

食货志(上)

【原文】

《洪范》八政，一曰食，二曰货。食谓农殖嘉谷可食之物，货谓布帛可衣，及金刀龟贝，所以分财布利通有无者也。二者，生民之本，兴自神农之世。“斲木为耜，揉木为耒，耒(吕)[耨]之利以教天下”，而食足；“日中为市，致天下之民，聚天下之货，交易而退，各得其所”，而货通。食足货通，然后国实民富，而教化成。黄帝以下，“通其变，使民不倦”。尧命四子以“敬授民时”，舜命后稷以“黎民祖饥”，是为政首。禹平洪水，定九州，制土田，各因所生远近，赋入贡菜，楛迁有无，万国作父。殷周之盛，《诗》《书》

【今译】

《洪范》的八种政务官员中，一是管民食的官，二是管财货的官。食是指农民生产的可以吃的好谷，货是指可穿的布帛，以及金刀龟贝，用来分配财产扩散利益以通有无。这两者，是人民生活的根本，从神农的时代就开始兴起。“砍下木头作为耜，弄弯木头作为耒，把耒耨的好处传给天下”，这样食物就充足了；“到中午时就形成了集市，招来天下的人民，聚积天下的货物，交换后就走开，使他们各自得到自己想要的东西”，这样财物就流通了。食物充足，货物流通，然后国家充实，人民富足，这样政教风化就形成了。黄帝以下“为百姓变通，使他们不感到厌倦”。尧帝命令羲仲、羲叔、和仲、和叔四人“把天时节令告诉给人民”，舜帝在“百姓开始饥饿”³时任命后稷，把这作为政治的首位。大禹平定了洪水，安定了九州，规范了田地，各自根据所出生的远近，把田赋交到盛贡物的椭圆竹器中，劝勉天下交换有无，万国就得到治理。商、周的强盛，《诗》

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Chapter 4

The Treatise on Food and Commodities, Part I

Hong Fan (The Great Norms) elaborated on eight political affairs, of which one was food and another was commodities. Food refers to the good crops grown by farmers and which can be eaten. Commodities is defined as cloth and silk that can be worn as well as metals and cash distributed via those who buy and sell.

These two arose in the era of Shen Nong the Divine Farmer and are the source of life for the people. “He fashioned wood to form the plow-share, and bent wood to make the handle. The advantages of plowing and weeding were then taught to all under Heaven.” Thus food became sufficient. “He caused markets to be held at midday, thus bringing together all the people, and assembling in one place all their wares. They made their exchanges and withdrew, every one having got what he wanted.” In this way commodities are distributed. After there was enough food and commodities in general circulation the kingdom was prosperous, the people were wealthy, and moral education became established.

The Yellow Emperor and others “carried through the (necessarily occurring) changes, so that the people did (what was required of them) without being wearied.” Yao appointed the Four Scholars to “respectfully give time to the people and allocate the seasons,” and Shun appointed Hou Ji as Minister of Agriculture to focus on the political priorities as starvation began among the people. Yu harnessed the flood, demarcated the nine prefectures, and rated cultivatable fields, each of which was taxed in baskets of tribute according to its location. Encouraged to exchange what they had and what they needed, the ten-thousand states were brought under good





【原文】

所述，要在安民，富而教之。故《易》称“天地之大德曰生，圣人之大宝曰位；何以守位曰仁，何以聚人曰财”。财者，帝王所以聚人守位，养成群生，奉顺天德，治国安民之本也。故曰：“不患寡而患不均，不患贫而患不安；盖均亡贫，和亡寡，安亡倾。”是以圣王域民，筑城郭以居之，制庐井以均之，开市肆以通之，设庠序以教之；士农工商，四民有业。学以居位曰士，辟土殖谷曰农，作巧成器曰工，通财鬻货曰商。圣王量能授事，四民陈力受职，故朝亡废官，邑亡敖民，地亡旷土。

理民之道，地著为本。故必建步立晦，正其经界。六尺为步，步

【今译】

和《书》上有所记述，主要在于安定百姓，使他们富足后再来加以教育。所以《易》上称“天地的大德是生命，圣人最宝贵的事物是帝位；怎么守住帝位叫仁，怎么聚积人叫财。”财物，是帝王用来聚积人员保守帝位、抚养群众、顺从上天的恩德、治理国家安定人民的根本。所以说：“不担心少而担心不平均，不担心贫苦而担心不安定；因为平均了就没有贫苦，协调了就没有多寡，安定了就不会倾覆。”因此英明的君王界定百姓，就建筑城邑让他们居住，在井田中建屋庐使他们平均，开设市场让他们进行财物流通，设立学校来教育他们；士、农、工、商，四种人有自己的事业。学习后来做官叫士，开辟土地生产谷物叫农，利用技术制成器物叫工，流通财物买卖货物叫商。英明的君王根据才能授予官职，四种人根据自己的力量承受职责，所以朝廷没有荒废的官员，城邑没有闲游的人，地上没有荒芜的田地。

治理人民的方法，使他们定居一地是根本。所以一定要建立步来

rule. At the time when Shang and Zhou prospered, as is recorded in the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents*, the main point was pacifying the people, making them rich and then educating them. Therefore, the *Book of Changes* states “The great virtue of heaven and earth is the giving and maintaining of life. What is most precious for the sage is to get the (highest) place. What will guard this position for him? Benevolence. How shall he collect a large population round him? By the power of his wealth.” Wealth is what the monarchs have all relied on to assemble the people and guard their position, to raise and feed the people, to respectfully go along with the virtue of Heaven; this is the foundation for administering the kingdom and pacifying the people. Therefore, it is said: “not troubled that they have little wealth, but troubled that things are not distributed equally; not troubled by fears of poverty, but by want of contentment. For when there is equality, there will be no poverty; when harmony prevails, there will be no scarcity of people; and when there is contentment, there will be no rebellious overturning.” So it was that the sage kings designated territories for the people and built walled cities for them to live in. A system of nine squares and huts was established to distribute them equally, markets were set up with shops for exchange, and schools were built to educate the people. Scholarship, agriculture, craftsmanship, and business were the four occupations. Studying to hold a position of status was called scholarship. Developing the soil and propagating grains was called agriculture. Using skill to make things was called craftsmanship. Circulating wealth and selling commodities was called business. The sage kings measured ability and conferred duties; those of the four people who displayed capability received positions and there were no neglected offices at court; no people wandering without attachment, and no uncultivated fields in the land.

Fundamental to the proper managing of people is to settle them on the land, so it is essential to establish the *bu* for the measurement





【原文】

百为亩，亩百为夫，夫三为屋，屋三为井，井方一里，是为九夫。八家共之，各受私田百亩，公田十亩，是为八百八十亩，馀二十亩以为庐舍。出入相友，守望相助，疾病(则)[相]救，民是以和睦，而教化齐同，力役生产可得而平也。

民受田，上田夫百亩，中田夫二百亩，下田夫三百亩。岁耕种者为不易上田；休一岁者为一易中田；休二岁者为再易下田；三岁更耕之，自爱其处。农民户人已受田，其家众男为馀夫，亦以口受田如比。士工商家受田，五口乃当农夫一人。此谓平土可以为法者也。若山林藪泽原陵淳鹵之地，各以肥饶多少为差。有赋有税。税谓公田什一及工商衡虞之入也。赋共车马甲兵士徒之役，充实府库赐予之用。

【今译】

设置田亩，纠正土地的分界。六尺作为一步，百步是一亩，百亩是一夫，三夫是一屋，三屋是一井，井的方圆是一里，这就是九夫。八家共同拥有它，各自接受百亩私田，十亩公田，这是八百八十亩，剩下二十亩作为屋舍。进出互相是朋友，守卫和了望互相帮助，有疾病就互相救护，人民因此和睦，而且政教风化统一，劳役生产可以得到且平均。

百姓接受田地，好田是一百亩，中田就是二百亩，差田就是三百亩。每年耕种的人不交换好田；休耕一年的交换一次中田；休耕两年的交换两次差田；三年就交换耕种，自行改变位置。农民户主自己接受田亩，他家中的其他男子是余夫，也按比例依照人口分田。士、工、商家里分田，五个人才相当于农夫一人。这是说在平原上可以作为法则的。如果是山地、林地、大湖、丘陵、盐碱浸渍之地，就各按肥沃贫瘠的程度作为等级。有赋有税。税是公田的十分之一以及工、商、衡、虞的收入。赋是供给车马铠甲兵器士兵的劳役，充实官府储存财物兵甲的仓库以及赏赐之用。税用来供给郊祭宗庙百神，天子供

of land in order to adjust the boundaries of nine squares. One *bu* is six *chi* and 100 *bu* are one *mu*, and 100 *mu* a *fu*, three *fu* make a *wu*, and three *wu* make a *jing* (nine squares). The *jing* is one *li* square, or nine *fu*. Of eight families that share a *jing*, each receives 100 *mu* of private farmland, and also 10 *mu* of public farmland. This makes 880 *mu*, the remaining 20 *mu* are for hut dwellings. Going in and coming out together with friendship, they help each other with their watchful guard. In case of illness, they aid each other. The people then live with harmony and friendliness, and they all the same receive moral education. Labor service and products are also available evenly.

Of the fields given to the people, each man was given 100 *mu* of the best kind of field, 200 *mu* of the average kind, or 300 *mu* of the worst. Those fields that could be plowed and planted every year were called the never changing; these were best fields. Those that lay fallow every other year were called the once changing; these were the average fields. Those which lay fallow for two years were called the twice changing; these were the worst fields. After three years there was rotation in cultivation, and each would therefore change his place. Of the men of the farming families who had already received land, the other men of their family were called extra men and they would also receive land in proportion to their number. The families of scholars, craftsman, and merchants received land, and five of them would be considered one farmer. This was the standard when referring to flat land. As to mountains, forests, lakes, hills, barren soil and brackish land, they were graded according to their fertility. There were taxes on land and taxes on products. Taxes on products were one tenth of the public farmland, and taxes were paid by craftsman, merchants, and those who made a living out of the specialties of forests or rivers. Normal taxes were used for chariots, horses, armor and weapons as well as for military service and they filled the imperial coffers to be used as official rewards. Taxes on products were given to the ancestral temples or the open





【原文】

税给郊社宗庙百神之祀，天子奉养百官禄食庶事之费。民年二十受田，六十归田。七十以上，上所养也；十岁以下，上所长也；十一以上，上所强也。种谷必杂五种，以备灾害。田中不得有树，用妨五谷。力耕数耘，收获如寇盗之至。还庐树桑，菜茹有畦，瓜瓠果蔬殖于疆易。鸡豚狗彘毋失其时，女修蚕织，则五十可以衣帛，七十可以食肉。

在野曰庐，在邑曰里。五家为邻，五邻为里，四里为族，五族为党，五党为州，五州为乡。乡，万二千五百户也。邻长位下士，自此以上，稍登一级，至乡而为卿也。于[是]里有序而乡有庠。序以明教，庠则行礼而视化焉。春令民毕出在野，冬则毕入于邑。其《诗》曰：“四之日举止，同我妇子，饁彼南亩。”又曰：“十月蟋蟀，入

【今译】

养百官薪俸食物以及众事的费用。百姓年龄满二十就分田，六十就归还田亩。七十岁以上，是皇上所来奉养的；十岁以下，是皇上所要抚养的；十一岁以上，是皇上所要使他们强壮的。种谷一定要夹杂五谷，以防备灾害。田中不能有树，以免妨碍五谷。勤奋耕耘，收获时就像盗贼要来了。围绕庐舍种植桑树，菜地有田垄，瓜果类作物种植在田边，养殖鸡、猪、狗、彘不要误时，女子进行蚕织，那么五十岁就可以穿帛布，七十岁可以吃肉。

屋在田野中叫庐，在人们聚居的地方叫里。五家成为一邻，五邻成为一里，四里成为一族，五族形成一党，五党形成一州，五州形成一乡。一乡，有一万二千五百户。一邻的首长官位是下士，从这往上，官位稍加一级，到乡一级的官位就是卿了。这样里有序，乡有庠。序是用来彰明教化，庠则是用来演习礼仪以示范教化。春天命令百姓全都到田野里去，冬天全到邑中去。《诗》这样说：“四月的时候动腿，带上妇人孩子，把饭送给南面田里的人吃。”又说：“十月



spaces where the hundred spirits were sacrificed to; they helped the Son of Heaven support the hundred officials with blessings of food, and for various duties performed. At 20 years of age a man would receive fields and at the age of 60 he would return them. All those over 70 would be taken care of by the empire and all those under 10 would be raised by the empire; all of those 11 or older would be strengthened. The grain sown should vary between the five types, so as to guard against calamity and disaster. In the fields it was not good to have trees, for they would interfere with the cereal crops. With energetic plowing and frequent weeding, the harvest would be done as if thieves and robbers were arriving. Circling the huts were mulberry trees, and there were spaces planted with vegetables as well as cucumber, bottle gourd, fruit and melon which all were grown on the field edges. Chickens, pigs, dogs, and swine were not neglected. Women were engaged in sericulture so that people over 50 could be clothed in silk and those over 70 were able to eat meat.

Dwellings out in the wild were called huts, while those in the settlements were called villages. Five families would make a neighborhood, and five neighborhoods would make a village. Four villages would make a clan, and five clans would make a faction. Five factions would make a borough, and five boroughs would make a township. A township was made up of 12,500 households. The head of a neighborhood was a junior serviceman, the larger the unit the higher the rank, and the official in charge of a township was a minister. In each village there was a lower school, and in each township there was a higher school. In the village school, the teachings were clarified. In the higher school, transformative ritual propriety was practiced to demonstrate moral education. With spring came the order for all the people to go out into the countryside and in the winter to enter the towns. The *Book of Odes* says: "In the fourth moon, taking to my feet, with my woman and children, I carry food to those in the south fields." It also says: "In the tenth moon



【原文】

我床下，嗟我妇子，聿为改岁，入此室处。”所以顺阴阳，备寇贼，习礼文也。春，(秋)[将]出民，里胥平旦坐于右塾，邻长坐于(右)[左]塾，毕出然后归，夕亦如之。入者必持薪樵，轻重相分，班白不提挈。冬，民既入，妇人同巷，相从夜绩，女工一月得四十五日。必相从者，所以省费燎火，同巧拙而合习俗也。男女有不得其所者，因相与歌咏，各言其伤。¹

是月，馀子亦在于序室。八岁入小学，学六甲五方书计之事，始知室家长幼之节。十五入大学，学先圣礼乐，而知朝廷君臣之礼。其有秀异者，移乡学于庠序；庠序之异者，移国学于少学。诸侯岁贡少学之异者于天子，学于大学，命曰造士。行同能偶，则别之以射，然后爵命焉。

【今译】

的时候，蟋蟀躲到我的床底下，把妇人孩子唤来，告诉他们一年快完了，可以走进屋子里了。”这是用来顺应阴阳，防备贼寇，学习礼节仪式。春天，人们将出去，里胥清晨坐在右边的房屋，一邻之长坐在左边的房屋，等人们全走了然后回来，晚上也是这样。回来的人一定要拿着柴火，按照轻重分开，头发斑白的人不提柴禾。冬天，人们已经回来了，妇人们同在一个屋子里，一起在夜晚织布，女工一个月早晚共有四十五个工作日。一定要在一块，是为了节省火炬的费用，使技术高明和笨拙的一样，使习俗相合。男女中有没有完成他所应完成的，就互相唱歌，进行讽刺。¹

这个月，不去劳役的男子也在学堂里。八岁进入小学，学习用天干地支相配计算时日以及各方的文字与筹算，开始知道家中长幼的礼节。十五岁进入大学，学习前代圣人的礼乐，就知道了朝廷中君臣的礼仪。其中有杰出的学生，就从乡学转移到庠序；庠序中杰出的，就从国学转移到少学。诸侯每年把少学中杰出的学生推荐给天子，在大学里学习，叫做造士。在同辈中有才能的，就另外用射来考试，然后任命爵位。

are crickets that enter under my bed. I call my woman and children, now with the ending of the year they will move into the rooms.” In this way following *yin* and *yang*, they prepared against bandits and thieves as well as practicing ritual propriety. In the spring, the people would go out and the village officers would sit at dawn in the hall on the right of the gate, as the heads of the neighborhoods sat in the hall on the left of the gate. After everyone had left they returned and it was the same every evening. As they returned they were required to bring kindling and firewood, a light or heavy load according to the division made among themselves. Those with graying hair would not carry wood. In the winter, the people having come back indoors and the women living in the same room, would weave together by night. Female labor worked 45 shifts day and night every month. They were required to work in groups in order not to waste light and heat, with the skilled working with the clumsy to absorb the techniques. Men and women who had not completed what they should have would sing to each other and be mocked. During these months, all the non-laboring boys were in classrooms. At eight they began their basic studies, studying the six heavenly stems for the calendar and the five directions for geography, written language, math and so on; and they began to know the relations between the old and the young in the family. At 15 they began their advanced studies, studying the ritual and music of the former sages; and they would know of the protocols of ruler and ministers at court. As for the especially talented, they would be promoted from the township school to the community school; those who excelled there would be transferred to the state junior school. Annually, feudal lords presented extraordinarily good students of the realm to junior schools before the Son of Heaven and they studied at the higher school as accomplished scholars. Those equal in conduct and ability were then classified through archery, and titles were given to them accordingly.





【原文】

孟春之月，群居者将散，行人振木铎徇于路，以采诗，献之大师，比其音律，以闻于天子。故曰王者不窥牖户而知天下。

此先王制土处民富而教之之大略也。故孔子曰：“道千乘之国，敬事而信，节用而爱人，使民以时。”故民皆劝功乐业，先公而后私。其《诗》曰：“有渰凄凄，兴云祁祁，雨我公田，遂及我私。”民三年耕，则馀一年之畜。衣食足而知荣辱，廉让生而争讼息，故三载考绩。孔子曰“苟有用我者，期月而已可也，三年有成”，成此功也。三考黜陟，馀三年食，进业曰登；再登曰平，馀六年食；三登曰泰平，二十七年，遗九年食。然后(吕)[至]德流洽，礼乐成焉。故曰

【今译】

孟春的时候，居住在一起的人们将要分散，有人摇着大铃巡走于路上，来采集民间歌谣，献给掌管音律的大师，把音律排列在一起，告诉天子。所以说做君王的人不用察看千家万户就能知道天下的事情。

这就是先代帝王按土地的优劣分等级安置人民使他们富裕后再来教育的大方针。所以孔子说：“治理有一千辆车的国家，谨慎办事，讲求信用，节约开支，爱护人民，在合适的时候役使人民。”因此百姓都努力立功，乐于本业，先公而后私。《诗》上这么说：“阴云慢慢升起，雨慢慢落下，先落到公田里，再顺便落到我的私田。”百姓耕种三年，就留一年蓄养。衣服和食物充足了，才知道光荣和耻辱，廉洁、谦让产生，争斗、官司就停止了，所以三年考察一次功绩。孔子说：“如果有用我的人，一年便差不多了，三年便会取得成功”，就是成就这样的功业。三年考核一次，决定降免或提升，遗留三年的食物，把生产东西上交叫登；登两次叫平，留下六年食物；登三次叫泰平，二十七年，留下九年食物。然后至高无上的道德流行，礼乐行



During the first month in spring, when those living in communities were about to disperse, traveling commissioners, ringing their bells with wooden clappers, journeyed along the roads in order to collect odes. They were sent up to the Grand Musician at court, who arranged the tunes which would be presented before the Son of Heaven to hear. For this reason it is said that kings knew everything under Heaven without prying at windows and doors.

This is the general picture of the land institutionalized by the former kings, keeping the people in place and giving them wealth and instruction. For this reason Confucius said: "To rule a country of 1,000 chariots, there must be reverent attention to undertakings, faithfulness, economy in expenditure, love for men, and employment of people according to the seasons." It was for this reason that the people were all encouraged in service and took pleasure in their occupations. They put the common good before their own. Of this the *Book of Odes* says: "The mist rolls in dense masses,/ Clouds slowly form overhead;/ May it rain first on state fields,/ then come to our private ones." From three years of growing, the people could put a year's yield into storage. When food and clothes were made sufficient there was glory and disgrace; with fairness and honesty, and the courteous yielding of priority, then contention and litigation ceased. For these reasons every three years there was an examination of merits and achievements. Confucius said: "If there was one who would employ me, in the course of a year I would have done something considerable. In three years there would be success." He was referring to the creation of such government. After the triennial examination when some were downgraded and some were advanced, there was a surplus of food for a three year period, so this success in production was called a "climb." Two successive "climbs" was called a "peace," when there was a surplus of food for six years. Three consecutive "climbs" was called "great peace," when there would be a surplus of food for nine years which had accumulated

【原文】

“如有王者，必世而后仁”，繇此道也。

周室既衰，暴君污吏慢其经界，繇役横作，政令不信，上下相诈，公田不治。故鲁宣公“初税亩”，《春秋》讥焉。于是上贪民怨，灾害生而祸乱作。

陵夷至于战国，贵诈力而贱仁谊，先富有而后礼让。是时，李悝为魏文侯作尽地力之教，以为地方百里，提封九万顷，除山泽邑居参分去一，为田六百万亩，治田勤谨则亩益三升，不勤则损亦如之。地方百里之增减，辄为粟百八十万石矣。又曰籴甚贵伤民，甚贱伤农；民伤则离散，农伤则国贫。故甚贵与甚贱，其伤一也。善为国者，使

【今译】

成。所以说“如有称王的人，一定要经过三十年后，仁政才形成”，就是根据这个道理。

周室衰落后，暴君污吏忽视他们的国界，徭役泛滥，政令没有信用，上下的人相互欺诈，公田没有人去耕作。所以鲁宣公的“初税亩”，遭到《春秋》的讥刺。于是在上位的人贪婪，百姓产生怨恨，灾害一发生，祸乱就起来了。

周室衰落到了战国时代，推崇诈伪和暴力而轻视仁义，以物质充足为先，以礼貌谦让为后。这个时候，李悝为魏文侯制定了充分利用土地生产能力的教令，认为土地方圆百里，总共有九万顷，除去山地大湖村居所占的三分之一，还有田亩六百万亩，耕耘田地勤奋小心则每亩加收三斗，不勤奋那么也减去三斗。方圆百里土地上的粮食增减一下，就是一百八十万石粟。又说买进谷物太贵会伤害士、工、商，太便宜又会伤害农民；士、工、商受到伤害，就会出现离散，农民受到伤害就会出现国家贫困。因此太贵和太便宜，一定要伤害一方。善于治理国家的，使士、工、商不受到伤害而使农民更加勤勉。现在一

during the 27 years. Thereafter, kingly virtue spread and permeated to the people, and this established ritual propriety and music among them. So it was said: “If a truly royal ruler were to arise, it would still require a generation before virtue would prevail.” The saying is based on this principle.

As the house of Zhou was already in decline, **oppressive rulers** and corrupt officials neglected the defining of the boundaries, and labor services were unreasonably required. The administrative orders could not be trusted, and authorities and underlings deceived each other. The public fields were not managed. For this reason Duke Xuan of Lu introduced the “first tax by the *mu*,” a practice criticized in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Then, rulers grew greedy, and the people complained. Disaster was born, unleashing misfortune and chaos. The situation deteriorated up to the Warring States Period, when intrigues and force were esteemed whereas humanity and righteousness were despised; riches came first, as protocol and courteous yielding to others were left behind. At this time, Li Kui worked out, for the Marquis Wen of Wei, a doctrine for the fullest exploitation of the bearing capacity of the land. He reckoned that a territory of 100 square *li* held totally 90,000 hectares. Subtracting one-third for mountains and lakes, settlements and field huts, that left six million *mu* for cultivation. If the land was diligently and carefully managed, then each *mu* could yield an extra three liters. If it was not diligently cultivated, then a decrease of similar magnitude would ensue. On 100 square *li* of land the average margin of increase or decrease was 1,800,000 piculs of millet. He also said that if grain was very expensive it would injure non-farmers, while if it were very cheap it would injure the farmers. If the non-farmers were injured then there would be population dispersal, and if the farmers were injured the kingdom would become poor. For this reason however expensive or cheap, one group would be harmed. For those versed in matters of state, they should ensure that non-farmers were not





【原文】

民毋伤而农益劝。今一夫挟五口，治田百亩，岁收亩一石半，为粟百五十石，除十一之税十五石，余百三十五石。食，人月一石半，五人终岁为粟九十石，余有四十五石。石三十，为钱千三百五十，除社闾尝新春秋之祠，用钱三百，余千五十。衣，人率用钱三百，五人终岁用千五百，不足四百五十。不幸疾病死丧之费，及上赋敛，又未与此。此农夫所以常困，有不劝耕之心，而令余至于甚贵者也。是故善平余者，必谨观岁有上中下孰。上孰其收自四，余四百石；中孰自三，余三百石；下孰自倍，余百石。小饥则收百石，中饥七十石，大饥三十石。故大孰则上余三而舍一，中孰则余二，下孰则余一，使民适足，贾平则止。小饥则发小孰之所敛，中饥则发中孰之所敛，大饥则发大孰之所敛，而赈之。故虽遇饥谨水旱，余不贵而民不散，取有

【今译】

个带着五口人的户主，种地百亩，一年的收成是一亩一石半，打成粟是一百五十石，除去十分之一的税十五石，还剩下百三十五石。食用，一个人一月要一石半，五个人一年要九十石粟，还剩四十五石。卖去三十石，得到一千三百五十钱，除去社闾尝新收获的五谷以及春秋的祭祀，用去三百钱，还剩一千零五十钱。穿衣，一个人大致用钱三百，五个人全年用钱一千五百，差四百五十钱。不幸有疾病死丧的费用，及上交赋税，还没算在这里面。这就是农民所以经常贫困的原因，没有勤勉耕种的心思，而使谷物买进太贵的原因。因此善于按平价购粮储存的人，一定小心观察每年有上、中、下三种成熟收成。上熟能收到原来的四倍，最后剩四百石；中熟收获是原来的三倍，最后还剩三百石；下熟是原来的一倍，最后还剩一百石。小饥荒能收一百石，中饥荒能收到七十石，大饥荒能收到三十石。所以丰收之年则用上熟年的政策买入一般年景三倍的粮食而留一份给百姓，中熟之年则买入二倍，下熟之年则买入一倍，使百姓合适满足，粮价平均饥荒的现象就中止了。小饥荒时就发放小熟时所征的赋税，中饥荒就发放中熟时所征的赋税，大饥荒时就发放大熟时所征的赋税，去卖掉

injured, and that those who farmed were encouraged the more. If a man of a family of five were to cultivate 100 *mu* of land, harvesting one picul and a half, from each *mu* each year he would produce 150 piculs of millet in total. With one-tenth or 15 piculs taken for taxes, he would be left with 135 piculs. Reckoning consumption at one and a half piculs per person per month, for five persons, it would be 90 piculs per year. That would leave 45 piculs to sell, which at 30 cash per picul would amount to 1,350 cash. Allowing for new offerings to the local shrines, and for spring and autumn sacrifices at the village altars, costing 300 cash, there would remain 1,050. Clothing usually required 300 cash per person, and five persons through the whole year would use 1,500, producing a deficit of 450. Expenses at the time of afflictions, illnesses both slight and grave, deaths, burials, as well as taxes and other state levies, were not included, but the farmers were often frustrated with these and had not the heart to cultivate, thus making the price of grain excessively dear. For these reasons, those versed in leveling the price of grain must keep careful watch every year: there were three kinds of good harvest; bumper, average, and good. In a bumper harvest there would be four times as much normal, with a surplus of 400 piculs. In an average harvest there would be three times as much, with a surplus of 300 piculs. In a good harvest there would be twice as much, with a surplus of 100 piculs. A first degree crop failure would only produce 100 piculs; a second degree failure 70 piculs, and a great failure 30 piculs. Therefore, of the best harvests the state then purchased three parts, leaving one part to the people. In an average harvest it bought two-thirds, and in a good harvest, one. This caused people to have just a sufficiency for all needs; and when the price returned to its ordinary level things would be stopped. In a first degree failure, what had been bought after a good harvest would be put on sale; in a second degree failure, grain bought after an average harvest would be put on sale. In a great failure, grain bought after a bumper harvest would be



【原文】

馀以补不足也。行之魏国，国以富强。

及秦孝公用商君，坏井田，开阡陌，急耕战之赏，虽非古道，犹以务本之故，倾邻国而雄诸侯。然王制遂灭，僭差亡度。庶人之富者累巨万，而贫者食糟糠；有国强者兼州域，而弱者丧社稷。至于始皇，遂并天下，内兴功作，外攘夷狄，收泰半之赋，发闾左之戍。男子力耕不足粮饷，女子纺绩不足衣服。竭天下之资财以奉其政，犹未足以澹其欲也。海内愁怨，遂用溃畔。

汉兴，接秦之敝，诸侯并起，民失作业，而大饥馑。凡米石五千，人相食，死者过半。高祖乃令民得卖子，就食蜀汉。天下既

【今译】

它们。所以，即使遇到荒年和水旱灾害，所买进的不贵就不会造成士、工、商离散，用有余的去补充不足的。它在魏国实行，国家得以富强。

等到秦孝公任用商鞅，破坏井田，开辟田间的通道，以耕田和作战的赏赐作为急迫的事情，即使不是古代的方法，但仍以致力于根本的缘故，倾轧邻近国家而雄霸诸侯。但王朝的制度便不复存在，超越等级没有了节制。百姓中富有的人积累了大量的财富，而贫苦的人却以糟糠为食；强大的国家兼吞州县，弱小的丧失了社稷。到了秦始皇的时候，便吞并天下，内部大兴土木，外面排斥夷狄，收取过半的赋税，征发居里门左侧的平民去防守边疆。男子用力耕种不足以自给，女子纺织不足以供穿着。竭尽天下的资金财产来奉行他的政策，还不足以满足他的欲望。海内的人悲愤，于是开始逃离叛乱。

汉朝建立后，承接了秦朝的弊端，诸侯共同起事，百姓失掉了所从事的工作，出现大荒年。大凡米一石要五千钱，人吃人，死的人过半数。高祖乃命百姓卖掉孩子，到蜀、汉去生活。天下平定后，百姓

put on sale. Therefore, though there occurred famines from failures of grain crops and dearth of vegetables, or floods, or drought, the price of grain was not high and the people did not leave their land, thanks to the collecting of surpluses to make up for deficiencies. When this policy was practiced in Wei, Wei became rich and strong.

When the Duke Xiao of Qin employed Lord Shang Yang, the latter abolished the nine-square field land division system, established roads running south-north and east-west and prioritized rewards for the cultivation of land and for exploits in war. This was a departure from the old ways. Nevertheless by prioritizing the basics, he crushed the neighboring states and dominated the feudal lords. But it caused the kingly institutions to perish, and there was unseemly leapfrogging of social grades. The rich among the commoners accumulated prodigious wealth, whereas the poor ate only mash and husks of grain. The strong among the feudatories annexed prefectures while the weak lost their fiefs. The First Emperor of Qin unified all under Heaven. Within the empire he started construction on a heroic scale and on its borders he drove back the Yi and the Di barbarians. He took over half the harvest in taxes and mobilized those on the left of the villages away to guard the frontiers. Though the men used their strength to cultivate, there was not enough to feed themselves. The women wove fabric, but not enough to clothe themselves. Although the wealth of the whole empire was exhausted to support his regime, it was still not enough to satisfy his desires. The consequence of domestic anxiety and resentment was absconding and revolt.

The Han Dynasty was built on and inherited the wreckage of the Qin. Rulers of vassal states arose side by side, the people lost their livelihoods, and famine raged. Generally, husked grain cost 5,000 cash a picul. Man ate man and more than half the people died. Emperor Gaozu therefore ordered that the people be allowed to sell their children, and to find food in Shu and Han. Even when stability

【原文】

定，民亡盖臧，自天子不能具醇駟，而将相或乘牛车。上于是约法省禁，轻田租，什五而税一，量吏禄，度官用，以赋于民。而山川园池市肆租税之人，自天子以至封君汤沐邑，皆各为私奉养，不领于天子之经费。漕转关东粟以给中都官，岁不过数十万石。孝惠、高后之间，衣食滋殖。文帝即位，躬修俭节，思安百姓。时民近战国，皆背本趋末，贾谊说上曰：

筮子曰：“仓廩实而知礼节。”民不足而可治者，自古及今，未之尝闻。古之人曰：“一夫不耕，或受之饥；一女不织，或受之寒。”生之有时，而用之亡度，则物力必屈。古之治天下，至蠲至悉也，故其畜积足恃。今背本而趋末，食者甚众，是

【今译】

没有东西可以储藏，从天子不能具备纯色的四匹马，到将相有的只能乘坐牛车。皇上于是颁布法令约束节俭，减轻田租，收取十五分之一的税，根据官薪和政府的开支，向百姓收取赋税。但山川园池市场租税的收入，从天子到受封邑者的私邑，都各自自己供给，不向天子领取平常的费用。用水道运输关东的粟到京师给各官府，一年不超过几十万石。孝惠帝、高后的时代，衣物和食物逐渐增多¹。文帝即位后，亲自实行节俭，为百姓安定操劳。当时人民都离战国时不远，都背弃根本，趋向末端，贾谊劝谏皇上说：

管仲说“仓库充足后才知道礼节”。百姓物资不充足而可治理的，从古代到现在，还没曾听说过。古代的人说：“一个男子不耕种，就有人受到饥饿；一个妇女不纺织，就有人要受到寒冷。”生产物资有季节，而使用却没有节制，那么物资一定会穷尽。古代治理天下，相当细致和全面，所以他们的积蓄足以放心。现在背弃根本，趋向末端，吃闲饭的人相当多，这是天下最

returned the people lacked things to put in reserve. From the Son of Heaven, who was unable to get a team of four horses of the same color, so down to army generals and first ministers at the time, who had to ride on ox carts. The throne therefore relaxed the laws, abated restrictions, and lightened the tax on fields to one-fifteenth of the produce. Emoluments of state officials were measured and expenses of the officers calculated, before taxes were levied upon the people. However, taxes on income from mountains, streams, orchards and ponds, and from booths and markets, all were deemed to be for personal upkeep, from the Emperor down to the enfeoffed lords and ladies who had been granted such territory, and were not entered in the national budget. Millet, transported by boat or cart from the land east of the pass to the imperial capital for the support of the state offices, amounted to less than a few hundred thousand piculs annually. Under Emperor Huidi and the Empress-Consort of Gaozu, clothes and food grew plentiful. ¹

When Emperor Wendi ascended the throne, he himself practiced frugality and economy, striving to bring contentment to his subjects. At that time, the people, so close to the times of the Warring States, had turned their backs against the fundamental to pursue the secondary. Jia Yi advised the Emperor saying: Master Guan said: "Only when granaries and stores are full will rites and duties be respected." From ancient times to the present day there has never yet been a case of people without enough being kept under control. Men of old said: "If a farmer does not cultivate, some will go hungry; and if a woman does not weave, some will suffer cold." Since production is ruled by the seasons, if the use thereof is irregular, then the produce will inevitably be exhausted. In ancient times everything under Heaven was administered and ordered to the broadest extent and in the smallest detail. Therefore, grain in storage was dependably sufficient. Nowadays, the people have turned against the fundamental, rushing to the secondary, and

【原文】

天下之大残也；淫侈之俗，日日以长，是天下之大贼也。残贼公行，莫之或止；大命将泛，莫之振救。生之者甚少而靡之者甚多，天下财产何得不蹶！汉之为汉几四十年矣，公私之积犹可哀痛。失时不雨，民且狼顾；岁恶不入，请卖爵、子。既闻耳矣，安有为天下阽危者若是而上不惊者！

世之有饥穰，天之行也，禹、汤被之矣。即不幸有方二千里之旱，国胡以相恤？卒然边境有急，数十百万之众，国胡以馈之？兵旱相乘，天下大屈，有勇力者聚徒而衡击，罢夫羸老易于而咬其骨。政治未毕通也，远方之能疑者并举而争起矣，乃骇而图之，岂将有及乎？

夫积贮者，天下之大命也。苟粟多而财有馀，何为而不成？以攻则取，以守则固，以战则胜。怀敌附远，何招而不至？今殴

【今译】

大的伤害；过分奢侈的风俗，一天一天地增长，这是天下最大的害处。残忍暴虐的行为公开进行，没有人来制止；国家大命将倾覆，没有人来拯救。生产的人更加减少而浪费的人更多，天下的财产怎么能不竭尽呢？汉朝建立近四十年了，公家和私人的积累尤其值得哀痛。该下雨的时候不下雨，百姓就要感到畏惧；年成很坏没有收入，就要卖官位和孩子。听说了这些，哪里有治理天下面临危险像这样但皇上仍不震惊的呢！

世上有荒年，这是上天的安排，大禹、商汤已遭受到了。假使不幸有方圆二、三千里的旱灾，国家用什么去救济？突然边境上有急事，几十万上百万的军队，国家拿什么作为粮饷？战争和旱灾同时发生，天下就会相当穷困，有勇力的人聚众闹事，疲惫的男子衰弱的老人交换孩子而咬他们的骨头。政治不一定行得通，远方的和君主相比拟的人一同争着起事，于是惊骇着去图划这件事，难道还来得及吗？

积累贮藏，是天下的大命。如果粟多而且财物有余，干什么事不成功呢？进攻就能夺取，防守就会坚固，进行战争就取得胜利。使敌人归顺，使远方的人归附，招集什么而不到来呢？现在

idlers are many; this all spells harm to the empire. These extravagant customs are spreading by the day; this is the empire's biggest peril. These extravagances and outrages are practiced openly, and no one puts a stop to it. The great mandate is about to capsize, and who is there to rescue it? If producers decline in number, while wastrels become more numerous, how can this not exhaust the wealth and property of the empire! The Han Dynasty has ruled for more than 40 years, but state and private stores are still lamentably depleted. Since the rains do not fall in the proper season, the more the people feel anxious. Since the year is lean and nothing harvested, they beg to sell their offices and their children. Apprised of such tidings, how can it be possible that while all under Heaven face such grave peril, the Emperor is not alarmed?

That there is starvation and abundance in the world is Heaven's doing. Even Yu and Tang were affected by this. Suppose there was a drought in an area of 2,000 or 3,000 square li, what could the state draw on to give relief? If on the frontiers a suddenly emergency arose, how would the government feed an army of up to a million? If war and drought were to coincide then the empire would come to peril! Those of boldness and physical power would gather followers, and violently attack others. Weary men and weak seniors would trade children and chew on their bones. State control has not yet reached every part of the land. If in remote areas there were simultaneous risings of those who would emulate my Lord, how - panic-stricken and unprepared - would you be able to form plans to crush them? To keep supplies in reserve is the great mandate under Heaven. If there is an abundance of millet and a surplus of wealth, whatsoever is undertaken, will it not be accomplished? Every attack would result in seizure; defenses would stand firm; every battle would result in victory. Enemies would pledge allegiance, and those far away would submit. Whosoever is called on to muster, would he not come? Now let people be driven to return to farming,





【原文】

民而归之农，皆著于本，使天下各食其力，末技游食之民转而缘南亩，则畜积足而人乐其所矣。可以为富安天下，而直为此廩廩也，窃为陛下惜之！

于是上感谊言，始开籍田，躬耕以劝百姓。晁错复说上曰：

圣王在上而民不冻饥者，非能耕而食之，织而衣之也，为开其资财之道也。故尧、禹有九年之水，汤有七年之旱，而国亡捐瘠者，以畜积多而备先具也。今海内为一，土地人民之众不避汤、禹，加以亡天灾数年之水旱，而畜积未及者，何也？地有遗利，民有馀力，生谷之土未尽垦，山泽之利未尽出也，游食之民未尽归农也。民贫，则奸邪生，贫生于不足，不足生于不农，不农则不地著，不地著则离乡轻家，民如鸟兽，虽有高城深池，严法重刑，犹不能禁也。

夫寒之于衣，不待轻暖；饥之于食，不待甘旨；饥寒至身，

【今译】

驱逐百姓回归到农业，都附着于根本，使天下的人各自依靠自己的力量获得食物，工商业不务农而食的人转向农作，那么积蓄充足，人人高兴自己所从事的事。可以使天下富强安定，却形成这样一种危险局面，臣私下为陛下惋惜！

于是皇上为贾谊的话所感动，就开始设置籍田，亲自耕种来勉励百姓。晁错又劝说皇上道：

英明君王在上位而百姓不感到寒冷饥饿，不是耕种而使他们有吃的，纺织而使他们有穿的，而是为他们开辟积累财物的道路。所以尧帝、禹帝有九年的水灾，商汤有七年的旱灾，但国家没有因饥饿而死的人，这是因为积蓄多而防备已先具有了。现在国家统一，土地和人口的数量不比商汤、大禹时候少，加上没有天灾和几年的水旱灾害，但积蓄却不充足，这是什么道理？土地上有剩余的利润，百姓有剩余的力气，生产谷物的土地没有得到全面开垦，山地大湖的资源没有完全开发出来，不务农而食的人没有完全回到农业上去。人民贫苦，那么邪恶就出现。贫苦产生于不充足，不充足产生于不务农，不务农就不依附土地，不依附土地就会离开家乡轻视家庭，百姓就像鸟兽，即使有高墙深池，严刑峻法，仍不能加以禁止。

寒冷的时候，对于衣服不要求华丽；饥饿时，对于食物不求

的1



so that all will settle themselves in the fundamental; and we may cause all under Heaven to live by his own labor, turning those in the secondary trades back into farming. Then the stores of supplies will be sufficient, and the people will be happy in their occupations. It is possible to make all under Heaven wealthy and peaceable; but it grieves your servant to report to Your Majesty that such a perilous situation has come about!"

Moved by Jia Yi's counsel, the Emperor opened for the first time the Sacred Fields set aside for the Imperial Court, himself guiding the plow in order to encourage the common people. Chao Cuo also admonished the emperor: "Under the sage kings, the people did not freeze or starve; this was not because by growing they could feed themselves, or by weaving clothe themselves, but because the way to wealth had been opened. Therefore, despite Yao and Yu having nine years of flood, and Tang seven years of drought, yet in the kingdom none were left to starve. And this was because precautions had been taken and reserves were plentiful. Today all within the seas are united. The amount of land and the number of inhabitants, being great, are not inferior to those of Tang and Yu. In addition, there have been no calamities from Heaven, nor years-long floods or droughts. So why are our reserves inadequate? The land has neglected benefits; the people have unused physical strength; cultivable land has not been opened up to grow grains; the produce of mountains and lakes has not been best exploited, and non-farmers have not wholly returned to farming for their livelihood. When the people are poor, crime and depravity are born. Poverty is born of insufficiency; insufficiency is born of lack of farming; lack of farming means that the land is not settled; that the land is not settled means detachment from homelands and families. People are like birds and beasts; despite high walls and deep moats, strict laws and severe punishments, they cannot be restrained by prohibitions.

When cold, one does not demand the lightest and warmest of



【原文】

不顾廉耻。人情，一日不再食则饥，终岁不制衣则寒。夫腹饥不得食，肤寒不得衣，虽慈母不能保其子，君安能以有其民哉！明主知其然也，故务民于农桑，薄赋敛，广畜积，以实仓廩，备水旱，故民可得而有也。

民者，在上所以牧之，趋利如水走下，四方亡择也。夫珠玉金银，饥不可食，寒不可衣，然而众贵之者，以上用之故也。其为物轻微易臧，在于把握，可以周海内而亡饥寒之患。此令臣轻背其主，而民易去其乡，盗贼有所劝，亡逃者得轻资也。粟米布帛生于地，长于时，聚于力，非可一日成也；数石之重，中人弗胜，不为奸邪所利，一日弗得而饥寒至。是故明君贵五谷而贱金玉。²

今农夫五口之家，其服役者不下二人，其能耕者不过百亩，百亩之收不过百石。春耕夏耘，秋获冬藏，伐薪樵，治官府，给

【今译】

甘美；饥饿寒冷到来了，就不顾廉耻。人的本性是一天不吃两餐就饿，整年不制作衣服就寒冷。腹内饥饿得不到食物，皮肤寒冷得不到衣服，即使是慈母也不能保护她的孩子，君主怎么能拥有他的人民！英明的君主知道这回事，所以要求人民致力于农业和桑业，减轻赋税，增加积蓄，来充实仓库，防备水旱灾害，所以就可以得到并拥有百姓了。

人民，在上位的之所以要控制他们，是因为他们追逐利益就像水往下流，四方没有选择。珠玉金银，饿了不能吃，冷了不能穿，但众人都以它们为贵，是因为在上位的人使用了它们的缘故。它们作为货币又轻又小，容易收藏，可以拿在手里，周游海内而没有饥饿寒冷的忧患。这使大臣轻易背弃他的主上，百姓容易离开他们的家乡，盗贼受到鼓励，逃亡的人有了便于携带的财物。粟米布帛生长于土地，按季节生长，在市场上聚合，不是可以在一天之内能成的；几石的重量，一般的人不能负担，不被邪恶的人所利用，一天得不到，饥寒就要到了。因此英明的君主重视五谷而轻视金玉。²

现在一个有五口人的农民家庭，他们中服役的人不少于二人，能耕种的超不过百亩，百亩田的收获超不过百石。春天耕种

clothing, nor demand sweet delicacies to quell hunger. When one's body is hungry and cold, one has no regard for integrity, and no sense of shame towards misconduct. According to man's nature, if he does not eat twice in one day he hungers; if through the whole year one does not cut himself garments, then he is cold. When hunger gnaws at the stomach and no food can be got, when cold bites the skin and no clothes can be got, and the most loving mother cannot protect her child, how can a ruler be able to hold his people? An enlightened ruler knows the truth of this. He, therefore, strives to keep his people at agriculture and sericulture, lightens the poll tax and other government levies, and increases the reserves to fill the granaries and prepare against floods and droughts, so that his people may be held.

The people depend on the methods by which the emperor shepherds them, for they hasten after benefits just as water runs downhill in any direction. Pearls, jade, gold, and silver cannot be eaten when food is lacking, nor used as clothing when one is cold. Nevertheless they are precious to the many simply because they are used by the ruler. They are light and small, easy to conceal. With such things on one's person, one can travel all around the land without fear of hunger or cold. These cause those in state positions to turn their backs upon their lord. People lightly leave their native townships; thieves and robbers have incentive to steal; and fugitives can carry lightweight wealth. Grains, unprocessed and processed, and textiles, fibrous and silken, are produced from the land, grown according to the seasons and labor-intensive, and it is not something that can be accomplished in one day. Several piculs are too heavy for an ordinary man to carry, and hence unprofitable for criminals. A single day without them is one of hunger and cold. For this reason an enlightened ruler esteems the "five grains" and despises gold and jade. Now in a five-member farming family two men at least are required to perform corvee labor, and those who are able to cultivate





【原文】

繇役；春不得避风尘，夏不得避暑热，秋不得避阴雨，冬不得避寒冻，四时之间，亡日休息；又私自送往迎来，吊死问疾，养孤长幼在其中。勤苦如此，尚复被水旱之灾，急政暴虐[赋]，赋敛不时，朝令而暮改。当具有者半贾而卖，亡者取倍称之息，于是有卖田宅鬻子孙以偿责者矣。而商贾大者积贮倍息，小者坐列贩卖，操其奇赢，日游都市，乘上之急，所卖必倍。故其男不耕耘，女不蚕织，衣必文采，食必[梁][梁]肉；亡农夫之苦，有仟伯之得。因其富厚，交通王侯，力过吏势，以利相倾；千里游敖，冠盖相望，乘坚策肥，履丝曳縠。此商人所以兼并农人，农人所以流亡者也。

【今译】

夏天除草，秋天收获冬天储藏，砍伐薪柴，修理官府，服徭役；春天不能躲避风尘，夏天不能避开暑热，秋天不能避开阴雨，冬天不能躲避寒冻，四季之间没有时间休息；还有私人的送往迎来，吊问死者，探问疾病，抚养孤独、老人、孩子都在其中。勤劳辛苦如此，倘使又遭受到水旱灾害，严峻的政治和残暴的赋税，赋敛不按时间，早晨的命令晚上就更改了。在收租税时只好半价而卖，没有的就要收取两倍的利息等情况，于是就有卖田宅和子孙用来偿还债务的人。但商贾中大的就积累贮藏获得双倍利息，小的就坐在市场上叫卖，带着他们积累的财产聚藏的货物，天天在都市中游荡，乘着皇上的所急，就加一倍的价卖出他们的东西。所以他们的男子不耕耘，女子不养蚕织布，所穿的一定华丽，吃的一定是美食佳肴；没有农夫的辛苦，却有千百钱的收入。凭着他们的富有，勾结王侯，势力超过官吏，因为利益而相互倾轧；千里游逛，一路上前后不绝，乘着好车驾着好马，穿着丝绸拉着白缯。这就是商人兼并农民，农民流亡的原因。

have less than 100 *mu*, which yield less than 100 piculs. In spring they plant; in summer they weed; in autumn they reap; and in winter they store; and they cut undergrowth and wood for fuel; repair state buildings; and perform labor services. In spring they cannot escape wind and dust; in summer they cannot avoid sultry heat; in autumn they are unable to flee from dampness and rain; and in winter they cannot shun cold and ice. During the four seasons, not for a day can they stop and rest. Furthermore, in the midst of these is their private life; accompanying and welcoming visitors, mourning the dead, inquiring after the sick, caring for the orphaned, the elderly and the young. No matter how diligently they work or how bitterly they suffer, time and again they are hit by floods and droughts. Insistent, the state is tyrannical and oppressive; capricious in poll taxes and other government levies. Orders are issued in the morning only to be changed by evening. When tax-paying comes, they are obliged to sell at half price, and those with nothing, have to borrow at 100 percent interest. Thereupon, in many cases fields and dwellings are sold, and children and grandchildren are sold in order to pay debts. On the other hand, large traveling traders and resident merchants hoard stock at 100 percent profit; small ones sit in the market shouting their wares. Those who have cornered great quantities of things in short supply wander about daily in cities and markets, taking advantage of the ruler's intransigence to sell at double their value. Therefore, their sons do not tend the fields, nor do their daughters raise silkworms or weave. But they must wear the finest embroidered clothes and eat nothing but top quality grain and meat. They do not suffer the hardships of the farmer, yet they receive the profits of farming. Taking advantage of their great riches they may associate with vassal kings and marquises. Their power exceeds the authority of officers, and vying for financial clout, they try to do each other down. They roam at large for 1,000 *li*, the roads full of their fine carriages and fat horses, dressed in silks and trailing white silk.





【原文】

今法律贱商人，商人已富贵矣；尊农夫，农夫已贫贱矣。故俗之所贵，主之所贱也；吏之所卑，法之所尊也。上下相反，好恶乖迕，而欲国富法立，不可得也。方今之务，莫若使民务农而已矣。欲民务农，在于贵粟；贵粟之道，在于使民以粟为赏罚。今募天下入粟县官，得以拜爵，得以除罪。如此，富人¹有爵，农民有钱，粟有所渫。夫能入粟以受爵，皆有馀者也；取于有馀，以供上用，则贫民之赋可损，所谓损有馀补不足，令出而民利者也。顺于民心，所补者三：一曰主用足，二曰民赋少，三曰劝农功。今令民有车骑马一匹者，复卒三人。车骑者，天下武备也，故为复卒。神农之教曰：“有石城十仞，汤池百步，带甲百万，而亡粟，弗能守也。”以是观之，粟者，王者大用，政之本务。

【今译】

现在的法律轻视商人，商人却已富贵了；尊崇农夫，农夫却已贫贱了。所以世俗所尊贵的，是君主所轻视的；官吏所贬低的，是法律所尊重的。上下的人思想相反，好恶不同，而想国家富强，法制建立，是行不通的。现在的事情，不如使人民致力于农业。想要人民去致力于农业，在于以粟为贵；以粟为贵的方²法是使人们用粟作为赏罚。征求天下把粟交给官府，可以授给爵官，免除罪过。这样的话，富人就有爵位，农民有钱，粟有所分散。能交粟被授予爵位的，都是有富余的；从有富余的人那里取得，以供给皇上使用，那么贫苦人民的赋税就可减少，这就是所说的减少有富余的来补充不足，命令一颁布百姓就得利。顺应民心，用来补充不足的地方有三：一是君主的花费充足，二是百姓的赋税减少，三是勉励农事。现在法令规定百姓有战马一匹的，可以免除三人的兵役或免纳三人算赋。战马，是天下的武装装备，所以要免服兵役或免纳算赋。神农氏的教导说：“有石头砌成的城墙宽十仞，有宽百步的城池，披着盔甲的士卒百万，但没

That is why traders annex land from the farmers and farmers are cut adrift.

“Under our present laws the merchant is held in low esteem, but even so the merchant is rich and honored. They respect the farmer, but he is poor and despised notwithstanding. Thus, what usage honors is what the ruler holds light; what officials belittle is what law dignifies. Since the ideas of the state and the people are contradictory, and their likes and dislikes are opposed, it is impossible to desire both that the state be rich and the law be upheld. At the moment nothing is more urgent than to make the people devote themselves to farming. If one desires to make the people devote themselves to farming, it is necessary to enhance the value of grain. The way to do so lies in causing the people to use grain for rewards and penalties. Let there now be a general call to all under Heaven that whosoever sends grain to the government shall be bestowed with honorary titles, and pardon for crimes; in this way wealthy individuals will have honorary rank, farmers will have money, and grain can be distributed. Those able to present grain in order to receive rank are those with more than enough. Should these surpluses be taken away for the use of the Emperor, then the taxes on the poor could be reduced. This is called ‘reducing surpluses to supply deficiencies,’ which as soon as ordered will immediately benefit the people. To meet the people’s wishes, three things would be supplied: the ruler would have a sufficiency for expenses; the people would pay a lower poll tax; and service in agriculture would be encouraged. At this time, it is ordered that those of the people in possession of a battle horse may, in return for that horse, get exemption from military service for three men of draft age. Battle horses are part of the empire’s military preparedness, and therefore, donors are deserving of exemption. According to the teaching of the Divine Farmer: “A city may have stone walls of 10 ren, a moat of boiling water measuring 100 paces, a million armored men, but





【原文】

令民入粟受爵至五大夫以上，乃复一人耳，此其与骑马之功相去远矣。爵者，上之所擅，出于口而亡穷；粟者，民之所种。生于地而不乏。夫得高爵与免罪，人之所甚欲也。使天下[人]入粟于边，以受爵免罪，不过三岁，塞下之粟必多矣。

于是文帝从错之言，令民入粟边，六百石爵上造，稍增至四千石为五大夫，万二千石为大庶长，各以多少级数为差。错复奏言：“陛下幸使天下入粟塞下以拜爵，甚大惠也。窃恐塞卒之食不足用，大渫天下粟。边食足以支五岁，可令人粟郡县矣；足支一年以上，可时赦，勿收农民租。如此，德泽加于万民，民俞勤农。时有军役，若遭水旱，民不困乏，天下安宁；岁孰且美，则民大富乐矣。”上复从其言，乃下诏赐民十二年租税之半。明年，遂除民田之租税。

1

【今译】

有粟，城不能守住。”从这看来，粟，是称王的人最大的需要，政治的根本。让百姓纳粟得到爵位至五大夫以上，才免除一人的徭役，这跟军马的功劳相差很远了。爵位，是皇上所专有的，从口中说出是没有穷尽的；粟，是百姓所种植的，从地上生长不会绝。得到高爵位和免除罪罚，是人非常向往的。使天下人把粟纳给边境军队，用来得到爵位和免除罪罚，不超过三年，边境地区的粟一定很多了。

于是文帝就听从了晁错的话，叫百姓纳粟给边境，纳六百石爵位是第二等，稍稍增到四千石，爵位是第九等，一万二千石爵位是第十八等，各以纳粟多少和爵位等级作为差别。晁错又上奏道：“陛下有幸使天下人纳粟给边境来授爵，恩惠很大。我私下怕守边士卒的食物不足以使天下粟充分分散。边境上的粮食足以支付五年，可命令向郡县纳粟了；足以支持一年以上，可以到时赦免，不收农民田租。这样，恩泽加给万民，人民更加勤勉务农。碰巧有军役，或者遭受水旱灾害，百姓不贫困，天下安宁；每年五谷成熟而且质量很好，那么人民就很富足安乐了。”皇上又听从了他的话，就下诏赏赐人民十二年一半的租税。第二年，就免除了百姓田地的租税。

without grain it cannot be defended.” Seen in this light, grain is the most useful thing for the ruler, and is a fundamental to the state. The people are allowed to offer grain for titles up to and above the rank of *wudafu*, to win exemption from military service for one male member of their family. The merit won from such action is way below that of furnishing battle horses. Bestowal of rank is the sole prerogative of the Emperor, and there is no end to them when he speaks; grain is something which the people grow; it is produced on the land, and there is no shortage of it. Now, high rank and pardon for crime are what men most desire. If people all over the empire are allowed to present grain at the frontiers in order to receive rank or to have offenses pardoned, in less than three years there would be plentiful reserves of grain at the border.

Thereupon, Emperor Wendi followed Chao Cuo's advice, and ordered the people to send up grain for the frontiers. For 600 piculs they got a second-degree title, rising according to the amount presented up to 4,000 piculs for a ninth-degree title. For 12,000 piculs, the donor was granted 18th rank. The rank distinctions all reflected the amounts donated. Chao Cuo again presented a memorial saying: “The throne has fortunately allowed all under Heaven to send grain for the border region for the granting of rank: this is indeed a great grace. It was my secret worry that food supplies for the frontier guards would not be enough to sufficiently disperse grains all over the empire. Now that frontier food supplies are enough for five years, let it be ordered that grain be sent to the prefectures and counties. Where one year's supply or more is secured, let there be amnesty, and exemption of farmer's field taxes. By doing so, virtue and mercy will fall upon the multitudes; and the people will be more motivated to farm. If, in time, military or labor service is required, or should there be flood or drought, then the people will not be destitute and the empire will remain stable. If the year's harvest ripens and is of prime quality, then the people are abundantly rich and very content.”





【原文】

后十三岁，孝景二年，令民半出田租，三十而税一也。其后，上郡以西旱，复修卖爵令，而裁其贾以招民；及徒复作，得输粟于县官以除罪。始造苑马以广用，宫室列馆车马益增修矣。然娄敕有司以农为务，民遂乐业。至武帝之初，七十年间，国家亡事，非遇水旱，则民人给家足，都鄙廩庾尽满，而府库馀财。京师之钱累百巨万，贯朽而不可校。太仓之粟陈陈相因，充溢露积于外，腐败不可食。众庶街巷有马，仟伯之间成群，乘牝牡者宾而不得会聚。守闾阎者食梁肉；为吏者长子孙；居官者以为姓号。人人自爱而重犯法，先行谊而黜愧

之

【今译】

过十三年后，到了孝景帝二年，叫百姓出一半的田租，收取三分之一的税。这之后，上郡以西的地方有旱灾，又重新整治卖爵的法令，减少价格来招揽百姓；至于按刑律服劳役的妇女，可以向县官纳粟以免除罪罚。开始建造苑囿养马以扩大备用，宫室各馆车马加以增建和修理。但屡次命令有关官员以农业作为本业，百姓才渐渐安于本业。到武帝初年的七十年间，国家没有事变，不遭受水旱灾害的话，百姓就可以人人自给家庭自足，京都和封邑的粮仓都全满了，而且官府仓库有了剩余的财物。京师里的钱积累了上百万，穿钱的绳索腐朽后钱没法计数。京师积累谷物的仓库里的粟，逐年增积，满仓后就堆积于仓外，腐坏不能食用。百姓街头巷口有马，田间小道上马匹成群，乘母牛的人被排斥不得与众人在一起。看守里门的人食精美的饭食；当官的生长子孙；居官位的以之作为官号。人人自爱而难以犯



The emperor again took his advice, and issued a decree granting the people one half of the produce tax for the 12th year (167 BC) of his reign. The next year he abolished the people's tax on the produce of their fields.

Thirteen years on, in the second year of the reign of Emperor Jingdi (155 BC), it was ordered that the people pay half of their field tax, that is, one-thirtieth of its output. When, some time afterwards, drought occurred in Shang Prefecture and to the west, the ordinance for sale of rank was reissued, but at lower cost in order to attract more people; men sentenced to forced labor were allowed to transport grain to the empire in expiation of their crimes. For the first time there was established a park for raising horses to expand military readiness; equipages for horses in palaces or high residences on imperial estates were increased and improved. However, officials were repeatedly commanded to pay particular attention to farming; and the people gradually settled back into this occupation. For 70 years, up to the early years of Emperor Wudi, the nation lived without disturbance, and except when flood or drought came, the people were able to provide adequately for their families. The grain stores, in cities and fiefs alike, were completely full; the government treasury and storehouses, moreover, had surpluses of every kind of wealth. In the capital cash had accumulated in millions, but the number could not be checked because the strings had rotted. In the central granary, one year's grain had been piled on top of the previous, time after time so that it filled and overflowed, piled up outside, exposed to the elements to get stale, spoiled and inedible. The great masses of the common people had horses, congregating on the paths between the fields. Anyone riding a mare, however, was ejected, not being allowed to join in. Even those that guarded gates in the villages and lanes ate fine grain and meat. Official servants remained in employment while their sons and grandsons grew to manhood. Officials took their surnames from their positions.



【原文】

辱焉。于是罔疏而民富，役财骄溢，或至并兼，豪党之徒以武断于乡曲。宗室有土，公卿大夫以下争于奢侈，室庐车服僭上亡限。物盛而衰，固其变也。

是后，外事四夷，内兴功利，役费并兴，而民去本。董仲舒说上曰：“《春秋》它谷不书，至于麦禾不成则书之，以此见圣人于五谷最重麦与禾也。今关中俗不好种麦，是岁失《春秋》之所重，而损生民之具也。愿陛下幸诏大司农，使关中民益种宿麦，令毋后时。”又言：“古者税民不过什一，其求易共；使民不过三日，其力易足。民财内足以养老尽孝，外足以事上共税，下足以畜妻子极爱，故民说从

【今译】

法，尊崇品行道义而摒弃丑恶的行为。于是法网疏阔而百姓富足，依靠他们的富有而骄傲自满，有的到了兼并土地的地步，豪族之辈凭藉威势在乡里主观妄断曲直。宗室有封邑，公卿大夫以下都争相奢侈，房子车骑服饰犯上没有限度。事物由极盛而转为衰败，本来就是变化的规律。

这之后，在外对付四夷，在内讲求功名利欲，劳役和费用一同兴起，而百姓放弃本业。董仲舒劝说皇上道：“《春秋》不记载其他谷物，而麦和稻子没有成熟就加以记载，由此可见圣人对于五谷最重视麦与稻子。现在关中民俗不喜欢种麦子，这一年中失去《春秋》所重视的，而损害了使百姓生活所需具备的物质。愿陛下诏令大司农，使关中的百姓增加隔年熟的麦子的种植，让他们不要误了季节。”又说：“古代官府征收人民的税不过十分之一，他们的要求容易供给；役使人民不过三天，他们需求的劳力容易满足。人民的财力内足以奉养老人，尽到孝心，外足以事奉皇上供给税赋，下足以尽心爱护妻子



Everyone had self-respect, loath to break the laws of the land. They valued righteousness above all, condemning shameful and disgraceful behavior. Thereupon, the net of justice was slackened, and the people became affluent. But reliance on their wealth made them arrogant and complacent; some even annexed land or organized mobs of ruffians to settle matters by force in smaller places within townships. Fief-holding members of the imperial clan, great nobles of the realm, chief ministers of state, high officials and their underlings – all vied in excess and extravagance. In mansions and dwellings, in carriages and costumes, higher ranks were arrogated without any restriction. Things that flourish must in turn decay; this is, of course, the principle of change.

As time passed, in the border territories there were expeditions against the barbarians, while within the heartlands there was growing appetite for rewards and material gains. Both labor services and state expenses mounted and the people abandoned their primary work. Dong Zhongshu addressing the throne said: “In the *Spring and Autumn Annals* no mention is made of other grains apart from records of wheat and millet not ripening. From this it may be seen that the sages placed the greatest importance upon wheat and millet among the five grains. At the present time in Guanzhong (district inside the Pass), the sowing of wheat is not popular. This signifies that what was important in the *Annals* is neglected year after year, and that the means for maintenance of the people is diminished. I wish the favor of a decree that the Chamberlain for the National Treasury will cause the people in Guanzhong to increase the sowing of winter wheat; and to see that they do not miss the seasonal time.” He also said: “The ancients taxed the people not more than a tithe, and requisitions were easy to meet. The corvee was not more than three days, and laborers were plentiful. The wealth of the people was sufficient to take care of the old, and fulfill all the duties of filial piety; it was enough to serve the Emperor and to contribute taxes



【原文】

上。至秦则不然，用商鞅之法，改帝王之制，除井田，民得卖买，富者田连阡陌，贫者亡立锥之地。又颍川泽之利，管山林之饶，荒淫越制，逾侈以相高；邑有人君之尊，里有公侯之富，小民安得不困？又加月为更卒，已复为正，一岁屯戍，一岁力役，三十倍于古；田租口赋，盐铁之利，二十倍于古。或耕豪民之田，见税什五。故贫民常衣牛马之衣，而食犬彘之食。重以贪暴之吏，刑戮妄加，民愁亡聊，亡逃山林，转为盗贼，赭衣半道，断狱岁以千万数。汉兴，循而未改。古井田法虽难卒行，宜少近古，限民名田，以澹不足，塞并兼之路。

【今译】

儿女，所以人们高兴地服从皇上。到了秦朝就不是这样，实行商鞅的法制，改变帝王的制度，废除井田，百姓能够进行贸易，富有的人田地纵横交错，贫困的人没有放下锥子的地方。又独占河流大湖的利益，占有山地森林的富饶，放纵越制，以奢侈相贵；邑中也有人君的尊贵，里中也有公侯的富有，弱小的百姓怎么能不穷困呢？又连月轮番服兵役，完了后，又为中都官服役一年，驻守边境一年，所服的劳役是古代的三十倍；田租人口赋，盐铁的利润，是古代的二十倍。有的人耕种豪民的田地，交纳十分之五的税。所以贫困的人常穿牛马的衣服，食猪狗的食物。又加上贪婪暴虐的官吏，妄自加重刑戮，百姓担忧没有寄托，就逃亡山林，转变为盗贼，囚犯塞满了道路的一半，审判案件一年以千万计数。汉朝建立后，因循不加以改变。古代的井田制虽然难以猝然实行，应尽量接近古制，限制百姓以私人名义占有土地，用来补充不足，并堵住兼并的道路。使盐铁的利润都回到百姓



and to support wives and children to the highest degree of love. Consequently the people were delighted to follow the ruler. Under Qin, it was not so. The methods of Shang Yang were adopted, and the institutions of the kings were changed. The nine-square land system was abolished, and the people were allowed to sell and buy land. The rich had their fields connected along both north-south and east-west roads, while the poor had not even land into which to stick an awl. Furthermore, they alone had possession of the profits of streams and marshes, and controlled the abundant resources of mountains and forests. Profligate and dissipated, they overrode state institutions, and overstepped extravagances to outdo one another. In the cities their awesome dignity matched the monarch's; in the villages they had riches to rival great nobles and feudal lords. How could the lowly people but be distressed? Moreover, there was compulsory local military service of one month by turn, regular military service of one year on the frontier and one year of corvee labor. This was 30 times more than in ancient times, and taxes on fields, poll taxes and profits from salt and iron were 20 times more. Some worked land belonging to knights, and they had to give half of the output in rent. Consequently, poor people would wear cattle and horse covers, and ate food meant for dogs and swine. Things were aggravated by covetous and cruel officers who imposed penalties and capital punishments without due authority. The people, with no means of livelihood, escaped to mountains and forests **where they** became thieves and robbers.

Half of the roads were blocked by prisoners in red ocher. Those brought to judgment and imprisoned each year numbered in the thousands and tens of thousands. When Han came to power, it followed the same path without change. Although it would be difficult to precipitately revert to the ancient land system, it is proper to make things somewhat nearer to it. Let individual ownership of land be limited, so as to supplement at times of shortage, and to



【原文】

盐铁皆归于民。去奴婢，除专杀之威。薄赋敛，省徭役，以宽民力。然后可善治也。”仲舒死后，功费愈甚，天下虚耗，人复相食。¹

武帝末年，悔征伐之事，乃封丞相为富民侯。下诏曰：“方今之务，在于力农。”以赵过为搜粟都尉。过能为代田，一亩三圳。岁代处，故曰代田，古法也。后稷始圳田，以二耜为耦，广尺深尺曰圳，长终亩。一亩三圳，一夫三百圳，而播种于圳中。苗生叶以上，稍耨陇草，因隳其土以附(根苗)[苗根]。故其《诗》曰：“或芸或芋，黍稷儳儳”。芸，除草也。(籽)[芋]，附根也。言苗稍壮，每耨辄附根，比盛暑，陇尽而根深，能风与旱，故儳儳而盛也。其耕耘下种田器，皆有便巧。率十二夫为田一井一屋，故亩五顷，用耦犁，

【今译】

手中。释放奴婢，废除擅自杀人的权威。减轻赋税，减省徭役，来减轻百姓的负担。然后可以很好地加以治理。”董仲舒死后，事情的花费更加多，天下损耗空虚，人又开始相食。

武帝末年，对征伐之事感到后悔，就封丞相为富民侯。下令说：“目前的要务，在于致力于农业。”任赵过为搜粟都尉。赵过懂得种代田，一亩田开三条垄沟。每年更换垄沟的位置，所以叫代田，是一种古代的方法。后稷时开始在田间开垄沟，用两耜并在一起两人并耕，宽深各一尺叫畎，延长到亩的终端。一亩有三畎，一个劳力有三百畎，把种子就播洒在畎中。禾苗生长出叶子后，就稍稍除掉垄上的草，顺便把土培附在苗的根上。所以《诗》上就说：“有的拔草，有的培土，黍米和稷米，已是茂盛得很。”芸，是除草。芋，是培土。是说禾苗稍微壮了一点，就常常除草培土，到了盛暑，垄就没有了而根也深了，能经得住风灾和旱灾，所以就很茂盛了。代田耕耘播种的器械，都方便灵巧。大概十二个劳力有田一井一屋，所以一亩有

block the road to annexations. The profit from salt and iron should go to the people where it belongs. Liberate serfs, and eliminate the prerogative of killing on one's own authority. Reduce poll taxes and other government levies, and lessen corvee labor, so as to lighten the burden on the people. Then they can be well governed.” After the death of Zhongshu, expenditure got even more out of control. All under Heaven became utterly wasted, and once again man ate man.

In the last years of his reign, Wudi repented of his punitive military expeditions, and accordingly created for his prime minister the honorary title “Marquis for Enriching the People.” He issued an edict saying: “At the present moment the priority lies in strengthening agricultural production.” For this purpose, Zhao Guo was appointed Defender in charge of searching for millet. Guo understood the art of “field-changing,” in which one *mu* had three channels, the locations of which were changed each year. It was an ancient method, one initiated by Hou Ji, Shun's minister of agriculture. By plowing two parallel furrows, one *chi* wide and deep respectively, one made a ridge called a *quan*. They were the full length of one *mu*, and each *mu* had three *quan*. In these trenches, three hundred to a *fu*, the seeds were scattered and once the shoots that came forth had sprouted leaves, the raised earth between the trenches was weeded, causing the soil to slide down to support the roots of the young plants. As is put in the *Book of Odes*, “Some weed; some gather earth around the roots;/ Each millet plant spurts and burgeons.” Now “to weed” means to take out the grass; and “to gather earth around the roots” means to support the roots. This is to say, as the shoots gradually grew sturdier, at each weeding the roots got more support. When the height of summer came, the earth ridges were completely removed, and the roots buried deep in the soil to endure wind and drought. And so they flourished luxuriantly. Plowing, weeding, and sowing seeds, their agricultural implements were convenient and ingenious. It is reckoned that 12 laborers





【原文】

二牛三人，一岁之收常过缦田亩一斛以上，善者倍之。过使教田太常、三辅，大农置工巧奴与从事，为作田器。二千石遣令长、三老、力田及里父老善田者受田器，学耕种养苗状。民或苦少牛，亡以趋泽，故平都令光教过以人挽犁。过奏光以为丞，教民相与庸挽犁。率多人者田日三十亩，少者十三亩，以故田多垦辟。过试以离宫卒田其宫墺地，课得谷皆多其旁田亩一斛以上。令命家田三辅公田，又教边郡及居延城。是后边城、河东、弘农、三辅、太常民皆便代田，用力少而得谷多。

至昭帝时，流民稍还，田野益辟，颇有畜积。宣帝即位，用吏多

【今译】

五顷，用两人并耕，二牛三人，一年的收获经常超过不作垄沟耕作的田地每亩达一斛以上，会耕种的甚至达到两倍。赵过就派人教太常、三辅，大司农设立善于制作田器的奴仆来进行工作，制作种田的器械。二千石派遣令长、三老、力田以及里父老中善于种田的人接收种田的器械，学习耕种和培养禾苗的方法。百姓有的苦于没有牛，失去雨后土润及时耕种的农时，所以平都令光教赵过用人拉犁的方法。赵过上奏要求任光为丞相，教民相互雇佣来拉犁。人多的大概一天能耕三十亩，少的能耕十三亩，因此田地大多被开垦。赵过用离宫中士卒耕种宫殿内外墙之间的土地作为试验，打的谷都比别的田每亩多一斛以上。教家田和三辅公田，又教边郡以及居延城。这之后，边境上的城市、河东、弘农、三辅、太常的百姓都认为代田便利，用力少却得到的谷多。

到昭帝的时候，流亡的百姓渐渐回乡。田野的开辟增多，很有一

cultivate a *jing* of land. So the acreage is five hectares. A double plow was used, three men to two oxen. By means of this system, the annual yield from one *mu* of land was generally one bushel higher than from an untrenched field. Those who were experienced could double the margin. Zhao Guo had people educate the Chamberlain of Ceremony and the three Guardians of the Capital in the art of cultivation. The Chamberlain of National Treasury established artisan serfs to do this and to produce farming implements. Officials of 2,000 piculs grade sent forth the county magistrates, the Three Seniors, the farming-invigorators, as well as village fathers who were experienced farmers, to receive the implements and to study how to plow and sow, and how to nurture young shoots. Some of the people suffered lack of oxen, or could not catch the wet season, so, Guang the Magistrate of Pingdu taught Zhao Guo how to plow using manpower only. Guo recommended to the Emperor to appoint Guang as his assistant, to teach the people to cooperate in pulling the plow. It is reckoned that those employing many laborers could work 30 *mu* in one day, whereas those with few laborers could work only 13. Thus, it came to pass that much uncultivated land was opened up for arable use. Guo launched an experiment using guards at palaces of the imperial household outside the city, having them cultivate idle untilled lands lying between enclosing walls. In the trials, grain yields far exceeded those produced by neighboring fields by a margin of at least one bushel per *mu*. At the Emperor's behest he instructed families of rank in tilling government lands in the metropolitan area of the capital. He also taught the frontier prefectures as well as the city of Juyan. The people of the border cities, Hedong, Hongnong, the capital area and imperial mausoleums all found the "field-changing" system much better, because it produced more grain for less physical effort.

In the time of Emperor Zhaodi, drifters gradually made their way back to the fields, and wastelands were more than ever





【原文】

选贤良，百姓安土，岁数丰穰，谷至石五钱，农人少利。时大司农中丞耿寿昌以善为算能商功利得幸于上，五凤中奏言：“故事，岁漕关东谷四百万斛以给京师，用卒六万人。宜糴三辅、弘农、河东、上党、太原郡谷足供京师，可以省关东漕卒过半。”又白增海租三倍，天子皆从其计。御史大夫萧望之奏言：“故御史属徐官家在东莱，言往年加海租，鱼不出。长老皆言武帝时县官尝自渔，海鱼不出，后复予民，鱼乃出。夫阴阳之感，物类相应，万事尽然。今寿昌欲近糴漕关内之谷，筑仓治船，费直二万万馀，有动众之功。恐生旱气，民被其灾。寿昌习于商功分铢之事，其深计远虑，诚未足任，宜且如

【今译】

些积蓄。宣帝即位后，任用官更多半选用有德行的人，百姓安于本土，每年的收入丰盛，谷价到每石五钱，农民利益很少。当时大司农中丞耿寿昌善于计算和测量，能计算工程用工多少，受到皇上的宠幸，五凤年间上奏道：“按旧例，每年水运关东的谷四百万斛来供给京师，用士卒六万人。应买入三辅、弘农、河东、上党、太原郡的谷足以供应京师，可以节省关东水运的士卒一半多。”又请示增加海租三倍，天子都依从他的建议。御史大夫萧望之上奏说道：“原先御史大夫的部属徐官家在东莱，说往年增加海租，鱼就不出来。长老都说武帝时县官曾亲自捕鱼，海鱼不出来，后来又还给百姓，鱼才出来。阴阳相感，事物同类相应，万物都是这样。现在耿寿昌打算就近购买水运关内的谷物，建筑仓库打造船只，花费值二亿多，有劳动大众的工程，怕产生旱灾的气象，百姓遭受它的灾害。耿寿昌习于测算一分一铢的事情，他的深远的计算和思考，实在不足胜任，应和原先一样

cultivated. There was a considerable accumulation of stores. When Emperor Xuandi came to the throne, he employed government officials selected for the most part on the basis of worthy and excellent character. The common people were content on the land; years were repeatedly abundant and luxuriant. Grain could sell for only five cash a picul, bringing farmers little profit. At that time, the second in rank in the Ministry of National Treasury, Geng Shouchang, was a favorite of the Emperor for his skill in calculation and estimating for projects. During the Wufeng reign period (57-54 BC), he memorialized the throne, saying: "In the past, four million bushels of grain a year was transported by water from east of the Pass to provision the capital, a task that employed 60,000 men. It is fitting that grain, sufficient to supply the capital, should be bought within the metropolitan area prefectures of Hongnong, Hedong, Shangdang, and Taiyuan. This would save more than half of the manpower used in shipments that come by water from east of the Pass." Also he suggested a tripling of sea taxes. The Son of Heaven agreed all of his plans. In opposition, the Censor-in-Chief, Xiao Wangzhi, memorialized the throne, saying: "Xu Gong, former clerk attached to this office, whose home was in Donglai, stated that whenever in former years sea duty had been increased, the fish did not come out. Village elders all said that during the time of Emperor Wudi the government officials themselves tried to fish, but the fish of the sea did not come out. Later, when the tax was returned to the people, the fish returned too. Now under the influence of *yin* and *yang*, like creatures of the natural world interact. This is a universal truth. Now Shouchang wants grain to be bought and transported by water from nearby within the Pass. Expenses for building granaries and constructing boats would cost more than 200 million. This means a highly labor-intensive enterprise. My fear is that it will give the impression of drought, and that the people will suffer calamities so caused. Shouchang is experienced in the matter of calculating



【原文】

故。”上不听。漕事果便，寿昌遂白令边郡皆筑仓，以谷贱时增其贾而余，以利农，谷贵时减贾而糶，名曰常平仓。民便之。上乃下诏，赐寿昌爵关内侯。而蔡癸以好农使劝郡国，至大官。

元帝即位，天下大水，关东郡十一尤甚。二年，齐地饥，谷石三百馀，民多饿死，琅邪郡人相食。在位诸儒多言盐铁官及北假田官、常平仓可罢，毋与民争利。上从其议，皆罢之。又罢建章、甘泉宫卫，角抵，齐三服官，省禁苑以予贫民，减诸侯王庙卫卒半。又减关中卒五百人，转谷振贷穷乏。其后用度不足，独复盐铁官。

【今译】

为好。”皇上没有听从。水运的事情果然便利，耿寿昌就请示命令边郡都建筑仓库，在谷价低时增价买入，以对农民有利，谷贵时就减价出卖，称做常平仓。百姓感到便利。皇上就下诏，赐给耿寿昌关内侯的爵位。蔡癸因为喜好农业而作为使者去劝勉郡国，当上了大官。

元帝即位，天下发大水，关东十一郡尤其厉害。元帝二年，齐地发生饥荒，谷一石三百余钱，百姓有很多被饿死，琅邪郡人吃人。在官位的各位儒生大多说盐铁官及北假田官、常平仓可以罢免，不要同百姓争夺利益。皇上听从了他们的议论，把盐铁官及北假田官、常平仓都罢免了。又罢免了建章、甘泉的宫卫，角抵，齐三服官，减少禁苑来给予贫民，裁减诸侯王庙的卫士一半。又裁减关中的士卒五百人，转运谷物来救济穷困的人。这之后，费用不足，只恢复了盐铁官。

small coins, but his deep schemes and far-reaching plans are not to be trusted. It is better to do as hitherto.” The Emperor rejected the appeal, and the matter of transport by water was actually found advantageous. Shouchang then suggested that frontier prefectures be ordered to build granaries so that at times when grain was cheap it might be bought at a higher price in order to benefit farmers, and that at times when grain was expensive it might be sold at a lower price. These were given the name “ever normal granaries” and were popular with the people. So then the Emperor issued an edict elevating Shouchang to Marquis of Guannei. Because Cai Gui was enthusiastic about farming, he, moreover, was appointed commissioner to encourage it in the prefectures and the fiefs, and thus he rose to high office.

When Emperor Yuandi came to the throne, there was a great flood which was especially calamitous in 11 prefectures east of the Pass. In the following year, crops in the territory of Qi failed. Grain was more than 300 cash a picul and a great many people starved to death. In the prefecture of Langya the people started eating each other. Most of the scholars in substantial government posts stated that the salt and iron government offices, as well as the Beijia agricultural offices, and “ever-normal granaries,” should all be abolished, and that they ought not to be those striving with the people for profits. The Emperor followed their proposal, and abolished them all. Furthermore, guards at the palaces at Jianzhang and Ganquan were discontinued, wrestling shows, the Qi’s Office for Imperial Costumes of the Three Seasons, and imperial parks were disestablished in order to give to the poor. The guards at the ancestral temples of the vassal kings were halved, and the number of conscript soldiers within the Pass was reduced by 500 men. Grain was carted in and distributed to the poverty-stricken and destitute. Later, there not being sufficient to cover expenditure, just the salt and iron offices were reinstated.

【原文】

成帝时，天下亡兵革之事，号为安乐，然俗奢侈，不以畜聚为意。永始二年，梁国、平原郡比年伤水灾，人相食，刺史守相坐免。¹

哀帝即位，师丹辅政，建言：“古之圣王莫不设井田，然后治乃可平。孝文皇帝承亡周乱秦兵革之后，天下空虚，故务劝农桑，帅以节俭。民始充实，未有并兼之害，故不为民田及奴婢为限。今累世承平，豪富吏民訾数巨万，而贫弱俞困。盖君子为政，贵因循而重改作，然所以有改者，将以救急也。亦未可详，宜略为限。”天子下其议。丞相孔光、大司空何武奏请：“诸侯王、列侯皆得名田国中。列

【今译】

成帝的时候，天下没有战争，称得上安乐，但是民俗奢侈，不考虑积蓄聚藏。永始二年，梁国、平原郡连年遭受水灾，发生人吃人的现象，刺史、郡守都因犯罪免官。¹

哀帝即位，师丹辅佐政事，他建议说：“古代英明的君王没有不设立井田，然后治理才可太平。孝文皇帝承接在灭亡的周朝和暴乱的秦朝战事之后，天下空虚，所以致力于鼓励人民进行农桑业，用节俭作为天下表率。百姓才开始充实，没有兼并的灾害，所以不为民田和奴婢作出限制。现在几代太平相承，大富豪和官吏的财产极多，但贫苦弱小的人更加穷困。君子从事政治，以守旧法不加以改变为贵而很难有改动创造，然而之所以还是有改革的，是因为要用来救急。但也没有全改，宜大略加以限制。”天子把他的建议下达给臣下。丞相孔光、大司空何武上奏请求：“诸侯王、列侯都得到国家中的以私人名义占有的土地。列侯在长安，公主在各县以私人名义占有的土地，

In the time of Emperor Chengdi, the empire was free of military actions, offensive or defensive, and tranquility and happiness reigned. But the habit of excess and extravagance was deep-rooted, and little attention was paid to gathering and storing. In the second year of the Yongshi reign period (15 BC), in the Principdom of Liang and in Pingyuan Prefecture, inhabitants ate each other, driven to this by consecutive years of floods and concomitant calamities.¹ The inspector for the locality, the prefect, and the first minister for the fief were considered responsible and were dismissed from their posts.

When Emperor Aidi came to the throne, Shi Dan, who advised on policy, made the following proposal: “Of the sage kings of ancient times, there was none who did not establish the nine-square system, and thanks to this their government was able to keep the peace. During the time of Emperor Wendi the empire was bare and desolate – a legacy of the ruined Zhou, and the disruption of military operations against Qin. Consequently, he turned his attention to encouraging agriculture and sericulture, and he took the lead in the practice of economy and frugality. Thus the people began to have plenty, and there were no unscrupulous land grabs. No restrictions, therefore, were made against the people owning land and serfs. Now we have had several successive generations of peace in which the fortunes of despotic plutocrats and officials have waxed, but the poor and weak face an even harder plight. Now the gentleman ruler honors traditional methods, and does not lightly make changes, but the reason why some changes are made is in order to save in times of crisis. However, even though it has not yet been possible to go into details, it is proper to introduce general restrictions.” When the Son of Heaven handed this down for discussion, Prime Minister Kong Guang and Grand Minister of Works He Wu memorialized the throne, with a petition: “Let the princes and the adjunct marquises, we beg, own fields within their own fiefs, and let the lands in



【原文】

侯在长安，公主名田县道，及关内侯、吏民名田皆毋过三十顷。诸侯王奴婢二百人，列侯、公主百人，关内侯、吏民三十人。期尽三年，犯者没入官。”时田宅奴婢贾为减贱，丁、傅用事，董贤隆贵，皆不便也。诏书且须后，遂寝不行。宫室苑囿府库之藏已侈，百姓訾富虽不及文景，然天下户口最盛矣。

平帝崩，王莽居摄，遂篡位。王莽因汉承平之业，匈奴称藩，百蛮宾服，舟车所通，尽为臣妾，府库百官之富，天下晏然。莽一朝有之，其心意未¹满，狭小汉家制度，以为疏阔。宣帝始赐单于印玺，与天子同，而西南夷钩町称王。莽乃遣使易单于印，贬钩町王为侯。二

【今译】

以及关内侯、官吏以私人名义占有的土地都不要超过三十顷。诸侯王的奴婢是二百人，列侯、公主的奴婢是一百人，关内侯、官吏的奴婢是三十人。以三年为期限，违反的没收入官府。”当时田宅奴婢的价格减少降低，丁、傅当权，董贤显贵，对他们都不利。皇帝下令暂且拖后，后来便停止没有实行。宫室苑囿府库的收藏已很多了，百姓的资财富有虽比不上文帝、景帝的时候，但天下的人口是最多的了。

平帝崩后，王莽摄政，他便篡夺帝位。王莽因袭汉朝治平相承的业绩，匈奴称臣，百蛮顺服，舟车所通的地方，都是臣民，府库百官的富有，使天下安逸。王莽有一天占有了它，但他的心意却没有得到²满足，鄙视汉家制度，认为它不精密。宣帝时开始赐给单于印玺，和天子相同，而西南夷钩町则称王。王莽就派遣使者更换单于的印玺，贬钩町王为侯。这两方开始心怀怨恨，侵犯边境。王莽便发动军队，

counties and circuits owned by the adjunct marquises who live in Changan and the princesses of the realm, as well as the lands owned by marquises of Guannei, government officers, and the people, in no case exceed 30 hectares. Let princes have 200 slaves, male and female; let the adjunct marquises and imperial princesses have 100; and let marquises of Guannei, government officers, and the people own 30. At the end of three years, let those who disobey forfeit to the government.” At the time, the prices of fields, houses and slaves, became cheaper. But Ding and Fu were in power in the government, and Dong Xian was affluent and honored. All stood to lose by this and soon there came an edict postponing implementation. Later it was stopped and never put into effect. The contents of imperial palaces and government storehouses were already profuse and luxurious, and though the wealth of the common people was less than they had enjoyed under Wendi and Jingdi, nevertheless the population of the empire was most numerous.

When Emperor Pingdi died, his regent Wang Mang assumed the authority of a sovereign and then usurped the throne. The legacy of the peace created by Han all redounded to him: the Huns proclaimed themselves subjects; all the barbarians came to pay homage and acknowledge submission; wherever boats and carts could travel, subservience was absolute. With treasuries and storehouses full, all the officials now were rich, all under Heaven was serene. Overnight Wang Mang obtained this; yet his heart's desire was not fulfilled. He despised the institutions of the House of Han, regarding them as lax and inefficient. Emperor Xuandi for the first time had bestowed upon Chanyu an official seal of government authority, like that of the Son of Heaven; and to Gou Ding, a tribal chief in the southwest, he had given the title of vassal king. Now Wang Mang sent a mission to change the seal of Chanyu, and he demoted Gou Ding from king to marquis. The two peoples became embittered against him, and they harried and harassed the frontier regions.



【原文】

方始怨，侵犯边境。莽遂兴师，发三十万众，欲同时十道并出，一举灭匈奴；募发天下囚徒丁男甲卒转委输兵器，自负海江淮而至北边，使者驰传督趣。海内扰矣。又动欲慕古，[^]不度时宜，分裂州郡，改职作官，下令曰：“汉氏减轻田租，三十而税一，常有更赋，罢癯咸出，而豪民侵陵，分田劫假，厥名三十，实什税五也。富者骄而为邪，贫者穷而为奸，俱陷于辜，刑用不错。今更名天下田曰王田，奴婢曰私属，皆不得卖买。其男口不满八，而田过一井者，分馀田与九族乡党。”犯令，法至死，制度又不定，吏缘为奸，天下警警然，陷刑者众。

后三年，莽知民愁，下诏诸食王田及私属皆得卖买，勿拘以法。

【今译】

派遣三十万的军队，打算同时分十路一同出发，一举消灭匈奴；征发天下囚徒、成年男子、兵士转运军用物资和兵器，从背靠大海的江淮而到北边，使者驾着车督促，海内被扰乱了。又动辄仿照古代，¹不考虑时宜，分裂州郡，改动官员的职能，设立官位，下令说：“汉代减轻田租，收取三十分之一的税，常有出钱以代服兵役的赋税，残废疾病的人都要交纳，而且豪民侵犯，分田夺取税收。名义上是三十收一，实际上是收十分之五的税。富有的人骄横邪恶，贫困的人走投无路而走上邪路，都陷于无辜，刑具没有闲置的。现在把天下田改名为王田，奴婢叫私属，都不允许买卖。有家庭男子人数不满八个，而田超过一井的，把多余的田分给九族乡亲。”违反法令的，法令上要判处死刑，制度上又没有确定，官吏以此为奸，天下怨声鼎沸，陷入刑罚的人相当多。

三年后，王莽知道百姓凄惨，下诏令各王田以及私属都可买卖，

Thereupon, Wang Mang mobilized the army, sending out 300,000 men, desiring to dispatch ten columns simultaneously to exterminate the Huns at a single decisive blow. Everywhere in the empire he conscripted and sent out prisoners, youthful and adult males, as well as armored soldiers to transport military supplies and weapons. From the coastal Yangtze and Huai up to the northern borders of the realm, imperial commissioners rode by post chaise to supervise and urge. Disorder was universal. Furthermore, in every act he liked to imitate the ancients, oblivious to the need of the times. He partitioned and reapportioned regions and prefectures; he altered governmental duties and created new government offices. He sent down an order in which he said: "Han lightened taxes on fields to one-thirtieth of the produce. However, there were always charges to commute forced military service, which aged and ill persons all paid. In addition there were encroachments by adventurers, who allotted fields but stole the tax revenue. Hence, nominally it was one-thirtieth; but in reality it was half. These rich, being haughty, perpetrated depravity; the poor, being distressed, perpetrated crimes. Both have sunk into malfeasance; no punishments were not used. Now let the term be altered and the land throughout the empire be designated 'sovereign fields,' and serfs, male and female, be called 'private adherents.' Neither is to be sold or bought. Those families with fewer than eight adult males and having more than a *jing* of arable land shall divide the surplus lands among their nine generations of direct kin and their fellow-townspersons." Violators of the order were punishable by death under the law. Institutions and rulings, furthermore, were never determined. Taking advantage of this, government officers perpetrated crimes. There was much moaning and lamentation among the people, and many were those who met punishment.

Three years on, Wang Mang, aware of the piteous condition of the common man, issued an edict permitting the sale and

【原文】

然刑罚深刻，它政悖乱。边兵二十馀万人仰县官衣食，用度不足，数横赋敛，民俞贫困。常苦枯旱，亡有平岁，谷贾翔贵。

末年，盗贼群起，发军击之，将吏放纵于外。北边及青徐地人相食，雒阳以东米石二千。莽遣三公将军开东方诸仓振贷穷乏，又分遣大夫谒者教民煮木为酪；酪不可食，重为烦扰。流民入关者数十万人，置养澹官以禀之，吏盗其禀，饥死者什七八。莽耻为政所致，乃下诏曰：“予遭阳九之厄，百六之会，枯旱霜蝗，饥馑荐臻，蛮夷猾夏，寇贼奸轨，百姓流离。予甚悼之，害气将究矣。”岁为此言，以至于亡。

——卷二十四上《食货志》第四上

【今译】

不要以法律拘捕。但刑罚峻刻，政治混乱。边境上的士兵二十多万人仰仗天子的衣食，费用不足，几次残暴征税，百姓更加贫困。常苦于旱灾，没有平安的年份，谷价飞涨。

王莽末年，盗贼群起，派军队去攻打他们，将吏又在外放任士兵。北边及青、徐地区出现人吃人的现象，雒阳以东米一石二千钱。王莽派遣三公将军打开东方的各粮仓救济贫困百姓，又分头派遣大夫、谒者教百姓煮草木为酪；酪不能吃，又增添了烦扰。流民进入关中的数十万人，设置养贍官来供给他们，官吏又盗取了他们的供给物，饥饿而死的人十有七八。王莽对自己的政治感到可耻，就下诏说：“我遭受阳九的困厄，百六的会合，旱灾、霜灾、蝗灾，荒年重现，蛮夷扰乱华夏，寇贼为非作歹，百姓流离失所。我很哀痛，恐怕气数要完了。”每年都这样说，一直到他消亡。

purchase, without legal restrictions, of all the “sovereign fields” and “private adherents.” However, punishments were extremely severe, and government affairs were in disarray. Over 200,000 frontier soldiers looked to the central government for clothing and food. Governmental expenses could not be met; time and again unreasonable poll taxes and other government levies were imposed. The people became all the more impoverished and straitened. With frequent droughts, and no one year of peace, the price of grain soared. Towards the end of his regime, thieves and robber bands sprang up, and troops were sent out to suppress them. Military leaders and officials in outlying regions ignored their military responsibilities. On the northern borders as well as in Qingzhou and Xuzhou there was cannibalism. East of Luoyang, husked millet cost 2,000 cash a picul. Wang Mang dispatched the three highest ministers with military commanders to open the several government granaries in the eastern part of the empire, to provide emergency aid to the needy. He also sent into different parts the grand masters and imperial receptionists to show the people how to boil vegetation to make gruel. The gruel was inedible, which served to aggravate the disturbances. Refuge drifters entering Guanzhong numbered several hundred thousand. A relief office was set up to provide them with food at government expense, but officials embezzled the supplies, and of every ten of these people seven or eight starved to death. Wang Mang was ashamed of these results of his maladministration, and issued an edict, saying: “I have suffered ‘yang nine’ disasters and the calamities of ‘hundred and six.’ Severe drought, hoarfrosts, locusts, crop failures have come time and again. Barbarians ravage the empire; robbers and despots are here to reign. The common people have scattered and drift from place to place. This causes me great grief. I fear I near the end.” Every year he made this same statement until he was overthrown.

食货志(下)

【原文】

凡货，金钱布帛之用，夏殷以前其详靡记云。太公为周立九府圆法：黄金方寸，而重一斤；钱圆函方，轻重以铢；布帛广二尺二寸为幅，长四丈为匹。故货宝于金，利于刀，流于泉，布于布，束于帛。

太公退，又行之于齐。至管仲相桓公，通轻重之权，曰：“岁有凶穰，故谷有贵贱；令有缓急，故物有轻重。人君不理，则畜贾游于市，乘民之不给，百倍其本矣。故万乘之国必有万金之贾，千乘之国必有千金之贾者，利有所并也。计本量委则足矣，然而民有饥饿者，谷有所臧也。民有馀则轻之，故人君敛之以轻；民不足则重之，故人

【今译】

凡是财物，金钱布帛的用途，夏、殷以前它们的详细情况没有记载。姜太公为周朝建立了九府流通财币的办法：黄金一寸见方，就重一斤；钱圆而内孔方，以铢为轻重；布帛宽二尺二寸是一幅，长四丈是一匹。所以货币比金宝贵，比刀锐利，比泉水更流畅，比布更能分散，比帛更能束聚。

姜太公退到封国后，又在齐地加以实行。到管仲辅佐齐桓公，通行轻重的衡量标准，他说：“年岁有荒年和丰收之年，所以谷有贵有贱；命令有慢有急，所以货物有轻有重。皇上不治理，那么囤积居奇的商贾就在市场游荡，乘百姓不能自给时，就把价格提高到是它成本的一百倍。所以有一万辆车的国家一定有万金的商贾，千辆车的国家一定有千金的商贾，是因为利润有所隐藏。按照所生产的去进行消费，那么费用就能自足，然而百姓中有饥饿的人，那是谷有所隐藏的原因。百姓有馀就轻视谷物，所以君主征收的价也低；百姓不足就重视谷物，所以君主以高价散发。凡是低价、高价以及征收、散发都按

Chapter 5

The Treatise on Food and Commodities, Part II

We have no documented details of the use, prior to the Xia and Yin, of assets such as gold, coins, silks, and textiles of woven vegetable fibers. Taigong established for the Zhou the Nine Fiscal Agencies to regulate the methods of circulation. Gold units, one inch square, weighed one catty; coins were round with a square hole, and their weight went by the *zhu*. The width of silks and textiles was two feet two inches; and the length of the roll was four *zhang*. Therefore, currency is as precious as gold, as keen as a knife, as mobile as a stream, as widespread as textiles, and as compressible as silk.

When Taigong returned to his fief, this practice was followed in Qi. When Guan Zhong became the first minister for Duke Huan of Qi, he practiced the balancing priorities in regulating commodities. He said: "As a year is disastrous or prosperous, so grain is accordingly expensive or cheap. As levy orders are slow or urgent, so articles accordingly become neglected or important. If the ruler fails to take heed, then hoarding traders wander the markets, taking advantage of want among the people to demand prices 100 times more than the original cost. It was because profits were concealed that in a state of 10,000 chariots there were sure to be merchants of 10,000 catties of gold, and in states of 1,000 chariots there were sure to be merchants with 1,000 catties of gold. By calculating the produce and measuring the storage there should be a sufficiency. That the people, nevertheless, are starving for lack of food is because of grain hoarding. When the people have a surplus, they neglect it, so the ruler should take it at a low price. When the people do not have enough of something, then they value it, and for this



【原文】

君散之以重。凡轻重敛散之以时，则准平。[守准平]，使万室之邑必有万钟之臧，臧纒千万；千室之邑必有千钟之臧，臧纒百万。春以奉耕，夏以奉耘，耒耜器械，种饷粮食，必取澹焉。故大贾畜家不得豪夺吾民矣。”桓公遂用区区之齐合诸侯，显伯名。

其后百餘年，周景王时患钱轻，将更铸大钱，单穆公曰：“不可。古者天降灾戾，于是乎量资币，权轻重，以救民。民患轻，则为之作重币以行之，于是有母权子而行，民皆得焉。若不堪重，则多作轻而行之，亦不废重，于是乎有子权母而行，小大利之。今王废轻而作重，民失其资，能无匮乎？民若匮，王用将有所乏；乏将厚取于民；民不给，将有远志，是离民也。且绝民用以实王府，犹塞川原为

【今译】

一定时机，那么调节供求，物价就稳定了。遵守调节供求，稳定物价的措施，使有万户人口的邑一定有万钟的收藏，用绳穿着的钱有千万串；千户人口的邑一定要有千钟的收藏，用绳穿的钱有百万串。春天进行耕作，夏天进行除草，耒耜器械，种子粮食一定要富足。因此大商人和囤积居奇的商人就不能仗势强夺百姓了。”齐桓公使用小小的齐国联合诸侯，显扬了霸主的名声。

一百多年后，到周景王的时候他担忧钱太轻，准备改为铸造大钱，单穆公说：“这样不行。古代天降灾害，于是乎就要衡量财产和货币，权衡轻重，来拯救百姓。百姓嫌钱轻，就为他们制造重钱来使用，这样大钱小钱并行以重钱为主，百姓都能得到便利。如果不能使用重钱，就多造轻钱来使用，也不废除重钱，于是乎重钱不足的就用轻钱补充，钱小钱大都有利。现在大王废除轻钱而造重钱，百姓失去了他们的资财，能够不匮乏吗？百姓如果匮乏了，大王的开支也要有困难了；有困难就要从百姓那里多收取；百姓不能供给，就将逃亡，这是使百姓离散的做法。况且竭尽百姓财物来充实王府，就像堵塞水

reason the ruler should distribute it dearly. In general, there will be equalization by gathering at times when demand is less than supply, and distributing at times when the converse is true. For adjustment of prices for equalization, a town of 10,000 households must have in its storehouses 10,000 *zhong* of grains, and in its treasuries 10 million strings of coins; while a town of 1,000 households must have in its storehouses 1,000 *zhong* of grains, and in its treasuries a million strings of coins. In order that they may obediently do their plowing in the spring, and in the summer their weeding, plow handles and shares, utensils and implements, seeds and food for family meals must be provided in full. As a result, the great merchants and the hoarders have no way to rob our people.” Then the Duke Huan, by allying the very small Qi with other feudal lords, enhanced his name as an ascendant leader among the feudal rulers.

Over a century later, King Jing of Zhou, distressed at the debasement of coins, was about to have larger coins cast, but Duke Mu of Shan told him: “It would not be good to do so. In ancient times when Heaven sent down calamities and tribulations, they measured their wealth and currencies, and weighed priorities in order to relieve the people. Whenever the people suffered from light cash, there was made a heavier currency, and it was put into circulation. So there were the mother coins for circulation as equivalents of child coins. This was more convenient for the people. If they could not bear the heavy coins any longer, then greater quantities of light coins were made and put into circulation. Yet the heavy coins were not withdrawn. Thus, there was the child coin in circulation as a partial equivalent of the mother coin. Now the king is to abolish the light and introduce the heavy. Thus the people will lose their wealth. Can this be done without creating bankruptcy? If the people are bankrupt, the king’s revenue will suffer, and making up such deficiency would involve taking heavily from the people. Not having enough, the people start thinking of distant places. This is ‘to scatter the people.’



【原文】

潢洿也，竭亡日矣。王其图之。”弗听，卒铸大钱，文曰“宝货”，肉好皆有周郭。以劝农澹不足，百姓蒙利焉。

秦兼天下，币为二等：黄金以溢为名，上币；铜钱质如周钱，文曰“半两”，重如其文。而珠玉龟贝银锡之属为器饰宝臧，不为币，然各随时而轻重无常。

汉兴，以为秦钱重难用，更令民铸荚钱。黄金一斤。而不轨逐利之民畜积馀赢以稽市物，痛腾跃，米至石万钱，马至匹百金。天下已平，高祖乃令贾人不得衣丝乘车，重税租以困辱之。孝惠、高后时，为天下初定，复弛商贾之律，然市井子孙亦不得(宦为吏)(为官吏)。孝

【今译】

源而使水停流，水枯竭是不用几天的。请大王定夺。”景王没有听从他的话，终于造了大钱，上面刻着“宝货”，钱的圆形边和孔都有轮廓，用来劝勉农民补充不足，百姓得到了好处。

秦国兼并天下，货币分为二等：黄金以镒为单位，是上等货币；铜钱的形质像周朝的钱，其正面文字为“半两”，重半两。而珠玉龟贝银锡之类就作为器物装饰和宝藏，不作为货币，但各自随时改变，轻重没有常规。

汉朝兴起后，认为秦朝钱币重而难以应用，改命百姓铸造荚钱。黄金的单位恢复周制为斤。而不守法追逐利益的人以自己的盈余蓄积货物使市场上的货物积聚在自己手里，让物价飞涨，米价达到一石一万钱，马匹一匹值一百金。天下平定后，高祖就下令商贾不得穿丝乘车，加重税租来使他们受挫。孝惠帝、高后的时候，考虑天下刚刚安定，重新放松对商人的法律，但市井之人的子孙同样不能成为官吏。孝文帝五年，由于钱更加多而且轻，就改为铸造四铢钱，其正

Furthermore, to deprive people of the basics for the sake of filling the sovereign's treasury is like damming a stream in order to make a pool of stagnant water. It will not be many days before it dries. The king may think on this." He did not listen. He went ahead and had the large coins cast. Their inscription read: "precious ware." In shape they were round with a hole in the center, and a raised rim. He used them to encourage agriculture and to provide in times of insufficiency. The common people benefitted from this action.

When Qin united all under Heaven, two grades of currency were issued. Gold was issued in units of *yi* and was the upper currency. Their copper coins were the same as those of the Zhou on the reverse, and bore the inscription "half-a-*tael*," which is what they weighed. Pearls, tortoiseshells, cowries, silver, and tin, though used in or as vessels or ornaments, valuables or treasures, did not constitute money. However, their value tended to fluctuate according to market conditions.

With the rise of Han, Qin money was thought too heavy and impractical, so the order went out that the people should cast *jia*, pod-shaped money. Gold units reverted to one catty. However, people pursuing profit by illegal means accumulated and hoarded surpluses, and were thus able to leverage the market. As a result, prices soared. Husked millet reached 10,000 cash a picul, and a horse could fetch 100 gold catties. When all under Heaven had become pacified, Emperor Gaozu ordered that trades people should not wear garments of silk, nor ride in chariots; and he increased taxes in order to hamper and humiliate them. During the reigns of Emperor Huidi and the Empress Dowager, because the empire was still at an early stage of settlement, there was a relaxation of the regulations applying to hawkers and merchants. Nevertheless, the sons and grandsons of such people were not permitted to be officials. By the fifth year of Emperor Wendi (175 BC), because money in circulation had become lighter and more plentiful, accordingly, a new four-*zhu*

【原文】

文五年，为钱益多而轻，乃更铸四铢钱，其文为“半两”。除盗铸钱令，使民放铸。贾谊谏曰：

法使天下公得顾租铸铜锡为钱，敢杂以铅铁为它巧者，其罪黥。然铸钱之情，非淆杂为巧，则不可得赢；而淆之甚微，为利甚厚。夫事有召祸而法有起奸，今令细民人操造币之势，各隐屏而铸作，因欲禁其厚利微奸，虽黥罪日报，其势不止。乃者，民人抵罪，多者一县百数，及吏之所疑，榜笞奔走者甚众。夫县法以诱民，使入陷阱，孰积于此！曩禁铸钱，死罪积下；今公铸钱，黥罪积下。法若此，上何赖焉？

又民用钱，郡县不同：或用轻钱，百加若干；或用重钱，平称不受。法钱不立，吏急而壹之乎，则大为烦苛，而力不能胜；

【今译】

面为“半两”二字。废除盗铸钱的法令，让百姓任意铸造。贾谊上书说道：

法律使天下都得以公开花钱雇人用铜锡铸造钱币，敢用铅铁掺杂而为奸巧的人，他的罪罚是黥。但铸钱的情况是，没有掺杂弄巧，就不能得到利益；而掺杂的越精妙，得到的利益就越丰厚。事情能招来祸害，法律能引起邪恶，如今令小民都能铸造货币，各自躲藏着进行铸造，打算禁止他们的厚利和奸巧，即使每天判处黥罪，这样的形势也不能停止。近来，百姓抵偿其应负的罪责，多的一县有一百，至于官吏所怀疑的，被鞭笞拷打因此逃亡的人甚多。制定法律来诱导百姓，使他们落入陷阱，没有比这更多的！以前禁止铸造钱币，死罪积累到下面；现在公开铸钱，黥罪积累到下面。制定这样的法律，皇上将依赖什么呢？

另外，百姓使用钱币，各郡县有所不同：有的用轻钱，一百再加若干；有的用重钱，即使所称重量相同也不能被接受。依法制定的钱币没有立足之地，官吏着急就统一吧，又大烦琐，而且

coin was cast bearing the words “half-a-*tael*.” The decree prohibiting the clandestine casting of coins was revoked, to allow the people to duplicate money. In admonition to the throne, Jia Yi said:

“The law allows the empire equal privilege to hire people and, when tax is paid, to cast copper and tin to make coins. Those who dare, by sleight of hand, to debase the compound with lead and iron face the penalty of having their faces tattooed with black pigment for this crime. Nevertheless the circumstances of casting coins are such that unless the alloy is very skillfully done, one cannot obtain a material profit; but when the mixture is debased to the slightest degree, it makes a very substantial profit. Now there are things men do that may invite calamities, and there are laws that themselves encourage crime. It has now been ordered that civilians have the authority to fashion money, each carrying on his casting in concealed private quarters, and, therefore, in spite of the will to prohibit fat profits and fraud, there will be no stopping the trend even if face-tattooing sentences are handed down daily. Recently those punished for this offense numbered 100 in a single county, while those whom officials suspected and caned have run away in droves. What could be worse than this, to set up a law that lures the people to sink into such a trap! In the past, when the casting of coins was prohibited, the capital cases accumulated waiting for a verdict. At this time when casting is now open to everyone, cases facing the face-tattooing penalty pile up waiting for a verdict. In formulating a law like this one, of what benefit is it to the Emperor?”

What is more, the coins in use vary from prefecture to prefecture, and from county to county. In some places they are so light that to every 100 must be added a certain number. In other places they are so heavy that it is impossible to accept even if their weight is correct. Legal-standard coins have not been upheld. Should officers in charge act in haste to fix a standard, then it will be too complicated and demanding to work properly. Should they adopt



如云而起
钱文大乱

【原文】

久而弗呵乎，则市肆异用，钱文大乱。苟非其术，何乡而可哉！

今农事弃捐而采铜者日蕃，释其耒耨，冶熔炊炭，奸钱日多，五谷不为多。善人怵而为奸邪，愿民陷而之刑戮，刑戮将甚不详，奈何而忽！国知患此，吏议必曰禁之。禁之不得其术，其伤必大。令禁铸钱，则钱必重；重则其利深，盗铸如云而起，弃市之罪又不足以禁矣。奸数不胜而法禁数溃，铜使之然也。故铜布于天下，其为祸博矣。

今博祸可除，而七福可致也。何谓七福？上收铜勿令布，则民不铸钱，黥罪不积，一矣。伪钱不蕃，民不相疑，二矣。采铜铸作者反于耕田，三矣。铜毕归于上，上挾铜积以御轻重，钱轻则以术敛之，重则以术散之，货物必平，四矣。以作兵器，以假

【今译】

力量不够；放任自流不加以责罚吧，那么市场上使用不同，钱币就会极其混乱。如果得不到治理这种状况的方法，百姓就不知往哪里走才可以！

现在放弃农事而去开采铜的人日益增多，放下他们的农具，用炉炭冶炼钱模，不正当的钱一天天增多，五谷却不见增多。善良的人心动而走上邪路，小心翼翼的百姓陷入刑戮，刑戮就会很不公平，这如何能忽略呢！国家知道忧患是这样，官吏的议论一定说要禁止铸钱。禁止铸钱不得其法，伤害一定很大。命令禁止铸钱币，那么钱币一定贵重；贵重的话那么利就大，偷着铸钱就像云一样兴起，弃市的罪刑又不足以禁止了。邪恶几次没有穷尽而法令禁止几次崩溃，是铜所造成的。铜散布天下，所以它所造成的祸害大矣。

现在大祸可以免除，而七种福可以得到。什么是七种福呢？皇上把铜收集起来不让它散布，那么百姓就不会铸钱，黥罪就不会增多，这是一种。假钱不多，百姓不互相怀疑，这是第二种。开采铜矿进行铸钱的人回到种田上，这是第三种。铜全归集于皇上，皇上就凭藉积累很多的铜来驾驭轻重，钱币轻就设法收集，钱币重就设法散发，钱和物一定会平衡，这是第四。用来制作兵

a laissez-faire approach, different coins will be used in the market booths and monetary chaos will reign. If things are not done by the proper means, where shall one turn for a solution!

At his time agricultural pursuits are abandoned, but copper miners multiply daily. Plows and hoes have been abandoned in favor of smelters, coin-molds, and bellows. Counterfeit coins increase daily, but the 'five grains' do not increase. The good among the people are enticed into crime and depravity. Honest citizens are ensnared into penalties and capital punishment. Should penalties become very excessive, it would be inequitable. How can this be disregarded? When the gravity of the situation is realized in the state, the government authorities in their discussions will surely say, 'Prevent it!' But if the prohibition is not carried out with skill, the injury done will be very great. Once private casting of coins becomes illegal, then coins will surely be more valuable. When valuable, there will be big profits to be made. Thieving counterfeiters will then arise like clouds, and even execution in the market-place will not be a sufficient deterrent. The counterfeiters are too numerous to be counted, and legal prohibition has oftentimes failed. Copper is the underlying cause of all this. When copper is widely available across the empire, it makes the calamity extensive.

Now the extensive calamity can be eradicated and the seven blessings attained. What are these seven blessings? If the monarch collects copper, prohibiting its dissemination, then the people will no longer cast coins, and face-tattooing penalties will not accumulate. This is the first blessing. False coins will not multiply, and the people will no more suspect one another. This is the second blessing. Those mining and casting copper will return to farming. This is the third blessing. If all the copper reverts to the monarch, the monarch will rely on the copper reserve to control the weights. When coins are light, then by an appropriate method they will be collected; when they are heavy, then likewise by an appropriate method they will be





【原文】

贵臣，多少有制，用别贵贱，五矣。以临万货，以调盈虚，以收奇羨，则官富实而未民困，六矣。制吾弃财，以与匈奴逐争其民，收敌必怀，七矣。故善为天下者，因祸而为福，转败而为功。今久退七福而行博祸，臣诚伤之。

上不听。是时，吴以诸侯即山铸钱，富埒天子，后卒叛逆。邓通，大夫也，以铸钱财过王者。故吴、邓钱布天下。¹

武帝因文、景之畜，忿胡、粤之害，即位数年，严助、朱买臣等招徕东瓯，事两粤，江淮之间萧然烦费矣。唐蒙、司马相如始开西南夷，凿山通道千馀里，以广巴蜀，巴蜀之民罢焉。彭吴穿秽貊、朝

【今译】

器，用来赐予贵臣，多少有限制，使用能分别贵贱，这是第五。用来监视市场，用来调节盈亏，用来收取盈余，那么官府富足而工商业者贫乏，这是第六种。控制住我们多余的钱财，来和匈奴竞争它的人民，那么敌人一定会归顺，这是第七种。所以善于统治天下的，可以藉着灾祸而转化为幸福，把失败转化为成功。现在长期屏退七种福而为大祸放行，臣下实在为此感到哀痛。

皇上没有听从他的话。这时，吴国凭藉自己是诸侯就在山里铸造钱币，富比天子，后来终于成为叛逆。邓通，是大夫，因为铸钱币，财产超过君王。因此吴国、邓通的钱流行于天下。¹

武帝凭藉文帝、景帝的积蓄，忿恨胡、粤的危害，登上帝位几年后，严助、朱买臣等人收复东瓯，对付两粤，江淮间骚动不安，花费巨大。唐蒙、司马相如开始开通西南夷，凿山开通了千馀里的道路，来扩充巴蜀，巴蜀的百姓疲乏了。彭吴穿越秽貊、朝鲜，设立了沧海

distributed. Thus money and commodities will surely be balanced. This is the fourth blessing. The copper can be used to make military equipment, and bestowed upon distinguished ministers within strict gradations to distinguish the honorable from the lowly. This is the fifth blessing. Thus, all moneys will be supervised, overweight and underweight adjusted, and all of the surplus gathered. As a result the government coffers will be full, while people in secondary occupations will be straitened. This is the sixth blessing. Getting control over our lost wealth will enable us to vie with the Huns and wrest their subjects from them. Then will our enemies surely come to heel. This is the seventh blessing. Therefore he who governs well the empire may transform evils into blessings and defeat into success. Now for a long time, the seven blessings have been shunned, while the evils have been given free rein. Your minister is in all sincerity distressed by this.”

The Emperor did not listen. At that time Wu Guo, a vassal lord, was casting money in the mountains and his wealth rivaled that of the Son of Heaven, and eventually he rebelled. Grand Master Deng Tong was richer than a vassal king thanks to casting coins on his own account. Consequently the coins of Wu and Deng spread all over the empire.

The Emperor Wudi made use of the reserve supplies inherited from the emperors Wendi and Jingdi, and he was angered at the depredations of the northern Huns and southern Yue. A few years after Wudi's accession, Yan Zhu, Zhu Maichen, and others enlisted Dong'ou, via an amnesty, to settle the two Yue states. The regions of the Yangtze and the Huai were in turmoil, and costing great expenditures, and Tang Meng and Sima Xiangru, for the first time, opened contacts to the southwestern tribes. They cut through mountains, and constructed a great highway more than a thousand li in length in order to expand Ba and Shu, driving the population of Ba and Shu to exhaustion. Peng Wu penetrated Hui, Mo and





【原文】

鲜，置沧海郡，则燕齐之间靡然发动。及王恢谋马邑，匈奴绝和亲，侵扰北边，兵连而不解，天下共其劳。干戈日滋。行者赍，居者送，中外骚扰相奉，百姓抗敝以巧法，财赂衰耗而不澹。人物者补官，出货者除罪，选举陵夷，廉耻相冒，武力进用，法严令具。兴利之臣自此而始。

其后，卫青岁以数万骑出击匈奴，遂取河南地，筑朔方。时又通西南夷道，作者数万人，千里负担饷，率十馀钟致一石，散币于邛樊以辑之。数岁而道不通，蛮夷因以数攻（吏），吏发兵诛之。悉巴蜀租赋不足以更之，乃募豪民田南夷，人粟县官，而内受钱于都

【今译】

郡，这样燕国和齐国相继发动变难。等到王恢在马邑设谋，匈奴断绝和亲，侵扰北部边境，战事连年不止，天下都为此而劳苦。战事一天天多起来，远行的人随身带着行李，不走的人就去相送，内外骚扰而相连接，百姓凋敝，只好巧诈躲避刑法，财货损耗而造成不足。交纳财物的可补任官职，出钱的可免除罪罚，选举衰落，不顾廉耻，武力被利用，法令严密。追逐利益的大臣从此而开始。

这以后，卫青每年以数万骑兵出击匈奴，便攻取了河套以南地区，建筑朔方城。当时又开通了西南夷的通道，劳作的人数万，千里挑送军队的供给，大概花费十多钟才能送去一石，散发钱币于邛、樊两地来征集人员。几年后，道路仍然不通，蛮夷因此而几次攻击，官吏派兵诛杀了他们。用尽了巴、蜀的租赋却不足以抵偿所花的费用，就征求豪民到南夷种田，把粟交给地方政府，从都内接受粟钱。



Chaoxian, establishing Canghai Prefecture. Then the regions of Yan and Qi were mobilized throughout. When Wang Hui set up an ambush at Mayi, the Huns responded by breaking the alliance for peace and amity, invading and marauding the northern borders of the empire. Warfare ensued without cease, and all the empire shared the wearisome burden. Shields and spears multiplied daily. Those who went forth had to carry their own bundles; those who remained at home went to see them off. Both in the capital and in the far-flung corners of the empire, trouble was succeeded by disturbance. In their distressed state, the common people resorted to crooked schemes. Their assets wasted away, resulting in insufficiency. Those who presented gifts were appointed to office, and money would buy pardon for crimes. Official appointment by recommendation fell into disuse, and integrity counted for nothing. Force was exploited, laws were harsh, and orders minutely detailed. This was the start of ministers pursuing private profit.

After this, Wei Qing, at the head of tens of thousands of cavalry, would set out every year to take the fight to the Huns. He seized the land south of the Great Bend of the Yellow River and built the city of Shuofang there. It was at this time too that the highway was being made through to the southwestern barbarians. Those laboring on the road numbered several tens of thousands, rations for whom had to be physically carried for a thousand *li*. Of the supplies sent, on an average, one picul by weight out of a dozen *zhong* (or 70 piculs in capacity) reached the final destination. Money was distributed in Qiong and Bo in order to recruit people. For several years, however, the roads were not open all the way, and because of this the barbarians made frequent attacks, and so officers sent out soldiers to kill them. All of the land taxes and poll taxes in Ba and Shu could not pay for this level of activity. Thereupon, bold people were called on to cultivate the southern Yi lands, submit the grain produced to the local government, and receive payment from the



【原文】

内。东置沧海郡，人徒之费疑于南夷。又兴十馀万人筑卫朔方，转漕甚远，自山东咸被其劳，费数十百巨万。府库并虚。乃募民能入奴婢得以终身复，为郎增秩，及入羊为郎，始于此。

此后四年，卫青比岁十馀万众击胡，斩捕首虏之士受赐黄金二十馀万斤，而汉军士马死者十馀万，兵甲转漕之费不与焉。于是大司农陈臧钱经用，赋税既竭，不足以奉战士。有司请令民得买爵及赎禁锢免(减)罪；请置赏官，名曰武功爵。级十七万，凡直三十馀万全。诸买武功爵官首者试补吏，先除，千夫如五大夫；其有罪又减二等，爵得

【今译】

在东面设置沧海郡，人员的费用同南夷相比拟。又发动十多万人筑城守卫朔方，水上转运相当远，从山东开始百姓都要遭受劳累，花费几十万至百亿，府库更加空虚。皇上就号召百姓能够提供奴婢的可以终身免除赋税或劳役，是郎的可以增加俸禄。纳羊做郎官，开始于这时候。

这以后四年，卫青每年率十多万人攻击匈奴，斩杀捕捉敌人的兵士受到的赏赐有黄金二十多万斤，但汉朝的兵士和马匹死的有十多万，兵器和铠甲以及运粮的费用还不包括在内。于是大司农上奏说常用的钱以及赋税已用完，不足以支付战士的费用。有关官员请示令百姓可以买爵位以及用钱来换取免除或减除不准工商业者为官的罪罚；请求设置受赏的官职，叫做武功爵，每级十七万，共值三十多万金。各买武功爵官位的人先试着授官；千夫武功爵与五大夫相同；有罪再



Imperial Treasury. When Canghai Prefecture was established in the east, expenditure on corvee labor was as much as in the southern Yi areas. Furthermore, over 100,000 men were mobilized to build and guard Shuofang. Grain had to be brought a great distance by water. From Shandong onwards, all the land suffered the burden of this, as tens of billions were spent. The imperial treasury and government storehouses emptied. The ruler called on those people able to do so to present serfs. In return they would get lifetime exemption from military service; for gentlemen of the court, their salary would be raised. It was in these years that the practice of presenting a sheep in exchange for gentleman status began.

In the following four years, Wei Qing went out to attack the Huns with a force of 100,000 men. Those officers and soldiers who cut off the heads of barbarians, or captured them, received gifts, totaling more than 200,000 catties of gold. Of Han forces, the dead cavalry and horses exceeded 100,000. There was the additional expense of weapons and armor, as well as that transportation of supplies. Therefore, the chamberlain for the national treasury reported that the financial reserves were exhausted, and budgetary taxes very close to that state; there was not enough to support the troops in the field. Officials-in-charge begged for an imperial order that would permit the people to purchase titular rank, buy back the privilege of government positions, and secure cancellation or mitigation of penalties. They proposed the creation of a rank of award, to be called the order of military merit. Each level would cost 170,000 cash, altogether being more than 300,000 gold pieces. Among the purchasers those of the fifth grade, *guanshou*, or officials on probation, would have preference in appointment. Those of the seventh grade, *qianfu*, would be equal to *wudafu*, the ninth grade of the established rank. Those who were under sentence for crime would, however, have their grades lowered by two; and they would be unable to purchase any grade higher than eighth, *leqing*. In this

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【原文】

至乐卿，以显军功。军功多用超等，大者封侯卿大夫，小者郎。吏道杂而多端，则官职耗废。

自[公]孙弘以《春秋》之义绳臣下取汉相，张汤以峻文决理为廷尉，于是见知之法生，而废格沮诽穷治之狱用矣。其明年，淮南、衡山、江都王谋反迹见，而公卿寻端治之，竟其党与，坐而死者数万人，吏益惨急而法令察。当是时，招尊方正贤良文学之士，或至公卿大夫。公孙弘以宰相，布被，食不重味，为下先，然而无益于俗，稍务于功利矣。

其明年，票骑仍再出击胡，大克获。浑邪王率数万众来降，于是

【今译】

减二等；买爵可以到乐卿武功爵，以突出军功。军功多数使用超等封赏，功大的封侯和卿大夫，小的封郎。官途杂而且头绪多，这样官职就乱了。

从公孙弘用《春秋》的道义约束臣下取得汉朝丞相，张汤以苛酷严细的法条来判决官司而当上天廷尉后，于是官吏知道他人犯罪而不举报，与犯人同罪的法律出现，而搁置诏令，行动不力以及诋毁、彻底处理的刑罚也开始实行了。过了一年，淮南王、衡山王、江都王阴谋造反的迹象被发现，公卿就寻找线索来审理案情，追究他们的党羽，定死罪的人有几万，官吏更加用法刻毒而法令更加苛细了。在这个时候，招揽尊敬方正、贤良、文学的士人，有的当上了公卿大夫。公孙弘以宰相的地位，盖布制的被子，不吃多种菜肴，作为天下的表率，但对民俗没有益处，只是稍微有益于功利罢了。

又过了一年，骠骑将军依然再次出兵攻打匈奴，大获全胜。浑邪王率领几万人来投降，于是汉朝派出三万辆车去迎接他们。到来后，

way, military merit was distinguished. Military merit was so widely rewarded that all proportion was lost. Great merit made one a marquis, or grand master; lesser merit brought gentleman status. As the avenues to government appointment multiplied and tangled, then official posts and duties were thrown into chaos.

After Gongsun Hong became First Minister of Han by restraining ministers and subordinates through righteousness (as set forth in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), and after Zhang Tang was made Chamberlain of Law Enforcement because of his strict legal judgments and clear-cut codes of law, the law was instituted that if officials had personal knowledge of a crime being committed but did not report it, they themselves would face the same penalty for that crime; the court practice also began inflicting maximum penalties upon those who nullified, frustrated, or vilified the imperial edicts. The following year, indications were discovered of a conspiracy for rebellion instigated by the princes of Huainan and of Hengshan, and of Jiangdu. After an inquiry to determine the origins, the great nobles of the realm, and the chief ministers of state at court punished the princes, and extirpated their faction. Those found guilty and put to death were several tens of thousands. The government authorities grew ever more cruel and exacting; laws and ordinances became minutely detailed. At this time, the straightforward and upright, worthy and excellent, and those versed in the classics were summoned from all parts of land and were honored. Some were elevated to noble rank or chief ministers. Gongsun Hong, as the first minister to the throne, slept on rough bedding, and ate very simply, thus setting an example for all under Heaven. But this had no impact on customs; the people grew more and more fixated on fame and wealth.

The following year, the General-in-Chief of Cavalry went out again to fight against the Huns. He won a great victory, and King Hunye, leading a multitude of tens of thousands, came to surrender.





【原文】

汉发车三万两迎之。既至，受赏赐及有功之士。是岁费凡百馀巨万。

先是十馀岁，河决，灌梁、楚地，固已数困，而缘河之郡堤塞河，辄坏决，费不可胜计。其后番係欲省底柱之漕，穿汾、河渠以为溉田；郑当时为渭漕回远，凿漕直渠自长安至华阴；而朔方亦穿溉渠。作者各数万人，历二三期而功未就，费亦各以巨万十数。

天子为伐胡故，盛养马，马之往来食长安者数万匹，卒掌者关中不足，乃调旁近郡。而胡降者数万人皆得厚赏，衣食仰给县官。县官不给，天子乃损膳，解乘舆驷，出御府禁臧以澹之。

其明年，山东被水灾，民多饥乏，于是天子遣使虚郡国仓廩以振贫。犹不足，又募豪富人相假贷。尚不能相救，乃徙贫民于关以西，

【今译】

授给他们赏赐，赏赐包括有功的人。这一年耗费共一百多亿。

在这之前十多年，黄河决口，淹没了梁国、楚国地区，本来已几次陷入困境，又依着黄河旁边的郡县筑堤堵塞黄河决口，很快又崩溃，耗费不计其数。这以后，番系打算节省底柱的水运，沟通汾水、黄河的水渠用来灌溉田地；郑当时认为渭水的漕运曲折路远，就开凿漕运的笔直水渠从长安一直到华阴；而且朔方也在开通灌溉水渠。劳作的人各有几万人，费时两三年而仍未成功，花费也各以十亿计。

天子因为攻打匈奴的缘故，就大养马匹，马匹往来长安取用饲料的有几万匹，牧马的人看到关中不足，就调用长安边靠近的郡县。而匈奴投降的几万人得到很厚的赏赐，衣食都依靠政府供给，政府供给不足，天子就减少饭食，解下座车的马匹，拿出御府收藏的财物来供给他们。

又过了一年，山东遭受水灾，百姓很多都饥饿困乏，于是天子派使者用尽郡国仓库的粮食来救济贫民。仍不够，就召集富人来借贷。

Thereupon, Han sent forth 30,000 carriages to receive them. When they arrived, rewards were bestowed, including to officers who had performed feats of merit. That year expenditure exceeded 10 billion.

A dozen years prior to these events, the Yellow River had breached its banks, inundating lands in Liang and Chu that had already been hit with hardship several times. In prefectures with lands bordering the river, moreover, the dikes raised to confine the river had frequently broken and collapsed. This had cost an incalculable amount. Subsequently Po Xi, in order to save on waterborne grain transportation by way of Dizhu Hill, dug canals from the Fen and Yellow rivers in order to irrigate fields. Zheng Dangshi considered the transport of grain on the Wei circuitous and long, so he cut a canal direct from Chang'an to Huayin. Irrigation canals were dug in Shuofang too. These several projects used tens of thousands of laborers for two or three years, without being completed, each one swallowing sums of ten times a hundred million.

For use in campaigns against the Huns, the Son of Heaven had a tremendous number of horses raised. Several tens of thousands of them were brought to be foddered at Changan. Locally, there were not enough herders to care for them, so others were selected from neighboring prefectures. At that time several tens of thousands of surrendered Huns had received liberal rewards, and looked to the government for clothes and food. As government funds were insufficient, the Son of Heaven limited imperial food; he left off use of the state carriage, and took from his own treasury, in order to provide for them.

The following year, the lands lying east of the mountain suffered floods and calamities, plunging many into destitution and starvation. Thereupon, the Son of Heaven sent commissioners to empty the government granaries in the prefectures and fiefs for relief of the poor. Still there was not enough. He called upon the very





【原文】

及充朔方以南新秦中，七十馀万口，衣食皆仰给于县官。数岁，贷与产业，使者分部护，冠盖相望，费以亿计，县官大空。而富商贾或埽财役贫，转毂百数，废居居邑，封君皆氏首仰给焉。冶铸煮盐，财或累万金，而不佐公家之急，黎民重困。

于是天子与公卿议，更造钱币以澹用，而摧浮淫并兼之徒。是时禁苑有白鹿而少府多银锡。自孝文更造四铢钱，至是岁四十馀年，从建元以来，用少，县官往往即多铜山而铸钱，民亦盗铸，不可胜数。钱益多而轻，物益少而贵。有司言曰：“古者皮币，诸侯以聘享。金有三等，黄金为上，白金为中，赤金为下。今半两钱法重四铢，而奸

【今译】

这些仍不能相拯救，就迁徙贫民到关以西的地方，以及补充到朔方以南的新秦中，有七十多万人，衣食都要依靠政府供给。好几年，贷钱给生产和作业，使者分批护送，前后车相连，花费以亿计，政府大空虚。而富有的商人有的积贮财货，役使贫民，运输的车子有好几百辆，有的住在邑中囤积居奇，贱买贵卖，封国的君主都低头仰仗他们供给。冶炼铜铁，铸造器物以及煮盐，财产有的积累达万金，但不支援政府的困难，百姓更加困苦。

于是天子和公卿商议，改造钱币来补充费用，以打击那些骄奢淫逸侵占他人财产的人。这时帝王苑囿有白鹿而少府多银锡。从孝文帝改造四铢钱起，到这一年已四十多年，从建元以来，流通的很少，官府往往到多铜的山去铸造钱币，百姓也有的偷着铸钱，不可计算。钱越多越轻，物质越少但贵。有关官员说道：“以前是皮币，诸侯用来互相问好和向天子献纳。金有三种等级，黄金是上等，白银是中等，铜是下等。现在半两钱法定重四铢，而邪恶的人有的就偷偷地磨擦钱

rich to make loans. But even with this help, it was unable to effect a rescue; accordingly, 700,000 or more of the poor were made to migrate west of the Pass to fill New Qinzhong south of Shuofang. All had to be fed and clothed by the government. For years on end, money was loaned on produce and trades. District commissioners were sent out in droves, virtually clogging the roads. Expenses were reckoned in hundreds of millions, and the government coffers were bare. On the other hand, some rich traders forced the poor to transport their stored-up assets on hundreds of carts; or those living in the settlements hoarded and profiteered. Enfeoffed lords, humbled, looked to these people for their needs. By smelting and casting, and the making of salt, some had amassed fortunes of 10,000 gold pieces. Even so they did not help the government in its hour of need. The people's suffering became even more acute.

Thereupon, the Son of Heaven, having consulted with his high nobles and ministers, changed the issue of money. This had a dual intent: to help meet government expenditures, and to curb extravagant and unscrupulous monopolists. At the time there were white deer in the imperial parks, while the Chamberlain for Palace Revenues had much silver and tin. Forty years had passed since Emperor Wendi had changed to four-zhu coins, but since the reign of Wudi they had been little used. The local governments had from time to time gone to copper-rich mountains, and cast coins. The people, too, had made coins on the quiet, in quantities impossible to estimate. Coins were multiplying and getting lighter, while goods were going down in quality and up in price. An official said: "In ancient times deerskin currency was presented by feudal lords on the occasion of formal visits. We use three types of metal currency: gold is the highest grade; next comes silver, and then copper. According to the law of the land a half-*tael* piece should weigh four *zhu*. However, some criminal persons secretly grind the reverse side of the coins, and in this way obtain filings. The result is that





【原文】

或盗摩钱质而取镡，钱益轻薄而物贵，则远方用币烦费不省。”乃以白鹿皮方尺，缘以绩，为皮币，直四十万。王侯宗室朝觐聘享，必以皮币荐璧，然后得行。

又造银锡白金。以为天用莫如龙，地用莫如马，人用莫如龟，故白金三品：其一曰重八两，圆之，其文龙，名“白撰”，直三千；二曰以重差小，方之，其文马，直五百；三曰复小，椭之，其文龟，直三百。令县官销半两钱，更铸三铢钱，重如其文。盗铸诸金钱罪皆死，而吏民之犯者不可胜数。

于是以东郭咸阳、孔仅为大农丞，领盐铁事，而桑弘羊贵幸。咸阳，齐之大鬻盐，孔仅，南阳大冶，皆致产累千金，故郑当时进言

【今译】

取得铜屑，钱更加轻薄而物质更加贵重，远方的人使用钱币的耗费没有减少。”就用白鹿的皮一尺见方，边缘绘上五彩，成为皮币，价值四十万。王侯宗室朝见天子互相问好以及向皇上献纳，一定要用皮币表示效忠，然后才能通行。

又铸造银锡合金的货币称之为白金。认为天用没有比龙更好的，地用没有比马更好的，人用没有比龟更好的，所以白金有三个品级：一种是重八两，圆形，其正面的图案为龙，叫“白撰”，价值三千；一种是重量稍轻，方形，其正面的图案为马，价值五百；一种更小，椭圆形，其正面的图案为龟，价值三百。命令官府销毁半两钱，改铸三铢钱，使重量和所刻的一样。偷着铸造各种金钱的，按罪都要处死，而官民犯法的数不胜数。

于是任命东郭咸阳、孔仅为大农丞，掌管盐铁事情，而桑弘羊受到宠幸。东郭咸阳，是齐国的煮盐大户，孔仅，是南阳的大冶炼匠，

the coins have rapidly become lighter and thinner, while goods are rising in price; and there has been no abating in the use of money for expenditure in the distant regions.” Accordingly, they made a currency out of one-foot squares of white deerskin, with borders in variegated colors. Each unit was valued at 400,000 cash. Thereafter, princes and marquises of the realm and members of the imperial clan, whenever they came to court to render homage in spring and in autumn, and to present gifts to the throne, would be required to present their jade insignia lying on the skin currency. Only then would they be allowed to proceed.

As well as this, they made an alloy of silver and tin, calling the result “white metal.” Considering that for Heaven there is nothing more appropriate than a dragon, for earth nothing more appropriate than a horse, and for man nothing more appropriate than a tortoise, they issued three denominations. The highest value coin, weighing eight taels, was round in shape and bore a dragon design. It was called “white composition” and its value was 3,000 cash. The next coin, weighing somewhat less and worth 500 cash, was square in shape and bore a horse design. Last came the lightest coin, oval in shape and bearing a tortoise design; it was worth 300 cash. By imperial order the government melted down the half-tael coins, and once again cast three-zhu cash, their actual weight corresponding to their inscription. Counterfeiting of the several metal coins and cash was punishable by death. Even so innumerable people in government and among the common folk flouted this law.

At this time, Dongguo Xianyang and Kong Jin were assistants to the Chamberlain of the National Treasury, with concurrent responsibility for government control of salt and iron; Sang Hongyang enjoyed the special favor of the Emperor. Dongguo Xianyang was a great salt magnate in Qi, and Kong Jin a great iron smelter in Nanyang. Both had accumulated fortunes of a thousand gold. For this reason Zheng Dangshi recommended them to the



【原文】

之。弘羊，洛阳贾人之子，以心计，年十三，侍中。故三人言利事析秋豪矣。

法既益严，吏多废免。兵革数动，民多买复及五大夫、千夫，征发之士益鲜。于是除千夫、五大夫为吏，不欲者出马。故吏皆适令伐棘上林，作昆明池。

其明年，大将军、票骑大出击胡，赏赐五十万金，军马死者十馀万匹，转漕车甲之费不与焉。是时财匮，战士颇不得禄矣。

有司言三铢钱轻，轻钱易作奸诈，乃更请郡国铸五铢钱，周郭其质，令不可得摩取(铅)[铅]。

大农上盐铁丞孔仅、咸阳言：“山海，天地之藏，宜属少府，陛下弗私，以属大农佐赋。愿募民自给费，因官器作鬻盐，官与牢盆。

【今译】

都治理产业累积达千金，所以郑当时就推荐了他们。桑弘羊，是洛阳商人的儿子，因为能心算，年仅十三岁就任侍中。所以三人陈述利益能分辨得很细微。

法令既然更加严密，官吏就大部分被罢免。几次发动战争，百姓大都用钱来使自己免除兵役，至于五大夫、千夫，被征服兵役的人更加少。于是就让千夫、五大夫为官吏，不愿为官的人就要贡献马匹；所以官吏都被罚到上林去砍伐荆棘，建造昆明池。

过了一年，大将军、骠骑将军大举出击匈奴，受到五十万金的赏赐，死的军马有十多万匹，还不包括运粮以及运输武器的费用。这时候国库财力空乏，战士很难得到功禄。

有关官员说三铢钱轻，轻钱容易作假，就改让郡国铸造五铢钱，把钱的边缘做成凸起的轮廓，使人们不能磨擦而取得铜屑。

大司农上书给盐铁丞孔仅、东郭咸阳说：“山和海，是天地的宝藏，应归少府管理，陛下没有私心，就让大农丞帮助收取赋税。希望招集百姓自给费用，用官府的器械来煮盐，官府供给煮盐的工具。不

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throne. Sang Hongyang, son of a Luoyang merchant, had been made a palace attendant at the age of 13 on the basis of his gift for mental calculations. The three men discussed matters of government revenue in the minutest detail.

As laws became stricter and stricter, a great many officials were dismissed from their posts; the armed forces were frequently sent into action, but the people for the most part bought their way out of military service as much as the *wudafu* and *qianfu*. Those who were impressed and mobilized for military service became all the rarer. Thereupon, men of the grades of *qianfu* and *wudafu* were appointed officials, and those unwilling to serve had to supply a horse. Former officials all were penalized to cut underbrush in the Imperial Forest Park and construct the Kunming Pool.

The next year, the General-in-Chief and the General of Cavalry went out with a great army to attack the barbarians of the north. Rewards bestowed were amounted to half a million gold pieces. Over 100,000 army horses were killed, and there were further expenses for logistics, as well as for chariots and armor. With monetary resources depleted, combat troops barely received any pay.

Officials-in-charge said that three-*zhu* coins were light-weight and hence easy to counterfeit. So they proposed that prefectures and fiefs cast five-*zhu* coins instead, the reverse of which should by ordinance have a raised rim around the edge, so as to make it impossible to grind them off for the filings.

The Chamberlain of the National Treasury presented proposals from the assistants for government control of salt and iron, Kong Jin and Xianyang. They said: “The mountains and the seas are storehouses of Heaven and Earth. They ought properly to belong to the office of the palace revenues; Your Majesty, being selfless, should entrust their control to the Chamberlain of the National Treasury to supplement taxes. We propose to lease to those people who would furnish their own capital and undertake salt evaporation,



SANG HONGYANG

【原文】

浮食奇民欲擅斡山海之货，以致富羨，役利细民。其沮事之议，不可胜听。敢私铸铁器煮盐者，钳左趾，没入其器物。郡不出铁者，置小铁官，使属在所县。”使仪、咸阳乘传举行天下盐铁，作官府，除故盐铁家富者为吏。吏益多贾人矣。

商贾以币之变，多积货逐利。于是公卿言：“郡国颇被灾害，贫民无产业者，募徙广饶之地。陛下损膳省用，出禁钱以振元元，宽贷，而民不齐出南亩，商贾滋众。贫者畜积无有，皆仰县官。异时算轺车贾人之缗钱皆有差，请算如故。诸贾人未作贯贷买卖，居邑贮积诸物，及商以取利者，虽无市籍，各以其物自占，率缗钱二千而算一。

【今译】

劳而食的诸侯想擅自掌管山和海的货物，以达到富有，从平民中获利利润。阻止这些事情的议论，听到的不能再多了。敢私自铸造铁器煮盐的人，钳他的左脚趾，没收他的器物。郡县不产铁的，设置小铁官，由他来管辖所在县的铁器。”让孔仪、东郭咸阳驰驿通知天下兴作盐铁，设置盐铁官府，让以前富有的盐铁人家做官。官吏中商人更多了。

商人根据货币的变化，多囤积货物以追逐赢利。于是公卿说：“郡国所遭受的灾害相当大，没有产业的贫民，被广泛征集迁徙到广阔富饶的地方。陛下减少饭食节省费用，拿出官钱来救济平民，放宽贷款，但百姓不都到农田去耕作，商贾更加增多。贫困的人没有积蓄，都依靠官府。以前征收小车税和商人的所得税都有等差，请依旧时征税一样。各商人放取高利贷和贱买贵卖，囤积居奇，以及所有靠经营取得赢利的人，即使没有商人的户籍，各自申报自己的财物，一

giving them use of tools belonging to the state. To them the state shall furnish robust evaporating pans on a rental basis. The parasitic nobles desire to control the resources of mountain and sea without any authority in order to gain riches, enslaving humble folk and profiteering from them. Too often now has it been discussed how to put a stop to this situation. Those who should dare clandestinely to cast iron pans to produce salt by evaporation should be fettered and their instruments and articles confiscated. In prefectures which do not produce iron there should be established government sub-offices to control iron, these commissioners to be subordinate to their respective counties.” Jin and Xianyang were then commissioned to travel by post chaise of the third category throughout the whole empire to put into operation the salt and iron, establishing administrative offices. They appointed men already enriched through salt and iron industries as officials, and so officials in ever greater measure were traders.

Traders, taking advantage of changes in currency, accumulated great quantities of goods on which to pursue profit. Therefore, the high nobles and ministers said: “The prefectures and the fiefs have suffered great calamities and perils; those among the poor without possessions or livelihood have been mustered for removal into broad, fertile lands. Your Majesty has cut down on imperial meals to save expenses, disbursed imperial funds to relieve the common people, and liberally provided loans. But the people as a whole do not go out to farm. Merchants proliferate even more, whereas the poor, having nothing put by, rely on government aid. Some time ago there used to be a graduated tax on small carts, and on the income of traders, and we propose that this be reinstated. The divers tradesmen and others engaged in secondary occupations, those who give out loans for high interest, profiteers, hoarders and speculators, those who corner the market and control supply for profit, even if they are not officially registered as traders should each declare his assets.



【原文】

诸作有租及铸，率缗钱四千算一。非吏比者，三老、北边骑士，轺车一算；商贾人轺车二算；船五丈以上一算。匿不自占，占不悉，戍边一岁，没入缗钱。有能告者，以其半畀之。贾人有市籍，及家属，皆无得名田，以便农。敢犯令，没入田货。”

是时，豪富皆争匿财，唯卜式数求人财以助县官。天子乃超拜式为中郎，赐爵左庶长，田十顷，布告天下，以风百姓。初，式不愿为官，上强拜之，稍迁至齐相。语自在其传。孔仅使天下铸作器，三年中至大司农，列于九卿。而桑弘羊为大司农中丞，管诸会计事，稍稍置均输以通货。始令吏得人谷补官，郎至六百石。

【今译】

律二千贯钱收取一算的税。各种手工业及冶铁和煮盐都有租税，一律四千贯钱收取一算的租税。不是吏比、三老、北部边境的骑士，有小车的都要交一算的税；商贾的小车要交二算；船五丈以上交一算。隐匿不申报，申报有所隐瞒，罚防守边境一年，没收财产。如果有人能举报的，就以举报的一半奖给他。商人有户籍，以及家属，都不得以私名占有田地，以便利农民。有敢违反法令的，没收田和财物。”

这时候，富豪都争相隐匿财产，只有卜式几次请求纳献财产来帮助政府。天子就破格提升卜式为中郎，赐给左庶长的爵位，赏十顷田，向天下宣告，来规劝百姓。开始，卜式不愿做官，皇上强行授予他，才逐渐升迁为齐国相。在他的传里有记载。孔仅使天下铸作铁器，三年内官至大司农，列于九卿之列。而桑弘羊任大司农中丞，管理各种财物及其出纳等事，慢慢设置均输官来流通货物。开始让官员可以交纳谷物补升官职，郎官交纳谷物增加到六百石。



Each string of 2,000 cash should be taxed at one *suan*. For those in manual industry, as well as metal founders and salt makers, the tax rate should be one *suan* per 4,000. Apart from government officers, the three elders, and northern frontier cavalry officers, all shall pay one *suan* on each small cart. Merchants are to pay two *suan* on each small cart, and one *suan* on each boat over 50 feet in length. Anyone failing to make a complete estimate should be sent out to serve on a frontier post for one year, and his strings of cash should be confiscated. Anyone informing of such a violation should receive one half of the amount. In order to give advantage to farmers, registered resident merchants and their family members should be ineligible to obtain ownership of fields. Those who dare infringe this ordinance should have their fields, and their money confiscated

At that time, the exceptionally rich were all desperate to conceal their wealth, the only exception being Bu Shi, who begged several times to be allowed to present money and property in order to assist the government. The Son of Heaven honored Bu Shi by appointing him as a gentleman of the court. He bestowed upon him the title of Left Militia General, the tenth grade of honorary rank, giving him ten hectares of arable land. His example was proclaimed throughout the realm as inspiration to the people. At first Bu Shi was reluctant, but the Emperor compelled him to accept an official office. By gradual stages he was moved to first minister in Qi. A full account of these events is given in the *Biography of Bu Shi*. Some three years after he had been sent throughout the whole empire for casting iron vessels, Kong Jin was appointed Chamberlain of the National Treasury, and became one of the nine chief ministers. Sang Hongyang was assistant to Kong Jin, and had charge of the audits and calculations. Little by little they established offices of tax substitutes, in order to bring about equilibrium between money and merchandise. For the first time, officials had the privilege of career promotions in exchange for presentation of grain, and a court gentleman should

【原文】

自造白金五铢钱后五岁，而赦吏民之坐盗铸金钱死者数十万人。其不发觉相杀者，不可胜计。赦自出者百馀万人，然不能半自出，天下大氏无虑皆铸金钱矣。犯法者众。吏不能尽诛，于是遣博士褚大、徐偃等分行郡国，举并兼之徒守相为利者。而御史大夫张汤方贵用事，减宣、杜周等为中丞，义纵、尹齐、王温舒等用急刻为九卿，直指夏兰之属始出。而大农颜异诛矣。初，异为济南亭长，以廉直稍迁至九卿。上与汤既造白鹿皮币，问异。异曰：“今王侯朝贺以仓璧，直数千，而其皮荐反四十万，本末不相称。”天子不说。汤又与异有隙，及人有告异以它议，事下汤治。异与客语，客语初令下有不便者，

【今译】

从铸造白金五铢钱后五年，赦免官民犯非法铸钱当死的人几十万人。而没有被发现犯罪而被杀的人，数不胜数。赦免自首的人达一百多万。但自首的人不及半数，天下人大概都在铸钱。犯法的人多，官吏诛杀不完，于是派遣博士褚大、徐偃等人分别巡行各郡国，举告侵占他人财产的人及郡守和诸侯相谋私利的人。而御史大夫张汤正被宠幸掌权，减宣、杜周等人为中丞，义纵、尹齐、王温舒等人因为严峻苛刻官任九卿，直指官夏兰之辈开始出现。而大农颜异被诛杀。起初，颜异任济南亭长，凭藉廉洁正直逐渐升为九卿。皇上和张汤已经制造了白鹿皮钱币，来询问颜异。颜异说：“现在王侯用青色玉璧来朝贺，价值几千，而皮币反而要四十万，本末不相称。”天子不高兴。张汤又与颜异有裂痕，等到有人举告颜异有不同的言论，事情被交付张汤审理。颜异和客人交谈，客人说诏令刚下达有不便利的地方，

submit 600 piculs.

During the five years following the issue of white metal coins and five-zhu cash, several hundred thousand officials and civilians under sentence of death for counterfeiting were pardoned. Those not found out but killed by others were of an incalculable number. There were pardons for more than a million persons who turned themselves in, but not one-half of the actual number of offenders gave themselves up – casting metal cash had become a virtually universal crime. Offenders were so numerous that the authorities could not inflict capital punishment on all of them. For these reasons, erudites such as Zhu Da and Xu Yan were sent on individual inspections, into the prefectures and fiefs, in order to report on appropriation of property, and on the prefects and first ministers in the fiefs colluding for their own profit. Now the Censor-in-Chief Zhang Tang enjoyed the Emperor's favor and exercised power. Jian Xuan and Du Zhou, both were made Vice Censors; and Yi Zong, Yin Qi, Wang Wenshu and others, because they were exacting and severe, became chamberlains. Outspoken censors such as Xia Lan appeared for the first time. The Chamberlain of the National Treasury Yan Yi was executed. In the beginning Yan Yi had been made secretary of a neighborhood in Jinan. Because of his incorruptibility and straightforwardness he had gradually rose to the position of chamberlain. When the Emperor and Zhang Tang made white deerskin a currency, Yan Yi was asked for his opinion. Yan replied: "Now, when the vassal kings and marquises in formal audience with Your Majesty, present insignia of green jade worth several thousand resting upon a piece of deer skin valued at 400,000, this is surely quite topsy-turvy." The Son of Heaven was not pleased and Zhang Tang never forgave Yan Yi. When he was later accused of dissent, the matter was referred to Zhang Tang for adjudication. Yan had a conversation with a visitor, who voiced his opinion that the ordinance had some disadvantages. Yan did not reply, but his





wry smile and curl of the lip showed his contempt. Zhang Tang memorialized the throne that Yan, as one of the nine chamberlains, having seen the demerits of the ordinance, and disapproving of it, had nevertheless failed to speak against it. His sentence was death. This established a legal regulation regarding unspoken criticism, and great nobles of the realm, chief ministers of the state at court, and high officials in government service for the most part had become profuse in flattery so as to curry favor.

When the Son of Heaven issued the order relating to “strings of cash,” and honored Bu Shi, among the common people there was no one willing to dig deep into his own money to help the government. This encouraged accusations against wealthy families concealing wealth to avoid taxes to really soar.

In prefectures and fiefs, where coins were cast, people were generally adulterating them. Cash pieces were generally underweight. Then the great nobles and chief ministers begged for an ordinance by which monetary authorities in the imperial capital should cast *Chice* coins with a red rim, each coin being valued at five cash. These would be the only acceptable medium for paying poll taxes and government expenses. White metal had gradually declined in value; the people did not treasure it. The central government issued an ordinance asking people to treasure white metal, but this was to no avail. After something over a year they were completely abolished and withdrawn from circulation. That year, Zhang Tang died, unmourned. Two years later the red-rimmed coins had dropped in value, the people’s guile having won over the law. Their use was of no advantage, and so they were abolished. After this, a general interdiction on the casting of money by the prefectures and the fiefs was issued. A government monopoly for coinage was put in the charge of the Three Officers of the Imperial Forest. Since the number of coins was already huge, no coins were allowed to circulate apart from those cast by the Three Officers. All coins cast in the various



【原文】

异不应，微反唇。汤奏当异九卿见令不便，不入言而腹非，论死。自是后有腹非之法比，而公卿大夫多谄谀取容。

天(下)[子]既下缙钱令而尊卜式，百姓终莫分财佐县官，于是告缙钱纵矣。

郡国铸钱，民多奸铸，钱多轻，而公卿请令京师铸官赤仄，一当五，赋官用非赤仄不得行。白金稍贱，民弗宝用，县官以令禁之，无益，岁馀终废不行。是岁，汤死而民不思。其后二岁，赤仄钱贱，民巧法用之，不便，又废。于是悉禁郡国毋铸钱，专令上林三官铸。钱既多，而令天下非三官钱不得行，诸郡国前所铸钱皆废销之，输入其

【今译】

颜异没有应对，只是稍微翻唇表示鄙视。张汤上奏判处颜异官为九卿，见诏令有不便利的，不进言而心中认为不对，为死罪。从此以后有腹诽的法律条例，公卿大夫大多用奉承来取悦于人。

天子已经下达关于税收的法令而且尊宠卜式，百姓最终没有拿出财产来帮助政府，于是奖励告发富户隐匿财产逃避税款就风行起来了。

郡国铸造钱币，百姓多数取巧铸造，钱币大多较轻，公卿就请求让京师的铸官铸造赤仄币，用一当五，交赋税以及供给官府用不是赤仄的钱币就不行。白金渐渐跌价，百姓不把它当作宝物来使用，政府下令进行禁止，没有益处，一年多后终于被废除，不再流行。这一年，张汤死了，但百姓没有哀思。这之后二年，赤仄钱又跌价，百姓用巧法来使用它，不便利，又被废除。于是统一禁止郡国不准铸钱，专门命令上林三官来铸造。钱币既然很多，就下令天下不是三官钱不



【原文】

铜三官。而民之铸钱益少，计其费不能相当，唯真工大奸乃盗为之。

杨可告缙遍天下，中家以上大氏皆遇告。杜周治之，狱少反者。乃分遣御史廷尉正监分曹往，(往)即治郡国缙钱，得民财物以亿计，奴婢以千万数，田大县数百顷，小县百馀顷，宅亦如之。于是商贾中家以上大氏破，民偷甘食好衣，不事畜臧之业，而县官以盐铁缙钱之故，用少饶矣。益广(开)[关]，置左右辅。

初，大农(幹)[幹]盐铁官布多，置水衡，欲以主盐铁；及杨可告缙，上林财物众，乃令水衡主上林。上林既充满，益广。是时粤欲与

【今译】

得流行，各个郡国以前所铸造的钱币都废除销毁，把铜输给三官。这样百姓铸造的钱币更加减少，他们计算所花费用和利润不能相等，只有巧妙的工匠和豪民才偷着铸钱。

杨可要求举告隐匿财产、逃避租税的活动遍及天下，中等家庭以上大抵都被告发。杜周来审理案情，官司很少有人能翻案。于是就分别派遣御史、廷尉、正监按不同使命出使诸国，处理郡国隐匿财产案子，得到百姓的财物数以亿计，奴婢上千万，田地大县数百顷，小县一百多顷，房产也是这个数字。于是商人中等以上的大抵破产，百姓就苟且于美食好衣，不再进行蓄藏的事业，而政府因为有盐铁缙钱的事，费用渐渐宽裕了。扩大关中地域，设置了左右辅。

起初，大农管理的盐铁官布很多，就设置水衡都尉，想让他主管盐铁事；等到杨可鼓励告发隐匿财产的事兴起后，上林的财物就多了起来，就命水衡都尉主管上林。上林既然财物充足了，就要加以扩



prefectures and fiefs were demonetized and melted down, and their copper transported to the Three Officers. Thus fewer and fewer coins were cast by the people, figuring that the benefits of doing so were not in line with the costs. After that, only expert artisans and bold people manufactured them illicitly.

Soon the movement launched by Yang Ke to denounce those with secret stockpiles in avoidance of tax spread across the land, and charges were made against practically every moderately affluent family and those with larger fortunes. Du Zhou adjudicated, and of those brought to trial few were found not guilty. Then they sent out in diverse directions censors and supervisors of law enforcement, who crisscrossed the prefectures and fiefs to give judgment on cases of concealed assets. In this way they got their hands on people's assets counted in hundreds of millions, on tens of thousands of their serfs, on several hundreds of hectares of fields in large counties, and on more than a hundred in small counties; their dwellings were confiscated on a similar scale. As a consequence, traders, whose fortunes made them middle-class and above, were bankrupted for the most part, and the people indulged in the best of food and dress, not giving themselves to the accumulation and storing up of property. Through salt and iron, and "strings of cash," government finances gradually became ample. The area within the Pass was considerably extended, and the posts of left and right deputy prefects were established.

Initially, the salt and iron offices came under the Chamberlain of the National Treasury, but there were too many, so the position of Commandant of Imperial Gardens was established with the intention that he supervise the salt and iron. When, however, Yang Ke hounded out hidden fortunes, and the wealth and resources of the Imperial Forest became exceedingly large, then the Emperor ordered the Commandant to be put in charge of that. About the time the Imperial Forest became too full, and was about to be enlarged,

【原文】

汉用船战逐，乃大修昆明池，列馆环之。治楼船，高十馀丈，旗织加其上，甚壮。于是天子感之，乃作柏梁台，高数十丈。宫室之修，繇此日丽。

乃分缗钱诸官，而水衡、少府、太仆、大农各置农官，往往即郡县比没入田田之。其没入奴婢，分诸苑养狗马禽兽，及与诸官。官益杂置多，徒奴婢众，而下河漕度四百万石，及官自籴乃足。¹

所忠言：“世家子弟富人或斗鸡走狗马，弋猎博戏，乱齐民。”²乃征诸犯令，相引数千人，名曰“株送徒”。入财者得补郎，郎选衰矣。

是时山东被河灾，及岁不登数年，人或相食，方二千里。天子

【今译】

大。这时粤国打算同汉朝用船开战，于是大规模修建昆明池，池周筑观宇环绕。建造楼船，高十多丈，上面插上旗帜，很是壮观。于是天子受这气派的感染，就建造了柏梁台，高达数十丈。宫室的修建，从此日趋于富丽。

于是把缗钱分给各官府，而水衡、少府、太仆、大农各自设置农官，往往就地在各郡县整治没收来的土地，加以耕种。没收来的奴婢，就分给各苑圉去喂养狗马禽兽，以及分给各官府。官职设置的更复杂更多，罪徒奴婢众多，因而由黄河漕运至京的粮食大约有四百万石，并且还要官府自己买一部分谷物才能足用。

所忠说：“世家子弟和富人有的斗鸡赛狗赛马，有的射猎赌博游戏，扰乱平民百姓的生活。”于是惩罚诸罪犯，相牵连的有数千人，名叫“株送徒”。纳献财物的得以补为郎官，郎官的选拔从此就衰退了。

当时山东遭黄河水灾，加上连年歉收，有人吃人的现象发生，方圆达二千里。天子心中怜悯，诏令饥民可以流亡到江淮间谋生，打

Yue was preparing to use boats to fight Han. So the Kunming Pool was extensively remade, with imperial leisure lodges surrounding it. Boats with upper decks were built a hundred feet high; with flags and standards surmounting them, they presented a magnificent sight. Infected by their grandeur the Emperor had built the Tower of Cedar Beams erected even taller than the boats. From this point on, new imperial palace buildings became more splendid by the day.

The revenue obtained by the foregoing measures was split between the several offices, and offices of agriculture were established in the offices of the Imperial Gardens, the Palace Revenues, the Imperial Stud and the National Treasury. Each traveled frequently through the prefectures and counties to have confiscated fields cultivated. Confiscated serfs were sent to the various parks to look after dogs, horses, birds, and beasts, and to diverse government offices also. Government posts were set up in great numbers and complexity; their convict laborers and serfs were numerous too. So the grain transported to the capital by river, estimated at four million piculs, had to be supplemented with supplies bought by the official bureaus themselves.

Suo Zhong stated: “Among the spoiled youth of well-known families and among the rich, there are those who fight cocks, race dogs and horses, hunt or gamble money, disrupting the lives of ordinary people.” Summons were issued for such offenders, and several thousands of them were dragged in one after the other; they were called “implicated convicts.” Those who presented wealth won positions as gentlemen at court; the system of recommendation of men of worth fell into decay.

At this time the lands east of the mountains suffered from flooding of the Yellow River; this came on top of successive years of failed harvests and in an area of two or three thousand square li, cannibalism did occur. The Son of Heaven pitied them and ordered that the famine-stricken people were permitted to leave the area,



【原文】

怜之，令饥民得流就食江淮间，欲留，留处。使者冠盖相属于道护之，下巴蜀粟以振焉。

明年，天子始出巡郡国。东度河，河东守不意行至，不辩，自杀。行西逾陇，卒，从官不得食，陇西守自杀。于是上北出萧关，从数万骑行猎新秦中，以勒边兵而归。新秦中或千里无亭徼，于是诛北地太守以下，而令民得畜边县，官假马母，三岁而归，及息什一，以除告缗，用充入新秦中。

既得宝鼎，立后土、泰一祠，公卿白议封禅事，而郡国皆豫治道，修缮故宫，及当驰道县，县治宫储，设共具，而望幸。

明年，南粤反，西羌侵边。天子为山东不澹，赦天下囚，因南

【今译】

算留在那里的，可在那里定居。使者络绎不绝地在路上往来护送饥民，从巴蜀运来粮食赈济灾民。

第二年，天子开始巡察郡国。东渡黄河，河东太守没有想到天子的车驾会到这里，供具不周到，自杀。西行穿过陇山，很仓促，天子的随从官员连饭都吃不上，陇西太守自杀。于是天子北出萧关，随从数万骑在新秦中打猎，以此治理边防军后回到京城。新秦中有的地方千里之间没有边地哨所，于是诛杀北地太守以下官员，诏令百姓可以到边境各县放牧牲畜，官府贷给母马，三年后归还，利息是十分之一，废除举告隐匿缗钱的法令，用利息来补给新秦中。

得到宝鼎以后，建立了后土祠、泰一祠，公卿讨论有关封禅的事情，而郡国都预先修筑道路，整理旧宫，那些临近驰道的县城，预备供皇帝享用的物品，摆设盛放酒食的器具，等待天子车驾的幸临。

过了一年，南粤反叛，西羌侵犯边境。天子看到山东供给不足，

migrating south to find food in the Yangtze and Huai regions. Those who desired to remain could settle there. So many were the supervising commissioners, they formed a continuous line along the highways. Grain from Ba and Shu was sent as humanitarian aid.

The following year, the Son of Heaven made his first tour of inspection through prefectures and fiefs, crossing the river eastward. This took the Governor of Hedong by surprise and, totally unprepared for the imperial visitation, he committed suicide. The Emperor traveled west, crossing Longshan Mountain, but the accompanying officials could not find food enough. The Governor of Longxi committed suicide. Then the Emperor turned north through the Xiao Pass, accompanied by tens of thousands of light horse. He hunted inside New Qinzhong in order to inspect the frontier defense forces, before returning to the capital. In New Qinzhong, there were stretches of 1,000 *li* without a single sentry post. Therefore the Governor of Beidi and his subordinates were executed, and an edict was issued allowing people to move into the frontier countries to raise livestock. The authorities provided mares on a three-year loan basis, at 10 percent interest. The law to denounce the hiding of accumulated assets was abolished, and the interest on the revenue was used to help populate New Qinzhong.

After the treasure tripod had been discovered Wudi erected the Temple of the Spirit of Earth and the Temple to the Supreme Unity, and the great nobles of the realm and chief ministers of state at court were to come to Mount Tai to deliberate on matters relating to worship of Heaven and Earth there. Meanwhile, in preparation, all the prefectures and fiefs put their roads in good order, and repaired the old palaces. In every county along the imperial route, the authorities made ready palaces and provisions, and set out ceremonial ware for Emperor and his retinue.

The next year, the southern Yue rebelled, and the western Qiang raided the frontiers. Because of privations east of the mountains there



【原文】

方楼船士二十馀万人击粤，发三河以西骑击羌，又数万人度河筑令居。初置张掖、酒泉郡，而上郡、朔方、西河、河西开田官，斥塞卒六十万人戍田之。中国缮道馈粮，远者三千，近者千馀里，皆仰给大农。边兵不足，乃发武库工官兵器以澹之。车骑马乏，县官钱少，买马难得，乃著令，令封君以下至三百石吏以上差出(牡)[牝]马天下亭，亭有畜字马，岁课息。

齐相卜式上书，愿父子死南粤。天子下诏褒扬，赐爵关内侯，黄金四十斤，田十顷。布告天下，天下莫应。列侯以百数，皆莫求从军。至饮酎，少府省金，而列侯坐酎金失侯者百馀人。乃拜卜式为御

【今译】

就赦免天下囚犯，凭藉南方的战船士卒二十多万人攻打粤兵，发动三河以西的骑兵攻打羌人，又派几万人渡过黄河修筑令居城。开始设置张掖、酒泉郡，在上郡、朔方、西河、河西设置田官，扩充防守边境的士卒六十万人一边戍守，一边耕种。中原内地则整治道路以馈运粮食，路远的达三千里，近的也有一千多里，都依靠大司农。边防的兵器不足，就调拨武库和工官的兵器来满足那里的需要。兵车和战马不够，政府钱少，很难买到马匹，就制定命令，令封君以下至年俸三百石以上的官吏，按等级不同缴纳不同数目的母马给天下各亭，亭中有母马的，每年责成交配繁殖。

齐国相卜式上书，表示父子愿意为南粤而死。天子就下诏进行褒奖表扬，赐给他关内侯的爵位，以及黄金四十斤，田十顷。通告天下，天下人没有响应。诸侯有上百名，没有一人要求参加军队。到了饮酎的时候，少府检查酎金，列侯由于酎金份量不足而被削夺侯位的



was an imperial amnesty for prisoners of the realm. Then he sent the storied warships of the south and more than 200,000 men to attack Yue; meanwhile, from areas to the west of the three He prefectures light horse cavalry was sent to attack the Qiang. Additionally, tens of thousands of men crossed the Yellow River to build fortifications at Lingju. The prefectures of Zhangye and Jiuquan [Dunhuang] were established and offices in charge of cultivation and frontier affairs were set up in the prefectures of Shangjun, Shuofang, Xihe, and the area west of the river, where they were to garrison 600,000 soldiers and cultivate the land. Highways in the Central Plains were repaired for the transportation of grains; roads as long as 3,000 *li*, and little as 1,000 *li*, all depended on the Ministry of Treasury. When weapons on the frontiers were not enough, arms and other military equipment were sent from the capital armory and the arsenals in prefectures and fiefs. Chariots and war horses were lacking and the central government was underfunded, making it difficult to secure horses. So an edict was issued by the terms of which all enfeoffed lords and officials earning in excess of 300 piculs should furnish mares to stations throughout the empire, the precise number increasing according to their grades and ranks. At each station mares bred, and colts were submitted yearly as interest.

The First Minister of Qi, Bu Shi, addressed a petition to the throne in which he vowed that he, the father and his sons, were willing to die for him in southern Yue. The Emperor issued an edict to publicize and praise this, elevating him to Marquis of Guannei, and awarding him forty catties of gold and ten hectares of field. This circulated throughout the empire, but failed to elicit a response: of the hundreds of adjunct marquises, not one asked to join the imperial forces. When it came the time of sipping the ritual wine at the Imperial Ancestral Temple, the Chamberlain of the Palace Revenues examined the gold contributed; more than a hundred marquises were stripped of their status for the offense of giving underweight gold.

【原文】

史大夫。式既在位，见郡国多不便县官作盐铁，器苦恶，贾贵，或强令民买之。而船有算，商者少，物贵，乃因孔仅言船算事。上不说。

汉连出兵三岁，诛羌，灭两粤，番禺以西至蜀南者置初郡十七，且以其故俗治，无赋税。南阳、汉中以往，各以地比给初郡吏卒奉食币物，传车马被具。而初郡又时时小反，杀吏，汉发南方吏卒往诛之，间岁万余人，费皆仰大农。大农以均输调盐铁助赋，故能澹之。然兵所过县，县以为訾给毋乏而已，不敢言轻赋法矣。

其明年，元封元年，卜式贬为太子太傅。而桑弘羊为治粟都尉，领大农，尽代仅斡天下盐铁。弘羊以诸官各自市相争，物以故腾跃，

【今译】

有一百多人。于是就授卜式为御史大夫。卜式当上御史大夫后，看到郡国大多反映政府不便作盐铁，铁器质量差，价格贵，有的强迫百姓购买。而船又有算赋，以船运货的商人少，商品昂贵，就通过孔仅反映船只征收算赋的事。天子由此对卜式不满意。

汉朝接连打了三年仗，杀掉了羌军，灭掉了南北粤，番禺以西直到蜀南地区初次设置了十七郡，暂且按照他们旧有的习俗治理，没有赋税。南阳、汉中一带，各自按照地域的比例供给初设各郡吏卒的薪俸、食物、钱财，以及驿传所用的车马被服等用具。而初设置的各郡又时常有小规模的反叛，杀死官吏，汉朝就派遣南方官兵前往镇压，每隔一年需要一万多人，费用都依靠大司农。大司农就用均输法调拨各地盐铁来补助赋税，所以能应付得了。但军队所经过的县，各县认为只要供给无缺就行了，不敢说要减轻赋税法了。

第二年，是元封元年，卜式被贬为太子太傅。而桑弘羊任治粟都尉，兼任大农令，完全代替孔仅管理天下盐铁。桑弘羊以为各官各自做买卖相竞争，物价因此而飞涨，而天下所缴纳的赋税有的还不足以

Then Bu Shi was appointed Censor-in-Chief. While in that post, Bu Shi found that the central monopoly of salt and iron was burdensome in the prefectures and the fiefs, the quality of the tools was inferior but the price high, and that sometime they were coerced to buy them. Moreover, the fact that boats were being taxed, and traders were few was driving up the price of goods. Then he petitioned the court via Kong Jin on the matter of boat taxation. The Emperor was not pleased with him.

Han forces were in continuous action for three years: they subdued the Qiang; they annihilated South Yue and East Yue. From Panyu westward to the southern part of Shu, there were, for the first time, established 17 prefectures, which were governed according to their native customs, and no taxes were levied. The prefectures of Nanyang, Hanzhong, and those farther on, each having lands bordering the new prefectures, contributed proportionally towards them, providing for the officials' pay and rations, as well as carts for travel, horses, equipment and bedding. However, in the new prefectures there were from time to time minor uprisings in which officials were murdered. Han would send troops based in the south to quell them. The expenses for over 10,000 men were all shouldered by the Ministry of Treasury. The Ministry was able to meet the bill by supplementing the taxes via the various offices of salt and iron. Nevertheless, whichever counties the soldiers passed through, none dared raise the issue of lightening the tax law, considering the best policy was to pay the full amount.

The following year, the first year of the Yuanfeng reign period, Bu Shi was demoted to position of Grand Mentor to the Heir Apparent, and Sang Hongyang became concurrently Defender in Charge of Searching for Millet and in charge of the Ministry of Treasury, in all matters substituting for Kong Jin in control of salt and iron throughout the empire. Sang Hongyang considered that government offices competing with each other to trade drove

【原文】

而天下赋输或不偿其僦费，乃请置大农部丞数十人，分部主郡国，各往往置均输盐铁官，令远方各以其物如异时商贾所转(贬)[贩]者为赋，而相灌输。置平准于京师，都受天下委输。召工官治车诸器，皆仰给大农。大农诸官尽笼天下之货物，贵则卖之，贱则买之。如此，富商大贾亡所牟大利，则反本，而万物不得腾跃。故抑天下之物，名曰“平准”。天子以为然而许之。于是天子北至朔方，东封泰山，巡海上，旁北边以归。所过赏赐，用帛百馀万匹，钱金以巨万计，皆取足大农。

弘羊又请令民得入粟补吏，及罪以赎。令民入粟甘泉各有差，以复终身，不复告缇。它郡各输急处，而诸农各致粟，山东漕益岁

【今译】

偿还转运所花的费用，就请求设置大农部丞几十人，分别掌管各郡国中的大农事务，各大农部丞又往往设置均输官和盐铁官，令边远地区各自以他们跟以前商人所贩卖的物价为赋税，而互相转输。在京城设置平准机构，总受天下输纳来的物品。召雇工匠制造车辆等器物，都由大农令供给费用。大农所属各机构全部垄断了天下的货物，物价贵时就卖出，贱时就买进来。这样，富商大贾就无法牟取大利，就会返本为农，而所有商品就不会出现大涨大落的现象。所以抑制天下的物价，就叫做“平准”。天子认为有道理，就答应了他的请求。于是天子向北到达朔方，向东封禅泰山，巡行海上，到达北部边境后，就回到京城。所到之处的赏赐，用去帛一百多万匹，金钱数以亿计，都取自大农。

桑弘羊又请求让百姓可以纳献粮食来做官，犯罪时可以纳粮赎罪。命百姓各自按一定等级向甘泉宫纳粮，得以免除终身劳役，不再告发隐匿缗钱的事。其他郡县各自向急需处交纳，每一个农民都要纳粮，

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prices sky high, and that the value of the taxes paid did not always cover what it cost to transport them. Then he proposed establishing several tens of assistant positions in the Ministry of Treasury, each responsible for respective sections in prefectures and fiefs, where from time to time would be set up offices of tax substitution, and offices of salt and of iron. Orders would be given that in far distant places, in lieu of taxes they should pay with local products, those previously shipped out of the locality for sale by traders. In the imperial capital would be established a standardization office to receive transported goods from all over the empire. Craftsmen would be commissioned to make the necessary carts and ancillary equipment, all to be paid by the Ministry of Treasury. The several offices of the Ministry would have monopoly control of the empire's money and merchandise. When prices were high, they would sell; when prices were low, they would buy. In this manner, rich traders and great merchants would have no means to make obscene profits, they would return to the fundamental occupation of agriculture, and the extreme rises and falls in the prices of goods would be a thing of the past. The prices of all goods in the empire would be controlled by this process, a process called "price smoothing." The Emperor approved the petition. Thereafter, he went north as far as Shuofang. He went east to offer sacrifice on Mt. Tai. Then after a sea trip, and journeying by the northern frontiers of the empire, he returned to the capital. Wherever he passed, he bestowed rewards, using more than a million rolls of silk, and coins and gold by the hundreds of millions. Payment for all this came from the Ministry of Treasury. Sang Hongyang again proposed that the people be allowed to present millet in expectation of government posts, and to win pardon for crimes; and that by decree those who presented millet in various amounts at the granary of Ganquan would be exempt from military service for life, and forever free from denunciation of concealed fortunes. Wherever there was urgent need of grain, the provincial



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【原文】

六百万石。一岁之中，太仓、甘泉仓满。边馥谷，诸均输帛五百万匹。民不益赋而天下用饶。于是弘羊赐爵左庶长，黄金者再百焉。

是岁小旱，上令百官求雨。卜式言曰：“县官当食租衣税而已，今弘羊令吏坐市列，贩物求利。亨弘羊，天乃雨。”久之，武帝疾病，拜弘羊为御史大夫。

昭帝即位六年，诏郡国举贤良文学之士，问以民所疾苦，教化之要。皆对愿罢盐铁酒(榷)(榷)均输官，毋与天下争利，视以俭节，然后教化可兴。弘羊难，以为此国家大业，所以制四夷，安边足用之本，不可废也。乃与丞相千秋共奏罢酒酤。弘羊自以为国兴大利，伐其

【今译】

山东漕运到京的粮食每年增加到六百万石。一年之中，太仓、甘泉宫的仓满。边境上剩余的谷物，按均输法折算为五百万匹帛。百姓不增加税赋，而天下的费用充足。于是桑弘羊被赐给左庶长的爵位，黄金二百斤。

这一年有轻微的旱灾，天子命令百官求雨。卜式就说：“官府应以租税为衣食，如今桑弘羊使官吏坐于列肆中买卖货物，求取利润。只有将桑弘羊下锅煮了，天才会下雨。”过了一段时间，武帝生病了，就拜桑弘羊为御史大夫。

昭帝在位六年后，就诏令郡国推荐贤良、文学之士，向他们询问民间的疾苦，政教风化的要领。他们都以希望罢免盐铁、酒榷、均输官来答对，不同天下争夺利益，用节俭来昭示天下，然后教化可以兴起。桑弘羊进行诘难，认为这些都是国家的大业，是用来制服四夷，安定边境，满足消费的根本所在，不能废除。于是就同丞相千秋一同上奏要求废除酒税。桑弘羊自以为为国家兴了大利，居功自傲，想为

authorities directly transported to that place; likewise individual farmers all had to present millet. The result was an additional six million piculs a year of grain transported by water to the capital from east of the mountain. Within a year, the Imperial Granary and the granary at Ganquan were filled; the frontiers had a surplus of grains, which was equal to five million rolls of silk in tax substitution. There was ample resource to meet the empire's costs, without adding to the people's tax burden. Thereupon Sang Hongyang was bestowed the title of *Zuoshuzhang* (tenth order) with a money award of 200 catties of gold.

That year saw a small drought. The Emperor ordered government officials to pray for rain. Bu Shi remarked: "The central government ought to be fed and clothed with taxes on farming output, and nothing else. Now Sang Hongyang orders that officials sit on market stalls to trade for profit. Boil Sang Hongyang alive and Heaven will then send rain!" Later, Emperor Wudi fell ill and appointed Sang Hongyang as Censor-in-Chief. *COPE, MFER ...*

When Emperor Zhaodi was in the sixth year of his reign, he sent out an edict calling on the prefectures and fiefs to recommend worthy, excellent and learned people. He questioned them about the people's sufferings, and the important need for civic morality among them. All replied that they wished to see abolished the officials of salt and iron, of the liquor monopoly and of tax substitution too, so there would be no competition with the people for profit; instead there would be an exhibition of frugality and economy. Only then could moral education be advanced. Sang Hongyang refuted this idea, saying they represented the chief mission of the empire, the fundamental way to contain the barbarians on four frontiers, to pacify the borders and meet expenses. They could not be abolished. Together with Prime Minister Tian Qianqiu, he memorialized to abolish tax on alcohol. Sang Hongyang, thinking himself champion of what would profit the empire, bragged about his merits to earn

【原文】

功，欲为子弟得官，怨望大将军霍光，遂与上官桀等谋反，诛灭。

宣、元、成、哀、平五世，亡所变改。元帝时尝罢盐铁官，三年而复之。贡禹言：“铸钱采铜，一岁十万人不耕，民坐盗铸陷刑者多。富人臧钱满室，犹无厌足。民心动摇，弃本逐末，耕者不能半，奸邪不可禁，原起于钱。疾其末者绝其本，宜罢采珠玉金银铸钱之官，毋复以为币，除其贩卖租铢之律，租税禄赐皆以布帛及谷，使百姓一意农桑。”议者以为交易待钱，布帛不可尺寸分裂。禹议亦寝。²

自孝武元狩五年三官初铸五铢钱，至平帝元始中，成钱二百八十七亿万馀云。

王莽居摄，变汉制，以周钱有子母相权，于是更造大钱，径寸二

【今译】

子弟谋取官位，憎恨大将军霍光，便与上官桀等人谋反，被诛灭。

宣帝、元帝、成帝、哀帝、平帝五代，没有什么变化。元帝时曾罢免盐铁官，三年后又恢复了。贡禹说：“铸钱要采铜，一年就有十万人不去耕种，百姓犯法偷着铸钱而受到处罚的人很多。富人蓄藏的钱充满屋子，还不知满足。民心动摇，放弃农业的根本而去追逐商业的利益，耕种的人没有一半，奸邪不能加以禁止，是因为钱的缘故。急切从事商业的就会使农业断绝，应罢免开采珠玉金银铸钱的官员，不要再铸造钱币，除去贩卖以及以钱代实物纳税的法令，租税、薪俸、赏赐都用布帛和谷物，使百姓一心一意致力于农桑。”议论的人认为交易需要钱，布帛不能以尺寸分割。贡禹的建议也就没有得到采用。²

从孝武帝元狩五年三官开始铸造五铢钱，到平帝元始年间，有钱二百八十七亿万多。

王莽摄政之时，改变汉朝制度，因为周朝的钱有子母相平衡，于是改造大钱，直径一寸二分，重十二铢，其正面的文字为“大钱

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official posts for his children. Bearing a grudge against General-in-Chief Huo Guang, he conspired to rebel with Shangguan Jie and others; for this he was put to death.

During the reigns of emperors Xuandi, Yuandi, Chengdi, Aidi, and Pingdi, no changes were made. In the reign of Yuandi, the salt and iron offices were abolished for a time, being reinstated after three years. Gong Yu said: “Those who cast coins go to mine copper, so that 100,000 men each year are away from plowing. Counterfeiters are punished in great number. The rich hoard housefuls of coins, and yet they are never satisfied. The hearts of the people are twitchy. They have abandoned the fundamental of farming in pursuit of mercantile profits. Those who work the land account for scarcely a half; crime and depravity cannot be prevented. The reason for this is money. Those who are anxious about the secondary are cut off from the fundamental. It is advised that we abolish the offices in charge of gathering pearls and jade, gold and silver, and of casting coins. Let these no more be regarded as money, repeal the orders for tax on trade and on sales in *zhu*, have taxes levied on earnings from use of land, and let official emoluments and bestowments all be paid in cloth, silk as well as in grain, so that the common people will devote themselves wholeheartedly to agriculture and sericulture.” Those in conference considered that for the purpose of mutual exchange it was necessary to use coins. Textiles of either vegetable fibers or silk could not be cut into short lengths to the foot or inch. Yu’s proposal was never adopted.²

From the fifth year of the Yuanshou reign of Emperor Wudi, when the Sanguan first cast five-*zhu* coins, until the middle of the Yuanshi reign of Emperor Pingdi, coins cast are said to have been more than 28 billion cash. During the Wang Mang regency he changed the Han system, because coins under the Zhou had been large (mother) and small (ones) of related standard weights. Therefore he turned to make large coins, a little over an inch in diameter, 12 *zhu*

3





【原文】

分，重十二铢，文曰“大钱五十”。又造契刀、错刀。契刀，其环如大钱，身形如刀，长二寸，文曰“契刀五百”。错刀，以黄金错其文，曰“一刀直五千”。与五铢钱凡四品，并行。

莽即真，以为书“劉”字有金刀，乃罢错刀、契刀及五铢钱，而更作金、银、龟、贝、钱、布之品，名曰“宝货”。

小钱径六分，重一铢，文曰“小钱直一”。次七分，三铢，曰“幺钱一十”。次八分，五铢，曰“幼钱二十”。次九分，七铢。曰“中钱三十”。次一寸，九铢，曰“壮钱四十”。因前“大钱五十”，是为钱货六品，直各如其文。

黄金重一斤，直钱万。朱提银重八两为一流，直一千五百八十。它银一流直千。是为银货二品。

元龟岨冉长尺二寸，直二千一百六十，为大贝十朋。公龟九寸，直五百，为壮贝十朋。侯龟七寸以上，直三百，为幺贝十朋。子龟五寸以上，直百，为小贝十朋。是为龟宝四品。

【今译】

五十”。又制造契刀币、错刀币。契刀，它的边缘周围同大钱一样，形状像刀，长二寸，其正面的文字为“契刀五百”。错刀，用黄金镶嵌它的纹刻，上面写着“一刀值五千”。和五铢钱共有四类，一并流通。

王莽正式即皇帝位，认为写“刘”字有金有刀，就废除错刀、契刀以及五铢钱，而改做金、银、龟、贝、钱、布各类钱币，称为“宝货”。

小钱直径六分，重一铢，其正面的文字为“小钱值一”。另外一种小钱直径为七分，重三铢，其正面的文字为“幺钱一十”。另外一种直径八分，重五铢，叫“幼钱二十”。另外一种直径九分，重七铢，叫“中钱三十”。还有一种直径一寸，重九铢，叫“壮钱四十”。根据前面的“大钱五十”，这就是六类钱币，价值各自同它上面的文字一样。

黄金重一斤，值钱一万。朱提银重八两是一流，值一千五百八十钱。其他银一流值钱一千。这是两类银币。

大龟币两边相距一尺二寸，值二千一百六十钱，相当于十朋大贝。公龟有九寸，值五百钱，相当于十朋壮贝。侯龟七寸以上，值三百钱，相当于十朋幺贝。子龟五寸以上，值一百钱，相当于十朋小贝。这是四类龟宝。

in weight, and bearing the words “big cash 50.” He also initiated *qidao* knife-shaped money. The lowest denomination of these had a circular head like the big cash but having a two-inch long body in the shape of a knife, and bearing the words “*qidao* knife 500.” The highest denomination *cuodao* was inscribed “one *dao* worth 5000” in actual gold inlay. Including the five-*zhu*, there were four types of coinage in circulation at the same time.

When, however, Wang Mang came to the throne as emperor proper, he reflected that in the character for the surname Liu [the clan name of the Han ruling house] there occurred the elements *jin* (gold) and *dao* (knife). Thus he abolished this knife-shaped money as well as the five-*zhu* coins, replacing them with gold, silver, tortoiseshell, cowries, cash, and spade *bu*, to which he gave the name “precious ware.” The small cash were six-tenths of an inch in diameter, one *zhu* in weight and bore an inscription reading “small cash worth one.” Next came three *zhu*, seven-tenths of an inch across, named “baby cash ten”; next came five *zhu*, eight-tenths of an inch across, named “youth cash 20”; then the seven *zhu*, nine-tenths of an inch across, named “middle cash 30”; then nine *zhu*, one inch across, named “adult cash 40.” “Large cash” units were 50. Thus, there were six denominations of coin, each with its value inscribed.

One catty of gold was worth 10,000 cash, and premium silver from the Zhuti Mountains was eight taels per *liu*, valued at 1,580 cash. Other kinds of silver were valued at 1,000 per *liu*. So there were two types of silver currency.

A large tortoiseshell unit was one foot and two inches measured from top to bottom; worth 2,160 cash, it was equivalent to 10 pairs of large cowries. A nine-inch duke shell was valued at 500, and equivalent to 10 pairs of adult cowries; a marquis shell was seven inches and more, valued at 300, and equivalent to 10 pairs of baby cowries; a viscount shell was five inches and more, valued at 100, equivalent to 10 pairs of tiny cowries. These were the four



【原文】

大贝四寸八分以上，二枚为一朋，直二百一十六。壮贝三寸六分以上，二枚为一朋，直五十。幺贝二寸四分以上，二枚为一朋，直三十。小贝寸二分以上，二枚为一朋，直十。不盈寸二分，漏度不得为朋，率枚直钱三。是为贝货五品。

大布、次布、弟布、壮布、中布、差布、厚布、幼布、幺布、小布。小布长寸五分，重十五铢，文曰“小布一百”。自小布以上，各相长一分，相重一铢，文各为其布名，直各加一百。上至大布，长二寸四分，重一两，而直千钱矣。是为布货十品。

凡宝货五物，六名，二十八品。

铸作钱布皆用铜，淆以连锡，文质周郭仿汉五铢钱云。其金银与它物杂，色不纯好，龟不盈五寸，贝不盈六分，皆不得为宝货。元龟为蔡，非四民所得居，有者，入大卜受直。¹

百姓愤乱，其货不行。民私以五铢钱市买。莽患之，下诏：“敢非井田挟五铢钱者为惑众，投诸四裔以御魑魅。”于是农商失业，食

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【今译】

大贝有四寸八分以上，二枚为一朋，值二百一十六钱。壮贝三寸六分以上，二枚为一朋，值五十钱。幺贝二寸四分以上，二枚为一朋，值三十钱。小贝一寸二分以上，二枚为一朋，值十钱。不满一寸二分，不合制度，不得为朋，大概一枚值三钱。这就是五类贝货。

大布、次布、弟布、壮布、中布、差布、厚布、幼布、幺布、小布。小布长一寸五分，重十五铢，其正面的文字为“小布一百”。从小布往上，长各加一分，重各加一铢，其正面的文字就是其布的名字，价值各加一百。往上至大布，长二寸四分，重一两，而值一千钱了。这就是十品布货。

宝货共有五种物质，六个名称，二十八类。

铸造钱币都用铜，杂以铅和锡，形状轮廓都仿照五铢钱。其中金银和其他物质相杂，颜色不纯正，龟不满五寸，贝不满六分，都不得成为宝货。大龟就是蔡，不是一般百姓所能畜养的，有大龟的，交给大卜接受报酬。²

百姓烦乱，这些货币都行不通。百姓私自用五铢钱到市场上购买货物。王莽对此感到忧患，就下诏说：“敢非议井田挟带五铢钱的就

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denominations of tortoiseshell money.

Of the large cowries, above four and eight-tenths inches, two constituted a pair worth 216 cash; a pair of adult cowries above three and six-tenths was worth 50; a pair of baby cowries above two and four-tenths was worth 30; a pair of cowries above one and two-tenths was worth 10. Those under the minimum size of one and two-tenths fell outside of the system, and could not be reckoned in pairs; on average, as individual pieces, they were each worth three cash. This was five denominations of cowry money.

Spade *bu* cash, large, next, younger brother, adult, medial, ranking, graded, adolescent, baby, small, were names for the *bu* money group. Small spade *bu* was one and a half inch, weighing 15 *zhu*, inscribed with “small *bu* 100.” From this small spade *bu* up, each denomination was one-tenth inch longer, one *zhu* heavier and worth 100 more than the previous. Each carried its respective *bu* classification – e.g. adult, baby. The top denomination was two and four-tenths long, weighed one tael and was worth 1,000 cash. This was the spade *bu* money in ten denominations.

So there were five kinds of “precious wares” money, six names, and 28 denominations. For casting to make cash and spade *bu* money, copper was used, mixing with it lead and tin. The inscribed obverse and the reverse of the cash had a raised rim, modeled, it is said, after the Han five-*zhu* coin. Gold and silver mixed with other goods, of impure color, tortoiseshells under five inches, and cowries under six-tenths could not be used as “precious wares.” A large tortoiseshell was known as *cai* and commoners were not permitted to keep them for themselves. Every *cai* had to be presented to the Grand Diviner, in exchange for its monetary value.

The common people became confused in mind and action. These currencies did not circulate. Privately the people used five-*zhu* coins to buy in the market. Wang Mang, worried, issued an edict: “Those who oppose the nine-square farming system and those who



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【原文】

货俱废，民涕泣于市道。坐卖买田宅奴婢铸钱抵罪者，自公卿大夫至庶人，不可称数。莽知民愁，乃但行小钱直一，与大钱五十，二品并行，龟贝布属且寝。

莽性躁扰，不能无为，每有所兴造，必欲依古得经文。国师公刘歆言周有泉府之官，收不讎，与欲得，即《易》所谓“理财正辞，禁民为非”者也。莽乃下诏曰：“夫《周礼》有賒贷，《乐语》有五均，传记各有榦焉。今开賒贷，张五均，设诸榦者，所以齐众庶，抑兼并也。”遂于长安及五都立五均官，更名长安东西市令及洛阳、

【今译】

是惑众，把他们流放到四方边远地区去防御魑魅。”于是农民、商人都失掉本业，粮食、货物都没有了，百姓在市场的道路上哭泣。犯下买卖田宅、奴婢、铸钱的罪行受到处罚的人，自公卿大夫到平民，数不胜数。王莽知道百姓怨恨，就只流行值一钱的小钱和值五十钱的大钱，二类一同使用，龟、贝、布等类暂且停止使用。

王莽性情急躁好动，不能清静无为，每次有所兴作创造，一定要仿造古代取得经上的文字。国师公刘歆说周朝有泉府官，收购市上滞销的货物，给予人们想得到的，即《周易》所说的“用正确的辞令来治理财货，禁止百姓为非作歹”。王莽就下诏说：“《周礼》有賒贷，《乐语》有五均，传记上各自有榦官。现在开放賒贷，实行五均，设立各榦官，是用来统一百姓，抑制兼并。”于是在长安以及五都设立五均官，改长安东西市令以及洛阳、邯郸、临淄、宛、成都的

hold on to five-zhu coins are misleading the people. Banish them to the distant four borders so that they may struggle against the demons and goblins of mountains and forests.” Farmers and traders lost their livelihoods; neither food nor goods were to be had. The people wept and wailed on the road to market. It is impossible to number the persons who were punished for illicitly buying fields, houses and serfs, and casting money on their own account – the number included every part of society, from the highest down to the lowest in the land. Wang Mang, becoming aware that the common people were very resentful, accordingly circulated only small and large coins worth one and 50 cash respectively. The two denominations were circulated at the same time, while tortoiseshells, cowries, and *bu* money were shelved for the time being.

Wang Mang was by nature impetuous and hyperactive, incapable of leaving well alone. Every time there was anything to be undertaken, he insisted that it must conform to what was written in the classics. Imperial Mentor Liu Xin told him that under the Zhou there was a treasurer for market taxes, whose office received that which was unsold, and gave it to those who desired to obtain. According to Liu, this was in accordance with the *Book of Changes*: “Administer aright the wealth of the land with correct instruction, to prohibit the people from wrongdoing.” Wang Mang then sent down an edict saying: “Now, the Ritual of Zhou describes giving credit for purchase of certain things, and lending money with interest in the case of other things; in Music Language there are five cases of price smoothing. The earlier records have each an account of the controls. Now let there be set up a system of making credits and loans; popularize the five cases for equalizing prices; and provide for the several controls. Thereby the masses of the population will be given equality and monopolies will be suppressed.” Subsequently, at Changan and at five other metropolitan centers, Five-case Equalization Offices were set up. The titles of Superintendents of



【原文】

邯郸、临淄、宛、成都市长皆为五均司市(称)师。东市称京，西市称畿，洛阳称中，馀四都各用东西南北为称，皆置交易丞五人，钱府丞一人。工商能采金银铜连锡登龟取贝者，皆自占司市钱府，顺时气而取之。

又以《周官》税民：凡田不耕为不殖，出三夫之税；城郭中宅不树艺者为不毛，出三夫之布；民浮游无事，出夫布一匹。其不能出布者，冗作，县官衣食之。诸取众物鸟兽鱼鳖百虫于山林水泽及畜牧者，嫔妇桑蚕织经纺绩补缝，工匠医巫卜祝及它方技商贩贾人坐肆列里区谒舍，皆各自占所为于其在所之县官，除其本，计其利，十一分

【今译】

市长各为五均司市师。东市称作京，西市称作畿，洛阳称为中，其余四都各用东、西、南、北来称呼，都设置交易丞五人，钱府丞一人。工匠、商人能开采金、银、铜、铅、锡并进献龟贝的，都自己向司市钱府申报，按照一定时机来开采。

又根据《周官》上收取百姓的税法：凡田不耕种为不生产，要交三个劳力的税；城郭中住宅周围不栽树木果实及菜蔬的为不种植，要交三个劳力的布帛；百姓游荡不从事生产的，交劳力役使的费用一匹。其中不能交布的人，做散工，由政府来供给衣食。所有猎取各种物质，包括鸟兽、鱼鳖、百虫于山林、水泽以进行畜养牲畜的人，喂养桑蚕织丝缕和纺织缝补的妇女，工匠、医生、巫师、卜祝以及方技、商贩、商人坐列在市场和客舍的人，在各自向自己所在地的政府申报自己的所作所为，除掉他的本钱，计算他的利润，收取十分之一

the East and West markets at Changan as well as those chiefs of Luoyang, Handan, Linzi, Wan, or Chengdu, were all changed to Masters for Equalizing Markets in Five Cases. The East Market was designated "Capital Master" and the West Market designated "Imperial Domain Master." Luoyang was designated the Middle Master and the other four markets were given the designations East, West, South, and North masters. A system of five exchange deputies and one tax and credit officer was set up in all the seven markets. Craftsmen and traders who were able to gather gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, and to present tortoiseshells and collect cowries were all to make a declaration of their own at the tax and credit offices and to collect such materials and items at fixed times.

Furthermore, in accordance with the *Ritual of Zhou* there were taxes on people. For fields left uncultivated and unproductive, the tax was set at three workmen. For walled estates not planted with trees and vegetables and left as wilderness, there was payable in cloth the equivalent of three workmen. Wanderers without steady employment paid one roll of cloth tax, the equivalent of one workman. Those unable to afford the cloth were assigned for service without fixed duties under the government which clothed and fed them. Under the taxation system came all the following: any person who gathered articles of any kind, birds and beasts, fish and turtles, the hundred insects and reptiles, from mountains and woods, streams and lakes, as well as those who reared and pastured; ladies who worked with mulberry trees, cared for silkworms, wove, laid the warp, drew out fibers, spun threads, mended and sewed; craftsman and mechanics, physicians, sorcerers, diviners, and invokers; as well as practitioners of the alchemical arts, and traders and merchants, traveling or residential, who sat in booths and stalls, and stayed in village inns. All of these were required to make a declaration about their occupations before the local government in their place of residence. In each case they subtracted capital, calculated profits and



【原文】

之，而以其一为贡。敢不自占，自占不以实者，尽没入所采取，而作县官一岁。

诸司市常以四时中月实定所掌，为物上中下之贾，各自用为其市平，毋拘它所。众民卖买五谷布帛丝绵之物，周于民用而不讎者，均官有以考检厥实，用其本贾取之，毋令折钱。万物印贵，过平一钱，则以平贾卖与民。其贾氏贱减平者，听民自相与市，以防贵庾者。民欲祭祀丧纪而无用者，钱府以所入工商之贡但除之，祭祀无过旬日，丧纪毋过三月。民或乏绝，欲贷以治产业者，均授之，除其费，计所得受息，毋过岁什一。

羲和鲁匡言：“名山大泽，盐铁钱布帛，五均除贷，斡在县官，唯酒酤独未斡。酒者，天之美禄，帝王所以颐养天下，享祀祈福，扶

【今译】

的税，再以其中之一作为贡，有胆敢不自己申报的，自报不合实际的，全部没收他所收获的，再为政府劳作一年。

各司市经常在四季中间的一月按实际情况确定所掌管的事情，制定货物上、中、下三等的价格，各自适用自己市场稳定即可，不必拘泥于其他地方。所有人买卖五谷、布帛、丝绵等物，只要是百姓所需要的而又滞销的，均官考查检验确实，就用他本来的价格收购，不要使他折本。所有货物涨价，超过平衡价一钱，就以平价卖给百姓。价格跌落至平价以下的，听任百姓自行参与买卖，以防止囤积居奇的人。百姓想祭祀和办丧事却没有费用的，钱府就用所收入的工匠、商人交的贡不计息赊给他们，祭祀不要超过十天，丧事不要超过三个月。百姓有的穷困，打算贷款来治理产业的，要多少贷给多少，除掉他的费用，计算他的所得收取利息，不超过一年的十分之一。

羲和官鲁匡说：“有名的大山和大湖，盐铁、钱、布帛，五均、除贷，都由政府掌管，只有卖酒还没有人主管。酒，是上天的美好赏

divided the income into ten parts, one part of which was payable as tax. He who dared refuse to make a declaration, or was untruthful in his computations was liable to total confiscation of assets, and to work for the government for one full year.

In the middle month of each of the four seasons, the several masters of the markets would settle all affairs in their remit, and would fix price for articles into high, medium and low. Each made use of them to keep their local market stable, without being restrained by other places. In the buying and selling of the “five grains,” cloth, and silk, for which there was general demand but remained unsold, the equalization office would examine them closely to determine their condition, and buy them up at cost price without incurring loss. Where the price of a commodity exceeded the equitable value by one cash, the commodity would be sold at the equitable price. If the price dropped below that, the people were permitted to put it on the market themselves in order to guard against speculative hoarding. When the people desired to worship and sacrifice, or to observe mourning rites, but were without means, the tax and credit officer would make them interest-free loans out of the tax revenues from craftsmen and traders. Worship and sacrifice loans were repayable within 10 days, whilst mourning loans were on a three-month term. When the people were destitute and exhausted and applied to borrow money on interest in order to establish a business, they were never refused a loan. Subtracting their expenses and calculating upon the balance, the interest rate was not more than 10 percent a year.

The Minister of Treasury Lu Kuang said: “As for the celebrated mountains and great lakes, salt and iron, coinage and textiles of vegetable fibers and of silk; and the five equalization markets including loans made by both with and without interest, control has been placed in the hands of government. Only in the wine trade alone is there no control. Wine is a beautiful blessing of Heaven, and



【原文】

衰养疾。百礼之会，非酒不行。故《诗》曰‘无酒酤我’，而《论语》曰‘酤酒不食’，二者非相反也。夫《诗》据承平之世，酒酤在官，和旨使人，可以相御也。《论语》孔子当周衰乱，酒酤在民，薄恶不诚，是以疑而弗食。今绝天下之酒，则无以行礼相养；放而亡限，则费财伤民。请法古，令官作酒，以二千五百石为一均，率开一卢以卖，雠五十酿为准。一酿用粗米二斛，曲一斛，得成酒六斛六斗。各以其市月朔米曲三斛，并计其贾而参分之，以其一为酒一斛之平。除米曲本贾，计其利而什分之，以其七入官，其三及醴截灰炭给工器薪樵之费。”

羲和置命士督五均六榦，郡有数人，皆用富贾。洛阳薛子仲、张

【今译】

赐，帝王用来保养天下，祭祀鬼神祈求福赐，抚养衰弱和有疾病的人。百礼的举行，没有酒不行。所以《诗》上说‘没有酒我来买’而《论语》说‘买的酒我不喝’，这两种说法并不相反。《诗》上所说的是根据太平的时代，酒税在官府，和美方便，可以互相进用。《论语》上所说的是孔子正当周朝昏乱，酒税在百姓，轻薄邪恶不诚实，因此怀疑而不喝。如今断绝天下的酒，就没有用来行使礼仪和进行抚养的东西了；没有限度地放开，就会浪费财物和伤害百姓。请效法古代，命官府造酒，以二千五百石为一均，先开放一个肆来卖酒，以售出五十酿为基准。一酿用糙米二斛。曲一斛，可得到现成的酒六斛六斗。各自用他们自己购买的每月三斛的米曲，并计算他们的价格把他们分成三份，用其中之一作为一斛酒的平价。除去米曲的成本价格，计算利润分成十份，把七份交给官府，其余三份以及酒浆灰炭供给工匠器械柴火的费用。”

羲和设立命士监督五均六榦，每郡命士有数人，都用富商。洛阳

is that which the rulers use to foster and nourish all under Heaven in offerings, sacrifices, and invocations for happiness, as well as building up the feeble and nourishing the sick. At every gathering and every rite, it would not do to be without wine. For these reasons, the *Book of Odes* says: 'If without wine for guests, I go to buy!' On the other hand, the *Analecets* say 'of bought wine Confucius did not partake.' But the two are not contradictory. The *Book of Odes* shows evidence of a peaceful era, when liquor was sold under official control. Mild and excellent, convenient for all, one could set it before another. The *Analecets* have it that Confucius lived just at the period of decadence and disorder of the Zhou, a time when wine was sold under private enterprise. Poor and unclean, it was adulterated, and therefore not to be trusted, so the Sage did not drink it. Now if all the wine under Heaven should be cut off, then there would be nothing with which to conduct the rites and nourish the needy; not to impose government control and restriction is to waste the wealth of the land, and to harm the people. I beg that the model of the ancients be followed, and that we appoint an office for the making of wine. Consider 2,500 piculs as one jun. On average we open one wineshop to sell in 50 fermentations as a benchmark. One fermentation requires two bushels of coarse millet and one bushel of yeast, in order to produce six bushels and six pecks of liquor. For each we take the new-moon market price of three bushels of husked grain and yeast, divide the cost by three, and take one part as the equitable price for one bushel of wine. From the price we take the cost of the raw materials to calculate the profit, and divide that by 10. The government takes seven-tenths; the remaining three-tenths, together with the wine dregs, ashes and charcoal go to the makers as cover for the costs of production."

The Minister of Treasury set up a system of officials to supervise the Masters for Equalizing Markets in Five Cases and the Six Controls. There were to be several per prefecture, all of them





【原文】

长叔、临菑姓伟等，乘传求利，交错天下。因与郡县通奸，多张空簿，府臧不实，百姓俞病。莽知民苦之，复下诏曰：“夫盐，食肴之将；酒，百药之长，嘉会之好；铁，(曰)[田]农之本；名山大泽，饶衍之臧；五均赊贷，百姓所取平，印以给澹；铁布铜冶，通行有无，备民用也。此六者，非编户齐民所能家作，必印于市，虽贵数倍，不得不买。豪民富贾，即要贫弱，先圣知其然也，故斡之。每一斡为设科条防禁，犯者罪至死。”奸吏猾民并侵，众庶各不安生。

后五岁，天凤元年，复申下金银龟贝之货，颇增减其贾直。而罢大小钱，改作货布，长二寸五分，广一寸，首长八分有奇，广八分，其圜好径二分半，足枝长八分，间广二分，其文右曰“货”，左曰“布”，重二十五铢，直货泉二十五。货泉径一寸，重五铢，文右曰

【今译】

薛子仲、张长叔、临菑姓伟等人，坐着驿站的车去追求利润，在全国到处往来。顺便与郡县相勾结，造了很多假账，官府收藏不充实，百姓更加担心。王莽知道人民为这些事所困苦，重新下诏说：“盐，是饭菜的主帅；酒，是百药的领袖，举行宴会的美物；铁，是进行农作的本钱；名山大湖，是富饶的物质所隐藏的地方；五均赊贷，是百姓用来平价取得物质和供给的依靠；熔铸钱币，是为沟通有无，以备百姓的消费。这六种，不是有户口的平民家家都能自己做到的，必须依靠买卖，即使贵几倍，也不得不买。豪民富商，就利用这要扶贫困弱小，前代的圣贤已知道这种情况，所以要主管他们。每一主管设立条例来防患禁止，违反的人处罚至死。”邪恶的官吏和狡猾的百姓一同侵犯平民，广大人民各自不能安定地生活。

五年后，是天凤元年，重新颁布金银龟贝等货币，大幅度地增减它们的价值。废除大小钱，改为货布，长二寸五分，宽一寸，货布首长八分有余，宽八分，它的圆孔直径二分半，足枝长八分，中间宽二分，其正面右边的文字是“货”，左边的文字是“布”，重二十五



wealthy traders. Xue Zizhong and Zhang Changshu of Luoyang and Xing Wei of Linzi and others traveled by post chaise, crisscrossing the nation in pursuit of profits, doing underhand deals with the prefectures and counties, and compiling fraudulent accounts. The official warehouses were no longer full, and the common people were more than ever stressed. When Wang Mang knew of the people's worries, he issued another edict: "Salt is the commander of delicious viands. Wine is the senior of the hundred medicines, and the delight of happy gatherings. Iron is a fundamental in farming. Famous mountains and great lakes are the storehouses for rich and abundant resources. The Equalizing Markets in Five Cases and the system of credits and loans are the means whereby common people can acquire their needs at an equitable price. Cast metal money is the channel between supply and demand, a means of exchange for the people's expenses. These six controlled things are not permissible for common people to make privately. They must necessarily look to the markets. Though the price may be several times higher, there is no option but to buy. Adventurers and rich merchants then coerce the poor and the weak. The sages of old understood this and wished to control them. For each one of the controls let there be formulated legal articles for preventive and prohibitory control; and let those who offend be punished by death." Predatory officials and unscrupulous commoners alike encroached upon the masses to prevent them leading an untroubled life.

Five years later, in the first year of Tianfeng (14 AD), he again issued gold, silver, tortoiseshell, and cowries as media of exchange, greatly increasing or decreasing their values; both large and small cash were demonetized. They were replaced with spade money *huobu*, two inches and five-tenths long and an inch wide, with a head over eight-tenths long, and eight-tenths wide, pierced by a round hole two and a half tenths in diameter. This forked into legs eight-tenths long, two-tenths apart. The obverse read *huo* on the



【原文】

“货”，左曰“泉”，枚直一，与货布二品并行。又以大钱行久，罢之，恐民挟不止，乃令民且独行大钱，与新货泉俱枚直一，并行尽六年，毋得复挟大钱矣。每壹易钱，民用破业，而大陷刑。莽以私铸钱死，及非沮宝货投四裔，犯法者多，不可胜行，乃更轻其法：私铸作泉布者，与妻子没入为官奴婢；吏及比伍，知而不举告，与同罪；非沮宝货，民罚作一岁，吏免官。犯者俞众，及五人相坐皆没入，郡国槛车铁锁，传送长安钟官，愁苦死者什六七。

作货布后六年，匈奴侵寇甚，莽大募天下囚徒人奴，名曰猪突豮

【今译】

铢，相当于二十五货泉。货泉直径为一寸，重五铢，其正面右边的文字是“货”，左边的文字是“泉”，一枚价值是一，同货布两类一并流行。又因为大钱流通很久，废除它，怕百姓挟带使用不停止，就命百姓暂且单独行使大钱，同新货泉都一枚价值是一，同行共六年，不得再挟带大钱。每一次更改钱币，百姓都要破产，而且大批犯法。王莽把私自铸钱的人处死，以及非议诋毁宝货的人迁徙到边远地区，犯法的人太多了，不能完全执行，就更改减轻刑法：私自铸造泉布的，同妻子儿女一同没收进官府当奴婢；官吏以及左邻右舍，知道而不举报，与犯人同罪；非议诋毁宝货者，百姓罚做一年苦工，官员就被免职。犯法的人更多，等到五人相连坐都没入官府，郡国囚车铁锁，押送到长安钟官，痛苦而死的人十之六七。

制作货布后六年，匈奴入侵很厉害，王莽大规模招募天下的囚犯



right and *bu* on the left. Its weight was 25 *zhu* and its value was 25 *huoquan*. The *huoquan* was one inch across, five *zhu* in weight, with the inscription on the right reading *huo* and that on the left, *quan*. Each coin was worth one *huoquan*. These coins and the spade money were the two types put into circulation at the same time. Furthermore, considering that large cash had been in use for a long time, he feared that even if they were no longer legal tender, the people would not cease to use them. Consequently he ordered that for the time being the people could keep on using the large cash which had the same value as one new *huoquan*, but that after a six-year period of dual circulation, large cash would be withdrawn and its possession no longer permitted. With every change in coinage, people were bankrupted, and broke the law in droves. Wang Mang considered that those privately casting coins should die, and that those who criticized the precious wares system should be banished to the far ends of the empire. However, the law breakers were so many, this was not feasible. He made the penalties less draconian. Those who privately cast *quan* and *bu* money would make serfs together with their wives and children, to serve under government authorities. Should a government official or head of a neighborhood unit know of infringement but not denounce it, they were liable to the same punishment as the offender. Common people who criticized the precious wares system were punished by a year of forced labor, whereas officials faced dismissal for the same offense. Law breakers became the more numerous, and together with non-informing heads of mutually responsible neighbor units, they were all made serfs. From prefectures and fiefs, caged and shackled on government carts, they were escorted to the Mint in Changan to do forced labor. Some 60 or 70 percent of them died of their suffering.

Six years after the coinage of *huobu* money, there were extensive attacks and raids by the Huns. Wang Mang, in a general conscription for military service, mobilized those languishing in the



【原文】

勇，壹切税吏官，訾三十而取一。又令公卿以下至郡县黄绶吏，皆保养军马，吏尽复以与民。民摇手触禁，不得耕桑，徭役烦剧，而枯旱蝗虫相因。又用制作未定，上自公侯，下至小吏，皆不得奉禄，而私赋敛，货赂上流，狱讼不决。吏用苛暴立威，旁缘莽禁，侵刻小民。富者不得自保，贫者无以自存，起为盗贼，依阻山泽，吏不能禽而覆蔽之，浸淫日广，于是青、徐、荆楚之地往往万数。战斗死亡，缘边四夷所系虏，陷罪，饥疫，人相食，及莽未诛，而天下户口减半矣。

自发猪突豨勇后四年，而汉兵诛莽。后二年，世祖受命，荡涤烦

【今译】

和奴隶，叫做猪突豨勇，一切税收都来自官民，收取财产税的三十分之一。又命令公卿以下到郡县黄绶官，都要保养军马，官吏把军马全转给百姓令他们来保养。百姓动辄触犯禁令，不能进行耕种采桑，徭役烦杂沉重，而且有旱灾蝗虫相捣乱。又因为制度没有制定，上自公侯，下至小吏，都得不到俸禄，而私自收取赋税，贿赂上级，不处理案情。官吏凭藉苛刻残暴建立威严，藉着王莽的禁令，侵掠弱小百姓。富有的人不能自我保护，贫困的人无法生存，群起而成为盗贼，依据山湖的险阻，官吏不能擒获他们而隐瞒实情，事情越闹越大，于是青、徐、荆楚等地往往有上万数的人。战争死亡的，沿边境一带被少数民族所俘虏的，犯法的，饥饿疾病而死的以及人吃人的，这样到王莽被杀之前，天下的户口已经减少了一半。

从征发猪突豨勇后四年，汉朝的军队诛杀了王莽。两年后，世祖



empire's prisons, its convict laborers, and its male serfs, calling them the "courageous pigs and valiant boars." A general tax was levied on officials and commoners alike, to the tune of one-thirtieth of their estimated assets. Furthermore, he issued orders that from the highest noble and official at court, down to yellow-ribbon officials at local level, all should raise horses for the armed forces. The authorities in turn imposed this requirement on the people. The people could not move a hand without encountering some prohibition or other. They hardly had a chance to work their land or tend their mulberry trees, and public works labor exhausted them. Drought and plagues of insects, moreover, followed each other in turn. In addition, because institutions were not well established, salaries were not received, whether you were a noble of the realm or a lowly official. On the other hand, they were appropriating taxes and levies for themselves, and bribing their superiors. Trivial and complex legal cases went undecided. Officers used extreme tyranny to establish their prestige. Taking advantage of Wang Mang's prohibition measures, they harried the weak and lowly. The rich were unable to protect themselves; the poor had no means of survival at all. They rose up as thieves and robbers, living as outlaws in the mountains and marshes, out of reach of the authorities, who, unable to capture them, kept quiet about the true situation. Day by day they spread, like water gathering behind a dam. In the lands of Qingzhou, Xuzhou, and Jingzhou, there were often groups of 10,000 upwards. They perished in fighting and combating, were captured along the frontiers by the barbarians, and sank into crime. Many died of hunger and sickness, and some resorted to cannibalism. By the time Wang Mang had been put to death, the population had fallen by half.

Four years after the "courageous pigs and valiant boars" were sent forth, Han soldiers put Wang Mang to death. Two years later, Emperor Shizu the founder of the Eastern Han, receiving the mandate, abolished the vexatious and exacting punishment code. He



【原文】

苛，复五铢钱，与天下更始。

赞曰：《易》称“哀多益寡，称物平施”，《书》云“茂迁有无”，周有泉府之官。而《孟子》亦非“狗彘食人之食不知敛，野有饿莩而弗知发”。故管氏之轻重，李悝之平余，弘羊均输，寿昌常平，亦有从徕。顾古为之有数，吏良而令行，故民赖其利，万国作父。及孝武时，国用饶给，而民不益赋，其次也。至于王莽，制度失中，奸轨弄权，官民俱竭，亡次矣。

——卷二十四下《食货志》第四下

【今译】

承受天命，扫除烦琐和苛刻的刑法，恢复五铢钱，与天下百姓一道除旧布新。

赞曰：《易》上称“把多的取出来给少的，称量物质的多少然后公平地施与”，《书》上说“交易有无”，周朝有泉府的官职，而《孟子》上照样批评“狗和猪吃人吃的食物时不知道收敛，田野中有饿死的人而不知道开仓赈民”。所以管子关于商品、货币、物价的理论，李悝的平余之法，桑弘羊的调剂运输平抑物价，耿寿昌的设立常平仓，也都是有缘故的。只是古代干这些事都有节度，官吏好，法令得以行使，所以百姓依赖他们得好处，天下都太平。到孝武帝时，国家费用富足，百姓不增加赋税，这就差一点了。到了王莽时，制度失中，为非作歹的人掌握权利，官民都被榨干了，这就更差了。

restored the five-zhu cash. Together with all under Heaven he made a new beginning.

Author's comment: The Book of Changes sets forth: "Where there is plenty there should be taken an amount to fill scarcity, to bring about a balance in equal distribution." The Book of Documents mentions: "exchanging what they had for what they had not." The Zhou had the fiscal office of treasurer for market taxes. Mencius too deplored: "When dogs and swine eat the food of men, you do not know how to impose restriction; when people die of hunger in the fields, you do not know how to open up your granaries for them." Consequently, Master Guan had his theory of the light and heavy in merchandise, currency and prices; Li Kui had his balanced prices through purchase of grain; Sang Hongyang the equalizing tax substitution, and Geng Shouchang the equalization of prices. Each policy had its reason for existence. But the ancients applied such things methodically and the officials were virtuous, so that orders were actually implemented. Consequently their people depended upon them for benefits, and the empire enjoyed peace. When it came to the time of Emperor Wudi, the state had ample funds to meet its needs, and taxes on the people did not increase; this was worse than before. When it came to Wang Mang's time, the system lost its balance. Evil doers seized and abused their power. Officials and commoners alike were squeezed dry. No other time was as bad as this.

