There are four pledges (yak) in the village (hyang).

The first says: that people shall encourage one another in virtuous tasks. The second says that people shall keep an eye on one another for mistakes (kwasil). The third says that the people shall associate with one another in ritual and ceremonies. And the fourth says that people shall take pity on one another in times of difficulty.

--- Encouraging one another in virtuous tasks (德業相勸).

"Virtuous tasks" means to be filial to fathers and mothers, to respect elders and superiors, to love one's elder and younger brothers, to instruct one's sons and grandsons, to be friendly with one's intimates and cohorts (mok ch'in-dang), to be harmonious with one's neighbors and village (residents), to rectify one's family by means of rites (rules of social usage--li), to be trustworthy in relations and straightforward with one's friends, to be loyal in establishing one's mind, in one's actions (behavior) to be respectful and cautious, when one sees good to act on it (behave in a good way), when one hears of wrongdoing, to correct it. Also to read books, cultivate one's fields, to like (find pleasure in) rites, music, archery, horseback riding, calligraphy, and calculations (math); to be able to manage one's family affairs, to be able to control one's servants, to be able to select one's friends and acquaintances, to be able to perform work diligently, to be able to maintain honesty, to be able to perform benevolent acts widely, to be able to accept requests from others, to be able to give aid to those in suffering and distress, to be able to guide others to be good, to be able to watch for the mistakes (transgressions) of others, to be able to make plans on behalf of others, to be able to carry out many deeds on behalf of many people, to be able to break up disputes, to be able to decide between what is right and what is wrong, to be able to promote what is beneficial and eliminate what is harmful, to be able to
village charter -2- Pangye surok, kyosŏn ch'ŏn ch'e, sang

carry out one's duties as an official, to be able to stand in awe of the laws, and to be able to take care of tax (payment, collection) without mistake.

With regard to the above items (listed under) virtuous tasks, the people of the same yak (charter, oath, contract) will each put forward and practice (them) and will provide mutual encouragement and effort.

On the day of the meeting the people will mutually confer and recommend the ablest (among them) and record his (his name) in the register as a means of encouraging those who are not so able.

Keeping watch on one another's mistakes (過失相規).

"Mistakes" means to be disobedient to one's father and mother. (Note: the crime of unfiliality is dealt with by standard punishments in the country. This is taken up in the following section.) (END NOTE). It is to be unfriendly to one's elder and younger brothers; it means that the way of a family is perverse and rebellious. (Note: Husbands and wives scolding (reviling) each other, failure to separate men and women, failure to make distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate sons (ch'ŏk-sŏ, mok) and the like.) (END NOTE). It means that there is no harmony among close relatives (ch'inch'ŏk), and no harmony among neighbours. It means that the elderly and men of virtue (virtuous reputations) are insulted and treated with contempt; that members of one's own group (of friends) are abused and reviled; that orphans and widows are taken advantage of and treated cruelly; that no care is taken with funeral arrangements; that no respect is shown for ancestral rituals. It is also like when people drink their wine in reckless fashion (without restraint), or shout at and fight with one another; or when they waste their time in idleness gambling or playing chess (at will, randomly) and love to fight, or like to sue one another. (Note: Disputes, seizures (of property) and lawsuits that are avoidable are what never seem to stop. I am not including in this unavoidable cases of lawsuits...
arising from real injury.) (END NOTE). (It is when) people do not speak the truth and mistakenly accuse and commit calumny against others. (Note: to entrap people in crime, to fabricate something out of nothing, to take a small matter and blow it up into something big, to expose (did and) some bad thing that someone is concealing, or without being able to find any proof to abuse (revile) people and write anonymous letters—all these things should be punished.) (END NOTE)

(It means) to hold rites and law in contempt and to be without shame in one's department (behavior). (Note: Not to be correct in one's behavior, not to prepare dignified (austere) ceremonies, in all things to be low and demeaning (degraded) and to have no shame—these are all examples of this.) (END NOTE)

(It means) to go to extremes in managing (one's) private (profits). (Note: In trading goods with someone else to injure them in exacting (payment?); to devote all your efforts to making profit for oneself, not to consider what is right or wrong but to make some demand of someone without any reason at all for doing so, or to deceive someone who makes a request of you.) (END NOTE)

(It means) to utilize one's public position in order to commit wrongdoing. (To do something wrong in the pretext that it is official business). (Note: When someone receives an commission as an official, to rely on (the excuse) that you are engaged in public business to do something in your private interest; or to rely on influence in order to commit bad acts among the people (towards the people). (END NOTE)

(It means) to be extravagant in one's clothing and adornments and to lack frugality in one's expenditures. (Note: To make excessive expenditures without considering whether you have the resources or not, to engage in drinking and partying without restraint; not being able to be content with poverty; to seek for things which are not proper (according to the right way).) (END NOTE)
Village charter -4- Pangye surok, kyosŏn chi che, aang

159, 9:2a

(It means) not to stand in awe of the laws. (Note: Violations of severe and minor violations of prohibitions are examples of this. This also includes those who take in members many family members in order to escape official service (duties).) (END NOTE)

(It means) to not to be careful in paying caring taxes and to carelessly associate with criminals. (Note: It is when one's acquaintances are not limited to scholars and commoners but are only with bad people, and idlers, those of bad comportment (behavior), and those who are not equal to oneself. If it is a case where one has no choice but to associate with these people temporarily, it does not count.) (END NOTE)

It means to use deception (seduce) and get close to lewd women, to respect and put faith in false doctrines, to enjoy engaging in obscene rites. (Note: Such things as monks in the practice of the che? and shamans offering prayers. If you have a household head who cannot manage (his family) independently, then punish the household head.) (END NOTE)

(It means) those who know of wrong but do not change it, who hear remonstrance, but act even worse.

9:2b

----- (Indented: probably Pan'gye's remarks): With regard to the errors (kwasil) listed above, each of the people in the same yak (charter or contract group) will keep watch on his own behavior and admonish one another. On small matters, they should secretly speak to one another, but on important matters, they will assemble the people and admonish (a wrongdoer). If (the wrongdoer) does not heed (the admonishment), then on the day that the (charter oath group) meeting is convened, the chigwŏl will report it to the yakchŏng, about the right principles. and the yakchŏng will instruct (the person). If he apologizes for his error and asks to be corrected, then he will be recorded in the register and you will wait (for him to correct the mistake). If he contests
(the decision) and does not submit and cannot rectify (his mistakes), then he will be indicted for crime (punishment). (Note: (In such a case) it must be reported to the masses (gathering of the people), and only after there is no contrary view should a (wrongdoer) then be punished.) (END NOTE)

- If the (crime) is light, then he should be (ch'ulchwa ch'ulchwa ch'ulchwa ch'un). (Note: Ch'ulch'ok cases must be heard by an official agency. Those who have been removed from the register cannot participate in public meetings. They cannot take part in village (affairs).

Those who are able to reform must pass inspection. After several years if there is an outstanding case of self-renewal, only after that should the group discuss it and report it to the official, and then permit the man to participate again. And when he takes part and is seated (in his place), he must be charged to his face.

-subnote: According to present usage what is called "charging a man to his face" is no more than a joke and is not in accordance with law. Such a man should be made to stand in the courtyard (in the bottom part of the courtyard) and apologize for his wrongdoing, and after everyone seated there all permit him, only then should he be alloed to rise and sit down. In general when you talk about myonch'ae (charging a man to his face), it should always be like this.) (END NOTE)

--/ Generally speaking, those who are charged with certain duties but who abandon them or forget about them, those who come to public meetings late,
Village charter  -6-  Pan'gye surok, kyŏn chi che, sang

and those who disrupt the people seated (at meetings) and raise a clamor, and those who leave their seats empty and retire to some other place convenient for themselves, will all be charged and punished.

Association according to etiquette and custom means: (1) to differentiate between older and younger in order of procession, (2) when going to visit an elder, to ask about his health, to bow on one's knees to him, and to bow low with one's hands together to him (ší), (3) to invite people, to send them off, and to welcome them, (4) to congratulate people (on good fortune), to commiserate with them (in time of loss, death), and to give and send goods (presents, to them).

There are five degrees. (The first) is called, chonja (the respected one). (Note: This refers to a person who is more than 20 years older than oneself and is in the same file (rank) as one's father. In the case of relationships between teachers and disciples, then even though the age (of the teacher) may not be so high, (the disciples) should also treat him as an respected person (chonja).

(The second) is called changja (elders). (Note: This refers to someone who is more than 10 years older than oneself, who is in the same rank (haeng) with your elder brother. Even if the person is a changja, if he should associate with your father, or if he is a man of virtue or position, a man who should be respected, then he should also be treated as a chonja.

(The third) is called chŏkcha (seniors). (Note: This refers to someone who is not quite ten years older or younger. A changja is slightly older than this, and a soja is slightly younger than this.

(The fourth) is called soja (youngers). (Note: Someone less than 10 years younger than oneself.
The fifth is called **juja** (幼者) (Note: This means someone who is more than 20 years younger than oneself. Even though a person may be a child or young, if he is virtuous and has position (status) and is worthy of respect, then more respect or age (status) should be accorded him and he should be treated as a **chōkcha**.)

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When paying calls on elders to inquire of their health and bowing to them (at such times), there are three regulations pertaining to this.

(The first is) when soja or juja, to the **chonja** or **changja**, pay a new year's call (**sesu chi pae**), or pay a call to offer congratulations or thanks (**sagyŏng ha-sa**), all of these are etiquette interviews (**veyŏng**). (Note: In all cases the person should take his name-card (**myŏngham**) with him (to present it). People with official posts (office) should wear their silk gauze hats (**samo**) and their **tallyŏng** (with round collar). Those without office should wear a *simŭi* (**n: clothes of a high superior with wide white hemp sleeves edged with black silk**) and a **chingnyŏng** (**n: outer coat of a military official with a straight collar**). If a person or for some reason is sick and cannot go to perform his etiquette call, then in all cases send someone to inform (the other party). Or if it should rain or snow, then the **conja** or **chang** should send someone to urge the visitor to stay at home.)

(End note) In addition to this, there are occasions when you pay calls to ask after a person's health (**humun kig**), or to make inquiry about some doubtful matter (**chir'i**), or to report something that has happened (**paeksa**), or to respond to an invitation (**ch'ŏngoo**). All of these instances are called **yon'gyŏng** (禮見). (Note: At such times one may wear the *simŭi*, **tallyŏng**, **chingnyŏng**, **kŭmram** outer garment (worn as ritual or etiquette clothing during usual times, ordinary times).
When a chonja (respected person) receives a call, he does not reciprocate (repay the call). (Note: If it is a new year's call, then he has a son repay the call. His clothing is the same as (the caller's) clothing.)

A changja (elder) at new year's prepares his own calling card and sends a son (cheja) (with his card) to repay calls. (Note: If a soja (young person) enjoys some felicitous event, then a chonja or a changa will also personally go to offer him congratulations. Their clothes will be like his clothes. Or they might write a note and have a son take it in their place.)

Chokcha will exchange visits with one another at new year's, (sesu), or to offer congratulations (ha-rye) or to offer thanks (sa-rye). (Note: They will have their name cards, same as above, and they may wear either the tallyong, chingnyong, or top'o.)

If a chonja or changa happens to drop by the house of a soja or yuja for no particular reason, he will just wear the clothes he happens to be wearing (at the time). (Note: It is permissible for him to be wearing sim'ui, ch'omni, chingnyong or top'o.)

(The second set of regulations are): When seeing (paying a call on) a chonja or changja, you dismount (from your horse) outside the gate and wait outside, and then next you give your name (card). (Note: In general when going to see someone, when entering the gate you must ask the master of the house (chuin) is eating or not, or whether he has other guests or not, or whether he has other business or not. When you discover that he has no other obstructions (business), you then offer your namecard. If there is some obstruction (if he has some other business), then you wait a while or withdraw. After this, all such cases will be modelled after these (regulations-rules).)

The master of the house (chuin) will send a changmyongja (intermediary) to go out and greet the guest. The guest will rush forward and
Village charter -9- Pan'gye surok, kyosŏn chi che, sang

(aera-ch'ae - outerwing building)

enter the covered (entryway? 防 ). The master of the house will descend the (stone) steps. The guest will then rush forward. The master of the house will bow to him (up) and ascend to the main room (taech'ŏngwi).

(Note: In the case of a chonja, he will not descend the stairs but will stand and wait for (the guest) in the tangsang (main room) (above in the taech'ŏng).

In case of a yegŏn visit they will

yegŏn (and bow twice (再拜) and after that take seats. In the case of a yŏn'gyŏng visit, they will bow once. (Note: in case of a yŏn'gyŏng: a visit where one happens to be passing by?, a trip), they (the visitor?) will perform a yŏbae (visitor's bow?). The soja and yuja will each form a row (line), and the yuja will bow and then get on his knees and hold his hands together. (the host will) assist the man up and assist the man up

A soja will bow then get on his knees with hands held together

and respond with a half bow. If it is the case of a chonja or changa, men with age and reputation (for virtue) that is particularly outstanding, then a soja or yuja (host?) will insist on paying respect by bowing.

The chonja will allow him to do so and accept it standing up. The changja will allow him to do so, and (respond by) kneeling and holding his hands together. The master of the house then orders him to sit down; then

(the guest) bows again, thanks his host and takes his seat.

When (the guest) leaves (Note: In general when seeing each other the master of the house says the last word, and if he has nothing to add, then (the guest) announces that he is leaving. Or if the host shows/that he is tired, or if he has some business or somebody else waiting, in all cases (the guest) should announce that he is leaving. Later on, all such cases will be modelled on these rules.) (END NOTE) -- then the master of the house escorts him to the bottom of the (stone) steps. (Note: In the case of a chonja, then he rises and escorts him to the tangsang (t'aech'ŏng maru) (END NOTE). The guest bows and leaves, going out through the main gate and mounts his horse.
In general when seeing a chökcha (one about one's own age), one gets off one's horse outside the gate and sends someone with one's namecard and then waits ṭuṣṭh inside the main gate. The master of the house comes out to greet the person and they bow to one another. Dividing the courtyard in half (each entering the courtyard side by side?) they move forward to the stairs. (The host) bows and yields the way (to the guest) and they go up (into the house, maru). In the case of an official courtesy call (yegyŏn), then they bow twice. (Note: The person who is slightly younger bows first (sŏnbae). In the case of a group visit (yŏgyŏn), they make a special bow.)(END NOTE)

In the case of a yŏn'gyŏn (non-official courtesy call), (the guest) bows and then proceeds to his seat. When he leaves, then the host (master of the house) bows and sends him off at the middle gate.

When the guest is walking (home), then the host sends him off outside the gate.(END NOTE)

In the case where (one) is visiting a soja or lower, then one first sends a man with one's name card and the host waits for you with his clothes and hat on. You enter the main gate and then ṭuṣṭh dismount from your horse. Then the master of the house (chuin, host) rushes forward to greet you and you (the guest) bow. Then you go up into the main room (t'asch'ŏng). When ṭuṣṭh comes to (the host) repay the courtesy (call), then yŏn'gyŏn bows twice and thanks you (for calling on him). (Note: If the guest stops him, then he stops.)(END NOTE)
When you leave, then (the host) goes out the middle gate, bows, and asks you to mount your ṭinj horse. The guests insists that (the host) go inside (the house); the host bows and turns his body and then takes a few paces and stands. The guest then mounts his horse, and only after that can the host go inside the house. (Note: If the guest is walking, then the host escorts him outside the main gate and sends him off also like the above. Then the host follows after him for a few paces. The guest bows to him, and only then does the host stop. He watches him go off for a far distance, and then goes back inside his house.) (END NOTE)
Village charter

(The third set of rules are): Generally when you meet a chonja or changja on the road, if they are walking along, then you rush forward and bow to them. If the chonja or changja address some words to you, then you reply. If they do not, then you stand by the side of the road and wait for them to pass by, then bow and go on your way. If you are on a horse, then if a chonja comes along, you turn and move out of his way. (Note: If you cannot turn and move out of his way, then you dismount and wait for him. The chonja will then insist that you remount, in which case you may follow his orders.)

If you meet a changja, then stand the horse by the side of the road and bow to him and wait for him to pass by; then bow and proceed on your way.

If you yourself are walking and a chonja or changja are mounted on horses, then turn and move out of their way. (Note: If you are walking along and happen to meet someone you know who is mounted on a horse, then in all cases follow this procedure.)

If you yourself are riding on a horse and a chonja or changja is walking along, then when you see them from afar, dismount, go forward and bow. Although you have already moved out of their way, you also do it like this. After they have passed you by and are a long distance away, then you remount your horse.

If you happen to meet a chokcha and both of you are on horses, then you bow and pass by. If he is walking along and you cannot avoid him, then dismount and bow to him. After he passes by, then remount.

When you meet a soja or below and both of you are on horses, if he cannot avoid you, then bow to him and pass by. If he is walking along and get out of your way cannot avoid you, then dismount and bow to him. (Note: If it is a yuja, it is not necessary to dismount).

In inviting people and sending them off and welcoming them, there are four procedures:

1.genome song'ang
-(The first) is that when you ask a chonja or chang to drink or eat (with you), you must personally go and make the request. (Note: If you are only inviting another guest, then you cannot invite a chonja or changja together with him.) (END NOTE). After he has come, the next day you personally go and thank him.

When you are inviting a chokcha (someone your own age), you do it by letter and the next day both of you send people to express thanks. When you invite a soja, you do it with a return note (hoamun). (Note: If the number of people you invite is not large, then you also ought to do it by written note). (END NOTE) The next day, the guest personally goes to express thanks.

-(The second) is when you are having a general get-together (meeting, party) of people who are all villagers, then you seat them in accordance with age. (Note: If they are not members of the scholar class, then you do not do it.) (END NOTE). If the guest is a ch'in (royal relative), he is ranked separately. If you have other guests who have rank, then sit them in the order of their rank. (Note: Or if there is no obstacle to it, then do it by age.) (END NOTE) If you have a guest with a different rank, then even though he may be a member of the village (hyang), you should not (seat) him according to age. (Note: "Different rank" (異爵 ) means those with the rank of myong sadaebu (命士大夫 ) and above. At the present time this refers to those promoted to the rank of court official (chogwan) -- such people as those of rank 3 or higher, the taegan (censor) or the kwan'gak (국가관). (Hongmun'gwan target?)

In the case of a special invitation, or when is welcoming someone to console with them or when one is sending someone off, in all cases the sole invited person is the superior (honored) guests. If it is a wedding then the family of the betrothed are the honored guests (sanggaek), and in all these cases, their seating place is not ranked in accordance with age or (official) rank.

(The third) is when you are having an informal party (yönjip),
when the guests are first seated, the host first sets up a table in between the two pillars (posts) of the room, and then places special wine cups on top of them. The host then descends from his seat and stands by the east side of the table and faces west. The honored guests also descends from his seat and stands to the east west of the table and faces east. The host picks up the wine cup and personally washes (himself?). The honored guest declines. The host then puts the wine cup on the table, personally takes the wine and pours the wine, filling the cup. He takes the filled cup and gives it to the chipsaja (man in charge of the wine cups); then holding the cup, he offers it to the honored guest. The honored guest receives it and again puts it on top of the table. The host then faces east and bows twice. The honored guest faces east and bows twice. He raises the wine and faces east, gets on his knees and make sacrificial offering. Finally they drink the wine and give the cup to the ch'anja (man in charge of the host and the host replies with a bow. (Note: If a soja or lower is a guest, then after he drinks the wine and bows, the host gets on his knees and receives it in ordinary ceremonies. If it is a wedding party and the family of the spouse are the honored guests, then even though (the honored guest may be) a soja, (the host?) also returns a bow to him.) (END NOTE)

When the honored guest toasts the host with wine, it is like the previous ceremony (procedure). And when the host then offers wine to his guests, it is like the above procedure. Except that when he offers wine, he does not bow. (Note: if there is a man of age or rank among the guests, then a special offer of wine is made to him as in the manner of the protocol for an honored guest, except that there is no toast (with wine?)(END NOT

Then they proceed to their seats and enjoy themselves drinking.

-(The fourth) is when you have someone who is leaving for a distant journey or returning from a distant journey and you meet them or send them off.
If it is a chokcha (someone your own age) or lesser (status) who's going to or coming from a place 2-3 li or 4-5 li distant, convene people at one place to bow to him. If the ceremony has food and drink, then wine and dine him.

(Note: To go to a distant place or to return from a distant place means someone who has been in a distant province for years. If it is not, there is not need to do it like this.)

In the case of someone who has suffered an accident, wait until he has already returned, and greet him then go to his house and inquire after him.

--. With regard to felicitous occasions, funerals and giving gifts (慶吊贈遺), there are 4 rules. (The first is) when there is some lucky event that happens to someone in the same yak (contract organization), then congratulate him. (Note: as in the case of someone who reaches 70 years of age or 80 years of age, the capping of a son, the birth of a son, on being selected for an official post, or on getting married, and the like, in all cases congratulations are due.)

In the case of an unlucky event, then you console with them. (Note: such as in the case of a death or floor or drought). For each house only the household head, one man, with a member of the Contract organization (yagwŏn) will together go (to pay a call). When a note is sent to make inquiry, this will also be like this. If the head of household is indisposed (sick), then the next in rank will take this responsibility.

(The second is) that the etiquette for congratulations is the same as for ordinary ceremonies. If there is someone who sets up (some ceremony) as a rite (li), you help him out with certain goods (things). (Note: In cases of congratulations for old age or for capping a son, in aiding with goods, you use rice, cash, cloth, win, food, and fruit and the like. The group deliberates and decides on their capacity and allots quotas, which at the most is no more than 2-3 mal (tu), and at the least are no less than 4-5 sung.)
If the degree of intimacy is not the same, then (the amount to be contributed) should accord with the degree of intimacy (between the parties). In case of congratulations on old age, then the group should discuss it and prepare drink and food and go to the person to congratulate him--this, too, is all right. Even though marriage is not regarded as something to be congratulated, yet according to etiquette you should congratulate the one who takes a wife, so the goods that are supplied should be the expense of the guests, and that is all. )

If a family should not have enough, then the implements can be lent to them so they can manage the matter.

(Third is) that with regard to the etiquette for mourning, when you first hear of a death, all the members of the yak (contract group) go to cry and mourn for the person in their sim'ni.

Note: If the aggrieved party has not yet put on mourning clothes, then only the closest friends will enter to mourn. The rest will just stay outside and help prepare the mourning implements. They will prepare all the various matters to be taken care of. The chuin (master of the house, host) will put on mourning, then they will lead each other, wear white clothes and white belt, go to mourn, and then leave. (Note: For mourning ceremony see the karye (chia-li-household rites, etiquette). When mourning is conducted the chief mourner recites the mourning prayer and then performs the yōbae bows to the group). Those people who did not know the deceased (when he was alive), do not mourn. Those who did not know the man had died do not cry. If a wife or son dies, then the group members go to mourn, after which they all leave. The only one to stay are those who personally take part in the business to manage the funeral. After the mourning garb is donned, they leave. For gifts of goods, they use rice, cash, cloth, and the group decides on quotas for themselves as in the case of congratulatory visits. )

Also they prepare wine and fruit and food, and go and offer libations. (Note: This is only done by people who...
are on intimate terms with the person. If the deceased is a chökcha or higher (in age or relationship), then you bow and offer libations. If he is lower (soja, yuja), then offer libations but do not bow.

In going to the funeral, they also lead each other, present funeral (lead the cart and horses) presents, and wait for the departure of the funeral (par'ın), then they wear white clothes and send the funeral off. (Note: pong is like purye, and wine or food may be given to the workmen or those in charge of the funeral affairs.)

At the time of the first and second anniversaries of the death (sosang, taesang) everybody wears ordinary clothes and mourns and offers condolences. The bereaved family is not allowed to prepare wine and food for entertaining the mourning guests, and the mourning guests are also not allowed to accept them. (Note: Anybody who violates this is to be punished by the law for those who hold ritual law in contempt—kyöngmyöi yebo'p).

( The fourth ) is the case of someone who hears of the death of someone he knows but may be so far away that he cannot go, then he sends a messenger to offer sacrifice (libations); and the person goes outside, dons mourning clothes, bows twice, cries and (thus) sends off (the deceased). (Note: This is only done for the closest of friends.)

After a year passes by, then you do not cry, If the feelings (for the deceased) were strong, then one cries at the grave.

With regard to the above matters pertaining to mutual relations between people during ceremonies and customs, the chigwö'l takes charge of them. If there is a date to be set, he sets the date. If people are supposed to come together, he urges the ones who live far away or are lazy (to come). And if anyone does not live up to the rules of the yak (oath org.) for no reason at all, he reports it to the yakchöng, scolds them, and records their names in the register.
With the regard to matters pertaining to mutual aid in time of disaster,

1. Flood and Fire. (Note: If the place is close by, you send a person to get there on time and give relief. If the case is serious, then you go yourself and take many men with you, give aid and commiserate with them. If the house burns down, then everybody discusses taking up a collection of thatch and wood, of labor power to help with the construction of the house. If the family is destitute and is out of food, then the group discusses helping them out with goods.)

2. Robbery. (Note: If the crime takes place nearby, everyone joins forces to chase and apprehend (the criminal). The strongest ones do this. The magistrate's office is informed. If the (victim's) family is poor, then aid is given and (everyone) subscribes compensation (for the loss). If there is no food or clothing left over, then the group discusses providing material to aid (the robbed family).

3. Sickness. (Note: If it is a minor illness, then you send someone to inquire after the health of the person. If it is serious, then you look for a doctor and obtain medicine. If (the sick person's) family is poor, then you help out with the expenses for recovery from illness. If the whole family is sick and in bed, then the neighbors pool their labor to cultivate and weed the fields in aid (of the stricken family).

4. Death. (Note: If there are not enough people to do the work, then you give aid to manage their affairs. If they are lacking in material goods, then you provide relief or make loans (to the family).

5. The orphaned and weak. (Note: With regard to those who are orphaned and left with no one to rely on, if their resources are sufficient to take care of them, then select a member of their relatives (family) who can loyally manage their affairs to do so and to oversee income and expenditures of the family. Or you might ask the magistrate to provide help, or select someone to provide instruction (to the child) and to look for a suitable marriage partner (spouse).
If the family is poor and then pool labor in cooperation to help them so that you won't allow them to lose their livelihood. If there is someone who tries to take advantage (of the orphan) and deceive him, then the people should join forces to represent (the orphan, at the magistrate's court?) and clear up the matter. If the person is somewhat grown up and is leading a reckless life and is not watching himself, you should also keep an eye on him, and restrain him and not let him fall into unvirtuous ways. (END NOTE) (6) Slander (muwang 誹枉). If you have a case of someone who has been falsely accused of wrongdoing by someone else and that person is not able to defend himself (redress his own grievance), report the situation to the magistrate's yamen. If you can use other strategy to explain (what happened) in order to clear up the matter, then do so.

If a family has because of (this slander) lost their source of livelihood, then the group should join to provide material aid to them.) (ENDNOTE). (7) Poverty (飢乏). (Note: If you have a family which is living contentedly with its poverty and maintaining its propriety (position) (subun 中分), but whose livelihood is suffering from great insufficiency, the group should supply them with material aid, or make loans to them, providing them with a property (land?) which they can repay in yearly or monthly installments. (END NOTE)

---. With regard to matters pertaining to mutual aid in time of disaster as listed above, in general if there is somebody who is deserving of relief or aid, the family reports it to the yakchong (약정). If the matter is urgent, then those people closest to that family among the contract group (yak) makes the report to the yakchong. The yakchong then has the chigwol (月明) inform everybody all around. In addition, (he) gathers the people together and urges them (to act).

Generally speaking, the people in the same contract group (yx tongyakcha 約正同約者) will all loan and borrow goods, tools, carts, horses, and servants to one another (those who have them will loan them to those who do not). If the
need to use the thing is not urgent or if there is some reason obstructing loan (of some item), it is not necessary to make an loan of something. But in cases where someone could make a loan but does not do so, or in cases where the item is not given back even after the deadline has passed, or where some goods are damaged or destroyed (by the borrower), those persons will be indicted for having transgressed against the yak contract group and their names will be written in the records. As for those people who are able to act (do the right thing) their good deeds will also be written in the records and it will be reported to the people of the village.

--- Convening (the members of the group) and reading aloud the laws of the contract group. (hoejip tok yakpup).

On the day of the meeting the yakchong (note: the toyakchong is also commonly referred to as the yakchong), the puyakchong (副約正), and the chigwol (直月) will all eat an early breakfast, after which, dressed in their sim'ul (深衣) clothes (note: if they do not possess a sim'ul, then if they are officials, they can wear their samo (silk gauze hat) and tallyong outer garment; other people will wear a tugon (頭巾: turban?) and tallyong) (END NOTE), they will wait at the hyanggyo (郷校 :provincial school). (Note: or also at the village archery hall, hyangsadang (鄉射堂)) (END NOTE) First, in accordance with the order of the age (of the people), they will bow to the Eastern Wall (tongsosu: 東序 :of the hyanggyo?). (Note: The same as in ordinary ceremonies. In bowing, if a chonja (respected, elderly person) (walks in), they (the hyangyak functionaries) will get on their knees with their hands clasped together; if a changja (older person) comes in, they will get on their knees and respond with a half bow; if a slightly older person (than themselves) comes by, they will wait in a prostrate position and respond to them.) (END NOTE)

The members of the contract group, dressed in their own clothes, will arrive and wait outside. Next, when all have gathered, they will stand
outside the gate facing east in order of their age. (Note: If there are
a lot of people, then double the rows. If there are people of outstanding
official rank (ip'ae), then rank them just after the chonja (respected
persons, and the elderly).) (END NOTE) The yakchong and lower functionaries
will come out of the gate and face west. All will be at the north end.
(Note: the yakchong the most respected persons (chonja) will be facing
directly facing each other) (END NOTE). The yakchong will greet (the people) and
bow, and enter the gate. (Note: When the Yakchong enters the gate, then the
pukyak and lower functionaries will follow him. When the chonja enters the
gate, then the changja and those below will follow them.) (END NOTE). When
the arrive in the middle of the courtyard, the yakchong and lesser functionaries
will stand in the eastern part of the courtyard, with the head of the line
on theWestern end (the yakchon will head the line on the western side-
sosang). The chonja and lesser people will stand in the Western part
of the courtyard with the head of the line at the east. All will face
north in double rows. (Note: The yakchong (collectively) will form one
row, the pujong and chejong will take up a position a few paces
away from them. The chigwol will form the next row. The chonja, changja,
and ip'ae (special rank people) will form one row, with the people of
outstanding official rank standing slightly away from the others. The soja
and yuja (younger people) will form the next row. Who is to be a chonja,
changja, soja, and yuja is all determined by the age of the yakchong. In
later cases, follow this method.) (END NOTE)

When the people have reached their fixed standing positions, they
will all bow twice. (Note: First have 2 soja come forward, stand, and bow twice,
ascend (the stairs) and open the door to the myo (shrine), then divide
and stand apart beneath the stone steps on the east and west. This is the
procedure for bowing.) (END NOTE) The yakchong will go up (the stairs) and
offer incense and descend, and together with the people in their places
all will bow twice. (Note: The yakchong will go up and come down by the eastern
steps (chakkwang).)
In the case of a sŏwŏn (instead of a hyanggyo), the rites will be carried out at the wŏnsa (academy shrine) in the manner of the above ceremony. If the rite is carried out at a hyangsadang (village archery hall) or other place, then you don't have this ritual. (END NOTE)

When this is over, then proceed to the courtyard of the lecture hall (kangdang) and divide up into east and west and stand facing (each other). (Note: in the same manner as when the people were lined up outside the gate) (END NOTE) The yakchŏng will bow three times. The guests (Note: that is, to the most respected persons (ch'oe chonja) will then yield three times. Then the yakchŏng will go up first, and the guests will follow them. (Note: the yakchŏng and lesser functionaries will go up by the eastern steps, the other people will go up by the western steps) (END NOTE)

Everybody standing up in the hall will all stand facing north. (Note: The yakchŏng and lesser functionaries will head the line at the west side, the others will head their line at the east side. If there are too many people, they will form double lines.) (END NOTE). The yakchŏng will move slightly forward and stand facing west; the puk pujŏng and chigwŏl will be next to them on their right and withdraw a few steps. The chigwŏl will lead the chonja (into a row) facing east, with the head of the line at the south and The men of outstanding official rank (i'gaeja) and the changja will face west with the head of their line at the south. (Note: Their position will be to the right of the yakchŏn, slightly forward of them. The rest of the people will be as they were before.) (END NOTE) The yakchŏng will bow twice, and the other people in their places will all bow twice. (Note: that is, they will bow to the chonja) (END NOTE). The chonja will respond with a bow. (note; that is the chonja will respond to the bow of the yakchŏng). Then The chigwŏl will lead the xiunja men of special rank (i'gaeja) and xiunja changja, and they will face east, as they did originally at the beginning of the rite.
When they withdraw, then those with outstanding rank (ip'aeja) will stand to the west of the chonja. The changja will stand by the West wall, facing east, with the head of the line at the north. (Note: This means that they will bow to the changja. When they do bow, only the chonja do not bow.) (END NOTE)

The chigwol also will lead the slightly older people (sojangja) (to a position where) they are facing east, with the head of their line at the south. The yakchong together with the others in their positions will all bow twice, and the slightly older persons (sojangja) will return the bow. Then they will withdraw and stand beneath the West wall, to the south of the changja. (Note: This refers to bowing to the changja. When the bowing takes place only the chonja and changja will not bow.) (END NOTE)

The chigwol will also lead in the slightly younger persons (sosoja) to face east, with the head of their line at the north. They will bow to the yakchong, and the yakchong will reply to them. The slightly younger persons will then withdraw to beneath the East wall, facing west, with the head of their line to the north.

The chigwol will next lead in the soja (young persons) to face east, with the head of their line to the north. They will bow to the yakchong, and the yakchong will accept their courtesy (bow) as in the manner of an ordinary ceremony. (Note: The pujjong and lesser functionaries will also respond (bow back) in accordance with their age, as in the ceremonies.) (END NOTE)

The people who bow will then resume their positions. Again (the chigwol?) will lead in the yuja (very young persons), who will also do things like this. When it is all finished, the yakchong will bow and go to their seats. (Note: The yakchong will be seated to the east of the north wall, facing south. The pujjong and chejong, and chigwol will be next to the yakchong on the east, but a few paces withdrawn from them, facing south, with the head of their line at the west. The chonja will be seated at the west of the north wall, facing south, with the head of their line in the east. The ip'aeja (special rank people)
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will be sitting to the west of the chonja. The changja, sojangja (slightly older people), and changja will be sitting at the west wall, facing east. The sosoja (slightly younger people), the soja (young people), and the yeuka (very young people) will be sitting at the east wall, facing west. All of their lines will be headed (start) at the north.(END NOTE)

The common people (soin) will next enter the courtyard and stand in fixed (positions), and all will face north and bow twice. (Note: First you will have two especially bright and acute people from among the clerks? (saekchang) advance and stand beneath the stone stairs. They will bow twice, after which they will divide up and stand east and west, and (they) will put the ranks and files in order. Then the ijong (village chief) will move forward, and the saekchang (clerks) will proceed next, and the other people will also go next. All will form line up with the head of the line at the west.

(SUBNOTE: If official and private slaves (kong, sa ch'on) are included, they should be lined up separately from the commoners (yangmin). The commoners will be in the east, with the head of their line at the west. The slaves (ch'on in) will be in the west, with the head of their line in the east.

If among the village contract functionaries there are some who previously held posts as officials (regular govt officials), they will be lined up in accordance with their former posts (rank). Do not (bother) determining whether they are commoners or slaves.) (END SUBNOTE) All will be ranked (lined up) in accordance with their age. If there are a lot of people, form them into double files. From their standing positions, they will bow twice in unison.

If (the ceremony) takes place near the magistrate's yamen or at the time of the ch'unch'utohoe (spring and autumn grand meeting), then those off-duty officials may also participate. If regular officials are in attendance, then give them a special position in front of the ijong (village head). The saryong (mission) should be lined up to the west of the ijong. (END NOTE)

Each will then take their seats. (Note: All in accordance with the order of their standing positions). (END NOTE)
Then the chigwol will sit in the middle of them. (Note: He will go to a place slightly to the southeast of the middle of the hall, squat down and take his seat, facing west.) (END NOTE) Then in a loud voice he will read the yakpŏp (laws or the contract association) once through, The pujŏng will explain the meaning. Anybody who doesn't understand something will be allowed to ask questions. (Note: Also select one man who can read to explain the above four regulations to the people who are seated around, and to explain the various admonishments etc. Make sure that everyone can hear clearly. Also make sure everyone is orderly and maintaining a strict (pasture) and allow no hubbub or clamor.) (END NOTE)

If there are any good people in the village, the group will nominate them and if there are any wrongdoers, the chigwol will accuse them, and the yakchŏng will ask the group what the facts are. If there are no contrary opinions, then the mappi (good and bad) people will be rewarded or punished. (Note: Also have the ijong (village head) report if there are any good or bad people among the villagers, and ask the people to discuss the facts, and then decide on rewards or punishments.) (END NOTE)

Then have the chigwol wrote (them) down. And then he will read the names of the good people in the register of good deeds (kisŏnjŏk 記善錄) all the way through. Then have the chipsa (執事) take the register of bad deeds (kigwajŏk 記過錄) and go around and show it to the people seated there, and have everyone silently look at all the misdeeds. After this is done, then eat. (Note: If there is no food or drink, then the common people alone will stay. The chipsaja (functionaries of the rite?) may first be permitted to leave.) (END NOTE)

After people have finished eating, take a short rest, and then meet again in the hall, either to explain what has been written or to practice archery or to lecture quietly. (Note: the lectures must be on matters that are of benefit. They cannot be at the slightest about spirits, false doctrines, or rebellious ideas, nor can they be private discussion of court affairs, political matters in...
163, 9:10a  in the local districts, or exposures of the wrongdoing of others. The
chigwol will accuse anyone who violates these caveats and record them.)(END NOTE)

Then at dusk (suppertdme), everyone will withdraw.

9:10b  Sons of the village contract members who have not yet been registered,
and those who have not participated, will also be allowed to stand apart
and watch the ceremony. It is just that they cannot participate in the
meeting (conversation). (Note: When the meeting is first set up, if there are
any contract members who are too poor to afford the sim'ui clothes or hats,
then when they first arrive, have them wait someplace else until after the
ceremony is over

shrine is opened. Then it is permissible to let them participate in the
meeting.) (END NOTE)

Chart here of the line-up of people, the seating arrangement, when the
village contract regulations are read.

164. 9:11a -Regulations of the Village Charter Association (hyangyak samok)
-. The people of a district (up) will nominate one man who is the
most respected person in terms of age and virtuous behavior to be the

toyakchong 盗約 正 ). (Note: Not to mention a kyongkexex

(kyong (cour minister), taebu (official), or sa (scholar);
it is only that they must be men of virtuous reputation in whom the people
have trust) (END NOTE). And (they will nominate) two men of learning

and moral comportment to be puyakchong. Also they will rotate in the
selection of one man to be chigwol 盗月
d. (Note: The

and puyakchong will not (participate) with them (in the selection). This
will apply to the following (provisions as well).)(END NOTE)

In every village (hyang) (Note: for the details of the present administrative
system of myön, hyang, and i subdivisions, see the section on kun-hyon
(local administration).)(END NOTE) select one man to be yakchong

and one man to be chigwol. (Note: Again, this is not to mention chogwan
Village charter -26- Pan'gye surok, kyosôn chiche, sang

(court officials) and yusa (Confucian scholars). It is only that men of learning
and virtuous behavior should be selected to be yakch'ong for each hyang,
assigned to one man, and this post will be
Also the post of chigwol will be/rotated among them members of the charter
group (yagwŏn).)(END NOTE) From among the common people of every i
select one man who is the oldest and man who is firm and diligent to be
the ijŏng (리정 : li head), and one man who is diligent in conducting
affairs to be the saekchang (: li clerk). (Note: The ijŏng will
be in exclusive charge of the people of the li, which will include
admonishing them, instructing them, investigating their actions. It is
all right if these duties are assigned to an incumbent ijŏng to handle
concurrently. The saekchang will be in charge of affairs of the yak
(contract association). During the term of his incumbency he will be exempted
from the various types of service (taxes) imposed on the kyŏngbu (apyŏn : able-bodied males who are recipients of land grants).)(END NOTE)

With regard to the village office (hyanggwan) (Note: That is,
the present hyangso (립소) in accordance with precedent,
he may also be a concurrent yakch'ong, in which case he will be called the
kyŏm-yakch'ong.

The toyakch'ong, puyakch'ong and each yakch'ong will not be transferred.
(Note: That is to say, none of them will be transferred from their posts
except in the case of those where their father or mother has died, or where
they have been sick for several years, or where they have left the village
for several years, or if their reputations as men is not suitable.)(END NOTE)

If, for some unavoidable reason, the toyakch'ong has to be transferred
(note: If someone has to be transferred, then except for those who have
lost a parent, in every case a list of particulars will be drawn up and
showed to the yak or contract organization.)(END NOTE), then the members
of the contract organization and the olders (of the village) will all
assemble and the group will discuss the matter and make a recommendation,
decide on the matter, and report it to the magistrate (kwansa).

Only after that is done will the puyakch'ong and chigwol go to the house
(of the man to be removed from office) and request (that he leave his post).

If the puyakchong or lesser functionaries have to be removed from their posts, then the toyakchong will at the time of the (contract association) meeting discuss the matter with everyone and select and determine (on the removal of the man, selection of new man) and report it to the magistrate (kwansa). The chigwol will then go and report it to his family.

If the toyakchong has perhaps made some mistake, then the (members of) the contract association will rectify the matter (and admonish him) in accordance with the contract association's regulations. If the puyakchong or a lesser functionary (has made a mistake), then they will discuss removing him from his post. The term of office of the chigwol will be one year, after which he will be removed and the post rotated (to someone else). (Note: if there is none else suitable, it is not necessary to remove him) (END NOTE)

The ijang also will not be removed from office, but the saekchang in which will have a term of one year.

In every district (up) there will be established a general register (tojok 都籍 ) in which will be written the names of the sabu(士夫 : scholars) of the up. (Note: Those whose names will be included in this register will include people with civil and military office (tongban, staban), muso(武官 ), and dormitory students in schools (hangnae sasaeng(學生 ), people who have (royal) relatives (yuch'in 有親 ) and the protection privilege (yujin 有蔭 ) among hereditary main line sons (sejok 世嫡 ), and those who have undergone the capping ceremony, and all those higher than this.

Also establish registers, in one register will be written the names of people of virtue who should be encouraged, and in the other register the names of those who have committed a transgression (wrong) that should be admonished. With regard to this king of reward and punishment, it should not be restricted to (those whose names are) entered in the registers.

In general in a district, without regard to whether a person is a sa (scholar) or so (commoner), if a person does good, he should be rewarded (encouraged),
Village charter -28- Pan'gye s urok, kyosǒn chi che, sang

and if he does not do good, then he should be punished. Each hyang should do the same as this. The chigwol will take charge of the registers, and when he is removed or transferred from his post, he will report it to the yakchōng and hand (the records) over (to the man) who is next in line (for his post). Each hyang should do the same thing. (END NOTE)

Each hyang should establish a hyangjok in which will be written the names of the insa (人士) of the hyang. (Note: The names of men already recorded in the registers will also be recorded in the hyang register. Also the following names of persons will be recorded: the oesasang (extra-quota students) in schools, the guards (卫士) of the Ch'ungsunwi (忠順衛) and the Ch'ungsunwi (忠順衛), both were palace guards. Princes, merit subjects and their sons and grandsons were attached to the former, and sons of officials of rank 9 and higher were attached to the latter), sǒol (:illegitimate sons), men who were related to the royal family (yuch'ın), and those with the protection privilege (yǔm). As for the common people, it will not be necessary to keep a register for them.

In addition each hyang will also keep two registers, one for virtuous deeds and the other for errors (tōg'op, kwasil, 德業,過失), for reward and punishment (kwŏn kyŏn, 勸諫), the same as above. Except that when the punishment is to be severe, then wait for the ch'unch'uhoe (spring and autumn meetings) and report it to the toyakchōng. (END NOTE)

As for those persons who advance later (on), and ought to be entered into the register, at the time of the spring meeting, write their names in as a continuation (of the register). (Note: When writing names into a register, in all cases write the name, year of birth, in accordance with the regulations for the present kye certificate (kyech'op, 契帖), and in all cases write the names in in the order of the age of the people.) (END NOTE).
I note that (AN): In ancient times a distinction was made between the sa (士: scholars) and the people (min), but the distinction was made on the basis of whether the person's behavior (haeng'op 行業) was that of a worthy person or an ignoramus (hyon-u 賢愚), and not on the basis of whether his lineage was xingxiu 萬秀 or destitute on the basis of whether his lineage was xingpin 兴貤 generation after generation (i ki chokse chi hwach'o 以其族世之華堂 ). But the custom in this country is that we only pay respect to munji (門地). Han, 34. glosses munji with munbōl--family status. And xing among those people who engage in the activity of scholars (opsa 學士), we also have (categories) that we call yangban (note: the sons and grandsons and lineage relations (choktang 衆堂) of the taebu and sa (大夫士: officials and scholars). In general, the system of our country is that only the lineage relations (chok) of the taebu and sa can obtain/posts as civil and military officials (tongban, sōbana 朝班) and for that reason the custom is to call (this calls of people) yangban. (END NOTE), sōjok (庶族)(Note: these are the sons and grandsons of taebu and sa by their concubines (chōp接)). These are people who originally came from commoner lineages but were able to enter the ranks of officialdom, and also those who are students in schools (kyosaeng 学生). It is customary to call them chung'in (中人). They are also called hansan (寒散 ) and pang'toe (方外 ). (END NOTE), sōbī (庶孽)(note: these are the sons and grandsons of taebu and sa by their concubines (chōp接)) (END NOTE).

Because the status grades (p'umnyu 品流) of these people are fixed at a distance between one another (they are separated in grade:定階) and they cannot be grouped together in the same ranks (grades), the local registers (hyangjŏk) at the present time only record (the names of) yangban. As for the rest of the people, even if they are men of learning or talent and virtue, and even if they have passed the examinations and have held a number of official posts, they are not allowed to be entered into the registers. This is extremely contrary to (a violation of) the intention of
former kings who intended to regulate (kanggi) the (moral) way of men (indo). If a person is a scholar (saryu), all of them should be entered into the register without regard to family status (munji), and all of them should be allowed to set in order at (the village) meetings (note: order here means order by age). For a detailed discussion (of this problem) see the section on the school system (hakche-jo).

Cho Ehin once asked T'oegey: At the present time the seating rank order at the local meetings (hyangdang chi) is in all cases according to age, but there are also difficult problems with regard to this. What about it? T'oegey replied: With regard to by age rank order/in the villages (hyangdang), the seating order is determined on the basis of whether people are older or younger. If it were done on the basis of noble or base (status) (kwich'ŏn), then the ranks order (would be determined) on the basis of official rank (p'ae). How could then one talk of ranking people on the basis of age? In the kangkanhwa Wang-chih (of the Li-chi?), it states that with regard to the crown prince (wangt'aeja), the other princes (wangja), and the taeja (princes) of the various queens, and the eldest main line sons (chŏkcha) of the court ministers (kyŏng), and officials (taebu) and scholars (wonsa), all of them advance (cho) and enter school in accordance with their age. The commentary (chu) (to the wang-chih section of the Li-chi) states that rank is determined only on the basis of who is older and who is younger, and no distinction of rank is made on the basis of noble or base (status) (kwich'ŏn). When According to the Chou-li, the tangjong (at the end of the year) makes a search throughout the country for spirits (kwisin) and makes sacrifice to them, they assemble the people on the basis of li (etiquette, principles of social usage), and offer food and drink to them in rank order, and by this means they rectified (kept in proper order) age position.
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As for the first order (ilmyŏng), they ranked the village (hyangni) according to age, and as for the second order (chaemyŏng), they ranked the father's lineage (pujo'ok) in accordance with age. As for the third order (samyŏng), they did not rank people according to age. The commentary states that what is meant by ranking the village in accordance with age is that together with the group of guests the positions of people were determined mutually in accordance with age.

And what was meant by the phrase about ranking the pujok (father's lineage) in accordance with age meant that if members of the father's lineage were attending as guests, they would be mutually ranked (in seating position) in accordance with age. As for people with different surnames, even if there were old people they would be put at the top. What was meant by the phrase, "not to rank people by age" meant the seating of people in the honorable east (chondong), which was what was called "honoring" (them) (chon). At village ceremonies involving food and drink, people of 60 years of age would sit, and those 50 years of age would stand and attend them. This was for the purpose of showing respect for age. In terms of the food offered, those who were 60 years old would get 3 pia platters, those 70 would get 4, and those 80 would get 5, and those 90 would get 6, and this was done for the purpose of clarifying the li (etiquette) for nurturing old people. Once the people knew how to honor age and nurture the elderly, then they would be able to enter into (practice) filial piety and respect for elder (brothers). If the people entered into (began by) respecting their fathers and brothers and came out (ended up) by honoring age and taking care of the elderly, then they could achieve learning (sŏnggyo). Only after learning was achieved would the state be at ease (peace). What a chûn-tsu (princely man) refers to as learning is not what every family attains, nor what is seen every day. If one adopts the etiquette (li) of the village food and drink rites with the village archery contests, then the practice of filial piety and respect for elders...
Generally speaking, the reason why former kings established village laws (hyangbop) and village rites (hyangnye) was definitely in order to establish rank order on the basis of age. With a principle as profound and far reaching as this, and this a matter as important as this, how could anyone change an institution that has lasted from ancient times to the present without being changed just on the basis of the fact that (an older, elderly person) may have temporarily be ashamed of the fact that his family has fallen (in status) to a position below the low and the base (in society); and how could one discard the regular position that his father, elder brother and ancestral lineage (chongjok) has been seated in and make another row (rank, to be seated in) for himself, by this means destroyed the village ceremonial customs and abandoning the teachings of the sages?

What the world respects the most are three things: virtue, rank, and age. In school it is righteousness that is regarded as important, therefore the sons of the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords seem to have been ranked, together with men of talent selected from among the common people, on the basis of age. How much more important is it that the local villages (hyangdang) basically take age and old age (changno) as the thing to be respected?

(by way of illustration? In a letter of naeyu?), what is referred to as official and private slaves are (categories of people) that did not exist in ancient times, but at the present time it is indeed naturaly that they ought not be allowed to attend school nor join in village (affairs). This is something that need not even be discussed. Outside of this, (however), if there should be someone low or base (in family status, or position), one should only follow the law of ranking people in accordance with their age. There is no other principle (that should be followed). In general, if people can in their daily lives overcome and eliminate the private (selfish) feelings in their minds, see true principles and live
justly, truly, purely and maturely, then 警惕 in handling these various matters, they will naturally be done cleanly(? 震撼，alarmed, says Matthew; cleanly says Han, 36) and without doubts. (end of T'oegye quote) 10th day 4 mos. that begin each season Every year, during the first 10 day week of the 聿恵月, the various yakchŏng of the hyang (villages) will each 言論 lecture on the 聿恵 (village contract, oath) at a meeting of the village. (note: If on the 10th day there is some reason (for not having the meeting), then set another date. The yakchŏng will have the chigwol issue in advance a circular letter (hoemun 回文) to report (this) to the members of the contract group. If it is not possible to have (the meeting) on the first month of the season, then it will be necessary to have one meeting in the middle month (of the 聿恵 season). from time to time It is also permissible for the toyakchŏng and puyakchŏng on occasion to go and participate in the hyanghoe (village meeting). If a hyangsang 鄰庠 :local school) has already been established, then meet there. If there is none, then the meeting can take place at a sach'ang 社倉 :village granary), roomy sŏn (private academy). Just pick a broad and wide place to hold the meeting. Generally speaking, assemble everyone who is listed on the registers. As far as the common people (sŏmin 落民) are concerned, except for the ijong (i chief) and saekchang (his clerks)(色堂), it will not be necessary for everyone to attend the meeting. Just those who come should attend the meeting, and that is all. The reason why the 10th day is selected (for the lectures on the village contract) is because the schools have lectures and debates (kangdok 期望) on the first and 15th days of the month( ). According to the 聿恵-ssi hsiang-yŏh( ) (Han, 38. the hsiang-yŏh composed by Lu T'ien hsiain-sheng, Lu Ta-lin( ) there was one meeting a month. This was a very good idea. It is only because the schools have lecture meetings that if you also schedule monthly hyangyak meetings, I fear that it would be too bothersome to have so many meetings, and for that reason I decided to have it 4 times (a year).
In general, if the circular notice (hoemun) is sent around, the date of the next and next after that meeting should be recorded. If there is any delay in delivering the notices or they are lost, there should be punishment for that. (END NOTE)

ITEM

In the spring and autumn of every year (note: After the performance of the ritual in local schools honoring former sages or teachers (or Confucius) (i.e., the sŏkchon), or after the performance of the sajikxx rites (to the gods of earth and grain), do it on the basis of the fact that there is a meeting, or set a separate date for it) (END NOTE) the toyakchŏng and the puyakchŏng will convene a meeting of the village contract association including the yakchŏng and lesser functionaries and all the members, and they will lecture on the contract (kangyakg) in the school. (Note: It is also permissible to do it in the local archery hall (hyangsadang).) In general, everyone recorded in the tojŏk (general register) should gather together. As for the incumbent hyangjŏng and teachers (sangsa), even though they are not recorded in the general register (tojŏk), they also should attend the meeting. As for the common people, just the ijŏng and saekchŏng of the various hyang (villages) should attend on a rotating basis. Anybody who comes to the meeting should also be allowed to attend. Generally, for the spring and autumn grand meetings (tohoe), you should serve wine and fruit.

In general, if there is funkwax wine (at meetings), then the seating order should be fixed. After the laws (regulations) are read, then the yakchŏng will select at the meeting who is knowledgeable in the li (etiquette, rites) and is an upright person to be the sajŏng (supervise and correct people master of ceremonies?) to oversee who get drunk, talks too boisterously or makes a mistake in the ceremony. The magistrate (kwansa) will also prohibit any rowdy behavior.

Two runners (saryŏng) will stand by both sides of the steps.

If there is anyone who behaves badly, then if he is a scholar (saryu),
then the sajŏng (master of ceremonies) will report it to the yakch'ŏng, and lead the man outside and have him await decision on his punishment. If it is a lower common person, he will be detained and turned over to the (he, they) saryŏng; him will report it to the magistrate, who will imprison them. If the officials (magistrate) carries out a ritual for the village at which wine is served and the correct order of seating in accordance with age is carried out, then it will not be necessary to have the autumn meeting.)(END NOTE)

ITEM

- If the toyakch'ŏng suffers some accident, then the puyakch'ŏng and lesser functionaries can also convene a meeting and carry out the rites.

ITEM

- Two months before every spring and autumn meeting, a circular (hoemun) will pay will be sent out, and zu every (person?)/5 márŭmae toe (šŭng) of rice paid by witi-ba-xesxexxex (note: this will be íksan only zu those listed on the general register (tojŏk). Others will not bak any. If it is a bad crop year, then make a calculation (of the crop loss) and reduce the amount proportionately.)(END NOTE) (The rice) will be collected at the hyangsadang (village archery hall). (note: select a granary clerk to protect it.)(END NOTE) And this grain will be used to provide the expenses for the meeting. (note: With regard to the utensils dishes and other things, then the hyanggwan (local official) will take charge of it. Either the hyangch'ŏng (옛) will take care of it or they will use the food and drink that the magistrate has stored. For boiling the rice, have the lower functionaries of the hyangch'ŏng do it. The magistrate (kwansa) will also aid them. When the meeting takes place in the school, things will also be prepared by the hyangch'ŏng. When there is a meeting and food where wine is served, it will also be necessary to carry out an archery contest in accordance with propriety (rites, li). If it is a bad crop year, then there will be no wine served. Just have one bowl of noodles or have everybody bring his own lunch and have the people meet together to discuss (lecture on) the contract.)(END NOTE)
Each myon will meet four times (a year), at which time each person will bring along his own lunch. (note: In autumn and winter, then perhaps collect rice from people, 1 sung from each person, to use for wine. Each person will bring fruit and a side dish.) (END NOTE) Strive to keep things as simple as possible and prevent any evils from arising.

Within each village hyang, each neighborhood or village (pugun ch'ölli) will establish a kye. (Note: This is what is commonly called a tonggye (village kye).) Every two li join together to establish 1 kye. Everyone will be a member of the same kye regardless of whether one is a sa (scholar) or commoner (sö). The functionaries of the kye will be divided into two levels; establish a sanggyejang and a hagyejang, a sangyusa and a hayusa. If a member of the kye has a death (dies), then both upper and lower (functionaries) will all meet together and go to commiserate (with the stricken family). They will don mourning clothes (ritual clothes) and guard the funeral (procession). In addition, the sangyusa on the first day will himself personally go and keep watch over supervise the meeting (of the key members). Yangban will also send a slave or servant to go in their place. At the time of a funeral, without regard to whether (one's status) is high or low, each person will send 1 able-bodied male to guard the funeral procession and make the grave, and each will spend one day of labor service (on the funeral). (subnote: small people (somin) with small labor service obligations will reduce the amount of service due by half.)

Outside of this, those people who do not owe labor service will pay 2 sung of rice each and give it to the family that has suffered the death.) (END SUBNOTE)

Every year in the second month of the winter season, every member of the kye will pay 8 sung of rice and 4 leaves of straw. (subnote: small people (somin) will pay half) (end subnote). And this will be set aside (and stored) and the hayusa will be put in charge of it. If there
is a death, then 10 tu of rice and 20 leaves (stalks) of straw will be provided (to the deceased person's family?) (subnote: somin or small people will pay half this) (end subnote) Or calculate what is proper and make additions or subtractions (from this amount). It is only that a limit of four funerals (per family) should be set in case of the death of father, mother, oneself, and one's wife. If one does not have a father or mother, but does have a grandfather, grandmother, and children, then it is all right to allow this in accordance with a request (for substitution).

With regard to the kyejok (kye register), then no regard will be paid to whether a person is a sa (scholar) or sob (commoner), but all who are members of the kye will be recorded in the register. It is only that when their names are recorded, they should be divided into categories.

(END NOTE)

ITEM deaths.

With regard to felicitous events, funerals, loans, and relief, in each case nearby villages (note: that is, villages in the same kye) (end note) will altogether (take care of things) just as in the case of the yak (contract association). With regard to people in distant villages, then just relatives and friends will each do what is suitable in accordance with his ability to do something feelings of closeness and the amount of effort he has available.

(Note: With regard to mutual encouragement in virtuous tasks and mutual restraint from the commission of wrong, it should make no difference whether it's in the hyang or the up. But when it comes to rites and customs, going back and forth, deaths and funerals, the provision of aid and relief, and other matters, then there are differences of distance and circumstance. According to the chou-it, families made a pi which had to protect one another. 5 pi made a lhu which were made to receive (things) from one another; 4 lhu made a tsu which had to share funerals with one another; 5 tsu made a tang which had to give aid to one another; 5 tang made a chou which had to provide relief to one another. 5 chou made a hsü hsiang which treated their people as guests.
Village charter -38-  Pan'gye surok, kyoson chi che, sang

The regulations pertaining to those near and far (from one another) were extremely refined and detailed, and we ought to emulate the idea (behind this system). In general, deaths, funerals, and other matters ought each to (be handled) within the kye group. Relief and aid and other matters ought each to be handled within the hyang. And everything should be done as in the case of the yak (contract organization). As for those who live in remote villages, then only relatives should, in accordance with the depth of their feelings and the importance of the matter, strive to provide warm and friendly (treatment to one another). And they also should not be required to do what they do not have the power (ability)(strength) to do. (END NOTE)

9:15b  ITEM

In carrying out the laws of the contract association (yakp'op chi haeng), even though it should begin with the xamim,wun scholars (sa士) and officials (taebu大夫), the people are also the same (as they are) in (their ability) to hold on to their natural (heaven-given) dispositions (東韓者). How is it they they could not be guided and support and all led into goodness? Good fortune and bad fortune are things which both (exist). Encouragement (to do good) and surveillance (to prevent wrongdoing) (kwŏn'guy勤糾) are together the same.

To make the small people see and feel things and every day move toward what is good and keep wrongdoing at a distance from themselves and (make it) so that they themselves would not know (how to do wrong?) is a good teaching.

At the present time the people below only know about loving their fathers and mothers; they do not know about showing respect and honor. Furthermore, kowtowing they are not trained (han開) in the etiquette (li) of prostrating themselves and bowing (paelp拜揖). They ought in serving their fathers and mothers both love and respect them together (at the same time).

The small (young) people in meeting old people or their elders, in practicing etiquette (li) must show respect (to them). The young should be required to (burdens of) carry the/elderly on their backs or heads. Elder and younger brothers should show mutual love for one another. People of the same age should
Village charter -39- Pan'gye surok, kyosŏn chi che, sang

should show respect to one another. Neighboring villages should be
in harmony with one another. If there are any people who are outstanding
in (mind) and action, then on the day (that the village) meets, they
should be led in to sit at the head of the hall; they should be provided
with wine and side dishes and a special toast drunk to them in order to
show them encouragement (approval). And if there are any people who are
not looking after their fathers or mothers (note: that is, not looking after
their fathers and mothers and leaving them without support)(END NOTE),
or anybody who is not obedient to their fathers or mothers (note: people
who scold their parents, change color (get mad) and reproach them, and those
who squat down and sit in front of their parents; also girls who do the same
thing before their fathers and mothers-in law)(END NOTE),
brothers who fight with one another. (note: if the elder brother is wrong
and the younger brother is right, then both will be punished equally. If
both share half-and half in who is right and who is wrong, then the

elder brother will be punished lightly and the younger brother seriously.
If the elder brother is right and the younger brother is wrong, then only
the younger brother will be punished.)(END NOTE), and those people who are
not on time with funerals (note: in the case of the small people (common
people) who meet with a death in the family, if they are not on time with the
burial and go out into the fields and put straw over the corpse, these (kinds of burials) are called ch'o-sag (straw funerals).
People who foul up the corpse like this ought to be severely reprimanded.)
(END NOTE), people who during the funeral get drunk on wine and do not
conduct rites for their fathers and mothers. (note: Nowadays
there are people who on the death anniversary (kil'ŏng) of their parents
do not perform sacrifice in their families, but go to the temples in the
mountains and feed the monks. This practice is called sungje(僧直),
and things like this ought also to be strictly forbidden.)(END NOTE),
scholars who treat people with contempt (saryu n'ăngyokcha)
(note: scholars who for no reason insult people also ought to be punished)(END N)
People who insult their collateral relatives—collateral grandparents, uncles, brothers and sisters, people who insult elders, people who fight with each other and strike one another, people who rely on their power in order to encroach against others and seize their property, people who fool around with levies, people who cause trouble and injure others, people whose behavior is wild and unrestrained who act like the masters, people who do not attend to their business but are lazy at agriculture and do whatever they please, people who wear more luxurious garments than their place allows them (note: silk hats and clothes are all beyond one's station in luxury; only old people are not prohibited from wearing silk) (END NOTE). If there are any persons who ride a horse on an equal basis with the sabu (scholars and officials), the contract association must also and admonish them and indict them for penalty (punishment) on the basis of how serious their offense was. In general, light penalty would be 10 strokes of the bamboo, a medium penalty would be 20 strokes, and a heavy penalty would be 30 strokes. (And the people) shall pass neither water nor fire (to the, with the guilty party). (note: Prior to the time the person has corrected his error, nobody in the neighborhood or village shall loan him anything, nor engage in any joint (cooperative) activity with him. If someone makes private contact with him, that person will suffer the same penalty as the wrongdoer. As for those who have rectified their wrongs, wait until one or two years have passed by and it is evident that reform has been effective, and only then will the ijong (li chief) report it to the contract association. And at the time of the contract meeting, he will be confronted to his face and allowed to participate. In the case of people who are old or sick and cannot endure receiving the full number of strikes, they will be made to remove their hats and lay prostrate on the ground while their son takes the whipping in their place.) (END NOTE)
People who do not give assistance and aid in times of distress (and good fortune) in accordance with contract regulations, people who use some pretext at times when official (public) business has to be done and do not go along to perform the work, people in the village streets who shout in loud voices and insult others, and people who at times when (the association members) are convened in their meetings get drunk and berate others and fight with them will also be punished. (note: consider what is suitable and carry out the punishment. Generally speaking, punishments will be given) without respect to whether a person is noble or base (in status).

Even though the offense is a minor one, the penalty should not be determined on the basis of cups of wine (should not be required to furnish wine as a penalty). Levying penalties of wine and food is the worst of our national customs, and we should definitely not allow this kind of evil to get a start.)

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Even among the small people of the village streets, marriage between men and women should be done by the (proper) way in order to begin with the rectification of human morals. If any (man) forces his intentions (on a woman) or commits rape, he shall be reported and punished according to law. Anybody who in the fields fails to wait for (follow) the orders of his parents, even for the briefest time, will also be punished, and such people will not be allowed to participate in the ranks of the (contract association).

Officials who commit wrongdoing among the people will be exposed and reported to the magistrate and given degrees of punishment in accordance with law.

If there is anyone in the neighborhood or village who becomes a widower, widow, orphan, or solitary member of a family and becomes helpless without anything to rely on, everybody will cooperate to help support them, and it will also be reported to the magistrate (kwansa). If there are any households or solitary persons who have gone far away to
the frontier to perform guard duty and have not returned, leaving wives and
children who are unable to sustain themselves, they will be taken care of
and protected through mutual aid. If they have no sons or grandsons
and die without being able to provide for a funeral, then the village
will take care of the burial and funeral arrangements.

In the case of serious punishments, report it to the magistrate and
set the penalty at 30 strokes of the bamboo or less, the members of the
contract association will determine this themselves (chadan 自断).
(note: punishment should be determined only after everyone discusses it)(end note)

In general, if there is a matter among the contract association that
should be reported to the magistrate, a notification (t'ongmun 通知)
will be sent to the concurrent association chief (kyŏm yakch'ŏng 座首)
and the chwasu( 尊首 ), and on the basis of this notification, he
will report it to the magistrate. (note: if there is no chwasu, then the
pyŏl'gam ( 別監 ) will make the report) (end note). If the magistrate
(kwansa) has something to say (to the association), he will also
notify (ch'ŏp-non 帖論) the concurrent association chief (kyŏm yakch'ŏng)
and the chwasu will communicate it to everyone on the basis of this
general communication. (note: In general, with regard to a notification (t'ongmun 通知)
one toyakch'ŏng, puyakch'ŏng and hyang-yakch'ŏng and 1 chigwŏl will discuss it
with the members of the contract association and issue a notice (palmun 發文). If the various yakch'ŏng have something to communicate to the
toyakch'ŏng, then they will use a khŏ ch'ŏpch'ŏng( 傑呈 )(note: also
called a tanja 使喚 ) (end note). With regard to errands to be run
(sahwan 使喚) for the contract association, the saekchang( 色掌 ) will
be used for that. In cases of punishment, they will be used to give the
whipping. People who are not ready to whip others, will also be punished
themselves.)(end note)
ITEM --. If there is a dispute or lawsuit among the people, in all cases the yakchong will decide on the merits of the case (who is right and who is wrong), and the yakchong will admonish the party that is wrong in order to put a stop to the suit. If it is eminently clear who is right and who is wrong, but the person in the wrong does not stop (his pursuit of a suit in the magistrate's court), then his case will be discussed at the meeting (of the contract association) and he will be punished. If the members of the contract association cannot make a decision, then it will be reported to the magistrate for decision.

ITEM --. If there are any sabu (scholars or officials) who have migrated in from other places and are residing on the land, they also will be permitted charter to participate in the contract (association).

ITEM --. If there are any people among the ranks of the sa (scholars) who abhor the idea of being restricted (by the contract association) and refuse to participate in it, they will be reported to the magistrate and expelled from the hyang (village) (ch'ulhyang). (note: If the tribute-scholar selection law (method) (kongso) has been carried out, then naturally there will be no need for this (regulation).) (end note)

ITEM --. If, at the time of the spring and autumn meetings and the meetings held at the first month of each of the four seasons, someone cannot participate for some (valid) reason, then the particulars will be presented in a note (tanja) to the contract association (members). Anybody who concocts a pretext for not participating or who does not participate for no reason at all will be punished. The magistrates will also conduct and investigation and beat the servants of the family (家僮).

(note: At the meetings of each hyang assembly, those people who at the time are required to be on duty in the school will not have to leave the school to participate in the meeting. But at the general meeting (tohoe), everyone will participate.) (end note)

ITEM --. If there is anyone who goes to a mountain (Buddhist) temple at the time
of a village charter meeting (hyanghoe), the toyakch'ŏng will give him heavy punishment to the hyang-yakch'ŏng and transfer him out of his post. And slaves the magistrate will also beat the servants of his family (kadong).

ITEM --. If anybody without reason slaughters an ox used for cultivation, he will be punished. If he did it because he had no choice but to do so, then the details will be reported to the magistrate.

ITEM --. With regard to violations of the regulations for marriage and funerals and cases where people exceed their degree (station in life: kwado), the laws of the state have already prohibited this. If there is anyone who surpasses (his station in life) in ostentation (luxury), he will be impeached, admonished, and punished.

ITEM --. The registers of good and bad deeds will both be set up after the laws (regulations) have been established. If the laws have not yet been established, even though someone commits a wrong, he will not be indicted (for crime). In general, in discussing (indicting) people (for wrongdoing), one should not be too severe, but keep open the opportunity for people to renew (reform) themselves. One must speak to them sincerely and urge them to do good (use good words toward them). Only after it is known that these people have not changed should they be indicted (for criminal action (and punished).

ITEM --. If each of the hyang already has a hyangjŏng, and in addition a yakch'ŏng is appointed (established), even though the hyangjŏng may be a very able man who has been selected (on that basis), yet because all official business both large and small reaches (the hands) of the hyangjŏng, a yakch'ŏng should also be appointed in order to take exclusive charge of (p'unggyo: moral instruction, instruction on mores). In addition, if there should happen to be a taebu (official) respected for his virtue who is residing in the hyang, then he cannot be made the hyangjŏng, but in appointing people to the post of yakch'ŏng, it makes no difference whether the person is a taebu (official) or elder for all may be appointed to this post. This is because in establishing this post separately...
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separate post) the purpose is to accommodate as widely as possible people of reputation (inmang).

If a hyangjŏng can be appointed (to the post of yakchŏng), then the hyangjŏng can hold the post concurrently, which is also because he is a man of reputation (inmang). The people in charge of this ought to discuss it in detail.

Pan'gye:

I note that: Moral transformation (kyohwa) and government orders (chŏngnyŏng) are basically not two (different) things. And those (official) positions (im) to them) also cannot be divided into two. In ancient times the choksan and tangjŏng also held concurrently the duties of kyoyang (moral teaching or instruction) and puyŏk (collecting taxes and recruiting labor service), and in addition they concurrently were responsible for commanding troops. The purpose behind this was extremely good.

But at the present time the posts of changgwan ( ) and hyangjŏng ( ) are separated into two (different positions), and if we also establish a separate post of yakchŏng ( ), what about this?

In ancient times even though such officials as tangjŏng were under the jurisdiction of the hsang and chou, all of them were autonomous officials (cha chuch'i chi kwan), so that they were able to take exclusive charge of their posts. But at the present time (in Korea) all matters within the boundaries of the kun and hyŏn (districts) are under the exclusive control of the magistrates (suryŏng), while in addition there are people who handle divided responsibilities (are appointed to posts that are divided up), so that there is no choice but to do it this way.

However, in the commentary by Ho Hsiu to the Spring and Autumn Annals, he says: "In ancient times 8 families received 100 mou of land, and 80 families made up 1 li. The center (central) li was used to establish a school (kyo). They selected people of eminent virtue from among the elders and called them fu-lao( ). Those people who were good at managing..."
affairs and who were strong and healthy (其辨護剛健者) were made the li-cheng(里正), and all received double land allotments and were allowed to ride horses."

Nevertheless, in the ancient laws they also had division of responsibility (pun'Imja 分任者). But what is more, xihanren 風化 exerting moral influence over mores (p'unghwa 政令) is the basis of the rectification of men's minds, and other government orders (chöngnyong 政令) are all accomplished only through this. If the officials cannot act together with worthy scholars (hyônsa 賢士) and taebu (大夫) (hyônsadaebu) in order to provide guidance to lead people on the right path (tojôk 崇迪), then even though you establish learning (to transform people's mores) and carry out government (orders), can it be done?

(note: The practice of having the tang-cheng take exclusive charge of (administration) and moral transformation was an institution that later generations felt was of not advantage and actually harmful. One prove can be through the words of Li Ta-lin (李德林) of the Sui dynasty. In the Ming dynasty institutions, they also allowed the li-cheng (里正) of the 100 families (people) to listen to and decide minor lawsuits. But xihanren people began to murder xihanren others and take bribes.

This happened because the age and the teachings (of the time) had fallen into decline xihanren (soejan 丧替). But it was also because the circumstances (of the times) were different that in feudal times (pongson-si 封建時). In ancient times the tsu-shih (教授) was ranked as a shang-shih (上士) and the tang-cheng (里正) was ranked as a hsia-ta-fu (下大夫). Both were appointed (簡) on the basis of worth (hyôn), xihanren virtue and given the rank position (status) of ta-fu. In later ages, the chûn and hsien (commanderies and districts- centralized administration) was instituted all over the empire, but (the magistrates)'s rank (p'ae 爵) was not on a par with the dukes and marquises (kung, hou), so that the local magistrates (hsiang-kuan) were placed in very low rank, and were treated with light rules of etiquette.
Even though they wanted to have an efficient selection (of magistrates), it was difficult to completely obtain worthy men. This situation was also different (from ancient times). How much more so (how much worse is it) when you consider that moral transformation of the people (kyohwa 教化) is the most important responsibility there is. (Because of this) in ancient times the rank of the local officials (hsiang ta-fu) was regarded as (comparable to) the Ta-sau-tu(大司徒), and the rank of the local elders (hsiang-lao) was, on the contrary, more respected than that of the Ta-sau-tu. And they discussed the (true) way (of governing) outside (in the administration) with the king, and they took part in the education (instruction) of the six ministers (ching). From this you can see that the ancients teaching in their respect for virtue and their achievement of (instruction) did not depend exclusively on formality or institutions alone.)(end note)

---. The operation of the village contract association (hyangyak) only depends on obtaining worthy men (the right) men. Worthy men are not willing to take posts (in the association) because those who do hold posts are not fully men of reputation (do not fulfill the expectations of the people), are not chosen on the basis of virtue, and are not treated with proper etiquette (respect). It is therefore appropriate that the utmost care be taken in the selection (of association functionaries) and that they be treated with the regard for propriety and face. Those who are the must also first rectify themselves in order to set a standard for the village community (hyang-ni)

---. The establishment of the village contract association (hyangyak) is already a matter of great importance, but the laws of the contract association should also be strict. If there should be anybody who relies on connections or influence to act in an arbitrary manner to wield power or benefit himself, or if anyone should use the people in order to satisfy private business, or if anyone should act as if he respected words or debate (objections), but on the contrary promoted strife, or if anyone criticized the shortcomings of the magistrate and obstructed affairs,
then the difficulty that it would cause to the small people and the harm it would cause to the government of the country would be unspeakable. How would it not become the shame of the princely men (kunja, ch'un-tzu) of the hyang (village)? If with regard to all of these items people are inexorably reprimanded and punished without the slightest leniency. The worst of them should naturally be dealt with according to the law of the country (state law) and reported to the magistrate for punishment.

---. After the village contract association (hyangyak) has been established, also establish the village granary (sach'ang, 社倉), and handle things in accordance with ancient regulations. If the two are combined in one set of regulations, then it would be even better. The members of the contract association ought to discuss the matter among themselves and establish (it) in perpetuity to provide endless advantages for the hyang (village).

---. With regard to illegitimate sons (sŏl), inexorably the court in appointing men to office is obliged only to inquire as to whether a man is worthy or not. They may not restrict (office holding) on the basis of status a man's family lineage (munji, 間地). (note: If the court in appointing or dismissing men only does so on the basis of a man's worth, then the hyangdang (鄉黨 : villages, contract assoc.) should also do the same and naturally make no exception consideration of a man's family status (munji), but (select men) only on the basis of their being scholars (saryu).) (end note)

With regard to the myŏngbun (名分 : status, reputation) of a family, one cannot help but be strict, because it is a single principle (of behavior) that the young should serve their elders and that the base (ch'ŏn—in status) should serve the noble (kwi, in status). The illegitimate sons (sŏl) in serving the sons of the legitimate wife (ch'ok) must be most respectful and diligent. In all matters they must not presume to be on an equal status with them. They should (sit) in a corner and not presume (dare) to sit next to them.
(note: When (the sŏol) are seated, then they will sit next to (that is, below, in rank) to the elder and younger legitimate brothers, then they will be lined up together but slightly behind (the legitimate sons). All the sons of concubines will be ranked in order of age and no attention will be paid to whether the status of the concubine is that of a commoner or slave (yangch'ŏn). (end note) When (an illegitimate) son meets (someone of higher status, a legitimate son) on the road, he will not presume to sit on a horse as if he were of equal rank. (note: If an illegitimate son gets off his horse, then an eldest legitimate son will make allow him to mount his horse. If their ages are about the same, (the legitimate son) will stop (the illegitimate son) from getting off his horse. Since it is not necessary to have yuja (very young people) or soja (young people) get off their horse (when meeting someone older), thus the way in which the illegitimate son serves the legitimate sons will the like the li (etiquette) that a very young or young person uses to respect his elders.) (end note)

Even though (a legitimate son) may be young in age and belongs to a lower (family) (than an illegitimate son he might meet), (the illegitimate son) will not presume to address him by the term, "you". (note: If the illegitimate son is older and belongs to a respected (family), then a legitimate son must also show him respect; he cannot act discourteously toward him.) (end note).

Even though (an illegitimate son) make come from an extremely noble and outstanding (family), he shall not presume to use his nobility and wealth (as an excuse for) treating legitimate person with arrogance. If there is such a person who insults (a legitimate son) and is discourteous toward him, the hyangdang (community) will together impeach him. Those people who do not change (their behavior) will be punished in accordance with the seriousness of their offence. (note: Heads of households who are responsible for not instructing their illegitimate sons and teaching them
the difference between legitimate and illegitimate will also be punished. But if a legitimate son is not loving and friendly, he, too, will be punished.) (end note).

I have heard that men from our country went to China where they saw an eminent official riding in a carriage pass by (on) an official road. There was a Confucian scholar. (end note) Watching from afar (the Koreans) saw (the students, scholars) descend from their donkey and the high official descend from his carriage and move forward to pay his respects. (The Korean) thought this peculiar and asked the people on the road about it. They all replied: It's because your country's customs are distinctive (peculiar) that you didn't know what was happening when you saw this. That high official is an illegitimate son (sǒol), and the Confucian scholar is a legitimate son. A scholar should bow down before an official (ta-fu) and a high official should bow down before someone who is legitimate, and that's all there is to it." This is a universal duty (principle) throughout the world. (note: Because our country only regards munji (family position and status) as important, we repress and block off (the path to advancement) of illegitimate sons and do not allow them to enter the same rank (as the rest of us). Also, many illegitimate sons of talent exceed their station in life and are not good (and obedient). This is a case where both sides harm one another. Nowadays everyone says: If you let the illegitimate sons "pass through" (t'ong--make it in the world), then social status distinctions (myǒngbun) will be thrown into great confusion, but this is a case of only seeing searching for a minor evil (the end product) without thinking about the origin or cause. At the present time men of talent are selected for office on the basis of their (ability to ) compose poetry or (write essays) on laws; it has thus become a custom for people to wander about frivolously, get in disputes, act
 arrogantly and get in fights, and for this reason as soon as you touch some matter, it produces evils. If men were selected on the basis of virtue, humility and if the practice of declining (posts) on the basis of proper etiquette (propriety) were practiced, then men of superior talents would not be abandoned, and there naturally would be no problems of (illegitimate sons) using their nobility (to insult legitimate sons) or of (them) exceeding their status, and there would be no one who would lose his virtue (not be virtuous in his behavior).)

The Chu-tzu tseng-sun Li-shih hsiang-yi (子增损呂氏鄉約: Chu Hsi's emendation of Mr. Li's Village Oath System) is extremely (good); it is only that this book is basically a contract (oath: yaksok) made privately between people of the scholar class (shih-m'ai lei, saryu). If you want that the instructions and regulations (kyojo) should be made clear by the state so that both scholars and commoners in the prefectures and villages would all uphold (the principles of the system), then among the regulations (cholmok--of the Li-shih system), there has to be some changes and adaptations made. This is because among Confucian scholars in recent times there are those who are intent upon instructing and transforming (kyohwa) the people, and all of them have made additions to or subtractions from (the Li-shih system?), or have written more detailed or more summarized (versions), and each of them is different. At the present time I have again personally taken out purport (the sections) of the Chou-li dealing with the hsiang san-yu (鄉三物) and the hsiang pa-hsing (鄉八刑), and (I have) used as reference the contract (association) regulations of T'oege and Yulgok, in order to establish the above regulations.

T'oege said: In ancient times the post of hsiang ta-fu (鄉大夫) was to lead the people by means of virtuous behavior (action) and (道藝), and to reproach the people by punishing them for undisciplined pu-shuai (不韙: not following teachings) behavior.
Those people who were scholars also had to rectify their families. Only after they became prominent in their villages (hsiang) would they then be treated as "guests" and raised up in the (by the) state. What was the reason why this was so? (was like this?) Filial piety, brotherly respect, loyalty, and trust are the great foundation of the (moral) way of man (indo), but the family and the village community? (hyangdang) are truly the places where (these virtues) are practiced. Because the teachings of former kings regarded this as important they established laws like this. When you get to later ages, even though the laws and institutions (of the sages) were lost, still the principles of morality remained as they had been before. How could one fail to make reference to what was appropriate in ancient and recent times and use this as a basis for encouraging (rewarding) or chastising (punishing) people?

Yulgok said: The village contract (hyangyak) is an ancient (institution). People who share the same ching (well, well-field) aided each other in guarding and watching it, gave aid to one another when they were sick, supported each other in their going out and coming in. Furthermore they saw to it that their sons received instruction in the family school, the village school (tang-hsiang), the pref. school (chou-hsū), so that they would hold the principles of filial piety and brotherly respect in esteem (ton). The reason why the government of the three dynasties (mores) so of antiquity were so exalted and fine was because of this. As things declined in the world and the (moral) way of man became smaller, government became confused, the people scattered, teachings were lost at the top (among the rulers) and mores were destroyed at the bottom (among the people).

How pitiable! Thus, the best way to give guidance and moral leadership is by explaining clearly the village oath (contract).

Cho Chung-bong went to China as an envoy and returned home when he submitted a private memorial to Sŏnjo, which said: I personally saw that in China from Shan-hai-kuan west the villages had established
places for the village oath /***/

When I inquired about this, they said that on the first day of every month the yuah-cheng(約正), fu-cheng(副正) and chih-yuah(直書) met at that place. (note: when they show (the oath?) to the magistrate (chih-fu), the chih-fu descends from his seat and standing, receives their kowtow (bow).) (end note). They assemble the people who are members of the oath association, and they all treat each other with li (bow to one another, show courtesy to one another) and lecture on what they have been taught. What is taught is filial piety and obedience to parents, honor and respect for elders, harmony and friendship for one's neighbors. They teach and instruct their sons to be diligent in agriculture and sericulture and not to do anything which is not righteous, and other matters. All of these regulations were those established by Kao Huang-ti (Emp. Kao) (Han, p.56. i.e., Ming T'ai-tsu) Even though these regulations were not as detailed as those in the LI-shih hsiaang-yuah, still in their outline they are very easy for enlightening (開明) the people. For this reason all the people believed in them, and in the streets of the villages, there were many cases where (these regulations) were written on the walls and practiced (studied) and where people/recited (them) to one another. For this reason, even though there were many cases where fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers had established separate households and were living apart from one another (lit. "different stoves" ), yet they could not bear to divide their families. Mothers and daughters-in-law, and wives of elder and younger brothers did not fight with one another. If people happened to meet on New Year's day or the winter solstice, then even a person from the smallest hut of 1 kan (in area), would necessarily kowtow four times to him and offer congratulations (to him) as head of household. (note: The head of household would be sitting in his chair, then his wife and concubine(s) would first offer congratulations, then his younger brothers in turn, then his nephews, then their wives, then his sisters in turn, then their sons and nephews in turn and their wives and daughters, then his grandsons, then the men and women hired workers--each in turn would kowtow and offer congratulations.) (end note)
Even in the case of slave men and slave women (ch'onnam, ch'onyŏn) meeting in the street (on the road), they also had to bow, and when they got married they had to perform the right of "personally greeting" (the spouse? ch'in'ang), and when there was a death among one of their relatives, then men and women, young and old all had to wear white clothes and turbans for the whole month. Even 4-year old children were also able to bow and do the k'ou-t'ou. Even among the horse grooms and runners there were non who were not correct in the way they dressed? their hair; and when they were standing they always held their two hands together with their feet lined up (arranged) neatly. As for the LiaO-Su area, even though it had been dyed with barbarian customs for over a thousand years, yet it was as enlightened and renewed as much as this.

Our country is basically a land of rites and righteousness (ye-ŭi, li-ŭi). Add to this the teachings of a succession of sage rulers who gradually were imbued (with humaneness) and polished (their virtue) and whose orders which were issued year after year were only devoted to striving after enlightening the people and achieving (good) customs, yet the mind of the people gets more confused by the day, and (moral) standards (law and order) degenerates into lawlessness, fathers do not know how to teach their sons, husbands do not know how to restrain their wives, and in the end it gets to the point where subjects (ministers) do not act like subjects, sons do not act as sons should. Truly it's enough to make your heart go cold. Even though the cause of this is because of the decline (laxity) in customs and mores, in fact the reason is that what is taught by those above (the king, rulers) contains things which are not perfect (the best).

I heard from a late elder that in kimyo year of (Chungjong's reign (1519) there was a man from Yongbyŏn who was so poor that he was unable to support his father and he abandoned him in a gulley, but that on the day that he heard that the order for (establishing) the hyangyak (village oath)
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was handed down from the court, he went back to get his (abandoned) father and did his utmost to take care of him. Cockscrew! If there is no stop to it, like this, then how would we ever be able to have good mores? At the present time even if we were to print and promulgate this writing (book) (regulations for the village oath?), if it is just stored in a box in the yebang (皇: magistrate's sub-office of rites) and does not pass through the magistrate's mind, then even if there were those among the people who would want to see it, not one of them would hear of the ideas in the document. How about that?

I heard that Kao Huang-ti (Huang-ti T'ai-tsu) promulgated his articles of instruction (kyojo) and had the magistrates assemble the fu-lao (父老) and report it to them. He also made the li-cheng (里正) go through the streets with bells in their hands (ringing bells), to make (the regulations) known everywhere. Even though you may have people with good innate knowledge and innate ability (yangji, yangnŭng 良知, 良能), the practice of good words and good actions must be seen and heard before one thinks of putting forth strenuous effort (sa-bun 思奮). In the past, the emperor of the Sung dynasty (took flight) and anchored his boat at (華山). The fall (of the empire) was as close as a breath (hanging by a thread), but Lu Hsiu-fu (陸秀夫) still wrote the Ta-h瑟eh and every day he lectured on it to the emperor. Truly, even at a time when one

is in exile and things are turned upside down and knocked over, if man be intimate with doesn't know how to respect his superiors (ch'in-sang 親上) and serve his live elders, then one cannot even for one day. How much more so when at the present time (vehicle) intelligence rules (智臣) and the state is at ease. Even among the ranks of the guard troops (官) there are subjects (officials) who have hopes of ruling the country; and in the midst of the wŏng fields (rural areas) we are not without scholars who strive for good. If the text (of the hyangyak) which has already been promulgated were ordered to be received and carried out, and if the method of lecturing on it (kwŏn'gang勤講) were in accordance with the ancient system, then the
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morals which were about to be destroyed ( 散 ), would somewhat be able to be again spoken of (spread about), and the mores which had become thing, would some\ anew return to a state of fertility ( 涤 ).