

THE ARGUMENTATION OF THE *SHIH-HUO CHIH* 食貨志

CHAPTERS OF THE HAN, WEI, AND SUI DYNASTIC HISTORIES *

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PART ONE On the Nature of the <i>Shih-huo chih</i> Chapters.....	1
PART TWO Annotated Translations of the Argumentation.....	12
1. <i>Shih chi</i> , <i>chüan</i> 30, Postface.....	12
2. <i>Shih chi</i> , <i>chüan</i> 129, Introduction and Conclusion.....	21
3. <i>Ch'ien-Han shu</i> , <i>chüan</i> 24, Introduction and Conclusion.....	37
4. <i>Ch'ien-Han shu</i> , <i>chüan</i> 91, Introduction.....	62
5. <i>Wei shu</i> , <i>chüan</i> 110, Introduction and Memorial to the Throne.....	70
6. <i>Sui shu</i> , <i>chüan</i> 24, Introduction.....	76
PART THREE General Propositions Implied by the Argumentations.....	90
Appendixes:	
1. <i>Huo</i>	95
2. <i>Ch'ing-chung</i>	102
3. <i>Kung, fu, shui, tsu</i>	105
4. <i>Mou</i>	113

PART ONE

ON THE NATURE OF THE *Shih-huo chih* CHAPTERS

Although this study is limited to the chapters of the pre-T'ang dynastic histories¹ usually entitled *Shih-huo chih*, in fact, out of six selections, two have the title *Huo-chih lieh-chuan* and one, the title *P'ing-chun shu*. The inconsistency is more apparent than real. Since PAN KU² repeats most of the text from the *Shih chi*'s *P'ing-chun shu* in the *Shih-huo chih* of the *Ch'ien-Han shu*, it can be assumed that they are two names for the same subject. The chapters entitled *Huo-chih lieh-chuan* appear only in the *Shih chi* and *Ch'ien-Han shu*, because apparently in later histories the slight difference in emphasis of the *Huo-chih lieh-chuan* was not considered sufficient to make a separate chapter outside of the then

standardized *Shih-huo chih*. An examination of them will show that they are concerned with the same subjects and have a common point of view. *Shih-huo chih*, which eventually became the customary title for all chapters treating of these subjects, was created by PAN KU, so that one must look to the post-Han period for the fixing of the title.

The choice of translations for *chih*, *shu*, and *lieh-chuan* is largely one of personal preference. We prefer "monograph" for *chih*, "treatise" for *shu*, and "narrative" for *lieh-chuan*. We choose "monograph," because we look upon the *chih* as being essentially impersonal accounts of a particular subject.

The title *Shih-huo chih* has been variously paraphrased, explained, or translated in occidental languages: Edouard BIOT³ calls it, "La Section des Vivres et du Commerce"; Alexander WYLIE⁴ interprets it, "Memoir on Political Economy"; CHEN Huan-chang⁵ writes it as "Record of Food and Commodities," and later remarks that the chapters are the "economic histories of different dynasties"; Mabel Ping-hua LEE⁶ translates it, "Chapter on Food and Commodities"; Nancy Lee SWANN⁷ speaks of the "treatise" on "economics" in her earlier published work, but will translate it more literally in her forthcoming publication;⁸ Stefan BALÁZS⁹ informs us that it is "Titel der Wirtschaftsmonographien in den Annalen" and "Beschreibung der Lebensmittel und Tauschmittel"; CHI Ch'ao-ting¹⁰ designates it, "Book on Food and Commodities"; Homer H. DUBS¹¹ refers to the title as "Foods and Goods"; Woodbridge BINGHAM¹² translates, "Monograph on Food and Commodities"; and YANG¹³ Lien-sheng contributes the latest explanation by writing that "treatise on food and money" is the most literal translation, "because 'medium of exchange' seems to be the essence of PAN KU's long definition of *huo* . . . and all earlier treatises on economic affairs are distinctly divided into two parts, on food and money." Let us now examine in detail the binom *shih-huo* to determine whether or not any one of these explanations supplies us with an understanding of the title of these chapters.

We shall appeal to our translations, presented in later sections of this study, for a more precise meaning of the word *shih*, since

the general use of the character for "food" or "to eat" would seem to need clarification here. PAN KU¹⁴ explains that "By *shih* was meant the edible things [such as] 'diligently produced good grains,'" and later says, "The *shih* being sufficient and the *huo* being transferred, then the kingdoms were well stocked and the people were rich. . . ." WEI SHOU,¹⁵ who faithfully follows PAN KU's ideas, glosses *shih* by *ku* "grains," when he writes,¹⁶ "In governing a kingdom or a family no one fails to take as the foundation, *ku* and *huo*." Not much doubt is permitted after CHANG-SUN WU-chi¹⁷ sums up the earlier classical references on *shih* and *huo* by saying,¹⁸ "The meaning is that the *ku* and *huo* circulated [so that] all obtained their proper portions." *Shih* is therefore to be construed as *ku* "grains." Although it is a truism that "grains" are the "staff of life," and that the basic interest in them must necessarily be in their consumptive value, yet when grains are discussed in these monographs the stress is upon grain as payment "in kind" for government obligations.

A detailed analysis of the subtle variations of meaning of *huo*¹⁹ and their historical development was necessary to clarify the technical use of the word in these titles. We conclude that *huo* is used in these monographs, when events in the Han and later periods are spoken of, in its meanings of "a commodity," "goods," "various circulating articles that possess exchange value," and finally "special circulating articles that have exchange value and are used by the people for payments, either 'in kind' or as coin, and used by the government for fiscal needs." *Huo* in these texts is never used to refer to land or real estate or "fixed" assets in general. We also note that, from the point of view of the fiscal administration, the main function of *huo* is their use as a means of payment to the government, and that this use tends to make them become identified as the medium of exchange. It is our opinion that the use of the word *huo* in the title of these monographs is only in the last meaning: special circulating articles that have exchange value and are used by the people for payments and used by the government for fiscal needs.

Based upon these conclusions the two words *shih* and *huo* can be translated literally as "grains" and "special commodities." The

“special commodities”—most frequently textiles or coins—were apparently used as measures of value, freely exchanged, and used to pay debts; so that, by virtue of the fact that money is a special commodity of recognizably uniform value, divisible, portable, durable, and accepted, *huo* can be translated as “money.”²⁰ The historical development of the word indicates such a connotation. Do these two words denominate, however, mutually exclusive categories? There is the story from *Mencius*²¹ in which *huo* is “grain.” As we shall see below, the sections of the chapters that treat of grain include textile production, while to grains in certain periods are ascribed all the attributes of “money.” Clearly, a literal translation alone does not provide us with a satisfactory solution of the meaning of the title *Shih-huo chih*.

We have approached the problem from one avenue—that is, the meaning of the words themselves—but we have another avenue open to us: what is the content of these monographs? We shall advance along this new way by observing two aspects of the road: the literary form of the monographs and what is said in them. Upon actual examination of the chapters comprising our selections, we find that they follow the usual pattern of the historical chapters; that is (1) an introduction with a short conclusion or a postface, and (2) a body roughly divided into topics and subdivided chronologically. The argumentation is given in the introductions or postfaces, and these we translate and annotate in full in the second part of this study. The combined bodies of the chapters are far too long to be attempted in any single paper. However, in order to understand more fully the background for the selections to be translated, it was necessary to read through the major portions of the bodies of the chapters, and material from them had to be used in the notes to clarify obscure passages in the introductions or postfaces. It was in the course of such perusing that the limitation of topics became evident. We here summarize the main topics in each of the chapters from which we take the introductions or postfaces.

SSŪ-MA Ch'ien²² begins *chüan* 30 of the *Shih chi* with a discussion of the “heavy money” and chaotic economic conditions that the Han dynasty inherited from the Ch'in Empire, then describes

how Han Kao-tsu simplified the governmental demands upon the people and piled extra taxes upon the merchants. The chapter records, under the reign of Emperor Wên, the granting of coinage privileges to individuals and the consequent rise to power of the Prince of Wu and TÊNG T'ung. For the contemporary Emperor Wu, the record is concerned with the problems of meeting the demands made upon the imperial treasury for the military needs incurred because of the Emperor's policy of territorial expansion: grain supplies and transportation, enormous public works involved in opening roads and digging new canals, civilian relief both for the original population and for the newly submitted "barbarians." Finally the chapter describes in detail the schemes by which the emperor and his advisors manage to replenish the imperial treasury: by the use of "white deer money," selling court offices, redemption of punishments by payments of fines, confiscation of wealth, debasement of the coins, and, foremost of all, by establishing the government monopolies on salt and iron production, the system of equitable marketing, and the Bureau of Price Stabilization. Although the economy described obviously has many features of a developed "money economy," it should be kept in mind that the name for the Treasury is first "Ssü Nung" and later "Ta Nung." These names might be translated "The Ministry of Agriculture" and "The Great [Department of] Agriculture." Grain is still the real foundation. It is interesting to note that the Chinese phrase dictionaries explain the term *Ssü Nung* as: "One of the nine ministries during the Han Dynasty. It had charge of the affairs of *ch'ien* 'coins' and *ku* 'grains.'"

The body of the *Shih chi, chüan* 129, contrasts two sets of individuals who have accumulated great wealth: (1) eight pre-Han personages, six of whom are prior to the Ch'in Empire and two during it, who either expounded theories of controlling supply and demand or used their wealth for good purposes, and (2) a number of great merchants operating in the Metropolitan District, together with nine especially mentioned individuals who acquired their wealth by iron smelting, salt evaporation, manipulation of grain or cattle stocks, and lending money for interest, and who used their wealth for their personal power, making it possible for them

to vie with the enfeoffed rulers. In addition to the biographical sketches,²³ the chapter presents a general discussion of the economy and customs of the people, together with an excellent description of the boundaries, products, and trade of twenty-nine regions of the Han Empire during the reign of Emperor Wu, in which, we presume, Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien's personal observations are recorded.

PAN KU, in the body of the *Ch'ien-Han shu*,²⁴ *chüan* 24a, repeats in large part the phrases from the *Shih chi* (*ch.* 30), and adds an explanation of LI K'o's system of intensive agriculture, together with three long memorials, two from the reign of Emperor Wên and one from the time of Emperor Wu. The first is by Chia I in which he points out that there are too many consumers and too few producers of agricultural products, that the dynasty is too young and insecure to be able to withstand a war without and a famine within when its stocks of grains are so scant, and suggests that the people be put back on the soil. CH'AO Ts'o's²⁵ memorial warns that the people are not sufficiently attached to the soil to ensure an adequate grain supply, that the advantages of the merchant class make agriculture despised; he advises the Emperor to give titles, amnesty, and rewards for deliverance of grain to the imperial granaries, in order to emphasize the cultivation of grains. During Emperor Wu's time, TUNG Chung-shu's memorial points out that the grain production of the Metropolitan District has been permitted to decrease alarmingly, and that the land holdings are becoming too large for the safety of the dynasty. The Emperor does not listen to him; but in later years he directs more attention to restoring the productivity of the Shensi region, upon the advice of CHAO KUO, who proposes systems of alternating the furrows to offset the soil depletion and of teaching the agriculturists better methods of ploughing with the oxen. Under Emperor Chao, the chapter notes the establishment of the ever-normal granary, and under Emperor Chêng's reign there is recorded a memorial by the minister, SHIH Tan, suggesting that the large landholdings by individuals be reduced. The Emperor's edict on the subject is rendered impotent by the machinations of high officials. The chapter ends with an account of the attempts of

WANG Mang to nationalize the land and the slaves.²⁶ In *chüan* 24b, PAN KU retells the *Shih chi's* (ch. 30) account of the financial problems of the Han dynasty and adds the long discussion of the coinage policies of WANG Mang.

In the body of his Chap. 91, PAN KU adds nothing to the text of the *Shih chi* (ch. 129) of the same title, which he copies.

The *Wei shu*, *chüan* 110, describes the land problems and the redistribution of the land after the long periods of war and the reduction of the population, the various tax systems used, and the coinage problems and attempted solutions.

The topics discussed in the body of the *Sui shu*,²⁷ *chüan* 24, are: a sketch of the southern and northern kingdom's agricultural systems, taxes, granaries, expenditures for official salaries, transports, expenditures on the imperial court, the Six Offices that regulated the economy during the Northern Chou, public works, forced labor, and salt monopoly; under the Sui period itself, taxes, granaries, transports, and salaries during the reigns of Emperor Wên and Emperor Yang; and a final section on coinage notes from A. D. 317 to 618.

Further confirmation of the limitation of topics is secured from an analysis of the main portions of the *Shih-huo chih* in the *Chin shu* and the T'ang histories, although they are outside our present field of interest. The *Chin shu*,²⁸ *chüan* 26, for the period from the end of the Han to the establishment of the Chin, A. D. 265, relates specific measures used by officials to revive grain production or increase areas of production for the needs of armies or relief programs. Accounts of the long reign of Emperor Wu of Western Chin are concerned with purchase and storage of surplus grains for military requirements or famine relief; inspections of prefects in order to reward or punish them for their agricultural production records; an extensive memorial on restoring grain production in an unusually wet year; and a few brief notes on land holdings, grain and textile taxes, and tax-exempted persons. The Eastern Chin is discussed mainly in terms of famine relief measures, military agricultural colonies, grain transport difficulties, and a change in tax collections. Coinage problems are reviewed from WANG Mang's time to A. D. 404, with emphasis on the respective merits of grains and textiles versus coins as media of exchange.

Although there is evidence of a more complex economy in the *Shih-huo chih* accounts presented in the two T'ang histories,²⁹ yet the general nature of the topics discussed is similar to those found in the previous chapters. *Chüan* 48 and 49 of the *Chiu T'ang shu* are concerned with the agricultural economy and tax systems, financial affairs and coinage, salt and wine monopolies, transport of grains, storage systems and price stabilization, and special taxes. *Chüan* 41 to *chüan* 45 of the *Hsin T'ang shu* have to do with the agricultural economy and tax systems up to A. D. 780 and from 780 to 906, buying up of grains by the government, transport of grains, military colonies, monopolies of salt, tea, wine, and mines, monetary affairs and coinage, land given to officials for services, and salaries and support of officials.

We have now come by this long summary to the point where we can see clearly that these chapters are concerned only with the problems of the treasury: tax payments (mainly in the form of grains and products of sericulture), transportation by which these revenues were brought to the point of storage, establishment of granaries in which to store the grains; expenditures for public works, expenditures for public disaster relief, disbursements for expenses when the emperor made trips through the empire and for building of imperial palaces; all the direct and indirect demands upon the treasury incident to carrying on wars; systems of government monopolies and price control to help stabilize the rate of flow of income and disbursement; salaries for the large body of government officials; and finally coinage.

Of the previous explanations for *Shih-huo chih*, WYLIE's "Memoir on Political Economy" would be the most acceptable to us, if the term "political economy" had not acquired a connotation in the English language of the present that is too far removed from its original meaning. Our investigation on the meaning of the words *shih* and *huo* brings us to the conclusion that "grains" and "the special circulating articles having exchange value," when used as the binom *shih-huo*, with the technical implications given it by the contents of the chapters themselves, refer only to the fiscal concern with them as revenue and means of disbursement; therefore, we offer a new interpretation of the title *Shih-huo chih*: "Monograph on the Fiscal Administration."

There remains now one question to be asked: What is the reason for translating the introductions or postfaces of these monographs? What is their importance? The body of the chapters are factual presentations of the details of the administration, but the introductions or postfaces are surveys by the individual historians, writing after the events, in which the theories underlying the fiscal policies of each period are expounded. The method of argument is by historical precedent, so that each writer cites segments of previous texts either classical or historical, often without any indication that it is a citation. Moreover, the dynastic histories were thought of as a means by which subsequent rulers and their advisers and governing scholars could learn how to govern and where to profit by the mistakes of their predecessors, so that the introductions are addressed to this small and specialized group. Consequently, the literary allusions upon which they base their argument are brief "flashes" intended merely to recall the complete story to the mind of the trained government official, and the citations are as elliptical as they can possibly be. The essence of the argumentation is in these allusions and elliptical citations. The process assumes the aspect of a snowball in its descent downhill; for example, in the Introduction of his monograph, WEI Shou merely refers by segmentary passages to PAN Ku's text in which PAN Ku himself has given elliptical citations from early classical texts. Should the reader be unable to follow back up the trail of these citations, the full meaning of the writer must remain either incomprehensible or at best dimly realized. Later writers refer more frequently to these introductions than to the factual material in the bodies of the chapters.

NOTES TO PART ONE

* Gratitude for the encouragement given this study from its inception is gladly acknowledged to Professor Peter A. BOONBERG of the University of California, Berkeley. Appreciation is expressed to Dr. YANG Lien-sheng of Harvard University, who read this article just before publication and suggested some valuable changes that have been incorporated.

¹ The chronological break is arbitrary, yet it is not unreasonable; with the T'ang dynasty began a new phase of Chinese history. There is, however, one departure from this plan: the *Chin shu* is omitted, although by a strict count it should have been included. It was part of the preliminary work, but after a draft translation had

been made of the introduction of the *Shih-huo chih* (*chüan* 26) of the *Chin shu*, it was apparent that its diction and philosophy put it outside the common tradition of the other similar pre-T'ang chapters. The writer decided that the *Chin shu* chapter merited separate treatment and reserved it for a later study. That task is no longer necessary, since Dr. YANG Lien-sheng in his "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty," *HJAS* 9 (June, 1946). 107-185, has not only admirably translated the introduction but also the entire chapter. As an examination will show, the author or editors of the *Shih-huo chih* of the *Chin shu* relied more upon vivid historical résumé than argumentation in presenting the background for the body of the chapter.

²班固, author of *chüan* 24 of the *Ch'ien-Han shu* (hereinafter referred to as *CHS*) A. D. 32-92. Cf. Nancy Lee SWANN, *Pan Chao: The Foremost Woman Scholar of China* (1st cent. A. D.), 1932, for biographical details.

³*Le Tcheou li ou les rites des Tcheou*, 2 vols. and supplement (Paris, 1851), translation of the *Chou li* [referred to as *Biot*] 338, n. 2.

⁴*Notes on Chinese Literature* (1867, reprinted 1922) [referred to as *Notes*] 15.

⁵*The Economic Principles of Confucius and his School*, 2 vols. (1911) [referred to as *Econ. Princ.*] 51.

⁶*The Economic History of China with Special Reference to Agriculture* (1921) 143.

⁷SWANN, *op. cit.* xiii and 65.

⁸According to YANG Lien-sheng, *op. cit.* 111, n. 29.

⁹"Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der T'ang-Zeit (618-906)," *MSOS* 36 (1933) under Glossary number 228.

¹⁰*Key Economic Areas in Chinese History* (1936) 6, n. 2.

¹¹*The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku* (1938) [referred to as *Former Han*] 309, n. 2.10.

¹²*The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty, The Fall of Sui and Rise of T'ang* (1941) 10.

¹³YANG, *op. cit.* 111.

¹⁴*CHS*, *ch.* 24a, *post.* In citing Chinese books the sections designated as *shang*, *chung*, or *hsia* are indicated by "a," "b," or "c"; the recto and verso sides of the pages, by "a" and "b" immediately following the Arabic numeral of the page; and the line of the text in which the citation occurs is indicated by superscribed numbers. *Chüan* is either written in full or abbreviated to "*ch.*" The words *supra* and *infra* are used for reference within the section itself; *ante* and *post*, for reference to other sections of the paper.

¹⁵魏收, author of the *Wei shu*, although it cannot be said with any certitude that the *Shih-huo chih* was written by him. A. D. 506-572. Cf. James R. WARE, "Notes on the History of the *Wei Shu*," *JAOS* 52 (1932). 35-45, and James R. WARE, "Wei Shou on Buddhism," *TP* 30 (1933). 100-181 for information on the history of the text and the man.

¹⁶*Wei shu*, *ch.* 110, Introduction, *post.*

¹⁷It is traditionally said that the monographs of the *Sui shu* were presented to the throne in the year 656 by CHANG-SUN Wu-chi 長孫無忌, and therefore his name has been affixed as author. Since there were other editors on the commission writing the history of the Sui dynasty, we hesitate at this stage of our research to say definitively that the introduction of this monograph was from the pen of CHANG-SUN Wu-chi.

The life of CHANG-SUN Wu-chi has as yet not been written, so that we take our information directly from one of the narratives about him in the T'ang histories, *Chiu T'ang shu*, *chüan* 65. His ancestral line issued from the imperial family of the T'o-pa Wei, and when the T'o-pa people took Chinese names (*ca.* A. D. 400), this

senior branch of the main family took the name of CHANG-SUN. His grandfather was Duke of P'ing-yüan (i. e., northwest of Ch'ang-an) and vice-Regent of the Northern Chou dynasty; his father, Shêng 晟, was a military official under the Sui dynasty. His younger sister married Li Shih-min 李世民 and subsequently became the T'ang Empress Wên-tê 文德皇后. When the "Righteous Army" of Li Yüan 李淵, founder of the T'ang dynasty, crossed the Yellow River in A. D. 617, CHANG-SUN Wu-chi was made Military Governor of the district north of the Wei River. Because he had been an adherent of Li Shih-min, he was promoted several times until he became First Secretary of the Division of Judiciary Control in the Ministry of Justice, and was enfeoffed as Duke of Shang-tang in southeastern Shansi. In the year 626, CHANG-SUN Wu-chi with others aided Li Shih-min in killing the Heir Apparent and his older brother, who had plotted to destroy Li Shih-min. When the father designated Li Shih-min as Heir Apparent, CHANG-SUN Wu-chi became one of the Presidents of the Grand Secretariat in attendance upon the Heir Apparent. When Li Shih-min became the Emperor T'ai-tsung, CHANG-SUN Wu-chi was given the highest honors. He became President of the Right of the Affairs of State in A. D. 627; however, some of the officials secretly memorialized the Emperor stating that the authority and favors of CHANG-SUN Wu-chi were excessive. The Emperor set aside the memorial, but CHANG-SUN Wu-chi considered it prudent to take the warning; and finally the Emperor released him from the duties of state and appointed him a vice-Regent. He was later made Duke of Chao, and was one of the ministers to receive the dying commands of T'ai-tsung in 649. During the first years of the reign of his nephew, the Emperor Kao-tsung (650-683), he was further honored; but he opposed the future Empress Wu, so that some of her partisans falsely accused him of treason. He was deprived of his honors, banished, and met his death in 659.

¹⁸ *Sui shu*, ch. 24, post.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1.

²⁰ There is a danger that the use of the word "money" brings with it the connotation of the complex banking and price structures of our twentieth century American economy.

²¹ See Appendix 1.

²² 司馬遷, author of the *Shih chi* [referred to as *SC*]. Ca. 145-86 B. C. Cf. Edouard CHEAVANNES, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, 5 vols. (1895-1905), translation of ch. 1-47 of the *Shih chi*, [referred to as *Mh*] for biographical details of the author and his father, Ssü-MA T'an 司馬談. *SC*, ch. 30, is translated in *Mh* 3.538-604. Detailed references to names and events mentioned in the following summaries are to be found in the notes appended to the translations in Part Two.

²³ Cf. Nancy Lee SWANN, "A Woman among the Rich Merchants: The Widow of Pa (3rd cent. B. C.)," *JAOS* 54 (1934). 186-193.

²⁴ For an excellent analysis of the *CHS*, ch. 24, cf. OKAZAKI Fumio 岡崎文夫, *漢書食貨志上に就いて* *SG* 3 (1922). 20-31.

²⁵ Cf. Georges MARGOULIÈS, *Le Kou-wen chinois, recueil de textes avec introduction et notes* (1926) 64-65, 68-73.

²⁶ Cf. C. Martin WILBUR, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty* (1943) 201-203.

²⁷ The writer of this paper has translated *chüan* 24 of the *Sui shu*, but regrets that she has never had time to present it for publication.

²⁸ YANG, *op. cit.* 151-185.

²⁹ Cf. Stefan BALÁZS, *op. cit.* 34 (1931). 1-92; 35 (1932). 1-73; 36 (1933). 1-62.

PART TWO

ANNOTATED TRANSLATIONS OF THE ARGUMENTATION

This second part contains the translations of the portions of the selected Monographs on Fiscal Administration in which the argumentation of the Chinese historians is presented. The translations intentionally have been rendered as literally as they could be and still be readable, so as to preserve the vigor and color of the Chinese diction. It is the intention of the writer to offer to the English reading public an unbiased translation of the ideas of the Chinese historians. It is hoped that the interests of others will be stimulated to solve the many unanswered problems touched upon in the paper, and that specialists in other fields will be able to use the translations for work in their own spheres of knowledge.*

1. *Shih chi, chüan* 30—Postface **

Treatise on [the Bureau of Price] Stabilization ***

The Honorable Archivist¹ said, "When the way of exchange² had been opened between agriculturists, artisans, and merchants, then the monetary values of tortoise shells³ and cowry shells,⁴ metals,⁵ spades⁶ and knives,⁷ and hempen and grass cloths⁸ arose from it.⁹ The origin [of this exchange] was long ago and far away.¹⁰

"Before [the reign of] Kao-hsin Shih¹¹ is [the period of] high [antiquity],¹² [so that] it is generally said¹³ that there is nothing that can be recorded [about it]. Thus, the *Shu* [*ching*] tells about the juncture in time of T'ang [-ti, Yao] and Yü [-ti, Shun],¹⁴ and the *Shih* [*ching*] speaks about the generations of the Yin and Chou [dynasties].¹⁵ [When the people] were settled and [the country] was at peace,¹⁶ [these rulers] developed the *hsiang* and *hsü* [type of institutions],¹⁷ made primary the basic occupations,¹⁸ and diminished¹⁹ the branch occupations; with moral discipline (*li*) and a standard of right (*i*), they guarded against personal interests.²⁰

"In the passing of affairs from one state into another, when [the point is reached where] there are many causes [for anxiety],

there is likewise a turning counter to the existing [course of events].²¹ Thus it is that living things having fully developed, then decay; ²² time having reached its limit, then turns; ²³ now substantially simple, now artificially complex,²⁴ is the passing from one state to another in the coming to an end, [only] to commence."²⁵

In the Nine Provinces ²⁶ of the "Tribute of Yü,"²⁷ that which was collected in tribute ²⁸ from each of them, was [exacted] according to the suitability of their soils, [and according to] whether the people were numerous or few. [Because the dynasties founded by] T'ang and Wu ²⁹ took over corrupted [administrations], it was easy "to pass from one state into another [in such a way] as to cause the people not to be wearied"; ³⁰ each [dynasty] was conscientious in that which it considered good government, yet gradually it deteriorated, decayed, and dwindled away.

Duke Huan of Ch'i ³¹ used the plans of KUAN Chung,³² put into effect the balancing of supply and demand,³³ and surveyed the productive occupations of the mountains and the sea, with the result that he held court for the vassal lords.³⁴ By doing so, [in spite of] the smallness of Ch'i, he illustriously created the title of "The Leader."³⁵ [Marquis Wên of] Wei used LI K'o's ³⁶ [system of] intensive cultivation of the lands to become a strong ruler.

After this, our world ³⁷ was contested for by the Warring Kingdoms, which esteemed deceit and force, and depreciated humanness (*jên*) and justice (*i*), which placed first wealth and possessions, and placed last modesty (*t'ui*) and humility (*jang*).³⁸ Thus, among the common people, the rich ones sometimes accumulated countless [fortunes], while the poor ones sometimes did not [even] get their fill of the residue of the distiller's grains.³⁹ Among the rulers of kingdoms, the strong ones sometimes united a group of small [ones] in order to make subject [to themselves] the vassal lords, while those of weak kingdoms sometimes had their [ancestral] sacrifices cut off and their lineage destroyed;⁴⁰ so that when we come to the [period of] the Ch'in [dynasty], it finally united all within the seas.⁴¹

The monetary values of Yü [-ti, Shun] and the Hsia ["dynasty"] were the metals consisting of three kinds: ⁴² yellow, white, and red, and either spades, hempen and grass cloths, knives, or tortoise

shells and cowry shells. When one comes to the Ch'in [dynasty] they standardized the monetary values of the whole kingdom into two classes: ⁴³ yellow metal [? gold], with the name of the *i* [weight], was the superior monetary [measure of] value; ⁴⁴ the bronze coin, with an inscription reading "a half *liang*," and with a weight equal to its legend, was the inferior monetary [measure of] value.⁴⁵ As for pearls, jades, tortoise shells, cowry shells, silver, tin, and the like, they became objects for ornamentation and precious treasures: they were not monetary [measures of] value. Then each one of them followed seasonal [fluctuations], so that their values were without constancy.⁴⁶

Thus, externally [the Ch'in dynasty] repulsed the I and Ti barbarians, and internally promoted artisan work and productive occupations.⁴⁷ [In the land] within the seas, men labored at cultivation, [yet] there was an insufficiency of provisions; women spun, [yet] there was an insufficiency of clothing.⁴⁸ The ancient ones ⁴⁹ exhausted the accumulated wealth and valuables of the empire to offer them up to their emperor, still from his point of view they were insufficient. There is nothing strange [about this].⁵⁰

Therefore, when they say that the streams of the general course of events rushing against each other cause it to be thus,⁵¹ what merits surprise in that!⁵²

NOTES TO PART TWO

1. *Shih chi, chüan* 30—Postface

* Certain texts have been referred to as "standard" in the notes. The word "standard" is to be construed in the sense of having been taken as the basic texts to which all citations are made and to which collations of other editions are made. The "standard historical" text of the dynastic histories of China is the reprint of the Ch'ien-lung, fourth year (1739) edition, by the T'u-shu Chi-ch'êng Press 圖書集成 (Shanghai, 1888). It was collated with the *Po-na pén Erh-shih-ssü shih* [referred to as *Po-na*] 百衲本二十四史 in the *Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an, Shih-pu* [referred to as *SPTK*] 四部叢刊史部 of The Commercial Press (Shanghai, 1937). The "standard classical" text is the *Sung-pên Shih-san-ching chu-su* 宋本十三經注疏 with *JUAN Yüan's* 阮元 *Chiao-kan chi* 校勘記, *Sao-yeh Shan-fang* 掃葉山房 edition (Shanghai, 1926). In the majority of the cases, other citations are to the *Ssü-pu pei-yao* [referred to as *SPPY*] 四部備要 reprint collection of the Chung-hua Shu-chü 中華書局 (Shanghai, 1927-1936). For each citation to a Chinese text, a corresponding reference is given to a well-known translation when a translation existed and was

available to the writer. For example, all references to James LEGGE's translation of *The Chinese Classics* are merely cited as *Legge*, followed by the appropriate volume number and pagination. This is done as a convenience to the reader, and does not carry with it any implication that the translations of others were acceptable to the writer or were used in the text. Where it is deemed imperative to the accuracy of the study, disagreement is recorded and sometimes explained in the notes.

** We had been puzzled by the fact that this chapter began abruptly with the state of affairs at the beginning of the Han period and that, strangely, in place of what should have been a conclusion with a recapitulation of the body of the chapter, it had a brief historical summary up to the Han dynasty. In our search for the answer, we found the citation of the commentary by K'o Wei-ch'i 柯維騏 (Ming dynasty, ca. 1522) in *Shiki kaichū kōshō* 史記會注考證 [referred to as *SKK*] (1934) Vol. 4, 30.2^a and 44⁷⁻⁸, in which he offers a solution. He says:

"This excursus of the Honorable Archivist is merely the beginning of the *P'ing-chun shu*. The first part narrates the constancy of the *kung* and *fu* taxes of the Three Dynasties; the middle part enumerates the devices of KUAN Chung and LI K'o for [becoming] wealthy and strong; the last part touches upon the malpractices of the hollowness and waste of the Ying-Ch'in [dynasty].

"Next come the affairs of the Han [dynasty]; the style is continuous. If this is not correct then the opening [phrase] of this *Shu* [in which it] speaks about, 'When the Han came to power, it inherited the malpractices of the Ch'in . . .,' seems to be without any beginning. His excursus does not discuss the affairs of the Han [dynasty itself], and seems to lack any connection [with the body of the chapter].

"The *Shih-huo chih* of the [Ch'ien-] *Han shu* in part takes these phrases [for its own]. The sequence (i. e., what is at the very end of the excursus, and what is at the very beginning of the *Shu*) is very clear, and it can be perceived that the popular copy (i. e., as it is now) is not the old (i. e., the original) [arrangement] of the Honorable Archivist."

YAO Nai 姚鼐 (1739-1815) concurs in this theory, although some Chinese commentators think that the present arrangement was made by Ssü-ma Ch'ien.

*** The title of the chapter was translated by CHAVANNES (*Mh* 3.538) as "Balance du commerce" and he explains that the title was the name of a government office in Han times. Its duty was to prevent prices from becoming too high or too low. Cf. *SC* 30.7b⁹⁻¹³; *Mh* 3.597-598; Esson M. GALE, *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, 1931 [referred to as *DSI*] (translation of Secs. 1-19 of the *Yen-t'ieh lun* 鹽鐵論 [referred to as *YTL*]) 2, 9-10, and xxv-xxvi where the office is translated "bureau of equalization and standardization." The figure of speech of the title is one in which "making level," "causing to be equal," "stabilizing" are implied, and the functions described in the chapter are those of price stabilization.

What does Ssü-ma Ch'ien say in his own biography about this chapter? (*SC* 130.7b⁴⁻⁵):

"Having thought about the action of monetary values in circulating [the products of the] farmer and merchants, and [the fact that] when they (i. e., the prices) are extreme, then devices and monopolies augment [to the point that the people] vie for artifices and profit, leave the basic occupations and hurry to the branch occupations, I made the Treatise on the [Bureau of Price] Stabilization in order to look at the passing of affairs from one state into another."

This last phrase 事變, which we have translated "the passing of affairs from one state into another," seems to give the clue to the philosophical background of the chapter. Compare other phrases in this Postface that seem to echo a similar philosophy: pp. 8a⁹⁻¹⁰; 8a¹¹; 8b⁵. Also in the body of the chapter, p. 2a⁵, observe the phrase: 物盛而衰固其變也.

These phrases and the underlying philosophy are reminiscent of those found in the so-called "Great Appendix" of the *I ching* (ch. 7 and 8; Legge 348-407—especially the sections 7.4a⁴⁻¹⁰; Legge 356-357, pars. 28 to 32 inclusive, and 7.8b¹⁵⁻¹⁸; Legge 377, par. 78). It is expressed in 8.10a¹⁶-10b²; Legge 383, par. 15 with some of the identical words used in our selection.

Obviously, the key word is *pien* 變. As a philosophical term, one might offer such equivalents as: "transformation," "alteration," "a turning point," "a critical point of change." The essence seems to be in bringing out the fact that the "change" involved in *pien* is not a breaking with the past; it is rather a "halfway point," a ninety degree turning from the old toward the new. Since the use of the word in our text is philosophical, we have tried to select a phrase that would keep the essence of the meaning; therefore, we have translated *pien* 變 as "passing from one state into another." We admit that it is cumbersome, but to shorten it would destroy its descriptive value.

It would seem from the foregoing that Ssü-MA T'an had accepted the philosophy of the "Great Appendix" of the *I ching*, a metaphysical school of thought nearer to the early Taoist than the later Confucian school. The son, Ssü-MA Ch'ien, then attempted to interpret the events, especially those in the time of Emperor Wu of the Han, in the light of this philosophy.

Why did Ssü-MA Ch'ien select as the subject of this chapter, to be examined in terms of such a philosophy, the *p'ing-chun*? Was it not the purpose of the bureau, so entitled, to stabilize prices and thereby control the natural laws of economy? In our humble opinion, Ssü-MA Ch'ien in titling his chapter *p'ing-chun*, while showing in its postface the inevitability of the passing from one state into another, is subtly pointing out that such economic controls are destined to "pass" as do all phases of life.

¹CHAVANNES in his *Mémoires historiques* (lix-xi) takes issue with the previous translations of *t'ai-shih* as "grand annaliste" or "grand recorder," and presents his own proof for rendering the fuller phrase *t'ai-shih kung* as "le duc grand astrologue." Marcel GRANET (*Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne* [1926] 64, n. 2) refutes CHAVANNES, and Fritz JÄGER, "Der Heutige Stand der Schi-Ki-Forschung," *AM* (9.21 et seq.) supports GRANET, and further develops the criticism. We have followed these later analyses of the problem, but we have chosen to use the translation "the Honorable Archivist." We rendered the *kung* as "honorable" to give it an equivalence to our "the late honorable so-and-so," which seems to us to be the essence of the designation. In translating *t'ai-shih* as "archivist," we had in mind GRANET's point that a *t'ai-shih* was "rédacteur et gardien des précédents de toutes sortes (précédents astrologiques compris)." We have not given an English equivalent for the *t'ai* separately, because we do not believe that it was stressed during the time under consideration: there does not seem to have been a *hsiao* or a *chung*, such as there was in the old Chou system.

It has been fairly well established that the designation *t'ai-shih kung* in the present version of the *Shih chi* gives no indication in itself whether the speaker is the father or the son. In identifying the writer of the various paragraphs comprising our selec-

tions, we have taken as our basis of determination the philosophical nature of the specific passages. The father had strong metaphysical leanings; the son might be termed a "realist."

In our opinion the text from 農工 to 終始之變也 is a quotation credited by Ssü-MA Ch'ien to his father. From that point on, Ssü-MA Ch'ien speaks. It should be noted that the subject of this opening paragraph, the monetary values, is again discussed in the third from the last paragraph; that there is likewise a similarity of subject in the second and the fourth paragraphs; and that the general tone of these first three paragraphs is metaphysical, while the later ones are narrated as a matter-of-fact historical progression.

² The earliest description of exchange occurs in the same section of the *I ching* (8.10a¹¹; Legge 383, par. 14) in which we found the expression of the philosophy. A more extensive quotation is given in the *CHS* 24a.1a⁸⁻⁹, to be discussed later.

³ Cf. *CHS* 24a.1a⁶; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.600. For this note and all following notes, through number 8, see Appendix I.

⁴ Ssü-MA Chêng's 司馬貞 (fl. 713-742) comment says that the ancient ones used the cowry as *huo*, while they treasured the tortoise shell. He then quotes the *CHS* (24b.9a²) with the commentary in which the WANG Mang (33 B.C.—A.D. 23) regulations of the *pei* and the *p'êng* were explained. We do not think it historically accurate to apply these regulations for the period discussed in this text. Cf. also *CHS* 24a.1a⁵.

⁵ Cf. *CHS* 24a.1a⁶; 24b.1a⁵. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.600, translates, "l'or."

⁶ CHAVANNES, *ibid.*, translates *ch'ien* as "les monnaies." We render the word by a term less anachronistic. This is discussed in Appendix I. Ssü-MA Chêng remarks that the *ch'ien* were originally called *ch'üan*, and that the Chou dynasty had officials belonging to the *ch'üan-fu* "market treasury." He also remarks that it was not until Ching Wang 景王 of the Chou dynasty (544-519 B.C.) that they cast the "large copper coins." Cf. *CHS* 24b.1a⁶.

⁷ Ssü-MA Chêng again quotes the regulations of WANG Mang, and then concludes with a reference to the play on words in the monetary vocabulary. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.600, n. 5, where he discusses this type of pun.

⁸ Ssü-MA Chêng merely refers to the regulations of WANG Mang. Cf. *CHS* 24a.1a⁶; 24b.1a⁵, 1a⁷. In the very early historical periods there were coins that were named *tao* and *pu*, but this reference antedates that use.

⁹ In the opinion of Ssü-MA T'an the monetary values were created after exchange became a definite part of the economy; the normal procedure!

¹⁰ Ssü-MA T'an cautiously offers no opinion as to when they were first used.

¹¹ Kao-hsin Shih or Ti K'u 帝嚳, a legendary ruler, traditionally placed at the end of the 25th and beginning of the 24th centuries B.C. Ssü-MA T'an places the "historical period" as beginning with the 24th century.

¹² We have translated this as "[the period] of high [antiquity]," but we wonder if the other meaning of the character 尙, "to honor, to respect," is not also implied in this context. This is the period which goes beyond man's knowledge; therefore, is more spirit-like.

¹³ We assume that Ssü-MA T'an, who has used the information from the *I ching* "Great Appendix" with its sociological stories of these pre-T'ang 唐 (i.e., Yao) rulers' exploits, is pointing out only that there are no records to which a cautious historian can refer, for this early period.

¹⁴ T'ang-ti, Yao 唐帝, 堯 of the 24th and 23rd centuries B. C., traditionally. The name Yao is more frequently used. Yü-ti, Shun 虞帝, 舜 traditionally following the reign of Yao, in the 23rd century. Ssü-MA T'an uses the character *chi* 際, which expresses a juncture of time, an indefinitely limited or even overlapping time. The story of Shun's succeeding Yao, to whom he had been minister, gives one the impression of a joint rule of two men or of one personage with a double title.

¹⁵ The Yin, or as preferred today, Shang dynasty 商. Two facts are of interest in this sentence: First, Ssü-MA T'an has used in apposition to the indefinite 際, the definite *shih* 世, indicating the orderly succession of the members of the ruling families of those two periods. Second, the Hsia dynasty 夏 and the entire complex of legends about the Great Yü 大禹, which are traditionally placed between the Yao-Shun epoch and the Yin or Shang dynasty's occupation of the throne, are omitted. The discussion of Yü is taken up in the passage which we believe begins Ssü-MA Ch'ien's own words.

¹⁶ We are taking these terms in the technical sense usually given them in the economic texts. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.601, translates, "on assurait le calme et le repos (du peuple)."

¹⁷ These institutions, usually called "schools," have many names, varying under each dynasty. We agree with Legge (27.242, par. 10, n. 2), commenting on the *Li chi* (13.21a⁷⁻⁹) account of them, that the young were taught and the old ministered to in them. Cf. also Mencius 5a.8b¹⁻³; Legge 242; *CHS* 24a.1a^{13-1b^{1, 4}}; Martin QUISTORP, "Männergesellschaft und Altersklassen im alten China," *MSOS* 18 (1915). 22-23.

¹⁸ The terms *pén* 本 and *mo* 末 are found throughout these texts on economic subjects with the technical meaning of "the basic occupations" (i. e., agriculture and sericulture) and "the branch occupations" (i. e., commerce) in the dual aspect of manufacturing and trading. Controversies were frequent, especially during the period from the 3rd cent. B. C. to the 1st cent. A. D., over these terms and the systems they represented. The *Yen-t'ieh lun* is largely devoted to them. The first section of the *Ch'ien-Han shu*, *chüan* 24, is also concerned with them. Cf. *YTL* (*SPPY*, 1.1a¹¹; GALE, *DSI* 3, esp. n. 2.)

¹⁹ The homophone 黜 should be understood here.

²⁰ *Li* 利 here with the emphasis on that which is gained at the expense of the common good.

²¹ This passage is the most interesting in this chapter from the point of view of the philosophy of Ssü-MA T'an. The first two characters 事變 are explained in our note *** *supra*. For the last two characters 多故, we return again to the *I ching*; this time, to the Seventh Appendix (9.19a²). The cryptic verse informs us that 豐多故也, which the commentary of WANG Pi 王弼 (226-249) says means that those who are prosperous and great have many causes for anxiety. The main text of the hexagram *fêng* 豐 (no. 55) has the full explanation (*I ching* 6.17b⁹⁻¹²; Legge 183-184; 258-259). Ssü-MA T'an develops the philosophy of the third paragraph of the first appendix in his following sentence, wherein he speaks of the inevitability of the climax and the subsequent downward sweep of fate.

²² Cf. the body of the chapter (p. 2a²) where this is repeated.

²³ Some editions have 衰 in place of 時, but we believe that the historian desires to make his point in the three categories: 物、時, and 事.

²⁴ 質 and 文 are both philosophical concepts, difficult to assign adequate English

equivalents. Cf. the *Lun-yü* 6.3b⁴⁻⁵; *Legge* 190 and *CHS* 60.5a¹², biography of Tu Ch'in 杜欽.

²⁵ This is the summation of the philosophy. Cf. a somewhat similar expression *Li chi*, *Ta-hsüeh* (60.4b⁸; *Legge*, "The Great Learning" 357, par. 3).

²⁶ Here and throughout the following translations, three separate renderings are made of the word *chow*: (1) "province," when it refers to the ancient territorial divisions, traditionally from the time of Yü; (2) "district," when used by PAN KU in his account of the Chou dynasty's social or administrative units, and (3) "prefecture," when used for the later administrative unit.

²⁷ Chap. 6 of the *Shu ching*; *Legge* 92-151. We believe that the words of SSÜ-MA Ch'ien begin here. It is interesting that the same subject is that first discussed by SSÜ-MA Ch'ien in the *SC*, *ch.* 129, *post*.

²⁸ The term used in the present text of the "Yü-Kung" referring to the "bringing in" of tribute is 納. Cf. *Shu ching* (6.8a¹³, 8b^{2, 3}; *Legge* 142, 144). 納職 is used in *Huai-nan Tzū* as follows: 四夷納職, with this sense.

²⁹ T'ang was the founder of the Shang dynasty; Wu, of the Chou dynasty.

³⁰ Cf. *I ching*, "Appendix" (8.10a¹⁴); *supra*, ***.

³¹ Duke Huan of Ch'i was the first of the five Pa 霸 "Leaders." His reign was 685-643 B.C. Cf. Henri MASPERO, *La Chine antique* (1927) 295-311; *SC*, *ch.* 32; CHAVANNES, *Mh*, Vol. 4.

³² KUAN Chung 管仲 or KUAN I-wu 管夷吾, served as the minister to Duke Huan of Ch'i, and is credited with all the political and economic policies that brought Huan to the leadership. He died ca. 645 B.C. The book *Kuan-tzū* 管子, is thought to have been an idealized account of his policies, originally written by an unknown author in the latter half of the 4th cent. or early 3rd cent. B.C. but said by some to have been lost sometime about the 1st cent. B.C. The present book of the same name is, according to MASPERO, probably made up of fragments of the original, still to be found in pre-first century texts, and fabrications of an author of the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. However, others believe that the present text in large part does date from the third cent. B.C. His biography is in *SC*, *ch.* 62; translated into French by MARGOULLES, *Le Kou-wén chinois* 77-80, and into English by EVAN MORGAN, *A Guide to Wenli Styles and Chinese Ideals* (1912) 118 *et seq.* Cf. also MASPERO, *La Chine antique* 585-586; HU SHIH, *Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* (1922) 173-174; ARTHUR WALEY, *The Way and its Power* (1935) 136.

³³ See Appendix 2. Similar statements are made in *SC* 129.1b¹¹; *SC* 32.4a²⁻³; *SC* 62.1b⁶; *CHS* 24b.10a⁹; *Kuan tzū*. (*SPPY*), *ch.* 22. P'ei Yin 裴駟 (fl. 465-472) says, "The *Kuan-tzū* has the fa 法 of the *Ch'ing-chung*." This passage in the present version of *Kuan-tzū* (*SPPY*, 23.5b³⁻⁷), however, has a very restricted meaning.

³⁴ Cf. *SC* 32.4a⁹, in general; p. 4a²⁻³, specifically. *SC* 62.1b¹² states it: 諸侯由是歸齊.

³⁵ Cf. *SC* 62.1b⁶, 32.4a⁹; *CHS* 24b.1b⁸.

³⁶ LI K'ò 李克 (so it is written in *SC*, *ch.* 30 and *ch.* 129; in *CHS*, *ch.* 91) must be the same person whose name is written LI K'uei 李悝 in the *CHS* 24a.3a⁹. He is reputed to have been the pupil of Tzū-hsia, and was the minister to the Marquis Wén 文侯 (424-387/5 B.C.) of the kingdom of Wei 魏. His theory of intensive cultivation of the land is explained in detail in the *CHS* (24a.3a⁹⁻¹³, 3b¹⁻⁷); he also desired to stabilize the price of grain, so as to prevent hardships on either the farmers or consumers. Cf. GILES *Biog.* 1164; J. J. L. DUYVENDAK, *The Book of Lord Shang*

(1928) 43, n. 2, and 72; CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 267-8, 391, 568-570; GALE, *DSI*, Intro. xxii, n. 2. Details are in the translation of *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 86, *post*.

³⁷ *T'ien-hsia*, when used, for pre-Ch'in periods, is rendered here and throughout these translations as "our world," and means the then known world of the Chinese; but when the binom is used for periods after the formation of the Ch'in Empire, it is translated "the empire." *Kuo* is always translated "kingdom" or "kingdoms," never "state."

³⁸ Cf. *SC* 6.18a¹³ referring to the First Sovereign Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty: 先詐力而後仁義; and also *CHS* 24a. 3a⁹.

³⁹ *CHS* 24a.3b⁸⁻⁹ quotes almost verbatim, leaving out repeated use of 或. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.602, uses the term "parmi les gens de commerce," but we are unable to understand why he has varied the normal meaning of 庶人. *Yen* has two possible meanings here: first, taking *yen* in its meaning of "disdain," one gets, "they did not disdain *tsao-k'ang*"; second, taking *yen* in its meaning, which is made more precise by the homophone 壓, "to be satiated with; to get one's fill," one can translate, "they did not get their fill of *tsao-k'ang*." *Tsao-k'ang* is the residue from the wort or fermented mash in the process of distilling beer. We believe that this is what is clearly meant in these early texts. We have used the second meaning of *yen*. The *CHS*, ch. 24a, substitutes *shih* 食 for *pu-yen*: we have translated there, "they consumed the residue of the distiller's grains."

⁴⁰ Cf. *CHS* 24a.3b⁹, where there are slight variations from this text, especially in the last phrase.

⁴¹ Cf. *CHS* 24a.3b⁸⁻¹⁰, 24b.1b¹²; *SC* 6.18a⁷.

⁴² The presumption is that Ssū-MA Ch'ien takes his authority for the types of metals from the *Shu ching*, "Yü-Kung," (6.3b¹³, 4b⁹; Legge 110-111, 121-122); but for all that follows, we wonder what was his authority. Ssū-MA Ch'ien points out that the three kinds are then enumerated below; and he interprets the yellow as "yellow gold," the white as "white silver," and the red as "red copper." Cf. *CHS* 24a.1a⁶.

⁴³ The *SKK* version quotes YAO Fan 姚範 (Ch'ing dynasty, Ch'ien-lung period) as saying that *chung* here is the *chung* of 折中 "to strike an average," "to decide equitably," "to hit the median." On the basis of this commentary, the *SKK* punctuates after Ch'in. Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 (*Shih chi, Pai-wên chih pu* 史記白文之部, 3 vols., 1936 [referred to as *KCK*]) punctuates after *chung*. However, the phrase *chi-chih Ch'in* would be sufficient to give the meaning, as has been done by Ssū-MA Ch'ien a few lines earlier. We have taken YAO Fan's suggestion, and translate *chung* as a verb. The general meaning would seem to be that Ch'in selected two categories out of all the previous ones, thereby making what was considered an equitable division of the monetary units. We have taken a slightly derived meaning "to standardize," in order to bring our translation into the sense that we believe was intended.

As all commentators point out there must be a mistake in the use of the word *san*. Cf. *CHS* 24b.1b¹², where it writes *êrh*. The context indicates clearly that only two categories are intended. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.603, n. 3; Derk BODDE, *China's First Unifier* (1938) 170-175.

⁴⁴ P'ei Yin quotes MÉNG K'ang 孟康 (prob. ca. 180-260) as saying, "Twenty *liang* make an *i*." This commentary is probably in error as it is generally accepted from other texts that 24 *liang* made an *i*. Cf. *CHS* 24b.1b¹² which varies the text only slightly. The *Po-na* edition and *KCK*'s edition have the homophone and synonym 溢.

⁴⁶ Cf. *CHS* 24b.1b^{10-2a}¹. Here the word *ch'ien* refers to the true coin. Half a *liang* in the Han times would have been 12 *shu* 銖.

⁴⁷ Cf. *CHS* 24b.2a¹ for similar statement.

⁴⁸ Cf. *CHS* 24a.3b¹⁰ for variation in order. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.603, translates, "Au dedans on fit fleurir les actions méritoires." We believe that our translation follows the facts more specifically. Cf. BODDE, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸ Cf. *CHS* 24a.3b¹¹⁻¹², essential variation only in the change of the word *shih*, which is an unusual use in such a context, to *nan-tzū*. This gives a better balance for *nü-tzū*.

⁴⁹ Cf. *CHS* 24a.3b¹²; it omits the phrase, *ku-ché*, thereby relating the following more closely to the Ch'in dynasty itself. SSŪ-MA Ch'ien has used this vague formula in order to make this entire paragraph a veiled criticism of Emperor Wu of his time.

⁵⁰ Cf. *CHS* 24a.3b¹²; it has "still it was not yet sufficient to support their desires." *SKK* offers the following punctuation: 足也、無異故云. It quotes CHANG Wên-hu 張文虎 (1808-1885) as saying 無異故 is as if one should say 無它故也, "there is no other reason"; and then it adds the commentary of OKADA Hakkū 岡田白駒 (surname incorrectly written in the text) (1692-1767): "Some break the sentence after 無異, [but] it is wrong." However, *KCh* does just this, and we have followed his punctuation.

⁵¹ This is probably a common saying, but we were unable to find any other reference to it.

⁵² CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.604, translates, "C'est pourquoi on dit: Les états (successifs) du monde dans leur cours s'entrechoquent! S'il en est ainsi, qu'y a-t-il là d'étonnant?" *KCh* punctuates after the *jan*, as does the *SKK* version. We have followed this punctuation.

2. *Shih chi*, *chüan* 129—Introduction and Conclusion Narrative on the Increment of Goods *

Lao-tzū said, "The highest degree of perfect¹ government [is attained when the people of] neighboring kingdoms can see one another, can hear the sounds of their chickens and their dogs; [yet] the people of each [kingdom] find their food sweet, find their clothing beautiful, are settled in their [local] customs, are happy in their productive occupations, [so much so] that they reach old age and die without having gone back and forth [to visit]."² Certainly if one use³ this [statement of Lao-tzū's] for the purpose of dragging⁴ along the present generation [and] of stopping up⁵ the ears and eyes of the people, it would hardly produce any effect!⁶

The Honorable Archivist⁷ said, "As to Shên-nung and before, I do not know anything, [but] regarding that which is narrated in the *Shih* [*ching*] and the *Shu* [*ching*] about Yü⁸ [-ti, Shun] and

the Hsia⁹ ["dynasty"¹¹] and after, [I know that]¹⁰ the ears and eyes desire to push to the extreme their fondness for sound and color;¹¹ the mouth desires to exhaust its appetite for meat from animals fed on grass and grain;¹² the body is contented with leisure and pleasures; and the mind boasts and vaunts of the glories of its power and its ability.¹³ Ever since then, [these desires] have caused the fixing¹⁴ of the customs among the people. Although one might [try to] persuade [the people] from door to door¹⁵ with [these] subtle arguments,¹⁶ one would never be able to effect a transformation. Therefore, those who are most able, conform to them;¹⁷ the next, guide them by means of profit; the next, make them aware by means of instruction; the next, make them uniform by means of discipline; [and] those who are the very lowest, wrangle with them."¹⁸

[The region]¹⁹ west of the mountains abounds in timber,²⁰ bamboo,²¹ [products made from] paper mulberry²² and ramie,²³ yak tails,²⁴ jade, and stones.²⁵ East²⁶ of the mountains there are plenty of fish, salt, lacquer,²⁷ silk, musicians and beauties.²⁸ South²⁹ of the Chiang are produced the aromatic laurel³⁰ woods, ginger³¹ and *kuei*,³² [the three] metals³³ and tin, unrefined³⁴ lead and cinnabar,³⁵ rhinoceros³⁶ [skins and horns], tortoise shells,³⁷ pearls,³⁸ and teeth and hides.³⁹ North⁴⁰ of the Lung-mên⁴¹ [mountains] and the Chieh-shih⁴² [mountains] there are great quantities of horses, cattle, sheep, felt⁴³ and furs,⁴⁴ sinews⁴⁵ and horns.⁴⁶ [As to] copper and iron, within a thousand *li*, [one finds them] frequently as mountainous outcroppings and in a checkerboard-like distribution.⁴⁷ This is a general outline⁴⁸ [where the desirable articles are to be found]. All these are articles⁴⁹ in which the people of the Middle Kingdom take delight,⁵⁰ and about which they sing;⁵¹ [that they use for their] clothing and food, and [that they use to] serve their living and to escort their dead [to their resting-place].⁵²

Thus, [the people] depend upon the agriculturist to provide food for them,⁵³ upon the *Yü*⁵⁴ to exploit for them, upon the artisan to manufacture for them, upon the merchant to circulate for them. Among these [groups] is there any [evidence] of administration or instruction, despatching or summoning, [setting] dates or

meetings?⁵⁵ Each man will undertake responsibility according to his ability, [and] will exhaust his strength to obtain what he desires.⁵⁶ Therefore as to articles, the effect of their being cheap is to make for their being expensive; the effect of their being expensive is to make for their being cheap.⁵⁷ Each [person] applies himself to his productive occupation, [and] enjoys his work.⁵⁸ Like water running downward, day and night ceaselessly,⁵⁹ they are not summoned and yet they come of themselves; they are not sought and yet the people produce them. Is it not the tallying of the *Tao*,⁶⁰ and does it not give evidence of spontaneity?

The (*I*) *Chou shu*⁶¹ says: "If the agriculturist does not come forth, then [the people] would lack their food; if the artisan does not come forth, then [the people] would lack their tools; if the merchant does not come forth, the three precious things⁶² would be cut off; if the *Yü* does not come forth, then the valuables would be deficient and scarce. When the valuables are deficient and scarce, then the mountains and marshes are not being exploited."⁶³

These four classes⁶⁴ are the source of the people's being clothed and fed. If the source is great, then there is abundance; if the source is small, then there is scarcity.⁶⁵ Above, it enriches the kingdom; below, it enriches the families.⁶⁶

The principle of being poor or being rich is not a snatching⁶⁷ [of wealth from one group] and giving [it to another group], and yet "those who are clever have a surplus, [while] those who are stupid do not have a sufficiency."⁶⁸

Of old,⁶⁹ T'ai-kung Wang⁷⁰ was enfeoffed at Ying-ch'iu⁷¹ [where] the land was salt marshes,⁷² [and] the people were scant. Thereupon, T'ai-kung encouraged the handiwork of the women,⁷³ carried to the utmost craft and artifices,⁷⁴ and put into circulation fish and salt. Then the people and articles flocked to him,⁷⁵ [so that] they arrived [continuously] as a string, and they collected [concentratedly] as the spokes of a wheel.⁷⁶ Because of this, Ch'i capped, girdled, garmented, and shod our world;⁷⁷ [and] in the region [bounded by] the sea and Mount T'ai,⁷⁸ [the feudal lords] gathered in their sleeves and went to court him.⁷⁹

After that, Ch'i had a median decline,⁸⁰ [from which] Kuan-

tzū⁸¹ rebuilt it.⁸² He set up the [system for stabilizing] supply and demand⁸³ and the Nine Treasuries, whereupon Duke Huan became the Leader,⁸⁴ nine times assembled the feudal lords, [and] one time put in order the empire.⁸⁵ Consequently KUAN Shih also possessed a thirty per cent levy [upon the trade of merchants];⁸⁶ and although his position was that of a minister to a feudal lord,⁸⁷ he was richer than the rulers of the various kingdoms. Hence Ch'i was rich and strong, even to the time of Wei [Wang] and Hsüan [Wang].⁸⁸

Thus [Kuan-tzū] said,⁸⁹ "When the granaries for the people and the granaries for stipends are full, [the people] know the [meaning of] moral discipline and moderation; when their clothing and their food are sufficient, [the people] know [the meaning of] honor and disgrace." Moral discipline is produced by sufficiency, while it is destroyed by want.⁹⁰

Thus the gentleman [possessing] wealth delights in practicing his moral force; the common man [possessing] wealth uses [it] to suit his physical force.⁹¹ If the waters are deep, fish live in them; if the mountains are vast, animals roam in them. If men are wealthy, benevolence (*jén*) and justice (*i*) are attached to them. As to the wealthy ones, if they hold the power, then [their fame] is increasedly manifested;⁹² if they lose the power, then their clients have no place to go,⁹³ and as a result they are so unhappy that being an I or Ti barbarian is more advantageous!⁹⁴

A proverb says, "The thousand bullion scion dies not in the market emporium."⁹⁵ This is not an empty saying!

Therefore it is said, "When the empire is prosperous, all come for the profit; when the empire is turbulent, all depart for the profit."⁹⁶

The princes of a thousand chariots,⁹⁷ the marquises of an [estate of] ten thousand families,⁹⁸ the lords of a hundred households⁹⁹ still have distress over poverty.¹⁰⁰ How much more [distressed are] the rustics¹⁰¹ [and] the common people who are enrolled on the population [lists].¹⁰²

* * * * *

[In conclusion:]

From the foregoing behold it: ¹⁰³ If wealth is without an enduring productive occupation, then goods are without long-term owners, ¹⁰⁴ [with the result that] for the able ones [goods] collect like the spokes, ¹⁰⁵ [while] for the incompetent ones ¹⁰⁶ [goods] scatter like the tiles. ¹⁰⁷ A family of a thousand ¹⁰⁸ [pounds of precious] metal is on a par with a lord having one metropolis; ¹⁰⁹ he who [has] a countless ¹¹⁰ [fortune], moreover, [has] the same enjoyments as he who is a prince. Is this, or is this not, what is called "pseudo-enfeoffment." ¹¹¹

NOTES

2. *Shih chi, chüan* 129—Introduction and Conclusion

* Ssü-MA Ch'ien gives his own reason for writing this chapter in *SC* 130.12b⁶ as follows:

"The wearers of hempen cloth, the rustics, are not injurious to orderly government, they do not hinder [the Hundred Surnames]; they let rest valuables and wealth, while taking and giving with [the proper] season. As to the smart ones, they possess the gathering in of them (i. e., valuables and wealth). [To tell this], I made the 'Narrative on the Increment of Goods,' no. 69 [of the *Shih chi*]."

PAN KU disapproves of Ssü-MA Ch'ien's point of view in this chapter especially, and says in the *CHS* 62.10a⁷:

"Ssü-MA Ch'ien's [ideas] of right and wrong are quite in disorder with respect to the Sages. If he discusses the Great *Tao*, he places first the Huang[-ti] and Lao[-tzu] [schools] and places second the Six Classics (i. e., of the Confucian school). When he prefaces [the chapter on] 'The Wandering Braves,' he dismisses the unemployed scholars, and brings forward the licentious braves; when he narrates [the chapter on] 'The Increment of Goods,' he pays reverence to authority and profit, and abuses the humble and poor. This is wherein he has made a mistake."

Compare with this statement of PAN KU's disapproval, that of his father's, translated by CHAVANNES, *Mh* 1, Appendix 2, Introd. ccxli, from the biography of PAN Piao in the *Hou-Han shu* [referred to as *HHS*] 70.2a⁸⁻⁹:

"Dans ses discussions critiques, il est superficiel et n'est pas sûr; quand il discute les points de doctrine il vénère Hoang-ti et Lao-tse et traite légèrement les Cinq livres canoniques. Quand il parle du commerce, il donne peu d'importance à la honte et à la justice et fait une honte de la pauvreté et de la misère; . . ."

There are numerous attempts on the part of commentators to explain why Ssü-MA Ch'ien wrote as he did when narrating the economic conditions in this chapter and in *SC* 29, and *SC* 30. The most common explanation is that because he came from a

poor family, and was unable to commute the punishment pronounced upon him by Emperor Wu, he, in bitterness, wrote about the privileges granted to men of wealth in the past and in his day.

The name of the chapter, which we have translated "Narrative on the Increment of Goods," is not easy to render into modern terminology. It has been translated into English by Nancy Lee SWANN (*JAOS* 54.186) as "Biographies of Notables," and by CHEN Huan-chang (*Econ. Princ.* 349) as "Biography of Merchants"; into French by CHAVANNES (*Mh* I. clxxx) as "Les Commerçants." The term *huo-chih* 貨殖 in the modern dictionaries means "to make money in business," but this has probably come about by reference to this chapter. In the body of the chapter (p. 3b⁴), *chih* 殖 occurs in the following phrase: . . . 民 . . . 好稼穡殖五穀 ". . . the people like husbandry, [and] grow the five grains." In the contemporary text of the *YTL* (*SPPY*, 3.2a⁹; GALE, *DSI* 85) there is the phrase 齊 . 財畜貨殖 . In the Classics there are a number of phrases that help to establish the basic meaning of these two characters in combination; for example, *Shu ching* (8.14b; Legge 180); *Li chi* (53.26b; Legge 22.323, par. 35); and *Lun-yü* (11.13a; Legge 243). This last quotation is the one cited by the commentators of this chapter, as being the one that supplied Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien with the wording for the title of this *chüan* 129.

The basic meaning of *chih* 殖 is its agricultural sense—equal to its homophone: 植 "to plant"—in which it is synonymous with *shêng* 生; therefore, such translations as "producing," "growing," seem to give the true equivalence of the word. The normal processes of language carried the word over into the economic terminology. We have refrained from rendering these characters into any of the modern economic clichés, because we did not wish to destroy the agricultural background of the Chinese term. Not that any inference is to remain in the mind of the reader that the conditions described in this narrative are primitive: the account is highly sophisticated and subtle.

¹ *Chih* 至 is taken as an adjective. Cf. similar phrase in *Shu ching* (18.17a²; Legge 539).

² This quotation, which is credited to Lao-tzŭ, does not appear in identical form in the present *Tao-tê ching* [*TtC*], and it is found in *Chuang-tzŭ* with about the same degree of variation from the *SC* text as that text differs from the *TtC* [*TtC* [*SPPY*]] 2.23b⁹⁻¹⁰-24a¹ (Sec. 80); cf. WALEY's *The Way and its Power* 241-242. *Chuang-tzŭ* (*SPPY*) 4.12b⁹,¹¹⁻¹²-13a¹ (Sec. 10); cf. H. A. GILES, *Chuang Tzŭ* (1889, 116-117). It is probably a Taoist saying often used as an illustration for a perfect society. A somewhat similar statement is to be found in the description of the barbarian tribes surrounding the Middle Kingdom as given in the *Li chi* (12.15b⁹⁻¹³; Legge 27.329, par. 14). It is also interesting to compare the statement from Mencius (3a.15b¹¹; Legge 183-184). It is especially to be noticed that the statement is about the state of Ch'i, the subject of so much of this Introduction. The "crowing cocks and barking dogs" seems to be a metaphor for a dense population, possibly with some degree of wealth and certainly sedentary. It is frequently used in poetry as a symbol of peace.

³ We have taken the subject of *pi-yung* as being indefinite, although with no certitude.

⁴ Ssŭ-MA Chêng's (*f.* 713-742) commentary to the effect that 挽 has the sound of 晚 and that the ancient characters were interchanged, gives no assistance. CHANG Shou-chieh's 張守節 (*f.* 737) commentary (not given in our edition, but quoted in *SKK*) suggests the homophone 挽, with the meaning 引 "to draw," "to lead." We

have used the concrete image of "dragging along," but one might also have used the modern derived meaning "to reform." Cf. 挽回惡俗 "to reform the degenerate age." There are extensive commentaries given in SKK, but they seem only to confirm the abstruse nature of the passage and contribute nothing positive.

⁵ SKK quotation of CHANG Shou-chieh's commentary offers 塞 for 塗.

⁶ Our translation is a possible solution. Cf. also the interpretation of this passage and the following paragraphs as given in F. HOZUMI, "Ssu-ma Chien's Economic Outlook," *Kyoto University Economic Review* 15 (Jan. 1940):16-29.

⁷ T'ai-shih Kung, we believe, refers to SSÜ-MA T'an here. Strong Taoist leanings are apparent in this paragraph; in addition the language is similar to that which we found in the second paragraph of SC, ch. 30.

⁸ The last one of the Legendary Rulers, usually referred to as Shun.

⁹ The first "dynasty" of China. It has not been substantiated as yet by archeological find. The traditional dating places its rule from the 23rd cent. to the 18th cent. B. C. Cf. Herrlee G. CREEL, *Studies in Early Chinese Culture* [referred to as SECC] (1937) 97-131 on "Was There a Hsia Dynasty?"

¹⁰ These following 27 characters seem to be SSÜ-MA T'an's version of a philosophical analysis of human nature that was apparently widely current in the pre-Ch'in period, as the following versions testify: (1) In the *Lieh-tzū*, the chapter on Yang Chu's 楊朱 philosophy (SPPY 7.4a-4b; A FORKE, *Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure* [1912] Chap. 8; WALEY, *The Way and its Power*, Introd. 41). (2) *Chuang-tzū* (SPPY, 9.20a¹¹⁻¹³, 20b²⁻⁴; GILES, *Chuang-tzū* 395-396). (3) *Hsün-tzū* (SPPY, 17.3a⁷⁻⁹; H. H. DUBS, *The Works of Hsüntze* [1928] 305). (4) *Mencius* (11a.3a¹⁴⁻¹⁶; Legge 406-407). SSÜ-MA T'an's version is an acceptance of the fallibility of human nature and the impossibility of changing that nature. Yang Chu's version is hedonistic; Chuang-tzū's is anti-Confucian; Hsün-tzū's is an abstraction upon original nature and acquired characteristics; while Mencius moralizes the whole concept.

¹¹ The concrete, primitive meanings of these two characters are given, because of parallel wording. The modern terms "music and women" can be inferred, but the scope is more extensive in its primitive meaning.

¹² Cf. Legge 407, and (p. 406) his note on the *Mencius* version, wherein he comments that *ch'u* "is hay or fodder used for 'grass-fed animals' such as sheep and oxen," and *huan* "is corn or rice-fed animals such as dogs and pigs."

¹³ We have construed two verbs to balance off the double nouns, *shih* and *nêng*.

¹⁴ *Ch'ien* (first tone) is the term used to fix a color in the process of dyeing. Its use here is especially appropriate as it implies that these desires have impregnated the fabric of human nature to the extent of being "fixed."

¹⁵ A similar expression is used in the "Li Sao" of the *Ch'u Tz'u* (SPPY, I.16a¹; LIM BOOM KENG, *The Li Sao* [1929] 74-76, pp. 131-142). We have considered 說 here strong enough to have the meaning of "persuade" (modern pronunciation *shuá*, fourth tone).

¹⁶ *Miao* must refer to the above argument credited to Lao-tzū. We have considered that the "subtle ideas" are those of the *wu-wei* 無爲 doctrine of the Taoist school of philosophy. Cf. WALEY, *The Way and its Power* 50-51; 142; 145.

¹⁷ The grammatical structure is, with the exception of the last phrase, an adverb of means preceding a verb that in turn is followed by the pronominal object *chih*, the antecedent of which is "the people." In the first phrase the adverbial phrase "by means of these desires" is implied: a full translation would be "those who are most able, know how to employ the people by means of their desires."

¹⁸ We consider that the quotation by T'ai-shih Kung ends here. To reinforce this point of view, we draw attention to the change in structure of the paragraph that follows, and to the fact that this new paragraph is a recapitulation of details from the body of the chapter in contrast to the philosophical statement of the preceding paragraph. It would seem that Ssü-MA Ch'ien having taken over the material in large part compiled by his father, begins the introduction of the data segregated for this chapter with a quotation probably used by his father, follows that with his father's personal comment on the economic nature of man, then proceeds by summarizing the statistical data contained in the body of the chapter.

¹⁹ For the discussions of products from the western regions, compare the body of the chapter: (SC 3b⁹⁻¹⁰, also 5a¹⁰).

²⁰ *Ts'ai* is here obviously "timber" rather than "any material out of which something can be fashioned." Cf. body of chapter (SC 129.6a¹³). Cf. also its use in *Shu ching* (14.27b¹⁻²; Legge 417). Cf. further *Chou li* 2.9a²⁰: *ts'ai-kung*, which Biot (1.32) translates as "Le tribut des bois de construction."

²¹ LEE Shun-ching, *Forest Botany of China* (1935) 117 *et seq.*; *Graminae, Bambusea bambusa*, Schreb.

²² Ssü-MA Ch'eng informs us that 穀 is the name of a tree from the bark of which *chih* can be made. In that event, the character meant is 穀 (under 木), a homophone. The *Po-na* edition has 穀 here, but since this writing is used throughout for 穀, no added reliance can be given to it. The *Shuo-wên* explains that 穀 is 楮. MATSUMURA Jinzo in his *Shokubutsu mei i* 植物名彙 (1921; 1.56) gives all the synonyms, identifying it as *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Vent. LEE Shun-ching, *op. cit.* 437-438, describes the *Moraceae* family and gives this species the name, *Broussonetia papyrifera*, L'Heritier. Cf. also Rev. G. A. STUART, *Chinese Materia Medica* (1911) 75. E. BRETSCHNEIDER in his "Botanicon Sinicum," *IRAS* (China Branch) 95 (1893), under his no. 503 collects the classical references which show that the tree was known in the Chou period. It is commonly called the "paper mulberry tree." LU Chi 陸璣 (3rd cent. A.D.) says in his *Mao Shih ts'ao-mu niao-shou ch'ung-yü su* 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏, in the *Ku-ching-chieh hui han* 古經解彙函, edited by CHUNG Ch'ien-chün 鍾謙鈞 (19th cent.) (a.15a⁹⁻¹⁰-15b¹⁻²) that "the people south of the Chiang (i.e., Yangtze River) spin its bark to make *pu* cloth, and pound it to make *chih* 'paper.'" We must infer here that Ssü-MA Ch'ien is speaking about the products made from the tree, rather than the tree itself.

²³ PEI Yin (fl. 465-472) reports Hsü Kuang's 徐廣 (ca. 352-425) comment: "*Chu* belongs to the class of things which can be used to make *pu* cloth." Ssü-MA Ch'eng says that *lu* is a mountainous or wild *chu*, and he confirms that it can be used for cloth making. There are several ways to write *chu*: 紵、紵、苧. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.* (no. 391), points out that it is incorrect to translate it "coarser hempen cloth" as LEGGE does in the *Shu ching* translation, and that the *Shuo-wên* confuses it with *Abutilon*. He identifies it as *Urticaceae, Boehmeria nivea*, Gaud. When the *chu* is written with the "silk" determinative, he believes that "this is not the name of the plant itself but of the fabric woven of its fibres." LU Chi, *op. cit.* a.9b⁶⁻¹⁰, identifies it as a type of *ma* 麻, and describes the manner of preparing its fibres. STUART, *op. cit.* 70-71, under *Boehmeria nivea, ch'u-ma* 苧麻 identifies it as the plant from which is produced the "grass cloth" or *hsia-pu* "summer cloth." The Malay *rami* has also been identified as *Boehmeria nivea*, and it is from this word that we obtain our term, ramie cloth. We believe that the term *lu* with the "silk"

determinative and its own other meaning of "thread," indicates that Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien is speaking of the skeins or products of the *Boehmeria nivea*, not just the plant itself. This word and the previous *ku* support each other in the meaning which we believe is implied—that is, types of fabric.

²⁴ Cf. also SC 129.3b¹⁰. *Mao* is the tail of an ox or yak. The *Shuo-wên* defines it as *ch'uang* 幢, the so-called dancer's "pennants." The *Chou li* (17.3b⁸ and 24.7b¹³) informs us that there was a man in charge of certain functions of the dancers or pantomimes, who was called *Mao-jên*. CH'ENG Hsüan's 鄭玄 (127-200) commentary says, "*Mao* is the tail of the yak, which the dancers hold in their hands as a signal." The use of the character in the *Shih ching*, *Tso chuan*, and *Shu ching* (11.4b⁸; Legge 300) make it clear that it was also used as a battle-standard with which the leader could signal his men. LEGGE's notes say that the standard was composed of several ox tails, suspended as streamers from a staff. Cf. GALE, *DSI* 8, n. 1.

²⁵ Although the modern dictionaries would take this as a binom "jadestones," the old texts indicate that it is to be taken as two separate items. Cf. *Chou li*, comm., 2.8a¹⁴.

²⁶ For a listing of the products from the eastern regions, compare the body of the chapter: (SC 129.4b^{1, 4, 7}; 5a⁴).

²⁷ LEE, S. C., *op. cit.* 727-728, identifies the lacquer tree as *Anacardiaceae*, *Rhus verniciflua*, Stokes.

²⁸ The SKK version quotes the commentary of CH'EN Tzŭ-lung 陳子龍 (end of Ming), "*Shêng-sé* refer to beautiful women; they likewise were enumerated as *huo-wu*." We have accepted this interpretation, although we do so with hesitation because there is no specific reference to *shêng-sé* in the body of the chapter on the subject of this eastern region. The only other alternative would be to replace the two characters by 磬石 "musical stones," and attribute the present ones to a scribe's error. We have rejected this.

²⁹ For the detailed account of the products from south of the Chiang, compare the body of the chapter (SC 129.3b⁹⁻¹⁰; 5a^{9, 10-11, 12}).

³⁰ Ssŭ-MA Ch'eng informs us that the two characters are pronounced *nan* and *tzŭ*, but gives us no further assistance. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, nos. 512 and 508, discusses these two trees. He comes to the conclusion (p. 342) that "the *tsz'* of the Classics is, I have no doubt, *Catalpa* . . ." and that the *nan* (p. 346) "is the *Persea nanmu* of the laurel order." MATSUMURA, *op. cit.* 73, lists the *tzŭ* first under *Bignoniaceae*, *Catalpa Bungei*, C. A. Mey., on the authority of BRETSCHNEIDER, and second (p. 207) under *Lauraceae*, *Lindera tzumu*, Hemsley, on the authority of *Plantae Wilsonianae*. LEE, S. C., *op. cit.* 530-531, more correctly identifies the *tzŭ* 梓 (also written 梓) as *Lauraceae*, *Sassafras tzumu*, Hemsley, and (pp. 525-527) corrects the classification of the *nan* 栴 (also written 栴、栴、楠) as *Lauraceae*, *Phoebe nanmu*, Gamble. There has been considerable confusion about the names of these two species, and we are grateful for the assistance of M. J. HAGERTY in untangling the confusion. *Phoebe nanmu*, Gamble, is also known as *Persea nanmu*, Oliver and *Machilus nanmu*, Hemsley. *Sassafras tzumu*, Hemsley, is also known as *Pseudosassafras tzumu*, Lecomte and *Lindera tzumu*, Hemsley.

Apparently the *nan* is evergreen and the *tzŭ* is deciduous; otherwise their properties seem to be very similar, so that it was not by chance that Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien put them together. The trees are tall and the wood is durable. The aromatic wood is valuable for cabinets and coffins, and it is reputed to withstand moisture, so that it is used for construction of temples, fine houses, and bottoms of boats.

³¹ *Chiang* "Chinese ginger" probably is *Zingiberaceae*, *Zingiber officinale*, the common ginger, but we do not know whether this is the species which Ssü-ma Ch'ien wished to indicate. Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, no. 381.

³² *Kuei* is *Lauraceae*, *Cinnamomum cassia*, Bl., according to LEE Shun-ching, *op. cit.* 500. The bark of this species is called "cassia bark" and is often used for the true cinnamon (*Lauraceae*, *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* of Ceylon). It is not a true Cassia; since that genus belongs to the *Leguminosae*. The character *kuei* is usually translated "cassia" or "cinnamon," but since both words in English have other connotations than the species which we believe is meant by the character, we have retained the Chinese sound. Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, no. 552.

³³ The *chin* must be construed in terms of the *Shu ching* (6.3b¹⁹) 金三品 which K'UNG Ying-ta explains are "gold, silver and copper." Since "tin" is not included it must be mentioned separately.

³⁴ P'ER Yin quotes Hsü Kuang's explanation that *lien* is lead that has not yet been refined.

³⁵ These early texts usually refer to mercuric sulphide either as *tan* or *tan-sha* (with the water or stone determinative used indiscriminately), but in the passage of the *CHS* (91.3a⁵; cf. N. L. SWANN, *JAOS* 54 [1934]192) the term *tan-hsüeh* is used. We believe that the *tan-sha* refers to the ore, the *tan-hsüeh* to mined veins; while *tan*, alone, is unspecified. It is to be observed that the earlier texts have only *tan*, but the commentaries gloss it with *tan-sha*. Cf. *Shu ching* (6.4b¹²; Legge 115).

³⁶ Cf. MASPERO, *La Chine antique* 23, n. 1, and also C. W. BISHOP, "Rhinoceros and Wild Ox in Ancient China," *China Journal* 18 (June, 1933). 322-330.

³⁷ This binom *tai-mei* (variously written) seems clearly to refer to the tortoise shells that were used for ornamental purposes. The early texts merely use the character *kuei*. The binom as such occurs in the *I Chou shu* (SPPY, 7.12⁶⁻¹⁰); however, one cannot be sure that this is not a later interpolation.

³⁸ Another binom *chu-chi* referring to pearls. The *chi* are sometimes distinguished from the more general term *chu*, as being smaller; although it is sometimes said that *chi* are not the round pearls, as are *chu*. The binom as such occurs also in the *I Chou shu* (*ibid.*).

³⁹ Mention of these two articles of tribute, "teeth and hides," is to be found in all the early accounts. LEGGE in the *Shu ching* translations (6.4a, 4b; Legge 111, 115) writes "elephants' teeth" (ivory?) and cites K'UNG An-kuo's interpretation of "hides" as specifically those of the rhinoceros. We do not see that there is any reason for being specific; the early Chinese probably used the teeth and hides of all animals.

⁴⁰ Compare body of the chapter (*SC* 129.3b¹⁹). There seemed to be less specific indication of these northern regions in the body of the texts than that of other regions.

⁴¹ CHANG Shou-chieh's commentary places the Lung-mên mountains in the Lung-mên *hsien* of Hsü Chou 徐州, but this is impossible, so we have taken the reading Chiang Chou 絳州 in the *SKK* version. The present Hsin-chiang 新絳 of Shansi (*Postal Atlas* 111° 10': 35° 35') would be within the area.

⁴² CHANG Shou-chieh places the Chieh-shih mountains in P'ing Chou 平州 at Lu-lung *hsien* 盧龍 (also called Yung-p'ing *hsien* 永平) of present Hopeh (*Postal Atlas*—118° 50': 39° 55'). This would be the region called Liao-hsi 遼西.

⁴³ This character *chan* 旃 is probably used for the homophone 檀. In the Narrative on the Hsiung-nu (*Shih chi* 110.1b⁵) the same phrase is used in such a way as

to make it very evident that what was meant was "felt." We translate: "All ate the flesh of the domestic animals, wore their skins and hides, [and] covered [themselves with] felt and furs." COUVREUR in his dictionary, *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise* under 旃 cites this passage and translates "tunique garnie de fourrures fines," but even such a meaning is so unrelated to all other uses of the character that it should give rise to doubt. Cf. Berthold LAUFER, "The Early History of Felt," *American Anthropologist*, 32. No. 1.1-18.

⁴⁴ *Ch'iu* is to be found in the *Shih ching* (2.33b¹³; Legge 60), but it does not seem to have been an article of early tribute—or, at least, to have been so designated by this character.

⁴⁵ A term used in early texts. Cf. *Mencius* (12b.12¹⁴; Legge 447) where it is used for human beings.

⁴⁶ Also to be found in early classical texts, but not specifically listed as an article of tribute until a little later.

⁴⁷ This sentence is difficult. Ssŭ-MA Chêng refers to *ch'i-tzŭ* 碁子 "chessmen," and his idea, we believe, is that the copper and iron deposits are scattered here and there as frequently as the chessmen on the board. CHANG Shou-chieh repeats the above idea, using *wei-ch'i* 圍棋 "chess." He then adds a quotation from *Kuan-tzŭ* (SPPY, 23.1a-2a), which differs from the present version in such a way as to indicate error on his part or use of another version. The story as given in *Kuan-tzŭ* concerns "an accounting of the land" given to Duke Huan by Kuan-tzŭ. In part, Kuan-tzŭ said, "The mountains that produce copper [number] 467; the mountains that produce iron [number] 3,609 . . ." CHANG Shou-chieh in addition to the information about the copper and iron mountains says that there are 5,270 *ming-shan* in the empire. His meaning is not clear. Later in the story Duke Huan asked Kuan-tzŭ to inform him "about where the wealth of Heaven is produced, [and] where the profit of Earth resides." Kuan-tzŭ replied:

"[If] the upper part of a mountain has ochre, its lower part has iron; if the upper part has lead, its lower part has silver. [Or as] some say, if the upper part has lead, its lower part has silver ore; if the upper part has cinnabar, its lower part has gold ore; if the upper part has magnetic iron stones, its lower part has copper metal."

Although admitting the fact that the story in *Kuan-tzŭ* shows how keenly observing the early Chinese were of the mineral deposits—if one substitutes "on the surface" for the "upper part" and "deep mining" for the "lower part," one is struck by the truth of these observations—yet the precise reason for the reference escapes us unless it is to indicate that the term *ch'i-chih* 碁置 is somehow related to these deposits.

NU Yün-chên 牛運震, in his *Shih chi p'ing-chu* 史記評註 (K'ung-shan T'ang *ch'üan-chi* 空山堂全集, 1818 reprint of the 1791 ed.) 20.22b⁹ offers the following as an explanation of the passage: 往往如山而出如碁而置也. We have used this interpretation as a reasonable solution of the difficulty.

⁴⁸ 大較 equals 大略 "general outline."

⁴⁹ *Chü* 具 refers to all the above enumerated articles. Cf. similar phrasing in *YTL* (SPPY, 1.3a¹).

⁵⁰ The construction is a series of relative clauses modifying *chü*.

⁵¹ The use of this binom in the body of the chapter clearly defines its meaning. Cf. Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien's statement (SC 129.4a⁷) about Yang 楊 and P'ing-yang 平陽 of present Shansi to the effect that "their ballads still have the 'spirit' of Chao."

Also cf. *SC* 129.5b⁴: "As to the scarcity and abundance of the things of the empire, there is a ballad of the people [that goes as follows]: East of the mountains we consume ocean salt; west of the mountains we consume rock salt."

⁵² Cf. *YTL* (*SPPY*, 1.3a¹) where the phrasing is 養生送終. *Yang-shêng* is the more frequently found phrase. Cf. WALEY, *The Way and its Power* (Introd. 41) for his theory regarding this phrase. The early expression of it is in *Li chi* (21.23b⁶⁻¹⁰; *Legge* 27.369-370).

⁵³ The 之 is really the direct object of these verbs; its antecedent is 具, produced by each of these classes of society. There is an implied indirect object "for the sake of the people," so we have chosen this form of expression.

⁵⁴ The term *yü* 虞 cannot be satisfactorily rendered into a single term in English, because the class of people who are so designated occupied themselves with tasks that would be done by our miners and foresters. The head of the government section in control of these people might be termed "Chief of the Division of Natural Resources," but we have no term for the various persons who actually carried out the tasks. Cf. *Chou li* (2.8a-b; *Biot.* 1.26 and 185-187); *Li chi* (15.10a, 12a, 15a; *Legge* 265, 270, 278); *Shu ching* (3. 17b¹⁶⁻¹⁸; *Legge* 46).

⁵⁵ A series enumerating the governmental activities by which the people are compelled to work. The negative implication is very strong here, because these groups worked of their own free will.

⁵⁶ Cf. the body of the chapter (*SC* 129.3b⁴), where Ssü-MA Ch'ien is speaking about the early part of the Han dynasty.

⁵⁷ This is a brief statement of the longer discussion of the economic theories of CHI Jan 計然 (the teacher of FAN Li 范蠡, fl. 5th cent. B.C.) in the body of the chapter. Cf. *SC* 129.2a¹⁰⁻¹². The following is the paragraph most pertinent:

"If you consider [whether there is a] surplus or an insufficiency [of an article], then you will know [whether] it will be expensive or inexpensive. If the expensive [article] goes up to the limit, then it will turn and become inexpensive; if the inexpensive [article] goes down to the limit, then it will turn and become expensive. [When the article] is most expensive it should be put out like dung or dirt; [when the article] is least expensive it should be taken up like pearls or jades. As to valuables and monetary units, it is intended that their circulation should be like flowing water."

Cf. also CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 457. It would seem to be a rather good expression of an early theory of the laws of supply and demand.

⁵⁸ There is a stronger connotation here than just the meaning of the characters. In the classical Chinese literature there is frequent mention of the need to *ch'üan* "encourage, stimulate, exhort" the people to do their work and to conduct themselves properly. Here Ssü-MA Ch'ien wishes to bring out the fact that the people will have no need to be urged.

⁵⁹ This metaphor would seem to be a partial echo of CHI Jan's theory. Cf. *supra* 57. Cf. *Lun-yü* (9.7b¹⁰; *Legge* 222); *Mencius* (11a.1a¹⁸⁻²⁰, 1b¹⁻²; *Legge* 396). The natural tendency of water to flow downward ceaselessly is likewise a Confucian classical metaphor. HOZUMI, *loc. cit.* punctuates otherwise.

⁶⁰ *Tao* as "principle," "way," "method," and the like, is translated; but when it refers to the Chinese metaphysical concept, it has been left untranslated.

⁶¹ The notes of the Ch'ien-lung editors following this chapter (*SC* 129, n. 1a⁶⁻⁷) point out that the quotation is from the *I Chou shu* 逸周書, but since it does not

appear in the present edition it must have been in one of the eight lost editions. Cf. WYLLIE, *Notes* 29. It is also known as *Chi-chung Chou shu* 汲冢周書.

⁶² The exact meaning of the *san-pao* 三寶 was not discovered. Probably it was explained in the original text of the *I Chou shu* in the same manner as the term appears in the *Liu t'ao* 六韜 (Ch'ung-wên 崇文 ed., 子書百家, 1875) wherein (1.4a³, 9-12) Wên Wang asks if he may be informed about the *san-pao*, and T'ai-kung Wang (author of the work according to the tradition) replies that they are the agriculturists, the artisans, and the merchants. The *SKK* version offers a commentary explaining that the *san-pao* are "food, business, and valuables." The *Kuan-tzu* (*SPPY*, 23.2b⁴⁻⁷) has a possible solution:

"Therefore, the former *wang* each used [them] for their *chung*: pearls and jades were made the highest monetary unit; yellow metal was made the middle monetary unit; [and] the knife and cloth [tokens] were made the lowest monetary unit."

⁶³ 群 is equivalent to *k'ai* and *t'ung* according to Ssü-MA Chêng. We have rendered it "exploited" in the true sense of that word as referred to natural resources—i. e., to utilize or to make available natural resources for the use of people. This last sentence breaks away from the rhythm of the preceding part of the quotation. We have the belief that probably some other phrases originally intervened between this sentence and the rest of the paragraph.

⁶⁴ The four classes discussed in the *I Chou shu* quotation: the agriculturists, the artisans, the merchants, and the *Yü*. Cf. *post CHS* 24a, note on the classes of ancient society.

⁶⁵ *Hsien* in opposition to *jao* means "rare, few."

⁶⁶ The phrase is too cryptic to discover its precise meaning, but we have considered that Ssü-MA Ch'ien meant that when these four classes of people were abundant, their production would enrich both the imperial governing groups and also the great families having their power founded on their economic activities. There is a clear distinction made throughout the chapter (*SC* 129) that *chia* means the "great families that have made themselves powerful through their wealth," and does not mean the classical "imperial family."

⁶⁷ 予 is equivalent to 與, according to Ssü-MA Chêng, who says it means that there is a freedom (of movement) between the poor and rich, and there is no snatching away from one and giving to another.

⁶⁸ A quotation from *Kuan-tzu* (*SPPY*, 1.7a⁶).

⁶⁹ This story of the rise of the kingdom of Ch'i 齊 is also narrated in *SC* (32.2a²⁻¹⁰; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 4.39) and in *YTL* (3 [Sec. 14] 2a⁷⁻⁹; GALE, *DSI* 85). The three versions substantially relate the same account.

⁷⁰ The counselor of Chou Wên Wang (traditional: 1231-1135 B. C.), who was enfeoffed in the region later known as Ch'i. His biography is in *SC*, *ch.* 32.

⁷¹ Ying-ch'iu 營丘 became the capital of the state of Ch'i. It has been variously placed within the *hsiens* of Ch'ang-lo 昌樂 (*Postal Atlas*: 118° 50': 36° 45') and Lin-tsé 臨淄 (*Postal Atlas*: 118° 20': 36° 50') of Shantung.

⁷² Hsü Kuang is reported by CHANG Shou-chieh to have explained *hsi-tu* as equal to *hsien-ti* "brackish lands." The *Po-na* and *SKK* versions have 澗 *hsi*.

⁷³ The meaning is clear enough. The same remark occurs in the *YTL*, but has 女工 instead of 女功. Strangely, there is no mention of such industries in the *SC*, 32 (*supra*, n. 69); it names commerce and industry with the distribution of salt and

fish stressed. The body of this chapter (p. 4b⁴), however, does stress the textile industries of Ch'i.

⁷⁴ The characters *chi-ch'iao* are not considered a binom so as to balance off the following *yi-yen*.

⁷⁵ Cf. *SC* 32.2a⁹⁻¹⁰; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 4.39.

⁷⁶ Similes natural to China's economy. The continuity of a silk thread and the focus-like centralization of the spokes of a wheel would be everyday terms. Cf. the body of the chapter (p. 3b⁹).

⁷⁷ We have rendered the four words of wearing apparel as verbs, because this would seem to have been the intention of the author. Apparently, later editors were disturbed by the seeming want of a verb, for we found that the *P'ei-wen yün-fu* (under 往朝) quotes this passage and introduces a 甲 before 天下. This version would read: "the caps, girdles, garments, and shoes of Ch'i were foremost in our world." In both versions, the economic supremacy of the state of Ch'i is clearly brought out.

⁷⁸ The phrase *hai-T'ai* is from the *Shu ching*, "Yü-kung" (6.3a^{5, 14}; *Legge* 102, 104). The sea and Mt. T'ai are given as the boundaries of the provinces of Ch'ing and Hsü. The term probably refers to the northeastern part of China, in general.

⁷⁹ We have taken the characters in their literal sense and understood that the other feudal lords in the eastern part of the country went to the court of Ch'i instead of going to the Imperial Court of Chou. Tucking in their sleeves is the gesture of respect. Ssū-MA Chêng says "Ch'i had an abundance of wealth and was able to cap and girdle our world; its abundance and wealth spread to the other regions. Therefore, in the regions [bounded by] the sea and Mt. T'ai, [the people] gathered in the flaps of their gowns to pay court at Ch'i. It means they were those who ran after profit." We believe that more was involved than merely seeking after profit; political power is also implied.

⁸⁰ We have construed *chung* as an adjective modifying *shuai*, although it might also have been taken as a verb, "attained a point of decay." The biography of T'ai-kung Wang (*CS*, ch. 32) narrates the disorders that followed upon the death of the succeeding rulers.

⁸¹ Cf. *ante*, *SC* 30, n. 32.

⁸² Cf. same idea, expressed in *SC* 32. 4a¹⁻².

⁸³ See details in Appendix 2.

⁸⁴ Cf. *ante*, *SC*, ch. 30, n. 31.

⁸⁵ This is part of a speech taken from *SC* 32.5a¹⁰⁻¹¹. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 4.56. These two phrases appear in the *Lun-yü* (14.2b¹⁹⁻²⁰; 14.3a⁴⁻⁷), but LEGGE (p. 282) tries to explain the meaning without reference to the biography where the more detailed story is told that would have explained the use of 九 and 一. The numbers refer to the actual count of the times the acts were accomplished.

⁸⁶ The *Lun-yü* (3.8b¹⁻⁶; *Legge* 162-163) refers to the *San-kuei* 三歸 in a passage discussing KUAN Chung 管仲. LEGGE leaves the term untranslated, although saying in his notes, "in the dictionary and the commentary of CHU Hsi 朱熹 [1130-1200], it was the name of an extravagant tower built by KUAN. There are other views of the phrase, the oldest and the best supported apparently being that it means 'three wives.'" Kuan-tzu's biography (*SC* 62.1b¹²) contains the same wording as our passage. Cf. MARGOULIÉS, *Le Kou-wên chinois* 80; Marcel GRANET, *La Polygamie sororale et le Sororat dans la Chine féodale* (Paris, 1920) 20-21. Dr. YANG Lien-sheng has pointed out that all these older interpretations are placed in doubt by KUO

Sung-t'ao 郭嵩燾 in the *Yang-chih Shu-wu wén-chi* 養知書屋文集 1.9b-10b. He believes that the reference is to a special revenue granted to KUAN Chung for his meritorious services to Ch'í.

⁸⁷ *P'ei Kuan* is the term used to designate a "subject of a subject"; i. e., one who serves a lord who has given his allegiance to the emperor.

⁸⁸ These two dukes of Ch'í ruled from 357-301, during the reigns of the Chou kings, Hsien Wang (368-320), Shên-ching Wang (320-314), and Nan Wang (314-?256), and styled themselves *wang*, although they probably were not the first to do so. Cf. BODDE, *China's First Unifier* 127, n. 3. Since Kuan-tzū died ca. 645 B. C., Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien is saying that Ch'í retained its power for three hundred years; in fact, all the last years of the Chou dynasty's supposed rule.

⁸⁹ Quotation from *Kuan-tzū* (SPPY, 1.1a²⁻¹⁰); cf. also SC 62.1b⁶⁻⁷. We have rendered *li* and *chieh* as co-ordinates to balance the *jung* and *ju*.

⁹⁰ This sentence might be considered as part of the quotation from the *Kuan-tzū*, but we have been unable to find it in the present version. It is not part of the first chapter as quoted above, but the same thought is stated a number of times in *Kuan-tzū*, so that it might be part of a similar quotation as yet not located. *KCK* includes this sentence in the full quotation, but we were influenced in considering it outside the quotation; first, because the rhythm is different, and second, because Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien has followed the pattern of quoting and then commenting. HOZUMI, *loc. cit.*, apparently also includes these sentences in the quotation from *Kuan-tzū*.

⁹¹ We believe that this is a quotation, but we have been unsuccessful in tracing it. The characters *té* and *li* belong to the same rhyme group.

⁹² The balancing of the grammatical structure requires either a 則 or 而 after 勢. We have selected the 則 to make the parallel complete, but comparable phrases have used 而. Cf. SC 129.2b¹⁰; also in *CHS* 91.2b⁸, where it says: "This is what is meant by obtaining the power with the result that one is increasingly manifested." Also cf. SC 61.3a⁷⁻⁸: "Po I and Shu Ch'í, although they were worthies, obtained [the approval of Confucius] with the result that their fame was increasingly manifested."

⁹³ Cf. SC, *ch.* 107, containing the biographies of TOU Ying and KUAN Fu, where Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien discusses the clients of those in power and out of power. Especially compare the statements on pp. 2b¹²-3a¹; p. 3b¹⁻².

⁹⁴ We offer this translation as the most satisfactory that we could construe in this context. The precise meaning is not too clear.

⁹⁵ A common saying in a couplet of four characters with the end characters *tzū* and *shih*, rhyming.

⁹⁶ The *SKK* version calls attention to the similar quotation in the *YTL* (SPPY, 4.7a¹⁻⁴ [Sec. 18]; GALE *DSI* 116) and gives the commentary of Wu Ch'êng-ch'üan 吳乘權 (ca. 1676), who points out that 熙 and 來; 壤 and 往 are rhymed, so that these 16 characters are probably from an old folk song. GALE, *loc. cit.*, translates "Hustling and bustling, after gain the world is rushing." In his note 1 he says, "This is the only direct citation from Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien's *Shih chi*. It is from the introduction to *ch.* 129, and appears much like a common saying. For 壤, HUAN K'uan has 穰, which CHANG suggests may have been in the original text of the *Shih chi*." Let us examine these homophones 壤 and 穰. *K'ang-hsi Tz'u-tien* under 壤 quotes this passage as an example of its definition of the word as "an appearance of disorder," "being mixed up"; while under 穰, the synonyms are 豐、盛、衆, for which our word "abundant" would be a general equivalent. If we consider that 熙熙 and

壤壤 are contrasted as the corresponding 來 and 往 would seem to be, then the translation should be taken as the characters appear in our text, and the *YTL* commentary is unnecessary. We are inclined to this point of view. However, if the intention of the saying is not antithetic, then the second character, as given in the *YTL*, would be more correct. In that case, the translation by GALE, quoted above, for the half of the saying as it appeared in his text, would adequately translate the entire saying as it is given in this chapter. The context here seems to require the antithesis.

⁹⁷ *Wang* in the title of the Chou rulers or used to mean a "truly royal ruler" in contrast to a *pa* "a leader by force," is usually not translated in this study; however, the word applied to the sons and supporters of the Han or later dynasties who were given kingdoms is translated "prince." Cf. *Lun-yü* (1.1b⁶; Legge 140) concerning which LEGGE comments: "A country of 1000 chariots was one of the largest fiefs of the empire, which could bring such an armament into the field."

⁹⁸ Cf. *SC* 18.1a¹³-1b¹.

⁹⁹ Cf. *SC* 129.6a⁹.

¹⁰⁰ In the introduction to the Tables given in *ch.* 18 of the *SC*, Ssü-MA Ch'ien discusses the state of the nobility. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.123.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *SC* 130.12b⁸. Cf. *supra*, note *.

¹⁰² Cf. *SC* 129.6b⁹: "In general, as to the people of the population lists. . . ." The distinction between the two classes is clearly indicated.

¹⁰³ This phrase is often used by Ssü-MA Ch'ien to indicate that he has stated his proofs in the foregoing lines and now is ready to draw his own conclusions. We have used a more dramatic form to emphasize the apparent indignation of the author.

¹⁰⁴ The translation has been made on the basis of the concrete parallelism.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *supra*, n. 76.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *SC* 62.1a¹³ for similar use of the phrase.

¹⁰⁷ An interesting simile drawn from Chinese architectural features, and presenting the contrast of *supra*, nn. 105 and 76.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. similar passages from the body of the chapter: *SC* 129.5b¹⁰, discussing the region south of the Chiang and Huai Rivers—亦無千金之家; and in the notice about the iron merchant, K'UNG Shih 孔氏, *SC* 129.7b⁸.

¹⁰⁹ Throughout the pages 4b and 5a-b of *SC*, *ch.* 129, are mentioned the centers of each region termed 都會, which we have translated "metropolis." The expression 都 here refers to these centers, usually ruled by a 君. Cf. *SC* 129.7b⁸, where the iron merchant, CHO Shih 卓氏, is said to have all the prerogatives of a lord.

¹¹⁰ 巨 is written 鉅 in the *CHS* 91.2b⁴, *et seq.* Families that reached this degree of affluence are listed in the body of the chapter as follows: FAN Li's family by means of trade (p. 2b⁹); PING Shih 邴氏 by means of iron (p. 7b⁹); and the wealthy merchants of Kuan-chung 關中 (p. 8b¹⁻²).

¹¹¹ The term *su-fêng* 素¹¹ is defined in the body of the chapter (*SC* 129.6a⁸⁻⁹): "At present, there are those, who being without the receipt of official salaries [and without] the income of hereditary cities, yet enjoy equality with those [who do have such official status]: they are designated *su-fêng*." Ssü-MA Ch'eng says: "It means, if they are without the incomes of hereditary cities or the receipts of official salaries, then they are called *su-fêng*. *Su* means *k'ung* 空 'empty,' 'vacant.'" CHANG Shou-chieh comments: "It means that as to the men who did not have official responsibility, because they had incomes from gardens and fields, harvests and rearing [of animals], their profits were equal to [those of] an enfeoffed lord; therefore, they were called

su-fêng." The SKK version has 比 for our standard text's 抵; the *Po-na* writes 氏. We have taken the SKK reading.

The text as it now stands has 也 as the last character in this sentence. The spirit of all that has gone before, would seem to call for the homophone 邪 instead. We submit the following phrases taken from the *Shih chi* which seem to support our belief that either intentionally or otherwise the wrong *yeh* is now in the text: (SC 61. 2a⁴) speaking of Po I 伯夷 and Shu Ch'i 叔齊 the author says: 由此觀之怨邪非邪. "From this we can observe concerning them whether they complained or not." (*Ibid.* 2a⁷) 可謂善人者非邪 ". . . can they be called good men or not?" (*Ibid.* 2b⁶) 余甚惑焉儻所謂天道、是邪非邪. "I very much doubt considering these facts, whether what is called the Way of Heaven exists (or: is right) or not." (SC 62.2b⁹⁻¹⁰) in criticism of Yen-tzu's 晏子 action, the historian remarks: 豈所謂見義不為無勇者邪 "Is this not what is called 'Seeing the righteous [but] not doing [it, is being] without bravery!'" [Or: "Seeing what is right but not doing it, is cowardly."] By analogy we reconstruct the final phrase of this chapter: 豈所謂素封者邪非邪. "Is this, or is this not, what is called 'pseudo-entitlement'?" We are unable to concur with CHEN, *Econ. Princ.*, who translates (p. 179) "A millionaire is equal to the prince of a feudal state, and a billionaire even enjoys the same pleasure as a king. Are they not the so-called titleless lords? No." and then comments: "At the very end of the whole chapter, he [Ssü-MA Ch'ien] puts this negative answer for the withdrawal of his former statements." If Mr. CHEN wished to punctuate so as to obtain 非也 as a separate sentence, would not such a sentence mean, "It is wrong"? This statement would not be so much an answer to what is clearly a rhetorical question, as a moral judgment on the whole condition just described by Ssü-MA Ch'ien.

3. *Ch'ien-Han shu*, *chüan* 24a—Introduction; *chüan* 24b— Conclusion: Monograph on the Fiscal Administration

Of the Great Plan's Eight Objects of Government,¹ number one is called *shih* and number two is called *huo*. By *shih* were meant the edible things [such as] "diligently produced good grains."² By *huo* were meant the wearable [things such as] hempen and grass cloths, and white silk cloth, together with the metals and the knives, the tortoise shells and cowry shells, with which to distribute valuables and spread profit, causing a transfer [from those who] have [to those who] have not.³ These two are the root of giving life to the people.

They [both] arose from the time of Shên Nung,⁴ who "fashioned wood to form the *ssü*, and bent wood to make the *lei*. The advantages of ploughing and hoeing were then taught to our world,"⁵ so that food was sufficient. [Shên Nung also] "caused markets to be held at midday, thus bringing together all the

people, and assembling in one place all their *huo* [so that] they made their exchanges and retired, each having obtained his proper share " 6 so that the *huo* were transferred. The food grains (*shih*) being sufficient and the circulating articles that had exchange value (*huo*) being transferred, then the kingdoms were well stocked and the people were rich, so that the teachings and civilizing influences were accomplished. 7

From Huang-ti 8 down, [the sage rulers] " carried through the passings from one state into another [in such a way] as to cause the people not to be wearied." 9 Yao charged the four Viscounts " to deliver respectfully the seasons to the people "; 10 Shun charged Hou Chi " [to sow the numerous seasonal grains], because the black-haired people are still hungry." 11 These are the beginnings of administration.

Yü leveled the flood waters, fixed the Nine Provinces, parceled out the soils and fields, each according to that which it produced. 12 From far and near the military tax (*fu*) was collected and the tribute (*kung*) was brought in baskets. 13 [Yü also] " urged [the people] to exchange what they had for what they had not " [and reported that] " [thus] all the kingdoms became well regulated." 14

During the flourishing of the Yin and the Chou dynasties, that which was recorded in the *Shih* [*ching*] and the *Shu* [*ching*] as the most important was, after having settled the people and enriched [them], then to teach them. Thus, the *I* [*ching*] proclaims, " The great latent power of Heaven and Earth is termed *shêng* ' [sustaining] life ' ; the great value of the Sage is termed *wei* ' [sustaining] the throne. ' By what means [the Sage] guards the throne is termed *jên* ' [possessing] men. ' By what means [the Sage] collects men is termed *ts'ai* ' [possessing] valuables. ' " 15 As for valuables, they are the foundation of the means by which emperors and *wang* collect men and guard the throne, nourish and rear the multitudes, respectfully receive and follow the latent power of Heaven [i. e., sustaining life], and [finally] govern well the kingdoms and settle the people. Thus [Confucius] says, " [The rulers] are not troubled lest their people should be few, but are troubled lest there should be inequalities [among them]; they are not troubled about poverty, but are troubled about [the people]

being unsettled. For when there is equality, there will be no poverty; when there is harmony, there will be no scarcity of people; and when [the people] are settled, there will be no subverting."¹⁶ Therefore, the Sage *Wang* "to bind in the people"¹⁷ built outer and inner walls in order to domicile them; parceled out the huts¹⁸ and wells in order to equalize them; instituted the markets and the shops¹⁹ in order to cause transfer [of goods] between them; and established the *hsing* and *hsü* [types of institutions] in order to teach them.²⁰

The governing scholar, the agriculturists, the artisans, and the merchants [made up] the four [classes of] people having productive occupations. [Those who] studied in order to occupy a position were called *shih* "governing scholars"; [those who] opened the earth to grow the grain were called *nung* "agriculturists"; [those who] employed their skill to fashion utensils were called *kung*, "artisans"; [and those who] transferred valuables and sold *huo* were called *shang*, "merchants."²¹ The Sage *Wang* measured their ability in giving out the appointments; the four classes of people put forth their strength in receiving the duties.²² Therefore, the courts were without dismissed officials;²³ "the cities were without migrant people"; "and the land was without uncultivated soil."²⁴

Their principle of managing the people [took] the attachment to the land as its foundation.²⁵ Thus, the necessity for establishing the pace (*pu*), fixing the acre-strip (*mou*), and "keeping exact their defined boundaries."²⁶ Six foot-measures made a pace; one pace by 100 made an acre-strip; one acre-strip [long] by 100 [wide] made an area (*fu*) capable of sustaining a husbandman; one *fu* area by three made a dwelling unit (*wu*); one dwelling unit by three made a *ching* area; a *ching* [therefore equals] squaring one mile (*li*). This made nine *fu* areas (also 900 strips), which eight families shared; each [family] received 100 strips of private fields, and 10 strips of the common field, making [a total of] 880 strips; the remaining 20 strips (i. e., in the common field) were used for the field huts²⁷ (*lu* and *shé*).

"In the comings and goings [of their daily life] they treated one another as friends; in keeping guard and watch, they assisted one

another; in emergency and illness, they relieved one another."²⁸ The people thereupon [lived in] peace and concord, so that they were civilized and made uniform, with the result that their services and the production could be kept level.

When the people received their fields, of the superior fields, the husbandman (*fu*) [received] 100 strips; of the average fields, the husbandman [received] 200 strips; of the inferior fields, the husbandman [received] 300 strips. Those [fields] which were annually plowed and seeded were the unchanged superior fields; those which were rested (i. e., lay fallow) for one year were the once changed average fields; those which were rested for two years were the twice changed inferior fields. Every third year they interchanged cultivating them (i. e., the last two classes of fields); each individually changed his place.²⁹

Among the agricultural people, when the group of males in the family of a householder who had already received his fields became supernumerary husbandmen, they likewise received fields for [each] individual in the same proportion.³⁰ [But among] the families of the governing scholars, the artisans, and the merchants, they received a field for every five individuals, as equaling one husbandman of the agricultural [class].

That is to say, for the level lands these might be considered the rules.³¹ If there were lands in the mountains and forests, the marshes and swamps, the plateaus and barren [regions], and the salt [flats], each was ranked with respect to its degree of fertility or barrenness.³²

They had a military tax (*fu*) and a civil administrative tax (*shu*).³³ By the civil administrative tax was meant the tithe of the common fields, and the income from the artisans, merchants, and *hêng-yü*.³⁴ The military tax contributed to the military services of the chariots and horses, the defensive and offensive weapons, the knights and the foot soldiers,³⁵ and to filling and making substantial the treasuries and storehouses for the requirements of gift-giving. The civil administrative tax provided for the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, the ancestral temple, and the numerous spirits; the expenditures for the maintenance of the emperor, for the stipend and food of the numerous officials, [and] for miscellaneous affairs.

The people received the fields at twenty years³⁶ of age, and returned them at sixty years of age. Those who were seventy years and above were supported by the government; those who were ten years and below were brought up by the government;³⁷ those who were eleven years and above were compelled³⁸ [to work] by the government.³⁹

In planting the grains it was necessary to mix the five kinds⁴⁰ [of seeds] to be prepared against catastrophe and injury [by the weather]. They were not allowed to have any trees in the middle of the fields, [because] the use [of the trees] would have hindered the five [kinds of] grains.⁴¹ They diligently cultivated, and repeatedly hoed (i. e., weeded); they gathered the harvest, as if [anticipating] the advent of robbers and thieves.⁴²

Around their cottages were planted mulberry trees; for the vegetables and edible plants they had plots of ground; [and] the melons, gourds, and *kuo-lo*⁴³ flourished on the boundary ridges.⁴⁴

When chickens, young pigs, [grain-fed] dogs, and sows [were bred] without neglecting their [proper] seasons, and the women prepared the silkworms and did the weaving, then the people fifty years of age could wear silk cloth, and the people seventy years old could eat meat.⁴⁵

In the rural areas (*yeh*) [the collective dwellings] were called *lu* "cottages"; in the urban areas (*i*), they were called *li* "hamlets."⁴⁶ Five families (*chia*) made a neighborhood (*lin*); five neighborhoods made a hamlet group (*li*); four hamlet groups made a community (*tsu*); five communities made a village (*tang*); five villages made a district (*chou*); five districts made a county (*hsiang*): a county contained 12,500 households.⁴⁶ The chief of a neighborhood had the rank of a petty official [of the court] (*hsia-shih*); from this upward gradually ascending one grade [at a time] until the county was reached, where [the headman] acted as a director (*ch'ing*).

In the hamlets there were the *hsü* [types of institutions]; and in the counties, there were the *hsiang* [types of institutions]. The *hsü* were used to illustrate doctrines; while in the *hsiang*, they practiced the principles of social order (*li*) and exhibited the civilizing influences.⁴⁷

In the spring they ordered the people all to go out into the rural areas, while in the winter they all entered the urban areas. The *Shih* [*ching*] describes [the custom thus]:

In the days of the fourth [month],
we raise our feet in ploughing.
Together our wives and children,
Carry food to those south-lying strips.

and:

In the tenth month the crickets enter
under our beds. . . .
“ Ah, our wives and children,
Because of the changing year,
Enter these dwelling places.”⁴⁸

Thus it was that they accorded with *yin* and *yang*, prepared against robbers and bandits and practiced the principles of social order (*li*) and refinement (*wên*).⁴⁹

In the spring, [when] they were about to send forth the people, the clerk of the hamlet group, just at dawn, sat in the right vestibule [at the side of the hamlet gates], and the chief of the neighborhood sat in the left vestibule.⁵⁰ After all had gone forth, they (i. e., the clerk and the chief) returned to their homes. In the evenings it was likewise like this.⁵¹ For those who were entering, it was necessary to hold in their hands fuel or fagots: the light and the heavy being distributed among them, [but] “ the grey-haired ones did not carry anything.”⁵²

In the winter, [when] the people had entered [their permanent dwelling centers], the womenfolk in the same lane⁵³ congregated for the nightly spinning. The women's work was the equivalent of forty-five days per month (*sic!*).⁵⁴ As to the fact that it was necessary to congregate, it was the means by which they reduced the expense of light and heat, mingled the skilled and unskilled, and made uniform their practices and customs.⁵⁵

The men and women who had not obtained their [just dues], thereupon jointly participated in singing and chanting, each telling his grievance.⁵⁶

In these months [during the winter], the supernumerary sons⁵⁷ also dwelt in the apartments of the *hsü* [type of institution]. At

eight years of age, they entered the lower school (*hsiao-hsüeh*), where they studied the subjects of divisions of time,⁵⁸ geography,⁵⁹ writing, and arithmetic, [so that] they began to understand the proprieties [to be observed between] the elder and the younger of the inner apartments and the household [in general]. At fifteen years of age, they entered the higher school (*ta-hsüeh*) where they studied the social ritual (*li*) and the music (*yo*) of the former sages, so that they understood the proper etiquette (*li*) of the ruler and his ministers of the imperial court⁶⁰ and the audience halls. Those who were accomplished and distinguished were sent to the county, where they studied in the *hsiang* and *hsü* (*sic*)⁶¹ [types of institutions]. Those who distinguished themselves in the *hsiang* and *hsü* (*sic*) were sent to the [capitals of the various] kingdoms where they studied in the junior schools (*shao-hsüeh*). The vassal lords annually as tribute⁶² sent to the emperor those who had distinguished themselves in the junior schools. [Those who were sent to the emperor] studied in the [imperial] university (*ta-hsüeh*), and were officially designated *tsao-shih* "accomplished scholars." If in conduct they were equal and in ability they were peers, then [the emperor] distinguished them by archery [contests].⁶³ Afterwards, he bestowed a charge upon them.⁶⁴

In the first month of spring, when those who had been living in groups were about to scatter,⁶⁵ the couriers, shaking their bells with wooden clappers,⁶⁶ wandered along the roads to collect the folk songs (*shih*). They presented them to the music master⁶⁷ (*ta-shih*), who arranged their tones and pitches so as to have the emperor hear them. Thus it was said, "The *wang* does not peek out of his window or door, yet he knows [what is going on] in our world."⁶⁸

This is the general outline of how the former *wang* parceled out the soils, placed the people, [then] enriched and taught them.⁶⁹ Thus Confucius said, "To rule a kingdom of a thousand chariots, one must reverently serve and be sincere; be economical in expenditures and have a love for man; and cause the people to be used at the [proper] seasons."⁷⁰ Consequently the people all were encouraged [to perform] meritorious work, and enjoyed their

occupations. They placed first the common [weal], and placed afterwards their private interests. The *Shih* [*ching*]⁷¹ expresses it:

A damp air comes chill
 Bringing clouds that gather;
 May it rain first on our common fields,
 And then come to our private fields.

If the people cultivated for three years, they had a surplus for one year's storage.⁷² "When their clothing and their food were sufficient, they knew [the meaning of] honor and disgrace," [so that] honesty and courtesy grew, while wrangling and complaining ceased.⁷³ Therefore, "every three years there was an examination of merits,"⁷⁴ for as Confucius said, "If there were [any of the rulers] who would employ me, in the course of twelve months, I should have done something considerable. In three years, I should have succeeded."⁷⁵ Accomplishing this, is the meritorious service. [Thus], "after three examinations there were demotions and promotions."⁷⁶ A surplus of three years' food supply [after] advancing the productive occupations [for a nine year period] was called *têng*. A double *têng* (i. e., after an eighteen year period) was called *p'ing* "tranquillity," [for there was] a surplus of six years' food supply. A triple *têng* was called a *t'ai-p'ing* "peace," [for] the accumulated surplus of twenty-seven years was nine years' food supply.⁷⁷ Then the latent powers of a truly royal ruler could spread and penetrate [among the people], and the social rituals (*li*) and music (*yo*) could be accomplished thereby.⁷⁸ [Confucius] therefore said, "If a truly royal ruler were to arise, it would still require a generation, and then true humanism would prevail."⁷⁹ [The result could be achieved because] they followed this proper way.⁸⁰

When the House of Chou had decayed, "oppressive rulers and avaricious officials neglected the defining of the boundaries [of the fields],"⁸¹ injustices in the forced labor arose; the orders of the administration did not inspire confidence; the upper and lower classes deceived each other; [and] the common fields were not well cultivated. Thus it was that Duke Hsüan of Lu began [to place] the civil administrative tax upon the strips, for which [Confucius] in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* blamed him.⁸² Thereupon, the

upper classes became greedy and the people grumbled;⁸³ misfortunes and dangers grew, and calamities and disturbances arose; [with the result] that deterioration set in.

Then we come to the [period of the] Warring Kingdoms, "which valued deceit and force, and depreciated humaneness and justice; which placed first wealth and possessions, and placed last social discipline (*li*) and humility."⁸⁴

At this time, LI K'uei (i. e., LI K'o) wrote the doctrines of the intensive cultivation of the lands for the Marquis Wên of Wei.⁸⁵ . . . They acted upon [his doctrines] in the kingdom of Wei, [with the result] that the kingdom became rich and strong.⁸⁶

Also Duke Hsiao of [the kingdom of] Ch'in applying [the advice of] the Lord of Shang, destroyed the strip system of land holdings (*ching-t'ien*); opened up the boundary ridges; and was zealous in the rewards for cultivation [of the fields] and fighting.⁸⁷ Although it was not the ancient *Tao*, still because of the fact that it was devoted to the basic occupation, [Ch'in] could overturn its neighboring kingdoms, and [attack with] its martial power the vassal lords.⁸⁸ Thus, the pattern of the true ruler (*wang-chih*) subsequently was destroyed: ⁸⁹ usurpation and discrepancy were without limit. "Among the common people, the rich ones accumulated countless [fortunes], while the poor ones consumed the residue of the distiller's grains. Among the rulers of kingdoms, the strong ones joined together" the limits of the districts, while the weak ones mourned [their gods of] land and grains.⁹⁰

When we come to the First Sovereign [Emperor of Ch'in], he completely united our world.⁹¹ "Internally, he promoted artisan work and operations; externally, he repulsed the I and Ti barbarians."⁹² He collected a military tax of more than half (i. e., two-thirds),⁹³ and levied the frontier soldiers from [all who lived] left of the hamlet gates.⁹⁴ "Men labored at cultivation, [yet] there was an insufficiency of provisions for the army; and women spun, [yet] there was an insufficiency of clothing. They exhausted the accumulated wealth and valuables of the empire to offer them up to his administration; still it was insufficient to satisfy his desires."⁹⁵ Within the seas, [the people] were sad and resentful, so that subsequently they deserted and rebelled [against Ch'in].⁹⁶

When the Han [dynasty] rose to power, it inherited the corruption of the Ch'in [dynasty]:⁹⁷ the vassal lords had all raised [troops]; the people had lost their work and occupations; and there was a great famine. It was a commonplace for a *shih* of rice [to cost] 5,000 [copper coins]; and the people ate their own kind; the dead exceeded fifty per cent [of the population].⁹⁸ . . .

The Conclusion (*chiian* 24b)

[PAN Ku's] excursus⁹⁹ said:

The *I* [*ching*] proclaims, "[The superior ruler (*chiin-tzū*)] diminishes the excessive and increases the paucity; balances the things and stabilizes the distribution."¹⁰⁰ The *Shu* [*ching*] states, "[Yü] urged [the people] to exchange what they had for what they had not."¹⁰¹ The Chou [dynasty] had the office of the market treasury¹⁰² (*ch'üan-fu*), and Mencius criticized [Hui Wang of Liang by saying], "Your dogs and sows can eat the food of men; yet you do not perceive [the need] to collect [and store food]. There are people dying from famine on the roads, yet you do not perceive [the need] to issue the stores [of your granaries to them]."¹⁰³ Thus, the [stabilizing of] supply and demand (*ch'ing-chung*)¹⁰⁴ of KUAN Shih, the stabilizing of grain purchases (*p'ing-ti*)¹⁰⁵ of LI K'uei (i. e., LI K'o), the equable marketing (*chiin-shu*)¹⁰⁶ of [SANG] Hung-yang, and the ever-normal [granary] (*ch'ang-p'ing*)¹⁰⁷ of [K'ENG] Shou-ch'ang likewise had [their precedents] from antiquity.¹⁰⁸ Considering carefully those several instances of the ancient [methods] of doing it, [we find that] when the officials were good and the orders were enforced, the results were that the people repudiated their personal profits,¹⁰⁹ and all the kingdoms became well governed.¹¹⁰

When one reaches the time of Emperor Hsiao-wu [of Han], the expenditures of the kingdoms were abundantly granted, yet the people were not additionally [burdened with] a military tax.¹¹¹ His [way] was inferior [to the ancients].¹¹² [But] when we come to WANG Mang,¹¹³ the systems and measures lost their median [standards]; villains and traitors¹¹⁴ abused the power [of government], [so that] all of the officials and the people were impoverished. [His way] was without an inferior!

NOTES

3. *Ch'ien-Han shu, chüan 24a*

¹ The *Hung-fan* 洪範 "Great Plan," as it has come down to us, is described in a chapter of the *Shu ching* (ch. 12; Legge 320-324). The tradition is that the Viscount of Chi 箕子 gave the Great Plan to Wu Wang after the fall of the Shang dynasty, informing the conqueror that it was the plan given to Yü 禹 by Heaven. Thus it would seem to have been a plan available to the Hsia dynasty and supposedly used by the Shang dynasty, then turned over to the conquering Chou dynasty, but the very elaborate numerological nature of the plan according to CAEEL (*SECC* 97) would date it late or Eastern Chou literary style (i. e., ca. 7th or 6th cent. B. C.). MASPERO, *La Chine antique* (p. 439), believes it to be the work of a 7th cent. B. C. anonymous author who was trying to define the place of Man and especially of the king in a philosophically systematized world. The identical account appears in the *Shih chi* (ch. 38) in the chapter of the Viscount of Wei 微子, prince of Sung 宋, the descendant of the Shang dynasty, but Ssu-MA Ch'ien makes no mention of it in discussing ancient economies in his chapters (ch. 29, 30 and 129). It assumes importance because PAN KU takes from it the title of this chapter.

The third division of the Great Plan, the one specifically mentioned in our text, is traditionally translated as composed of: "(1) food, (2) commodities, (3) sacrifices, (4) minister of works, (5) minister of instruction, (6) minister of crimes, (7) [entertainment of] guests, (8) army." (*Shu ching* 12.9b^{a-d}; Legge 327). It can be rearranged: (1) food, (2) commodities, (3) sacrifices, (4) entertainment of guests, (5) army; (a) Minister of Public Works, (b) Minister of Instruction, (c) Minister of Crime. The strange manner of placing specific officials together with general functions, seems to indicate a mixture of some other scheme of government with the original five belonging to the Great Plan, which apparently was built upon the magic of the number 5.

From the same source, the *Shu ching* (2.16b¹²-18b¹³; Legge 43-50), we also can obtain a listing of the divisions of the government of Shun, in which ministers of specific offices are enumerated. Might not this system have been the one mixed with that of the original *Hung-fan*?

Since PAN KU has opened this *chüan* (24) with the first and second of the "Objects of Government," we might expect him to continue in other *chüan* with his interpretation of "sacrifices," "entertainment of guests," and "army." The very next *chüan* (25) seems to confirm this anticipation, because it begins with the statement from the *Hung-fan* on "sacrifices." However, PAN KU does not have separate *chüan* for the remaining two topics. The material seems to be scattered in various other chapters.

We need only concern ourselves in detail with numbers one and two of these "Objects of Government": *shih*, which PAN KU has discussed in the first section of *chüan* 24, and *huo*, assigned by him to the second section of the same *chüan*.

There is another set of *pa-chêng* mentioned in the *Li chi* (13.16a¹⁵; Legge 27.230, par. 1 and 13.23a¹¹; Legge 27.248, par. 28), but PAN KU is not referring to this passage, so we do not analyze it. CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* (pp. 50-51) sees in the list of the "The Eight Objects of Government," a counterpart to the modern divisions of economic activity. We cannot follow him in this rationalization.

² Cf. *Shu ching* 19.27a¹⁰⁻¹¹; *Legge* 595. It is interesting that this occurs in a paragraph that is a recapitulation of the government of Shun. PAN KU seems to be giving a brief summary of these beginnings of administration. It should also be noted that the two versions of the teaching of agriculture to the people are implied in PAN KU's text.

³ See Appendix 1 for details.

⁴ Shên Nung, the "Divine Husbandman," legendary ruler Yen-ti, 28th cent. B. C. Cf. *ante*, *SC*, ch. 129, Ssü-MA T'an placed him outside of recorded history.

⁵ Cf. Appendix 4. Quotation from the Great Appendix, *I ching* (8.10a¹⁰⁻¹¹; *Legge* 383, par. 13).

⁶ Quotation from the Great Appendix of the *I ching* (8.10a¹²; *Legge* 383, par. 14). We have modified LEGGE's translation of the phrase *ch'i-so*, rendering it, "his proper share," as derived from "his domain," "that which was due his place, his station."

⁷ PAN KU introduces here his main theme, which he repeats and develops in later paragraphs.

⁸ Huang-ti, the "Yellow Emperor," legendary ruler, 27th cent. B. C. He was not considered "historical" by Ssü-MA T'an.

⁹ Quotation from the Great Appendix of the *I ching* (8.10a¹⁴; *Legge* 383, par. 15). Cf. *SC*, ch. 30, note ***. LI CH'Í 李奇 (*fl. ca.* 200) says: "If the utensils and monetary values were not convenient with respect to the seasons, they changed them to promote and profit them (i. e., the people); thereby causing the people to enjoy their occupations and not be fatigued."

¹⁰ Quotation from *Shu ching* (2.7a⁵; *Legge* 18). *CHS* has *min* for *jên* in original text. This is really another system of government; that of Yao. It seems to have been a very primitive agricultural division into: (1) astronomical overseers—the two brothers, Viscounts Hsi 羲子, for spring and summer; and the two brothers, Viscounts Ho 和子, for autumn and winter, and (2) Minister of Labor, Kun 鯨. (*Legge* 18-25.)

¹¹ Quotation from *Shu ching* (3.17a⁸; *Legge* 43-44). This is part of the passage that gives the governmental divisions of Shun. (Cf. *supra*, n. 1.) The *Shu* text has 阻 for the *CHS*'s 祖. SUNG CH'Í 宋祁 (998-1061) says that is a *Ku-wén* "Ancient Text" reading. MENG K'ang says, "Tsu 祖 is equal to *shih* 始. [He would read], 'At the first famine of the black-haired people, [Shun] charged Ch'í to become the millet official.'" LEGGE (p. 44, note) points out, "For 阻 Ssü-MA Ch'ien has *shih*, from which some suppose the original reading was 祖, which, indeed, MA Jung (79-166) gives. Rather we may suppose that originally there was simply 且."

¹² The story of the labors of Yü is contained in the "Yü-kung" chapter of the *Shu ching* (ch. 6; *Legge* 92-150). YEN SHIH-KU 顏師古 (581-645) lists the Nine Provinces. Cf. Albert HERMANN, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China* (1935) 10-11.

¹³ See Appendix 3. *Ju* 入 equals *na* 納 here. Cf. *Shu ching* (6.8a²⁰; *Legge* 142, note on p. 144). YING SHAO 應劭 (*ca.* 140-206) says, "*Fei* is a bamboo utensil wherein one may hold [things]. A square one is called *k'uang*; an oval-shaped one is called *fei*." YEN SHIH-KU says, "*Fei* has the same reading as 匪. In the *Yü-kung* it says: '[Yen *chou*] . . . its articles of tribute were varnish and silk; the baskets from it were filled with woven ornamental fabrics' (*Shu ching* 6.2b²⁰; *Legge* 99). They are of this class of baskets. *To* are round and long [baskets] (i. e., oval or elliptical)."

¹⁴ Quotations from the *Shu ching* (5.25b⁷⁻⁸; *Legge* 78). *Shu* text uses 懋 for *CHS* 楙; 邦 for 國. YEN SHIH-KU says, "*Mou* 楙 is the same as 茂; [both] mean *mien*

'to urge.' That is to say, when they exhorted and urged [the people of] our world to exchange those things that they had for those that they had not, [thereby] causing a mutual sufficiency, then the myriad kingdoms were all well governed."

¹⁵ This is a quotation from the Great Appendix of the *I ching* (8.9b¹⁸⁻²⁰-10a¹; Legge 381, par. 10). The *Ying T'ang hsieh-pên Han shu Shih-huo chih* 影唐寫本漢書食貨志, the 21st work in Tsun-i LI Shih's 遵義黎氏 collated edition of 1882 in the *Ku-i ts'ung-shu* 古逸叢書 [referred to as the *K-i ShC*] has 人 in place of 仁. This is probably a better version and the one that LEGGE followed, although our standard classical text as well as our standard historical text now have 仁. That the two forms were interchanged is evident from the *Lun-yü* (6.15b⁵; Legge 192). We have taken this meaning of the *jên* in our translation, because in addition to the historical precedent, the logic of the previous premises would seem to require it. We have modified LEGGE's rendering because his rather loose construction seemed to us to destroy the force of the Chinese text. The quotation is a type of syllogism, the purpose of which is to establish the importance of *ts'ai* in the foundation of government.

For the use of the term "latent power" compare WALEY, *The Way and its Power* 81, where he discusses the cognate character of **té* 植 (present *chih*), meaning "to plant." Note also that there is a modern term *ta-pao*, which means "the throne."

¹⁶ Quotation from the *Lun-yü* (16.8¹⁷⁻¹⁸; Legge 308). *CHS* uses 亡 for 無. The *chün* would seem to have an implication of economic equality, perhaps to be achieved by means of the *huo* 貨.

¹⁷ Cf. *Mencius* (4a.1a²; Legge 209).

¹⁸ See Appendix 4, on *lu-ching*.

¹⁹ YEN Shih-ku says that *ssü* means *lieh* "to arrange in series or rows." We might have translated it "stalls." The reference is to the bazaar type of trading center.

²⁰ YEN Shih-ku says, "*Hsiang* and *hsü* were the places where the officials of the Department of Social Ritual nourished the aged." We would probably call them a type of *pension* for aged persons. Cf. *ante*, *SC*, ch. 30, n. 17. The *Po-na* edition gives *kuan* for our standard text's *kung* in this commentary of YEN Shih-ku. We have followed the *Po-na* reading.

²¹ The substance of this discussion of the four classes of people apparently was taken from a conversation between Kuan-tzū and Duke Huan of Ch'i as reported in the *Kuo-yü* (SPPY, 6.2b^{22-4a}³) where Kuan-tzū explains in considerable detail the proper topics for discussion, the proper places, and the proper functions of each of the four classes in the order: governing scholars, artisans, merchants, and agriculturists. Cf. *CHS*, ch. 91, *post*, where this passage is given more extensively. Ho Hsiu 何休 (129-182) uses almost the same language as PAN Ku's in his analysis of the *Kung-yang chuan* (17.11b⁴), which develops in greater detail than the *Ku-liang chuan* (13.9a²⁴⁻²⁷) the cryptic item about the *ch'iu chia* recorded in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* in the spring of the first year of Duke Ch'êng (*Tso chuan* 25.22b⁴; Legge 336-337). It is interesting to note that the *Ku-liang* has it: governing scholars, merchants, agriculturists, and artisans; while the *Kung-yang* commentary has: governing scholars, agriculturists, artisans, and merchants. This would seem to bring into question the so-called *fixed order* of importance of the four classes as traditionally given: governing scholars, agriculturists, artisans, and merchants. This supposition is further confirmed by the statement quoted from the *I Chou shu*, by Ssü-MA Ch'ien in the *SC*, ch. 129 (*ante*, n. 81). It must be borne in mind that the word which we translate "governing scholars" was probably in the earlier feudal periods equivalent to our word "knight." See also Appendix 1 for word *yü* "sold."

²² The carefully balanced statement makes us believe that it is a quotation, but we were unable to locate it. There is a phrase in the *Lun-yü* (16.8a¹³; Legge 307)—陳力就列 “when he can put forth his ability, he takes his place in the ranks [of office]” (LEGGE)—that gives a similar reading.

²³ Cf. *Lì chí* (13.17b¹⁷; Legge 27.234, par. 8).

²⁴ Cf. *Lì chí* (12.16a¹⁰; Legge 27.230, par. 15). This paragraph is frequently quoted in our texts. YEN Shih-ku gives the following gloss: *nao* is *i-yu* “to wander aimlessly”; *k'uang* is *k'ung* 空.

²⁵ Cf. SC 123.2a¹, the Narrative of Fergana (*Ta-yüan*), wherein it is said of the customs of the country: 土著耕田田稻麥...; also SC 116.1b², concerning the southwestern barbarians: 或土著或移徙. YEN Shih-ku says, “By *ti cho* is meant *an t'u* ‘settling on the soil.’” Cf. also *Sui shu* 24.2a⁹.

²⁶ Cf. similar idea in *Mencius* (5a.8b⁷⁻⁸; Legge 244).

²⁷ See Appendix 4.

²⁸ Quotation from *Mencius* (5a.8b¹⁴⁻¹⁵; Legge 245). There are variants: CHS has 救 for *Mencius* 扶持; 和 for 親. *Mencius* probably took his material from the tradition of his time now in *Chou li* 10.11a⁶⁻⁷; Biot 1.211.

²⁹ This entire paragraph is taken from the *Chou li* 10.9b²⁻³; Biot 1.206. The only difficult passage is the last phrase from 三歲到其處. MĒNG K'ang says *yüan* is *yü*; but we are unable to derive any assistance from this gloss. If on the other hand, we gloss *yüan* by 易, for which we take as precedent the passage in the *Tso chuan* (14.18b⁶; Legge 168): 晉於是乎作爰田, then a fairly reasonable rendering is obtained. This is confirmed by WANG Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (1842-1917) in his *Ch'ien-Han shu pu-chu* 前漢書補註 (1900). In addition he points out the *Shou-wén*'s explanation that this *yüan* is used for its homophone 畷, which means “to change,” and is used for the exchange of fields. K-i ShC omits the *san* before the *sui*, implying, if correct, that it was annually and not every third year. The idea is not clear.

³⁰ YEN Shih-ku explains that *pi* is “proportion,” “ratio.” PAN Ku is following the information given in the *Chou li* (15.16a¹⁶⁻¹⁸; Biot 1.340-341), where it is made clear that the supernumerary males received the allotments equal to those of husbandmen. This goes counter to the statement in *Mencius* (5a.8b¹²; Legge 245, par. 17) to the effect that the supernumerary male received 25 *mou*. MA Tuan-lin 馬端臨 (ca. 1254-1322) points this out (cf. CHS, ch. 24a, *k'ao-ch'eng* of the Ch'ien-lung editors, our text, p. 1a⁷⁻⁸), and CHU Hsi (1130-1200) tries to resolve the problem by saying that they received the 25 *mou* between the ages of 16 and 19, the regular 100 *mou* when adults. We shall not enter further into this controversy, other than to point out that there were probably various systems of allotment, that *Mencius* seemingly was discussing one, and that PAN Ku, who must have known *Mencius*' statement, chose to follow the information from the *Chou li* or a like source.

³¹ PAN Ku is stressing the fact that all these schematic rules and arrangements about which he has been speaking can only be applied to the level land. The following sentence takes up the variations.

³² The commentaries make it clear that the lands are, relative to the previously discussed fields, lacking in fertility and ability to grow the grains. Cf. *Tso chuan* (36.4a¹⁷⁻²⁰-4b¹⁻¹⁵; Legge 517) for details of the amounts assigned to each type.

³³ See Appendix 3.

³⁴ From his commentary, it is evident that YEN Shih-ku understood the term *hêng-yü* either to be a unit, or so similar as to be taken as a unit. The *Chou li* (2.8a¹⁴; Biot

1.26-27), in the list of the Nine Occupations of the people, has *yü-héng* as number 3. The *yü-héng* are said to be people who prepare the materials taken from the mountains and marshes. Also as occupations, *héng* and *yü* are mentioned in the list of workers and taxes (*Chou li* 13.5a²; *Biot* 1.281); the *héng* bringing in the products of the mountains, and the *yü* bringing in the products of the marshes. We might designate them "exploiters of the natural resources." The problem involved here is that of the transfer of official titles to designate individual workers. There is the fuller account of the officers called *yü* and *héng* (*Chou li* 16.21b, 22a; *Biot* 1.370-375), in which it speaks of the duties of these "inspectors" as pertaining to forestry, game from the chase, products of the lakes and rivers, and precious objects obtained from the mountains, rivers, marshes, and forest destined for the emperor's Jade Treasury. Cf. *SC ch.* 129, n. 54, *ante*, where we also call attention to the difficulty of assigning an adequate translation for a similar term.

³⁵ YEN Shih-ku glosses *t'u* with *chung* "multitudes," and says that 共 is to be read 供 "to offer, contribute." The *Po-na* edition writes *ping-chia* for our standard text's *chia-ping*. We have rejected the *Po-na* reading.

³⁶ Age as given in our translations is by Chinese reckoning; Occidental equivalence would require at least one year's reduction.

³⁷ Our standard text writes, in error, *shang shang*; the *Po-na* edition has the correct characters, *hsia shang*.

³⁸ YEN Shih-ku says that *ch'iang* is *mien-ch'iang*, which is equal to *ch'üan-chih* "to urge, to compel"; that is, the government ordered them to learn an occupation.

³⁹ We were unable to find PAN Ku's authority for this paragraph. WANG Hsien-ch'ien merely quotes two Ch'ing dynasty commentators' discussions of the feasibility of the procedure. SHÊN Ch'in-han 沈欽韓 (1775-1832) argues the impossibility of returning the lands. YEH Tê-hui 葉德輝 (1864-1927) points out the explanation of the government's support of the young and the aged, which PAN Ku discusses later, as proof of the way the system functioned.

⁴⁰ YEN Shih-ku remarks that every month of the year has a suitable and an advantageous time with respect to damp or dry weather, and then he lists the five kinds of seed grains in his commentary as: (1) *shu* 黍 glutinous *Panicum miliaceum*; (2) *chi* 稷 non-glutinous *Panicum miliaceum*; (3) *ma* 麻 *Cannabis sativa* seeds; (4) *mai* 麥: without qualifying characters, it can denote both wheat and barley; *hsiao-mai* is wheat (*Triticum vulgare*), *ta-mai* is barley (*Hordeum vulgare*); probably wheat was meant; (5) *tou* 豆 (since this is only the generic term, it is not possible to ascertain what species may have been meant). One of the early listings of the grains is in a poem of the *Shih ching* (8.15b³⁻⁴; *Legge* 231). Using the above numbers as a basis of reference, the grains referred to in the poem are: (1), (2), (3), (4). In addition *ho* 禾, a generic name for grains (*Legge*: "other grains"), and *shu* 菽, *Soja max* Piper (*Legge*: "pulse"), are given. It is not unlikely that *Soja max* (the soybean of today) was the specific pulse meant by the *tou* (5) of YEN Shih-ku's list. *Legge* translates (3) as "hemp," (for hemp seeds). Might not the text have meant: "other grains; [such as] . . .?"

This same poem is translated differently by Arthur WALEY (*The Book of Songs* [1937] 166). It is generally agreed that the glutinous millet, *Panicum miliaceum* (1), was used for the making of fermented liquors, while the non-glutinous millet (2) was used for cooking purposes. We note that WALEY translates *ho* here as "paddy." Although the same character in other poems of the *Shih ching* has been so rendered,

apparently other elements of the poem gave a clue to the specific nature of the grain.

In the "Yüeh-ling" chapter of the *Li chi* (17.24b⁸; Legge 27.308, par. 11) it mentions "the five grains." Although there does not seem to be any specific listing of the five grains as such, the "Yüeh-ling" chapters furnish us with the following information about the grains (we again employ the numbers given above for the reference):

First month of spring, the emperor eats *mai* (4) with the flesh of sheep (14.4b⁸; Legge 27.252).

First month of summer, the emperor eats *shu* (?5) with the flesh of chickens (15.11b¹⁰; Legge 27.269).

In the intercalary period, the emperor eats *chi* (2) with the flesh of cattle (16.16b⁸; Legge 281).

First month of autumn, the emperor eats *ma* (3) with the flesh of the grain-fed dog (16.17a⁸; Legge 284).

Last month of autumn, the emperor tastes *tao* (*) (17.20b¹⁶; Legge 295).

First month of winter, the emperor eats *shu* (1) with the flesh of the young pig (17.21a¹⁶; Legge 297).

Tao (*) is the general name for rice (*Oryza sativa* species).

The *Chou li* (33.12b-13b; Biot 2.243, *et seq.*) and also *CHS* (28a.4b-5a), give under the statistics of the Nine *Chou*: (*), (4), (1), (2), but although it mentions that there are five kinds of grains in some of the *chou*, the fifth is not specified. CHENG Hsüan in his commentary on the *Chou li* adds the fifth as 菽, and YEN Shih-ku in detailing the five types in the *CHS*, ch. 28a gives the same ones as CHENG Hsüan. We were unable to discover why YEN Shih-ku believed that the five types of seeds referred to by PAN Ku were the ones he gave, which seem to be nearest the ones listed in the *Shih ching* poem. The implication is that he is omitting the *tao* for some reason. Might it be that he wished to make it clear that rice culture was not part of this early agrarian system described by PAN Ku? We are indebted to Mr. M. J. HAGERTY for his assistance in identifying the above scientific names based upon MATSUMURA'S *Shokubutsu mei-i* (1921 ed.). Cf. also STUART, *Chinese Materia Medica* 404-405, on hemp seeds; BRETSCHNEIDER, *Botanicon Sinicum*, Pt. 2 (nos. 335 to 344 and 354 to 356) on cereals.

We have gone to some length in compiling these actual early textual references to the names of grains, because the usual references are to later commentators. "Nine grains" are mentioned in the *Chou li* (2.8a¹³; Biot 1.26), but in the text itself there is no specific listing of the grains. CHENG Hsüan's commentary on the *Chou li* would be much later than the above texts. There does not seem to be any early specific listing of the five grains. Cf. WALEY, *The Book of Songs* 158-159, where he admits that the problem is discouraging.

The statement in the text regarding the preparation against the disasters of nature, probably means that they discouraged the planting of a single variety (the so-called "one crop"), because failure of that crop would cause a great famine.

⁴¹ WANG Hsien-ch'ien quotes other sources on the same idea and one that points out that trees would offer a lazy husbandman a place to rest!

⁴² YEN Shih-ku says that 力 here means "diligently doing it," and "as if the coming of robbers," means that they pressed forward with the greatest of haste, fearing the harm from the wind and rain. The *Po-na* edition has 獲 for our standard text's 穫. We have rejected the *Po-na* reading.

⁴³ YEN Shih-ku says, "Ju is that which is an edible vegetable. A 畦 is a *ch'ü*, which means a plot of ground." YING Shao says, "The fruit of a tree is called a *kuo*, the fruits of a plant is called a *lo*." CHANG Yen 張晏 (fl. 3rd cent. A. D.—San Kuo, Wei) says, "[Fruit] with a kernel is called *kuo*, without a kernel, *lo*." [Fü] Tsan [傅]瓚 (fl. ca. A. D. 285; cf. *Mh* 5.465) says, "If it is on a tree it is called *kuo*, on the ground, *lo*." YEN Shih-ku gives the T'ang pronunciation for *lo* as *luo*. The number of commentaries on the meaning of *lo* 蔞 seems to attest to the uncertainty. It was strange for PAN Ku to place the *kuo*, "fruit or nuts," with three types of *Cucurbitaceae* growing on the narrow raised ledges of the boundary ridges. He must have meant the *kuo* as part of a binom. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.* (nos. 23 and 385) describes a *kuo-lo* 果羸 that he believes to be the same as *kuo-lou* 栝樓, which he identifies as *Cucurbitaceae*, *Trichosanthes Kirilowii*, Maxim. MATSUMURA, *op. cit.* 365-366, places 果羸 under a number of the *Trichosanthes* species. We do not know an exact equivalence in our ordinary fruit or vegetable terms, so that we have retained the Chinese sounds. Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.* (nos. 382 and 384) for the *kuo* and *hu* of this passage.

⁴⁴ CHANG Yen says, "Upon reaching this point, there is a change 易 of owner, that is the reason they call them 易." YEN Shih-ku says, "In the *Hsin Nan-shan* [poem] of Hsiao Ya section of the *Shih* [ching] it has:

In the midst of the fields are the huts
And along the boundary divisions are melons.

This is the meaning." Cf. *Shih ching* 13.12a²⁴; Legge 375. The 易 in this text is probably the older form without the determinative 土, as given in the *Shih ching* poem quoted.

⁴⁵ This paragraph and much of the preceding is similar to the statement in Mencius (1b.5b⁹⁻¹⁰; Legge 131) where Mencius is probably summarizing the older traditions, also to be found in the *Shih ching* and *Chou li*.

⁴⁶ YEN Shih-ku points out that the *lu* are more scattered, being placed in the separate fields, while the *li* have grouped dwellings. Professor Ferdinand D. LESSING has kindly described to us sections in the modern city of Tientsin called "li," which were groups of dwellings off the main streets, forming separate units in non-through streets. He sees a similarity in the use of the word *vico* in Italian cities. Both terms would point to survivals of the earlier units within the later agglomeration.

PAN Ku is giving here his description of the administrative units based upon the permanent dwellings, which we presume he wishes to bring in contrast with the previously explained divisions of the *ching-t'ien*. See *supra*, and Appendix 4.

When we tried to trace the source of PAN Ku's information, we found a complex account given in the *Chou li*, from which our writer seems to have selected certain elements. Under the jurisdiction of the Ta Ssü-t'u (10.11a⁶⁻⁷; Biot 1.211) was established one system of administrative grouping, while under the jurisdiction of the Sui-jên (15.15b²⁰; Biot 1.337) was established a parallel one. According to the minute schematic arrangement of the *Chou li*, the first was applied to the Inner Zone and the second to the Outer Zone of the imperial lands.

PAN Ku selected the first two divisions from the Outer Zone and the remaining four from the Inner Zone. We are unable to determine why he did this. It is, of course, within range of possibilities that he took his scheme from some other source than the *Chou li*. That there were other systems of dividing the groups of people is known.

The *Kuo-yü* (SPPY, 6.5a⁵ *et seq.*) gives a grouping supposed to have been set up by Kuan-tzū in Ch'í. Cf. MASPERO, *op. cit.* 115, n. 2, where he describes a system that he thinks might have been the one used in the kingdom of Lu.

We have used the term administrative divisions or units, but we might also have said social divisions or units, because the accounts given in the *Chou li* indicate clearly that certain social obligations were expected from each unit. However, it would not be within the meaning or the intent either of the *Chou li* account or of PAN KU's account to term them territorial units. We are aware that our choice of nomenclature for these divisions could, in a certain sense, be interpreted as territorial names. We have used as our criterion, the name that might be given for a collection of individuals of comparable numbers in the rural or small town areas of the United States. We have avoided the use of the word "town," because it has been applied to the walled communities of China more than the non-walled ones that, we believe, are being described here. Had we used the word town, it would have replaced our word "village," and the term "civil township" would have replaced our word "district."

The *Chou li* contains descriptions of other systems of grouping the population for other purposes; for instance, the military grouping (11.13b⁷⁻⁸; *Biot* 1.222), which was also used for tax levies; and the territorial (11.14a²⁰; 14b¹; *Biot* 1.226-227), which was used for division of occupations and also tax levies. See Appendixes 3 and 4.

PAN KU used the words *yeh* and *i* in opposition. We believe that he meant them in the sense that we have translated them. However, these words *yeh* and *i* have very different meanings in the *Chou li*, so that we wish to put ourselves on record as not interpreting them from that point of view. See also further use of the two words *infra*.

⁴⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 20. YEN Shih-ku says that *shih* 視 of our text can be rendered as the simpler homophone 示, meaning "to show, exhibit." The *Po-na* edition has 以 for our standard text's 則. We have retained our text's reading.

⁴⁸ YEN Shih-ku says, "This is a Pin [kingdom] poem, the 'Seventh Month.' *Yeh* is equal to *k'uei* 'to provision.' 'In the days of the fourth' [means] the Chou [dynasty's] fourth month and the Hsia [dynasty's] second month. The farmers without exception (i. e., there was not a single man who did not do so) raised their feet to plough [or? to go to plough]. Then together the wives and children come with the food to the south-lying strips, the place where they were cultivating the fields, to provision them." For the second verse, YEN Shih-ku says, "This is also from the 'Seventh Month.' The *hsi-shuai* is the *ch'üung* 'the cricket.' Now we call it *ts'u-chih* (meaning that its cry says, 'hasten to your weaving'). *Yü* is *yüeh* 'to say.' The meaning is that when the cold weather arrived, the crickets gradually came, then the wives and children all said, 'The year is about to change'; and so they went forth from the fields and entered [their] dwelling places."

This is in *Shih ching* (8.12b¹³⁻¹⁴, 15a^{2, 4}; *Legge* 226, 230). Cf. also WALEY, *The Book of Songs* 164, 166; CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 393, 395 and MASPERO, *La Chine antique* 115-116. All translations differ. The phrase 舉止 (or 舉趾) is difficult. LEGGE writes in his notes that it means "'lifted up their toes,' the meaning is as in the translation"; he translates, "they take their way to the fields." WALEY translates, "out I step." CHEN paraphrases, "we cultivate the fields." MASPERO writes, "nous partons (du village)." We are not satisfied with any of the present translations, and offer in place of them our translation, "we raise our feet in ploughing." See Appendix 4 on the *lei* and *ssü* ploughs. PAN KU is clearly illustrating his previous statement about the spring and winter customs of the population.

The line preceding in the full poem, also variously translated, would seem to refer to the preparation made by the farmers to make ready their ploughs for the coming work in the fields. There is a passage in the "Yüeh-ling" chapter of the *Li chi* (17.24b⁴⁻⁵; Legge 27.308, par. 11) that gives a picture of such preparations. Since the passage of our text refers to the very next month, it would seem reasonable to assume that the agriculturists are then occupied with the ploughing itself.

We shall not discuss the last stanza of the poem, although it is obvious that our translation does not agree with the commentary of YEN Shih-ku. There is no agreement as to its meaning either, but all the translators take the speaker to be the man and not the wife and children as YEN Shih-ku interprets it. It is not pertinent to our subject, so we merely point out that there is need for a better translation.

⁴⁹ We have failed to catch the underlying significance of this short paragraph. Does PAN KU refer to some quotation that we have not located or is he merely summarizing what has been said in the preceding paragraphs? If the latter is true, then *yin* and *yang* would refer to the weather phases.

⁵⁰ MENG K'ang says, "The *li-hsü* was like the present *li-li*, an official of the hamlet." YEN Shih-ku says, "The room at the side of the gate was called a *shu*. Those who sat at the side of the gate admonished and urged them (i. e., the people); by perceiving who were the early and late ones, they guarded against the lazy ones."

⁵¹ YEN Shih-ku says, "The meaning here is that the clerk of the hamlet group and the chief of the neighborhood waited until after all had entered, then they went home." WANG Hsien-ch'ien says that MA Tuan-lin in his *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 quotes the *Shang-shu ta-chuan* 尚書大傳 giving similar information. MASPERO, *La Chine antique* 115, n. 2, says that the original *Shang-shu ta-chuan* was from the 2nd cent. B. C. Since there is a difference in bibliographical information about this title in the Han and Sui histories, we should hesitate to make any statement about whether or not PAN KU's information could have come from this source.

MASPERO, *op. cit.* 116, n. 5, points out that PAN KU seems to believe that the people went out of the hamlet each morning and returned each evening, as they probably did at his time. It is clear from PAN KU's previous and following statements that in the spring and summer the people went to work in the fields and had their dwellings there, while during the autumn and winter they returned to their more permanent dwellings in the urban centers. Although there is a seeming inconsistency in these statements of PAN KU, we can imagine that the urban centers were not too distant from the fields and the summer cottages, that each evening several members of the community might need to return to the hamlet at which time they would be expected to bring back fuel, and that each morning those who had been in the hamlet would return to the fields. Therefore, the duties of the clerk and the chief would be to guard against abuses by any member of the community. Then, in the autumn the general migration would take place. In later historical times, the daily departure and return became commonplace. See Appendix 4.

⁵² This phrase is quoted from the *Li chi* (13.22¹; Legge 27.242, par. 15). YEN Shih-ku points out that the hair of the men was streaked, and that being released from carrying burdens was to honor their age.

⁵³ WANG Hsien-ch'ien quotes YEH Tê-hui, who gives the *Shuo-wên* explanation that a lane is a roadway in a *li* "hamlet"; so that, PAN KU is here speaking of the people in the same hamlet.

⁵⁴ FU Ch'ien 服虔 (fl. 2nd cent.) says, "Half of one month is obtained by half of the nights, making fifteen days [extra]. The total is forty-five days."

⁵⁶ YEN Shih-ku says that it means to save the expense incurred for light and heat.

⁵⁴ YEN Shih-ku says that they were songs in which they complained of their ill treatment.

⁵⁷ Su Lin 蘇林 (*fl.* 196-227) says, "The supernumerary sons are the sons of the concubines. Some say that [those who] have not yet an office nor have served are the supernumerary sons." Our standard text in error has 夫 for 未, in this commentary. The *Po-na* has the correct character. YEN Shih-ku says, "Those who have not yet officiated or served, is correct. The young boys all should receive a profession. Why should there be a discussion of the legal wife and the concubine!" WANG Hsien-ch'ien's citations are to point out that the harvest being in, the time was devoted to education.

⁵⁸ As we understand it, the 甲 would come up for combination with one of the "twelve branches" six times in the chronological cycle of sixty; therefore this term stands for the whole subject of chronology. Cf. *CHS* 21a.9a⁹⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹. The *K'ao-chêng* of the Ch'ien-lung editors at the end of this chapter (p. 1a¹⁰⁻¹¹) has a note from KU Yen-wu 顧炎武 (1613-1681) confirming our interpretation.

⁵⁹ Su Lin says, "The *i-shu* 'strange books' of the five directions were like the present *pi-shu* 'secret archives'; (i. e.), they studied the writings of the foreign kingdoms." [FU] Tsan says, "It is distinguishing the names [of the people] of the five directions, together with writing and the arts." YEN Shih-ku says, "The statement of Tsan is correct." Cf. *Li chi* (12.15b⁸⁻¹³; Legge 27.229, par. 14) where it gives such geographical descriptions. In the *K'ao-chêng* (*loc. cit.*) KU Yen-wu says that, in his opinion, FU Tsan has not been complete in his explanations. KU then details the *wu-fang* as being "the names of the Nine Provinces, the peaks and water courses, and the various kingdoms (i. e., the geography of China)." He says *shu* are "the six types of characters"; *chi*, "the nine types of mathematics." Since the students are between eight and fifteen, we have selected the translations which would seem appropriate for their studies.

⁶⁰ The *Po-na* edition gives the homophone 庭 in place of the character in our text. We have retained the standard text's reading; it is more precise. WANG Hsien-ch'ien's citations stress the point that the great principles of *li* were taught the people, so as to civilize them and make them better than animals.

⁶¹ Cf. *Li chi* (13.16b²⁻⁴; Legge 27.232, par. 3), from which PAN KU probably obtained his information. We might point out that six paragraphs earlier we were told that the *hsü* were in the hamlets, yet here we are informed that the exceptional ones "were sent to the county where they studied in the *hsiang* and *hsü*"!

K-i ShC has only the *hsiang* type of institution. We believe on the basis of internal statements of this *chüan*, that the omission of the *hsü* in the two sentences where we have placed a (*sic*), would improve the logic of the information. However, since all other editions have the double characters, we translate with our indicated reservations.

⁶² Apparently PAN KU is taking his information from the *Li chi* (62.16b⁸⁻¹⁰; Legge 28.448-449, par. 5). This is a very interesting reference to what must have been a much older feudal custom. To PAN KU the character 士 meant "a scholar who entered the government services," but it must have meant "a knight" in the earlier *Li chi* texts. The chapter is on archery, a military skill that later became the gentleman's game. LEGGE, who has followed the later commentators, avoids the real implication of the words, and says, "the feudal princes annually presented the officers who had charge of their tribute to the son of Heaven." However, if the full import of the words is used, one obtains:

"Therefore, anciently, according to the regulations of the emperor, the vassal lords annually presented the tributed knights to the emperor. The emperor tested them in the Archery Hall."

The passage in PAN Ku's summary gives us a glimpse at the halfway mark in the progression of the term *kung-shih* from that of a tributed knight to the candidate who presented himself for the examination for the degree of *chin-shih* in the later government examinations. The commentators to the *Li chi* went to considerable trouble to try to interpret the words other than given above, but PAN Ku seems to have so understood the whole subject.

⁶³ YEN Shih-ku says, "He tested them by means of archery." This further confirms our point made in note 62, *supra*.

⁶⁴ A similar account of this earlier educational system is given in the *Li chi* (13. 17b¹⁵⁻¹⁷; Legge 27. 230-235). LEGGE in a note (*ibid.* 234, par. 7, n. 2) says, "It is strange to find the Minister of War performing the services here mentioned, and only these." However, in the light of what has been said previously, such an examiner would be consistent with the tradition.

⁶⁵ YEN Shih-ku says that the meaning is that each one was hastening to farm his strips.

K-i ShC, *Po-na*, and other texts in place of 春秋之月 have 孟春之月. The *Shu ching* (7.11b⁶; Legge 164) specifically states that it was the first month of spring when the proclamations were made, but the *Chou li* (3.17a¹⁹; Biot 1.67) gives both spring and autumn. In another passage of the *Chou li* (3.14b¹²; Biot 1.56-57) the announcements are made only at the first of the year. These proclamations, although made by the same courier, have nothing to do with the folk songs, it is true. However, the similar reference in the *Li chi* (11.8a¹¹; Legge 27.216, par. 14) is for the second month of spring. We believe that the *K-i ShC* version and the other editions are better, since the text says that the people have been confined and are about to scatter. This would be in the spring. YEN Shih-ku apparently so understood it, as his commentary shows. We have changed the reading in our text.

⁶⁶ YEN Shih-ku says, "The *hsing-jên* was the *chiu-jên*, an officer in charge of the dispatches and orders of the ruler. The *to* is a large bell. When the tongue of the bell is made of wood, it is called a *mu-to*. *Hsün 徇* is 巡 'to patrol, go on circuit.' *Ts'ai-shih* is to gather and select the songs in which they complained of ill treatment." Cf. *Chou li* (3.17a¹⁹; Biot 1.67). There are similar references in the *Li chi* and the *Shu ching*. A commentary of the *Chou li* says that the wooden-tongued bell was used for civil affairs, the metal-tongued bell for military affairs. Cf. also *Lun-yü* (3.8b¹⁶; Legge 164).

⁶⁷ YEN Shih-ku says, "the *ta-shih* was the official who had charge of the tones and pitches. He taught the six types of songs (i. e., the *Fu*, *Hsing*, *Pi*, *Fêng*, *Ya*, and *Sung*, such as are to be found in the present *Shih ching*) by means of the six pitches (i. e., the bamboo tubes with the six *yang* and the six *yin* divisions). As to the tones, 比 means to put them in order." The description of the function of this officer is in the *Chou li* (23.3a¹⁹; Biot 2.49-50), and the *Li chi* (11.8a¹¹; Legge 27.216) makes mention of a similar activity.

⁶⁸ Cf. similar saying in *Tao-tê ching* (SPPY, ch. B, sec. 47, p. 7a⁹; WALBY, *The Way and its Power* 200).

⁶⁹ PAN Ku summarizes his theme introduced at the end of the second paragraph. Cf. similar statement by Confucius in the *Lun-yü* (13.18a^{20-18b¹}; Legge 266-267).

⁷⁰ Quotation from the *Lun-yü* (1.1b^{a-2}; Legge 140, par. 15). YEN Shih-ku comments that in undertaking tasks one must be circumspect, in giving commands one must inspire confidence; one should not cause dissipation or lavishness, and one should cherish and nourish the people without robbing them of their time for agriculture.

⁷¹ This poem is from the *Shih ching* (14.17a³; Legge 381); WALEY, *The Book of Songs* 171. It is quoted in *Mencius* (5a.8a²⁰; Legge 242). The version given in our text differs from the *Shih-san ching*, but apparently is similar to the text used by WALEY for his translation. We have followed WALEY in the first two lines, but not in the last two. We have accepted the homophone of 雨 as given in the other version, because the statement of PAN KU to the effect that they placed the common weal before their private interests, would have little point in a mere description of "raining on our lord's fields, and then on our private plots," as WALEY gives for the last two lines. Our translation varies only this one character. YEN Shih-ku reinterprets this version according to the other one. WANG Hsien-ch'ien gives extensive citations as to the versions used.

⁷² Cf. *Li chi* (12.11a²; Legge 27.222, par. 28).

⁷³ Cf. *SC* (ch. 129, ante, n. 89), where this quotation from *Kuan-tzu* is also quoted.

⁷⁴ YEN Shih-ku glosses *chi* with *kung*. This is part of a quotation from the *Shu ching* (3.18b²⁰; Legge 50): YEN Shih-ku further says, "It means that those who ruled and governed the people every three years made one inspection of their merits."

⁷⁵ Quotation from the *Lun-yü* (13.18b³; Legge 267). YEN Shih-ku says that *yung* means "cause to act as the administrator." The term *chi-yüeh* 期月 or 朞月 can be construed as a month or a period of one year. LEGGE has specific notes to the effect that it must be a year. We have changed LEGGE's translation only in the last sentence.

⁷⁶ This is the other half of the quotation, discussed *supra*, n. 74. It seems to be a rather disorderly arrangement, which leads us to wonder whether or not the original text of PAN KU had not been changed.

⁷⁷ We do not follow the precise meaning intended by PAN KU for these sentences. *Chin* according to CH'ENG Hsüan was an advance of the productive occupations of the numerous artisans. Others say that *téng* was the advancing of all the affairs and occupations of the agriculturists and artisans. If it merely means that good harvests and large stocks would of themselves indicate peace, we would agree. There is a sentence in *Mencius* (53.10a¹⁶; Legge 250, par. 7) in which the use of *téng* might be comparable: "The various kinds of grain could not be grown (*téng*)."

⁷⁸ Having achieved peace and prosperity, it was possible for the "latent powers" of the good ruler to transform and civilize the people. WANG Hsien-ch'ien points out that there are three versions of this sentence: the phrase used in our standard text is *wang-té*, the *Po-na* has 至德 and his text has 以德. He concludes that *chih-té* is right. Although it is an act of temerity, we wish to conserve the version of our text, thereby disagreeing with the learned Mr. WANG. We believe that PAN KU made this reference to the *wang's té*, and then logically continued the thought by quoting Confucius.

⁷⁹ Quotation from the *Lun-yü* (13.18b^{a-7}; Legge 267). We have translated the word *jén* "true humanism" in place of LEGGE's term "virtue."

⁸⁰ This carries further PAN KU's summary. Cf. *supra*, n. 69. YEN Shih-ku glosses *yu* with *yung* "to use," or *ts'ung* "to follow."

⁸¹ Quotation from *Mencius* (5a.8b⁷⁻⁸; Legge 244).

⁸² See Appendix 3. *Ch'un-ch'iu* in the *Tso chuan* (24.18b¹⁰; Legge 327): in the *Kung-yang chuan* 16.9b¹²; and in the *Ku-liang chuan* 12.8a⁷.

⁸³ PAN Ku probably had in mind a quotation from the *Lun-yü* (20.17b¹⁵⁻¹⁶; Legge 352). He was therefore pointing out that the ruler of the times has failed to meet Confucius' definition of good government.

⁸⁴ This paragraph follows the statement in the *SC*, *ch.* 30, *ante*.

⁸⁵ We omit the text from p. 3a⁶ to 3b⁷ containing PAN Ku's account of LI K'o's theories. They are summarized in the following note.

⁸⁶ LI K'o has been mentioned by Ssu-MA Ch'ien (cf. *SC*, *ch.* 30, *ante*, esp. n. 36), but no details of his theories were given. DUUVENDAK (*Lord Shang* 71-72) believes since the supposed author, LI K'o or LI K'uei, is said to be a minister in the state of Wei, that "the book, which stands to his name, but which is probably not his own, was composed in his home country," nearer the time of Hui Wang or Hui-ch'eng Wang (370-319) who had surrounded himself with philosophers. We would agree with DUUVENDAK, because of the nature of some of the theories described in this account of PAN Ku's. Let us summarize them briefly. LI K'o is made to say that the arable lands (presumably of the kingdom of Wei), amounting to one-third of the total area, could be intensively cultivated and made to yield an additional three pecks for each strip. The aggregate yield from the strips in the kingdom of Wei was a significant factor in making the country strong. (Cf. CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 391; DUUVENDAK, *Lord Shang* 51.) His other point was that both the farmer and the consumer suffered from the wide fluctuation of grain prices, so that stabilizing of grain prices was imperative. He proposed that the government should "buy up" all but one hundred *shih* (CHEN translates "bushel"; a weight of about 65 pounds avdp. in Han times [DUBS' figures], about 60 pounds avdp. in Ch'in times [DUUVENDAK's calculations]) of the surplus in good years from the average allotment of a family of five; i. e., 100 strips. This surplus should be stored and in famine years it should be "sold," so as to adjust grain prices. (Cf. CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 569-570; DUUVENDAK, *Lord Shang* 51-53.) Thus it would seem that, in part at least, PAN Ku ascribes to LI K'o of the 5th cent. B. C. (DUUVENDAK's corrected dating, would be 4th cent.) a system similar to that of the *P'ing-chun* "Bureau of Price Stabilization" set up in the 2nd cent. B. C. LI K'o gives a graphic account of the income and expenditures of the average family of his time, showing the impossibility of balancing the family budget. (Cf. CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 268; DUUVENDAK, *Lord Shang* 43.) There are excellent statistics given which would be valuable if a control could be established. An interesting fact is that LI K'o (or PAN Ku's account?) equates the grain to a coin standard. The traditional account, which is probably assigned too early, is that coins were first cast in 524 B. C.; therefore, we would think it more reasonable to find a coinage standard applied toward the end of the 4th instead of the end of the 5th or even the beginning of the 4th cent.

⁸⁷ The period and the personalities involved in this passage have received considerable attention from Western Sinologists, so that we shall merely refer to their works. Cf. DUUVENDAK, *Lord Shang* (the most detailed study); GALE, *DSI* 40-49; BODDE, *China's First Unifier* 170.

Duke Hsiao's adviser or minister, The Lord of Shang, also called Shang Yang 商鞅, was known as KUNG-SUN Yang 公孫鞅 or Wei Yang 衛鞅. He guided the affairs of Ch'in from 356-338 B. C. DUUVENDAK gives us a concise summary of his measures (*Lord Shang* 39-40). YEN Shih-ku's only comment on this important passage is an attempt to explain the term *ch'ien-mo*. See Appendix 4.

⁸⁸ Is this an *apologia*? Cf. also GALE, *DSI* 41, par. b.

⁸⁹ The term *wang-chih*, as the title for *chüan* 11-13 of the present *Li chi* is translated by LÉGGE as "The Royal Regulations" (pp. 209-248). It is interesting that PAN KU believes that the period of Ch'in's rise was the time of the destruction of the *wang-chih*.

⁹⁰ Cf. *SC*, ch. 30, *ante*, nn. 39 and 40.

⁹¹ Cf. similar statements in *SC*, ch. 30 and 6. Cf. *SC*, ch. 30, *ante*, n. 41.

⁹² Cf. *SC*, ch. 30, *ante*, n. 47; here the phrases are reversed, and *tso* is used in place of *yeh*.

⁹³ YEN Shih-ku interprets the phrase *t'ai-pan* as two-thirds.

⁹⁴ YING Shao (*ca.* 140-206) says, "In Ch'in times they used for their name the name of the levies of the condemned, [and called them] 'frontier guards of the condemned.' First they levied the officials who had exceeded [the proper conduct] together with the adopted sons among the traders (?). Afterwards they used for the levies those who had possessed market registers (i. e., were engaged in commerce), and they used as frontier guards those whose grandparents or parents had possessed market registers. When all these were exhausted, they again entered the hamlet and taking [those] on their left, they levied them. They had not yet started taking [those] on the right, when the Ch'in [dynasty] perished." YEN Shih-ku says, "The *lü* was the gate of the hamlet. It means that of those who dwelt at the left of the hamlet gate, they entirely levied them. [In] this explanation of the [term] *lü-tso*, YING [Shao] has done it the best. The idea of all schools [is that it was] troublesome, bad, perverse, and wrong, because there was no [proper] means in the taking [of the men]."

There is a more detailed account of these levies during the Ch'in times in a statement of CH'AO Ts'o contained in his biography (*CHS* 49.5b⁷⁻¹⁰). The term "market registers" is found both in the *SC*, ch. 30 and the *CHS*, ch. 24b. Cf. also BODDE, *China's First Unifier* 172, on Ch'in.

⁹⁵ This is taken almost verbatim from *SC*, ch. 30. Cf. *ibid.*, *ante*, nn. 48 and 49. YEN Shih-ku glosses *shang* with *hsiang*, "supplies for an army," and *tan* with *shan*, which he says is equal to *chi*, "give, supply." Cf. also BODDE, *ibid.*

⁹⁶ YEN Shih-ku, using a phrase from the *Tso chuan*, explains that "when an inferior escapes from his superior, it is called *hui*: desertion."

⁹⁷ This is the usual opening phrase to describe the beginning of the Han dynasty. Cf. *SC* 30.1a⁷.

⁹⁸ PAN KU is now drawing directly upon the material from the Han dynastic annals. Cf. DUBS, *Former Han* 39. The years 209-205 B. C. are being described. The details can be found in both CHAVANNES, *Mh* or DUBS, *Former Han*, chapters on the Annals; therefore, we break off the text at this point.

Ch'ien-Han shu, chüan 24b

⁹⁹ A *tsan* is a concise comment, usually placed at the end of a narrative or biography in which the personal opinion or reaction of the historian is stated.

¹⁰⁰ This is a quotation from the *I ching* (1.17a²⁰; Legge 286). We have translated differently from LÉGGE to bring out the real import of PAN KU's meaning, in our text. YEN Shih-ku's comment has just such a point of view: "*you* is *ch'ü* meaning 'to take.' It means taking from those who have too much, to augment [the stock] of those who have too little, with the result that the myriad things are all balanced and distributed with equality."

¹⁰¹ *Shu ching* (5.25b⁷; Legge 78). This quotation has been given previously by PAN Ku. Cf. *supra*, n. 14.

¹⁰² Description of this office is in the *Chou li* (15.13b¹⁹⁻²⁰, 14a¹⁻¹⁵; Biot 1.326). Cf. also CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 554, 587-588. According to the *Chou li* account, this bureau was in charge of the collections from the market tax. In part, those in the bureau "bought" up the surplus on the market, labeled the articles with the current price, for later sale. Credit was given the people, especially in cases where sacrificial or funeral ceremonies made it necessary. We have given this office the title "market treasury" to bring out its relationship with the marketing of goods. YEN Shih-ku's comments are merely part of the *Chou li* text, with a few unimportant variants. We presume that PAN Ku's mention here is more for the function of buying up the surplus and holding it for later sale.

¹⁰³ *Mencius* (1.2b¹²⁻¹⁴; Legge 132). Cf. also CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 571, where a clear understanding of the original commentaries has been brought out. The commentaries appended to this text are merely paraphrasing the earlier comments, which are in themselves clearer. The meaning, we believe, is clearly as we have translated. LEGGE's text in place of *lien* has *chien* which he takes as equal to *ch'ih*, "to regulate." This probably caused his confusion, because he says in his note: "*pu-chih chien* is not easy." In the *K'ao-chêng* of the Ch'ien-lung editors at the end of this chapter (p. 2b¹⁻²) WANG Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223-1296) points out that the *lien* in the present text of *Mencius* is incorrect, and that the *chien* as given in the *CHS* is correct. However, he desires to equate *chien* with *ti* 糶 and then read this meaning into a passage in the *Chou li* (16.24b¹⁹⁻¹⁵; Biot 1.392-393): 以年之上下出斂法. He would interpret the 出 as *t'iao* 糶, and so obtain what he terms the oldest form of the *ch'ang-p'ing*. He takes issue with the interpretation of the *Chou li* passage as given by CHENG Hsüan and says that CHENG is responsible for later writers' failing to understand and giving the credit to KENG Shou-ch'ang. We believe that WANG Ying-lin has distorted the original *Chou li* passage. The rest of the passage does not support his interpretation.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 2. Fu Ch'ien says, "In the book of *Kuan-tzu* it is written *ch'ing-chung huo*." Cf. also *SC*, *ante*, ch. 30, n. 33.

¹⁰⁵ All this is discussed in detail *supra*, n. 86.

¹⁰⁶ Discussed *ante*, *SC*, ch. 30, note ***. SANG Hung-yang 桑弘羊 is "The Lord Grand Secretary" of the *Yen-t'ieh lun*. GALE, *DSI* 106 and n. 1, gives a brief biographical sketch.

¹⁰⁷ The details of this system are to be found in *CHS* 24a.7b¹⁵. KENG Shou-ch'ang 耿壽昌, in the reign of Emperor Hsüan (73-48) was a chief assistant in the *Ta-nung*. He memorialized the emperor on the subject of the price of grain, which was so low as to be injurious to the agriculturists. He proposed that the government build granaries in which to store the grains when the prices were low, and from which stocks could be issued to break the high prices. The name given was: *ch'ang-p'ing ts'ang* 常平倉 "constantly level granary" or "constantly normal granary." We have deliberately used the term now used by the Department of Agriculture of the United States of America for a similar institution. Cf. CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 571-572.

¹⁰⁸ YEN Shih-ku says that it means "that which has come down to the present from long ago."

¹⁰⁹ YEN Shih-ku gives the gloss *ssü-nien* "to consider" for *ku*. We are not satisfied with our rendering, but it would seem to be PAN Ku's general meaning.

¹¹⁰ We must imply at the end of this paragraph some such phrase as, "This was the best way."

¹¹¹ A similar statement is made in the body of the chapter (24a.8a⁷), which in turn is taken almost verbatim from the *SC* (30.8a⁴; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 599). Emperor Wu of Han, as he is usually designated in the historical texts, reigned from 140 to 86 B. C.

¹¹² This short sentence is balanced by the following *wang tz'ü i* and contrasts with implied phrase of above. PAN Ku apparently is assigning relative merits to these periods.

¹¹³ The so-called usurper of the Han power, whose brief Hsin dynasty (A. D. 9-23) separates the Former or Western Han with its capital at Ch'ang-an from the Later or Eastern Han with its capital at Lo-yang.

¹¹⁴ We have taken the synonyms and homophones of the *chien* and *kuei* of our text, 奸 and 究, as the meaning of the phrase. YEN Shih-ku gives a somewhat similar gloss for these characters in *CHS* 9.4a⁴.

4. *Ch'ien-Han shu, chüan* 91—Introduction: Narrative on the Increment of Goods *

In ancient times, the regulations of the former *wang* [extended] from the emperor, dukes, marquises, ministers, grandees, and scholars, and reached to those who were stablemen or servitors, guardians of the gates, or beaters of the watchman's stick.¹ Their ranks and salaries, offerings and support, palaces and chambers, carriages and clothing, inner and outer coffins, offering of sacrifices and worshipping with sacrifices—these regulations pertaining to the dead and the living—each had its order and its rank;² [so that] the small could not usurp [the prerogatives] of the great, and the base [plebeians] could not transgress [the prerogatives] of the noble [patricians]. So it was thus, that upper and lower followed in their [proper] order, and the ambitions of the people were fixed.³

Then, [the former *wang*] distinguished the suitability of the soils and lands, the rivers and marshes, the hillocks and mounds, the level and irrigated lands, and the broad plains and humid lowlands;⁴ and they taught the people the cumulative wealth [to be obtained] from planting and seeding the five grains, from rearing and nourishing the six domestic animals, and even from fish and sea-turtles, from birds and animals, from reeds and rushes, from timber and logs, from utensils and implements.⁵ Accordingly, there was not one of the articles for nourishing the living and

attending to the dead ⁶ that was not entirely fostered. In fostering them, they considered the [proper] season, and in using them, there was moderation. [Thus it was that] the axes were not brought into the mountains and forests when the plants and trees had not yet dropped [their leaves]; ⁷ the nets were not spread out in the heaths and marshes when the wolves and otters had not yet sacrificed [their prey]; ⁸ the arrows were not let fly in the footpaths and turns when the goshawks and falcons had not yet struck [their kill].⁹ When they had accorded with the [proper] season in taking the things in this manner, "on the mountains, they did not obliquely cut off the tops of the trees, and in the marshes, they did not cut down the young plants and trees."¹⁰ All the young insects and fish, the fawns and eggs were always prohibited.¹¹ Accordingly, by obeying the expanding forces of nature in the [proper] season, they caused all things to be abundant and flourishing.¹² The effects of [the former *wang*] storing a sufficiency were as complete as this.

Afterwards, the four [classes of] people, according to the suitability of the soils, all employed their knowledge and strength, arising at dawn and resting at darkness in order to carry on their productive occupations; they shared with one another, intercommunicated their labor, interchanged their services, intermingled their profits, so that all had enough.¹³ It is not true that there was "any [evidence of] despatching or summoning, [setting] dates or meetings,"¹⁴ yet the far and the near all had a sufficiency.

Thus [the symbolism of] the *I* [*ching*] says, "The [sage] sovereign using [the *t'ai* hexagram] fashions and completes, aids and administers the harmonies of heaven and earth, in order to assist his people";¹⁵ and [the Great Appendix says], "In preparing things for their utmost utility, in inventing and completing the concrete objects for the benefit of our world, nothing was greater than the sages."¹⁶ This is what is meant [by the foregoing].

Kuan-tzū said, "The four [classes] of people of ancient times, could not mingle their locales; with one another, the scholars spoke about benevolence (*jên*) and justice (*i*) in [places of] leisure and quiet; with one another, the artisans discussed talents and skills in the offices and storehouses; with one another, the

merchants conversed about valuables and profit at the markets and the wells; with one another, the agriculturists planned the sowing and harvesting in the cultivated fields and heaths. [From] dawn [to] evening, following their [own] affairs, they did not see strange things to cause them to change about. Thus, the teachings of the fathers and elder brothers were not severe, yet they were effective; the education of the sons and younger brothers was not laborious, yet it was competent."¹⁷ "Each was content with his domicile, and enjoyed his occupation; found sweet his food and found beautiful his clothing."¹⁸ Although they saw the rare and beautiful, the intricate and ornamental [things],¹⁹ they were not those to which they were accustomed or [which they] comprehended; just as the Jung and Ti (northern barbarians) and the Yü-Yüeh (southern barbarians) do not mingle with one another.²⁰ Thus, their desires were few and their needs were moderate; their valuables were sufficient and they did not wrangle. Therefore, among the people, the ruling ones guided them by means of moral force (*tê*) and made them orderly by means of social discipline (*li*).²¹ Thus, the people had a [sense of] shame and also respect; they valued justice (*i*) and despised personal gains.²²

This is the general outline of how the Three [Ancient] Dynasties administered by honestly guiding [the people], [and] governed well by not being relentless.²³

When the House of Chou weakened,²⁴ and the principles of social order (*li*) and the laws (*fa*) were allowed to topple,²⁵ [Duke Chuang of Lu, one of] the vassal lords "carved the rafters" and "painted red the pillars" [in the temple of his father],²⁶ and a grandee "had mountains [carved on] the capitals and duckweed [designs painted on] the beam-supports" [of a house];²⁷ [the head of the Chi family of Lu] "had eight rows of pantomimes in his audience hall," and "had the Yung [ode sung] during the removal of the sacrificial food in his hall."²⁸

These [corrupt] usages reached the governing scholars and the common people, [so that] there was none who did not depart from the [proper] regulations or abandon the fundamental [occupations]. Among the people, those who sowed and harvested were few; those who were merchants and travelers were many. Of grains, there was an insufficiency, while of goods there was a surplus. This

deterioration comes down to the period after [the leaders, Duke] Huan [of Ch'i and Duke] Wên [of Chin],²⁹ when the principles of social order (*li*) and a standard of what is right (*i*) were in large part corrupted, and the upper and lower were confused with each other;³⁰ kingdoms had bizarre governments, and families had extraordinary customs; covetousness and desires were not controlled; usurpations and irregularities were boundless. Thus, the merchants transported the commodities that were difficult to obtain; the artisans manufactured the articles that were without utility; the scholars devised [systems of] action that were contrary to the *Tao*: [each class acted as it did] to pursue the seasonal pleasures and to grab the accumulated wealth of generations.³¹ The hypocritical people turned their backs on the substantial in order to claim fame; the villainous fellows risked [bodily] injury in order to seek personal gain. Those who seized kingdoms by usurping or murdering a superior became *wang* and dukes; those who established [powerful] families by holding up and robbing [others] became braves and heroes.³² The principles of social order and a standard of what is right were insufficient to restrain the gentlemen; penalties and capital punishment were insufficient to awe the common people.³³ As to the rich, their woodwork and earthwork were covered with designs or tapestry;³⁴ and their dogs and horses [had] in abundance meat and grain. On the other hand, as to the poor, their coarse hempen, servant-like garments were not [even] whole; they stuffed their mouths with soybeans, and drank water.³⁵ These were the common people of the population lists—[all] of the same rank, yet [there were those who] by the power of their wealth were looked upon as lords;³⁶ and [there were those who] although they were menials or slaves, yet had countenances manifesting no irritation.³⁷ Thus it was that those who dissimulated their changes and deceptions or were villains and traitors made a sufficiency for themselves within the space of one generation; [while] those who guarded the *Tao*, and accorded with principles, were not free from the distress of hunger and cold.³⁸

These doctrines flourished from above because the laws and regulations were lacking in the needed restraints.³⁹ Therefore, I [PAN KU] have enumerated these actions, in order to transmit to posterity the passing from one state into another.⁴⁰

NOTES

4. *Ch'ien-Han shu, chüan 91*

* The title is taken directly from SSÜ-MA Ch'ien's title for the *SC*, *Ch.* 129; cf. *ante*.

¹ YEN Shih-ku (581-645) says that the *tsao* were those who took care of the horses, the *li* were the servitors who were attached to others. (The modern binom *tsao-li* means "police runners," "lictors.") He further says that the term *pao-kuan* is equivalent to *shou-men* "to guard the gates," and that *chi-t'o* is guarding during the night by striking a wooden (object) in order to warn the people. Cf. *Mencius* (10b.16b⁶; *Legge* 383 and 10b.17a²; *Legge* 385). Also the *Li chi* (49.4b¹⁰⁻¹²; *Legge* 28.249, par. 23) where it explains that the guardians of the gate were one of the lowest classes. These persons are not to be confused with the elders of the communities who sat in the vestibules beside the gates. Cf. *CHS*, *ch.* 24a, n. 50, *ante*.

² PAN Ku is listing here a synthesis of the numerous passages mentioning sumptuary regulations in the classical texts.

³ Maintenance of the hierarchy of society. Cf. similar statement in the *I ching* (2.13b¹⁹⁻²⁰; *Legge* 280).

⁴ YEN Shih-ku explains that *yen* are level lands; *wo* are irrigated lands; broad and level land is called *yiiän*; low and moist land is called *hsi*. Cf. similar classification of land in *Li chi* (14.6a¹²⁻¹³; *Legge* 255, par. 15).

⁵ YEN Shih-ku gives the following glosses: *shu* by *chih*, meaning here "to plant"; *huan* by *ti* (of his time) meaning "reeds"; *hsieh* is a general term for *ch'i* (i.e., both instruments and implements). The *Po-na* edition has *chung-shu* in place of our standard text's *shu-chung*. We have retained the standard text's reading. For the "five grains," cf. *ante*, *CHS*, *ch.* 24a, n. 40. In our note (*ante*) is quoted a passage from the "Yüeh-ling" chapter of the *Li chi*, giving both the grains and the meats eaten by the emperor at the various seasons of the year. We obtain from it the five types of domestic animals, and from other frequent references we can supply the sixth, horses.

⁶ Cf. *SC*, *ch.* 129, n. 52, *ante*, for similar statement.

⁷ These laws of conservation are stated in two chapters of the *Li chi*: "Wang-chih" (12.10a¹⁹; *Legge* 27.221, par. 25) and "Yüeh-ling" (14.6b⁹; *Legge* 27.256, par. 18). The *Po-na* edition has *ch'é* "sprouting plants" for our standard text's *ts'ao*. We have retained the *ts'ao*.

⁸ From *Li chi*: "Wang-chih" (12.10a¹⁸⁻¹⁹; *Legge* 27.221, par. 25) and "Yüeh-ling" (17.19a¹⁷; *Legge* 27.292, par. 4; and 14.4a¹⁶; *Legge* 27.251, par. 8 and n. 2). The early Chinese, finding uneaten portions of their prey, thought that these animals left them as their sacrifices.

⁹ Similar mention is made in the *Li chi*: "Wang-chih" (12.10a¹⁹; *Legge* 27.221, par. 25) and "Yüeh-ling" (16.17a⁸; *Legge* 27.283-4, par. 8).

¹⁰ A quotation from the *Kuo-yü* (chapter on the kingdom of Lu, *SPPY*, 4.9b¹²). The meaning from the combined explanations of the commentaries is as we have translated. A 蘄 is a living trunk of a tree from which all branches and the top have been cut off, and from which new branches sprout. *Fao* 夭 are the immature plants and trees.

¹¹ These prohibitions for conservation of the animal life are stated in the *Li chi*: "Wang-chih" (12.10a¹⁹⁻²⁰, 10b¹; *Legge* 27.221, par. 25) and "Yüeh-ling" (14.6b⁹;

Legge 27.256, par. 19), and also in the *Kuo-yü* ("Lu-kuo" chapter, *SPPY*, 4.9b¹²⁻¹², 10a¹).

¹² This sentence follows the language of the *Kuo-yü* (*ibid.* 9b^{4, 11}, 10a²). WEN Chao (ca. A. D. 275) in his commentary explains that *hsüan-ch'i* is at the time when the *yang-ch'i* is rising, which would be the first month of spring. YEN Shih-ku's glosses are as we used them in our translation.

¹³ YEN Shih-ku says, "It means that they exchanged what they had for what they had not, so that they did not exhaust the coffers." *Mencius* (6a.14b¹¹; Legge 269) has the phrase 通功易事.

¹⁴ This is repeated from Ssü-MA Ch'ien's words. Cf. *SC*, ch. 129, n. 55, *ante*.

¹⁵ This is a partial quotation from the symbolism of the eleventh hexagram of the *I ching* (2.14b³⁻⁴; Legge 281, par. xi, Legge's Appendix II). YEN Shih-ku interprets *hou* as *chien* "ruler," and says that *tso-yu* should be written 佐佑 and means *chu* "to assist." He says, "The meaning is that, as for the *Wang*, [his] material wealth was used to complete and instruct, [so that] he aided the transformation of Heaven and Earth, and he nurtured [these transformations] in order to succor his multitudes."

It is clear from the foregoing that YEN Shih-ku understood *ts'ai* as *tsu-ts'ai* "material wealth." However, an examination of the original and commentary in the *I ching* discloses that the *ts'ai* is joined with *chien* 翦 "to cut to shape" in K'UNG Ying-ta's (574-648) commentary, and that he was but making more specific the verbal nature of the word as so rendered by the earlier commentaries. Moreover, in the *Chou I chu-shu chiao-k'an chi* of JUAN Yüan (1764-1849) (appended to our standard classical text [p. 5a⁶]) it states that LU Tê-ming's 陸德明 (556-627) (*Chou i*) *Shih-wên* 釋文 has the homophone 裁 meaning "to pattern" for our *ts'ai*. Apparently, YEN Shih-ku was mistaken, because the previous paragraphs of PAN Ku's discourse have been on the theme of conforming to the laws of nature, so that the normal meaning of the symbolism of the *I ching* must have been the one in the thoughts of PAN KU. We have, therefore, used substantially LEGGE'S translation. WANG Hsien-ch'ien (1842-1917) quotes a commentary confirming our point; also Richard WILHELM in his *I Ging* (1924) accepts this interpretation.

¹⁶ This is a quotation from the Great Appendix of the *I ching* (7.8a¹⁰; Legge 373, par. 72). The quotation is but a fraction of the whole philosophical concept that our author probably wished to call to mind. PAN Ku is pointing out that the natural course of nature or heaven and earth is there; the duty of the ruler, who models himself after the sages of the past, is merely to discover and to understand that natural course and to make his preparation according to it.

¹⁷ The statement as it is found in the present *Kuo-yü* (*SPPY*, 6.2b^{12-4a²}) is sufficiently similar to permit of our enclosing this passage in quotation marks. Either this is PAN Ku's paraphrase of the *Kuo-yü* or possibly a direct quotation from the original *Kuan-tzü*, now lost. We were unable to find it in the present version of *Kuan-tzü*. Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 21. YEN Shih-ku points out that the statement is from the writings of KUAN Chung. He then discusses the term *shih-ching* saying that, "the *shih* 'market' is a place of exchange; the *ching* 'well' is a locale of collectively drawing water. Those who say *yin ching erh wei shih* have the wrong idea." Apparently YEN Shih-ku is referring to the statement found in Ho Hsiu's (129-182) commentary to the *Kung-yang chuan* (cf. Appendix 4), but there the full expression is *yin ching-t'ien i-wei shih*. The *t'ien* is an important part of the expression. We would add, however, that it is interesting that a text as old as the *Kuo-yü* has the

ching associated with the merchant rather than the agriculturist. For the phrase "they followed their [own] affairs . . ." YEN Shih-ku says, "The meaning is that if it were not their own occupation, they did not look; therefore, they were able to make themselves expert in their own business and they did not move about."

¹⁸ This is a quotation either taken directly from Ssü-ma Ch'ien's chapter (*SC*, *ch.* 129, n. 2, *ante*) or from one of the numerous versions from which he took it.

¹⁹ These sensuous appeals are spoken of in connection with Tzū-hsia 子夏. Cf. *SC* 23.1b⁹; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.208.

²⁰ MENG K'ang (prob. ca. 180-260) offers the explanation that *Yü-Yüeh* is the name of the *Yüeh* barbarians of the southern regions. YEN Shih-ku says that 辟 is here the homophone 譬 "comprehending," and that placing the *Yü* before the *Yüeh* is merely a means of indicating the initial sound, just as *chü* (or? *Kou*) is placed before *Wu* for its initial sound. WANG Hsien-ch'ien says that the *yüeh* probably should be *kan*, and that it might be another word for the *yüeh* country. His evidence does not destroy the statement of YEN Shih-ku that the function of doubling the words was for indication of the initial.

²¹ See *ante*, *SC*, *ch.* 129, n. 17 for a similar statement.

²² These two statements reflect previous quotations. See *ante*, *SC*, *ch.* 129, n. 89; *SC*, *ch.* 30, n. 38.

²³ YEN Shih-ku says, "*chih-tao erh hsing* means that they lead the lower classes by means of *té* and *li*, and did not pretend or deceive."

²⁴ This description of the Chou dynasty from the 7th cent. on, comprising the rest of PAN Ku's introductory remarks, has been translated several times. Cf. CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 173-174; and Nancy Lee SWANN, "A Woman among the Rich Merchants: The Widow of Pa (3rd century B. C.)," *JAOS* 54 (1934). 188-189; and in part is quoted in Derk BODDE's translation of FUNG Yu-lan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (1937) 12, 18-19. As a comparison of these translations with ours will show, we have made an independent translation and sometimes we have interpreted otherwise than our predecessors.

²⁵ YEN Shih-ku explains *to* by *hui*. The meaning is clear, so we have preserved the more descriptive *to*.

²⁶ The reference is here to the actions of Duke Chuang 莊公 of Lu as reported in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and described in the *Tso chuan* (10.27a¹⁰; *Legge* 105 and 10.27b⁹; *Legge* 107) and also related in the *Kuo-yü* (SPPY, 4.2a¹¹). In our texts the actions are in a reverse order to the tradition: in the autumn of his 23rd year the Duke painted the pillars of his father's (i. e., Duke Huan [711-694]) temple, and in the spring of the following year he carved the rafters. Thus Duke Chuang was disregarding the traditional regulations and being excessively extravagant.

²⁷ YEN Shih-ku points out that the actions mentioned here are those of TSANG Wên-chung. Cf. *Lun-yü* 5.12a¹⁶⁻¹⁷; *Legge* 179. There is a second version contained in the *Li chi* (23.5a⁷; *Legge* 17.402, par. 19), where similar conduct is attributed to KUAN Chung. From the context it is clear that the reference is used by PAN Ku to illustrate the extravagance of the great officers and their disregard for the traditional regulations. The previous reference had been to ducal families; this one is to the great officers. We have not followed YEN Shih-ku in specifying which one of the great officers was meant.

²⁸ The references are both to passages in the *Lun-yü* (3.5a², 17-18; *Legge* 154-155) where Confucius criticizes the usurpation of prerogatives of the royal house of Chou by

the head of the CHI family of Lu. There were three families, descendants from three brothers, the sons by a concubine of the Duke Huan (711-694), who assembled together in one temple; the descendants of the third son having become the head of the families; they are all designated as a unit here by the name CHI. LEGGE explains that the "eight rows of dancers or pantomimes kept time in the temple services, in the front spaces before the raised portion in the principal hall, moving or brandishing feathers, flags, or other articles. In his ancestral temple, the king had eight rows, each row consisting of eight men, a duke or prince had six, and a great officer only four." and that the Yung ode (*Shih ching* 12.13b¹²-14a¹⁰; Legge 589) was "properly sung in the royal temples of the Chou dynasty, at the 徹 'clearing away' of the sacrificial apparatus." Cf. also Marcel GRANET, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne* (1926) 210, n. 1.

²⁰ The first and second of the *pa* "leaders," who headed the confederation of kingdoms during the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period. Duke Huan died in 643 B. C.; Duke Wên in 628 B. C.

²⁰ The expression *hsiang-mao* is used with similar meaning in SC (30.2a¹⁰; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.550) where it speaks about the principles of promotion to the offices being perverted and integrity and dishonor being confused.

²¹ We construe this passage as a parallel: *chui*, meaning *chu*, as YEN Shih-ku explains, balancing *ch'ü*; *shih-hao* balancing *shih-tzü*.

²² WANG Hsien-ch'ien quotes WANG Nien-sun 王念孫 (1744-1832) who comments that if YEN Shih-ku takes 園 as *chin-shou* (as our commentary has it) then the ideas of the two characters *yü* and *to* do not belong to the same category. *Yü* (third tone) should be read as *yü* (fourth tone) 禦, as the commentary of LIU Ch'ang 劉敞 (1019-1065) explains. Then WANG Nien-sun quotes the passage from *Mencius* (10b. 15b⁹; Legge 380, par. 4) where *yü* (fourth tone) is used. The commentary of CHAO Ch'i 趙岐 (108-201) for this passage makes it clear that the action was one of forcefully depriving another of his valuables. According to WANG Nien-sun, this is the meaning of *yü-to*.

²³ The gentleman's code and its counterpart, the penal code for the common people, are distinctly brought out.

²⁴ *Mu* and *t'u* are cryptic, but when considered with their parallels, *ch'üan* and *ma*, the meaning is evident. There is a comparable statement in the biography of TUNG-FANG So 東方朔 (*CHS* 65.6a⁸⁻⁹). The modern meaning of the binom *mu-t'u* is "house," "construction"; we have given a more descriptive rendering.

²⁵ YEN Shih-ku gives the pronunciation of 褐 as *shu*, and says that *han* without the determinative is the same. For the definitions of the materials, YEN Shih-ku in his commentary on an identical phrase in the biography of KUNG Yü 貢禹 (*CHS* 72.6a⁹) gives a fuller explanation. He says, "As to *shu* it means cloth worn by servants, which is longer than the short tunic. The *ho* are garments of *mao-pu*." In our text, the commentary on *ho* states that they are "garments of *pien-hsi*, i. e., plaited nettle-hemp." From these explanations of YEN Shih-ku, it is clear that he understood the material to be a coarse type of cloth made from a hemp that was used for the customary garments of the servants. The term *shu-ho* has the significance here as we have translated. DUBS, *Former Han* 120, n. 2, in discussing types of textiles, mentions, "The word 褐 denoted not only a coarse woollen cloth but also 'clothes of the common people.'" Since this mention is not to a specific passage, we do not know what source explains that it was "woolen cloth" during the Han period. The

phrase *han-shu* is rather strange, but we assume that it is to be balanced with *yin-shui*. Cf. similar statement in *YTL* (*SPPY*, 4.7a¹²; *GALE*, *DSI* 117).

²⁶ *Hsiang-chün* is difficult. WANG Hsien-ch'ien quotes SHÊN Ch'in-han as giving a comparable phrase, *hsiang ch'ên ch'î*, from the *Shang-chün shu* (*SPPY*, 3.4a²⁻³) which DUYVENDAK in *The Book of Lord Shang* (p. 240) translates:

"To be of the same rank as others and yet to stand to them in such relations as subject or concubine points to poverty or wealth . . ."

We have translated *hsiang-chün* "were looked upon as lords." PAN KU probably is expressing the counterpart of Ssü-MA Ch'ien's statement about the *su-fêng*. Cf. *ante*, *SC*, *ch.* 129, n. 111.

²⁷ The allusion is probably to the *Lun-yü* (5.12b²; *Legge* 179, par. 18), where the same phrase *wu-wên-sê* is used.

²⁸ There is a similar complaint in the *SC* (23.1b⁷⁻⁸; CHAVANNES, *Mh.* 3.207).

²⁹ Literally, "the restraintlessness of the laws and regulations."

³⁰ PAN KU seems to be echoing, in part, the theme of *SC*, *ch.* 30. The body of the chapter, following this introduction, then in almost the same order takes up the personages discussed by Ssü-MA Ch'ien in the *SC*, *ch.* 129; and much of the phrasing is similar to that used in the first history. After repeating that the unscrupulous ones become wealthy, PAN KU ends by saying that the acceptance of these men in the same ranks as good people, "by injuring the transforming influences [from the upper classes] and destroying the customs [of the people], is the *tao* of chaos." (p. 5b⁸).

5. *Wei shu*, *chüan* 110—Introduction Monograph on the Fiscal Administration *

In governing a kingdom or a family, no one fails to take as the foundation grains and *huo*.¹ Therefore, in the Eight Objects of Government of the Great Plan, *shih* is made the head [item].² Its expression in the *I* [*ching*] is: "[By what means the Sage] collects men is termed *ts'ai* ' [possessing] valuables.' "³ According to the *Chou li* [the Great Minister] "by means of the nine classes of workers, employed the multitudes";⁴ "by means of the nine types of taxes, collected the objects of value (*ts'ai-hui*)."⁵

Hence in antiquity, among the former wise *wang*, there was not one who did not "respectfully deliver the seasons to the people,"⁶ [who did not] apply himself to agriculture and give importance to the grains,⁷ [who did not] personally work his one thousand strips, [and] collect the tribute and military tax [from] the Nine Provinces.⁸

Thus, [if] "one man does not cultivate, [or] one woman does not weave, someone will suffer because of him or her from hunger

or cold.”⁹ When hunger and cold harass the person, [and even a mother] “is not able to protect her infant,” [the people] will transgress the laws by snatching and stealing to the point of getting themselves killed.¹⁰ If one traces [this state of affairs] to its origin, [it will be found] that they were betrayed by the government of the *wang*.¹¹

Thus [Mencius said, “As to the husbandman,] within [his] 100 strips, do not rob him of his time”;¹² [and] “make easy the cultivation of his fields; lighten the collection of his civil administrative tax; [then] the people may be made rich.”

Humaneness (*jên*), a sense of justice (*i*), moral discipline (*li*), and moderation (*chieh*) are produced [by reason of the fact that the people] have been well fed and moreover made rich. This is what is meant [when in the *Kuan-tzü* it says]: “When their clothing and their food are sufficient, [the people] know [the meaning] of honor and disgrace.”¹⁴

At the end of the Chin¹⁵ [dynasty's rule] there was a great chaos in the land. The *Tao* of sustaining life in the people was exhausted:¹⁶ some died from war, some perished from famine. Probably [not more than] fifty per cent were fortunate enough to be able to preserve themselves.

NOTES

5. *Wei shu, chüan* 110—Introduction

* The title is taken from the *Ch'ien-Han shu*, ch. 24, cf. *ante*.

¹ The author of this monograph, (?) WEI Shou (506-572), illustrates his own point by the following quotations. PAN Ku's ideas are repeated here. The one point of interest to us, is that the writer has substituted the word *ku* for the *shih*, and has thereby given a definition to the more inclusive term, *shih*.

² Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 1.

³ Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 15.

⁴ *Chou li* 2.8a¹²⁻¹⁴; *Biot* 1.26. This is the introductory remark about the nine classes of workers.

⁵ *Chou li* 2.8b¹⁶; *Biot* 1.27. Similar to n. 4, this is the introductory remark about the nine types of taxes.

⁶ Quotation from the *Shu ching*. Cf. *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 10. The author of this monograph follows PAN Ku's *chüan*; he also has *min* for *jên*. The reference here is to Yao.

⁷ This probably is a quotation from an early source, now lost to us. The same

phrase is to be found in the Narrative (*Wei Chih* 12.9a⁷) on the life of Ssü-ma Chih 司馬芝 (ca. A. D. 227), as part of the opening sentence of a memorial. The first sentences, which we translate in the following lines, seem to indicate that Ssü-ma Chih is quoting from traditional sources. "[The essence of] prosperous government of a *wang* is to give a high place to the basic [occupations], and to curb the branch [occupations]; to apply himself to agriculture, and to give importance to the grains. [In the] "Wang-chih" [of the *Li chi* (12.11a⁸⁻⁹; *Legge* 27.222, par. 28) it expresses it:] 'If there were not a surplus sufficient for three years, the kingdom would not be a kingdom [for long].'" We believe that the author of our monograph intended this reference to Shun, since he quotes the *Shu ching* above for Yao, and follows this passage with a quotation about Yü. As the *Shu ching* account now has it, Shun appointed Hou Chi to superintend the agricultural affairs. Cf. *Shu ching* (3.17a⁸; *Legge* 44).

⁸ Our author continues his examples of the "wise *wang* of antiquity." This is the third one. The reference is to Yü. Cf. *Lun-yü* (14.1a¹⁶; *Legge* 277). Cf. also *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, esp. nn. 10, 11, and 13. Our author is following the same enumeration of the deeds of the sage rulers as was given by PAN KU.

⁹ This is a quotation, with a rearrangement of the order of the phrases, from CHIA I's 賈誼 (?200-?168) memorial as given in the *CHS* 24a.4a⁷. Cf. MARGOULIÈS, *Le Kou wen chinois* 64. A similar statement appears in the present version of the *Kuan-taü* (*SPPY*, 23.9b¹⁻⁴).

¹⁰ Here the writer has in part paraphrased and in part quoted the memorial of CH'AO Ts'ao 鼂錯 (died 154 B. C.) as given in the *CHS* 24a.5a³. Cf. MARGOULIÈS, *op. cit.* 68-73. The ideas involved in this sentence are often expressed in warnings of the danger to the government should the people be pressed to the point that they turn against all laws and regulations, so that no measure of government could then hold them in check.

¹¹ *Hsien* is here used almost as "trapped," i. e., the government permitted conditions that would lead inevitably to infraction of the laws.

¹² *Mencius* 1a.2b¹⁰; *Legge* 131.

¹³ *Mencius* 13b.16b²; *Legge* 462. See Appendix 4 for the term *t'ien-ch'ou*.

¹⁴ This is the opening quotation of CHIA I's memorial in the *CHS* 24a.4a⁶, previously quoted by the writer of this monograph. It was cited more extensively by Ssü-ma Ch'ien in his *SC*, ch. 129. Cf. *ante*, n. 89. We have had, in previous sections, more extensive presentation of all the ideas embodied in this paragraph.

¹⁵ From the point of view of the Wei of the T'o-pa dynasty, which considered itself as the successor of the Chin and assumed the title of emperor for the northern half of China, this would be around the end of the 4th cent. A. D.

¹⁶ We offer this as the probable translation after considering the phrases which follow.

Wei shu, chüan 110—Memorial:

A Memorial in the Monograph on the Fiscal Administration *

At the beginning of the era Hsi-p'ing¹ (516 A. D.), the President of the Department of State Affairs,² [YÜAN] Ch'êng,³ Prince of Jên-ch'êng,⁴ presented [a memorial] that said:

“Your subject has heard that in the Eight Objects of Government of the Great Plan, *huo* was placed second.⁵

“The *I* [*ching*] proclaims, ‘The great latent power of Heaven and Earth is termed *shêng* “[sustaining] life”; the great value of the Sage is termed *wei* “[sustaining] the throne.” By what means [the Sage] guards the throne is termed *jên* “[possessing] men.” By what means [the Sage] collects men is termed *ts'ai* “[possessing] valuables.”’ [PAN KU develops this idea in saying,] ‘As for valuables, they are the foundation of the means by which emperors and *wang* collect men and guard the throne, nourish and rear the multitudes, respectfully receive and follow the latent power of Heaven (i. e., sustaining life), and [finally] govern well the kingdoms and settle the people.’⁶

“From the Nine Provinces, the government of the Hsia and Yin [dynasties], as tribute (*kung*) [collected] the metals according to five fixed kinds.⁷

“The Chou [dynasty] continued the old [rules], and T'ai-kung [Wang] established the system of the Nine Treasuries.⁸ When the money of the kingdom [of Ch'i] began to circulate, he fixed the standard [coinage] of *shu* and *liang*.⁹

“[Duke] Huan of Ch'i followed [this] usage, with the result that he became the leader of the vassal lords.¹⁰ [But] when we come down to [the reigns of] the First [Sovereign Emperor of] Ch'in¹¹ and the Han [Emperor] Wên,¹² then there were differences of weight. The coins of [LIU] P'i, [the Prince of] Wu,¹³ and of TÊNG T'ung¹⁴ amassed the profit everywhere in the empire, and especially so in the region south of the [Huang] Ho.¹⁵

“When we reach [the reign of the Emperor] Hsiao-wu [of Han],¹⁶ they made a change and created the five *shu* [coins].¹⁷ [However], in his middle periods, they destroyed the five *shu* coins, and recast [them]. Following [only what was] profitable, they amended and changed [the coinage], with the consequence that they caused the coins to be of various sizes.”¹⁸

NOTES

5. *Wei shu*, *chüan* 110—Memorial

* The historical background for this memorial to the throne is contained in the few paragraphs just preceding it. We shall briefly summarize them here. The Wei Emperor Hsiao-wên, whose temple name was Kao-tsu, reigned from 471 to 499. In A. D. 495, the first coins of this dynasty were cast, bearing the legend: "T'ai-ho [era], five *shu*." He decreed that the coins should be used in the capital and in the outer administrative units; and to make the decree stronger, the officials were paid in coins on the basis of a commutation from silk rolls: one *p'i* of silk equal to 200 coins. The government also sent out smelting technicians to help in casting the coins, and the central government permitted some of the people to cast coins. The copper ones had to be pure and free from mixtures. By 516 in the reign of Su-tsung, there were regions in which the coins were cast and others in which they were not; and there were officials who no longer used the ancient coins, or circulated the new castings. Affairs reached the point where the merchants' goods did not circulate and exchange was but intermittent. To remedy this state of affairs, the memorialist first reviews the history of past dynasties for the necessary precedents and then discusses the coinage abuses of the Wei dynasty, ending with his proposal for the correction. We have translated only the historical review.

¹ The first *nien-hao* of Emperor Hsiao-ming of Northern Wei. It was only one year.

² *Shang-shu-ling* was a title established by the Han, for the head of the Department of State. In the T'ang period, Li Shih-min held this office and it still had the same connotation, but after he became emperor it was discontinued, out of respect for him. Cf. Robert DES ROTOURS, *Le traité des examens, traduit de la nouvelle histoire des T'ang* (1932), *Ch.* 44-45, p. 6.

³ His lineage is as follows: (*Wei shu*, *ch.* 19; *Pei shih*, *ch.* 18). He was the elder son of Yün 雲, who was the half brother of the Emperor Wên-ch'êng 文成 (452-466), who was himself a son of the Prince Ching-mu 景穆, one of the twelve sons of the Emperor T'ai-wu 太武 (424-452). YÜAN Ch'êng was therefore close to the ruling branch of the Wei dynasty, and his counsel was of importance. He seems to have helped in the moving of the Wei capital to Lo-yang (494-496), under the Emperor Hsiao-wên. The *Shih-hsing yüan-pien*, *ch.* 11, gives his surname as YÜAN 元, and WARE ("Note on the History of the *Wei Shu*," *JAOS* 52.35-45, n. 62) dates the change from T'o-pa to YÜAN as of February 2, 496 (*Wei shu* 7b.8b⁶). We have read his personal name as Ch'êng, but we have no exact proof that it was not Têng. He died ca. A. D. 540.

⁴ A *hsien* established by the Han, corresponding to the present *hsien* of Tsining 濟寧 in Shantung. (*Postal Atlas*: 116° 35': 35° 25'.)

⁵ Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, *ch.* 24a, n. 1.

⁶ Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, *ch.* 24a, n. 15. This entire paragraph of 53 characters is taken verbatim from the *CHS* 24a.1b. In the *CHS*, there is the beginning character *ku* which brings the total to 54, from which the direct quotation of the *I ching* amounting to 26 characters subtracted would leave 28 characters, a better number than the 27 of the *Wei shu*. This full quotation and all that follows show that the memorialist was following the text of the *CHS*, *ch.* 24a and 24b slavishly. In our text there is an inversion of the words *yang-ch'êng*.

⁷ We are unable to discover the source from which the memorialist takes his

authority for the *five* kinds of metal. The "Yü-kung" of the *Shu ching* (6.3b²²; Legge 110-111 and 6.4b²³; Legge 121-122) speaks of the "three types of metals" and of "iron, silver, and (?) steel." The *SC*, ch. 30, speaks of only "three kinds" of metals; and, as we have previously pointed out (*SC*, ch. 30, n. 42), there is no proof for Ssü-MA Ch'ien's elaboration of the *Shu ching* information. It is true that YEN Shih-ku commenting on the word *chin* in the *CHS* (24a.1a⁵⁻⁶), says that there were five colors of *chin*, but he, YEN Shih-ku, was born about 65 years after YÜAN Ch'êng presented this memorial. Furthermore, PAN Ku in the *CHS* (24b.1a¹) refuses to make any positive statement about the *huo* of the Hsia and Yin dynasties. Did our memorialist ignore in this instance the very text that he had followed so faithfully before, or is this "five" an error for "three"?

⁸ The memorialist is here following PAN Ku (*CHS* 24b.1a) in what seems a strange error. PAN Ku after confessing no knowledge of the Hsia and Yin dynasties' monetary practices, begins with T'ai-kung Wang, the Counselor of Chou Wên Wang of the (?) 11th cent. B. C., and credits him with the establishment of the Nine Treasuries to control the economy. It is strange that PAN Ku should so credit T'ai-kung. The *SC* (62.2b⁴ and 129.1b¹¹) associates the Nine Treasuries with KUAN Chung's administration; i. e., four centuries later. The *YTL* (3.2b^{13-3a}); GALE, *DSI* 87) likewise says that KUAN Chung set up the Nine Treasuries. The full story of these treasuries is to be found in the *Chou li* (6.10a¹⁴; Biot 1.121 *et seq.*). If one should substitute for the traditional dates of the *Chou li* and the *Kuan-tzû*, the more probable date of their compilations (i. e., approximately 4th cent. B. C. for both of them) then one can realize that the *SC* and the *YTL* probably are correct and the *CHS* in error. If this correction of dating the establishment of the Nine Treasuries be accepted, then PAN Ku would seem to be saying that the formal monetary history of China begins not earlier than the 7th cent. B. C.

⁹ The character *shu* is used for this early period, but the word *liang* is not. The memorialist is anachronistic in introducing *liang* for the period about which he is speaking.

¹⁰ Cf. *ante*, *SC*, ch. 30, n. 31.

¹¹ Cf. *ante*, *SC*, ch. 30, nn. 43-46, also *CHS* 24b.1b¹²⁻¹³ and 2a¹⁻². Cf. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.539-540.

¹² The Han Emperor Wên's reign was 180-156 B. C. Cf. *SC* 30.1b⁶, also *CHS* 24b.2a⁶; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.543; DUBS, *Former Han* 250.

¹³ Cf. *SC* 30.1b⁶⁻⁸; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.543, n. 1. For a detailed presentation of the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms, headed by the Prince of Wu, see DUBS, *Former Han* 292-297; also *ibid.* 314.

¹⁴ Cf. *SC* 30.1b⁶; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.543, n. 2. Also *CHS* 24b.3a².

¹⁵ The Prince of Wu governed in the region south of the Huang Ho.

¹⁶ See *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 111.

¹⁷ This would seem to be the year 118 B. C. as reported in the *SC*'s account (30.4a¹²; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.569-570 and 580, n. 1). The five *shu* coins (*wu-shu ch'ien*), approximately 1/10 of an ounce avdp., which is about the weight of our present American dime, seems to have had a size and purchasing power that was considered most satisfactory for the needs of the Chinese economy, not only for the Han period, but for centuries afterwards.

¹⁸ Part of the *SC*, ch. 30 is devoted to an account of these changes and debasements in the coinage under the Han Emperor Wu. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.580-585.

6. *Sui shu, chüan 24*—Introduction
 Monograph on the Fiscal Administration

Those who were *wang* “surveyed the land in order to form the urban centers and measured the land in order to settle the people”;¹ they assembled the produce of soil and land, and evaluated the profit of mountain and marsh.² They modeled after and conformed with [the *Tao*] in transmitting orders; they “respectfully delivered the seasons to the people.”³

The agriculturists and the merchants were inclined toward [their] respective basic affairs and productive occupations.⁴ [Thus] the *Shu [ching]* proclaims: “[Yü] urged [the people] to exchange what they had for what they had not.”⁵ The meaning is that the grains and articles having exchange value circulated [so that] all obtained their proper portions.⁶

[According to] the *Chou kuan*, the Grand Treasurer controlled the regulations of the nine [types of] tribute and the nine [types of] military tax,⁷ [so that] each of the regular expenditures of the *wang* had [its proper] rank and order. [That is] what is meant by “when they took it, they had a principle; when they used it, they had moderation.”⁸

Thus [the former *wang*] were able to support the government of the hundred officials, and to stimulate the services of the fighting knights. Relieving the calamities of Heaven and bringing foreign regions to submission are the great principles of [keeping] the kingdom alive and [keeping] the people settled.

On this account, from Hsien [-yüan Shih]⁹ and [Chuan-] hsü¹⁰ to Yao and Shun, all [the early rulers] encouraged them (i. e., the people) by that which profited [them], and transformed them by that which they desired.¹¹ [These early rulers] did not steal their (i. e., the people's) time, or exhaust their strength; [rather] they lightened their forced labor, and reduced their military tax.¹² This was the immutable doctrine of the Five Rulers and the Three Sovereigns.¹³

An old saying¹⁴ has it: “Those who are expert in ruling the people, cherish their strength, and bring to fruition their wealth.” If one employs them (i. e., the people) without using a principle,

and levies from them, as if it were not adequate, [the result will be that] "when their wealth is exhausted, they will be resentful; when their strength is exhausted, they will rebel."¹⁵

In ancient times, Yü regulated the nine ranks,¹⁶ and songs of delight arose;¹⁷ the Chou people [fixed] the tithe,¹⁸ and the sounds for odes of praise were composed.¹⁹

When the Eastern Chou had moved to the Lo,²⁰ the vassal lords [acted] contrary to the rule: [Duke] Hsüan of Lu first [placed] the civil administrative tax upon the strips;²¹ [Tzū-] ch'an of Chêng made the military tax for the *ch'iu* (habitation units).²² Of the regulations of the former *wang* there was not a remnant remaining.²³

The CH'IN family arose from the Western Jung barbarians,²⁴ [and] forcibly subjugated the empire; drove them (i. e., the people of the empire) with punishments and fines, [and] deprived them of benevolence (*jên*) and mercy (*ên*). On the Great Wall, it destroyed the greater half of the receipts in the veins of the earth;²⁵ on the frontier garrisons, it exhausted the collections from the poll tax²⁶ in the [regions] beyond the Ling.²⁷

Han Kao-tsu²⁸ having received the [empire in a state of] exhaustion and ruin owing to the Ch'in [rule] [only levied] a civil administrative tax of one-fifteenth.²⁹ [Up to the era] Chung-yüan (149-143),³⁰ [the other Han emperors] continued in his footsteps, [with the result that] the storehouses and the public granaries were full and overflowing.

[Han] Shih-tsung, [the Emperor Wu], having acquired them, they were used to achieve martial and extravagant [goals]; he extended the frontiers, and attacked the Hu barbarians.³¹ Desolately, was all exhausted. The roofs of the palaces touched the Milky Way; the wanderings of the patrols bestrode to the [regions] beyond the seas.³² In years of drought, [the people] opened roads; in years of calamity, they tasted fodder.³³ The individuals of the households, because of this, diminished by half; [while] robbers and bandits, because of this, traveled in public.³⁴

As a result, [the people] deceived and were wily regarding the military and the civil administrative taxes. All sorts of heterodoxy arose; such as, the military tax extending to youths and those

shedding their milk teeth, and the poll tax (*suan*) reaching boats and carts.³⁵

[The Emperor] Kuang-wu³⁶ brought about a renaissance [for the Han dynasty], and followed the former affairs [of the Han House]: he brought about a military tax [that was] very light,³⁷ and he sufficiently weighed the constant and the distant.³⁸

The Emperor Ling³⁹ instituted the lists of the *Hung-tu* [*mên* scholars],⁴⁰ and he opened the way for selling the offices: for dukes and ministers in prefectures and commandaries each had its graduated [price] range.⁴¹ [There were] the normal regulations of the Han [with respect to] the areas⁴² [sending as] tribute the regional articles, [but] the Emperor moreover had dispatched prior transports to the central offices; [their] name was *tao-hsing* (*fei*) "forwarding [expense]." ⁴³ In the empire bribery became established, and the people were affected by this corruption.

From the Wei and Chin dynasties there were twenty-one emperors, [and from] the Sung and Ch'i there were fifteen rulers.⁴⁴ Although their expenditures and budgets were many or few, and their land rents⁴⁵ and their military taxes were heavy or light, [and] in general they were unable [to levy so much as] to ruin the people's productive occupations; [yet] the *Tao* was wanting, [so their] governments were chaotic.

[When] the Emperor Wên of Sui⁴⁶ had pacified beyond the Chiang (i. e., southern China),⁴⁷ the empire was [in a state of] universal concord.⁴⁸ [The Emperor] personally placed frugality and economy first,⁴⁹ in order to take care of the storehouses and treasuries. By the seventeenth⁵⁰ (*sic*) year of the K'ai-huang era (597), the individuals of the households had increased and were abundant, and within and without the granaries and warehouses were without an unfilled or unstocked [room]. Whatever was bestowed or given did not exceed the ordinary expenditures. When the rooms of the metropolitan treasuries were filled, [the surplus] was stored beneath the lateral galleries. [Sui] Kao-tsu, thereupon, stopped that year's regular levies, to reward the black-haired common people.

When Emperor Yang⁵¹ inherited and kept the mighty throne, the kingdom and the families were flourishing and affluent.⁵² [His]

love of elegance expanded to the point of disgust, and [his] passion for the reckless was comparable to a runaway horse.

First, in building the Eastern Capital,⁵³ he exhausted every architectural elegance.⁵⁴ Because the Emperor, when formerly occupying the [position of] a frontier protector⁵⁵ [of the new dynasty], personally pacified [the region] left of the Chiang,⁵⁶ he used at the same time the curves and angles of the Liang and Ch'ên [styles] to achieve [his] designs and patterns:⁵⁷ storied battlements⁵⁸ towered higher than [Mount] Mang;⁵⁹ floating bridges straddled the Lo [River]; the Chin [-ma] gate and the Hsiang [-wei] portal, both had erected [above them] airy miradores.⁶⁰ [There were] scarped cliffs and dammed streams, and the constructions were made [like] clouds and variegated silk.⁶¹

He had the trees of the Ling⁶² transplanted in order to make forests and preserves, and he had Mount Mang encircled in order to make hunting parks and menageries.⁶³ [In building] the Great Wall and the Imperial Canal, he did not count according to the strength of man.⁶⁴ Transport donkeys and military horses [were commanded] at fixed periods from the people.⁶⁵ [Throughout] the empire, [people] were killed by the forced labor, and families were injured with respect to their wealth.

Afterwards, he made one punitive expedition to the court of the [T'u-yü]-hün,⁶⁶ and three imperial expeditions to the marshes of the Liao.⁶⁷ The Emperor personally led the attacks; the hosts and armaments were extensively raised. They rushed the rations and hauled the fodder, effecting the communications by water and by land.

Although repeatedly more than half did not return, [because of] defeats on the battlefields of the frontier and deaths resulting from the arduousness of the toil,⁶⁸ yet each year they raised and sent forth [the levies of men]: the sons of fine homes and good families⁶⁹ in great numbers were rushed to the boundaries and frontiers. [Because of] the separations and partings, the sounds of crying and lamenting continually echoed in the prefectures and districts. The cultivation and sowing by the old and feeble were insufficient to relieve⁷⁰ the famine and starvation; the reeling and spinning by the women workers were insufficient to supply the materials and clothing.⁷¹

Within the nine regions,⁷² the imperial train⁷³ annually moved about, followed by the traveling harem;⁷⁴ [these two corteges] ordinarily [amounted to] a hundred thousand persons. What was offered or required was altogether relied upon from the prefectures and the districts. In addition to the land rent and the military tax, [the local officials] levied and collected everything; they hastened in order to complete the preparation [for the court] without concern for the common people. The petty officials taking advantage [of this state of affairs] sliced and sheared [for themselves, so that] they stole the greater half [of what was collected]. Delicious foods of the distant regions had to be sent up to the [imperial] kitchen; down and feathers of soaring birds were used to make playthings and ornaments. Those who had to buy, in order to supply the officials, [had to pay] a thousandfold price.⁷⁵

The anxiety of the people was [so] unbearable, that they abandoned [their] dwellings. The senior petty officials knocked on the door-leaves till dawn; the fierce dogs ran out to bark throughout the night.⁷⁶

From Yen and Chao straddling to Ch'i and Han, [from] the Chiang and Huai [Rivers] entering up to Hsiang [-ch'êng] and Têng [-ch'êng], [from] the region of the city of Lo [-yang] of the Eastern Chou [to] the right of the Lung Mountains of the Western Ch'in,⁷⁷ usurpers and frauds penetrated everywhere; robbers and bandits filled every spot.⁷⁸ The palaces and miradores were covered over by luxuriant herbs; ⁷⁹ [the habitations of the] rural districts and hamlets had extinguished their smoke and fire.⁸⁰ In four or five cases out of ten, men ate their own kind.⁸¹

Within the Passes⁸² there were epidemics and pestilences, and heat and drought injured the cereals.⁸³ The Prince of Tai⁸⁴ gave out the grain of the Yung-fêng [granary]⁸⁵ to relieve the starving people; [with the result that] from the granary for [a distance of] several hundred *li*, the old and young were assembled in crowds.

The petty officials everywhere were greedy and oppressive; the court officials were without [regular] posts or positions.⁸⁶ All [who could] relied upon strings of cash and valuable commodities [for bribes]. [To evade the demands of the officials the people] moved and shifted about for weeks and months, [only] stopping and

resting in the wildernesses and wastes.⁸⁷ [Even though] they desired to go back, they were not able. The dead people were in heaps, [so that] one could not exhaust the counting of them.

Although, for a second time [in the dynasty] the Imperial Prince⁸⁸ comforted [the people] and reversed [the state of affairs], the heaven-conferred good fortune had come to an end;⁸⁹ so that the destruction of the Sui family was likewise caused by this [misrule].

Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien made the "Treatise on [the Bureau of Price] Stabilization" and PAN Ku compiled the "Monograph on the Fiscal Administration." In the former and latter [writings], the waxing and waning⁹⁰ of several thousand years have been roughly brought forward; [but] from [the time of] these [two men], the historians have not had a comprehensive opinion [on the subject].⁹¹

[Even] the first-born men [used] *shih* and *huo* as the essentials. The Sage Wang divided the rural lands (*lu-ching*) in order to productively occupy them (i. e., the people) and circulated the exchangeable valuables (*huo-ts'ai*)⁹² in order to enrich them. Having enriched [the people], they taught them; humaneness (*jên*) and a sense of justice (*i*), because of this, flourished. [If the people] are impoverished, they become robbers; [then] punishments and penalties are unable to cause a halt.⁹³

Therefore, I have made [this] "Monograph on the Fiscal Administration," and thereby bound⁹⁴ what I have to say to the end of the previous writings.

NOTES

6. *Sui shu, chüan 24*

¹ This is quoted from the *Li chi* (12.16a⁹; Legge 27.230, par. 15). PAN Ku also cited sections of this paragraph. Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 24; also *ibid.*, n. 69.

² Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 91.

³ Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 10.

⁴ This probably is a reference to the system explained by Kuan-tzü. Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 91, n. 17.

⁵ Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, Ch. 24a, n. 14.

⁶ The essential idea of this sentence seems to be a paraphrase of PAN Ku's discussion of the *I ching* quotation discussed *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 6. Of special interest to us is the term *ku-huo* 穀貨. Here, as *ante*, *Wei shu*, Introd., n. 1, the author limits the broader term *shih-huo*.

⁷ *Chou kuan* is the title used in the bibliographical section of the *Sui shu* (92.7a²) for the *Chou li*. The functions of the T'ai-fu or Ta-fu are explained in the *Chou li* (6.10a¹⁴; *Biot* 1.121). See also Appendix 3. *Ching-yung* equals 常月.

⁸ This seems to be a quotation, but we were unable to discover the source.

⁹ Hsien-yüan Shih or Huang-ti, the "Yellow Emperor." Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 8, where he is mentioned by PAN KU.

¹⁰ Kao-yang Shih or Chuan-hsü, another legendary ruler whose traditional dates are the 26th and 25th centuries B. C. This is the first mention in our texts of this name, and our author probably introduced the name partly for stylistic purposes in order to have a pair to balance with Yao and Shun.

¹¹ Cf. *SC*, ch. 129, Introduction, *ante*.

¹² All these noble actions have been explained in greater detail in the previous selections.

¹³ Cf. *T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要 (1736 ed.) 22.14b; it lists Fu Hsi, Shên Nung, and Huang-ti as the three sovereigns; Shao Hao, Chuan-hsü, Kao-hsin, Yao, and Shun as the five emperors or rulers. There are various lists of these legendary rulers. The period of time over which they are traditionally held to have ruled China was from the 29th cent. to the 25th cent. B. C. Here, our author seems to begin with Huang-ti, but it is not of much value to attempt to ascertain how the grouping would have been made.

¹⁴ We have found no other citations of this old saying.

¹⁵ A quotation from the *Ku-liang chuan* 6.10b³⁻⁴. It is also cited in the *HHS* 108.8b⁷.

¹⁶ Cf. *Shu ching* (ch. 8; *Legge* 92-151).

¹⁷ *K'ang-ko* would seem to be a general term here. In "The Counsels of Great Yü" contained in the *Shu ching* (4.20a¹³; *Legge* 56), there is mention of accomplishments being celebrated by songs.

¹⁸ Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, the *shui* tax (Appendix 3).

¹⁹ The *sung* section of the *Shih ching* (ch. 19) has some of the "Odes of Praise" of the Chou kingdom. Here the term is used in a general sense, and balances *k'ang-ko*.

²⁰ In 770 B. C. after the debacle of Yu Wang's reign (781-770). This move made apparent the weakness of the Chou house, so that the other kingdoms began to usurp the royal prerogatives.

²¹ Cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 82.

²² KUNG-SUN Ch'iao 公孫僑, the younger son of the Duke Ch'êng of the kingdom of Chêng 鄭成公, whose *tsü* was Tzû-ch'an. He was made the chief minister of the state of Chêng during difficult times, and ruled very well. He died in 522 B. C., at which time Confucius is said to have wept for him. There are numerous stories of him in the *Tso chuan*. He is given high praise by Confucius according to the story in the *Lun-yü* (5.12a¹¹⁻¹²; *Legge* 178). Our author is quoting the *Tso chuan* (42.15b²⁰; *Legge* 598) where his regulations are discussed. Earlier, Tzû-ch'an had made other regulations for the good of the kingdom of Chêng, and the *Tso chuan* (40.26b⁴⁻⁶; *Legge* 558) gives a poem that indicates that the man was disliked after his first year of government, but was praised by the end of his third year. See also Appendixes 3 and 4 for discussion of some of his regulations.

²³ These four characters 靡有子遺 occur as a line in a poem of the *Ta-ya* section of the *Shih ching* (18.29a¹³; *Legge* 530). *LEGGÉ* explains in his note that *chieh* is the appearance of a person who has lost his right arm.

²⁴ The official historians of China always refer to the Ch'in dynasty as having arisen from the Jung "barbarians" of the West; but this is more a condemnation of the kingdom of the first Ch'in emperor than a full historical fact. For the legendary account of the ancient genealogy of the Ying-ch'in family see Father Albert TSCHÉPE, "Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in (777-207 av. J. C.)," *Variétés sinologiques* 27 (1909), 10-15; also BODDE, *China's First Unifier* 2.

²⁵ Cf. a similar expression in SC 88.2b¹¹. Derk BODDE, *Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China* (1940) 61-62 translates a plaint of MÊNG T'ien from the biography of that Ch'in general, together with Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien's retort, in which a comparable phrase is used.

²⁶ There is a similar statement in the SC (89.2a¹⁻³). This is in the biography of CHANG Erh and CH'ÊN Yü 張耳、陳餘, men who played a part in the Ch'in dynasty and the beginning of the Han. The term *t'ou-hui* was, according to the commentary of this account, a poll tax collected in the form of grain. See Appendix 3.

²⁷ The *ling* "mountain ranges" are listed by Ssŭ-MA Chêng in his commentary on the above cited passage as being five. These were mountain ranges that formed the southern boundary of the Ch'in empire in 221 B. C. Cf. HERRMANN, *Atlas of China* 18-19; he marks them on the map as "Five Passes." It was the Ch'in dynasty's expansion beyond these mountains into the Kuang-tung region that our author is discussing.

²⁸ The temple name of the founder of the Han dynasty. Cf. DUBS, *Former Han* 27-150. For previous mention of the state of affairs that Han inherited cf. *ante*, CHS, ch. 24a, n. 97.

²⁹ Our author is quoting from the CHS 24a.4a²⁻³, where it says: 輕田租什五而稅— following a discussion of Han Kao-tsu's actions in the early days of the founding of the dynasty. An examination of this passage in the CHS, ch. 24a and the SC (30.1a^{8, 9, 11}; p. 2a³) will show that PAN Ku has put material from the SC account assigned to the reigns of the Emperor Hsiao-hui and the Empress of Kao-tsu together with material dated as from Kao-tsu's reign, and that there is no mention of this tax in the *Shih chi* accounts (i. e., in so far as we have been able to check the text). Since the monograph of the *Ch'ien-Han shu* ascribes the diminution of the tax to Han Kao-tsu, we should expect to find some statement about it in his Annals; however, there is none. On the other hand, we do find in the Annals of the Emperor Hsiao-hui under the year 195 B. C. (CHS 2.1b³; DUBS, *Former Han* 175) the following entry: 減田租復十五稅— . DUBS translates, "[The Emperor] reduced the tax on arable ground and revived it [at the rate of] one part in fifteen." We do not understand this. There are mentioned both the *tsu* and *shui* tax in a fashion that would presuppose some differentiation. More precise information is needed on the subject of the tax policy of Han Kao-tsu. See Appendix 3.

³⁰ The era Chung-yüan (149-143) was during the reign of the Han Emperor Ching. Our author probably takes this era as marking a definite break in the Han affairs, because it is the first era after the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms in 154 B. C. Cf. DUBS, *Former Han* 292 *et seq.*

³¹ Shih-tsung is the temple name of the Han Emperor Wu (140-86 B. C.). He has been referred to in our previous sections either as Emperor Wu or Hsiao-wu. For his extension of the frontiers in the southwest and the attacks against the "barbarian" tribes compare the account in the SC (30.2a; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.549-551).

³² *Hai-piao* in the *Shu ching* (17.14a⁸; Legge 521) refers to the vague outer regions

"beyond the seas" in the lands of the "barbarians." Since our author is indulging in poetic exaggeration, he probably has this reference in mind.

³³ The account of the opening of the roads and the natural calamities is given in the *SC* (30.2a, 3a, and 3b; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.549-550; 561-562), but Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien, who certainly cannot be accused of any fondness for the Emperor Wu, does point out that the Emperor tried to relieve the suffering of the people during the year 120 B. C. when there were floods and famines. The Emperor is credited with having his commissioners open the granaries and even with attempting to persuade the rich to give loans, and finally with transporting the poor to the new lands within the great northern bend of the Yellow River. Our author seems to be very harsh in his treatment of the events during Emperor Wu's reign. See PAN Ku's conclusion about Emperor Wu, *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24b.

³⁴ The classical expression for *tao-tsê kung-hsing* is to be found in the *Tso chuan* (40.27b¹⁸; Legge 565).

³⁵ The "heterodoxy" probably is in reference to Emperor Wu's interest in non-Confucian practices. The term *i-tuan* has been discussed by many Western scholars from the philosophical point of view. Here the emphasis may be slightly more economic. This whole paragraph impresses us as being a case in point built up for our author's discussion of the reign of the Sui Emperor Yang, which follows later. For the details of the *suau* tax see Appendix 3. We might only repeat here that Han Kao-tsu was the first to use this tax, and that it was over the question of the *suau* tax being placed on boats that Emperor Wu broke with his former favorite, PU Shih 卜式.

³⁶ The Emperor Kuang-wu of Han came to the throne after the WANG Mang period, about which our author is strangely silent. This half of the Han rule is usually termed the Hou-Han, as Kuang-wu re-established the dynasty. His rule was between A. D. 25 and 58. This same phrase is used to describe Kuang-wu's coming into power after WANG Mang in the *HHS* 109a.1a¹.

³⁷ After the resentment over WANG Mang's regulations, the new emperor could not do much more than place a very light tax.

³⁸ This phrase probably is an elliptical quotation, but we were unable to determine the source of it; consequently, we must confess that we cannot understand what our author meant to say. Our translation of this phrase has no value as it now stands. We can only hope that it may inspire others to make a note should they find the clue.

³⁹ With the Emperor Ling, who occupied the throne from A. D. 168 to 189, begin the "last days" of the Han dynasty.

⁴⁰ In the *HHS* (8.3b¹²) it says that in the year A. D. 178, "they set up for the first time the students of the *Hung-tu mén*." The name was that of a library within the palace grounds. Cf. *HHS* 109a.2a³⁻⁴. The T'ang commentator on the *Hou-Han shu*, LI Hsien 李賢 (651-684), explains that the students were instructed and examined in duties for government positions and that there were as many as a thousand persons. If this were all, it would hardly be anything for which to condemn Emperor Ling. But this is not the whole story of the school. In his *Hou-Han shu ch'ichieh* 後漢書集解 (1915), WANG Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (1842-1917) quotes (8.7b³⁻⁶) a commentary of the *Wên Hsuan* 文選 (9.17b³⁻⁵) consisting of a quotation from HUA Chiao's 華嶠 (d. A. D. 293) writings in which it is explained that the students left the school to become high provincial officers or high administrative officials, and some were even enfeoffed or given court dignities, but apparently the

attainment of these honors was by such means that the true government scholars and gentlemen were ashamed to be associated in the same ranks with them. Since HUA Chiao died but a hundred years after Emperor Ling and had devoted a part of his literary efforts to writing a history of the Hou-Han period, we may place greater confidence in his explanation of the school's function than that of the T'ang commentator.

⁴² The *HHS* (8.4a⁷) continues to narrate the events of the year 178, explaining that there was opened a reception lodge in the western garden where they sold official offices according to a definite scale of prices. WANG Hsien-ch'ien (*op. cit.* 8.8a⁸⁻¹²) explains further by a citation from a Ch'ing dynasty author that the Emperor Ling called the money received "ceremonial money." Similar abuses on the part of the eunuchs in this respect are recounted in the stories connected with the San Kuo period.

⁴³ The *t'u* must be understood here as equal to *ti-fang* "region" or "area."

⁴⁴ The explanation of the term *tao-hsing* is given in the *HHS* 108.9a⁵⁻⁶, in the biography of the eunuch Lü Ch'iang 呂強. There it explains that Emperor Ling collected in quantity the precious things of the empire for his private treasuries and that he had each of the commandaries and kingdoms send in addition to the normal tribute offerings, special rare articles, which he designated as contributions for the "forwarding expense." In other words, he placed an added levy of special articles from the provincial regions.

⁴⁵ That the T'ang dynasty takes its succession through the northern division of the so-called North and South Division during the period from the Han to the T'ang, we presume is the reason that the author speaks of the *ti* of the northern countries and the *chu* of the southern countries. According to our count there were 20, not 21, emperors who ascended the throne for the Wei and Chin dynasties. Our author is adding the name of Ts'AO Ts'ao, the real founder of the Wei, who was enthroned posthumously. We give a brief statistical presentation of the period about which our author is speaking: A. Wei of the Three Kingdoms: 220-265 . . . 5 emperors; B. Chin (western and eastern): 265-420 . . . 15 emperors; C. Sung of the LIU family: 420-479 . . . 8 "rulers"; D. Ch'i of the HSIAO family: 479-502 . . . 7 "rulers." Cf. HERRMANN, *Atlas of China* 25, 28-29, 30-31, 32, for the areas over which these families ruled; and *Harvard-Yenching Index Series Supplement 1*, "Chinese Chronological Charts," sheets 4, 5, and 8.

⁴⁶ For *tsu* tax compare Appendix 3.

⁴⁷ The Sui Emperor Wên ascended the throne in 581, although the unification of China under the Sui did not take place until 589, and ruled until 604. His family name was YANG 楊 and his personal name, Chien 堅; his temple name, Kao-tsu. Details on "The Rise and Fall of the House of Yang" are given by Peter A. BOONBERG in his "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties," *HJAS* 4 (1939). 253-270 with a genealogical table on pp. 282-283.

⁴⁸ The conquest of Ch'ên in 589, which left YANG Chien the first ruler of a united China since the fall of the Han dynasty in A. D. 220. Cf. the body of this chapter (p. 5b¹⁰⁻¹²).

⁴⁹ *Ta-t'ung* is the term used in the *Li chi* (21.21b⁵⁻⁹; Legge 27.364-366) wherein it describes a utopian state of society, a period of universal concord. LEGGE translates, "Grand Union." Apparently our author wishes to imply this degree of perfect government to the first Sui emperor. In the body of the chapter the years 590 to 592 are described in somewhat the same manner as given here.

⁴⁸ Cf. body of the chapter (p. 5b⁸⁻¹⁰), during the years 583-588. BOODBERG, *op. cit.* 266, interprets this frugality as his fear that "fate would speed up the inevitable turn downward of the wheel of fortune."

⁴⁹ Our standard text and also the *Po-na* edition have the 17th year of the K'ai-huang period (597), but the body of the chapter (p. 6a¹⁻²) describes these conditions of affluence under the 12th year of the K'ai-huang (592). We found nothing in the Annals under either date on this point. It is our belief that the Introduction is wrong and that the correct date should be 592. SSŪ-MA Kuang 司馬光 *T'zu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 (Ta Chung Shu-chū ed., 1926) 178.2a⁴⁻⁸, also places this information under the year 592. The error may be an old misprint. There is a similar account of abundance at the beginning of the Han Emperor Wu's reign. Cf. SC 20.1b^{13, 2a 1}; CHAVANNES, *Mh* 3.544-545.

⁵¹ The Sui Emperor Yang, personal name YANG KUANG 楊廣, ruled from the death of his father in 604 to 618. For biographical details compare Woodbridge BINGHAM, *The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty; The Fall of Sui and Rise of T'ang* 1, n. 1.

⁵² Cf. body of the chapter (p. 7b⁴).

⁵³ The Eastern Capital was established at the city of Lo-yang in Honan province. Present city of that name is near site of the ancient Sui capital (*Postal Atlas*: 112° 30': 34° 40'). Cf. also BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 13, n. 13.

⁵⁴ *Chü-li* must here refer to the multiplicity of the architectural features.

⁵⁵ Cf. HHS 1a.8a¹⁹ and also BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 6, n. 22.

⁵⁶ This would be southeast of the Yangtze River.

⁵⁷ This is a difficult passage. If it were not placed here in a discussion of architectural features, we would have taken a different rendering. However, we must understand here that because YANG KUANG had had contact with the southern countries, he had become enamored of their style of structures and wished to reproduce them in Lo-yang. We believe that this strong attraction of the south and its ways was a significant factor in the tragic fall of the YANG family. Cf. BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 58, where he has touched upon the problem.

⁵⁸ *Ts'êng* here stands for its homophone 層 "storied." *Chih* has a structural meaning of a rampart unit thirty Chinese feet long and ten feet high. Cf. similar use of the word in *Tso chuan* (2.11b¹⁶; Legge 5).

⁵⁹ Mount Mang or Wang, was also known by the following names: 芒山、芒山、鄴山、北山、北芒. Its location is in the triangle, south of the Yellow River and west of the Lo River, made by the confluence of the Lo and Yellow Rivers. It was north and east of the Sui capital. Approximately: 112° 40'-113° 00'; 34° 45'-34° 50' (*Postal Atlas*: Honan).

⁶⁰ The *Chin* (-ma) Gate is mentioned in SC 126.4a²⁻³. At the side of the gate of the eunuch quarters was a metal horse (or metal horses), so that the gate came to be called in Han times "the Gate of the Metal Horse." Emperor Wu had the governing scholars await the edicts at this gate. Probably here it has the same significance.

The *Hsiang* (-wei) tower gates or portals are often mentioned in the *Chou li*; cf. 10.10b¹²; *Biot* 1.210. They were the principal portals upon which official proclamations were posted. We can be reasonably certain that they had a similar importance in the Sui capital.

⁶¹ *Yün* might be taken in the sense of "high," but we have given the literal translation. We presume that the author is describing the high and more open type of southern architecture in poetical terms. We do not find this solution entirely

satisfactory, as we should expect all mention of construction to precede rather than follow the statement about the cliffs and streams.

⁶² Cf. *supra*, n. 27 where the region termed *ling* is explained.

⁶³ Cf. the body of the chapter (p. 7b⁴⁻⁸) and Annals 3.2b¹⁰⁻¹³. *Sou* were the marshy preserves for game and fish; *yüan* were the enclosed areas, set apart for the emperor's pleasure hunts, in which were kept wild animals.

⁶⁴ Cf. body of the chapter (7b⁷⁻⁸; 8a⁴⁻⁶). This is the standard criticism of Emperor Yang.

⁶⁵ The inability of the government to get enough horses for the military needs is frequently mentioned. Cf. body of the chapter (8b *passim*).

⁶⁶ The attack upon these Mongol peoples of the west was made in the year 609, according to the body of the chapter (8a⁷⁻⁸). Cf. BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 27, 29.

⁶⁷ Cf. the body of the chapter (8a¹²⁻¹⁸) where the preparations for these three years of warfare (612-615) against the Koreans are vividly described. The calamities of nature and war that followed are narrated with stark reality, and sound the final note on YANG's destruction. Cf. BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 37-43 for the causes and outcome of these campaigns.

⁶⁸ The *Po-na* edition has 敝 in place of our standard text's 師. We have followed the *Po-na* reading.

⁶⁹ *Pi-shih* and *liang-chia* would seem to be parallel.

⁷⁰ The *Po-na* edition has *chiu* 救 "succor" in place of *ch'ung* "satiated" in our standard text. We have taken the *Po-na* reading.

⁷¹ This paragraph is similar to that of *SC*, ch. 30 and the *CHS*, ch. 24a, where reference is made to the Ch'in dynasty's internal and external policies and the disastrous results.

⁷² *Chiu-ch'ü* is equal to *chiu-chou* 九州, a general term here for the territorial divisions of the empire.

⁷³ *Luan-ho* refers to the metal bells that were attached to the imperial carriages. The sound of the bells was said to resemble the notes of the phoenix's call. Cf. the *Li chi* "Yüeh Ling" (14.4b⁴; Legge 27.251, par. 9).

⁷⁴ The *Po-na* edition has 行, the homophone of our standard edition's *hsing*. Although the binom 行宮 is more common, the *hsing* of the standard text does apply to an imperial visit, so that either term would seem appropriate here. *Yeh* or *yeh-t'ing* 掖庭 were the side apartments where the concubines of the emperor lived.

⁷⁵ Cf. the body of the chapter (7b¹²⁻¹³; 8a¹⁻²) and the Annals (ch. 3.3b⁴⁻⁶), where these demands upon the local administrative divisions are also stated. The *Po-na* edition offers *téng* 登 for the *kung* of our standard text.

⁷⁶ The *Po-na* edition has the variant 叩. For a similar expression compare Diether VON DEN STEINEN, "Poems of Ts'ao Ts'ao," *Monumenta Serica* 4 (1939). 153, l. 3. Dr. VON DEN STEINEN, who so kindly offered many helpful suggestions for this study in Berkeley and in Washington, D. C., called our attention to the anonymous poem in TING Fu-pao's 丁福保 collection, *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao shih* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩 (ca. 1925) 3.11a²⁻⁴, from the time of the Han Emperor Suan (147-167), describing conditions in Szechwan where the people were poor and the taxes were heavy, in which similar lines occur.

⁷⁷ Cf. HERRMANN, *Atlas of China* 16, Map of "Contending States—Boundaries of 360 B. C." The author is using the designations of this period for the general areas: Yen, referring to the northern end of the North China Plain; Chao, to northern

Shansi; Ch'í, to Shantung; and Han, to the central Yellow River Valley. Hsiang and Têng are difficult to place because our author gives too little information about them. After considering several possibilities, we have taken the following as the most probable: (1) Hsiang-ch'êng 襄城 *hsien*, which was set up by the Ch'in dynasty. It had been previously known as Wei-i 魏邑. The region corresponds to the present K'ai-fêng area of Honan (*Postal Atlas*: 114° 20': 34° 50'). This region is on a northern tributary of the Huai. (2) Têng-ch'êng 鄧城 *hsien* or Têng *hsien*, which was either the Ch'in dynasty's Jang-i 穰邑 or the earlier Têng Kuo. If the first, it would correspond to the region of the present Hsiang-yang of Hupeh (*Postal Atlas*: 112° 00': 32° 00'); if the second, to Nan-yang of southern Honan (*Postal Atlas*: 112° 40': 33° 05'). The two areas are so near that we must presume that the ancient place was somewhere in the vicinity. This region is on the Han tributary of the Chiang. There is the possibility that Hsiang is a misprint for Jang, in which case, only one region was meant. We have not used this possibility. The Lung Mountains are on the boundary between the present Shensi and Kansu provinces (*Postal Atlas*, Map 15: approximately 106°: 35°). During T'ang times, there was a Lung-yu tao "province." The term "to the right of the Lung Mountains" would mean to the west of the Lung Mountains. We give these exact figures of the *Postal Atlas* not with the idea that the author was taking any such precise points, but rather to facilitate locating the areas on any map. The author obviously is including all of the northern and central parts of the Sui Empire in his cataloguing of these regions.

⁷⁶ *Tao-tsê* "robbers and bandits" refers to the rebels and adventurers who sprang up to make their bid for the throne, after the weakness of Yang's power had been exposed. Cf. the Annals (4.5b⁸ *et seq.*) and BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 51 *et seq.* for a detailed account of these uprisings that ended in the founding of the T'ang dynasty. For a classical use of a similar expression compare the *Tso chuan* (40.27a¹⁰; Legge 564).

⁷⁷ The expression *chü wei mao-ts'ao* is used in the *Shih ching* (12.18b⁷; Legge 336).

⁷⁸ The *hsiang* and *t'ing* probably refer to the administrative units of the earlier periods, and are here used as an archaism to designate the rural areas. Cf. DURS, *Former Han* 29, n. 3. The smoke and fire are symbolic of peaceful times.

⁸¹ Cf. the body of the chapter (p. 8b¹¹) where the deplorable conditions are given in greater detail. The author is here making a subtle comparison of the end of the Sui with the end of the Han. Cf. *HHS* 9.3a¹⁰, *et seq.*, where it describes the conditions in the year A. D. 194 during the reign of Emperor Hsien of the Later Han. There had been drought from the 4th lunar period to the 7th lunar period, and the scarcity of food was very great. The people turned to cannibalism and the whitened human bones were piled up in heaps. Although the Emperor tried to feed the people from the granaries, the officials cheated the people, until even the Emperor noticed it. In the following paragraph, our author continues in much the same language. Cf. also YANG, *op. cit.* 145.

⁸² The standard expression for the Wei Valley region of which Ch'ang-an (present Hsi-an of Shensi) was the center and the Western Capital.

⁸³ Cf. body of the chapter (p. 8b¹²). Emperor Yang had already gone to the Southern Capital, and the uprisings and subsequent lack of food placed the densely populated centers in grave danger. Cf. BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 56-57 for Yang's withdrawal.

⁸⁴ The Prince of Tai, grandson of Emperor Yang, whose personal name was YANG Yu 楊侑. LI Yüan 李淵, founder of the T'ang dynasty, placed him on the throne

at Ch'ang-an, December 18/19, 617 and brought about his abdication June 12, 618. He was murdered soon afterwards. His posthumous title was Emperor Kung 恭. Cf. genealogical tables of BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 126 and BOODBERG, *op. cit.* 282-283.

⁸⁵ This granary was the large one, located at the mouth of the Wei River, from which Ch'ang-an was supplied. The body of the chapter (p. 8b¹³) gives a different account:

"Yu, Prince of Tai, with Wei Hsian (*Sui shu*, ch. 63) guarded the Metropolitan Area (i. e., Ch'ang-an). The people were starving, but [there] also they were not able to relieve [them]. [When] the Righteous Army (i. e., the Army of Li Yüan) entered Ch'ang-an, [Li Yüan] issued [the grains] from the Yung-fêng granary in order to succor them. Only then were the people revived and rested."

Also the events as narrated in the *Chiu T'ang shu* (acc. to BINGHAM, *op. cit.* 102) make it clear that the Li family by gaining control of the granary prevented the Prince of Tai from carrying out his good intentions. We are unable to explain the discrepancy between the introduction and the body of the chapter, unless it was because the author wished to gloss over the part the Li family played in this distress.

⁸⁶ The implication here is that the greed of the officials was responsible for the state of affairs; however, the transfer of allegiance might likewise have been the cause.

⁸⁷ We are not satisfied that we have the best rendering for this difficult passage. The literal term for "week" is "ten days."

⁸⁸ The Prince of Tai, we presume. The first time was the Emperor Wên of the Sui.

⁸⁹ Cf. the expression, *t'ien lu yung chung* in the *Shu ching* (4.21a¹²; Legge 62-63). The same remark is made in the *Lun-yü* (Legge 350).

⁹⁰ The philosophical reference here is to the *I ching* (9.19a⁴; Legge 441) where in Appendix 7 the hexagrams 損 *sun* and 益 *i* (nos. 41 and 42) are placed in the verse. LEGGE's translation and the commentary explain that when the maximum of *hsün* "diminution" has been reached, *i* "addition" will begin, and vice versa. Cf. the philosophy of *SC*, ch. 30, *ante*.

⁹¹ The *shih-kuan* "the official historians." This statement would seem to indicate that the text of the *Chin shu*, *Shih-huo chih* (ch. 26), had not yet been written. Cf. YANG, *op. cit.* 108, 110-111 on dates of both texts. It is possible that certain chapters of the *Wu-tai shih chih* 五代史志 were finished before the final presentation of the entire document to the throne in 656. If this possibility actually happened and the dates of the *Chin shu* have been definitively established by YANG Lien-sheng, the text of the *Sui shu*, *Shih-huo chih* must have been written during the years 641-644/5.

⁹² *Lu-ching* and *huo-ts'ai* are balanced against each other. See Appendixes 4 and 1.

⁹³ *Fu* against *p'in*; *jên* and *i* against *hsing* and *fa*. The summation of the theories.

⁹⁴ The author of this monograph has used the descriptive character *pian*, literally to "plait," so we have conserved his figure of speech. He gives us to understand that what he has herein written is to be "braided" into the ends of the previous writings of SÄU-MA Ch'ien and PAN Ku.

PART THREE

GENERAL PROPOSITIONS IMPLIED BY THE ARGUMENTATIONS

As we see in the "Treatise on the Bureau of Price Stabilization," SSŪ-MA T'an and SSŪ-MA Ch'ien have drawn upon the *I ching* for their philosophical thesis that governmental regulations, necessary as they may be, must develop, reach a climax, then deteriorate. In the "Narrative on the Increment of Goods," after SSŪ-MA T'an has pointed out that human nature is such that production is stimulated by desires, and that the wise ruler must understand how to control the people through their desires, SSŪ-MA Ch'ien calls attention to the fact that although "the principle of being poor or being rich, is not a snatching [of wealth from one group] and giving [it to another group], and yet 'those who are clever have a surplus, while those who are stupid do not have a sufficiency.'" The historical proof of their statements is presented in the story of the rise to power of the kingdom of Ch'i in the second half of the Chou period by reason of its clever manipulation of the commercial life of the times. With a few terse sayings SSŪ-MA Ch'ien reminds the reader about the power of wealth and about the contrasting distress of poverty. He concludes by warning that "pseudo-enteffment" obtained through an "increment of goods" will destroy the basis of the dynasty. The implication is that the government must take measures to control the "clever" people.

PAN KU gives us a glimpse into his philosophical leanings when he takes the title of his monograph and the two major divisions of his subject from the "Great Plan" of the *Shu ching*, founded as it is upon the numerological concepts and the relationship between the microcosm and the macrocosm with its central point the royal authority. The Introduction in the first part, on the *shih*, is long and interesting; while that in the second part, on the *huo*, is brief and not very informative. The emphasis is clearly indicated by his own excursus: grain is the prime wealth of the empire, so that governmental control of that commodity will go far toward stabilizing the prices; that agriculture should be stressed and commerce controlled. Basing himself mainly on the

Chou li, he sketches an excellent picture of the earlier feudal economy comparable in every way to the manorial type of Europe. The people were attached to the soil, and bound by the necessities of the acre-strip (*mou*) division of the land into village communities with socially dependent units that demanded the maximum co-operation from each member. Every element of their lives was regulated and supervised. Good government and satisfied people were dependent upon ample harvests. In his "Narrative on the Increment of Goods," he again contrasts the idyllic "fixing" of the people during the Three Ancient Dynasties with the chaotic economic conditions of the late Chou period, and ends by saying that "these doctrines flourished from above because the laws and regulations were lacking in the needed restraints."

We learn how authoritative PAN KU's monograph had become during the four hundred years that had elapsed since its composition, when we find it repeated almost verbatim in the *Wei shu*.

CHANG-SUN Wu-chi recapitulates most of the classical precedents already brought forward by SSŪ-MA Ch'ien and PAN KU, and stresses the fact that good government has ensued when taxation was orderly and expenditures were moderate. His main task is to bring down to the year 618 the historical survey from the point at which PAN KU left off. He vividly contrasts the policies of the Sui Emperor Wên, who was frugal and concerned about full granaries and treasuries, with those of his son, Emperor Yang, who lavishly spent and recklessly went to war. He sums up the central proposition of his own theories and that of his predecessors:

The Sage *Wang* divided the rural lands in order to occupy the people productively, and circulated the exchangeable valuables in order to enrich them. Having enriched the people, they taught them; humaneness and a sense of justice, because of this, flourished. [If the people] are impoverished, they become robbers; [then] punishments and penalties are unable to cause a halt.

Let us examine in greater detail this central proposition. It is more clearly stated by our earlier authors. SSŪ-MA T'an writes:

[When the people] were settled and [the country] was at peace, [these rulers] developed the *hsiang* and *hsü* [types of institutions], made primary the basic occupations, and diminished the branch occupations; with moral discipline and a standard of right, they guarded against personal interests.

and PAN KU says:

Therefore, the Sage *Wang* "to bind in the people" built outer and inner walls in order to domicile them; parceled out the huts and wells in order to equalize them; instituted the markets and the shops in order to cause a transfer [of goods] between them; and established the *hsiang* and *hsü* [types of institutions] in order to teach them.

and again, in the form of a summary, he says:

This is the general outline of how the former *Wang* parceled out the soils, placed the people, then enriched and taught them.

Although it is more circuitous, yet the thesis is the same when he says:

. . . each had its order and its rank; [so that] the small could not usurp [the prerogatives] of the great, and the base [plebeians] could not transgress [the prerogatives] of the noble [patricians]. So it was thus, that upper and lower followed in their [proper] order, and the ambitions of the people were fixed.

Thus, their desires were few and their needs were moderate; their valuables were sufficient and they did not wrangle. Therefore, among the people, the ruling ones guided them by means of moral force, and made them orderly by means of social discipline. Thus, the people had a [sense of] shame and also respect; they valued justice and despised personal gains.

If we take PAN KU's summary of the central proposition, we find that it has four steps: (1) parcel out the soils, (2) place the people, (3) enrich them, and (4) teach them. SSŪ-MA T'an's statement tells us that placing or settling the people involves making "primary the basic occupations," and diminishing "the branch occupations"; PAN KU's longer explanation makes it clear that "upper and lower followed in their proper order, and the ambitions of the people were fixed." CHANG-SUN Wu-chi adds to the doctrine the corollary:

If one employs the people without using a principle, and levies from them, as if it were not adequate, [the result will be that] "when their wealth is exhausted, they will be resentful; when their strength is exhausted, they will rebel."

He states this in his summary in the sentence:

[If the people] are impoverished, they become robbers; [then] punishments and penalties are unable to cause a halt.

Such is the classical phrasing of the central point in the argu-

ment. What does it mean interpreted in terms of the fact which we establish in Part One; namely, that the contents of the chapters treat of fiscal problems? What do these phrases mean when couched in the modern terminology of any treasury department?

"Parceling out the soils" probably referred in its oldest meaning to the strip system; a ruler or the lord would need to distribute the acre-strips with equity, if he hoped to have fairly contented serfs. In later times the expression was used with its derived meaning: a ruler would need to prevent *latifundia* if he hoped to have any control over the agricultural economy.

"Placing the people" or "settling the people" clearly alluded to the need for fixing the people at their agricultural tasks, preventing any freedom of movement, either in the form of vagabondage or taking up other occupations, and thereby upsetting the ratio of the various classes. The need for grain was paramount, so that agriculture had to be stressed.

"Enriching the people" meant an equalization of wealth more than any desire to make them all affluent. It meant a constant circulation of wealth, with great care taken that some individuals did not acquire too much, and thereby become a threat to the reigning dynasty; and that the mass of the people did not have too little. If the people were too poor there could be only two results; either they would die, or they would rebel. It was believed that the solution was government control and stabilization of prices.

"Teaching the people" meant to prevent the individual from putting his interest above that of the ruling authorities, and from becoming rebellious.

Thus, from the point of view of the imperial treasury, where the concern was revenues and expenditures, the official historians wrote for the emperor, his advisors, and future administrators: first, that the wealth of the empire, founded upon the products of agriculture and sericulture, grain and silk, is needed by the treasury for military and civil disbursements, and can be insured as a steady revenue only by fixing the people to the land; second, that any excess of wealth in the possession of individuals constitutes a threat to the existing dynasty, so that governmental con-

trol must be exercised to bring about an even distribution of wealth; and third, that rebellious populations can destroy any government by disrupting normal economic activities, so that the people must be disciplined by social codes and taught their proper place in the hierarchy of society.

This point of view naturally tends to stress the fiscal concerns of the government, so that accounts of earlier rulers contained in these monographs should be considered in this light. If the officials of the treasury, harassed by the needs of meeting unreasonable demands made upon them by imperial orders, vigorously condemned an earlier ruler for his rash expenditures as an indirect warning to their own sovereign, it should not be considered anything more than a normal gesture on the part of a member of the exchequer.

APPENDIX 1

Huo 貨

The character *huo* is composed of the phonetic 化 meaning "to change, transform, alter, convert," plus the determinative 貝 "the cowry (*Cypraea moneta*)." Since our early texts were composed in the Han period (i. e., after the second century B. C.) and the word *huo*, as used in the chapters of the dynastic histories upon which our study is concentrated, was crystallized into its meaning during that time, we shall need to look into the pre-Han literature to ascertain its earlier complex of meaning. We hope by this procedure to shed a ray of light upon the reason why the word appears in the title of the chapters: *Shih-huo chih*.

The *Shu ching* (ch. 14; Legge 392) in a chapter considered by CREEL (*SECC* 57, n. 6) "to be genuine and to date from the opening years of the Chou dynasty" (i. e., ca. eleventh century B. C.), has the word *huo* with the general meaning "personal property" or possibly "valuables."

The "Great Plan" chapter of the *Shu ching* (ch. 12; Legge 320-384) also considered among the genuine chapters and dated ca. seventh or sixth century B. C., has the word *huo*, but the context does not give us sufficient information to ascertain the exact nature of its use. The present understanding of the meaning has been fixed by PAN Ku's use of this material in his monograph (cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 1).

The preponderance of the usage in the *Tso chuan* (an authentic work of the fourth century B. C. according to Bernhard KARLGRÉN's detailed study *On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso chuan*, 1926) was in the meaning of "a present," "a bribe." This meaning of *huo* is usually indicated in the modern Chinese dictionaries by giving as one of the synonyms, the word *lu* 賂 "a bribe," "to give a present as a bribe." It is interesting that one of our sections of the *Ch'ien-Han shu* (ch. 24a, cf. *ante*) in describing the four classes of workers has the following phrase: "[Those who] transferred *ts'ai* 財 'valuables' and *yü* 鬻 'sold'

the *huo* were called *shang* 'merchants.' The character *yü* is an uncommon one. YEN Shih-ku glosses it with *mai* "to sell." A fuller sense of the word *yü* is to be had from the story in *Mencius* (9b.12a¹⁸⁻²⁰; *Legge* 366-368) in which a man is accused of having "sold (*yü*) himself to a cattle-keeper of Ch'in . . . , in order to find an introduction to the Duke Mû of Ch'in. . . ." The character *yü* represents an offering of food made to the ancestors, and there is the implication of magic being invoked to "force" the departed spirits' aid. It is not accidental that one homophone is the word "incantation" and another the word "to nurture," "to cultivate something in anticipation of a yield." Thus the full implication of the passage in the *Ch'ien-Han shu*, given above, is that the merchants were those who transferred valuables and offered special objects of value that would provoke the return of greater values. In our opinion, *huo* long retained this connotation of "the bribe," the object used in prestation. Marcel GRANET in his *Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne* (pp. 90-91) expresses it very well, "Quand le Prince sait appliquer la règle, il provoque une circulation des richesses qui est la création de la richesse."

The *Chou li* [also a compilation of ca. the fourth century B. C. according to KARLGRÉN's "The Early History of the *Chou li* and *Tso chuan* Texts" (*BMFEA* [1931] 1-8) even though it may have interpolations of a later date], in a few places, uses the word *huo* alone, but more often it is combined with *hui* into the binom *huo-hui* 貨賄. An example of its use alone is in the passage about the "Market Treasury" (*Chou li* 15.13b¹⁸; *Biot* 1.326) where it speaks of "the unsold *huo* of the market place." BIOT translates *huo* as "les denrées." The best example that we could find where within the text itself there is an attempt to differentiate the word *huo* from *hui* is in the section devoted to the first of the Nine Treasuries (6.10a¹⁴; *Biot* 1.121). Here BIOT renders *huo* as "les matières précieuses de première classe," "l'or et le jade" and *hui* as "les matières précieuses de deuxième classe," "les toiles, les étoffes," although he admits the distinction is not used consistently. There are extensive commentaries on the subject of these words, but since they all post-date the *Ch'ien-Han shu*, we shall not draw upon them for definitions. The *Chou li* accounts

show us that the word *huo* was applied to "goods that were sold in the market place," but more often was associated with the tribute of precious objects; that is, those articles that were placed in the category of being valuable enough to be stored in the Chou dynasty's treasuries.

The *Lun-yü* "The Analects of Confucius" has the word in the phrase *huo-chih*, which is used in the title of our second section from the *Shih chi* (ch. 129, cf. *ante*, note *); there we have translated *huo* as "goods."

Mencius has only two uses of the word as a noun: one is the quotation from the *Shu ching* (ch. 14) that we have already cited; the other one (2.10b²; Legge 162-163) gives us an interesting indirect definition of the word *huo*. The character *huo* is translated by LEGGE as "wealth." Mencius here is speaking of *huo* in terms of ricks of hay and filled granaries, and bags of provisions: "corn" in the old sense of the European economic term.

There is the binom *huo-ts'ai* 貨財 used in *Mencius*, which LEGGE (pp. 291 and 337) translates as "stores and wealth" and "goods and money" (respectively). In the first passage (p. 291) *huo-ts'ai* is in parallel construction with "exterior and interior walls," "offensive and defensive weapons," "arable and uncultivated lands," so that one can infer either "convertible and nonconvertible wealth" or "finished and unfinished goods." The second passage (p. 337) does not aid us any in narrowing down the meaning. This binom, *huo-ts'ai*, is still in present use, and has the meaning "goods and wealth," "possessions."

The Great Appendix of the *I ching* (the accurate dating of which is yet to be established, so we are cautiously placing this Appendix after the compilation of *Mencius*—i. e., in the third century B. C.) has the word *huo* in its story of the earliest exchange (cf. *ante*, *CHS*, ch. 24a, n. 6). There *huo* would seem to have the sense of "all those things that can be exchanged."

We have given the above examples from early literature to support our understanding of the multiple-definition of the word *huo* in the pre-Han period—i. e., prior to the second century B. C. The examples are not exhaustive, but we have attempted to give an adequate number for the purpose.

With the pre-Han meanings as our background, we shall now look at the passages in our sections wherein the authors present their ideas on the meaning of *huo*. The word is not encountered in the text of the *Shih chi* in our selections until the very last paragraph, in the conclusion of *ch.* 129. There, it is in parallel construction with the word *fu*, which we translated as "wealth" from the Chinese definition of "having an abundance of *ts'ai* 財 'valuables,'" and the context indicates that *huo* is that which changes ownership, "a commodity," "goods." That the word is of prime importance in this chapter is proved by the fact that it is contained in the title, "Narrative on the Increment of Goods."

As we have discussed at length (*ante*, *CHS*, *ch.* 24a, n. 1) PAN Ku brings the word into prominence. He also provides us with an enumeration of the articles comprised by the term:

By *huo* was meant the wearable [things such as] *pu* "hempen and grass cloths" and *po* "white silk cloth," together with the metals and the knives, the tortoise shells and cowry shells, with which to distribute *ts'ai* "valuables" and spread profit, causing a transfer [from those who] have [to those who] have not.

As we interpret PAN Ku, he means by *huo* the early circulating articles that possessed high exchange value.

Although the *Shih chi*, *ch.* 30, does not use *huo*, it does use the word *pi* 幣 in a manner that must be brought into contrast with PAN Ku's use of *huo*. The word *pi* is composed of the phonetic 幣 and the determinative 巾, "a strip of textile." The primary meaning of *pi* is "a piece of silk," and from this arose its secondary meaning "monetary value." The following is SSŪ-MA T'an's statement on the early exchange, contained in this Chap. 30 of the *Shih chi*:

When the way of exchange had been opened between agriculturists, artisans, and merchants, then *pi* "monetary values" of tortoise shells and cowry shells, metals, spades and knives, and *pu* "hempen and grass cloths" arose from it.

Since SSŪ-MA T'an does not mention the *po* "white silk cloth," are we not to understand that he is really saying that all the other articles used in exchange were evaluated in terms of the *pi* "pieces of silk" as a standard of value? The ramifications of the subject are many and beyond the reach of our investigation.

Later in the *Shih chi*, *ch.* 30, there is another statement that we have attributed to the son, Ssü-MA Ch'ien about the monetary values. He discusses the Ch'in dynasty's (221-206 B. C.) transfer to a completely metallic monetary base. In translating his discussion of this period we have used the word "coin" for the first time.

The character *ch'ien* 錢, the present word for the so-called "Chinese cash" and money in general in China, is one of the interesting characters in the Chinese language, and is one of the most important clues in our understanding of Chinese monetary history. Our previous translation for this word has been "spades." That the character was originally used for the name of one type of the digging sticks or spades used by the early Chinese agriculturists is amply substantiated by Chinese dictionaries. Working with characters from inscribed bones and bronzes and also actual coins, Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒 in his article, "Lei-ssü k'ao 耒耜考" (*CYYY* 2 [1930].11-59) shows the direct relationship of the so-called "*pu* coins" and the *lei* "the two-pronged foot-plough" of ancient China. It is clear from Mr. Hsü's analysis that the early Chinese first exchanged the actual articles of agriculture and later cast tokens of them in an alloy of copper, just as the Mediterranean world of antiquity used cattle and then tokens of the animals.

In the second half of the *Ch'ien-Han shu*, Chap. 24, we have another statement from PAN KU on the nature of *huo*: "In general, *huo* is the use of metal [? gold] and *ch'ien*, and the *pu* and *po* cloths." The word that we have translated "metal [? gold]" might possibly be translated "bullion" provided that one maintained an open mind; the preponderance of evidence seems to indicate that it was gold, especially when the term "yellow metal" was used, but proof is still lacking. It might have been an alloy. In this passage, PAN KU in using the word *ch'ien* may have meant the actual instrument, the token, or possibly the coin itself. We prefer to leave the question open. Since all the rest of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of coinage and monetary problems during the Han period, it seems clear that PAN KU thought of *huo* as circulating articles that had exchange value,

and were used by the people for payments, either "in kind" or as coin, and used by the government for fiscal needs.

Turning from this Chap. 24 of the *Ch'ien-Han shu* to our other selection from that history, the Chap. 91, we find that PAN KU in decrying the perverted state of affairs after the weakening of the Chou dynasty (i. e., from the seventh century to the fourth century B. C.) gives us a few statements in which the word *huo* is used:

Among the people, those who sowed and harvested were few; those who were merchants and travelers were many. Of grains, there was an insufficiency, while of *huo*, there was a surplus. . . .

Thus, the merchants transported the *huo* that were difficult to obtain; the artisans manufactured the articles that were without utility. . . .

In these passages the emphasis is more upon *huo* as "goods" or "commodities."

The Introduction of the *Wei shu* (ch. 110), which follows the ideas of PAN KU, informs us in the opening sentence: "In governing a kingdom or a family, no one fails to take as the foundation, grains and *huo*." Later in the same chapter, YÜAN Ch'êng, by his extensive citation of the *I ching* after having mentioned *huo*, seems to identify *huo* with *ts'ai* "valuables or possessing valuables." He again makes clearer his conception of *huo* in saying, "When the *huo* of the kingdom [of Ch'i] began to circulate, he fixed the standards of *shu* and *liang*."

In the *Sui shu* (ch. 24), Introduction, the author commenting on the passages from the early literature about exchange remarks: "The meaning is that the grains and *huo* circulated [so that] all obtained their proper portions."

These expressions in the *Wei shu* and the *Sui shu* are on the more abstract character of *huo*: circulating articles having exchange value, used by the people for payments and the government for fiscal needs.

From the time of the Han Emperor Wu (140-86 B. C.) we have more accurate information about that form of *huo* known as *ch'ien* "coins." SSŪ-MA Ch'ien has devoted the major portion of the *SC*, ch. 30, to discussions of the various changes and debasements of the coins during that emperor's reign (cf. CHAVANNES,

Mh 3.538-604). PAN KU follows this chapter in compiling his monetary history of the Han as given in the *CHS*, *ch.* 24b. Information given in this section of PAN KU's monograph has been extensively quoted. Cf. Edouard BIOT, "Mémoire sur le Système Monétaire des Chinois," *JA* (3rd Series, May, 1837) 3.422-465; W. VISSERING, *On Chinese Currency* (1877) 20 *et. seq.*; and CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 428-430. None of these studies can be recommended for more than a point from which to begin a revision of our information on the whole of Chinese monetary history. The figures given by PAN KU have been used in long calculations by both Chinese and Occidental scholars. Future archeological discoveries probably will make it possible to obtain the proper calculations.

We shall repeat here the range of meanings that we found for the word *huo* in the pre-Han literary references, and give in summary the meanings as developed in our sections, so that we may have the full connotation of the word *huo*. In pre-Han literature *huo* could mean: personal property, goods, a commodity, money in its general sense, grain as wealth, convertible wealth, an object of value surrendered to provoke the return of a greater value, valuables, presents, bribes, precious objects used for tribute, and finally all those things that can be exchanged. In our selections, *huo* has been used to mean: a commodity, goods, various circulating articles that possessed exchange value, and finally special circulating articles that have exchange value, and were used by the people for payments, either "in kind" or as coin, and used by the government for fiscal needs. Now that we have the range of meanings of the word *huo* as it developed in the Chinese literature that we have used, it would be well to point out that *huo*, by virtue of the emphasis on "circulation" and "passing from hand to hand," was never used to refer to land or real estate or "fixed" assets in general.

We shall conclude this appendix by calling attention to the fact that from the point of view of the fiscal administration, the main function of *huo* was their use as a means of payment to the government, and that this use tended to make them become identified as the medium of exchange.

APPENDIX 2

Ch'ing-chung 輕重

Although in some passages in our selections the characters *ch'ing* and *chung* have their normal meaning or meanings, there are several places where they are used in a technical sense. At each such occurrence, we have referred to this appendix in the notes. It is only this technical meaning with which we shall concern ourselves here.

The term *ch'ing-chung* appears as the sub-title of Secs. 68 to 79 and as the full title of Secs. 80 to 86 of the book entitled *Kuan-tzū* and traditionally credited to KUAN Chung. (Cf. *SC*, ch. 30, n. 32, *ante*). These sections of the book that discuss the nature and workings of KUAN Chung's system of fiscal administration comprise more than twenty per cent of the whole book; and since the *Kuan-tzū* has not been translated and since the fiscal system propounded in it has not been adequately explained, it is obviously beyond the scope of this appendix to do more than briefly attempt a provisional explanation of the term.

PAN KU (*CHS* 24b.1a⁸⁻¹³-1b¹⁻²) provides us with an abstract, presumably from the original text of the writings credited to the Kuan-tzū school, in which he tries to explain the essence of the system called "*ch'ing-chung*." However, the 182 characters used by PAN KU form sentences so elliptical that they are difficult to comprehend. We found that all the phrases used in the *Ch'ien-Han shu* are to be found in Sec. 73 of the *Kuan-tzū* (*SPPY*, 22.4a²-8b⁵) in a fuller form, so that a reading of this section makes PAN KU's text understandable. We set aside for the purpose of this paper the problem of the authenticity of the *Kuan-tzū*. Since the essence of what is presented herein is to be inferred from PAN KU's quotation, we believe that we are justified in giving our own abstract of the more extensive explanation from the present *Kuan-tzū*. Inasmuch as the form in which the argument is presented in the text of the *Kuan-tzū* is repetitious and involved, we have taken the liberty of rearranging the sequence of sentences

and of omitting large segments of the text that do not directly concern us here. Since what we shall present is not a full translation, we prefer to call it an interpretation of Kuan-tzu's argument. It is as follows:

Since the grains are the staff of life of the people, and the yellow metal [? gold], knives, and pieces of silk are the articles that are circulated among the people, the ruler should control these articles in order to manage the food supply. By means of controlling both these elements, the ruler can make the maximum use of the labor of the people.

Because harvests sometimes fail and sometimes are abundant, there are years when the grains are dear and years when the grains are cheap. If the harvest happens to be excellent, then it is difficult to sell the grains for an adequate return; the result is that dogs and pigs are fed the food of men. On the other hand, if the harvest is bad the cost of buying grain is so great that the people cannot afford it, and starve to death.

The articles of circulation have periods when they are considered as being very valuable and other periods when they are considered as being of little value, because the ruler's demands upon the people for the articles are sometimes issued asking for them in a hurry and sometimes asking for them at a late date. If the order from the ruler says that the article should be ready in ten days, then the price would only augment ten per cent; but if the order were issued in the morning demanding the article be ready that night, the price would augment ninety per cent. If the articles are cheap, then the people do not even recover their original output of labor; but if their price is tenfold then the people cannot purchase them, and cannot carry on their work.

When conditions are thus, the ruler is unable to have any control. The result is that merchants stock up when the prices are low, and swarm over the market places when the prices are high, and taking advantage of the fact that the people need the grain and articles, they exact a hundredfold price. For these reasons, the ones who are expert in governing hold for future use the grains and articles during periods of surplus, and offer or give them to the people during periods of insufficiency. When the people have a surplus, they consider the grains and articles as being unimportant; therefore, the ruler should take advantage of the fact, and collect them. This is the *ch'ing*; that is, the excess of supply over demand. However, when the people have an insufficiency, then they consider the grains and articles as being important; therefore, the ruler should take advantage of the fact and scatter his holdings. This is the *chung*; that is, the excess of demand over supply. By collecting and storing them when they are *ch'ing*, by scattering and circulating them when they are *chung*, the ruler certainly will have a profit that is tenfold, and the accumulation of wealth can be secured, and kept steady.

From his stocks of grains and articles, the ruler can provide for the ploughing in spring and the weeding in summer. If the people must obtain all their means of production (i. e., their annual "capital" advance) and food supplies from the ruler, then the great merchants and families who hoard up the supplies will not be able to exploit the people. The ruler can foster the basic

occupations (i. e., agriculture and sericulture), because in spring he can give out silkworms in order to collect the silk cloth that the people will produce during the winter months; in summer he can release the seed grains in order to obtain the autumn grains. By this method the people would not waste their time, and the kingdom would not lose its profit.

In general, the five grains are the master (i. e., the supreme commodity) of the myriad articles. If the grains are dear, then the myriad articles must be cheap; if the grains are cheap, then the myriad articles must be dear. Since the two are opposing forces and they are not always in balance, the ruler must control the ratio of the grains and articles: he must readjust them during periods of unbalance. Now, when articles are abundant, they are cheap; when they are scarce, they are dear. If they are added to the supply, they cheapen the price; if they are collected, they raise the price. When grains are cheap, the ruler can collect them, giving in exchange *pi* "monetary units" to be used by the people for future food supplies; when the *pu* and *po* cloths are cheap, the ruler can collect them giving in exchange "monetary units" to be used by the people for future clothing supplies. The ruler concerns himself with the supply (*ch'ing*) and the demand (*chung*) of the articles in order to control them, and to bring about an equilibrium.

On the basis of the above account, we have translated the term *ch'ing-chung* as "[stabilizing] supply and demand." It is also clear from the context of the *Ch'ien-Han shu* (24b.11b²) that PAN KU so understood it, and therefore he placed this system of KUAN Chung's together with the other systems for the stabilization of the price of grain.

APPENDIX 3

Kung 貢, *fu* 賦, *shui* 稅, *tsu* 租.

All the characters that we shall examine in this appendix belong to the large category of taxes. We are using the word "tax" in the general sense of "payments to the governing body or group," and not in any technical sense. There have been many forms of exaction or assessment in China, and reference to them is to be found in early literature. We shall be principally concerned with four words used to designate forms of taxation: *kung*, *fu*, *shui*, and *tsu*, because they are the names appearing most frequently in our selections. It should be evident that a discussion of these four names in an appendix would merely touch the surface of the vast problem of tax nomenclatures, use to which collections were put, subject of taxation (human beings, land, buildings, articles . . .), nature of taxes (grain, silk, coins, labor, special services . . .), and amounts assessed. An added difficulty presents itself in the fact that a character may be used in one period with a certain connotation and in a later period with a very different connotation. We shall try to give a description that will be sufficient to bring out an element of distinction for each of these four types—more than that, we cannot encompass in this short appendix. Cf. CHEN, *Econ. Princ.* 621-714 for an ambitious attempt to describe forms of Chinese taxation down through the ages.

Kung

In the annotations to our translations we have frequently referred to the *Shu ching* chapter entitled the "Yü-kung," "The Tribute of Yü." It is generally agreed that this chapter is an authentic document of the seventh century B. C., and as the title indicates it gives a statistical account of the tribute from the various regions, supposedly during the time of Yü. We are supplied with detailed information on the articles sent into the ruler's court: skeins of silk, varnish, salt, metals, rare stones, fine timber, and many others. In the *Chou li* we have a listing ac-

according to usage of the articles of tribute sent in by the vassal kingdoms (2.9a¹³-9b¹; *Biot* 1.31-32): for sacrifices, women's work, utensils, cloth and precious articles, woodwork, objects of value, garments, battle-standard ornaments. There is no problem involved in the interpretation of the word: the ancient meaning of "tribute" has been conserved in the present Chinese language. The implication of a gift or an offering from an inferior to a superior is fundamental in all uses of the character. The articles of tribute throughout the centuries have been used by the ruler and his court.

Kung can be used in a comprehensive sense, in which case it would embrace the meaning of the other more specific words for taxation. Mencius (*Mencius* 5.8a¹²; *Legge* 240) uses the word as a general term for assessment when speaking of the Hsia dynasty.

Fu

The same chapter of the *Shu ching*, "The Tribute of Yü," supplies us with our early information about the *fu*. Under the heading of each province along with the tribute articles, we are given a rating for the *fu*; for example, the province of Yung in the northwest having soil of the first rank, and arable fields of the first rank, was held for a *fu* "contribution of revenue" (*Legge's* translation) of the sixth rank, and a tribute of precious stones and barbarian cloth and furs. Likewise, we find our next reference in the *Chou li* (2.8b¹⁶⁻¹⁷; *Biot* 1.27-29), in the listing of the nine sources of taxation: the capital, suburbs of the capital, the various zones outside the suburbs, customs stations and markets, mountainous and lake regions, and a surplus of wealth. *Biot* translates *fu* as "taxe," and the text that heads the section as, "Par les neuf sortes de taxes, il rassemble les richesses et valeurs [*ts'ai-hui*]."

The *Lun-yü* "Analects of Confucius" (5.11a¹⁵; *Legge* 175) furnishes us with a narrower meaning: Confucius, speaking of one of his disciples says, "In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, Yü might be employed to manage the military levies (*fu*), but I do not know whether he be perfectly virtuous." The text of the *Tso chuan* (fourth century B. C.) gives us additional information.

There is the famous so-called "buff-coat ordinance" of the year 590 B. C. (*Tso chuan* 25.22b⁴; *Legge* 336) of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the exact nature of which is not known, but it certainly refers to some type of military levy. Compare also the story from the *Tso chuan* about Tzū-ch'an's placing a *fu* (tax) as given in our selection from the *Sui shu* (*ch.* 24, n. 22, *ante*). In a later account, ca. 484 B. C. (*Tso chuan* 58.18b¹⁷⁻²⁰; *Legge* 826) Confucius is said to have opposed a project for *t'ien-fu* 田賦. Here, there is a definite equating of the *fu* with the previous military levy. In the following year, 483 B. C., Duke Ai of Lu does impose the *fu* (tax) on the land, and LEGGE (notes on pp. 827-829) comments that the *fu* was "a contribution for military purposes. The land was now burdened in some way with some contribution to the military levies of the state. . . ."

Our next reference is from a passage in one of our selections from the *Ch'ien-Han shu* (24a.1b^{13-2a}¹):

The *fu* contributed to the military services of the chariots and horses, the defensive and offensive weapons, the knights and the foot soldiers, and to filling and making substantial the treasuries and storehouses for the requirements of gift-giving.

Also in the *Ch'ien Han shu* (23.1b^{10, 11}), PAN KU, in discussing the fact that the *ching-t'ien* (see our Appendix 4) is the basis for both the *shui* and *fu* (taxes), informs us that, "the *fu* was to make adequate [the provisions for] the soldiers." YEN Shih-ku's (581-645) commentaries are to the effect that *fu* means collecting the wealth according to a count of individuals. On the basis of this, CHAVANNES in his translation of the *Shih chi* (30.1b³; *Mh* 3.541, and n. 6) on the early Han times, interprets *fu* as "poll tax." In his note, CHAVANNES says, "The poll tax was computed upon the needs of the treasury; only the absolutely necessary amount was exacted from the people."

There are two other passages in our selections that show that there was a connection between the periods of going to war and the *fu* (tax). In the *Ch'ien-Han shu* (*ch.* 24a), PAN KU tells us that:

When we come to the First Sovereign [Emperor of Ch'in], he . . . collected a *fu* (tax) of more than half (i. e., two-thirds), and levied the frontier soldiers from [all who lived] left of the hamlet gates.

while

When one reaches the time of Emperor Hsiao-wu (of Han, who also carried on extensive wars), the expenditures of the kingdoms were abundantly granted, yet the people were not additionally taxed (*fu*).

On the basis of our evidence, we have concluded that the *fu* was an assessment or levy for military needs, whether that was the pay and equipment of armies or gifts for merit or bribes, and that it was levied at different periods against regional units, customs stations and markets, non-agricultural pursuits, excess wealth, habitation units, arable lands, and individuals. In our selections, we have translated *fu* as "military tax." We wish to point out that in later periods the word was applied in a wider sense.

Shui

The *Chou li* does not aid us in understanding the word *shui*; it is mentioned (for example, 7.13a¹⁴; *Biot* 1.133); but is not stressed, and seems to mean only "collections" in general. Although the word is only used twice, according to the *Index to the Tso chuan*, yet it is to the *Tso chuan* that we owe our earliest and most complete information about the *shui*. We would merely call attention to the pronounced difference in the number of times the words *fu* and *shui* appear in the *Tso chuan*: 18 to 2. We may infer from that fact that the use of the word *shui* is later and was of less importance in the economy of the times. The first reference in the *Tso chuan* (24.20a¹⁴⁻¹⁵; *Legge* 329, par. 8) is really appended to the regular text as a commentary on the *Ch'un-ch'iu* notice (*Tso chuan* 24.18b¹⁰; *Legge* 327) that in the fifteenth year of Duke Hsüan (594 B. C.), "For the first time an [additional] tithe was levied from the acre" (*LEGGE's* translation). The *Tso chuan's* commentary on this has:

This enactment was contrary to rule. The grain contributed by the people should not have exceeded the tithe from the system of mutual dependence, having respect to the enlargement of people's wealth. (*LEGGE's* translation.)

A more extensive discussion of this act of Duke Hsüan is taken up by both the *Kung-yang chuan* (16.9b¹⁴⁻²⁰) and the *Ku-liang chuan* (12.8a⁷⁻¹³; *LEGGE's Prolegomena* of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* 68-69).

In his notes, LEGGE explains (*Ch'un-ch'iu* 329) that he has interpreted the commentary of the *Tso chuan* as meaning a double tithe: one from the public fields and one from the private fields. He gives as support the passage in the *Lun-yü* (12.15b¹⁶; *Legge* 255) where the Duke Ai of Lu speaks of a double tithe. However, he admits that the *Kung-yang chuan* and the *Ku-liang chuan* speak only

. . . of the abandonment of the ancient system of the cultivation of the public tenth of the land by the common labor 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 actual amount of produce yielded by the husbandman under either of these two interpretations would not be so great as to cause as much comment as has been written about it. However, the important fact is that the assessment was not upon labor, but was placed directly against the *mou* (see Appendix 4).

The other mention of *shui* in the *Tso chuan* is in a story from the text itself (57.9b⁷; *Legge* 800) which recounts an event of the year (?) 493 B. C. A certain man "had collected the rents of the lands given by the people of Chow" when he was captured by an invading army. "The officers asked leave to put him to death, but [their leader] said, 'It was for his lord. He has no crime!'" He returned the rents of the lands to the captured man. The term used in the story for "rents of the land" is *shui*. This event took place about one hundred years after the first mention of the *shui* upon the *mou*; apparently, that mode of taxation had become an established custom.

In the *Li chi* collection, the chapter entitled "Yüeh-ling" (a third century B. C. text), which LEGGE translates "Proceedings of Government in the Different Months," has a paragraph (15. 12a²⁰; *Legge* 27.271, par. 19) in which the word *shui* is used for tithe of silkworm cocoons collected according to the number of mulberry trees. In the same collection, the chapter entitled "Wang-chih" (written 164 B. C.), which LEGGE translates "The Royal Regulations," has a very interesting paragraph (12.14b¹³⁻¹⁴; *Legge* 27.227, par. 11) in which the word *shui* and the word *chéng* 征 are used throughout almost as synonyms.

PAN KU gives us his interpretation of the *shui* (tax) in our selection (*CHS*, ch. 24a):

By the *shui* (tax) was meant the tithe of the common fields, and the income from the artisans, merchants, and *hêng-yü*.

The *shui* (tax) provided for the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, the ancestral temple, and the numerous spirits; the expenditures for the maintenance of the emperor, for the stipend and food of the numerous officials, [and] for miscellaneous affairs.

In addition PAN KU tells us (23.1b¹⁰) that "the *shui* was used to make adequate the food supplies."

The commentaries of YEN Shih-ku on both these chapters, 24a and 23, are:

By *shui* is meant collecting the income from their arable fields. . . . Although the artisans, merchants, and *hêng-yü* did not break the soil and plant, from them likewise they took a *shui*. The artisan has the handiwork of his dexterity and skill; the merchant has the profit of his traffic and trade; the *hêng-yü* collects timber and products of the mountains and marshes. *Shui* is the *tsu* 租 of the arable fields. (See n. 34, *CHS*, ch. 24a, ante, on *hêng-yü*.)

We shall examine the word *tsu* under our next heading. CHAVANNES uses these commentaries as the basis of his translation of the *Shih chi* (30.1b³; *Mh* 3.541 and n. 6) on the early Han dynasty's fiscal practices, and explains in his note that *shui* designates the "redevance" of one-fifteenth levied on all the products of the soil and industry. (See n. 29, *Sui shu*, ch. 24, ante on the problem of the one-fifteenth.)

From our evidence, it would appear that the *shui* (tax) was collected for civil or administrative needs, and that it was first levied directly against the *mou* and the raw products of sericulture, and later exacted from all the productive occupations. It was probably "in kind" during the early periods, but also in monetary units in the later periods. In our selections we have translated *shui* as "civil administrative tax."

Tsu

The character *tsu* is the most difficult of these terms. In our selections, it occurs only in the *Sui shu* chapter, but it does appear in Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien's writings, so that we know it is of an older use than our selected passages would indicate. The use to which the

revenues were put is not specified. Since the term often occurs in seeming contrast to *fu* "military tax," it is possible that the tax was a specialized form of *shui* and used for civil expenditures.

It apparently was not used in this form in either the *Chou li* or the *Tso chuan*, since we have not been able to find any reference to it in the texts themselves. We cannot go into the problem which Hsü Chung-shu in his article "Lei-sü k'ao" (see Appendix 1) has stated of the relationship between such characters as 菑、助、鉏、菑, and 藉, or into the commentators' attempts to explain *tsu* in terms of 祖.

In the few references which we have examined from the *Shih chi* and the *Ch'ien-Han shu*, there seems to be a confusion between *shui* and *tsu*: it is difficult to determine whether the writers mean a binom *tsu-shui* or two separate words. We would call attention to the interchange of the two characters in the *Shih chi*, *Ch'ien-Han shu*, and *Yen-t'ieh lun*, all three of which describe the same event during the year 156 B. C. The *Yen-t'ieh lun* (SPPY, 3.5a⁸⁻⁹; GALE, DSI 94, par. e) uses the character *shui*, while the *Shih chi* (11.1a⁹) and the *Ch'ien-Han shu* (5.1b¹¹; DUBS, *Former Han* 311) use the character *tsu*. Later on in the *Yen-t'ieh lun* (3.6a⁵; GALE, DSI 95, par. g) there is the term *tsu-fu* or *tsu* and *fu*; again, it is difficult to say. Mr. DUBS seems to translate *tsu* as "land tax" and *shui* as "contributions in kind"; but, for some reason, changes and translates them as a unit on p. 175. We have already called attention to this in n. 29 on the *Sui shu*, ch. 24, ante.

There were two separate taxes levied according to the *Sui shu* under the separate names of *tsu* and *shui*, although *tsu* seems to be more frequently mentioned in the later periods. Cf. YANG, *op. cit.* 128-136 on the land tax system of the Chin dynasty.

There are sufficient indications in the references that we have from the *Ch'ien-Han shu* and the *Sui shu* to make it possible to say that *tsu* was differentiated from the *shui* in that it was only applied to collections related to use of the land, never to trading operations. We are also of the opinion that it would fit more into the category of our term "rent of land." There is a possibility that the lands from which the *tsu* was collected were the Imperial Domains.

Although we admit that our evidence is too scant for a definitive conclusion on the subject, we have used for these selections the term "land rent" as our translation of the character *tsu*.

POLL TAXES

Poll taxes are mentioned in two passages in our selection from the *Sui shu*. Both are passages that describe earlier periods, so that the words are taken from previous literature. *Suan* 算, which means "to compute," was first applied by the Han Emperor Kao-tsu. The term has been extensively studied, so that we shall merely call attention to the notes already available on the subject in DUBS, *Former Han* 93, n. 1; 184, n. 1. In his two notes DUBS points out that the *suan* tax was a poll tax. The paragraph in the *Sui shu* containing the word *suan* brings out the point that in addition to its normal poll tax use, in the Han Emperor Wu's time, it was applied against boats and carts. The application of the *suan* as a "license" or as a "personal property" tax seems to have shocked even some of Emperor Wu's supporters, and is here condemned by our seventh century A. D. author. In another passage the term *t'ou-hui* 頭會, literally "head-assemblage," clearly means from the context a "poll tax," and so we have translated it. The use of the funds collected from the poll tax seems to have been military, so that it probably was only a specialized form of the *fu*.

APPENDIX 4

Mou 畝

The meaning of the character *mou* is related to the much discussed problem of the *ching-t'ien* 井田, usually called the "well-field" system. We shall not waste time on the usual explanation that the character *ching* placed inside the square of the character *t'ien* would give nine equal divisions; the center of which was the "common" or "public" fields and the eight outer ones the "private" fields of the husbandmen. Since any attempt to do justice to this foremost of all problems in Chinese classical and historical literature would require books and not just a few pages in an appendix, the extent to which we shall be able to present the information can be realized. We cannot hope to do more than point to a new avenue which might be worthy of exploration.

There are two aspects of the so-called *ching-t'ien* system: the actual physical arrangement of the fields, and the social organization associated with the system. We shall list—we can hardly do more—a few of the accounts of the system. We shall not need to bring together the classical references since that has been done in the recapitulation made by Paul DEMIÈVILLE in his review of HU Shih's *Ching-t'ien Pien* in his *Wên-ts'un* (1921 ed.) for the *BEFEO* 23 (1923), 494-499. DEMIÈVILLE takes exception to HU Shih's pronouncement against the *Chou li* to which the most detailed information about the *ching-t'ien* is traced, and MASPERO, *La Chine antique* (p. 109, n. 1) strongly supports DEMIÈVILLE. He points out that the *Chou li* is independent of the other Confucian texts, and that it together with the *Kung-yang chuan*, *Ku-liang chuan*, and *Mencius* should not be considered as derived from one another, but rather as coming from a common earlier source or sources. He believes that the very details of these early texts prove that they are attempting to describe an earlier but real social organization and not a utopia. DUYVENDAK in *The Book of Lord Shang* (p. 42, n. 1) agrees with MASPERO that one cannot

deny the existence of some type of social organization. He explains the various references to the system in classical and historical texts, since the Lord of Shang is the one who tradition says destroyed the *ching-t'ien*, but he is forced to admit that the real proof of Shang Yang's agrarian reforms is not to be found in either the present biography of him or in the book credited to him. We might add that the chapter in the *Yen-t'ieh lun* on Shang Yang does not mention these reforms either (cf. GALE, *DSI*, Chap. 7). Wolfram EBERHARD in his article "Zur Landwirtschaft der Han-Zeit" (*MSOS* 35 [1932].74-105) also summarizes the information about the *ching-t'ien*, but seems to agree more with HU Shih, and adds that KUO Mo-jo also argues against the actual existence of the system on the basis of bronze inscriptions that indicate that land "verschenkt werden konnte" (p. 81). Since DEMIÉVILLE has already mentioned this as an argument advanced by HU Shih based on the *Tso chuan* accounts, we do not understand the precise point intended by EBERHARD. Karl A. WITTEGEL writing in *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (4 [1935]. 26-58) on "The Foundations and Stages of Chinese Economic History" points out that Shang Yang's reforms made it possible for individual peasant families to "become possessors of the land which they cultivated. The existence of an earlier state-regulated 'bound' system, up to the end of the Chou period, is therefore beyond doubt . . ." It is his opinion that in the "well-land" system the village land was periodically redivided among several large patriarchal families.

CHI Ch'ao-ting in his *Key Economic Areas in Chinese History* (pp. 54-61) offers, as he says, a "New Interpretation of Mencius," in the course of which he says, "the well-land, like the manor in European history, was evidently the lowest administrative, as well as economic, unit in the feudal hierarchy." CHI sees in the use of the word *ching* "well" in the binom *ching-t'ien* the earliest evidence of irrigated fields.

It is evident that there are many unsolved problems, but we believe that we have presented sufficiently the background of the *ching-t'ien* to go on now to the examination of the *mou*. We learn from PAN Ku's account of the early land system that:

Six foot-measures made a pace; one pace by 100 made an acre-strip; one acre-strip [long] by 100 [wide] made an area (*fu*) capable of sustaining a husbandman; one *fu* area by three made a dwelling unit (*wu*); one dwelling unit by three made a *ching* area; a *ching* [therefore equals] squaring one mile (*li*).

The *mou* was therefore the smallest surface unit of the *ching-t'ien*. We have translated *mou* "acre-strip" or "strip," because we seem to have sufficient information about the nature of the *mou* to ascertain that it was comparable to the old English terms.

Let us review the information about the English term "acre-strip." Frederic SEEBOHM's *The English Village Community* (1883) 2-3 gives us one of the most authoritative and concise descriptions:

These strips, common to open fields all over England, were separated from each other . . . by green balks of unploughed turf . . . They vary more or less in size even in the same fields . . . There are 'long' strips and 'short' strips. But taking them generally, and comparing them with the statute acre . . . , the normal strip is roughly identical with it. The length of the statute acre . . . is a furlong of 40 rods or poles [i. e., 660 feet]. It is 4 rods in width. Now 40 rods in length and one rod in width make 40 square rods, or a *rood*; and thus, as there are 4 rods in breadth, the acre . . . with which the normal strip coincides is an *acre* made up of 4 *roods* lying side by side.

Thus the strips are in fact roughly cut 'acres,' of the proper shape for ploughing. For the furlong is the 'furrow long,' i. e., the length of the drive of the plough before it is turned; and that this by long custom was fixed at 40 rods, is shown by the use of the Latin word *quarentena* for furlong. . . .

This form of the acre is very ancient. . . . [also used on the Continent earlier], but the rod was in that case the Greek and Roman rod of 10 ft. instead of the English rod of 16½ ft.

Now what information have we about the size of the Chinese *mou*? PAN KU tells us that six (Chinese) foot-measures made a pace, and that a *mou* was one pace wide and 100 paces long. Further on in the same text (*CHS* 24a.7a⁴⁻⁶) he reports the proposal of CHAO KUO for the "alternation of the furrows" in which we are informed that a *chüan* 畎 (variously written) was one (Chinese) foot-measure wide, and that a *mou* would have three *chüan* that could be alternated each year with the spaces in between, so that they must likewise have been the same width. *Chüan* apparently was the furrow. It further explains that a pair of men, *ou* 耦, using two *ssü* 耜 could make the *chüan*. The *ssü*

was one type of the digging sticks used by the early Chinese agriculturists.

A full explanation of the two types of sticks, *lei* 耒 and *ssü*, is given by Hsü Chung-shu in his most interesting article, "Lei-ssü k'ao" (*loc. cit.*). He concludes that the *lei*, a two-pronged digging stick, was used by the people of the Yin dynasty (or Shang) and developed in the eastern part of China, the *ssü*, a spoon-shaped digging stick, was used by the Chou people and developed in the west; that the *lei* evolved into the shovel or spade, the *ssü* into the true plough; that the term *lei-ssü* was an amalgamation of the two earlier words. (Cf. also L. C. HOPKINS, "The Caschrom v. the Lei-ssü," *JRAS* (Oct. 1935) 707-716 and (Jan. 1936) 45-54.) The use of such digging sticks, apparently common among primitive agriculturists, is explained in *The Village Community* (1890) 279-282 by G. L. GOMME. He points out that working in pairs or in groups was the usual method of turning the soil. There are numerous references in the classical literature of China about these "pairs."

Information is also given in the *Chou li* (42.22a¹⁻²; Biot 2.565), where we are told that the width of the *ssü* was five *ts'un* "(Chinese) inches." Therefore, two men working as a "pair" with two *ssü* "digging sticks" would cut a ten "inch" furrow. The foot-measure is ten Chinese inches, so that we have further proof that the furrow was one foot-measure wide. The three furrows with the three in-between spaces would make the six foot-measures or the pace about which PAN KU spoke, so that we can verify that the *mou* was a strip 100 paces long and one pace wide, or 600 Chinese feet by six Chinese feet.

Obviously, with such primitive instruments the furrows could not be either very wide or very long. As has been substantiated for the European "furlong" and "the acre-strip," there was a close correlation between the amount of land a husbandman or group of husbandmen could plough within a day and the standard divisions of the land. Likewise, we should expect that the length of the strip and the number of the strips would increase in the same ratio as the improvement of the ploughing instruments. In *Mencius* (Legge 240-241) we are told that the Hsia dynasty had

a 50 *mou* allotment, the Yin (or Shang) had a 70 *mou* allotment, and finally the Chou had a 100 *mou* allotment. As PAN KU has told us the *mou* was 100 paces long, but we are told later that presumably from the fourth century B. C. the *mou* was increased to 240 paces in length. There is, however, another problem involved in any accurate estimates of the actual size and length of these divisions of land: the change of the units of measurement themselves. That problem, however, is beyond the scope of this appendix. We can only point out the relative sizes. That there was an appreciable increase in the length of the *mou* is apparent, and that it should have come in the fourth century B. C. is natural, if all the other suppositions are correct that the use of the iron ploughshare also dates from that time.

There are numerous problems connected with the *ching-t'ien* and the *mou* that will have to be the subject of future studies, but we shall have to touch upon a few here inasmuch as they have been involved in our translations. One is the term *lu-ching* 廬井, literally "huts and wells," but certainly not used at all times in that literal sense; rather the term seems to have stood as a synonym for the *ching-t'ien* complex itself. We have translated it as seemed best in each passage. Another puzzling term is *t'ien-ch'ou* 田疇. Although it has been translated as "grain and hemp fields," we are not satisfied that any such differentiation can be made, especially for the early periods. It seems rather to be a term referring to the furrows of the fields. The verb *chih* 制 seems to be used in reference to the *ching-t'ien* system to mean "dividing up the land into the strips"; we have translated it "parceling out the land." Further studies will probably bring out the true significance of this use of the word; we give this as a tentative solution. Several other words seem to be used in a technical sense related to the formation of the strips; for example, *ch'ien-mo* 阡陌 (variously written), and *p'an* 畔. We believe them to be similar to the "balks" and "headlands" of the old English system. Finally, the use of the word *ching* "the well" as one of the words in the binom, *ching-t'ien*; it is usually said that the well was in the very center of the *ching-t'ien* and that is the reason for its inclusion in the name. CHU Ch'ao-ting believes that the well was the

nucleus of the first irrigation system, and therefore the fields referred to in the *ching-t'ien* complex are only the irrigated fields. We have come to no decision on the problem, too much is yet to be solved, but we wonder if there is any very close connection between the word "well" and the *ching* sound used in this binom. Might it not be profitable to investigate the possibility that a homophone with some determinative is meant?

It is evident from the foregoing that much is yet to be done on the *ching-t'ien* problem, but we believe that beginning with the concept of the *mou* as similar to the old English "strip" might help. For example, the following description of the English system has many characteristics analogous to the ancient Chinese land organization:

The whole arable area of an uninclosed township was usually divided up by turf balks into as many thousands of these strips as its limits would contain, and the tithing maps of many parishes . . . show remains of them still existing, although the process of ploughing up the balks and throwing many strips together had gradually been going on for centuries. (SEEBOHM, *op. cit.* 3-4.)

One last word needs to be said about the other side of the *ching-t'ien* system: the social organization associated with it. If one again examines the discussions about the interdependence of the members of the *ching-t'ien* communities from the point of view of the functions made imperative by a strip-system agricultural economy, it is not difficult to understand the need for co-operative living. Vladimir G. SIMKHOVITCH in his little essay, "Hay and History," *Political Science Quarterly* 28 (1913). 385-403) gives us an excellent picture of such an existence.