand (obtained) and extend it to (deduce) the equivalency to the foot in the law code, you obtain the (length of) the Yellow Bell Foot. If you also take the Yellow Bell Foot and deduce from it, then you get the above Chou foot.

2:22b

✓
-next another standard foot: (note: This is the Chou foot incised on stone to mark a water mark on the ~~Stone~~ Watermark Bridge (Sup'yogyo ^{水標橋}) in the capital at present. It is equivalent (in length) to the above-mentioned Chou foot of Sejong's reign.)(END NOTE)

various
The/Chou feet pictured in the Yesö (^{禮書}) are not the same. As for the survey foot, the foot used for measuring paces at the Military Training Agency and these various feet, all of them were decided on during Sejo's reign, so I think that necessarily at that time they had the same uniform Chou foot, but at present ~~it~~ they have been (differentiated into different) grades and falsified like this. I don't know but that the Secret Office (Pibu ^{秘書}) might possible have a Chou foot

p.50, 2:22b

or not. If you look in China, perhaps you might get it straight. If not, then with regard to the basis for governing the world in peace, making institutions and rites happy, and obtaining the right spirit, only after you determine the rule for the Yellow Bell, can you then have all the measures ~~xxxx~~ (correct) and without doubt.