

THE *LI-CHIA* SYSTEM IN MING TIMES AND ITS OPERATION IN YING-T'IENT PREFECTURE*

Huang Ch'ing-lien

I. Introduction

The *li-chia* 里甲 system, which operated at the lowest administrative level in Ming China's fiscal hierarchy, played a vital role in both tax collection and labor conscription. In 1381, the central government ordered the local governments to compile "yellow registers" (*huang-ts'e*, 黃冊), thereby providing the Ming government the machinery with which to collect agricultural taxes and register conscript labor. The mechanics of this machinery—the *li-chia* system—were officially inaugurated in the same year.

According to the official *Ming History*, the *li-chia* system stood at the very bottom of local administration. It is reported:

In the fourteenth year of Hung-wu (1381), [Emperor T'ai-tsu] ordered the compilation of "yellow registers for tax and labor levies" (*fu-i huang-ts'e*, 賦役黃冊) for the entire empire. Every 110 households were organized as one *li* 里, and selected to serve as "heads" (*li-chang*, 里長) were the ten people whose families with the largest number of tax-paying adult males (*ting*, 丁) and the greatest holdings of grain. The remaining one hundred households were then divided into ten *chia* 甲, with each being assigned one "head" (*chia-shou*, 甲首). Every year, heads of *li* and *chia* were required to assume responsibility for the affairs of *li* and *chia*. The sequence of

* This article is a revised and expanded version of a paper presented in the Spring, 1980, at the seminar course on Yüan-Ming History, East Asian Studies Department, Princeton University, which was under the instruction of Professor Frederick W. Mote. It represents a projected series of investigation on the local history of Ying-t'ien Prefecture during the Ming times. Professor Mote was then the advisor and director of this project. Each student attending that course was responsible to contribute a presentation which was considered to be related to the investigation. My classmates did their research on the topics such as the local social-economic history of some individual county of this prefecture (Chang Pin-ts'un, Scott Pearce), educational development (Chu Hum-lam), Buddhist monasteries (Shih Shou-ch'ien), commercial activities (Chang Hsiang-wen) and geographical mapping (Keith Hazelton). I have, however, tried to organize the scattered sources from the gazetteers to present the *li-chia* structure and its operation in this area.

I wish to express my gratitude to all the participants in the seminar course for their valuable

service year of such *li-chia* heads was fixed in accordance with their member of males and amount of grain: the more the amount, the earlier the service. Every ten years, in turn, [each head] was assigned a "duty year" (*p'ai-nien*, 排年). [The units of 110 households] were known as *fang* 坊 in the city, "*hsiang*" 廂 in areas near the city, and *li* in villages (*hsiang*, 鄉) and districts (*tu*, 都).¹⁾

comments to my tentative presentation, as well as Professor Mote whose suggestions and encouragement to my original draft, have all contributed to the revision of this article. Professor Richard Davis, Dr. Chang Pin-ts'un, Mr. Wang Daw-hwan, Dr. Tseng Chiu-yu and Ms. Susan Hess were kind enough to spend time to read the revised version and to correct my errors. The research and writing for this article was done while I was supported by the grants from Princeton University and Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. I am, of course, responsible for all errors.

The following abbreviations are used in this article:

- AHL: Average number of Households in a *Li*.
ASH: Average Size of per Household.
CCCPHC: Li Wei-yüeh 李維樾, (*Ch'ung-chen*) *Chiang-p'u hsien-chih* (崇禎) 江浦縣志 (1641 edition).
CCLHHC: Huang Shao-wen 黃紹文, et.al., *Chia-ching Liu-ho hsien-chih* 嘉靖六合縣志 (1553 edition).
CLCJHC: Ts'ao Hsi-hsien 曹襲先, et.al., *Ch'ien-lung Chü-jung hsien-chih* 乾隆句容縣志 (1750, 1900 edition).
HCLYHC: Fu Kuan 符觀, et.al., *Hung-chih Li-yang hsien-chih* 弘治溧陽縣志 (1498 edition).
HKKF: *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan* 新官軌範 (1584 edition; Collected in Hishi copy, orig. in Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫).
KHCNHC: Tai Pen-hsiao 戴本孝, et.al., *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih* 康熙江寧縣志 (1683 edition).
KHKCHC: Li Ssu-ch'üan 李斯詮, *K'ang-hsi Kao-ch'un hsien-chih* 康熙高淳縣志 (1683 edition).
KHLSHC: Fu Kuan-kuang 傅觀光, et.al., (*Kuang-hsü*) *Li-shui hsien-chih* (光緒) 溧水縣志 (1883 edition).
KTCY: Ku Ch'i-yüan 顧起元, *K'o-tso chui-yü* 客座贅語 (1617 edition).
NCC: Wen-jen Ch'üan 聞人詮, et.al., *Nan-chi chih* 南畿志 (1534 edition).
WLCNHC: Shih Yün-chen 石允珍, et.al., (*Wan-li*) *Chiang-ning hsien-chih* (萬曆) 江寧縣志 (1595? edition).
WLCPHC: Shen Meng-hua 沈夢化, et.al., (*Wan-li*) *Chiang-p'u hsien-chih* (萬曆) 江浦縣志 (1579 edition).
WLLHHC: Chang Ch'i-tsung 張啓宗, et.al., *Wan-li Liu-ho hsien-chih* 萬曆六合縣志 (1615 edition).
WLLSHC: Wu Shih-ch'üan 吳仕詮, et.al., *Wan-li Li-shui hsien-chih* 萬曆溧水縣志 (1579 edition).
WLSYHC: Chiao Hung 焦竑, (*Wan-li*) *Shang-yüan hsien-chih* (萬曆) 上元縣志 (1593 edition).
WLYTFC: Wang I-hua 王一化, (*Wan-li*) *Ying-t'ien fu-chih* (萬曆) 應天府志 (1577 edition).

1) Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉, *Ming-shih* 明史 (MS), (Peking, 1975), ch. 77, p. 1878; (*Ta*) *Ming hui-tien* (大) 明會典 (228 chüan edition, compiled under the direction of Shen Shih-hsing 申時行; 1585 revised edition; reprinted by Shanghai Commercial Press, 1936), ch. 20, p. 525. [There is also an earlier 180 chüan compilation, see: Wolfgang Franke. *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1968), p.178.] Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960, 1967), p.32. In this passage, I follow in part Hsiao's translation of the MS description.

This statement, one of the most substantial descriptions among the Ming sources, calls for some attention. The first thing is the function of the system. It is well-known that the *li-chia* headmen had many functions in a given area. But most important were the functions related to tax collection. They were, on the one hand, the tax and labor service agents in their localities, and on the other, they had to fulfill their obligations themselves to the "ordinary labor corvée" (*cheng-i*, 正役). Their roles in tax collection and maintaining social order in their localities were frequently confused with other local chiefs such as "crop-chiefs" (*liang-chang*, 糧長) and "village elders" (*lao-jen* 老人 or *li lao-jen* 里老人). This confusion directly points to a part of the questions concerning this system, namely, our confusion over *li-chia* functions. We shall try to explicate their functions clearly in the first part of this article (Section II), and furnish an historical background for the analyses in the second part of this article (Sections III and IV).

From the above quoted statement, one must also pay attention to the *li-chia* arrangement in different areas. Was the decree of 1381 completely and uniformly carried out throughout the whole empire? Were there any variations in the *li-chia* arrangement among different areas? If variations did exist, to what extent did they deviate from the imperial sanction and the areas concerned? There are two possible approaches to these questions. One approach is to use the "macro-region" as a unit to compare the differences of the system which operated in certain prefectures or counties in that region with other regions. Another approach is to select a "micro-region," i.e., a certain prefecture or county, to analyze the *li-chia* arrangement and operation in that given area. Both of these two approaches have their advantages and disadvantages. A large-scale investigation covering larger geographical areas in the whole empire certainly can help to supply an overall view to the question. But its shortcoming is that because it lays no foundation for detailed comparison, it is thus hard to answer the question concerning deviations among localities well. A small-scale study could cover only a small area, but its advantage is that it can accomodate more detailed information. We have chosen the "micro-region" approach for two reasons. First, although this approach cannot offer the best angle from which to depict the system

operating in Ming China as a whole, it will allow a more thorough investigation which can more satisfactorily answer the above raised questions, at least to the question of deviation among localities. Second, in writing an article rather than an extended work, we would prefer to limit discussion to a specific topic.

There is a considerable amount of literature that contributes to our understanding of the *li-chia* system, but works by the two modern historians Kung-ch'üan Hsiao 蕭公權 and Obata Tatsuo 小畑龍雄 are most directly related to our discussion. Kung-ch'üan Hsiao used many primary sources in writing his book—*Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century*.²⁾ Although this book deals mainly with late Ch'ing rural China, it nevertheless provides us with a good model for discussing the issue that we are concerned here. In discussing the administrative divisions and their functions, Hsiao correctly makes the distinction between the *pao-chia* 保甲 and *li-chia* systems which have for a long time been confused or ignored. He observes that the *pao-chia* units facilitated police control, while the *li-chia* units originally were designed to help in the collection of land taxes and conscription of labor forces.³⁾ More interestingly, his analysis on the “variations in the *li-chia* structure”⁴⁾ uses the “macro-region” approach described above to investigate the *li-chia* arrangements in the nineteenth century Chinese society, and he thereby is able to form some generalizations. He points out that apart from the regular *li-chia* form, the variations of the *li-chia* arrangements in the Ch'ing dynasty deviated from South to North China. After observing that the *li-chia* arrangements deviated from the regular form by adding, omitting, or substituting one or more extra units, Hsiao classifies them into three categories: additive, subtractive, and substitutional variations. Each of these categories also contains several different patterns. The substitutional form is somewhat special in that it can have three patterns: four-(five-) level, three-level and two-(one-) level. Putting these phenomena together, Hsiao concludes that “the Ch'ing rulers did not succeed in establishing a uniform system of tax collection divisions in rural

2) Kuang-ch'üan Hsiao, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Washington Press' 1960, 1967), xiv+783 pp.

3) *Ibid.*, p.49.

4) *Ibid.*, “Appendix I,” pp.521-548.

China.”⁵⁾

The works by the Japanese scholar Obata Tatsuo are also noteworthy. During the 1950's Obata wrote five articles on the Ming *li-chia* system and the “village elders” system.⁶⁾ In contrast to the “macro-region” approach used by Kung-ch'üan Hsiao, his approach is mainly a “micro-region” one. Although he realizes the variations existed in the *li-chia* system, he engages in constructing general principles for the *li-chia* arrangements. He points out that the Ming *li-chia* system was initially based upon the number of households, and it subsequently came to be based upon land holdings.⁷⁾ This is why he pays attention to the size of AHL (Average Household number within a *Li*) when investigating the *li-chia* structure in Hai-yen Hsien 海鹽縣, Chekiang Province.⁸⁾ Nevertheless, this approach cannot well answer problems concerning this system, especially that of its variations. It seems that Obata has been aware of this problem. After making some modifications, he sets up three principles for the *li-chia* arrangements: a) the principle of *ting* numbers (*ting-shu yüan-tse*, 丁數原則), b) the principle of silver ounces (*liang-shu yüan-tse*, 兩數原則) and c) the principle of grain amount (*liang-shu yüan-tse*, 糧數原則).⁹⁾ The three principles are mentioned neither in the Ming decrees nor in Obata's previous articles. But it is clear that these principles are in accordance with the number of male adults, the amount of labor services and land taxes.

The present work is essentially a case study. It contains two parts: the first part (Section II) deals with the formation and functions of the

5) *Ibid.*, p.548.

6) The five articles written by Obata Tatsuo 小畑龍雄 during the 1950's are: (1) “Mindai kyokuso no rōjinsei,” 明代極初の老人制 (“The elder system during the earliest Ming times,”) *Yamaguchi Daigaku Bungaku Kaiji* 山口大學文學會誌, 1.1 (1950), pp.61-70; (2) “Setsukō Kai-en-ken no rikō,” 浙江海鹽縣の里甲 (“The *li-chia* system in Hai-yen Hsien, Chekiang Province”), *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報, (Kyoto), Vol.18 (1950), pp.138-151; (3) “Mindai kyōson no kyōko—shinmeitei o chūshin toshite,” 明代郷村の教化——申明亭を中心として (“Public instruction in the Ming villages”), *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 11.5,6 (1956), pp.23-43; (4) “Kōnan ni okeru rikō no hensei ni tsuite,” 江南における里甲の編成について (“On the arrangements of the *li-chia* system in South China”), *Shirin* 史林, 39.2 (1956), pp.1-35; (5) “Rikō hensei ni kansuru sho mondai,” 里甲編成に關する諸問題 (“The problems concerning the formation of the *li-chia*”), *Yamaguchi Daigaku Bungaku Kaiji*, 9.1 (1958), pp.40-60

7) Obata Tatsuo, “Setsukō Kai-en-ken no rikō,” p.151; “Kōnan ni okeru rikō no hensei ni tsuite,” p.1.

8) Obata Tatsuo, “Setsukō Kai-en-ken no rikō,” pp.138-151.

9) Obata Tatsuo, “Rikō hensei ni kansuru sho mondai,” pp.40-60.

Ming *li-chia* system, and the second part (Sections III and IV) concentrates on the *li-chia* arrangements in the Ying-t'ien Fu 應天府 area. We will first attempt to explicate the *li-chia* functions, and next to construct the *li-chia* arrangements in an area including as many as eight counties. We shall re-examine some principles or generalizations raised by Kung-ch'üan Hsiao and Obata Tatsuo, and further compare the forms and patterns of the *li-chia* arrangement in Ying-t'ien Fu area with the variations revealed by Hsiao. To test the principles fabricated by Obata, we shall carefully reconstruct and analyze the *li-chia* structure in the eight counties, and use the size of AHL to determine if there were any principles suitable for understanding the *li-chia* structure in this particular area.

II. Formation and Functions of the *Li-chia* System

Traditional Chinese governments always used numerical groups of households to represent the local administrative unit. These groups were regularly formed in units of five and ten, or multiples of the two numbers. Ideally, since the appearance of the *Chou-li* 周禮—a book forged during Han times—in which the rural administrative organizations were numerated in the way stated above, Chinese rural administrations were to varying degree based upon this ideal.¹⁰⁾ In practice, regardless of whether the ideal could actually be carried out in local administrative practice, every Chinese dynasty adopted it as a guiding principle of administrative policy. This is proven through select statements in the *Chou-li* and edicts of Chinese imperial governments.

The *Chou-li* uses “five” as the basic unit to construct the pyramid of local administrative structure. It states: ¹¹⁾

Let five households (*chia*, 家) serve as one *pi* 比, five *pi* as one *lū* 閭, four *lū* as one *tsu* 族, five *tsu* as one *tang* 黨, five *tang* as one *chou* 州, five *chou* as one *hsiang* 鄉.

This is commonly known to the “six-*hsiang* system” (*liu-hsiang chih-chih*, 六鄉之制). It established a hierarchy as follows: 5 households constituted the *pi*, 25 households the *lū*, 100 households the *tsu*, 500 households the

10) One might also note evidence for this principle in pre-*Chou-li* times. For one example in the *Kuan-tzu* 管子, see K. C. Hsiao, *A History of Chinese Political Thought*, trans. by F. W. Mote (Princeton University Press, 1979), pp.364-365.

11) *Chou-li* 周禮 (SPTK edition), ch. 3, p 49a.

tang, 2,500 households the *chou*, and 12,500 households the *hsiang*. Coexisting with this was the so-called "six-*sui* system" (*liu-sui chih-chih*, 六遂之制). The *Chou-li* says:¹²⁾

Let five households serve as one *lin* 鄰, five *lin* as one *li* 里, four *li* as one *tsan* 鄣, five *tsan* as one *pi* 鄙, five *pi* as one *hsien* 縣, and five *hsien* as one *sui* 遂.

In other words, when we compare these two systems, *pi* 比 was comparable to *lin* at the same level, and *lū* to *li*, etc. In spite of the fact that these two systems are too perfect to be accepted as genuinely implemented, we find that these systems exerted great influence on subsequent local administrative organizations.¹³⁾ For example, the Northern Wei enforced a so-called "three chiefs systems" (*san-chang chih*, 三長制) in A.D. 486, whereby it was ordered that "five *lin* should select a *li* chief, and five *li* should select a *tang* 黨 chief."¹⁴⁾ In A.D. 564, the Northern Ch'i government ordered that "ten households be taken as *pi-lin*, fifty households as *lū-li*, one hundred households as *tsu-tang*."¹⁵⁾

During early Sui times, the government ordered that "five households shall constitute one *pao* 保, and each *pao* shall have a chief head; five *pao* shall constitute one *lū* and four *lū* one *tsu*, both of which shall have chiefs called *cheng* 正."¹⁶⁾ In A.D. 589, the Sui government further ordered that one *hsiang* contain one hundred households.¹⁷⁾ The T'ang government used a similar system. The *T'ung-tien* 通典 describes its structure as follows:¹⁸⁾

One hundred households are to be organized into one *li*, five *li* into one *hsiang*, four households into one *lin*, and three households into one *pao*. In every *li* there is to be one *cheng* to serve as

12) *Ibid.*, ch. 4, p.71a.

13) Two Japanese scholars, Kuribayashi Noruo 栗林宣夫 and Shimizu Morimitsu 清水盛光, found that the *Chou-li* had great influence on the local administrative system from the Northern Wei through the Ming or Ch'ing. See: Kuribayashi Nobuo. "Mindai no rikōsei" 明代の里甲制 ("The *li-chia* system in the Ming dynasty,") *Rekishi Kyōyoku* 歴史教育, 3-8 (1955), p.32; Shimizu Morimitsu, *Chūgoku no kyōson tōji to sonraku* 中國の鄉村統治と村落 (*Chinese Rural Control and Village*) collected in the *Shakai kōseishi taikei* 社會構成史體系 (Tokyo, 1949). p.15.

14) Wei Shou 魏收, *Wei-shu* 魏書 (Peking, 1974), ch. 110, p.2855.

15) Wei Cheng 魏徵, et.al., *Sui-shu* 隋書 (Peking, 1973), ch. 24, p.677.

16) *Ibid.*, ch. 24, p.680.

17) *Ibid.*, ch. 2, p.32.

18) Tu Yu 杜佑, *T'ung-tien* 通典 (Chekiang shu-chū edition, 1896), 3:12a-b.

chief (as for regions with mountains, valleys, or in danger, as well as those in distant and unpopulated places, [the people] are permitted to establish these by themselves); the chief is responsible for keeping track of the population, helping agriculture to flourish, warding off crimes and illegal activities, and assessing taxes and conscripting corvée labor.

Included among the new policies of the great Sung reformer Wang An-shih (王安石, 1021-1086) was the *pao-chia* code (*pao-chia fa*, 保甲法)—a system of rural administration that closely parallels earlier models. In the twelfth month of 1070, the Sung government ordered:¹⁹⁾

For every ten households constituting one *pao*, one native household (*chu-hu*, 主戶) with administrative ability is to be selected to serve as chief (*pao-chang*, 保長). For every fifty households constituting one large *pao* (*ta-pao*, 大保), one native household is to be selected to serve as chief (*ta-pao-chang*, 大保長), they are [the households] most willing and able to serve in administration and with the largest property. For every ten large *pao* constituting one *tu-pao* 都保, again, there is to be selected one chief (*tu-pao-cheng*, 都保正) and one assistant chief (*fu-tu-pao-cheng*, 副都保正), they are [the households] with the most ability and property and who are respected by the people.

This means that 10 households counted as one *pao*, 50 households as one large *pao*, and 500 households as one *tu-pao*. In 1073, there were slight modifications of this system: 5 households became one small *pao* (*hsiao-pao*, 小保), 25 households became one large *pao*, 250 households one *tu-pao*.²⁰⁾ With the Yüan dynasty, there emerged the so-called "community system" (*she-chih*, 社制), where 50 households comprised one *she* and a senior man familiar with agriculture was chosen to serve as its chief (*she-chang*, 社長).²¹⁾

19) Li T'ao 李燾, *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1964 reprinted), 218:6a. For the reform and new policies of Wang An-shih, see James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and His New Policies* (Harvard University Press, 1959).

20) *Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*, 248:8a.

21) Matsumoto Yoshimi 松本善海, "Gendai ni okeru sha-sei no sōritsu," 元代における社制の創立 ("The establishment of the *she* system in the Yüan period,"), *Tōhō Gakuho* 東方學報 (Tokyo), 11.1 (1940), pp.328-337.

From the above cited documents, we can see that, traditionally, Chinese dynasties always used the specific numbers five, ten, and multiples of the two as the structural principle for rural administrative organization. Although historians remain uncertain about the extent to which this system was implemented, we do know that the principle itself was a familiar one to imperial Chinese decision-makers. Previous research has shown, and we will discover here also, that the Ming and Ch'ing governments exerted their authority through basically the same machine on the level of local administration.²²⁾

It is important to note here that according to Kung-ch'üan Hsiao, the *pao-chia* and *li-chia* system differed significantly in function: the *pao-chia* units facilitated police control, while the *li-chia* units originally were designed to help in the collection of taxes and labor forces.²³⁾ Indeed, it is well known that the Sung *pao-chia* system had the former function, while the Ming *li-chia* system had the latter. Nevertheless, both the T'ang *li-hsiang-lin-pao* system and the Yüan *she* system incorporated both functions into one institution—the *li-chia* system.

The Ming *li-chia* system was officially established in 1381, as noted in Section I. In its ideals, it was certainly influenced by traditional Chinese concepts of rural administrative structure. For example, 110 households constituted one *li*, 10 of which were chosen as *li* chiefs and the remaining 100 were divided into 10 *chia* of 10 households each. This was clearly an application of the basic principle of using multiples of five or ten. But because the *li-chia* system of Ming times represented only one element in rural organization, it was also supplemented by the "village elder (*lao-jen*, 老人) system" and the "crop-chief (*liang-chang*, 糧長) system."²⁴⁾ We will see that the Ming government went further than any government before it in establishing a complex structure of sub-*hsien* administration.

The "village elder system" was established in 1394 (although it was

22) cf. note 7).

23) cf. note 3).

24) The "crop-chief" (*liang-chang*) system has long time been an interesting subject studied by the specialists of Ming history. Liang Fang-chung 梁方仲, for example, has a classic study on this subject. See his "Ming-tai liang-chang chih-tu" 明代糧長制度, *Chung-kuo she-hui ching-chi-shih chi-k'an* 中國社會經濟史集刊, 7.2 (1946), pp.107-133. This article was partially translated into English by E-tu Zen Sun & John de Francis. See *Chinese Social History* (N.Y.: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966), pp.249-269. The *liang-chang* was translated as "local tax collectors" by Sun and de Francis.

not fully implemented until 1398) to maintain social order. Under this system, village elders over eighty years of age could receive monthly stipends, official titles such as "gentlemen of the village" (*li-shih*, 里士) and "gentlemen of the community" (*she-shih*, 社士), and were appointed as advisors to settle local disputes. This system performed at least four functions: a) to handle judicial cases;²⁵⁾ b) to oversee agriculture; c) to maintain local peace; d) to instill the state ideology into the minds of the populace.²⁶⁾

The crop-chief system, like the *li-chia* system, was established in the early years of the Ming dynasty and developed gradually.²⁷⁾ Initially, this system was devised to collect tax grain from rural areas. The organizations of local divisions of this system depended upon the size of the population and production at the sub-county level. Subsequently, the crop-chief and *li-chia* systems were mixed together. According to the *Fu-i huang-ts'e*, these two systems were concerned with rural tax imposts and labor corvée. Their real functions were thereby often confused, not only among the Ming scholars, but also by modern historians. The obvious reason was that the basic administrative units in the two systems were similarly called *li* and *chia*. When a crop-chief collected the tax in his "grain-area" (*liang-ch'ü*, 糧區), he needed the help from other local chiefs, namely, the heads of *chia* and *li*, and village elders. This is the reason why many sources say that the *li-chia* headmen were involved in the tax collecting procedure. Furthermore, when one person played many roles simultaneously in different systems, the functions of these systems could easily be confused. For example, a report from the late sixteenth century (i.e., Wan-li period) mentions one person who simultaneously served as chief of *fang-li* (*fang-li chang*, 坊里長), the chief of tax collectors (*shou-*

25) Obata Tatsuo 小畑龍雄, "Mindai kyōson no kyōka—Shinmeitei o chūshin toshite," 明代郷村の教化——申明亭を中心として ("Public instruction in the Ming villages"), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究, 11.5,6 (1956), pp.23-43.

26) George Jer-lang Chang 張哲郎, "The village elder system of the early Ming dynasty," *Ming Studies*, No.7 (1978), pp. 53-62. This article makes some arguments on the establishment date of the elders system. See also Hosono Kōji 細野浩二, "Rirōjin to shūrōjin—Kyōmin banbun no rikai ni kanrenshite," 里老人と家老人——「教民榜文」の理解に關連して ("Li-lao-jen and chung-lao-jen—how to understand the Chiao-min pang-wen,") *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, 78.7 (July, 1969), pp.51-68. Obata Tatsuo, "Mindai kyōkuso no rōjinsei", pp.61-70.

27) Liang Fang-chung 梁方仲, *Ming-tai liang-chang chih-tu* 明代糧長制度 (*The Corps-heads System in the Ming Period*), (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957, 1962). The short book is based on Liang's previous article cited in note 24).

t'ou, 收頭) the off-duty grain-chief (*k'ung-i liang-chang*, 空役糧長), and judicial elder (*kung-chih lao-jen*, 公直老人).²⁸⁾ In order to make our point clearer, it is thus necessary to examine more closely the history and function of the *li-chia* system.

When Chu Yüan-chang unified the whole empire, it was urgent for him to end the long period of social-economic chaos which occurred during the late Yüan times. To achieve this goal, Emperor T'ai-tsu (i.e., Chu Yüan-chang) had to set up a plan to facilitate the recovery of agricultural productivity and administrative machinery at the village level. The most convenient way for him was to bring the *she* system of the previous dynasty to life and put it under the direction of the Office of Agriculture (*Ssu-nung ssu*, 司農司).²⁹⁾ In 1364, Chu Yüan-chang proclaimed himself King of Wu (Wu Wang, 吳王). He organized his people, into units of 50 households each, so that they would work harder at farming their land. Some regulations were issued in the following year which imitated the Yüan *she* system. Three years later, in 1368, when Chu became the emperor of China proper, he established six ministries as the major machinery of the central government and issued edicts giving directions for governing rural areas. An edict giving directions for the "rites of local banquet" in *li-she* 里社 was promulgated in 1368. In 1370, in Hu-chou 湖州, a proto-type of the *li-chia* system was set up, though it was not quite similar to the officially inaugurated system of 1381.

In 1372, some regulations concerning rural religious ceremonies were proclaimed. One of them required that every one hundred households be organized as a "meeting" (*hui*, 會) headed by a crop-chief or head

28) Sun P'i-yang 孫丕揚, et, al., *Hsün-fang tsung-yüeh* 巡方總約 (1594 edition), 26a. Collected in P'eng Ying-pi 彭應弼, ed., *Ting-chün ta-Ming lü-li fa-ssu tseng-pu hsing-shu chü-hui* 鼎鑄大明律例法司增補刑書據會, ch.12. Hishi copy (orig. in Naikaku Bunko); As for "judicial elders," see: *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan* 新官軌範 (1584 edition), 7b-8a. Also collected in Hishi copy (orig. in Naikaku Bunko). It suggests that the magistrate set up a "*chih-lao*" (直老; a judicial elder on his turn) within thirty or forty households from among the "*li-lao*" (里老, *li* elders).

29) Matsumoto Yoshimi 松本善海, "Mindai ni okeru risei no soritsu" 明代に於ける里制の創立 ("The establishment of the *li* system in the Ming period,"), *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 (Tokyo), 12.1 (May, 1941), p.110.

of the *li*.)³⁰⁾ These kinds of religious ceremonies held in the villages were carefully and fastidiously recorded in the ceremonial regulations of the Hung-wu period, the *Hung-wu li-chih* 洪武禮制.³¹⁾ In addition to the local religious function, another function of the *li* emphasized by the government was to handle judicial cases. A court of appeals known as *shen-ming-t'ing* 申明亭 was established for this reason in every *li*. These two functions, as pointed out previously, were a duplication of the "village elders system".³²⁾

The *li-chia* headmen also performed a number of particular functions which were assigned by the government. One was the so-called "ordinary labor corvée" (*cheng-i*, 正役). Its functions were different from those of the "miscellaneous labor corvée" (*tsa-i*, 雜役) which was in the charge of crop-chiefs, headmen of pond (*t'ang-chang*, 塘長) or village elders.³³⁾ The *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典 states that the duty of crop-chief was "to oversee the routine business within each *li*."³⁴⁾ However the Ming codes stated that their duty was "to help collect money and labor forces, to oversee the routine business [in each *li*]."³⁵⁾ According to the official *Ming History*, we know that *li-chia* headmen performed at least two other functions which were more important than the religious and judicial functions. The first one was to collect the taxes. In this case, the *li-chia* headmen had the duties of helping to collect money and to enforce labor service required of the commoners, while crop-chiefs had the obligations of transporting items from the countryside to the seats of the

30) *Ibid.*, p.111. The terms of "*li-chia*" and "*li-chang*" can be certainly found in the very beginning of the Ming dynasty. In the case of Hu-chou 湖州, a system called the "Small Yellow Register-Map" (*hsiao huang-ts'e-t'u*, 小黃冊圖) was set up in 1370, which was an proto-type of the *li-chia* system. It was a little different from the officially inaugurated regulations of 1381. See: *Yung-lo Ta-tien* 永樂大典 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), ch.2277: 5b-6a. This source is quoted from the *Wu-hsing hsü-chih* 吳興續志. Also cf. Maeda Tsukasa 前田司, "Rikōsei seiritsu no katei ni tsuite" 里甲制成立の過程について ("On the process of the *li-chia* formation"), in *Chugoku Zen Kindaishi Kenkyū* 中國前近代史研究 (Tokyo, 1980), pp.204-220. Kurihayashi Noruo 栗林宣夫, *Rikōsei no kenkyū* 里甲制の研究 (Tokyo, 1971), pp.5-7.

31) *Hung-wu li-chih i-chu* 洪武禮制儀注, collected in P'eng Ying-pi. *op. cit.*, ch.12.

32) cf. note 25).

33) Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武, *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping-shu* 天下郡國利病書, (Kuang-ya shu-chü edition, 1900), 20:18a-33b, in the section of "Chia-ting hsien-chih" 嘉定縣志。

34) *Ming Hui-tien*, ch.20, p.525.

35) Shu Hua 舒化, et. al., *Ming-lü chi-chieh fu-li* 明律集解附例 (Hsiu-ting fa-lü-kuan, 1908), 4:20a, puts as: "催辦錢糧, 勾攝公事。"

counties' or prefectures' government. This division of responsibility developed and became a model well before the reigns of Ch'eng-hua (成化, 1465-1487) and Hung-chih (弘治, 1488-1505), and did not change until the reign of Chia-ching (嘉靖, 1522-1566). In the late Ming, local governments did not ask *li-chia* headmen to expedite the collection of the taxes any more, but put pressure on the crop-chiefs to do that task by setting a deadline.³⁶⁾

When the *li-chia* headmen were incumbent upon their rotation, i.e., at the turn of "duty year" and they were thereby called the "on duty" *li-chia* headmen (*hsien-i li-chang* or *chia-shou*, 見役里長, 甲首), they also were required to enforce corvée labor from the people of each *li* or *chia*. The term for the corvée labor that they were responsible for was the "ordinary labor corvée" (which also included "equalization of corvée service [*chün-yao*, 均徭] and "miscellaneous corvée service" [*tsa-fan*, 雜泛]), which was different from the "miscellaneous labor corvée."³⁷⁾ This function was one of the most important reasons for the existence of the *li-chia* system.

The *li-chia* system involved complicated operations of the corvée conscription system in rural areas. The *li-chia* headmen were obligated to offer "ordinary labor corvée" themselves. For example, during the Chia-ching period, Ou-yang To 歐陽鐸, the Grand Coordinator (*hsün-fu*, 巡撫) of Ying-t'ien Fu, investigated the problems of the services of *li-chia* headmen through eight disbursement categories which were regarded as the most important duties of the *li-chia* headmen. These were a) expenditures from the merger of *ting* taxes and land taxes (*ting-t'ien*, 丁田); b) expenditures for the ceremonies of congratulations (*ch'ing-ho*, 慶賀); c) expenditures for religious ceremonies (*chi-ssu*, 祭祀); d) expenditures for local wine-drinking ceremonies conducted by officials or gentries (*hsiang-yin*, 鄉飲); e) stipends to *chü-jen* 舉人 and *kung-sheng* 貢生, etc. (*k'o-ho*, 科賀); f) expenditures for relief measures and welfare (*hsü-cheng*, 郵政); g) expenditures for routine official purposes (*kung-fei*, 公費); and h) money

36) MS, ch.78, p.1898.

37) MS, ch.78, p.1893. Unlike the *li-chia* services, the *chün-yao* services were assigned to adult males. See: Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (Harvard University Press, 1959), p.26. Further discussion on the *chün-yao* can be found in Ray Huang, *Taxation and Government Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China* (Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp.6, 36, 38, 91, 110, 112, 147, etc.

reserved for the future use of official travelers (*pei-yung*, 備用).³⁸⁾

In carrying out the duties of the "ordinary labor corvée," the *li-chia* services actually covered more items than the Ming regulations specifically required. After the *li-chia* system was set up, it gradually decayed or became corrupted by local officials. Some local officials compelled *li-chia* headmen themselves to offer the corvée labor if they failed to conscript it from the people. It caused many officials to argue that the burdensome distribution of *li-chia* services was unfair and unbearable during the middle and late Ming times. Many *li-chia* headmen resigned or even became fugitives rather than be bankrupted by the heavy burdens of corvée services.³⁹⁾ For instance, many cases show that the *li-chia* services included supplying the personal attendants (*tsao-li*, 皂隸), the laborers and horses (*li-chia fu* 里甲夫 and *li-chia ma* 里甲馬) for the local officials.⁴⁰⁾ These various labor services, i.e., providing laborers or horses, mostly were not conscripted by the *li-chia* headmen during early Ming times, but were imposed from the mid-Ming times on.⁴¹⁾

A book entitled *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan* (新官軌範, HKKF, *The rules for new magistrates*, published in 1565; reprinted in 1585; its author is un-

38) MS, ch.78, p.1900. For the case of Ying-t'ien Prefecture, the *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping-shu* states 12 items to be investigated by the *li-chia* services (14:6a). These 12 items are almost as same as those in MS. For the expenditure of official affairs, most of them were for the costs of office maintenance, see Ray Huang, *op. cit.*, p.30. In fact, there were still more categories for corvée levied from *li-chia* such as the expenditures of grains-transportation, transport workers, guard-soldiers and all governments expenses, etc. See: Yamane Yukio 山根幸夫, "Mindai richō no shokuseki ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu," 明代里長の職責に関する一考察 ("On the duty of the village headmen in the Ming period"), *Tōhōgaku* 東方學, 3 (1952), pp.5-6.

39) Obata Tatsuo, "Kōnan ni okeru rikō no hensei ni tsuite," p.31.

40) On the salary of the Ming officials, Ray Huang says that they supplemented their nominal salaries with the commutation of the personal attendants (*tsao-li*) furnished by the government. This practice started in the early years of fifteenth century. See Ray Huang, *op. cit.*, pp.48-49. Cf. Kuribayashi Noruo, *Rikōsei no kenkyū*, pp.81-91.

41) In general, the terms *tsao-li* and *li-chia fu* referred to cooks, buglers, boatmen, patrolmen, jailers, grooms, receiving men in the warehouses, operators of canal watergates, and clerical assistants. See: Yamane Yukio, *op. cit.*, pp.6-7; Ray Huang, *op. cit.*, p.34. *T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping-shu*, 13:41a-46a, 13:55a-b, states one corvée service, the *huo-chia* 火甲, which was initiated in the Hung-wu period to collect the patrolmen. In this service, there were one *tsung-chia* 總甲 and five *huo-fu* 火夫 who patrolled the town or city every day. These men were chosen from the *li-chia* population by turns. It became so corrupt a practice that a censor Ting Pin 丁賓 in Nanking criticized it, making the accusation that the service was not employed for the government and therefore disturbed the common people. Ting suggested the government set up a budget to hire the *li-chia* households.

known) provides us with a great deal of information concerning the practical business of *li-chia* intended for the use of new magistrates.⁴²⁾ From this book and other related sources, we can summarize some facts about the *li-chia* system:

1) The recruitment of *li-chia* headmen:

HKKF states that the magistrates themselves should investigate privately which person was suitable to be appointed as *li* headmen instead of his being recommended by his subordinates.⁴³⁾ The decree of 1381, as cited in Section I, indicates that the principle of selecting *li* headmen (*li-chang*) and *chia* headmen (*chia-shou*) favored those families with more males and great wealth. The numbers of these headmen were, as pointed out by a 1530's proclamation, 10 *li-chang* and 100 *chia-shou* within one *li*.⁴⁴⁾ Since they were chosen in accordance with a rotation system called "duty year" (*p'ai-nien*), every year there were 1 *li-chang* and 10 *chia-shou* on active duty within one *li*. Once the *li-chang* had been chosen, no substitute was allowed to serve in his place during that particular duty year. This *li-chang* had to be the exact person himself and was called "*li-chang cheng-shen*" 里長正身.⁴⁵⁾ The tenth month of each year was when the *li-chang* duty changed from one person to another.⁴⁶⁾

2) The obligation of *li-chia* headmen:

We have already described the obligation of *li-chia* headmen above. The *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan* explains these obligations in a different way: the *li-chia* headmen represented their communities and were responsible for supporting the expenditures of the government (*chih-ying shang-ssu*, 支應上司) and to meet the expenses of budget items (*ch'u-pan hsia-ch'eng*, 出辦下程), which were equivalent to those of eight categories of the duties of *li-chia* headmen mentioned above. In order to oversee that the *li-*

42) The *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan* (HKKF; 新官軌範, *The Rules for New Magistrates*, 1594 edition; cf. note 28) has only one *chüan*, but supplies complete information on the county's daily administrative work. The main purpose of this book is to offer the rules for magistrates to follow in order to become a good officer. Although the rules written in this book represents the regulations from the decrees issued by the Ming government or the moral judgements from the points of view of the author, we can find evidence here for the real operation of administration in *hsien*-level government.

43) HKKF, p.29a.

44) *T'iao-li pei-k'ao* 條例備考, hu-pu 戶部, "tsan-tsao 攢造", ch.2, p.38.

45) HKKF, p.28a.

46) *Ibid.*, p.14a.

chia headmen perform their duties well, this book points out that the magistrates should: a) adopt the former magistrate's procedures for controlling of *li-chia* headmen and put them under his direct supervision; b) divide all *li* into three levels in accordance with the population size: higher *li* (*shang-li*, 上里), middle *li* (*chung-li*, 中里), and lower *li* (*hsia-li*, 下里), and set the amount of payment for each *li*; c) send two or three reliable persons to collect the payments from each *li*. This book also suggests the magistrates had better ensure that the records of payments were *sans reproche*.⁴⁷⁾

3) The joint operation of routine business by the *li-chia* headmen and county officials:

Being a so-called "parent official" of the common people, the magistrate was in charge of everything within his jurisdiction. While *li-chia* headmen stood at the lowest level of the rural administrative framework, they nonetheless were under the command of the magistrate and were obliged to report their work to the county governments. The HKKF describes their tasks in great detail: *li-chia* headmen should "attend to their corvée services without interruption" (*ch'ang-ch'uan ying-i*, 常川應役) and go to get the orders from the county offices every five days.⁴⁸⁾ When a new magistrate took up his official appointment, *li-chia* headmen should go to county offices twice a month, on the first and the fifteenth days of the month. On these occasions the magistrate offered his warnings and encouragements to *li-chia* headmen.⁴⁹⁾ The *li-chia* headmen should also carry out their duty of helping collect taxes and corvées. In order to avoid corruption, *li-chia* headmen should go by themselves rather than only sending their agents to the countryside.⁵⁰⁾

4) Rendering assistance to local governments in the compilation of "yellow registers":

"Yellow registers" were important transcripts for the Ming administration. All the taxes and corvées were collected through them. Since the *li-chia* was the basic administrative unit of the Ming rural China, their headmen certainly had some responsibility to help compile them.

47) *Ibid.*, p.14b.

48) *Ibid.*, p.28a.

49) *Ibid.*, p.4a.

50) *Ibid.*, p.28b.

The Ming central government ordered that every ten years the "yellow registers" should be revised. The HKKF discusses the procedures of their compilation as follows: before beginning compilation, the magistrate should order *li-chia* headmen as a part of their duties to present a book, listing the names of households, along with the boundaries and size of every household's land, to local governments. When the compilation started, the local officials should choose a spacious and quiet place near the *li-chia* community to do their work. On this occasion, *li-chia* headmen should prepare one desk, one chair and 50 to 70 big sheets of paper and the previous registers for the same community for local officials to check.⁵¹⁾ The regular format of the "yellow registers" used "*li-chia* blanks" (which were called *li-chia ke-yen* 里甲格眼, for each empty space was made by cross lines like a lattice) in which names of the members of the household were filled out first; and the amount of properties and taxes was written down second.⁵²⁾

5) Assisting the local officials to assess the taxes and corvées:

Which households in a *li* or *chia* should pay the most tax or corvée? How could the taxpaying and corvée services be fairly arranged? These were no doubt questions involving the interests of all the *li-chia* masses. Since the Ming government expected that *li-chia* headmen were to be the wealthy people in their home localities and familiar with the financial situation of their neighbors, the magistrates were instructed by the *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan* to call for their assistance in making decisions. It is interesting to point out here that the *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan* recommends a trick so that the magistrate can put the whole procedure under control: First of all, he ought to order *li-chia* headmen, village elders and writers to come to the county office early in the morning. These people should be divided into three groups and not allowed to speak to each other. Then he should try to find the financial records for every household through the "yellow registers," and ask for the opinions from *li* headmen and village elders as to the amount of the tax each household should pay.

51) *Ibid.*, pp.11a-b, 25b-26a.

52) *Ibid.*, p.12a; *T'iao-li pei-k'ao*, hu-pu, "ch'ing-chi 清籍", ch.2, p.36b, collects a memorial of 1530 which discussed how to balance the taxes and corvée of common people through compiling the "yellow registers." In this memorial, it also mentioned the so-called "*li-chia* blanks."

Before asking them, the magistrate should warn them that the penalty for telling false information was 80 strokes (*chang*, 杖). By doing this he could obtain the true local financial situation from the frightened *li-chia* headmen before him.⁵³⁾ Arranging the corvée service equally was another duty of the *li-chia* headmen. They had to help the local officials to revise the "yellow registers" regularly in order to avoid unfair imposition among the *li-chia* masses.⁵⁴⁾

Judging from the above statements, there is not a shadow of doubt that the *li-chia* system was the nucleus of the Ming rural administrations. It plays a key role in helping us understand problems concerning the social structure. But because our previous descriptions only represent the policy of the Ming government, we must also investigate it from other perspectives. In the following section, the operation of this system in Ying-t'ien Fu area shall be examined.

III. The *Li-chia* Structure in the Ying-t'ien Fu Area

The operation of the Ming *li-chia* system in both rural and urban areas did not completely follow the pattern set up by the decrees. Nor was it carried out uniformly from prefecture to prefecture or from county to county. Moreover, the decrees themselves show some variations. For example, the decree of 1381 said that 110 households constituted one *li*. The system as applied in Hai-yen Hsien 海鹽縣, Chekiang Province, however, offers an instance in which no figures are to be found consistent with the decree throughout the whole Ming dynasty. According to a report written by Obata Tatsuo in 1950, we know that the average number of households in a *li* (AHL) in Hai-yen Hsien changed over time: 304 in 1391, 256 in 1412, 125 in 1429, 165 in 1462, 166 in 1482, 159 in 1552. Although Obata was trying to explain these changes, including the numbers of *li* and population differentials, he failed to explain why the size of AHL was farther from that stipulated in the decree in the early Ming times (Hung-wu and Yung-lo periods) than they were during the mid-Ming times (Hsüan-te, T'ien-shun, Ch'eng-hua and Chia-ching periods). But Obata did point out an important phenomenon in Hai-yen Hsien, that

53) HKKF, pp.11b-12a.

54) *Ibid.*, pp.26a-b.

is, the policy of so-called "elevated *li* and combined *li* together [in accordance with practical situation]" (*sheng-li ping-li*, 升里併里) which was implemented in this county. This policy marked a change from the original regulations which were based on the numbers of households, into a system based on the amount of land owned.⁵⁵⁾ Six years later, in 1956, Obata expanded this idea to discuss the *li-chia* operation within areas of the whole South China.⁵⁶⁾ However, some questions still remain: Had this system really been implemented in this way in Ying-t'ien Fu area? Did any other problems arise when it was carried out? We are going to discuss these questions in the following pages.

There were seven (eight after 1491) counties in the Ming Ying-t'ien Fu area. The *li-chia* structure of every county developed independently and showed different forms. In order to synthesize the general features and compare their structural differences, this section will discuss these counties' *li-chia* structure one by one; and this discussion will also serve as the basis for further discussion in Section IV.

1) Shang-yüan county 上元縣:

Parts of Shang-yüan and Chiang-ning 江寧 counties constituted the Ming capital Nanking (from 1368 to 1421 the capital of all China; from 1421 to 1644 the southern capital). However when these two counties' gazetteers deal with their own local history, the urban and suburban (*fang-hsiang*, 坊廂) areas under the administration of the capital were no longer separated from the *li-chia* structure of these two counties. Thus, it seems feasible to take "county" as the unit in the present work to examine the operation of the *li-chia* system in Ying-t'ien Fu area.

The gazetteers of Shang-yüan county provide detailed information on the *li-chia* structure. Our sources are the *Nan-chi chih* 南畿志,⁵⁷⁾ the *Wan-li Shang-yüan hsien-chih* 萬曆上元縣志⁵⁸⁾ and the *K'ang-hsi Shang-yüan hsien-chih* 康熙上元縣志.⁵⁹⁾ These three gazetteers give the names of the *fang* and *hsiang*, the numbers of their *t'u* 圖, the names of *hsiang* 鄉, and the *li* figures. The *Nan-chi chih* gives us the *li-chia* sources for

55) Obata Tatsuo, "Setsukō Kai-en-ken no rikō," p.140.

56) cf. note 7).

57) NCC, 4:7a; 4:25.

58) WLSYHC, 2:1b-2b.

59) T'ang K'ai-t'ao 唐開陶, et. al., *Kang-hsi Shang-yüan hsien-chih* 康熙上元縣志 (1721 edition), 7:6b-10a.

Table 1: *Li-chia* structure in Shang-yüan County

Data	Names of <i>fang-hsiang</i> or <i>hsiang</i>	Numbers of <i>t'u</i> or <i>li</i> (Hung-wu)	Numbers of <i>t'u</i> or <i>li</i> (Chia-ching, Wan-li)
Area			
Urban and suburban areas (<i>fang- hsiang</i> , 坊廂)	1. Shih-pa-fang 十八坊	18 t'u	4 t'u
	2. Shih-shan-fang 十三坊	7 t'u	3 t'u
	3. Shih-erh-fang 十二坊	8 t'u	3 t'u
	4. Chih-chin-fang 織錦坊	21 t'u	6 t'u
	5. Chiu-fang 九坊	6 t'u	2 t'u
	6. Chi-i-fang 伎藝坊	4 t'u	1 t'u
	7. P'in-min-fang 貧民坊	4 t'u	1 t'u
	8. Liu-fang 六坊	3 t'u	1 t'u
	9. Mu-chiang-fang 木匠坊	9.5 t'u	1 t'u
	10. Tung-nan-yü 東南隅	3 t'u	1 t'u
	11. Cheng-tung-yü 正東隅	3 t'u	1 t'u
	12. T'ai-p'ing-men- hsiang 太平門廂	81 t'u	13 t'u
	13. San-shan-men-hsiang 三山門廂	1 t'u	1 t'u
	14. Chin-ch'uan-men- hsiang 金川門廂	6 t'u	2 t'u
	15. Chiang-tung-men- hsiang 江東門廂	6 t'u	2 t'u
	16. Shih-ch'eng-men- hsiang 石城門廂 ¹⁾	2 t'u	1 t'u
	Sub-total	182.5 t'u	43 t'u
Rural areas (<i>hsiang</i> , 鄉)		Hung-wu	NCC WLSYHC
	1. Ch'üan-shui-hsiang 泉水鄉		11 li 11 li
	2. Tao-te-hsiang 道德鄉		10 li 10 li
	3. Chin-chieh-hsiang 盡節鄉		7 li 7 li
	4. Hsing-hsien-hsiang 興賢鄉 ²⁾		7 li 7 li
	5. Chin-ling-hsiang 金陵鄉		3 li 3 li
	6. Tz'u-jen-hsiang 慈仁鄉		6 li 6 li
	7. Chung-shan-hsiang 鍾山鄉		5 li 5 li
	8. Pei-ch'eng-hsiang 北城鄉		3 li 3 li
	9. Ch'ing-feng-hsiang 清風鄉		11 li 6 li
	10. Ch'ang-ning-hsiang 長寧鄉 ³⁾		10 li 10 li
	11. Wei-hsin-hsiang 惟信鄉		6 li 6 li
	12. K'ai-ning-hsiang 開寧鄉		3 li 2 li
	13. Hsüan-i-hsiang 宣義鄉		5 li 5 li
	14. Feng-ch'eng-hsiang 鳳城鄉		14 li 14 li
	15. Ch'ing-hua-hsiang 清化鄉		6 li 11 li
	16. Shen-ch'üan-hsiang 神泉鄉		16 li 16 li
	17. Tan-yang-hsiang 丹陽鄉		17 li 17 li
	18. Ch'ung-li-hsiang 崇里鄉 ⁴⁾		10 li 10 li
	Sub-total	203 li	150 li 149 li
Total		385.5	193 192

Notes: Sub-total *li* figures of Hung-wu period derived from WLSYHC, 2: 2b.

1) WLSYHC calls it 石門關廂; WLYTFC calls it 石門圖廂。

2) WLSYHC says it was initially called 長樂鄉。

3) WLSYHC says that it incorporated 爲政鄉 into one unit.

4) WLSYHC calls it 崇禮鄉; and it incorporated 建康鄉 into one unit

the Wan-li period only, and the *Wan-li Shang-yüan hsien-chih* provides information both for the Hung-wu and Wan-li periods, while the *K'ang-hsi Shang-yüan hsien-chih* copies the Wan-li period's information from the *Wan-li Shang-yüan hsien-chih*. Table 1 will use the sources of the *Nan-chi chih* and *Wan-li Shang-yüan hsien-chih* to show its *li-chia* structure.

From Table 1, we know that what are designated *li* are found only in rural areas, while the term *t'u* was used only in urban and suburban areas. (We shall analyze this phenomenon in Section IV.) In fact, the *t'u* was constituted of the same number of households as the *li*. By comparing the numbers of household (for all the population figures of Ying-t'ien Fu and its counties, see Appendix), we could derive the figures

Table 2: AHL in Shang-yüan County

Years	Categories of households	Numbers of households	Numbers of <i>t'u</i> and <i>li</i>	AHL
1391		38,900	385.5	100.91
1513		29,160	193	151.08
1577		35,438	150	236.25
1592	<i>fang-hsiang</i>	1,225.8 (6,129)	43	28.51 (142.53)
	<i>li-chia</i>	4,198 (20,990)	149	28.17 (140.87)
	Sub-total	5,423.8 (25,119)	192	28.24 (141.24)

Notes:

- 1) We can not find the household numbers in 1534 for which NCC provides the *li* numbers of the same year. Thus the AHL for 1513 is only an estimation based on the *li* numbers of 1534.
- 2) Figures for 1577 are derived from WLYTFC, 29: 11a-b. The *li* figure also is given in this book. Unfortunately, this book only states the names of urban and rural community units of every county in Ying-t'ien Fu, but does not provide *li* or *t'u* figures.
- 3) The population figures for 1592 do not include household numbers. We use 5 as ASH and the divisor to divide the "mouth" numbers in Table 3, Appendix. The figures that we would obtain from these calculations are not believable, because they are far lower than those for other counties.
- 4) The numbers of *li-chia* households and individuals in Chiang-ning county in 1592 are too close to each other to be credible (its ASH was 1.01). The same source, the *K'e-tso chui-yü* 客座贅語, also gives the data for Shang-yüan county's population. If we use "mouth" figures as the dividend and the *li* numbers given by WLSYHC as the divisor, we can get the result as noted in the parentheses. These figures are closer to what the AHL should be.

of its AHL as shown in Table 2. (Notice that the authenticity of the Ming population figures have their limits, thus the AHL numbers should be treated with great caution. This will be discussed in Section IV.)

In addition, it is worth noting that some confusion arose between *t'u* and *fang* in Shang-yüan county. The *Wan-li Shang-yüan hsien-chih* explains this quite clearly:⁶⁰⁾

After expelling the Mongolians [to the North], [the Ming government] impelled the population in Che-chiang area to fill out the capital [i.e., Nanking]. Those rural areas were designated as *fang*, and *hsiang* 廂 referred to those suburban area whose population was increasing. [The population] in Shang-yüan county was divided into 176 *t'u*. In 1391, [the government] compiled the registers. When [Emperor Ch'eng-tsu] moved [the capital] to the North [i.e., Peking], a great number of the population followed him [to Peking]. [Besides this, the population in Shang-yüan county] moved and scattered after the Yung-lo period, which resulted in a reduction to 44 *fang* in this county.

A question should be brought up concerning this statement: is the *fang* reported here the same unit as that called *t'u* in 1391? According to Table 1, the *t'u* number in 1391 was 182.5 which is close to the 176 mentioned in the statement above, and the 43 *t'u* in the Wan-li period is close to that of the 44 *fang* above. We will discuss this in more detail in Section IV.

Both the *Nan-chi chih* and *Wan-li Shang-yüan hsien-chih* inform us that the *li* number in the Chia-ching and Wan-li periods were 150 and 149, respectively. The *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* gives the same figure as the *Nan-chi chih*. In addition, there are two other sources which provide different data on the *li* number in rural areas of Shang-yüan county (i.e., *fu-kuo*, 附廓): a Wan-li period book gives 194,⁶¹⁾ another,

60) WLSYHC, 1b-2a.

61) *Ch'ung-k'e tseng-pu ching-pan ta-Ming kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* 重刻增補京板大明官制大全 (hereafter abbreviated as KCTC), published in 1586 by Pao-shan-t'ang 寶善堂, reprinted in Hishi copy p.61a.

which contains late Ming material, gives 202.⁶²⁾ However, in comparing these figures to the meticulous data for each *hsiang* given by the *Nan-chi chih* and *Wan-li Shang-yüan hsien-chih*, these two figures would seem less reliable.

2) Chiang-ning county 江寧縣:

There are three gazetteers which give us information on the *li-chia* structure of Chiang-ning county: the *Nan-chi chih*, the *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih*⁶³⁾ and the *Ch'ien-lung Chiang-ning hsien hsien-chih*.⁶⁴⁾ Both the *Nan-chi chih* and *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih* provide detailed information on the names of *fang-hsiang* and *hsiang* 鄉 and their numbers of *t'u* and *li*. The *Ch'ien-lung Chiang-ning hsien hsien-chih* gives only the *hsiang* names. Although the *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih* was compiled in early Ch'ing times, it copies from earlier sources and is therefore consistent with what is stated in the *Nan-chi chih*. Table 3 is based on the data given by the *Nan-chi chih* and the *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih*.

From Table 3, we know that there were 35 *t'u* in Chiang-ning county's urban and suburban areas and that there were 25 *fang-hsiang*. However, both the *Nan-chi chih* and the *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih* state that there were 35 *fang-hsiang* in this county. Another book, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* provides the same information.⁶⁵⁾ However, this inconsistency resulted from a constant change in population policy. A clearer account regarding the above mentioned inconsistency can be found in the *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih*, as follows:⁶⁶⁾

[Chiang-ning] has 35 *fang-hsiang*. Formerly, during the Hung-wu period these numbers were increased to many times this number. For instance, Jen-chiang [*fang*] had 5 *fang*, but it had had 18 [*fang*] in previous times [i.e., in the Hung-wu period]. The other

62) Li-ch'iao-tzu 曆橋子 (pseud.), comp., *Ta-Ming kuan-chih t'ien-hsia yü-ti shui-lu ch'eng-hsien pei-lan* 大明官制天下輿地水陸程限備覽, (hereafter abbreviated as CHPL), 9:3b. The publication date of this book is uncertain, probably in Chia-ching, Wan-li or even Ch'ung-chen periods.

63) KHCNHC, 6:2a-10b.

64) Wang Chen-yü 王箴與, et. al., *Ch'ien-lung Chiang-ning hsien hsien-chih* 乾隆江寧縣新志, (1748 edition), 8:8a-b.

65) WLYTFC, 19:14a-b.

66) KHCNHC, 6:2a.

Table 3: *Li-chia* structure in Chiang-ning county

Data Area	Names of <i>fang-hsiang</i> or <i>hsiang</i>	Numbers of <i>t'u</i> or <i>li</i>
Urban and suburban areas (<i>fang-hsiang</i> , 坊廂)	1. Jen-chiang-fang 人匠坊	5 t'u
	2. Cheng-hsi-chiu-fang 正西舊坊	2 t'u
	3. P'in-min-fang 貧民坊	2 t'u
	4. Cheng-nan-chiu-fang 正南舊坊	2 t'u
	5. Cheng-tung-hsin-fang 正東新坊	1 t'u
	6. T'ieh-mao-chü-fang 鐵貓局坊	1 t'u
	7. Cheng-hsi-hsin-fang 正西新坊	1 t'u
	8. Cheng-hsi-chi-i-fang 正西伎藝坊	1 t'u
	9. Ch'eng-nan-chi-i-hsiang 城南伎藝廂	2 t'u
	10. I-feng-men-hsiang 儀鳳門廂	2 t'u*
	11. Ch'eng-nan-jen-chiang-hsiang 城南人匠廂	1 t'u
	12. Wa-hsieh-pa-hsiang 瓦屑壩廂	1 t'u
	13. Chiang-tung-chiu-hsiang 江東舊廂	1 t'u
	14. Ch'eng-nan-chiao-fu-hsiang 城南脚夫廂	1 t'u
	15. Chiang-tung-hsin-hsiang 江東新廂	1 t'u
	16. Ch'ing-liang-men-hsiang 清涼門廂	1 t'u
	17. An-te-men-hsiang 安德門廂	1 t'u
	18. San-shan-chiu-hsiang 三山舊廂	2 t'u
	19. San-shan-chi-i-hsiang 三山伎藝廂	1 t'u
	20. San-shan-fu-hu-hsiang 三山富戶廂	1 t'u
	21. San-shan-hsin-hsiang 三山新廂	1 t'u
	22. Shih-ch'eng-kuan-hsiang 石城關廂	1 t'u
	23. Liu-kung-miao-hsiang 劉公廟廂	1 t'u
	24. Shen-ts'e-men-hsiang 神策門廂	1 t'u
	25. Mao-weng-tu-hsiang 毛翁渡廂	1 t'u
	Sub-total	35 t'u
Rural areas (<i>hsiang</i> , 鄉)	1. Feng-tung-hsiang 鳳東鄉	2 li
	2. Feng-hsi-hsiang 鳳西鄉	3 li
	3. An-te-hsiang 安德鄉	4 li
	4. Ts'ai-yüan-wu-hsiang 菜園務鄉	5 li
	5. Hsin-t'ing-hsien-hsiang 新亭縣鄉	2 li
	6. Chien-yeh-hsiang 建業鄉	4 li
	7. Kuang-tse-hsiang 光澤鄉	2 li
	8. Hui-hua-hsiang 惠化鄉	5 li
	9. Ch'u-chen-hsiang 處真鄉	5 li
	10. Kuei-shan-hsiang 歸善鄉	3 li
	11. T'ung-hua-hsiang 銅化鄉	3 li
	12. Chu-men-hsiang 朱門鄉	4 li
	13. Shan-nan-hsiang 山南鄉	6 li
	14. Shan-pei-hsiang 山北鄉	3 li
	15. T'ai-nan-hsiang 泰南鄉	4 li
	16. T'ai-shan-hsiang 泰山鄉	2 li
	17. Sui-ch'e-hsiang 隨車鄉	3 li
	18. Wan-shan-hsiang 萬善鄉	3 li
	19. Hsün-hui-hsiang 馴羣鄉	4 li
	20. Yung-feng-hsiang 永豐鄉	3 li
	21. Ko-hsien-hsiang 葛僊鄉	2 li
	Sub-total	72 li **
Total		107

Notes: * WLCNHC puts as 2 *hsiang*.** KHCNHC says 65 *li*WLYTFC says 68 *li*.

Table 4: AHL of Chiang-ning County

Periods or Year	Categories of Household	Households	<i>t'u/li</i>	AHL
Hung-wu		27,000	103	262.14
1577		17,256	68	257.74
Wan-li	<i>Fang-hsiang</i>	3239 (647.8)	35	92.54 (18.51)
	<i>li-chia</i>	14,342	72 (65)	199.19 (220.65)

Notes:

- 1) The *li* figures in Hung-wu period derives from 35 *t'u* plus 68 *li*.
- 2) 1577's figures derive from WLYTFC, 1: 14b.
- 3) The *fang-hsiang* household numbers are omitted in Table 4, Appendix. We use two figures to calculate its AHL here. The first one is using its "mouth" numbers as household figures. Although it was not the real household figures in 1592, we find that the same year's ASH of *li-chia* household was 1.01 and it had some possibility for *fang-hsiang* households to have such ASH figure. And as we have seen, the AHL calculated in this way are more acceptable than the second one which we put into parentheses (divided by a hypothetical ASH figure of 5.)
- 4) The parenthesized figures for *li-chia* households in the Wan-li period are based on KHCNHC. The other is derived from NCC.

cases were all like this. Then [the government] drew in people from Che[-chiang], and Chih (i.e., Nan Chih-li) to populate the imperial capital. In 1391, [the government] compiled the registers. When [Emperor] Yung-lo moved the capital to the North, half of the population followed him. After that, some of the population scattered and moved out. So its *fang-hsiang* were reduced into the [lower] figures we have just mentioned.

Inevitably a question will again arise from this statement: Is the figure of *fang-hsiang* in Chiang-ning county merely a writing or printing mistake? If not, does it suggest that each *fang* had only one *t'u*? (Because of the records mentioning 35 *fang* and *t'u*.) This interesting question will be discussed in Section IV.

As for the rural area, there were 21 *hsiang* and 72 *li* within Chiang-ning county, as shown by Table 3. Yet the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* gives 68 as its total *li* figure. And the *K'ang-hsi Chiang-ning hsien-chih* provides a different total *li* number, stating that there were 68 *li* during Hung-wu period, and after that time this number was reduced to 65 because of amalgamation of *li*. Even so, since the latter is possibly

incorrect, we will therefore use both 65 and 72 as divisors to examine the AHL in the Wan-li period. On the other hand, the *Kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* and the *Ch'eng-hsien pei-lan* provide the figures 103 and 74, respectively.⁶⁷⁾ Table 4 shows the AHL in the Hung-wu and Wan-li periods.

3) Chiang-p'u county 江浦縣:

Four gazetteers give us information about the *li-chia* structure in Chiang-p'u county: the *Nan-chi chih*, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih*, the *Wan-li Chiang-p'u hsien-chih*⁶⁸⁾ and the *Ch'ung-chen Chiang-p'u hsien-chih*.⁶⁹⁾ All of them provide full information on the names of *hsiang* and the *li* numbers within each of them except for the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih*. But the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* does give the total numbers of *li* and households and the names of each *hsiang*. We can therefore use these sources to construct Table 5.

Table 5: *Li-chia* structure and AHL in Chiang-p'u County

<i>Hsiang</i> /Households/ AHL	1534 (NCC)	1577 (WLYTFC)	1579 (WLCPHC)	1641 (CCCPHC)
1. Hsiao-i-hsiang 孝義鄉	2 li		2 li	2 li
2. Po-ma-hsiang 白馬鄉	3 li		3 li	3 li
3. Jen-feng-hsiang 任豐鄉	4 li		4 li	4 li
4. Tsun-hua-hsiang 遵化鄉	3 li		3 li	3 li
5. Huai-te-hsiang 懷德鄉	2 li		2 li	2 li
6. Feng-ch'eng-hsiang 豐城鄉	2 li		1 li	1 li
7. Ch'ung-te-hsiang 崇德鄉	8 li		4 li	4 li
Total	24 li	19 li	19 li	19 li
Households	2,556	2,606	2,560	2,650
AHL	106.50	137.16	134.74	139.47

Note: We do not have household figures for the years 1534, 1579 and 1641, so we have used figures from Table 5 of Appendix as close as possible to these: 1522 for 1534, 1572 for 1579 and 1613 for 1641.

67) KCTC, p.61a; CHPL, 9:3b.

68) WLCPHC, 6:1b, 6:21a.

69) CCCPHC, 6:1b.

Two other sources, the *Kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* and the *Ch'eng-hsien pei-lan*, give the total *li* figures as 37 and 20, respectively.⁷⁰⁾

In the case of the *li-chia* structure in Chiang-p'u county, its *li* and *hsiang* numbers underwent change in various periods. The *Wan-li Chiang-p'u hsien-chih* and the *Ch'ung-chen Chiang-p'u hsien-chih* present a brief history of its change, though the latter is merely a copy of the former. They state:⁷¹⁾

The original number of *hsiang* was 6 (i.e., No.1-6 in Table 5) and there were 15 *li* of registered households [during Hung-wu period?]. Afterward, Ch'ung-te-hsiang (i.e., No.7 in Table 5) was set up and [the total *li* number] was increased to 18. When this area was flooded by the Yangtze River, it was then reduced into 4 *li*. So the total number of *li* was 19. ... We know the original number was 33 [time unknown]. However, the [Ta-ming] *I-t'ung-chih* [大明] 一統志 [published in 1461] provides the number 24.5, later reduced to 19, while the *Nan-chi chih* [published in 1534] provides the number 22. These differences certainly result from hearsay.

Is that really the case or not?

For the riverside areas (including the larger part of Ch'ung-te-hsiang), these two gazetteers further document that there were a total of 19 *li* in the earlier Ming times, and only 4 *li* in the Wan-li and Ch'ung-chen periods. The reason for this reduction is that some places of these areas were submerged by the Yangtze River, and others dried up.⁷²⁾

4) Ch'ü-jung county 句容縣:

There are three gazetteers which describe the *li-chia* structure in Ch'ü-jung county. The first one, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* provides only its *fang*, *hsiang* and household numbers. The second and third ones, i.e., the *Nan-chi chih* and the *Ch'ien-lung Ch'ü-jung hsien-chih*⁷³⁾ have *t'u* or *li* figures for each *fang* and *hsiang*. Furthermore, the third provides the *ts'un* (村, village) numbers for each *hsiang* and gives the full names of those urban areas of every *fang* which are lacking in the former sources. Since the *Ch'ien-lung Ch'ü-jung hsien-chih* copies directly from

70) KCTC, p.61b; CHPL, 9:4a.

71) WLCPHC, 6:1b; CCCPHC, 6:1b.

72) WLCPHC, 6:21a; CCCPHC, 6:1b.

73) CLCJHC, 1:7a-15b.

the Ming gazetteers, it seems fair to say that this local history might report only the Ming facts. Unfortunately, we are unable to locate other sources to check the names of each *fang* in Chü-jung county, so we will only list the *li* numbers of each *hsiang* and use the data of the *Nan-chi chih* to show the *li-chia* structure in rural areas. These data are charted into Table 6.

Table 6: *Li-chia* structure of Chü-jung County

Data Area	Names of <i>fang</i> and <i>hsiang</i>	Numbers of <i>t'u</i> or <i>li</i> (NCC)	Numbers of <i>t'u</i> or <i>li</i> (CLCJHC)
Urban areas (<i>fang</i> , 坊)	1. Tung-nan-yü 東南隅	3 t'u	(The <i>fang</i> names are omitted.)
	2. Hsi-nan-yü 西南隅	3 t'u	
	3. Tung-pei-yü 東北隅	3 t'u	
	4. Hsi-pei-yü 西北隅	3 t'u	
	Sub-total	12 t'u	17 fang
Rural areas (<i>hsiang</i> , 鄉)	5. T'ung-te-hsiang 通德鄉	13 li	13 li
	6. Fu-tso-hsiang 福祚鄉	14 li	14 li
	7. Lin-ch'üan-hsiang 臨泉鄉	15 li	15 li
	8. Shang-jung-hsiang 上容鄉	12 li	12 li
	9. Ch'eng-hsien-hsiang 承僊鄉	10 li	10 li
	10. Cheng-jen-shiang 政仁鄉	8 li	8 li
	11. Mao-shan-hsiang 茅山鄉	7 li	7 li
	12. Ch'ung-te-hsiang 崇德鄉	12 li	11 li
	13. Chü-jung-hsiang 句容鄉	15 li	15 li
	14. Lai-su-hsiang 來蘇鄉	13 li	13 li
	15. Wang-hsien-hsiang 望仙鄉	17 li	17 li
	16. I-feng-hsiang 移風鄉	15 li	15 li
	17. Hsiao-i-hsiang 孝義鄉	9 li	9 li
	18. Jen-hsin-hsiang 仁信鄉	8 li	8 li
	19. Feng-t'an-hsiang 鳳壇鄉	12 li	12 li
	20. Lang-ya-hsiang 瑯琊鄉	14 li	14 li
	Sub-total	194 li	193 li
Total		206	210

Without giving *li* or *t'u* figures, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* gives us the same numbers of *fang* and *hsiang* in Chü-jung county. This gazetteer counts the total *li* figures as 214 and provides household and population figures.⁷⁴⁾ Two other books, the *Kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* and *Ch'eng-hsien pei-lan*, give the total *li* figures as 213 and 252, respectively.⁷⁵⁾ Insofar as we have no information about any change of total *li* figures for this county, we can only use the figures given by the *Nan-chi chih*, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* and the *Ch'ien-lung Chü-jung hsien-chih* as the divisors to divide the household numbers (see Table 10, Appendix) which are shown in Table 7.

Table 7: AHL of Chü-jung County

Periods/Years	Households	A	B	C
1368-1424	36,089	175.19	168.64	171.85
1572	35,847	174.01	167.51	170.7
1577	36,096	175.22	168.67	171.89

Note: The AHL are derived from three different total *li* figures: A) 206 (NCC); B) 214 (WLYTFC); C) 210 (CLCJHC).

5) Liu-ho county 六合縣:

There are four gazetteers providing information on the *li-chia* structure in Liu-ho county. Two of them, the *Nan-chi chih* and the *Chia-ching Liu-ho hsien-chih*,⁷⁶⁾ were written during the Chia-ching period. The another two, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* and the *Wan-li Liu-ho hsien-chih*,⁷⁷⁾ were written in the Wan-li period. Unlike its reporting on the other counties, the *Nan-chi chih* only informs us that Liu-ho county had 7 *fang* and *tu* 都, without providing any data on *t'u* or *li*. The *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* says that there were 2 *li* (里 here is the urban community name, not the term for "administrative division") and 5 *tu*. Both of the two local histories of this county describe them as *hsiang-tu* 鄉都, but give the same names to each division as those reported in the two above. Table 8 shows these differences.

74) WLYTFC, 19:17b-18a.

75) KCTC, p.61a; CHPL, 9:3b.

76) CCLHHC, 1:20b-21b.

77) WLLHHC, 1:48b.

Table 8: *Li-chia* structure of Liu-ho County

Area	Names of Community	Numbers of <i>li</i> or <i>t'u</i>		
		CCLHHC	WLYTFC	WLLHHC
Urban	Tung-li 東里	1 t'u		1 t'u
Areas	Hsi-li 西里	1 t'u		1 t'u
	Tung-erh-tu 東二都	4 t'u		4 t'u
	Nan-ssu-wu-tu 南四五都	3 t'u		3 t'u
Rural	Pei-ssu-wu-tu 北四五都	4 t'u		4 t'u
Areas	Shang-san-tu 上三都	3 t'u		3 t'u
	Hsia-san-tu 下三都	3 t'u		3 t'u
	Sub-total	17 t'u		17 t'u
Total		19 li	17 li	17 li

The Chia-ching and the Wan-li *Liu-ho hsien-chih* both state that the "original" total *li* figure was 17.5; this could refer to the Hung-wu period (i.e., the register of 1391). We will use this figure to count its AHL. As it is impossible to get household figures for the same year as that of the total *li* figures shown above, we have consulted Table 6 of the Appendix, and have adopted households figures for the years closest to construct Table 9.

Table 9: AHL of Liu-ho County

Year	Households	Total <i>li</i> numbers	AHL
1391	2,260	17.5	129.14
1552	3,153	19	169.95
1572	3,172	17	186.59
1612	3,747	19	197.21

It is noteworthy that although we did not use the sources of the *Kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* and the *Ch'eng-hsien pei-lan* in this case, they do provide the same total *li* figures as were drawn from the local histories, i.e., 19 and 17, respectively.⁷⁸⁾

78) KCTC, p.61b; CHPL, 9:4a.

6) Li-yang county 溧陽縣 :

Three gazetteers give the figures for *fang*, *hsiang* or *li* in Li-yangTable 10: *Li-chia* structure of Li-yang County

Data Area	Names of Communities	Figures given by gazetteers		
		HCLYHC	NCC	WLYTFC
Urban Areas (<i>fang</i> , 坊)	1. Tung-fang 東坊			
	2. Hsi-fang 西坊			
	3. Nan-fang 南坊			
	4. Pei-fang 北坊			
	5. Chung-fang 中坊			
	6. Chung-tso-fang 中左坊			
	7. Chung-yu-fang 中右坊			
	8. Hsin-fang 新坊			
	Sub-total	5 fang	5 fang	8 fang
Rural Areas (<i>hsiang</i> 鄉)	9. Yung-ch'eng-hsiang 永城鄉	27, 2, 1	27 li	
	10. Fu-hsien-hsiang 福賢鄉	23, 1, 1	23 li	
	11. Chü-fu-hsiang 舉福鄉	12, 1, 1	12 li	
	12. Ming-i-hsiang 明義鄉	21, 2, 1	21 li	
	13. Hui-te-hsiang 惠德鄉	14, 1	14 li	
	14. Te-sui-hsiang 德隨鄉	5, 1	5 li	
	15. Ts'ung-shan-hsiang 從山鄉	12, 1, 1	12 li	
	16. Kuei-shou-hsiang 桂壽鄉	7, 1	7 li	
	17. Feng-an-hsiang 奉安鄉	13, 1, 1	13 li	
	18. Ch'ung-lai-hsiang 崇來鄉	14, 1, 1	10 li	
	19. Lai-su-hsiang 來蘇鄉	15, 1	10 li	
	20. Yung-t'ai-hsiang 永泰鄉	12, 1, 1	12 li	
	21. Yung-ting-hsiang 永定鄉	24, 1, 1	24 li	
	Sub-total	199, 15, 9	190 li	
Total		204, 15, 9	195 li	210 (1391?) 230 (1575)

Notes:

- 1) The names of the *fang* are derived from the WLYTFC. The gazetteer also gives us the total *li* figure as 210. This figure could be a original amount in the register compiled in the 24th year (1391) of the Hung-wu period. It had increased to 230 by 1575.
- 2) There are three lines of figures under the vertical column of HCLYHC, the first one refers to *li*, the second one to *ch'ü* 區 and the third one to *ch'ün* 羣.
- 3) Both the HCLYHC and NCC state that there were 5 *fang* in 1398 and 1534, respectively. They do not inform us what the correspondence is between these 5 *fang* and the 8 *fang* in the urban areas.
- 4) We do not know the exact *t'u* or *li* figures in these 5 *fang*. We can only suppose that there was at least one *t'u* within each *fang* which we add into the sub-total figures of *li* in rural areas to get the total *li* figures shown at the bottom of Table 10.

county. Two of them, the *Nan-chi chih* and the *Hung-chih Li-yang hsien-chih*,⁷⁹⁾ supply all the data we need. Strikingly, the latter even provides the figures for *ch'ü* 區 and *ch'ün* 羣 within each *hsiang*. In particular it also defines the common terms of *fang*, *hsiang*, *li*, and *chen* 鎮, and the rather uncommon terms of *ch'ü* and *ch'ün*: "Those communities distributed in urban areas are called a *chen*. The *ch'ü* is a division for managing grain storage, while the *ch'ün* is a community which engages in breeding and husbandry."⁸⁰⁾ The other source, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih*, only provides the names of *fang* and *hsiang* and their total *li* and households figures. Putting the two together, Table 10 shows the *li-chia* structure of Li-yang county more clearly in the rural areas than in the urban districts.

Two other books, the *Kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* and the *Ch'eng-hsien Pei-lan*, report that the total *li* figures were 207 and 236, respectively.⁸¹⁾

We have used the household figures of 1391 and 1577 from Table 9 of the Appendix to calculate the AHL number. In this case, only the total *li* figures given by the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* can be used for calculating the AHL. This is shown in Table 11.

Table 11: AHL of Li-yang County

Year	Households	Total <i>li</i> figures	AHL
1391	24,873	210	118.44
1577	24,833	230	107.97

7) Li-shui county 溧水縣 :

Four gazetteers describe the *li-chia* structure in Li-shui county. They are the *Nan-chi chih*, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih*, the *Wan-li Li-shui hsien-chih*,⁸²⁾ and the *Kuang-hsü Li-shui hsien-chih*.⁸³⁾ All of them, except the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih*, provide detailed figures of its *t'u*, *li* and *hsiang*. It is very important to point out here that this county was divided into two counties in 1491. According to the *Kuang-hsü Li-shui*

79) HCLYHC, 1:6b-8a.

80) *Ibid.*, 1:6b.

81) KCTC, p.61b; CHPL, 9:3b.

82) WLLSHC, 4:1a-b; 5:1a-2a.

83) KHLSHC, 2:51a-52b.

Table 12: *Li-chia* structure of Li-shui County

	Names of Communities	<i>t'u</i> or <i>li</i> figures			
		NCC	WLYTFC	WLLSHC	KHLSHC
A	1. Tung-yü 東隅				
	2. Hsi-yü 西隅				
	3. Nan-yü 南隅				
	4. Pei-yü 北隅				
	5. Tung-pei-hsiang 東北廂 ^{a)}				
	6. Hsi-pei-hsiang 西北廂 ^{b)}				
	7. Tung-nan-hsiang 東南廂				
	8. Hsi-nan-hsiang 西南廂 ^{c)}				
	Sub-total	8 f	8 f	8 f	8 (3) t
B	9. Shang-yüan-hsiang 上原鄉	4 t		4 t	4 t
	10. Ssu-ho-hsiang 思鶴鄉	10 t		10 t	8 (9) t
	11. Tsan-hsien-hsiang 贊賢鄉	9 t		9 t	9 t
	12. Po-lu-hsiang 白鹿鄉 ^{d)}	12 t		13 t	14 t
	13. Feng-ch'ing-hsiang 豐慶鄉	?		7 t	9 t
	14. Kuei-cheng-hsiang 歸政鄉	5 t		5 t	5 t
	15. Ch'ung-hsien-hsiang 崇賢鄉	7 t		7 t	9 t
	16. Ch'ang-shou-hsiang 長壽鄉	7 t		7 t	9 t
	17. Shan-yang-hsiang 山陽鄉	9 t		9 t	9 t
	18. Hsien-t'an-hsiang 仙壇鄉	14 t		13 t	13 t
	19. I-feng-hsiang 儀鳳鄉	12 t		12 t	12 t
	Sub-total	89(?)		96 t	100(102)
Total		104(?)	104 li	104	108(105)

Abbreviations:

A: Urban and suburban areas (*fang-hsiang*, 坊廂)。B: Rural areas (*hsiang*, 鄉)f: *fang* (坊)。t: *t'u* (圖)。

Notes:

a) Both the NCC and WLYTFC call it Tung-pei-yü 東北隅。

b) The WLYTFC calls it Hsi-pei-pü 西北隅。

c) Both the NCC and WLYTPC say Hsi-nan-yü 西南隅。

d) The NCC says Po-ho-hsiang 白鶴鄉。

1) The *t'u* figure for Feng-ch'ing-hsiang is lacking in the NCC. Therefore the subtotal number *t'u* is not the exact figure shown in this table. The total figure of the NCC derives from this figure and adds 8 *fang* and 7 *t'u* (which we suppose to be the same as those listed in WLLSHC)

2) The figures in parentheses under the KHLSHC column are the Ch'ing figures, which are simply identified as "contemporary" figures, while the unparenthesized figures are both "old" and "contemporary" figures. Unfortunately, we do not know which period these "old" figures refer to. Compared with the NCC and WLLSHC figures, they may very well be late Ming figures.

hsien-chih, seven *hsiang* were separated from Li-shui county to form a new county, Kao-ch'un 高淳 county. These *hsiang* were Ch'ung-chiao 崇教, Li-hsin 立信, Yung-feng 永豐, Yu-shan 遊山, An-hsing 安興 and T'ang-ch'ang 唐昌.⁸⁴⁾ This fact must be kept in mind when dealing with the AHL or population figures of Li-shui and Kao-ch'un counties. Table 12 is constructed from the above sources.

As stated above, in 1491 Li-shui county was divided in two. Seven of its *hsiang* were formed into a new county, Kao-ch'un. The total *li* figure given by the *Wan-li Li-shui hsien-chih* in this county was 252 before 1491.⁸⁵⁾ However, we are also informed that the total *li* figure changed from 120 to 106 between 1491 and 1579.⁸⁶⁾ Two other books, the *Kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* and the *Ch'eng-hsien pei-lan*, give different undated figures of 204 and 255, respectively.⁸⁷⁾

The population figures in Li-shui county (Table 7 of the Appendix) were too incomplete to calculate the AHL in the Chia-ch'ing or the Wan-li periods. The only available household figures are those for the years of 1522 and 1577, which are used for the estimation of its AHL in Table 13.

Table 13: AHL of Li-shui County

Year	Households	Total li figures	AHL
1522	17,621	104	169.43
1577	17,764	104	170.81

Note: The total *li* figures are derived from the NCC, WLYTFC and WLLSHC.

8) Kao-ch'un county 高淳縣:

Three gazetteers supply the related data for the *li-chia* structure of Kao-ch'un county, the *Nan-chi chih*, the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih* and the *K'ang-hsi Kao-ch'un hsien-chih*.⁸⁸⁾ All of them, except the *Wan-li Ying-t'ien fu-chih*, provide *tu* 都 or *li* figures upon which Table 14 is based.

84) *Ibid.*, 2:51a.

85) WLLSHC, 4:1b.

86) *Ibid.*, 4:1a.

87) KCTC, p.61b; CHPL, 9:4a.

88) KHKCHC, 2:3a.

Table 14: *Li-chia* structure of Kao-ch'un County

Name of <i>Hsiang</i>	<i>Tu</i> or <i>li</i> figures		
	NCC	WLYTFC	KHKCHC
1. Ch'ung-chiao-hsiang 崇教鄉	2 tu	2 tu,	6(8) li
2. Li-hsin-hsiang 立信鄉	2 tu	2 tu,	3 li
3. Yu-shan-hsiang 遊山鄉	3 tu	3 tu,	7 li
4. An-hsing-hsiang 安興鄉	2 tu	2 tu,	6 li
5. T'ang-ch'ang-hsiang 唐昌鄉	4 tu	4 tu,	6(8) li
6. Yung-ning-hsiang 永寧鄉	2 tu	2 tu,	6(4) li
7. Yung-feng-hsiang 永豐鄉	?	?	7(5) li
Total	15(?) tu	41 li	15(?)tu 41(41) li

Notes:

- 1) The NCC only provides *tu* 都 figure, and it has left the spaces blank in Yung-feng-hsiang.
- 2) The KHKCHC gives both "old" and "contemporary" *li* figures. The figures in parentheses refer to those numbers derived from the early Ch'ing period.
- 3) The WLYTFC does not offer *tu* or *li* figures for each *hsiang*, but provides the total *li* figures.

Two other probably unreliable sources, the *Kuan-chih ta-ch'üan* and the *Ch'eng-hsien pei-lan*, give different total *li* figures of 76 and 12, respectively.⁸⁹⁾

In Kao-ch'un county, the *tu* was strikingly different from the *li* and was the only division that has appeared in our sources for the Ying-t'ien Fu area. We will leave this particular phenomenon for later discussion.

In consultation with Table 8, Appendix, we can estimate AHL of Kao-ch'un county in Table 15.

Table 15: AHL of Kao-ch'un County

Year	Households	Total <i>li</i> number	AHL
1577	12,526	41	305.51
1601	6,877(Ting?)	41	167.73

IV. Analyses of the *Li-chia* Operation in the Ying-t'ien Fu Area

The *li-chia* structure shows various patterns in the counties comprising Ying-t'ien Fu, as Tables 1 to 15 indicate. A variety of names of urban and rural divisions was utilized in this prefecture. Moreover, the

89) KCTC, p.61b; CHPL, 9:4a.

size of AHL in every county was inconsistent with the stipulation in the Ming decrees. Nor were they in agreement with the other prefectures. These phenomena are rather puzzling. The following pages are an effort to explain or resolve these questions.

First, we would like to discuss the differences in nomenclature. The practice of using various names for urban or rural divisions leads our interests into further discussion, because most of the Ming sources state the *fang*, *hsiang* 廂 and *hsiang* 鄉 refer to urban, suburban and rural areas, respectively. The divisions were designated in different ways: *t'u* in urban and suburban areas, *li* in rural areas.⁹⁰⁾ When we examine the eight counties in the Ying-t'ien Fu area, we find that this is not exactly the case. On the basis of the foregoing section, we know that those counties which followed the rule were Shang-yüan (Table 1), Chiang-ning (Table 3) and Chü-jung (Table 6) counties, while the other five counties departed from the pattern. Chiang-p'u county only used the division *li* in its seven *hsiang* 鄉 (Table 5). Liu-ho used the *t'u* division in both rural and urban areas (Table 8). The urban division in Li-yang was designated *fang* 坊, but its rural division was named *li* (Table 10). Li-shui used the same term of *fang* in urban areas as Li-yang, but used *t'u* in rural areas (Table 12). In contrast with Chiang-p'u, all the divisions in Kao-ch'un were called *tu* (Table 14).

In the *li-chia* system, *t'u* and *li* were the two most important divisions. Many sources indicate that these two divisions were interchangeable in the *li-chia* structure, regardless of urban or rural areas. For example, Liu-ho is a typical case in showing that *t'u* also could be applied to the rural areas. Nonetheless, there actually existed a distinction between them. A Ming gazetteer, the *Chia-ting hsien-chih* 嘉定縣志, explains this very clearly:⁹¹⁾

T'u is the same as *li*. The reason *t'u* has not been named *li* is because there is a "map" (*t'u*, 圖) in front of every *li* register. We know that *li* is utilized in registering the households [into the register]. When the households have been registered [into the register], their

90) KTCY, 2:28b-30a.

91) Han Chün 韓浚, et. al., *Chia-ting hsien-chih* 嘉定縣志 (1605 edition), 1:24b-25a. The author can not find the latter part of the original description in this edition. We cite the source from Obata Tatsuo, "Kōnan ni okeru rikō no hensei ni tsuite," p.11.

agricultural land should be noted at the same time. Therefore, if it were named *li*, it would mean that the land has no definite size. [On the other hand,] *t'u* is utilized when people have domain dikes or fences in fields. When dikes and fields have been listed [on the register], their owner-households should be registered at the same time. Therefore, when *t'u* was applied [as a division, it would only mean that the land of the owner-households was drawn into a "map",] it would not necessarily mean that the household had a definite size. In this way, there is some difference between *t'u* and *li*.

Similarly, *t'u* and *fang* were also interchangeable. As we have already seen in the *li-chia* structure of the eight counties in Ying-t'ien Fu, *fang* was always used for the urban division name. But in the cases of Li-yang (Table 10) and Li-shui (Table 12), *fang* became a unit to designate rural divisions. The *Wan-li Li-shui hsien-chih* explains that one *fang* in an urban area was equal to one *li* in a rural area,⁹²⁾ while the *Hung-chih Li-yang hsien-chih* adopts *fang* as an urban division and correspondingly uses *hsiang* in rural areas.⁹³⁾ That means the use of "*fang*" was as an alternative to *t'u*, or that it has been confused with *t'u* in the Ming gazetteers.

Another important term, *tu* 都, was utilized in rural areas as a division unit. In the case of Liu-ho (Table 8), we have incomplete information on the *li-chia* structure. The various names of *tu* in Liu-ho were obviously derived from cardinal numbers plus directions, and the gazetteers failed to state the *li* figures within each *tu*. But we do understand from areas other than Ying-t'ien Fu that *tu* was an administrative unit intermediate between *hsiang* 鄉 and *li* or *t'u*. For example, Shou-hsin-hsiang 守信鄉, one of 5 *hsiang* in Chia-ting Hsien (Chekiang), administered 6 *tu*. On the *tu* level, cardinal numbers plus directions were utilized to serve as the *tu* names which were similar to those we have already seen in the Liu-ho case. For example, in Shou-hsin-hsiang, there were Tung-i-tu 東一都, Hsi-i-tu 西一都, Nan-erh-tu 南二都, etc. In Tung-i-tu, there were different levels, such as, it had one *ch'ü* (區, i.e., *liang-chü*

92) WLLSHC, 5:1a.

93) see note 80.

糧區), two *shan* (扇, i.e., *cheng-shan* 正扇 and *fu-shan* 副扇), both *shan* had seven *li* each, and each *li* administered various *yü* 圩. It is interesting to point out here that each *li*, which were also designated as *t'u*, were named by cardinal numbers. For instance, the seven *li* of *cheng-shan* in Tung-i-tu were Shih-pa-t'u 十八圖, Shih-chiu-t'u 十九圖, Erh-shih-i-t'u 二十一圖, San-shih-ssu-t'u 三十四圖, San-shih-liu-t'u 三十六圖, San-shih-ch'i-t'u 三十七圖 and San-shih-pa-t'u 三十八圖. The designation Shih-pa-t'u did not refer to "eighteen *t'u*," but to one division called "the eighteenth *t'u*," on the same level as the *li*. The *Chia-ting hsien-chih* supplies some good explanations for these terms: ⁹⁴⁾

Every *ch'ü* 區 is divided into *cheng* and *fu* [principal and secondary] *shan* (正, 副扇). The reason for so designating these *shan* is that there are two crop-chiefs (*liang-chang*, 糧長) responsible for two different areas and both of them set up a *shan* [literally, a "fan"] register. *T'u* is equivalent to *li*. The reason for its being designated *t'u*, not *li*, is that a *t'u* [i.e., a map] was put in the front of every *li* register.

Apparently, the *li-chia* division in Chia-ting county represents an extraordinary arrangement when compared with the counties in Ying-t'ien Fu.

It would be of interest to compare the various patterns of the *li-chia* structure in Ying-t'ien Fu during the Ming dynasty with those variations in nineteenth century China as revealed by Kung-ch'üan Hsiao. According to Hsiao,⁹⁵⁾ the Ch'ing *li-chia* arrangements frequently deviated from the regular form (*li-chia*) by adding, omitting, or substituting one or more extra divisions, which he calls the additive, subtractive, and substitutional forms, respectively. He further divides the substitutional form into three patterns: four-(five-) level, three-level and two(one-) level. Since both the *li* and *chia* are basic divisions in Hsiao's analysis, and since our data lacks the figure of *chia* in all counties, this would inevitably give rise to one question: Was the division *chia* conformably utilized in the eight counties? If not, how can we compare our data with Hsiao's find-

94) *Chia-ting hsien-chih*, 1:24b-25a.

95) Kung-ch'üan Hsiao, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.521-548.

ings which are based upon the *li-chia* regular form? Judging from the AHL size of the eight counties, it is safe to argue that the division *chia* (which was a level lower than the *li* in the *li-chia* system) would necessarily have been set up in the Ying-t'ien Fu area. The high AHL size (higher than the standard size of 110 households as stipulated by the Ming government) was a common feature in this prefecture. The counties with AHL figures lower than 110 were Shang-yüan (100.91 in A.D. 1391, see Table 2), Chiang-ning (92.54 in urban and suburban areas during the Wan-li period, see Table 4), Chiang-p'u (106.5 in A.D. 1534, see Table 5) and Li-yang (107.97 in A.D. 1577, see Table 11). These low AHL figures were neither very far away from standard size nor could they have been completely invariable (the patterns of the AHL size will be discussed later in this section). The *chia* would be subdivided from its higher level—*li* or other division—in order for the system to function well. Otherwise the divisions *li*, *t'u*, *tu*, or others, could not have handled the administration of such a large population as that constituted by 110 households or more. We then come to the conclusion that the *chia* did probably exist in the eight counties. Table 16 is a result of comparison between our data and the Ch'ing *li-chia* variations revealed by Hsiao.

According to Table 16, there are a number of remarkable features that should be noted: (1) There were no "regular" and "subtractive" forms in the Ying-t'ien Fu area. This means that the *li-chia* arrangements in the eight counties were all characterized by variations. (2) The variations of the *li-chia* arrangements in this prefecture are mainly the "additive" and "substitutional" forms. (3) Among the substitutional forms, there was only one example found for the four-(five-) level, three were possibly existed in two-(one-) level, and all the others were (including 7 patterns) three-level. (4) The terms *ts'un* 村, *pao* 保, *yüan* 院 and *lu* 路 were found in the Ch'ing times, but did not appear in the eight counties. (5) The terms *fang* and *hsiang* 廟 which were utilized in urban and suburban areas in the eight counties do not appear in Hsiao's findings. This means that Hsiao's investigation can only be applied to rural areas.

In short, the different names of urban or rural divisions in the eight counties described above somewhat lack uniformity. The same term

Table 16: Comparison of *Li-chia* Divisions and Their Variations between the Ming Ying-t'ien Fu and Ch'ing China

The Ch'ing Variations		The Variations in Ying-t'ien Fu	
Regular Form	li chia	Ming Variations	Localities
Variations	li ts'un chia	x x x	
	hsiang li ts'un chia	x x x	
	li t'u chia	x x x	
	x x x	hsiang li chia	Shang-yüan (T.1) Chiang-ning (T.3) Chiang-p'u (T.5) Chü-jung (T.6) Li-yang (T.10)
	x x x	hsiang tu li chia	Kao-ch'un (T.14)
	hsiang li	x x x	
	hsiang = li	x x x	
	tu pao t'u chia	x x x	
	hsiang tu t'u chia	x x x	
	hsiang p'u t'u chia	x x x	
Substitutional Forms	chü tu t'u chia	x x x	
	hsiang tu li yüan	x x x	
	hsiang tu li t'u	x x x	
	hsiang tu li ts'un	x x x	
	li tu t'u ts'un	x x x	
	hsiang li tu t'u	x x x	
	x x x	hsiang li ch'ü ch'ün (chia?)	Li-yang (T.10)
	hsiang tu chia	hsiang tu chia	Kao-ch'un (T.14)
	hsiang li ts'un	x x x	
	hsiang tu ts'un	x x x	
Four- (Five-) Level	hsiang tu t'u	x x x	
	tu t'u ts'un	x x x	
	lu li p'u	x x x	
	tu t'u chia	tu t'u chia	Liu-ho (T.8)
	pao t'u chia	x x x	
	tu chü chia	x x x	
	t'u tung ts'un	x x x	
	x x x	fang t'u chia	Shang-yüan (T.1) Chiang-ning (T.3)
	x x x	yü t'u chia	Shang-yüan (T.1) Chü-jung (T.6)
	x x x	"hsiang" t'u chia	Shang-yüan (T.1) Chiang-ning (T.3)
Three- Level	x x x	hsiang t'u chia	Li-shui (T.12)
	x x x	li t'u chia	Liu-ho (T.8)
	hsiang li	x x x	
	hsiang tu	x x x	
	lu chia	x x x	
	hsiang p'u	x x x	
	tu li	x x x	
	chü t'u	x x x	
	? t'u	x x x	
	li li	x x x	
Two- (One-) Level	hsiang chuang	x x x	
	li ts'un	x x x	
	tu ts'un	x x x	
	ts'un li	x x x	
	ts'un chia	x x x	
	li	x x x	
	x x x	yü ? (chia?)	Li-shui (T.12)
	x x x	"hsiang" ? (chia?)	Li-shui (T.12)
	x x x	fang ? (chia?)	Li-yang (T.10)

Table 16 (cont.)

Sources: Kung-ch'üan Hsiao, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 522; and Table 1 to 15 in the present work.

Abbreviation: T.: Table (in the present work).

Glossary: chia 甲, ch'ü 區, chuang 莊, ch'ün 羣, fang 坊, hsiang 鄉, "hsiang" 廂, li 里, lu 路, pao 保, p'u 鋪, ts'un 村, tu 都, t'u 圖, tung 冬, yü 隅, yüan 院。

referring to rural divisions in one county could be applied to urban divisions in another county. The terms *t'u*, *li* and *fang* were especially frequently interchangeable. Thus, we can see that the operation of the *li-chia* system in Ying-t'ien Fu area presents some variations when compared with the initial proclamations of the Ming decrees. Even in comparing the *li-chia* arrangement with those variations in Ch'ing China, the variations of these eight counties are particularly obvious (see Table 16). These variations not only existed among these counties, for which we could use the term "polarity" to describe them; but it has also been demonstrated that some differences existed within each of the counties themselves, for which we might use the term "localism" to describe them. In using the term "polarity," we mean that it refers to the polar extremities of an empire-wide spectrum in the adaption of "universal" regulations to individual prefectural-level conditions. To state it more clearly, the "polarity" of the *li-chia* system means that there was frequently a tendency in the Ming prefectures to operate the system in a way apart from or opposite to the regulations set by the central government. While on the other hand, in using the term "localism," we simply say that the ways of operating the *li-chia* system in Ming China varied from one locality to another. The existence of "polarity" and "localism," nonetheless, is the obstacle to our understanding of the *li-chia* system in the Ming times.

Second, we need to seek out the reasons why the various figures of AHL in these eight counties changed from time to time. Even though the decree in 1381 and those later proclaimed many times that one *li* consisted of 110 households, this is not the case for the eight counties surveyed in this article. From the above tables, e.g., Table 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 and 15, we have great difficulty in perceiving what AHL rules are being actually applied. This being the case, what better explanation can we possibly give? It is the aim of the present study to provide a tentative one.

The difference in AHL was quite noticeable. We have the AHL figures for all the eight counties, except for Chiang-p'u (Table 5), Li-shui (Table 13) and Kao-ch'un (Table 15) for which Hung-wu period figures are lacking. But we can check the AHL figures in most counties at two different periods: the early Ming period (especially in the Hung-wu reign) and the late Ming period (especially in the Chia-ching and Wan-li reigns). In Shang-yüan county (Table 2) and Liu-ho county (Table 9) the AHL figures changed from close to 110 to a much larger figure. The remaining cases can be divided into three patterns: the first shows high AHL figures both in the Hung-wu and Wan-li periods, for which Chü-jung county is the example (Table 7); the second shows low (or close to 110) AHL figures throughout the two periods, for which Li-yang county is the example (Table 11); and the third pattern shows a change from high to low AHL figures, for which Chiang-ning county is the example (Table 4). Indeed, the above various patterns do not suggest any rule which can explain their changes. In the Introduction Section, this article mentions that Obata Tatsuo argues that in the Hung-wu period, the size of *li-chia* was structured as stated in the decrees, then in the late Ming period, the number of households per *li* increased greatly. This means that the "polarity" and "localism" do become the main factors influencing the operation of the *li-chia* system. "Polarity" means that no prefecture or county fit the Ming regulations, and "localism" means that no county precisely resembled each other in their *li-chia* size and operation. However, we would object to Obata's opinion (He argues that rules existed in forming *li-chia* structure. See "Concluding Remarks" below.), simply because we also realize that no system in imperial China could be maintained with no change as the edicts or decrees nominally required. And throughout the dynasty the system naturally operated close to what was stated in the decrees in the very beginning rather than in later times. Thus, the various patterns of AHL in Ying-t'ien Fu should be examined according to other analytical criteria.

If we consider the possible fluctuations in the population, we will recognize that it is difficult for us to summarize the rules of AHL changes in the Ming period. As Ping-ti Ho had pointed out, except for the peripheral areas (i.e., parts of Szechwan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, and Yunnan

and Kweichow) the population of Ming China was somewhat under-registered. Moreover, since the Ming Yellow Registers were primarily fiscal handbooks based on population figures and property assessments, the male population was certainly emphasized by local governments. Once the sex ratio of the entire population displays a sharp rise, we will have no way to deny that the rising figures represented the "fiscal population" based on male population (*ting*, 丁) which were not real population figures.⁹⁶⁾ Actually, in the population figures of Chiang-p'u, Liu-ho and Chü-jung, the sex ratio shows a sharp rise from early Ming to late Ming (Appendix, Table 5, 6, 10). This phenomenon nonetheless indicates that the population figures became less and less reliable from the Hung-wu period on.

Some counties' ASH (Average Size of Household) figures also are somewhat unreliable. Chiang-ning is a good example (see Appendix, Table 4). Furthermore, when various means are applied to analyze the population figures in this prefecture, we can find that the Hung-wu figures were more reliable than for other periods in the Ming times. These various means include judging by the decreasing of ASH figures, the sharp rise of the sex ratio, and the dropping of household numbers, as presented in all the Tables in the Appendix and their Notes.

Regarding the limitations stated above, including the "polarity" and "localism" of *li-chia* operation, and the implausibility of the population figures, we are not able to go much further in the discussion of AHL rules or changes for Ying-t'ien Fu, as Obata is able to do in the case of Hai-yen Hsien.⁹⁷⁾ But we do, at least, find that the operation of the *li-chia* system was not carried out in the way its regulations nominally required. And the population figures collected in the household registers or gazetteers represent an administrative, not a demographic census.

V. Concluding Remarks

The *li-chia* system played an important role in tax collection and labor conscription. It was not only a revenue machinery but also the lowest administrative unit in both rural and urban areas. According to

96) Ping-ti Ho, *op.cit.*, pp.9-24.

97) cf. note 55).

sources such as standard histories or official compilations, a well-designed *li-chia* structure was officially inaugurated when Emperor T'ai-tsu took his firm steps to deal with the financial issues. Moreover, this system was based on household registers as well as on the ideals of traditional Chinese rural community organization, and in combination with the other fiscal and local control systems such as crop-chiefs (*liang-chang*) and village elders (*lao-jen*) systems. It thus had many functions in the Ming society.

Many modern scholars have made contributions to our understanding of the Ming *li-chia* system, but few of them have provided systematic studies on this subject, especially in the area of comprehensive case studies. In fact, the *li-chia* system was by itself a complicated institution. It can not be perceived as a standard system free from variations empire-wide. Nor can it be treated as a static system without any variations in its structure or its operation. Most of the existing primary and secondary sources provide us only with misleading descriptions about the system, whereas the *Ming History* and local histories give us the impression that this system was somewhat static in its function and operation. On the other hand, although contemporary research provides better historical explanations on this issue, their conclusions are still somewhat inadequate when applied to the places under our survey. For example, Obata Tatsuo shows us that there seem to have existed general rules in the development of this system, including the standard size of AHL, and the principles of using definite terms in the *li-chia* structure.⁹⁸⁾ We find that these hypotheses need careful re-examination.

This article contains two parts which discuss the *li-chia* system in Ming times and its operation in Ying-t'ien Fu. In the first part (Section II), we argue that the framework of this system was to help collect the grain taxes and labor forces. The *li-chia* headmen were bound in performing their duties of "ordinary labor corvée." And because of the complex nature of the Ming social institution and financial administration, the function of the *li-chia* headmen was usually confused with the crop-chiefs and village elders. Nonetheless, the role of the *li-chia* headmen was endorsed by a handbook written for the newly appointed mag-

98) cf. notes 7) and 9).

illustrates—the *Hsin-kuan kuei-fan*. All these facts illustrate that detailed study of this system merited careful attention.

In the second part of this article (Sections III and IV), we carefully check the gazetteers to construct the *li-chia* structure of each county, and present their numbers of AHL. We find that it is very difficult to establish any principle for the operation of the *li-chia* system. Even if compared with the cases in other counties such as Hai-yen Hsien observed by Obata, we still can not make any principle for its structure. According to our findings, the rule for the structural division units is very flexible. For example, the commonly known usage of *li* and *t'u* was that the former referred to rural areas and the latter designated urban and suburban areas. But these two terms were sometimes substituted for by another term *fang* 坊, or the two were frequently interchanged. Some other divisions, such as *tu*, *hsiang* 鄉, were in most cases utilized in rural areas. But, again, this does not guarantee that the eight counties of Ying-t'ien Fu were all using them only in rural areas. In short, the application of various divisions caused the occurrence of variations among the *li-chia* structural patterns. Moreover, a comparison of the *li-chia* divisions and their variations between the Ming Ying-t'ien Fu area and late Ch'ing China (see Table 16) firmly supports our argument: the *li-chia* arrangements in the eight counties under our survey were all characterized by variations.

The changing patterns of AHL in the eight counties also cannot help us to form any general principle for the *li-chia* structure and operation. As analyzed in Section IV, the AHL figures which changed from close to 110 (the official quota of households to constitute one *li*) to much larger figures were found in Shang-yüan county (Table 2) and Liu-ho county (Table 9). The other cases showed three patterns of deviation from AHL figures. They were either higher than, lower than, or sometime close to, the official quota at different times, which suggests that a local administrative organization could vary from one county to another in the same dynasty and same prefecture. This fact would urge historians to find possible explanations.

One possible explanation to the flexible *li-chia* structure and operation in Ying-t'ien Fu area is the existence of the forces of "polarity" and

"localism." We have proposed that the forces of "polarity" refers to the extremities of a empire-wide spectrum in the adaption of "universal" regulations to individual prefectural-level conditions; while the forces of "localism" refers to the variations of the *li-chia* arrangement from one locality to another, even including localities within a same prefecture. From the evidences of the *li-chia* arrangement and its variations presented in this article, this point is clearly demonstrated.

We can also apply this argument to explain the same puzzling *li-chia* variations in nineteenth century China. According to Kung-ch'üan Hsiao,⁹⁹ there are four distinctive features existing in the Ch'ing *li-chia* system: (1) During and even before the nineteenth century, only a relatively small number of localities followed the official *li-chia* form. (2) The areas in North China seem to have conformed to the official nomenclature more consistently than in South China. (3) Southern localities deviated from the official form by often introducing additional divisions; while Northern localities did not. (4) The *li* division was the core of *li-chia* arrangements in North China, but *tu* and *t'u* were two basic divisions in South China. These features were not totally consistent with the characteristics of the eight counties in the Ming Ying-t'ien Fu. This shows that "polarity" and "localism" were two major forces.

As for the question why the southern provinces deviated more from official form in its *li-chia* arrangement more obviously than the northern provinces, Hsiao provides several possible explanations, including: (1) the northern provinces were nearer to the seat of central government and could therefore be under closer supervision; (2) the variations in South China had already existed in the previous dynasties; (3) the recalcitrant southerners had stronger political motives than the northerners to disobey the alien regime; since they "used this extralegal, antiquated nomenclature to show their defiance—somewhat like their refusal to shave their heads."¹⁰⁰ But as Hsiao has admitted that "no definite answer can be offered" to this question, the above three explanations to the variations between the South and North China can only "partially" explain the phenomenon. The political motive is hard to verify. Two explanations,

99) Kung-ch'üan Hsiao, *op.cit.*, pp.544-545.

100) *Ibid.*, p.548.

that variations existed previously in South China and that the geographical location farther from the central government allowed greater variation, can actually be utilized as footnotes to our terms: "polarity" and "localism." "Polarity" and "localism" are two sides of the same coin. The greater the forces of "polarity," the stronger the forces of "localism," and *vice versa*. When localities of South China "polarized" to the opposite direction of "universal" regulations during the nineteenth century, we at the same time encounter the forces of "localism." When the forces of "localism" appeared in the eight counties under our survey, there also appeared the forces of "polarity."

The variations of the *li-chia* arrangements in Ying-t'ien Fu area during the Ming times show that there is no general principle for *li-chia* divisions and AHL size. Obata Tatsuo stated that the Ming *li-chia* system was initially based upon the number of households, and subsequently came to be based upon landholdings. Although he later made modifications of this principle into his so-called "three principles," based upon the number of male adults, amount of labor services and land taxes (see Section I); these three principles failed to explain the *li-chia* variations and AHL fluctuations as we have discussed in Section IV. This fact also urges us to seek possible explanations.

When Kung-ch'üan Hsiao concludes his study of variations in the Ch'ing *li-chia* structure, he states: "Whatever the reason may be for the existence of the bewildering number of variations, one conclusion is certain: the Ch'ing rulers did not succeed in establishing a uniform system of tax collection divisions in rural China. . . . The Ch'ing government was unable to overcome the diversifying forces inherent in a vast empire with widely different local conditions."¹⁰¹) Compared with similar phenomena which existed in the eight counties of the Ming Ying-t'ien Fu, can we not conclude that the late Imperial Chinese dynasties all failed to establish a uniform tax collection system? Here again, several questions will arise: When did the Chinese imperial governments succeed in setting up a uniform tax collection system? If the Chinese governments never overcame the diversifying forces inherent in a vast empire with widely different local conditions, to what extent did the forces of "polarity" and

101) *Ibid.*

"localism" influence the local administrative framework? Can we perceive this question from different perspectives, e.g., the local government organization, the relationship between prominent local elite and local governments, etc.? These questions are beyond the scope of the present research and need more historians to cooperatively look for answers.

Appendix

Table 1: Population of Ming China and Ying-t'ien Prefecture

Year	Category	Households	Mouths	ASH
1393	A	10,652,870	60,545,812	5.68
	B	163,915	1,193,620	7.28
1491	A	9,113,446	53,281,158	5.85
	B	144,368	711,003	4.92
1534	A	—	—	—
	B	182,724	788,806	4.32
1578	A	10,621,436	60,692,856	5.71
	B	143,597	790,513	5.51

Abbreviations:

A: the Ming China population figure.

B: the Ying-t'ien Prefecture population figure.

Sources:

1) The censuses of 1393, 1491 and 1578 are quoted from:

a) *Ming (Wan-li) hui-tien* 明 (萬曆) 會典 (1578), ch.19.

b) Wang Kuo-kuang 王國光 & Chang Hsüeh-yen 張學顏, *Wan-li k'uai-chi lu* 萬曆會計錄 (1582), ch.16.

** The figures of a) and b) are consistent with each other.

2) The census of 1534 (B) is quoted from the NCC, 3:1b.

Table 2: Population of Ying-t'ien Prefecture (ca. 1575)

County	Households	Mouths	ASH
Shang-yüan	35,438	142,050	4.01
Chiang-ning	17,526	53,828	3.07
Chü-jung	36,096	215,986	5.98
Li-yang	24,833	161,808	6.52
Li-shui	17,764	105,656	5.95
Liu-ho	3,172	29,580	9.33
Kao-ch'un	12,526	67,473	5.39
Total	147,355	776,381	5.27

Source: WLYTFC, ch.19.

Table 3: Population of Shang-yüan County

Year	Households	Mouths/ <i>ting</i>	ASH
1391	38,900	253,200	6.51
1513	29,160(39,160)	135,800	4.66
1592	— <i>fang-hsiang</i> *	6,129	—
	<i>ch'uan-chü</i> **	598	
	<i>li-chia</i> ***	20,990	
	Total	27,700	

Sources:

- a) WLSYHC, 2:3a.
 b) T'ang K'ai-t'ao 唐開陶, (*K'ang-hsi*) *Shang-yüan hsien-chih* (康熙) 上元縣志 (1721), 10:1a-2a.
 c) KTCY, 2:30a-31a.

Notes:

The three sources are all consistent with each other in their figures, except the household number of 1513—source b) puts it as 39,160 which is very possibly a mistake.

* *fang-hsiang* 坊廂: urban area.

** *ch'uan-chü* 船居: boat-dwellers area.

*** *li-chia* 里甲: sub-urban area.

Table 4: Population of Chiang-ning County

Year	Category	Households	Mouths	ASH
1391		27,000	220,000	8.15
1465-1505		5,112	11,200	2.19
		4,210	9,510	2.16
1515	<i>chi-ling</i> *	902	1,703	1.89
	Total	5,112	11,213	2.19
	<i>fang-hsiang</i>	—	3,239	—
1592	Moslem & Mongolian	—	99,230(?)	—
	<i>li-chia</i>	14,342	14,454	1.01
	Total	—	23,670	—

Sources:

- a) WLCNHC, 3:6a.
 b) KTCY, 2:31a.

Notes:

Some questions concerning the "mouth" figures of Moslems and Mongolians in 1592 remain. Both the sources a) and b) state it as 99,230(?) [九口(萬?) 九千二百三十]。But source a) provides the total number, from which we can calculate its figure as 5,977.

* *chi-ling* 畸零: "odds and ends" households, which were usually composed by the widower, widow, orphan and childless. They were free from any conscription of labor corvée and were not organized into ordinary *li-chia* division. cf. MS, ch77, p. 1878.

Table 5: Population of Chiang-p'u County

Year	Households	Mouths	Males	Females	ASH	Sex Ratio*
1391	5,354	28,304	14,330	13,974	5.29	102.5
1412	3,840	22,986	11,793	11,193	5.99	105.4
1489	2,343	18,160	11,902	6,258	7.75	190.2
1522	2,556	20,568	12,310	8,258	8.05	149.1
1552	2,467	22,573	13,407	9,166	8.79	146.3
1562	2,570	24,198	14,340	9,858	9.42	145.5
1572	2,560	25,136	15,130	10,002	9.82	151.3
1613	2,650	14,988	7,937	7,051	5.66	112.6

*Sex Ratio: number of males per 100 females.

Sources:

- a) WLCPHC, 6:29a.
- b) CCCPHC, 6:2a.

Notes:

- 1) From the fifteenth century onward, the Ming population figures are unreliable. This table provides an example:
 - a) From 1412 on, the population reduced.
 - b) The sharp rise of sex ratio shows the fact that "fiscal population" was based on the collection of land tax and labor services.
 - c) From 1489 to 1613, the population shows no growth. It shows that a great deal of problems were indeed existing in the Ming fiscal administration framework.

For the explanation of all these phenomena, see: Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), ch.1, "The nature of Ming population data," pp.3-23.

- 2) Both sources a) and b) provide the categories of households and their numbers of households for the year of 1572. Source a) puts it as 1,811 common people households (*min*, 民), 710 military households (*chün*, 軍), 12 artisan households (*chiang*, 匠), 6 miscellaneous labor service households (*tsa-yi*, 雜役) and 111 "tenant" (who was under the register of an estate owner) households (*chi-chuang*, 寄庄). Source b) puts it as 1,811 common people households, 710 military households, 12 artisan households and 110 "tenant" households.
- 3) In most cases, sources a) and b) are in agreement with each other, except for the figure for 1613, which is only given by source b), and the "mouth" figure for 1522 and the male figure for 1572 are given by source b) as 25,608 and 25,130, respectively.

Table 6: Population of Liu-ho County

Year	Households	Mouths	Males	Females	ASH	Sex Ratio
1391	2,260	14,095	6,941	7,154	6.24	97.0
1412	2,081	14,483	7,389	7,094	6.96	104.2
1462	2,558	18,053	11,890	6,161	7.06	192.9
1472	2,483	17,610	11,601	6,009	7.09	193.1
1502	2,537	28,371	20,080	8,291	11.18	242.2
1512	2,685	31,156	12,016(?)	9,140	11.60	131.5(?)
			22,016			240.9
1522	2,790	30,775	21,807	8,903	11.03	244.9
1542	3,041	30,642	21,938	8,704	10.08	252.0
1552	3,153	30,919	27,283	8,736	9.81	312.3
1562	3,150	30,363	21,655	8,708	9.64	246.7
1572	3,172	29,580	20,893	8,687	9.33	240.5
1582	3,132	25,067	17,884	7,183	8.00	249.0
1592	3,212	24,956	17,773	7,183	7.77	247.4
1602	3,738	25,338	18,650	6,688	6.78	178.9
1612	3,747	25,422	18,720	6,702	6.78	279.3

Sources:

a) CCLHHC, 2:1a-2a.

b) WLLHHC, ch.2.

Table 7: Population of Li-shui County

Year	Households	Mouths/ <i>Ting</i>	ASH
1260-64	24,761	53,125	2.15
1264-94	57,896	316,425	5.47
1391	33,862	232,095	6.85
1412	34,352	217,325	6.33
1522	17,621	84,568(T)	4.80
1537	—	59,640(T)	—
1575	—	20,281(T)	—

Abbreviation:

T: *ting* (丁, male adult).

Sources:

a) WLLSHC, 3:2b-3a.

b) KHLSHC, 6:6b-8b.

c) 1577 figures derive from WLYTFC.

Notes:

1) In 1491, the Ming government divided Li-shui county into two counties: Li-shui and Kao-ch'un.

2) Sources a) and b) have the same figures on Ming population.

Table 8: Population of Kao-ch'un County

Year	Households	Mouths	ASH
1502	12,515	67,463	5.39
	—	36,126(T)	—
1521		19,003*	
		55,129(Total)	
1542	—	8,153	—
	—	6,600(T)	—
1570		4,903*	
		11,503(Total)	
1577	12,526	67,473	5.39
	6,877(T?)	10,051(M)	—
		6,509(F)	
1601		6,175(T)	
		3,976*	
		16,741(?) (26,972) (Total)	
1605	—	8,163(T)	—

Abbreviations:

*: Male children (*pu-ch'eng-ting*, 不成丁)T: *ting* (丁)。

M: Male.

F: Female.

Sources:

a) All figures, except those of 1577, derive from KHKCHC.

b) The 1577 figures derive from WLYTFC, 19:33a.

Table 9: Population of Li-yang County

Dynasty/Year	Households	Mouths	ASH
Sung	96,671	191,975	1.99
Yüan	63,482	253,000	3.99
Ming	24,873	157,749	6.34
1577	24,833	161,808	6.52

Sources:

a) HCLYHC, 1:25b.

b) The 1577 figures derive from WLYTFC, 19:22a.

Note:

The HCLYHC gives the numbers of population without specifying years. It only states "Sung," "Yüan," and "Imperial Ming" (*Huang-Ming*, 皇明)。

In the preface and *fan-li* 凡例 of this gazetteer, it says that it quoted from *Ta-Ming i-t'ung-chih* 大明一統志 (published in 1461) and other earlier sources. Thus, the "Ming" population in this table seems to belong to the early Ming period.

Table 10: Population of Chü-jung County

Year	Households	Mouths	Males	Females	ASH	Sex Ratio
1165-	<i>chu</i> 25,897	67,050(T)			2.59	
1173	<i>k'o</i> 2,496	5,766(T)			2.31	
1260-	<i>chu</i> —	—			—	
1264	<i>k'o</i> 3,996	7,213(T)			1.81	
	<i>Nan</i> 34,765	—				
1280-	<i>Pei</i> 49	—				
1367	<i>Han</i> 38	—				
	34,814	214,790			6.17	
1368- 1424	36,089	205,713	123,267	82,000	6.95	150.3
?	36,458	212,626	128,569	84,067	5.83	152.9
1572	35,847	215,986	130,586	85,400	6.03	152.9
1577	36,096	215,986			5.98	

Abbreviations:

T: *ting* (丁, male adult).

chu: 主, i.e., *chu-hu* 主戶。

k'o: 客, i.e., *k'o-hu* 客戶。

Nan: i.e., *Nan-jen* 南人, Southern Chinese.

Pei: i.e., *Pei-jen* 北人, Northern Chinese.

Han: i.e., *Han-jen* 漢人, the peoples of Chinese, Khitan, Jurchen and Korean, etc., who had initially been ruled by the Ch'in Empire, and became "*Han-jen*" in the Yüan dynasty.

Sources:

a) CLCJHC, 5:a-b.

b) WLYTFC, 19:18b.

Notes:

1) All figures are, except 1577's, cited from source a).

2) There are some data omitted in source a) which we leave them blank.

明代的里甲制及其在應天府的施行

黃 清 連

(摘 要)

里甲制度在明代地方基層行政體系中，扮演著相當重要的角色。不論在都市或鄉村，明朝政府都透過里甲制度對人民直接行使收稅、課役的權力。

本文以應天府(南京)八個轄縣(上元、江寧、江浦、句容、六合、溧陽、溧水、高淳)為中心，討論里甲制在這個區域的運作情形。從組織上來說，坊、廂、鄉、圖、都、里等單位，各縣採用情形，相當混亂。反映出這個制度的推行，常隨著客觀環境的改變而變動。各縣的里平均戶數與明政府在1381年宣佈的里甲制(每110戶為1里，其中10戶輪流擔任里長，其餘100戶分作10甲。)不但相去甚遠，而且各縣間也有差異。從運作上說，各縣都缺乏統一性，本文以「極性」(polarity)和「地方色彩」(localism)來解釋應天府各縣里甲制與明政府規定的出入，及各縣彼此的不同。

洪武以後，明代戶口統計數字的可靠性，值得留意。本文附錄所載江浦、六合、句容等縣戶口的「性別比例」(sex ratio)激增，顯示明代戶口逐漸偏重登錄丁男的趨勢。可以說，明代中、晚期的戶籍是「財稅人口」(fiscal population)的意義大於真正的人口統計。如果要以里平均戶數的變化來討論明代里甲制的遞嬗，並從而尋找出里甲組成的通則，就有不可避免的缺陷。

從事制度史的研究，要考慮到「時代」與「區域」的因素。本文以「極性」與「地方色彩」說明里甲制在明代應天府所屬八縣的施行情形，一方面想為上項因素提供論證經驗，一方面也希望這篇拋磚性質的習作，引起一些共響——企盼更多的區域研究，能對明代複雜的里甲制度，提出更深入的看法。