296, 15:1a) It says in the Book of History: The bright (sage) king received (the empire) and followed the Way of Heaven. He 王王 建立 a country and built a capital. He established marquises and kings, 王公 王公, lords and dukes (hou, wang, chün, kung 王公) and he established 夫人 and shih-ch'ang (王公) to aid them. He did not give a thought to leisure activities but was only concerned lest the people be troubled (in confusion). In general the reason why a king establishes official and divides up official jobs is only to benefit the people. T'ang and 舜 (Yao and Shun) established only a hundred official posts. The Hsia and Shang officials were double this number, but all of them carried out good government. In later ages the number of officials was more numerous, but government was (on the contrary) more confused. How so? In the ancient past a worthy man once said: If you cut down on the number of officials, then you cut down on the amount of business. If you cut down on the amount of business, then the people are clear and pure. If the officials are bothersome, then business is bothersome. If business is bothersome, then the people are muddy (disturbed).

He also said: Thos (rulers) who are good at making officials of people must first cut down on the number of officials. There was never a person who was able to achieve good government who had too many bothersome officials and did not assign exclusive responsibility (to an official for the conduct of business). The official system of the present time is also extremely bothersome (too many officials). We ought to cut down on the excessive number of unneeded officials. Only after the system for officials number of officials has been reduced, will the regulations for officials be clear, and only after that is clear will men of worth and talent be able to completely do their jobs and only then will government be accomplished.
bureaucratic organization -2- chikkwan chi che, sang

cutting down on nos of officials

296, 15:1b) Yulgok reported to Sŏnjo, saying: The size of our country
compared to China is not as big as one of her provinces, yet I see that
the number of official posts and yamen at the Chinese court is, on the
contrary, smaller than in our country. I can see from this that we have
too many unnecessary officials and bureaus (offices). When it comes
to the eight provinces, we have far too many administrative towns and
in some cases there are places with a sitting magistrate but without any
population. There are (too) few people who produce (food), but too many
who eat it. How could this not be troublesome? I request that we copy the
system of Yao and Shun who established only a hundred officials. In the
capital we should combine agencies wherever possible, and in the provinces
consolidate
we should combine administrative towns wherever possible. We should just
keep those officials who actually have a job to do and reduce unnecessary
official personnel. If we do this, then at court there will be no
positions for people to luck into and the people will have strength left
over (with which to support themselves, take their ease).

Posts for Capital Officials (kyŏnggwanjik
京官百職)

- one man each, T'aesa(太宰
宰), T'aebu(太傅
傅), and t'aebo(太保
保)
(rank 1A) They shall be the teachers to the king who will take them as
models (pŏp-.Tele.). (note: Or perhaps these posts can be held concurrently
by other officials) (end note) Only these men (will be selected). It is
not necessary to have (a number of) these officials.

(note: As for the sosa(少師
師), sobu(少傅
傅) and sobo(少保
保),
it is not necessary to preserve these posts. For the posts of so and po
(teacher and scholar), we should only select men who are virtuous. It
is not necessary to have a lot of men who are true teachers and scholars
(specialists). In the T'ang dynasty system they also did not have the
posts of sosa, sobu and sobo,) (end note)

-one man each: Crown Prince t'aesa, t'abu, and Tabo. (rank 1B) who shall
be in charge of assisting and guiding the crown prince. (note: In the T'ang
(time he met them)

dynasty system, every 

crown prince greeted (these) three teachers at the palace gate and bowed down to them. The three teachers also bowed in reply. Every time the crown prince met them at the gate he would have to yield to them (in courtesy). The three teachers would take their seats and the crown prince would then take his seat. In presenting his writings (written work?) to the three teachers the crown prince would preface their names with the term hwanggong (fearful), and after naming (calling) them hwanggon, he would again bow down.

When the crown prince departed, then he would mount his palanquin and they would prepare a ledger with their ages? (and follow him with it.)

-end note) (would follow after him with the ledger of age rank)

-one each, Sosa, Sobu and Sobo for the Crown prince. (rank 2A), who would be in charge of clarifying the virtuous behavior of the three teachers (samsa) by means of which they would instruct (inform) the crown prince.

(note: From the t'aesa on down, they would also only have to select the right man; it will not be necessary to have a number of men (to hold these posts))(end note)

-a left guest (chwabingaek ) and right guest for the crown prince (rank 2B, as above, these posts can be held as a concurrency by other officials)

-one man each, a sō (scribe) and a i (clerk) (note: attendants) and choyes (note: to be held by slaves) (end note), 7 men each for the samsa and crown prince (seja) samsa and 6 men each for the samsa and samso of the crown prince samso and the pingaek. (note: who will be their attendants)(end note)

-two men each to be the sosa for the samsa and samso of the crown prince, and 1 sosa for the pingaek. (note: to be attendants). If the posts of samsa and samso and pingaek are held as concurrencies by other officials, then they will not be given duplicate (salaries). If there is a difference (in rank) between one post and another (in case of a concurrency), then provide a salary in accordance with the highest post)(end note)
bureaucratic organization -4- chikkwan chi che, sang

296, 15:2b) The State Council (Nijōngbu) 議政府

(note: Its responsibilities are general control of all officials, management of government affairs, management of yin and yang, and conduct management of the country) (end note)

-Nijōng (議政), 1 man. (rank 1A); chwach'ansōng (左資成), and uch'ansōng (右資成), 1 man each (rank 1B); chwach'amch'an (左資賢), and uch'amch'an, 1 man each (rank 2A); sain (舍人), 2 men, (rank 4A);
köm'sang (檢詳) 1 man, (rank 5A).

-noksa (鑰事), 9 men; sōri (書史) 15 men; choye (佐吏) 90 men.

(note: to be held by slaves. At the present time the bureaus (of the capital) all have slaves. They also will be included in this. In the following sections (of this code), each of the bureaus whether large or small will all follow (copy) this (regulation)) (end note)

-sosa (小史) 19 men

(note: For many years it has not been possible to decide whether there should be a single prime minister or three prime ministers (chief ministers). At the present time it is clear; without a doubt it is correct to have a single prime minister.) (EN)

- the prime minister (chōngsang 丞相) together with the left and right assistant prime ministers (must be talking about the top three guys in the state council) will be called the samgong (三公)

-Ministry of Personnel (Ijo)

(note: Will be in charge of selecting talented men to be officials, choosing recommending officials, reviewing records of performance of officials (ko konggwan 勤功課), and examining meritorious achievements and the rank (of officials).

-p'ansō, 1 man (rank 2A); ch'am'on, 1 man (rank 2B); ch'am'mi, 1 man (rank 2A); chōngnang (正郎) 3 men (rank 5A); chwarang (佐郎) 3 men (rank 6A). (note:
bureaucratic organization -5- chikkwan chi che, sang
297, 15:3a) (note: As for the matters under the jurisdiction of the
duty officers (nanggwan 郎官):
-the Munsŏnsa(文選司) will take charge of the following matters
pertaining to royal relatives (chöngch'ın 宗親) and civil officials
(mun'gwan): appointment to office (ch'eso 除授), office warrants
(nokpae 告身); determination of grades of salary (ch'ajŏng 錄牌差定),
(examinations for?) the selection of men of talent; changes of names, and
recording those people who commit embezzlement or corruption or violate
standards.
-the Kogongsa(考功司) will be in charge of merits and demerits
of civil officials, whether they are diligent or lazy, and their leisure
time and other matters.
-the Kohunsa(考勛司) will be in charge of granting of rank titles
(pongch'ae 封爵) to high officials (chöngjae 宗宰) and merit
subjects (kongsin), granting of posthumous titles to high officials (konggyŏng
and official title 公卿), granting rank to wives (of officials, merit subjects?) (end note)
-(list of subordinate officials continues): noksa (鎭事) 6 men;
sŏri (署事) 15 men, ch'ye 60 men, sosa(史) 15 men.

-Ministry of Taxation (Hojo)

(note: to be in charge of rectification of land (boundaries), clarification
of household and population (records), management of taxes, promotion
of sikhwag (foods and economic production), and regulation of state
finances)
-p'ansŏ 1 man (rank 2A); ch'amp'an 1 man (rank 2B); ch'amkii 1 man (rank 3A);
ch'ongnang 3 men (rank 5A), chwarang 3 men (rank 6A)
duty bureaus
(note: What the nanggwan will be in charge of:
-Panjoksab(版籍司) will be in charge of land, population, chose
(taxes) and puyŏk (labor service), konghŏn (tribute), the encouragement
of agriculture and sericulture, investigation of crop conditions, to determine
bumper crops or crop disasters, relief loans, collection, etc.
bureaucratic organization

297, 15:3a)
-the Kyŏngbisa(經費司) will be in charge of all disbursements of capital and provincial (agencies) and all material (food and supplies), etc.
-the Hoegyesa(會計司) will be in charge of all treasuries and granaries (accumulated, stored funds) in the capital and provinces, yearly accounts (segye 世計), surpluses and shortages, etc.)(end note)
-list of subordinate officials: sanhak kyosu(等學敎授) 1 man (rank 6B); Hundo(訓導) 1 man (rank 8A); kyesa(博士) 2 men (rank 8B), hoesa(博士) 2 men (rank 9B)
-(clerks): noksa, 6 men; sŏri, 24 men; choye, 87 men; sosa, 24 men.

15:3b)

Ministry of Rites (Yejo) (note: will be in charge of the clarification of rites and music, investigation of institutions (systems), establishing order in rituals, setting the times for visits of foreign envoys (chobing, and management of schools.))(end note) (NE--no examinations!!)
-p'ansŏ, 1 man (rank 2A); ch'amp'an, 1 man (rank 2B); ch'amnī 1 man (rank 3A);
ch'ŏngnang 3 men (rank 5A); chwarang 3 men (rank 6A)

(note: the nanggwan will be in charge of the following:
-the Kyejesa(稽制司) will be in charge of ceremonies, court audiences, and the royal lectures (kyŏngyŏn 經筵), schools, seals and tallies, memorials and letters (p'yojŏn 表箋), ch'amagyŏng(冊命: orders for rank?), astronomical matters, water clocks, state taboos, taboo names of people canonized in shrines? (myowy 閔詩), and funerals.
-the Ch'ŏnhyŏngsa(典禮司) is in charge of rituals, sacrificial utensils, food and drink for banquets, and doctors and medicines.
-the Chŏngaeksa(典客司) is in charge of foreign tribute, parties and gifts.) (end note)

-subordinate officials: noksa 6 men, sŏri 15 men, choye 60 men, sosa 15 men.

Ministry of War (Pyŏngjo) (note: to be in charge of selection of officers and officials, regulations of the military system, post stations and animal husbandry (for horses?), control of weapons, pacification of rebellion.
bureaucratic organization -7- chikkwan chik che, sang

297, 15:3b). - p'ansŏ, 1 man (rank 2A); ch'amp'an, 1 man (rank 2B); ch'amŏi

xxkang 2 men (xx both rank 3A); ch'ongnang, 4 men (rank 5A); chwarang, 4 men

(rank 6A)

(note: the nanggwan will have charge of:

-MiSŏnsa(武選司) will have charge of the following matters pertaining
to military officials: appointments, office warrants (kosin); salaries and
talies, examinations to military officials, assigning demerits? (pugwa附過,granted leave time, despatching military officials on commissions (jobs), etc.

-the Mibisa(武備司) will have charge of the military registers,

weapons, warships, inspection, training, guarding, patrols, defense,
campaigns in chastisemeng (expeditions), rotation of soldiers on and off
duty (kun'in pambahy軍人番休); changing fires (signals?) and prohibiting

talies fire; messages (communications) (pusin符信), talies(kyŏng?更籍).

-the Sŏngyosa(乘輿司) will be in charge of the nobu(齒簿: processions

accompanying the king when he goes around), weapons used for rituals

(ŭijang儀仗), palanquins, stables, post staibl10ns and communicatUlcations.

-the Chikpangsa(職方司) will be in charge of local maps, walls

and redoubts for towns and forts, protecting passes and strategic spot,

mt. passes, opening and losing (gates), regulation of signal fires,
pacification of the outer tributaris (oebŏn, wai-fan).

(other officials): noksa, 6 men, sŏri 21 men, choye, 84 men, sosa 19 men.

-Ministry of Punishments (Hyŏngjo): (note: to be in charge of clarifying

laws, taking charge of civil and criminal cases, prohibiting violations

and falsity, preventing lewdness, and punishing rebels and bandits.(end note)

-p'ansŏ, 1 man (rank 2A); ch'amp'an, 1 man (2B); ch'amŏi, 1 man (3A);

ch'ongnang, 4 men (5A), chwarang, 4 men (6A).

-(note: the nanggwan will be in charge of the following.

-Sangbokgsa(詳覆司) will take charge of review (sangbok詳覆)
of death penalty cases (taebi chi sa大辟之罪).

-the Koryulsca(考律司) will take charge of laws and orders and investigation.
bureaucratic organization -8- chikkwan chi che, sang

297, 15:4a)

-the Changgǔmsa (掌刑司) will take charge of criminal cases and prohibitions.

-the Changyesa (掌獄司) will take care of various slave registration and prisoners (and captives)(end note)

(others officials): chusa (主事), 4 men (7A); saok (司獄), 2 men (8A)

(spec.)

\[-k\text{wak}:-\text{yulhak kyo-suq} \] (律學教振), 1 man (9B)

-(clerks): noksa, 6 men, sōri 24 men, choye 120 men (of these, 3 sōri and 12 choye will take charge of guarding the jail)(end note); sosa, 33 men.

(note: The chusa is the same as a nangwan (duty officer); he is a man who will take general charge of affairs. With regard to the saok (司獄), superintendent of prisons?), since the prison is located at the Ministry of Punishment, even though the officials of the Ministry of Punishment will also be in charge of it, nevertheless, you have to have a permanent duty officer (on duty at all times). If there is a serious criminal case, then you can add on an extra official (of the rank of) a chōngnang on down to be on duty. You can also have the kūmo changsol (金吾將卒) guard (the prisoner, the jail). According to Han dynasty law, they also appointed an office (延尉) to take charge of criminal cases on order of the emperor), but when they had a serious criminal case, then they had the kūmo troops as a supplemental guard.)(end note)

15:4b)

-at the present time, our system has in addition to the Ministry of Punishment the State Tribunal (Migumbu). If there is an ordinary criminal case, then the Ministry of Punishments handles it, but if an official or scholar is put in jail (gets involved in a criminal case) (kyōnsa haok 勘院上殿) or if it is a matter pertaining to a violation of the moral code (kangsang so kye 犯律所係), then the State Tribunal (Migumbu) takes charge of it.

-I note that in the three dynasties of antiquity, they only had one bureau, the ssukkot (司寇) that took charge of punishments.
bureaucratic organization -9- chikwan chi che, sang

It was not only the three dynasties of antiquity that was like this.
The Han dynasty system also only had one agency, the ting-wei (廷尉).
In later ages they divided this into two, and for that reason there were many gates (bureaus) for the handling of criminal affairs, but there was no difference with the Bureau Board of Punishments (Hsing-pu) and all the other agencies. This was not in accordance with ancient practice. The intention is behind the creation of the six ministries (liu-kuan 六官) was to rectify this error and combine (all criminal matters, jurisdiction over all criminal matters) into the Ministry of Punishments (hyŏngjo); and only after that is done will we have created a perfect system.

(note: Some might ask: How can you have the Ministry of Punishments take charge of a chook (刑事 case ordered by the king-as opposed to a routine criminal case)? To this I reply: Because people today are used to what they see and hear, therefore they always think it should (stay) that way. But the six ministries (yukkwon 六官) are all agencies created by the king, so why shouldn't a chook (criminal case ordered by the king himself) not be handled by the Ministry of Punishments? It goes without saying (that this was done) in the Three Dynasties of antiquity. It can also be seen that under Han dynasty law even though a prime minister had committed a crime, he was also turned over to the ting-wei (廷尉).

Some might ask: How can you treat court officials and the general population the same way (mix them up together) in one (the same) jail?

To this I would reply, even though the same agency can handle the cases, the people also can be separated and placed in separate jails so as not to mix them together in the same place.)

Ministry of Works (Kongjo) (note: to be in charge of the management of mountains and marshes, regulation of construction, control and regulation of artisans and tools)

-p'ansŏ, 1 man (2A); ch'amp'an, 1 man (2B); ch'ŏm'mi 1 man (3A), ch'ŏngngae, 3 men (5A), chwarang, 3 men (6A)

(note: the nanggwan duty officials will have charge of the following:
bureaucratic organization

10-chikwan-chi che, sang

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bureaucratic organization

10-chikwan-chi che, sang

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298, l5:5a)
298, 15:5b) is only in charge of construction (kongjo--public works), therefore even though the Ministry of Works is one of the six ministries (yukkwan in name, it is an idle and supernumerary (unnecessary) bureau. This is because the (true) system has been lost. Because later ages completed lost the concept of nurturing (caring for) the people, it x turned out this way. If (the state) can carry out (a proper) land (survey) system, then it will be necessary to use the Ssu-kung of the Chou-li tonggwan (Winter Officials--the Minister of Works) to take charge of the measurement (survey) of land (Lo t'ojon) (note: The Ministry of Taxation is in charge of land administration (ch'oiting) and controls taxation. Even though it also takes charge of land surveys, nevertheless when it comes to the rectification of measurements (surveying) and the making of ditches and dikes (around fields), then the Ministry of Works should in fact take charge of this.) (end note)

Only after (the Ministry of Works takes responsibility for land surveys) will be able to thoroughly carry out the (original) intention (of the sages) for determining land boundaries and making the people secure in their residences in order to insure the livelihood and care (of the people). (note: At the present time the duties of the Ministry of Taxation are too numerous and troublesome; they don't even have time to open their eyes. But the Ministry of Works is too idle and for this reason has become superfluous and held in low regard. If things are done like this (i.e., if the Ministry of Works is given responsibility for conducting land surveys), then the duties of the Ministry of Taxation will also be cleared up and they will be able to keep watch over their affairs, and the Ministry of Works will also be able to take responsibility for important duties one of the and it will become a bona fide six ministries. And also the establishment of proper land boundaries will also have an agency to take exclusive responsibility solidly for it and the job could be well done.) (end note)
bureaucratic organization -12- chikkwan chi che, sang

298, 15:5b) - Chongjöngbu (추정부). (note: This agency will be in charge of the registers and records of the royal family and all rules and regulations pertaining to their guidance and admonishment. The princesses of the kings will also be attached to it.) (end note)

- chöngjöng(宗正) 1 man (rank 2A), pujöngjöng(副宗正) 1 man (rank 2B), tongbujojöng(同副宗正) 1 man (rank 3A)(note: the above posts will be held by members of the royal clan (chöngch'ín) who are virtuous.) (end note). Sajöng(司正) 1 man (rank 5A); chönbu(典簿) 1 man (rank 5A B) (note: The above posts will be held by members of the royal family (clan) who are righteous in their behavior. As for members of the royal clan who hold official posts in the Chongjöngbu, they also will be required to be at least 40 years of age to be selected for these posts.) (end note)

-(clerks), sõri 9 men; choye 48 men, sosa 11 men.

-As for the rank (ch'aek) for these royal relatives, naturally there will be standard statutes (covering this). (note: for details see below) (end note)

(note: At the present time even though the royal relatives (chöngch'ín) should have do not hold official posts, yet they have various tasks such as attending court (chohee 朝會), participating in rituals (kaye 朝禮) and serving tours of duty (ippôm ippom) (as guards). They are divided into 10 shifts to serve as guards within the palace, and on the first day of the month they are summoned to court. Every month they must be summoned to convene at the Chongjöngbu. If they are absent from their court shifts/without reason, then those people who are absent one time will have their salaries suspended for three months (subnote: If they miss two meetings, then the same penalty) (end subnote) If (they) are absent twice, then dismiss them from their posts (subnote: the same penalty if they miss four meetings (at the Chongjöngbu) (end note)

-Sônggyun'gwan(成均館) (or you might change the name to T'aehak 大學): (note: It will be in charge of clarifying the proper learning and teaching the scholars and supervising the recommendation of outstanding and able


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<th>Position</th>
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<td>Secretariat</td>
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- **Bureaucratic Organization**: 
  - Chikkwan Chi Che, Sang
  - 1 man (for office)

- **Task 1**: 
  - Taesasong (大司成) 1 man (rank 2A), Sasong, 1 man (rank 3A), Saop (司業) 1 man (rank 3B), Chikkang (直講) 2 men (rank 5A), Paksa, 4 men (rank 6A), Hangnok (掌錫) 4 men (rank 7A)
  - (Clerks): Soji 9 men, Choye 96 men (Note: 57 men will be attendants on the officials and they will serve in attendance at the school and carry out duties. 39 men will provide for the food and needs of the Yusaeng (Confucian students)

- **Task 2**: 
  - Taesahon (大書房) 1 man (rank 2A), Sahon, 1 man (rank 3A), Chibmi (執使) 1 man (3B), Changnyung (掌令) 1 man (4A), Chip'yong (持平) 2 men (5A)
  - (Clerks): Soji, 12 men, Choye 45 men, Sosa 9 men.
bureaucratic organization

298, 15:6b) -Sŏngjongwŏn (承政院) (Royal Secretariat) x (note: to take charge of the issuing and receipt of the king's orders) (end note)

- t'o-songji, chwa-sŏngji, usŏngji, chwabusŏngji, ubusŏngji, tongbusŏngji,

299, 15:7a) 1 man each (all of the rank 3A); chusŏ (注書) 2 men (rank 6B), pubo jik (朴御) 2 men (rank 7A)

-(clerks) sŏri 18 men, choye 66 men, sosa 15 men

-(indented note: The six royal secretaries (sŏngji) are to be divided into two shifts with three men each on duty in the Royal Secretariat and they would concurrently (do the work of clerks) together with the clerks (kyŏmsaek), and whenever there is any business, then they will all proceed (to court). If it is done this way it would be appropriate, and it would also be good if they were appointed for a long term.

Some might say that the Royal Secretaries cannot be lacking clerks and alone (among all officials?) be overburdened (with work?). How about providing two xieks for every saek (clerk's position?) and divide them up into shifts where they would alternate between duty and rest?

To this I would reply: At the present time the officials all enjoy themselves at leisure (irye) and do not attend to their work. That is the reason I have (provided for this) this way. In Han dynasty times the officials all were on official duty night and day and only had one day off every five days. One can see from this how under ancient law officials attended to their duties. If we require all officials to be diligent in their work and not dare to be lazy and idle, then and have the royal secretaries divided into two shifts on duty in the agency, and have all of them on duty go (to court) when the situation required it, then how could you say that this would be too burdensome? Moreover, even though you say that the royal secretaries each have a number of subdivided clerk duties (pumsaek), nevertheless they are not like the sub-duties (punjik) that the six ministries have. Their responsibilities are confined to the transmission of orders (documents), and
This is the reason why at the present time in China, with regard to the T'ung-cheng-chih-ch'engssu, is just like their various bureaus (ssu) and agencies (yuan), but they have no regulations providing for the yukpang (six divisions of clerks). (Han, III, 167. The Royal Secretariat had the yukpang, just like those of the local magistrates' yamen; that is, the ibang, hobang, yebang, pyöngban, hyöngbang, and kongbang (sections for personnel, taxation, rites, military affairs, punishments, and public works), and the royal secretaries attached to them were called the yukbang sönji.) (end of Han's note) In ancient times, the man called xün "the dragon" (lung 龍) was appointed secretary (nab'on 納言), and that was sufficient. Even though you might have such attached officials, yet it is not necessary to have more than a few men. Essentially one should not establish a large number of men (officials). (end note)

-Ch'unch'ugwan (春秋官) (note: to be in charge of recording the government business of the time) (end note). T'aeSa (太史), 1 man (rank 3a); pusa (副史) 1 man (rank 4a), kömSa (金史) 2 men (rank 6a).

15:7b) - (clerks): sori 9 men, choye 21 men, sosa 6 men.

-(indented note: Some might say that with regard to the Ch'unch'ugwan at the present time, from the post of yongsSa (領史) on down to the tongjisa (同知寺) there are quite a few officials and all of these posts are held as concurrencies by the prime minister and high officials. The intent of this is to make the duties of historical (record-keeping) important. This is the system of former ages for preserving state/records. Wouldn't it be fitting to do it this way?

To this I would reply: Taking care of all affairs depends only on obtaining the (right) men and giving them exclusive responsibility, and that is all. With regard to the creation of special positions like the kamnyöng (領) and chejo (提調) and the like, all of these (posts) represent the bad laws of a later age. Not only are they of no
benefit, but they are (also) harmful. Moreover, the historian officials of national history through the generations (ages) have been in charge of revising (correcting, maintaining) (the records), and that is all. (it was the historians alone that had charge of history) It was not until the T'ang dynasty that they first had the prime minister take charge of supervising and controlling national history. (On this score), Fan Shun-fu (范淳夫) once said: In ancient times officials maintained their jobs and with regard to historical writings, whether good or bad, the rulers or prime ministers did not interfere (participate) with it. This is the reason why deceitful (corrupt) officials and bandits were afraid. In later ages the ruler were able to get a look at the histories and the prime ministers gain control over them. If you want to have truthful writing, wouldn't it indeed be difficult (to do so with a system like this)? If the ruler appoints an official to take charge of (history) as his job and the prime minister does not take part in (interfere with) historical matters, then (the records) of good and bad (deeds) could possibly be trusted." (end of Pan's statement) From this one can see what is right and wrong (about my proposals).

Some might also say: According to the present system, the tanghagwan (officials of rank 6 and below) of the state council and six ministries and the officials of the taegak (censorate) and various won (官) each have one or two men (officials) all of whom are die to hold as a concurrency the official post in charge of keeping records (for their office). In general, the desire is to have comprehensive knowledge of all affairs. If you put the historian officials in exclusive charge (of record keeping) and abolish the (present) concurrencies, then won't there be fear that some matters will not be known?

To this I would reply: Since ancient times a great evil in historical affairs has been having too many people keeping records. In the past, Liu Chih-chi (劉知幾) discussed the problems in the History Bureau (shih-ssu 史司) of the T'ang saying: The state
bureaucratic organization -17- chikkwan chi che, sang

299, 15:7b) of olden times all came out of one house (official). It was only in the Later Han that the Tung-kuan (東觀) (a record storehouse, Han, III, 168) gathered together many scholars who compiled storehouse, Han, III, 168) gathered together all the statements and writings of the Chen (陳) (the histories, records). There was no one in charge and no regulations established (for it). At the present time the History Bureau (Shih-ssu) brings together many scholars who naturally (themselves) become (葛堯 : 萊tega ), who when they have to write down a matter and record a statement look at their pens and at one another, suck on their brushes, and are indecisive. It could be expected that their heads would turn white before they would write anything down.

Furthermore, in Han times, the chün and kuo (commanderies and kingdoms) recorded books first had to be submitted to the Grand Historian (T'ai-shih) (太史) before being forwarded to the prime minister (ch'eng-hsiang 稱相). In the Later Han dynasty the memorials written by the high officials were first collected at the kung-fu (公府) and then forwarded to the lien-tai (蘭臺) (historian's office), and for that reason there were no missing in what the historians recorded was great (陳). At the present time the History Bureau does not record the chi-chi (注意居: daily comings and goings of the emperor) and the officials are not familiar with (the emperor's) activities (haengjang 行狀). Also the Bureau of History is located deep within the forbidden gates where their faces are closed off and they are prevented from asking questions.

At present we have as many historians (writers) as a forest, and there is so much praise and blame that they cannot keep their mouths shut and everybody at court or in the countryside (outside the government) all know about it. (The historian?) Sun Sheng (孫盛) earned the jealousy of powerful houses, and Wang Shao (王邵) became the enemy of the nobles (kuei-jen; kwiin. And as far as the common (ordinary) people were concerned, they could not
bureaucratic organization -18- chikkwan chi che, sang

299, 15:8a) help but be fearful. This number (of historians?) (or, these few matters) were all greatly in error (mistaken), while what Liu Chih-chi had to say was accurate (right on target).

If at the present time we act in accordance with old laws, then the record books of the chou and chün (pref. and districts) should customarily be forwarded up to the History Bureau (shu-chü 史局), and the written records and letters (chijang, munja 警狀文) of the high officials should also be sent up to the Grand Historian (T'ai-shih 太史).

And (if this is done), then even though the historians (official historians) were to have exclusive control (charge, of history writing), what fear would there be that (the record of things) heard and seen would not be complete enough? Furthermore, in ancient times if there was an official historian whose records of things seen and heard was not detailed enough, he was reported directly to his agency and summoned for questioning.

I also note that Ou-yang Hsiu 欧陽修 of the Sung dynasty spoke about the evils in history (writing, historiography), saying: "Historians are the keeper of the law in a state (kuo-chia chih tien-fa 耕敘典法). By means of (recording) the good and the bad, the merits and mistakes of rulers and ministers and by recording among affairs things that have been established or abolished (ruined or created), they are able thus to encourage and admonish later generations. For all of this they have to write straightforwardly and not hide anything. That is the reason why in former ages anybody who gained control of the state always regarded history (historians) with importance. With regard to the dynastic history, the prime minister (tsai-hsiang) was in charge of it, and the scholars (hsüeh-shih, haksa) did the compilation. Also the ta-ch'en (high officials) of the Liang-fu (兩府) compiled the shih-cheng-chi (時政紀: record of events), and they selected scholars from the san-kuan (三館) who were due to be promoted and ordered them to keep the Record of Daily Comings and Goings (Chi-chih-chi). Since they did things this way, they could not help but take (history) seriously. Nevertheless,

...
bureaucratic organization -19- chikkwan chi che, sang

299, 15:8a) what they wrote was crude and sloppy, and when it came to matters that were important, they were also left out and not written. This problem was the fault of the compilers who only relied on the reports provided them by the government bureaus (agencies) and failed to write down that they (themselves) had seen and heard. 

With regard to the shih-cheng-chi (Daily Record of Events), at the present time, even though it is compiled by the officials of the Liang-fu, the words and actions of sage rulers and the memorials and recommendations of the ministers, which are things involved with both correct and mistaken (decisions, actions), none of these are recorded. The only things they write down (record) are the hsiu-mu (orders appointing men for office) or resignations (ssu-chien). And when it comes to the chi-chü-chu (Daily Record of the Comings and Goings of the Emperor), it also is done this way. As for the compilers (of historical sources, records), they only rely on the order of selection (of officials—for their appointments, rather than being chosen on the basis of talent?), and they only add the day and the month and call it the illyrik (daily calendar), and that is all. (all they do is compile chronologies of appointments?). This is why the official historians (shih-kuan) are not able to record the affairs of the court even though they may want to do so. How much (more difficult is it for them to do so) when a lot of time has passed by (since the events occurred?).

What I beg is that an imperial command be issued to the officials who compile the shih-cheng-chi and the chi-chü-chu to record all the edicts issued by the ruler and all the memorials and replies made by the officials. The officials in charge of compilation (recording) cannot just do as has been done before and just compile and put in order the reports given to them by the various government bureaus. Also, with regard to the lists of appointments and resignations, they must also investigate the facts and find out what merit was achieved by such-and-such an official who was appointed to office, as in the case of Ti-ch'ing'sn).
bureaucratic organization -20- chikkwan chi che, sang
299, 15:8b) (Han, III, 169. A man of the Sung dynasty, skilled and
knowledgable in military affairs, who pacified the barbarian rebel
Neng Chih-kao) who defeated Neng-chih-kao, and Wen Yen-po
(destroyed) Wang Tse. (And they should record) who was dismissed
from office and for what crimes, as in the case of Sun was punished for his wrongdoing. If there is written evidence and documentation
for an affair that is clear, every one of them should be written down
so that they can be made the standards for reward and punishment for
a sage court (dynasty). By this means it will be possible to encourage good
and chastise bad and display this to future generations. Also in cases
where the great officials use favoritism or where the court errs in
rewards and punishments, this also may be written down to serve as a
warning. This is definitely the basic purpose behind the state's establishment
of historians (official historians). Alas! Those who serve as official
historians cannot help but understand this intent, but we can also see
that the historians of later ages were not given exclusive charge (over
record keeping.)(end note)

--Chunghak:(note: to be in charge of education and instruction
named promote) of the scholars promoted to it from the
Four Schools)(end note).

-sagyo 1 man (rank 3A); sado 1 man (3B)
(clerks) 6 men, choye 36 men (note: 21 of them will be
attendnats on the officials and 15 will work at the school and be given
duties to do, such as supplying the students (haksa) with food)(end note);
sosa, 18 men (note: 3 will be attendants on officials, and 15 will
serve on duty in the dorms)(end note)
bureaucratic organization -21- chikkwan chi che, sag

299, 15:8b).

- Chungwi (中衛) (note: to be in charge of training and inspecting the army and guarding the palace. The soldiers (kunsa 番 上) on tours of duty (ponsang番上) will each have subordinates (slaves: punye仆役). (end n)

300, 15:9a) - changgun, 1 man (3A); pujang, 2 men, (3B); sajang(司將) 5 men (6B); changsa(長史) 2 men (7B)

-(clerks) sori 6 men; choye 48 men; sosa 15 men.

- Chonwi(前衛) (note: to be in charge of the same things as the chungwi. The same for the left, right, and rear guards) (end note)

- changgun, 1 man (3A); pujang, 2 men (3B); sajang, 5 men (6B), changsa 2 men (7B)

-(clerks) sori 6 men, choye 48 men, sosa 15 men

- Chwawi, Uwi, and Huwi—all the same number of officials...

15:9b) Each of the above five guards (Owi) will each establish a headquarters (kunyŏng 军營) (note: to be outside the four walls of the palace) (end note), and each of them will also have a duty station (chikso 道所) inside the palace. (note: From among the taejanggun and changgun of each of the guards one man and from the unit commanders (pujang 部將) one man will command the troops of the unit (pu 部 ) and enter the palace to serve on duty (ipchik kwŏllaesseoulun内). One pujang(部將: unit officer) and 1 changsa(長史) will rotate on duty at the outer headquarters. When they are on duty, the taejang and lower officers will gather together all people who are not serving on duty inside the palace and give them duties to perform (kaejwasa). Those soldiers who are not on duty or not on rest will all be gathered in the headquarters and given training and tests (in their skills). (end note)

I note that the official (organization) of the guards (kunwi) has not been the same in successive generations (periods). In the late Chou and Han dynasties they had the Front, Rear, Left and Right chiang-chun(將軍). Since the Chin and Sung dynasties they had the (領軍) (護軍) (左衛) (右衛) (騎駄) (游擊), which were called the six armies (liu-chun六軍).
bureaucratic organization -22- chikkwan chi che, sang

The Sui dynasty established the 12 Guards (wei), and the T'ang created the 16 guards (wei). (The military system) became as troublesome and complicated as this. The Koryo dynasty established the yugwi (six guards), which was all right, but in this dynasty we established the OwI (five guards) and combined them with the Oyong (Five Headquarters, Garrisons). We ought to continue the present system.

(note: The Five Guards (OWI) are definitely all right, but for a small country it is not necessary to have fifteen five of them. It would be all right just to have two or three guards. Even though the Koryo dynasty established the Six Guards, nevertheless the koko kammun ch'un'uwI were included among (the six guards).

At the present time, even though we have the OwI (five guards), the 12 guard commanders (wijang) are generally called the Five Guards Commanders (Owijang), and we have never fixed (the number) of commanders (chang). Every time they enter the palace to serve on duty, their number is determined in accordance with their chôm( כמה : the no. who arrive for duty?), and every few days they are changed. The so-called wijang (guard commanders) are no more than "passing guests" (visitors), and none of the Five Guards (OwI) have (permanent) commanders (chang). If we set komkumkumkum their posts (permanently) for them, then we ought to look into their actual responsibilities and reform the evils (that exist). It should also be done like this for the kïmo kammun, and sõngmun( 成軍, 司城 )

The soldiers on duty are divided up and attached to the Five Guards, and originally each of them had a fixed assignment (to a specific guard unit), and when they first arrived on duty, the Ministry of War and the Officers of the various guards would sit together and grade them (evaluate them) and assign them in accordance with the unit to which they were attached. This was also done for the soldiers of the Kïmo kammun and sõngmun; each of them originally had a (unit) to which he was attached, but this was abolished, and at the present time they are shifted around and transferred, which is an evil.) (end note)
bureaucratic organization -23- chikkwan chi che, sang

300, 15:10a)
-- the kūmowi (金吾衛) (note: to be in charge of patrolling the capital) (end note). Changgun, 1 man (3A); pujang, 2 men (3B);
nangjang (郎將) 6 men (6B); sanwŏn (散員) 18 men (9B)
15:10b) -(clerks) sŏri 6 men; choye 78 men; sosa, 40 men.
(note: The kūmo is sunja (equivalent to) the present day sunjang.

Once it becomes a fixed (permanent) office (position), then the three changgun and pujang would rotate on duty for three days each. On the day when they change duty all of them will go to the palace and bow down and receive their warrants. Every day in the morning, the sunjang go to the palace an report that there were no incidents during their rounds (of the capital), and then they continue their daily duties. All the officials will be assembled at times when the Guard is assembled for the conduct of public business (kaejwa).

(note)

-- Naegūmwi (內禁衛) (note: to take charge of commanding the soldiers of the Naegūmwi and to guard the palace) (end note)
- changgun, 1 man (3A), pujang, 2 men (3B)
- (clerks) sŏri, 3 men, choye 24 men, sosa 12 men (of which every tour will have 5 men on duty)

- (troops): Naegūmwisasa, 200 men.

-- Usunwi (宣順衛) (note: to take charge of commanding the troops of both the Ch'ungdiwi (忠義衛) and Ch'ungsunwi (忠順衛), and to guard the palace) (end note)
- changgun, 1 man (3A); pujang, 2 men (3B)
- (clerks), sŏri, 3 men; choye 24 men; sosa 12 men (note: of which 5 will always be on duty) (end note)
- (troops) sa Ch'ungdiwi and Ch'ungsunwisa (see the pyŏngje: military affairs section of this book)
bureaucratic organization -24- chikkwan chi che, sang

301, 15:11a) --. Changyewŏn(尚黎院) (note: to take charge of the slave registers
(noye pujok and adjudication of lawsuits (kyŏlsong決訴))(end note)
- p'an'gyŏlsa(判藥寺), 1 man (3A); saăi(司議), 1 man (5a);
sap'yŏng(司評) 2 men (6A)
- (clerks) sŏri 12 men; choye 39 men; sosa 6 men.

(note: The administration of slaves is basically attached to the
Ministry of Punishments, therefore in the organization of the Ministry
of Punishments there is a Changyesa(尚黎司: Slave Bureau) which
takes responsibility for this. Because the number of slaves (nobi)
has gradually increased, it has been impossible to deal with the problems
arising from the lawsuits (resulting from this) (sasong pusing ki pen
(During King Sejo's reign, they first divided up the
responsibilities of the Ministry of Punishments and established a separate
Changyewŏn. This was an agency which did not exist throughout the ages
the dynasty in China nor in/previous xings in Korea. I am preserving it in the
expectation that the slave laws will be reformed and the problem of
lawsuits will become simpler ( khiuk khi when there will be less lawsuits),
and only then should it be abolished. And (at that time) the old
system can be restored.)(end note) (seems to be saying that slave administration
can be put back into the Ministry of Punishments, rather than that slaves
will all be manumitted?)

--. Seja sigangwŏn(世子侍講院)(Crown Prince Tutorial) (note: to
take charge of lecturing (teaching) on the classics and regulating and
criticizing on righteousness and morality.)(end note)
- podok(輔德, 1 man (3B), p'ilson(弼善) 1 man (4B); chisŏn(臣善)
2 men (5B); sŏlsŏ(說書), 2 men (6B)
- (clerks) sŏri, 3 men; choye 27 men; sosa 9 men.

15:11b) --. Jonghak(宗學)(note: to take charge of teaching members of the
royal house (chongsil)(end note)

--. Sŏngmunwŏn(承文院)(note: to take charge of documents (munso, communication
with China and Japan (sadae and kyorin) and training in Chinese and clerks writing.)
(end note)
bureaucratic organization -25- chikkwan chi che, sang

301, 15:1lb) -p'an'gyo(判校) 1 man (3B); ch'amgyo(校理) 1 man (kyohun 教訓:4B); kyori(校理), 1 man (kyohun, 6A); paks, 2 men, (7A); ch'ongja(正字), 2 men (8A); pu'jöngja, 2 men (9A). (headnote: change the p'an'gyo to ch'ong(正), and change the ch'amgyo to pu'jöng(副) (e.n.)

-(slerks): sori 6 men; choye 39 men; sosa 13 men.

-sajagwan(抄字官: copyists?) (note: Select 5 of the best men from the Kyosögwon(校書官) and the Sajagwan(抄字官) and attach them to this (bureau). Add 5 to their regular monthly salaries. This will also be the case to those who are promoted and receive (it?). Even though they come to this bureau, when examinations are given 4 times a year, then they will participate in them at their home office, the kyosögwon.)(end note)

-. Civil officials of rank 5 and below will every winter gather at this agency to study Chinese (2 books) or clerks' writing (imun 文) (note: in all cases their jobs will be fixed. A limit of 20 men will be set to study clerks' writing; there will be no limit on those studying 50% Chinese)(end note) Those who receive 5 points? (obun 五分) or more will be rewarded by a raise of one grade, while those who fail (the course) will be demoted one grade. Those who fail to participate for no reason at all will be dismissed from the office. (note: the tangsang officials from the State Council and Ministry of Rites and one man from the censorate (taegan) will, together with the kyori(校理) and higher officials from this bureau meet together to be tested on the lectures (teaching, instruction.))(end note)

-. Pongsangsi(奉常寺)(note: to be in charge of rituals, determining posthumous names, and also to take charge of the royal plot).)(end note)

-ch'ong(正), 1 man (3B); pu'jöng, 1 man (4B), chu'bu(主簿) 2 men (6B); chikchang(直隷), 3 men (7B); pongsa(奉事) 3 men (8B)

-(clerks): sori 12 men; choye 90 men; sosa 15 men.

(note: Officials in this agency from the Pongsa up will customarily hold as a concurrency the post of ritual official (ch'ongsangwol 奉祀官))
And officials from the chubu on up will customarily hold as a concurrency (the post of) ch'uk'wan. The ch'ung will be the taech'uk. Some might say that it would be right to make the ch'ung the hoon'gwan, but if there is an important ritual, then you can make a special designation of a tangsanggwan (to do it) as in the case where the prime minister takes responsibility of being the hoon'gwan. Later on this can be investigated in detail and determined. (end note)

Chang'agw'on (note: to be in charge of the teaching and inspection of music) (end note)

-ch'ung, 1 man (3B); pujong 1 man (4B); chubu 1 man (6B); chikchang 2 men (7B) (note: all officials from the ch'ung on down will be appointed to office for their skilled knowledge of the sounds and tones (harmony). And if, outside of the officials in this agency, there should be someone knowledgeable in harmony (music) they he could be given a concurrency in some other office, and be made a pujong, or perhaps a chubu or chikchang. The rank of each of this will be in accordance with their original rank; there should not be more than 2 of them) (end note)

-(clerks): sori 3 men; choye 27 men; sosa 8 men.

-makkong (musicians), 100 men.

-(note: According to the present law, commoners (yang'in) are used to fill these positions, while the slaves (kongch'on) are called akkong (樂工). Those recruited from official slaves (kongch'on) are called aksaeng (樂生). Those are attached to the chwabang (Left Ward?). There are 2 aksa (teachers) and 397 aksaeng.

The sog'ak (popular music? group) is attached to the Ubang (Right Ward?), and it has 2 aksa (teachers) and 570 akkong. The two groups put together total 970 or more men. If we are to rectify music and correct and rectify the actual numbers, then we should not have as many people as this. We should establish an exact number of musicians and combine the two groups into one. Men in the capital will be tested for their skill and recruited to this agency. Their monthly salary will be...
bureaucratic organization  -27-  chikkwan chi che, sang

302, 15:12b) 1 kok 2 tu, and they will receive 1 kyŏng of land, and four times a year they will be tested. The best ones will be chosen and given a raise in salary by grades. Since there is 1 6A official and 1 6B official, the above aksa (music teachers). As for the 2 rank 8A and 3 rank 8B, and 4 rank 9A, and 8 rank 9B (officials), increase the salaries of 10 men by 3 kok, of 15 men by 2 kok, and 20 men by 1 kok. The above (raises) are what the akkong will receive. As for those men who fail the tests, dismiss them from their posts. Those people who are of outstanding talent and of long and diligent service will be reported to the throne and given the post of aksa. There should not be more than 3 aksa. When they are appointed aksa, then raise their rank. After every 3 year term of office is completed, then raise their rank until they attain rank 6A, and then stop. Their rank will be the same as that for regular officials. For more details on this, see the section on the akhak (music school).

I note that in ancient times music officials from the aksa on down were all blind (盲). The purpose behind this was extremely profound and good. Since there is no difference between past and present, then we ought also at the present time to have the king and chief ministers decide on this and restore (the ancient system), and that is all. Some might say: This is truly extremely good, but it is only that at the present time when we greet the imperial (envoy from China), he is escorted from the suburbs to the palace by a line of musicians who guide him in, and this is not something that blind men can do. How about that? To this I reply: In my opinion musicians are supposed to perform inside official buildings and at the ancestral shrine and not walking in file in the fields or streets. The practice of having musicians marching along the road originated in Hu (Manchurian) customs. The best thing to do when greeting the imperial Envoy and escorting him to the palace is to suspend a balcony and conduct the rite in the
302, 15:13a) in the palace courtyard. (end note)

--- T'ongnyewon (通礼院) (note: to be in charge of rites and ceremonies) (end note); t'ongnye (通礼), 1 man (3B); sangnye (相礼), 1 man (4B); pongnye (捧礼), 1 man (5B); inde (引儀), four men (7A); ?ch'an (鳴贊), 4 men (9A)

2-(clerks), sori, 6 men; choye, 39 men, sosa, 16 men

(note: I note that in the bureaucratic organization of the Chinese court, the Hung-lu-ssu (鳴蓋寺) has charge of rites and ceremonies, and it is equivalent to the T'ongnyewon in our country, but (the Chinese office) also takes charge of (foreign) guests, and thus combines the functions of our Yebinsi (禮賓寺). For that reason the Chinese Hung-lu-ssu has two shu-ch'eng (書成), the ssu-i and the ssu-pin (儀司,司書), (end note)

--- Yebinsi (禮賓寺) (note: in charge of guests (핑가에크), banquest, providing (gifts of food?) to the nobility and high officials) (end note)

-chong (正), 1 man (3B); pujong, 1 man (4B); chubu, 2 men (6B);
chikchang, 1 man (7B); pongsa, 1 man (8B); ch'ambong, 1 man (9B).
(note: If there is an important guests and there are not enough functionaries to handle it, then from court officials of rank 4 and below you can separately commission a cheg (催筆) or pyolche (別提). And when the business is finished, discontinue the appointments. An official of rank 6 or higher will be the cheg, and rank 7 and below will be the pyolche.) (end note).

15:13b)  -(clerks), sori, 12 men, choye, 81 men; sosa, 10 men

(note: With regard to the (熟手) and other artisans, set up a special roster, and only when there is some business to be done recruit them for the work. Calculate the days worked and pay them salaries. When there is an important guest and the number of servants (사한) is insufficient, then take what you need from the bureaus (kaksa)’s idle slaves to perform the work of servants. When the business is finished, then send them back.) (end note)
bureaucratic organization  -29-  chikkwan chi che, sang

[Image 0x0 to 612x796]

302, 15:13b) --- Kyosogwan (校書飯) (note: in charge of printing and distribution of kyongjok (經籍: records?), incense congratulations and printing and carving (engraving). (end note)

(headnote: or change this to a chong ( 청 )

-pan'gyo (丹艸) 1 man (3B); kyori, 1 man (6A). (note: one of this as a them will hold a concurrency. (end note) paksâ 12 men (7A); chungja (字)

2 men (8A); pujongja, 2 men (9A).

-(clerks): sori 6 men; choye 48 men; sosa 18 men.

-sajagwan (箋簿: copyists), 30 men. (note: that is, a sohaksaeng (書生: student in the school of calligraphy). Test and select men of talent who are good at writing and assign them to this post, and pay them a monthly salary of 2 kok and allot them 1 kyong of land. Test them four times a year and select the best ones and present them raise their salaries by degrees. 17B official. 1 8B, ad 2 9B officials raise the salaries of 4 men by 2 kok and of 6 men by 1 kok. The details of this system are included in the section on the sohak (school of calligraphy). Also from the quota (of these officials) 15:14a) select 5 men and send them to the sablingmunwön.) (end note)

-ch'angjun (強問), 8 men. (note: Select them from among those who are talented and able and give them a monthly salary of 2 kok and 1 kyong of land. Every month examine them for their skills and diligence, or lack of it, and those who are skillful and diligent should have their salaries raised by degrees. Rank 9B is one (man?). Raise the salaries of 1 man by 2 kok and two men by one kok. The chief officials will examine them and report it to the ministry to which this agency is relevant? (personnel) attached, and that ministry will transfer the report to the (ministry?) which will provide for a raise in salary for the artisans. Everything will be done like this. As for those who are not skilled and diligent, indict them for punishment. The same system shall apply to all artisans discussed below. (end note)

-With regard to the ch'angjun and the ch'aekchang (作匠), these all of them will be divided into two shifts of duty.
Some might say: At the present time the government bureaus are lax and do not attend to their business and just hand over responsibility for affairs to lower ranks (officials). This is the worst of evils. If the correction of documentary writing (kyose) is not done skillfully (well), then the chief official ought to be held responsible, but would it not be preferable to hold the ch'angju (copyists?) responsible? To this I would reply: It is because I want to reform the system that I did it this way. In general the court ought to hold the chief official responsible. If you want to hold the chief official responsible, then you should make him take charge of rewards and punishments, and only then will he be able to meet his responsibilities of office.

--- Saongwŏn (notes: to take charge of supplying food for the king and the palace and other matters) (end note)

-ch'ong, 1 man (3B); pujŏng, 1 man (4B); ch'ubu 2 men (6B); chikchang 2 men (75); pongsā 2 men (8B); ch'ambilong, 2 men (9B)

-(clerks): sŏri 12 men; choye 75 men; sosa 15 men

-the ch'abí (staff). (note: to be explained as follows. I note that in the law code (taejon) (it states that) officials from the p'angam on down are all (posts) to be performed by chŏnbok. As for any people among the (commoner) population that want to be attached (to this office), they may also be allowed to be selected, and as is the custom, they will receive (a salary of) 2 kŏk 5 tu every month, but their performance and diligence will be reviewed every month and their salaries raised by degrees. Rank 9B, 2 (men?); 4 men will have their salaries raised by 2 kŏk and 8 will have their salaries raised by 1 kŏk. Those who are not diligent will be punished. (subnote: make the chief officials responsible for controlling them.) (end subnote) (end note)

(another note: With regard to the various goods that are provided to the king, abolish the regulations which provide at present for the various government bureaus to present items on a day-to-day basis. The
Saongwŏn will take exclusive responsibility for this, and in accordance with the system at the Chinese court, they will deliberate and calculate the goods to be provided to the throne and expended over a year's time (BUDGET), and the grain and cash that is to be determined (to be spent for) the king's proxiximes needs will be calculated at double or several multiples (of what is actually needed) and then paid out (to merchants) for purchase from as is done at the present time (for the purchase of goods) for the tribute merchants (kongmul chukin 主人) and the goods will be sent directly to this agency, with regard to such items as medicines and salt, then this agency will store up these goods for (future) use, and for each of these items there will be a man in charge, as in the case with the pharmacists (miin 藥人) and salt men (鹽人), and the officials will supervise it. For more details on this, see later sections. (end note)

-the miin ch'abi(藥備) (note: divide them into two shifts of duty)
bureaucratic organization -32- chikkwan chi che, sang

303, 15:15b) --. Sangdeu~n( ~~~)(note: to be in charge of the royal clothes, and weaving and dying of clothes etc.)(end note)

- chöng, 1 man (3B); pujöng, 1 man (4B); chubu, 1 man (6B); chikchang, 1 man (7B); pongsa, 1 man (8B); the kongjang(~l~)(note: add a few more men than exist at present. Take this under consideration and set the quotas. With regard to raising salaries, then rank 9B, 1, add 2 kok of salary for 3 men, and add 1 kok for one man)(end note)

--. Saboksu(4) (note: to be in charge of royal carriages and horses, stables and animal husbandry)(end note)

- chöng, 1 man (3B); pujöng, 1 man (4B); chubu, 1 man (6B); chikchang, 2 men (7B); pongsa, 1 man (8B)

-(clerks) sōri 9 men; choye 156 men (note: 36 of them will be attendants for the officials and also serve on duty at the office and be given duties. 120 men will raise horses)(end note)(another note: With regard to husbanding and grazing grounds within the suburbs, the in accordance with the regulations for herdsmen, set up a special quota for these men)(end note); sosa, 9 men.

15:16a) - horse veterinarians (maMi, 4 men. (note: From among those skilled in medicine, select and examine (candidates) and every month investigate whether they are doing a good job or not. On the first day of the four beginning months of the year, also test them on the basic texts. (note: When they are examined, the tangssanggwan of the Ministry of War together with the officials of their bureau will sit together to give the exam)(end subnote). In raising their salaries, rank 9A, 2, rank 9B, 2. Those who are not able should be dismissed.)(end note); choma, 8 men (note: men who are good at raising horses, should be taken in for this and give them a salary of 3 kok per month)(end note)

--. Kun'gisi(4) (note: to be in charge of making weapons);

- chöng, 1 man (3B); pujöng, 1 man (4B); chubu, 1 man (6B); chikchang, 2 men (7B); pongsa, 2 men (8B); ch'ambong, 2 men (9B)
bureaucratic organization -33- chikkwan chi che, sang

303, 15:16a) -(clerks) sŏri, 9 men; choye, 48 men; sosa, 13 men
-the kongjang (artisans) (note: add a few more onto the present quota.

Deliberate on this and determine it. As for raising salaries, then 9B, 2, 6
men will have a raise of 2 kok, and 6 men a raise of 1 kok.) (end note)

-- Sŏn'gonggam (네요공감) (note: in charge of construction (t'omok).) (end note)
-chŏng, 1 man (3B); pujŏng, 1 man (4B); chubu, 1 man (6B); chikchang
2 men (7B); pongsa, 2 men (8B); ch'ambong, 2 men (9B)
-- (clerks) stok, 9 men; choye 48 men; sosa 13 men
-the kongjang (artisans), (note: add a few more on to the present quota; deliberate and decide. As for raising salaries, then 4 will have theirs raised by 2 kok, and 8 by 1 kok.) (end note)

(note: xintheppummaentxiime the kanyŏkkwan(갑유관) which at the present time has been added on to the Sŏn'gonggam will be abolished. All the special and separate types of jobs (pyŏch'wa chi ju) of the various government bureaus will all exist and ought not to exist.) (end note)

-- Sas'wŏksi (사신사) (note: in charge of making currency (cash)) (end note)
-chŏng, 1 man (3B); pujŏng, 1 man (4B); chubu, 1 man (6B); chikchang, 1 man (7B); pongsa, 1 man (8B)

-(clerks) sŏri, 3 men; choye, 36 men; sosa, 8 men
-kongjang (artisans) (note: you should calculate and determine a quota. As for examining the superior ones and raising their salaries, you ought to follow the Sŏn'gonggam (regulations?) ) (end note)

If, as at the present time, you do not put cash into circulation (pu haeng chŏn 行錢), then this bureau will not be necessary to establish. (note: If as in the present time (you use) the tribute cloth of the slaves that is stored, then it should be stored in the Ministry of Taxation.) (end note)

-- Kwansanggam (관중앙) (note: in charge of astronomy, geography, calendars, chōmsan (divination), meterology, clocks) etc) (end note) (note: the one yŏngsa(영사) will be held as a concurrency by the PM) (end note)
bureaucratic organization -34- chikkwan chi che, sang

303, 15:16b)
- ch'ŏng, 1 man (3B); pujŏng, 1 man (4B); saryŏk(司課), 2 men (5B);
ch'ŏnmunhak, chiri hak kyosu, 1 man each; chubu, 1 man (all of the
above to be 6B); chikchang, 3 men (7B); ch'ŏnmunhak chiri hak myŏnggwahak
hundo, each 1 man, (8B); pongsa, 4 men (8B); ch'am bong, 4 men (9B). (note:
all officials from the ch'ŏng on down will be selected and appointed from
among those with skill and knowledge of their profession, and if, outside
of the officials in this agency, there should be anybody with skill and
knowledge of astronomy or geography, then he will be given a special
concurrency (in this office) as a kyosu or hundo. The same (regulation)
shall also apply to the T'miwon(大醫院) and Sayŏgwŏn(日語院)
(headnote: change the title, chikchange to kach(士), change pongsa to
sahu(司候), change the ch'ambong to sau(司漏). (end headnote)

-(clerks) sŏri 6; choye 60; sosa 30 men.

-20 students (saengdo) in the Ch'ŏnmunhak, 10 in the Chirihak, and 5
in the Myŏnggwahak. (note: Allow people in after a test of their talent
and pay them a salary of 1 kok 2 tu/month and grant them a land allotment
of 1 kyŏng and have them study with the kyosu and hundo. Examine them
four times a year and select the superior ones and raise their salaries
by degrees. One degree, you can add 2 kok of salary; for 2 degrees, add 1 kok.
For details on this see the section on the Myanghak. (yin and yang school)(end note)

-kag'u(刻痕) 30 men (note: monthly salary of 3 kok. Add 1 kok to 10
people who have served a long time.)(end note)

(note: I note that offices like the T'aeuiwŏn(大醫院 :Grand
Physicians) and the Kwansangwŏn(Astronomers) are offices of professional
skills (習熟官); they are not regular duty posts.
The usual titles of chikchang and pongsa and ch'ambong aren't
appropriate in their meaning. /Change them to accord with (the titles used)
at the Chinese court and in the Koryŏ dynasty, it would seem to be
appropriate. The Sayŏgwŏn (Office of Interpreters) will also be modelled
on this (idea). (end note)
(note: Abolish the post of Sŏptokkwan (天文學堂) of the Ch'ŏnmunhak (Astronomy School). As for the posts of Sŏptok in the Hanchak (school of Chinese) and Uiha (School of Medicine), they all will be the same as this (abolished).)

Chŏn'gigam (Superintendent of Medicine) (headnote: perhaps change the title to T'aeđiwm) (end headnote) (note: to be in charge of medicine and pharmaceuticals) (end note)

- chŏng, 1 man (3B); pujŏng, 2 men (4B); sangyak pŏng'o (尚藥奉御), 2 men (5B); ìhak kyosu, 2 men (one will be a master of ch'immi (acupuncture), chubu, 1 man (both kyosu and chubu will be 6B); paksas, 2 men (7A); ìhak hundo 2 men (1 of them in acupuncture, rank 8A); pongsas, 3 men (8B)

(Headnote, change the title pongsas to chŏngsu (御醫) (end headnote); simyak (署藥), 3 men (9B). (note: All officials from the Sangyak pŏng'o up are to be seirukkak appointed from among selected royal physicians

As for the post of chŏng, even though he may be promoted to tangsang rank, he may also hold this as a concurrency.

With regard to tours of duty in this bureau, the royal physicians will serve on duty, and lesser officials will rotate on duty in accordance with regulations for other bureaus and take care of the people's sicknesses.

Also within this won (院), establish a Hyemung (惠民局) and have one of the chubu or lesser officials specially serve on rotation on duty to allow the people to buy medicine. (end note)

-(clerks): sŏri, 6 men (3 of them for the Naeguk); choye 60 men (9 of them for the Naeguk); sosa, 27 men.

- 40 students (saengdo) in the ìhak (School of Medicine). (note: allow them to enter after a test of talent and pay them a salary of 1 kok 2 tu/month and grant them 1 kyŏng of land. Have them study with the kyosu and hundo and examine them 4 times a year and select the best ones for a raise in salary by degrees. Raise the salaries of 4 of them by 2 kok and 12 of them by 1 kok. For details, see section on the School of Medicine) (end note)
The Naeyakkuk (Palace Pharmacy) will be establishing in the palace and the pongša and higher officials will serve on duty on rotation. If there is a discussion of medicine (to be used), then the Royal Physicians will all be assembled. (note: As for the cheyakkwan, for every two of them a medical student will serve on duty on rotation. When a discussion of medicines takes place, they will take part in the meeting.) (end note)

3. (note: In the Chinese bureaucratic system there is no other medical agency outside of the T'aetliwön, but in our country there are three medical bureaus: the Naewön, the Ch'øn'igam and the Hyemins. The Naewön is called the Naeguk (內宮), the Ch'øn'igam and the Hyemins are called the Oesa (外宮), and all three are referred to collectively as the Sammsa (Three Medical Bureaus). The Hyemins definitely ought to be combined with the Ch'øn'igam, but the Naewön should remain as a separate bureau. There would be nothing amiss if we did it like this. But with regard to the two bureaus, each of them already has established the posts of ch'öng, pujöng and lesser officials down to the pongša and ch'ambong. If we really want to select men and give them responsibilities, then these places (agencies) should make the selections and appointments. I don't know whether in the future we should take the people who are most skilled in their craft and first appoint them to the Naewön (palace medical bureau), then to the posts of pongša and ch'ambong and other officials, and later on the rest of them would become the ch'öng or pujöng and lesser officials of the Oesa (Outer Bureau), or not? If it is done that way, then people with skill in their professions, will on the contrary hold low posts and have low salaries. Or we might first appoint them to the Oesa posts of ch'öng or pujöng and later on send them to the Naewön posts of pongša and ch'ambong and other positions. If we do that, then these men of skill in their professions will, on the contrary, would be abandoned in the Naewön (palace medical agency). The situation would not be suitable.
Generally speaking medicine constitute a single skill (sul, profession) and there is no distance (difference) between inner and outer (court and bureaucratic agencies), so that it may be all right to establish two Pharmaceutical Bureaus, but it is not all right to establish divide (the medical profession) into Two Physicians Bureaus (yang Mis). Because we have divided by force what is indivisible we have produced an evil (problem) like this. The best thing to do would be to follow the system of the Chinese & court and just establish one yamen as a Physicians Bureau and all officials in it of rank 5 and up would be selected from the most skilled of the royal physicians and appointed to the Naemiwon (Palace Physicians Bureau) and then change its name to the Naeyakkuk (Palace Pharmacy Bureau) and continue to have it inside the palace. But with regard to the Misagaben (officials of the Physicians Bureau), record the royal physicians and in accordance with current regulations have them go on tours of duty. The supply of medicine should also follow present regulations. If it were done like this, it would be all right.

Some might say: Since we have already divided things up and established the Naeyakkuk (Palace Pharmacy Bureau) and then unify them in one agency, we don't know (if this is right or not). How about that? To this I would reply, at the present time the Ministry of War has a Naejo (palace branch?) and the Saboksi has a Naes ( ), and the Kyosogwan has a Naegwan ( ). All of these are separate establishments within the palace and yet are unified in one agency.)

Ever-Normal

-chong, 1 man (3B); pujong, 1 man (4B); chibbu, 1 man (6B); chikchang, 1 man (7B); pongsai, 1 man (8B)

-(clerks): sori, 6 men; chogyo 36 men; sosa, 7 men.
- P'ungchos'ang (豊穣倉) (headnote, or change the name to Chwach'ang or Left Granary) (end headnote) (note: in charge of stored rice and cash) (end note)

- su (屯), 1 man (4A); chubu, 1 man (6B); chikchang, 1 man (7B);
pongsan, 1 man (8B)

- (clerks) 6 men, choye, 30 men; sosa, 6 men.

- Kwanghongs'ang (廣興倉) (or change the name to Uch'ang or Right Granary) (end headnote), (note: to be in charge of stored rice and cash for paying the salaries of regular officials) (end note)

- su, 1 man (4A); chubu, 1 man (6B); chikchang, 1 man (7B);
pongsan, 2 men (8B)

- (clerks): sori, 6 men; choye, 33 men; sosa 7 men.

- (note: The Left and Right Granaries will both be in charge of all salaries of the royal family and regular officials, and also be in charge of the salaries and expenses for the clerks and slaves and soldiers.

In general, at the time when tax rice is paid to the granaries, the granary officials together with the transport officials will sign (documents, sign for it). The Yongwan (頌院) will also take responsibility for supervising the payment. The tangsan'gwan officials of the Ministry of Taxation will at times take charge of the granaries and together with the granary officials supervise the payments. (end note)

- Seja igwisa (世子翊衛庭 Crown Prince Guards). (note: to be in charge of attending and guarding the Eastern Palace (Tonggung—CP's palace) (end note). Chwa-u igwi (left and right igwi), 1 man each (4B); chwa-u wisol (衛卒), 1 man each (5B); chwa-u pusol (衛卒), 2 men each (6B); chwa-u sema (衛馬: horse washer), 1 man each (7B)

- (clerks) sori, 6 men; choye 39 men; sosa 15 men

- Sahak (Four Schools). (note: to be in charge of instructing the students (yusa) under their jurisdiction) (end note)

- kyodo (科道), 1 man for each school (4A); kyosu, 1 man for each school (6A).
bureaucratic organization -39- chikkwan chi che, sang

305, 15:19a) (clerks), sori 3 men for each school, choye, 42 men for each school
(note: 15 of them to be attendants on the officials and 27 to be on duty to perform affairs and supply food to the students (yusaeng)(end note); sosa 39 men for each school (note: 3 men to be attendants on officials and 36 to be on duty in the dormitories)(end note)

-- Saygwon (연번): Interpreters' Bureau (note: to be in charge of interpreting the languages of various areas (countries)(end note)

-yong (연번), 1 man (5A); puryong (주번), 1 man (5B); Hanhak kyosu (prof. in Chinese Language school), 1 man; chubu 1 man (both 6B); paksa, 2 men (7A); Hanhak hundo, 1 man, Monghak Waehak Yojinhak hundo, 2 men for each (8A); ponsa, 3 men (8B); ch'ambong, 4 men (9B)

(clerks): sori 3 men; choye, 42 men; sosa 30 men.

- students, 30 for the Hanhak, 6 for the Yojinhak, 5 for the Monghak, 15 for the Waehak (note: Recruit them by testing their talents and pay them a monthly salary of 1 kok 2 tu and give them 1 kyong of land, and have them study with the kyosu and hundo, and examine them four times a year. Select the best ones and raise their salaries by degree. One degree will be a raise of 2 kok, two degrees will be a raise of 1 kok. For details see the section on the Interpreters' School)(end note)

-(note: At the present time the Saygwon is lined up with the various kam (연번: superintendencies) as a rank 3 yamen. The officials of the Interpreters' Schools ought to be superior in rank and salary in order to encourage them, but with regard to exalting or demeaning official bureaus, there is an appropriate way to do it. We cannot forcibly raise or lower them (in status). Even though at the present time the interpreter officials are a won (연번), they do not have fixed salaries. 9 (subnote: as for the ch'eq (연번), they receive salaries and are commonly given the salaries of a ch'hamhagwan (연번) (end subnote) And they do not have posts and they are not treated as regular officials. We have completely lost the intention of magara treating them in superior fashion and with importance.
In general with regard to the intention behind the state's establishment of official positions, how can we regard something as an empty name and just that? If at the present time we select men of talent and appoint them as yōng, which is an actual official post, then the wŏnjŏng (Chief of the bureau) should be a rank 3 regular official. Even though we make (the chief official) the wŏnjŏng, there will be times when he has to proceed to the capital (of China), and if so, then we run in front of would have to have him as a rank 3 regular official [present official] of the sŏjang (mission secretary) (and bow down to him). In terms of the regular order of officials, if we do not have him run (ahead of, in a subordinate position to) (a lower officials), and this would not be the correct thing to do. On the basis of this we can see that this would be a mistake in our bureaucratic system. The best thing to do would be to make this bureau a rank 5 yamen yet still make its officials regular officials. If we were to do it like this, then things would be calculations appropriate (correct). Even if you talk about the private accounts (livings?) of the interpreter officials, even though we were to vainly (useless, emptily) raise their rank but still in fact have ch'ŏn'in (base persons) (occupying these positions) without rank or salary, how would this be as good as lowering their rank and actually making them regular officials and giving them salaries with some (real) honor? What is meant by upgrading their rank and salaries to encourage them depends on this, but and not on that (the present system) (the former alternative--useless and phony ranks for base persons). Or it is possible that we do not have to establish a special yamen and attach each of the interpreters' schools to the Sŏngmunwŏn. This would also seem to be all right. The situation is different from when China sends envoys to the four barbarians. But in the Chou-li, the hsiang-hsi (was an interpreter official and for every foreign country (barbarian country), there was one shang-shih (two chung-shih (and 8 hsia-shih (In the Han dynasty
bureaucratic organization -41p- chikwan chide, sang

the Ta-hung-lu(大鴻臚) officials included travelling interpreters, and

at the present day in the Chinese court, they also have established t'ung-shih-kuan(通事館) in the Hung-lu-shih(鴻臚寺). Emperor Wen (Wen Huang-ti) also created and established the 8 kuan(孔) for Hsi-t'ien(西天) and other countries, and from the first ch'ü-jen(儒人) (degree holders) were chosen to do it. They went to the Board of Rites and were tested, and then in the foreign script they translated their classical texts. Those people who were regarded as thoroughly versed (in the foreign languages) were able to get their names on the rosters of chin-shih and they were given the post of wen-hsieh (muhhak) and they continued to translate foreign documents, as before. After this they also selected outstanding people to major in the study of foreign languages. When they had become skillful at it, they convened the ta-ch'en of the Six boards to test them, and the ones with thorough knowledge were given degree holder? the cap and belt (of an official). And three years later they gave them a post. At the present time I note that they use chü-jen (degree holders, of the province?) to do it and also give them posts as wen-hsieh, similar to the intention in our country whereby which the officials of our country also becoming proficient in Chinese language, and then selecting the best people to major in languages, and when their skill was perfected, allowing them to be capped and belted. This then is the regulations of our country's interpreter officials.) (end note)

15:20b) Chongmyos(崇明署; Bureau of Royal Shrine) (note: in charge of guarding and maintaining the ch'immyo(崇廟)) (end note)

-yöng(令), 1 man (5B); chikchang, 1 man (7B); pongsa, 1 man (8B)

-(clerks) sŏri, 3 men; choye 18 men; sosa, 4 men

- Sajiks(社稷局) (note: in charge of cleaning the altars)

-yöng, 1 man (5B); ch'ambong, 2 men (9B)

-(clerks); sŏri 3 men; choye 12 men; sosa, 4 men

-(note: The yöng of the chongmyo and sajik commonly hold as a concurrency the post of ch'ukkwon(祝官)). The lower officials commonly hold as a concurrency the post of Chŏnsagwan(典祀官). I will have to look
bureaucratic organization -42- chikkwan chi che, sang

305, 15:20b) into the present regulations in more detail and make a decision on this.) (end note)

- P'yongsisŏ (平市司) (note: in charge of shops, weights and measures, distinguishing between goods, and regulating market (prices)) (end note)

-yŏng, 1 man (5B); chikchang, 1 man (7B)
-(clerks), sŏri 3 men; cho ye 12 men; sosa 3 men

(note: It might be said that this bureau should be cut out and combined in the Hansŏngbu, or it might be said that it should not be eliminated. Those people who believe that it should be eliminated feel that since I already have the Ministry of Taxation in charge of the equalization (regulation) of tax collections and the p'ing (平) regulations of goods (and prices?) and the Ministry of Works in charge of weights and measures, and the Ministry of Punishment in charge of prohibiting excesses and falsification and dealing with disputes and lawsuits, and the Hansŏngbu controlling the people of the markets and shops, then all you have to do is try to obtain the right person to manage and administrate it, and that is all. What is the need to build another house on top of the old (structure)? (add another agency?)

Those people who say it should not be eliminated feel that even though we have several yamen each in charge of administration, nevertheless the market shops are not to be compared with the other wards and back street areas (of a city), and you cannot help but establish an agency to take exclusive responsibility for them. I don't know which of these two arguments is right. If you look at the systems of both ancient and present times, then in the Chou-kuan (Chou-li) there was the ssu-shih ta-fu (平市大府: superintendent of markets), and in Han times among the subordinate officials of the mayor of the capital (kyŏngjoyun 京兆尹) there was a Ch'ang-an shih-ling (市令). And in the T'ang dynasty system among the subordinate officials of the t'ai-fu (大府), they had the shu-ling (守令) of the markets for the liang-ching (two capitals).

In the present, under the Huang-Ming (Ming dynasty) they do not have any so-called shih-shu (市署); they just have the capital or hsien magistrate take care of thi
bureaucratic organization -43- chikkwan chi che, sang

306, 15:21a) this and that is all. I am writing this down for the time being and let the matter await further investigation. --If I retain it, then it should be a subordinate bureau of the Hansöngbu.)(end note)

--- Kammunsa( 관문사)(note: d to take charge of the palace gates)(end note); kammun, 2 men (5B); pugammun, 6 men (7B). 2 men write on the four gates of the palace wall, will be mutually transferred.)(end note)

-(clerks) sŏri 6 men; choye 15; sosa 12.

-On every tour of duty of the gate guards of the palace walls, there will be 30 men at the large gate (taemun), and 20 men each at the left and right narrow gates; 20 men at the middle gate, and 10 men each on the narrow left and right gates (note: 10 men each on small gates)(end note)

-(note: At the present time there are no fixed (regulations) for gate guards. Every day in accordance with the mark (dot, attendance?), they are assigned to a gate. This ought to be changed, and their jobs ought to be divided up and fixed and each of the them should have a gate to guard at all times. The same should apply to the capital wall (gates).)(end note)

--- Songmunsa( 송문사)(note: to take charge of the guarding of the capital walls)(end note); samun, 2 men (6B); pusamun 14 men (8B). (note: it will be customary for 2 men to alternate on the 8 gates of the capital wall)(end note)

-(clerks) l sŏri, 12 men; choye, 27 men; sosa, 24 men.

--every time the capital gate guards are one duty, there should be 30 of them at a large gate and 20 at the other gates.

--- Sach'uksa( 사추사) to take charge of raising sacrificial animals and miscellaneous animals)(end note)

-sach'uk, 1 man (7B): chikchang, 1 man (7B): poggsa, 1 man (8B);

-(clerks) sŏri 3 men, choye, 36 men, sosa 4 men.

--- Changwŏnsa( 창원사)(note: to be in charge of gardens, fruit trees)

-changwŏn, 1 man (6B); ch'ambong 1 man (9B)

-(clerks), sŏri 3 men; choye 21 men (....); sosa, 3 men
bureaucratic organization - chikkwan chi che, sang

306, 15:22b) --. Tohwasa (in charge of maps and drawings) (end note)
- 1 man (6B); z komhwa, 1 man (7B)
- (clerks), choye, 9 men, sosa 3 men

15:22a) -- Hwahak students (saengdo), 15 men. (note: Test them for talent and allow them in. Monthly salary, 1 kok 2 tu, give them 1 kyöng of land; examine them four times a year and select the best ones and raise their salaries by degrees. Rank 8B, 1 9B, 1, raise the salaries for 1 man by 3 kok, for 2 men by 2 kok, for 2 men by 1 kok. For details on this system see the article on the hwahak.) (end note)

-- Hwalinsŏ (note: in charge of rescuing and saving sick people within the capital city)
- chubu, 1 man (6B); ch'aambong, 1 man (9B). (note, for the above select and appoint physicians also to participate in these offices) (end note)
- sŏri 3; choye 12, sosa 3
-- Pinggo (in charge of storing ice); chubu, 1 man (6B); ch'aambong 1 man (9B)
- (clerks) sŏri, 3; choye 12 (note: for the ice cutters, ice transport personnel and horses, then specially hire men as is done under the present regulations.) (end note), sosa, 3 men.

-- Wasŏ (in charge of making tile bricks) (end note)
- chubu, 1 man (6B); ch'aambong, 1 man (9B)
- clerks: sŏri, 3 m3n, choye, 60 men, sosa 3 men
- wajang (tile artisans) 20 men. (note: Saoaries to be like other regulations. It is only that in raising salaries, then raise the salaries of 2 men by 1 kok) (end note)

15:22b) -- cheruŋ (note: for each tomb there will be guards (suhogun) for the tombs. Not only did they guard the tombs, but they also took charge of the tomba system. The intent behind the establishment of these officials was deeply good (profound and good), and that's why it was like this. But at
bureaucratic organization

306, 15:22b) the present time, only the ch'ambong is in charge of guard duty, and each the tombs are each in separate places. (end note)

--- Chinsawŏn (note: accommodates outstanding men of ability who have been promoted to the court) (end note)

--- Chinsa (note: 30 men a year of those who every year have been promoted to court service. No fixed quota; to be accepted as they enter the wŏn (yuan).) (end note)

--- (clerks) sŏri, 3 men; choye, 12 men (note: all to serve on duty at the office performing functions); sosa, (1 man for each chinsa) (end note)

--- Aekch'ŏngsŏn (note: in charge of supervising the food in the grand palace; transmitting orders for guarding the gates and cleaning the palace) (end note)

--- sango (note: 2 men (7A); sangjŏn (8A); sangch'aek (8B); sang 3 men (8A); sang? 3 men (8B); sangsŏl 5 men (9A); sangje (cleaning men), 5 men (9B). (note: No other officials besides these. 30 eunuchs. 10 of them to receive a monthly salary of 4 kok; 20 to receive 3 kok. Also all of them will be divided into two shifts of duty (ipchik)) (end note)

--- (clerks): choye, 9 men (note: all of them to be on duty in the office to perform duties) (end note); sosa, 30 men

--- Aekch'ŏng pyŏlgam (68 men. (note: 40 pyŏlgam for the Large Palace (Taejŏn, of the king); 10 for the queen's palace, 18 for the crown prince's palace. In the Taejŏn law code it states that all these positions are will be performed by the chŏnbok. If any common people want to serve in these posts, they also can be selected and hired.

In accordance with the regulations for the various ch'abi of the Saongwŏn, divided them into two shifts of duty and pay them a monthly salary of 2 kok 5 tu. For those in charge who are important, raise their salaries by degrees. Rank 9B, 1; raise the salaries of 3 men by 2 kok; raise the salaries of 12 men by 1 kok. Consult the old regulations and determine how this should be carried out, and have them shift around on duty.) (end note)
(note: According to the state's codes at the present time the Naesibu Eunuch bureau? (內侍府 agencies of the palace?) is also listed at the end of the list but it of official agencies 乙 is a rank 2B bureau. The original (basic) quota for eunuchs is 140 men, but there are 59 who have official posts. In the Han dynasty in the reign of Xian-ti (48-32 BC), Kung Yu (貢禹) submitted a memorial which said: In ancient times there were no more than 9 palace women (concubines) and no more than 8 horses. Kao-tsu (高祖) and Hsiao-wen (孝文) and Hsiao-ching (孝景) revised the old regulations and conserved (cut down on) the number of palace women so that there were no more than a dozen and no more than a 100 odd horses. The history states that the Eastern Han established the Chung-ts'ang-shih (中常侍) with 4 men and the Hsiao-huang-men (小黃門) with 10 men. After the yen-p'ing era, 106-107 AD) there was a gradual increase in the number of eunuchs. The Chung-ts'ang-shih had 10 men and the Hsiao-huang-men had 20. In addition to these there were also men who did not have official posts and yet had work to do, and this opened up the way for the evil of the eunuchs. (end quote) If you look at the problem from this (evidence), then 50 eunuchs is too many.

Under the system of the Koryo dynasty, the posts of the eunuchs was restricted to ch'amha posts (rank 6 or below) and they could not be appointed to rank 6 posts or above.) (end note)

- With regard to eunuchs who do not receive official posts but who serve on duty, every day they are examined on their ability to comprehend the Hsiao-hsueh and the Four Books, and only after that are they exempted from studying. (note: they are also exempted after attaining the age of 40) (end note). Also every spring and fall they are examined on the Hsiao-hsueh and the Four Books and their salaries are either raised or lowered. (note: They are examined by the tangsang/officials of the Ministry of Personnel, who sit together and pick out the eunuchs who are best at comprehending the texts and they increase their monthly salaries by 1 kok 二氧化碳 for 3 men. Those who at the first of the month do not comprehend
the texts have their salaries reduced by 1 kok for 3 months)(end note)

At the present time the eunuch officials, many of them, have wives and concubines. This situation is extremely inappropriate. Any who do have wives or concubines should be given 100 strokes and dismissed from the rosters. (note: Those people who have managed the marriages of these women should also be punished for the same crime)(end note)

And the eunuchs (guilty of this) should be separated out (from the palace) and (sent to live) in a different (place).

--- Hullyŏn-dogam (headnote: or change the name to Kyŏngbyŏngbu (end headnote). (note: in charge of teaching and training the capital soldiers who have been on duty for a long time.)(end note)

- taejang, 1 man (general), (2B); chunggun (中官 ), 1 man (3A);
- chongsagwan (從官 ) 2 men (5A); pāg'ong (把門 ) (6B);
- Ch'ogwan (曹官 ) (9B). (note: the number of the pāg'ong and ch'ogwan should be determined in accordance with the number of troops. There should be 1 ch'ogwan for every 100 troops, and for every 5 ch'o (companies), there should be 1 pāg'ong. If the number of troops exceed several thousand or more, then on top of the pāg'ong also establish a kungjang (軍將 ) with a rank of 3B.)(end note)

-(clerks): sŏri, 9 men; choye, 30 men; sosa, 6 men (note: They are to be the attendants of the pāg'ong and ch'ogwan and lower officials, and as sahu (servants) they are to serve on duty on rotation. Have 3 for every pāg'ong, and 2 for every Ch'ogwan.)(end note)

-aegwan (旗牌官 ), 4 men (note: for details see the section on the military system)(end note)

(note: As for the present Hullyŏn-dogam, it is a bureau that was established later on in the dynasty, but this (system of mine) also follows along with the system that we have at present. If we were to change the title of this agency and also its officers, then it ought to be upgraded and the agency included under the Sahŏnbu (OIG).)(end note)
The number of the above listed capital officials comes altogether to 540 men, with 45 noksa, 480 sori, 2,955 choye (note: together with slaves), and 1,000 sosa.

In addition to this you also have chongch'in (royal relatives), mibin (royal nephews), kongsin (merit subjects), and men enfeoffed with the title of kun (ponsung

and for all of these there are no standard quotas. Nevertheless, if you temporarily calculate their numbers in general figures, then they are no less than two to three hundred. (note: Merit subjects customarily have official posts, but occasionally there are those without posts who by virtue of their titles as kun receive salaries.) (end note) The number of iye (irepp) (clerks and slaves, or servants) can also be estimated on the basis of this.

Bureaus attached to the Six Ministries:

- Ministry of Personnel: Seja sigangwon (Crown Prince Tutorial);
  Saongwon, Gilwon, T'aeinwon (大医院), Naeyakkuk (內藥局),
  and the Aekch'ong's (掖庭署).

- Ministry of Taxation: Saengnsi (貢院), Sangp'yonggam; P'ungnyoch'ang;
  Kwangnyoch'ang.

- Ministry of Rites: Pongsangsi (奉常寺); Sôngmunwon; Yebinsi; T'ongnye-
  won (通順), Ch'unch'ugwan; Kyosogwan; Changakwon (崇雅院), Kwansanggam;
  Sayoggwon; Chongmayos; Sajiksa; Pinggo (Ice House); Sach'uksa (司書署);
  Tohwasu (图画署); Hwarinsu (浣衣署), the cherung (tombs) within the capital province area (Cherungjon ch'ambong).

- Ministry of War: Owi, K'umowi, Naegumwi, Misunwi, Saboksi (司僉寺),
  Kun'gislay, Seja Igwisa, Kammunsai, Sôngmunsa.

- Ministry of Punishments; Sônggonggam; Changwonsai (掌刑部).
bureaucratic organization

--- Rank (p'umgyes)
-1A. t'ukch'in sungnok taebu

-1B Sungnok taebu
Kwangnok taebu

-2A Ch'ongh'on taebu
Chah'on taebu

-2B Kaj'ong taebu
Kadok taebu

-3A T'ong'mi taebu
T'ongh'on taebu

-3B T'onghun taebu
Chunghun taebu

-4A Pongj'ong taebu
Pongnyol taebu

-4B Choryol taebu
Chobong taebu

-5A T'ongdok-nyang
T'ongs'on-nyang

-5B Pongjik-nyang
Ponghun-nyang

-6A Sungnyeryang
Sunghun-nyang

-6B Sunggyoryang
Sungmyryang

-7A Chokkong-nyang
Mugong-nyang

-7B Kyegong-nyang
Ch'igong-nyang

-8A Sujik-nyang
Sangsik-nyang

-8B Sumuryang
Sungmuryang

-9A T'ongsiryang
Sungsiryang

-9B Chongsiryang
T'ongsiryang

--- Rank titles

For the oem'ongbujik see the law code (taejön)

(note; with regard to the punin chongbu-kill, t'umun [10650],
they will take their rank)

those who marry a second time will not be enfoeffed (given rank, pong); those who change marriage (after divorce?) will have their rank taken away after the fact)

Note: From here and up are tangsanggwan
Both civil and military officials will have the same rank at each grade level, and they will not again be subdivided into two different ranks. Some might say to this that the Eastern and Western files (tongsban) each have their own rank and it has been that way since ancient times, so that how can we do it this way at the present time (include both of them in the same ranks)? To this I would reply that the establishment of rank (kyeja) began in the Sui dynasty and was completed in the T'ang dynasty, and that prior to that time (ranks) did not exist. Even though ranks were established in the Sui dynasty (officials without posts) it only applied to the San'gwan (散官) in order to provide them especially with additional post (titles), (that is, it was given to) men with a reputation for virtue, and no distinction was made between civil or military. By the T'ang dynasty they increased the number of ranks by several dozen, and they also divided up the civil and military ranks and separated them into two branches. This division of the civil and military officials into two branches was one of the worst mistakes made by later ages (in Chinese history), and it should not be taken as a model.

I also note that in ancient times they only had 9 commissions (chiu ming). The (creation of) large numbers of ranks was an evil (that arose) in later ages (in Chinese history). In the Chin dynasty Li Chung requested that several official grades be combined. People of intelligence thought that this was correct. The present 18 grades are too many (in number), and in our country's system we also divide up grade 3A into two (sub-) grades of the tangsang, tangsang, and tangha. We ought to change this so that rank 3A is taken as (the lowest grade) of the tangsang (officials), and make 3B (the top grade) for tangha officials.

Also, according to our country's system, from grade 7 on down, each rank (pum) makes 1 grade (kye). This seems to be simple and something that can be adopted. It is only that if we do it like this, then
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starting from rank 1, in all cases for every rank there should be one grade (kye) and every three years there should be one review of performance (ko). If we do not do it like this, then it would be preferable to have two grades (kye) for each rank (p'um); we should not just reduce them to a single grade from rank 7 down, alone.

According to old regulations, from the sori, chamnyu, Ch'ungri, and Ch'unsunwi on down to the chesaek various types of soldiers (chesaek kuns), for all of them their duties are calculated and their grades raised. The confusion in the order of names (that this causes) is extreme. Generally speaking, outside of the raising of grades after review (of performance) for civil and military posts, all other (such raises for other posts) should be abolished. It is only that with regard to officers and officials in the provinces, they should be treated the same as (capital) officials, and even though there is no evaluation of (their performance) to mete out praise and blame (rewards and punishment), their grades could be raised after an appraisal of their performance in office.) (end note)

--- Awarding of titles (pongch'aek) ---

-Chongch'in (royal relatives). 1A kun (君). (note: for princes born of primary wives (wangjajok 王子嫡), add the character, "tae" (大).)

-1B kun 君
-2A kun 
-2B kun 
-3A tojong (都正)
-3B chong (正)
-4A su (守)
-4B pusu (副守)
-5A yong (令)
-5B puryong (副令)
-6A kam (監)
-6B pugam (副監)
The eldest son of a legitimate wife who succeeds a taegun will first be granted a rank 1B kun title.

- the other sons of the crown prince and the eldest son by a legitimate wife who succeeds a wangja-gun will be first given a rank 2A kun title.
- the eldest grandson by a legitimate wife who succeeds the other sons of a taegun will first be given a rank 2B kun title.

- the other grandsons of the crown prince and the eldest grandson by a legitimate wife (mother) who succeeds the other sons of a wangja-gun will first be given a rank 3A tojong

- the eldest great grandson who succeeds to the other sons of a taegun will first be given a rank 3B chong title.

- the great grandsons of the crown prince (not the main line), and the great grandsons of the eldest son of a legitimate wife who succeeds to the other great grandsons of a wangja-gun will first be given a rank 4A su title.

- the great grandsons (not the main line) of a taegun will first be given a rank 4B pusu title.

- the great grandsons (not mainline) of a wangja-gun will first be given a rank 5A yong title.

(note: Sons of concubines will be shifted down by one degree)(end note)

(note: The inherited title of nobility will be given to a person after his father dies.)(end note)

(note: Royal relations (chongch'ın) must at the age of 20 be able to comprehend 1 classics (either the) Hsiao-hsüeh or the Four books, and only then can they be given their title of nobility (ch'aeok). (subnote: The method of examination will follow the system used in the Chonghak (nobles schools). Even though a youth be 20 years old, those who are not conversant with the classics must wait until they are. If one is 30 years old and still is not conversant with the classic, then give him his noble title but cut his salary in half.
Those who succeed (to the title, position) of a royal prince will be given their noble title at the age of 16, but those not conversant with writing before the age of 20 will have their salaries cut in half. (end subnote)

-(note: When the line of nobility runs out, then in accordance with the regulations pertaining to sons and grandsons of civil and military officials, have them enter service. (ipsi).

- The eldest son of a legitimate wife (chukchang) is to be distinguished clearly from the other grandsons (chungson).

(note: What this means is that even though the ordinary sons of a taegun are rank 2B, and ordinary grandsons are rank 3B, and ordinary great grandsons are 4B, the eldest legitimate sons of a taegun is 1B; eldest legitimate grandson is 2A; eldest ziji legitimate great grandson is 2B. For the rest, extend it from this (estimate it from this). (end note)

- Even though this is close to the intent of the ancients, nevertheless, because in ancient times they granted fiefs (pong'sin), (titles of fiefs?) were passed down for a hundred generations without dropping (a degree in rank), which was indeed appropriate (correct). But at the present time we have no practice of granting fiefs (feng-chien), and we calculate the generations until the degree of royal blood runs out (ch'injin), so that the situation (today) is especially different (from ancient times).

Moreover, even though the great grandson of a taegun, who has a rank of 2, is the last generation in which there is royal blood (recognized), his ziji son also may receive the sacrifice of a taegun on the grounds that he is a yusaeng (Confucian student). Since things are like this, then one cannot draw a comparison with ancient times. If things are determined in this fashion, then it will be appropriate and will obtain peace (k fairness and equality). There is no doubt, no doubt of it.

(note: According to the system in our country, if the sons of a royal relations (chongch'in soja) are born from a commoner concubine,
bureaucratic organization -55- chikkwan chi che, sang

you drop their rank down by one degree. If they are born from a slave
ch'6kcha concubine (ch'6nch'ép), you again lower (their noble title, rank) by
one degree. I note that with regard to the names, ch'6k (4:72: legitimate)
and sô (37: commoner? illegitimate?), in ancient times they only
called the eldest son of a legitimate wife (ch'6kch'6ngja- 'E# -子 )
the ch'6k (4:72: ). The rest of the other sons (y'6jungja 4) were
regarded as sô (37: ). (NB: THIS SEEMS TO BE IN LINE WITH Song Si-yol's
interpretation--the Noron line and)
They also did call the sons of
wife
ch'6kch'6ngja a ch'6k
(4:72: ) and the son of a concubine a sô (37: ), but
they did not make a distinction between the son of a commoner concubine
or a slave concubine. The sons of concubines of members of royalty (chongsil
were all given rank of one grade less, but there was no mention of whether
they were born of commoners or slaves. What is called "commoner" and
"slave" (yang, ch'6n) is basically not like the fixed robes (status)
assigned to wives and concubines. If among these you were to make
a distinction on the basis of birth in order to determine with an offspring
was noble or base (kwich'6n), then this would do damage to the proper
way (of respect) between father and son. (subnote: This is because
recognizing recognizing this would be close to (a son's) knowing his mother but not knowing
his father. Generally speaking, whether a mother is noble or base only
depends on whether she is a wife or a concubine, and that is all. If whether
the family and background (munji of a mother is high or low
(exalted or in ruin) is something that cannot be discussed with regard
to this (problem) (end subnote) And it would also be a perversion of the
proper order (to be maintained) between an elder and younger brother.
The harm done to ordinary moral relationships would not be small. The
code and institutions of the state are based on custom, and we cannot help
but rectify them.)(end note)

--. In Sung dynasty times, there was no generational limit on the imperial	house (chongsil). Chu Hsi once spoke about this evil, saying:
bureaucratic organization -56- chikkwan chi che, sang

309, 15:27b) At the present time the imperial house grows larger by the day. If the state does not concern itself (about this problem), then some time in the distant future this will do harm to the people. As in the case with Han dynasty law, the sons of the Emperor (Son of Heaven) alone were allotted land (yōichi) and made kings ( wang chih 李). As for the sons of these kings, then only one of them, the eldest son by a legitimate wife (chōkcha) succeeded (to the title, role of) king. As for the other sons ( sōja)

*SIGNIFICANT THAT HE USES THE TERM SŌJA TO MEAN ORDINARY OTHER all PRINCES; IN LINE WITH Song Si-yīl’s interpretation), none of them were given (feng) the title of marquis (hu 侯). And only the eldest legitimate son (chōkcha, eldest son of a wife) succeeded to (the title of) marquis, and as for the other sons (chei 貳, none of them were given (feng)(a title of noble rank). For this reason, after several generations passed by all of them were no different from the common people (sōn 民). This situation was such that if they did not have the wherewithal to provide for themselves, they could not avoid personally engaging in agriculture. People like Kuang-wu-ti (of the Later Han) also rose up from the (ranks of the) people (commoners).

--- Mibin (儀賓)(royal sons-in-law).
- rank 1A (to be called) wi( 居 )
- rank 1B (to be called) wi
- rank 2A (to be called) wi
- rank 2B (to be called) wi
- rank 3A (to be called) puwi( 居 )
- rank 3B (to be called) puwi.

15:28a) --- The husbands of princesses (kongju puma 公主驸馬) when first given rank 2A (will be called) wi.

The husbands of ongju (ongju puma 妾王...), when first given rank 2B (will be called) wi.
bureaucratic organization -57- chikkwan chi che, sang

309, 15:28a

the husbands of kunju (kunju pumak主) when first given rank 3A
will be (called) pmvi (삼부위)

the husbands of hyŏnju (hyŏnju pumak臣主) when first given rank
of 3B, will be (called) pmvi(삼부위)

Merit Subjects (kongsin)

- rank 1A, (will be called) kun (note: the father of a queen or a royal

relatives who is a merit subject will have added the two characters,

puwŏn(蒲院) (i.e., puwŏngun)

- rank 1B (will be called) kun

- rank 2A (will be called) kun

- rank 2B (will be called) kun

merit subjects will be awarded (pong, feng) rank on the basis of merit.

If the eldest son and grandson of the wife (chŏkkchang chanson) hold a post
of a rank (down) to 2B, then it may also be inherited

(in our country's system, the titles for merit subjects, royal relations
(kongsin, chongch'ın-kun, royal sons-in-law (tıbinwi) all use their
surname, domicile, and town (sŏnggwan) (姓名邑). (note: in the case
of royal relations, then the surname and domicile (kwan) of the mother is
used) (end note)

- I note that, if the sase system (grant of tax collection rights?)
has been adopted, then it would be appropriate to use the name of the
town (/tcp) in accordance with the ancient regulations for sign up.

15:28b)

I also note that according to our country's system, royal relatives and
merit subjects of rank 2 and up are all called kun, while those of rank
3 and below are only given the titles of tojŏng, chŏng, su, and yŏng, and
in the case of royal relatives, alone. This
is in accordance with the ancient system of 5 grades (o-dang) (of nobility)
according to which rank 1A and 1B were kung(與), rank 2A and 2B were
hу(府), 3A and 3B were paek(包), 4A and 4B were cha(子), and
5A and 5B were nam(男). It would be best to establish a system like this.
bureaucratic organization -58- chikkwan chi che, sang

(note: In the case of royal relatives, then for rank 6A and 6B, we also have an additional rank (title) of hyŏnnam(縣男) for them.) (end note)

- In the case of a kongsin (merit subject), we only say xianmianhamsamchongmyo

"such-and-such a merit subject!" (note: We only use two characters. As a general rule the titles are like p'yŏngmu kongsin(兵戎) or chŏngnan kongsin (靖難). But all we do is to record the name of the merit and keep it in the royal shrine (chongmyo), with a second (copy) in the Ministry of Personnel, and that is all. We cannot allow people to be calling themselves "merit subjects!" on their official calling cards (kwanham 官衙).

-. Abolish the present regulations for granting titles (to them) (sahoe

(note: such titles as 你箝, 奮義, 為義, 合義, 忠義, 怎義, 賢義, 效義) or chungnan kongsin (靖難).

The granting of special titles (such as these) was an evil that arose in late Sung dynasty times and was copied in the Koryŏ dynasty. It is not something that existed in ancient times. H Yang I(楊一) Han, III, 231; of Sung times, attained the post of Shih-kuan shou-ch’iu安

and clarified the tien-chang(天章) system) of Sung times once said:

The present appellation of merit subject (kung-ch’en) began xinshihawangxumun

when Te-tsung(德宗). Those troops who had supported him at Feng-t’ien (奉天) were all given the title of Feng-t’ien ting-nan kung-ch’en (奉天定難功臣). What started as a temporary piece of good fortune became institutionalized as a comprehensive regulation for all time and in recent times, the prime ministers and great officials have lengthy titles that extend for 8-9 characters. This is not in accordance with classical law and ought to be eliminated and by this means laws clarified." (end of quote)

Thus the Sung dynasty people also knew that this (was a practice) without foundation. What is done at the present time in our country, then is inherited from the bad practices of the Koryŏ dynasty. And also to allow officials to write their merit subject titles on their official calling cards and call themselves "merit subjects" is also without foundation. This
is even worse. These titles are on the same level as the respect titles for the king (himself). It is a practice of a fin-de-siecle age of darkness and decline.) (end note)

--. With regard to the princes, royal sons-in-law (mibin) and merit subjects (listed) above, even though they have no official duties, they should still be granted retainers and servants (chongye) (note: 7 choye for a taegun, 6 for a wangja-gun and the father of a queen, 5 for mibin and kongsin of rank 1, 4 for rank 2, 2 for a puwi. (subnote: 1 man for a tangha wihat (end subnote), 2 sosa for a rank 2a puwi or higher person, 1 for a rank 2b or puwi. As for li (clerks), then there should be none of these.

With regard to royal relatives, a rank 1 kun should have 3 choye, a rank 2 person should have 2; a tojong should have 1.

With regard to merit subjects who have official duties, they ought to have (the use of) the clerks and servants (i-ye) of their home bureau and there is no need to give them double servants. As for those who are officials in the Chongjöngbu (Office of the Royal Clan), the same goes for them.

Royal relatives of rank 3 or lower will only use their household retainers.

With regard to the quotas of household retainers, this should be set in accordance with what is appropriate. It is only that the number should not exceed the original fixed quota set for each rank. (subnote: for this quota, see below. A man of rank one should not have more than 2 men, a man of rank 6 should not have more than 4 men, etc.) (end subnote)

(note cont.)--. Some people feel that it is in accordance with the proper way of (treating) royal relatives that we should provide the royal house with as many servants as it needs, but this is not so. If we give a large number of the royal family as many servants and retainers (as they want), they not only will the common people not be able to meet their tax obligations, but it would also not be appr...
but it would also not be appropriate to have large numbers of servants (saryŏng) for people without official duties. Originally when officials were established there were not clerks and servants (provided for) to indulge the officials' personal needs; it was because they had official duties (that they were given clerks and servants).

If we are to follow the ancient principles, then those people without official duties ought not to have any retainers at all. It is only that the princes were in ancient times those people who were to be the rulers of the state, and the princesses were basically in ancient times people who would be married to the feudal lords (chu-hou) who would have a state (kingdom, principedom, fief), and the queens were basically the women who were daughters of the feudal lords who had principedoms (states) and who would be the queen of the ruler.

But at the present time all of them are not like this, therefore we have no choice but to grant them (retainers). But as for the rest of them, there is nothing to be discussed. But in later ages (after antiquity) the royal relatives were not given office, and those granted the title of marquis (hou) who did not have posts also had not business which required them to go to the national capital. Therefore special regulations were provided to give them superior (treatment). The fact that this was not correct from the outset is to be seen in the provision they had that prohibited (royal relatives) from holding posts (ko chŏngSil).

According to the "tradition" (ch'ŏn), it says: Royalty (kung-tsu) has relatives without end, but the fact that there are some of them who are lined up with the common people shows that their lack of ability is held in low esteem. Thus in ancient times even though a man might be a relative of a noble (kongjok, kung-tsu), if he were lacking in worth, then he had no office, and if he had no office, then he was lined up with (considered equivalent to) a commoner (shu-jen).

Thus what was meant (in the classics) by the phrase: "to treat a relative as a relative" (ch'ın-ch'ın) meant to be friendly and warm,
bureaucratic organization -604m chikkwan chi che, sang

to teach and instruct, and to help out during funerals, and to select ones with worth and appoint them to office, and that was all.

If you look at the problem on the basis of (this evidence), then (it is clear) that in ancient times they never had any regulation that provided for establishing (and granting) rank/to all royal relatives. If they have been granted salaries, then they ought to take care of their household retainers. The work that they are required to perform is no more than attending court, congratulatory celebrations, and serving on tours (when their presence is required), etc. There is no fear that they won't have enough men (servants, to help them) with this.

(end note)

With regard to the quotas for noksa (録事), sōri (書吏) and choya (筆者), in all cases take into consideration the duties, and increase the quotas by 1 1/2 times.

(note: If the quota calls for 10 men, then increase it to 15.) (end note)

In a month of three 10-day weeks, they should have one 10-day week of rest and make a regulation that they should alternate on duty. If people should be sick or absent with excuse, or have some other duties beyond regulations, then adjust the quotas. (note: Double the quota for these

ch'abī (除篇) serving in palace agencies such as the Aekch'ōngs (掖廷司) and Saongwŏn (司書院) and divide them into two shifts which will alternate on duty.) (end note)

I note that in ancient times if a commoner (shu-jen 廟人) held an official post, he had subordinates called fu, shih, hsi, and tu (附, 史, 號, 問), and each official had a fixed quota of fu (附) charge of keeping the stores (warehouses), the shih (史) took charge of documents; the hsi (簿) took charge of the order and procedure of affairs, and the tu (問) carried out orders.
These titles and categories were extremely correct and appropriate, but it is only that we cannot change all the titles of officials at the present time to conform to those of ancient times, so that with regard to clerks and servants (iye), we also should follow present nomenclature and just set the quotas to fit their tasks.

(\textit{note: I note that in the law code (taejŏn), the various ch'abi of the Aekch'ongṣŏ and Saongwŏn are divided into two shifts, but with regard to others, there is no basis for investigation (knowledge)})

At the present time we have no regulation for dividing the clerks and servants (iye) into shifts, and basically they all have to serve on permanent shifts (changbŏn, 고장교). Generally, the officials stay home and very infrequently (go to their offices) to conduct business (kaejwa, 외교).

The lower clerks also stay at home and do not go to work to receive orders on a day-to-day basis. That is why (there are no rotating shifts). If we required that for each bureau there be an official yamen (building) (office) and that the head officials would have to take his family and reside (in it) as in the case of the provincial officials, then with regard to the clerks and runners (hain, 하인), we should also set their quotas and make the system clear. Those people who serve as attendants (kunsu, 관서) would have to perform their duties every day as is called for in the present day regulations. And \textit{even though} the various clerks on duty in the office would have to be in attendance in the office even though it was a day in which there was no business to conduct, just as is \textit{required in the regulations} for provincial officials and clerks. And also a day of rest would be set and they would be allowed to rest on rotation.

Clerks are basically people who take charge of the circulation of documents. It is only that in selecting good men and providing them with superior salaries, one ought not to have too many of them. The basic quotas in the Law Code (taejŏn) is too large (many). We ought to
in accordance with law

15:30a) set a definite quota. The people selected to be the noksa(noksa) must be the
most skilled, but their numbers have to be reduced. As for the choye,
then let (their numbers) be sufficient to provide services, but we must
also select those who are fitting (suitable) and put them into service.)

15:30b) As for the Noksa(noksa)(note: those people who take charge of
the order (ordering) of documents. Only the sangbu(sangbu) and Six
Ministries have them.)

select and examine clerks (sōri)
who have talent and (outstanding) behavior and promote them (to the post
of noksa). Do not do as is done at the present time and divide them
to work up and allot them to the various tangsang (officials) (to select?). Just
send them go to the bureau (where they work?) and investigate how they work on the
job(?).

- sōri(sōri) (note: in charge of the circulation of documents. Those
people who are in charge of storing and keeping documents are also included
among these.)(end note), select and test commoners who have
are able to write and employ them. As for the method of distribution, one man will
go to each of the tangsang officials up to rank 1 officials to be their
attendants (sujong). The rest of them will all be assigned to

1) offices (chikch'ung)

2) As for the sōri, each of them are selected by hired by the chief
official (changgwan), who must examine them in the Hsiao-hsüeh, their
ability to write straight characters, and their ability to do calculations
(arithmetic). (note: the tangsang and nangch'ung officials will
meet and sit together and examine them)(end note). Only after (they are
examined in this fashion) will they be allowed in (to be hired). After a
sōri has been on the job for a full 9 years, he then may be allowed to
tak an examination at the Ministry of Personnel for promotion to the post
of noksa.

At the palace exam, (the sōri) will himself select two books
from among the Hsiao-hsüeh and the Four Books (note: the Chung-yung and
Ta-hsueh x 2 books are equivalent to a single other book)(end note)
the laws (yulsŏm), the great code (taejŏn), writing in the square style, and calculations (arithmetic), and the officials in his bureau will have to guarantee in writing that he is without fault or violation (crime), and only after that, can he be tested. (note: The clerks (sŏri) serving in provincial offices who have filled their terms may also be permitted to stand for the noksa examination. Also, the chief and assistant officials in the place (where they are stationed) must give a written guarantee. Every three years the Ministry of Personnel will conduct an examination of those suitable to be tested, and five months before the date (of the test), the provinces will be informed. Nobody may advance to the position of noksa without having passed through the post of sŏri.)(end note)

When a noksa has served in his post for a full 6 years, if he is talented and of good conduct (performance), then the Ministries of Personnel and Rites will sit together and conduct examinations (of such noksa) (note: They will be examined on two books of their own choosing from among the Six Classics, and the Hsiao-hsueh, Chia-li, and Four Books)(end note)

(And those who pass) will get a raise in salary and an additional grant of land. (note: raise their salaries by 1 dok a month and grant them (an additional?) 2 kyŏng of land)(end note). In addition, they may stand for the examination only after the officials of their bureau have guaranteed their talents and conduct. (note: If there are people who are suitable for examination, then every three years the Ministries of Personnel and Rites will sit together and conduct the examinations.)(end note)

-(note: It states in the Great Code that after a sŏri has completed his tour of duty (term of service), he is to be transferred to the post of post-station clerk (yŏksŭng, but at the present time this route has been completely cut off. (at the present time the road to advancement has been completely severed??). At the present time (people, clerks) are completely cut off for no other reason than they have no connections (munbŏl). Nevertheless, basically
it was not an ancient law to allow clerks to become regular officials.

Former worthies (a former worthy) has said that the posts of fu, shih, hsü, and tu of the Chou dynasty were the equivalent of the clerks of the present time. As for the practice of having the so-called common people (shu-jen) hold regular official posts, in ancient times there was never any way for these people to advance into regular service. By the time of the Ch'in dynasty they cast off the Confucians and exalted the clerks, and the Han dynasty followed this practice and for the first time allowed clerks to become regular officials. (end note)

15:31b) If the noksa or sōri have committed a crime, then the noksa will be dismissed from office (note: "dismissed" 謝職 means that the man will be enrolled for military service)(end note) while the sōri will be dismissed (cheha) and demoted. (note: if they take a bribe or commit fraud (deception), then they will be punished in accordance with law)(end note) and other people will be selected to replace them.

As for the choye, they will also (be handled) like this. As for the selection and appointment, dismissal and removal of the clerks and subordinates (iye) of the provinces, all of it will be done in accordance with regulations for capital (clerks). (note: Clerks in the provinces will also be selected by examination and appointed to office. If there are any who commit a violation, then have them punished and dismissed, but and select and appoint someone to take their place. At the present time they do not have salaries but are required to serve as labor service) and for that reason you cannot do it this way. But if they are provided with salaries and good provisions, then naturally it ought to be done this way. If it is done this way, then people will know what integrity and shame means (yōnch'i) and there will not be any way for violators (dishonest people) to be accepted into their midst.)(end note)
bureaucratic organization

--. The choye (跑腿)(note: men who act as runners and servants (iju saryōng 趟走使命) and those who are official granary attendants and guards will also be included among these) will be recruited from among the people of the capital and brought in (hired) and attached to a bureau. Slaves (nobyōng 奴婢) will be included in their quota. As for the method of distribution, each rank 1 official will have 7 of them, each rank 2 official will have 3, each rank 3 officials will have 4 (note: 5 for tangsang officials) (end note), each rank 4 official will have 3, each rank 5 or 6 officials will have 2, and x officials of rank 7 or belos will each have one, (and the choye) will be their subordinates (runners: kōnsu)(note: With regard to those people who ought to have front runners (guides? chōndo 前導) each will be included in the quota and will regarded as a chōndo. 3 men for a rank 1 official, 2 for a rank 2 official, and one man for a rank 3 official and sain(令), sajōng 正), sigang(侍講), p'ilson(弼善) and chip'yōng(持平)(end note)

As for the rest of them, they all will do their duty at the yamen office and be given tasks to do. (note: As for what is presently called the nājang chewon(羅科諸員), they are basically (the same as) the general choye, and there will be no necessity to set up a special name for them. They should be called by the same name of choye, but in the case of the Ministry of Punishments, call them nājang, as is done at the present time. And have their them make their clothes black (cho 墨). (end note)

15:32a) I note that in later ages (after the age of antiquity in China) the so-called choye were equivalent to the runners of ancient times. At the present time in the Chinese court all great and small yamen have ch‘unluo choye who serve as yamen runners (chikch‘ōng 趼走使命), and all regular officials from rank 1 to 9 also all are provided with choye (tsao-i) to carry out duties as runners (sayyong 使命). Different numbers of them are provided in accordance with rank, and all of them are recruited from the commoner population. In our country
we have the slave laws, and for that reason in addition to the choye we also have slaves for each bureau (kaksang) who are required to perform service (there). If you talk about what their duties are, then there is no special difference (between the duties of the slaves and the commoner choye), but each of them has a separate quota under the different name of commoner and slave (yangch'ön i myong). The duties they perform, As for the quotas of those who serve in a yamen (chikch'ong), and for those who are divided up and distributed among the officials, there are also separate regulations for that and differences in the numbers of them (assigned to officials) by grades. In determining how many or how few of them (there are to be assigned?), what with the fractions and small numbers, it is very difficult to (distribute them?) equally. Also under the current regulations being carried out, the number of choye recruited from among both official and private slaves is extremely large. It is not necessary to have commoners (yang'in) perform these tasks. In places where there are not enough bureau slaves (note: it is this way because is is difficult to have a regular fixed number (quota) of the for how many sons or grandsons of male slaves that will be born, and also because many of them abscond.) (end note) you also make take regular soldiers (chôngbyong) who are on duty tours (sangbëm) and divide them up and send them to the bureaus to take the place (of the slaves) and perform their duties. Even though the law as established have become a dead letter, we can still make substitutions in fact in this manner.

The laws making slavery hereditary are basically what the six government of a true king should abolish. Even though we cannot at the present time suddenly change it, nevertheless we can adapt (t'ôngyug) the numbers (quotas) and make their emoluments and salaries the same (as commoners?) (note: there is no special difference between their duties (and those of commoners), so that we should make their salaries the same. Salaries are the means by which one feeds (rewards) merit.) (end note)
With regard to the slaves of every government bureau (sandan 고수), outside of the ones that we presently have, in accordance with how many or how few of them there are, recruit general commoners for service as choye and have them jointly do work (along with the slaves) and divide up and assign duties to them (to both the slaves and the commoners). Also do not talk of this or that (don't make distinctions between slaves and commoners), but only look to see if a man's talent is suitable for either taking the responsibilities of a messenger (saryông 봉하), or being a guard (sujik 守備), or being an attendant for an official (chegwan sujong 官員). Only after things are done like this can we avoid the evils of sticking too closely to rules? (ku 招), of tearing things apart (공격), and of blocking or obstructing (progress?).

Some might say that this is really right; but that it is only that like that if your flexibility is such (통통적), then there would not be mutual obstruction and antagonism? when the commoners and slaves (ch'ónica 男家) are mixed together, wouldn't there be mutual obstruction and antagonism?

To this I would reply, at the present time the clerks and runners (iye) at the present time are not provided with salaries; they are only required to perform labor service on the basis of their title (a category? i myŏngsaek ch'ongyk 免色定格, and therefore that's why it is this way. If people were given posts in accordance with their talents and each of them was provided with a salary, then naturally there would be no such evil. At the present time the people who are recruited for the job of choye are a mixture of commoners and slaves (yangch'on 良賤), and they serve in the same units without any animosity between them. But when it comes to the clerks (sŏri), they are not to be compared to the choye. At the present time there are also very many private slaves (sach'on 他家) who are performing the tasks (duties) of sŏri (clerk), and I have never seen where there was mutual obstruction (between the slave and commoner clerk).
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And at the present time, it is still that way. How much
would (it continue to be that way) if after customs were gradually
changed (so that commoners and slaves got used to treating each other
on an equal basis)?

Sosa (note: people who are in front and who respond to calls
(for service) (end note). As for the method of distributing them, each
official of rank 2a and up will have 2; officials of rank 2b to rank 9 will
each have 1, who will serve on them as attendants (kënsu).

(note: At the present time the official yamen in both the capital
and the provinces all have sodong (young boys) and sahwang (servants). When they serve in the bureaus of the capital, they serve
(make the responsibilities of) yamen attendants (ch’ôngjik).
No mention is made of whether they are the sons of clerks (sori) or of
official or private slaves; they do the job based on their own wish
(they volunteer for service. (chong chawon wi chi
In the (outer) towns of Kyonggi province and Yongdong (Kangwon?),
they are called t’ong’in. In the southern regions they are
called kongsaeng, and (in these cases) all of them are the
sons of officials and clerks. In Yongbuk (Hamgyeong?), they
are called soksik and the sons of officials and slave (concubines)
perform these tasks. In general, I have never heard of where young
boys (work the clothes of officials and performed service in ancient times,
but at the present time we already have this practice and it is difficulty
to reform (eliminate) it completely. We ought to establish regulations (for
it) (such that) no mention is made of whether they are sons of
clerks (iye and servants) or of the general commoner population;
any boy that attains the age of 16 or more who is endowed with character and
is cautious and quick of mind who should be allowed to enter service. Wait
until he has been capped. Those who are suitable to serve as clerks (sori)
should be tested and appointed to fill vacancies. Those who are not
suitable (to serve as clerks) might be recruited for the post of choye (runner), or might be released to return home to engage in agriculture. According to the State Code the Ministry of Personnel has charge of the sôri (clerks) and the Ministry of War has charge of the choye (runners). I note that according to the Chou-li, the fu, shih, hau and tu (府, 書, 廰 and 待) were all under the jurisdiction of the t'ien-kuan (天官) (Hanhandaeasaj'on the ch'ongjae or PM). In general, the clerks and runners (irye) should be all selected and appointed by the chief official (kwanjang 官長) and every bureau/keep a record of their names and report it to the Ministry of Personnel. The Ministry of Personnel takes charge of the registers and sends the names and the numbers (of men) to the Ministry of Taxation (should which then provides for their salaries. This is the way it should be done.)

With regard to the Attendants (chong'in 僕人) of officials, if they serve within the palace, then there should be two of them for every official of tangsang rank and above (add one for a taegun) (end note) and there should be one of every one of tanghagwan rank or below. If they serve outside the palace, then with regard to both official and private (slaves), an official of rank 1A should have no more than 12 attendants; an official of rank 1B should have 7; an official of rank 4 should have 6; an official of rank 5 should have 5; an official of rank 6 should have 4; an official of rank 7 or below should have 3. (note: What is meant by "having no more than" means that if even though there is a surplus in their numbers, (an official) should have no more than (the quota). If there is not enough of them (to go around), then naturally you ought to do what is convenient. As for different (quotas) then what has been set above, this is due to the fact that each (official) has his own private attendants, and some of them are provided with superior salaries basically because (the officials) are taking care of their family attendants (servants).)
Rank 1 and 2 officials should only in accordance with law ride carriages (sánggan). As for riding horses, officials of tangsang rank and above also should all have one mane to lead the horse. (note: Provincial officials should also be prohibited from riding sedan chairs. They should only be allowed to ride (chairs) in accordance with rank) (end note)

(note: In ancient times the son of Heaven rode a, and he also had a horse yoked to (the carriage). Since Ch'in Shih-huang (ti) since men were carried on a sedan chairs on people's shoulders, the son of Heaven still did it that way, so how much more so in the case of officials? In our state code it also provides for high officials riding ch'ohón but not for them riding sedan chairs, but according to present regulations all of them ride sedan chairs, and this is extremely inappropriate. It is only all right if the royal princes and prime minister, in accordance with law, ride them but if after it becomes established custom for people to ride carries, then it would be appropriate for people to ride carries with horses. With regard to the so-called kuch'ae (五德) (Han, III, 241, hemp cloth that ch'oe runners in the provinces pay to the officials) of the present time, this should be completely abolished. The regulations for leading horses (having horses of carries lead by runners) basically ought to be abolished. Even if were not able to abolish this all of a sudden, we should allow officials of tangsang rank and above also have one man to lead the horse, and a private servant (retainers) should do it. With regard to those people who ride post station horses who are either provincial officials or envoys going to outer regions, all of them also ought to have one man leading the horse.) (end note)

According to the state codes, envoys proceeding to the (Chinese) capital and provincial governors all ride horses, but at the present time the practice of (these officials) riding horse-drawn carries (kagyon) is
312, 15:34a) a practice that began with Myongjong's reign (mid 16th c.) Because it is like this, I say that they ought to ride horses in accordance with law. (note: With regard to old and sick persons riding horse-drawn carriages, only after a special order is given should they be allowed to ride them.) (end note) With regard to provincial governors going back and forth to nearby places, then in accordance with the provision for riding hon(軒) in the capital, it may be permitted.

-Capital Bureaus (kyŏngbu 京府)

- Hantsŏngbu(漢城府)

p'an'yun(判尹), 1 man (rank 2B); ch'amyun 1 man, (rank 3A), so'yun, 1 man (rank 3B); P'an'gwan(判官), 1 man (rank 5B); ch'amyun(柴郡), 1 man (rank 2A 7A); saok(所), 1 man, (rank 9B).

-(clerks): sŏri, 27 men; ch'oye, 75 men (note: of these three sŏri (clerks) and 6 ch'oye should be in charge of guarding the jail) (end note); sosa, 12 men.

(note: I note that with regard to the Kyŏngbu (capital bureau), even though this pu (agency) is to be established in the place where the capital is located, the control (government) of its land and population ought to be done the same way as the various district magistracies (chubu 창부).

Yet at the present time the Hantsŏngbu only is in charge of the household registers (hojang) and market shops and other matters, and is not in charge of the administration of land. This is extremely mistaken. If you investigate the regulations pertaining to the capital bureau (magistracy) both in ancient and recent times in China, (you find that) it is not at all like this. We ought to reform and rectify the responsibilities. For details on this see the section on the kun-hyon system (local administrative system). (subnote: At the present time, the Hantsŏngbu has no jail (of its own) and the prisoners are kept in the Chŏn'oks(宸京署). Because I am changing this regulation I have provided for am Saok(所). (end subnote) Also with regard to the ch'amyun(柴郡) and lower officials, the tangsang officials will appoint them on their own (chabi 自腹), and in accordance
with the regulations for the local officials in the provinces (oebang hyanggwan), residents from the capital and the environs of the capital (will be recruited) to perform these tasks.) (end note)

- Abolish the present officials of the Five Wards (Obugwan五部官).

The Hansŏngbu will control (the wards) directly.

- Organization of Provincial Officials (oegwanjik外官職).

I note that in ancient times the management division of the empire (into territories) and their governance was all done on the basis of the topography of the geography (mountains and rivers) and (the territorial units) were made to match the differences in land and climate, and the population and goods produced all fitted into (the different territorial units). In our country, even though we are a small country with small territory, nevertheless within our territory the mountains, rivers (topography), climate and conditions are such that we also have limitations with regard to each district. In regard to the delineation of the (boundaries in the) fields and the laying out of the roads, we also ought to base it on fact and investigate it. (note: for details, see the section on the kunhyŏn system, local administration) (end note)

called an

In ancient times they administrative town unit (up) (covered the area of) a pai-li (百里: 100-li), and the area of 100 li was the standard system (for laying out) the kun and hyŏn.

In our country, we have a small area but a large number of administrative towns, and the people are harmed by (this system). When the (territorial areas, units) are laid out and divided up, mistakes are made and some are too long and others too short. At the present time the prefectural administration (chubu) is called a taeup(大部) but their boundaries are intertwined (overlap)m, and with regard to the extend of their boundaries on four sides, sometimes within a 10 li distance they extend to (include) other boundaries, or they go beyond (what they should be) and include two or three administrative towns and do not touch one another.
bureaucratic organization -73- chikkwan chi che, sang

313, 15;35a) in a consecutive line. With regard to the administration of taxes and labor service, there are many evils and inconveniences, and with regard to the leftover small hyŏn (those with only fractional amounts of territory), administrative towns are established with hardly any population in them. Even though they are not complete, yet the labor service burdens of the people are very bitter (burdensome). The (steamroller) rolls back and forth over the people in four directions (the people are crushed under service burdens?) and things get worse by the day. This is not the way to manage the state or to lay out the fields (territory) nor to establish government to benefit the people. Only after the irregular sizes are reduced and the fractional areas are put together (to make a regular sized unit) will things be well managed.

With regard to the establishment of administrative units (towns), suitable for a large city especially in places where the area is large and the land and population is great, there should be a taebu(타변) or a Tohobu(도호부) established. In places where the topography calls for a regular city (medium number) of land and population, then there should be a pu(부) (established here). The next size after that should be a kun; and the next, or an area where (land and population is not large enough) to make a kun, should be made a hyŏn.

(note: The fractional sized hyŏn of the present time should all be either combined or reduced in size, and in general in establishing a kun sized administrative town, you must follow the topography of the land. You should conduct an investigation of the land, population, mountain passes and barriers, walls, moats, roads and strategic and precipitous places, one by one, and see that the best (layout) is made. In general there is an optimum size that fits the land, and there are differences in the breadth or narrowness of the land (fields), and for this reason in setting up administrative units and officials, there should also be degrees of difference. Units of pu or larger should be...
large towns (taeup); a kun should be a chung'ip (middle sized town); and a hyon should be a soip (small town). A tohobu is an especially large sized pu that functions as a garrison (chun) and has jurisdiction over several up (adm. towns). Those that are situated on old capitals should be called taebu (end note).

Irrespective of whether the land is cultivated or uncultivated, in general, an area of 40,000 kyong or more should be a taebu or a tohobu. An area of 30,000 kyong should be a pu; of 20,000 kyong a kun; and 10,000 kyong a hyon. (note: In general an area of 1 li square is equivalent to 9 kyong; and an area of 10 li square is equivalent to 900 kyong, and an area 100 li square is equivalent to 90,000 kyong. Exclude the land taken up with mountains, rivers, swamps, and forest and which is not usable, and obtain (measurements for) the amount of land (chun: arable fields). With regard to the details for the method of cutting down on the size of kun and hyon that are too large, or combining ones that are too small, see the section on kun and hyon (end note).

For the chu and hyon, in every one place a chief and assistant official. (Note: Su Ch'ok, in the past, cut down the size of the official bureaus and established two chief officials. Knowledgable people felt that he deeply understand the proper form of government. In China through successive ages the official system has always been like this, but in our country, we only have one official in the kun-up (district towns), and every time there is the slightest pretext we always have the magistrate of a neighboring district take over (another district) as a concurrency. The harm done to both public and private interest is too great to discuss fully. We ought to establish a system like this (with two officials). For more details on this see the section on kun and hyon) (end note).

Provincial governors form each province (kwanch'alsa), 1 man (2B); tosa (3B) (headnote, change tosa to ch'amni) (end headnote);
bureaucratic organization -75- chikkwan chi che, sang

313, 15:36a)

Shimak (釋菜), 1 man; kemnul (檢律), 1 man (both of the above will be rank 9B)

-(clerks): sori (at the present time, they are called yongni 倫官)(end note), 30 men; choye, 140 men (note: slave combined (included). At the present time all the official magistracies have slaves and they are also combined and included in this. With regard to all the yong, chin, chu, hyon, hak (schools), yok (post-stations), they listed below, they will all be modelled on this (i.e., combining slaves with commoners in the choye category)(end note); sosa, 28 men.

-yonghak (學堂)(note: the official in charge of the schools, and the governor and tosa will hold this post as a concurrency)(end note)

-choye, 24 men (to provide food for the yusaeng (students) and perform various tasks in the schools. The numbers of these (schools, officials) will not be the same for each province, chu, hyon, and the number of students (yusaeng) will also vary. You ought to calculate and add or reduce (the quotas) in order to determine (the number of...). Do the same thing for the sosa.)(end note); sosa, 28 men.

-number of students (yusaeng) (note: for details see the section on the school system. For taebu and below, down to the kun and hyon, also do it like this.)(end note)

-for each (province), the pyongma choltosa (兵馬節度使), 1 man

(2B. The provincial governor also commonly holds the post of pyongma holtosa as a concurrency)(end note); chu (虞侯), 1 man (3B); simyak (釋菜), 1 man (9B)

-(clerks): sori (note: at the present time they are called chinmu 實撫)(end note), 28 men; choye 140 men; sosa, 26 men.

---, for each province, sugun choltosa (水軍節度使), 1 man (3A. The provincial governor also holds this post as a concurrency)(end note); chu, 1 man (4A)

-(clerks): sori (note: at present called chinmu)(end note) 28 men; choye 130 men; sosa, 24 men.
If you discuss the above (officials) with regard to the system of ancient times, then each provincial governor (kwanch'alsa) as a concurrency had jurisdiction over military affairs and it was not necessary to have a separate post of Chōltosa. In later ages military administration was regarded as very important, and they had no choice but to have (create) someone who took exclusive charge of these (military) affairs. He also had the responsibility of taking charge of relations with foreign countries (kyosu chi i交涉之義) and for this reason an official in charge of all military affairs was established in order to manage this. (note: In China, the tu-chih-hui-shih 都指揮使 was called the ts'ung-ping 總兵 and this post was equivalent to the post of chōltosa in our country.) (end note) Also that is the way the situation became.

Under the present system the provincial governor (kamsa) takes charge of all affairs for the province, and in every province one (note: the kwanch'alsa is called a kamsa) military commander) who has exclusive control of soldiers and horses (pyŏngma) (note: the pyŏngma chōltosa is called the pyŏngsa) and a susa who has exclusive charge of the sailors (sugun水軍. (note: the Sugun chōltosa is called the Susa) (end note).

Kyŏnggi province has a Susa but does not have a Pyŏngsa. Ch'ungch'ŏng province has one pyŏngsa and 1 susa. Chŏlla province has 1 pyŏngsa and 2 susa. (note: divided into left and right provinces with 1 in each) (end note). In Kyŏngsang province there are 2 pyŏngsa and 2 susa (note: both are divided up between left and right provinces with one in each) (end note).

In recent times the above Susa have held as a concurrency the post of T'ongjesa (統制使) (note: In imjin year of Sŏnjo's reign, they were upgraded to hold in combination (concurrency) the post of T'ongjesa for three provinces, and they continued to hold the above susa post as a concurrency) (end note).
In Kangwŏn province there is no pyŏngsa nor susa.

In Hwanghae province in olden times there was no pyŏngsa nor susa but in recent times they have newly established the post of Pyŏngsa. (note: After imjin year of Sŏnjo's reign they established it, but knowledgeable people regarded it as a mistake.)

In P'yŏng'an province, there is one pyŏngsa but no susa.

In Hamgyŏng province, there are 2 pyŏngsa. (note: 1 each for the North and South provinces) and no susa. In general, a calculation is made of the size of the province and either these posts are established or they are not. In those places where there are no pyŏngsa nor susa, then the provincial governor takes direct control of it. (note: With regard to the responsibility (post) for the one province inside the capital area 9 (kinae, kinai), in Han dynasty times, Kuan-chung was attached to the Ssu-li-chiao-wei-pu, but prior to the cheng-hua period (92-88 BC, of Han Wu-ti) they also established a pu-tsu-shih (the post of) to supervise it. Later on the abolished the post of tz'u-shih and attached it exclusively to the Ssu-li chiao-wei.

In the Ming dynasty, the capital areas of the northern and southern capitals were directly under the jurisdiction of the Six Boards (liu-pu) and they did not establish a p'u-cheng-ssu. (布政司).

In this country, a governor (kwanch'alsa) was also established to take control of Kyŏnggi. We thus ought to continue the present system.

Also, at the present time there is no pyŏngsa for Kyŏnggi province.

In Han dynasty times, and under the ancient system (of China), it was also this way. In Kangwŏn province we do not have either a pyŏngsa or a susa (army or navy prov. commander). In the other provinces, we might have two pyŏngsa or 2 susa. In general this also is not amiss.

At the present time in Kyŏnggi province the susa does not have an Ohu. And in Hwanghae province we have recently established a pyŏngsa, but also without an Ohu. This is because the area (of these provinces) is small.
As for the North Hamgyong pyöngyöng (prov. army commander's yamen) and the P'yang'an province pyöngyöng, in the past they also added on a p'yöngsa, but at the present time this post has been cut out. Perhaps they thought that it would be best in commanding the army yamen to abolish the post of ohu and replace it with a p'yöngsa. This explanation would seem to be superior, but the chömitosa is a grand general (taejang). If he not a kunja (princely man) who knows the principles of things (what to do), he should not be appointed to this post, so it would be best to appoint to the post of ohu a man who also combines military skill and bravery.)(end note)

-Haeunsat 海恩 dese, 1 man (note: 3a) He is to have complete jurisdiction over ocean-going transport for the three provinces and surveillance (patrol) of the provinces. He will not have any permanent residence or office site. In the case of the capital, then he will supervise the receipt and disbursement of material from the capital treasuries. His salary will be paid in the capital, as for those whose home residence is in the provinces, and who want to divide up and receive (funds) in their place of original registration, that may also be permitted.)(end note)

-(clerks), sōri, 2 men; choye, 8 men; sosa, 2 men. (note: This system (I have laid out) is not like the present system whereby the grain transport officials (chosol are shifted around, are recruited from people who live in the capital, are divided into two tours (shifts) of duty and who receive their salaries from the capital (subnote: the same as the capital clerks (kyöngye)(and subnote). When they go out on patrol, then one shift of duty goes along as an escort (chonghaeng)(subnote: In the case of the choye, then it is all right to have one (shift?) go as an escort)(end subnote)

Within this quota, it will also be all right to have provincial people appoint their (own men).

Even though the Haeunsa has been elevated to the rank of Tangsa
he also will not be allowed to ride a horse-drawn carriage. According to
the law rank 1 and 2 chaesang (prime ministers) ride the ch'ohon (齋軒) and when going out to the provinces they ride a horse-drawn carriage (駕軒).

But at the present time, the tangsanggwan officials when they are acting
and as envoys (sa) on their way to the provinces (outer regions), commonly
ride horse-drawn carriages, and this is extremely mistaken. ) (end note)

Kaes'ungbu (note: Songgyo 松陽) (end note)

Yusu (留守), 1 man (headnote: you could change the title of the
yusu to puyun 甫尹) (end headnote) (note: rank 2B. To be directly
subordinate to the court. The Kyungs i provincial governor will also hold
the post of yusu as a concurrency) (end note).

Kyongsik (經歷), 1 man (headnote: title of this might be changed
to s'yun 甫尹) (end headnote). (rank 3B)

p'an'gwan(判官), 1 man (SB)

Hyanggwan (郷官) (note: chonjöng(典正), 1 man; chon'göm(典禮)
(2 men; For details of the system of local officials (hyanggwan), see the
section on kun and hyöng. The Chonjöng is equivalent to the present
day chwasu(座首), and the Chon'göm is equivalent to the present day
pyölgam(別監) (end note)

2 (clerks): s'ori, 32 men; choye 140 men; sosa, 24 men

Pyuhak kyodo(府學敎導), 1 man (rank 5A)

(clerks) s'ori, 2 men; choye, 58 men (note: 26 men to be attendants
of the educational officials (kyogwan) and to perform duties; 32 men
to provide food for the students (yusaeng) (end note); sosa, 42 men
(note: 4 men to be attendants on the kyogwan, 38 to be on duty in the
dorms) (end note)

--- (note: I note that Since the Han and Chin dynasties, those
chun (kun) located in the capital were called yun(尹 ). Since the
Sui dynasty there were frequent imperial progresses and the emperor did not
bureaucratic organization

stay in the capital, so they appointed a yusu. After this sometimes they changed the title, yun, and called him a yusu, and this was the beginning of the term, yusu. The state first established the post of yuhugwan (留後官) Songgyeong and later changed it to yusu. They also changed it to yun, and later again changed it (back) to yusu. If you want to rectify the name and settle on the office, you ought to do the same thing for the capitals and change the term to be yun. Also, as in the case of P'yongyang-bu, it would be all right to have the sonyun and p'an'gwan as his assistants.) (end note)

Each taebu will have 1 yun (rank 2B); t'ongp'an (同班), 1 man (rank 5A); hyanggwan (note: ch'ongjong, 1 man, ch'onggöm, 4 men)

(clerks): sūrī (note: at the present time, they are called kwalli 官吏), 32 men; choye, 140 men; sosa 24 men.

puhak kyodo, 1 man (5A); (clerks) sūrī, 2 men; choye 58 men (note: sy of them to be attendants on the kyogwan, and 32 to provide for the food of the students); sosa, 42 men (note: 4 to be attendants on the kyogwan and 38 to be on duty in the dorms) (end note)

Each tohobu to have a sa (守使), 1 man (rank 5A); (clerks) sūrī and others--the same quotas as for the taebu.

Each pu to have a sa (puhak 留使), 1 man (rank 3B); p'ang'wan, 1 man (5B); hyanggwan (note: 1 ch'ongjong and 3 ch'onggöm); (clerks), sūrī 30 men; choye 128 men; sosa 20 men

puhak kyodo, 1 man (5B); (clerks), sūrī, 2 men; choye 50 (note: 24 to be attendants on the kyogwan and 26 to provide for the students) (end note);
sosa, 34 men (note: 4 to be attendants on the kyogwan and 30 to be on duty in the dorms) (end note)

Each kun to have a kunsu (郡守), 1 man (4A); kunch'ung (郡丞), 1 man (6A); hyanggwan (note: ch'ongjong, 1 man; ch'onggöm, 2 men); (clerks) sūrī 28 men

choye 116 men, sosa 16 men

Kunhak kyosu, 1 man (6A); (clerks) sūrī, 2 men; choye 42 (note: 22 to be attendants on the kyogwan and 20 to provide for the students); sosa 26 men (note: 4 to be attendants on the kyogwan and 20 to provide for the students).
bureaucratic organization - 81 - chikkwan chi che, sag

315, 15:39b) --, each hyŏn to have a hyŏnlyŏng (현령), 1 man (4B); a hyŏn'ŏng (현영), 1 man (6B); hyanggwan (note: chŏnjŏng, 1 man, chŏn'gŏm, 1 man); (clerks), sŏri 26 men; choye 104 men, sosa 14 men

sŏri -hyŏnhak kyosu, 1 man (6B); (clerks) 2 men; choye, 36 men

(note: 22 to be attendants on the kyogwan and 14 to provide for the students);
sosa 18 men (note: 4 to be attendants on the kyogwan and 14 to be on duty in the dorms) (end note)

(note: As for the titles of prefectures and districts, since the Han dynasty they only had the ch'un and hsien and the ch'un were in control of the hsien, and that was CHIN all there was to it. In the Sui dynasty the changed the ch'un to the chou and the T'ang carried on the Sui system except that the chou located in the capital was called a fu (都). Also they had chou that were in charge of troops and concurrently were in charge of several chou, so that these were called tu-hu-fu (都護府). By the K'ang dynasty, large sized chou were all called fu.

At the present time our country's chou-hsien system has randomly borrowed (ch'am Ch'Wit from the max various periods in Chinese history and from the Koryŏ dynasty system, and we have different titles like pu, taehobu, chu, mok, tohobu, kun and hyŏn. Not only are the ranks and grades (of units) extremely complicated, but the so-called mok is not what was intended by the mokbaek of ancient times, and the so-called tohobu is not in fact a real tu-hu. These are only empty (meaningless) titles and names and the names (of units) are contrary to reality. Once we have modified the areas of the districts by either cutting down on land (territory) or combining (areas that are too small) in order to correct the prefectural and district organization, then we ought also to rectify (this problem). The old taehobu taehobu located in the capital should be called taehu. If the unit has jurisdiction over a large adm. town, then it should be called a tohobu. Next, those places that do not have jurisdiction over garrisons should only be called pu. The next (smallest)
should be kun, and the next beneath that should be hy"n. If we
settle on the system like this, it would be appropriate. For details
see the section on the kun and hy"n system.) (end note)

-- In each ch'omsa(大鎮)(note: a large chin or garrison)(end note)
have a ch'omjölchesa(總鎮使), 1 man (4B); (clerks), s"ori
(note: at the present time they are called chinnamloc) (end note),
10 men; choye 38 men; sosae, 4 men.

--. each manhojin(驛鎮)(note: the ch'ejin will have a manho)
1 man (5B); (clerks), s"ori 8 men; choye 32 men, sosae 4 men.

- In establishing chin(garrisons), in all cases investigate the
shape (of the area). You must do what is appropriate. At the present
time those places which are not important or strategic and which
are small in territory ought to be cut down or combined. Their soldiers
should be attached to the garrisons so that military administration will
be organized in the right way and we will have (troops) to rely on in
emergencies. For details, see the article on the military system and
the kun and hy"n system. Also, there is no need to change the present titles
of ch'omjölchesa and manho. (note: that is to say, at the present
time there are 30 army garrisons (yukkunjin) of which 12
have a ch'omsa and 18 have a manho, and there are 62 sugunjin (naval
garrison) of which 14 (are commanded by) a ch'omsa and 48 by a manho.
The total number of army and navy garrisons come to 92, and of these
the number that have to be cut down are close to 1/3.) (end note)

-(note: Some might say that at the present time the rank of the
ch'omsa is 3B and that of the manho is 4B. If you want to select the
right men for these posts and treat them as important posts, then
lowering what is the sense of dropping their rank? The posts of ch'omsa and manho
are presently about the same rank as the suryong (district magistrates),
so if you lower their rank, would it not constitute an obstruction?

To this I would reply: Affairs depend on what is real (the facts) and
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and not on empty (meaningless) names (titles). I want to obtain the right men for the posts and make their posts (responsibilities) important, so I have lowered their rank. At the present time we have emptily (falsely) raised their rank but we have not given them real responsibilities. Sometimes we recruit them from the idle commoners and miscellaneous types of people (hallyang chamnyu) and appoint them to the post of manho, and after they are transferred, we return them to the ch'amha ranks (6 and below). And even though the ch'o'msa is said manho to be superior to the manho, yet they are not far from one another. This is why the border officers in name hold the ranks of 3 or 4, but in fact they are not ranked along with the ch'amgwan. So how does (the situation) depend on raising their rank? If you drop them one grade in rank but make them regular posts in fact, then and if you actually choose good men and provide them with real salaries, then how would this not (be the way) to really make their posts important? Once we choose good men and give them posts and have each of them meet their responsibilities to the fullest, then even though the ch'o'msa and manho are not the same rank as the district magistrates, there still will be no fear that they will be oppressed (by the magistrates) and obstructed in carrying out their duties. In general, we ought to be careful in selecting people to be border defense officials in order to ensure that results are achieved in the future. It is not appropriate to give responsibilities to people just because they already hold high rank. The fact that the ch'o'msa will be a 4th rank official and the manho a 5th rank official, is (in fact) posts that are still too high in rank. (end note)

-- In each ch'algdol (note: large road) (end note), there will be a ch'alg (note: at the present time they are called yongni) (end note), 6 m3n; choye, 26 men; sosa 4 men.

-- In each ch'ama ch'algdol (note: the chero) (end note), there will be a ch'alg, 1 man (7A); (clerks), sori, 4 men, choye, 26, sosa, 4.
316, 5:41a) --. the ch'abalbang of the post stations also must maintain detailed surveillance (investigation) of the roads. For determining their quota, for details see the section on postal service and post stations and the section on the kun and hyön system. (note: At the present time in our country there are a total of 24 ch'abalbang. In Koryô times there was a total of 22.) At the time when (their quotas) are to be determined, one ought to investigate the reasons for the training (whether it would be advantageous or disadvantageous.) (end note)

-. If you talk about this on the basis of ancient institutions, then the defense of the border territories against invasion was entrusted to the local administrative town (pon dp.) and the magistrate himself had to conduct defense. It is not necessary to establish a separate administration for defensive garrisons (chin'gwan). As for postal and post-station service (uyôk), the local adm. town can also conduct the administration (of those things) concurrently, and it is not necessary to establish a post-station official (yôkkwan).

However, in our country, we have a lot of naval garrisons and their business is different from that of the army. The Northwest garrisons also have soldiers on shifts of duty (p'ŏng'gun) who are brought into (service) for defense, and for that reason I have established the posts of ch'um(sa) and manho.

In addition, you cannot help but have an (official) who takes exclusive responsibility for the management of post-station horses and roads, but because the territory of the kun and hyön (districts) in our country is small, we combine several post stations and establish a separate (post) of ch'abalbang. With regard to both (the above) matters, the situation is suitable for it, and that is why (I have done it) this way.

5:41b) Establish the local adm. town (pon dp.), letters (dok), the local adm. town can also conduct the administration (of those things) concurrently, and it is not necessary to establish a post-station official (yôkkwan).
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quota (for them) to serve (as runners etc.). When the p'ang'wan is in the granary or is in command (of troops? of the granary workers?) (amnyŏng) (these post-station workers) will perform the functions of sahwan (servants). Also provide for 2 granary attendants (ch'angjik). For details see the section on grain transport. (end note)

(note: For the regulations for each of the granaries, the details of this are to be found in the section on land and the section on grain transport. In general, the clerks and runners (iyre) include 2 ch'angjik who will receive 1 kyŏng of land and will be given a salary of 6 tu/month. When the p'ang'wan is at the granary, you will also have 1 scribe (sŏgi) and 2 saryŏng, and 1 ch'ang (ch'ang). 1 kitchen cook (ch'ang), 1 keeper of the seals (t'ŏng'in). From the time that the granary is opened until the day that (the grain) is divided up and loaded (on vehicles, ships) provide daily rations of food. In the case of ocean transport, then (the men will) board the ships. There will also be 2 ch'wisu (ch'wisu), all of whom will be recruited from the grain transport workers (chojol), and set up a separate quota for them and keep them waiting (for work), and also divide them into two shifts. When the p'ang'wan is at home, then provide 6 sahu (sahu), who will serve on rotation when there is public business to be performed and they will serve as servants (sahwan). When there is no business to conduct, then do not do this.) (end note)

At the present time there are no officials provided for the granaries. The receipt of taxes and control of transport is all done on an temporary (ad hoc) basis and slipshod basis, and the harm from this is extremely bad. Moreover, if in the present establishment of granaries there is some matter that is not completely taken care of, then deliberate on it in accordance with the circumstances. If you look into the ancient (granary) system in order to find out what the best way of doing this is. (ko koche sadŏk ki tang).)

For details, see the section on grain transport.
316, 15:42a) (note: At the beginning of the Koryŏ dynasty they established 12 granaries in kun along rivers (sugum) in the southern provinces and in order to accommodate grain transport. 10 of these were involved in ocean transport, but at the present time 4 are involved in ocean transport and 5 in river transport. If you consider what is appropriate, then (you are led to the conclusion that) the (number of) ocean transport granaries ought to be reduced and combined into one but that 6 new places should be established. With regard to the 2 river transport granaries, it is not necessary to establish a separate granary official; just have the p'ang'gwan in the administrative town (where it is located) take concurrent responsibility for it.) (end note)

The total number of above provincial posts is 100.

--- With regard to the number of sŏri (clerks) and choye (runners) (note: slaves included), and sosa for the above governor's (and military commander's) yamen, pu, kun, hyŏn, hak (schools), chin (garrisons), and post-stations, in every case examine and determine their responsibilities, and double the (present) number of them. (note: If the real number is 10 men, then set the quota at 20) (end note). Divide them up into shifts and rotate them on duty and on rest. They will serve on shifts of duty (ippŏn) 15 days out of the month. If there happens to be an exceptional (uncommon) duties for them to perform, then combine their numbers (a few of them? hapsu) If someone is sick or (absent) for good reason, then (men on duty) in the pang (magistrate's bureaus?) will continue to stand (on duty). (note: provide a half salary and grant 50 mu of land) (end note)

15:42b) (note: The clerks and runners (irye) of each of the administrative towns is to be provided with a full salary but not given a land grant. In increasing (their quotas) by half, in all cases follow the regulations pertaining to the capital. It is only that among them there might be some
require a more detailed study and handling of the matter. The kun administrative towns are in actual charge of land and population (people), and their business is extremely important. For that reason the (magistrate's) clerks are divided into pangsaeck (bureau clerks) who receive orders on a day-to-day basis. They are not like the (specialized) clerks of the bureaus in the capital who are in charge of a single matter (only) and who have a lot of free time and rest time. If you set up a system of continuous service (without allowing shifts for time off, then these people will find it hard to bear. Moreover, if you do not separate them into two shifts of duty, then at times when such matters occur as guests and visitors or military affairs, there will only be a few people available to perform duties, and definitely there will be fear that the work will not get done. This is why the situation (regarding local clerks) is not the same as that for (the clerks) in the capital bureaus. For more details on this, see the section on land and salaries. This should be discussed in more detail.

For the titles and clothing of the provincial clerks and runners, all of it ought to be the same as for the capital.) (end note)

--- All regulations pertaining to the duties to be performed (responsibilities), and selection and recruitment of the söri, choye, and sosa will be just like the regulations for (these people) in the capital. The (treatment) of choye will also be done in accordance with regulations for the capital. In addition to the presently existing official slaves, recruit people who are living around and about the walled towns (adm. district) and enter them for service as choye and provide them with tasks to perform. This will also be done with the present so-called saryong (僕僕).

- With regard to the method of distribution, at the present time each of the kunüp (kun adm. towns), governor's yamen (yöng), garrisons, (china), schools, and post stations takes one (man) (of each) and records them. As for the rest, you can extend it (guess, estimate?) from this.
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(3) (kun) (note: The kun is being taken as the standard here.)

(i.e., these regulations pertain to the kun) With regard to either the taebu or the hyŏn, one can estimate it by analogy (with the kun) (end note)

(note: quota of those on one shift of duty (ilbŏn 一番 )):

- sŏri, 14 men. (note: 1 for each of the yukpang (부방).

At the present time in each adm. town the hojang (노장) and ibang (吏房) (clerks of taxation and personnel) are not divided up into shifts but do each other's jobs concurrently. On these grounds, one man from the upper or lower shift of the ibang (personnel office) can also perform the job of hojang. (end subnote) One man each for the taedong-ch'ang (大同錄色) (subnote: just continue the present sach'ang (司倉)) (end subnote), the sangp'yŏngch'ang (常平倉色) and the kun'gisaek (軍器色). There shall be one sŏngbal ( Stockholm) (subnote: to concurrently be an attendant) (end subnote) for the higher official (magistrate) and his assistant; one man to be kwanh'ŏngsaek (官廳色: yamen clerk); one man to be k'am? (藍牌) (subnote: (for the?) magistrate (sanggwan)) (end subnote); and 1 hyangch'ŏng sŏri (応奉書記).

- It is all right for the hobang (過去) to hold the post of sangp'yŏngsaek (常平色) concurrently, but for the time being record him in order to prepare the quota of the other clerks. (end note)

- ch'ye, 58 men. (note: saryŏng (送信): 12 for the sanggwan (magistrate) and 6 for his assistant (pugwŏn) (subnote: In general the gate guards (munjik '門直) and callers? (ch'wisu '次手) at alz., will all come from among these saryŏng. If there is some errand to be done, then it doesn't make any difference whether the saryŏng (runner) is attached to the magistrate be flexible and or his assistant; just send him on the errand.) (end subnote)

- hyangch'ŏng saryŏng (應奉使者), 1 man.

- 1 (saryŏng) each for the taedongch'ang, sangp'yŏngch'ang, kun'gisaek (軍器), and kaeksajik (金銀直) (subnote: concurrent with the pangja).
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317, 15:43a) 1 man each to be kwanch'ong kunsa (官方郡司) and pinggojik (水庫直)
- 2 men to be oksajang (取給監)
- 2 men to be ch'aebsu (萊夫) (subnote: customarily called the wondu (園頭)
- kimp'ch'ang (及唱), 2 men for the magistrate (sanggwan)
and 1 for the assistant magistrate
- kujong (驅從), 4 for the magistrate and 3 for the assistant mag.
- (冒馬水驅從取給) (subnote: to be concurrent with the subu水夫)
(end subnote), 4 for the magistrate and 3 for the asst. mag.
- tajom (茶點), 1 each for the magistrate and asst. mag.
- chujang (酒匠), 1 each (for mag. and asst mag.)
- hyangch'ong chuja (御方廚子), 2 men
- tajom (茶點), 1 man
- pangja (房子), 1 each for the mag. and asst. mag.
- hyangch'ong (御方), 1 man
- chakch'ong (作方), 1 man. ) (end note)
(sosa) 8 men. (note: 1 man to be chidong t'ong'in(紙筒通印);
2 (sosa) for the magistrate and 2 for the asst. magistrate; 3 (sosa) for the
hyangch'ong.) (end note)

(note: I hear that recently the service requirements for the wondu (園頭) are extremely burdensome, and for that reason I have set the
quota for each yamen at two or three. When I determine that it shall
be two men, they shall combine two shifts, so that it comes to 4 people.

317, 15:43b) They should be given ch'aebsu (萊夫) together with the money for
salt and other supplies, and in providing for their supplies
one should be equal (in distributing it) and frugal. And one should not
load too many burdens on them.

With regard to the various granary clerks (kojik(庫直)) of the so-called
taedong and sangp'yöng (granaries), we ought to establish a single shift
of duty for them. It may also be done like this.
- Once the granary attendants (kojik) have been determined, then they ought to serve on duty night and day, and even though they are separated (higher) in status than the punju (runners and servants), they should also not be too idle. Generally speaking these are just regulations, and that is all. It is not necessary to adhere too strictly to (the numbers) of one or two (men). One can make adjustments in accordance with the circumstances, for it is also not forbidden to either stop (cut some of them out) or distribute (their burdens more) equally.) (end note)

(note: the kamyeong (governor's yamen) is taken here as the standard for these regulations, and (the regulations for) the provincial army and navy commander's yamen can be (estimated) by analogy.) (end note)

-sori, 15 men. (note: 1 each for each of the ywpang (secretariat): 6 bureaus); 1 kyesu (repository); 1 taedongsaek (cabinet); 1 kun'gisaek (store); 1 sōngbal for the mm governor and 1 for his assistant; 1 yōnggosaek (wardrobe) (subnote: that is to say, the yōnggwanch'ōng (secretary of the government)) (end subnote); 1 kamgan (chicken) for the governor and 1 for his assistant; and 1 kōgi kun'gwanch'ōng sōgi (secretary of the secretary of the government) (end note)

-choye, 70 men. (note: 17 saryǒng for the governor and 6 for his assistant; 1 man for each of the kun'gwan (secretary of the government), or a total of 5 men; 1 chik (granary guard, clerk) for the sangg'ōngch'ang and the kun'gigo (secretary of the government); 1 chik (guard) for the yōnggo (secretary of the government) and yōngsa (secretary of the government) (subnote: like the kunsa (secretary of the government) (end subnote); 3 ch'aebu (bed); 2 kōpch'ang (kitchen) for the governor and 2 for his assistant; 3 kujang (chicken) for the governor and 2 for his assistant (subnote: this number has been reduced because the governor has post-station horses (Yōngma) (end subnote); 6 chuja (cooks) for the governor and 4 for his assistant; 2 tajm (for the governor and 1 for his assistant; 1 chujang (kitchen) for the governor and one for his assistant; 3 kun'gwanch'ōng chuja (secretaries of the government); 2 tajm (for the governor and 1 for his assistant; 1 simyak (kitchen); 1 simyak (kitchen); and čhwa (fresh) 229-90-18b)
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1 pangja(彦子) for the governor and 1 for his assistant; 1 kun'gwanch'ông(軍官令), and 1 yõngnich'ông(警衛令). (end note)

15:44a) -1 Sosa, 14 men.

(note: 1 chidong t'ong'in(筒筒通印); 3 (sosa?) for the governor and 3 for his assistant; 5 kun'gwanch'ông(軍官令), 1 simyak(審薦) and 1 kômnyul(檢律).

-(note: Some might say you cannot help but have a lot of saryŏng(使命 runners) in the yŏng and chin(省鎮: governor's yamen and provincial army and navy commander's headquarters), but the amount of provisions and expenses will gradually expand. Why not settle on a small number of saryŏng, and in accordance with present (custom) have each yŏng (gov's yamen or garrison)/establish (kuloe 畿安) (posts) and decide on regulations (for them), and recruit people living nearby (the yamen) (to serve in these posts), and provide all of them with 1 kyŏng of land, and divide them into 6 shifts of duty and alternate them on and off duty and only provide them with provisions (food) while they are no duty (subnote: 6 tu of rice per month. If there are six shifts of duty that rotate on and off duty and if there are 20 men per shift, then the basic quota required will be 120 men.) (end subnote)?

To this I would reply: this would seem to be good, but there are many things wrong (inconvenient) with it. In general the people of the empire (world), from the scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants, down to the soldiers in doing service for officials, only after each of them has exclusive (assignments to) his responsibilities will it be possible to handle affairs well, and will there be no trouble from mutual interference (with one another) and mutual evils. Under this (system that you propose) people would be peasants, but they would also have to perform service for officials. This is the first way in which it would be inconvenient. (These commoners performing service under your scheme) would be in fact one and the same as the saryŏng, but they would be called by a lot of different names. This is the second (problem).
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(Your plan) would lead to cutting down on the (amount of) rice (paid out, but on the contrary it would reduce the number of soldiers (kunjŏng軍丁), which is the third problem. Moreover, if you do it this way, then about in about a dozen li (radius) around the governor's or provincial military commander's yamen there would be absolutely no soldiers (people to serve as soldiers). This also would be of no advantage and would be inconvenient. Generally speaking, the duties of the saryŏng are what an official's yamen cannot be without. If you have to have a lot of them, then have a lot of them; if you only need a few of them, then have a few of them. You cannot bring in other types (of people) to fulfill their tasks. And if you are too sparing (in the expenditure of funds) and keep your expenses small, then, on the contrary, it produces a great loss. It may seem right, but it is wrong, and the harm done will be even more far reaching. All the affairs of the world are this way, and you have no choice but to investigate them (be circumspect about it).

(subnote: With regard to the kulloe(軍團: constabulary, MP), they are the saryŏng of the army. Only the changgwan(將官: military officers) of the local districts (chu and hyŏn) establish separate kulloe outside of the regular ranks to provide for the recruiting of troops, and at times when troops are recruited (these people) are used as saryŏng of the army. But (even at these times), the sahu(候) could perform this function as a concurrency. And when it comes to the yŏng and chin (prov. governor's and military commander's yamen), even though (such people) are called changyŏng(將領), as permanent kwanchŏng(官吏: yamen or garrison sub-officials), there ought to always be fixed (permanent) saryŏng (on duty). And when the officials lead the troops and are (on duty) with the army, then the saryŏng become the saryŏng of the army.)

--- Hak(schools). (note: these regulations pertain to the puhak(府學). With regard to the schools of the taebu and hyŏn, you can estimate regulations for them on the basis of this)
-sori, 1 man (note: to be a scribe for the kyogwan. sōgi (endnote)

ch'oyoe, 22 men (note: to take charge of affairs for the kyogwan
(subnote: and to serve concurrently as a chik (end subnote);
1 ko( ), 2 saryŏng; 1 kŭpch'ang, 3 kujong, 3 chuja
in the dorms;
1 pangja, 1 ch'aebu, 2 men to take charge
(changmu (endnote)
of affairs in the dorms; 6 cooks (chuja (endnote), and 2 ch'aebu (endnote)

(note: During the spring and autumn rites and when there is some
matter to be taken care of for the students, and when there is a meeting
in the dormitories, then the school irye (clerks and runners) will
also assembly on duty. Some might say that: Although the quota of students
for the pu schools are 4 times that for the hyŏn schools, yet the quota
of dormitory functionaries is not as much as three times greater. How
about that? To this I would reply that the dormitory functionaries (chejik
are the functionaries of the dormitories (chesa chi chik
Their
basic tasks are to guard them, keep the rooms warm, sweep them out, and
previduxinae. Even though they function like the servants of the
students, in performing their duties as servants they are not to be
compared with the attendants of officials, each of whose (position) is
fixed. Thus according to the regulations of the school, when it is
time to eat, (the students) have to wait for the drum to sound, and
then the dorm students gather in the dining hall, and to eat their
servant rice and soup they each fill up one bowl, and each person takes it to mix
the seat (where the students are sitting) and (hands) them around. And when the students wash their faces, there is a washing place for
each of the eastern and western dormitories where the water and basins
are located. (subnote: There is also a large pot place next to it to store water, and in the winter months, (the servants) have to heat the water
pxk) (end subnote) and all the students go there and wash. And one servant
pours out the water for the students to wash with. When the students
drink water, a pxk servant for each pang (room?) offers them water from
a utensil and waits for them to drink. And when the students have to
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 relieve themselves (pangbae 放解), then (the servants) set up an outhouse (廁 廁) next to the chunggak (重圖) (subnote: inside it they make a small space of 2-3 kan with boards, or a larger one of 7-8 kan in size) (end subnote) and they set this up to collect the urine and crap and wait for the students to use it. In everything they do, it is like this. And one has to strive to keep things as simple and well regulated as possible, as is done in the monasteries of contemporary times. This is the way things were done in the three dynasties of antiquity. Ch'eng-tzu (程子) once visited a monastery and said: "The dignified ceremonies (威儀) of the Three Dynasties of Antiquity are complete (to be found) in this (here)."

 This is because there is order (maintained) among a group of people living together, in their eating drinking and living, simplicity and order is carried out, and they are cut off from the world and are just the opposite (from what goes on in the world), and this is only to be found in a monastery. It is necessary for people to understand this idea. If things are done like this, then if you compare the quota of chejik (dormitory runners) of the pu with the hyön, they it will not be more than double the number, and still there will be (people, enough) left over. (end note)

-chin (鎮) & (garrison) (note: These regulations pertain to the chōmsa chin (garrison); for the Manho-jin, you can estimate it from this) (end note)

-sōri, 5 men

-choya, 19 men (note: 6 saryōng, 1 saryōng for each of the kun'gwans, or two altogether; 1 kūp'ch'ang (庫帳), 1 changmu (掌務), 3 chuja (廚子), 1 pangja (房子), 3 kujong (奴僕), 1 ch'aebu (僕), 1 kun'gigo (軍器庫)

-in the Sugun-jin (naval garrisons), then add an additional three warship clerks (chōmsōnjik (戰船直) (end note))

-sōsa, 2 men.
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318, 15:45a) -- yŏk (post-stations)(note: these regulations are drawn up for the ch'amsang ch'albangdo(上馬場道): you can compare and make analogies from this for regulations for the ch'amsang ch'albangdo(下馬場道)(end note).

-sŏri, 3 men

15:45b) -choye, 14 men (note: 4 saryŏng, 1 kŏpch'ang, 1 changmu, 3 chuja, 1 pangja, 3 kujong (that is, groom, madu)(end note), 1 ch'aebu.

-saso, 2 men.

As for the quota of ire ye (clerks and runners), even though the administrative town a large road runs through happens to be a hyŏn, it will be regarded as a kun. (note: at the time when the land (boundaries) are determined and limits are drawn, then determine it on the basis of this provisions)(end note).

x On the Western Direct Route (so jikngno 西直路) and the extreme frontier of the northwest, then the adm. towns there will be regarded as pu. Add an extra clerk (sŏri) for the governor's and army commander's yamen and the t'onggwan(统管) in the two border areas (yanggye 韓界). (note: this will also be treated as a single shift. The same below)(end note); choye 14 men (note: of which 10 of them will be saryŏng)(end note); sosa, 5 men.

For the garrisons in Manp'o(滿浦), Pusan and other places, add an extra clerk, (sŏri), and 10 extra choye (note: of which 6 will be saryŏng. In general the clerks in a governor or military commander's yamen will be determined on the basis of the adm. town. Recruit them from people living in the area and give them land grants. Do not do as is done at the present time which is to select 5x men from each adm. town (area). The clerks for a garrison will also be selected from people living near the garrison, and they will be given land grants.)(end note)

--. If women are to be allowed to serve as servants, the quotas for them will be set at a figure less than that for male runners (ye), but in filling the quotas with women, the salaries granted them and the land given them ought to be equal to that for men. For details on this see the section on salaries and land. However, in ancient times there was no labor
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318, 15:46a) service for women. At the present time in China there are also no women at all in service in the official yamen, and the taejôn (our law codes) also have no quotas for female slaves to serve on duty in each of the (capital) bureaus. Based on my own observation of various duties performed in government bureaus and yamen in both the capital and the provinces, there are no places where it would be wrong to have women slaves. Whether in the capital or provinces, we ought to appoint them (che ch'în) directly (to such posts).

(note: If you discuss this in terms of ancient practices, then if someone were guilty of a crime he was confiscated (没) and made into a male or female slave and made to perform labor service for an official (government agency). This was different (from the practice used) in punishing criminals. The law providing for hereditary slavery (inheritance of slave status) is basically not a practice of a true kingly reign (true king). Under standard practice in the world, a male has personal labor service that he performs for the government (an official)(sinyok身役), and women just go along with the men (their husbands?), and that is all.

subnote (note: The eye is attached to the net and when the net is lifted, the eye has to follow along. Under the (requirements) of the samgang (three moral relationships?, ruler-subject, husband-wife, father-son), also) a subject must follow his lord and a woman must follow her man) (end subnote) At the present time, if women had personal labor service for officials, [then this would be an extreme violation of standard practice reason.] And if standard reason were violated, then the harm done would be so great that one could not talk about it. At the present time such types as kisaeng girls and wine and soup (chutang酒湯) serving girls become intimate officials on duty trips with the govern(x) who lose themselves in wine, women and song (yuryön hwangman流連荒亡; Mencius, Liang-Hui Wang—"wine, women and song is the problem (concern) of the feudal lords") and who force (the girls) into lewd relations. They are not allowed to take husbands (and because of this) it confuses good government and
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education, does damage to customs and mores, destroys proper ethical relationships, all of which from the beginning is due to this (these practices), which causes things to be this way. It is just that the people of the country are immersed sunki (sunken) in their habits (customs) and do not realize it.

Some people might say: If there were no female slaves, then who would do the cooking and other things for the families of the officials?

To this I respond: We already have servants (pongnye), so what fear is that there would be no one (to do these things). Moreover, in (doing) all the matters in the world, men are all (always) better than women. That is why at the present time the chiefs (suksu) for both official and private (affairs) must have men to do the work, and servants are all men. Why should women have to be employed as cooks for each of the officials?

If official female slaves did not perform labor service, then they should be released to their homes and allowed to pay tribute to the Sach'omsii. With regard to their offspring, then until the present law is changed, their offspring should be registered in accordance with present regulations. (end note)

-- I note that the large number of superfluous officials is a great problem for the empire (world) (today), (冗官之多), but while bright people are able to see this, yet common people all carelessly create additional (posts). Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty reduced the number of inner and outer officials and set (the quota) at 730 and said: "With this figure I can accommodate the outstanding and talented men of the empire." But in later generations, they created too many official posts and because of it threw the order of the officials into confusion. In the Great Ming dynasty, Emperor T'ai-tsu cut down on the number of officials and established (limits) and again established a law making it a crime to create additional official posts, indicting such
bureaucratic organization for crimes under the law. His intent was great. But later on,
more posts were gradually created, damaging the system (he had established)
and leading to its destruction. How is this not indeed something which
rulers and ministers of later generations ought to reflect deeply on?