Land system (Koryó)  -24- P'an'gye surok, chŏnje kosŏl, ha

The Koryó land system was in general modelled after the T'ang system. They made a total (survey) of the cultivated land and divided it into categories in accordance with its fertility. From the civil and military officials down to the pubyŏng(e) soldiers and the han'inn(闲人), everyone's qualifications were determined (科料) and was given a land grant (授). If a person died, his share was returned to the government. Even the pubyŏng(e) first received (a land grant) when he attained the age of 20, and when he became 60, he returned it. If a man had sons and grandsons or close relatives, then his land was transferred to an adult male ( chokedi eligible to receive it). (Note: He was also allowed to transfer land if he were sick). Those people without either sons,grandsons or close relatives, were registered as kammunwi(監門衛) (gate guards). After reaching the age of 70 they were given kubunjŏn(口分田) (5 kyŏl), and the extra land (difference between 5 kyŏl and their original allotment) was taken back. The wives of those who died without heirs, or those who died in battle, were also all given kubunjŏn.

In addition there was yamen land (konghaejon公廨田) which was granted in grades for chang(庄), t'aek(宅), palaces (kungwŏn 宮院), official bureaus (paeksa 百司), chu and hyŏn(州縣) (magistrates), hostels (kwan 館) and post stations (yŏk 驛).

T'aeso first established the category of yŏkpunjŏn(役分田) at a time when the country was (first) unified. It was applied to all the court officials and military men at the time, irrespective of their rank official rank. People were observed for their character and behavior, whether it was good or bad, and whether their merit and effort was large or small, and they were (granted this type of land) in grades (according to their behavior and accomplishments).

Kyŏngjong(景宗) first established the chŏnsikwa(職官) for incumbent officials (chikkwăn 職官). This, too, did not depend
on the official's rank, but was determined on the basis of personal quality (rank? inp'um).

(note: For those of (紫彩) rank and above, there were 18 ranks (p'um). Rank 1 received 110 kyōl of both farmland and woodland (chon'je 田). And the grades were then proportionately reduced to rank 18, which got 32 kyōl of farmland (chon 田), and 25 kyōl of woodland.

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

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

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

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

(END NOTE)

---Mujong(文宗) carried out a reform and established the munmu yangban (farm and woodland allotments for the civil and military officials)

--In Munjong(文宗) 's reign there was another reform of this system, and all officials from the Chungso-ryong(中書令), Sangso-ryong (尚書令), Munha sijung(門下侍中) down to the soldiers (kunsa 士), han'in(間人) and misc. categories (chamnyu 章類),
all were divided up into 18 grades (kwa ⁴), and received land in allotments descending from 100 kyŏl to 17 kyŏl, which were regarded as the standard amounts.

(Note: The first grade
2nd grade
3rd grade
4th
t fifth
6th
7th
8th
9th
10th
11th
t2th
3th
4th
5th
6th
7th
8th
9th
10th
11th
12th
13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th

100 kyŏl
90
85
80
75
70
65
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
22
20
17 kyŏl.

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

-For officials from rank 6 and up and rank 7 and up (ranks 6 and 7) who have no male descendants to carry on (the family), their wives got 8 kyŏl of kubunjŏn. For officials of rank 8 and down, soldiers who died in the war, their wives got 5 kyŏl of kubunjŏn. For officials of rank 5 and up, where both they and their wives had died and there were no sons, but unmarried daughters, they were given 8 kyŏl of kubunjŏn, and after they married, this allotment was returned to the authorities. (END NOTE)

In the 8th year of Munjong (1054), it was decided that with regard to the quality of the land, land which was cultivated every year would be regarded as superior (sang), land which was cultivated every other year was regarded as middle (chung), and land which was cultivated every third year was regarded as inferior (ha). Mountain land that was cultivated every year was deemed equivalent to 1 kyŏl of regular land. 2 kyŏl of land cultivated every other years was regarded as equivalent to 1 kyŏl of ordinary land; and 3 kyŏl of land cultivated every third year was regarded as equivalent to 1 kyŏl of ordinary land. Every 23 years, a land survey (yangjŏn) was to be carried out. With regard to the number of paces...
1 kyŏl of land was 33 paces (步) square. (Note: 6 inches(寸) made 1 pun(分); 6 pun made 1 foot (尺), and 6 feet made 1 pace (foot 步)) END NOTE)

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

In the first year of T'aejo's reign (918), T'aejo said to his officials

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

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

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

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

(Note: Also:

on wet rice fields, 1 kyŏl

superior grade: 4 sŏk 7 tu 5 sŏng

middle grade: 3 sŏk 7 tu 5 sŏng

inferior grade, 2 sŏk 7 tu 5 sŏng

dry fields:
Land system (Koryŏ) -28-

P'an'gye surok, chònje kosŏl, ha

dry fields

superior grade: 2 sok 3 tu 7 sung 5 hap

middle grade: 1 sok 11 tu 2 sung 5 hap

inferior grade, 1 sok 3 tu 7 sung 5 hap

(End note)

—in the 4th year of Munjong's reign (1050), it was decreed that with regard to land suffering damage from flood, drought, insects or moisture, that if the damage were 40% (of the crop), the cho tax would be exempted;

if the damage were 60% of the crop then the cho and p'o (土地税 and 布税) would both be eliminated; and if 70% of the crop then the cho, p'o and yŏk (租布役 : land, cloth tribute and labor service) taxes would all be exempted.

—in the 23rd year (1069) the land tax was set at a rate of 7 hap 5 chak (合 ) of rice for 10 pu (貫 ). If this is added up to constitute 1 kyŏl, then the tax would be 7 sung 5 hap. Or a tax of 1 sok for every 20 kyŏl.

(Note: In the 5th year of Kongmin-wang (1356), the king handed down a decree which said: In the northwest, we have never collected a land tax (cho) on the land. It has been a long time since this area was set aside for defense of the frontier. But in recent times, because there have been many powerful and influential people who have accumulated large landholdings (兼并 ), from now on officials will conduct an investigation and will levy a tax of 1 sok on 1 kyŏl in order to pay for the expenses of the army.

—in the 11th year (1362), the chehak (提學), Paek Munbo (白文寶) submitted a memorial which said: The land system of our country takes its model (法, method) from the Han dynasty tithe, and that is all. Even though the tax rate for Kyŏngsang province is the same as for other provinces, the cost of transporting grain is also double that of the tax. I request that
Land system (Koryø) -29- P'an'gye surok, chönje kosól, ha

an additional 7 kyol of land be given to the original fixed (quotas of grants --wönjông元定) of the able-bodied males (chokchöng足丁) or could this be a term for land?) in order to pay the costs of taxes.

-in the second year of King H Sin U(1376), the Hônsa(霽司) requested that because of the effects of war and crop disaster and the exhaustion of military food supplies that a cho tax of 1/3 the crop be levied on merit subject land (kongsinjôn), and that 1/2 the crop be of monastery and shrine land (sisajôn寺社田) be taxed; and that all the grain left over after the payment of taxes on official yamen land (kwansajôn關田) belonging to the king and queen be used to defray military expenses. The king approved it.

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

According to the non-historians' evluations in the Koryôsa(論訳) of the Koryôsa, after T'aejo unified the Samhan (three han states), he first rectified the land system, divided up (the land) and gave it to the officials and people (sinmin臣民). The state had a fixed system, and the officials and common people (sasô士庶) were secure in their occupations. Munjong文宗 respected frugality and was sparing in his expenditures. The people all had enough, and the grain in the granaries accumulated in such amounts that it rotted.

After the reigns of Yejong(葉敬) and Myôngjong(明), the powerful (officials) and deceitful (officials) ran government affairs as they pleased.

The barbaric Yuan(元) were not reluctant to make exactions and demands, and there were all kinds of taxes so that the population declined by the day. By the decline of the dynasty virtue was lost (Kim 476: there were more rulers who were without virtue)
Land system (Koryo) -30- P'an'gye surok, ch'ŏnje kosŏl, ha

and the land and population (p'anjŏk) was not clearly known. The farm land and woodland (ch'ŏnsi chi kwa) grades were abandoned and became private land (sa'ŏn), and the influential families and hereditary lineages (sejok) competed with one another to accumulate land (kyŏmb'yŏng). Their (large holdings) extended across the paths and roads dividing the land (k'osil), and they used the mountains and rivers for boundary markers (for their huge holdings). The common people (yangmin) were all absorbed into their huge houses (k'osil), and as a result of it, the state gradually fell into decline (nun'gi).

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

(quote contd. T'aejo (of Koryo) succeeded to the Silla dynasty which had declined and was in confusion, and to the state of T'aebong which suffered from...
extravagance and tyranny. All kinds of things were being created (established for the first time), and perhaps because there was not sufficient time, he was only able to enact a law for granting kubun(公) land allotments (the people). After 4 generations, Kyŏngjong(景宗; 975-981) enacted the chŏnsi farmland and woodland grades (allotments). Even though the system had some crude and rought elements in it, it contained within it the intention of the ancients for establishing (a system of) hereditary salary provisions (serok 世祿). As for such methods as the 1/9 the tax that was characteristic of the (well-field) aids (九一而助) or the 1/10 tax (十ー一而賦), which were the means by which (the ancients) provided superior treatment for the princely men (kunja, chŏl-tzu) and (distinguished them) from the small men, there was no mention of this at all. In later generations several times it was desired to regulate it (li chi 理之: institute such systems), but in the end it was not done (neglected), and that was all. If in the beginning one does not regard the (adjustment of) the land boundaries as an urgent matter, then the source (of a stream) will be muddied (元溘而已). What a pity that the officials at the time did not conduct a study of (the ancient) laws and systems on the basis of what Mencius said, wake up the king engaged in the task of creation (kyeŏk 喊迪), and devote their strength to carrying out (such a task--setting the land boundaries straight), (End of Yi Che-hyŏn's memorial)
Land system (Koryŏ)  -32-  P'an'gye surok, chŏnje kosŏl, ha

At the end of the Koryŏ dynasty, the Hon'gwon (宦官) Cho ch'un (趙俊) and others submitted a memorial requesting the restoration of the land system. It stated: Human government must begin with (regulating) the land boundaries (kyŏnggye). Whether a state's destiny will be long or short is a product of whether the people's lives are happy or difficult, and whether their lives are happy or difficult depends on whether the land system is equal (equitable: kunOffsets) or not. Kings Wen and Wu and the Duke of Chou (in the Chou dynasty) used the well-field system to nurture the people, and for that reason the Chou dynasty lasted over 800 years. The Ch'in dynasty destroyed the well field system, and fell after only two generations. T'aejo (Of the Koryŏ) dynasty unified the Samhan (three Han states) and established land (allotments) and regulated the officials, granting land (allotments) in accordance with rank (p'um). If a person died, his land was collected (taken back). If he was a pubyŏng (庶兵) soldiers, then at the age of 20 he received (his land grant), and at the age of 60 he gave it back. In the case of the sadae bu (大夫) who received land, if they committed a crime, their land was taken back. Everyone took care of himself and did not dare break the law. Rights and principles (yeol, 礼義) flourished and customs and mores were beautiful. The pu-wi (府衛) soldiers (regular and guards soldiers), and the clerks of the chu, kun, ferries, and post-stations each were supported with land grants. They were settled on the land and were secure in their occupations. Because the state was wealthy and powerful, even though the Liao and Chin dynasties kept a hungry eye on the world and were situated next to our borders, they did not dare swallow us up, which was because T'aejo had divided up the land of the Samhan and shared with his officials and people in the enjoyment of its benefits, and the enhancement of their livelihoods, and the resolution of their minds, creating the original spirit which would cause the state to last for a thousand or 10 thousand generations.
From that time on through every generation there were increasing amounts of land grants given to people in the name of grants for idle people (han'in), grants for sons of those with merit (kong'um), grants to foreigners who became naturalized and entered military service (tuhwa ipch'ir), additional grants, and supplemental grants, and special grants to those who achieved rank (passed the exams? tünk'wa). Officials in charge of the land, bear, bear up with( ), did not keep up with the bothersome aspects of land management, and the laws for granting and receiving land gradually became lax, and corrupt officials took advantage of the situation to deceive and cover up (land) in endless ways. People with office or married women obtained the land of ii (set aside for) idle people han'in (Kim, 479. as he translates above, Kim interprets han'in as sons of men of merit who were without office but still merited land grants), and men who were not in the ranks of the soldiers still dared to receive mi... soldier land (kunj'on). Fathers concealed their holdings and privately (secretly) gave them to their sons. Sons hid and stole the land and did not return it to the government. Once the law of the fex founding fathers was destroyed, then the gates for the accumulation of large holdings (kyömbyöng) was opened.

Soldiers were the means by which the royal house was guarded and the borders defended against invasion. The state set aside fertile land in order to provide salaries for the soldiers (kap'sa) (attached to) the 42 tobu (Kim 480. tohobu). Their clothes, food, implements and weapons were all paid for from the land. Therefore the state had no expenses for taking care of the troops. This plan was a legacy from the principle of the three dynasties of antiquity that you should maintain a close relationship between soldiers and farming land (support soldiers by farming). But at the present time both the military and the farm land systems have both disappeared, and if there should be
Land system (Koryo) -34 - P'an'gye surok, chŏnje kosŏl, ha

a sudden (incident, invasion), then we would have to force the peasants
into the army (force the peasants to become soldiers in order to make
the soldiers are weak up for the lack of soldiers). Therefore the army is weak, and are food
for the enemy (will be eaten up by the enemy). Because food has been taken away
from the peasants in order to feed the troops, the number of peasant households
has been reduced and the villages are disappearing. The land which our
founding father so justly (in the public interest) divided up and granted
has become the private property of individual families or persons.

There are some persons who never once leave their homes to serve as
official at court, never once put their fut forward (p'ungjok) to serve in the army, (yet both types receive land?--Kim's translation, 480--
his interpretation, but this statement not in the text. How could it be
so since the land grant system is supposed to have fallen into disuse?),
they wear yet in their wearing of fancy clothes and eating of fine foods, and they
sit and enjoy the benefits (of position, without doing what they're supposed to).

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

(Ever since the custom of private ownership and accumulation of
large property began), (the officials) in charge of the land (p'ando and laws in the capital, and the magistrates and governors in the provinces
have abandoned their basic tasks (don't have the time to perform them),
and every day listen to lawsuits over land. Whether in heat or cold, they
cannot escape (the task) of investigating documents (munkwŏn), and
searching evidence (kŏmbok ch'ŏngjwa), questioning tenant
farmers (chŏnho), and questioning the elderly. The words accumulate
and (the farmers) fill the lawcourts and abandon their farming while they wait several months
Land system (Koryŏ) -35- P'ang'ye surok, ch'ŏnje kosŏl, ha

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

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

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

The Kan'wan, Yi Haeng(李行) said: It is due to the evil of private landownership (sajŏn) that the wealthy and powerful families accumulate large landed property, that the state has nothing for its expenses, that tax burdens have doubled, that the people are fallen and distressed, that the strong devour the weak, that disputes and lawsuits are prolific and numerous, that flesh and bone (flesh and blood?) suspect one another, and that customs and mores have been destroyed. If the rich and powerful lose their profits it is difficult to repress their resentment and criticism (complaints); if the scholar families (sajok 土族) lose their occupations, it is difficult to continue their means of livelihood.
Land system (Koryŏ) -36- P'an'gye surok ch'ŏnje kosŏl, ha

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

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

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

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

Thus if the granaries are full, there will be more than enough saved (to meet state expenses). If salaries are adequate (good), then honesty and knowing shame will rise. If arbitrary tax levies cease, then the people will have some respite to earn a living. If disputes and lawsuits come to an end, then customs and mores will be good. If the land is opened to cultivation and taxes are light, the population will increase (prosper) and misc. labor service (requirements) will be equalized (made equitable). If these reforms are carried out, how great will be the profit from it!
Land system (Koryǒ) -37- P'an'gye surok chŏnje kŏsŏl, ha

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

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

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

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