School regulations

1. Pan'gye surok, kyosŏn chi che, sang

Han Chang-yu, trans., p. 59.

170, 9:23a

**HAKKY** (School Regulations).

I have taken

(note: Take the regulations of Chu Hsi for his Pai-lu-t'ung (白鹿洞) school, carve them on a wooden board and hang them over the gate (so that they will be) the school regulations. Also (I) have added on several explanations by former Confucian scholars.) (end note)

9:23b

- Between a father and son there is intimate affection.
- Between a ruler and subject there is duty.
- Between a husband and wife, there is separation.
- Between elders and younger people, there is order of precedence.
- Between friend and friend, there is trust.

(note: With regard to the above five teachings, Yao and Shun made Chi'i (one of their five ministers) the Ssu-tu (司徒) to respectfully promulgate these five teachings, which were just these teachings above. What is meant by "learning" is to learn these and that is all.

That is why in the order of precedence of learning, you also have these five categories, which are listed as follows:

- Study broadly.
- Ask (about things) in detail.
- Think carefully.
- Distinguish clearly.
- Practice (things) warmly.

With regard to the matters of learning listed above, the four categories of studying, equestioning, thinking, and distinguishing are the means by which one investigates principle (kungni, ch'ing-li: probe to the depths). With regard to the category of principle, warmly carrying out (what one has learned), then from self-rectification (tsu-hsiu-hsin 自修身) to handling affairs and touching (dealing with) things, there are also essentials that are to be distinguished, as follows:

- In speech be loyal and trustworthy, in action be warm and respectful.
- Guard against anger, stop ambition (desire), do what's good, and correct
your mistakes.

The above are the essentials for rectifying oneself (hsiu-hsin).

Rectify righteousness (one's duty) and do not make plans for (obtaining) profit.

I illuminate the way and do not plan for achievement.

The above are the essentials for handling affairs (ch'ossa).

Do not do unto others what you would not want for yourself.

If there is something wrong in your actions, turn around and (If things don't go the way you want them to,) look for (the cause) in yourself (your own actions).

The above are the essentials for dealing with things (ch'ónmul).

The school regulations for Chu Hsi's Pai-lu-t'ung school are as above.

The teachings of the sages and worthies that run to thousands and ten thousands of words are all contained in the classics, and there are none of them that are not wise sayings (ke, ko -yen), but these (maxims of Chu Hsi) are the great law and most essential (things). Students (those who learn) ought to use all their minds on them.

ITEM: Every day at dawn get up early, fold up your bedding and put it in order.

The young people will wash and sweep their room and hall (maru--wooden floor), have the orderlies (chaejik) sweep out the courtyard. Everyone will wash their hands and comb their hair, put their clothes and caps straight, and very early (pyöngmyöng) go to their teacher and bow down to him. (note: Their clothing will be ordinary clothing, their head turban xix: the chingnyöng, and they will only kowtow one time. When the oldest student bows, then the teacher seated above him will bend his body and return the courtesy. If the teacher is in his private room, then the students will wait from him to sit in the hall, or when they ask to begin their lessons, they will bow down to him.) (end note)

(Then) they will withdraw and stand by the east and west (sides) of the
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courtyard. (each will stand in rank according to age)(end note) They
will face each other and bow to each other. (note: if the teacher (sajang) is
dining in his private room, then then they go to the hall, they can divide up
in the courtyard and carry out the bowing ritual.) (end note)

Everyone will go to the study hall and read books. When it is time to eat,
they will go to the dining hall (siktang) Then a little later then can again
proceed to ask (the teacher) to begin lessons. (note: or adjustments in
this procedure could be made in accordance with the circumstances). (end note)

ITEM:

- When studying their books, they must keep their countenances (bodies)
correct and sit correctly, devote all their minds and concentrate their
thoughts on one thing (chŏnsim ch'iji) and strive to reach the
principles of things (i-li, geiri). They should not set their minds on
memorizing (kim'i) or reciting (hum'), nor should they look at each other
or engage in conversation. (note: During ordinary times, they ought each of them
to sit quietly in the study hall and concentrate exclusively on reading
their books. Unless they have some question to ask about a doubtful or
troublesome point in their studies, they may not wander about or go to
another study room to engage in empty talk or play hockey (abandon their work).
(end note).

ITEM:

- All their equipment—desks, notebooks, punx, and inkstones, should all
be set in order in their places. They may not leave them scattered around
and in disorder. When they write characters, they must to it in the square
and correct form (kagi), and they may not write recklessly (mang sum).
Furthermore, they may not write on the windows or walls.

ITEM:

- The places where they live must be convenient and good places. They
must defer to their elders (in selecting the choicest places), and they
must not themselves select the most convenient place. When those of 10 years
of age or older go out and in, the younger children must rise. (note: this
is not necessary in front of the teacher) (end note). When they go walking,
they must walk securely and proceed slowly. When they are walking with
their elders, they must not take random paces that are disorderly.
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171, 9:25b ITEM: --. At eating time, they will sit in the order of their age, with a strict demeanor and silently without uttering a word. When they are eating and drinking they shall not select (the food that they think is the best) to eat. They shall not think of filling their bellies. And during ordinary times they shall always keep their clothes in order and keep their hands together and sit with their legs bent as if they were facing their teachers. They shall not wear dirty (unkempt) clothes at their own convenience, and moreover, they shall not wear ostentatious or extravagant clothing.

ITEM: --. After they finish eating they may take a walk through the garden or pond (moat) singing (reciting). They must also walk at ease, slowly, and in order, looking at (investigating) things (objects), examining the principles (of things) (wan-li). After a short while, they will return to study their work.

When many people are living together, they should discuss things with one another to improve (their knowledge), maintain dignified procedure, regulate their behavior in a strict manner. They should not waste time playing games or engaging in miscellaneous (worthless) conversation.

ITEM: --In the leisure intervals between learning, they may practice the arts, such as practicing archery, writing characters, playing the stringed instruments (kumungo), or doing calculations with numbers and such things. In addition, everything should be done with method and proper procedure. As for playing games (changgi, paduk) and misc. games, they definitely should not get close to that.

Pan'gye: (note: I note that rites and music are basically things which should be used together. This is why the ancients did not abandon their musical instruments except without some good reason. It was only that the ancients in their poetry and songs were basically loyal, warm, serious, and clear respectful, and they harmonized it (their music) with refined sounds, and for that reason the feelings produced by their sounds and spirit were able to promote a harmonious feelings (emotions) and wash away (eliminate) heterodox and dirty (ideas). The effect of it was most profound.
The songs (kasa) of later generations were all light, elaborate (巧), lascivious, and captivating (voluptuous 風流). If one were to rely on these vexatious sounds, it would incite the desires (lust) and lead one into a life of ease, and one would not be able to put a stop to it. The harm (from this kind of music) would be exactly the opposite (of what is desirable, of what the ancients did).

When you get to this country (Korea) then with regard to spoken words and written letters (writing style), there are also two ways, but what is handed down in the alleyways are even more base and thus lascivious (dirty糜). If we do not change the present music and change it into what is correct, then it would be better not to play such music at all. (end note)

**ITEM:** After dusk, light the lamps and read books, and don't go to bed until late in the night. During the daytime one must have things to do, either reading books, or sitting quietly and concentrating one's mind (靜坐存心), or discussing principles of virtue (義), or asking to learn (for instruction) or asking to increase (one's understanding of things), or if an incident occurs to inquire into the rights and wrongs of it in order to (be able) to handle it (take action)--there are none of these things which are not matters for learning and inquiry. If one errs in this and one's mind takes delight in abandoned ease, then one is not a student (學子) (a scholar who studies, learns).

**ITEM:** In reading books, you first read the Hsiao-hsüeh (Small Learning) to cultivate the roots (foundation of your study). Next you read the Ta-hsüeh to fix the rules and models (for your learning, knoweldge). Next you read the Analects, the Mencius, the Doctrine of the Mean, and The Record Of Things Near At Hand (Chin-ssu-lu) and the Six Classics (liu-ching), and in between them (you read) the Shih-chi and the writings of various sage philosophers on hsing-li (nature and principle--Sung Neo-Confucianists) in order to obtain a thorough understanding of the fine points and to use as a mirror for (understanding) what is right and wrong. (te-shih) (what past countries and dynasties did that was right, good, or bad, wrong).
171, 9:26a
In reading the classics, you should read them in turn and through all the way through and then go back (and do it again) to comprehend them with the expectation that you will be able to get it yourself. Do not read any books that have not been written by the sages. And do not look at any writings that are of no benefit.

9:26b ITEM: --. In learning, first you must establish your will and taking the practice of the way as your own responsibility. If the Way is not high (lofty) and far (remote), then people naturally will not practice it. Everything that is good is within us, one does not have to seek for it in some other place. Do not delay and have doubts, do not be afraid that it is too difficult and hesitate. It is only right in front of your eyes, and you can easily touch it with your hand. The most important (things for you to do) is to think with your mind, put it into practice with your strength, try and try it again, follow it and follow it again and never stop; and then you will be able to attain it as a matter of course.

ITEM: --. When the sages and worthies discussed learning, they necessarily emphasized seriousness (ching). Seriousness is the way by which sage learning achieves its beginning and its end. If one's mind is kept under strict control (sugyon) as when one is entering an ancestral shrine, if or as at the time when one is seeing (having an interview with) one's lord or father, then naturally one will commit no offense or wickedness. Thus, Ch'eng-tsu said about seriousness (ching) the first things that one had to do was that one had to be regulated and controlled, strict and dignified, that one's clothes (clothes and hat) had to be correct and one's thoughts unified. This was the way to unify the internal (mind) and external (aspects of behavior). If one were not war-minded and serious (sincere and respectful), then in all actions and good deeds none of them would have a way in which they could stand up (emerge, be achieved).
ITEM 1. Filial piety and brotherly respect is the basis for all actions (behavior). Man in what he takes as learning seeks to carry (these principles) out to the extreme. In serving a parent (sach'in 慈親), every day you arise early in the morning, wash your hands and face, comb your hair, put on your clothes and hat and go (pay a visit) to where your father and mother are, act in an obedient manner (hagi 下氣), speak in a joyful manner, ask if they are cold or warm, and if they are well. At dusk you spread out their ibul (blanket) and look into whether (the weather) is warm or cool. During the day you serve and wait on them with a pleased look and an agreeable countenance; when you answer them you are respectful; you support them from the left and the right, and are as sincere as possible (in your efforts). When you leave the house, you must tell them, and when you return, you must see them. When your father or mother are sitting or reclining, you may not dare to sit or recline. When they are entertaining guests, you must not dare to entertain your own guests. When they are mounting or dismounting off a horse, you must neither mount nor dismount. With regard to any matter or any action, you must not dare (presume) to act on your own account but must ask you parents and receive instructions from them before acting. If your parents make some mistake, you should remonstrate with them in a gentle way (kigan 幾谏). If they get sick, you should earnestly have them treated immediately (ch'iyu 致憂); if they die, grieve for them, if ancestral sacrifice is due, they carry it out in a strict fashion.

Of the reading and speaking one does in school, there is none of it which is not (about) the way of filial piety and brotherly respect. With regard to "the three objects of the village" and "the 8 punishments of the village" (hsiang san-wu, hsiang pa-hsing 郡三物, 郡八刑) none of them do not take these (filial piety and brotherly respect) as the foremost (problem). If people who study (learn) while in school only strive to perform ceremonies and rectify the outer (surface) aspect (of their behavior, but after they return home do not know how to do everything in their power for filial piety and
then not only do they commit a crime (wrong) against others, but are they not close to losing (the principles) of Heaven? One should always be afraid and do everything one can with regard to this way (of filial piety and brotherly respect).

ITEM:  

The people are born (nurtured?) by the three things (parents, king, teacher), and they serve them as one (the way they serve them is one and the same). In serving their teacher, they must respect him in a lofty (serious) way. When (teacher and student) are in the same place, then every morning (the student) should go call on (the teacher). If (teacher and student live) in different places, then at class time the (student) should call on the teacher. On the first day of the month when all are assembled (the students) should perform the xi:ixint interview ceremony (yegyon). The students should trust ardently (warmly) in the (teacher's teachings), they should respectfully accept it and not commit any errors. If in some matter there should be some doubt, they should discuss it, ask questions about it, and thus distinguish between what is right and wrong (tūk-sil). A student cannot simply criticize his teacher on the basis of his own opinions. In addition, a student cannot give no thought at all to the principles of things but just trust to what his teacher says. And when it comes to what one should do in serving one's teacher, one ought also respect him (show him courtesy) with the utmost sincerity.

ITEM:  

For friends, one must choose people who are loyal, trustworthy, straightforward, and warm and friendly, for in choosing them one gives support to one's own humanity (humaneness). One may not take for friends those who are not zealous in establishing their will, who are not strict in their deportment (in restraining themselves), nor those who are soft (malleable) and flattering and are not straightforward, nor those who flit around in idleness and pleasure, nor those who show great respect for trends or skill in talking (sangki sang'он). Generally speaking, with one's friends one should strive for mutual harmony and respect,
for mutual encouragement in the ways of virtue, for mutual admonition with regard to errors. One should not rely on one's nobility or wealth, or fathers or brothers (prestigious relatives) or a lot of what one hears (gossip?) to act overbearing to those in one's peer group. And one should definitely not scold or insult the members of one's peer group for the purpose of playing jokes on them.

ITEM: --. While at home one should respect the laws regarding rites (li). A husband should be righteous and a wife obedient and they should respect each other and in harmony with one another. An elder brother should treat (a younger brother) in a friendly way, and a younger brother should respect (an older brother), and (each should treat the other) as if they were of the same body. In teaching one's sons, one should use the way of righteousness, and in controlling one's family one should be strict and beneficent. (note: If one can do unto others what he would or would not want done to himself, then that is beneficence. (Han 67. 能推恕則有恵).)

And up to the 9 relatives, everything will be friendship and harmony. With regard to each (member of one's relatives up to the 9th degree), everything will be done with regard to (the requirements) of human feelings and etiquette; those within and those without will be distinguished, those above and those below put in (the proper) order, and thus benevolent intentions will always be carried out. (the intention to do benevolent things will always be carried out)

ITEM: --. In entertaining others one ought in every case to treat them with courtesy (etiquette, li) and righteousness. If someone else (a guest) is more than twice as old as oneself, then one ought to serve him as if he were a father. If (a guest) is more than 10 years older than oneself, then one should serve him as if he were an elder brother. If (a guest) is more than 5 years older than oneself, then one should also show him additional respect because of his greater age. With regard (to one's fellow members?) in the hyangdang (village?) and hyangni (邻里), everyone should emphasize harmony and respect, encourage one another in virtuous tasks,
ITEM:  

- Keep an eye on one another's mistakes and errors, maintain intercourse (social) with one another on the basis of rites (etiquette) and customs, and commiserate with one another when in difficult or difficult circumstances. (note: For these and other regulations, they are all listed in the hyangyak (village oath section). The hyangyak and the hakki (school regulations) are in fact not two separate things, therefore here I am only listing the gist of it.) (END NOTE) One should always harbor feelings of love for others and giving aid to people and strive to do what is proper (right),

ITEM:  

--. To be careful (circumspect) in speech (謹言) is an earnest and important thing for people. In the case of kongbu (? artisans?), they should always be respectful and say as little as possible (謹言) and when they do speak, they should be loyal and trustworthy. In the embodiment of virtuous action, they should begin by establishing (such behavior) at home, and they should establish sincerity in actual matters. (In so doing), it all depends on this (being circumspect and cautious in speech). In the past, Fan Wen-cheng-kung (范文正公; n. p. 69, k Han, i.e., Fan Chung-yen of the Sung dynasty) when he resided in peace (at home?) was circumspect in speech and kept his mouth quiet and did not talk about the good points or shortcomings of others. This was the best of principles.

ITEM:  

--. In all things one should respect loyalty. Loyalty and true-heartedness are two sides of the same coin. If one lacks the honor (chöl, propriety) of chasu (preserving one's own self, honor), and regards hesitating as being loyal and true-hearted, then it is no good.
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If one is lacking in basic virtue, but takes himself to be strong and straightforward in speech and aroused (violent) in action, then it is not good (not right). If the customs of the world are thin and weak and true virtue disappears every day, and if people deceive themselves and flatter others, then people will be arrogant and overweening (kyohang) and will respect the trends of the times? (sanggi), and those (scholars) who will be able to adhere to the middle way will be rare.

As the Book of Poetry says: Only those who are warm and harmonious and respectful can (provide) the foundation for virtue! (narend) (check Legge). It also says: "Even though it is soft (pliant), it cannot be eaten; and even though it is hard, it cannot be spit out." (柔亦不茹,則亦不吐). Only after (people) are warm and respectful, deep and true in their minds, clear in their understanding of rites and righteousness, truly knowing of the way in which they should treat their parents with proper respect, and respectful of their elders, only then will they be truly loyal and true-hearted (ch'unghu) in what they preserve (in their minds), and only then will they have a strong (firm) and dauntless purity (chol) that cannot be taken from them.

ITEM: The sons of scholars (saja 子) while in school should rectify and polish themselves (such'ik), and when they return home they should not forget that in serving their fathers and treating others (as guests) they should preserve (keep) their minds (firm,honest?), and that in handling affairs they should strive to be in accordance with Heaven's principles, and they should strive to abandon their private desires. If when a person enters his study, he engages in self-rectification (study for self-rectification, such'ik), and if when he goes out of his study he acts in an unrestrained (loose way) and topsy-turvy way, then even if he stays at school, it will be of no benefit (to him), and such a person should not be accepted into school.
ITEM: --. (The student) is not allowed to take books of the school privately outside the school gates. He is not allowed to borrow bedding or other misc. items. (note: violators will be punished)(end note)

ITEM: --. There are naturally the ceremonies for the sŏkch'ŏn rite (to Confucius on the first ch'ŏng day of the 2nd and 8th months-- Hanbandaesajŏn, 1391). The students should purify themselves and abstain (sukchae: Han, 69, says this is chaegye) and each should perfect his own sincerity. (note: Anyone who fails to attend for no good reason will be punished.) (end note)

ITEM: --. Whenever there is a ritual matter within the school, everyone must practice it. (note: With regard to rites and music affairs, such as chesa (scarificial offerings), pingaek (guests), Mmaa (affairs with drinking and archery), in every case you must practice them. The ancients from the time that they were young would practice (the rites) and by the time they entered school, they had to be taught (learned) in the rites and music. That is why the people were all accomplished in rites and music and it was easy for them to achieve virtue. In later generations everything declined or was destroyed, but there never was not one or two (people) who practiced (rites) that could be used (carried out, but still there were no taught (ritual) matters where the people were skilled in them. This means that although people may be saja (sons of scholars) in name, when it comes to/their ascending and descending (stairs, in rites?) and kowtowing and bowing, there are many who are in the dark and don't know what to do. We ought, in accordance with the rites that we do have at present, lecture on and make clear the procedure (chŏl ), and gather many people together and have them practice (the rites). We should have the people look (on the rites) with their eyes and become used to them and cause the upfifing of their spirits as a means of gradually restoring the rites and music of ancient times.

Some might say that in the present age, even if you are not practiced
in (ritual) matters, if you read books to learn about your duties (Mi-obligations, what is proper, right), then it can be done (that way) (it is all right). But I do not understand (how they can say) that you can understand the reason for the exact why something was done by using a contemporary classics (the classics existing today) as sources for the performances in ancient times in order to search out and understand the significance (of the rites). (end note)

---. On the first day of every month, the teacher (sajang) and the students will all go to the sŏngmyo (shrine of the sage), and line up in order, standing. (note: The sajang will wear his samo (silk hat) and tallyŏng, and the students will wear the tup'o (turbans?) and tallyŏng. Or they may all wear the part of the courtyard sim'ŭi. The sajang (teacher) will stand in the Eastern garmam, and the officials will line up standing with intervals between their ranks, western rank/separated by a few paces from the higher ranks, /Double ranks, which will start from the western end. In the chumgyŏn schools in the chu and hyŏn (provincial schools), the landlords (chiju) will stand in the eastern part of the court yard (note:if the chiju do not come, then the educational officials will stand in the eastern part of the courtyard)(end subnote). All will face north. The students (chesaeng) will be lined up behind them. The naesasaeng will form one row. (subnote: the chang'mi) yusa, chigwŏl and other functionaries will also stand in the front row) (end subnote). The eesasaeng will be in the next row, and if there are too many of them, they can form a double row. All will be ranked in accordance with age, facing north, with the head of the row at the east. (end note) After their standing places have been fixed, they will kowtow (pae) twice. (note: The chipsa will ascend by the western stairs, open the middle gate and divide into two files and stand to the east and west at the bottom of the stairs. The calling out of the order (procedure) for bowing and rising will be the same as with any ceremony. The teacher(s) and
who are in their positions will all bow (kowtow) twice.) (end note)

The sajang (teacher) will ascend and light the incense (pomh'yang). (note: The sajang will wash his hands, ascend from the eastern stairs and offer incense three times.) (end note). In general, in the case of incense, at the T'aehak and the chehak (various other schools), then the sajang will do it.

If there is some reason why he cannot, then the next officials in rank will do it. At the schools in the provinces (chu, hyön), then the chiju (landlord--mag.?) will do it; and if he doesn't come, then the kyogwan (educational official) will do it. (end note). Then he will descend the stairs and join the others in place and all will kowtow twice. The sajang will return to his seat in the lecture hall (kangdang). (note: The sajang will sit at the northern wall facing south; his assistant officials will sit along the eastern wall facing northwest. In the provincial schools, the chiju will sit at the northern wall to the east. (subnote: if the educational official (kyogwan) is not there, then the chiju will sit at the northern wall) (end subnote). The kyogwan (ed. official) will sit to the west of the northern wall. (subnote: If the chiju does not come, then the kyogwan will take charge of the northern wall) (end subnote). All will face south and sit straight in their seats. (subnote: To sit with a support was not basically the system of former kings.) (end subnote). The students will go to the top of the hall (up to the hall) and carry out the double kowtow rite. (note: As in the order of standing in the shrine courtyard, the students will all face north and kowtow twice, and the sajang will be sitting as before and receive (the bows). In the Yuan dynasty (period), then the sajang returned to his seat in the kangdang (lecture hall) and the students were standing in order in the middle of the courtyard. And after presenting the an (proposal?), they then ascended to the hall and kowtowed twice.) (end note) Everyone then went to their seats. (note: The chang'ǔ, yusa, ŭ and chigwol sat by the eastern wall, slightly to the rear, everybody else was lined up at the south in their seats. If there were too many people, they could be in double lines; if not enough, then they would sit on 3 sides? (end note).
The chang'ni (掌議) would sit in the middle and in a loud voice (hangsong 抗聲) read the school regulations (hakki) one time through. (note: If the chang'ni for some reason could not do it, then somebody among the yusa or chigwol who was good at reading, would take his place. He would read the regulations for (Chu Hsi's) Bai-lu (White Deer school) and the 19 items (listed) below and then stop.) (End note) When this was finished, each would go to his place and eat breakfast. (note: the students would descend from the hall and divided in two lines and stand to the east and west in the courtyard and bow to each other, and then they would go to their places.) (end note). After a short rest, they would will again assembly in the lecture hall to investigate (study) what had been lectured to them. (note: In accordance with the writings that the students were to read, they would draw lots (ch'uch'om 抽籤) and read (翻文以讀) from the exts. For the details, see below.) (end note)

If there were any doubts about what was read or lectured on, then they would (will) ask questions, and all efforts will be made to answer (the questions). (note: If this takes places at the first day of the four maengwol (first months of every season), then those who have done good deeds should be rewarded (with medals), and those have done wrong and have not changed should be admonished; after which the reading (t'ongdok 読講) will take place. (end note)

If there is a guest at the school, then when there is a kowtow in the shrine, the guest will be placed to the west of the main person (chuin 主人). If he is of a high rank, then he will stand which slightly to the front) (end note). If (he?) has already kowtowed, then he may rest in another place, and after the students finish kowtowing to the teacher (of the school), then he will enter, the chuin (main person) will bow to him (the chuin and the guest) and they will divide up and stand by the eastern and western walls. (note: the chuin to the east, and the guest to the west) (end note), and they will kowtow to each other. (note: Both will kowtow twice, the same as below.

If the chuin owes respect to the guest, then he bows first, if vice versa, then the guest bows first.) (end note) The students face north and bow to the guest; the guest faces east and returns the kowtow, then takes his seat.
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173, 9:30a. (note: Some say that/the sajang (teacher) stands in the east of the courtyard and the officials stand next to him in the west, in it is all right if order. But at the present time/all are in the eastern part of the courtyard with the line beginning from the west. Some say that in establishing the positions of guest and host (pin-ju chi wim), the rite for the schools is naturally different from that at court. At court and in official yamen, they take the

9:30b

ch'et'ong (fixed ceremony, or the "face" of an official?) as the main thing in establishing the leading and following position. In the schools they take ye-yang (li and yielding) as the main thing in lining up the guest and host's positions. For the two procedures, each has its own proper (procedure).

According to the above (regulations), the teacher and the disciples and friends encourage and admonish one another in the advancement (of virtue) and in the rectification (polishing) of their tasks (studies). If there are those among them who are warm and in their deportment and bright and understanding in their studies, on the day when (everyone) meets for discussion (hoeŏi), they recommend one another, and the sajang (head teacher) has the chigwŏl write (their names) in The Register of Good Deeds (sonjok), and praises and honors them. (note: In general the school has records of good and bad deeds, and with regard to reward and punishment, this must be done at the meetings held on the first day of the first month of the four seasons where the gathered group is asked (about them) and they may (be rewarded or punished). Only after this is done can the rest of the monthly meetings be carried out. Then they only lecture on learning and encourage and admonish people, and that is all.)

If with regard to studies there are those who are not zealous, who violate the regulations, and commit errors (note: like those who pass the days in empty (useless) pleasures, or those who do not keep themselves cautious in their deportment, those who are not solemn (grave) in their actions, those who are not truthful in their words, those who
not sincere in serving their fathers, those who are not friendly to their brothers, those whose families are in confusion, those who do not respect their teachers, who are without trust among their friends, those who insult and regard as inferior men of superior age and virtue, who take the ritual laws lightly, those who out of wild fancy enjoy seeking interviews (with powerful people) for private reasons; those who like to get involved in disputes and lawsuits, those who get drunk and play chess (games, gambling), those who associate with lewd women, those who avoid men of worth and talent, those who malign others for their crimes and mistakes, those who are not friendly with (members) of their chok-tang (mutual aid groups, local communities), who are not harmonious in their neighborhoods and villages; those who violate the rites for death and funerals, those who are not respectful of ancestral rites, those who are not careful in paying their taxes, those who are not fearful of the laws, those who respect and believe in heterodox doctrines, those who like to engage in lewd sacrifices, and the like.)

Each will admonish the other and correct the other, and if someone does not change, then the chang'ni and chigwoli on the day of the meeting will report it to the headmaster (teacher, sajang), and the sajang will warn (the individual) in terms of the principles and duties involved. If he (the person involved) apologizes and asks to be changed then write his name in the book of misdeeds (kwajok) and wait (for him to reform his behavior). If he disputes the decision and does not submit drop him down in seating position and cannot change, then if it is a light case, expel him from his seat. (note: ch'ulchwa means not to put him in order by age but to seat him at the end of the row. In general with regard to lowering someone's seating position, after 10 days or a month has gone by, and it is known that he has corrected his mistake (error), in school it will be petitioned for permission that he be reseated, and only after that is done should he be returned to his original seat.) (end note)
If it is a serious case, then expel him from the dormitory (See study hall) (ch’ulchae). (note: In general, in cases of expulsion from the study hall, it is necessary also to report it to the headmaster and his assistant. If the school is in the provinces, then also report it to the chiju ("landlord" --magistrate?). Below, all (cases) are the same. Students expelled from the study hall cannot reside in school. If after one or two years have gone by it is clear that they have reformed themselves, only then after a petition is made at school will it be permitted for a person to reenter (the school) and take his seat. At such time it is necessary that he be reprimanded to his face. (end note)

In the case of those people who in the end do not regret their errors and commit even more serious mistakes, strike their names from the register. (sakjok). (note: In general, in cases of striking names of people from the school register, in the case of the T’aehak, Chunghak, and Yonghak (provincial school), they will be dismissed and sent in order (of rank?). In the case of the Four Schools and the Hyanghak (local schools), they will be enrolled for military service.) (end note)

--- Hakkyo samok

ITEM: In the capital establish a T’aehak. (note: a place where the sonsa (selected scholars) will reside) (end note). Also establish a Chunghak (middle school) (note: which will accommodate the scholars who are promoted from the Four Schools (sahak)) (end note), and the Sahak (four schools) (note: that is, schools of the East, West, South and North. Referring to the Ta-tai-li (Han, p.79, note: Together with the Ancient Text Book 66 History, Analects, and Classic of Filial Piety, the Ta-tai-li (Ta-tai Rites) was found in the wall of Confucius’ home. The Tai-te (crown with goodness--Matthews) of the Han dynasty was est. in 85 p’ien (chapters) and was called the Ta-tai-li, different from the Li-chi.)), in ancient times they had the T’ai-hsueh and schools of the East, West, South, and North.
In the Ta'ung dynasty system, they also had in addition to the T'ai-haeh, the Ssu-men-haeh (schools of the four gates).

In the Four Schools, then you will have Inner Haeh (Naesa House) (note: Which will be the residence of the Quota Students (aengnaesaeng House) (end note), and Outer Haeh (oesaeng House) (note: which will be residence of additional (extra-quota) students (chinggwangsaeng)).

At the present time the extra-quota students are called oesaeng.

In this system, the Inner Haeh (Naesa) will be inside, divided into two dormitories (study halls: chae) of the east and west. The outer House will be outside and will also be divided into two study halls, eastern and western. Both the inner and outer houses will have the same surrounding wall, but they will have a small wall separating them with a middle gate opening.

(notes cont.) At the present time in the provincial hyanggyo, the yangban reside in the Eastern Study Hall (Tongjae), and the commoners (soryu) reside in the Western Study Hall. Therefore, even though the Western Study Hall might be vacant, the yangban are not willing to enter it. And even though the Eastern Study Hall might be vacant, the commoners are not allowed to enter it. This is most unreasonable. The only thing that ought to be done is that everyone should enter and reside (in study halls) in accordance with what absolutely is convenient. We should not set up grades and distinctions on the basis of the fact that there are Eastern and Western Study Halls. (end note)

ITAM: In all the provinces, the governor's yamen (kamyong) should all establish Governor's Schools (Yonghak). (note: to accommodate the scholars who are recommended for promotion from the chu and hyo (district)).

In Kyonggi province, there should also be a Governor's School established near the Kyonggi Governor's Yamen. (End note). In each chu and hyo (local district) there will also be a chphak (district school), and these chphak will also have Inner Houses and Outer Houses (for quota and extra-quota students--note mine). (note: For this system, see above. If in each province, the Governor's school and the chphak school for the district (where the governor
school regulations -19- (hakkyo samok) Fan'gye surok, kyosŏn chi che, sang resides) cannot be each located in a separate place, put them near to one another to make it convenient for the majority of scholars so that they might assist one another in their studies. When the governor visits a school, then there ought to be from time to time (an arrangement) whereby (the governor) sits together with the Kyogwan (educational officials) of the Ṣuphak. The yusaeng (Confucian students) of the Ṣuphak will also all study and read together and be encouraged in their courses. As for the capital (kyŏngsŏng), then set up a munmyo (Confucian shrine) in the Taehak, and do not have separate (shrines) in the various schools (other schools). As for the Governor's Schools, then set up a Confucian shrine there, and muknmx do not have separate shrines established in the Ṣuphak.) (end note)

In Kyŏnggi province do not establish a separate Governor's School, but within the province, the scholars who are promoted from the chu and hyŏn (districts) will all enter the Chungak (middle school). And have the teachers of the Middle School take exclusive charge of their instruction, and supervise all matters. They may also take concurrent charge of matters as in the case of the precedents for Emmi Concentrated Kyosu (kyŏm-kyosu). When the promoted scholars (sŏngsa) first arrive, then have them all sit together to study the lectures and reading. Also on rest days, have them come to school to encourage and assist one another. To do it this ways is also all right. But the best thing to do is to establish a separate Governor's School to be in full conformity with the right principles (for establishing schools).

Chart of a School

Kangdang (Lecture Hall)

Sŏjae (Western Study Hall)  Tongjae (Eastern Study Hall)

Naesŏ

In the Governors school and Taehak, do not have Oesa. (same for Chungak)
In the local schools (chu-hyon-hak), they will all be fully provided, in accordance with regulations, with a Shrine to the Sages (Songmyo), a lecture hall (Kangdang), Eastern and Western Study Halls, a Mass Hall (tsiktang), and office for sacrifice (Chŏnsach'ŏng), a Repository of Sacrificial Utensils (Chegigok) and a Library (Changsgak), etc. In addition there will be constructed a front veranda (challdang) and Southern Pavilion (Nammun), and a panghak. Also make a Educational Official Yamen (Kyogwana) (Note: With regard to the school or its adjacent buildings, the local magistrate shall repair them whenever they are in need of it (damaged). In major cases, he will report it. He will cut down on his expenditures in order to pay for the construction and labor expenses, and every time the provincial governor comes through on an inspection tour he will inspect the repairs, and if there are evils, he will investigate and restrict them.) (End note)

Item: The headmaster and asst headmaster (T'aeahak-chang) of the T'aeahak must be a person of ethics and a respected teacher. (note: The Taesasŏng ought to be promoted to the rank of 2A (chŏng ip'um). If he is a rank 1 official then call him "haeng" (brevet official—holding temporarily a lower post). If he is a rank 2B official, then call him a hŭp (brevet post—post/temporarily held by lower ranking official). The Ilo p'ansa (Minister of Personnel) and the Naemunmok Taejehak (chief of Hongmun'gwan) usually hold the post of Chigwansa (知政事) as a concurrency. And together with the Taesasŏng (Headmaster), the rites (used for them) are the same as that used between guest and host (pin-ju). The Sasŏn (Asst headmaster) will be promoted to rank 3A.

For the Middle School (Chunghak), we will have a Sagyo of rank 3A (tangsang), and a sado of rank 3B.

For the Governor's School (Yŏngahak), the Kamsa (governor), Tosa (gov's asst, rank 5B, Hanhandaesajŏn, p. 701) will take exclusive charge of education.
The Governors will be the headmaster (chang) and the Tosa will be his assistant. The Tosa (‘s title) will be changed to Ch’ammee (管理) and he will be elevated in rank to 3B. (end note).

As for the officials of the various schools, they will also be regarded selected from able scholars who can serve as teachers. (note: For the Four Schools, est. the post of Kyodo(教師) or rank 4B, and kyosu(of rank 6. Do not do it like the present time where the officials of the T’aehak hold concurrencies in other posts. Fix it so that the officials of this (these) schools have exclusive responsibility for education.

As for the kyodo officials in the tohobu of the taebu, mmxk manhahm (都護府)，and pu; in the taebu and tohobu, these officials will be rank 5A, in the pu, they will be 5B. As for the Kyosu officials in the schools in the kun and hyön, the in the kun they will be 6A, and in the hyön they will be 6B in rank.

As for the educational officials in the chu and hyön, they will all take their families along with them for the term of their office. The ed. officials in the capital schools will also fulfill the terms of their office (chun’im). They will not be shifted to other posts before their terms are up. Only after their terms are over will their records be examined for promotion and transfer. (end note) In the capital of provincial schools, in terms of law, they may be given direct positions in accordance with the Kyokon system. (end note)

Item: In the T’aehak, establish a Hall for Respected and Worthy (Scholars) and also establish a law (methods) for sightseeing (Kwangwang-bop). (note: in accordance with what has been established in Ich’on (伊川). For details, see the basic text) (end note) In the Governors’ Schools, Four Schools, & Local Schools (Chuhyónhak), also establish (title, position) a School Guest (quarters?) (hakpin), and also establish a law for sightseeing as in the case of the T’aehak. (note: The Hakpin (school guest) does not have to be a taebu-sa (official or scholar), just as long as he is a man whose learning and behavior can be held up as a model for the students, he may be chosen from among the people of the district (郡) or a neighboring district. When Chu Hsi was appointed (magistrate) in T’ung-an-hsien (同安縣).
he requested that a man named Hsü Ying-chung (徐應中) be made hsüeh-pin (school guest), and he treated him with the rites associated with a guest and set him up as a model for the students. This was most useful for influencing their mores. The respect and etiquette shown him was in all respects the same as that shown to the headmaster. If there is no such man (available), then leave the position vacant. (end note)

Item: Set quotas for the number of students in a school (hagyu). It shall be 100 students for each of the Four Schools in the Capital (kyōngsŏng). In the provinces, 80 students for schools in the Taebu and Tohobu, 60 students for schools in Pu, 40 students for schools in kun, and 20 for schools in hyŏn. (Note: The above figures refer to the Naesasaeng--quota students)(end note) As for the extra-quota students (ch'ŏnggwangsaeng), they shall be double the number of quota students (baesasaeng) in each case. (Note: if the number of quota students are 20, then the extra-quota students shall number 40, if the no. of quota students is 80, then the no. of extra-quota students will be 160. For details of the system for the Taebu down to the kun and hyŏn, see the kunhyŏn-jo (section on kun and hyŏn).)(end note)

Some might say: At the present time the quota of students for the 4 schools in the capital is 100 each, for the schools in the pu and chu, 90, for the schools in the Tohobu, 70, for the schools in the kun, 50, and for the schools in the hyŏn 30, so that there is no obstruction (if these figures) were followed. So why is it necessary to change the quotas? (To this I would) reply: according to the system of the chu-hyŏn (pref. and districts) (that I have established in my scheme?), 40,000 kyŏng of land constitutes a Taebu or Tohobu, and 30,000 kyŏng a pu, 20,000 kyŏng a kun, and 10,000 kyŏng a hyŏn, so that the differences in the quotas of students naturally has a proper figure (based on available land). Also with regard to tribute scholars (kongsan), every (third) examination year, either 1 man or two men (could be selected), or every second examination year (every 6th year), three men could be selected, or one man selected in between examination years (note: for details, see below)(E.N.) Moreover, we must have the quota of students match (land?). Only after we make
School regulations, Hakkyo Samok, Pan'gye Surok, Kyosŏn Chi Che, Sangson Chi Che, Sangson Chi Che, Sangson Chi Che.

Can we know...? Some might also say: At the present time in the Northwestern frontier territory and West of the Pass (Yongsŏng), there are several empty and remote places, where even though the amount of land is small, yet perhaps because there is a frontier garrison (chin'gwan) located there, the place should be specially upgraded to the status of a chu or pu (pref.). If such places as these, what do you do about the student quotas?

(Enomako To this I would) reply: Since you cannot have a small district located on the frontier or in a garrison (chin'gwan), then you ought to make it so that the true amount of land accords with the official title (of the district). If all you do is promote the place with an empty title, of what advantage is this to affairs? After the (titles) of kun and hyŏn are rectified and established, then naturally (as a matter of course) will not have this kind of problem. If, however, they are not rectified (changed, to bring official designations into conformity with reality) (note mine), then even though the name of a district might be a chu or pu, in all cases it will be in conformity with the original rank (note: If there is 10,000 kyŏng of territory, it would be (in conformity) with the area of a hyŏn, if 20,000 kyŏng, then a kun) (end note). And with regard to the school land, official provisions, and servants, these should also be established in accordance with this (the original quotas or land area for the district?).

Some might also say: You should not limit the number of extra-quota students, but they should be in unison (conformity) with the idea of extending knowledge to as great an extent as possible. How about this?

(To this I would) respond: This seems to be all right except for the fact that the extra-quota students basically (originally) were created for the purpose of providing for the selection of regular quota students. You cannot have too many of them. If there are no limits set on them, then in the end you are bound to have problems with the destruction (pye, destruction), break-up and shake-up (of the schools (pyebi nanjina), destruction) of the schools.
Only after you take the long-term view can you truly see what the problems, situation will be. Once we have established the yosuk (書院) and the tungsang (鄰舍) (neighborhood and local schools), then not only will the scholars (sa) be educated, but among the people of the empire, there will be no one who is not educated. As far as the schools in the local districts (we will) (chuhyon chi hak) are concerned, then/select the men of talent in the sang and suk (local and neighborhood schools) and admit them (to the local district schools). There is nothing to be compared with (the importance of) primary education (primary education schools). (These are not to be compared with the (current?) school: grammar schools). The distinction between scholar and commoner (sa-min) begins with this. Once you have grades of status (tang⁴ we) the you have no choice but to set divided (distinguished) quotas (punsu). Generally speaking, in the government of a sage king there is no limit to the education and transformation (of the people: kyohwa教化), yet with regard to rank and status (tang⁴ we) there have to be quotas (punsu) (for each grade). (tang⁴ we yu punsu).

This is a natural and unchanging principle. Try taking a look (at the fact) that even though the transformation (education) of all between Heaven and Earth (nodal limitation points) (may exist), yet still you also cannot be without joints (nodes) (chobak節: separation points in a continuum, as in a piece of bamboo??) The very fact that one has such nodal points enables the limitlessness (of educational transformation). (note: If you do not have such puns remarks, then what is called limitlessness in the future will not be limitless)(end note)

Special indented note: (note: Some might say: If you already have fixed quotas for school students, then later on, even if educational transformation (of the people) is greatly carried out, and there is an increase of and large numbers of men of talent (learning), puns will you still not have provision for extra-quota students?

(To this I would) reply: Everyone is alike a person (endowed by, born by) Heaven. (we are all alike people endowed by heaven: tongsi ch'ümin 同是天民)
but we have a distinction between scholars and common people (yu sa-min chi pyŏl). Since
the high officials, regular officials, and scholars (kyŏng-taebu-sa) are all those who rule the people, therefore we commonly (usually) select the best (people for those positions), and that is all. Even though education is greatly (widely) carried out, still there is the fear that there will not be enough talented people. If there are too many of them, it is not a matter of concern. However, if among the people of the empire in every house (pigo) there (are those who) are qualified to be enfeoffed (kabong), then would it (be possible) in the future (increase (the no. of) positions and make high and regular officials out of them? As for the scholars (sa), even though they are not yet employed in office, they would also be selected and made to stand by waiting for a post. Therefore there are quotas for positions (if you have a position, you have a quota for it). You cannot increase the quota of scholars in accordance with (a rise in) population. Nonetheless, this is also similar to the fact that you cannot increase the quota of officials (just because of) a rise in the population.

Someone might then ask: so, but it is only that there is a rise and fall (fluctuation) in (the number of) men of talent, and the situation in any given district might be different (special). One kun (district) might have among its surplus (candidates for student status) everyone who is better (qualified) than those selected (for regular student quotas) in another district. Wouldn't you then permit the transfer (of some of the talented extras to extra-quota status)?

(To this I) reply: This is a situation which, from the standpoint of both public and private interest, is not something which could not be permitted (i.e., could be permitted). The princely virtuous men (ch'ın-tzu) of ancient times also used to leave their (own?) territory and carry gifts needed for introduction (taejil, tsai-chih), and with regard to farmers, we also have laws permitting them to move to areas where there is more available land. If among the scholars there are those who want to pursue
school regulations  

their studies, there is naturally nothing to be hated (disliked) about this, and from the standpoint of the state which wants to promote education equally throughout the land, this is something which ought to be permitted. Thus in the laws it is permitted that scholars who go to other places to live may also be permitted to enter school. (end note)

ITEM: Sons of scholars (saja ) who have migrated into an area and have become residents there may also be permitted to enter school. (note: If they are migrants who want to study. The scholars of that area also ought to enjoy having them for friends and pursuing learning together with them. If perhaps there should be some contest over the quota and position, and there are those who are not willing to allow them to enter (school), then we naturally have punishments for dealing with (the crimes of) being jealous of worthy men and for (improperly abhoring) other people. (chilhyön kiin chi pöli)

ITEM: Regular salaries should also be established for educational officials (kyogwan) in the chu and hyön (districts). (note: For the amount of their salary see the section on the salary system. The amount should be calculated and deducted from the expenditures of the given place.) (end note) Establish the clerks and petty functionaries (iye). (note: for the quotas for functionaires, see the section on official posts-chikkwan-jo. The petty functionaries (iye will also all be provided (with salaries), For this see also the section on salaries) (end note)

ITEM: The allocations of official food for the students (yusaeng) of the district schools (chuhyön-hak) will be set. For the Taebu and Tohobu (note: 345 kok ) 6 tu of rice), pu (259 kok, 2 tu), kun (172 kok 8 tu), hyön (86 kok, 4 tu), each has its quota. (The food) will be disbursed on the first day of every month. The students will be divided up into 5 groups (shifts), and every 12 people will together (get) 7 kok 2 tu of rice per month (note: 1 man gets 2 sung a day) (end note). If the number of students is not up to the quota, then calculate the number and reduce (the quota of food?). Make suitable adjustments for intercalary months. (note: deduct the amount from the district's funds
With regard to the wood and charcoal that is provided to the educational officials and the yusaeng (students) in school, and other things, this should be allocated from the district's total of land (tax payments?) (chŏnch'ong 田課 ).

For details, see the section on the salary system (nokche) (end note)

9:35b (indented note: Pan'gye?) Some might think that the extra-quota students (ch'inggwang-seaeng) ought to provide their own food. If you think of it in terms of the present (situation), then it is like this. If when the system is first starting out you do it this way before the system is completed, it may be all right to do it like this temporarily. But it would not be right to have this as a permanent regulations. Try doing it like this, then you will be able to see the advantages and disadvantages of it.) (end note)

ITEM: School land (hakch'ŏn 學田) will be established in all chu and hyŏn (for their schools). In Taebu and Tohobu (note: 480 kok of original taxpaying land—wŏnse—kokchi 稅地, pu (370 kokchi), kun (260 kokchi), hyŏn (150 kokchi), each will have a fixed amount. And every year in accordance with the grade of crop year (yŏnbun 年分), taxes will be collected from it (susė 收稅). (note: for details on the procedure of establishing the land allotments and collecting taxes on it see the section on land system) (end note)

The magistrate (suryŏng) and Educational Official (Kyogwan) will take overall charge of this, and the yusa will handle the details, and (the land, or its taxes) will be regarded as official funds of the school (hakchung kŏngfu 學庫). (note: for paying for) such things as salt, wine, fish, firewood, lamp oil, provisions for guests, students at ritual convocations and meetings, books, paper, pens and other utensils in the school, and bedding for the study halls) (end note)

If there should be some slight surplus, then establish regulations to allocate it for providing for crop disaster years. The officials and the yusa (manager) may not use one drop of grain for private expenses. (note:

If there must be a change in the provision of ritual clothing or utensils, then calculate the amount that is to be taken in. Set different quotas for pu, kun, and hyŏn. Also set a limit for making the changes, and give the limits.
extra footnote (actually, a headnote) placed right after section on providing for expenses of extra quota students:

176, 9:35b, headnote  "From the Ch'unsamwi (guard units) down to the regular soldiers (ch'ongbyong), everyone who serves on a tour of duty (pomyo) receives provisions, so if only the extra-quota students alone are not provided with provisions, it would not be right. Also if provisions are not given to those on tours of duty, then even when the students are at school, in the end it would not be possible to have numerous (students, scholars), and as a result the educational tasks of the country would not be completely accomplished. How could the cultivation of men of talent and the creation of fine mores be sacrificed for the sake of 10-20,000 som (kokx) of grain? (end note..."
on the year when the limit is up, make the payments (disbursements) out of the districts (ordinary) funds. Have it done when the circumstances are suitable for it. In general, the expenditures for various ritual clothing in the kun and hyŏn will all be the same as this.

In general, the residence areas where the school's slaves (pogye) live outside the walls of the school will also belong to the school, and they will be exempted from taxes (se) and military service. For details, see the section on the land system. There will also be fixed quotas for the schools' slaves (kkyo), and they will have regular salaries. For details, see the sections on official posts (kwanje) and mil salaries (nokche). (end note)

(Indented note:) Some might say that at the present time in the provinces there are too many places where the amount of school land and school slaves (kyo, kyobok) are not sufficient, and there is no way to provide payment (for the schools). If there are any school students (kyaang) who want to give land or people (slaves?) and (in return) be exempted from the entrance selection examinations (t'aegang), then limited by the fulfillment of the amount of funds needed? and in accordance with present regulations, would it not be possible also to allow this?

(To this I would) reply: In acting for the state, naturally there is this method, but how could one adopt such evil and lax system? In general, once the kong (his own public land) system is carried out, then the school slaves (ibok) will all have their regular salaries, and thus you naturally won't have this problem (or providing expenses to them), and every place will equally have enough (funds to meet expenses). (end note)

ITEM: For the provision of food to the students (Yusa--Conf. scholars) in the T'aehak and Governor's schools, and for all the needs of these schools, in every case make payments from (regular) expenditure funds (kyôngbi) and in accordance with regulations. (note: The expenses of the Governor's Schools will also be deducted from the funds of the place where it is located. As for food provisions, deduct those from land tax revenues. As for other expenses, then either tax them from land taxes or miscellaneous taxes. There should be fixed quotas. (end note)
The same goes for the Chunghak (middle school) and the Four Schools.

**ITEM:** Students on regular tour of study at the school will receive two meals a day. At times when all the students are convened at a grand ritual, then they will get two days' rations. When it is time to eat, the drum will be sounded, and the students will go to the dining hall and be seated in order of age. (note: the quota and extra quota students will be in separate lines, files). (end note). They will not be allowed to utter a word. After they are finished eating, they will stand up in order, in no case will the students be allowed to meet together privately for eating and drinking.

**ITEM:** In the capital and provincial schools, select from among the slaves (ch'ŏnbok 典僕) of the schools two men who are diligent in taking care of affairs and attentive to orders (勤幹謹飭) and make them the changmu (charge d'affaires 務) (note: divide them into two shifts (pŏn), and have them take turns) (end note) They will supervise the provisions (of food etc) for the students (note: Keep control over the kitchen help as in the manner of the Board of Rites (Yebang 礼房) in the magistrates' yamen. There may be additions to the number of these personal for capital schools or those in the chu and pu. (end note) During every dining room hour, the yusa 尋 will personally taste the food (嘗) (note: As at the present time when the T'aehak changmu-gwan (charge d'affaires) do it. The procedure for xingnim 晃尼m banging the drum and arranging the food in the dining hall will all be in accordance with present regulations for the T'aehak.) (end note) And the headmaster (sajang) will from time to time personally go see (the dining hall). (note: Since the system of the T'aehak is at present in operation, it ought to be respected. As for the Governor's schools and the other schools, they will be the same as this.)(end note)

**ITEM:** The capital and provincial schools are housing large numbers of classics and books (in their libraries). It is only that frivolous works (chap'tam and non-sage books (pisŏng chi 朴聖之書) will not be permitted to be stored (in the school libraries). Such people like kisaeng girls (ch'anggi 媚妓) and shamans (巫覡) will absolutely be
forbidden from going back and forth to (frequenting) nearby places (to the schools).

Indented statement: At the present time, with regard to the classic books in this family country, almost every house has them, but the complete histories of successive ages almost do not circulate at all in the world. Hence these kinds of books ought to be printed and published and made widely known so that the schools in the capital and the provinces will be able to obtain them and house them (in their libraries). (end note)

ITEM: All schools will establish adjacent to them an archery range (sabo射圃) (note: That is, both capital and provincial (schools) will have archery ranges (sajang).) (end note)

Ceremony will be established for when

-ITEM: The director and his the assistant director of the Taehak, the school officials of the capital and provincial schools first go to their posts, determining (the etiquette) by which teachers and students will see (meet, greet) one another. (Note: When the headmaster (sajang) first arrives, the students will all assemble. (subnote: Those students not on tours of study (pôn will not have to attend) (end subnote). They will respectfully greet him outside the main gate. Several dozen paces outside the gate there will be a dismounting platform. The headmaster will get off his horse and the students will bend their bodies (bow) and respectfully greet him. (end subnote) The headmaster will go to the Confucian shrine. The caretaker of the courtyard will open the middle gate. The headmaster will kowtow twice, go up (the stairs), light the incense, come down, kowtow twice, and return to the Lecture Hall (Kangdang) and sit in his seat at the northern wall. The students will enter the courtyard, and stand in turn. The quota students (naesasaeng) will form one line and the chang'gi, yuse, and chigwol will be in front of them. The non-quota students (chunggwangsaeng) will form a second line. All will face north, with the head of the line to the east. They will be ranked by age. If there are a lot of students, then each (group) will form a double line. When the standing positions are fixed the chigwol will stand up and present the register. [Register?].
The various petty clerks (officials) will go and receive the kao (records?) and then advance and present them to the headmaster. The headmaster will receive them and look them over. Thereupon the students will in turn mount from the West stairs to the lecture hall, face north and stand in order of precedence, in the same order in which they stood in the courtyard. All of them will kowtow twice. The headmaster will take his seat as he was before. The students will then leave.

When the assistant headmaster arrives for the first time, it will also be the same (procedure) except that the headmaster will perform the rite (etiquette) appropriate to his meeting a higher official on the lecture hall. The headmaster will thus be (seated at) the northern wall, and the assistant headmaster will be seated by the eastern wall. The students will be facing north and will kowtow. When the provincial governor or his assistant (tosa) first arrive at their posts and (come) to see the Governor's School, or when a magistrate first arrives at his post and comes to (see) the (local) school, in both cases (the procedure) will be the same. With regard to the capital schools, the governor's school, the middle school, and the four schools, then there will be no ceremony for kowtowing to the Confucian (shrine).

Students who are not on term (myôngbŏnsaeng) will not attend convocations of all students. Later on, each will come for an interview with his name card in regular protocol.

The headmaster and assistant headmaster of the T'aehak will make the rounds of the schools. The Middle School headmaster and assistant headmaster will make the rounds of the Four Schools. The governor and his assistant (tosa) will make the rounds of the various district schools, also like the above ritual. Except that when the students kowtow, they will accept it standing, and after the kowtow is made, they will return the courtesy with a bow. When (they) are making the rounds of the schools to administer qualifying examinations, then the off-duty students (myôngbŏnsaeng) will also be in attendance.

The students are obliged to go every month to the lighting of the incense.
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at the T'aehak and participate with the students of the T'aehak. Then, the
headmaster and asst. headmaster of the T'aehak will not make a bow in reply.
When the students of the district schools attached to the Governor's School
to go the Governor's school, they will also copy this (procedure).)

(End note)

Indentation:

Some might say: How is it that the kyogwan (educational officials)
do not have to make a bow in reply (to the kowtowing students), but the
provincial governor, on the contrary, does have to make a bow in reply?

(To this I would) respond: In ancient times, even though there
was a very strict differentiation between superior and inferior, still in
li (etiquette, performing courtesies), there was never a case when there was not
a response (of some sort). How much more (is this to be the case) when the state
is establishing schools. Basically because we are clarifying the way
nurturing worthy men (scholars), for that reason the ritual by which we treat
scholars (sa) is not done with regard to official rank or position (ch'aewi chi
but superior consideration is given to the obligation
tünggup 位等級, xpi principle) of laying stress on the (true) way. The reason why the
educational official (kyogwan) does not bow in reply is so that we may dignify
the teacher (msa), and the reason we dignify the teacher is in order to show
respect for (the true way of respect). The reason why commissioned officials
(sasin 塗臣) do have to bow in reply is because they are treating scholars
(i.e., the students--mine) (in the proper way), and the reason they have to
treat students (in the proper way) is to put emphasis on (the true way). Because
educational officials are in fact in charge of education and upbringing, the ritual
(to be used toward them) cannot help but be strict (sere-dignified, austere).
If teachers are not treated with dignity (awe--sere), the way will not be respected;
and if the way is not respected, the people will not know how to respect learning.

Even though one might say of the provincial governor that he also has the duty
of (being) a teacher, he is only in charge of inspecting and investigating
(things)

schools, and in fact he is not an official who is always in charge
of education. Furthermore, his official status is so high and respected,
that if he were not required to perform a bow in return (to the kowtowing students)
in the end there would be no way to make the intention of emphasizing the way manifest, and the people would not know how to respect learning. Even though these two things may seem to be reversed, yet the principle of it is the same and the etiquette (li) involved is all appropriate. In general, the way of (acting) on behalf of the country is by exalting virtue and emphasizing the way. Therefore, the li (etiquette) used in treating scholars is naturally different from the etiquette used in approaching soldiers or people (kun-min; the common people), and that is all there is to it.

ITEM: In the capital and provincial schools, the group of students will recommend from their midst one person who is outstanding in terms of his obedience, age, scholarship and behavior to be the chang'ni (學識). They will also select two men to be the yusa (有司). And they will also select in rotation two men to be the chigwol (直弼). (note: With regard to the chang'ni, yusa, and chigwol, in the Kwanhak and schools in the chu and pu, then increase the numbers of these officials.) The chang'ni is not to be transferred (from his post) except in the case of a major incident (important reason). The yusa and chigwol will both be mutually transferred (shifted from their posts) after 1 year's service. The chang'ni will be in charge of discussions (meetings) that are held in the school and report it to the headmaster (sajang) for decision. The yusa will be in charge of payments and receipts of all goods, the school slaves (hakbok) and errand boys (runners, sahwan, books, and various items. (note: with regard to the school slaves (學校僕役), outside of school and study hall matters, no one will be allowed to use them for private purposes and errands. As for the administration of punishments and other matters, the yusa and chang'ni will take charge of that. If the (crime) is a serious one, they will report it to the headmaster, who will take care of it. The students may not privately or on their own (take any action); they must report it to the headmaster or those in charge who will handle it.) (end note)

For all ordinary items there are records (registers), and when an official is transferred, he hands them over to his replacement.
school regulations

ITEM: The educational officials (kyogwan) and magistrates (suryong) of the chu and hyon will treat guests out of respect for their face (chum'emyug). There can be no rudeness (lack of li) toward them. (note: In all matters, one cannot be disdainful toward them in the slightest way. Even if they are district men (as men, townsmen), it is necessary to show respect and courtesy to them.) (end note)

ITEM: The headmasters of the schools will keep a Record of Former Officials (Sonsaeng allok), in which the people appointed to (official posts in the school) before and after will all be recorded together with the dates of their appointment and transfer (dismissal). The person on duty at the time will be made to inspect it, be careful and respectful of it.

ITEM: If the school has a guest, then either the magistrate or the school will provide one or two slaves (pogye) in order to provide an escort for the guest.

ITEM: Once the fixed quota for school slaves (hakpok) is established, they will be provided with regular salaries. Each of them ought to respect his job, and (this system) should completely do away with the present amazing practices of stubbornness and perversity (on the part of school slaves and servants).

(note: At the present time the T'aeheak is only a place where people (compete for) fame and advantage, therefore at the bottom (of the heap) even the school slaves (pogye) have long since become practiced at this. There is an abundance of outrageous behavior. The so-called chuin (masters, functionaries, main men?) openly show a lack of courtesy to people who have passed the examinations. Not only do they pull people by the arm, choke people by the neck, and take off their clothes and pants, but they also burst into families and take away family property, the same as if they were stealing it. This is because the scholars in their pursuit of profit (advantage) have no shame, but on the contrary regard this as an honor (to be manhandled by officious school slaves?). What kind of behavior (custom) is this? As for the hyanggyo (provincial schools) in the provinces, it is not as bad as this, but that is because there is no advantages to be gained in the hyanggyo and the scholars do not stay there. If we were to abolish the
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examinations in (poetical) composition (sakwa) and restore the
tribute recommendation system (konggŏ), as a matter of course the
habits of the scholars would be corrected, and moral order would be established
and these various evils would gradually die out. (be removed, eliminated).
But these bad practices have accumulated over the generations and have become
radioactive into the hearts and eyes of men so that it is difficult to completely
eliminate them. We ought to promulgate regulations for (inculcating) respect
and completely prohibit (these) old practices. (end note)

ITEM: After the schools are flourishing, we will gradually establish sang and sŏ
(local schools), and in the wards of the capital we will establish
ward schools (pangsang). (note: For this system, see below. It is
only that for each two wards we will combine them and establish one school (sang).
From the regular funds, every year will be paid out 20 kok of rice (subnote:
In accordance with precedent we will mix beans in and pay out (the provisions)
in the spring and fall) to the school (sang) to provide
food for the sangsa (school master), expenses in running the school, and the cost
of repairs. (subnote: The people who are to guard the schools (hojik)
will (be recruited) the same as the hyang system (hyangje), or they
may be organized into 5-household units and exempted from all public service. Outside the suburbs it will be the same as the hyang system,
and in the walled towns of the chu or pu, places where more than a thousand households live, it will be the same as the system in the capital. (end subnote).

At the present time in the capital there have been established (appointed)
6 men who are instructors of the Young (tongmong kyogwan); the
youths are made to go to their homes to receive instruction. Based on whether
their teaching is diligent or lax, their salaries are raised or lowered. After
30 months on this job, they are promoted to the 6th rank. This is the best of
the laws of today. But because (these instructors') residences are not
equally (located, distributed?), there are only a few children who come to
study (with them) and the system can not be spread wide. Because of
the fact that these are only transferred officials and not natives of the village,
they are *MK* distant (from the people) in terms of feelings and (knowledge) of the situation (circumstances), and they cannot become intimate with one another. It makes no difference whether they are good or not, and the fact that they are (automatically) promoted after a certain number of months, is also not the proper way for appointing officials. Therefore the results of this system are always shallow and not fruitful (false). For the time being we also ought to follow the present system and wait for the sang and so schools to flourish before changing it. (end note)

Establish hyang, sang, and hyang, (note: At the present time there are also among the local villages (hyangni) places where the young conduct their studies. They are called sogang (書堂) (end note) for the purpose of educating teaching the young (ikyotonghak: people) for the purpose of educating teaching the young (ikyotonghak: people). (note: In ancient times, families had their suk (廂), tang had their sang (學: schools). T'ang K'ung-shih (Mr. T'ang K'ung or Mr. K'ung of the T'ang dynasty 唐孔化) said that 25 households made a IU( ), and a IU was the same as one alleyway (). At the head of the alley there was a gate, and at the edge of the gate was a suk (watchtower?). At the times when the people were in their homes, at morning and evening when the people went in and out (through the gate), they always received instruction at the suk. Those members of the village who were known for their virtue, were advanced in years, or had retired from a post acted as the teachers. 500 households made up a tang (), and a sang (学校) school was established in the tang, which gave instruction to the most advanced (students) from the IU. How advanced was this system of former kings! At the present time it is not possible to establish everything (all the schools) of this system, we ought to have the the elders of each hyang meet to discuss what the most suitable (place) in the hyang would be for establishing the hyang, and in the future establish when they are ready to (about to) establish the sang (school), they will report the circumstances in the hyang to the magistrate, who will give them aid in terms of labor support. (subnote: The people of the hyang will discuss accumulation of funds (materials)
and laborers. The magistrate will report this to the provincial governor and assign an appropriate number of kyŏngbu(頸夫 : males who have received land grants) to aid in construction. Again he will report to the governor, and (the gov? pay out rice and grain that has been stored by the magistrates government. With regard to this, then, (we will) determine regulations. In general, if in a hyang there is someone who has built a sang school (sang) building, he will be given 20 kok (sŏm, says Han) of rice from public funds. And it would be a good thing if the various myŏn gina through the years carried this out.(end subnote) Once the school is finished then 5 men from neighboring households will be exempted (from labor service) (note: that is, exempted from the support-cloth tax (pop'o 保布), the labor service of a kyŏngbu 類夫 ) (end subnote) and made the guardians (hojik 護直) (of the school). In addition, 20 kokchi (尭斗地) of land in the neighborhood will be exempted from taxation and attached to the sang (school), as in the regulations for school land (hakchŏn). And (these funds) will be used for providing the food for the school's teacher, the schools expenses, and funds for the repair of the school building. The teachers of the school will each be n̄uṣan a person recommended by the villagers, office or It will not make any difference whether he has office rank or not. He should only be learned and knowledgable. The magistrate will afford him superior courtesy in his treatment of him. If he is not lazy in his teaching and his teaching bears results, then he will be reported to the governor who will give him honors and appoint him to office, At the present time we have places where there are sowŏn (private academies). There is no need to establish (local schools) in separate places; we can just regard them as the local schools of the places (hyang'sang). We can continue to erect hyangsang (local schools) in a place where the village granaries are located (sach'ang), but everything should be done in accordance with what is convenient for the village (hyang). (END NOTE)
be 2 kan. You should try to keep it as simple as possible. In general in erecting a hyangsang (local school), one should not use force (kangnyōng) in erecting it. If the tribute recommendation system (of selecting officials) has already been restored and the selection (of men) from the local and village schools has become outstanding (prominent, manifest), then the scholars will stop seeking fame and fortune (土廄僥幸) and their scrambling around to fulfill their ambitions (to seek power and influence, Han 98) Every person will (then) compete to perfect their behavior, fathers and elder brothers will want to educate their sons and younger brothers; not only will they (seek a place for education—a school) like thirsty people want food and water, but when they look around, they won’t see any places where there are schools. At such a time as this, when the large nos of people mass of the people want (schools), then the order for their construction should be given. In addition, it should be followed up and encouragement and aid given (to the project. This is the proper procedure to follow in this affair. And once the school building is constructed, then appoint guardians (hojik) and also grant tax exemptions (to certain lands) and attach them to the school, so that the school will last forever and never be destroyed. If it is done like this, then in all the empire there will be no people who are not educated. And from a young age, in what the children practice and hear, there will be nothing that is not the way of practicing righteousness. Not only will people of talent in the schools come out (appear) in large numbers, but down to the officials and clerks, how could they then fall into the bad habits of chicanery and thievery? And we would be able to achieve the kind of customs of a time of peace (時雍可封之倫). This is the basis for establishing perfect government (chich'i).
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with the village schoolmasters (hakchang). How about this?

(To this, I would) respond: If in each case (the teacher) is recommended by the hyang, then naturally we would be able to do the best (get the best teachers possible). If the school flourishes, then retired officials and elderly men in retirement who have the desire to teach will also enjoy becoming teachers, and scholars who are exempted from tours of (service) duty but who have not yet been promoted (to office) would all be able to be teachers. The instruction of the village sons and younger brothers and their receipt of instruction would naturally be easy; how much more so if honors and appointments were given (to good teachers) to encourage them? Extend what one has learned and (use it) to instruct others, and to keep (scholars, teachers) in a school building, and have him eat the school food, all of this is appropriate (and natural). How would it be shameful for a princely man of virtue (kunja) to do? At the present time inferior and base (types of teachers) have their private plans to get food from the young children of the villages (by cutting their ears to make noise) and desire to become schoolmasters (hakchang) (must mean, making a living from tuition payments). (If you compare these types with the kind of teachers Yu has in mind), the difference between public and private (interest), and high and low (levels of excellence) is not only as great as the distance between heaven and earth, but also the scholars who do not reach the higher schools would also be used (as teachers) in the chu, hyŏn, hyang, and tang (local areas). (Subnote: The hyanggwan and hyanggjŏng are also official posts of the chu and hyŏn) functions. Thus throughout the empire, there would be no jobs that had been lost also (destroyed), and no unused talent left over, and no people who had lost their place (who couldn't find a place for themselves).

(Note continues: The present day private academies (sŏwŏn) is something that did not exist in ancient times. In general, in later generations, teachings were lost, and the schools in the chu and hyŏn (adm. districts) ended up being training grounds for the examinations (kwagdo) and competition for fame and profit. Scholars with the will (to learn) had no choice but to build rude huts
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in separate, out-of-the-way places, which they used as places for study. This was the reason that the sŏn (school) arose. If what the state wants to teach (takes for instruction) is once restored to rectitude and the district schools (huphak) and local schools (hyangsang) are all repaired and restored, then there will be no need for the private academies. (sŏn)

Some might feel that since we at present already have the sŏn, then if there are any that are not suitable to be made into local schools (hyangsang), then we also ought to repair them and use them as resting places for the enjoyment of travelling scholars (sabu ; scholars resting from their posts). (HEADNOTE HERE: If resting scholar-officials want a place to rest and relax, they can use the local schools. Why is it necessary to have other (separate) places for them?) (END HEADNOTE) The state has already provided plenty of food, funds, and slaves (pogye) to the district schools (huphak). In addition, (I have designated) that land and able-bodied males will be provided to the local schools (hyangsang). If in addition we allocate land and able-bodied males, there is fear that there would be sufficient strength made for the purpose of enabling scholars to perfect themselves. (Also, the private academies were basically built and established as ancestral shrines.) If there are local worthies, then they sacrifice is performed for them (at the private academies), and the academies are regarded as places for repaying the virtue (of these former worthies) and to establish models for behavior (p'yosik). They were not just established as ancestral shrines. But in recent times there have been cases when some were established as shrines. And when factional disputation became the custom (tangnon sŏng'ung), then there were many cases where people competed to establish sŏn as shrines to people who didn't deserve to have shrines. As for this (problem), after the mores of the scholars become warm and deep, naturally we will be able to talk of stopping this (practice).

In general, after each hyang has already established a hyangsang (school), also order them to (establish) village granaries (sach'ang) in the
same place, and at this place put a village shrine (hyangsa).

(subnote: In the Han dynasty they had li-she (village shrines), the same as the tang-ying (堂陵) of the Chou-li) (end subnote). If it were done like this, then the matter would seem to be good. If you have village worthies who are in tune with the ritual regulations, then they will offer sacrifice at this place, and it also will be close to the intentions of the ancients. The so-called hyang sônsaeng (local worthy, teacher) dies, he can be sacrificed to at this shrine; this is what I mean. (end note)