

THE T'ANG MARKET SYSTEM

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The description of the marketing system of T'ang times presents the historian with a set of singularly frustrating problems. As I shall show, there is no lack of source material upon the organization of markets, at least at the higher levels, and there is a good deal of evidence showing the actual functioning of this organization. The really insuperable difficulties begin to arise when we attempt to do what any really satisfactory study of markets must undertake, that is to relate the activities of the market with the economic life of the community which it serves.

At our present rather primitive stage of research into China's pre-modern economic history we know surprisingly little even about the general patterns of rural settlement in pre-Sung China. We possess, of course, a considerable quantity of population statistics from the T'ang dynasty. But the basic administrative unit for which we are given population figures is the Prefecture (*chou*), an area so large that from the statistics we can do little more than construct broad regional distributions of population, and detect certain large-scale secular changes of distribution. There is no satisfactory means of determining what proportion of a Prefecture's population lived in the prefectural city, and what proportion in the countryside, no means of estimating the considerable part of the population which all our sources agree escaped the net of registration entirely, no means of determining the number of small towns and walled settlements in the Prefecture which did not have the administrative status of a County town (*Hsien*), and no means of calculating the number or size of its village settlements. We do, it is true, have some statistics on the number of rural 'localities' (*hsiang* 鄉) in each prefecture,¹ but these were merely fiscal-administrative subdivisions of

the Counties which were not necessarily co-extensive with any natural community. The whole study of rural society under the T'ang is thrown into confusion by the co-existence of these artificial administrative districts such as the *hsiang* and its subdivision the *li* on the one hand, and the natural village communities which the government recognized (under the name *ts'un* 村) only as minor police districts on the other.²

None the less, there is ample evidence that between the early T'ang and the Sung period there was a very important development in the overall pattern of rural settlement.³ I would like for the moment to reserve judgement on the theory recently propounded by Professor Miyazaki⁴ who claims that in Han and pre-Han China there were large numbers of small towns and cities, but virtually no villages, and that the general pattern of village settlement only emerged during the Six Dynasties period. This does not, however, greatly effect the generally accepted fact that in the early T'ang period there was a fairly dense pattern of village settlement but at the same time comparatively few small towns ranking below the administrative county towns (*hsien*) in size and status. During the late T'ang and early Sung periods, however, great numbers of small and intermediate-sized towns appear to have come into existence. These arose from a wide variety of origins. Some nucleated around local outposts of civil or military authority, some around the great landed estates which were characteristic of the period, others around nodes of land or water communications, and others around existing market centres.⁵

² The T'ang village system has been discussed frequently (and inconclusively) by Japanese scholars over the past three decades. See Suzuki Shun 鈴木俊 "Tōdai nōson mondai no ichi kōsatsu" 唐代農村問題の一考察 *Rishō shigaku*, 7 (1936); Wada Sei (ed.) 和田清 *Shina chihō jiji hattatsu shi* 支那地方自治発達史 (1939), pp. 1-14; Matsumoto Yoshimi 松本善海 "Rimpo-soshiki wo chūshin toshitari Tōdai no sonsei" 郡保組織を中心とした唐代の村制 *Shigaku zasshi*, 53, iii (1942), pp. 323-71; Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志 "Tō Godai no sonraku seikatsu" 唐五代の村落生活 *Okayama daigaku bungakubu gakujiutsu kiyō*, 5 (1956). Most recent study is Sogabe Shizuo 曾我部静雄 *Chūgoku oyobi kodai Nihon ni okeru Kyōson-keitai no hensen* 中國及び古代日本に於ける鄉村形態の變遷 (Tokyo, 1963), especially pp. 81-100.

³ A good deal of work has been published on urbanization during the Wu-tai and Sung periods. A very helpful survey of this literature, and of studies on Sung commerce and trade in general is to be found in Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信 "Sōdai shōgyōshi kenkyū no tame no oboegaki" 宋代商業史研究のための覚書 *Shigaku zasshi*, 72, vi (1963), pp. 49-69.

⁴ Miyazaki Ichisada, "Les villes en Chine à l'époque des Han", *T'oung pao*, 48, iv-v (1960), pp. 376-92. This summarized a number of the author's studies published in Japanese. These are reprinted in the collected essays Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定 *Ajia-shi kenkyū* アジア史研究 4 volumes (Kyoto, 1962-5).

⁵ Katō Shigeshi 加藤繁 discussed the role of great estates (*Chuang-yüan*) in the formation of rural communities in his study "Tō-Sō jidai no shōen no soshiki narabi ni sono shūraku toshite no hattatsu ni tsukite" 唐宋時代の荘園の組織並にその聚落としての發達に就きて first published in 1928, and reprinted with minor corrections in the author's *Shina keizaishi kōshō* 支那經濟史考證 Vol. 1

¹ The *hsiang* system has recently been the subject of a study by Nakamura Jihei 中村治兵衛 "Tōdai no kyō" 唐代の郷 *Suzuki Shun Kyōju kanrei kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* (1964), pp. 419-46. By a painstaking analysis of the statistical material included in *Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih* he demonstrates rather conclusively that the *Hsien* system was systematically imposed throughout China during the reign of Hsüan-tsung, as a uniform subdivision for local administration. After An Lu-shan's rebellion, with the great diminution of registered population, the overall number of *hsien* also fell, and their size varied widely, no longer approximating to the prescribed 500 households. Although the system continued into the Sung period, its importance was diminished, and the village system of natural communities gradually gained in importance at its expense.

In effect then the hierarchy of settlements in the provinces seems to have changed from the comparatively simple pattern of village — administrative town (*hsien*) in the early T'ang, when the intermediate category of small country town without administrative status was still rare, to a more complex model village — subordinate (market) town — administrative town by Sung times. This hierarchy of settlements was essentially an economic and social one, and was both formally and functionally completely independent of the purely fiscal-administrative hierarchy of

li — *hsiang* — *hsien*

which provided the local government with its chain of command in the countryside. Only at the level of the county town did the two systems come together.

It is important, however, having stated this broad generalization, to stress that it is a general impression, which is completely lacking in geographical precision. Chinese "historical geography", for all its long tradition, has gone little beyond the study of changes in administrative districts, and real historical geography in the western sense — the re-creation of the geography of the past — has hardly been attempted for any period. To do this for the T'ang would be a tremendous task. The data are scanty and scattered, and are probably inadequate for the construction of more than a very impressionistic, patchy and tentative picture. As a result we are at present — and likely to remain — almost totally ignorant of such factors as local differences in patterns of settlement, local variations in land use, agricultural technique, crop-yields and general productivity, and the local patterns of communications and trade.

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(1952), pp. 208–60. The role of minor administrative and military centres, especially the *chen* 鎮 was discussed at length by Hino Kaisaburō 日野開三郎 "Godai chin-shō kō" 五代鎮將考 *Tōyō gaku*, 25, ii (1938), pp. 54–85 and in the summary of an interesting lecture by the same author, "Tō-Sō jidai ni okeru toshi no hattatsu to chin" 唐宋時代に於ける都市の發達と鎮 in *Shigaku zasshi*, 49, vii, (1940) pp. 95–96, and in Sudō Yoshiyuki's 周藤吉之 study of the administrative structure first published in *Shigaku zasshi*, 61, iv, 61, vi (1952), and reprinted with minor corrections in his *Sōdai keizai shi kenkyū* 宋代經濟史研究 (1962) pp. 573–654; and the recent study by Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, "Sōdai chihō shō toshi no ichimen-chin no henshin wo chūshin toshite" 宋代地方小都市の一面 — 鎮の變遷を中心として. *Shirin*, 41, vi (1958), pp. 475–91. On communication centres and existing minor markets, see Hino Kaisaburō "Shina no 'fu' to iu chimei to sono enkaku" 支那の埠と云ふ地名とその沿革 *Rekishi kyōiku*, 13, ix (1938), pp. 23–31; Ikeda Shizuo 池田静夫 "Batō to Futō" 碼頭と埠頭 *Bunka*, 6, x (1939), pp. 87–89; both of which discuss the role of minor river landing places, and the very important article of Sudō Yoshiyuki, "Sōdai no kyōson ni okeru ten, shi, ho no hatten" 宋代の鄉村に於ける店市歩の發展 first published under a slightly different title in *Shigaku zasshi*, 59, ix, 59, x (1950), and now included with revisions in the author's *Tō-Sō shakai-keizai shi kenkyū* 唐宋社會經濟史研究 (Tokyo, 1965), pp. 783–866. For the secondary literature on rural market centres, see below, notes 180–181.

Since we can have no very precise picture of the functioning of the economy at the local level, any discussion of T'ang marketing is bound to be unsatisfactory, since we cannot fit the marketing system into its full social and economic context. None the less, within limits, this is not to say that we cannot do anything with the problem. We are quite well-informed about the official "central markets" of the county towns and of superior administrative centres, which handled inter-regional commerce, and over which the government attempted to exercise strict control. It is possible also to hazard some guesses about the local rural markets which lay outside this official system.

The system of officially controlled markets is a very important feature of China's economic history. Its origins go back to quite early times, and the system, with variations of nomenclature and of practice, persisted at least from the Early Han until the late T'ang period.⁶ Its breakdown, in the late eighth and ninth centuries, is an integral part of the transformation of city institutions and the marked increase in trade and urban prosperity which characterize the period. Whether trade boomed because of the gradual removal of strict governmental control of the major markets, or whether the official market organization collapsed in the face of rapidly expanding and diversifying commercial activity, or whether both the increase of trade and the collapse of the market system were the results of other causes — in particular of increased rural productivity and the general decentralization of power and wealth from the capital to the provinces — are crucial questions to the economic historian, which cannot be answered with any authority at the present state of our knowledge.

The breakdown of this system is significant also in the history of Chinese fiscal institutions and economic theory. The abandonment by the government of their attempts to preserve a rigid and direct control over prices and markets coincides with the relaxation, in the late eighth and ninth centuries of the extreme physiocratic theories which had led all administrations to adopt a generally repressive and hostile attitude towards trade and industry.⁷ During the late T'ang and early Sung periods, for instance,

⁶ On the official market system as described in the *Chou li*, which may probably be taken to represent an idealized picture of the Han system, see the study *Shina kodai no shijō* 支那古代の市場 by Matsumoto Kō 松本洪 privately printed by the Food Rationing Bureau (Shokuryō kanrikyoku) in Tokyo, 1952. See also Li Chien-nung 李劍農. *Hsien Ch'in liang Han ching-chi shih kao* 先秦兩漢經濟史稿 (Peking, 1957), pp. 205–13.

⁷ Even as conventional a political writer as Lu Chih gives abundant evidence that the orthodox view no longer was relevant to contemporary conditions, see Twitchett, "Lu Chih (754–805) Imperial Adviser and Court Official", in Wright and Twitchett (ed.) *Confucian Personalities* (1962), p. 112 ff. Han Yü, writing a few years later, also seems in his memorial on the salt trade (see Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty*, 1962, pp. 165–72) to have a very favourable view of the merchant's services to the community.

many of the laws and policies designed to underline the inferior status of the merchant in society – the strict sumptuary laws regarding dress, ceremonial, houses, carriages, the sorts of animal upon which the merchant might ride,⁸ the denial of participation in the official examinations for sons of merchants⁹ – were gradually relaxed and abandoned.

In the field of taxation, too, although the primacy of agriculture as the "fundamental profession" remained an article of financial orthodoxy, and taxes levied on land and agriculture were always held to be the keystone of the state's fiscal structure, the late T'ang again saw a radical change in actual practice. Where the early T'ang and preceding dynasties had made only short-lived and half-hearted attempts to levy taxes upon trade, from the mid eighth century the T'ang government began the taxation of commerce¹⁰ and the participation of the government in the manufacture and monopoly sale of vital commodities, notably salt, which remained a most important source of revenue until this century.¹¹ Under the Sung taxes upon trade (*shang-shui*) became more and more important as a source of funds.¹² Even in the field of direct taxation, the T'ang government in the late eighth century began to amend the laws to ensure that landless merchants could be brought into the tax-collector's net.¹³ We can detect, here, a general change of attitude towards commerce from the mid eighth century onwards on the part of government. Where before commerce had been considered something fundamentally undesirable which, since it was after all a necessary evil, had to be strictly controlled and kept within limits, it was now accepted that since trade could neither be suppressed nor adequately controlled, the best solution was to exploit it as a source of revenue.

There is yet another factor which needs to be borne in mind. It is widely assumed that agrarian productivity in early T'ang times, in spite of

⁸ There is no adequate account of the very complicated sumptuary laws in force under the T'ang. But a good general impression of their scope can be gained from Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Law and Society in Traditional China* (1961), pp. 128–69. Some indication of how far these laws were being infringed in the early years of the ninth century is given by the various edicts and memorials collected in *THY*, 31, 32, particularly on pp. 573–7. The breakdown of the sumptuary regulations affected not only the merchants, but every stratum of society.

⁹ This is an obscure problem. Merchants' sons were barred under the Sui (see *TT*, 14, p. 81a) under an Edict of 587, and the monographs on the examination system in both T'ang histories list them among the categories of person barred in the T'ang period (see *CTS*, 43, p. 3b and p. 7a; *HTS*, 45, p. 1a). In the mid ninth century, however, there is a slight hint that an attempt had been made to have this ban relaxed somewhat (see *CTS*, 177, p. 18b; *HTS*, 181, p. 5a, biographies of Ts'ao Ch'üeh 曹確). For the position in early Sung times see Kracke, *Civil Service in Early Sung China* 960–1067 (1953), p. 70.

¹⁰ See Chü Ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-tai ts'ai-cheng shih* 唐代財政史 (1943), pp. 94–101.

¹¹ See Twitchett, *Financial Administration*, pp. 49–65.

¹² See Katō Shigeshi, "Sōdai Shōzei kō" 宋代商稅考 first published in *Shirin* (1934) and reprinted in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, Vol. 2 (1953), pp. 176–221.

¹³ See Twitchett, *Financial Administration*, pp. 32, 38 ff.

improved techniques which enabled farmers to raise three cereal crops in two years from the same land, remained comparatively low.¹⁴ Surpluses over the needs of subsistence remained small, and a large part of the surplus was probably taken off by the government through taxation in kind. Although this view is probably exaggerated, there can be no doubt of the fact that enormous quantities of grain and textiles – the chief items in bulk trade – did pass into the hands of the government. A very large proportion of the inter-regional trade in these commodities was thus in fact conducted by the government through the collection of taxes, and the subsequent sale or disbursement of tax goods at the capital or regional centres.¹⁵ This enabled the government also to maintain some measure of control over prices. From the late T'ang onwards, but more particularly under the Sung, an ever-increasing proportion of taxation was collected in cash, and the proportion of surplus agricultural production which passed directly into government hands as tax was reduced. At the same period agricultural techniques underwent a rapid improvement, and productivity rose sharply. A far greater agricultural surplus than before was thus available to ordinary commerce, and large-scale trading by private merchants dealing in grain and textiles became an important feature of Sung commerce.

The T'ang marketing system and its collapse, then cannot be treated as isolated institutional phenomena. They were intimately bound up with the whole complex development of commercial activity and of government policy towards trade, which is one of the most prominent features of China's economic history from about 750 until A.D. 1200. The system of closed official markets was one of the most important means by which the early T'ang administrations attempted to keep a close watch over the conduct of trade throughout their empire. Its decay and abandonment coincided with the realization that the maintenance of such strict control was no longer possible, and that it was no longer even considered desirable.

I. The System of Official Markets

During the T'ang the government established markets in all cities which were the seat of a Prefectural (*chou*) or County (*hsien*) administration, with the exception only of certain Counties of the inferior categories.¹⁶ The establishment of markets (*shih* 市) in centres which were not of County

¹⁴ See Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生 *Chūgoku keizaishi kenkyū* 中國經濟史研究 (1966), pp. 185–278, for an account of developments in agricultural technique during this period.

¹⁵ For some idea of the very large scale of this enterprise see Tu Yu's account of the state finances in the T'ien-pao period, translated in Twitchett, *Financial Administration*, p. 153 ff. The effect of this on trade is stressed by Balázs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* (1964), p. 60.

¹⁶ The main study on official markets under the T'ang is Katō Shigeshi's classic article "Tō-Sō jidai no ichi" 唐宋時代の市 first published in 1933 in the Fukuda Festschrift, and reprinted in *Shina Keizaishi kōshō*, Vol. 1 (1952), pp. 347–75.

or Prefectural status was forbidden by an Edict of 707.¹⁷ Less formal market assemblies in other places were, however, permitted, and on special occasions temporary markets could be opened – for example when the Emperor made a Progress in the provinces.¹⁸ Official markets of a rather different type were also established at various places on the frontiers, specifically for trade with foreign peoples.¹⁹ Completely outside the official market system there also existed a network of minor rural markets known as *ts'ao-shih* 草市.²⁰ These are dealt with separately below.

The largest and most important of all the markets were of course the Metropolitan markets of the Capital cities. These were quite different in scale and in their economic function from the standard markets of the Prefectural and County cities. Their administration too was quite different. Whereas in the provinces markets were the responsibility of the local authorities, the Metropolitan markets in both Ch'ang-an and Loyang were administered by a special office the *Liang-ching tu-shih shu* 兩京督市署 subordinated to the Court of Treasury (*T'ai-fu ssu* 太府寺).²¹ The Court of Treasury received all tribute goods sent in from the provinces, and tax income in cloth and commodities other than grain.²² It is clear that the Metropolitan markets were placed under its control because this office was continually engaged in fixing the prices and standards of quality of goods, and also because the government used the Metropolitan markets both as a place to purchase or requisition commodities which it required and as a place in which to sell off great quantities of surplus tax goods.

At the beginning of the T'ang period there seem to have been three great markets in Ch'ang-an, the Eastern, Western and Southern markets and three in Loyang, the Northern, Southern and Western markets.²³ The Southern market of Ch'ang-an was suppressed during the *Ch'ui-kung* period (685–8),²⁴ and the Western market of Loyang was abolished in 722.²⁵ Other markets were set up in Ch'ang-an during the first half of the eighth

century, but do not seem to have remained in existence for very long.²⁶ Each of these markets was controlled by a Market Director (*Shih-ling* 市令) and two Assistants (*Ch'eng* 丞) all of whom were ranking officials. A measure of the importance attached to these offices is given by the fact that the Market Director was equivalent in rank to the Magistrate of a County of the highest category. Besides his Assistants, the Director had a subordinate staff consisting of a managing clerk (*lu-shih* 錄事), three store-keepers (*fu* 府), seven scribes (*shih* 史) two intendants (*tien-shih* 典事) and one book-keeper (*chang-ku* 掌固). These were all non-ranking employees.²⁷

The markets of Ch'ang-an, about which we are best informed,²⁸ were of considerable size, each occupying the area of two of the rectangular walled wards (*fang* 坊) into which the interior of the city was divided. Recent excavations have shown that the Western market was 1,031 metres from north to south and 927 metres from east to west, while the Eastern Market was 1,000 metres from north to south and 924 metres from east to west. These two enclosures were surrounded by walls with two gates on each side. Two roads crossed the market from gate to gate from both east to west and north to south, dividing the market into nine subdivisions. The central square block contained the Market Director's office. The larger shops faced the roadways, which were about 50 feet wide. The interior of the blocks was divided up by a complex of small alleyways (*ch'ü* 曲 or 衢) of retail shops and stalls (*ssu* 肆). The perimeter of the market was encircled by a very broad road, some 120 yards wide, and the outer wall of the market-place was lined with warehouses and wholesale stores (*ti* 邸 and *tien* 店).²⁹

²⁶ See *TH* Y, 86, pp. 1581–2, *TFYK*, 504, pp. 17a–22a.

²⁷ See *TLT*, 20, p. 2a. *HTS*, 48, p. 14a, lists three intendants, as does *CTS*, 44, p. 16a. Konoe in a note to his edition of *TLT* considers this may be correct. The Sung edition of *TLT* does not include this chapter.

²⁸ The best description is in the *Ch'ang-an chih*, 8, p. 11a–b (the Eastern Market) and *ibid*, 10, p. 7a (the Western Market). There is also a reasonably full description of the Southern market of Loyang in the Yüan period *Ho-nan chih*, 1, p. 10b. See also the *T'ang liang-ching ch'eng-fang k'ao*, 3, p. 21b (Ch'ang-an, Eastern market), *ibid*, 4, p. 20a (Western market) and *ibid*, 5, 24b (Loyang, Southern market). The positions of the markets are best shown in the maps in Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫 and Imai Kiyoshi 今井清 *Chōan to Rakuyō* 長安と洛陽 (Kyoto, 1956). These include a rough plan of the Eastern market of Ch'ang-an (pl. 7) based on the work of Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六 *Chōan shiseki no kenkyū* 長安史蹟の研究 (1932) p. 145. Very recently there have been excavations in Ch'ang-an which clarify many obscure points in the traditional descriptions. See *K'ao-ku*, 1963, xi, pp. 605–8.

²⁹ On such establishments see Karō Shigeshi, "Tō-Sō jidai no sōko ni tsuite" 唐宋時代の倉庫に就いて first published in *Shigaku*, 4, ii. (1925) and reprinted in *Shina keizaiishi kōshō*, Vol. 1 (1952), pp. 461–78. The distinction between them is defined in the commentary (*shu-i*) to *Code*, 4, art. 6; "Regarding *ti* and *tien*, a place to store goods is called *ti*, a place where they are sold is called *tien*." The *tien* were not all on the walls around the market. One of the stories in Tuan Ch'eng-shih's 段成式 *Chien-hsia chuan*, 1. 劍俠傳, p. 6 (Ts'ung-shu chi ch'eng edit.) contains a mention of "a *tien* of several *chien* in size overlooking the street in one of the small alleys (小曲) within the Eastern Market".

¹⁷ See *TH* Y, 86, p. 1581, *TFYK* 504, p. 21b.

¹⁸ *Ibid*. Such markets were for purchasing or requisitioning goods needed by the numerous retinue which accompanied the emperor on his travels. At the time when this Edict was promulgated this was a very major problem, as the court was continually travelling between Ch'ang-an and the secondary capital Loyang because of food shortages in Kuan-chung. See Ch'uan Han-sheng 全漢昇 *T'ang Sung ti-kuo yü yün-ho* 唐宋帝國與運河 (1944), pp. 20–8.

¹⁹ See below. See also some interesting remarks by Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* (1964), pp. 62–5.

²⁰ See below. See also the general account of marketing given in T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖 and Chü Ch'ing-yüan 鞠清遠 *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih* 唐代經濟史 (1936), p. 89 ff.

²¹ See *TLT* 20, pp. 10b–14a. See also *HTS*, 48, p. 14a (cf. des Rotours, *Traité des Fonctionnaires et de l'armée* Vol. 1, p. 437–440), *CTS* 44, p. 16a, *TT* 26, p. 154 b–c.

²² On the *T'ai-fu ssu* see Twitchett, *Financial Administration*, p. 102 ff.

²³ See *TLT*, 20, p. 11b.

²⁴ See *TLT*, 20, loc. cit. This market had already been reduced in size from two *fang* to one and a half *fang* under the first T'ang emperor (618–26).

²⁵ *TLT*, 20, loc. cit., *T'ang liang-ching ch'eng-fang k'ao*, 5, p. 32b.

These were arranged so that all the dealers in a single commodity were grouped together in a row. These rows (*hang* 行) were the basis for the organization of traders in the market, and the *hang* had by T'ang times developed into a sort of proto-guild.³⁰ Contemporary records give the number of *hang* in the great Western market of Ch'ang-an as 220,³¹ and some of these must have included a great many separate shops and dealers. The Japanese pilgrim Ennin records in his diary a great fire which in 843 destroyed more than 4,000 shops in twelve *hang* of the Eastern market.³² This may be exaggerated. However, an account of the Southern market of Lo-yang which also occupied two complete wards, tells us that it had 120 *hang* comprising more than 3,000 shops (*ssu*) and more than 400 wholesale warehouses (*tien*) around the walls.³³

The markets, in spite of their great extent were apparently much congested. Strict laws governed the movement of traffic,³⁴ and forbade any action which might have led to panic or a breach of the peace.³⁵ The owners of shops (*cheng-p'u* 正舖) were forbidden to build lean-to extensions in front of them encroaching on the roadway,³⁶ and all shop extensions had to conform to a standard size and pattern.³⁷ Access to the market had to be ensured for a great amount of animal and cart traffic. When the site of the Western market of Ch'ang-an was recently excavated, the ruts from the traffic in the great outer roadway were still plainly preserved.³⁸ For bulky goods, and in particular for lumber, the Western market had a dock on its western side, connected with the Ts'ao-ch'ü canal, the Wei river and the

³⁰ See Katō Shigeshi, "Tō-Sō jidai no shōnin-kumiai 'kō' wo ronjite Shindai no kaikan ni oyobu" 唐宋時代の商人組合行を論じて清代の會館に及ぶ first published in *Shigaku*, 14, 1 (1935), and reprinted in *Shina keizaiishi kōshō*, Vol. 1 (1952), pp. 422-60. An English version of this article entitled "On the Hang or Associations of merchants in China with especial reference to the institution in the T'ang and Sung Period" appeared in the *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 9 (1936), pp. 45-83.

³¹ Katō, *op. cit.* (note 30), suggests that this number, which is given by all editions of *Ch'ang-an chih*, should in fact read 120, since almost all accounts of markets number *hang* in multiples of 12.

³² See Ennin *Diary*, 843, vi, 27 (*cf.* Reischauer, p. 333).

³³ See *Ho-nan chih*, 1, p. 10b.

³⁴ See *Code*, 26, art. 4. For a very sound study of the laws on the administration of markets, see T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖 "T'ang-tai kuan-li 'shih' ti fa-ling" 唐代管理'市'的法令, *Shih-huo*, 4, viii (1937), pp. 1-8.

³⁵ See *Code*, 27, art. 1. This was reincorporated in an Edict of 797, see *THY*, 86, p. 1581. This and the preceding rule covered not only the markets, but also any other place where "an assembly was gathered". An assembly is defined in the *Shu-i* commentary to *Code*, 26, art. 4, as "where three or more persons are gathered together".

³⁶ See *THY*, 86, p. 1581, *TFYK*, 504, p. 21b.

³⁷ See *THY*, 86, p. 1581, *TFYK*, 504, p. 21b. Encroachment on the roadways was also forbidden in the *Code*, 26, art. 16, a rule which applied not only in cities but in the countryside.

³⁸ See the various reports on excavations at Ch'ang-an in *K'ao-ku* and *Wen-wu* since the mid-1950's.

Huang-ho.³⁹ The Southern market of Loyang also had a canal dock connected with the canal (also called Ts'ao-ch'ü) which ran along the south bank of the Lo-shui to its junction with the Huang-ho.⁴⁰ Each of the other Metropolitan markets was also provided with a canal, but it is not clear whether these were used for transport or simply as a source of water-supply.⁴¹

The two markets in Ch'ang-an were rather sharply differentiated. The Eastern market, situated in the densely peopled eastern side of the city was essentially the domestic market. In its neighbourhood was the singing-girls' quarter, and it is clear that the market itself included wine-shops and brothels.⁴² The Western market, on the other hand, was more lively and cosmopolitan, the market for exotic and rare goods.⁴³ The eastern side of Ch'ang-an (Wan-nien County) was the fashionable part of the city, with the mansions of the wealthy and powerful.⁴⁴

Over this seething mass of humanity, with its multiplicity of trades filling an area as big as the whole of medieval London, the Market Director was expected to exercise a wide range of powers. The market was to be opened only during the day. During the T'ang a strict curfew was enforced, not only in the capitals, but in all walled cities. In the capital there was a very elaborate system of drum towers which announced the time, and special regulations governing the precise time and order in which the various city gates were to be opened in the early morning and closed at night.⁴⁵ After the evening drum signal announcing the impending closing of the gates, and until the morning drum signal, the gates of the city and of the inner palace city were closed, and the gates to each of the walled wards and market enclosures were also closed and locked.⁴⁶ After this nobody was

³⁹ See *T'ang liang-ching ch'eng-fang k'ao*, 4p. 29b. This dock was constructed in 741 by Han Ch'ao-tsung 韓朝宗 then Governor of Ch'ang-an. In 766 one of his successors, Li Han 黎幹 extended the canal eastwards from the Western market as far as the great central street which divided Ch'ang-an in half, to facilitate the transportation into the city of firewood and charcoal by boat.

⁴⁰ See *T'ang liang-ching ch'eng-fang k'ao*, 5, pp. 40b-41a. The dock in the Northern market was called the Hsin-t'an 新潭 and was opened up in the Ch'ang-an period (701-5) by Tsung Chin-ch'ing 宗晉卿 to receive tax goods from the provinces. It had special storage warehouses, to take grain on the lower floors and cloth on the upper. But the dock, which was connected to the Lo-shui by a sluice-gate (*tou-men* 斗門) later silted up so that the tax boats could not get in. According to *T'ang liang-ching ch'eng-fang k'ao*, 5, p. 40a, the Southern market was traversed by another canal, the Yün-ch'ü 運渠.

⁴¹ See the maps compiled by Hsü Sung 徐松 for the *T'ang liang-ching ch'eng-fang k'ao*, and reproduced in *Chōan to Rakuyō* (pl. 3, 26).

⁴² See for example *TPKC*, 157, p. 1130.

⁴³ See Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (1963), p. 20.

⁴⁴ See *Ch'ang-an chih*, 8, p. 11b.

⁴⁵ See Nida Noboru 仁井田陞 *Tōryō shūi* 唐令拾遺 (1933), pp. 360-4, for the sections of the *Statutes* on this subject.

⁴⁶ See *TLT*, 8, pp. 28a-30a.

allowed on the great main streets between the wards, unless they were on public duty, or had some urgent and vital reason. Anyone travelling on the main street, in case of emergency, had to carry an official pass issued by the officials of the county or by the headman's office of his ward, otherwise he was liable to be arrested by the watch.⁴⁷ The main streets were patrolled by detachments of the Chin-wu Guard (金吾衛),⁴⁸ who manned police posts (p'u 鋪) at the main crossings, and who also provided the guards for the larger guard-houses at each of the main gates (wu-hou p'u 武侯鋪). After the ward gates had been closed at nightfall, maintenance of law and order within the wards was the responsibility of their headmen (fang-cheng 坊正).⁵⁰ Moving around within one's ward after curfew was not prohibited. The gates of the markets were closed at night in just the same way as those of the wards. But it seems that the Chin-wu Guard, who patrolled inside the markets to keep order, maintained these patrols both by night and day.⁵¹

The market area was thus open to access only during the daylight hours. Trading hours, in theory at least, were even more restricted. The *Statute* (Ling 令) governing all official markets ruled that markets were to be opened at midday and closed one and three quarter hours before sundown.⁵² I find it very hard to believe, however, that this rule can have been applied rigorously to the enormous metropolitan markets, catering as they did for the needs of a population of around a million persons.

In addition to maintaining the curfew and trading hours, and to exercising some control over public order, the Market Director held responsibility for the supervision of a wide variety of commercial matters. There was a considerable body of codified law relating to trade which had to be enforced. One whole section of the administrative statutes, the *Statutes on Customs Stations and Markets* (Kuan-shih ling 關市令) dealt with various commercial topics,⁵³ and a substantial section of the Miscellaneous Provisions of the *Code* (Tsa-lü 雜律) dealt with the markets.⁵⁴ These legal provisions, which applied to all official markets, are translated in the Appendix.

⁴⁷ Code, 26, art. 18. See also THY, 86, p. 1576.

⁴⁸ See TLT 25, pp. 9a-13a. See also HTS, 49a, pp. 3b-4a (translated des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et de l'armée*, Vol. 2, pp. 530-7), CTS, 44, p. 21a, TT, 28, p. 165a-b.

⁴⁹ See HTS, CTS, loc. cit. The headquarters of the guard are shown on the endpaper maps to the index volume of *Chōan to Rakuyō*.

⁵⁰ See Niida Noboru, *Tōryō shūi*, pp. 215-16.

⁵¹ See HTS, 49, p. 4a.

⁵² See TLT, 20, p. 13b.

⁵³ See Niida Noboru, *Tōryō shūi* (1933), pp. 713-21. Not many fragments of this section of the *Statutes* survives. For comparison, see the *Yōrō Statutes* as embodied in *Ryō no gige* 27, pp. 297-301. Unfortunately the relevant chapter of *Ryō no shūge*, with its very ample commentary, is lost. The few surviving fragments are collected in the *Ryō no shūge itsubun* 令集解遺文, p. 7, appended to the edition in *Kokushi taikei*.

⁵⁴ See Appendix.

The principal responsibilities of the Market Director were the following. First was the registration of all shops, merchants and *hang* dealing in different commodities.⁵⁵ Secondly he had to inspect all weights and measures used in the market, and ensure they met the official standards.⁵⁶ He was also responsible for the quality of the money circulating in the market. During the T'ang there was insufficient cash in circulation, and a great variety of counterfeit was in use, some types tacitly permitted, but other types strictly banned.⁵⁷ Thirdly he was responsible for ensuring that no goods of inferior workmanship, shoddy materials, short weight or of sub-standard size were sold.⁵⁸ There were officially approved standards of weight, quality, workmanship, and pattern for many sorts of manufactured goods which had to be applied.⁵⁹ Fourthly, certain types of sale, particularly those involving slaves and livestock, had to be registered with the market office, which issued a certificate of sale (*shih-ch'üan* 市券).⁶⁰ This was no mere formality, for there were stringent laws designed to prevent the sale of free persons as slaves, and any infringement would have rendered the Market Director liable to punishment.⁶¹

Next came what was probably the most difficult of all the Market Director's duties. He was supposed to prevent unfair price fixing, cornering the market in commodities, monopolizing trade in any commodity, and similar unfair practices.⁶² He was also to establish, for every ten-day period of each month, a list of current prices for every commodity, giving a price for three qualities of each item, in terms of cash. These prices were made up into a register and sent to the local authorities.⁶³ They then had official sanction not only as the standard for transactions in the market, but also for the payment by the authorities for goods which they officially purchased or requisitioned,⁶⁴ and for the assessment of the sums involved in criminal cases.⁶⁵

⁵⁵ See TLT, 20, p. 12a, Appendix p. 44.

⁵⁶ See Code, 26, art. 29; *ibid*, art. 32; TLT, 20, p. 10a-b; *ibid*, p. 12b; THY, 66, p. 1154; Appendix pp. 42-3.

⁵⁷ See *Financial Administration*, p. 74 ff. and particularly notes 84 and 92. For a "decision" *p'an* regarding the use by foreign merchants of Central Asian coins, see WYYH, 530, pp. 3b-4a.

⁵⁸ See TLT, 20, pp. 12b, 13a; Code, 26, art. 30. For a "decision" (*p'an*) on the quality of fabrics and embroidery see WYYH, 530, p. 2a.

⁵⁹ See for example CTS, 48, p. 4a; THY, 83, p. 1532; and TLT, 20, p. 12b.

⁶⁰ See Code, 26, art. 34; TLT, 20, p. 13a-b. Appendix p. 45-6.

⁶¹ See Code, 26, art. 11-13.

⁶² See Code, 26, art. 33. Appendix p. 46. This was apparently the prime responsibility of the *chang-ku*: See an anonymous "decision" (*p'an*) WYYH 530 p. 2a.

⁶³ See Code, 4, art. 6; TLT, 20, p. 12a; TFK, 616, p. 22a. The Japanese *Yōrō* statute cited in *Ryō no gige*, 27, p. 299, has a slightly fuller version which certainly derives from a T'ang original. (Appendix p. 44-5). See Niida Noboru, *Chūgoku hōseishi kenkyū*, II, *Tochi-hō, Torihiki-hō* (1960), pp. 795-7.

⁶⁴ See Oba Osamu 大庭脩 "Hoku-kan monjo" 北館文書 in *Saiki bunka kenkyū*, 2 (1959), pp. 369-80.

⁶⁵ See Code, 4, art. 6.

There was also a lengthy schedule of goods whose sale to alien merchants and whose export was forbidden.⁶⁶ Considering the major part which foreign merchants played even in domestic trade, it hardly seems likely that these regulations could have been strictly enforced.⁶⁷ However, a close watch on foreigners was obviously a part of the market officials' duties, as some of the Japanese pilgrim Ennin's companions discovered to their cost when they first arrived in China.⁶⁸ Foreigners, and for that matter Chinese travelling outside their own county of residence, had to carry an official passport (*kuo-so* 過所) specifying the purpose of their journey and listing any arms they might be carrying.⁶⁹ Without this they could not pass the frequent customs check points or use the guest houses and inns at post stations along the trunk roads. Among the authorities to whom Ennin's passport was addressed, the market officials are specifically listed.⁷⁰

To prevent any flouting of the Market Director's authority, an Edict promulgated early in the dynasty forbade officials of high rank from themselves entering the markets.⁷¹ Later laws were put into effect prohibiting high officials or members of the imperial family from setting up members of their personal retinue, slaves or retainers as shop-keepers in the markets.⁷² Such abuses, which were clearly very profitable, none the less continued, particularly in the provinces. A specially notorious case was Yang-chou, the great port and commercial centre at the mouth of the Yangtse, where in the 770's many great provincial officers had set up businesses.⁷³ Such abuses in the Metropolitan markets are never specifically mentioned, but since by the middle of the eighth century the greater families were flouting such city laws as those forbidding mansions having their gates opening upon the main streets, while the provincial governors

maintained their own chancelleries (*Chin-tsou yüan* 進奏院) at the capital,⁷⁴ which handled huge sums in tax remittances, it is difficult to believe that this rule was not commonly broken.

A much more difficult abuse which affected only the Metropolitan markets was the constant requisitioning or forced purchase by the eunuchs of goods required for the imperial palace.⁷⁵ This became particularly flagrant in the last years of Te-tsung's reign, and after a succession of scandals in 805 it was ordered that only eunuchs bearing an official pass could buy in the market, and that they were to pay full market prices.⁷⁶

To handle all this business the Market Director of the Metropolitan markets was plainly understaffed, and most of his relations with the merchants were handled through the *hang* 行 associations which I have mentioned above. The members of the *hang* were called *hang-shang* 行商, *hang-chia* 行家, or *hang-hu* 行戶, and each *hang* had a headman called the *hang-t'ou* 行頭 or *hang-lao* 行老 who acted as their spokesman. Since all shopkeepers in the market had to be registered with a *hang*, and to display a recognized official sign the *hang* members had a virtual monopoly of their trade. However, during T'ang times there is little sign of any very powerful organization among the merchant community. There were no guild halls (*hui-kuan*, *kung-tso*) as in later times, and no evidence of the associations of merchants from the same city or province which became so influential in Ming and Ch'ing times. Katō Shigeshi, in his classic study of the *hang*,⁷⁷ made the point that so long as the rigid government control over markets was maintained the monopolistic self-interest of the traders was to some extent assured. It was only when this official protection was removed that the social and cult⁷⁸ associations formed by *hang* members

⁶⁶ See THY, 86, p. 1581; Code, 8, art. 12.

⁶⁷ On the role of foreign merchants in trade see T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖 and Chü Ch'ing-yüan 鞠清遠 *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih* (1936), p. 97 ff., E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (1963) p. 10 ff. and passim, Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", *Semitic and Oriental Studies presented to William Popper*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology XI (1951), pp. 403-22, Hsiang Ta 向達 *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü hsi-yü toen-ming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Peking 1957) passim.

⁶⁸ See Ennin *Diary*, 839, 11, 22. (Reischauer, pp. 84-5).

⁶⁹ On the systems of passports (*kuo-suo* 過所) and official credentials (*kung-yen* 公驗) carried by travellers, see Komai Yoshiaki 駒井義明 "Kōken to kashō" 公驗と過所 *Tōyō gaku* 40 (1957), pp. 218-22. This reproduces a number of such documents issued to Ennin and two other Tendai monks, Saichō and Enchin, in the early ninth century. See also Niida Noboru 仁井田隆 *Tō Sō hōritsu monjo no kenkyū* 唐宋法律文書の研究 (1937) pp. 843-56.

⁷⁰ See Ennin *Diary*, 840, ii, 19 (Reischauer, p. 171).

⁷¹ See THY, 86, p. 1581.

⁷² See the text from the *Miscellaneous Statutes* (*Tsa-ling* 雜令) cited by PSLT, 11, p. 52a. See Niida *Tōyō shūi*, p. 857, for an essential emendation of the text.

⁷³ See THY, 86, p. 1582.

⁷⁴ On the *Chin-tsou yüan*, see the study of Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄 "Tōdai Shinsōin kō" 唐代進奏院考 first published in Katō Hakase kanreki kinen Tōyōshū shūsetsu (1941) and reprinted with revisions in his *Tōsō-jidai no kōtsū to chishi, chizu no kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地誌地圖の研究 (1963), pp. 85-126.

⁷⁵ See THY, 86, p. 1582, TFYK, 504, p. 23a; HTS, 52, p. 5b.

⁷⁶ See THY, 86, p. 1582; *Shun-tsung shih-lu*, 2 順宗實錄 (*Han Ch'ang-li chi*, *wai-chi*, 7, p. 90. Cf. Solomon, *The Veritable Record of the T'ang Emperor Shun-tsung* (1955), pp. 15-17. See also the poem "Mai-t'an weng" included in Po Chū-i's *Hsin Yueh-fu*, *Po Hsiang-shan chi*, 4, pp. 49-50.

⁷⁷ Katō, *op. cit.* (note 30 above).

⁷⁸ There is not a great deal of evidence on the religious affiliations of *hang* during the T'ang period. There is of course a good deal of material about foreign merchants forming religious communities. The Western market at Ch'ang-an was surrounded by Manichaean and Zoroastrian temples, which also existed in many other cities (including Tun-huang). The merchants at Canton had both Indian and Islamic religious communities. But there can be little doubt that native Chinese merchants' *hang* associations had religious connexions, as in later dynasties. These religious affiliations were sometimes with Buddhist or Taoist temples, sometimes with the shrines of local deities. *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*, 280, p. 2235 gives the following example:

"The temple of Wu T'ai-po 吳太伯 is to the west of the eastern gate of Su-chou. At every spring and autumn solstice the shopkeepers of the market gather

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had to be strengthened into a protective trade "guild". The *hang* headman too was not in T'ang times so much the chosen head of his trade as the government's accepted representative of his colleagues in the same trade. It is probably not until Sung times that we should begin to speak of "guilds" in anything like the western sense.⁷⁹

It would appear also that the *hang* did not include all persons employed in the market place. When in 809 the authorities attempted to stop the use of "short strings" of cash the Edict not only ordered the *hang-t'ou* to make investigations, but also ordered the masters of warehouses (*chü-t'ing chu-jen* 居亭主人) and the brokers (*ya-jen* 牙人) to do the same. This would suggest, although the terms used are somewhat at variance, that the keepers of warehouses and wholesale establishments were outside the *hang*, and had their own independent relationships with the authorities.⁸⁰ All the material available would suggest that the warehousing establishments (*ti* and *tien*) offered accommodation to travelling merchants as well as storage facilities for their wares, and it seems likely that these terms covered a widely varied spread of establishments ranging from the inn at one extreme to the simple warehouse at the other, which are not clearly differentiated by our sources.

Brokers again were clearly very important.⁸¹ During the T'ang they went under a variety of names, *ya-jen* 牙人, *ya-lang* 牙郎, *hu-shih* 互市, *shih-k'uai* 市儉 or *ya-k'uai* 牙儉. There is plenty of evidence that brokers were normally specialists in one sort of dealing. We read of specialist horse brokers,⁸² cattle brokers,⁸³ donkey brokers,⁸⁴ salt brokers,⁸⁵ tea

brokers⁸⁶ silk brokers,⁸⁷ and brokers who specialized in sales of slaves.⁸⁸ In Wu-tai and early Sung times we meet many more types of broker, notably land brokers or estate agents, rice and grain brokers.⁸⁹ There were other brokers who specialized in trade with foreigners at the special seasonal frontier market assemblies.⁹⁰ They functioned as intermediaries in various types of transaction, between wholesaler and retailer, retail-merchant and customer, producer and shopkeeper. In Sung times there was a strict distinction between officially recognized (*kuan-ya*) brokers and private brokers (*ssu-ya*), and a tax was regularly levied on their dealings.⁹¹ It is not clear whether such a distinction already existed in late T'ang times. But it is certain that the brokers had some sort of standing with the authorities. Most of the brokers in specialist trades mentioned in T'ang sources were dealers in slaves or livestock, or land, and all such transactions had to be registered and recorded with the authorities on official deeds.⁹² One of the emergency measures of taxation introduced by Chao Tsan in 783, when Te-tsung's court at Ch'ang-an was isolated by the rebellions of the provincial governors, was a percentage tax on all commercial transactions. This was to be collected through the brokers in the Metropolitan markets, who were provided with specially sealed registers to record transactions.⁹³ The scheme proved a failure and was never revived, but it shows, none the less that the authorities must have had close links with the brokers.

Besides their function as centres of commerce the markets in the capital cities also served as the chief places of resort for the populace. Besides shops and warehouses there were numerous cookshops, wine shops, restaurants and night-houses providing the citizens with entertainment.⁹⁴ There were also the establishments of such trades as the undertakers, who provided the elaborate musical and semi-dramatic entertainments customary at grand funerals.⁹⁵ As the chief place of public assembly in the city, the market place also contained the public execution ground,⁹⁶ and was the place where the heads of criminals were displayed as a public warning.

⁸⁶ T'FYK, 494, p. 5b.

⁸⁷ *Pei-meng suo-yen*, 4, 北夢瑣言 pp. 29-30.

⁸⁸ See TTCLC, 5, p. 33.

⁸⁹ See Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, p. 75 ff.

⁹⁰ The most famous example being An Lu-shan, who was originally a "ya-lang" in the market for foreign exchange at Ying-chou (see below). See *An Lu-shan shih-chi* A, p. 1b (cf. des Retours, *Histoire de Ngan Lou-chan* (1962), p. 11; Pulleyblank, *The Background to the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (1955), p. 106).

⁹¹ See Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, p. 89 ff.

⁹² On registration of sales of livestock and slaves see *Code*, 26, art. 34, TLT, 20, p. 13a-b. On registration of sales of land see TT, 2, p. 16b, T'FYK, 495, p. 23b, *Code*, 13, art. 1 (*shu-i*).

⁹³ See CTS, 49, p. 9b; THY, 88, pp. 1614-15; T'FYK, 502, pp. 26a-27a.

⁹⁴ See note 42 above.

⁹⁵ See Po Hsing-chien's *Li Wa chuan* 李娃傳.

⁹⁶ See *Ch'ang-an chih*, 10, p. 7a, *T'ang liang-ching ch'eng-fang k'ao*, 4, p. 21a. The execution ground was called the "Lone Willow" *tu-liu* 獨柳.

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together their associations (*tang*), and jointly provide sacrificial animals and wine, and pray for good fortune to the Three Abdicating Kings (i.e. Yao, Shun and Yü). Many of them also make pictures of fine horses, painted carriages and beautiful girls, and present these to the shrine. Even in the other months never a day goes by without offerings being given. In the spring of the *I-you* year there was a headman of the gold and silversmiths' *hang* who collected his followers and had painted a picture of a beauty holding a *hu-ch'in*. Her figure seemed to spring out from the old silk . . . Of all the paintings which were presented before and after, and were displayed together on the walls of the shrine there was not one to match her . . . The story goes on to tell of entertainments, dancing by spirit mediums, and feasting which accompanied this festival.

It is not known whether, in towns with large foreign communities, there were separate *hang* for Chinese and for Islamic or other alien merchants, as was common in Ming and Ch'ing times.

⁷⁹ See Katō, *op. cit.* (note 30 above) p. 66 ff.

⁸⁰ See CTS, 48, p. 11b, THY, 89, p. 1629, HTS 54, p. 8a.

⁸¹ The only sound study of brokers in T'ang times is Kobayashi Kōjirō 小林 高四郎 "Tō-Sō gajin kō" 唐宋牙人考 *Shigaku*, 8, i (1932) pp. 53-101, and its supplement "Tō-Sō gajin kō hoshō" 補成, *Shigaku*, 8, iii, pp. 165-7.

⁸² See TPKC, 262, p. 2054.

⁸³ See *I-chien chih* 夷堅志, *chia* 13, p. 2a.

⁸⁴ See TPKC, 257, p. 2001.

⁸⁵ HTS, 54, p. 2b.

The Market Director's office was not the only official body with its premises in the market. Here too were the offices of the Price-regulating office (*Ch'ang-p'ing shu* 常平署), another subordinate department of the Court of Treasury, which like the Price-regulating granaries (*Ch'ang-p'ing ts'ang*) of the prefectures, attempted to maintain the price of grain at a fair level.⁹⁷ In times of high grain prices the government sometimes sold off enormous quantities of tax grain from their reserve granaries, at lower than current market prices.⁹⁸ These sales were made by the Price-regulating office to the *hang* of merchants dealing in grain. A third office, also subordinated to the Court of Treasury, was the Price-equalizing office (*P'ing-chun shu* 平準署), which was abolished sometime in the 730's. This attempted to manipulate the prices of commodities other than grain in the same way, by selling off surplus official goods and goods which had been acquired by confiscations.⁹⁹ As in the case of the *Ch'ang-p'ing shu*, these sales were probably made through the appropriate *hang* association.

The Metropolitan markets then formed a tremendously complex commercial organization through which the needs of the greatest urban centre in the world were supplied. The various organs of government which were concerned with commerce held strict supervisory powers over all this multifarious activity. That they actually exercised such authority can be seen from the way in which the Metropolitan markets constantly crop up in Edicts on every variety of financial and economic matter, from attempts to curb the worse types of counterfeiting to the sale of surplus tax goods. This remained true even in the later years of the dynasty when central authority as a whole was in a decline.

Official Markets in the Provinces

No one has seriously doubted the real importance of this market system in the capitals. The markets of the Prefectural and County towns of the provinces, however, are another matter. According to the administrative

⁹⁷ See *TLT*, 20, pp. 19b-22a, *CTS*, 44, p. 16b, *HTS*, 48, p. 14a-b (cf. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et de l'armée*, I, pp. 441-2).

⁹⁸ See Edict of 780 authorizing sale of 100,000 *shih* of rice and the same amount of wheat in case of famine (*CTS*, 49, p. 8a; *TFYK*, 502, p. 26a, *THY*, 88, p. 1614). These sales were to be arranged through the *hang* associations of the markets. In 798 an Edict of the sixth month authorized the sale of 100,000 *shih* of rice, and again in the ninth month a further sale of 300,000 *shih* of unhulled grain was authorized from the Great Granary (*T'ai-ts'ang*), while at the same time 70,000 *shih* were sold off in Loyang. Early in 799 a further issue of 180,000 *shih* was sold off. Further sales are recorded in 811, 814 (when a record total of 700,000 *shih* was sold), 817, and 824. (See *CTS*, 49, *THY*, 88, p. 1615 ff., *TFYK*, 502, pp. 26a-28a). These massive sales were usually made at specially opened sale-yards (*ch'ang* 場) on the "Two Main Streets" 兩街 of *Ch'ang-an*.

⁹⁹ See *TLT*, 20, pp. 14a-15b; *CTS*, 44, p. 16a; Curiously, in spite of its apparent closure in Hsüan-tsung's reign it (and not the *Ch'ang-p'ing shu*) is mentioned in *Ch'ang-an chih*, 10, p. 7a, and shown in the maps of the markets.

law of the early T'ang, all Prefectures and Governments general, and all save the very smallest Counties were expected to maintain and control official markets. Professor Katō Shigeshi, in his classic study of markets, has collected an abundance of evidence to prove the existence of Prefectural and County markets in all regions of China.¹⁰⁰ Some of the great provincial cities which, although only Prefectures or Governments General in status, were none the less regional capitals, had two or more official markets. Such for example were Yang-chou,¹⁰¹ the economic capital of the Yangtse delta region, and Ch'eng-tu the regional capital of Szechuan.¹⁰² In the Yangtse delta area, which was already by late T'ang times one of the most economically advanced areas of China, there were even one or two Counties which maintained two market places.¹⁰³ But in general there seems to have been one official market to each administrative city. Officially recognized markets as we have already seen were not permitted to be held elsewhere than in the Prefectural or County cities.

The Prefectural and County markets were normally within the city walls. Most T'ang cities, at least those of any considerable size, were built on the walled ward system like that employed in the capitals and the enclosed markets too, formed an integral part of the ward system. We have measurements of a few County markets, and these were very small in scale, extending over less than half an acre of ground.¹⁰⁴ Such small markets were by no means immovable, as were those of the capital. Some measure of their relative impermanence can be gained from the fairly frequent references to markets being moved in accordance with *feng-shui* principles to bring prolonged droughts to an end. Wen-tsung was especially addicted to this practice, and ordered it on at least three occasions in the 830's.¹⁰⁵

Sometimes, however, the market was held regularly outside the walls, and there were not a few county towns which were unwalled, particularly in the south.¹⁰⁶ Lastly, there were of course many small county seats which did not have an official market.

Where such an official market was instituted, it was organized on somewhat similar lines to the Metropolitan markets. The market had a

¹⁰⁰ See Katō, *op. cit.* (see note 16 above).

¹⁰¹ See *Yu-yang tsa-tsu*, 4, p. 7a.

¹⁰² *TPKC*, 85, p. 550; Katō, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

¹⁰³ See for example *Hsien-shun Lin-an chih*, 19 (*Shih*), p. 20b *Pao-ch'ing Ssu-ming chih*, 14, which would strongly suggest that both Lin-an 臨安縣 and Feng-huah 奉化縣 had two markets already in T'ang times.

¹⁰⁴ The hsien market of Fu-hang hsien (Hang-chou) 富陽縣 in the period of the Empress Wu was 250 paces in circumference according to *Hsien-shun Lin-an chih*, 19, p. 21a.

¹⁰⁵ See the essay of Liu Yü-hsi translated below. See also for examples *CTS*, 17b, p. 10a (833, vii), *ibid.*, p. 12a (834, vi), *ibid.*, p. 22b (837, vii). Such a policy is called either *I-shih* 移市 or *hsi-shih* 徙市.

¹⁰⁶ Katō, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-51 cites several examples of *hsien* markets held outside the city walls.

Director (*Shih-ling* 市令) who was an official of the third grade of the ninth rank in the case of a Governor-general's administration (*Tu-tu-fu*) or the highest grade of Prefecture, but otherwise a special duty employee, with a staff of underlings, the number of whom varied according to the status of the Prefecture or County and thus to its population, as shown in the following table:¹⁰⁷

Administrative unit	Population (households) after 730	<i>Shih-ling</i> 市令	<i>Ch'eng</i> 丞	<i>Tso</i> 佐	<i>Shih</i> 史	<i>Pi-shih</i> 壁師	<i>Ts'ang-tu</i> 倉督	<i>Shih</i> 史
Government-general (<i>Tu-tu-fu</i>)								
First class		1 (Rank 9/3)	1	1	2	3		4 ^a
Second class		1 (Rank 9/3)	1	1	2	3	2	4
Third class		1 (Rank 9/3)	1	1	2	2	2	3
Prefecture (<i>Chou</i>)								
First class	40,000 +	1 (Rank 9/3)	1	1	2	3 ^b	2	4 ^c
Second class	20,000 +	1	1	1 ^d	2	2	2	3 ^e
Third class	—20,000	1	1	1	1	2	1	2 ^f
County (<i>Hsien</i>)								
Metropolitan		1						
First class	6,000 +	1		1	1	2		
Second class	3,000 +	1		1	1	2 ^g	2 ^h	
Third class	1,000 +	1		1	1	2 ⁱ	1	
Fourth class	—1,000	1		1	1	2 ^j		

The post of Market Director (*Shih-ling*) had first been given this title by the Sui, but a similar office had existed since early Han times, when Market Headmen (*Shih-chang* 市長) were appointed for every Commandery and Fief. The T'ang placed additional importance on the system, making it a rule that in any administration where the registered population was 40,000 households or more the Market Director was to be an official appointed by the central government.¹⁰⁸ The system was apparently abolished in 643 and

¹⁰⁷ This table is assembled from materials in *TLT*, 30. There are a number of inconsistencies: (a) *CTS*, 44, p. 28a lacks the *pi-shih* and the 4 *shih* under the *ts'ang-tu*. Konoe's note to *TLT* is wrong. (b) *TLT*, 30, p. 17b lacks the *pi-shih*, I follow *CTS*, 44, p. 29b. (c) *CTS*, 44, p. 29b has not these 4 *shih*, I follow *TLT*, 30, p. 17b. (d) Konoe edition reads 2. The Sung edition and *CTS*, 44, p. 29b both read 1. (e) *CTS*, 44, p. 29b omits these *shih*, Konoe's note is incorrect. (f) *CTS*, 44, p. 29b omits these *shih*. (g) *CTS*, 44, p. 31a reads 1. (h) *CTS*, 44, p. 31a omits *ts'ang-tu*. (i) *CTS*, 44, p. 31a omits everything except *ts'ang-tu*. (j) Konoe reads 1 *pi-shih*. Sung edit. and *CTS*, 44, p. 31a both read 2. (k) *CTS*, 44, p. 31a-b reads 1 *tso*, 2 *shih*, 2 *pi-shih*. *CTS* and *HTS* write *shuai* 帥 systematically in place of *shih* 師 (i.e. *pi-shih*).

¹⁰⁸ See *TLT*, 30, pp. 9b-10a.

restored again in 685.¹⁰⁹ The Market Directors of smaller Prefectures and of Counties were to be selected by the Prefectural authorities, serving for four annual turns of duty before being replaced. They were to be selected from among honorific officials (*Hsün-kuan* 勳官), that is retired soldiers, of the 5th rank or above, or from minor official employees. It was forbidden to appoint as director of a Prefectural market a man who worked in that market, and for County markets it was not permitted to appoint a person from the same county.¹¹⁰ The granary director (*ts'ang-tu* 倉督) was selected on the same sort of basis, and was to be chosen from a "family which has been influential for generations".¹¹¹ The Market Director and his deputy and assistant were supposed to exercise control of commerce in the shops of the market, to prevent wrongdoing and infringement of the laws, and generally to control the market. The granary director was to exercise complete control of receipts and disbursements, presumably of government grain or goods.¹¹² The *shih* 師, sometimes written *shuai* 帥 and presumably the same as the *pi-shih* 壁師 of Tun-huang the documents,^{112a} were supposed to examine carefully the doings of the various *hang*.¹¹³ They, like the deputies, assistants, and clerks, were presumably special-duty corvée men (*seh-i* 色役).

The Market Director was supposed to administer the same general rules, and to fulfil much the same functions as his equivalent at the capital. His office was the only local authority apart from the county *yamen* which was allowed to be a court of first instance in criminal cases, and held powers of summary jurisdiction equivalent to those of the county itself.^{113a} The opening and closing of the market at the proper times, the maintenance of the curfew regulations, fixing of standard prices, prevention of unfair trading practises, general police supervision, control of foreign merchants, registration of sales etc., were all in force in the provinces. As at the capital, the market, in important centres at least, was organized in *hang*, though these were presumably fewer and less specialized than in Ch'ang-an.¹¹⁴

Where the local official markets differed greatly from those of the capital cities was in their scale and their economic function. These factors

¹⁰⁹ See *HTS*, 49B, pp. 5b-6a (cf. des Rotours *Traité des fonctionnaires et de l'armée*, II, pp. 717-18).

¹¹⁰ *TLT*, 30 pp. 225-23a.

¹¹¹ *TLT*, 30, p. 23a. Konoe's edition reads 取家世重大家. The Sung edition reads 口 in places of 世. Tamai preferred the reading of the Sung edition. If this is adopted we must translate "Persons whose family members are influential".

¹¹² *HTS*, 49B, p. 6a.

^{112a} See below, p. 26-7

¹¹³ *HTS*, 49B, p. 6a.

^{113a} See *TT* 168, p. 98ta. Appendix, p. 47.

¹¹⁴ Katō in his study of *hang* (note 30 above) cites many examples. See also below for evidence from Tunhuang.

varied very considerably. At one end of the scale were the great regional cities such as Yang-chou, Ch'eng-tu, or Pien-chou whose populations were certainly numbered in hundreds of thousands. These cities were key communication centres, and the commercial capitals of rich and productive areas. Their markets were not only centres for local trade, and marts where the products of local industries were sold to merchants from far and wide. They were also financial centres where the gold and silversmiths who acted as "proto-bankers", the safe-deposit firms, and the moneylenders, provided credit facilities and the means of transferring large sums in safety to distant places.¹¹⁵ As we have seen, too, the opportunities for profitable trading in such great cities attracted many great officials who invested official funds placed at their disposal for military purposes in businesses of all kinds.¹¹⁶ These cities, moreover, had like Ch'ang-an and Loyang considerable communities of foreign merchants.¹¹⁷

A second set of cities held a special place by reason of their being great centres of overseas trade. Canton and Hanoi (Chiao-chou) were perhaps the most famous, being centres of the overseas trade with the South Seas, India, and the Persian Gulf.¹¹⁸ Trade here was with merchants of a great variety of nations, and there were large resident foreign communities. But this trade, at least from the eighth century onwards, was channelled through a specially established office of the Commissioner for Overseas Trade (*Shih-po ssu* 市舶司), who acted as customs officer, tax-collector, and official purchaser of goods required by the imperial household or by the government.¹¹⁹ In the ninth century, some of this trade was diverted to coastal ports in Fukien.¹²⁰ There was also a great deal of foreign trade concentrated at Yang-chou, both with South-East Asia, India and the Persian Gulf, and also with the northern kingdoms of Korea, Japan, and the

¹¹⁵ On Yang-chou, see the excellent study by Ch'üan Han-sheng 全漢昇, "T'ang-Sung shih-tai Yang-chou ching-chi ching-k'uang ti fan-jung yü shuai-lo" 唐宋時代揚州經濟景況的繁榮與衰落 CYYY, 11 (1947), pp. 149-76. See also on such cities, T'ao Hsi-sheng and Chü Ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih* (1936), pp. 76-88, etc. The role of Ch'eng-tu as a centre of credit and similar financial activities is clearly shown by the history of the development of *chiao-tzu* 交子 in the late tenth century.

¹¹⁶ See *THY*, 86, p. 1582.

¹¹⁷ See Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (1963), p. 10 ff.

¹¹⁸ On the South Sea trade and the ports of Canton and Hanoi, see Wang Gung-wu "The Nanhai Trade; A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 31, ii (1958), p. 71 ff.

¹¹⁹ There is a large specialized literature on this subject. The most recent study of the *Shih-po ssu* under the T'ang, as opposed to its more developed form in Sung times is given by Wada Hisanori 和田久徳 "Tōdai ni okeru Shihakushi no sōchi" 唐代に於ける市舶司の設置 in *Wada Hakase koki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* (1960), pp. 1051-62.

¹²⁰ See Act of Grace of 834 *CTW*, 75, p. 34; *TFYK*, 91, pp. 2b-3a. This development was probably concentrated in T'ang times at Fu-chou, centre of the southern coastal shipping (see *TFYK*, 498, pp. 26b-27a) and later at Ch'üan-chou.

Pohai state in Manchuria.¹²¹ In this northern trade, which was dominated by Korean shipping, Ch'u-chou and Lien-shui at the mouth of the Huai river, and Teng-chou in Shantung were also important ports with considerable Korean communities.¹²²

Lastly, there were the entrepôts of the great transcontinental caravan routes across central Asia. The greatest of these was Liang-chou at the southern end of the Kansu corridor.¹²³ But in addition to the famous Silk Road, other routes crossed from Szechuan into Tibet and Upper Burma, converging on Chengtu and Ching-chou,¹²⁴ while there was trade with the nomadic people of Mongolia and Manchuria at a large number of towns along the northern frontier. The three great fortress towns built on the north bank of the Ordos bend of the Huang-ho in the early eighth century were all centres of such trade, and a special market where horses and cattle were bought from the Turks was regularly established at the Western Fortress (Hsi Shou-hsiang ch'eng 西受降城) near Feng-chou 豐州 after 727.¹²⁵ Here the Chinese government annually spent "several hundred thousand" lengths of silk in buying horses, camels and sheep for the great government pastures and stud farms of the north-west.¹²⁶ A similar horse market for the Tibetans was established at Ch'ih-ling, south-east of Kokonor, in 731.¹²⁷ Another, for trade with the Ch'iang tribesmen of the Szechuan border, was at P'eng-chou.¹²⁸ Yet another was at Ying-chou in Southern Manchuria.¹²⁹

These special markets for dealings with foreigners were, however, not so much markets as annual official horse fairs.¹³⁰ They were governed according to strict rules. Each market was controlled by a Directorate (*Hu-shih chien* 互市監) which was subordinate to the Directorate of Imperial Workshops (*Shao-fu chien* 少府監), a body whose primary duty was the manufacture of luxury goods, ceremonial objects, regalia and weapons for the Imperial Household.¹³¹ The markets also came under the

¹²¹ See Schafer, *op. cit.*, Ch'üan Han-sheng, *op. cit.* (note 115).

¹²² See Reischauer, *Emm's Travels in T'ang China* (1955), pp. 272-94, and "Notes on T'ang dynasty Sea Routes", *HJAS*, 5, ii (1940), pp. 142-64.

¹²³ See Schafer, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹²⁴ See T'ao Hsi-sheng and Chü Ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih*, pp. 85-6.

¹²⁵ On this see *CTS*, 194A, p. 16b, *THY*, 94, p. 1697, *YHCHC*, 4, p. 115, *TCTC*, 213, p. 6779. Schafer, *op. cit.*, p. 296 is incorrect in saying that the Hsi Shou-hsiang ch'eng was in Ling-chou.

¹²⁶ *TCTC*, 213, p. 6779; *CTS*, 194A, p. 16b. For the positions of the great state pastures, see the map in Twitchett, "Lands under State Cultivation under the T'ang", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 2, ii. (1959), pp. 162-203.

¹²⁷ See *TCTC*, 213, p. 6796, *THY*, 97, p. 1733.

¹²⁸ See *PSLT*, 24, p. 92b (cf. *Financial Administration*, p. 152).

¹²⁹ See *TLT*, 22, p. 30b.

¹³⁰ See Schafer, *op. cit.*, p. 65 ff., and Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* (1964), pp. 61-3.

¹³¹ On this office see des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et de l'armée*, 1, pp. 458-76.

control of the Department of Treasury, (*Chin-pu* 金部) the sub-section of the Board of Finance which controlled tax revenues in cash and cloth, and which had responsibility for palace procurements, harmonious procurements (*ho-shih* 和市) of requisites, and the markets for exchange with foreigners.¹³² Presumably the Department of Treasury was also involved because of the necessity of providing the vast quantities of silk cloth which were paid out in exchange for livestock. The Market Directorates bought in not only horses, but camels, asses, and cattle. The Director 監 of each market was a fairly high ranking official (sixth rank fourth grade) and he had two low ranking officials (eighth rank second grade) as assistants (*ch'eng* 丞) besides a subordinate staff of a managing clerk (*lu-shih*), two storekeepers (*fu*), four scribes (*shih*), four specialist price-fixers (*chia-jen* 價人) and eight book-keepers (*chang-ku*).¹³³ These markets, where the other parties were armed and belligerent tribesmen, were always held in the vicinity of heavily fortified strongholds, and in addition, fifty special guardsmen (*wei-shih* 衛士) were assigned to each market in case of any untoward incidents.¹³⁴ These markets also employed brokers (*ya-lang* 牙郎) and interpreters, for An Lu-shan is known to have begun his career in this capacity.¹³⁵

In theory at least all the dealings with the tribesmen were to be conducted by the officials. According to the *Regulations of the Department of Treasury* (*Chin-pu ko*) "The common people must not be allowed to have free intercourse with them."¹³⁶ These markets were not permanent, and were probably more of the nature of an annual cattle fair than of a market. According to the *Statutes on Markets and Customs stations* (*Kuan-shih ling*)¹³⁷

"Whenever there is to be a 'Market with Foreigners' (*Hu-shih*) with the outer barbarians or peoples on the borders, the official in charge of the market (*hu-kuan-ssu* 互官司) should make a careful inspection. A ditch should be dug around all four sides of the market place, and wattle fences (or temporary buildings) erected. Men should be posted to guard the entrances, and on the day designated for the market, from the *mao* hour (5-7 a.m.) onwards each shall carry his goods or lead his beasts, and go to the market place (*shih-so* 市所). The officials shall first fix the prices for commodities with the foreigners, and only after this is done may trade begin."

There were moreover very strict rules about the commodities which might

¹³² On the *Chin-pu* see *Financial Administration*, p. 101.

¹³³ See *TLT*, 22, pp. 29b-30b, *CTS*, 44, p. 19a, *HTS*, 48, p. 17a (cf. des Rotours, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-6).

¹³⁴ See *HTS*, 48, p. 14a. This passage is probably a digest of part of the *Statutes*.

¹³⁵ See note 90 above.

¹³⁶ See *PSLT*, 24, p. 92b.

¹³⁷ See *PSLT*, 24, p. 92b, Niida Noboru, *Tōryō shūi*, pp. 715-16.

not be exchanged at such border markets, or taken past the customs barriers at the frontiers. The *Code* forbade the exchange, by private individuals, of almost every type of textile, silk and hempen, yaks' tails, pearls, gold, silver or iron with the barbarians.¹³⁸ The main purpose of this ban may well have been to maintain the state's monopoly of the horse trade, since it was above all silk which the foreigners wanted in exchange for their beasts. But the ban can hardly have been very effective, since we hear both of large-scale private horse rearing in the Chinese frontier districts,¹³⁹ and of Chinese merchants who made large fortunes trading among the frontier tribes.¹⁴⁰

These frontier markets then were an attempt by the government to monopolize, as far as possible, the horse trade which was of vital strategic importance to them, just as the operations of the Commissioners for Overseas Trade were designed to milk off the profits from seaborne commerce, by restricting it to a few places under strict government control.

These great cities and frontier settlements engaged in foreign trade were, however, far from typical of the 328 prefectures and their 1,573 subordinate counties which provided the government with its local administrative network. At the other extreme there were Prefectural and County towns in sparsely peopled and backward areas, such as those Ennin described in south-eastern Shantung as "like single mounds in the wilderness",¹⁴¹ many of which were without markets.¹⁴² The generalization which follows should be understood as applying mainly to the well-cultivated and fairly densely peopled lowland areas of north and central China.

The cities which were the seat of a Prefectural or County government were essentially political and administrative centres. Such a place was normally a walled defensible city, including within it the Prefect or Magistrate's official *yamen* offices, and any other government offices for the area. From this seat, the County Magistrate ruled over an area which was often as large as a big English county, and over a population which might range from a few thousand scattered persons to fifty thousand or more people. Some modern scholars have postulated that in traditional China there were

¹³⁸ See *Code*, 8, art. 7, 12, *Sung hsing-t'ung*, 8, p. 290. See also the edict of 714 in *THY*, 86, p. 1581.

¹³⁹ See Schafer, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹⁴⁰ One very profitable area for trading was the region of the Tanguts. Until this trade was spoiled by the high-handed intervention of the local governors of the border areas in the 830's, who confiscated much livestock and refused to pay for it, merchants "from near and far brought silk and other goods to trade for horses and sheep" (see *THY*, 98, p. 1759; *CTS*, 198, p. 3b). This trade had flourished in spite of a ban imposed in an Edict of 787 (*CTS*, 198, p. 3a; *THY*, 98, pl 1757.)

¹⁴¹ Ennin, *Diary*, 845, viii, 16 (Reischauer, p. 382).

¹⁴² Among the aphorisms attributed to Li Shang-yin 李商隱 *I-shan tsa-tsu'an* 荻山雜纂, in the section entitled *Suan-han* "Incongruities of a poverty-stricken life" is "A mountain *hsien* moving its market" 山縣徙市. See Katō, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-1.

quite distinct and separate administrative and economic hierarchies of towns and cities.¹⁴³ But in T'ang times it is difficult to uphold such a distinction. Every *hsien* was *ipso facto* an administrative centre, and also normally had to be a market centre.

A County town was normally an important market centre not simply because the government decreed that an official market should be held there, but for a number of simple economic reasons. Firstly such a town contained the largest local concentration of non-productive consumers, for the officials, their families and dependants, and their numerous subordinates were concentrated in the County town. Secondly, local taxes were still largely collected in kind, even after the financial reforms of the late eighth century, and a good proportion of local revenue was disbursed at the county or prefectural seat in payment for local services and for the running costs of local government. Thus a certain proportion of the local surplus production which had been collected as tax found its way back into circulation at the county town through official expenditure.

More important, though, was the fact that the site of a County town was usually selected as such because it was the natural centre of the local communications system. The upkeep, improvement and regulation of communications – roads, bridges, fords, ferries, and waterways – was a very important responsibility of local officials.¹⁴⁴ Moreover the Prefecture at least was usually linked to the well-organized, rapid and efficient network of state-maintained trunk roads and waterways, with their systems of postal relays, staging stations, and hostels for travellers, which connected Ch'ang-an with every major region of the empire.¹⁴⁵ The Prefecture or County town was thus normally both the natural collecting and distribution centre for local produce, and also the natural point from which local produce could enter into the pattern of inter-regional trade.

The officially controlled markets of the Prefectural and County towns, and the intricate commercial organization connected with them, thus formed market centres corresponding with what Professor Skinner in his brilliant analysis of modern Chinese marketing systems calls the "central market".¹⁴⁶ There are a number of important questions relating to such markets on which evidence is either very slender or entirely wanting. We do

¹⁴³ See the discussion of this problem in G. William Skinner, "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China", *JAS*, 24, 1 (1964), pp. 7–10, and the secondary literature there cited.

¹⁴⁴ See *TLT*, 24b–25b, *ibid.*, p. 35a.

¹⁴⁵ The best discussion of the T'ang highway system is that in Aoyama Sadao, *Tō-Sō-jidai no kōsū to chishi chizu no kenkyū* (1963), pp. 3–27.

¹⁴⁶ Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 7, "the central market is normally situated at a strategic site in the transportation network and has important wholesaling functions. Its facilities are designed on the one hand to receive imported items and distribute them within its dependant area, and on the other to collect local products and export them to other central market or higher level urban centers".

not know, for instance, whether they were all permanent daily markets or whether some were periodic market gatherings. Professor Katō in his classic study of T'ang markets unfortunately obscured this issue by using the term 'Periodic market' to cover even markets held every day at a fixed time,¹⁴⁷ which would of course include all official markets organized in accordance with the *Statutes*. But he was probably correct in suggesting that most cities had permanent shops, which were always open, in addition to the market proper which was held only at fixed times. In larger cities at least there is evidence of the existence of *hang* of merchants dealing in the same trade, and there are many mentions of warehouse or wholesale establishments (*tien* 店) as well as ordinary shops (*ssu* 肆).¹⁴⁸

The evidence on markets and trade generally is very thin, during the T'ang period, and much of it is incidental information contained in contemporary short stories, which are none too precise in their usage of terminology. We do, however, possess some invaluable evidence relating to one provincial market, among the manuscripts discovered early in this century at Tun-huang and in Central Asia.¹⁴⁹ These documents are connected with the official market of Sha-chou Prefecture at Tun-huang. They prove conclusively that, in the 730's at least, the official regulations relating to markets were carefully enforced. Some ninety fragments of official price registers survive, showing that the market director actually did fix prices in cash for three qualities of each commodity every month, as required by law. Other manuscripts show that the Market Director's office had to approve the prices paid by the local government departments for commodities.¹⁵⁰ The price registers show that prices were fixed in terms of cash by the Market Director working together with the various *hang*. The names of several *hang* are mentioned,¹⁵¹ and it seems that the market at Tun-huang was a large and complex one. We have additional evidence, from corvée registers about a decade later than the price lists, which shows the existence of the Market Director's subordinates, the *pi-shih* 壁師, who acted as

¹⁴⁷ Katō, *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, I, p. 348.

¹⁴⁸ On *hang* in provincial cities see Katō, "On the 'Hang' or associations of merchants in China with special reference to the institution in the T'ang and Sung periods", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 9 (1936), pp. 45–83. For both *hang* and *tien* see Katō, *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, I, pp. 352–7, pp. 461–6, etc.; T'ao Hsi-sheng and Chü Ch'ing-yüan *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih*, pp. 98–102.

¹⁴⁹ See Niida Noboru, *Chūgoku hōseishi no kenkyū*, II, *Tochiōhō, Torihiki hō* (1960), pp. 795–826. The manuscripts are among those recovered from Turfan by the Otani expeditions and are in the collection of the Ryūkoku Daigaku.

¹⁵⁰ See Oba Osamu, *op. cit.* (note 64 above).

¹⁵¹ Niida (*op. cit.*, p. 797) identifies the following *hang* at Tunhuang: (a) *Kuo-tzu hang* 菓子行 dealing in dried and preserved fruits, dates, grapes etc., (b) *Ts'ai-tzu hang* 菜子行 dealing in fresh vegetables such as onions, radishes, etc., (c) *Mi-mien hang* 米麵行 dealing in flour, (d) *Po-lien hang* 帛練行 dealing in plain silk and heavy silk, (e) *Ts'ai-po hang* 綵帛行 dealing in figured silk cloths, (f) *Ch'eng-fu hang* 鍋釜行 dealing in pans and cooking vessels.

go-betweens in the dealings between the Market Director and the *hang*.¹⁵² The men listed were members of the Sogdian merchant community which inhabited one of the *hsiang* comprised in Tun-huang county.^{152a} They were presumably employed not only for their commercial expertise, but also as interpreters for the many foreign merchants whose caravans had to pass through Tun-huang on their way from Central Asia to Ch'ang-an. Because of this international trade, Tun-huang's commercial importance was out of all proportion to its very small population. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the official activities in relation to the markets which we can observe in the Tun-huang manuscripts also went on in other provincial towns.

We are fortunate in having a rather detailed description of a small town market written by the famous writer Liu Yü-hsi (772-856) at the beginning of the ninth century.¹⁵³ In 808 Liu was in exile, as the result of his having been involved in the reformist ministry of Wang Shu-wen during the brief reign of Shun-tsung. He was demoted to serve as Marshal (*Ssu-ma* 司馬) of Lang-chou 郎州 a small prefecture in north-western Hunan, which was still very much a frontier district, although it had been much developed by several extensive irrigation schemes completed during the eighth century.¹⁵⁴ In 807 the area was stricken by a prolonged drought,¹⁵⁵ and the Prefect, Yü-wen Su 宇文宿, decided as a last expedient to move the market outside the city walls. Liu's description is unusual in that officials were normally barred from entering the markets, and it not only provides a vivid eye-witness sketch of a market in a small provincial town, but also gives us an insight into the attitude towards trade and those engaged in it which was customary among men of his class. The essay is written in a highly allusive style, and the text itself is rather uncertain. The following translation is in places tentative.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² See Nishimura Genyū 西村元祐 "Tōdai Tonkō sakabo no kenkyū" 唐代敦煌差科簿の研究 *Saiki bunka Kenkyū*, III (1960), pp. 377-464 (particularly pp. 406-8). See also Wang Yung-hsing 王永興 "Tun-huang T'ang-tai ch'ai-k'o-pu, k'ao-shih" 敦煌唐代差科簿考釋 *Li-shih yen-chiu*, 1957, xii, p. 78.

^{152a} Nishimura, *loc. cit.*; see also the excellent recent study by Ikeda On 池田温 "Hasseiki chūyō ni okeru Tonkō no Sogudo-jin shūroku" 8世紀中葉における敦煌のソグド聚落 *Yūrajia bunka kenkyū*, I (1965), pp. 49-92.

¹⁵³ See Liu Meng-te *chi*, 25, pp. 5b-7a; WYYH, 378, pp. 5a-7a; CTW, 608, pp. 9b-10b, essay entitled "Kuan shih".

¹⁵⁴ See HTS, 40, p. 2a.

¹⁵⁵ According to HTS, 35, p. 9a, this drought affected all of south-eastern and central China.

¹⁵⁶ Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助 has devoted a study to this essay, "Ryū U-seki no 'Kan shi' ni tsuite" 劉禹錫の觀市に就いて in *Wada Hakase koki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* (1960), pp. 61-71. This includes a complete Japanese translation with notes and textual apparatus. The latter, however, does not take note of the variants in WYYH. Although I have found Professor Ishida's study very helpful, I differ from his interpretation on some points and have sometimes preferred other readings to those which he adopts.

"The *Chou-li* included a rule which forbade officers (*ling-shih*) and above from entering the markets. When we look at this from the standpoint of the present day it certainly seems to be reasonable.

"In the second year of the *Yüan-ho* period (807) there was no rain in the *Yüan-nan* district from the beginning of spring until the sixth month, so that 'the benefits of the crops were about to become exhausted'. The prefect, being greatly concerned for the populace, prayed for rain with the utmost sincerity. He then visited all of the local altars to the mountains and rivers, but still there was no rain. Finally, as a last resort he moved the market to the crossroads outside the city gates. I myself was able to look down upon it from the watch-tower above the gate.¹⁵⁷

"On the day on which the order to move the market was first issued, those responsible for the market register (*shih-chi* 市籍) all came and marked off the different sections on either side of the road. They set out the spaces [for stalls] in exactly the same order from left to right, and sequence from front to rear as was used in the walled market place within the city. Notices proclaimed the names of the various rows (*lieh* 列) and sections (*ch'ü* 區), and made known the prices and named the commodities on sale. Mingled among them were commodities produced among the outer barbarians. There were tethering places for horses and cattle. There were pens for slaves. The cloth covered boxes for silks contained both patterned and plain woven materials. Among the tables and sets of shelves there were both carved and lacquered ones, and others were unadorned and substantial. Among the round and square basketware there were both black and white, both delicate and sturdy pieces. Those whose profession was providing food set out their hot dishes and laid out cakes and dumplings surrounded by fragrant smells. The winesellers set up their banners advertising their wines, and washed up their wine-cups and bowls with shining faces. The butchers set up their platters for fat, and carved up the carcasses of pigs and sheep in a thick red atmosphere of blood. The product of flower and fruit, game taken in the hunt, birds and beasts were mixed together, the products of land and water were intermingled.

"Every sort of person came in their flocks, innumerable people enter the narrow alleyways¹⁵⁸ between the stalls and then split up again. There were some who had hoarded up goods, waiting to get the right

¹⁵⁷ Ishida takes the awkward term 麗譙 to mean the upper storey of Liu's own house. It would seem to me a somewhat pretentious word to use of one's own home, and in any case theoretically officials of below the fifth rank were not permitted to have houses of more than a single storey at this period. I think it more likely that the term stands in its alternative meaning of the lookout tower over a city gate.

¹⁵⁸ 隘 is literally the passageway leading down to the burial chamber of a tomb. Its allusive use as a narrow covered alley derives from Chang Heng's *Hsi-ching-fu*.

price. Others carried the deeds of sale for goods and sought to sell them. Some were out to take any chance to make a gain, some had made their profit and were out to enjoy themselves. There were seated hawkers sitting humbly and respectfully, walking pedlars hastening along.

"Hearts intent on profit are excited. Covetous eyes do not shut for an instant. Fellow merchants in charge of contracts, groups devoted to restricting trade within their own circle, conclude agreements between this one and that, and push the prices up. Feigning to do good they cause trouble by their crafty words. Fair weight is ruined by their crafty hands. They trade on the difference of the minutest amounts in weight. Evil gossip grates on the ear. Defamation and swindling thrive. Treacherous behaviour is everywhere to be seen. They raise a frightful hubbub, stir up the dust and dirt, emanate a rank stink like goats, pile together head-cloths and sandals. Snapping and gnawing at one another they congregate, and what came to market different goes home the same. They set off, already wrangling, at cockcrow. At midday they throng together, ten-thousand feet led by the single thought that they all fear somebody else will forestall them. By the time their business is finished and they return home, the sun's glow has reached the west. [. . . Among them there is not a single one who seeks some waste land [which he might cultivate]]¹⁵⁹. All are intent only to act like scavenger dogs or carrion crows, delighted to get hold of some putrid left-overs.

"On this day, leaning on the parapet, I watched them carefully, pondering how their profit and loss were so intimately interdependent, and speedily set it all down in this essay."

II. The Breakdown of the Official Market System

The restrictive system of official markets which I have described remained legally in force until the end of the T'ang period and beyond. But in actual fact cracks had already begun to appear in the rigid system during the eighth century, and by the end of the ninth its eventual disappearance was inevitable. The causes and effects of this development I have already hinted at in my introduction, and it is impossible to go much further until we are far better acquainted with the detailed economic history of the period. The major physical and institutional change, the disappearance of the enclosed market place in which all commercial activity was concentrated and kept under strict official surveillance, was, however, merely a part of the general transformation of the physical shape of the Chinese city

which took place during late T'ang and early Sung times. This involved the abandonment of the old "cellular" plan of the city, with its honeycomb of walled wards, and walled enclosed markets, and its replacement by a much freer street plan, in which trade and commerce could be conducted anywhere within the city or its outlying suburbs. With the disappearance of the ward system, the strict curfew and police regulations of early T'ang times also fell by degrees into disuse.¹⁶⁰

The decay of the strict ward system began, even in Ch'ang-an itself well before the end of the T'ang dynasty. Under the Sui and during the early years of the T'ang, only the most powerful officials and highest noblemen were permitted to have the gates of their city mansions (*ti* 第 or *chai* 宅) opening on to the main streets rather than on to the lanes inside the ward.¹⁶¹ During the eighth century we begin to have complaints that people were breaking gates through the outer walls of the wards to gain direct access to the main thoroughfares,¹⁶² and in the 780's the Commissioners for the Imperial Household Estates (*Nei chuang-chai shih* 內莊宅使)¹⁶³ who managed much official property in the capital were being forced to hire artisans to rebuild the decayed and broken-down walls of some wards.¹⁶⁴ By 831 the Police Commissioners (*Tso-yu hsün-shih* 左右巡使) were complaining that everybody who wished had been breaking the rule and that it was impossible to prevent them, after matters had been let slide for a very long period, and requested that the old rule be strictly enforced. At the same time they complained that official residences were being rented at random, and needed putting in order.¹⁶⁵

At this same time other complaints were being made. Another long-standing abuse was the encroachment on the broad public streets by people putting up shops, stalls and other buildings. Many of these were erected by soldiers in defiance of the civil authorities.¹⁶⁶ Here we have clear evidence of shops and stalls doing business outside the markets, and there is at least one other case of the same type of abuse by the military in a county town on the main highway outside Ch'ang-an.¹⁶⁷

Trade was not only being conducted outside the market, but also being

¹⁶⁰ The classic description of this process is in Katō Shigeshi "Sōdai ni okeru toshi no hattatsu ni tsuite" 宋代に於ける都市の發達に就いて first published in *Kuwabara Hakase kanreki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* (1931) and included in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, I (1952), pp. 299-346.

¹⁶¹ See *Ch'u-hsiieh chi* 初學紀 24, pp. 578-9; *THY*, 86, p. 1576.

¹⁶² See *THY*, 86, p. 1576, edict of 767, v.

¹⁶³ On these commissioners, see Katō Shigeshi, "Nai Shōtakushi kō" 內莊宅使考 first published in *Tōyō gakuho*, 10, 2 (1920), and included in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, I (1952), pp. 261-82.

¹⁶⁴ See *THY*, 86, p. 1576, edict of 788, ii.

¹⁶⁵ See *THY*, 86, p. 1576, memorial of 831, vii.

¹⁶⁶ See *THY*, 86 immediately following memorial of 831, vii.

¹⁶⁷ See *CTW*, 32, p. 19b. This edict dates from the reign of Hsüan-tsung, well before the other examples.

¹⁵⁹ The passage 幅員不移徑如初中無求隙地, 俱爲 is omitted from some editions, and Ishida considers it probably an interpolation, omitting it in his translation. I too can make no sense of 幅員不移, 徑如初 although the rest seems to fit in well enough with what follows. If, however, the whole passage is an interpolation, the following passage must be translated "The market watchdogs and carrion crows eagerly get hold of the putrid left-overs [from the day's market]."

carried on in prohibited hours. It is clear from the Edict of 831 that the curfew was not being strictly observed in Ch'ang-an, making the work of the police patrols very difficult.¹⁶⁸ There were also regular "night markets", which were ordered to be closed down in 840.¹⁶⁹ Such night markets were not confined to Ch'ang-an, but are mentioned in Yang-chou, Canton and other provincial cities.¹⁷⁰

These abuses may well have involved primarily petty traders and vendors of food and drink, operating from temporary or semi-permanent stalls,¹⁷¹ and there is no doubt that the curfew regulations, although they were relaxed, were still in force in the mid ninth century.¹⁷² A more serious infraction of the market system was the emergence of districts of specialized tradesmen in areas outside the markets. In the ninth century there was for example a district of jewellers and goldsmiths in Yen-shou ward of Ch'ang-an,¹⁷³ while the makers of musical instruments were concentrated in Ch'ung-jen ward.¹⁷⁴ Yen-shou was a ward neighbouring on the western market, while Ch'ung-jen ward was next to the singing-girls and prostitutes' quarter in P'ing-k'ang ward next to the eastern market, the famous "Northern Quarter" (Pei-li). This amusement quarter also contained permanent shops selling fabrics, foodstuffs etc., as well as small stalls selling food and drink on the streets.¹⁷⁵ Some of these stallholders,¹⁷⁶ like many of the girls,¹⁷⁷ were foreigners from Central Asia.

The ward system, and the official markets which were integrated with it, survived in ever deteriorating form through the disorders of late T'ang and the Five Dynasties and only finally disappeared in the eleventh century. But already by the middle of the ninth century the process of decay was far gone. In 851, as part of a series of measures designed to restore official control over trade and transportation, an Edict was promulgated which reimposed the old laws relating to official markets and forbade the establishment of such official markets in counties of less than 3,000

¹⁶⁸ THY, 86, p. 1576.

¹⁶⁹ THY, 86, p. 1582.

¹⁷⁰ Chang Ssu-yeh shih-chi, 3, p. 112 "Sung Cheng Shang-shu ch'u chen Nan-hai", mentions night markets in Canton. Yu-yang tsa-tsu, 6, p. 8a, mentions night markets in K'uei-chou, a minor port on the upper Yangtse.

¹⁷¹ See the famous ch'uan-ch'i story "Jen-shih" 任氏 attributed to Shen Chi-chi, TPKC, 452, p. 3693.

¹⁷² See Katō, *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, 1, p. 355; Chou I-liang, "Notes on Marvazi's Account of China", HJAS, 9 (1945), p. 13-23.

¹⁷³ T'ang ch'ieh-shih 唐闕史 hsia, p. 28.

¹⁷⁴ Yüeh-fu tsa-lu 樂府雜錄, pp. 31-2.

¹⁷⁵ Pei-li chih, p. 34, mentions a silk fabric store, *ibid.*, p. 37, mentions a vegetable shop.

¹⁷⁶ Foreign cake-vendors are mentioned many times in late T'ang fiction. See for example, TPKC, 402, p. 3243; TPKC, 451, p. 3689, TPKC, 452, p. 3693.

¹⁷⁷ On foreign entertainers and prostitutes there is almost unlimited material. See Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 50-6.

households unless they were important communication centres with old-established market facilities.¹⁷⁸ But this attempt to revive the system met with no success, and two years later in 853 the government withdrew the special official seals which had been issued to all Prefectural and County Market Offices for the stamping of documents, particularly for registering deeds of sale.¹⁷⁹ There was no further move to restore the system to full force, and in any case from the 850's onward the T'ang government lacked the authority to enforce any such measures.

III. Rural Markets

Commercial activity in T'ang China was not, needless to say, confined to these higher level markets. County towns were spaced quite far apart even in the densely settled northern areas, and in many southern regions some Counties were more than a full day's journey on horseback from their superior prefecture. It would have been quite impracticable for the peasant farmers of outlying districts to visit such markets for everyday needs. The needs of the local population were met for the most part through a variety of smaller market assemblies held in the countryside and the villages.

The contemporary evidence on rural markets is very thin indeed, but there is enough to show that the situation was not dissimilar, though of course less systematically developed, to that obtaining during the Sung, on which we are far more fully informed.

There were a considerable variety of rural market gatherings, but all were distinguished from the central markets of the County towns by one common factor – that they were spontaneous local assemblies for the purpose of trade, arising out of the needs of local rural society, and independent of government control. They appear in literature under many names. The most common term is *ts'ao-shih* 草市.¹⁸⁰ This had a wide range of connotations. Sometimes it refers to a temporary market held in

¹⁷⁸ THY, 86, p. 1583; TFKY, 504, p. 259.

¹⁷⁹ See TFKY, 504, p. 25b. For some reason this edict is included in THY, 86, p. 1581, under the Chen-kuan reign period, which is obviously incorrect.

¹⁸⁰ There is a considerable literature on *ts'ao-shih*. The earliest article devoted to the subject was Katō Shigeshi, "Tō Sō no sōshi ni tsuite" 唐宋の草市に就いて first published in *Shigaku zasshi*, 37, i (1926), and reprinted in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, 1 (1952), pp. 380-6. Katō returned to this subject in "Tō Sō jidai no sōshi oyobi sono hatten" 唐宋時代の草市及びその發展 first published in 1933 in *Ichimura hakase koki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō*, and reprinted in the same volume as the previous study, pp. 387-421. Sogabe Shizuo 曾我部静雄 has also twice written on the subject. In "Tō Sō jidai no sōshi" 唐宋以前の草市 *Tōa keizai kenkyū*, 16, iv (1932), pp. 18-28, he produced important new evidence on the early history of the *ts'ao-shih*, while more recently, in "Tō Sō jidai no sōshi" 唐宋時代の草市 *Shakai keizai shigaku*, 24, i (1957), pp. 31-40, he has a new and more sophisticated interpretation of the various usages of the term. Miyazaki Ichisada (*op. cit.*, note 4) has also touched on this question in his various studies of the early village system.

the outskirts of a city, sometimes it has its literal meaning of a "hay market", but most generally it refers to a periodical rural market. The term *ts'ao-shih* is confined to northern and central China.¹⁸¹ In the south, from the Yangtse delta to Ling-nan, the more common term was the dialect word *hsü* (墟 or 墟), or *hsü-shih* 墟市. The essential feature of these gatherings was their impermanence – the etymologies given for both *ts'ao-shih* and *hsü* explain them as "markets held in the fields", or on the "waste", while the alternative explanation of *hsü* is that since the market was not held every day the market site was usually empty.¹⁸² Other terms derive from the periodical nature of such markets. The term *hai-shih* (亥市), written *kai-shih* 亥市 in Szechuan and other western areas, is explained in the Sung encyclopaedia *Shu-lin kuang-chi* as referring to a market held every third day, although it may well of course refer to a twelve-day cycle.¹⁸³ In Sung times a similar term *tsu-wu-hui* (子午會) occurs in the lower Yangtse valley, and may well represent a six-day market cycle.¹⁸⁴ In late Sung times there are mentions of rural markets working on a two-day, three-day, five-day, or six-day cycle, and even mentions of *ts'ao-shih* which were held every day.¹⁸⁵ Although there is no evidence, it is most probable that in T'ang times too there was a variety of different market cycles in different regions. It is also likely that, as in Sung times, such markets were normally held early in the morning and lasted only for a short while.

Although the markets were only opened periodically, many of the places at which they were held became settlements of some size and importance. They seem mainly to have been established at important road junctions, bridges, river-crossings, fords, etc., so that most were communication centres which linked the area served by their market with larger centres of trade.¹⁸⁶ Other rural markets were established around temples or shrines,

¹⁸¹ See Sudō Yoshiyuki "Sōdai no kyōson ni okeru ten, shi, ho no batten" (note 5 above). For an excellent discussion of the terminology relating to rural markets, see Shiba Yoshinobu 新波義信 "Sōdai Kōnan no sonshi (market) to myōshi (fair)" 宋代江南の村市 (market) と廟市 (fair) *Tōyōgakuho*, 44, i (1961), pp. 41-76, 44, ii (1961), pp. 89-97. On the *hsü-shih* and *hsü* of southern China see also Ch'üan Han-sheng 全漢昇 "Sung-tai nan-fang ti *hsü-shih*" 宋代南方的墟市 *CYYH*, 9 (1947), pp. 265-74. There is an English version of this in Sun and de Francis (eds.) *Chinese Social History* (1956), pp. 217-22. On the *hsü* of Ling-nan under the late T'ang, see Ho Ko-en 何格恩 "T'ang-tai Ling-nan ti *hsü-shih*" 唐代嶺南的墟市 *Shih-huo*, 5, ii (1937), pp. 35-7.

¹⁸² See the various etymologies cited by Ho Ko-en and Shiba (see note 182). Some Ch'ing scholars claimed that *hsü* was a Cantonese word, but in fact it was far more widely distributed, from Chekiang and Hunan into Tongking.

¹⁸³ See Shiba, *op. cit.* The term *kai-shih* occurs several times in ninth-century poets, Po Chü-i, Chang Chi, Chang Yu 張裕 etc., always in contexts connected with the middle Yang-tse valley.

¹⁸⁴ Shiba, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 56-60.

¹⁸⁶ See the studies of Sudō cited in note 5 above, Shiba, *op. cit.* (note 181), Katō, *op. cit.* (note 180), T'ao Hsi-sheng and Chü Ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih*, pp. 76-96.

and at the end of T'ang times began to grow up in connexion with great landed estates.¹⁸⁷ In southern China many were established at landing places on the river routes (*pu* 埠 or 步),¹⁸⁸ and when the Yangtse became infested with pirates in the ninth century the *ts'ao-shih* along the river, with their many wealthy families, were their principal victims.¹⁸⁹

The commerce in these markets can again be deduced from what we know of Sung markets.¹⁹⁰ Local farmers brought grain, vegetables, fruit, pigs and chickens for sale, bartering them for fish, firewood, and charcoal brought to market by local producers or for various goods brought to market by travelling merchants (*k'o-shang* 客商). These goods included items of diet which could not be produced locally, such as salt, tea and various types of preserves; simple agricultural tools or domestic implements, and the materials for the different handicrafts which many farm families practised during the off season as a supplementary source of income. The local market, like the market in the County town, was also an important social gathering, and there were tea and wine sellers and cookshops to cater for these needs.¹⁹¹ Many of the markets grew up around inns or roadside stores which could naturally provide this sort of service. The merchants presumably worked a circuit of rural markets in turn, returning periodically to some central base to replenish their stocks and to dispose of the goods which they had acquired by barter.

Besides these periodical markets in the countryside, there were also *ts'ao-shih* 草市 which were held in the outskirts of County or Prefectural cities. Sometimes, as in the case of Hsiu-chou 宿州 in Honan, this was done because increasing trade and prosperity had caused the population to overflow the old walled city.¹⁹² Usually these markets *extra muros* grew up spontaneously like the rural market assemblies, but occasionally they were instituted by the local officials to meet the needs of the locality. One such case is described in an inscription on a stele erected at T'ang-ch'ang hsien 唐昌縣 in P'eng-chou, Szechuan in 869.¹⁹³

"In T'ang-ch'ang there was formerly a postal relay station (*Yu-t'ing* 郵亭) but this has fallen into disuse for many years, so that those

¹⁸⁷ See the study of Katō cited in note 5.

¹⁸⁸ See the studies of Hino Kaisaburō, Ikeda Shizuo, and Sudō Yoshiyuki cited in note 5.

¹⁸⁹ See Tu Mu 杜牧 *Fan-ch'uan wen-chi* 樊川文集 11, pp. 6a-10a.

¹⁹⁰ See Shiba, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71, Ch'üan Han-sheng, *op. cit.* (note 181), etc.

¹⁹¹ See the inscription by Ch'en Ch'i 陳谿 translated below.

¹⁹² See *Tung-po ch'üan-chi* 東坡全集 62, Tsou-i, 12, pp. 7b-9a (*Ssu-pu pei-yao*).

¹⁹³ See the inscription by Ch'en Ch'i 陳谿 entitled *P'eng-chou hsien-chih T'ang-ch'ang-hsien Chien-te ts'ao-shih Hsieh-ma T'ing Chen ping T'ien-wang Yuan teng chi* included in CTW, 804, pp. 18a-21a (the relevant passage is at p. 19a-b); WYYH, 808, pp. 3b-6a. Sogabe Shizuo in his recent article "Tō Sō jidai no sōshi ni tsuite" (see note 180) cites the same text from the *Shu-chung kuang-chi* 蜀中廣記 5, of Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'üan 曹學佺 (1574-1646).

travelling on duty have to 'eat in the fields and drink from springs' while those going to market have to set off by starlight and come home by lamplight . . . [Wu Hsing-lu, Prefect of P'eng-chou] gave this situation profound consideration, and on the very same day devised a plan and expounded it to his chief local officials. This was to establish a *ts'ao-shih* in the heart of the county, entitling it the Chien-te market, after the name of the locality (*hsiang*). From this time on travellers from the four quarters at once could be received, those coming from afar raised their eyes and knew that there was now somewhere for them to come to, young and old leading one another by the hand suddenly arrived. Ten thousand families happily worked together to construct [the market], and within ten days they were able to report that it was completed.

As a result, the hundred commodities are now all assembled there even of the most trifling things none are lacking. Drinking booths with their banners, and inns for lodging travellers spread around closely ranked as the scales of a fish. Willow and elm are placed one next to the other, mulberry and hemp grow gradually more abundant. To govern the people like this may truly be described as 'transforming local customs' . . .

From this and other evidence we may infer that many *ts'ao-shih* and similar rural markets were provided with permanent buildings, particularly with inns (*tien* 店) and other facilities for travellers.¹⁹⁴

Such inns and roadside stores played a very important role in local commerce.¹⁹⁵ At once inn, eating house, shop, and warehouse combined, they were to be found all along the great trunk routes. They provided food and lodging and comparatively safe storage for the goods carried by travellers. They also hired out horses or donkeys, both for riding and as pack animals, for travellers.¹⁹⁶ In the south similar establishments were to be found at the landings (*p'u* 埠 or 步) along the river routes and canals, which would hire out boats and boatmen in the same way.¹⁹⁷

They were often closely associated with local periodical markets, which frequently grew up around them and developed into townships.¹⁹⁸ They also functioned as permanent shops, taking in goods on credit from

¹⁹⁴ Although Ennin in his diary never uses the term *ts'ao-shih*, he frequently mentions country markets, often in connexion with inns.

¹⁹⁵ On this see Katō Shigeshi, "Tō-Sō jidai no sōko ni tsuite" 唐宋時代の倉庫に就いて first published in *Shigaku*, 4, ii (1925), and reprinted in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, 1 (1952), pp. 461-78, and "kyochō" to 'chōtō' 居停と停場 first published in *Kobayashi Kyōju kanrei kinen Shigaku ronsō* (1938) and reprinted, *ibid.*, pp. 479-88. See also T'ao Hsi-sheng and Chū Ch'ing-yūan, *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih*, p. 98 ff.

¹⁹⁶ See for example Ennin, *Diary*, 845, vi, 23 (Reischauer, p. 372).

¹⁹⁷ See the studies of Hino and Ikeda, cited in note 5.

¹⁹⁸ See for a very detailed discussion, Sudō, "Sōdai no kyōson ni okeru ten-, shi ho, no hatten", in *Tō-Sō shakai keizaishi kenkyū* (1965), pp. 784-866 (see note 5).

travelling merchants and selling them locally, sometimes on a commission basis.¹⁹⁹ They also fulfilled a very important function as a base of operations for the travelling traders and packmen who formed the ultimate extremity of the distribution network. These small merchants often lodged their stock in such an inn for safe-keeping while they themselves went the rounds of the local periodical markets. Others took their wares to the most distant isolated hamlets, selling such things as salt, small tools or household implements, often by barter or on credit against the coming harvest. We are given a rare glimpse of such small packmen in a memorial on the salt trade written by Han Yü in 822:²⁰⁰

"Outside the Prefectural towns, those who buy their salt for ready cash will be less than two or three in ten: most of them will barter grain or miscellaneous goods for salt . . . In other cases [the merchant] will sell on credit against amounts of grain, agreeing to be repaid at harvest time . . .

"These villages and hamlets far from their prefectural or county seats are often just three or five families living in some mountain valley . . . The merchants have often carried their salt on their own backs and gone out to barter it with the common people. The profit which they make over and above the fair price which they had hoped for is only two or three cash . . ."

The inns which provided lodging and storage for such men were for the most part established by private individuals. Of the numerous names of *tien* which later developed into small towns, a very high proportion include the owner's or founder's surname.²⁰¹ But others were established by local officials, and this was particularly common in the areas under the jurisdiction of the semi-independent provincial governors of the north-east.²⁰² The Japanese pilgrim Ennin, who frequently stayed at such places during his travels in north-eastern China, records a wide variation both in the standard of comfort and of hospitality, particularly when he left the main trunk roads with their official rest-houses and stage stations.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ See for a rather later form of credit sales, Katō Shigeshi, "Sōdai no shō kanshū 'sha' ni tsuite" 宋代の商慣習「除」に就いて first published in *Tōyō bunka kenkyū*, 1 (1944), and reprinted in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, 11 (1953), pp. 222-34. A similar type of credit transaction dating from T'ang times is mentioned in an anonymous decision *p'an WYH*, 530, p. 1b.

²⁰⁰ See *Han Ch'ang-li chi*, 40, pp. (vii) 55-60. Translated in *Financial Administration*, pp. 165-72.

²⁰¹ See for example the list of *tien* in Sudō, *loc. cit.* (note 198) at p. 790 ff.

²⁰² Sudō, *op. cit.*, p. 789, stresses the fact that many *tien* in late T'ang times were situated at places of strategic importance. During the late eighth century several new counties were established within the region controlled by the semi-autonomous governors of the Ho-pei provinces on the sites of existing *tien*. (For example Yung-chi hsien 永濟縣 in Pei-chou; Kuan-ch'eng hsien 觀城縣 and Ch'ing-feng hsien 清豐縣 in the newly established prefecture of Shan-chou 澶州; Yung-shou hsien 永壽縣.)

²⁰³ See Ennin's *Diary*, *passim*. See also the excellent discussion of roads and travel in Reischauer, "Ennin's travels in T'ang China" (1955), pp. 138-52.

IV. Local Fairs

In addition to the regular periodical markets of the *ts'ao-shih* and *tsu* in some areas at least there were special market gatherings held at longer intervals, usually annually, and corresponding roughly to the western fair.²⁰⁴ In Sung times and later, such gatherings were often held under the auspices either of a local shrine or temple, and were commonly called *miao-shih* (廟市) or *miao-hui* (廟會). During the T'ang, when we already have evidence of the religious affiliations of guilds of city merchants, there are also a number of mentions of such temple fairs.

At P'an-yü 番禺 county near Canton, there was an annual fair on the fifteenth of the first month, when the local people sold rare commodities outside the Buddhist temple, and also various types of entertainment were provided at the K'ai-yüan ssu temple.²⁰⁵ At Kuan-k'ou 灌口²⁰⁶ and Pai-sha 白沙 in Szechuan there was a shrine to T'ai-shan fu chün (太山府君), where every spring in the third month many people from Szechuan gathered for a maigre feast, and there was a great gathering of doctors and fortune-tellers from all parts of China.²⁰⁷ At P'u-chou (濮州) in northern Honan there was a similar fair on the eighth day of the fourth month, again with entertainments.²⁰⁸ This fair, although no temple is actually named as its sponsor, was also obviously of religious origin, since this day was traditionally the birthday of the Buddha, and this was the date on which many of the great temple fairs in Chiang nan and Fukien were held in Sung times.²⁰⁹

These temple fairs were almost always held in conjunction with some major religious festival, and with their widely varied entertainments were clearly splendid social occasions as well as gatherings for trade. In other parts of China there was a rather different sort of annual fair which catered specifically for a single commodity or for a special type of commerce. The greatest of all were the huge horse fairs which, as we have already seen, were held under close government supervision, and at which the government itself bought most of the beasts. These were on a far larger scale than the other special fairs about which we have information, all of which were

²⁰⁴ On fairs see Shiba, *op. cit.* (note 181) and Balázs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy* (1964), pp. 55-65, an article originally included in the *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 5 (1953), pp. 77-88.

²⁰⁵ See *TPKC*, 34, p. 216.

²⁰⁶ There were two places called Kuan-k'ou, one at the mouth of the Huai river and the other in Szechuan. There were many places called Pai-sha. Since the text mentions Szechuanese people (Shu-jen) it seems clear that the place here in question was that in T'ao-chiang hsien in Szechuan (see *YHCHC*, 86, p. 869). The Japanese translation of T'ao Hsi-sheng and Chü Ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-tai ching-chi shih* is quite wrong in both of its identifications.

²⁰⁷ See *TPKC*, 86, p. 561.

²⁰⁸ See *TPKC*, 83, p. 532.

²⁰⁹ See Shiba, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff. for examples.

held in Szechuan. The first were the "Drug markets" (*Yao-shih* 藥市). These were held in spring and on the ninth day of the ninth month in several cities in Szechuan, and lasted for two or three days. The tradition current in Sung times connected their origin with a Taoist adept named Wang Ch'ang-yü, who died in 859,²¹¹ but they certainly existed before this time. In Sung times such "drug fairs" were held at both Taoist and Buddhist temples in Ch'eng-tu, and doctors, alchemists, and drug dealers from all over the empire congregated in Ch'eng-tu and Tzu-chou²¹² for the fairs, which seem to have involved a great deal of feasting, drinking and disorder.²¹³

The second special type of fair held in Szechuan was a more complicated organization, known as the "Silkworm market" (*Ts'an-shih* 蠶市).²¹⁴ These were not single market gatherings, but a closely integrated succession of local fairs held in a circuit of 15 different towns during the first three months of the year. The tradition current in the mid ninth century attributed their origin to Chu-ko Liang, who was also said to have founded periodical markets in Szechuan.²¹⁵ Whatever the truth of this, they were certainly well established by the end of the eighth century, when Wei Kao wrote a description of them.²¹⁶ In Ch'eng-tu itself the most important of these fairs were held on the third day of the third month at two separate sites, both connected with large Taoist temples. The sequence and sites of these fairs during Sung times has been worked out in great detail by Chü Ch'ing-yüan some thirty years ago.²¹⁷ These fairs were primarily gatherings at which the local farmers could buy agricultural implements, seeds, plants, and above all the various things needed in sericulture, for which Szechuan was becoming increasingly famous. But like all such gatherings "silkworm fairs" were not confined to dealing in a single commodity. They were frequented by large numbers of merchants, and a very wide selection of goods was available. They also seem to have provided much entertainment. Some of them were held in connexion with festival days, at the temples or

²¹⁰ On these *yao-shih* see Katō, *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, I, p. 371 ff. The temple fair at Kuan-k'ou was probably also this type of gathering.

²¹¹ See the passage from *Sui-shih kuang-chi* 歲時廣記 36, cited by Katō, *loc. cit.*

²¹² Tzu-chou 梓州 was the rival city to Ch'eng-tu in Szechuan, and the administrative capital of the eastern half of the modern province. According to *Nan-pu hsün-shu* 南部新書 *hsün*, p. 93, the men of Ch'eng-tu described Tzu-chou as "the *ts'ao-shih* at our eastern gate", as a term of contempt.

²¹³ See *Sui-shih kuang-chi*, 36, *loc. cit.*

²¹⁴ See Chü Ch'ing-yüan 鞠清遠 "T'ang Sung shih-tai Ssu-ch'uan ti ts'an-shih" 唐宋時代四川的蠶市 *Shih-huo*, 3, vi (1936), pp. 28-34; and Katō, *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, I pp. 373-4.

²¹⁵ See the inscription of Ch'en Ch'i cited in note 193.

²¹⁶ The inscription itself is not preserved, but its existence is attested by *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 輿地紀勝 37, p. 2a. Its title was "Ts'an-shih chi", and it was in the Pao-li ssu temple in Hua-yang hsien, subordinate to Ch'eng-tu.

²¹⁷ See note 214.

shrines of local deities, but others seem to have had no such origin. Since the area covered was very extensive, and many of the merchants will presumably have made the circuit of all these fairs in succession, the dates available in smaller places must have been strictly limited.

Although, as in the case of some local periodical markets, there are indications of some fairs being established by local officials,²¹⁸ it is clear that they were for the most part spontaneous commercial gatherings developed in response to the needs of the contemporary local economy. There is also no evidence whatever that the local authorities attempted to control them. They had neither the normal organizations of brokers (*ya-jen*), and of *hang* to be found in the smallest official markets, nor the permanent wholesale dealers (*tien* or *ti*) who could be found even in many rural periodical markets. The officials, in the early Sung at least, often looked on these fairs as potentially dangerous and disorderly gatherings, and on one occasion at least attempted to have them suppressed.²¹⁹ But it was decided that they were an integral feature of the local customs of Szechuan, which, although differing from trading practices in other parts of China, were useful and permissible.²²⁰ So far as I am aware, there is no evidence from the T'ang period of fairs similar to the Szechuan "silkworm fair" elsewhere in China.

It is unfortunately not possible to give any very clear picture of the secular development either of the local periodical markets or of the local fairs during the course of the T'ang dynasty. Almost all our evidence comes from late eighth or ninth-century sources, but it must be pointed out that most of it comes from a type of prose fiction which only began to flourish at this same period. There can, however, be no doubt that these rural institutions did begin, after An Lu-shan's rebellion, the very widespread growth which continued to accelerate throughout the Sung period.

There can be little doubt too that this process was speeded up by the decentralization of administration under the late T'ang provincial governors. At the level of the officially controlled central markets of the provincial capitals, the new system concentrated far more spending power than ever before in these cities, where the governors (*chieh-tu shih*) held court in considerable state and maintained local staff and personal retinues far more numerous and diverse than those of local officials in early T'ang times. Moreover, the new fiscal system enforced after the *liang-shui* tax reform of 780 permitted far more freedom in the local expenditure of tax revenue, so that a greater proportion of local revenue passed directly into local circulation.

At the lower level of the unofficial periodical markets of the villages, it became official policy in many provinces, particularly in the north, to

²¹⁸ See Chü Ch'ing-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

²¹⁹ See Hsü Tzu-chih *t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*, 73, pp. 7b-8a.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* See also Tso-i *tsu-ch'en* 作邑自紀 6, p. 31a, which appears to object to market gatherings held under religious auspices as socially harmful.

encourage the growth of centres of trade and administrative activity which were dependent directly upon the province, and independent of the established network of County and Prefecture. These centres, usually designated *chen* 鎮 (garrisons) were often established at the site of existing rural markets (*ts'ao-shih*). Many of them grew, during the Five Dynasties and the early Sung, into important market towns.²²¹ This development had a twofold effect upon the rural markets. On the one hand decentralization of power and administrative activity to this new network of *chen* meant a general increase in commercial activity. On the other hand, some provinces during the last years of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties used the garrisons of the *chen* to impose various taxes on the trade carried on under their jurisdiction.²²² This began the process by which, under the Sung, the tax on trade (*Shang-shui* 商稅) came to be collected not only in the great towns, where with the breakdown of the official market system trade was no longer subject to such very strict supervision as before but also in the small rural market towns, some of which paid enormous quotas of the tax.²²³

Balázs, in his study of fairs in China, suggests that the reason why we read so little about them is that "a centralized state, served by a vast bureaucratic organization controlling almost every movement of people and things, would hardly regard with favour – or even tolerate at all – a periodic assembly of merchants and merchandise, when it had any number of coercive means at its disposal for subjecting both to its own interest".²²⁴ Here, I think, Balázs exaggerates somewhat the oppressive power of the T'ang state, and certainly overestimates the degree of its direct intervention in local affairs. It would seem to me that official involvement in the organization of commerce can rather be shown to exemplify the way in which the T'ang administration deliberately delimited its involvement in local matters to a restricted area in which its authority could be exercised effectively. Just as in civil administration the central government maintained strict control over affairs down to the level of its lowest local representative at the county *yamen*, but was content to carry on most of the everyday routine business in the countryside through a variety of local spontaneous institutions, and just as the rule of centrally codified law extended down to the County magistrate's court, but was supplemented and even supplanted in the countryside by local custom and usage, so in its dealings with trade the T'ang government exercised strict direct control only over the central

²²¹ On this development, see the studies of Sudō, Hino, and Umehara cited in note 5.

²²² On the development of taxes on trade in late T'ang times, see Chü Ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-tai ts'ai-cheng shih* 唐代財政史 pp. 94-101; Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄, *Tō-Sō jidai no kōtsū to chishi chizu no kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地誌地圖の研究 pp. 127-59.

²²³ See Sudō, *op. cit.* (note 181).

²²⁴ See Balázs, *loc. cit.* (note 204) at p. 61.

and superior market centres of the administrative cities, that is to say the centres of inter-regional commerce where commodities entered into a nation-wide pattern of distribution. When we come to the lower levels of commercial activity, the local and inter-local trade which was basically barter by primary producers of their own surplus production for items needed for their own immediate consumption, and where merchant participation was at a low level, the government was content to leave this to institutions arising from within rural society, even at times intervening to encourage such spontaneous marketing institutions to develop.

Moreover, even in the central markets which came under official control, there was still no question of government arbitrarily imposing detailed enactments irrespective of local social needs, since the market offices were partially staffed by local residents from the commercial community, and in any case acted through the *hang* organizations of merchants which had an anomalous role as both guild-like associations of merchants and also the government-recognized representatives of the merchant community.

It was only in exceptional cases that government intervention was really systematic. The control of marketing in the capitals was strict. In the more especially lucrative or strategically important branches of foreign trade, the government attempted to establish a monopoly. But in internal commerce as a whole, although the government itself did participate in the large-scale distribution of commodities collected as tax, there is ample evidence of private trade on a very great scale,²²⁵ and Balázs' suggestion that government control of river transport, canals etc., provided the administration with a stranglehold on private commerce is simply untrue.²²⁶

Thus, although in the early part of the T'ang period there were attempts to establish and maintain strict governmental controls over trade through the official market system, it is important to remember the strict

²²⁵ For example, when the grain fleet from the south was destroyed in a disastrous fire at Shan-chou in 751, besides 251 official ships more than 100 private merchant vessels (*shang-ch'uan*) were also burned (CTS, 37, p. 13a). Again in a fire at O-chou on the Yangtse in 763, some 3,000 ships and boats were destroyed (CTS, 37, p. 13a-b; HTS, 34, p. 7b).

²²⁶ Even the collection of tolls on travellers did not meet with general approval. See for example the reply given by Ts'ui Jung 崔融 when in 702 some courtiers suggested imposing taxes on merchants at customs-barriers and in the markets. THY, 86, pp. 1578-9; T'FYK, 504, pp. 17a-21a. The tolls collected later in the dynasty were in almost every case imposed arbitrarily by local or provincial officials without reference to the central authorities.

For editions of sources to which reference is made, and for abbreviations, see *Financial Administration* pp. 343-6.

All *pi-chi* works mentioned in the notes are cited from the Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao ts'ung-shu editions (Shanghai, 1956-60).

limits to such control. It was highly selective and restricted in practice, and it would be quite unrealistic to imagine that the system, even if it operated everywhere according to the rules, would have enabled the central government to impose its whims in an arbitrary fashion, or to exercise a total despotic control over an ever-growing internal commerce which was probably the vastest and most varied the world had yet seen.

APPENDIX

FRAGMENTS OF T'ANG CODIFIED LAW RELATING TO MARKETS

Weights and Measures

(i) *Code 26, art. 29*

In all cases where measures of capacity, steelyards, and measures of length are tested and this is not done accurately, the punishment shall be a flogging of 70 blows. The official in charge of the test shall be liable to a punishment one degree less than the inspector, if he is unaware of the inaccuracy. If, however, he is aware of the circumstances, he shall be liable to the same punishment.

(ii) *Code 26, art. 32*

In all cases where private persons have themselves made measures of capacity, steelyards and measures of length which are inaccurate, and have used them in the market, the punishment shall be a beating of fifty strokes.

If as a result there has been any profit or loss, the offender shall be liable to punishment for theft, according to the amount involved. If weights and measures [of this sort] are used in the disbursement or receipt of official goods, then the offender will be liable to punishment for misappropriation through inadvertence. But if the payment is made to himself the offender shall be liable as if for theft.

If any person uses such privately made measures in the markets, even if they are accurate, if they have not been stamped and certified by the authorities, he shall be liable to a beating of forty strokes.

(iii) *Statutes on Customs-stations and Markets (Kuan-shih ling) (Niida, Tōryō shū-i, pp. 718-19)*

All measures of capacity, steelyards, and measures of length, both for official and private use must [if at the Capital] be taken each year in the eighth month to the Department of Treasury (*Chin-pu* 金部) or the Court of Treasury (*T'ai-fu ssu* 太府寺) to be tested. In places outside the Capitals they must be taken to the Prefecture or

County to be tested. In either case they must be stamped and inscribed after which they are permitted to be used.

Sources: *Code* 26, art. 29 (*Shu-i*); *Code* 26, art. 32 (*Shu-i*); TH Y 66, p. 1154. TLT 20, p. 10a-b. C.f. *Ryō no gige* 27, p. 301.

- (iv) Statutes on Customs-stations and Markets (*Kuan-shih ling*) (Niida, *Tōryō shūi*, pp. 719-20)

The steelyard must be used on the horizontal bar (*ko* 格). The *tou* measure of capacity must be used with a length of wood to level off the contents (*kai* 概).

Source: TLT 20, p. 12b. *Ryō no gige* 9, p. 300, gives a slightly fuller version, which I cite for comparison.

Whenever the steelyard is used it must be suspended from the horizontal bar. Whenever the measures of capacity are used they must be levelled off with the wooden *kai*. Rice and wheat flour must be weighed (i.e. not sold by measure of capacity).

- (v) The full details on weights and measures are included in the Miscellaneous Statutes (*Tsa-ling*). See Niida, *Tōryō shūi*, pp. 842-7.

Quality of Commodities

- (i) *Code* 26, art. 30

Any person who manufactures utensils and such things as hempen or silk cloth which are fragile, not made of the appropriate materials, are short length or narrow in width, and sells them, shall be liable to a flogging of sixty strokes. If the profit which they make is excessive, they shall be answerable to punishment under the provisions on robbery, to the amount of their profit. Merchants selling such goods shall be equally liable. The market officials, and the officials of the county or prefecture shall also be equally liable if they are aware of the circumstances. If they are not aware of the circumstances of the offence, their liability shall be diminished by two degrees.

- (ii) Statutes on Customs-stations and Markets (*Kuan-shih ling*) (Niida, *Tōryō shūi*, p. 721)

All fragile materials and articles made of inappropriate materials which are used in exchange shall be confiscated by the authorities. All articles which are short or narrow or underweight, shall be returned to the vendor.

Source: TLT 20, p. 13a.

- (iii) Statutes on Customs-stations and Markets (*Kuan-shih ling*) (Niida, *Tōryō shūi*, p. 720)

The officials are to establish models for the manufacture of all bows, arrows and long swords, and these are further to be inscribed with the name and surname of the artisan who has made them. Only then are they permitted to be sold. All other goods and utensils are to be dealt with like this.

Source: TLT 20, p. 12b. The parallel ruling in *Ryō no gige* 27, p. 301, includes lances, saddles, and lacquer goods as well as bows arrows and swords. Lacquer goods were also ordered to bear the maker's name and date under the Chin period *Statutes*, see TPYL 756, p. 2a.

Prices of Commodities

- (i) *Code* 26, art. 31.

If the market officials are unjust in fixing the prices of commodities, they shall be liable to punishment as for pecuniary malfeasance (*tso-tsang* 坐贓) to the extent to which they have raised or lowered prices. If as a result they themselves have profited thereby, they shall be liable to punishment under the provisions on robbery to the same amount.

If in estimating the amount involved in the offence of a criminal they are incorrect to such an extent as to increase or decrease the punishment to which he is liable, then they shall be liable to punishment under the provisions for causing an offender's punishment to be too heavy or too light (*ch'u-ju tsui* 出入罪).

- (ii) Statutes on Customs-stations and Markets (*Kuan-shih-ling*) (Niida, *Tōryō shūi*, pp. 716-18.)

In all markets, each shop (*ssu*) shall have a sign inscribed with the name of the *hang* to which it belongs. According to the *Statutes*, prices shall be fixed for three grades of each commodity every ten days in each month.

Source: TLT 20, p. 12a; *Code* 4, art. 6; TFKY 616, p. 22a. *Ryō no gige* 27, p. 299, has a slightly more complete version which I cite for comparison.

In all markets, each shop shall have a sign inscribed with the name of the *hang*. The market officers (*Shih-ssu* 市司) shall produce three grades of prices for each commodity in accordance with current prices, and compile a list (簿) every ten days, which shall be published in the market. Each quarter these shall be each sent in to the office responsible for the market (*pen-ssu* 本司).

- (iii) Whenever there is any exchange between private persons and officials in which the price is expressed in commodities, this should accord with the [official] price for the medium quality [of the commodity concerned]. In the assessment of the value of the sums involved in a crime where distant places are concerned (*hsüan-p'ing* 懸平) the same rule should be applied.

Source: Code 4, art. 6 (*Shu-i*); TLT 20, p. 12b.

- (iv) Code 4, art. 6.

In assessing the value of the sums involved in an offence (*p'ing-tsang* 評贓), this should always follow the current official price of the commodity in the place in which the offence was committed, converted into the value of plain silk (*chüan*) of the highest quality...

Certification of Sales

- (i) Code 26, art. 34.

In all cases of the purchase of male or female slaves, horses, cattle, camels, mules and donkeys, if within three days of the payment of the price a market certificate (*shih-ch'üan* 市券) is not drawn up, the purchaser will be liable to a beating of thirty strokes, and the vendor to one degree less.

If within three days of the drawing up of the certificate it should prove that there was some long-standing weakness or sickness, it is permissible to cancel the sale. But if anyone should attempt to cancel a sale without there being any such sickness, so as to cheat the other party, the sale shall be held to be legal, and the offender will be liable to a beating of forty strokes.

If after the sale is completed the market office (*shih-ssu*) does not issue the certificate at the correct time, the officers responsible will be liable to a beating of thirty strokes for a delay of one day, the punishment to be increased by one degree for each further delay of one day, the maximum penalty being a flogging of 100 blows.

- (ii) Statutes on Customs-stations and Markets (*Kuan-shih ling*) (Niida, *Tōryō shūi*, p. 720)

In all cases of the purchase of male or female slaves, cattle, horses, camels, mules and donkeys etc., the [market] certificate (*ch'üan* 券) shall be drawn up in accordance with the official verification (*kung-yen* 公驗) from the authorities of their place of origin.

Source: TLT 20, p. 13a-b. *Ryō no gige* 27, p. 300 is slightly clearer:

In all cases of the purchase of slaves, a market certificate specifying the price should be drawn up, after the production of a guarantee produced through the authorities in the place of origin...

Trading Hours of Markets

- (i) Statutes on Customs-stations and Markets (*Kuan-shih ling*) (Niida, *Tōryō shūi*, p. 716)

In all [official] markets, at midday the drum shall be beaten with three hundred strokes, at which the crowd will assemble. Seven quarters of an hour before sundown, the gong shall be beaten three hundred times, and at this the crowd will disperse.

Source TLT 20, p. 13b. Cf. *Ryō no gige* 27, p. 299 for the somewhat different Japanese version of this Statute.

Prevention of Unfair Trading Practices

- (i) Code 26, art. 33

In all cases where the buyers and sellers cannot reach a settlement, and an attempt is made to monopolize the market and prevent outsiders from buying, or to attempt to fix prices unfairly, making cheap goods dear when selling, and expensive goods cheap when buying, in the hope of deceiving the customers, or if any attempt is made to confuse the market with an eye to the merchants' reaping the profit for themselves, they shall be liable to a punishment of a flogging of 80 blows. If they have already succeeded in amassing a large illicit profit, they shall be liable to punishment under the provisions on theft to the estimated amount of their profits.

[The text of this article is extremely terse. The above translation is based upon the glosses of the commentaries (*Chu* and *Shu-i*.)]

Maintenance of law and order in the Markets

- (i) Code 27, art. 1

Any person who deliberately causes a disturbance in the market or in a place where a crowd are assembled and causes disorder shall be liable to a flogging of eighty strokes. If as a result any person is killed or injured, he shall be liable to a penalty one degree less than that prescribed for wilful homicide or wounding. If as a result any person's property or goods are destroyed, he shall be liable to punishment according to the provisions on pecuniary malfeasance (*tso-tsang* 坐贓). If as a result of a disturbance caused by mistake (*wu-ching* 誤驚) any person is killed or injured, the case should be judged according to the law on negligence.

(ii) *Code 26, art. 4*

Any person who without some urgent reason gallops a horse or carriage through the streets or lanes inside a city, or in any place where a crowd is assembled shall be liable to a beating of 50 strokes. If as a result anybody is killed or injured, he shall be liable according to the provisions on homicide or injury resulting from a brawl diminished by one degree.

Any person who gallops [a horse or carriage through the city] as a result of some urgent public or private matter shall not be answerable. But if as a result any person is killed or injured, they shall be judged according to the law on negligence. If it results from [the horse being] frightened and bolting so that it cannot be stopped, and the death or injury of anybody is caused, he shall be liable under the law on negligence diminished by two degrees.

[According to the *Shu-i* commentary to this article, a crowd 人衆 is defined as an assembly of three or more persons. The commentary *Chu* also includes rules covering the killing or injury of domestic animals.]

Summary Jurisdiction of the Market Offices(i) *Statutes on Trials and Courts (Yü-kuan ling)*

Whenever an offence is committed in the market, if the prescribed penalty is a flogging (*chang*) or less, it may be summarily carried out by the market officials. However, if the offender can claim hereditary privilege or is entitled to pay a fine as commutation, or if the offence has a prescribed penalty of hard labour or above, it must be referred to the County office. In case of offences in the markets of the capital, such cases are not to be referred to the Metropolitan Administration, but should all be remanded to the Supreme Court of Justice (*Ta-li ssu* 大理寺). This same rule should apply to [markets held] when the Emperor is making a State Progress in the provinces.

Source: *TT* 168, p. 981a. See also the note of Niida in *Tōryō Shūi*, pp. 758-9.