To first carry out rectification of land boundaries in a land system, it only depends on obtaining (the right) men. The importance of the selection of men and the statutes for the compensation of their labors cannot be compared with standard regulations, and so I have provided a separate discussion as follows.

The surveying of land boundaries only depends on obtaining the right men for officials and having the provincial governors and magistrates take exclusive charge of the matter. (Note: Some might hold that even though the provincial governor is the chief official of his jurisdiction, it would still be better to follow present practice whereby special "land equalization officials" (kerja kyunjansa 均田使) are despatched and are not allowed to involve themselves with other miscellaneous affairs, but take exclusive responsibility for this, and that this is sufficient for them to achieve results within a few years. I fear that this is not as good as entrusting responsibility to the governor to do it well.)

For every myôn, (xxxpumhakxxx) (xxxpumhakxxx) (xxxpumhakxxx) (xxxpumhakxxx) (xxxpumhakxxx) (xxxpumhakxxx) (xxxpumhakxxx) (xxxpumhakxxx) ((note: rank 7 or below) titaegi that in former times were secretaries), (but also) Confucian scholars and men with official rank (yusa p'umgwan 儒士品官) will make a thorough investigation and select two men of publicly (known) diligence and knowledge of affairs to be supervisors (kamgwan 監官). (Note: One of these men will take charge of the cadastral survey and one will take charge of grading the land. Both these men will be from the myôn or a nearby myôn. The two men will go (around) together, and even though each has his own responsibilities, yet they will also consult with one another in the fulfillment of their tasks. The magistrate (suryŏng) and the local elders (hyangno crop) will recommend and select a messenger (posa 報使) will commission and determine (them).)(END NOTE) There will be one secretary (sŏgi 書記).
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 should also personally make the rounds and inspect every ŏp (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.
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 經界素) and the method for making calculations and tying (knotting and cutting? (yujŏl 絲折), 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'ông 號房) and have it meet daily to discuss and study (these matters). The magistrate will personally (lead) the discussions, and also will first try out tying (kyŏnsung 絲縫) by practicing on empty (idle) fields, and only after that will they carry out (the survey).) (END NOTE)

When the survey is carried out (kyŏnggye sanpanhak 經界三班札) in addition to the provision of food and draft registers (ch'ŏjŏk 車籍), the expenses for paper for making the registers will all be deducted from regular funds (kyŏngki 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 difficulty, such as treading on (inspecting) the dew on the xim plants (straw), going in and out of the paths between the fields, xim 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
The supervisor continues to be regarded as a base occupation (ch'ŏnyŏk).

Every time the court orders a thorough selection (of men for the job) and there happens to be some men of knowledge, then they hide out in the deep recesses until death to avoid it. Those who do have responsibility (for being supervisors) in all cases hire subordinates. They are without shame and not on a class with naksam (musim pulch'i 無恥不齒) gentry (saryu 上層); they are like corrupt clerks, and that is all. And that is why the land system is in as bad condition as this. If you want to rectify completely the land system in order to benefit 10,000 generations, then you ought not to use normal regulations, but give special weight to the selection (of surveying officials), and you must get true men of talent and treat them with respect (li), and establish regulations for providing adequate (weighty) compensation for their labor, and carry everything out (this way).

As for rewards, the inspector (maing 使臣) and magistrate should be promoted in rank. (Note: A magistrate will jump to? 4th rank (will jump four ranks?) 還四資). Those who have reached the limit in rank will be promoted to tangsango. Tangsango will also be promoted to kaseon (嘉善:2B). If you talk about ancient systems, then if there was anyone who received the land of a circuit (province) and did his best there, then he ought to have been treated in accordance with the regulation for yŏl't'o pumag (裂土分茅: splitting land and dividing reeds?). A supervisor will receive in particular (as a reward) 4 kyŏng of land. (Note: He also will not be required to perform military service. That is to say he will receive a special grant of 4 kyŏng in addition to his graded (allotment), so if he ordinarily receives 4 kyŏng, then he will receive 8 kyŏng (altogether).

Afterwards, even if he is promoted to the status of high minister (kyŏngdaebu), it (the reward land?) will also not be included in his basic grade (allotment). Everything ought to be determined and given
P'angye on land reform -5- P'angye surok (kwon 2), ch'Onje, ha

In every case when the land is/ measured and into kyong and divided up
determine and give rank this land and wait after the business is
completed, then they will receive it. (Note:)

(Note cont.: As for the secretary (sogi), (as a reward) he will
be permanently exempt from the miscellaneous labor service required
of ordinary peasants (kyongbu). 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 myon. Just let the each of the ijang
(village chiefs) take responsibility for it. Holding the
marking line (chipsung) and other responsibilities will be done by
the peasants (ch'Onbu).) (END NOTE)

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 (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 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 inappropriate. Perhaps 10 kok worth of land
might be regarded as a (standard) grade (of reward?), and that
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 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 awards, will abolish it (my system of rewards for merit),
and then trust in the state will be lost. This is indeed not
a minor matter.)(END NOTE)

Once the illustrated registers (tojok) are completed, in
each register the names of the inspector (sadin), magistrate,
supervisors (kangwan), and secretary (sugi) will be carved into the
last line as proof (a basis for) merit awards or punishment. (Note:
Even though 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 inspector
and magistrate will be held responsible. If in a myon the grading of
the land is not fair and the surveying measurements are 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 (ponggu) for the boundaries of land during
the time when it is being done will all be inspected by the supervisors.) (EN)
In brief the above land system measures land on the basis of the (chibang--local area) in order to verify the facts of the provision of military service and (land) taxes.

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

Moreover in the case of the land in 1 hyon, North-South it is 60 li, and East-West it is 30 li. If it is 30 by 60 li, then that means that 1 li square is 1,800 (square li), which makes 16,200 kyong of fields. On the borders of this land one part was occupied by a mountain. If you exclude the mountain, forests, rivers, swamps and barren fields, and the walled administrative town and residential backstreets (area) (which constituted) 11,200 kyong, that gives you about 5,000 kyong of cultivated land (silchon) (note: equivalent to cultivated land, kanjon (墾田) (END NOTE)

- school scholars (kyosa), 20 men (note: each with 4 kyong)
with 80 kyong 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 kyong
(note: Altogether included in determining the number (amount) of land)) (EN)

- myonjuin (面主人) for each myon, 10 men (1 kyong each),
a total of 10 kyong.

20 agricultural encouragement officials for each myon (kwonnong),
(1 kyong per man), a total of 20 kyong

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

- 171 shu (伺候: people who inquire after superior's well being?)
P'angye on land reform -8- P'angye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, ha

for each place (ch'ŏng), (1 kyŏng each), for a total of 171 kyŏng
-2 shrine guards each for the sajik idanjik (社稷厲壇直)
altogether 4 men (1 kyŏng each), a total of 4 kyŏng
-2 changgwăn ch'ŏngjik (衙門衛士) (1 kyŏng each)
for a total of 2 kyŏng

land for incumbent officials ([outlet] chikkwan-jŏn) of rank
9 and above, you can (allot) 40 kyŏng. (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

-gentry (scholars?, saryu 士類): (note: As for oesasaeng
外金生), naeso who are exempt from tours of duty, and
mustŏn(武生), and people who are hereditary first sons of
legitimate wives, and those with the protection (him) privilege—all
are included in this (category).) (END NOTE), you can (allocate) 160
kyŏng of land (for them). (note: As for hyanggwan(衙官), hyangjŏng(御正)
and changgwan(將官兵) types, all of them are to be assigned (lands) in
this category.) (END NOTE)

-As for land for ijŏng(里正), post-station clerks and runners,
ferrymen, and hoteıl houses (ch'amho(宿舎) ) and miscellaneous types
of land you can (allot) 212 kyŏng.

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

-those who owe military service (ch'ulgun 出軍) can be (estimated)
as within 1,000 men. (note: cavalrymen, infantrymen, grain transport
sailors combined can be estimated at 500 men. Sog'ŏngun(能權軍)
can be estimated at 900 men. Able oarsmen (ho hŏb) can be estimated at
152 men, soldiers at 2 beacon stations are 48 men, and support households
(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)
If you also calculate and subtract the garrison troops (chin'gunja), school, post-station horse, ferries --these types of tax-exempt land, it comes to about 500 kyōng. (Note: These categories are about 300 or more kyōng, but you calculate and subtract the maximum estimate.) (END NOTE) That leaves about 4,500 kyōng.

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 sbōk. 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 6th 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. You divide this between taxes that are transported (to the capital) (cho-se 購税) 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 (yōryōgyōng 村里頭) which can be estimated at about 600 or more p'āl. (END NOTE)

At the present time there is more than 2,000 kyō differing cultivated land (customarily called sigi 時起). (Note: It goes without saying that you 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 Mrhae(乙來) yielded on the basic land registers a total of 7,956 kyō and a fraction of land. Of this the amount of cultivated land was 3,369 kyō and a fraction. The places that were uncultivated at that time present are also 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.
- At the present time the quota of military troops are 614 men.

(Note: The cavalrymen, infantrymen, muhak, sinsön, and pyłt'a'jin altogether come to 180 men. Members of the Ch'unsunwi and Ch'ungch'anwi altogether come to 16 men. And the oyōngun 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, 36 pyłt'aes, 33 beacon station soldiers, 122 able oarsmen soldiers (subnote: There are 48 warboat firearms men (chōnsön sap'osu) and various types of support households (hobo) also double (? as sog'o, pyłt'a, able oarsmen, and firearms soldiers (sap'osu) together come to a total of 1,272 men. There are 444 sog'ogun, 36 pyłltaes, 33 beacon station soldiers, 122 able oarsmen soldiers (subnote: There are 48 warboat firearms men (chōnsön sap'osu). 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)

- At the present time in an average year the land tax and the three soldiers tax (samsuryang) combined (yield) over 900 sbk.

(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 kyö, (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 (kyøngse. As for normal taxes, in recent years the grade of crop year has not been used in accordance with fact; they have 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
They are 70–80 tu. In recent years the seacoast administrative towns have begun to implement the taedongbop (a standard rate of 13 du/kyōng). (End note)

Also as in the case of Chonju, you (can) cut the long parts and add to the short parts. To make a square of land 80 li on each side. Thus one square li (pangilli 方里), comes to 6,400 (li), which makes 57,600 or more kyōng of fields (chon). If you exclude 32,000 kyōng of mountain and forest, river and swamp, non-arable lands and walled-town land and residential area land, that gives you about 25,600 kyōng of cultivated land (silchon).

- 88 scholars in school (kyō kyosa) (each with 4 kyōng) gives (a total of) 320 kyōng
- 282 yamen clerks, and yamen retainers, school clerks and retainers (will have) 169 kyōng
- 256 governors' yamen?? clerks and retainers (yŏngni yŏngsok) and governor's school retainers (yŏnghaksok) combined (will use) 144 kyōng
- 16 men attached to the Kyōnggiyon (will have) 9 kyōng
- 40 myŏnjuin (1 kyōng each) will have 40 kyōng
- 80 agricultural encouragement officials (kwŏnnong) in each myŏn (1 kyōng each) will have 80 kyōng
- 320 tax exempt persons (pokpu) in local schools and village granaries (sach'ang) in each myŏn (1 kyōng each) will have 320 kyōng
- 593 salu (in each ch'ŏng (place?) (1 kyōng each) will use 593 kyōng

2:6b - a total of 4 guards for the sajik and iden (其他) and other shrines (1 kyōng each) will use 4 kyōng
- 5 changgwan ch'ŏngjik(将官方直) 5 kyŏng (1 kyŏng each) will use 5 kyŏng

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

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

- scholar or gentry land (saryu'jŏn), may use 1,200 kyŏng

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

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

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

p.43, 2:7a

- If also you calculate and subtract about 2,200 kyŏng for yŏnggun (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 (myŏnsejŏn), then that leaves about 23,400 kyŏng.

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

(note: making at the present time (in present calculations) 28,000 kok.

Much of The land in Chŏnju is fertile and of high grade and compared to the land in Pusan 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) (chose 漢財) and taxes kept on reserve (yuse 留財). The reserve taxes will be over 20,000 kok and the transported taxes will be xx over 21,000 kok. In addition to this the cloth tax on residential areas (yŏrip'o) is about 3,000 or more p'il. (END Note).
The amount of cultivated land (kanjŏn) at the present time is 14,000 or more kyŏl. (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 (chŏnse)
and three soldiers tax (samsuryang) combined is 5,000 or more sbok.
(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 x in
provinces where the taedong system is not practiced, all adm. towns
are like this. (END NOTE)

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才一里) comes
to 1,600,000 (square li), which yields 14,400,000 kyŏng of land (chŏn).
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 kyŏng of arable land
(silchŏn實田).

If from the above calculation you subtract the various types of
military-service-exempt lands (myŏnbyŏng 免兵田), such as lands for high ministers (konggyŏng 公卿), officials and
scholars (taebusa大夫士), clarks, post-station, shepherd (ox raising?),
ferry, and hostel households, about a total of 400,000 kyŏng (note:
this is an optimum calculation), then it leaves about 2,480,000 kyŏng.

there are about 620,000 men liable for military service (ch'ulgun 出軍).
(Note: cavalrmen, infantrymen, grain transport sailors combined come to
310,000 men (subnote: included also in this figure are the members of the
In addition to this the cloth tax on residential areas (yorigyup), for such miscellaneous taxes as those on salt, iron, fishing traps, boats, market shops, hostels, artisans, and merchants, these taxes are levied 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 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 will be kept on reserve or a calculation will be made of reserve and transport taxes in order to provide for military guest expenses. It is the two northern provinces and administrative towns on a direct route (to the north?) (chungdup saengup) and towns kept on reserve (yuse) (note: which is at present 3,850,000 jok and the grain transport of these taxes).

The reserve taxes will be about 700,000 jok. If it is like the administrative towns of the province, then it will be converted to cloth and remitted up (to the king) (chungpu saengup) (note: which is at present 3,850,000 jok). 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 the reserve taxes (to the capital), (yicho) and taxes kept on reserve (yuse).

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the households and support personnel of in the regular soldiers (ch'ongby'ong hobo) and the household (hojol) persons in a household 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 sǒk. (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 sǒk which are transported to the capital. (Note: Within this, the Japanese provision rice (waeryomi for Yongnam) is more than 8,000 sǒk, then it is transported to Tongnae. Also you have (taxes) converted to cloth and sent up (to the capital). Below, copy this.) (END NOTE)

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

(According to the national system all land taxes are transported to the capital. As for tribute articles remitted to the king (kongmul chinsang, 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 (ch'onse), therefore customarily you have double collections from the people. This is why things are different from district to district in their regulations, and why there also is no standard for light or heavy (taxes). The expenses (for) the people/come from 1 kyǒl of land is at the least 20-30 su, and at the most 80-90 su, but the tax revenues are like this (relatively small?). In general there
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 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.\(\)\(\text{(END NOTE)}\)

(Note: The total tax receipts for the Ming dynasty in China was 36,085,000 or more sbk. Of this 4,000,000 sbk was transported to the capital granaries. There was 205,000 or more p'ii of silk, more than 197,000 ktn of raw silk; more than 246,500 ktn of cotton wadding, over 130,800 p'ii of cotton cloth (my\(\text{mp'}\)o), 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, sbk) are much greater than the ancient measures.\(\)\(\text{(END NOTE)}\)

\(\text{(Next line has a picture of a ruler--the Chou foot)}\)

This (the above) then is the \(\text{Chou foot (Chuch'ok) presently in use as the land survey foot (yangzech'ok).}\)

(Note: The present land survey foot is calculated and made on the basis of this Chou foot.\(\)\(\text{(END NOTE)}\) Compared to the picture in the Chia-li (karye\(\text{家礼)}\), this Chou foot in length is 9 parts (pun) weak (Yak? less?).

Compared to the picture (diagram) in the Sangnye-biyo (\(\text{表礼偏要)}\), this Chou foot in length is 7 parts (parts) weak (less?). Compared to the
P'angye on land reform -18- P'angye surok (kwo'n 2), chônje, has
the present Military Training Agency Chou foot for pace length (posu),
in length it is two parts (20%)%. In establishing the kyong method
at present, use this foot. (Note: In using this foot, 6 feet makes a
pace (po); 100 paces make a mu; 100 mu make a kyong; then
an area of 1 kyong is an area 100 paces (po) square.)

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.

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
(chônjo) 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 show more pity on them. When the ancients
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).

Like in the piryo (比周) mutually protecting one another,
and the chok-tang (校黨) 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)
Miscellaneous Discussion on the Land System, Addendum. (Ch'onje chab'ni-bu)

Some might say that this method is perfect and complete, but that there is a limit on what one household receives. If there are able-bodied sons, then there must be separate grants of land (for them), and if there are no empty spaces in places nearby, 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 in the method of later ages, they make the fathers and sons of the people change and be scattered. This definitely is not what people ought to be concerned about in (administering) a national land system (kongjon). 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 taxation 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 (sajon), then it is not necessary to sell it to (someone else). If it is nationally owned land (kongjon), then it is necessary to give it to someone else in substitution (taeyo). Even though
11. "P'ungye on land reform -20- P'ungye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, ha

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

In the case of nationally owned land (kongjŏn), then through a system of separation of families, in which some desire to receive land and can receive (obtain) it from the government, others might be able to purchase land (the land that ought to be received (granted to someone else) conveniently can be received (granted). But it is easier 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.)

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 kyŏng'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 (kongjŏn) 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 (kongjŏn), 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 supply.
P'angye surok (كون 2), ch'ŏnje, has 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 equally distributed). 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 Kimch'ŏ (金堤), Tongjin (東津), P'yŏngnyŏ (詳礦), San'gyŏng (山城), and Unhyang (雲陽), 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 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 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)

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
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 (kongjon), (land) is openly (kong) and equally (distributed); and in the case of privately owned land, then (land) is privately and unequally (p'yön) (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 his 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. How could you have (the same) situation?(kyóngsang) 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) (p'yóngjak) (Subnote: At the present time the practice of giving land to others to cultivate and dividing the produce is customarily called (p'yóngjak) (END SUBNOTE), and those
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)

Confucius said: To be equally and without poverty is the word of a sage. How would this not be completely right for everywhere? Some might say that when this new 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. We should treat them with leniency. We should allow them to purchase nonofficiyy posts (napso p'aegyöngjik), such as such present offices as ch'omjong(校正) 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'angye on land reform - 24 - P'angye surok (kwañ 2), ch'onje, ha

(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 temporarily of making slight adjustments 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 立與出頭). Accordingly if a (wealthy) household worth 1,000 gold has its property reduced, in the end it will definitely be better off 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 (長) 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.
Some might say that after ancient institutions were abolished, land did not go to the people, but remained under the public grant. The wealthy owned tracts of land 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 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 (yuíng han-jón). Those who have too much land will be permitted to sell it off, and those who have too little will (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 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 clarify land boundaries and clarify the registers of able-bodied males and households, then even a system of national landownership (kong-jón) cannot be accomplished.

Therefore if you have the land boundaries once rectified and the registers of able-bodied males and households once clarified and then permit private ownership, but restore a system of limitation, the
P'angye on land reform — 26 — P'angye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, ha

In general if you have a system of national landownership (kongjŏn) 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 decadence will be too much bothersome.

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?) at one time, you might lose the way, to cause the people to have perpetual rest from their labors, is something that by a single effort and the way of idleness will cause the people in all their labor to be perpetually idle. The common people will regard it as difficult, 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...
(kyŏmb'yŏng 輣補) 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 impossible to carry out was also like this. Thus if land is not self-cultivated, then a law should be promulgated that it be given to others to sharecrop (pyŏngjak 利作). The cultivator will consume 4/5 of the crop and the landowner (chŏnju 地主) 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 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 (kyŏmb'yŏng) will naturally die out.

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

In general this involves 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, proclamable land (ch'aeji 来地), and hereditary salary land (serokchŏn 世禄田), which are the means to the nurturing of scholars (yangsa chi kŭk), will all disappear (be abolished), and the scholars and officials (sadaebu 士大夫) will have to live off their lands, and that is all. If you do not restore regulations for the nurturing of scholars and
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 ( codecs to support them). These are the people who dislike the accumulation of large amounts of land and dislike seeking profit, and (this method) will altogether sink (destroy) the intention of making distinctions between the princely man (kunja) and man of the fields (yain: common peasant). It will only allow those who carry their rakes and hoes 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. (Note: If you cause the court to have no hereditary subjects (officials), the state will be poor in wandering scholars. How would this be of profit to the people and country? (Note: In the final analysis you just cannot make any without the scholar-official class (taebusa), and that is all there is to it. The noblemen (kwija) cannot suddenly become men who grow crops. If those who do not engage in cultivation find it difficult to feed themselves, then this is a bad (situation). If the officials (taebu) have salaries and you 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 atx 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...
P'angye on land reform -29- P'angye surok (kwon 2), chonje, ha
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 (e.g., 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 (kongjon), then in making laws
for all matters, not one of them will be done right.

Some might say that a national landownership system (kongjon) is
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tally system (hop'ae), 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 (kong'jon), but as for what the people would like or dislike, it would different (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 (kong'jon), if somebody has labor service, he also 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 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 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 無子佣之民).

(End Note) Supposing that you are able to carry it out for a time, if the punishments become lax in the slightest, 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).

The national landownership system (kong'jon) combines the advantages of both systems иксун 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), then if you cannot have the advantages of both, or if you get one and lose the other, and add to this the fact...
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 evils and picking up something that is half good and half bad; or dropping what would give perpetual ease to all labors (illo yŏng'ulli) 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 (kongjŏn) is extremely favorable (sun), secure (an), simple (kan), and necessary (important, yo). 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 ūn no (difference between) ancient times and the present, and no (difference between) cultured and barbarian (hwal-i), and basically there is nothing that cannot be done.

Some might say that large numbers of 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).

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, then when you take measures, all the people will gladly follow it with sincere minds.
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.

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 (chólli inyok), 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 (皇王) attacking the barbarians (藩伐大戎), they all 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, you will not be able to set the common people to forbear wrongdoing, 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
P'ang ye on land reform

-33- P'angye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, 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 因值始息),
then (you would have to) regard Te-tsung 趙宗's continuing to
allow arbitrary attacks (inheritance? tansu) as a good policy, while
regarding Hsien-tsung's( 宣宗) 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
ardent desires
as a correct policy, while (regarding) the much of various sages in for
marking 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, 具正 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
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'sun 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.)

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 深深 possessed a
ditch (sippu yugu chi che 田夫有溝之制), but at the present time
we must ought to set the boundary at 4 kyŏng. 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 深深
places where the (cultivable) land is narrow, therefore it is like this.
P'angye on land reform -34- P'angye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, ha

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 Ch'ŏng(李靖) who because the land was narrow changed 8 "flora" into 6 flowers. (?) (校八陣為六花之境) The principle of the 8 units of troops was all included within the "six flowers" (yukhw.) (check to see if this is from Chu-kuo Liang, or San-kuo chih). It does not have to be 4 kyŏng, even 1 kyŏng or 1 mu, it could be calculated 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 kyŏng. But still it is necessary to make 4 kyŏng 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 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 amounts that the taebus (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
P'angye on land reform -35- P'angye surok (kwôn 2), chônje, 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

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 kyông. 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 walâdd 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), (艹), and bamboo, then in accordance with what is suitable for the land, each household can have 10 or 100 trees and profit from them, 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 pumelo tree (柑),
then it is put on the register and passed on to the next person in addition to the personal labor service (sinyŏk) in addition to other labor service levied on him. 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 xhandanmokh 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(鷹鷹) 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 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 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 colony land system (tunjŏn). What should be done about this?

I say to this that the colony land system was basically a great method
for providing for expenses for soldiers, but that during peacetime for the various military garrisons, you only have to establish military provision land (kunjajón), and do not have to revive the military colony land. (Note: In the case of military provision land (kunjajón), 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
(the land) divided up and given to the people. (Note: Even military colony land can also be made into kyŏng 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 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'ulbyŏng), 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 zhux (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, zhux in which taxes were apportioned on neighbors (t'anse pirin). (Note: As for the land tax, labor service tax, and tribute tax (of the T'ang: tsu, jung, and t'iso) even though land was granted to the people, still the ting-hu(households with able-bodied males) was made the subject (of taxation). Even though the double tax system (yangsebŏp) 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 Pe(李渤), Ch'iu Chin(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.
(Note: In the time of Hsüan-ts'ang of the T'ang, Li Po memorialized that: 'This subject in the past talked about (the fact that )in the South the village of Chang-yüan in old times had 400 households, but at present scarcely has over a 100; and that the village of 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. If you trace the reasons for it, it would seem that it is all due to (people trying to) avoid household taxes (horse). Then (when the taxes) are apportioned on neighbors, it causes people to run away. 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 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 Ch'un said: 'The Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu says: 'How would 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 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 what? Thus the production from one household of the Chinese was 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?).
In talking about 1 village, of a hundred households in a year, one household only should produce taxes for one household. Supposing that this year 20 households run away and the taxes due from those twenty households 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 household 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)

During the reign of Sŏnjo, Yulgok reported to the throne, saying: At present the commanders who make loans (commanders) fleece the defense troops (panggun) who have to make payments (taenap) 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 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 the burden of that one...
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 (Par.) 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 (chŏlho). 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)

2:21b

Even though both a national landownership system (kongjŏn) and taxation (tribute payments (taxes? konggŏ) 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? (kwagŏ). 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
Appendix giving the various Chou feet. (Note: these feet are at present not use for land and but are appended at the end of this k28n as a reference.

- next has a picture of a standard foot. (Note: This (foot) is drawn in the Sangnye piyo). This standard foot is compared to the one drawn in the Chia-li, (this one is longer by 2 inches (ch’on) and 3 pun (分); compared to the present land survey 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 (Hullyömwön). 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 presently stored at Samchöökbu, 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 paces 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 copper cast Sejong dynasty cloth-silk foot/ currently stored at Samchöökbu. The year, no. month, day that are incised on it are all done with a refined degree of workmanship even to the smallest 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'angye on land reform \(\text{-43-} \) P'angye surok (kwŏn 2), chŏnje, ha

(this one) was preserved in this pu (Samch'ŏkpu). 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 (taejŏn), it says that if the Chou foot is equivalent to the Yellow Bell foot (hwa'jongch'ŏk 黃鑛尺), then the Chou foot in length is 6 inches (ch'ŏn), 6 ri. If the yongjoch'ŏk 僭造尺 is taken as equivalent to the Yellow Bell Foot, then in length it is 8 ch'ŏn, 9 pun, 9 ri. If the choryegich'ŏk (造礼器尺) is taken as equivalent to the Yellow Bell Foot, then in length it is 8 ch'ŏn, 2 pun, 3 li. If the cloth-silk foot (pamm p'obaekch'ŏk 話布長尺) is (calculated) in equivalence to the Yellow Bell Foot, then it is in length 1 foote (ch'ok) 3 ch'ŏn, 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.

- next another standard foot: (note: This is the Chou foot incised on stone to mark a water mark on the 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)

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 (Pi'bu 詳書) might possibly have a Chou foot
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 correct and without doubt.