

Population registration

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In the Chou-li, the Ta-ssu-tu (大司徒) was in charge of establishing the maps of the land and (registering) the population of the various pang (邦 :of the feudal lords), in order to assist the king in governing the pang and kuo (邦國).

The ssu-min (司民) ((note: in charge of the population) was in charge of registering (teng 登) the numbers of the people. From the time that the children had their first teeth (生齒) and on up, they were all written down in the registers. He distinguished whether (they lived) in the center of the country (kuo-chung 口中), or in the ta-pi (都鄙), or in the kuo-yeh (郭野). He distinguished between men and women, and every year he added those born and deleted those who had died.

(Note: the term, sheng-ch'ih 生齒 means that when ~~xxxx~~ boys are 8 months old and girls 7 months they first grow teeth...Kuo-chung means inside the wan-kuo (王國), Teng (登) means shang (上); and hsia means chieh (除). Every year those who were born were ~~xxxx~~ brought up and put on the registers, and those who died, were dropped and removed from the registers.) (END NOTE)

Every x 3rd year there was a grand census (ta-pi 大比), and the number of the population was reported to the Ssu-k'ou (司寇), who then in the middle of winter made sacrifice to the star of the ssu-min (司民之神). He presented the figures to the king and the king respectfully received them and mounted the T'ien-fu (天府) (to announce it to the gods?). The Nei-shih (內史), Ssu-hui (司會), and the Chung-tsai (冢宰) ~~xxx~~ made a copy (貳之) in order to assist the king in governing.

貳之

(Note: The original copy was present to (recorded in) the T'ien-fu. What the Nei-shih, Ssu-huie and Chung-tsai had was the copy, and that was all.) (END NOTE)

In the Chung-lun (中論) of Hsü Kan (徐幹) (T.H. 512, Man of state of Wei, Pei-hai, in the 3 kingdoms period. mentions his Chung-lun) it says: A state being well governed depends on the accomplishments of the

治平在庶功興

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事庶治  
役功平  
均興在  
在在庶  
民在庶  
數役功  
周均興

mass of the people being many (chih-p'ing tsai shu-kung hsing) whether the mass of the common people can achieve many accomplishments depends on whether the labor service (shih-i 報) of the people has been made fair (equal). Their labor service ~~is~~ equal depends on the population being totally (known) (周). And if the total population is known, this is the basis for governing the state.

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Kings of former times knew the whole population, the numbers of

how many or how few (the population was). Thus they divided up tasks into

9 occupations (chih-chih 九職). Once the 9 occupations were divided

up, it was possible to see who was industrious and hear who was lazy.

(This being the case), there was never a time when labor service was not

(distributed) equally. And once labor service was distributed equally then the king

above gave all of his mind (for his people) and the people exerted all

of their effort (for the king). (That being the case), there was never

a time when the mass of the people were not able to achieve many accomplish-

ments & (much merit). And once the mass of the people had achieved many

accomplishments, the state was wealthy and flourishing (abundant).

In large and small (adm. units of the govt?) there was no shortage (of

finances) (子賈). The people were at ease and harmonious and below

(among them) there was no resentment. (In such a case), there was never

an instance when government was not peaceful (fair: p'ing). AS streams

have their source, ~~is~~ and (buildings?) have their foundation, so in the

way (of government), you must search for the root (of things), and that's

all there is to it. For that reason, in the Chou-li in the middle of winter,

the Ssu-k'ou presented the population figures to the king and the king respect-

fully received it and registered it in the T'ien-fu, and the Nei-shih, Ssu-hui,

and Chung-tsai made copies of it. This is the way they showed ~~the~~ how

important they regarded (the matter of census registration).

But at the present time people in charge of government affairs are

not aware (of the importance of population registration). (未之知也)

Kim. 516-17.

9 職 (Chou-li)

1) 三農 (3 grain prod.)

2) 園圃 (gardens + trees)

3) 虞衡 (wood in mts + marshes)

4) 牧畜 (hides + heart, raising)

5) 百工

6) 商賈

7) 嬖婦 (favorites)

8) 匡妾 (collecting materials)

9) 開民 (m. occ.)

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The situation is comparable to having no land yet wanting to plant trees or raise sprouts. Even though you have farmers, how will you be able to rely on their strength? This is why the kings of former times established the system of the 6 hsiang and 6 su (送). And this is why in maintaining the people they ~~organized them~~ created an organization (for the people) like large and small ropes the ~~x~~ warp and woof of a net (kangmok, kang-mu 綱目). They had the lin and the pi (隣比) protect one another (hsiang-pao 鄉保); and in receiving either punishments or rewards, they were mutually linked together (involved with one another. 相連). And thus the people in going out or coming in, in living or dieing, in begin godd? or not (臧否): in what they were permitted to do), and in whether they were obedient or rebellions (treasonous), it was possible to know what they were doingx (by maintainin mutual surveillance organizations to keep an eye on the population)

the government of

But in the time of/lan-chün (亂君: unregenerate, tyrannical rulers),

~~the~~ there were leaks of ~~xx~~ the true population figures from the national registers, and some families escaped from the military units (聯伍) to which they belonged, and ran away to escape from labor service. Thus,

lascivious minds fought to arise and falsification (of the registers) became the custom. At the ~~x~~ least there was excessive stealing (小則濫竊). Kim's 518, for some reason translates this as meaning, "at the least, good laws were ~~changed~~ amended and changed???", and at the most, there were attacks on ~~xx~~ expropriations (from people). Even strict p unishments and severe laws could not save the situation.

The number of people (population registration) is the thing from which all matters derive (come from). It must be done correctly in order to divided up the land, in order to have taxes paid, in order to make implements that are needed, in order to regulate salaries and emoluments, in order to have the fields cultivated (chönyök 田役), in order to organize the armed forces. The state needs it to establish the laws; the

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family needs it in order to establish standards (立度). Through it, the 5 rites are practiced, and through it the 9 punishments can be employed. All of this only depends on investigating the number of people (population).

E. Chin.  
365 A.D.

---In the reign of Ai-ti (哀帝) of the Eastern Chin (東晉), in the 3rd month of the 2nd year of Hsing-ying yearperiod (興寧) (Ni-chen Chin. dyn) year (kyöngsul day?), a grand population census was carried out. It was ordered that the people would be registered as residents of the places where they were currently residing (suo tsai t'u-tuan 所在土斷), and this was called the keng-hsü (庚戌 365) system. (Note: t'u-tuan means that in case of people from the northwest who moved to live in the southeast, they were registered in their place of current residence where they were settled.)(END NOTE)

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In the time of Hsiao Wu (the filial Wu (Hsiao-wu-ti of the Hsiao Wei, 393-397), Fan Ning (范甯), expounded on the government of the times, saying: In the past when the central plain (China) was in decline and confusion (rebellion), the people took refuge on the left bank of the river. They probably felt that they would have an opportunity to return, so they were allowed to live in this district. After they had been there for a long time, the people became settled in their tasks; the funeral mounds of the dead and the trees were lined up in rows (from such a long period of inhabitation), so that even though their district having a regular name to it, in fact it was their settled area. At the present time we ought to rectify the land boundaries, register the population in the place where they are residing, clarify the qualifications for standing for the examinations, and put in order the law for organizing the people in li and wu (里伍: ranks, mutual surveillance orgs). Those who would object on the grounds that this is too difficult would definitely say that each of these people still feels nostalgic for his old land and that they would fear having labor service imposed on them.

E. Chin.

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But these would only be the objections of (the rich) who have accumulated large landholdings; it would not be the general opinion of the population. In ancient times a ruler who lost his territory was still the ruler of (the land) where his subjects resided (he could move to their territory and still be ruler over them?). The subjects of the various states also had the proper rite (etiquette) for treating w (with such rulers of lost territories? people who had to move?)

All the people of the world have through the generations moved from the places where their lineages (shih 氏) originated. Why is it only in this time that we cannot (recognize this fact, and register people in their new residences)?

The emperor thought this was good.

--. An-ti (安帝) in the 9th year of the i-hsi (義熙) period (413 A.D.) (v. 397-419 Eastern Chin 晉) the Duke of Sung (宋公), Liu Yu (劉裕) (later founder of Liu Sung) talked about registering the population where it was living in a memorial.

He said: Former kings in regulating government set up 9 areas, and in order they divided up the boundaries and ~~land~~ set off the land (in units) so that each ~~power~~ person was secure in his ~~occupation~~ residence. Thus the well-field system was highly respected during the three ages of antiquity. The

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Ch'in dynasty abolished this system. The Han dynasty following the Ch'ing did not change (what the Ch'in had done), and the accumulation of large landholdings by the wealthy and powerful became a great evil because of this. In the Han dynasty during the period of the Western Capital, they carried out a great removal of the lineages of the

T'ien (田) : Kim, 520, a ducal clan of the state of Ch'i) and the Chi'ng (景) : Kim, 520, a ~~ducal~~ noble clan of the state of Ch'u) in order to fill up the Kuan-chung (關中) area. Thus the san-pao (三輔) : area. Kim's note, refers to the 京兆, 左憑, 右扶風 in other words the area of the capital province) they established the

Land system (census registration) -16- P'an'gye surok, chonjehurok kos ol, sang  
 hsiang and lü (鄉閭) system, and did not ~~also~~ again relate (them) to  
 Ch'i and Ch'u. They did not concern themselves about the 9 fu area  
 (chiu-fu 九服 :Kim's note--distant area outside the capital province,  
 see the Chou-li). Those of the (new immigrants) who requested it were  
 treated as if they were (the same as) old residents.

During the yin-chia year period (of the Western Chin) (307-313),  
 (because of warfare, the Emperor Hui-ti 懷帝) moved the population.  
 They stopped (on the way?) at Chun-hai (淮海). (Despite their wishes)  
 to restore the fortunes of the dynasty, the intention of the people to  
 return to their homeland and their plans to put their state in order  
 were never achieved (there was not enough time given to them--to achieve  
 it). This is the reason why the people never ~~had~~ were able to think about  
 restoring peaceful rule (government).

Then the Ta-ssu-ma (大司馬), Huan Wenx (桓溫) felt that if  
 the people had no fixed homeland, it would do severe damage to the  
 principle (of good government). And (they adopted) the keng-shu t'u-tuan  
 (庚戌土斷) system in order to determine all the occupations  
 of the people in accordance with where they were residing. The reason  
 why ~~the state~~ property (production) was abundant and the state ~~was~~ prospered  
 at that time was because of this (law). From that time until now many  
 years have passed, and the unified system of the t'u-tuan law has gradually  
 fallen into disuse (become lax, destroyed). In areas where immigrants  
 lived mixed in with (permanent) residents, the lü and wu (閭伍)  
 organization system ~~was~~ have not been put into effect. This is the  
 reason why the transforming instructions of the king have not (reached  
 (the area) (have not been great? 不純); this is the reason why the  
 customs  
 evils ~~exist~~ among the people still exist. If these defects are not reformed,  
 there will be no way to control and manage (the situation).

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Human nature is such that it is tied to the usual ~~事~~ (?人情滯常難與慮始) Kim, 521: that it is easy to be bound always to the present), and it is is difficult to thinking of starting (something new?) (Kim translates this as: it is difficult to realize one's original intention). The reason why one speaks of the land of one's parents as the sangjae( sangjae chi hyang --sang-tsai桑梓 : Shih-ching, Wang-wei王維): in ancient times people planted mulberry and walnut trees around their homes so that later generations would remember their ancestors; another name for home town --kohyang) was because one was born there and respected and loved

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(the place). So what I am requesting is that we rely on the regulations of the keng-shu t'u-tuan system(of 365 AD) , by which the common people will come to have a basic place to live in, and gradually ~~things~~ results will be produced, after which we will be able to guide the people with (the moral principles) of humaneness and righteousness and encourage them with dignified sounds (威聲). If we cross the great river and straddle the Yellow River, pacify the 9 chou and restore the old territory, then the intention of loving one's homeland? will quickly be made manifest (achieved). At first we will have to exert some effort for a while, but in the end it will definitely be easy. Therefore, we ought to register people where they reside and on that basis fix boundaries.

--. In the T'ang (T'ang-ling唐令), right after boys and girls were first born they were ~~xxx~~ regarded as "yellow" (黃). At the age of 4 they were regarded as "small" (children) (hsiao 小); at the age of 16 they were youths (chung 中); at the age of 20 they were ting( 丁); at the age of 60 they were lao( 老). Every year the registers (of population) would be made, and every three years the household register (hojök, hu-tsu 戶籍) was compiled. There were 3 copies of it. 1 was kept in the hsien, 1 sent to the chou, and 1 sent to the Ministry of Taxation (hu-pu 戶部).

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--. If you consider the rise and fall of population over the ages, King Wu of Chou conquered the Shang and pacified the empire (p'ing-chih t'ien-hsia--ruled the empire in peace). The Duke of Chou acted as <sup>assisted</sup> prime minister for Ch'eng-wang (成王), he (extended principle (governance) and punishments? (致理刑措 :Kim 522, translates this as, He established an ideal state of great peace and he did not find it necessary to use punishments). The population was 13,704,923 people; this was the most flourishing time (the height) of the Chou.

About 30 odd years / After P'ing-wang (平王) moved the capital east (Kim, 522. to Lo-i 洛邑 in the 13th year of Chuang-wang (莊王) (Kim, 522, 2nd year of Duke Hsüan of Ch'i) (684 BC), Duke Hsüan of Ch'i (齊桓公) 's 2nd year, the territory beyond 5,000 li (from the royal capital) was no longer under the control of the Son of Heaven. The population, counting from the t'ai-tzu (grand prince) and the kung-hou (dukes and marquises) down to the common people, was 11,941,923.

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--In the Han dynasty from Kao-tsu to Hsüan filial P'ing-ti (AD 1-6), ~~хрестиянских~~ households yüan-shih 2 (AD 2), the number of ~~населения~~ was 12,233,000, and the population was 59,594,900. This was the height of the former Han dynasty. In Kuang-wu's reign in chung-yüan 2nd year (57 AD), the no. of households was 4,279,600, and the population was 21,007,800. By the reign of Hsüan-ti in the 2nd year of the ying-shu reign period (156 AD), the no. of households was 16,070,900, and the population was 56,006,000. This was the height of the Later Han dynasty.

--Emperor Chao Lieh (昭烈) occupied Shu (蜀), and Ts'ao Ts'ao (曹操) occupied central China. Sun Ch'üan (孫權) occupied the area east of the river (Chiang-tung). The three kingdoms were like the legs of a tripod, and there was no end to the fighting. Shu had 280,000 households; Wei had 663,400 households, Wu (吳) had 520,000 households.

-in the reign of Wu-ti of the Chin (晉), in the 1st year of the T'ai-kang period (280 AD), he pacified Wu, after which, there were

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2,459,800 households, and 16,163,800 people.

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--. After Sui Wen-ti succeeded to the ~~kingdom~~ Later Chou, he obtained 3,600,000 households. After pacifying Ch'en(陳), he had an additional 500,000 households. He was frugal and sparing in his governance and did not use weapons (military force). In the reign of Yang-ti, in the Ta-yeh reign period, 2nd year (606 AD), to the 18th year (622)--in that interval there were 8,907,000 households, plus.

--At the beginning of the reign of Kao-tsu of the T'ang there were over 2 million households. In the Cheng-kuang period (627-650), he ruled by encouragement and refinement and there were frequent bumper crops. By the rule of Hsüan-tsung(玄宗), in the 14th year of T'ien-pao (755 AD), there were 8,914,700 households and 52,919,300 people. This was the height of the T'ang dynasty. After the rebellion of An Lu-shan, in the reign of Su-tsung(肅宗), in the 3rd year of kan-yüan (760), there were 1,933,100 households. In the reign of Wen-tsung, in the k'ai-ch'eng period (836-841), there were 4,996,700 households.

--. Ma Tuan-lin(馬端臨) says: From the Han dynasty on taxes were fixed in terms of population, so that even in times when the dynasty (the population) was flourishing and at its height, figures the population registers/that were memorialized from the districts were in the end not as high as the population for the 3 dynasties of antiquity and the two Han dynasties. Because people were trying to escape taxes, they mutually acted to hide population or keep it out of the registers, so how could (these registered figures) be reliable?

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--Tu Yu(杜佑) said: In the past a worthy (great man) once said: "only when the granaries are full can you know about rites and etiquette (倉廩實知禮節). Only when the people have enough clothes to wear and food to eat can they understand what is wonderful and what is shameful (樂厚). When Confucius went to Wei, he was asked a question by his disciple, Jan Yu(冉有).

冉有

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Confucius said: How beautiful. (The population) is numerous. (Jan Yu asked), Once it is numerous, then what else can you add (do?).

Confucius replied: make the people rich. (Jan Yu asked). Once the people are rich, what else can you do? Confucius replied: Instruct them. ~~the~~

Therefore we know that if a state has enough, its government will be peaceful (cheng-kang 政康); if a family has enough, instruction (teachings) will be ~~xxx~~ followed. There has never been a case of anybody being able to rule (a country or family) if things were contrary to this.

The way to ensure that a family has enough is not by their absconding to avoid taxes; and the way to ensure that a state has enough (resources) is not by levying heavy taxes (on the people). If people abscond to escape taxes, then the people will not be settled in their home land and they will be poor. If heavy taxes are levied, this will only give rise to many wealthy merchants (多卷贏) and the state will be impoverished. Will this not indeed be so? (note: (贏者) means wealthy merchant families. Once the regular households have absconded to avoid taxes and labor service, they will be wandering and floating around, and ~~the regular households~~ they will become attached to the great merchants, who will make a profit (from them?). For a discussion of this, see the Kuan-tzu.)(END NOTE)

During the three dynasties of antiquity, taxes were established in accordance with the well field system. The Ch'ing dynasty abolished the Chou system. The Han took over the Ch'in laws. The Wei and Chin and later dynasties had more population, but that did not enable them to solve the problems of the times. The Eastern Chin established its capital in Chiangnan, and the Mu-jung (慕容), the Fu (符) and the Yao (姚) peoples took turns in occupying the central land (of China). Nobody had any fixed base (homeland), and the damage done to principles (Heaven's principles of good government) was profound. Subsequently the law whereby people were registered in the places where they were residing (t'u-tuan chihling 土斷之令) was adopted, and because of this there was prosperity & abundance.

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Later on the system fell into disuse (~~now~~ adm. became lax and it was abandoned), and the old evils appeared once again. During the i-hsi An-ti (安帝) (安帝) of E. Chin (義熙: 405-19 ) ~~his~~ reign period it was put into practice for a second time. And great results, as seen in former times, were made manifest ~~in~~ the records). The ~~six~~ Sui dynasty succeeded to the throne when the Chou abdicated, and the population was 8,900,00. This was the time after ~~the~~ the Western Wei had revolted, and the Chou and Ch'i had divided up the empire. Tyrannical rulers and corrupt officials levied heavy taxes and labor service on the people who could not sustain their lives. Many of them commended themselves to powerful houses. The laws (prohibiting people from absconding to escape taxes, says Kim, 526) were in confusion, and the corrupt falsification (of population registers) was even worse. Kao P'in? (高頻) saw ~~that~~ the evil problem of the people wandering about and proposed that a law be established to transport and register them ( shu-chi chih fa 輸籍之法 ), that their names be fixed and that their (tax quotas) be reduced.

(Note: Kao P'in? memorialized that concerning taxes levied on the people, even though there were fixed portions (quotas), every year there was always a large amount of taxes that were excluded (exempted) from the regular collections. The chief clerks acted arbitrarily and on the basis of personal feelings, (and for this reason) there were no regular (fixed) ledgers because sometimes things were added and sometimes they were deleted from the records, and for this reason it was difficult to make comparisons. He requested that a method be determined for implementing the shu-chi law; that with regard to \* all taxes levied on the people, that all quotas be recorded (chi) so that the officials and clerks would not be able to make entries and deletions at will; that these regulations should be sent down to all chou (districtios) and every year on the ~~the~~ 5th day of the 1st month the district magistrate (\* hsien-ling) would send a man around to each area to make inspection, and that groups of 5 tang or 3 tang & would be regarded together as a single tuan (團), and that in accordance with

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the regulations the quotas of taxes for the households would be fixed, and because of ~~if~~ ~~no~~ corruption would be tolerated." (END NOTE)

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~~R~~ This (new system of registration) enabled people to realize that ~~that~~ whereas (formerly) powerful households had been receiving over half the taxes from the "wandering guests" (migrant farmers <sup>浮客</sup>), that (now) all the people paid and the ruler received a (truly) reduced, light tax levy.

(Note: <sup>fou-k'e</sup> pugak(浮客) means those people who had absconded to escape official taxes and had become dependent on the households of the powerful and influential and had become their tenant households (tso-t'ien-chia <sup>作佃家</sup>).

In the past during the Han dynasty, in the 3rd year of the reign of Wen-ti (177 BC), they had excluded the land tax on people's land (<sup>除人田租</sup>).

Hsün Yeh(<sup>荀悅</sup>) said: The ancients taxed at the rate of 1/10, which was most suitable and fair (a tax) for the whole empire. The house of Han taxed probably at the rate of 1/100, which could be said to be extremely light.

But the ~~new~~ influential and powerful families occupied large quantities of land and the fou-k'e(<sup>浮客</sup>:floating guest) population paid the great majority

of taxes. The benefits conferred by the officials (govt) were greater than tyranny

in the 3 dynasties of antiquity while the ~~benefits~~ of the influential and powerful families was ~~more~~ was crueller than ~~in~~ during the decline

of the Ch'in dynasty. The benefits did not extend to those below while the prestige and happiness was divided up by the influential people. If

this is not ~~is~~ rectified (if you do not rectify the root), then it will only be sufficient to give aid to the ~~rich~~ wealthy and powerful.

Kao P'in in explaining about the (merits) of a system of light taxation because was said (that if such a system were implemented) all the wandering guest were (tenant) households would be reformed into (independent) (taxpaying) households, and that this was the reason for the prosperity of the Sui dynasty. (END NOTE)

First you promulgate (and establish) faith (in the laws), and then you carry out the edicts. If all the people enjoy the benefits

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(provided by the government in terms of light taxes), then there will be no way that corruption will be tolerated. The Sui dynasty's accumulation of surpluses was spread around throughout the empire, and the customs of the people were peaceful and sufficient. (康阜), and that this was all due to the efforts of Kao P'in (高頻).

During the cheng-kuan period (627-650), the country had 3 million households over 130 years had passed, and by the end of the t'ien-pao period (742-756) ~~xxxxxxx~~ and (the T'ang dynasty by that time had) just scarcely the number of the Sui dynasty population. Even though ~~xx~~ the height of the Great T'ang ~~xxxxxxx~~ the Western Han, ~~xxx~~ and the population should have been more than the population in the yüan-shih period (AD 1-6) of the Later Han, yet the ~~xxx~~ number of names registered in the population was ~~xxxxxxx~~ 3 million ~~xxxx~~ or more ~~xxxx~~ short.

(Kim, 528--interposes another line: "And this was due to a deficiency in the Tang policy for ~~xxxx~~ appointing men of talent ~~x~~ to office~~x~~.) In the (T'ang) selection of worthy men and appointing them to office, many (of these selections) were based on talent in the arts and letters, (such that)

talent was not in conformity with (what the) position (required). The laws, in some matters, were abandoned ~~xxxxxxx~~. They fell into the evil practice of treating those who pursued empty reputations as being men of true power (Kim, 528: 隋值名責實之義);

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they were lacking in ways to investigate what was said and inquire into the facts of a situation (關考言詢事之道).

To groups of light and frivolous men and to the ranks of the wandering pursuers of luxury? were accord respect and rank and the best reputations.

(崇秩之所至, 美價之所歸, 不無輕薄之曹, 浮華之徒. Being practiced (learned) in regulations and laws and becoming intimate with

the account books was regarded as a shallow custom; striving after the root of things and discarding the trivial (branches and leaves) was pointed to as being impracticable (wide of the mark, bigoted) (迂濶).

People only esteemed elegance (風流) in one another and devoted

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themselves to competing with one another and trying to best one another. The affairs of office were entrusted to the clerks, and bribery was practiced in public offices. (Behavior in government) ended up as bad as this.

What the ancients regarded as the ideal (way to conduct government) depended on a complete knowledge of the population (chou-chih jen-su 周知人數), (which was necessary for) equalization of labor service; then the accomplishments of the mass of the people would be elevated. The state was enriched and the families had enough (to live on). Teachings were followed and culture (hua, transformation) became ~~the~~ widespread. ~~the~~ Good customs became ~~with~~ uniform and unified, and by this means there were few natural disasters, and no rebellions. This is why in the Chou official system, they had the pi, lü, tsu, tang, chou, hsiang, hsieng, and pi (北國族臺州總領部), by which government was maintained and the ~~the~~ order was kept among the people. The population ~~of~~ figures were presented to the king and the king respectfully received them, respected them and protected them. By this means (they showed) how much they regarded as important (the matter of census registration). Later, when government became perverted, and names were missing from the registers. Just like birds flying off and animals running way, they could not stop it. As a result families become poor and the state was impoverished. The

133, 7:11a number of corrupt people gradually increased and even though the country was turned upside down, people did not realize it. People did not realize how important and far-reaching this system (of census registration) was. If we are to seek a way for ordering and pacifying (governing) the state, this is the only way to do it (census registration).

--. T'ai-tsu of the Sung succeeded to the confusion of the 5 Dynasties. He had a household population of 967,300. He cut down and pacified (reduced the no. of) those who occupied excess(lands). By the 9th year of the k'ai-pao (976) year period, the no. of lord and guest households (chu-k'i hu ) was 3,090,500. In the reign of Shen-tsung, in the 6th year of yüan-feng(1083),



133, 7:11b  
~~xxxxxxx~~

Whatever is desired will be carried out. This is the reason why during the warring states period when ~~x~~ any state was about to lean over (fall), the thing it regarded as the most urgent was obtaining more people (chih-min **致民** Shang Yang (of Ch'in) induced people who wanted land to cultivate to come in from the three Chin (states) and by this means fill up the Ch'in lands (with population). At the end of the Han dynasty the empire was destroyed and the ~~zh~~ Three Kingdoms competed for profit (advantage). Sun Ch'üan (**孫權**) sought people from across the mountains to make them his own people. More than that, he also used barbarians who sailed the remote seas and prisoners of war who lived on islands.

Generally speaking, when the state of Shu fell, it had 280,000 households. When the state of Wu fell it had over 500,000 households, but the state of Wei ~~xxxxxxx~~ could not muster even 1 million, and that was all. It (Wei?) obtained the whole empire, but it could not gain a population even equivalent to several chün ~~q~~ (districts) of the Han dynasty. Thus it has been the case since ancient times that the strength of a state depends on the size of its population.

With regard to the choux and hsien (prefectures and districts) in the empire at the present time, in terms of the payment of tribute (以見入職貢者言), excluding the several hundred thousand who have ~~xxx~~ already been recruited as soldiers, and in addition if (we count, exclude) the several hundred thousand ~~xxxxx~~ who have left (the home) to follow the ways of Buddha (**浮屠** (Kim, 53&1--monk service **僧役** ) and Lao-tzu, and those who have been listed for/labor service but have not yet received their warrnats (tu **度** :Kim, 531--tu-tieh **度牒**)-- all people like these we will not mention; yet still the population is exceedingly abundant, and the number of children has become very large so that the total population is approaching an age of full prosperity. In an age when the population is numerous, the state is strong, wealthy, and great, we ought to have no enemies (who can stand up against us) in the world, But (the population) is ~~xxx~~ crowded into certain areas (**偏聚** )

133, 7:12a

and is not equally (divided, apportioned among different areas of the country?)(or labor service is not equally apportioned). People are attached to the powerful who ~~are~~ are not intimate with the masses of the people (shih-shu erh pu-chiin 勢屬而不親, and for this reason there are no profits from the cultivation of land, and there are no tax increased/revenues (from ~~in~~ more cultivation). There are not large numbers~~of~~ of people subject to labor service and (as a result) the military (the country) is not strong. On the contrary, in fact it is poor and weak, which is seen on the outside?(hsien yü wai 見於外). Even though the population is large, it is not known ~~w~~ how to use it. People are just allowed to be born as they please as they please by themselves and die by themselves, and that is all there is to it. But in the prefectures and districts (chou-hsien), there is also the practice of ~~ex~~ levying silk taxes (costs) on people on the grounds that they are adults or youths (ting-chung 丁中); how could the intention of this be to regard people as not suitable for ~~living~~ living on the king's territory, yet imposing taxes on them?

Generally speaking, it is extremely difficult to increase the population by bringing people into the country (chih-min 致民) as was done in former ages. Rather, wait for the population to become numerous ~~and~~ ~~then~~ (is what we have done), but in the end we have not been able to use them (effectively), If at the present time there are those who would like (to solve) both internal and external matters by using the already large population and leading them to the north (to conquer the north), who would dare contest them on this? Yet no one (no official) has made this his intention (advocated this). This is because they do not understand how serious the basic (problem is).

7:12b

In my opinion, if you have population, you must use them to open up land for cultivation. If land is opened for cultivate, the people will have enough to live on and tax revenues will increase. When they reside at home, then they can be mobilized for labor service, and when they go out

*Sung*

133, 7:12b

from their homes (to fight, on military duty), then they can be used as soldiers. But at the present time it is not like this. We make the people live ~~in xxxxxxxx~~ ( *宿居憔悴* ) and without enough land to support themselves. The dullest and least talented among them become wandering guests (fou-k'e *浮客* ) or hired laborers, while those among them who seek profit and are strong and powerful become merchants or k robbers. Even if people can desultorily ( *苟得朝暮之食* : now and then) obtain enough food ~~to~~ for a morning or evening's meal but they cannot live as true families, then even in bumper crop years and happy years, there will be no grain offered for sale on the market, and ( *市無貴糶* ) when grain on the market is not expensive, still the people will always be ~~afraid~~ fearful of obtaining a few grains to eat, and there will be no way to supply them. Generally speaking, there are no more than 1/3 of the people who are able to pay taxes and labor service to the officials.

*knancy* {

Those who have land do not cultivate it themselves, while those who can cultivate the land cultivate land that is not their own. This is the reason why even though the population is numerous (and the number of births) is increasing, still the government is not able to utilize them (effectively).

134, 7:13a

~~At the height of~~ With regard to (the flourishing population) in the Wu-yüeh ( *吳越* ) area, recently since the end of the T'ang people have been congregating in large numbers in the 15 chou (of this area) until at the present time ~~the~~ the area constitutes 1/2 ~~of~~ the population of the empire.

There is not enough land to support them all; it is so crowded their elbows rub one another and their sleeves grind? against one another ( *肩摩袂錯* ). Wherever they go they are worried and cannot rest at ease ( *感處而不自聊* ).

(But) in the Ching-ch'u area ( *荆楚* ) : state of Ch'u, comprising

Anhui, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, ~~and~~ Honan, BC 740-330--Matthews, 156) the land is wasteland and overrun with forest, and you can go for a thousand li without coming upon a village. If we divide up (and transfer) the people in the Wu-Y'ueh area to fill up the Ching-ch'u area, then more land

;34. 8";3a

will be cultivated and the people will naturally have enough to live on. When they reside at home they can be mobilized for labor service, and when they go out (to war) they can be used as soldiers. Both property and taxes will naturally become enriched without ~~me~~ having to do anything about it. I believe that there is nothing more important than the task that faces us at the present time.

Ma Tuan-lin

(Note: Ma Tuan-lin says: From the Son of Heaven down to the common people each has his occupation. The job of the princely man is to serve as a high minister, but it is also the job of the common people to serve as soldiers. This is why the ancients never said that one's occupation (job: chih 職) was labor service (i 役). What the ancients called labor service (i) was only in cases where the army had to be raised and people put on their armor and weapons and went out to face the swords and arrows. Only ~~after~~ after that was done did they call it (military) service (i). Or they might call it (labor) service) in the case of construction projects when people personally took ~~in~~ turns on duty? and went out to work with their dirt baskets or shovels. What Confucius referred to when he said, "You put the people to work in accordance with the proper times (shih-min i shih 使民以時), or what the Wang-chih (王制) : section of the Li-chi) meant ~~when~~ when it said, "every year no more than 3 days" (do you require labor service)--in both case this was labor service (i). In later ages things like the <sup>in the</sup> hsiangting (鄉亭) 鄉亭, chün-shih ( 軍士 ) and other types of job, were all extremely onerous and extremely base (in status). Compared to the fact that they were beaten and received cruel treatment, then there wasn't any difference with people who were required to serve in the armor or in miscellaneous labor construction projects. From the time that these conditions prevailed, what had been regarded as occupations (chih 職) were now called labor service (i 役), and they were called military service (chün-i 軍役) and personal labor service (shen-i 身役).

(Note: The above section deals with Population. (Census registration).