

# *Tzū-t'ien* 自田 or Own Land as Seen in Census Registers from Tun-huang 敦煌 (II)\*

By Taturō YAMAMOTO

## I

In the first part of this article, I investigated the grouping relationships of the *tzū-t'ien* records to be found in the boundary definitions (*ssū-chi* 四至) given in the Tun-huang T'ien-pao 天寶 6 (747) register and similar Tun-huang materials of earlier date, considering only those cases in which the entries for the given household's allotted land (*i-shou-t'ien* 已受田) are quite complete. On this basis, I arrived at the conclusion that *tzū-t'ien* could not be interpreted only as land that formed part of the *i-shou-t'ien* allotments and that therefore lay within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* 均田 system. On the present occasion I wish to attempt a discussion of this question from another angle.

Here again I shall be treating of those cases in the 747 register and register-type materials of earlier date that include mentions of *tzū-t'ien* in which the records of the allotted land holdings are perfectly complete; in this there is no difference from the argument of Part I. This time, however, I propose to compare the boundary definition records of such holdings with the records which show the name of the same head of household, to whom such holdings belong, appearing in the 'boundary definitions' of the holdings of other households found in the same source; and to see whether there is any possibility of a link between them. If a link can be established, it will be possible to understand the second parcel of land as having been adjacent to the first; if not, it will be natural to regard the two as having been non-adjacent, and the implication will be that the household in occupation of the first parcel held, in addition to its *i-shou-t'ien*, further land outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system.

This method of reasoning has already been employed by Masao NISHIKAWA,<sup>1)</sup> but here I wish to carry out a re-examination using my own methods

\* For Part I, see *M.T.B.*, No. 35, pp. 85-109.

1) Masao NISHIKAWA 西川正夫: 'Tonkō Hakken no Tōdai Koseki Zankan ni arawareta Jiden ni tsuite' 敦煌發見の唐代戸籍殘簡に現れた自田について (On *Tzū-t'ien* as it appears in the T'ang Census Registers found at Tun-huang), *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 Vol. 64, No. 10, 1955, pp. 931-953.

and selection of source material. In the present investigation we shall not be interested in the disposition of the plots of land belonging to the *i-shou-t'ien* of the given household ( $\alpha$ ), as we were when studying the *tzü-t'ien* records, but will ask only whether or not any one of the boundary definitions of its holdings can be linked with the name of the  $\alpha$  household head appearing in the boundary definitions of the holdings of household  $\beta$ . There will consequently be no need to take into consideration the difference of the times at which the various plots came to be assigned to the households that occupied them and so to investigate according to three different models as we did before.

On the other hand, it must always be borne in mind that there are cases in which a sequential relationship existed between the time of writing of the boundary definition records for a holding A of cadastral-records-complete household  $\alpha$ , and the time of writing of the entry of the name of the  $\alpha$  household head in the boundary definitions of the holding B assigned to household  $\beta$  which is to be examined for possible adjacency. If the name of the head of household  $\alpha$  appears in the boundary definitions pertaining to household  $\beta$ , either the two records were made at the same time or the record pertaining to  $\beta$  was made *later* than that pertaining to  $\alpha$ . In the former case  $\alpha$ 's name appears in the boundary definitions of  $\beta$ 's holding B and  $\beta$ 's name appears in the boundary definitions of  $\alpha$ 's holding A; in the latter case,  $\alpha$ 's name appears in the entries for  $\beta$ 's holding B and that is all. The present inquiry is concerned with both these cases.

If the record pertaining to  $\beta$  was written *earlier* than that pertaining to  $\alpha$ , even if the two holdings A and B were adjacent, the name of the head of household  $\alpha$  does not appear in  $\beta$ 's boundary definition entries, and such cases cannot be made the objects of an investigation of the present form. However, it is only that the  $\alpha$  name does not appear: in fact there must of course have been a fair number of such adjacency relationships. If the  $\beta$  record was made earlier than the  $\alpha$  one, the name of the head of household  $\beta$  ought to appear in the boundary definitions of  $\alpha$ 's land, and such a case may be used as source material not for the study of the adjacency relationships of  $\alpha$ 's *i-shou-t'ien*, but for the study of the adjacency relationships of  $\beta$ 's. Here too, however, it is necessary that the cadastral entries for  $\beta$ 's *i-shou-t'ien* should be complete.

In the present investigation we are taking the boundary definitions of the holdings of cadastral-records-complete household  $\alpha$  and trying to see whether the appearance of the name of its head in the boundary definitions pertaining to household  $\beta$  can be explained on the basis of adjacency relationship within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system or not. As a matter of fact, the sources include extremely few examples of cases in which the names of the two householders  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  were entered simultaneously in the records of each other's holdings B and A;—cases, that is to say, in which we may accept the boundary definitions of A and B as having been rewritten at the

same time. In almost all cases we have only the appearance of  $\alpha$ 's name in  $\beta$ 's holding records.

Now in order for this majority of cases of the latter kind to have involved adjacency relationships within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system, unless a new holding had come into being, the holding B belonged to  $\beta$  in whose cadastral definition  $\alpha$ 's name appears must on one or more occasions have become 'vacated land' (*t'ui-t'ien* 退田), which means have been returned to the public according to the regulations of the *chün-t'ien* system. When it subsequently came into  $\beta$ 's possession, the boundary definitions must have been rewritten in such a way as to include a mention of  $\alpha$ , the occupier of the adjacent holding. Here we shall omit discussion of the case in which a new holding had been created and pursue our argument on the assumption of transmission of pre-existing holdings that lay within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. In this way, the present inquiry becomes closely committed to investigation of the possibility of there having taken place reversions.

The emphasis in this article will, then, lie on the following point. An investigation will be made according to the above method as to whether or not the appearance of the name of the head of household  $\alpha$  in the entries pertaining to household  $\beta$  can be explained on the basis of an adjacency relationship with  $\alpha$ 's *i-shou-t'ien*. It goes without saying that if such an explanation is impossible, the existence of lands outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system will have been proved. This is the same reasoning as we adopted before when we investigated the groupings of the *tzŭ-t'ien*. Also common to the two investigations is the fact that our aim is not the provision of a reasonable or appropriate interpretation. We shall think about the reasonable interpretation on another occasion.

## II

Let us begin by drawing up a table setting out the cases with which we shall be dealing (p. 112).

The names which appear on the left are the names of heads of households about whose holdings of allotted land we have complete cadastral information. The names on the right are the names of heads of households in the boundary definitions of whose allotted land holdings the names on the left occur. The relationship between the two should be clear from the table. Cases in which, although the cadastral records for the *i-shou-t'ien* are complete, the name of the  $\alpha$  householder does not appear in the boundary definitions of another household's holdings, have been excluded.

We will now examine these cases one by one.

Docu- ment num- ber	Date	Name of head of cadastral-record- complete household [α]	Number of holdings	Name of head of other household with related cadastral entry [β]
6	K'ai-yüan 開元 4 (716)	D Tung Ssü-chü 董思躬	8	C ?
7	K'ai-yüan 開元 10 (722)	I Chao Hsüan-i 趙玄義	5	J Fan Shang-yüan 汜尚元 K Chao Hsüan-piao 趙玄表 L Ts'ao Jên-pei 曹仁備
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"
14	T'ien-pao 天寶 6 (747)	K Ch'êng Ssü-ch'ü 程思楚	11+*C	C ?
"	"	L Ch'êng Shih-chu 程什住	13	M Ch'êng Jên-chên 程仁貞 O Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing 程大慶
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	M Ch'êng Jên-chên 程仁貞	5	A ? L Ch'êng Shih-chu 程什住 P Ch'êng Chih-i 程智意
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	N Ch'êng Ta-chung 程大忠	12+C	O Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing 程大慶 P Ch'êng Chih-i 程智意
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	O Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing 程大慶	6+C	N Ch'êng Ta-chung 程大忠
"	"	P Ch'êng Chih-i 程智意	16+C	B Ch'êng En-yang 鄭思養 M Ch'êng Jên-chên 程仁貞 N Ch'êng Ta-chung 程大忠
"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"

\*C indicates curtilage.

(1) *Head of household D Tung Ssü-chü 董思躬 in the K'ai-yüan 4 register.* Tung had eight holdings of allotted land, and his name is to be found in the eastern boundary definition of the holding (b 9) occupied by head of household C (name unknown). All nine holdings lay twenty *li* east of the city in the territory watered by the Ch'ien 千 ditch. Now since the words "(on the) east (side), (land held by) Tung (Ssü-)chü" (東董躬) appear in the entry for household C's holding (1), it is possible that one of Tung's holdings was adjacent to it, and in that case the western boundary definitions of Tung's holdings should include either a *tzü-t'ien* record or the name of a head of household. Yet among the eight sets of boundary definitions in question, there are no cases of *tzü-t'ien* entered for the western side and only three cases of head of household names: those of Li Fu-shêng 李伏生, So Wan-k'uei 索萬遠 and Huai-hsin 懷信.

If, therefore, we tried to interpret this solely within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system, it would seem that we should be forced to consider that household C's holding (1) had once been occupied by one of the above three men, and that after having been returned to the public at least once it came

2) For explanation of the numbering system used in this article, see *M.T.B.*, No. 35, 1977, p. 87.

into household C's possession. The entry "East, Tung Chü" 東董芻 would then have been made on the occasion of the consequent rewriting of the boundary definitions. However, it is extremely doubtful whether the household of any one of the three men did in fact encounter circumstances such as to give rise to the vacation of a holding and whether precisely the holding in question, holding (1), came into C's possession after having been so vacated. The possibility that the facts were otherwise seem to be rather strong.

(2) *Head of household (I) Chao Hsüan-i* 趙玄義 *in the K'ai-yüan 10 draft register (chi ts'ao-an 籍草案).*

We will repeat here the particulars of this household's *i-shou-t'ien* (d 20-24) already set out in the preceding article:<sup>3)</sup>

Holding number	Size (mou)	Type	Eastern boundary	Western boundary	Southern boundary	Northern boundary
(1)	1	yy	road 道	<i>tzü-t'ien</i>	waste 荒	cliff 隄
(2)	2	"	marsh 澤	Hsüan-shuang 玄爽	<i>tzü-t'ien</i>	<i>tzü-t'ien</i>
(3)	3	"	marsh 澤	<i>tzü-t'ien</i>	<i>tzü-t'ien</i>	<i>tzü-t'ien</i>
(4)	4	"	road 道	marsh 澤	ditch 渠	marsh 澤
(5)	5	"	Hsüan-meï 玄美	Hsüan-meï 玄美	Hsüan-meï 玄美	<i>tzü-t'ien</i>

All the holdings were of the type *yung-yeh* 永業 land (land held in perpetuity) and all lay 20 *li* east of the city in the territory of the Sha 沙 Ditch.

For comparison, we may set out the following entries from the same source:

Holding number	Size (mou)	Type	Distance (li) and direction from city	Ditch	Eastern boundary	Western boundary	Southern boundary	Northern boundary
<i>I-shou-t'ien</i> of J, Fan Shang-yüan 范尚元 (d 30, 32)								
(1)	5	yy	20 E	Sha 沙	<i>Hsüan-i</i> 玄義	Li Hsüan-chih 李玄識	road 道	<i>Hsüan-i</i> 玄義
(3)	6	"	" "	" "	<i>Hsüan-i</i> 玄義	Li Fu-hu 李伏護	ditch 渠	Li T'ao-shuan 李桃拴
<i>I-shou-t'ien</i> of K, Chao Hsüan-piao 趙玄表 (d 42)								
(1)	13	"	" "	" "	marsh 澤	<i>Hsüan-i</i> 玄義	waste 荒	<i>Hsüan-i</i> 玄義
<i>I-shou-t'ien</i> of L, Ts'ao Jên-peï 曹仁備 (d 57)								
(3)	18	"	7 "	Chao 趙	Hsing-ch'e 行徹	Ts'ao Pao 曹保	<i>Hsüan-i</i> 玄義	ditch 渠

3) Part 1, *M.T.B.*, No. 35, 1977, p. 101.

In the above sets of data, the name Hsüan-i 玄義 appears six times in the second table. Chao Hsüan-i's allotted lands, (J) Fan Shang-yüan's holdings (1) and (3) and (K) Chao Hsüan-piao's holding (1) were all in the territory of the Sha 沙 Ditch twenty *li* east of the city; only (L) Ts'ao Jên-pei's holding (3) was in a separate location, thirteen *li* away in the territory of the Chao 趙 ditch seven *li* east of the city.

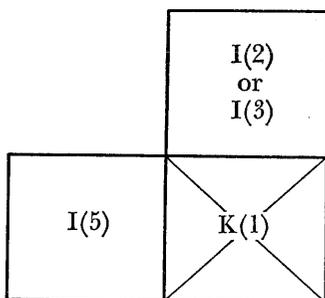
First, it would no doubt be natural to regard the land of Chao Hsüan-i's that lay adjacent to Ts'ao Jên-pei's distant holding (3) as having been not his allotted land but land outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. To the contrary, however, it seems that we could also make sense of the situation by assuming that there had once been *chün-t'ien* system land assigned to Chao Hsüan-i next to Ts'ao Jên-pei's holding (3) but that precisely this holding had been become 'vacated land' *t'ui-t'ien*. Since Chao Hsüan-i was a *lao-nan* 老男 (old man) of sixty-nine, it would perhaps be well to recognize that there was a fair possibility of some of his land having reverted.<sup>4)</sup> It must be admitted, however, that we know neither whether he became head of household before or after he became a *lao-nan* nor what ceiling quota would, in the former case, have determined the extent of his liability to return land deemed to have become surplus on his reaching the age of sixty under the *shêng-t'ui* 剩退 'excess return' system.

On the other hand, it is hard to interpret all five occurrences of Hsüan-i's name in the boundary definitions of (J) Fan Shang-yüan's and (K) Chao Hsüan-piao's land within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. Since the names of Fan Shang-yüan and Chao Hsüan-piao do not appear in the boundary definitions of Hsüan-i's holdings at all, if we take it that holdings of Hsüan-i's were adjacent to holdings of theirs, we cannot postulate that Hsüan-i's boundary definitions and theirs had been simultaneously rewritten, but must assume that these holdings of land adjacent to the sites of Hsüan-i *i-shou-t'ien* had been posteriorly assigned to Fan Shang-yüan and Chao Hsüan-piao, probably after having reverted.

Now, if taking such probable past reversions of the holdings into account, we look for any possible correspondences between the mentions of Hsüan-i in the records of (J) Fan Shang-yüan and (K) Chao Hsüan-piao's holdings—in J (1), "East: Hsüan-i, North: Hsüan-i"; in J (3), "East: Hsüan-i"; in K (1) "West: Hsüan-i, North: Hsüan-i"—and the boundary definitions of Chao Hsüan-i's allotted lands, the entries on the latter side (I) which come into question are limited to the following: the seven *tzü-t'ien* records ((I) (1) West, (2) South and North, (3) West, South and North, and (5) North) and the four occurrences of head of household names (Hsüan-shuang 玄爽 once, (2) West, and Hsüan-mei 玄美 three times, (5) East, West and South). It is practically impossible to make sense of the total grouping with just these. The detailed explanation for this is as follows.

4) See Part 1, *M.T.B.*, No. 35, 1977, pp. 105-6.

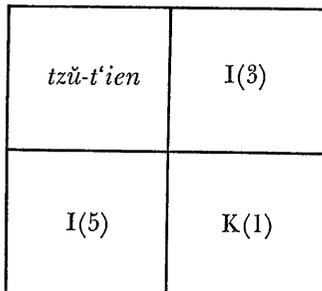
First, if we look through the records of Chao Hsüan-i's holdings for a boundary definition that we may be able to link with the entry "(on the) west (side), (land held by) (Chao) Hsüan-i" in K(1), the only possibility is I(5), "(on the) east (side), (land held by) Chao Hsüan-meï". Because all Hsüan-i's other holdings have road or marshland on their eastern border. Thus we can put K(1) only on the east side of I(5). Now to the north of K(1) there is also a holding of Hsüan-i's, but the only two Hsüan-i boundary definitions that can be made to fit are the "(on the) south (side), *tzŭ-t'ien*" entries of I(2) and



I(3). In that case, K(1) would be *tzŭ-t'ien* from the point of view of the holding I(2) or I(3) to its north and land assigned to Hsüan-meï from the point of view of the holding I(5), to its west.

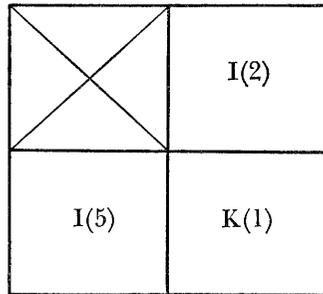
How can we solve this paradox? It cannot be done by assuming simply that K(1) had originally been held *either* by Hsüan-i *or* by Hsüan-meï and after having reverted once had come into the possession of (K) Chao Hsüan-piao. Rather, we must suppose that after this plot held in the first place by Hsüan-i had once it had become Hsüan-meï's and that it had subsequently reverted once more and been allocated to Chao Hsüan-piao; either this or the same chain of events but with the first two stages in reverse order. At the same time, the boundary definitions of I(2) or I(3) and the boundary definitions of I(5) would have to have been written at different dates.

Suppose we take I(3) to have been the holding north of K(1). I(3) had *tzŭ-t'ien* to its west, and in view of the disposition of I(5), K(1) and I(3), it may be recognised as natural to assume that this *tzŭ-t'ien* lay to the north of I(5). Since I(5) had *tzŭ-t'ien* to its north, the records are perfectly in agree-



ment, but what could this *tzŭ-t'ien* to the west of I(3) and the north of I(5) have been? As there is no holding among Chao Hsüan-i's *i-shou-t'ien* that corresponds with it, we shall have to assume that this *tzŭ-t'ien* was land outside Hsüan-i's present allotment of *i-shou-t'ien* and that it had by this time returned.

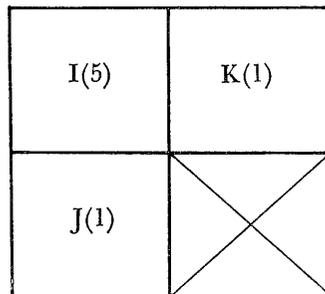
Suppose on the other hand we put I(2) on the north of K(1). Since I(2) had a holding of Hsüan-shuang's on its west, this latter holding becomes



Hsüan-shuang's land if seen from I(2) but *tzŭ-t'ien* if seen from I(5), which we are assuming to lie on the west of K(1). Here once more a relationship has emerged that we can solve only by allowing that the land in question had returned at least twice.

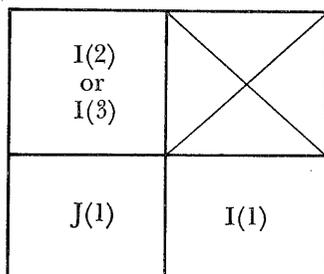
Let us now look at the case of (J) Fan Shang-yüan. We may successfully account for the appearance of Hsüan-i's name in the eastern boundary definition of J(3) by postulating a linkage with any one of four of the western boundaries of Chao Hsüan-i's *i-shou-t'ien*—I(1) “(on the) west *tzŭ-t'ien*”, I(2) “(on the) west, (land held by) Hsüan-shuang, I(3) “(on the) west, *tzŭ-t'ien*” and I(5) “(on the) west, (land held by) Hsüan-meï”—and then assuming a return of the westward holding; we cannot, however, make sense of the case of J(1), in which Hsüan-i's name appears on two sides.

The holding J(1) had land occupied by Hsüan-i on its east and north. The Hsüan-i boundary definitions that it may be possible to link with J(1)'s northern border are I(2) “(on the) south, *tzŭ-t'ien*”, I(3) “(on the) south, *tzŭ-t'ien*” and I(5) “(on the) south, (land held by) Hsüan-meï”. To take the last possibility first, if we connect I(5) with J(1) and then reconstruct the

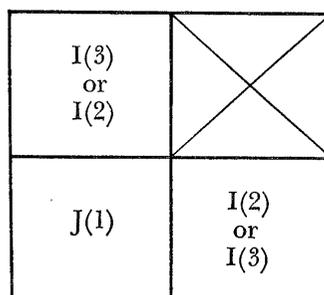


disposition of the holdings bearing in mind the relationship postulated above that I(5) is adjoined on its eastern side by K(1)—which means putting I(5) on the north of J(1) and K(1) on the east of I(5)—, then since J(1) has a holding of Hsüan-i's on its east, the position of this latter holding should be south of K(1). However, K(1) has wasteland to its south, and so we are left with a contradiction. It being thus unsatisfactory to put I(5) on the north of J(1), we have only I(2) and I(3) to choose between, but each of these has marshland on its east.

As for the mention of Hsüan-i in the definition of J(1)'s eastern border, the entries which it may be possible to pair with this are I(1), “(on the) west, *tzŭ-t'ien*”; I(2), “(on the) west, (land held by) Hsüan-shuang”; I(3), “(on the) west, *tzŭ-t'ien*”; and I(5), “(on the) west, (land held by) Hsüan-mei”. If we



suppose a relationship with the I(1) *tzŭ-t'ien* record, then whereas I(1) has a cliff to its north, I(2) and I(3), either of which we might put north of J(1), both actually have marshland on their eastern side, in the space that ought to be located north of I(1). There is thus a contradiction here. But then if we couple the Hsüan-i holding on the east of J(1) with the Hsüang-shuang



holding on the west of I(2) or the *tzŭ-t'ien* on the west of I(3), then the holding to the north of J(1) should be respectively either I(3) or I(2). Thus whereas the I(2) or I(3) to the east of J(1) would both have *tzŭ-t'ien* to their north, the I(3) or I(2) to J(1)'s north are both in actual fact entered as having marshland for their eastern neighbour in the space that ought to lie north of I(2)/I(3). Again, contradiction results. Last of all, if we try identifying the

Hsüan-i holding on the east of J(1) with I(5), since I(5) also has *tzü-t'ien* to its north, we run into the same problem: this record conflicts with the statement that holding I(2)/I(3) on the north of J(1) has marshland on its east.

After all, with whichever parcel of (I) Chao Hsüan-i's allotted land we attempt to match any of the mentions of Hsüan-i's name in the boundary descriptions of J, K and L, the task, exert ourselves as we may by adopting the hypothesis of double reversions of given holdings, remains impossible. And then while discussing the case of this (I) Chao Hsüan-i household, we must also take into account the results of our previous inquiry into the grouping relationships of its *tzü-t'ien*. In the first part of this article I demonstrated that whatever combinations of the individual holdings of Hsüan-i's *i-shou-t'ien* we postulate, and whatever hypothesis we adopt as to the chronological sequence of the records, we cannot explain the *tzü-t'ien* entries simply within the compass of the *i-shou-t'ien*. I further expressed the opinion that, even though as Chao Hsüan-i was a *lao-nan* there was a possibility of some of his land having reverted in accordance with the *shêng-t'ui* regulations, it would probably be unreasonable to explain all the *tzü-t'ien* entries solely on the grounds of *shêng-t'ui*.<sup>5)</sup>

In our present discussion we have been making assumptions of returns quite freely, but even so we have been unable to make sense of the data. And even if we suppose, to make a vast concession, that it had been possible to overcome all the difficulties in the way of an explanation by means of the *t'ui-t'ien* reversions theory, it would still be necessary that the *two* complementary problems of the grouping relationships of the *tzü-t'ien* and of the interpretation of the appearance of householder *a*'s name in the definitions of other households' holdings should *both* find a comprehensive solution within the framework of our explanation. However, since the dispositions of holdings we postulated when carrying out each of the two types of investigation are quite different from each other, we have no option but to admit that there is absolutely no possibility of an all-embracing interpretation based on assumptions of *t'ui-t'ien* that will account for both aspects and include the distant holding L(3) as well.

In consideration of the above, it would be fair to say that the cadastral records pertaining to Chao Hsüan-i provide firm proof of the existence of land held outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. It would in fact seem that Chao Hsüan-i's household should be regarded as having held such extra land to quite a considerable extent. This may perhaps be not unconnected with the fact that this household ranked in the eighth grade in the nine-grade-household system.

Now, if we list the cases from the 722 draft register in which both the grade of the household and the total acreage of its holdings of allotted land

5) Part 1, *M.T.B.*, No. 35, 1977, pp. 106-7.

are known, we find that while households I (Chao Hsüan-i) and L (Ts'ao Jên-peï) were eighth grade households and held respectively eleven and sixty-three *mou*, households C (Kuo Hsüan-fang 郭玄昉), J (Fan Shang-yüan) and K (Chao Hsüan-piao) were all of the ninth grade and held respectively twenty *mou*, fifteen *mou* and twenty-five *mou* (or possibly thirty-five *mou*). Thus regardless of the fact that with eleven *mou* Chao Hsüan-i's household held the smallest quantity of *i-shou-t'ien*, it ranked as an eighth-grade household; on the other hand three households with larger holdings—of fifteen *mou*, twenty *mou* and twenty-five *mou* or more—were in the ninth and bottom grade. Furthermore, the other eighth-grade household was in occupation of as much as sixty-three *mou*. The reason for which Chao Hsüan-i's household was an eighth-grade one was that he possessed more "property" (*tzŭ-ch'an* 資產) than the ninth-grade households whose holdings of allotted land exceeded his; should we not consider that his "property" include some land held outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system?

The nature of the "property" that determined a household's grade cannot easily be established, but it is practically certain that it included land. It would therefore appear natural to believe that an important reason for Chao Hsüan-i's eighth-grade household ranking was that although he had little allotted land, he held a large quantity of extra land outside the *chün-t'ien* system.

(3) *Head of household (K) Ch'êng Ssŭ-ch'u* 程思楚 in the *T'ien-pao 6 register*. Apart from a house and curtilage, Ch'êng Ssŭ-ch'u's allotted land (c 75-86) consisted of eleven plots, all of which lay seven *li* west of the city, ten in the territory of the P'ing ditch 平渠 and one in the territory of the Mêng-shou ditch 孟授渠. Now the four holdings (b 1-4) which surviving entries in the same register identify as *i-shou-t'ien* assigned to anonymous household C were all situated at the same distance seven *li* west of the city in the territory of the Kao ditch 高渠, and common to two of them—(2) five *mou*, *zung-yeh* and (3) three *mou* (two *mou* *zung-yeh*, one *mou* *k'ou-fên* 口分)—is the boundary definition "(on the) east, (land held by) (Ch'êng) Ssŭ-ch'u".

Since Ch'êng Ssŭ-ch'u had no holdings of allotted land in the Kao ditch territory, it would seem natural to take the two holdings of his of which we find in the above two entries as having been land held over and above his *i-shou-t'ien* and so outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. However, in the point that it too was seven *li* west of the city, the Kao ditch was no different from the P'ing and Mêng-shou ditches in whose territory Ch'êng Ssŭ-ch'u's *i-shou-t'ien* lay. Consequently, and reasoning against the grain, we must admit that it would perhaps be over-hasty to conclude that there was no possibility of there having been an adjacency relationship of explicable on the basis of an intersection of the Kao ditch with the other two, and of the

two "(on the) east, (land held by) Ssü-ch'u" entries having both referred to *i-shou-t'ien*.

Even if there was no adjacency relationship between the Kao ditch holdings (b 2 and 3) and any part of Ch'êng Ssü-ch'u's present *i-shou-t'ien* allotment, it would seem worthwhile to investigate the possibility of regarding the land to the east of the two plots (b 2 and b 3) rather as a *quondam i-shou-t'ien* holding of his that had subsequently reverted. If, however, we examine the membership of forty-seven *sui* (year)-old Ch'êng Ssü-ch'u's household (c 56-73), records of reduction in the number of mouths are confined to the mention of Ssü-ch'u's deceased elderly widowed mother that has been added to the entries of the 745 tax register. There are on the other hand records supplementary to the tax or household registers of 744, 745 and 746 that testify to an *increase* in the membership. The individuals involved are an official's wife (*chih-tzû ch'i* 職資妻) a guardsman's wife (*wei-shih ch'i* 衛士妻) and two unclassified adult wives (*ting-ch'i* 丁妻) ("persons previously omitted and registered herewith", *lou-fu* 漏附); and two male and two female infants (*huang-nan, huang-nü* 黃男, 黃女) (*lou-fu* or "newly registered", *fu* 附). Eight people have been added in all. We therefore really cannot believe that this household lost any land through *shêng-t'ui* return.

(4) *Head of household (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu* 程什住 *in the T'ien-pao 6 register.*

This household had thirteen holdings of allotted land (c 103-115) of which eight were ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, three were seven *li* west of the city in the territory of the same ditch, one was seven *li* west of the city in the territory of the Méng-shou ditch, and one was ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'u-t'ao ditch 蒲桃渠. Among the entries for the *i-shou-t'ien* held by head of household (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên 程仁貞 in the same register, we find:

Holding number	Size (mou)	Type	Distance (li) and direction from city	Ditch	Eastern boundary	Western boundary	Southern boundary	Northern boundary	Serial column number
M (4)	4	<i>hsün-t'ien</i> 勲田	10 W	P'ing 平	ditch 渠	Shih-chu 什住	Ch'êng Shih-chu 程什住	road 路	c 129

Also, among the *i-shou-t'ien* entries for head of household (O) Ch'êng Ta-ching 程大慶 there is:

O (6)	36	<i>k'ou-fên</i> 口分	10 W	P'ing 平	Ch'êng Shih-chu 程什住	dwelling 舍	ditch 渠	ditch 渠	c 173
-------	----	-----------------------	------	------------	---------------------------	---------------	------------	------------	-------

Since (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên's holding (4) and (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing's hold-

ing (6) were both ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, we should first look for correspondence relationships with those of (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu's *i-shou-t'ien* holdings that were similarly located. To pair with the former's "(on the) west, (land held by) Shih-chu; (on the) south, (land held by) Ch'êng Shih-chu" we have the following selection: the entry "(on the) east, (land held by) Jên-chên" is common to L(11) and L(13) (c 113 and 115); L(8) (c 110) has "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên"; and L(9) (c 111) has "(on the) north, (land held by) Ch'êng Jên-chên". It may therefore be considered that either L(11) or L(13) lay adjacent to M(4) on its west side and either L(8) or L(9) on its south. This means that we can probably regard the boundary definitions of these adjoining plots as having been rewritten at the same time.

Now, as it is known that (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu and (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên were brothers (c 87 and 116), it would seem natural to suppose that in this instance there had occurred a division of the household and that the boundary definitions of our two adjoining plots had been simultaneously rewritten; and as Ch'êng Shih-chu's holding (9) was *hsün-t'ien* 黜田 (land granted in recognition of meritorious service) just like Ch'êng Jên-chên's holding (4), it would probably be correct to regard the two holdings as having been created by differential apportionment at the time the household was divided. Assuming this to have been the case, if we return to our two pairs of possible matches for Jên-chên's holding (4), the southern match was in fact probably L(9) and the western match either L(11) or L(13).

On the other hand, for the entry "(on the) east, (land held by) Ch'êng Shih-chu" that appears in the boundary definitions of (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing's holding (6), there is no corresponding mention of (O) Ta-ch'ing's name in the western boundary definitions of any of (L) Shih-chu's holdings that lay ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch. We must therefore look for a different type of relationship. Among the western boundary definitions of Ch'êng Shih-chu's holdings in this area, there was one case of a *tzŭ-t'ien* entry (L(9)) and two cases of head of household names: L(2) Sung Ching 宋靖 and L(3) Huai Chu 懷住. It is possible to believe that the holding in question, O(6), had once been part of the *i-shou-t'ien* of one of the three householders Ch'êng Shih-chu, Sung Ching and Huai Chu, but that it had reverted and been allocated to Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing.

While the composition of the Sung Ching and the Huai Chu households is unclear, Ch'êng Shih-chu was a *lao-nan* of seventy-eight *sui*, and the records of change in the number of mouths in his household comprise: mention of an adolescent male (*chung-nan* 中男) and of a boy (*hsiao-nan* 小男) who died subsequent to the compilation of the 745 tax register; and the supplementary addition of an infant female to the tax register of 746 (c 78-101). Thus although we cannot readily say that the *shêng-t'ui* rule had been applied in this case on the grounds of change in the size of the household, there is no particu-

lar reason why we should not believe that Ch'êng Shih-chu had originally been a *ting-nan* (丁男: adult male) head of household and that some of his land had reverted when he reached the age of sixty.

(5) *Head of household (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên* 程仁貞 *in the T'ien-pao 6 register.*

Of this household's five pieces of allotted land (c 126-130), three were ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, one was in the territory of the same ditch seven *li* west of the city, and one was in the territory of the Ho-pei 河北 ditch ten *li* west of the city. Jên-chên's name appears in the following boundary definitions entered in the same register:

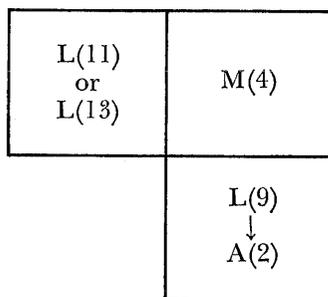
Name of $\beta$ Householder		Holding number	Distance ( <i>li</i> ) and direction from city	Ditch	Entry	Serial column number
A	(name unknown)	2	10 W	P'ing 平	(on the) N, (land held by) Jên-chên	a 10
L	Ch'êng Shih-chu	4	7 "	" "	" W "	Jên-chên c 106
		8	10 "	" "	" N "	Jên-chên c 110
		9	" "	" "	" N "	Ch'êng Jên-chên c 111
		11	" "	" "	" E "	Jên-chên c 113
		13	" "	" "	" E "	Jên-chên c 115
P	Ch'êng Chih-i	2	" "	" "	" W "	Ch'êng Jên-chên c 193

Let us now see how we can match the A, P and L records that involve Jên-chên's name with the boundary definitions of the latter's *i-shou-t'ien*.

(a) First, the entry "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên" given for householder A's holding (2) cannot be coupled with any of the M boundary definitions. The reason for this is that the three M *i-shou-t'ien* southern borders which defined holdings lying in the territory of the P'ing ditch ten *li* west of the city and one of which should have corresponded with the A definition in question, are (1) ditch, (2) bank and (4) (land held by) Ch'êng Shih-chu. Holding (5), the same number of *li* away from the city in the same direction but situated in the territory of the Ho-pei ditch, had on its south a pit (*kêng* 坑). Thus the only case in which there can be question of a link with the entry "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên" is that of M(4)'s "(on the) south, (land held by) Ch'êng Shih-chu".

Now this plot had a holding of Ch'êng Shih-chu's on its west as well, and as we explained above, these two M(4) boundary definitions correspond with

a pair of occurrences of Jên-chên's name among the northern and eastern boundary definitions of Shih-chu's holdings. It is well conceivable that a division of the household had taken place between these two brothers and that since Jên-chên's holding (4) and Shih-chu's holding (9) were both *hsün-t'ien*, they had been adjacent from the first. Going by the normal rules for establishing combinations, we might reason as follows. The holding of A's (No. 2) which has the entry "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên" had once been part of (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu's allotted land. It lay adjacent to (M) Ch'êng



Jên-chên's holding (4) on the latter's southern side and in the boundary definition of M(4) it was entered, as it appeared when seen from M(4)'s point of view, in the form "(on the) south, (land held by) Ch'êng Shih-chu. The holding had then reverted and been allocated to household A, and when the boundary definitions were rewritten, the entry "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên" came to appear among A's cadastral records. The M(4) entry "(on the) south, (land held by) Ch'êng Shih-chu" would thus have been older than the A(2) entry "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên."

If, however, we postulate the adjacency of the two holdings in the light of an assumption of division of the household, what this means is that (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu and (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên had divided up their father Hsing-k'uan's 行寬 household between them, and so had become independent householders at one and the same time. Thus the two boundary definitions "(on the) south, (land held by) Ch'êng Shih-chu" and "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên" were established simultaneously and may be accepted as having held good down to 747. This implies in turn that the entry "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên" given for household A's holding (2) cannot be interpreted according to the normal rules but may probably be seen as indicating that Ch'êng Jên-chên occupied land outside his allotted quota of *i-shou-t'ien*.

There still remains the possibility, though, that to the north of A(2) there was a holding of land quite separate from M(4) that had once been part of Ch'êng Jên-chên's *i-shou-t'ien* but that had since reverted. Ch'êng Jên-chên was a *lao-nan* of seventy-seven *sui* and a guard of the Wing Militia (*i-wei* 翊衛), and the records indicating change in the size of his household (c 116-124) comprise the supplementary addition to the 746 tax register of a previously

omitted official's wife aged sixty-one *sui*, and the mention of the death of an infant male made in amendment of the household register for 744. These latter give us insufficient grounds for accepting that reversion had occurred. It would not however be unnatural to suppose that Jên-chên had become head of household before he reached the age of sixty and that when he did reach this age, the *shêng-t'ui* regulations were applied to his holdings.

(b) We will next look at the occurrences, listed above, of Ch'êng Jên-chên's name in the boundary definitions of (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu's holdings. First, there is no parcel of Ch'êng Jên-chên's *i-shou-t'ien* that can be linked with the entry "(on the) west, (land held by) Jên-chên" defining the western boundary of L's holding (4) seven *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch. That is to say, in precisely this area there was just one holding, M(3), that belonged to Ch'êng Jên-chên's allotted land, and this had the ditch on its east. It therefore cannot be placed adjacent to L(4). Consequently, on the west of L(4) there must have lain a holding of Ch'êng Jên-chên's that was not part of his allotted quota. If on the contrary we try to think solely in terms of *i-shou-t'ien*, we shall again be unable to produce a viable interpretation without invoking the hypothesis of a *quondam i-shou-t'ien* holding of Ch'êng Jên-chên's that had subsequently reverted.

We now come to the mentions of (Ch'êng) Jên-chên's name in the boundary definitions of holdings L(8), L(9), L(11) and L(13) ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch. Since we have already, in consideration of the Ch'êng household division, accepted the *hsün-t'ien* holding L(9) plus either L(11) or L(13) as having been adjacent neighbours to the *hsün-t'ien* holding M(4), there remain for discussion only L(8) and either L(13) or L(11).

First, there are absolutely no holdings among the *i-shou-t'ien* of (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên that might correspond with the L(8) record "(on the) north, (land held by) Jên-chên," for when M(4) has been excluded from the three M holdings that lay ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, we are left only with M(1) and M(2), which had respectively the ditch or a bank on their southern borders and so cannot be recognised as ordinary holdings. Ch'êng Jên-chên's holding (5) in the territory of the Ho-pei ditch ten *li* west of the city is similarly disqualified by reason of its having had a pit to the south. This being the case, it is natural to conclude that to the north of (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu's holding (8) there lay a piece of land occupied by Ch'êng Jên-chên over and above his *i-shou-t'ien* allotment. Otherwise, we should again have to have recourse to the assumption of *quondam i-shou-t'ien* that had reverted and so passed out of Jên-chên's hands.

As for the two holdings L(11) and L(13), these both have the boundary definition "(on the) east, (land held by) Jên-chên", and of the two M holdings ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch that are left when M(4) has been excluded, M(1) had the ditch on its west and M(2) land held by

Ch'êng Chih (Ch'êng Chih-i 程智意). Thus it is only in the latter case that a coupling with the L boundary in question seems possible. But if the two holdings—M(2) and either L(11) or L(13)—were adjacent, then the L holding involved must originally have been land assigned to Ch'êng Chih-i which had reverted and subsequently been allocated to Ch'êng Shih-chu; the boundary definitions would thereupon have been revised and the entry “(on the) east, (land held by) Jên-chên” made. However, as we shall show in due course, there were no clear-cut conditions in the case of Ch'êng Chih-i's household such as to give rise to the operation of the *shêng-t'ui* regulations, and so it would be difficult to decide simply that land that had once been held by Ch'êng Chih-i had become the land of Ch'êng Shih-chu. It would thus in the final analysis be more natural to take it that on the east of holding L(11) or L(13) there was a non-*i-shou-t'ien* holding belonging to Ch'êng Jên-chên. The only alternative is to assume yet once again the existence of a reverted former holding of Ch'êng Jên-chên's.

(c) Last of all, we come to the entry “(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng Jên-chên” occurring in the boundary definitions of (P) Ch'êng Chih-i's holding (2) ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch. The eastern neighbours of the three parcels M(1), M(2) and M(4) held in exactly this region by Ch'êng Jên-chên were respectively a holding of Ch'êng Chih-i's, *tzŭ-t'ien*, and the ditch, while his holding (5) situated at the same distance from the city only in the vicinity of the Ho-pei ditch, had to its east a bank. We can thus look for an adjacency relationship with the entry “(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng Jên-chên” in the cases of M(1) and M(2) alone.

If our choice falls on M(1), this will be an example of a match in which the name of each of the two land-holders is mentioned in the definition of the other's holding, and so it will follow that the cadastral entries for the two were rewritten simultaneously. If we assume that there was no sibling relationship between Ch'êng Jên-chên and Ch'êng Chih-i, as there had been in the case of Ch'êng Jên-chên and Ch'êng Shih-chu, and consequently, that this time there is no question of a household division to enter the discussion, does this mean that we should regard the two adjacent holdings as having been allocated independently and one by one to their respective occupiers but as having had their boundary definitions simultaneously rewritten? Such a thing could happen, but surely in very few cases.

If on the other hand we pair P(2)'s “(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng Jên-chên” with M(2)'s “(on the) east, *tzŭ-t'ien*”, this will imply the assumption that holding P(2) had once been part of the *i-shou-t'ien* of Ch'êng Jên-chên and so from the point of view of M(2) had been *tzŭ-t'ien*; after its reversion it was allocated precisely to Ch'êng Chih-i's household and when the boundary definitions were revised the record “(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng Jên-chên” was made. Here again we have had to postulate the occurrence of

M(2) $\alpha$	P(2) $\beta$
The $\alpha$ record is the earlier record and the $\beta$ one the later	

a reversion.

To review all that we have said above, our investigation of the holdings of (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên has revealed that in each of four cases—those of the northern boundary of A(2), the western boundary of L(4), the northern boundary of L(8) and the eastern boundary of L(11) or L(13)—, it would be the most natural to believe that adjacent lay a holding of Ch'êng Jên-chên's that was not part of his *i-shou-t'ien*. If we try to interpret these cases solely in terms of *i-shou-t'ien* and so within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system, we have to assume every time that whereas the adjacent plot had once been an allotted holding of Ch'êng Jên-chên's, it had reverted and so passed out of his hands. The case of the western boundary of holding P(2) can also perhaps be best explained by postulating a reversion. In view, however, of the fact that not a single occurrence of reversion can actually be established, it would seem to be impossible, even making due allowance for chance, to interpret all these different instances distributed over two separate tracts of land at different distances from the city on the assumption that *shêng-t'ui* reversions had taken place after precisely the requisite fashion.

In the final analysis, it would seem best to regard the source materials pertaining to (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên taken all in all as proving the existence of holdings outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system.

(6) *Head of household (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung* 程大忠 *in the T'ien-pao 6 register.*

In addition to a house and curtilage, this household had twelve holdings of *i-shou-t'ien* (c 145–157) distributed as follows: eight plots were ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, two were seven *li* west of the city in the territory of the same ditch, and two were five *li* west of the city in the territory of the Mêng-shou ditch. The further records which will receive our attention in the present section are:

(a) There are six entries among the boundary definitions of those holdings of (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung's that lay ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch in whose cases it may be possible to establish an adjacency relationship with (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing's holding (2).

Name of $\beta$ householder		Holding number	Distance (li) and direction from city	Ditch	Entry	Serial column number
O	Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing	2	10 W	P'ing 平	"(on the) W, (land held by) Ch'êng Chung"	c 169
P	Ch'êng Chih-i	2	" "	" "	" E "	c 193
		4	5 "	MS 孟授	" W "	c 195
		13	" "	" "	" W "	c 204

These six entries are:

- N(1) "(on the) East, *tzŭ-t'ien*  
 N(5) " East, (land held by) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing  
 N(6) " East, " Jan Ho-ch'ing 然鶴慶  
 N(8) " East, " Liu Chên 劉貞  
 N(11) " East, " Ch'êng Shu-shêng 程樹生  
 N(12) " East, " Cheng Piao 鄭表

If we take first the second possibility, N(5)'s "(on the) East, (land held by) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing", we shall have a case of two matching head of household names set side by side, and this we may accept as signifying that the two adjacent holdings N(5) and O(2) had at the same time come into the hands of their respective occupiers and that the boundary definitions had been re-written thereupon.

Ch'êng Ta-chung and Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing, having in common I 義 for their father (c 131, 158), were brothers, and so it would seem natural to regard this case as parallel with that of the brothers (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu and (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên, in which we considered the relationship between the two holdings L(9) and M(4) in the light of the supposition of a household partition. The present case, however, differs from that of (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu's holding (9) and (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên's holding (4), both of which were *hsün-t'ien*, in that the plots in question belonged to no special category of land.

Alternatively, without actually binding O(2) and N(5) together in this way, we may assume, staggering the dates of the two records, that the former, a plot of land adjacent to an *i-shou-t'ien* holding of Ch'êng Ta-chung's on the latter's eastern side, became the *i-shou-t'ien* of Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing subsequent to a reversion and thereupon had the entry "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng (Ta-)chung" made in its boundary definitions; or, *vice versa*, that the latter, N(5), was a plot of land adjacent to an *i-shou-t'ien* holding of Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing's on the latter's western side which became the *i-shou-t'ien* of Ch'êng Ta-chung subsequent to a reversion. Both of these are possibilities, but if forced to choose, would it not be more satisfactory to regard the situation as

having arisen from the division of the parent household?

If we next try to pair the (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing (2) entry "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng (Ta-)chung" with the (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung (1) entry "(on the) east, *tzŭ-t'ien*", this will mean that O(2) had once been a holding of

N	O
$\alpha$	$\beta$

Ch'êng Ta-chung's adjacent to an *i-shou-t'ien* holding of his on the latter's eastern side; it had subsequently reverted and come under the occupation of (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing's household. The boundary definitions had thereupon been rewritten and the  $\beta$  record in question made. However, Ch'êng Ta-chung was a fifty-one *sui*-old Senior Pillar of the State (*shang chu-kuo* 上柱國) and if we look at the changes in the composition of his household (c 131-143) we find the following. A previously omitted official's wife aged twenty-two *sui* has been added in supplement to the 745 tax register; the tax register for the following year has been brought up to date by the addition of an infant male; a boy (*hsiao-nan* 小男) has had his age altered from twenty *sui* to sixteen in amendment of the 746 tax register—which means, in effect, in the 747 household register; and the record of a boy's death has been added to the 744 household register.

It is therefore extremely doubtful whether in the case of this household a *shêng-t'ui* reversion such as to correspond with that supposed above actually occurred. The alteration of the "boy" 's age from twenty *sui* to sixteen was made as a supplementary correction to the 746 tax register and may thus be assumed to have appeared for the first time in the 747 household register now under discussion. If *shêng-t'ui* had arisen on account of this revision, the result of the transfer of the reverted holding O(2) to the *i-shou-t'ien* of Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing and the consequent rewriting of the boundary definitions would have appeared already in the same 747 register.

We must also consider the possibility of coupling the (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing (2) boundary definition "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng (Ta-)chung" with the (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung records of adjacent eastern parcels held by Jan Ho-ch'ing 然鶴慶, Liu Chên 劉貞, Ch'êng Shu-shêng 程樹生 or Chêng Piao 鄭表 in the cases of N(6), N(8), N(11) and N(12) respectively. This time, we should have to imagine that a former *i-shou-t'ien* holding of Jan Ho-ch'ing, of Liu Chên, of Ch'êng Shu-shêng or of Chêng Piao had reverted on account of changes in the circumstances of its occupying household, been allocated to the household of Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing, and had its boundary definitions rewritten accordingly.

(b) We came next to the eastern boundary definition of (C) Ch'êng Chih-i's

holding (2) ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch. When we look for possible matches for this among the definitions of (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung's holdings of allotted land, the following five entries come into question:<sup>6)</sup>

N(1)	(on the)	West,	(land held by)	Huai Chu 懷住
N(2)	"	West,	"	Miao Shu 苗叔
N(8)	"	West,	"	Wang Chên 王貞
N(10)	"	West,	"	Jan Ho-ch'ing 然鶴慶
N(11)	"	West,	<i>tzŭ-t'ien</i>	

If we pick the N(11) record, we encounter the same problem of whether *shêng-t'ui* reversion could have arisen in the case of Ch'êng Ta-chung's household as we did above when trying to couple the O(2) definition "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng (Ta-)chung" with the N(1) entry "(on the) east, *tzŭ-t'ien*." As for the four remaining possibilities, these again would all entail the assumption of a reversion from the allotted land of the respective household, just as we found when we tried to link O(2) with N(6), N(8), N(11) or N(12).

There remains the definition "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng Ta-chung" common to the entries for the two Ch'êng Chih-i holdings P(4) and P(13) five *li* west of the city in the territory of the Mêng-shou ditch. The eastern boundary definition—plots held by Huai Chu and Ch'êng Hung-shou 程洪壽 respectively—of both of (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung's two holdings in this region N(3) and N(4) become the objects of our scrutiny; here again as in many previous examples the P holdings (4) and (13) would have been former holdings of the other households, Huai Chu and Ch'êng Hung-shou respectively, which had reverted and become the land of Ch'êng Chih-i.

In fine, we have dealt with the problems relating to (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung arising from the 747 household register largely through reliance on the assumption of reversion and reallocation of land and of a difference in date between the boundary definitions of the various matching holdings. It should surely be admitted, however, that the chances of reversions having taken place exactly as we should wish in all the cases are very small.

(7) *Head of household (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing* 程大慶 in the *T'ien-pao 6* register. Household O had six holdings of allotted land in addition to its house and curtilage: O(2), (3), (4) and (6) were ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, O(7) was in the territory of the same ditch seven *li* west of the city, and O(5) was five *li* west of the city in the territory of the Mêng-shou ditch. To compare with this, we have the entry "(on the) east, (land held by)

6) As to the meaning of the entry *Hsi Chün* 西君 appearing in the boundary definitions of Ch'êng Ta-chung's 程大忠 holding (5) (c 149) is not clear, it has been omitted here. It may be that it refers to the Chêng Chün 鄭君 mentioned in the northern boundary definition of (P) Ch'êng Chih-i's 程智意 holding (5) (c 196).

Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing" among the boundary definitions of (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung's holding (5) ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch. The only record in whose case there are grounds for considering the possibility of an adjacency relationship with the N(5) entry is the definition "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng Chung" given for (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing's holding (2) in the same region: there are no other admissible candidates. As we have already explained in the course of our discussion of the Ch'êng Ta-chung records, we feel that it would probably be the most satisfactory to regard this as a case of a household division arrangement.

(8) *Head of household (P) Ch'êng Chih-i* 程智意 in the *T'ien-pao 6* register. This household had sixteen holdings of allotted land (c 192–208) besides its house and curtilage: holdings (1)–(3), (5) and (8)–(10) were ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, (11) and (12), (14) and (15) in the territory of the same ditch seven *li* west of the city, (4), (6) and (13) in the territory of the Mêng-shou ditch five *li* west of the city, (7) in the territory of the Wu-tu 武都 ditch ten *li* west of the city, and (16) in the territory of the same ditch seven *li* west of the city. Meanwhile, Ch'êng Chih-i's name appears in the following seven definitions of other households' holdings:

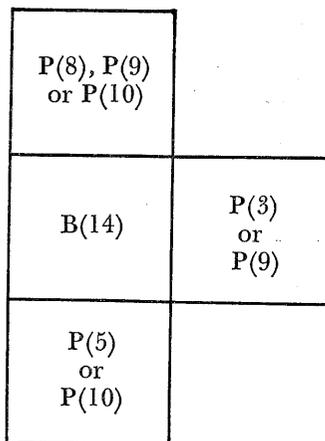
	Name of $\beta$ householder	Hold- ing num- ber	Distance ( <i>li</i> ) and direction from city	Ditch	Entry	Serial column number
(a)	B Ch'êng Ên- yang 鄭恩養	12	10 W	P'ing 平	(on the) W, (land held by) Ch'êng I 程意	a 37
		14	" "	"	" E " Ch'êng I	a 39
					" S " Ch'êng I	
					" N " Ch'êng I	
(b)	M Ch'êng Jên- chên	1	" "	"	" E " Ch'êng Chih-i	c 126
		2	" "	"	" W " Ch'êng Chih 程智	c 127
(c)	N Ch'êng Ta- chung	7	" "	MS 孟授	" W " Ch'êng I	c 151

To take the last of these first, since there was no holding among the allotted lands of Ch'êng Chih-i that similarly lay in the territory of the Mêng-shou ditch ten *li* west of the city, it would be natural to assume that it bordered on a holding of Ch'êng Chih-i's that did not form part of his *i-shou-t'ien*. If we look for an explanation within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system, it will presumably mean postulating a reverted former holding of Ch'êng Chih-i's allotted land. Ch'êng Chih-i, however, was a guardsman and lieutenant of the flying cavalry (*wei-shih fei-ch'i wei* 衛士飛騎尉) of forty-nine *sui* and the records indicating change in the composition of his household

are limited to the following (c 175–190). Supplementary to the 746 tax register a boy's age has been altered from twenty *sui* to fifteen; and the household register of 744 and the tax registers for the following two years have been brought up to date by the additional registration of a "girl", *hsiao-nü* 小女, two infant females, and one infant female respectively. The grounds for considering that there had been *shêng-t'ui* reversion are therefore weak. It may be possible, stretching the point, to posit a connection between the entry "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng I" and one of the *i-shout'ien* holdings of Ch'êng Chih-i's lying in the territory of the P'ing ditch ten *li* west of the city, on the assumption that the P'ing ditch intersected with other ditches in this area; but it would really seem more sensible to think of N(7) as having occupied a quite separate site in the territory of the Mêng-shou ditch.

As for the appearances, mainly in abbreviated form, of Ch'êng Chih-i's name in the boundary definitions of the remaining holdings B(12), B(14), M(1) and M(2), all these latter were ten *li* west of the city in the territory of the P'ing ditch, and there were seven holdings of Ch'êng Chih-i's allotted land in the same area with a plenitude of mentions of *tzū-t'ien* or of head of household names in the boundary definitions for every side. As long as we consider the possible adjacency relationships for each B or M boundary *in isolation*, we can, by dint of assuming the rewriting of the B or M entries to have taken place the later, establish viable hypotheses for them all, but we cannot account for the *set* of three mentions of Ch'êng Chih-i's name in the eastern, southern and northern boundary definitions of (B) Ch'êng Ên-yang's holding (14).

If we look among the boundary definitions of these seven holdings of Ch'êng Chih-i's for entries that it may be possible to match with the three B(14) records in question, for B(14)'s eastern border we have P(3)'s "(on the) west, (land held by) Ch'êng Hsing-k'uan 程行寬" and P(9)'s "(on the) west, (land held by) Chia Ch'u-chang 賈楚璋";<sup>7)</sup> for its southern border we have



7) This is omitting consideration of holding P (2) which we discussed above in connection with the adjacency relationships of (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên's 程仁貞 holdings.

P(5)'s "(on the) north, (land held by) Chêng Chün 鄭君" and P(10)'s "(on the) north, *tzŭ-t'ien*"; and for its northern border we have P(8)'s "(on the) south, (land held by) Wang Yu-hsing 王祐興", P(9)'s "(on the) south, (land held by) Wang Yu-shêng 王祐生 and P(10)'s "(on the) south, (land held by) Chêng Huai-chien 鄭懷謙." At first sight it appears that if we place either P(3) or P(9) next to B(14) on its east, either P(5) or P(10) next to it on its south, and one out of P(8), P(9) and P(10) next to it on its north, we shall have found the way to an explanation that lets us believe there were no non-*chün-t'ien* holdings on the three sides of B(14); in fact, however, whatever combination of these P holdings we may select, there will always appear three mutually inconsistent head of household names on the borders which coincide with B(14)'s—that is to say, on the west, north and south faces of the respective holdings. (The *tzŭ-t'ien* is here regarded as being Ch'êng Chih-i's land.)

How, then, does it come about that while holding (14) is the land of Chêng Ên-yang and has for neighbours on its eastern, southern and northern borders the three Ch'êng Chih-i *i-shou-t'ien* holdings (i), (ii) and (iii), there appear on the respective sides of these three holdings that adjoin B(14) the different head of household names x, y and z? The explanation is extremely complicated. B(14) would have in the past to have been the holding of one of these three men, say x, and at this time his name would have been entered in the definition of the border of one of the three holdings (i), (ii) and (iii) that adjoined B(14). This record then still appeared unaltered in the registers down to 747. Subsequently, B(14) would have reverted and been assigned as *i-shou-t'ien* to the second householder, say y; and the entry of y's name in the boundary definitions of the second adjoining holding that was still to be found in the 747 register would date from this period. B(14) would then have reverted yet again and become the *i-shou-t'ien* of householder z; z's name in turn would have been entered in the boundary definitions of the third adjacent holding and this record would also have gone on unrevised. A final reversion and reallocation would have brought B(14) into the hands of Chêng Ên-yang.

We should thus be forced into an interpretation that assumed four differentially dated sets of records; but it is absolutely impossible to believe that such a complicated process actually took place. This means that we shall never be able to make sense of the records for the three sides of B(14) as long as we allow ourselves to think only in terms of *i-shou-t'ien*. We cannot but admit that there existed parcels of land held by Ch'êng Chih-i that were not part of the *i-shou-t'ien* assigned to him.

### III

In the above, we took the cadastral records for the *i-shou-t'ien* allotments

only of eight households whose *i-shou-t'ien* entries are complete<sup>8)</sup> and tried to see whether or not the appearances of the respective householders' names in the boundary definitions of other households' holdings could be explained on the assumption of adjacency relationships. The result may be summarized as follows: such an explanation is possible in the cases of (6) (D) Tung Ssü-chü, (14) (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu and (14) (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing; rather difficult in the case of (14) (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung; pretty well impossible in the cases of (14) (K) Ch'êng Ssü-ch'u and (14) (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên; and quite impossible in the cases of (7) (I) Chao Hsüan-i and (14) (P) Ch'êng Chih-i. Since even when we try making ubiquitous assumptions of the occurrence of reversions there still arise a good few overall impossibilities or near impossibilities, we are brought to the ineluctable conclusion that there existed cultivated land that was not *i-shou-t'ien* and that therefore lay outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system.

In the first part of this article, we inferred the existence of land outside the *chün-t'ien* system framework from the impossibility of explaining all the mentions of *tzŭ-t'ien* in the boundary definitions of the *i-shou-t'ien* of each given household through consideration only of the internal grouping relationships of that household's holdings. This conclusion and our present one go hand in hand and reinforce each other. As we have said more than once before, in each case we have been concerned with exhaustive exploration to the extremes of possibility and have left the question of what was *likely* to have been the state of affairs in actual fact, and which would be the most *reasonable* interpretation entirely to one side. If asked for the likely state of affairs, we should have no choice but to say that cultivated land outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system existed to quite a considerable extent. Apart from special cases such as those in which there had been partition of the parent household, it would be possible to interpret *all* the *tzŭ-t'ien* records treated in the preceding argument as indicating land held outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system.

The reason for which in my discussion so far I have temporarily excluded from consideration the family rolls (*shou-shih* 手實) of Ta-li 4 (769) is that there exist among the boundary definitions it records both entries that had gone unrevised for many years and, alongside them, entries that had been rewritten comparatively freshly. It was therefore impossible to use them indiscriminately to establish grouping relationships for the boundary definitions. As I explained before, when we are attempting to interpret mentions of *tzŭ-t'ien* in view only of the internal grouping relationships of the *i-shou-t'ien*

8) The households of: (D) Tung Ssü-chü 董思弱 from the 716 register (Doc. no. 6); (I) Chao Hsüan-i 趙玄義 from the 722 draft register (Doc. no. 7); and (K) Ch'êng Ssü-ch'u 程思楚, (L) Ch'êng Shih-chu 程什住, (M) Ch'êng Jên-chên 程仁貞, (N) Ch'êng Ta-chung 程大忠 (O) Ch'êng Ta-ch'ing 程大慶 and (P) Ch'êng Chih-i 程智意 from the 747 register (Doc. no. 14).

boundary definitions of given households that contain them, such a discrepancy in the dates of the records becomes a serious impediment. It is a different matter, however, if we seek to investigate the cases in which the name of a head of household forms one or more of the boundary definitions of a holding assigned to another household *in a separate location from that of the first household's i-shou-t'ien*. Here there should emerge our opportunity to exploit the 769 *shou-shih*.

Now if in this *shou-shih* there are cases in which the name of a present head of household (A) appears in the boundary definitions of the holdings of a second household (B), this must mean that the B boundary definitions had been rewritten comparatively recently; and if the location of the plot with the recently rewritten boundary definitions is different from that of the *i-shou-t'ien* of the householder under investigation (A), the implication will be that, in addition to his allotment of *i-shou-t'ien*, head of household A held other, non-allotted land in another place. When we look to see whether such instances can in fact be found among the records in the *shou-shih*, the case of head of household (J) An Ta-chung 安大忠 (77) attracts our notice.

Whereas An Ta-chung's allotment of *i-shou-t'ien* was confined—apart from his house and curtilage—to three parcels of land in the territory of the Chao 爪 ditch fifteen *li* east of the city, the entry “(on the) west, (land held by) Ta-chung” is to be found in the boundary definitions of one of (O) So Jên-liang's 索仁亮 (147) holdings of *i-shou-t'ien* twenty *li* east of the city in the territory of the same ditch. It would thus seem natural to accept that An Ta-chung possessed non-*i-shou-t'ien* land that lay in a separate locality five *li* away from his allotted holdings. While An Ta-chung himself was an adult commoner (*pai-ting* 白丁) of only twenty-six *sui*, however, among the members of his household there were as many as eight who had either died or fled and been removed from the register. We thus cannot assert that there had been no reversions. Only, there is no decisive proof that there had been reversions either.

In the 769 *shou-shih* there is one more interesting group of records, relating, this time, to the household of (O) So Jên-liang. Jên-liang had originally become head of household in place of his elder brother So Ssü-ch'ü 索思楚 (*tai-hsiung ch'êng-hu* 代兄承戶), who had died subsequent to the compilation of the 763 tax register; and, at the same time as “(Jên-liang's) deceased elder brother's son Yüan-hui 元暉, aged twenty-nine *sui*” (*wang-hsiung nan Yüan-hui nien êrh-shih-chiu sui* 亡兄男元暉年貳拾玖歲) is numbered among the members of Jên-liang's household, the boundary definitions of two of his holdings of *i-shou-t'ien* that lay fifteen *li* east of the city in the territory of the Chao 爪 ditch (156 and 171) include respectively the entries “(on the) south, (land held by) So Hui 索暉” and “(on the) west, (land held by) So Hui; (on the) south, (land held by) So Hui.”

This calls for our attention. As So Hui, that is to say So Yüan-hui, was

only a member of So Jên-liang's household, it would seem that we should adopt one of the following two interpretations to account for the appearance of his name in the boundary definitions of Jên-liang's *i-shou-t'ien* holdings. Either we accept that there existed land other than the *i-shou-t'ien* allotment held by a member of the household other than its head; or we believe that there had once been a time when So Yüan-hui was himself a head of household, and that the boundary definitions in question date from it.

If we go by the second interpretation, we shall be able to make sense of the situation as one arising within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. However, Yüan-hui, a *p'in-tzū*—品子, child of a ranking official—who had inherited enjoyment of the *yin* privilege from his father Ssü-ch'u, is registered as having "fled, returned and been re-registered in amendment of the tax register of Shang-yüan 2 (761)" (*Shang-yüan êrh-nien chang-hou t'ao-huan fu* 上元二年帳後逃還附) (151). At this point he should have been entered under his father Ssü-ch'u's household. We may further accept that when, on Ssü-ch'u's subsequent decease, his younger brother Jên-liang succeeded to the status of *hu-chu* 戶主, Yüan-hui became a member of his uncle's household. There would therefore seem to be difficulties in the way of an interpretation which assumed that Yüan-hui had once been an independent householder. If we take it that So Yüan-hui had never been a head of household, the implication is, I would suggest, that at some time—whether during So Ssü-ch'u's headship of the household, before it, or after So Jên-liang had taken over: the date is not clear—a member of the household other than its head had occupied outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system land that was not part of the household's *i-shou-t'ien* allotment.

#### IV

In the preceding, I continued my inquiry, based on such Tun-huang registers and related documents as contain mentions of *tzü-t'ien*, into the existence of landholdings outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. I wish here in this connection to give some consideration to a source which is thought to be a tax register (*chi-chang* 計帳) of Ta-t'ung 13 (547 A.D.)<sup>9)</sup> as an example of a register quite without records of *tzü-t'ien*. This is the oldest known document showing the *chün-t'ien* system in operation. In it, the *i-shou-t'ien* for each household are not given *en bloc* with the household as the unit but are entered separately under the names of the household's adult males (*ting-nan* 丁男) and adult wives (*ting-ch'i* 丁妻). In cases where a holding (A) has an-

9) See Tatsurō YAMAMOTO 山本達郎: 'Tonkō Hakken Keichō-yō Monjo Zankan—Dai Ei Hakubutsukan Shozō Stein Shōrai Kanbun Monjo 613-gō' 敦煌發見計帳樣文書殘簡—大英博物館所藏斯坦因將來漢文文書六一三號 (A Tun-huang manuscript identified as taxation record *chi-chang*—MS S. 613 of Stein Collection in the British Museum), *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報, Vol. 37, Nos. 2 and 3, 1954, pp. 139-198, 361-376.

other (B) occupied by the same person adjacent to it, the holder's name is entered in the appropriate boundary definition of each holding (A): the expression *tzü-t'ien* is not used.

Now what makes an inquiry based upon this source as to whether or not there existed land held outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system markedly different from our other investigations so far is the fact that the location of the various parcels of *i-shou-t'ien* is not stated. Thus except for special cases it is almost impossible to investigate the question whether or not there existed other holdings geographically separate from the *i-shou-t'ien*. Our task will therefore be an examination of the *i-shou-t'ien* holdings of households for which the cadastral records are complete with the principal aim of establishing whether the mutual adjacency relationships of these can all be understood without the need to posit extra holdings.

(1) First let us take the case of the household of (B) Hou Lao-shêng 侯老生 (b 26) in the tax register-type document of 547, Entries for his *i-shou-t'ien* are found as follows (b 42-26):

Hold- ing num- ber	Size ( <i>mou</i> )	Type	Distance and direction from dwelling ( <i>shê</i> 舍)	East	West	South	North
1	10	Hemp	1 pace S	Ts'ao P'i-chih-pa 曹 匹 智 拔	Hou Lao-shêng 侯 老 生	Sao 搜	ditch
2	20	Reg.	5 // W	hemp (-field)	Liu Wên-ch'êng 劉 文 成	Yüan Hsing 元 興	road
The above two holdings are the portion of the householder Lao-shêng. Full allocations of both hemp-land ( <i>ma(-t'ien)</i> 麻(田)) and regular land ( <i>chêng(-t'ien)</i> 正(田))							
3	5	Hemp	30 // W	Lao-shêng	Wên-ch'êng 文 成	Lao-shêng	ditch
4	10	Reg.	1 <i>li</i> S	Ts'ao Niao-ti-pa 曹 鳥 地 拔	Wên-ch'êng	Ch'i 圻	Lao-shêng
The above two holdings are the portion of the wife La-la 臘臘. Full allocations of both hemp-land ( <i>ma(-t'ien)</i> 麻(田)) and regular land ( <i>chêng(-t'ien)</i> 正(田))							

- (1) 一段十畝麻 舍南一步 東至曹匹智拔 西至侯老生 南至搜 北至渠  
 (2) 一段廿畝 正舍西五步 東至麻 西至劉文成 南至元興 北至道  
 右件二段戶主老生分 麻正足  
 (3) 一段五畝麻 舍西卅步 東至老生 西至文成 南至老生 北至渠  
 (4) 一段十畝正 舍南一里 東至曹鳥地拔 西至文成 南至圻 北至老生  
 右件二段妻臘分 麻正足

The first thing that strikes our attention in these entries is the appearance of the words "(on the) east, as far as hemp(-field)" (*tung chih ma* 東至麻) in the boundary definitions of Lao-shêng's 'regular' allotment, holding (2). It would seem natural to understand this "hemp" as indicating Lao-shêng's hemp-

field allotment, and the record in question does indeed seem to correspond with the entry "(on the) west, as far as (land held by) Hou Lao-shêng" appearing in the boundary definitions of his hemp-field allotment, holding (1). On the other hand, holding (1) was "one pace south of (Hou's) dwelling and holding (2) "five paces west" of it, and so there remains a doubt as to whether the two can really be coupled.

Assuming that we do link them, there turns out to be something of a want of consistency in the method of designation employed in as much as Lao-shêng's hemp-field is referred to as "hemp" and his regular allotment as "Hou Lao-shêng". What are we to make of this? Alternatively, perhaps the "hemp" does not refer to Lao-shêng's *ma-t'ien* at all, but to some other land for the cultivation of hemp. If the hemp-field allotment (holding (1)) and the regular allotment (holding (2)) were not adjacent, the Hou Lao-shêng land to the west of the former must have been a plot of his other than his *i-shou-t'ien* and adjacent to his allotted hemp-field. How would this be?

In any case, however, whichever possibility we opt for, it is extremely difficult to see what can have been referred to by the occurrences of Lao-shêng's name in the boundary definitions of his wife La-la's 臘臘 holdings (3) and (4).<sup>10</sup> With whichever of Lao-shêng's holdings, (1) and (2), we may try to match these entries of his name, and after whatever fashion, we can discover no way of tendering a suitable interpretation. Particularly striking is the case of the northern boundary definition of holding (4) of La-la. Since Lao-shêng's hemp-field allotment had the ditch on its north and his regular allotment the road, we cannot assume that holding (4) was adjacent to either. Holding (4) was, moreover, one *li* south of the household's dwelling and therefore at some distance from holdings (1) and (2), which were one pace south of the dwelling and five paces west respectively. Any supposition of an adjacency relationship becomes more impossible than ever. We would thus seem to be led to the conclusion that Hou Lao-shêng held outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system land other than the hemp-field (holding (1)) and the regular allotment (holding (2)) which constituted his allocation of *i-shou-t'ien*.

(2) We come next to the case of the household of (F) K'ou-yen T'ien-fu 叩延天富 (e 5) in the same tax register-type document.

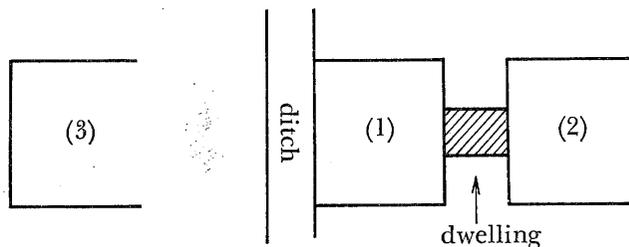
From this we may infer that K'ou-yen T'ien-fu's allotted hemp-field (holding (1)) adjoined the household dwelling on the latter's west while his regular allotment (holding (2)) adjoined it on its east (see diagram), but what can the mention of T'ien-fu in the eastern boundary definition of his wife T'u-kuei's hemp-field (holding (3)) be indicating? We can hardly answer T'ien-fu's hemp-

10) For holding (3), the hemp-field, "(on the) east, as far as (land held by) Lao-shêng" and "(on the) south, as far as (land held by) Lao-shêng"; for holding (4), the regular allotment, "(on the) north, as far as (land held by) Lao-shêng."

Hold- ing num- ber	Size	Type	Distance and direction from dwelling (shê 舍)	East	West	South	North
1	10	Hemp	1 pace W	dwelling	ditch	ditch	□ □
2	10	Reg.	2 paces E	P'i-chih-pa 匹知拔	dwelling	ditch	ditch
The above two holdings are the portion of the householder T'ien-fu. The hemp-field allocation has been given in full but the regular allotment lacks 10 <i>mou</i> .							
3	5	Hemp	20 paces W	T'ien-fu 天富	ditch	Niao-ti-pa 鳥地拔	ditch
The above holding is the portion of the wife T'u-kuei 吐歸. The hemp-field allocation has been given in full but no regular allotment has been received.							
4	1	House and curtilage					

- (1) 一段十畝麻 舍西一步 東至舍 西至渠 南至渠 北至□□  
 (2) 一段十畝正 舍東二步 東至匹知拔 西至舍 南至渠 北至渠  
 右件二段戶主天富分 麻足 正少十畝  
 (3) 一段五畝麻 舍西廿步 東至天富 西至渠 南至鳥地拔 北至渠  
 右件一段妻吐歸分 麻足 正未受  
 一段一畝居住園宅

field or his regular allotment. Why? Because T'u-kuei's hemp-field was twenty paces west of the dwelling and should thus have been located to the west of



T'ien-fu's hemp-field, which was only one pace west of the dwelling. T'ien-fu's hemp-field, however, had the ditch for its western boundary, and so it would be difficult to conceive that it could have directly adjoined the eastern side of holding (3). If we assume, then, that the two were not adjacent, the implication will be that what lay on the eastern edge of T'u-kuei's hemp-field was land held by T'ien-fu that did not form part of his *i-shou-t'ien* allocation.

(3) In the same tax register-type document there survive the following *i-shou-t'ien* records (f 2-4) pertaining to the head of household (J) (surname unclear) Kuang-shih 廣世.

As Kuang-shih's *i-shou-t'ien* comprised only the single hemp-field allotment holding (1), it is clear that the Kuang-shih holding referred to in the definition

Hold- ing num- ber	Size	Type	Distance and direction from dwelling (shê)	East	West	South	North
1	10	Hemp	5 paces W	dwelling	ditch	Kuang-shih 廣 世	A-nu-ku 阿 奴 孤
The above holding is the portion of the householder Kuang-shih. The hemp-field allocation has been given in full, but no regular allotment has been received.							
2	5		15 paces N	road	ditch	Kuang-shih	Ho-shuang-chü 和 雙 駒
(The above holding is the portion of the wife □ □. The hemp-field allocation has been given in full, but no regular allotment has been received)*							

- (1) 一段十畝麻 舍西五步 東至舍 西至渠 南至廣生 北至阿孤  
孤右件一段戶主廣世分 麻田足 正未受
- (2) 一段五畝 舍北十五步 東至道 西至渠 南至廣世 北和雙駒  
[右件一段妻□□分 麻田足 正未受]

of its southern boundary cannot have been part of his *i-shou-t'ien*. There are also difficulties in the way of identifying with this holding (1) the holding of his referred to in the southern boundary definition of the second parcel holding (2), which belonged to another member of his household, presumably his wife. In the first place, it cannot be said to be natural to believe that what lay to the south of the latter, situated fifteen paces north of the dwelling, was the former, situated five paces west of it; on top of this, the holding (1) boundary definition which ought to correspond with the problematical entry for holding (2)'s southern boundary would then be "(on the) north, as far as (land held by) A-nu-ku 阿奴孤." In order to establish the match we should no doubt adopt the following reasoning: holding (2) had once been the land of A-nu-ku but had reverted and come into the hands of Kuang-shih. At this time the boundary definitions of holding (2) had been altered and the entry "(on the) south, as far as (land held by) Kuang-shih" made. It is however extremely doubtful whether this actually took place. Would it not rather be safer to regard holding (2)'s record of a Kuang-shih holding to its south in the same light as the equivalent entry for holding (1)—that is to say, as indicating land belonging to Kuang-shih outside of his *i-shou-t'ien* allotment?

Thus in all three cases—those of (B) Hou Lao-shêng, (F) K'ou-yen T'ien-fu and (J) □ Kuang-shih—difficulties arise when we attempt to make sense of the boundary definitions containing mentions of the respective householders' names without allowing for land outside the *i-shou-t'ien* allotments. If we are determined, come what may, to provide an explanation within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system, there is nothing for it but to postulate rever-

\* The asterisk indicates a remark 'author's reconstruction'.

sions; it is however surely quite impossible to produce a convincing interpretation based on the assumption that just the right reversions to meet all the obstacles happened to take place.

About the possibility of reversions, we may add the following few considerations. First, this tax register-type document of 547 may be considered to have been the register for the second year after the adoption of a new system in 545 in connection with Su Ch'ò's 蘇綽 reforms made under the Western Wei Emperor Yü-wên T'ai 宇文泰. Even if there had been reversions since the new system came into force, they would no doubt have been extremely few in number.

Second, the size of the *i-shou-t'ien* holdings recorded in this document varies as follows. There are two twenty-*mou* parcels, one fifteen-*mou* parcel, eight ten-*mou* parcels, one eight-*mou* parcel, one seven-*mou* parcel and four five-*mou* parcels. To these we may add one deducible ten-*mou* parcel and one deducible five-*mou* one. Thus overall the smallest unit is five *mou* and parcels of exactly twice that size constitute the majority of the holdings. Furthermore, the plots may be accepted as having been of regular shape. In other words, the holdings recorded in the 547 register do not display the fragmentation into plots of unequal size that is found in the T'ang dynasty registers. This would seem to indicate that there had not yet occurred a repeated process of combination and division of holdings such as took place in the later period. The combination and division of plots would have been carried out not only in the case of private ownership but also during the process of the circulation of holdings through grants and reversions under the *chün-t'ien* system.

Finally, let us look at the composition of the individual households under consideration. The relevant records for the household of (J) □ Kuang-shih do not survive, but we know that (B) Hou Lao-shêng was a fifty-five *sui*-old adult commoner and that in his family there were two adult males, one adult wife and one deceased thirteen-*sui*-old daughter (a "young unmarried woman", *chung-nü* 中女). We therefore cannot suppose that land had reverted in accordance with the *shêng-t'ui* ruling. If we look at the recipients of land mentioned in this document as a whole, we find that land was granted in respect of adult males, adult females, adult female slaves (*ting-pi* 丁婢) and oxen; there is nothing to suggest the existence of *chung-nü* grantees.<sup>11)</sup>

As for (F) K'ou-yen T'ien-fu, he was an adult commoner of thirty-six *sui* and his household included one adult male, one adult female and his deceased sixty-five *sui*-old mother. Here also it is hard to believe that there had been *shêng-t'ui* reversion.

In the final analysis, it is impossible to explain away all the difficulties in the way of an interpretation within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system by means of assumptions of reversions. Consequently, we have no choice but

11) See Tatsurō YAMAMOTO: "Tonkō Hakken Keichō-yō Monjo Zankan" in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1954, p. 197.

to recognise the existence of land-holdings lying outside the *chün-t'ien* framework. In actual fact, it would seem natural to regard such non-*chün-t'ien* holdings as having existed in quite considerable numbers.

V

To review what we have said in the two halves of the present article, the end result of our investigations is that whether we examine the question from the point of view of the internal grouping relationships of the *i-shou-t'ien* holdings or from that of the occurrences of the householders' names in the definitions of plots other than their own *i-shou-t'ien*, we are compelled to recognise the existence of cultivated land lying outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. This is not only proved by the T'ang dynasty registers but may also be acknowledged in the case of the 547 tax register-type document as well; it would therefore seem natural to take it that such land always existed throughout the whole period in which the *chün-t'ien* system was in force. Our discussion has been limited to the scrutiny of what we have been able to find scattered among the boundary definition records preserved in the extant registers and related documents; it goes without saying that in reality a great deal more non-*chün-t'ien* land existed. There would not even be anything the least improper in believing that there was more land outside the *chün-t'ien* system than there was within it.

As we have shown, it is to be accepted that the expression "*tzū-t'ien*" signified land held in addition to the *i-shou-t'ien* and so outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system; we should however perhaps recognise that this phrase covered both *chün-t'ien* system land and non-*chün-t'ien* system land. As we saw while discussing the grouping relationships of the *i-shou-t'ien*, there are not a few cases in which "*tzū-t'ien*" must be recognised as indicating an *i-shou-t'ien* holding. Not only that, but if we were to suppose that the expression *tzū-t'ien* could not be applied to *i-shou-t'ien* also, it would mean that there was not a single example in all the T'ang registers of one parcel of a given household's *i-shou-t'ien* having another adjacent to it, since there are no cases at all in these later registers of the occupying present head of household's name appearing in the boundary definitions of any of his *i-shou-t'ien* holdings. Such a situation would be most unnatural. There should unquestionably have been cases in which two among the holdings of a given household's *i-shou-t'ien* lay side-by-side.

The expression "*tzū-t'ien*" has previously been taken both, as having indicated special land outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system and, alternatively, as having referred to land within the *chün-t'ien* framework; my view, however, differs from both these interpretations. As I see it, there are cases when "*tzū-t'ien*" refers to *chün-t'ien* land and cases when it refers to non-*chün-t'ien* land; all the expression does is to identify a given holding as being

under the occupation of the householder in question *himself*, without reference to the land's legal status. In any case, the purpose for which the boundary definitions were recorded was to indicate, by stating how far the plot extended in each direction, its borders or its position: there should have been no need to make a point of inquiring into the legal status of the adjacent holdings. It is for this very reason that whereas the registers and related documents do mention the various different categories of land—*yung-yeh-t'ien* 永業田 (land held in perpetuity), *k'ou-fên t'ien* 口分田 (personal share land), *hsiin-t'ien* 勲田 (land granted in recognition of meritorious service), *mai-t'ien* 買田 (purchased land) and so on—, they do not pay the slightest attention to such distinctions when it comes to writing boundary definitions, but simply enter the name of the holder. It must then be the same in the case of the *tzü-t'ien* records: the expression "*tzü-t'ien*" indicates only that the plot in question is the plot of the given householder himself and is used indiscriminately both for land outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system and for land within it.

In this second half of my discussion I have been concerned to find cases in which the name of a given householder ( $\alpha$ ) appears in the boundary definitions of a holding pertaining to another household ( $\beta$ ) that is geographically separate from household  $\alpha$ 's holdings of *i-shou-t'ien*. I have taken it that such appearances indicate the existence of holdings that did not belong to the  $\alpha$  *i-shou-t'ien*; and in ordinary cases the occurrence of the name will then point to land held outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. Since there are of course many cases in which entries of names represent land held *within* the *chün-t'ien* framework, it would seem to follow that we ought to recognize that the names which ordinarily appear in the boundary definitions have been put down without regard to the status of the indicated land *vis-à-vis* the *chün-t'ien* system. In this, they are exactly like the *tzü-t'ien* records.

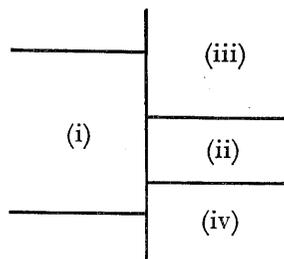
## VI

Finally, it is necessary that I should in retrospect clarify the weak points of my argument. The most important is that when matching boundary definitions I paid no attention to the size and shape of the holdings. Previous studies have all approached the problem basically by looking only for correspondences between field boundaries, designated as they are by the four cardinal directions; my argument has taken the same form whether considering occurrences of personal names or of *tzü-t'ien* entries. This was because no other method came readily to hand and reflects the limitations inherent in the nature of the sources. Even if we knew the size of the holdings, we should be unable to advance a sound argument without knowledge of their shape; even if it were within our power to guess the shape in a variety of cases,<sup>12)</sup>

12) Masao NISHIKAWA: *op. cit.* pp. 950-953.

we should still be unable to decide precisely which shape any given holding bore. If we did know the size and shape, there would no doubt appear in my argument quite a number of points demanding revision, but the overall conclusion ought not to change.

The reason for this is as follows. Let us first take the case of the investigation of the *tzŭ-t'ien* records through study of the adjacency relationships between holdings belonging to the same household's *i-shou-t'ien*. Suppose we were informed of the size and shape of each holding and so knew the precise details of the adjacency relationships. We might then find, for instance, cases in which the eastern boundary of holding (i) was to be coupled not only with



the western boundary of holding (ii) but also with that of holding (iii) or even with that of holding (iv) as well into the bargain—cases, that is to say, in which a single boundary definition corresponds with a multiple one, since the eastern definition entry for holding (i) ought really to have included the names of the occupiers of holdings (ii) and (iii), or of (ii), (iii) and (iv). There might also have been cases in which the boundary definitions of a holding (ii) which actually did correspond with a boundary of a holding (i) are missing from the extant sources.

In consideration of these possibilities, we must admit that as the number of *tzŭ-t'ien* relationships understood in detail increased, there would most likely arise cases in which it became possible to make sense of *tzŭ-t'ien* linkages that posed difficulties before; at the same time, however, we should also have to anticipate an accession of further problematical points in the form of newly encountered *tzŭ-t'ien* entries. I cannot readily believe that my argument to the effect that no attempt, however determined, to account for all the *tzŭ-t'ien* within the compass of the *i-shou-t'ien* can in the last analysis succeed would prove invalidated if we knew the full details of the circumstances.

In cases where, while investigating the internal grouping relationships of the *i-shou-t'ien*, we find a *tzŭ-t'ien* entry among the boundary definitions of a holding lying at a certain distance away from the rest of the *i-shou-t'ien*; it would not only be that knowledge of the holding's shape and of the details of its adjacency relationships would give rise to no objections such as to call for alteration of my conclusion that this *tzŭ-t'ien* could not be understood within the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system. On the contrary, it is to be

expected that an increase in the known incidence of *tzü-t'ien* due to more precise information would serve only to reinforce my argument.

The situation is the same in the case of the discussion in Part II, in which I have investigated the pairing possibilities of the boundary definitions of the *i-shou-t'ien* holdings of a given head of household  $\alpha$  and any boundary definitions pertaining to a second head of household  $\beta$  in which  $\alpha$ 's name has been recorded. If knowledge of the precise details of the adjacency relationships meant the discovery of further occurrences of head of household  $\alpha$ 's name implying the existence of additional adjacencies, these extra cases might indicate a means of solving the problems over which our attempted explanations stumbled; but then again, at the same time they might also increase the number of intractabilities. In particular, in cases where a match between holdings was found to be impossible on the grounds of geographical separation, an increase in the number of occurrences of householder  $\alpha$ 's name in the boundary definitions of the distant  $\beta$  holding(s) would not unfavourably affect my conclusion; it may indeed be conceded that my reasoning would on the contrary be reinforced by it.

In summary, we may accept that basically my conclusion, which infers the existence of land held outside the framework of the *chün-t'ien* system from the difficulty of establishing matches for all the *tzü-t'ien* and  $\alpha$  householder name entries, stands, and would not be invalidated by knowledge of the exact details of the adjacency relationships. We ought even perhaps to recognize the possibility that it would be strengthened.

In passing, we may observe that since the degree of intricacy not so much of the boundary definitions that appear in the registers as of the adjacency relationships of the actual holdings themselves should generally have been the greater insofar as the holdings' size deviated the more variously from the mean, it would seem that this intricacy degree was higher in the case of the holdings recorded in the T'ang household registers and related documents than it was in the case of those appearing in the Western Wei tax register-type document. It will be remembered that whereas the sizes typical of the latter—five *mou*, ten *mou*, fifteen *mou*, twenty *mou*—were consistently based upon a five-*mou* unit, the former comprised a confused variety of plots of all sizes great and small.

In my consideration of the problem of the *tzü-t'ien*, I have so far omitted to exploit the 769 *shou-shih*. The many *tzü-t'ien* entries appearing in this *shou-shih* are however important pieces of evidence demanding examination from a different angle and according to a different method. I hope to carry out such an examination in another article.