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A Note on the *Official Documents*

Preserved in the Meng Shui Studio

(Meng shui chai ts'un-tu)

YE XIANEN

[Translated by Long Darui]

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* was engraved and printed twice in the fifth year of the Ch'ung-chen reign period (1632). The first edition comprises thirteen *chüan* and the second edition ten. Preceding the first *chüan* are six prefaces, written by Han Jih-tsuan (1578–1635), minister of the Ministry of Rites; Ho Wu-tsou, minister of the Ministry of Rites and grand secretary of the Eastern Hall; Ch'en Tzu-chuang, vice minister of the Ministry of Rites; Lu Chao-lung, chief supervising secretary of the Ministry of Personnel; Lu Ao, brother-in-law of the author; and Wang Ying-hua, vice surveillance commissioner. The author himself also wrote a preface to his work. A one-line attribution "Written by Yen Chün-yen of Tsui-li County [i.e., courtesy name of Chia-hsing County] Hsüeh-ch'ü" appears prior to the text of each *chüan*. A specimen of this work is now held by the library of Peking University, and the library of Amoy University has a handwritten copy (see illustrations 1 and 2).

The author, Yen Chün-yen, also known by his courtesy names K'ai-mei and Hsüeh-ch'ü, was born in T'ung-hsiang County (in modern Chekiang Province).¹ Having succeeded in the civil service examinations, he gained the degree of "presented scholar" (*chin-shih*) in the first year of the Ch'ung-chen period (1628) and that same year was appointed judge (*t'ui-kuan*, i.e.,

盟水齋存牘卷之勒合

醉李顏俊彥雪驪氏著

提問知縣杜復光徒

審得原任陽山知縣杜復光政柄旁移急於晚節按款
推問陸曾希克等誣徭致變光以始任恭謁未回及責
黎氏自經今查現在不死物價不給則舖戶黎英豪等
堅執不認放賊成相原係因姦竇非賣放真賊西岸甜
石開墾原無申請事涉風聞皆接實起什外其奉文查
點排甲本以安民何至逐戶需索紙價單訪銀數不無

卷一

一

1. The first page from *ch.* 1 of the handwritten copy of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* by Yen Chün-yen. This portion of the work deals with "verification" of cases. Nine cols. of 21 chars.; page size unknown. Collection of the library of Amoy University. The Gest Library holds a photographic copy of this work. A specimen of the 1632 printed edition is preserved in the library of Peking University.

盟水齋存牘卷之一 讞畧

醉李顏俊彥雪懼氏著

強寇關國英 斬

審得王亞猛關國英巨寇廖九寰之羽黨也張旗揭號
擄掠婦女斃成大變該縣運籌設伏而渠魁已正厥辜
巢穴蕩平地方安堵矣亞猛等孤潛鼠突尚漏刑誅本
縣復指授方畧而亞猛旋即陣擒勞績應紀仍吊九寰
與亞猛面質研審無詞有張氏等被擄指證于前則亞
猛之半時莫逃于後未正厥典已就天刑仍據供報

2. A page from *ch. 1* of the handwritten copy of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* by Yen Chün-yen. This portion of the work deals with the "abbreviation of verdicts." Nine cols. of 21 chars.; page size unknown. Collection of the library of Amoy University. The Gest Library holds a photographic copy of this work. A specimen of the 1632 printed edition is preserved in the library of Peking University.

the third-ranking administrator) of Kuang-chou Prefecture. The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is a selection of verdicts and official correspondence he wrote during his three-year tenure (1628–1631) in that office. In the preface Yen Chün-yen explains that he “selected the verdicts for cases that have some particular bearing on the locality or that otherwise force one to attempt to make reasonable judgments by putting oneself in the special circumstances of the cases under review.” Although not directly involved in the handling of all of these cases, he carefully considered them and believed that his opinions were to the point. He then “classified these writings into ‘verification’ (*k'an-ho*),² ‘abbreviation of verdicts’ (*yen-lüeh*), ‘reversal of former verdicts’ (*fan-an*), ‘review of cases’ (*chin-shen*),³ and ‘official pronouncements and reports’ (*kung-i*),⁴ and had the book engraved and printed.” The author’s preface thus indicates that one of his compilation principles was to reflect the contemporary local situation. The book is therefore a valuable primary source for the study of Chinese local history.

The high-ranking ministers and well-established Confucian scholars who wrote the six other prefaces were the author’s contemporaries, and they all praised him highly for his even-handed justice and his relentless efforts to find the real criminals during his years as judge of the Kuang-chou Prefecture. However, his determination to redress injustice and punish evildoers and his perseverance in not yielding to any outside pressure when enforcing the law eventually offended some high-ranking officials. Yen Chün-yen was impeached. While waiting for the final verdict in his case, he wrote a poem “Random Thoughts While Living in a Small Village” (“Ts'un-chü tsa-hsing”), which vividly reveals his sadness at being falsely accused, and at the remote chance of his being rehabilitated and appointed to a prominent post. The poem reads:

Ill, for weeks confined to my bed,
dust all over my face.
The plum flowers have long faded,
and now apricot trees are in full blossom.
All those painted beams are still there,
though the nests on them remain empty;
Unwanted, Spring rains;
and the swallows have not yet returned.⁵

The poem reveals the feelings brought on by his failure to achieve vin-

dication after falling victim to slander. Although he later returned to office as judge of Sung-chiang Prefecture (in the modern Shanghai area), Yen Chün-yen thereafter remained somewhat depressed and discontent with life.

Yen took honesty and justice as his motto. As an encouragement to himself, he named his office "Meng Shui Studio," which probably implies that he swore that when deliberating a legal case and performing official duties, he would be as just and fair as water, which maintains its level. Since a fair and just judge must ascertain all the facts of any matter, it seems safe to suggest that the author of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* has left us with authentic and reliable records.

The documents included in the two editions of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* are verdicts in lawsuits, except for two *chüan* of "official pronouncements and reports," which contain 123 itemized suggestions by the author concerning local-administration reforms. The verdicts take up twenty-one *chüan*, and deal with 1,325 legal cases. The table shows the distribution and contents of these documents.

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is a work of substantial content, touching broadly on many important social issues in Chinese society. Cases in the book are indicative of, among other things, social organization at the grass-roots level. They reveal the coexistence of many forms of social organization, such as clans (*tsung-tsu*), neighborhood self-monitoring organizations (*li-chia*), community compacts (*hsiang-yüeh*), joint neighborhood self-defense systems (*pao-chia*), and militia organizations (*t'uan-lien*). In Chinese society, the clan often served as the ultimate backing for its members. When a clan member was unfairly treated, it was often members of the same clan who came forward to lodge a complaint with the court. The society was generally disapproving of those who tried to seek justice for a mistreated person not of their clan because it was felt that clan members should speak out in the name of justice for their own fellow members.⁶

The late Ming strengthened the "Regulation for Neighborhood Self-Defense System," which required that the "neighborhood headman question any stranger who showed up in the village."⁷ During the evening gatherings of members of the same community compact, there was a roll call of all the villagers. Those who were absent were looked on as engaging in "suspicious activities."⁸ This indicates that neighborhood headmen and community-compact leaders were responsible for local order and security. When a

Table 1

	CHÜAN TITLE	NUMBER OF CHÜAN	NUMBER OF ITEMS
First edition	Verification	1	16
	Abbreviation of verdicts	5	412
	Reversal of former verdicts	1	61
	Reversal of (Kuang-chou) prefecture verdicts (<i>shu-fu fan-an</i>)	1	15
	Review of cases	1	76
	Official pronouncements and reports	1	68
	Abbreviation of the (Kuang-chou) prefecture verdicts (<i>shu-fu yen-lüeh</i>)	1	128
	Abbreviation of the P'an-yü County verdicts (<i>shu P'an-yü hsien yen-lüeh</i>)	1	30
	Abbreviation of the Hsiang-shan County verdicts (<i>shu Hsiang-shan hsien yen-lüeh</i>)	1	50
	Second edition	Verification	1
Abbreviation of verdicts		3	299
Reversal of former verdicts		1	15
Review of cases		1	19
Cases that merit reduction of sentence, and cases of doubtful points (<i>chin-i</i>)		1	17
Official pronouncements and reports		1	55
Abbreviation of the (Kuang-chou) prefecture verdicts		2	169
Total			23

person was accused of wrongdoing but was later released by local government authorities after an investigation, it was often necessary for his neighborhood headman, the security-group head, the clan leader, and the community-compact chair to come out individually or jointly as guarantors of the good behavior of the accused.⁹ There were also times these local leaders felt that an injustice had been done to a member of their community, and decided to jointly lodge a complaint with the court.¹⁰

During the Ming, local defense and security were maintained by the militia. "In matters involving the local force, the militia is to obey the local gentry and the elders, among whom one of acknowledged fairness and high prestige is to be named the militia director, and another chosen in a meeting as one both brave and wise [is to be appointed the militia captain], while from each gentry clan a certain number of sturdy and wise men also are to be appointed to fill militia vacancies." Those serving as militia directors, however, often "used their military names and status to manipulate military matters in their region," engaging in improper and evil deeds.¹¹ Lu Wenhai was such an example. A petty official from San-shui County, Lu "is known as a pettifogger. When serving as director of the local militia, he makes himself overlord of the entire county. . . . [Local people] only know that there is a militia director; they are unaware of the county magistrate."¹² Cases in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* vividly describe a late Ming process during which the grass-roots social organizations and their security function were being reinforced, a process that reflected the social disorder and popular uprisings plaguing the society at the time.

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is a rich mine of records concerning the corrupt and notorious deeds of some influential local officials, local yamen subfunctionaries, hooligans, and guards from local military units. Abusing their power and collaborating with local hooligans, some local officials were engaged in seizing other people's property. They did so by falsely registering land to avoid taxes, or simply by occupying land by sheer force. They not only exploited the local people, they challenged the authority of local government. One Teng Yün-hsiao, an official of Tung-kuan County, for example, accused a civil servant of theft. He had the civil servant tied up and sent to the county authorities. On the way to the county seat, however, Teng had his own household retainers kill the civil servant.¹³

Local hooligans who collaborated with corrupt officials often pretended to be servants of those officials so they could harass local people.¹⁴ "As for

the militia, some of them illegally arrested civilians, either to claim rewards or to retaliate against personal enemies." From time to time, they would accuse a local resident of theft, and surround his residence as if to arrest him. Terrified and desperately trying to avoid being harassed by the militia, men and women in the same neighborhood would flee from their homes, giving the militia the opportunity to enter and grab their personal belongings. "Hairpins, earrings, clothes, and quilts of good quality were packed into the militia's bags; the worthless items were turned over to the local government. The militia even slaughtered the water buffaloes and took away farm tools. After minor alterations, these tools would be displayed as the stolen goods recovered from the alleged theft."¹⁵

Some monstrous crimes were committed by local government servants. Li Hsien and two other underlings of the Tseng-ch'eng local government "out of the blue charged villager Lin I-mei with being a robber. They confiscated Lin's property, took away his wife and daughters, and raped them."¹⁶ Even some retired government servants were involved in criminal activities. They were able to do this because "they know all the loopholes in government regulations and the corrupt officials in office, enabling them to extort money from local people at will; they combine the characteristics of local tyrants and corrupt government servants." For instance, treating living persons as if they were dead, they forced their victims to hire thugs to perform the service of burning paper money for the dead and then demanded money from the victims. They also forged government documents and certificates, which they used for their own personal gain.¹⁷ To reform local administration, the author advanced two suggestions in "Preventing local government offices from all manner of illicit demands on the people" ("chin ya-kuan jao-min") and "Prohibitions for government servants" ("chin ya-i"),¹⁸ in which he exposes in detail the abuse of power and corruption in local government.

The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* contains much useful material for research on land ownership, landlord-tenant relationships, and the transfer of land ownership. Lawsuits pertaining to land ownership preserved in the book involve a wide variety of land, such as official land, private land, and clan land, as well as sandy fields along the river banks, hilly land, ground used for a local marketplace, or small plots between public buildings. Disputes over land ownership usually arose when influential government officials illegally accepted title to other people's land, colluding with the legal owner

to evade taxes,¹⁹ and when local hooligans took possession of others' land by pretending to be government officials,²⁰ or operated gambling dens where losers were forced to write out deeds of sale to their properties to cover their losses.²¹ There were also cases of improperly manipulated sales in which the land was used as loan collateral,²² or where forced sale and resale resulted in disputes over the ownership,²³ or the possession of land was based on a forged will of the deceased.²⁴ The newly emerged sandy fields along the river banks or at the river mouth could also become objects of contention in a lawsuit.²⁵

A local practice in the transfer of land ownership — the so-called conditional transfer (*mai erh pu-tuan*) — often resulted in lawsuits between the seller and the buyer. In the Pearl River delta, transfer of land ownership could be either conditional or final. A contract might state that a piece of land was “sold.” But in fact what was involved was a “conditional transfer,” and the seller usually received only half the amount of money specified in the contract as the selling price. If the buyer wanted to make a “conditional transfer” final, he had to sign another contract with the seller and pay him an extra amount of money, which was referred to by the local people as the *hsi-yeh yin* (charge for clearing the property) or *t'ieh-chia yin* (surcharge on selling price). In an extreme case, “a piece of land had already changed hands three times, but lawsuits over ownership and control of the land were still going on in the court.”²⁶

When harvesting time came, local hooligans hired by corrupt officials often arrived by boat at the sandy fields along the river banks. They “expelled the tenants and reaped their crops.”²⁷ Although the local government frequently punished offenders, such incidents still happened repeatedly. The author expresses his indignation at such crimes, saying: “In P'an-yü and Shun-te counties, harvesting other people's crops by force has become endemic. Unless the government deals with the offenders by severe punishment, farmers will no longer possess their land (and the crops)!”²⁸

Fairly detailed descriptions of the circulation of commodities and the activities of merchants, boatmen, small shop owners, and households that specialized in the production of market-oriented goods can also be found in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu*. Many items, such as iron cooking pots, sugar, hemp cloth, silks and satins, porcelain, and dried fruits, entered into long-distance transportation and commerce. The amount of goods handled by merchants engaged in long-distance commerce was considerable. Sun Ssu-

k'ung, for instance, is one such merchant who traded in hemp cloth and other commodities. On a business trip to the Ching-tu country fair via the "southwest" (i.e., the county seat of modern San-shui), he transported a total of 1,260 bolts of hemp cloth, some satin, and other goods. He also carried with him 457 *liang* of silver as the capital for his business.²⁹

Many merchants from other areas gathered in the city of Kuang-chou. "On the Hao-p'an Street [in Kuang-chou], one can find merchants from the two capitals, Ching-shih [Peking] and Nanking, and all the thirteen provinces."³⁰ Those from the neighboring provinces of Fukien and Chekiang were particularly numerous. Huang Cheng, a merchant from Fukien, was engaged in illicit trade. Under the pretext of organizing a boat tour, he "gathered about three hundred followers and sailed to foreign countries to buy goods." On their way back, attempting to smuggle goods into the city of Kuang-chou, they sailed into Hu-men, the restricted military zone outside the city, to sell their goods, totally disregarding government prohibitions.³¹

New forms of the division of labor also started to develop in the Kuang-chou area, where households with different specializations emerged: boatmen who made their living by inland waterway and ocean transportation;³² timber suppliers, who monopolized the timber trade; and suppliers of bricks for local government, who were well-to-do local families selected by the government.³³ A court verdict stipulates that "carpenters are not allowed to sell timber, whereas timber traders are prohibited from seeking subsidies from carpenters."³⁴ There were also owners of fruit shops that specialized in the processing of fruits; one of them by the name of Yeh Ying-hung used the front quarter of his shop to make dried fruits and the rear quarter to store fresh litchi and longan.³⁵ And there were "smelter households" engaged in the production of iron. At that time, "in Fo-shan the number of iron smelter households amounted to several tens of thousands."³⁶ There were rice dealers, who made their living solely by selling rice and grain,³⁷ and "loom households," which specialized in the production of silk fabrics.³⁸

There were also professional contractors serving local government or private business. Some of them were in the business of supplying foreign goods for government offices,³⁹ and some the arrangement of transportation of goods for merchants. For example, "Hsia Yang-chen is a person engaged in the hiring of boats and boatmen for merchants. He once hired a

boat from Ts'ai Yung-hsing, and then employed Wang Yün-ts'ung and others to load the boat with goods to be traded in Hai-nan."⁴⁰ In addition, the book contains useful information about local prices, taxes, money lending, and mortgages.

Records with regard to the division of family property and the adoption of heirs in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* deserve special attention. In theory, the Chinese practice for the division of family property is: "All the sons, whether born to the legal wife or the concubines of their father, are entitled to a portion of the property." None should be given preferential treatment. However, the exact amount of property that each son received was sometimes determined by a judge after careful consultation with other family members and relatives, and after due consideration was given to the financial situation of each son and to the accepted practice for handling such matters. Only in this way would the division of family property be regarded as having been properly handled.⁴¹ When family members entered a lawsuit over inheritance, the settlement often was not based strictly on legal codes, but also considered other factors. This is referred to as "giving due consideration to both the law and the specific circumstances (or human feelings)" (*ch'ing-fa chien-ku*).⁴² And sometimes the settlement even allowed "special circumstances to prevail over the law," leading to a settlement based 30 percent on law and 70 percent on special considerations.⁴³ When the last member of a family died, choosing an heir could become contentious. In such a case, a contract agreed on by members of the clan to which the family belonged could designate two persons as the heirs who would "jointly inherit" the property.⁴⁴

The practice of "allowing cases of inheritance dispute to be handled by weighing the law against the circumstances in which the dispute occurs (*ch'ing-li chien-ku*)" merely opened the door for corrupt officials to manipulate the law for their personal advantage. It also indicates the lack of a strong sense of law among local officials.

Records in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* remind us that figures and monetary units used in business and legal documents of the Pearl River delta region could differ from their literal meanings. It is well known to modern scholars that the value of pawned goods is usually doubled when it appears on the pawn tickets. The same is also true of sales contracts, in which the real price of a commodity has already been doubled when it appears as the selling price in a contract. When the corrupt local government servants re-

ceived silver as bribes or spoils, they often “use *ch'ien* [a Chinese monetary unit which is $\frac{1}{10}$ of a standard ounce], for *liang* [the standard ounce],” thus reducing the silver they received to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the real amount. A case entitled “False accusations and cheating for money committed by Liang Hai-yün and others” (“wu-cha Liang Hai-yün teng”) includes the following: “Sheng Liang has confessed that he received one *liang* and two *ch'ien* of silver. Since it is common for the government servants to refer to *liang* as *ch'ien*, [the actual amount of silver that he received] is therefore twelve *liang*.”⁴⁵

The selling price for similar commodities sometimes seems to have fluctuated considerably from one sales contract to another in the Kuang-chou area. To understand this somewhat odd phenomenon, we need to take into consideration the fact that certain terms in those contracts are used by local people in unique ways. The case “A dispute over army fields among Ch'en Chin-wu and others” (“cheng chün-t'ien Ch'en Chin-wu teng”) in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* provides us with a clue to understanding one such term: “In Yüeh [modern Kwangtung Province], it is a common practice to use the term ‘sell’ for ‘pawn’ (*an*)⁴⁶ [if the value of the commodity listed in the contract is only half of its market price], because nobody would sell his goods at half price.”⁴⁷ Cases in the book indicate that when a dispute over whether a person has actually sold or merely pledged a piece of land to another person is presented to the court, the judge often decides that the land is in pledge (*an*), provided that the selling price of the land in the contract is only half its market value. The social customs and local anecdotes recorded in the book are indeed useful for our understanding of the primary sources from the Pearl River delta area.

In addition, accounts in the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* touch on such problems as local coastal defense, educational policies, civil service examinations, criminal law, the economy, government correspondence, and the postal system, as well as the measures adopted by the local government to cope with these problems. Its content with regard to household records, master-servant relationships, and popular uprisings also deserves further study. The *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* is therefore a good source not only for the study of Chinese legal history, but also for research into Ming social and economic history. Nowadays modern scholars still have much difficulty in finding original local Ming government documents and archival materials, and this makes the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* an even more valuable primary source.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article was translated into English by Mr. Long Darui, lecturer in the Department of Foreign Languages, Szechwan Teachers' University, Chengtu, and revised by the staff of the journal.

NOTES

1. For the life and work of the author, see Ts'ao Jung, "Ming-jen hsiao-chuan" (ms. copy of unpublished work, Peking Library), 4, p. 74; and Chu I-tsun, *Ming shih tsung* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), 68, p. 5b.
2. "K'an-ho" literally means to match part of an official seal with another document for authenticity, especially in military matters. Documents in this section of the *Meng shui chai ts'un-tu* involve major criminal cases and bear impressions of official seals of governments on different levels. The term "k'an-ho" is translated here as "verification" to convey the meaning that evidence and facts stated in those cases had been carefully checked and verified before they were presented to higher-level authorities.
3. These cases had been tried and verdicts delivered. But consideration of a request for a reduction of sentence (*chin*) or doubtful points in these cases (*i*) justified reviewing them.
4. These pronouncements often deal with the maintenance of public order and security. The reports also contain suggestions proposed to the higher authorities.
5. Chu, *Ming shih tsung*, 68, p. 5b.
6. See "Woman Ch'eng, victim of deception" ("fu-p'ien Ch'eng-shih") and "False accusations made by Ts'ai Chü-hsiu" ("wu-kao Ts'ai Chü-hsiu"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., ch. 3.
7. See the suggestion made by the author in his "Prohibiting candidate officials from making trouble" ("chin hou-ch'üeh-kuan sheng-shih") in *kung-i*, 2d edn.; see also "Shyster Hu Ch'i-lung" ("tiao sung Hu Ch'i-lung"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., ch. 2.
8. "Robbers Chao Mao-yen and others" ("ch'iang-tao Chao Mao-yen teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., ch. 1.
9. See "Robber K'ung Ya-jen" ("ch'iang-tao K'ung Ya-jen"), "Robber Ho Chiung-jan" ("ch'iang-tao Ho Chiung-jan"), in *ibid.*; see also "False charges made by Wen Ming-chin" ("wu-kao Wen Ming-chin"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., ch. 1.
10. "Local tyrant Feng Wu-k'uei" ("hao-tu Feng Wu-k'uei"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., ch. 3.
11. "Homicide committed by Feng Ju-shih and others" ("jen-ming Feng Ju-shih teng"), in *ibid.*, 1st edn., ch. 1.
12. "False accusations made by Lu Wen-hai and others" ("wu-kao Lu Wen-hai teng"), in *ibid.*, 2d edn., ch. 2.
13. "Teng Yün-hsiao and his accomplices, the criminals wanted by His Majesty" ("ch'in-fan Teng Yün-hsiao teng"), in *k'an-ho*, 1st edn.
14. "Wu Fu, who pretended to be the servant of [a] local official" ("chia-mao huan-p'u Wu Fu"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., ch. 1; see also "A lawsuit for

- property filed by Ho Wei-tzu" ("sung-ch'an Ho Wei-tzu"), in *ibid.*, *ch.* 2.
15. "Details of the false accusation of theft made by Liang Ts'ai and his accomplices" ("wu-tao Liang Ts'ai teng yu-hsiang"), in *fan-an*, 2d edn.
 16. "Rapists Li Hsien and others" ("Ch'iang-chien Li Hsien teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 2.
 17. "Local tyrant Feng Wu-k'uei and his followers" ("hao-tu Feng Wu-k'uei teng"), in *ibid.*, 2d edn., *ch.* 3.
 18. See *kung-i* in the first and second editions.
 19. "Land seized by Liang Ho and others who pretended to be officials" ("mao-huan chan-t'ien Liang Ho teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2; see also "Land seized by Liang Ch'u-t'ing and others who pretended [to be officials]" ("chia-mao chan-t'ien Liang Ch'u-t'ing teng"), in *ibid.*, 1st edn., *ch.* 4.
 20. "Land seized by Lu Cho-hsiung who pretended to be a government official" ("mao-huan chan-t'ien Lu Cho-hsiung"), in *ibid.*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
 21. See "Land seized by Ts'ui Ssu-chien through gambling games" ("tu-chü chan-t'ien Ts'ui Ssu-chien"), in *ibid.*
 22. "Lin Kuei who claimed to be the landowner and mortgaged the land" ("tao-tien chu-yeh Lin Kuei"), in *ibid.*
 23. "A dispute over land ownership among Yü Ch'ao-chung and others" ("cheng-t'ien Yü Ch'ao-chung teng"), in *ibid.*, 1st edn., *ch.* 4.
 24. "A case of land ownership filed by Huang Kuan-hsin" ("cheng-t'ien Huang Kuan-hsin"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
 25. "A dispute over land ownership among Lin Shao-chia and others" ("cheng-t'ien Lin Shao-chia teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2; see also "Murderer Li Yüan-chin" ("jen-ming Li Yüan-chin"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
 26. "A lawsuit for land ownership filed by Cheng Kuo-kuang" ("cheng-t'ien Cheng Kuo-kuang"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 4.
 27. "Ho Chi-po and others, who pretended to be officials and reaped the crops of other people" ("mao-huan ch'iang-ho Ho Chi-po teng"), in *ibid.*, *ch.* 2.
 28. "P'an Hai-yün and others who pretended to be officials and harvested other people's crops by force" ("mao-huan ch'iang-ho P'an Hai-yün teng"), in *ibid.*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
 29. "Robber Ho Fu" ("ch'iang-tao Ho Fu"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
 30. "Meng Hsing-i and others who fought for the favor of a prostitute and made false accusations against each other" ("cheng-chi k'uang-wu Meng Hsing-i teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 3.
 31. See "Huang Cheng and his followers who illegally sailed ocean ships into inland rivers" ("yang-ch'uan ch'uang-ju nei-ti Huang Cheng teng"), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
 32. "Boatmen Wu Ch'un and others" ("ch'uan-hu Wu Ch'un teng"), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 3; see also "A lawsuit concerning debt filed by Cheng Hui-yü" ("sung-chai Cheng Hui-yü"), in *ibid.*, *ch.* 4.
 33. "A dispute among Cheng Kuo-hung and others who fought to serve the

- government as brick suppliers” (“cheng-tang hang-hu Cheng Kuo-hung teng”), in *ibid.*
34. “The flogging punishment for timber dealers Ch’en P’ing and others” (“mu-h’u Ch’en P’ing teng chang”), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
35. “Huang Tuan-hao, owner of the lost goods” (“shih-chu Huang Tuan-hao”), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 3.
36. “Ho Chien-tung and others, who withdrew the lawsuit” (“hsi-sung Ho Chien-tung teng”), in *ibid.*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
37. “The cangue punishment for government servants Ho Kao and others who threatened and blackmailed local people” (“ho-cha ya-i Ho Kao teng”), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 1.
38. “Ou K’uo-so and Ch’en Feng-chao, two hooligans who violated government prohibitions” (“wei-chin chien-kun Ou K’uo-so Ch’en Feng-chao”), in *yen-lüeh*, 1st edn., *ch.* 2.
39. “The dishonest contractors Hsieh Yü-ning and others” (“chien-lan Hsieh Yü-ning teng”), in *ibid.*
40. “The false accusation made by Hsia Yang-cheng” (“wu-kao Hsia Yang-cheng”), in *ibid.*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
41. “A dispute over inheritance among Chung Ching-ch’un and others” (“cheng-ch’an Chung Ching-ch’un teng”), in *shu-fu yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
42. “A lawsuit for contested adoption filed by Ma Pang-tso” (“cheng-chi Ma Pang-tso”), in *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 2.
43. “A dispute over army fields among T’an Chin-wu and others” (“cheng chün-t’ien T’an Chin-wu teng”), in *ibid.*, *ch.* 3.
44. “A dispute over adoption among Ch’en Lien and others” (“cheng-chi Ch’en Lien teng”), in *ibid.*, *ch.* 2.
45. In *ibid.*, 1st edn., *ch.* 3.
46. Depending on the scale, the business of institutions involved in loans and mortgages is referred to in Chinese as *tien*, *tang*, *an* (*chih*), and *ya*. The *tien* business is the largest, and the *ya* the smallest. It is common in the Pearl River delta area to use the term *an* for *chih*.
47. In *yen-lüeh*, 2d edn., *ch.* 3.

GLOSSARY

an 按

Chekiang 浙江

Ch’en Tzu-chuang 陳子壯

“cheng chün-t’ien Ch’en Chin-wu teng”

爭軍田陳進吾等

Chia-hsing 嘉興

ch’ien 錢

“chin ya-i” 禁衙役

“chin ya-kuan jao-min” 禁衙官擾民

ch’ing-fa chien-ku 情法兼顧

ch’ing-li chien-ku 情理兼顧

Ching-shih 京師

Ching-tu 京渡

chin-i 矜疑

chin-shen 矜審

chin-shih 進士

- chüan 卷
 Ch'ung-chen 崇禎
 fan-an 翻案
 Fo-shan 佛山
 Fukien 福建
 Hai-nan 海南
 Han Jih-tuan 韓日纘
 Hao-p'an (street) 壕畔街
 Ho Wu-tsou 何吾騶
 Hsia Yang-chen 夏仰鎮
 hsiang-yüeh 鄉約
 hsi-yeh yin 洗業銀
 Hsüeh-ch'ü 雪隴
 Huang Cheng 黃正
 Hu-men 虎門
 K'ai-mei 開美
 k'an-ho 勘合
 Kuang-chou 廣州
 kung-i 公移
 Kwangtung 廣東
 Li Hsien 李先
 liang 兩
 li-chia 里甲
 Lin I-mei 林一梅
 Lu Ao 陸鏊
 Lu Chao-lung 盧兆龍
 Lu Wen-hai 陸文海
 mai erh pu-tuan 賣而不斷
 Meng shui chai ts'un-tu 盟水齋存牘
 Nanking 南京
 P'an-yü 番禺
 pao-chia 保甲
 San-shui 三水
 Sheng Liang 陞良
 shu Hsiang-shan hsien yen-lüeh
 署香山縣讞略
 shu P'an-yü hsien yen-lüeh 署番禺縣讞略
 shu-fu fan-an 署府翻案
 shu-fu yen-lüeh 署府讞略
 Shun-te 順德
 Sun Ssu-k'ung 孫思孔
 Sung-chiang 松江
 Teng Yün-hsiao 鄧雲霄
 t'ieh-chia yin 貼价銀
 Ts'ai Yung-hsing 蔡永興
 Tseng-ch'eng 增城
 Tsui-li 醉李
 "Ts'un-chü tsa-hsing" 邨居雜興
 tsung-tsu 宗族
 t'uan-lien 團練
 t'ui-kuan 推官
 T'ung-hsiang 桐鄉
 Tung-kuan 東莞
 Wang Ying-hua 王應華
 Wang Yün-ts'ung 王雲從
 "wu-cha Liang Hai-yün teng"
 誣詐梁海雲等
 Yeh Ying-hung 葉應洪
 Yen Chün-yen 顏俊彥
 yen-lüeh 讞略
 Yüeh 粵