

p.103, 5:18a.

¶ (P'an'gye starts with the Kung-yang discussion of the tithe.

This commentary of the Kung-yang is appended to paragraph 8 of the Ch'un-ch'iu, p.325 of Legge, Duke Seuen (Hsuan? 宣公), which Legge translates "For the first time an (additional) tithe was levied from the

acre." (初稅畝). The Tso-chuan commentary (Chinese text, Legge,

p.27, translation, p.329. "This enactment was contrary to rule. The grain contributed by the people should not have exceeded the tithe from the system of mutual dependence (See Mencius, III, Pt. I, iii. 6), having

respect to the enlargement of the people's wealth." 初稅畝. 非禮也. 穀出不過藉, 以豐財也.

just time levied on 4th 畝

Legge: ¶ says that according to this view, besides the produce of every 10th acre, cultivated by the common labour of the farmers round it, and the property of the state, duke Seuen now required another 10th from the produce of the other 9 acres which every family cultivated for itself. And this is probably correct. From the Analects, XII, ix, 3, we learn that, in Confucius' time, two tenths of the produce of the ~~and~~ land were levied by the State, and it is most likely that we have in the text the first imposition of the second of these. Kung(yang) and Kuh (Liang), however, think that the text only speaks of the abandonment of the ~~the~~ ancient system of ~~the~~ the cultivation of the public tenth of ~~the~~ the land by the common labour of the husbandmen in the different plots around it, and the dividing it among them, and then requiring from each family a tenth of the produce of its allotment. The K'ang-he (K'ang-hsi) editors merely say that Hoo Gan-kwoh maintains this view, while Choo He (Chu Hsi) preferred that of Too Yu, founded on Tso-she's remarks, without giving any opinion of their own."

I am using the Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-yang chüan chu-shu, ts'e 4; entitkled Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-~~yang~~ ching-chüan chieh-ku Hsüan-kung, ¶ 16

(Chien-pen fu-yin Ch'un-ch'iu kung-yang chu-shu Hsüan kung ch. 16: 8aff. 鹽本附音春秋公羊注疏宣公卷十六), Ssu-pu pei-yao ed., Shanghai, 1936?, v. 157-162. Ho Hsiu-hsüeh (何休學)

9100/6021 v.157-162.

103, 5:18a

(P'an'gye skips the first couple of commentaries ~~of~~ from the Kung-yang commentary which read: (the chu-su includes the commentary of Ho Hsiu (何休) of the Han and Hsü Yen (徐彦) of the T'ang)

(chu-su 16:8a)

What does ~~kung~~ (the text, Confucius) mean by (初). ~~Fix~~

(He means) for the first time (始). What does he mean by "to levy a shui tax on the mou (稅畝); he means to levy a shui tax in accordance with walking through the mou (履踐案行). (Note of Ho Hsiu. At the time Duke Hsuan was not trusted by the people and the people were not willing to give ~~sk~~ all their effort (in working on) the kung-t'ien (公田), therefore, he walked through and inspected the rows? ()

履踐

履踐案行

公田

Kung-yang Kao

~~and chose the best land (mou) and the best grain (crops) and levied a shui tax on them.~~ (Commentary of Hsü Yen: As for (the Kung-yang) phrase,

Hsü Yen

"What is meant by for the first time", the regulations for fu-shui (taxation) were standard procedure in the state, so (Kung-yang) Kao is saying that he doesn't understand ^{why} ~~by~~ now (all of ~~suxa~~ sudden, Confucius) is saying "for the first time", and so he asks the question. As for the phrase, "What is meant by, "to levy a shui tax on the mou"?", to levy a tithe was an ancient regulation of enlightened kings. Because (Confucius) doesn't understand why now (all of a sudden) Confucius changes the term (from shih-i the tithe (什一) to levying a shui tax on mou, he is asking the question.

he levied Kung-yang comm.: "Why does (Confucius) write "~~tax~~ a shui tax on the mou for the first time"? As a form of ridicule (chi 讖). Why would he want to ridicule this? Because he is ridiculing the fact that for the first time (the duke) walked through the fields (mou) and levied a shui tax on them. Why would he want to ridicule the fact that (the duke) for the first time levied a tax on the mou? (Ho Hsiu commentary:

On the basis of the fact that they were (already) using the land tax (t'ien-fu 田賦), you don't say "for the first time, and you also don't (shouldn't) say levy a shui tax on mou. (Hsü Yen commentary on Ho Hsiu's commentary:

103:5:18a (Ch'un-ch'iu kung-yang chuan chu-su, 16:8a)

*Kung-yang
hidden
Conf
meaning
words*

What Ho Hsiu is referring to is the adoption of the land tax (t'ien-fu 田賦) in the spring of the 12th year of Ai (哀). Since the adoption of the land tax also constituted a reform of ancient (precedent) and a change of standard regulations, (Confucius) should not have said, "for the first time." Also he should not have said "to levy a shui tax on the mou." But now for him to in particular use the phrase, "to levy a tax on the mou for the first time" in order to ridicule it, means he was criticizing this.

8b
16:8a-122x

(Kung-yang). In ancient times they required/cooperative labor tax (chu 藉) to the extent of 1/10 (古者什一而藉). (Ho Hsiu commentary: One tenth means that they borrowed the labor of the people and for every 10 parts they gave (to the people), the people themselves took one part as the (tax on?) the kung-t'ien 公田).

P'an'gye picks up the text here:

Kung-yang text: Why was it that in ancient times they levied a chu (labor service) tax of 1/10?

omitted (Ho Hsiu: It was in fact several, not one (tenth?)).

PG

Kung-yang: The tithe was the most appropriate and correct tax in the empire. For them to have levied more than one-tenth would have been equivalent to being a big-bad Chieh (ta-chieh 桀), or a small Chieh. (& Ho Hsiu commentary--omitted by P'an'gye: To take more from the people for extravagant expenditures would be comparable to the behavior of Chieh. Hsi Yen's subcommentary. Chieh of the Hsia levied heavy taxes on the people without standards (reason). This was equivalent to the present practice of taxing the people at a greater rate than 1/10, as for example at a rate of 4/10 or 5/10, which was equivalent to the worse form of avarice, like Chieh. To tax at the rate of 2/10 or 3/10 would be a smaller form of avarice, like Chieh...)

PG

For them to have levied a tax less than 1/10 would have been equivalent to being a great/mo (or small) barbarians of the north).

103:5:18a
(Ch'un-ch'iu
Kung-yang chuan
chu-su, 16:8b)

(Minister of Shun, ~~xxxxxx~~ knowledgeable in ~~xxxx~~ principles of the law,
he established law, regulated punishments and penalties and made prisons.)
were regulating the laws, he could not make the land be free of ~~xx~~

hills? (perversity? ~~不陵弱~~) and weakness. This was the reason why the
sages regulated the law of the well-fields and divided up 2 (the land)

in accordance with the population. (k'ou fen-chih ~~十分之二~~). One man

and his wife received 100 mou of land (t'ien), and with it they provided for
their father, mother, ~~xxxxx~~ wife, and son--5 people making one family

and with 10 mou (set aside) to be the public field (kung-t'ien). This

is what was called "taxing at the rate of 1/10". (shih-i erh shui ~~什一而稅~~).

And there was 2 1/2 mou (set aside) for cottage land (lu-she ~~廬舍~~).

In general, 8 families (occupied) 9 ~~shing~~ ch'ing (頃 ~~:100 mou~~)

which constituted 1 well-field (ching ~~井~~), which was called a well-field

(ching-t'ien). (P'an'gye omits the next phrase: Cottages were located
within (the well fields, ~~xxxxx~~ inside), the purpose of which was to honor

people (x kuei-jen ~~貴人~~). Public fields (kung-t'ien) were next in order,

(and their existence indicated) that the public interest was taken seriously.

Private fields were located on the outside, (and this indicated) that

private (interest) was held in low esteem.)

The principles of the well-field system were (as follows): (1) that

there be no leaking out (loss) of the spirit (quality) of the land (??)

(~~無泄地氣~~) (Hsü Yen's commentary, on 16:9a says

that this phrase means that before the winter season, the people would

help one another in ploughing the fields); (2) that there would be

no wasted labor (excess expenditure of effort?) on the part of any one

family (? ~~無費一家~~) (Hsü Yen's commentary says that

this means there would be mutual interchangeability in the quality of

the land--ti-chi hsiang-t'ung ~~田器相通~~); (3) that they would

share the same customs (~~同風俗~~) (Hsü Yen says this means that they

would cultivate together and cultivate mutually) (~~同耕而相習~~);

practice customs study together? share customs

Ho Hsiu of
the Han describes
the well-field
system

public
+
private

principles
of well field

103:5:18b

(4) that it would harmonize skills and clumsiness (合巧拙)

(Hsü Yen comments that this means that people would together manage their ploughs); (5) that it would promote the circulation of goods (通財貨)

(Hsü Yen comments that the exchange of well-field land would promote benevolence and righteousness, and that the exchange of goods between those who had them and those who did not would be facilitated)

(P'an'gye skips the next section of Ho Hsiu's commentary: "Because well fields were regarded as markets (shih 市), it was the customs to call them shih-ching (市井; market fields)). (NB P'an'gye resumes here:) In planting grain, it was not allowed to plant (only) one kind of grain in order to prevent against natural disaster and harm. In the middle of the fields it was not allowed to have trees that would interfere with the five grains. Around the cottage they planted mulberry trees, reeds, and various vegetables, 5 hens, 2 sows, gourds and fruit. They planted ~~the~~ half (a mou? in this?). The women worked at ~~the~~ raising silkworms and weaving (silk cloth) so that the old people could wear silk and obtain meat to eat, and the dead received funerals. ~~the~~ If a family had more than five people, these (extra people) were called yu-fu (餘夫), and they received a standard allotment of 25 mou.

Every 10 well-fields (was responsible) for together furnishing 1 war chariot (cart)

The ssu-kung (司空) carefully distinguished between high (good) and low, good and bad land and divided it into three classes. Superior land (shang-t'ien 上田) was cultivated once every year; middle land (chung-t'ien 中田) was cultivated once every two years; and inferior land (h'ia-t'ien 下田) was cultivated once every three years, so that it was not possible just for people with fertile land to prosper and those with poor land to suffer. For this reason every three years there was a complete change of land and residence, so that property was equalized and labor (distribution) made fair (p'ing). Only (the no. of) war carts was fixed.

exchange of well-field lands + goods but no sale of land!

徐彥 has a comment on this 16:96-b

grades of land

103, 5:18b
(Ch'un-ch'iu
Kung-yang chuan
shu-su, 16:8b-9a)

This was called equalizing the labor of the people (chün min-li 均民力) and strengthening the state (ch'ang-kuo 疆門). If families were located in the fields (their household residences) were called "cottages" (lu 廬), and if they were located in villages (i 邑), they were called li (里). One li consisted of 80 households, and 8 families lived together in one block (巷). In the central li was located a school (校室).

104, 5:19a

Elders of high virtue were selected and called fu-lao (父老), and those who were able to defend cases strongly and valiantly (辯護佞健者) were made li-cheng (里正; village headmen). All of them received double land allotments (p'ei-t'ien 倍田) and were allowed to ride horses. The fu-lao (父老) were comparable to the san-lao (三老) subordinate officials and hsiao-ti (孝弟), who were (官屬). The li-cheng was comparable to the shu-jen (庶人; common people) in (their relationship) to the petty officials of the magisyrate. (官吏)

double land allotments

In the spring and summer the people went out into the fields, and in the fall and winter they came in to guard the (town) walls and suburbs. In the spring, when the fields were being cultivated, the fu-lao and the li-cheng would open the gates in the morning, sitting on top of the shu (榭). Those who came along leisurely at a later time (too late), were not allowed to go out. In the evening, anyone not carrying wood for fuel was not allowed in. After the five grains were all harvested, the people all resided in their houses. The li-cheng kept after the people to spin thread (? 趨趨) (and the men and women in the same wards spent night after night spinning so that women workers in one month produced 45 days (worth of thread?). (And they kept up spinning) from the 10th month through the end of the first month, and then stopped. If the men and women had anything that they resented, they would follow one another in mutual succession and sing (complain? compose songs, poems) about it. The hungry would sing about their food, and

榭

xx

103, ~~5:19a~~ 5:19a those who labore~~d~~ (hard) would sing about their wokr. Men who reached
 (Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-
 yang-chuan chu-su, 16: the age of 60 and women who reached the age of 50, if they had no sons,
~~16:19a~~)
 would be clothed and fed by the magistrate. He would make them look for poems
 (?) among the people. (Those from) the hsiang(鄉) would be sent to
 the i(邑), and those from the i sent to the kuo, and in the kuo(國)
 it would be heard by the Son of Heaven. Thus the king would know completely
 what the hardships were in the empire without leaving his windows and doors;
 without ~~z~~ going down from his (audience) hall, he would know everything
 in the four directions.

103:5:19b

In the 10th months after the work (of harvesting?) was finished, the
 fu-lao would give instruction in the school (chiao-shih 教室). Children
 at the age of 8 sui would study the Small Learning (Hsiao-hsüeh); at the
 age of 15 sui, they would study The Great Learning (Ta-hsüeh). The bright
 ones among them would transfer to the hsiang-hsüeh(鄉學), and the
 bright ones from the hsiang-hsüeh would transfer to the hsiang-hsü(庠序)*
 and the bright ones from the hsiang-hsü would transfer to the National
 Academy (kuo-hsüeh 國學). As for those learned in the Small Learning,
 the feudal lords (chu-hou) would every year present as tribute (歲貢)
 to the Son of Heaven those who were talented in the Small Learning. As for
 those learned in the Great Learning, the brightest among them would ordered
 (given) the title of tso-shih(造士 :accomplished scholar). If their
 behavior was the about the same and their talents matching (equal) (??),
 they would be differentiated by shooting (arrows), and only then given the
 rank of scholar (shih 士). On the basis of their talent and ability
 selected
 they would be presented and ~~appointed~~ (chin- ch'ü 進取), and the
 ruler (chün 君), on the basis of an examination of their ~~merit~~ merit,
 would appoint them to office.

only has 庠

reserves

The surplus from three year's worth of cultivation would provide
 a one year reserve, and the surplus from 9 years of cultivation would
 provide a 3 years' reserve; and the surplus of 30 years of cultivation would

ten

provide 2 years' reserve. So even though (the country) met with the floods like T'ang and Yao (唐堯), or the drought of Yin and T'ang (殷湯) the people would have nothing to fear, and within the four seas, there would be none who were not happy in their occupations. And that is the reason why (the Kung-yang commentary) says, "songs of praise were made."

(Hsüan-kung 15th year. Kung-yang chuan).

按

(Note. (Appears to be P'an'gye's commentary): The explanation of

Ho Hsiu is about the same as that contained in the Pan-chih (班志) : Han-shu), except for the phrases that 10 well fields (are supposed to) provide 1 chariot (cart), and 1 li (里) contains 80 households, etc., in which (Ho Hsiu's commentary) differs slightly (from that of Pan Ku).

It would seem that ~~班志~~ the Pan-chih (Han-shu) should be regarded as correct.

I also note that the commentary (chuan-chi 傳記) speak in great detail about the well-field system of former kings, but when you investigate the (sections of) the Chou-li under the (descriptions of) the posts of su-jen (送人) and chang-jen (匠人), and (the description of) the land (types) of hsiang (鄉) ~~和~~ and su (遂), then the land is not given out (in the form) of well-fields, but are only (subdivided) by dikes and streams (kou, hsiü 溝洫). 10 men (夫) have a (are organized into) a kou (溝), and they themselves pay 1/10 (the crop) as a tax (fu 賦) though. Even/in the tu and pi (都鄙) (that is, the so-called ts'ai-ti 采地), and in the lands outside the capital domain (chi-wai chih ti 畿外之地), ~~班志~~ the land was organized into well fields (ching-t'ien), 8 families (lived) together (on the) well field, and cooperated (chu 助) in the cultivation of the kung-t'ien, nevertheless in the period during the height of the Chou dynasty (ch'eng-Chou chih shih 成周之世), not all the land was divided up in the well-field pattern. This is the reason why Mencius (while) in T'ang (滕), also spoke of the people in the fields (yeh 野),

Pan'gye

5:20a

Pan'gye
Chou-li
has some
or as
well-fields

Land system (Kung-yang commentary) ~~史記~~ P'an'gye surok, chönje kosöl, sang
 史記 *Saich-clu* 63
 as cooperating (chu 助) in the payment of (cultivation of) 1/9
 (of the land, the fields), while the people in the center of the country
 (kuo-chung 國中) paid a 1/10 (tax) (shih-i 什一), which they
 themselves paid as tax (fu 賦). It was only that in rectifying the
 land boundaries that one man (fu) had to (be granted) 100 mou, and that
 (regard)
 in taxing the people (ch'ü-min 取民), they had to tithe them. In this,
 everything was that way. (The above section is what the classics and
 their commentaries (ching-chuan 經傳) describe as the well-field system).

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 Basic Principles of Well Field
 common denominator for the two systems:
 the 100 mou allotment + the 10% tax

end of clandes

---. (Shih-chi?) In the third year of Duke Hsiao of Ch'in (Ch'in Hsiao-kung 恭孝公), he adopted Yang of Wei's reform of the laws (modified laws?). (用衛鞅變法 :i.e. Lord Shang, or Shang & Yang, surname Kung-sun Yang of the state of Wei) In the twelfth year he ordered (ling 令) the abolition of the well-fields and he "opened up ch'ien-me" (開阡陌).

ABOLITION OF WELL-FIELDS BY LORD SHANG

(MY NOTE: There are three places where k'ai ch'ien-me is mentioned in the Shih-chi. The first is chuan 5 (p.23a of the Wu-chou t'ung-wen-shu-chu Harvard Index edition, and p.203, and Vol. 1, p.203 of the Peking, 1962 Chung-hua shu-chü edition--the one I am using). This is the pen-chi (本紀) of the state of Ch'in. P'an'gye's phrase may be a paraphrase of the Shih-chi, because the pen-chi entry is slightly different:

"Third year. We Yang (Lord Shang) talked to Duke Hsiao about rectifying changing the laws (pian-fa 變法) and reforming punishments (hsiu-hsing 修刑) and (urged that) internally, he should strive to promote agriculture, and externally to encourage (the people) with rewards and punishments to fight to the death. Duke Hsiao thought what he said was good. Kan Lung (甘龍) and Tu Chih (杜摯) and others did not think so, and they fought together against him. Finally (the Duke) adopted Yang's method (reforms)(fa) and the common people regarded them as difficult (burdensome 苦), but after three years, the people regarded

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them as convenient. Then (the Duke) appointed Yang to be Tso-shu-chang (左書長). These matters are discussed in the section on Lord Shang (Shang-chün 商君)...In the 12th year, ~~xxx~~ they built Hsien-yang and... villages Ch'in moved its capital there. They combined several small hsiang-ch'ü (鄉隲) (note 6-cheng-i commentary by Chang Shou-chieh (張守節) of the T'ang--that a hsiang consisted of 12,500 families) and combined them to make a large hsien. Each hsien had 1 ling (令 :magistrate). And with regard to the land, they opened up the ~~xxx~~ ch'ien and mo (開阡陌): Commentary by Ssu-ma Cheng of the T'ang: roads going north-south and east-west)...In the 14th year, they levied the fu (賦 :tax) for the first time. (Commentary of P'ei Yin (裴駟) of the Sung) that this was the laws regulating the kung-fu (tribute and taxes); commentary by Chang Shou-chieh of the T'ang that this was the chün-fu (軍賦).

(Other entries in the Harvard index are 6/47a, 15/25b, and 68/5a. The last refers to the Lieh-chuan biography of Lord Shang.

R Vol. 7, p.2229 of the Peking 1962 edition has Shang Yang's justification for institutional reform

7:2230 describes the system of mutual surveillance that was established, the giving of rank for military merit, penalties for private feuding, for laziness

7:2232 contains again the statement about consolidating the villages into hsien, 31 in number, with ling and ch'eng magistrates. And "on behalf of the land, he opened up the ch'ien and mo and piled up mounds of earth as boundaries. (k'ai ch'ien-mo feng-ch'iang 用阡陌封疆), and the taxes (fu-shui) was ~~just~~ fair. (p'ing)." 平

Chu Hsi said: All those who have commented on the abolition of the well field system and the opening up of the ch'ien and mo regard the word "k'ai" (~~open~~ open up) as meaning "to open and establish. "To open up" means that the Ch'in abolished the well fields and for the first time established the ch'ien-mo. But this is not a correct interpretation of the ^{truth} ~~facts~~ of the matter. The ch'ien and mo were regarded in old interpretations as being the roads between the fields. In general, in accordance with the boundaries and subdivisions (疆畔) of the fields, they regulated their dimensions (breadth and narrowness) and distinguished ~~xxx~~ cross (paths) from longitudinal ones in order to facilitate the movement of

5:20b
Chu Hsi
on
用阡陌

104, 5:20b ~~xxxx~~ people and goods back and forth. This is what the Chou-li refers to as the cheng (征) on top of the su (遂) ditches, and the (阡) on top of the kou (溝) waterways, and the (涂) on top of the hsiu (洫) canals, and the tao (roads 道) on top of the kuei (澮) streams. According to custom this is understood as meaning that the north-south (pathways) were called ch'ien and the east-west pathways were called mo. It was also said that the pathways leading east/^{and west} from Ho-nan (河南) were called ch'ien and those leading north and south were called mo. These two explanations are not the same. At the present time, on the basis of (my?) investigation of the figures for the men and families (fu-chia 夫家) of the amount of mou (they held) (under the) su-jen (遂人) section of the Chou-li, (I find) that we ought to take the latter interpretation as correct. In general what is meant by mo (陌) is a hundred. Since the su and hsiu (遂洫) ran lengthwise and the pathways also ran lengthwise, thus the pathways ~~xxxxxxx~~ were called mo (陌) because in between the su (遂) there were 100 mou and in between the hsiu (洫) there were a hundred fu (夫). Also the term ch'ien (阡) meant a thousand. The kou and kuei waterways ran across the fields, and the (阡道) pathways also ran across the fields, so that in between the kou ditches there was 1,000 mou and in between the kuei ditches there was 1,000 fu; thus the (阡道) pathways were regarded as ch'ien (阡). This was how the name chi'ien-mo ~~xxxxxxxx~~ was obtained. As for 10,000 fu (夫) (around which) there was a stream (川), and a road (lu 路) on top of the stream, the Chou (put)? this outside (the other system?)[?]. In general, ^{with regard to} the well field system of (the Chou-li section) on artisans (chang-jen 匠人), all four of the waterways, the su, kou, hsiu, and kuei, the Chou ~~xxxxxx~~ ch'ien and mo ^{name of} was probably also ordered on the basis of the fact that (some roads) ran crosswise and some lengthwise.

阡陌

105, 5:21a

But the su was 2 feet wide, and the kou 4 feet wide, the hsiu 8 feet and the kuei 2 (尋), so the ~~xxx~~ chang (丈) had 6 feet (in length).

105, 5:21a

The ching(徑) permitted oxen and horses (to walk on it). The (阡) permitted large vehicles; the t'u(涂) permitted a one way vehicle with riders, and a tao, a two way path; 𡗗 a lu, a 3 way path, so that it was almost 2 chang (丈)(wide). Because (these paths) used up a lot of water and land that could not be used for cultivated fields, the former kings were not without concern (about this), and they abandoned (the system). The ~~reason why (they) rectified~~ the land boundaries, ~~and~~ put a stop to incursions (of land) and disputes, ~~and~~ at the proper time stopped leaks, and made preparations for flood and drought and regarded this as a long-term plan was because they had no choice but to do so, and their purpose was profound.

(阡) 阡陌
stops
Lord Shang tore
down these
confining barriers
to open up land
to more efficient
cultivation!

5:21b

Lord Shang, because of his impatience carried out haphazardly the conduct of government, but it was only that he saw that the fields should ^(cultivation of the) be divided by ch'ien and mo pathways, ^{which} (for he felt that) if the people were confined in their cultivation to a limit of 100 mou, ^{so that} then ~~they would suffer~~ ^{ed} from the fact that the labor of the people could not be used fully. And ~~he~~ it was ~~he~~ (also) ONLY THAT HE SAW THAT the fields ^{that were constructed by the} should be divided by ch'ien and mo pathways ^{took up} because (under the well-field system), the land taken up (with waterways and roads) was too great and there were too many ~~people~~ people who could not obtain land (to cultivate), ^{so that you had} which led to the evil (problem) that the profit from the land ~~was not~~ had something left over (was not being fully utilized). So he opened up the fields to ch'ien and mo (pathway divisions), and completely eliminated prohibitions and limits (on the amount of land that could be cultivated by individuals and families), and allowed the people to accumulate land (兼并) and buy and sell land in order to utilize the labor of the people to the fullest and to provide for the reclamation of abandoned land. All land was treated as arable land (田疇), and not an inch's worth was left (uncultivated), so that ~~there would be complete~~ utilization of the profits from the land. Thus, what the term, "to open" (k'ai 开) means is actually to break down, destroys, to root up and cut off,

because

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and it is not a name for creating, establishing, or setting up (a new system). What is meant by ch'ien-mo (阡陌) is thus the old ~~wiki~~ system of the well-fields of the Three Ages (3 dynasties--Hsia, Shang, Chou), and it was not something established by the Ch'in. In Han times, they were not too far from the ancient period and this name still existed, so that it seems we ^{they could} still investigate the remnants of it, ^{well-fields} but the lords and officials of the whole age were not able to pursue their investigation and study of it and restore ^{well-fields} it. What a pity it was!

Tung Chung-shu

Shih-chi?

--Han-shu (?): In the time of Han Wu-ti, Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒) explained to the king, saying: The Ch'in adopted the law of Shang Yang and changed the system of the emperors and kings (ti-wang chih chih 帝王之制), eliminated the well-fields. The people were able to buy and sell land and (the land of) the ~~wiki~~ wealthy stretched across the (old) ch'ien and no boundaries, while the poor did not have enough land to stand an awl on. The Han dynasty rose and continued (this system) and did not reform

5:22a

(it) to restore the old well-field system. Even though it may be difficult to put into practice all of a sudden, we ought to in some slight respect ~~we~~ draw near (to the way of) the ancients and restrict the people in their occupation of the land. (限民名田). (Note: ming-t'ien

ming-t'ien

P'an'gye's note?

note!! ->

means "to occupy land" (chan-t'ien 占田). In each case limits would be established to prevent the wealthy from ~~f~~ surpassing limitations.)(END NOTE)

By this means we will meet the needs of those who do not have enough (shan pu-tsu 贍不足) and block the ~~way~~ path for accumulating (excess amounts of) land. (ch'ien-ping 兼井). Abandon slavery; eliminate ~~the~~ the authority of those with exclusive rights to kill (slaves?), lighten taxes, and cut down on miscellaneous labor service. Only (after these things) are done, ~~can~~ can be have good government. (END quote?) But in the end, they could not adopt (Tung's plan).

105, 5:22a

At the beginning of Ai-ti (哀帝) 's reign (BC 6--AD 1), Shih Tan (師丹) assisted in government and made a recommendation: Among the sage kings of ~~xxx~~ yore, there were none who did not establish the well fields, and only then could equitable (p'ing) government be achieved. At the present time there was been peace for many generations. The powerful and wealthy, the officials and the people ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~many things~~ are numerous (have a lot of property? 豪富吏民訾數鉅萬, but the poor and the weak are in even more difficulty. We ought to cut back and limit (wealth and property?). The emperor ordered this to be discussed by the ch'eng-hsiang (丞相), Kung Kuang (孔光) and the Ta-ssu-kung (大司空), Ho Wu-t'iao (何武). (They ^{decided?} noted that?) 條 the feudal lords (chu-hou) of the Ch'in and the princes (wang 王), and the marquises (lieh-hou 列侯) all obtained ming-t'ien (名田). the ducal lords ~~xxx~~ In the center of the country the marquises in Ch'ang-an and/Kung-chu (公主) obtained ming-t'ien. The marquises and officials and people in the hsiang and tao and the area within the passes (kuan-nei) ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~ming-t'ien~~ could obtain no more than 30 ching (300 mou) of ming-t'ien. The chu-hou and wang (feudal lords and princes) had 200 male and female slaves, and the marquises (lieh-hou) ducal lords (kung-chu) had 100; and the marquises within the passes (kuan-nei-hou 關內侯) and officials and people (li-min 吏民) had 30. A time limit (was set) and ran out in three years (for the grant of ming-t'ien?). (The land) of violators was confiscated by the officials. At the time the price of land, houses, and slaves was ~~xxxxxxx~~ reduced. 賤貴戚近習皆不便也.

30 ching limit on land graded restrictions on slaves

5:22b

(Base and noble and relatives, in their customs all were not satisfied??). And the royal edict after a short while was not put into practice. *it was not acceptable in terms of current practice*

It was not suitable for recent practices.

(Note: In ancient time 100 paces (pu) made a mou. In Han times, 240 paces made a mou. The ancient 100 mou was equivalent to 41 Han dynasty mou and ~~the~~ 12 of the ancient ching (1200 mou) was equivalent to 5 Han ching.)(END NOTE)

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P'an'gye on 限田

Note (Pan'gye): Since they were not able to restore the well-field (system), (they felt) they ought to order the limitation of landholdings (hsien-t'ien 限田). It appears that this was not put into practice, and in the end they had no good way to manage (it). Therefore, Tung Chung-shu recommended to Han Wu(-ti) (that they limit landholdings), and by the time of Ai-ti, Shih Tan recommended that they t'iao the Ch'in (條秦 : copy the Ch'in system?), but in the end it was deemed unsuitable for recent customs (?? 竟為近習所寢).

Chu Hsi in his Kangmu (綱目) wrote about it saying:

It was a deep pity that they did not really carry out the imperial edict to limit the amount of land the people could possess (hsien-min ming(chan) t'ien 限民名田). It was only that they did not know how to regulate the limiting (of landholdings). If they had taken land as the basis and rectified the land boundaries, and in accordance with the (number of?) people graded the ~~land~~ what was received (as harvest, as land allotments?), thereby equalizing taxes and the providing of military service, then even if it had not been the ancient well field system, in fact they would have obtained the intent (spirit, gist) of the well field system. Once this system was decided on, they could have ensured that a hundred generations would have (lived) without evils (problems). If (on the contrary?) you take people as the

隨人科受

均租稅

106, 5:23a

land not people must be the basis of dist. with 均田

basis, investigate (the number of) able bodied males (ting 丁), and determine labor service, and calculate the number of people to divide up and distribute (the land), then what with additions and reductions it would be difficult to maintain a standard, and the land boundaries would not be fixed. Even though you would obtain temporary results, you could not avoid the system again falling into disuses (being abolished). The equal field system of the Sui and T'ang was like this. Even though the two system in name are quite similar to one another, in terms of which is really better and worse, they are really quite far apart as Heaven + Earth.

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In establishing a state and conducting government, deep thought ought to be given to this. In later ages, if perhaps they wanted to allow private land (ssu-t'ien 私田) and permit land to be bought and sold, yet fixing and limiting it with restrictions (ting-chih wei hsien) then this was not according to ~~xxxx~~ this (the correct) principle.

(Note: In recent times Ch'iu ^{(丘濬(濬))}'s point of view is also similar to this, the idea that this is (a system) which definitely cannot be put into practice.) (opposed 限田)

Chiu Chiu
Ming
Hsin Yieh

--- Hsün Yieh (荀悅) of the Han) said: In the past in the 6th month of the 13th year of Emperor Wen (177 BC), the emperor decreed the elimination of taxes on people (and?) fields. (詔除人田租)

Furthermore, in ancient times, they levied the 1/10 tax, and it was considered most appropriate and correct throughout the empire. At the present time in the Han dynasty, with regard to people and fields, the tax rate might be 1/100, which could be called ^{very low} ~~xxxx~~ (魚羊) ^{a very small rate} : ~~rarely seen?~~ very commendable?)

It is here that the people pay too in taxes even tho that's the est. rate.

However, the wealthy, powerful, and rich people occupy exceedingly large amounts of land (占田逾侈), and ^{levy a tax on the most} in the payment of ~~their~~ taxes, ^{while} in the vast majority of cases the officials collect ^{only} 1/100 as tax, ^{levied taxes (rent) on} (the wealthy landlords?) ^(crop) collect the majority of the taxes from the people. (輸其賦太半官收百之一之稅, 民收太半之賦)

The people had to pay the most of the crop rent

The benevolence of the officials is superior to that of the Three Ages (HSia, Shang, Chou), but the cruel exactions of the powerful houses (landlords) is worse than that of the fallen Ch'in dynasty.

This means that the benevolence of the throne ~~ix~~ does not penetrate (down to the lower levels of the people), while ~~xxxx~~ authority and happiness is divided up by the powerful households. If at the present time we do not rectify the basis (foundation--i.e. land boundaries and taxes) and strive to ^(reduce) eliminate taxes, ^(on the people) it will happen to be sufficient

(? 適足) to aid the wealthy and powerful. *we will only succeed in aiding the powerful & wealthy people*

5:23b

106, 5:23b

In general, land is the great basis (foundation) of the empire. The principle of the Spring and Autumn (annals, period) was that the feudal lords (chu-hou) would not obtain exclusive (rights of control over) fiefs (chuan-feng 專封), and the officials (ta-fu 大夫) would not obtain exclusive (rights of ownership?) over land (chuan-ti 專地). At the present time powerful people occupy perhaps as much as several hundred or several thousand ~~xiang~~ ch'ing (頃) of land, surpassing the princes and marquises (wang-hou). This (is equivalent to) they themselves exerting exclusive control over fiefs (tzu chuan feng 自專封). And the purchase and sale of land means that they themselves exert their exclusive (rights of ownership) over land (mai-mai t'ien i shih tzu chuan ch'i ti 買賣田已是自專其地也).

Wa-ti?

In the time of Emperors Hsiao and Wu (There's an emp. Hui, 194-187 but no Hsiao; Wu was 140-86 BC), Tung Chung-shu once recommended limiting the people in their occupation of land (hsien min chan-t'ien 限民占田). In the time of Emperor Ai (BC 6-AD 10) they did limit people in occupying land (hsien min chan-t'ien), and they could not (own) more than 30 ch'ing. Even though these restrictions were imposed, in the end, they could not be implemented. Nevertheless, 30 ch'ing was also not a fair (limitation).

Furthermore, with regard to the well-field system, (it is a system), that ought (to be applied) at a time when the people (population) is numerous. If there is a lot of land and only a few people, it cannot be regarded as a possibility. However, if you want to abolish (the well field system) in (areas) where there are only a few people but establish it ~~xi~~ in (areas) where there are large numbers of people, ~~xi~~ but if land has already (been concentrated) as wealth in the hands of the wealthy and powerful, and you then establish regulations (to limit ownership), it will give rise to feelings of resentment, and it will give rise to rebellion, and the system will be difficult to implement.

Opposition of landowners

T'ung-t'ien

106, 5:23b

If you look at it on the basis of this (consideration), then it appears after that if ~~when~~ ~~Kao~~ Emperor Kao had first established the empire (BC 206) after and ~~when~~ Emperor Kuang-wu had carried out a restoration (chung-hsing)

5:24a

(25 AD) when the population was small, they had in some small degree established (a land limitation scheme), it would have been easy. Accordingly, if they had not completely prepared a well-field system, they should have established ^{grades} regulations for the occupation of land on the basis of the number of persons (i k'ou-su chan-t'ien wei li-k'o 以口數占田為立科), limited the people in obtaining (land) for cultivation, and have not allowed the purchase and sale (of land), in order to aid the poor and weak and prevent the excess accumulation of land (chien-ping 兼井). Furthermore, would it not indeed have been appropriate if they had established (this) system as a foundation? (為制度張本). Even though institutions in ancient times were different from the present, and the advantages and disadvantages (of them) (differ) in accordance with the time, still in terms of their grand outline and major principles, they are one and the same.

然綱紀大略其致一也。

---- Tu Yu (杜佑; T'ung-t'ien) says: Grain is what sustains the lives of ~~the~~ people and land is what produces grain. People are governed (If he has their grain) by the ruler. If they produce grain, then the state has enough for its needs. If the ruler makes distinctions (p'ien 辨) in (the allotment) of the land, then the people will have enough to eat.

If he investigates (and registers) the people, then miscellaneous labor service will be equitable (equ). To know about these three things is what is called government (chih-cheng 治政). Once the land is registered, it should not be abandoned. Everyone should belong to a place (一著?) and not be allowed to move. If people are secured and settled (an-ku) and do not move, then there will be none who do not produce (grain).

不棄

地載而

106, 5:24a

The sages, on the basis of this, established the well (fields) and i (ching-i 井邑), laid out in rank the pi and lü (比閭), and found out the number of common people, and the system for taxation and labor service could be clearly seen.

Shows he adopts Ch'ien's interp. →

From the time that Duke Hsiao of Ch'in adopted Shang Yang's plan and (destroyed 隳) the land boundaries and establish the ch'ien-mo (阡陌) pathways, even though (this system) achieved temporary benefits, there was a rise in the accumulation of land and xxxxf usurpation (兼并 踰僭) of other people's lands).

5:24b

After the conquest of the Ch'in, the ch'ien-mo system was abolished, investigations of hidden, unregistered land (隱覈) were also conducted, but these investigations were ad hoc measures (在乎權宜) which depended on the keeping of registers. Once the registers had become wide (spread) (numerous?), it had to depend on the merit of the mass of the people, and xxxxxxxx once the merit of the mass of the people was depended on, the management of xx it was handled by the clerks. And xx when the management of (the registering of land) depended on the clerks, the the people no one whom they could xx trust. In general in carrying out laws in which xx (the people) have no trust, you entrust the administration of it to an army of clerks.

必藉眾功 簿書以代

You would want to record how many people there were and make clear how much was the profit from the land. (But) even though you report your estimates (申商) and press (people) with punishments and shake your head (撓首) :wondering what to do?), you will not be able to obtain detailed (accuracy) in your total calculations (figures).

Shen Pa-hai 申不害 and 商鞅

There has never been a case where (people) sought profit (from this method?) such xxxix ways (斯道) without changing this system. The principlex of the Spring and Autumn (period, annals?) was that the feudal lords would not obtain exclusive control over their fiefs (chuan-feng 專封), and the high officials (ta-fu) would not obtain exclusive control over their (allotted) lands (chuan-ti 專地). If you let powerful men occupy land in excess of

= 拜 ch'u-hou ta-fu

106, 5:24b
(T'ung-tien,
ch. 1, shih-
huo, 1, p.9b
of the Hsin-hsing
shu-chü ed.

of the restrictions on grades of wealth for dukes and marquises, this
(is tantamount to) exclusive control over fiefs. And if (you allow land)
to be bought and sold (for any length of time? 買賣由己),
then this (is tantamount to) allowing exclusive control over land.
(If so, then) would it indeed not be difficult to prevent (the people)
from absconding (from the land) (like rats)?

按 (Note: (P'an'gye probably): the above explanations all regard the
"k'ai" of the phrase to "k'ai" the ch'ien-mo as meaning 立 "to establish",
which is to say that the Ch'in abolished the well fields and for the first time
established the ch'ien-mo. Tu Yu's explanation also follows this
interpretation. He regards the ch'ien-mo as a Ch'in institution and
the well-fields as an ancient law. This is also like what Po Chü-i
(白居易) (of the T'ang) said, that in areas where there were few
(broad)
people and much (arable?) land, you ought to repair (establish?) the
ch'ien-mo; that where there were many families and the territory was
narrow (small), then you (ought to) restore the well-field (system).

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In general, (he, they) did not make an in-depth study of the ancient
system. (END NOTE) (This note not in the T'ung-tien, must be P'an'gye's)

Ch'eng Hao

---~~Hsu~~ Shen-tsung (神宗) of the Sung dynasty (r. 1068-1086)
summoned Ch'eng-tzu (程子) (note. Ch'eng Ming-tao 明道,
i.e. Ch'eng Hao 景奩) He submitted a memorial which discussed
10 matters. In discussing the establishment of land boundaries (ching-chieh
經界), he said Heaven gave birth to mankind (天生蒸民)
and ~~xxx~~ established rulers to govern ~~xxx~~ them and regulate their
regular (usual) production and nourish their livelihoods. Thus,
in establishing land boundaries, he has no choice but to rectify them,
and in (laying out) the well fields (ching-ti 井地), he has no choice
but to make them equitable (chün 均). This is what is regarded
as the great foundation of government. In the T'ang dynasty they
were still? (尚) able to have a system whereby they granted land

Ch'eng Hao

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on the basis of ~~the~~ shares for individuals (k'ou-fen shou-t'ien 口分授田). But at the present time we are entirely without any system. The wealthy people straddle chou and hsien (in their land holdings) and there is no stopping it. The poor people abscond like vagabonds and suffer from hunger, and there is no pitying them.

Fortunately? even though the people are numerous, ~~there~~ there is not ~~enough~~ enough food and clothing, and in general there is no end (limit) to this. If the population grows more numerous by the day, ~~then~~ then the food and clothing $\text{\textcircled{9}}$ (supply) will contract (蹙) more by the day, and the number of those who will roll over and die will increase by the day. This then is the ~~turning~~ turning point between a well governed (state) and rebellion (此乃治乱之機也). How could one not gradually make plans for a way to stop (control) this?

--Someone asked about the well-field system, whether at the present time it could be implemented or not? Ch'eng-tzu said: How could it be

5:25b

that what the ancients put into practice (we) today could not put into practice? Someone replied Some might say that at the present time when the population is large and the (available) land is ~~so~~ small ~~it~~ it is not so (the present situation doesn't allow for well-field systems). Compare it to a situation where the grass and trees on the top of a mountain have become extremely numerous and grow in large quantities. Living things in the world always live in symmetry (equilibrium, balance with one another: t'ien-ti sheng-wu ch'ang sheng-ch'ien 天地生物常相稱). ~~How~~ How could you have a principle (in nature) where the (available) land was small and the population numerous? (I.E.--nature's true principle is that there should always be a balance between things) In inquiring about

107, 5:25b

the ancient (well field system), ^{we} (x find that) 100 mou (of the ancient system) is (equivalent to) a little over 41 mou at the present time.

If you calculate the land (available), then it would seem that what (an individual) would receive (as a land allotment) would not be sufficient to provide the food for 9 people.

Ch'eng-tzu said: (Even) a 100 mou is basically not enough for nine people, but if you make calculations in terms of the whole empire, then it also becomes (sufficient). Even if a family has 9 people, only 60% (只十六) receive special land allotments, the remainder are all either aged or children. Therefore (100 mou) can ~~supply~~ provide (them with food). If there are any insufficiencies, there are ways to provide suppliments and aid for them, and also you have the principle of the provision of relief by the hsiang and tang (鄉黨). Therefore, (even with 100 mou per 9 people) you still can have enough (food for them).

-(Ch'eng Hao?) also said: In ancient times 100 paces made a mou, and 100 mou was equivalent to 41 mou in the present time. In ancient times, 41 mou of our present land would be sufficient for preventing the starvation of a family with 8 persons. At the present time (even) 250 mou of the ancient land would seem to be insufficient. It is all ~~xxx~~ a matter of ~~xx~~ whether the farmers are diligent or lazy ~~xxxx~~ in the cultivation of the land.

deligent or lazy

5:s6a

--(Ch'eng Hao) also said: The taxes at the present time are really lighter than 1/10, but there is no method to the collection and it is not equitable (pu-chün 不均), and that is all.

-The two Ch'eng (bros.) once had a ~~lengthy~~ discussion with Chang ^{Tzu-hou} (張子厚) ~~xxx~~ on the well field system. They said: it is not necessary that the shape of the land be said to be broad and flat in order to be able to lay out squares. You should only be able to use mathematics to

字子厚 張載

chin-shih 1056-64

107, 5:26b

It was destroyed over a long period of time since then.

^{Ch'eng Tsai} (Ch'eng Hao) also said: With regard to the well fields, at the present time ~~there would be many people who would want the taxation of the people~~ ^{you would (have to) confiscate land from the people (private owners)} and ~~the land~~ ^{in order} to make the poor and wealthy equal (shih pin-fu chün ^{使貧富均}) ~~and there are few who would not want it (so).~~ ^{there would be many who would want it} ~~What~~ ^{Ch'eng I} (正叔)? said ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{and} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ did not discuss the people's feelings and their resentments.

If you would correctly discuss whether (the well field system) could (be adopted) or not, you must ensure that everybody, those above and those below, are all without resentment, and only then can you carry it out.

Note: (P'an'gye?); According to another text, after the phrase, "(the well-field system) was gradually destroyed," it says, In talking about the well field system, you cannot lightly proclaim it to people for fear that it will cause laughter and lead to debate. (?) ^{rebally} ^{against it}

(夷謂井議不可輕示人恐致笑及有議論).

Tzu-hou (Chang Tai) said, it is advantageous to have people laugh at it and debate it. I consider it meritorious for people to listen to explanations ~~and~~ (about it) and then adopt it. Chang Tai said: if you have an able man, then he would want to receive a shop? (廛), and this would also be fortunate for the people. (??)

^{tun} Po-hsun (伯淳) spoke of the well fields saying that at the present time if the taxes on people and land made the poor and wealthy equal, then many would want it and few would not want it. ^{Ch'eng I} Cheng-shu (正叔) spoke (of it) but he also did not talk of the people's feelings of resentment (against the adoption of the well field system). He just stopped with discussing whether it was possible or not (to adopt it). It must (be done) so that everyone, high and low has no resentment, and only then can you put it into practice. He said that after the debate on the method had been greatly prepared, yet still it depended on the way you put it into practice.

使貧富均

Confiscation
and
resentment!

Tzu
Ch'eng Hao
Ch'eng I

no
resentment

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Chang Tsai

Tsu-hou (Chang Tai) said, how could anybody just want to stop with drawing up documents (a book?). Probably you will have those who will adopt it.

Chang I

Cheng-shu (正叔) said, If you don't put it into practice at this time, you can put it into practice ~~in~~ in a later generation. ~~It's~~ It's one (and the same thing?). Chang Tai said: Only to (do what's) good ^{rely on}

徒善不足以為政, 徒法不能以自行

is not sufficient for governing, and only (to establish) laws does not mean that they can be carried out by themselves. (徒善不足以為政, 徒法不能以自行). Of necessity it is the way you carry it out (that counts). Also, even though you have (a man, rulers) with humane hearts (minds), and who listen with a (spirit of) ~~human~~ humaneness, if (the policies of) government are not put into practice, then ~~it does not stem from the way of the former (sage) kings.~~ It must be modelled (fa) on former kings.

108, 5:27a

Cheng-shu said: Mencius spoke well on this (problem), but he had extremely good ~~power~~ powers of vision (mu-li 目力) on it. He could thoroughly (think through) a square, well rounded, fair, and straight (plan, thinking, on this question). It requires that you must have compass and square (規矩: for the perfection of the round and the square).

(END NOTE)

--Chang-tzu (Chang Tai) said: In ruling the empire, if you do not (do it) via the well-fields, then in the end there will be no way to obtain p'ing (平 :fairness).

---Lü shih (呂氏 :Lü Lan-t'ien 呂藍田) said : Master Chang-tzu intentions (purpose) (Chang Tai) had the bold (fearless kan-jen 慨然) ~~intention~~

(in carrying out) the government of the Three Ages (of antiquity). In discussing the most important tasks in the governing of men, he never began without regarded the laying out of land boundaries (ching-chieh) as the most urgent task. He studied and investigated laws and institutions and prepared (everything) splendidly. He

Jü Hsi-che
The-hui p. 262
呂氏家範記
呂氏家範 of Sung
呂氏家範 of Confucius
need to study Confucius
+ Mo (Tzu). As a
young student w. 呂氏
followed the 2 Chiang's
+ was friendly with
Chiang I + Wang An-shih

Han. J. 466 呂大臨
write the 呂氏家範

呂氏家範

insisted demanded that it could be implement d at the present time. If you use me (my plan?), then take it up and arrange it, and that's all there is to it.

He once said: Human government (jen-cheng--gov't of a humane ruler) must begin with establishing land boundaries (ching-chieh). If poor and rich are not equal, there is no way to educate and cultivate (the people).

And even though you would want to say things were well governed, everything would be shoddy(苟), and that's all. /The plague of the world, and what is difficult to do, the first thing to do is to forthwith seize the

land of the wealthy people. (END of Chang Tai quote) But, with regard to the implementation of this law (method, many will be happy with it.

If it is taken care of with skill, then it can be expected that in several years time without punishing a single person, you will be able to restore

what is plaguing the source of difficulty (disease). But in particular the people above (?) have not yet carried it out, and that is all.

(Lü)

--. He also said: In ancient times there were only three methods of taxing the people, kung, chu, and ch'e (貢, 助, 徹). A comparison was made to determine the mean (averaged) of several years (production, taxation) in order to set a standard rate (rate). This was the kung (system: tribute).

On 1 ching (well-field) of land there were 8 families, and the 8 families each had 100 mou of private land, and together they managed the 100 mou of kung-t'ien. This was the chu (助: system of mutual labor). (the Aid)

Where they didn't have any kung-t'ien, but waited for a good crop year (to come along), and then applied universally a 1/10 tax rate, which was levied on a 100 mou, this was the ch'e (徹: the tithe).

-Mr. Yang (楊氏: Yang Kuei-shan (楊龜山) said: Former kings established the (system) of) pi, lü, tsu, tang, chou, and hsiang

(北閩黨族州鄉) in order to establish military administration.

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經界均

仁政

苟

Tribute Aid Tithe

5:27b

taxes

1053-1135

Yang Shih (楊時) (中興黨)

楊氏

楊龜山 tzu

北閩黨族州鄉

108, 5:27b

equal dis. + mil. service

When they resided (居 : at home), then they were farmers who used their labor to cultivate (the land), and when they went out (to fight), they became soldiers who wreaked vengeance (on their enemies 敵愾之士). In those times/there were no people (fu 夫) who did not receive land (shou t'ien 受田), therefore the people were equally without poverty (chün wu pin yen 均無貧焉) and the people knew how to eat by means of their own labor, and that was all. (jen chih shih-li erh-i 人知食力而已) As for vagabonds, lazy people, debauched (crafty? , cruel (violent) and rebellious people, there was no place where they were allowed in the midst (of the industrious ~~pop~~ population).

胡五峰 Hu Wufeng see p. 830 notes

--Hu Wu-feng (胡五峰) said: Ever since the time of primeval chaos (hung-huang 鴻荒), the myriad things were transformed and created (hua-sheng 化生 : born by transformation) and daily became more numerous. If there was no way to lead them, then there was confusion (ian 亂), and if there was no way to regulate them (齊之), then there was strife. Esteeming morality (and principles) (敦倫理) is the way to lead them; to order (the granting of) fiefs and well-fields (飭封井) is the way to make things uniform. In granting fiefs and (laying out) well fields (feng-ching 封井), if you do not first determine (and establish them), then morality and principles cannot be

5:28a

esteemed. When Yao (堯) was the Son of Heaven he was concerned about this and ~~ordered~~ gave a mandate to Shun (ming-Shun 命舜). Shun became the prime minister (宰臣), but he alone was not able to take responsibility (handle it). He was concerned about it and gave the mandate to Yu (命禹). Yu looked all around the territory within the seas and busied himself for 8 years. He distinguished grades of fertility for the land and fixed (determined) (定之) them. He established regulations on the amount of well-fields and grazing lands (ching-mu 井牧). He determined the fiefs (feng 封) for dukes, marquises, earls, counts, & viscounts (公侯伯子男)

saye yü

108, 5:28a

and established them (chien chih ^{建之}), and only after that were the
 * five institutes (sections of government, wu-tien ^{五典}) spread out
 (laid out? ^敷) and the people governed (regulated). This was the
 reason why
 way Hsia Hou-shih(^{夏后氏} :Yü the Great, founder of Hsia) ruled
 as king over the empire. Later on no kings of talent appeared. In
 all affairs the strong committed aggression against the weak, the
 the smart deceived the ignorant. Yü's system was destroyed and thrown
 into confusion all the way until (the time of) Chieh(^桀 :last ruler
 of the Hsia), when the empire was in great confusion. But Prince T'ang
 (Ch'eng-t'ang ^{成湯} :overthrew tyrant Chieh of Hsia and est. the
 (cheng-chih ^{正之} : chastised him? ^{征之} :see below)
 Shang in BC 1766) rectified this (the situation, clarified the grades,
 and extended his system (shen ch'i chih ^{申其制}), and rectified the fiefs,
 and by so doing restored the old (system) of the Great Yü, thus repairing
 (putting back in order) the regulations of man (jen-chi ^{人紀}). And this
 reason why
 was the way the Yin(^殷) acted as kings for the empire. Later on,
 no kings of talent appeared, and in all matters, the strong committed
 aggression against the weak, and the smart deceived the ignorant, and
 the system (regulations) of T'ang were destroyed up until (the time of)
 Chou(^紂 :last ruler of Shang, 1122 BC), when the empire was in
 great confusion. But King Wu (Wu-wang ^{武王}) chastised him, clarified
 the grades, extended ~~his~~ the system (regulations), and rectified the
 fiefs, and by so doing restored the ancient (system) of Prince T'ang,
 and the 5 instructions (teachings) could be put into practice.
 reason why
 And this was the way (how) the Chou x ruled as kings over the empire.

Later on, no kings of talent appeared (Among later kings there
 were none of talent who appeared), and in all matters the strong committed
 aggression against the weak, and the smart deceived the ignorant, and the
 system (regulations) of King Wu were destroyed and in confusion.

First there were changes in Ch'i and later there were changes in Lu
 (^{先變於齊, 後變於魯} :meaning?),

T'ang of Shang
 reconst. the
 system of the
 Great Yü of Hsia

King Wu of Chou
 restored the
 ancient system
 of T'ang of Shang

5:28b

land
 taxes
 ✓

108, 5:28b

其有仁政
其不天下者
後不王者
亡天人也
非天也
非人也

and there was great destruction in (by) Ch'in(秦), and government in which humaneness covered the empire was lost. Once human government was lost, those people who obtained the empire were not men worthy of kings over people beings kings. (~~wang-jen~~ ^{man's (doing, fault), not} ~~It was not Heaven~~ ^(they obtained this empire) ~~'s mandate that they~~ ^{Heaven's (doing)} ~~received?~~ ^{it was not the true empire that they ruled?}). If later they lost ~~heaven~~ ^(the empire?), it was not men (as men, that they lost the empire). Alas! who could say that either now or later on there could be no men ~~who could~~ continue (succeed to) the talents of the three kings (true kings)? The fact that sickness exists in the world (the world is sick), is because the Confucian scholars (ju) do not know the basis for true kingly government.

胡五峯

(Hu Wu-feng) also said: A humane spirit (jen-hsin ^{仁心}) is the basis

for establishing (good) government, and (granting) equal fields (chūn-t'ien ^{均田}) is the first thing in conducting government. If the fields are not (distributed) equally, then even though you have a humane spirit, the people will not receive the benefits (from it). The well field system was the essential method by which the sages equalized the fields (chūn-t'ien) (maintained equal allotments of land). Their benevolent purpose (恩意 ^{恩意} ^{tolerated} ^{兼寬不吝} ^屬 extended to all?), and scoundrels were not permitted (姦宄不容).

In the case where it was small (small amounts of corruption?, small population?), there was no absconding, and where large (large population, large amts of corruption?), there was no confusion (rebellion). ^{scattering (migrating?)} 少而不散, 多而不乱

Once agricultural taxes (neng-fu ^{農賦}) were established, then the military system was also made clear. The reason why the three kings were able to rule as true kings was because they were able to regulate the land of the empire (chih t'ien-hsia chih t'ien-li ^{制天下之田里}).

With government established and humaneness granted (extended to all), then even husbands and wives in all they wore and ate, it was ~~like they were~~

like they took off their clothes and gave them (to others), and rejected food and gave it (to others). ^{難匹夫匹婦一衣一食, 如解衣衣之, 如推食食之}

109, 5:29a

Hu An-Kuo Mor-9:112
Sung-shih 435: 34
54HA, 34

Sung Hu Wu-feng
胡五峯
vol. 9 p. 283
Manch'iu
均田
胡安國
胡安國
字仁仲
studied with Yang Hsiang-shan
and his father's works
王夫之
See 史學 435
史元學案 25, 34, 42
compiled by 黃宗羲
1610-95 / SPPY ed.

109, 5:29a

And ~~it~~ in regard to all things, truly they had ~~the method (law)~~ of a true method of harmony (t'iao-hsieh 調燮), and with it they assisted in the great merit of transforming and cultivating heaven and earth.

--He (Hu Wu-feng) also said: Only after the well field system is put into practice can you select (~~make~~ distinguish) between the worthy and the ignorant, (so that) the schools do not overflow (have an xs of) scholars and the fields do not overflow (have an xs of) with farmers. With respect to human talent, each will achieve his due and there will be few ~~idle~~ idle hands (vagrants). The ruler (chün 君) (lin 臨) the high minister (ching 卿), the high minister oversees the officials (ta-fu 大夫), the officials oversee the scholars (shih 士), and the scholars oversee the farmers and artisans and merchants. There are shares (divisions) to what they receive (in land allotments?). ~~The amount is~~ regulated The amount is equal (chün 均) and there are none who suffer from poverty. (Must mean that in each category, each person receives an equal allotment). Every person receives land and protects it from one generation to another, and there ~~is~~ are no encroachments (of one person's land by another) through the exchange (of land), so that there are thus no ~~is~~ lawsuits concerning disputes about seizures (somebody taking away another person's land). If there are no lawsuits about disputes over taking away land, then punishments are reduced (in number) and the people are secure (rest easy). If (the no. of) punishments is reduced and the people ~~are~~ rest easy, then rites and music can be cultivated and a harmonious spirit will be fulfilled. (ying 應).

hierarchical allotment

均

*Moshi 5:607
從子孫 凡 李鎮
字 淳夫. called
Fan 淳夫 in the
Sung-shih. another
字: 華陽 華陽
worked on compilation
of the Kuang
of the chün-chen
469*

*Han 范 祖 希 337
See: Sung-shih
Sung-yuan Han in
21 wrote 大
范 祖 希 16.*

--Mr. Fan (范 :Fan Hua-yang 華陽), said: Ever since the well-field system was ~~destroyed~~ abolished and there was no equality between rich and poor, later generations were never able to ~~reg~~ regulate the production of the people, so that they could support the living, send off the dead, and

109, 5:29a

5:29b

(do both) with no regrets. Those who establish laws have never not wanted (have always wanted) to repress the wealthy (抑富), but (on the contrary?) perhaps they helped them all the more, (because) they did not understand that the way by which the wealthy are able to gain control over large areas of land (chin-ping 兼并) derives from the inability of the poor to sustain themselves.

Those who governed the state later on, even though they were not able to restore the system of the three ages of antiquity (Hsia, Shang, Chou), still reduced labor service, lightened taxes, busied themselves with the root (agriculture) and did ~~not~~ repress the branches (lesser occupations like artisanry and commerce), extolled frugality and abandoned extravagance, placed limits on the holding of land (chan-t'ien yu-hsien 占有有限), and gave support to the destitute, so that the poor were able to sustain themselves and the rich were not able to take over other people's land (pu-te chin-chih 不德兼之). This was the root (foundation) for making (everything) equal in the empire (chün t'ien-hsia 均天下本).

If it is not done that way, then even though you (issue) laws, they will only be (statements) on paper, and that is all. How would they be of any benefit in governance?

--Hu Chih-t'ang (胡致堂) said: Under the T'ang dynasty system, the families provided with food and salary (shih-lu chih chia 食祿之家) were not allowed to compete with the people for profit. This was a beautiful system in which the shih-ta-fu (scholars and officials) were treated with on the basis of morality (廉恥心: that they should not be covetous and should know shame). However, these who held office in ancient times received hereditary salaries (shih-lu 世祿), therefore, if they held a post they did not engage in farming. In later generations, (however,) they were incautious and had no standards for promoting and dismissing (officials), so it was inevitable that this system could not be implemented.

not able to restore system of the 三代

land limitation 限田

Hu Chih-t'ang

scholar's 士大夫 vs. farmers

Land system (Sung) -86- P'an'gye surok, chōnje ^{Kasol} surok, sang

109, 5:29b

With regard to ^{those eligible for office} incumbent officials (shih-che ^{仕者}), they were given land (allotments) in accordance with their rank (p'in ^品). If they advanced and were given a post, then they had a salary to compensate them for their labor. ^(置而不用) But if they were not appointed to a post, then they (still) had land with which to support themselves. Only if they committed a serious crime would their land be taken away from them. (With arrangements) like this, then could the method for preventing competition over profit (officials competing with commoners for land) be carried out and customs of non-covetousness (^{廉恥之風}) be further encouraged.

Suggests land allotments to fit (people) eligible for posts based on personal status (to vary) when?

限田?

5:30a

(Note: P'an'gye's ^按): These two items also (go on to?) discuss the limited-field system (hsien-t'ien chih chih ^{限田之制}).

check out Fan + Hu on this!

--Chu Hsi composed (wrote) the Ching-t'ien lei-shuo (^{井田類說}) in which he said: In the 6th month of the 13rd year of Wen-ti of the Han dynasty (BC 167), (he) abolished the land tax (hsü t'ien tsu ^{除田租}). Mr. Hsün (^荀) discussed (this) saying: In ancient times levying a tithe ~~as~~ as a tax (shih-i erh shui ^{什一而稅}) was considered the most appropriate and correct (method) for the empire. At the present time in the Han dynasty, we could say that ~~the rate~~ (the rate) is perhaps 1/100, but it is rare (that 1/100 is collected). However, the powerful households and rich people occupy land (chan-t'ien ^{占田}) in excessive amounts (Note: Appears to be characters missing here), and in paying taxes, in the great majority of cases the officials collect 1/100 as tax, but what is taken from the (common) people constitutes the majority of tax ^{the crop} (revenues). The ^{beneficence} ~~benefits~~ ^{or} (enjoyed) by the officials ^{of} ~~families~~ ^{of the landlords} surpasses the three ages of antiquity; their tyranny and cruelty is worse than the fallen Ch'in dynasty. The benevolence of those above (the emperor) is not thorough(ly spread among all the people), and prestige and wealth is divided

Chu Hsi citing Hsün

repeats previously cited passage of Hsün Yieh!

Chun Hsi

Land system (Sung)

P'an'gye surok, chönje ¹⁰⁵⁰¹ surok, sang

109, 5:30a

荀 repeated

up among the powerful. If at the present time we do not rectify the root (foundation), but (merely) strive to eliminate taxes, it ^{just} will only be sufficient to aid the rich and powerful. In general, land is the great foundation (basis) of the empire. The principle of the Spring and Autumn (period, annals) was that the feudal lords did not obtain exclusive control over their fiefs (chuan-feng 專封), and the officials (ta-fu) did not obtain exclusive control over their land (chuan-ti 專地).

5:30b

At the present time the powerful people in their occupation of land (chan-t'ien 占田) perhaps (own) as much as several hundred or several thousand ch'ing (頃 :100 mou). Their wealth surpasses that of princes (wang) or marquises. This is tantamount to their exerting exclusive control over fiefs, and their ability to buy and sell land as they wish (mai-mai-yu-chi 買賣由己) is tantamount to exerting exclusive control over their land.

In the time of the filial Emperor Wu (of the Han), Tung Chung-shu once said that they ought to limit the people in their holding of land (hsien-min chan-t'ien 限民占田). By the time of Emperor Ai (哀), they then limited the people in their occupation (holding) of land, and they could not get more than 30 ch'ing. Even though they had these restrictions, they could not all of a sudden put them into effect, and with regard to 30 ch'ing, it also had unfair (aspects to it--too large an allotment?).

限田

Furthermore, the well-field system ought to (be adopted) at a time when the ~~popular~~ population is large. It should not be adopted when the land is broad (there is much land) but the population is small. However, if you want to abolish it when (the population) is small and establish it when (the population is large), then if the land has already been (become) rich and has been distributed among the powerful households, to suddenly put limits on it would give rise to feelings of resentment and cause rebellion. Thus it would be difficult to implement the system. (of limits)

adopt well field system when you have surplus population or large land to man ratio difficult to impose limits on landowners

problem!

109, 5:30b

If you look at it from this standpoint, then (it appears that) at times like when Kao-ti first established the empire and when Kuang-wu first carried out a restoration (chung-hsing), when the population was small, it was easy to establish (such a system). Subsequently, they were not able to prepare fully the well-field law (method). Would it not have been appropriate (better) if they had established grades (立科) on the basis of population for the occupation of land (以口數占田為立科), limited people in their ability to cultivate and plant (land), and forbidden people from buying and selling land, in order to aid the poor and weak and prevent (the rich) from accumulating large amounts of land (chin-ping 兼耕), making this the great basic system?

Even though institutions in ancient and modern times are different and their advantages and disadvantages follow the times, yet in general outline they are one and the same.

The pen-chih (本志) says: In ancient times when the established the pace (pu 步) and the mou, 6 feet made a pace, and a 100 paces made a mou; a 100 mou made a fu (夫), and 3 fu made a ^{wu} 屋; 3 ^{wu} 屋 made a well-field (ching 井), and a well-field was 1 li (里) square, and this consisted of 9 fu (夫). 8 families shared it. (A family consisting of) a husband and a wife received private land (ssu-t'ien 私田) (to the extent of) 100 mou. The public field (kung-t'ien) was 10 mou. This made (a total of) 880 mou. An extra 20 mou was used for a cottage (lu-she 廬舍). In going out and coming in (the people) befriended one another; they took turns in guarding and watching over (the fields), and they helped one another when ill. When the people received land, they (either) received 100 mou of superior land (shang-t'ien), or 200 mou of middling land (chung-t'ien), or 300 mou of inferior (hsia-t'ien) land. Every year they changed cultivation of the land (parcels) and changed the places (that they were granted).

should be done beginning at dynasty

end of Chu Hsi's quote of Hsin-yieh

110, 5:31a

夫=100畝
9夫=井
900畝=井

廬舍

110, 5:31a

(Note: ^{Chu Yü} Ho Hsiu (何休) says: The Ssu-kung (司空) took care to divide the land according to high or low (quality), how good or how bad (it was) into three grades (p'in). Superior land was cultivated every year; middle land was cultivated once every two years, and inferior land (hsia-t'ien) was cultivated once every three years, so that (people cultivating) fertile land would not be the only ones to enjoy its benefits and people (cultivating) unfertile land would not be the only ones to suffer. And every three years there was a complete change of land and residence. (三年一換土易居). (END NOTE)

If the family had a large number of males, the surplus were called "extra men" (yu-fu ^{餘夫}), who also received land on the basis of the numer of persons^x as in the case of families of scholars, artisans and merchants ^{who} received land. ^{(met in),} 5 persons were equivalent to one farmer (neng-fu ^{農夫}). They were (subject to) fu (賦) and shui (稅) taxes. ^{meant} Fu ^{required} the payment of property on the basis of ^x the number of persons (賦謂計口發財) ~~These~~ (Note: These last 6 characters are based on ^{Pan} Yen's commentary to the Han-shu -- ^{Pan} chih Yen-chu 班志顏註) (END NOTE) Shui meant the 10% tax on the kung-t'ien

5:31b

(公用) and also the revenues (taxes) from ^x artisans, merchants and wood (fuel) gatherers. The fu paid for the (costs) of carts, horses, weapons, armor, scholars and runners (shih t'u ^{士徒之役}) (labor) service and ~~the expenses~~ filled up (provided for) local office treasury reserves and (costs) of ^{賜予之費} ~~roy~~ imperial grants. Shui (was used) to pay for ^{天子奉養} shrines to ancestors and various gods (spirits), offerings for the upkeep of the emperor, salaries for the officials, and expenses for general matters.

When the people reached the age of 20 they received land, and when they turned 60, they returned it (to the state). In planting grain, they were required to mix up the 5 grains in order to prevent against crop disasters.

110. 5:31b

(People) were prevented from having trees in the middle of the fields that would interfere with the five grains. They worked hard on cultivation and weeded the fields several times and collected the harvest (to prevent against? ellipsis here?) extreme (difficulties such as) bandits and pirates. For Around their cottages (huts) they planted mulberry trees ~~and~~ vegetables they had vegetable plots (畦) (hsi). As for gourds and fruit (etc), these were planted along the land boundaries. (In raising) chickens and pigs, ~~w~~ there was no loss of time (for agriculture). And the women engaged in silk raising and weaving. (Thus) people at age 50 could wear clothes of silk, and ~~at~~ at age 70 they could eat meat.

5 families made a pi (比), and 5 pi (比) made a lu (閭), and 4 lu made a tsu (族), and 5 tsu made a tang (黨), and 5 tang made a chou, and 5 chou made a hsiang (鄉), and a hsiang (included) 12,500 households. The pi-ch'ang (比長) was placed below the scholar (shih 士). And from then on up there were gradual differences of one grade each up to the minister (ching 卿), (and these men) were the officials (ta-fu 大夫).

In the lü (閭) there were hsi (序) schools, and in the hsiang, there were hsiang (庠) schools. The hsi schools were for clarifying teachings, and the hsiang schools were for behaving according to li (principles of social usage) and being transformed (cultured). 禮化焉

5:32a

In the spring they let the people go out (pi-ch'u 畢出) into the fields. The poem (song) says: "Together with ~~my wife~~ my wife and son (we) brought food to the southern mou. The ^{landlord} bailiff was extremely happy." (同我婦子 饁彼南畝 田畯至喜)

In the winter they returned (畢入) to the village. The poem says: 嗟我婦子 日為改歲 入此室處 (處)

110, 5:32a

In the spring when they let the people out, the ~~in~~ village clerks (lu-hsü 閩胥) would all morning sit by the left shu(左塾), and the pi-ch'ang(比長) would sight by the right shu. After everyone had gone out, (the officials) would return (to their posts?). It was also like this ~~x~~ in the evening. Those people coming in had to be carrying firewood, whether light or heavy (depending) on their shares. The grey-headed ones did not? support each other. (Or: These people coming in had to have light or heavy loads of firewood which they shared mutually with the grey-headed old people. They did not mutually share??) (Note: Ho Hsiu says: Those who tried to leave late were not allowed to go out, and those who were not carrying firewood were not allowed back in.) (END NOTE)

In the winter, after the people had returned in (to the village), their wives would spend night after night in the same ward (back street neighborhood) in women's tasks, and in one month would obtain 45 days worth (of textile production). The merit would follow one upon the other. That is how they could cut down on expenses as (clearly as) the light from a candle. They shared the same skill or lack of skill and harmonized their practices and customs.

If men and women could not obtain what they needed, on the basis of that they mutually gave (things to each other). They sang songs of praise to express their feelings. On (during?) the month (是月), the younger children (yu-tzu 餘子) were also in the schoolroom. (Note: those not yet subjected to labor service were ~~xx~~ regarded as yu-tzu). At the age of 8 sui they entered the Small School and studied the 6 chia(六甲), the 4 fang(四方), the 5 elements (五行), writing and calculation (arithmetic). And they first learned about the household and proper deportment (dich) between elders and younger.

110, 5:32a

At the age of 15 they entered the Great School (Ta-hstdeh) where they studied the rites and music of former kings and ~~learned~~ became aware of the rites at court between rulers and officials. Those of exceptional

111, 5:33a

talent were transferred to the hsiang-hstueh (乡学), and those in the hsiang-hstueh of talent were transferred to the Kuo-hstdeh (国学), ~~where they~~ With regard to those studying in the Small School, the feudal lords every year presented as tribute the talented students from the small school to the Emperor (Son of Heaven). As for those who studied in the Great School, those among them with talent were charged with the title of tso-shih (造士 :accomplished scholar), they went (around) together and could form pairs. They distinguished them with shooting (contests?). (Note: The part dealing with the hsiang-hstueh and after is based on emendations (additions and subtractions) on the basis of Ho Hsiu's commentary). And only after that were they given rank and (imperial) orders. (爵命).

In the first month of spring when the people (in their?) residences ~~were about to scatter~~ were about to scatter (to the fields?), people on the way shook the tree-bell (行人振木鐸) in order to follow? on the road and in order to select poems to be presented. The Great Teacher (t'ai-shih 太師) would compare their musical pitch (音律) and have them heard by the Son of Heaven. (Note: Ho Hsiu (何休) says: Men at the age of 60 and women at the age of 50 without sons would be fed and clothed by the officials. ** (They) would search for poems among the people in the hsiang, and send 2 (the best ones) to the towns (邑), and from the towns to the kuo 2 (國), and in the kuo, they would be heard by the son of heaven.)(END NOTE)

If the fields were cultivated for three years (in a row), then there would be a surplus accumulated for one year, so that if there were accomplishment in three years, they would accomplish this merit. Therefore the king would examine the record (of officials) every three years.

110, 5:32b

and was
 If ~~the~~ (the fields) were cultivated for 9 years, ~~it~~ there ~~would be~~ a surplus
 of three years' worth of food, then (an official with this record) of
 progress in his work (chin-yeh **進業**) would be said to be teng (**登** :
 elevated in rank?). Therefore at the ~~xxx~~ triennial? ~~xxxx~~ evaluations
 of officials for promotions or demotion (**三考黜陟**), if he were
 promoted a second time (**再登**), (his rule, his performance in office) was
 said to be p'ing (**平** :peaceful). (If he were able to accumulate) a
 surplus of 6 years' worth of food and got a third promotion (**三登**), his
 performance was said to be Great Peace (t'ai-p'ing **泰平**). Only
 after 27 years (of officeholding?) with 9 years' worth of food surplus,
 would (his) great virtue flow and penetrate (through the empire?), and rites and
 music reach a level of perfection. Thus it is said: If you want to have
 (be regarded as) a true king, only after a generation (has passed) would
 one's humaneness (jen) (**豸**) this way.

or, could be talking about a king or ruler

111, 5:33a

(Note: (P'an'gye, probably), the passage following the word "9 years" has all been revised in accordance with the Pan-chih (Han-shu). (END NOTE)

The Shu (Shu-ching, book of history) says: "For Heaven's order there are
 rites, and for Heaven's punishments there are crimes. Therefore the
 sages regulated the 5 ~~xxx~~ rites in accordance with Heaven's order, and
 regulated the 5 punishments in accordance with Heaven's punishments. 天秩有礼, 天罰有罪

find source

They established the post of Ssu-ma (**司馬**) and established the
 six armies (**六軍**), and in accordance with the well-fields, regulated
 the military tax (chün-fu **軍賦**). 1 li (**里**) of area made a well-field,
 and 10 well fields made a t'ung (**通**); 10 t'ung made a ch'eng (**成**);
 and a ch'eng was 10 li square. 10 ch'eng made a chung (**衆**) (Note:
 P'an'gye?, the Han-shu also used the character chung (**終**) (END NOTE); 10
 chung made a t'ung (**同**) which was 100 li square; 10 ~~xx~~ t'ung
 made a feng (**封**) and 10 feng made a chi (**畿**), which was a 1000
 li square.

111, 5:33a

4 well-(fields) (ching) made an i (邑), and 4 i made a ch'iu (丘).
 A ch'iu, which consisted of 16 ching (well-fields) had 1 war horse, 3 oxen.
 4 ~~ch'iu~~ ch'iu made a tien (甸), which consisted of 64 ching (well fields),
 and had 4 warhorses, 1 war cart (chariot), 12 oxen, 3 armored soldiers
 (chia-shih 甲士), 72 footsoldiers (pu-tsu 步卒), with weapons and
 armor fully prepared. This was called the Suu-ma (司馬) method (fa).
 1 tung (同) consisting of 100 li (里) enclosed? in mounds (提封)
 10,000 well-fields (ching). Except for 3,600 ching (well-fields worth) of
 mountains, rivers, pits, mounds, walls, moats, towns, residences, gardens
 and parks, and roads, it was determined that 6,400 ching (well-fields) would
 pay in taxes 400 war horses, 100 war chariots.

5:33b

This was a large-sized ts'ai-ti (采地) of the high ministers
 and officials (ching ta-fu 卿大夫), and ~~ts'ai-ti~~ which were called
 100-chariot ~~ts'ai-ti~~ families.

1 feng (封) (consisting of) 316 li (里), enclosed in mounds (提封)
 100,000 ching (井), from which was fixed a tax payment ~~of~~ from 64,000 ching
 of 4,000 warhorses, 1,000 war chariots. This was a large (size) feudal
 lord (territory) territory, which was called a state (kuo) of 1,000 chariots.

The domain of the Son of Heaven (天子畿) consisted of
 1,000 li on each side enclosed an area of 1 million ching (井), of which ~~of~~
 640,000 ching paid in taxes 40,000 war horses and 10,000 war chariots.

The horses, chariots and runners (soldiers) were all equipped with arms.

In the spring they were called back from the field (振旅以蒐)
 in the summer they helped with the rice planting; in the fall they used
 the weapons? (治兵)
 the soldiers for the imperial hunt, and in the winter they had a great review
 (inspection) for the ~~imperial~~ imperial tour of inspection (大閱以帥).

They used the time in between farming for training.

5 states (kuo) constituted a shu (屬), each with a chief (ch'ang 長).
 10 kuo made up a league (lien 連), each with a commander (shuai 帥).
 30 kuo made up a tsu (卒) each with a cheng (正). 211 kuo made up a
 chou (州), each with a mu (牧).

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The mu (牧) had (in it) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ league commanders (lien-shuai 連帥) who would examine the chariots (carts) every year (比年). The tsu-cheng (辛正) would examine the troops every three years; and all the mu would conduct a great review of all troops every five years. This, in general outline, was the way by which former kings established the military (system) and made sufficient the military on behalf of the state. (Note: The material from lien-shuai and after is all based on the Pan-chih (Han-shu)) (END NOTE)

5:34a

-Chu Hsi says: Feng Hao (豐鎬) :capital when Wu Wang was in power?), was 300 li from Lo-i (洛邑). The territory under the jurisdiction of the capital (Ch'ang-an 長安) was 600 li, and the imperial domain (wang-chi 王畿) was 1,000 li. It also had places going across and lengthwise? ~~was~~ and was not laid out in a square pattern as in the present age. ~~if~~ I fear that the well-field system was also like this. It cannot be determined as being laid out in a square pattern.

He also said: Ch'e (徹) (means a system whereby) 8 families all labored together on 900 mou. They received the land and then calculated the (number of) mou and divided it equally. The people got 9 (parts) and the public (kung--the duke) took 1 part.

In the case of the chu (助 :aid), then 8 families ~~together~~ each cultivated 100 mou, and joined together to go out and labor in the cultivation of the public field (kung-t'ien 公田). This was the difference between chu and ch'e (助徹).

He also said: With regard to the land system, they first had to rectify the ditches and waterways and lay them out in squares (fang-ting 方定).

He also said:

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makes 1 ching (井 ^{Lin Hsin} :well field), ~~which is enclosed by a wall of 100 li~~
(ti-feng 提封) of 100 li makes 3,400 ching (well fields), with a rice tax (shu 稅米) of 51,000 (斛), and a cash tax of 12,000 strings (緡).

On every ching (well field) there is a fu tax of 2 soldiers, ~~and 1 horse~~ and 1 horse. Altogether (on 1 li of 3,400 ching?), there are 6,800 soldiers and 3,400 horses. Every year, 1/5 is collected, which is considered the quota for those on duty (shang-fan 上番) in order to provide for military service levies (cheng-i 征役).

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When nothing is happening (there is no war), then (the service requirements) are divided into four tours (fan 番) in order to serve as guards for officials or as guards for (official) residences. The people general have to servé once every 35 years. When they are on duty, then their yearly rice ration is 19,000 plus (斛) and more than 3,600 strings (緡) of cash. During peacetime, this is reduced by 3/4. The taxes from 1 t'ung (同) are taken and provided to them. After 10 years, the population of the people is counted. With regard to the tolls (chio 權) levied by officials on wine, tea, salt, incense, and alum, all may be annulled (abandoned), and given to the people.

This shu (書 : pen-cheng shu? 本政書 Of Lin HsUN?) is a book of 13 p'ien (chapters) which describes (his system) in great detail.

(Note: This book in general outline wanted gradually to restore the ancient laws. ~~It says that 5 (should be 6) feet make a pace, 100 paces make a mou, 100 mou make a ch'ing, 9 ch'ing make a well field (ching), and a well-field is 1 li square; that 10 ching make a t'ung, 10 t'ung make a ch'eng, a ch'eng is 10 li square. 10 ch'eng make a chung, 10 chung make a t'ung (同) which is 100 li square. 1 t'ung (同) of land encloses (ti-feng 提封) 10,000 ching (well-fields). Actually this makes 90,000 ch'ing (頃). 2/3 of it is taken up with walls, suburbs, markets, wells, official yamen, roads, mountains, forests, rivers, marshes, stony soil (barren ground) and land with no growth. What is fixed as land suitable for cultivation and~~

S. Sung.
林勳
本政書.

It says that 5 (should be 6) feet make a pace, 100 paces make a mou, 100 mou make a ch'ing (頃), 9 ch'ing make a well field (ching 井), and a well-field is 1 li square; that 10 ching make a t'ung (通); 10 t'ung make a ch'eng (成) a ch'eng is 10 li square. 10 ch'eng make a chung (終); 10 chung make a t'ung (同) which is 100 li square. 1 t'ung (同) of land encloses (ti-feng 提封) 10,000 ching (well-fields). Actually this makes 90,000 ch'ing (頃). 2/3 of it is taken up with walls, suburbs, markets, wells, official yamen, roads, mountains, forests, rivers, marshes, stony soil (barren ground) and land with no growth. What is fixed as land suitable for cultivation and

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for the people to live on comes to 3,400 ching (well fields), which actually makes 30,600 ch'ing (頃). 2 farmers (夫) cultivate 1 ch'ing of land. fu-t'ien (夫田 :land per farmer) comes to 50 mou.

It is also like this for superfluous men (yu-fu 餘夫). The land of two men combined makes up 100 mou. The collection (harvest) from 100 mou in a nomrla (p'ing) year comes to 50 shih (piculs 石) of rice, and a 100 piculs of rice in a good crop year. Two men can support a family of several persons on this, and in general it seems to be more than enough.

The taxes from 8 ch'ing (頃 (800 mou)) come to 16 piculs of rice and 3 strings (貫) and 200 wen (文) of cash. This is what is called the 10% tax (shih-i, 什一, tithe). On the ching (well-field) one man's taxes are exempted (復) and this ~~man~~ ^{man} is made the neng-cheng (農正), who takes charge of encouraging and overseeing ~~the~~ the cultivation and (weeding), and tax matters. (He) only collects the taxes of 15 men, which make a total ~~of~~ of the taxes on 3,400 ching (well fields), or 51,000 piculs (shih) of rice and 12,000 strings (kuan 貫) of cash. And this is taken as the rate for one t'ung (同).

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As for the residence (areas) on 1 ch'ing (頃), this land comes to 100 mou and is divided between 16 men (夫). The house of a man takes 5 mou. So the total for the houses of 16 men is 80 mou of land. An additional 20 mou is taken ~~xx~~ for the village school (she-hsüeh 社學), ~~xxxx~~ and gardens (場圃), which are shared by all the people of the ching (well field). (The people) are made to congregate in their homes morning and night to give instruction to their sons.

However, the rich and poor are not equal (of the same grade), and it is not easy to make them equal (in wealth). If you take the surplus ~~xx~~ (from the rich) to make up the deficiencies of those without enough, then the people will be terrified.

50 mou/man

At the present time we ought to establish a law whereby we make 1 man occupy (chan-t'ien 占田) 50 mou of land. Those with more than

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this will be regarded as "good farmers" (liang-neng 良農). Thos who don't (quite) have 50 mou will be 2nd grade farmers (次農); those without land-- the poor people, vagrants, the unemployed--all will be forced to become serfs (li-neng 隸農: farm laborers?).

The 50 mou(holding) of ^{one} ~~the~~ "good farmer" (liang-neng) will be called regular a standard land holding (cheng-t'ien 正田); those with a surplus will be called "surplus land holding" (hsien-t'ien 羨田). With regard to a "regular landholding", (the farmer) will never dare to abandon work on it; he must cultivate it himself. With regard to those families that hold "surplus land" (hsien-t'ien), they will not be able to buy (additional) land. Even though they can sell land to the "second rank farmers" (tz'u-neng 次農), they will not be able to sell land to the serfs (li-neng 隸農). All may be allowed to buy ~~xxxx~~ "surplus land" (hsien-t'ien) in order to make up the quota (of land) for a single farmer (i.e. 50 mou?), and rise to the position of "good farmer" (liang-neng 良農: more than man with/a 50 mou plot).

With regard to the second rank farmers (tz'u-neng 次農), and serfs? (li-neng 隸農) who cannot buy land, they all will be made to divide up and cultivate the surplus land (hsien-t'ien 羨田) of the "good farmers (liang-neng), each (cultivating a plot) equivalent to the quota (50 mou holding) of a person, and the yearly income will be paid as rent (tsu 租) to the "good farmer" (liang-neng) as is the custom (with tenancy?).

If ~~xxx~~ it is not a case where one himself buys land, and (if?) the yeh-chu (業主: personal responsible for cultivation?) himself receives the land, the in both cases they will not be allowed to move. 𠄎

If a "good farmer" (liang-neng) does not want to sell his surplus land, he should wait for his sons and grandons to grow up and then divide it (among them). The officials will not seize their property and earn their resentment. They should be given some leeway, and naturally things will hit the mark (be harmonized) by themselves in a good system. (END NOTE)

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--- Ch'en Liang (陳亮) :Sung dynasty figure. At the begining of the 1163-1165() reign period, he conducted peace negotiations with the Chin dynasty. Submitted a memorial on 5 ways to carry out a restoration (chung-hsing) (chung-hsing wu-lun). In the ~~119~~ 1174-90 reign period he offered another memorial. The emperor wanted to appoint him to office, but he replied: I am (providing) the foundation for (the life of) the state for several hundred years; what use would it be to gamble? (barter) for one post?». Collected works: Lung-ch'uan wen-chi (龍川文集))(Tz'u-hai

* Ch'en Liang said: (Lin) Hsün in composing this essay studied the past and examined the present. He was concerned about all the ~~details~~ secret (aspects) of things, and ~~(his work)~~ he can be said to be diligent. In this age among those ~~who study~~ who study the well-field system, who has done more (can add to) Lin Hsün? It is only necessary to have a brave and dauntless ruler who can especially stand up and adopt (his plan) to carry out a grand reform, and after that to act in conformity with it (?) (carry it out, accomplish it) and produce profit, then the people will have no fear and we will be able to make good what comes later.

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have + dauntless ruler!!

Note: (P'an'gye) (按) :: Eventhough you don't see Ch'eng Liang's statement in the complete works of (Lin) Hsün, still Chu Wen-kung (朱文公) (Chu Hsi) and Lü Tung-lai (呂東萊) :Lü Tsu-ch'ien (呂祖謙) a chin-shih of the Sung, lung-hsing period (1163-1165). Equal in reputation to Chu Hsi and Chang SHIH? (張栻) --known as the three worthies of ~~the~~ the southeast. He advocated using the classics and histories in order to achieve practical utility (chih ching-shih i chih-yung (治經史以致用)). He did not restrict himself to discussion of human nature. He opened a school the Che-tung hsüeh (East Chekiang School?). His works include:

Jü Tsu-ch'ien

Tz'u-hai p.262 解海

古周易春秋左氏傳說, 東萊左氏博議, 大事記, 歷代制度詳說, 少儀外傳, 東萊集 etc.

Han Paek-Kyön

112, 5:36b This (system) with regard to the Chou system, was not the same, and

in general there is no doubt (of that). If because of pointed, sloping, ?? and leaning (尖斜欹側) (land areas) they could not make square places, then perhaps (they) made 1 or 2 fields or 2 or 3 squares, and made them in accordance with the lay of the land. This is what the local people referred to as extra land (yu-t'ien, yujön 餘田). It was said that even though this was the ~~system of the~~ well field system of the Chou house, the land was difficult to lay out in standard fashion as with a plumb line and rule and they could not achieve ~~any~~ place for well-fields. Also (because) they

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~~could not~~ could not abandon (the land) and not use it (even though it wasn't flat like well-field land was supposed to be), I fear that this system could not help but be like this. (i.e. some arrangement whereby small pieces of land were used to make up squares).

With regard to the kung-t'ien (kongjön: public fields) and cottages (lu-she 廬舍), system, even though (Han?) (F) could not find out anything about it, nevertheless in the way the land was managed, it was not in the shape of the character, ching" (well-field). ~~That~~ So that/Mencius said (about it), that what in the middle (of the well fields?) there was the public field (kung-t'ien) and 8 families all had private fields of 100 mou ~~each~~ each.

What I think (竟者?) was that in Yin dynasty times, even though people received land from the fields, yet their cottages were not necessarily in the fields (by the side of the fields). Perhaps they were all gathered together in villages within the walls of the town. And the public field (kung-t'ien) was also all located in one corner of land and was not necessarily in the midst of the private fields (ssu-t'ien 私田). At times when fertilizer was put on, when the land was cultivated, weeded, and the crop harvested, the distances (from house to field) were not the same, and the people were plagued

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by this. Moreover, human culture (人文 漸備吉凶禮縛) gradually developed tiresome rituals (人文 漸備吉凶禮縛) concerning lucky and unlucky portents, and 70 mou was not sufficient for sustaining the living and sending off the dead, so that the Chi (姬 :surname of the Chou house) Chou (周) obtained the empire. Following Heaven and in accordance with man's desires (人欲), they increased (the land allotment in the Chou) to make it 100 mou, and moreover organized the well-field method where 8 families (lived) together on the same well-field, in which was placed the public field (kung-t'ien). In the spring they were ordered (令) to go out to their cottages in the fields, and in the winter they were ordered to come into to live in their houses within the (town) walls. When this system was first begun, it was very well ordered (ta-pei 大備), and was naturally refined and elegant (自質而文). (As time went on) changes were made in accordance with advantages and disadvantages, for the situation required it. (其因革損益 勢有不容已也).

春令刻

5:37b

Nevertheless, dividing up the land into well fields was not an ancient (system). In fact it began with the Chou people." (Italics mine)

well fields begin with the Chou

(Note: Mr. Han also said: Former Confucian (scholars) spoke of the well-field system in detail, but all these explanations take Mencius as the particularly forefather (basis of the description), and for that reason they are/detailed on the system of the Chou house, but don't have much to say about the Hsia or Yin (dynasties).

Chu Hsi's discussion of the chu-fa (助法 :the aids) also derive from his conjecture (suppositions) and ~~they~~ it is not a discussion that is based on ~~an examination~~ of the evidence (kao-cheng 考証). The various worthy men from Kuan-Min (關閩 :kwang-tung and Fukien?) were all talented men (worthy of, who) assisted kings. They were born into and grew up in a time of decadence (sheng-ting shu-chi 生丁叔季), and they fearlessly (慨然)
 warm

on Chu Hsi & the Sung!

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felt it was their responsibility (task) to restore the three great ages of antiquity. (挽回三代). They gathered together fragments of the classics and poems and (used them) to discuss the remnants (vestiges) of (the old) systems; there was scarcely a thing that they did not use. Having come that far, still they regrettedly (had to rely on) guesswork (懸空). If they (had been able) to walk through the lands and see the systems of that time, then in forming ideas about and describing the ^{institutions} systems of former kings would have been as easy as clapping one's hands (pointing to it with one's hand). How sad! This could not be done.

--Hö Mu? Söng? (許箴) said: When Ku-am (久菴) Han (Paek-kyöm) was in office, he went to Kwansö (Pyongan province) to the Kija fields and (generalized?) that the boundaries (of them) were based on the mou method, ~~thus~~ that a square field consisted of 4 squares of 70 mou each. The (system according to which) an aid (chu助) was required of 70 mou (of fields) was a law universally applied (t'ung-fa 通法) by the Yin people. At that time the Chou law was not universally applied throughout the empire, but Kija being ^{an old} a refugee from a Yin house, received a fief (feng) East of the Sea (海東), and as a man of Yin, he put into practice Yin laws (at?) this place (Pyongyang?). The Yin dynasty's land system was a thing of ages past and the laws and registers (records) were not handed down. (But) because of Master Chu's (Chu Hsi)'s sage (brilliance), (even) without any basis (in fact) upon which to base his investigation, he was able to ^{make a conjecture} conjecture (estimate) (about the way the system worked), by following (basing his ideas on) the Chou system. ~~(conjecture) upon~~ ~~specimens studied of ancient times, which have been handed down~~ ~~to the present~~ For a scholar who loved the ancients and had wide learning (made wide investigations, studies), down to the present time it is regarded as a leftover regret (that he could not have had more evidence to work with)? How fortunate I was one morning to personally have ~~obtained~~ been able to cast my eyes on what was handed down for a thousand years. (END NOTE)

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Note (Pan'gye): Li Ching (李靖) and Tu Yu (杜佑) of the T'ang dynasty both believed that the well field system was created by the Yellow Emperor, but both these explanations were without foundation in the classics. It is only that the Kija fields up to the present time have left a trace of their land boundaries (? 至今經界宛然), and it ~~appears~~ jibes (fits) with what Mencius said about the Yin people's 70 mou (land allotments). One can make a judgment about the Yin dynasty's land system on the basis of this, but we may also understand that the well field system began in the Chou dynasty. In ancient times it was said that China had lost the rites, and one should search for them among the four barbarians (Korea?) (ching tzai ssu i 徵在四夷). How is this not to be Believed?

(Note: The above ~~discussion~~ treats of discussions of the well field system since the Ch'in and Han dynasties).