

# The Kung-T'ien-Fa of the Late Northern Sung\*

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## I

## INTRODUCTION

The *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* 方田均稅法 or the square field tax equalization law, under which the field tax burdens were evened out with 1,000 square *pu* 步 of farmland as the assessment unit, was one of a set of new laws enacted by Premier Wang An-shih 王安石 during the reign of Emperor Shên-tsung 神宗 (1067-1085) of the Northern Sung Dynasty. This law, although annuled under the reign of Emperor Che-tsung 哲宗 (1085-1100), was again put into force by Premier Ts'ai Ching 蔡京 during the early reign of Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗

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(1100-1125).\*) During the Chêng-ho 政和 period (1111-1117) of Hui-tsung's reign, the new law was enforced almost throughout the country, particularly in the province of Ching-hsi and thus aggravated the farmers' tax burdens. Moreover, these land taxes were made payable only in cash (*ch'ien* 錢). In 1116, the *Kung-t'ien-fa* 公田法 or public lands administration law, with the square field tax equalization system as its base, was introduced in that province by the eunuch Yang Chien 楊戩 on behalf of the *Hou-yüan-tso* 後苑作, a government office which was in charge of the manufacture of implements for use by the Imperial court and of which he was in control. Brought under the *Kung-t'ien-fa* as *Kung-t'ien* or public lands subject to the Government's direct exploitation as a fresh rent source were not only lands of established Government ownership but also a great proportion of privately owned farmland called *min-t'ien* 民田. The *Kung-t'ien-fa* later expanded its coverage to include such other provinces as Ching-ch'i. Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the *Hou-yüan-tso*'s *Kung-t'ien* system, a similar institution was set up by the eunuch Chang Yu 張佑 for the *Ying-shang-so* 營繕所 which controlled the court's construction and repair works under his supervision.

In the early part of the Hsüan-ho period 宣和 (1119-1125), the *Kung-t'ien* properties under the control of both the *Hou-yüan-tso* and the *Ying-shang-so* were combined and placed under the custody of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* 西城所 — an office located in the Hsi-ch'êng of the capital under the control of the eunuch Li Yen 李彥. Thus, the *Kung-t'ien-fa* was enforced most intensively in Ching-hsi-lu 京西路 and Ching-tung-lu 京東路 and later extended its coverage to Ching-ch'i 京畿 and Ho-peï. In the 12th month of 1120, the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was discontinued, and in the second month of the following year it was decided that land taxes should be levied according to the assessment scale prevalent prior to the introduction of this system. Halted at the same time was the cadastral survey of lands taken from the Government by private individuals, those lying waste, or abandoned by their owners, or reclaimed from under water and those whose owners had been evading field taxes. Presumably, this discontinuation of the *Fang-t'ien-fa* taxation system was prompted by the outbreak of Fang La's 方臘 revolt in the Chiang-nan district as well as Sung Chiang's 宋江 insurrection in the north at that time. After the rebels were crushed, however, the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* exercised its control over public lands all the more rigorously, particularly in Ching-hsi-lu and Ching-tung-lu, and in that process not only those lands which had once been given up as objects of the cadastral survey but also large amounts of *min-t'ien* were added to its *kung-t'ien* property and thoroughly exploited as fresh sources of revenue in money. Exploited particularly relentlessly were the inhabitants in the vicinity of Liang-shan-po 梁山泊 in Ching-tung-lu. This district's fishing vessels were

\*\* Refer to Y. Suto, *Chūgoku Tochiseido-shi Kenkyū* 中國土地制度史研究, Tokyo, 1954, Ch. X: Hokusō ni okeru Hōden Kinzeihō no shikō-katei 北宋に於ける方田均税法の施行過程.

also taxed very heavily.

All this shows that the public lands administration of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* itself took on the task of exploiting whatever sources of revenue the *Fang-t'ien-fa* administration had left unexploited and enforced its own law with greater vigour and rigour than before. Consequently, the farmers in the northern part of the empire laboured under a very heavy load of land rent and one rising after another flared up in different parts of this region. Then immediately after the military invasion of this region by the Chin (Jurchin) in the 12th month of 1125, the *Hsi-ch'êng-so's* *Kung-t'ien* administration was abolished and all properties seized from private landowners were returned to their original owners. In the following year (1126), Li Yen and other administrators of the public lands establishment were punished. As outlined above, the *Kung-t'ien-fa* or the public lands administration law in force during the late years of the Northern Sung Dynasty was closely linked with the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* or the square field tax equalization system. In this thesis, therefore, a study will be made of both systems in connection with one another.

## II

### ENFORCEMENT OF THE FANG-T'IENTHÜN-SHUI-FA AND INTRODUCTION OF THE KUNG-T'IENTH-FA BY THE HOU-YÜAN-TSO AND THE YING-SHANG-SO DURING THE LATE NORTHERN SUNG

#### 1) *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* Enforced in Ching-hsi-lu during the Late Northern Sung

The *Kung-t'ien-fa* was introduced in the last years of the Northern Sung Dynasty under the influence of the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* already in force in Ching-hsi-lu, as is shown by the account given in the *Huang-ch'ao pien-nien-kang-mu pei-yao* 皇朝編年綱目備要 28, under the heading "*Kung-t'ien-so* inaugurated in the 12th month of the sixth year of Chêng-ho." A summary of this account follows<sup>(1)</sup>: "With great masses of land found lying waste in the province of Ching-hsi in the early days of Sung Dynasty, the tax burdens were lessened for the province's farmers who were putting them under cultivation. In the early Chêng-ho era (1111-1117) under the reign of Emperor Hui-tsung, taxes were increased beyond the farmers' ability to meet the assessments. Shortly afterward, Tu Kung-t'sai 杜公才, a military officer of the *Hou-yüan-tso*, submitted to the Emperor his view that in Ju-chou vast expanses of land lay waste

(1) 皇朝編年綱目備要 (HPKP), 卷 28, 政和 6 年 12 月注: 京西舊多曠土, 寶元、康定間, 特輕其賦, 募民墾闢, 地無遺利, 政和初, 始議增稅, 民已不能支, 未幾後苑作使臣杜公才獻言, 汝州有地, 可爲稻田, 乃置稻田務, 主以內侍楊戩, 皆按民契券, 而以樂尺打量, 其贏則拘入官, 而創立租課, 謂之公田錢, 是歲始改爲公田所。

and ready to be opened up as paddy fields. Whereupon, the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* 稻田務 was set up there and put under the charge of the eunuch Yang Chien 楊戢. Yang Chien then confiscated and made into the public lands or *kung-t'ien* 公田 whatever portions of land found "unjustly occupied" or "held in surplus" by the farmers by inspecting their title deeds called *ch'i-ch'üan* 契券 as well as measuring farmlands with a new scale called *yüeh-ch'ih* 樂尺. A new land rent called the *Kung-t'ien-ch'ien* 公田錢 was imposed on these enlarged *Kung-t'ien* properties. Then in the 12th month of 1116, the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* was reorganized into the *Kung-t'ien-so* 公田所."

Clear from the account is the fact that the *Fang-t'ien* taxation law had previously been in force in Ju-chou and that the square fields (*Fang-t'ien*) there were now remeasured by the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* with the *yüeh-ch'ih* scale which was shorter than the old scale. Thus the *T'ao-t'ien-wu's* *Kung-t'ien* lands were partly made up of patches of farmland seized from the farmers as either "illegal" or "surplus" private properties. Hence, this account bears witness to the close link between the Ju-chou *T'ao-t'ien-wu*, which was later to be reorganized into the *Kung-t'ien-so* under the direct control of the Hou-yüan-tso on the one hand, and the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa*, which was then in force in Ching-hsi-lu, on the other.

Let us next explain the square field tax equalization law (*Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa*) as enforced toward the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty. As pointed out in the *Huang-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao* account cited above, there were great expanses of uncultivated land in Ching-hsi-lu during the early days of the Sung Dynasty and newly cultivated lands were taxed lightly to encourage farmland development. It has by now been fairly well substantiated through several studies\*) that in such prefectures (*chou* 州) in Ching-hsi-lu as Hsü, Ch'ên, Ts'ai, Ju, T'ang and Têng, much new farmland was opened up for cultivation between the beginning of the Sung Dynasty and the early reign of Emperor Shên-tsung. Following the enforcement of the *Fang-t'ien* taxation law in the eighth month of 1072 of Emperor Shên-tsung, however, fields newly cultivated in these prefectures were made taxable under the new system.\*\*\*) Under this system farmland was partitioned into square fields, each having an acreage of 1,000 square *pu*, and classified into five grades according to the fertility of soil so that the taxes (*Liang-shui* 兩稅) could be assessed in a fair

\* Refer to Y. Kawahara's *Sōsho ni okeru Keiseiro nōchi no kōkai ni tsuite* 宋初に於ける京西路農地の荒廢について, in *Nishū Nihon Shigaku* 西日本史學, No. 11; *Sōsho ni okeru Jō, Tō nishū Eidenmu no kōhai ni tsuite* 宋初に於ける襄唐二州營田務の興廢について, in *Fukuoka Shōdai Ronsō* 福岡商大論叢, vol. III, no. 1; *Sōsho ni okeru jisakunō ikusei katei ni miru Jōshu suiriden no kaihatsu ni tsuite* 宋初に於ける自作農育成過程にみる襄州水利田の開発について, in *Shigaku Kenkyū* 史學研究, no. 51; *Sōdai tokuni Chihei, Kinei nenkan ni okeru Tō, Jō nishū no suiriden no kaihatsu ni tsuite* 宋代特に治平・熙寧年間に於ける唐、襄二州の水利田の開発について, in *Tōyō Shigaku* 東洋史學, no. 8; and S. Wada (ed.), *Sōshi Shokkashi Yakuchū* 宋史食貨志譯註, pp. 89-94.

\*\* For more detail refer to Y. Suto, *op. cit.*

manner. Such county (*hsien* 縣) officials as the *Hsien-ling* 縣令, *Hsien-ch'êng* 縣丞 and *Chu-pu* 主簿 administered the system.

The presumption that this square field taxation was enforced in Ching-hsi-lu is based upon the following account from the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿.<sup>(2)</sup> "From Emperor Ying-tsung's 英宗 reign (1063-1067) to the early days of Emperor Shên-tsung (1067-1077), while Kao Fu 高賦 held the governorship of T'ang-chou, displaced people were collected together to undertake the cultivation of waste lands. As a customary rule in T'ang-chou at that time taxes on any newly cultivated land were assessed at a fixed rate of four *mu* 畝 for every 100 *mu*.\*) But later, in the Yüan-fêng 元豐 period, this tax assessment rate was raised to 20 *mu* for every 100 *mu* by the *Chuan-yün-shih* 轉運司 or the Transportation Commissioner. This provoked popular resentment and despair and led to mass desertions and a massive flight from the district. Whereupon, Chai Ssu 翟思, in an appeal submitted to the Emperor, suggested that the farmers should be given greater areas of farmland to work on so that they could better meet an increased proportion of taxes." Exactly when the *Chuan-yün-shih* raised the tax-rate remains uncertain.

Another related account found in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* emanating from the *Ching-hsi-lu Chuan-yün-shih* indicates that in T'ang-chou and Têng-chou, those farmers who had any fields untaxed or inordinately lightly taxed were directed to report to the authorities voluntarily so that such fields could be assessed according to their exact acreage.<sup>(3)</sup> The aggravation of the tax burden in Ching-hsi-lu mentioned above must have resulted from this new taxation procedure.

In reference to this upward revision of the tax rate effected during the Yüan-fêng period, the *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 gives another related account which reads as follows:<sup>(4)</sup> "In the four prefectures of Ching-hsi-lu, T'ang, Têng, Hsiang and Ju, although the bringing into cultivation of land made much headway during and after the *Ch'ih-p'ing* 治平 era (1064-1067), there was as yet no fixed formula for tax assessment. Later, during the Yüan-fêng era, taxes came to be assessed on newly cultivated fields by classifying them into five grades (—an indication that under the square field tax equaliza-

\* See S. Wada (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 84.

- (2) 宋會要輯稿 (SHY), 食貨 70 賦稅雜錄·元豐 6 年 7 月 28 日, 御史翟思言: 唐州舊以土地瘠薄, 人不耕佃, 往年高賦知州, 招集流民, 自便請射, 依鄉原例起稅, 凡百畝之田, 以四畝出賦, 自是稍稍墾治, 殆無曠土, 聞轉運司近以土闢民庶, 百畝之賦, 增至二十畝, 民情騷然, 且流田披榛開荒, 樂於安土者, 特幸稅輕有足自養, 今土雖稍闢而利薄, 民雖差庶而未富, 官既多取, 則私養不足, 其勢恐至於轉徙, 如是則不惟所增之賦, 爲虛額, 亦失常入之數, 伏望申敕使者, 如合增稅, 卽量加分數, 庶使新集之民, 得以安業。
- (3) *Ibid.*, 元豐元年 3 月 4 日, 京西南路轉運使言: 秘書監高賦言, 唐州民, 請地生稅, 實公私之利, 乞并鄧州南陽縣, 民有田無稅及稅少地多, 立限一年自陳, 據頃畝立稅給帖, 聽爲永業。Refer to 續資治通鑑長編, 卷 288, 元豐元年三月戊寅。
- (4) 文獻通考, 卷 4, 田賦考·歷代田賦之制: 唐·鄧·襄·汝州, 自治平以後, 開墾歲增, 然未定稅額, 元豐中, 乃所墾新田, 差爲五等輸, 元祐元年罷之, 大觀三年, 復元豐法, 俄又罷之。

tion system the "five-grade land tax assessment scale," hereinafter to be referred to as the Yüan-fêng formula, was adopted, as explained above). In the first year of the Yüan-yu 元祐 period (1086) the system was discarded and so was the Yüan-fêng formula. Then, after the Fang-t'ien taxation system was enforced in 1109 during Hui-tsung's reign, the formula was revived, only to be discarded shortly afterward."

Still another related account in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* reads as follows: "Before the Ch'ih-p'ing period of Ying-tsung's reign, large areas of land in such prefectures of Ching-hsi-lu as T'ang, Têng, Hsiang and Ju lay uncultivated. Later, early in the Hsi-ning 熙寧 period (1068-1077), people began to settle there in great numbers and large amounts of waste land were brought under cultivation. Thereupon, Kao Fu, governor of T'ang-chou, imposed taxes on newly cultivated lands at a rate of from 100 *wên* 文 to 200 *wên* for every *ch'ing* 頃. (One *ch'ing* being 100 *mu*, this rate was comparable with the tax burden represented in another rating expression — "four *mu* for every 100 *mu*" mentioned in 2). But in most other prefectures of the same province, there was no taxation system in force, thereby keeping a number of farm households free from the burden of land tax. During the Yüan-fêng period, the Yüan-fêng formula came to be used in taxing newly cultivated fields, (indicating again that the Fang-t'ien taxation system was in force in Ching-hsi-lu in those days.) The Yüan-fêng formula was discarded in the first year of Yüan-yu (1086), but reimposed during the Ta-kuan 大觀 period (1107-1110) following the readoption of the Fang-t'ien taxation system. Then, after another brief period of suspension, the formula was adopted once again in the second year of Chêng-ho (1112)." (5)

We may gather from the foregoing accounts that, with the progress of land cultivation, newly cultivated lands in Ching-hsi-lu were made taxable and that during the Yüan-fêng era the five-grade taxation scale was adopted as a new assessment formula under the Fang-t'ien taxation law. Then simultaneously with the abolition of this law in the first year of Yüan-yu (1086), the Yüan-fêng assessment formula was also scrapped. Then in the seventh month of 1104, the Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa was again enforced in Ching-hsi-lu and Ho-peï-lu following a memorial to the Emperor from Chief Minister Ts'ai Ching. This system was briefly suspended from the first month of 1106, but was soon reimposed as from the second month of the following year (1107). As mentioned in 4), under the Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa system the Yüan-fêng formula was adopted once again in such prefectures of Ching-hsi-lu as T'ang,

(5) SHY., 食貨 70 • 賦稅雜錄, 政和 2 年 9 月 28 日, 京西路計度運轉使王濤言: 本路唐 • 襄 • 汝等州, 治平以前, 地多山林, 人少耕殖, 自熙寧中, 四方民輻湊, 開墾環數千里, 並爲良田, 知唐州高賦, 嘗將所墾地內, 每頃立稅止一二百, 餘州更不曾立稅, 多係有田無稅之戶, 元豐間, 察知其弊, 將所墾新田, 立定五等稅額, 元祐住罷不行, 大觀施行, 間因人戶陳狀, 又復住罷, 四十餘年, 官中失收租賦, 以實石計之, 逾數千萬, 今將唐 • 鄧 • 襄 • 汝, 比鄆 • 洛 • 孟 • 滑, 輕重何啻十倍, 一路民情, 抱幸不幸之弊。

Têng, Hsiang and Ju in 1109, but it had to be abandoned shortly afterwards.

The circumstances that led to the abandonment of the Yüan-fêng formula so soon after its readoption in 1109 are described in a memorial submitted by a group of officials\* to Emperor Hui-tsung which is inserted in the *Hsü T'ung-chien ch'ang-pien chi-shih pén-mo* 續通鑑長編紀事本末<sup>(6)</sup> as well as in a related account which is included in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*.<sup>(7)</sup> These two accounts read as follows: "Chang Hui-yen 張徽言, who was then enforcing the *Fang-t'ien* taxation system in his capacity of *Ching-hsi Chuan-yün fu-shih* 京西轉運副使 or vice Transportation Commissioner for the province of Ching-hsi, took note of the relative lightness of the tax burden on the land-holders in such districts as Ju, Hsiang, and Têng, and introduced a similar assessment scale to the one in force in Honan-fu (Loyang), and following the pattern of the Yüan-fêng formula graded farmlands into five classes so that in some instances assessments were increased as much as several-fold. This precipitated a deluge of petitions and complaints from the masses and caused widespread migration of the people. In consequence, Chang Hui-yen was prosecuted by a group of Censorate officials led by Shih Kung-pi 石公弼 on charges that Chang had exercised his authority over taxation with undue rigour while serving as *Chuan-yün fu-shih*. This charge eventually cost him the office of *K'ai-feng-fu shao-yin* 開封府少尹 which he then held, and the five-grade land classification formula was also abolished as a result."

It does not follow from these two documents that the *Fang-t'ien* tax system itself ceased to be enforced in that province. This is proved by a memorial to the Emperor from the *T'i-chu Ch'ang-p'ing-ssu* 提舉常平司 "commodity price controller," of Ching-hsi-lu presented on the 25th day of the fifth month of 1112 included in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*.<sup>(8)</sup> This memorial recommended that land survey should be expedited wherever lands were left unmeasured into "square fields." It reported that by the third year of *Ta-kuan* (1109) farmlands had completely been laid out into square fields, surveyed, and taxed according to the survey in the five counties (*hsien*) of Yen-shih in

\* Included in this group was Shih Kung-pi 石公弼, executive censor or *Yü-shih chung-ch'eng* 御史中丞. See his biography *Sung Shih*, 348.

(6) 續通鑑長編紀事本末, 卷 138, 徽宗, 方田, 大觀 3 年 6 月壬午, 臣僚言: 訪聞, 京西南路, 將方田十等, 併作五等, 又欲以河南府比附輕重, 地有肥瘠, 田有等差, 則賦有輕重, 豈可一概比附而增之也, 況詔書方田之意, 止欲均其稅賦, 今乃於額外增添, 多至數倍, 至今民間詞訴不絕, 漸至逃移, 非經久之策, 所有今來張徽言建議, 乞不施行。

(7) SHY., 食貨·方田雜錄, 大觀 3 年 6 月 9 日: 初【張】徽言爲京西轉運副使, 以汝·襄·鄧州稅輕, 請依唐州, 用新定十等地色, 分五等立稅, 不及者增之, 已重者如故, 至是言者, 論其掊克, 故寢前議, 而罷徽言開封府少尹, 送吏部。

(8) *Ibid.*, 政和 2 年 5 月 25 日, 京西北路提舉常平司上奏: 奉詔應方田, 已經方量未畢去處, 令先次結絕, 其餘州縣, 並別聽指揮, 本路大觀三年, 西京偃師·陳州西華·蔡州新蔡·汝州鄭城·滑州胙城五縣·各已造帳均稅·西京洛陽·汝州襄城·河陽王屋·鄭州原武·新鄭等五縣, 雖已方量·均稅未了·西京等共六州府·河南等一十八縣, 係未經方量, 未審合與不合依大觀元年閏十月二十八日朝旨, 候將來年分, 別聽指揮。

Hsi-ching, Hsi-hua in Ch'en-chou, Hsin-ts'ai in Ts'ai-chou, Chia-ch'êng in Ju-chou and Tso-ch'êng in Hua-chou. The same memorial also reported that in five other *hsien*, namely, Loyang in Hsi-ching, Hsiang-ch'êng in Ju-chou, Wang-wu in Ho-yang Fu, and Yuan-wu and Hsin-ch'êng in Ch'êng-chou, although the surveying work had been completed, not all the square fields had as yet been taxed. It also pointed out that in six other *chou* and *fu* as well as in 18 other *hsien* even the land survey itself was still incomplete. Judging from the report, in at least two counties of Ching-hsi-lu — Chia-ch'êng and Hsiang-ch'êng in Ju-chou — the land survey had been completed.

In addition, another *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* entry dated the 18th of the eighth month of 1112 testifies that an imperial edict was issued on that day ordering the offices of the *Chuan-yün-shih* and *T'i-chu ch'ang-p'ing-ssu* stationed in Ching-hsi-nan-lu and pei-lu provinces to inquire into any irregularities, inequities or falsifications with respect to all square fields previously surveyed and into any cases where the tax collected was either excessively heavy or excessively light. It was also ordered to resurvey any fields with respect to which any tax irregularities were uncovered.<sup>(9)</sup>

This was then followed by two further edicts. The first one, dated the 27th of the eighth month specified that an on-the-spot inquiry should begin from the ninth month of that year. The second, dated the eighth of the ninth month laid down that the set of directives then governing the procedures for processing popular complaints over tax inequities in Ching-hsi-lu should be applied also in the other provinces.<sup>(10)</sup> Then in a memorial addressed to the Emperor on the 28th of the ninth month of the same year, Wang Shu 王璿 then holding the office of *Chi-tu Chuan-yün-shih* of Ching-hsi-lu 京西路計度轉運使 noted that the five-grade scale of tax differentiation, first adopted during the *Yüan-fêng* period for the assessment of taxes on newly cultivated lands, had fallen into abeyance during the *Yüan-yu* period in such prefectures of Ching-hsi-lu as T'ang, Têng, Hsiang and Ju and that although it had been revived during the *Ta-kuan* period, it was again discontinued in compliance with the petition of local populace. In his estimation, he said, the losses of tax revenues suffered by the Government because of the frequent disuse of this taxation scale during the intervening 40-odd years were already of the order of several tens of millions of *kuan* 貫 of cash and *shih* 石 of grain. He pointed out that as a result of the repeated disuse of the *Yüan-fêng* scale a tax discrepancy amounting to as much as 1,000 percent had arisen between these districts (*chou*) and such others as Cheng, Lo, Mêng and Hua. An

(9) *Ibid.*, 政和2年8月18日, 詔: 令京西南北路監司, 應已方田, 並選差官前去, 體量有無違法不均不寔・出稅有無偏重偏輕, 如不曾方量處, 卽且令依舊出稅, 別選他州縣官, 互行差委前去, 重行方量, ……

(10) *Ibid.*, 政和2年9月8日, 詔: 應已方田路分, 見有人戶論訴不均者, 並依京西路已降指揮施行, 其有人戶論訴合重方, 并未方路分, 合差一行方量官吏, 均稅甲頭・合干人, 並差非本州縣人, ……



Imperial edict which followed this memorial by Wang Shu ordered a strict observance of the five-grade tax differentiation method saying that this scale which had first gained acceptance in the Yüan-fêng period still "held good." The edict held both the *Chuan-yün-shih* and the *T'i-chu ch'ang-p'ing-sso* accountable for the employment of this scale in land tax assessment.\*) Thus, it is clear that from 1112 onward the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* tax law was enforced in Ching-hsi-lu under the Yüan-fêng assessment formula.

This fact is further substantiated by the following account dated the second month of 1114 found also in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*.<sup>(11)</sup> "Wang Yu 王渝 and Hsiao Ts'ung 蕭從, the T'ung-p'an 通判 or vice-governor of Hsian-chou and Têng-chou, respectively, were deprived of their offices because they were found to have been negligent in collecting taxes in compliance with the Yüan-fêng formula." The fact that the employment of this scale aggravated the tax burdens in Ching-hsi-lu is shown also by an Imperial amnesty decree by Kao-tsung 高宗, the first emperor of the Southern Sung, on the first day of the fifth month of 1127.<sup>(12)</sup>

To be referred back to in this connection is the entry of *Huang-ch'ao pien-nien Kang-mu pei-yao* for the 12th month of the sixth year of *Chêng-ho* (1116), regarding the inauguration of the *Kung-t'ien-so*.\*\*) In the early years of *Chêng-ho* period (1111-1117), then, taxes were clearly increased beyond the farmers' ability to meet their assessments in Ching-hsi-lu as the result of the aggravation of their tax burdens following the enforcement of the *Fang-t'ien-chü-shui-fa* taxation law on the basis of the Yüan-fêng assessment scale.

## 2) *Kung-t'ien* Properties of the *Hou-yüan-tso* and the *Ying-shang-so*

A passage included in the *Huan-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao* entry cited above indicates that the *Kung-t'ien-so* established its first *Kung-t'ien* property in Ju-chou in 12th month of the sixth year of *Chêng-ho* (1116).<sup>(13)</sup> As similar record is cited in the *Huang-Sung shih-ch'ao kang-yao* 皇宋十朝綱要 entry for the same month.<sup>(14)</sup> According to an account found in the *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, when the eunuch Yang Chien 楊戩, then in control of the *Hou-yüan-tso*, was ordered to bring under cultivation a wide expanse of uncultivated land in Ju-chou, he set up the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* 稻田務 there and after this the public lands development administration under his control branched out into

\* See footnote (5).

\*\* See footnote (1).

(11) SHY., 職官 68 黜陟, 政和 4 年 2 月 11 日: 襄州通判王渝·鄧州通判蕭從, 並放罷, 取勘以京西轉運司奏, 唐·鄧·襄·汝州稅, 奉詔元豐已立五等之稅, 今日自當遵守, 令轉運常平措置聞奏, 而鄧·襄二州通判弛慢, 並無報應, 故有是責。

(12) 三朝北盟會編, 卷 101, 高宗·建炎元年 5 月 1 日, 卽位赦文: 京西路, 昨緣方田添起稅, 除六分外, 只送四分見錢, 更不支移折變。 Also refer to footnote (26).

(13) HPKP., 卷 28, 政和 6 年 12 月: 創公田所。

(14) 皇宋十朝綱要, 卷 17, 政和 6 年 12 月 乙丑: 始作公田于汝州。

other parts of the Ching-ch'i Province, when its official title was changed to the *Kung-t'ien-so*.<sup>(15)</sup>

Such being the case, it must be presumed that the *Ju-chou T'ao-t'ien-wu* had existed prior to the establishment of the first *Kung-t'ien* lands by the *Hou-yüan-tso* in the 12th month of 1116 and that it came into existence shortly after the rating of farmland according to soil fertility under the *Fang-t'ien* taxation law greatly increased the tax burden in Ju-chou. Probably, therefore, the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* in Ju-chou must have been established in the fourth or the fifth year of *Chêng-ho* (1114 or 1115).

Another entry in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* shows the existence prior to 1117 of another establishment bearing the name of the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* under the control of Wang Pên 王本 who was the provincial price controller of Ching-chi.<sup>(16)</sup> According to this account, Wang Pên was in control of this establishment in his capacity as *T'i-chu ch'ang-p'ing-ssu* and engaged in the development of paddy fields in infertile and saline lands found lying waste within his jurisdiction. When this account is studied in connection with the *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* passage,<sup>(15)</sup> the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* under the control of Yang Chien's *Hou-yüan-tso* may have been combined with Wang Pên's similar establishment before its name was changed to *Kung-t'ien-so*. This inference is possible since the later account might suggest that Yang Chien first set up his *T'ao-t'ien-wu* in Ju-chou and later set up a similar establishment also in Ching-ch'i before the properties of both establishments were combined into *Kung-t'ien*. Another inference is that, like the Wang Pên organization, Yang Chien's *T'ao-t'ien-wu* in Ju-chou too was engaged in the task of developing paddy cultivation (*T'ao-t'ien*) in waste land in that district during its early days. As will be shown later, uncultivated land was surveyed and laid out under the *Fang-t'ien* system during the last years of the Northern Sung. It may thus be possible that the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* properties both in Ju-chou and in Ching-ch'i were also created following the enforcement of this law. As mentioned above, it was in the 12th month of the six year of *Chêng-ho* (1116) that the *Ju-chou T'ao-t'ien-wu* was reorganized into the *Kung-t'ien-so* under the *Hou-yüan-tso*.

Before proceeding to describe in detail the *Hou-yüan-tso*'s public land (*Kung-t'ien*) system, we must first clarify the functions and organization of this office. The *Hou-yüan-tso*, according to the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*,<sup>\*</sup> was a

\* See SHY., 職官 36·後苑造作所.

(15) 文獻通考, 卷 7, 田賦考·官田: 初因中官楊戩, 主後苑作, 有言汝州地, 可爲稻田者, 置務掌之, 號稻田務, 復行於府畿, 易名公田.

(16) SHY., 食貨·水利, 政和 7 年 7 月 6 日, 京畿提點刑獄公事王本上奏: 前任提舉京畿常平日, 根治諸縣天荒·瘠鹵地, 開修水田, 引水種稻, 逐年所收土利不少, 將引水不利之地一萬二千餘頃, 並置圖籍拘管, 入稻田務, 召人承佃, 數內已佃五千三百餘頃, 蒙朝廷立定賞格, 已足激勵, 尙慮逐縣令佐, 不切奉行, 却致荒廢, 欲乞朝廷附鹽事司開墾鹽地賞格推賞, 詔依, 申明行下.

Government office in charge of the manufacture of various household goods for use by the Imperial court, including paraphernalia for newly wedded royal members. Its prototype, called the *Hou-yüan-tsao-tso-so* 後苑造作所 had been established in 1,000 and three eunuchs were appointed to supervise it jointly. In its early days, this Imperial factory was made up of 74 workshops or *tso* 作, but seven more workshops, including the *Chin-hsien-tso* 金線作, were added later. Manufactured by these *tso* were art objects, clothing and arms of all sorts. Another account indicates that the *Hou-yüan tsao-tso-so* was organized under three supervising eunuchs with 12 secretaries and 436 artists and artisans. Besides, there was within the factory a separate branch called the *Hsi-yuan* 西院 which specialized in the manufacture of clothing for palace wear. According to the same account, Emperor Shên-tsung limited the full number of personnel of the *Hou-yüan tsao-tso-so* to 300 in a decree issued in 1067. Later, in 1085, Emperor Chê-tsung decreed the abolition of the *Hsi-yuan* of the *Hou-yüan-tso*.\*)

As can be gathered from the above accounts, the *Hou-yüan-tso* was a factory or a series of factories in charge of the manufacture of Imperial paraphernalia, with a large staff of artists and artisans under the control of three eunuchs. Emperor Hui-tsung was famous for his attachment to the arts and to art objects. The creative activities within the palace were thus encouraged and the artisans belonging to the *Hou-yüan-tso* seems to have enjoyed especially favorable treatment under his patronage. According to one record, for instance, sometime during the *Hsüan-ho* era, an artisan named T'ien Tsung-i 田宗義 was given a court rank by Emperor Hui-tsung merely because of his skill in the manufacture of hoods and cowls.<sup>(17)</sup> With this in view, the establishment of the *Kung-t'ien-so* in 1116 was apparently prompted by the necessity to meet the sharp increase of its expenditure during Emperor Hui-tsung's reign.

According to the *Huang-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao* account referred to above,\*\*) the *Hou-yüan-tso* seems to have formed its *Kung-t'ien* property out of what it had determined were "unfairly occupied" or "surplus" pieces of farmland by checking up the landowners' title deeds called *ch'i-ch'üan* 契券, and by remeasuring their properties with a new, shorter scale called *yüeh-ch'ih* 樂尺. According to a passage of the *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* describing these two means of creating *Kung-t'ien* property,<sup>(18)</sup> the ownership of each piece of

\* See 同上條所引兩朝國史志 (職官志).

\*\* See footnote (1): 皆按民契券, 而以樂尺打量, 其贏則拘入官, 而創立租課, 謂之公田錢.

(17) 建炎以來繫年要錄 (CICY.), 卷 19, 建炎 3 年 正月丙午: [田]宗義者, 宣和間, 以後苑作應奉得官, 至是差監法酒庫門, 吏部審量當追奪, 上曰, ……宗義善造頭巾, 朕嘗以賤役使之, 豈可與官.

(18) 文獻通考, 田賦考·官田: 政和六年, 始作公田於汝州, 公田之法, 縣取民間田契根磨, 如田今屬甲, 則從甲而索乙契, 乙契既在, 又索丙契, 展轉推求, 至無契可證, 則量地所在, 增立官租, 一說謂, 按民契券, 而以樂尺打量, 其贏則拘入官, 而創立租課.

private property was thoroughly investigated not only on the basis of the latest deed of ownership transfer, but also by the inspection of every one of such deeds ever drawn up with respect to that specific property. For instance, if Party B yielded possession of a certain land to Party A, the present owner A, on the evidence of the latest deed, was required also to produce the second latest deed drawn when Party B gained ownership from Party C, who, in turn, was to present the third latest deed drawn with Party D. In that process, if any one of all the owners of any land, past as well as present, were unable to produce a properly executed deed, then that land was subjected to redefinition as new *Kung-t'ien* property and rent for tenancy (*kuan-tsu* 官租) was accordingly to be levied thereon. Substantially the same description as above is given in an account in *Sung Shih* 宋史.<sup>(19)</sup>

I wish next to discuss the other device employed by *Kung-t'ien* administrators to expand their property – the remeasurement of lands by means of a new, shorter scale called the *yüeh-ch'ih*. As mentioned in section one whatever portions of farmland were confirmed as “held in surplus” when remeasured with this scale were lopped off as Government properties and brought under the *Kung-t'ien* system. What was the *yüeh-ch'ih*? The *Sung-hui-yao chi-k'ao* says in an entry dated the ninth day of the second month of 1110 that when the Board of Ritual (*I-li-chü* 議禮局) revised the palace musical instruments on the basis of a new musical scale and laid down their official specifications, the Emperor was asked to revise the existing standard scale of measurement to correspond with this new musical scale.<sup>(20)</sup> The entry also says that in compliance with their memorial the use of this new scale was made mandatory.<sup>(21)</sup> According to another entry dated the 11th day of the fourth month of the same year, however, Chang Ko 張閣, a *Han-lin* Academician, memorialized the Emperor recommending that the use of the new scale should be promulgated but that in doing so, the prevalent units of measurement of length should be left intact “so as not to cause any gains or losses to either public or private interests.”<sup>(22)</sup> Thereupon, Emperor Hui-tsung ordered the Imperial Workshop for imperial ritual instruments, ceremonial clothing, and measures (*Hsia-fu-chien* 少府監) to make a thousand of the new *yüeh-ch'ih* measure, 100 of them of *wu-mu hua-hsing* (烏木花星) for Imperial use and the remaining 900 of *tzu-*

(19) 宋史, 卷 468, 楊戩傳: 有胥吏杜公才者, 獻策干戩, 立法索民田契, 自甲之乙, 乙之丙, 展轉究尋, 至無可證, 則度地之所出, 增立賦租。

(20) SHY., 食貨 69, 宋量·徽宗, 大觀 4 年 2 月 9 日, 議禮局劄子: 臣等伏覩, 陛下度律均鍾, 更造雅樂, 施之天下, 爲萬世法, 至於禮器, 尙仍舊制, 未聞有所改作, 禮樂有國之大本, 而其末起於度數, 度數得, 則權量正, 法度一而民不疑, ……臣等欲乞明詔有司, 取新定樂律之度, 審校禮器, 有不合者, 悉行改正, 以副制作之意。

(21) *Ibid.*, 詔: 律度量衡, 先王之制, 不相襲, 而歷代亦不同, 今以身爲度, 起律作樂, 則於禮制宜依所奏。

(22) *Ibid.*, 大觀 4 年 4 月 11 日, 翰林學士張閣等上奏: 更制新尺, 既已用而未施之四方, 欲乞將指尺頒降天下, 其應千長短·闊狹之數, 並依舊, 其有不同者, 以今尺計定, 卽于公私, 別無增損。

*ching-mu* (紫荊木) for distribution to central and local officials and storehouse employees. This enabled each of these agencies to manufacture duplicate measures for everyday use to the specifications of the sample scales.

Another account from the same source dated the sixth day of the fifth month of 1111 says that since the distribution of the *yüeh-ch'ih* scales to metropolitan and provincial administrative centers had been completed, the Transportation Commission of each and every province had been ordered to manufacture duplicate scales to the given specifications and to distribute them to all the districts within its jurisdiction "so as to effect the disuse of the old scale as from the first day of the seventh month." Actually, however, as is shown by a memorial from Li Hsiao-ch'êng 李孝僊 dated the 13th day of the ninth month of the next year,<sup>(23)</sup> the existing measurements of length remained unaltered. This memorial, in referring to an Imperial decree dated the 11th day of the fourth month of 1110, which was presumably an Imperial endorsement of Chang Ko's earlier memorial, notes that in measuring cloth and staff, the *yüeh-ch'ih* scale should be used only as a so-to-speak "conversion scale" designed to adjust the difference between the old and new scales. Taking a roll of silk for illustration, it says that according to the old scale one standard length (*p'i* 疋) had been 42 *ch'ih* 尺 long and 2.05 *ch'ih* wide whereas, using the newly adopted conversion scale it should measure 43.75 *ch'ih* by 2.1355 *ch'ih*.\*) Thus, neither width nor length was to be measured by the new *ch'ih* unit which was 0.0416 *ch'ih* greater than the old, and the old scale itself was not physically replaced with the new one. It was probably from the fear of a possible serious impact upon the empire's economy that the old scale was not, in the end, finally discarded.

Let us next estimate the difference resulting from the use of the two scales in measuring one *mu* of land.

1.0416 *ch'ih* × 5 × 240 ..... 1249.92 *ch'ih* or 240 *pu*  
 1249.92 *ch'ih* × 5.208 *ch'ih* ..... 6509.54336 square *ch'ih* or one *mu*  
 6509.54336 square *ch'ih* ÷ 6000 square *ch'ih* ..... 1.0849 *mu*

This means that when remeasured with the *yüeh-ch'ih* scale a parcel of land which formerly had an area of one *mu* was measured 1.0849 *mu*, or 0.0849 *mu* more. This in turn means that in Ju-chou where privately owned lands were

\* With the *yüeh-ch'ih* scale as the conversion scale, one *p'i* of silk cloth, which originally was 42 *ch'ih* long and 2.05 *ch'ih* wide, was given the following actual, exact measurement.

Length 1.04166 *ch'ih* × 42 ..... 43.7499 *ch'ih*  
 Width 1.04166 *ch'ih* × 2.05 ..... 2.135415 *ch'ih*

(23) *Ibid.*, 政和 2 年 9 月 13 日, 李孝僊上奏: 看詳, 度量權衡, 出於一體, 內度雖已得旨, 頒大晟新尺, (大晟樂尺) 行用, 緣依政和元年四月十二日敕, 應干長短·廣狹之數, 並無增損, 其諸條內尺寸, 止合依上條, 用大晟新尺紐定, 謂如帛長四十二尺·闊二尺五分為疋, 以新尺計四十二(三)尺七寸五分·闊二尺一寸三分五厘之五為疋, 是一尺四分一厘三分厘之二為一尺, 又如天武等杖五尺八分, 以新尺計一尺四分一厘三分厘之二之類, 如得允當, 欲作申明, 隨敕行下, 即不銷逐條展計外, 有度量權衡, 今候頒到新式, 續具修定。

recadastrated with the *yüeh-ch'ih* scale, the Government was able to confiscate and make into its *Kung-t'ien* property 0.0849 *mu* out of every one *mu* of land remeasured. In Ju-chou, as mentioned above, the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* tax law had been in force since about 1112 and farmlands there had been surveyed for this purpose. Presumably, therefore, it was no troublesome procedure for the *Kung-t'ien* rent collectors to convert these 0.0849-*mu* surpluses into *Kung-t'ien* based on the existing surveys. At this conversion rate, 8.49 *mu* of land could be brought under government control out of every one *ch'ing* 頃 or 100 *mu*. Likewise, 84.9 *ch'ing* and 849 *ch'ing* respectively of private land could be seized and converted into *Kung-t'ien* out of every 1,000 and 10,000 *ch'ing*.

On the *Kung-t'ien* properties created in Ju-chou by the two means mentioned above a new rent called *Kung-t'ien ch'ien* 公田錢 which was a cash levy was imposed. Indications are that this rent was made payable only in cash in Ju-chou, because the enforcement of the *Fang-t'ien* taxation system was based not only upon the *Yüan-fêng* land classification formula, but also on a cash assessment in the whole of the Ching-hsi-lu province. In reference to an Imperial directive dated the 25th day of the eighth month of 1116, the *Sung-hui-yao-chi-kao* says that in the four prefectures of T'ang, Têng, Hsiang and Ju in the Ching-hsi-lu province, the adoption of the *Yüan-fêng* formula calling for the graduation of the tax-rate according to soil fertility was accompanied shortly afterward by an Imperial decree prohibiting the imposition of *ch'i-ch'ien* 脚錢 in addition to the *chien-ch'ien* 見錢.<sup>(24)</sup> The *chien-ch'ien* was the portion of the tax collected in cash under the *Liang-shui-fa* or two-tax system, while the *ch'i-ch'ien* was imposed as a surcharge supposedly intended to cover the transport costs involved in the delivery of the tax to the Imperial treasury. This directive noted that because of the unfamiliarity with the prohibition of collecting *ch'i-ch'ien* on the part of the *Chuan-yün-shih* of Ching-hsi-lu, nearly 300,000 strings of cash (*min* 緡) were annually collected as *ch'i-ch'ien* in addition to *Chien-ch'ien*. Thus, it says, this directive renewed the ban on this practice on the part of the tax collectors. This same source indicates that the province's Transportation Commission continued to collect the *ch'i-ch'ien* surcharge at least until the eighth month of 1116, although the collection of *ch'i-ch'ien* in addition to the cash taxes had been officially halted since the adoption of the *Yüan-fêng* formula four years before. Judging from this, the *Kung-t'ien-ch'ien*, which was one kind of cash rent, must have been collected in Ju-chou in much the same way as the *chien-ch'ien* was collected elsewhere with the addition of a surcharge for transportation, since the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* was first established there sometime between 1114 and 1115 and reorganized as the *Kung-t'ien-so* late in 1116.

(24) SHY., 食貨・賦稅雜錄, 政和6年8月25日, 詔: 京西唐・鄧・襄・汝四州, 新頒稅法, 本以寬卹民力, 續降指揮, 抵以見錢就本處輸納, 又絕輦致脚乘勞費之弊, 漕司不詳旨意, 尚循例所稅外, 更收脚錢, 歲僅三十萬, 甚失惠下卹民之本意, 可先次速行止絕, 仍詳悉申明行下。

Another indication that the *ch'i-ch'ien* surcharge was imposed also on the *Kung-t'ien ch'ien* in Ching-hsi-lu can be found in another entry in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* dated the 19th day of the 11th month of 1125 which reads as follows: "In Ching-hsi-lu, the *Jên-hu* 人戶 (households of the people) in some different sectors of the province had been required not only to pay *ch'i-ch'ien* surcharges in addition to their taxes and rents on lands, but also to deliver the assessment in person to certain designated collecting agencies. This practice was abolished as illegal."<sup>(25)</sup> It is clear from this that even after 1116 the practice of imposing *ch'i-ch'ien* surcharges upon rents and the taxes on lands remained.

The *San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien* 三朝北盟會編 says in reference to Emperor Kao-tsung's decree of amnesty issued in 1127 as follows: "The tax burdens in Ching-hsi-lu which had been aggravated during the *Chêng-ho* period (1111-1117) under the *Fang-t'ien* law were later alleviated through a cut in the *ch'ien-ch'ien* levies of 60 per cent. A ban was placed at the same time on the practice of tax collectors changing the place of collection at their own convenience (支移) or receiving taxes in the commodities of their own choice different from the designated form (折變). As it turned out, however, the Ching-hsi-lu Transportation Commissioner continued to tax the households of the people (*Jên-hu*) collecting the former tax assessment and because the people suffered hardship, he made them contribute only 40 percent in cash. Under the new Act of Grace the 60 percent reduction in *ch'ien-ch'ien* was now again enforced by eliminating any such manipulations."<sup>(26)</sup> This directive, it seems, was issued in the second month of 1121 when, as mentioned below, tax on lands were made assessable according to the scale prevalent prior to the introduction of the *Fang-t'ien* tax equalization law. As we have seen above, tax and rents on lands in Ching-hsi-lu continued as a rule to be paid in cash even after 1116, and the case of the *Kung-t'ien ch'ien* was obviously no exception.

The *Huang-ch'ao pien-nien kang-mu pei-yao* account quoted above.\*) after mentioning the establishment of the *Kung-t'ien-so* in 1116 goes on to say that elsewhere in Ho-tung-lu (Ching-tung?) and Ho-pei-lu, landowners were deprived of their properties under a similar *Kung-t'ien* system and came to find it impossible to meet their *Liang-shui-fa* tax assessments in addition to

\* See footnote (1)

(25) *Ibid.*, 徽宗·宣和7年11月19日, 南郊制: 京西人戶, 合納稅租, 已降指揮, 更不支移, 止據地理, 出納脚錢, 本路却將所納錢, 指定州軍, 令人戶自齎前去, 以至下戶, 依條免支移, 亦令一例出納, 顯是奉行違戾, 仰提刑點檢, 廉訪覺察, 改正訛奏。

(26) 三朝北盟會編, 卷101, 高宗·建炎元年5月1日, 卽位大赦文: 應諸路漕司, 多緣財用匱乏, 將民戶合納二稅, 宛轉折納, 或支移他郡, 欲免未支移, 只納脚乘實惠之類, 致民間輸納增倍, 深屬掊剋, 今來并仰遵依條法, 不得妄冒支移折變, ……內京西路, 昨緣方田添起稅, 除六分外, 只送四分見錢, 更不支移折變, 訪聞轉運司, 將所減分數, 敷入舊稅, 抑令人戶輸納, 重困民力, 可限赦書到日, 全予蠲免, 所有違法敷入舊稅去處, 悉行改正。

the *Kung-t'ien ch'ien* under the increased burden of taxation.<sup>(27)</sup> Mention is made in an entry in the *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* for 1116 of the areas covered by the *Kung-t'ien* system in detail as follows: "Whereas the *Kung-t'ien* system extended southward to Hsiang-ch'êng-hsien in Ju-chou, westward to Mien-ch'ih hsien in Ho-nan-fu, and northward extended beyond the Yellow River."<sup>(28)</sup> The *Kung-t'ien* system thus covered the neighborhood of *K'ai-feng-fu* and extended from Ching-hsi-lu into Ho-pei-lu, but did not find any foothold in Ho-tung-lu. The name of Ching-tung-lu is missing from this record, and it is not clear if the system had reached into that province by 1116.

Another passage included in this same source says that *Kung-t'ien-ch'ien* was levied on "any portions of privately owned lands confirmed as exceeding the acreage declared in the earliest title deeds."<sup>(28)</sup> This passage may be taken to mean that privately owned lands were measured with the *yüeh-ch'ih* scale with the aim of confiscating any surplus and turning it into the *Kung-t'ien-so's* propetry. Under Emperor Hui-tsung, as mentioned above, the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was in force in and after the seventh month of 1104 and not only Ching-hsi-lu but also such other provinces as Ching-ch'i and Ho-pei were covered by this law.\* Presumably, therefore, *Kung-t'ien ch'ien* was being collected in all these provinces through resurvey on the basis of the *yüeh-ch'ih* scale.

Let us next establish, in reference to the biography of Shê Mêng-te 葉夢得 in the *Sung-shih*, the association of Yang Chien, the head of the *Hou-yüan-tso*, with Liu Chi 劉寄, currently the *Ch'ang-p'ing t'i-chu-shih* of Ching-hsi-lu 京西常平提舉.<sup>(29)</sup> "Shê Mêng-te became the governor of Ts'ai-chou in 1115 and was later appointed governor of Ying-ch'ang-fu in Ching-hsi-lu. While he held the latter office, he withdrew a quantity of rice from the *Ch'ang-p'ing-ts'ang* 常平倉 (the Government warehouse which stocked grain for the purpose of price adjustment) and distributed it in relief rations. In sharp contrast, Liu Chi, who was serving under Yang Chien as the *Ch'ang-p'ing-t'i-chu-shih* of Ching-hsi-lu, suggested that 500,000 worth of nonglutinous rice (which was of a higher quality than ordinary, glutinous rice) be procured at an equitable price (*ho-ti* 和糴 with the *Ch'ang-p'ing ch'ien* 常平錢 (the tax collected by his office) for delivery to the *Hou-yüan-tso*. When the Emperor's approval was received, they procured only nonglutinous rice of high quality, such as Su-chou 蘇州 rice. Mêng-tê memorialized the throne that the load of taxation in Ying-

\* See Y. Suto, *op. cit.*

(27) HPKP., 卷 28, 政和 6 年 12 月 條注: 是歲始改爲公田所, 既而又并河東北三路, 皆括之, 於是大擾, 農民困弊, 僅能輸公田錢, 而正稅不充矣。

(28) 文獻通考, 官田, 政和 6 年 條: 復行於府畿, 易名公田, 南暨襄城, 西至汙池, 北踰大河, 民田有餘初券畝步者, 輒使輸公田錢。(同文見於[宋史]食貨志賦稅)。

(29) 宋史, 卷 445, 葉夢得傳: 政和五年, 起知蔡州, 復龍圖閣直學士, 移帥潁昌府, 發常平粟振民, 常平使者劉寄惡之, 宦官楊戩用事, 寄括部內, 得常平錢五十萬緡, 請糴粳米, 輸後苑以媚戩, 戩委其屬, 持御筆來, 責以米樣, 如蘇州, 夢得上疏, 極論潁昌地力, 與東南異, 願隨品色, 不報, 時旁郡糾民輸糴, 就糴京師, 怨聲載道, 獨潁昌, 賴夢得得免。















According to the same description, Ko Shêng-chung in the following year, 1120, was promoted to *Chung-feng-tai-fu* 中奉大夫. He lessened the people's burden of contributing straw arising from the embankment works along the Yellow River, and abandoned the plan for building Taoist temples on the mountain of K'ung-t'ung-shan 崆峒山 in Ju-chou during his tenure. He was further promoted to T'ai-chung-tai-fu 太中大夫 in the 7th month of 1122 and was transferred to the governorship of Hu-chou. The description reveals that Ko Shêng-chung's governorship of Ju-chou had extended from 1119 to the 7th month of 1122. It thus suggests that since Ko's encounter with Li Yen had taken place in the early days of Ko's governorship of Ju-chou, the *Hsi-ch'êng-hsin-fa* was put into effect in 1119.

*Hung-ch'ing-chü-shi-wên-chi* 鴻慶居士文集 Ch. 34, includes the epitaph of Chu Yen-mei 朱彥美 which also bears some significance on this point. "Chu Yen-mei became deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-hsi-lu in 1120, and at that time Li Yen changed the taxes, and in their place collected rents. . . . At this time, Huang Fu-shêng 皇甫生 reported that there were still several thousand *ch'ing* of untilled lands in Yi-yang Hsien of Honan-fu which when properly cultivated could produce two million strings of cash as additional revenue. The report attracted the attention of Chu Mien 朱勗 who instructed Chu Yen-mei to inspect the lands. Chu found the lands to be stony and infertile and so reported back that the claim was false. The attempt to collect rent from these lands then ceased. Chu was appointed deputy transportation commissioner of Shan-hsi in 1123, but was reassigned to the post of deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-hsi before he had left his post for Shan-hsi. He was released from the post in 1124, and was appointed T'i-tien Nan-ching Hung-ch'ing-kung 提點南京鴻慶宮 in the same year."<sup>(43)</sup>

According to the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*, Chu Yen-mei while serving as deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-hsi was dismissed from his post in the 2nd month of 1125 for saving money and goods of the prefectural transportation office in a separate warehouse in order to spend these personally under the guise of office supplies, and for not taking necessary punitive measures against the official underlings who embezzled money and goods.<sup>(44)</sup>

民，而坐視其離散，如此深所不忍，願公少霽威嚴，退而條具不當括者數千戶，請蠲之，彥大怒曰，是欲阻壞西城新法耶，草奏劾公，朝廷壯公敢爲，寢其奏不行，自茲西城及貢奉之事，專委通判，而彥不復再至州境矣，二年，磨勘轉中奉大夫，加丹陽縣開國男，……三年，復顯謨閣待制，四年四月，磨勘轉中大夫，七月，轉太中大夫，徙知湖州。

- (43) 鴻慶居士文集，卷34，宋故右中奉大夫直秘閣致仕朱公墓誌銘：宣和二年，除京西路計度轉運副使，……中貴人李彥，更稅爲租，而妄言無行之徒，縱憑以倖進，有皇甫生者，建言，伊陽天荒地亡慮數千頃，可屬民肆耕其中，歲得錢以千計，可二百萬，時朱勗方幸主其言，已乃傳詔屬公，公驗之，皆磽瘠不毛之地，歎曰，此伊陽，背脊疽根也，奏斥其妄，事遂已，……五年，除陝府西路計度轉運副使，未行，進直秘閣再任，六年，朝廷拜免大臣，易置諸路使者，公例罷爲提點南京鴻慶宮。

- (44) SHY., 職官·黜陟，宣和7年2月7日：京西轉運副使直秘閣朱彥美放罷，取勘，臣僚論，彥美以州縣漕司錢物，徙置僻左小邑，貯之別庫，悉皆移牒徑取，謂之筆帖，前後非一，莫可考驗，所起官錢，則縱吏爲虛作券鈔，折會盜請，既爲告者暴其罪，彥美不卽案治，故有此詔。

These facts seem to indicate that Chu Yenmei had served as deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-hsi from 1120 to 1123, and that it was during the early years of his service that Li Yen had enacted the law to acquire *kung t'ien* for the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*. It was also in these years that Li attempted to confiscate the infertile lands of Yi-yang hsien in Honan Fu as public land. As later described, these rough virgin lands were confiscated by Li Yen to register them as *kung t'ien*.

Another source dealing with these facts is the biography of Shê Mêng-te in the *Sung Shih* where, after introducing the previously quoted story that Liu Chi purchased rice as a means to ingratiate himself with Yang Chien of the *Hou-yüan-tso*<sup>(26)</sup>, it continued: "In this year Li Yen remeasured the lands to confiscate these as *kung t'ien*. Certain official underlings in Yin-ch'ang-fu made a fictitious report to Li that there were several thousand *ch'ing* of unregistered concealed lands in the counties of Chia-ch'eng and Wu-yang. The lands were confiscated as public land, and people of some 800 households thereupon appealed to the government for exemption from the law. Shê Mêng-te arrested and punished this officer who had been responsible for the report. Shê's action, however, bitterly angered Yang Chien and Li Yen who dismissed Shê from his post."<sup>(45)</sup> It is presumed, however, that the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*'s public lands had been in existence by 1121 since the *Ying-fêng-ssu* in their report to the throne in reference to the public lands of the *Yen-fu-kung* and *Hsi-ch'êng-so*, quoted by *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* claimed that some 10,000 strings *kuan* of rent-in-cash had been collected from Wu-yang-hsien.<sup>(41)</sup> As observed in the passages in *Tan-yang-chi* dealing with the life of Ko Shêng-chung<sup>(44)</sup> and also the epitaph of Chu Yen-mei included in the *Hung-ch'ing-chu-chi-wên-chi*<sup>(43)</sup> and *Sung Shih*'s Shê Mêng-te-chuan cited above<sup>(45)</sup>, it seems that *Hsi-ch'êng-so*'s *kung t'ien* policy was first put into practice by Li Yen in 1119 by registering rough lands and unregistered concealed lands. There is some doubt whether the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*'s *kung t'ien* policy was first enforced by Li Yen in 1121, the year Yang Chien died. We should consider, however, that, as is shown by a variety of sources, the public land policy was enforced most severely in and after 1121.

According to the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao*: "The public lands of the *Hou-yüan-tso* and *Ying-shan-so* in the palace were merged together about 1119 by the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* which confiscated all waste lands, tax-exempted arable lands, river-bank lands, and lands developed on any river bed in the provinces of Shan-tung and Ho-shuo (Hopei) amounting in the aggregate to some 34,300 *ch'ing*. The eunuchs took charge of these lands to levy the rent."<sup>(46)</sup> The *Hsi-ch'êng-so* was also called the *Ch'êng-hsi-so* 城西所 and ruled, as is described in detail later, the western sector of the capital.

(45) 宋史, 卷 445, 葉夢得傳: 李彥括公田, 以黠吏告訐, 籍郟城・舞陽隱田數千頃, 民詣府訴者八百戶, 夢得上其事, 捕吏按治之, 郡人大悅, 戢・彥交怒, 尋提舉南京鴻慶宮。



The resurvey of waste lands, abandoned lands by the owners, river-bank lands, and lands developed on river bed, as previously described, was suspended in the 2nd month of 1121, and those lands whose survey had already been completed by that time, had their rent reduced by one-half at the same time as the abolition of the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa*. This indicates that a large portion of these lands had already been confiscated as *kung t'ien* under the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* before 1121, and rents had been collected in cash to the full assessment, since it is said that the "farmers experienced extreme difficulties in paying their rents -in-cash."<sup>(46)</sup> The description suggests that the registry of these lands as *kung t'ien* had already been common in the years before the abolition of the conventional *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* in 1121.

Additional evidence is provided by Yang Chien's biography in the *Sung Shih* which says: "The *kung t'ien* system, starting from Ju-chou, gradually covered the provinces of Ching-tung, Ching-hsi, Huai-hsi, and Ho-pei by confiscating all riverbanks, old dams, rough lands, river-bed lands, and the swamp lands along the Yellow River. Farmers were forced to till these lands and pay their rents in cash, and the eunuchs continued to levy rent even after these lands, designated as public lands of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*, were devastated by flood or inundated by rivers."<sup>(47)</sup> The lands mentioned here correspond to the waste lands, river-bank lands, lands abandoned by the owners, and those developed on any river bed previously described as government lands in the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao*<sup>(46)</sup> and, although there is no mention of the lands abandoned by the owners, given in the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao*, there is also a new category of "old or abandoned dams". It may be judged, therefore, that the laws mentioned in the *Sung Shih* were in fact those which existed before 1121 when the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was suspended. The biography of Yang Chien in the *Sung Shih* continues: "As the lake districts of Liang-shan-po extended over several prefectures including Yun-chou (Tung-p'ing-fu) and Chi-chou, and as these lands were considered as potential fishery grounds, the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* levied tax on the fishing boats in these prefectures which resulted an extra revenue of 100,000 strings in cash in addition to the regular land levy. When Yang Chien died, Li Yen succeeded to his post. Li Yen in con-

(46) 文獻通考·田賦考·官田，政和6年：久之，後苑·營繕所公田，皆併於城西所，盡山東·河朔，天荒·逃田與河堤·退灘輸租，舉入焉，皆內侍主其事，所括凡得田三萬四千三百餘頃，農畝困敗，但能輸公田錢，而正稅不復有輸，後李彥又立城西括田所，而公田皆彥主之。

(47) 宋史·卷465·楊戩傳：始於汝州，浸淫于京東西·淮西〔河〕北，括廢隄·棄堰·荒山·退灘及大河淤流之處，皆勒民主佃，額一定後，雖衝蕩·回復，不可減，號為西城所，築〔梁〕山濠，古鉅野澤，綿亘數百里，濟·鄆數州，賴其蒲魚之利，立租算船納直，犯者盜執之，一邑率於常賦外，增租錢至十餘萬緡，水旱蠲稅，此不得免，擢公才為觀察使，宣和三年，戩死，贈太師吳國公，而李彥繼其職，彥天資狼狽，密與王黼表裏，置局汝州，臨時愈劇，凡民間美田，使他人投牒告陳，皆指為天荒，雖執印券，皆不省，魯山閭縣，盡括為公田，焚民故券，使田主輸租，佃本業，訴者輒加威刑，致死者千萬，公田既無二稅，轉運使亦不為奏除，悉均諸別州，京西提舉官及京東州縣吏劉寄·任輝彥·李士漁〔煥〕·王潛·毛孝立·王隨·江惇·呂恆·錢斌·助彥為虐，如奴事主，民不勝忿痛。

spiracy with Wang Fu 王黼, chief minister, created a special tax bureau in Ju-chou to increase the rent collection. He encouraged a policy of confiscating rich farm lands following tip-offs by third persons on the pretense that they were rough untilled lands and paid no respect to official deeds that had been previously issued in respect of these lands. Lu-shan-hsien county in Ju-chou provides a good example of such forcible policies pursued by Li. In this county, all lands were registered as *kung t'ien* by burning all the official deeds issued to the farmers who were thus forced to pay their rents in cash and to till their lands as government tenants. Li imposed severe punishment on any farmer who appealed for exemption and many people were put to death."

The description above shows that the tax imposed on fishing boats in the Liang-shan-po lake districts had existed before 1121 in which year Yang Chien died and Li Yen took over his post. Tax-collection from the lakeside fishermen, however, is also mentioned in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* which says that: "The Government in 1119 appointed civilian and military officers who were familiar with irrigation and sent these to the villages in each county in the various districts of Chê-hsi-lu to carry out a survey of the abandoned lands, waste lands, grassy and swampy lands, lands developed on river bed and so forth, and to set up clear border lines and also to give all such facts of land serial numbers. The officials then supervised these lands through a land register; made collection of rents, and supplied each household with a registered license (印契). The people were ordered to use the officials deeds as stipulated in the land registry law, whenever these lands were sold or mortgaged."<sup>(48)</sup> This indicates that the resurvey as government property and assessment for rent of lands abandoned by the owners, those lying waste, grassy and swampy lands, and lands developed on river beds in Chê-hsi and other provinces had been completed before 1121. This survey and tax-assessment had probably been based on the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa*. The *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was abolished on the 28th day of the 2nd month of 1121 by an Act of Grace which proclaimed that the survey of the lands taken from the Government by private individuals, waste lands, abandoned lands, river bank lands and lands developed on river bed, should be discontinued, while the lands whose survey and rent-assessment had been completed should have their rent load reduced by half.<sup>(49)</sup> There is no mention in the Act of Grace, however, of the lake districts such as those in Chê-hsi-lu. As the abolition of the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* is intimately connected with the rebellions led by Sung Chiang and

(48) SHY., 食貨・農田雜錄, 宣和元年8月24日, 上奏: 應浙西州縣, 因今來積水減退露出田土, 乞每縣選委水利司諸曉農田文武官, 同與知佐, 分詣鄉村檢視標記, 除出入戶已業外, 其餘遠年逃田・天荒・草封萎蕩及湖濶・退灘・沙塗等地, 並打量步畝, 立四至・坐落, 著望鄉村, 每圍以千字文爲號, 置簿拘籍, 以田隣見納租課比攆, 量減分數, 出榜一百日, 召入實封投狀, 添租請佃, 限滿拆封, 給租多之人, 每戶給戶帖一紙, 開具所佃步畝・四至, 著望應納租課, 如將來典賣, 聽依係籍田法, 請買印契, 書填交易。

(49) *Ibid.*, 宣和3年2月28日敕: 冒占并天荒・逃移・河堤・退灘等地, 並免方量根括, 其已方量根括, 增添・創立租課, 特與減半。

others who built their strongholds in the Liang-shan-po lake districts to resist the government forces, it must be certain that the land levy and collection of tax on the fishing boats in this lake district as described in the *Sung Shih*'s biography of Yang Chien had been enforced around the 2nd month of 1121 when the rebellions were all suppressed by the government.\*

These descriptions seem to indicate that confiscation and registration of the waste lands, abandoned lands, river bank lands, and lands developed on river bed had been completed prior to the abolition of the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* in the 2nd month of 1121. The severe confiscation and strict collection of land levies from these lands, as described in *Sung Shih* which says that Li Yen after 1121 forcibly confiscated rich farmlands as the lands lying waste and imposed severe punishment upon those who appealed to the government, must have been practised in and after 1121. The taxes levied in the Liang-shan-po lake districts also, in view of their connection with the Sung Chiang rebellion are believed to have been enforced after 1121 when the riot was suppressed.

As previously shown from the *Sung-shih*'s biography of Yang Chien, Li Yen in conspiracy with Wang Fu, chief minister, energetically pushed the *kung t'ien* policy for which purpose they opened a special bureau in Ju-chou, which probably was a branch of the *Ying-fêng-ssü* 應奉司. Concerning the *Ying-fêng-ssü*, a passage in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* tells us that Wang Fu, on the 11th day of the intercalary 5th month, 1121, said in a memorial to the throne, "Reports have been received that certain government officials are attempting to interrupt the government duties and disturb the administration with evil purposes, while abuses of authority have likewise been reported regarding certain civil officers who are taking bribes and abusing the title of the 'palace procurements'. As people might refuse to make contributions under such conditions, it is essential that steps be taken to counter these evil practices, for which reason approval is sought for the creation of a *Ying-fêng-ssü*." Approval was granted and Wang Fu himself became the head. That a deep connection had been maintained between the *Ying-fêng-ssü* and the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* and *Yen-fu-kung* is clear from the previously quoted memorial to the throne from the *Ying-fêng-ssü* dated the 27th day of the 9th month of 1121.<sup>(41)</sup> This memorial, in addition to the quoted description said: "Wang Tzū-hsien 王子獻 after collecting the land levies in Chi-chou and Yün-chou (Tung-p'ing-fu) attempted to transport these rents by the Kuang-chi Canal linking Yun-chou

\* A description appears in Vol. 22 of the *Sung Shih* and the *Huang-Sung-shih-ch'ao-kang-yao*, 15, dated the second month 1121, of how Sung Chiang leading the rebellion in the provinces of Ching-tung and Ho-pei was defeated and caught by Chang Shu-yeh 張叔夜, governor of Hai-chou, when he moved into Hai-chou in Huai-nan Province. See also Yü Chia-hsi's 余嘉錫 "*Sung Chiang San-shih-liu-jên K'ao-shih*" 宋江三十六人考實, 中國作家出版, 北京, 1955.

and K'ai-fêng-fu.\*

This transportation, however, was interrupted and halted by government officers on its way. An appeal was then made to the *Ying-feng-ssü* to permit the use of flags which would identify the goods aboard the boats as 'palace procurements'. This appeal was agreed to by the office."<sup>(50)</sup> Wang Tzū-hsien, as later described, is the person who became T'i-chu-ch'ang-p'ing-ssü of Ching-tung-lu and also the provincial deputy transportation commissioner in order to promote Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy by confiscating personal lands. It is thus very likely that these 'land levies' collected in Chi-chou and Yun-chou were all *kung t'ien* rents collected in these districts, clearly demonstrating the close relations that were maintained between the *Ying-feng-ssü* and the *Hsi-ch'êng-so's kung t'ien* policy.

The *Sung-shih's* biography of Yang Chien<sup>(47)</sup> further tells us that: "Although the *kung t'ien* falls into the category of government lands which are exempted from the *liang-shui* and only subject to payment of rent, the transportation commissioner, even after reallocation of personal lands (*min-t'ien*) to the *kung t'ien* category, continued to levy upon them the *liang-shui* tax in the same way as it was levied in *min-t'ien* in other prefectures (*chou*)."<sup>(50)</sup> Personal lands that were registered as *kung t'ien* in the provinces of Ching-tung and Ching-hsi, therefore, were not allowed to escape from the *liang-shui* taxes. The same source also continues: "Liu Chi 劉寄, Jên Hui-yen 任輝彦, Li Shih-huan (or -yü) 李士渙 (漁), Wang Hu 王澹, Mao Hsiao-li 毛孝立, Wang Sui 王隨, Chiang Tun 江惇, Lü P'i 呂陞, Ch'ien Huo 錢械 and Sung Hsien 宋憲, etc., all of whom were administrative and financial officers of Ching-hsi-lu and officers of Ching-tung-lu, assisted Li Yen in carrying out his merciless rent collection", thus introducing these persons as the leading contributors to Li Yen's policy of confiscating personal lands to become the *Hsi-ch'êng-so's* public lands.\*

\* According to the *Sung Shih*, 94, Ho-chu-chih 河渠志 part 4, and also *Sung-hui-yao chi kao*, Fang-yü Ch. 16, the Kuang-chi Canal 廣濟河 was also called the Wu-chang-ho 五丈河. It rans from K'ai-fêng-fu to the lake districts through Ch'en-liu-hsien, Ts'ao-chou, Chi-chou, and Yun-chou. Refer also to S. Aoyama, *Tōsōjidai no Kōtsū to Chishi-Chizu no Kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地誌地圖の研究, Tokyo, 1963, Ch. 9 Sōdai ni okeru Sōun no hattatsu 宋代に於ける漕運の發達 for the history of transportation in the Sung dynasty.

\* A similar description is seen also in the Hung Mai's 洪邁 *Jung-chai-sui-pi/hsü-pi* 容齋隨筆, 續筆, 15, Tzu-ko-shan-ts'un-shih 紫閣山村詩: 楊戩·李彥, 創汝州西城所, 任輝彦, 李士渙·王澹·毛孝立之徒, 亦助之, 發物供奉, 大抵類[朱]勳, 而又爲甚焉者. The description erred in saying that Yang and Li created the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* in Ju-chou. As the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* is in the Ching-ch'êng 京城, it must be a branch of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* that they established in Ju-chou. Another proof that the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* wasn't located in Ju-chou is, as previously described, the fact that Li Yen during Ko Shêng-chung's governorship of Ju-chou during the first year to the ending months of the 4th year of Hsüan-ho (1119-1122) refrained from visiting Ju-chou.

(50) SHY., 職官·應奉司, 宣和3年9月27日上奏: 兼契勘, 王子獻起納濟·鄆二州租錢, 於

These people who rendered services to Li Yen were either discharged from their posts or were punished as a result of Li Yen's punishment in 1126. The *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* in connection with the supporters of Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy says "Wang Tzŭ-hsien, former deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-tung-lu; Mao Hsiao-li, former governor of Tsu-chou; Lü P'i, former government supervisor to Tung-p'ing-fu; Jên Hui-yen, former transportation commissioner of Ching-hsi-lu; Li Tuan-huan 李端願, former price-control administrative officer, and Liu Chi, etc. were referred immediately to the government's personnel agency who appointed them as executive officers to remote territories, since the prosecutors had demanded severe punishment for these persons saying that mere demotion, which would have allowed them to spend the rest of their lives in their native place, would not be sufficient."<sup>(51)</sup> The description implies that among the people who had helped Li Yen carry out his *kung t'ien* policy on behalf of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* there were, besides Mao Hsiao-li, Lu P'i, Jên Hui-yen, and Liu Chi, also Wang Tzŭ-hsien and Li Tuan-huan. The prosecutors of the case mentioned here were Li Kuang 李光, Right Policy Critic (*Yu-ssü-chien* 右司諫) and others.

Li Kuang's *Chuang-chien-chi* 莊簡集 also gives the names of the people most trusted by Li Yen, and therefore those who had acted as his assistants in promoting his *kung t'ien* policy, as Wang Tzŭ-hsien, Lu P'i, and Mao Hsiao-li in Ching-tung-lu and Liu Chi, Li Tuan-huan and Jên Hui-yen in Ching-hsi-lu,<sup>(52)</sup> and enumerates many facts outlining their maladministration as will be described later. A similar description of the punitive measures taken by the prosecutors is introduced also in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* which reads: "Wang Hu and Li Shi-huan, magistrates of Shê-ch'êng and Lu-shan counties of Ju-chou; Wang Sui, an official underlying of Chung-tu County in Tung-p'ing-fu; Chiang Tun, *tu-tai-nien-yun* 都大輦運 of the Kuang-chi Canal; Chien Huo, government supervisor to Chi-chou; and Sung Hsien, government supervisor to Ju-chou, were all punished and transferred to remote territories as executive officers."<sup>(53)</sup> This description gives as the reason for their punishment "flattery

廣濟河行運，從來多被官司紅網，在前於岸下繫泊，不敢踰運，動經阻留旬日，及諸路州縣，陸路車乘，亦皆如此阻滯，若以旗牌，書寫御前錢物綱船車乘，必無留滯，檢會，奉御筆水陸船車，輒置旗號・牌榜，妄稱御前急切綱運物色，因而搔擾州縣者，以違制論，係臣僚之家私物及輿販，而輒稱御前綱運物色者，以違御筆論，……勘會，上件御筆處分，止爲妄稱御前急切綱運物色，輒置旗號・牌榜，并臣僚之家私物及輿販，而輒稱御前綱運物色者，應御前綱運所定旗牌，卽無條禁。

(51) *Ibid.*, 職官 69, 黜陟, 靖康元年 7 月 26 日: 前京東轉運副使王子獻・前知淄州毛孝立・前東平通判呂昉・前京西轉運使任輝彥・前提舉常平李端願・劉寄, 並令吏部直注遠小監當, 以言者論其奴事李彥, 姦蠹害民, 雖已落職送部, 止居退鄉里, 不肯赴調故也。

(52) 莊簡集 卷 9, 論王子獻等劄子: 臣近准尚書省劄子, 專委臣取案點檢京東西兩路西城所創置擾民等一切並罷, 元係西城所辟置及會應副害民之官, 先次放罷, 具名聞奏, 除已一面令吏部供具本路州縣官外, 臣今所聞兩路最爲李彥信任, 陳獻利便, 創立租稅, 忍於害民, 爲國斂怨, 僞冒賞典, 轉官除職之人, 其尤甚者, 京東則有王子獻・呂昉・毛孝立, 京西則有劉寄・杜(任)徽彥・李端愿,

(53) SHY., 職官・黜陟, 靖康元年 5 月 8 日: 知葉城縣王潛勸停・魯山縣李士渙・中都縣丞王

to Chu Mien and Li Yen", while the *Sung-shih's* biography of Yang Chien puts the blame upon their cooperation in Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy. Since it was in Ju-chou of Ching-hsi-lu and Tung-p'ing-fu and Chi-chou of Ching-tung-lu that Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy had been enforced most severely, the officials mentioned above must have been those who were directly in charge of Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy in these areas.

The *Hsi-ch'eng-so's* public land policy as carried out by these people may be described as follows.<sup>(42)</sup> From 1119 to 1122 the *kung t'ien* policy in Ju-chou of Ching-hsi-lu was not enforced very actively, as Ko Shêng-chung who was the governor of Ju-chou these years opposed the idea of the *Hsi-ch'eng-so's* public land policy. The situation drastically changed after 1122, however, since the eunuchs, as described in the *Sung-shih's* biography of Yang Chien, registered the whole of the land in Lu-shan-hsien of Ju-chou as *kung t'ien* by burning the people's land deeds, and ordered the former landowners to till the lands and pay their rents in cash. Li Shih-huan, Wang Hu, and Sung Hsien were the ones directly in charge of the *kung t'ien* policy in Ju-chou as shown by the *Sung-hi-yao chi-kao*,<sup>(53)</sup> and thus not a small portion of personal lands must have been confiscated as *kung t'ien* in these years.

Li Kuang's *Chuan-chien-chi* describing the *kung t'ien* policy as implemented in Ching-hsi-lu says "Jên Hui-yen, transportation commissioner of Ching-hsi-lu; Liu Chi, former price control administrative officer of Ching-hsi-lu; and Li Tuan-yuan, in cooperation with Li Yen confiscated taxable private lands in nine counties of the four *chou* of T'ang, Têng, Ju, and Ts'ai; registered these as *kung t'ien*, and collected rents from them. More than a thousand people were lashed to death in Ch'üeh-shan-hsien when Liu Yüan, governor of the county carried out this order. (A description of this event also appears in the *Sung-shih's* biography of Yang Chien which says that the officials of Ju-chou confiscated rich farm lands and converted them into *kung t'ien* by designating them falsely as the lands lying waste: "The lands in Lu-shan-hsien were all confiscated as *kung t'ien* and the landowners were forced to pay their rents in cash, tilling their lands as tenants, and any landowner who appealed to the government was strictly punished.") Especially, it was Tu (Jen) Hui-yen 杜(任)徽彥 who, about the time of the Chin invasion, and upon his appointment as transportation executive officer of Ching-hsi-lu, dispatched his subordinates around the territory to exploit "extraordinary taxes" (科率) in a manner that was far worse than robbery. The "extraordinary taxes" in the Hsiang-ch'êng-hsien of Ju-chou alone, for example, amounted to 170,000 *min* (strings). These taxes, which was designated as the "save-the-country-levy" (助國錢), however, were never recorded in the official "Ch'ih-li" (赤曆) record.<sup>(54)</sup>

隨・廣濟河都大蓋運江惇・濟州通判錢域・汝州通判宋憲，並送吏部與遠小監當，以臣僚論其詔附朱勳・李彥，供其役使故也。

(54) 莊簡集，卷9，靖康元年6・7月，論王子獻等劄子：劉寄・任徽彥・李端愿，或自白身，或

Liu Chi, who supported Yan Chien in his *kung t'ien* policy on behalf of the *Hou-yüan-tso*, also gave great assistance to Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy on behalf of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* during the years 1119 to 1125 which fact is evident in his impeachment drafted by Fan Chih-hsü 范致虛, *Ching-lüeh-an-wu-shih* of Ching-chao-fu 京兆府經略安撫使.<sup>(55)</sup> A description is given of the implementation of the *kung t'ien* policy in T'ang-chou in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* which says "Han Tsung-chou 韓宗胄 who was reappointed as governor of T'ang-chou in the 7th month of 1125 was dismissed from his post in the 4th month of the following year for causing, together with Wang Tzū-hsien, Liu Yüan and Wang Hu, great harm to the people of Ching-tung and Ching-hsi Provinces by supporting Li Yen."<sup>(56)</sup> It suggests that Han Tsung-chou was also among those who supported Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy.

It appears that the *kung t'ien* policy was also practised in parts of Ching-hsi-lu other than the four *chou* mentioned above. According to the *Sung-shih*'s biography of Shê Mêng-te, Shê, after he was appointed governor of Ying-ch'ang-fu, discovered that corrupt officials in the government had made a false report that there were several thousand *ch'ing* of unregistered lands in the counties of Chia-ch'êng and Wu-yang and attempted to confiscate these as public land. A passage in the *Chien-yen-yi-lai-hsi-nien-yao-lu* also deals with the dismissal of Ts'ai Chuang 蔡莊, "son of Ts'ai Ch'ueh 蔡確, chief minister of the dynasty in the Shên-tsung period." "Ts'ai Chuang who assumed the governorship of Ying-ch'ang-fu upon his elder brother Ts'ai Mao's 蔡懋 appointment as chief minister or *Chih-cheng* (執政), supported Li Yen, thus greatly harming the people."<sup>(57)</sup> As Ts'ai Mao's tenure as *Chih-cheng* lasted from the 9th month of 1124 until the first month of 1126,\* it is likely that the implementation of Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy by Ts'ai Chuang in Ying-ch'ang-fu had also been conducted within these years."

As we have seen from the epitaph of Chu Yen-mei,<sup>(43)</sup> Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy was already in effect in 1120 when Chu was appointed deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-hsi-lu. The epitaph mentions a report from

\* Refer to the *Sung Shih*, 212, Tablets of Ministers 3.

由小官，爲李彥汲引，將唐·鄧·汝·蔡四州九縣，取民間稅地，謂之公田，斂取無藝，百姓失業，流丐者衆，風謐諸邑，催索租通，急於星火，確山令劉愿，前後杖下決死，良民千餘人，微彥近緣金人內逼，添差京西運判，分遣屬官四出，有甚寇盜，囊城一邑，科率至十七萬，謂之助國錢，更不抄上赤曆。

(55) SHY., 職官·黜陟，靖康元年10月19日：其子寅，夙於宣和中，曾上書，論附李彥之罪，時相不直之，命[賈]諶體究，諶觀望誣奏，意以冤死。

(56) *Ibid.*, 職官60，久任官，宣和7年7月5日，詔：權發遣唐州韓宗胄，職事修舉，可特與轉一官，令再任。

*Ibid.*, 職官69黜陟，靖康元年4月2日：王子獻送吏部，韓宗胄·劉愿·王潛，並放罷，時子獻任監司，宗胄任郡守，愿·潛任縣令，以言者論，嘗助李彥，由京東西，大害于民，殘孽未殄，宜正典刑，故有是命。

(57) CIHY., 卷15，高宗·建炎2年5月癸丑：言者論，確之子懋，既以欺罔誣謾，交結權倖，致身執政，而又擢其弟爲待制，士論憤鬱，莊比守潁昌，奴事李彥，無所不至，尤當竄斥，以爲人臣不忠之戒。

Huang Fu-sheng that there were several thousand *ch'ing* of waste land in I-yang-hsien of Ho-nan-fu which, if properly cultivated, would produce an extra 2,000,000 *min* strings of cash in rents. Chu himself made a survey of these lands. This suggests that the *kung t'ien* policy was carried out extensively in Ching-hsi-lu during these years.

Concerning the implementation of *Hsi-ch'êng-so's kung t'ien* policy in Ching-tung-lu, the *Sung-shih's* biography of Yang Chien makes reference to the tax collected in cash on fishing boats in the Liang-shan-po lake districts. As the rising led by Sung Chiang was active up to the 2nd month of 1121, it is considered that the policy was implemented in these districts after that month. A detailed description of the taxes levied on the Liang-shan-po lake districts is given in the *Chuang-chien-chi*. "Wang Tzū-hsien, after he was appointed transportation commissioner of Ching-tung-lu, confiscated the lands in the Liang-shan-po lake districts of Yun-chou (Tung-p'ing-fu) to make them the *Hsi-ch'êng-so's kung t'ien*, and dispatched his subordinates Mao Hsiao-li and Lu P'i to Chi-chou, Yen-chou, Yun-chou, P'u-chou, Hsing-jen-fu (Ts'ao-chou) and Kuang-chi-chün with the purposes of extorting taxes from local officers; to compel the collection of official rents from the poverty stricken farmers, and to levy tax monthly on the lakeside dwellers by making daily checks of their fish catches and other produce from the lakes. These extreme steps took away the means of living from all people in the lake districts, forcing the stronger ones to flock together as brigands and causing the death of the weaker ones through unbearable poverty. Lu P'i, Mao Hsiao-li and their colleagues, nevertheless, were rapidly promoted to higher ranks because of their contributions to Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy."<sup>(58)</sup> It suggests that Wang Tzū-hsien, through the support of his subordinates Mao Hsiao-li, government supervisor to Chi-chou, and Lu P'i, government supervisor to Tung-p'ing-fu, had forcibly confiscated the lands in the lake districts of Ching-tung-lu to assist the *Hsi-ch'êng-so's* public land policy. It is likely also that these steps were taken after the employment in 1119 in Chê-hsi of a tax on lake districts in addition to those on occupied and confiscated lands, waste lands, lands abandoned by the owners, lands developed on river bed, and so forth.

This levy of taxes on lake districts afterwards became more and more common in the Ching-tung and Ching-hsi Provinces as is described by the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*. "Mao Hsiao-li, Chiang Tun, Lü Min-chung 呂民中, Wang Sui, Têng Chiao 鄧交 and Li Yü-ch'uan 李與權, because tax revenue from the lake districts in Ching-tung and Ching-hsi Provinces showed a marked increase in 1124, were awarded higher positions in recognition of their services

(58) 莊簡集 卷9, 論王子獻等劄子: [王] 子獻爲京東轉運使, 將梁山濼, 收入西城所, 辟置 [毛] 孝立·[呂] 卮爲屬官, 徧詣州縣, 自濟·兗·鄆·濮·興仁·廣濟等處爲之賑然, 迫脅官吏, 抑勒細民, 有不承仰者, 輒枷項送獄, 人人惴恐, 莫保性命, 蒲魚荷芡之利, 皆日計月課, 纖悉無遺, 遂致濼傍之人, 無所衣食, 強者結集爲寇盜, 弱者轉徙于溝壑, 卮·孝立, 皆驟被拔擢, 自文林郎, 不二三年, 轉至朝散·朝請大夫, 自曹官爲通判, 自通判爲郡守·監司, ……



making this increase possible.”<sup>(59)</sup> This is another proof that tax collection in the lake districts had been effected in and after 1121. Among those promoted, Mao Hsiao-li, government supervisor to Chi-chou was appointed governor of Tsu-chou in 1124 and his post was then taken over by Chien Huo as previously described. Wang Sui, executive officer of Tung-p'ing-fu and Chiang Tun, *tu-tai-nien-yun* of the Kuang-chi Canal remained in their posts even after 1124 until they were finally discharged in the 8th month of 1126. Chiang Tun is connected with the description in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* which says “Wang Tzŭ-hsien, on the delivery of taxes in cash levied at Chi-chou and Yun-chou, both in Ching-tung-lu, shipped these along the Kuang-chi Canal.”\* Chiang Tun was awarded a promotion in 1124 for shipping the taxes and rents collected in the lake districts of Chi-chou and Yun-chou of Ching-tung-lu by the Kuang-chi Canal. His discharge from his post in the 8th month of 1126 was based on his having assisted the promotion of the *kung t'ien* policy.

Wang Tzŭ-hsien, as price control administrative official of Ching-tung-lu in the 5th month of 1118, extended protection to more than 309,000 households that had fled from Ho-pei-lu, according to the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*.<sup>(60)</sup> This suggests that Wang's employment as deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-tung-lu probably began in or after 1119. Wang was appointed deputy transportation commissioner of Ho-pei-lu in Yen-shan-fu in the 11th month of 1123 which was the last post he held before his dismissal.<sup>(61)</sup> It is likely then that tax collection in the lake districts undertaken by Wang Tzŭ-hsien in his capacity of transportation commissioner of Ching-tung-lu was carried out around 1121 to 1122.\*

As described so far, the tax revenue in Ching-tung-lu showed a marked increase in the 2nd month of 1121 over the preceding years, as the government had successfully suppressed the Sung Chiang rising and had begun to levy taxes on the farmers and fishermen of the Liang-shan-po lake districts. The amount of taxes and rents collected in a single county alone surpassed the previous income by 100,000 *min* strings; and these increased taxes and rents

\* See footnote (50).

\* It is presumed that Wang Tzu-hsien had been promoted to deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-tung Province from his previous post of price control administrator of the province.

(59) SHY., 職官 59 考課, 宣和 6 年 11 月 21 日: 詔京東等路, 措置淤池租課事務, 究心職事, 奉行不擾, 課利增羨, 起復朝散大夫濟州通判毛孝立·武經郎廣濟河都大江惇·奉議郎知東平府中都縣呂民中, 通直郎中都縣丞王隨·朝散大夫開封府兵曹鄧交·起復朝奉郎京西北路常平李與權, 各轉一官。

(60) *Ibid.*, 食貨 59, 恤災·政和 8 年 5 月 21 日: 提舉京東路常平等事王子獻言, 濟南府·密·沂·濰·徐·兗州, 河北數州皆水, 官司檢放不及七分, 外州流民, 稍稍入境, 移文逐處, 依法賑恤, 蓋其貸者二十萬四百餘戶, 給者十萬八千六百餘戶, 糶者二十九萬五百餘碩。

(61) *Ibid.*, 職官, 黜陟·宣和 5 年 11 月 29 日, 詔: 右文殿修撰河北燕山府路轉運副使王子獻, 剗刷廂軍等, 輒經兩月略不措置, 可落職。

were all transported to the Hsi-ch'êng-so along the Kuang-chi Canal. The collection of tax in the lake districts formed the most important part of Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy in Ching-tung-lu, although there are proofs that steps had been taken to confiscate personal lands as *kung t'ien* in districts other than the swampy lands in Ching-tung-lu. According to the previously quoted epitaph of Ko Shih-wang 葛師望, Ko Shih-wang who was governor supervisor to Yang-chou when the Fang-la Riot broke out, made strenuous efforts to comfort and extend assistance to the many people from Chiang-nan who had marched northward to Wei-yang (Yang-chou) to avoid the rebellion. Ko, after this, was transferred to Hsing-jên-fu (Ts'ao-chou) as government supervisor, where he learned that the eunuchs were confiscating personal lands as *kung t'ien* and were expelling, in scandalous circumstances, officers who refused to cooperate with their policy. Ko Shih-wang himself became a victim and was transferred to other post.<sup>(62)</sup> The description indicates that Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy in Hsing-jên-fu (Ts'ao-chou) of Ching-tung-lu had been actively implemented in the 4th month of 1121 after the Fang La rebellion had been successfully put down by the government.

It appears that Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy had been actively promoted also in Ching-ch'i-lu (the metropolitan province of K'ai-fêng) as is described in the epitaph of Shê Fen 葉份 included in the *Yün-ch'i-chi* 筠溪集. According to this epitaph, "Shê Fen, serving as registrar of Ch'en-liu county of K'ai-fêng-fu, recruited people to cultivate lands in Ch'en-liu-hsien by supplying the necessary funds and lightening their tax burdens. As the result of Shê's efforts, these lands which had been infertile and saline were gradually turned into fertile lands amounting to about 2,000 *ch'ing*. The Hsi-ch'êng-kung-t'ien-so then attempted to resurvey and levy rent on these lands as Hsi-ch'êng-so's public land, which bitterly irritated the farmers. The governor of Ch'en-liu-hsien, therefore, instructed Shê to appear in person before the Hsi-ch'êng-so to make an appeal to stop levying rent on these lands. Shê refused to go."<sup>(63)</sup> Although nothing is said of whether the lands were in fact confiscated as *kung t'ien* thereafter, it suggests that many personal lands in Ching-ch'i-lu also had been confiscated as Hsi-ch'êng-so's public land.

All these sources suggest that Li Yen as the head of the Hsi-ch'êng-so had put the *kung-t'ien* policy into effect over a wide area which, mainly centered on Ching-tung, Ching-hsi, and Ching-ch'i Provinces, also covered parts of the provinces of Ho-pei and Huai-hsi. The public lands themselves amounted to

(62) 丹陽集, 卷 14, 中奉大夫葛公墓誌銘: 時賊擾東南, 人士北渡維揚者, 日數十艘, 州牧貴人, 不敢干以私, 則惟公之求, 公爲奔走勞來, 供其百須, 一不闕, 賓至如歸, 而交德焉, 在興仁, 遇宦者出括民田, 勢猷薰灼, 凡不曲意阿附者, 必罹中傷, 坐是賜罷, 而晏然未嘗闕懷也。

(63) 筠溪集 卷 14, 龍圖閣直學士右通奉大夫致仕葉公墓誌銘: 陳留地, 多鹹鹵, 公募民開墾, 假之資, 而薄其斂, 未期年, 瘠地二千頃, 盡爲膏壤, 西成公田所, 括民田之餘, 收其入爲應奉費, 因以侵擾, 民甚病之, 事有闕京畿者, 長檄公往, 且勉以善事實人速化之術也, 公曰, 人各有能, 有不能, 此非僕所能, 辭不行。

more than 34,000 *ch'ing*. These are indications that the *kung-t'ien* policy was practised from as early as 1119, that it was continued even after 1121 when the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was abolished, and that it was enforced most severely during the last years of the *Hsüan-ho* period. It reached its climax after the government's successful suppression of the Sung Chiang rebellion in 1121 when they began to levy taxes on fishing boats and lakeside produce in Ching-tung-lu. Li Yen in implementing his policy behaved most arrogantly when making tours of inspection in the provinces and districts. According to the *Tung-tu-shih-lüeh* 東都事略, "Li Yen when touring the provinces of Ho-pei, Ching-tung, and Ching-hsi to supervise the implementation of his *kung-t'ien* policy ordered all the transportation commissioners, price control administrators, and governors of districts and prefectures (*fu* and *chou*) to sit in a row at the provincial offices while Li himself behaved in an extremely lordly manner, throwing out his legs before the audience. Someone reported Li Yen's behavior to the emperor Hui-tsung. But this report, however, was covered up by the eunuch Liang Shih-ch'êng.<sup>(64)</sup> This behavior was also described in Ch'en Tung's 陳東 memorial to the throne, which is quoted later. Also, according to Yang Chien's biography in the *Sung-shih*, "Even former ministers of state appeared in full dress to greet Li Yen when he arrived. On one occasion, the eunuch ordered the officials to prepare a huge cart pulled by tens of oxen and mules to carry only a few pieces of bamboo, the expenses of which all fell on the people's shoulders. Li set the people to work without pause, forced the people to spend their last pennies, and drove them to death either by hunger or by hanging themselves. On another occasion, people were also forced to contribute more than a million cash for the transport of a single garden plant. Government officers who were favored by Li Yen were awarded with promotion, while those whom he disliked were punished. Many officers admired by Li were promoted. But there were also officers such as Fan Liao 范杲, *ping-ma-ch'ien-hsia* 兵馬鈴轄 of Ying-ch'ang-fu, who disobeyed the order of Li to gather bamboo. Li impeached Fan at the palace court with a false report that Fan had inscribed a poem of Su Shih 蘇軾 a conservative, on a stone, which thus constituted one of the ten great crimes. The court, although it knew that Li's impeachment of Fan was false, nevertheless dismissed him from his post. How badly Li's *kung-t'ien* policy had oppressed the people in the northern part of China may be well understood from the saying which was then current that "Chu Mien aroused the people's rancour in the east and southern lands while Li Yen did the same in the west and northern lands."<sup>(65)</sup>

(64) 東都事略, 卷 121, 宦者·梁師成傳: 李彥, 括民田於河北·京東西, 所至倨坐黃堂, 監司·郡守皆列侍, 有言之於徽宗者, [梁] 師成適在側, 抗聲曰, 王人雖微, 序於諸侯之上, 此春秋法也, 豈足爲過哉, 言者懼而止。

(65) 宋史 卷 465, 楊戢傳: 前執政, 冠帶操笏, 迎謁馬首, 獻媚花, 朝夕造請賓客, 徑趨謁舍, 不敢對之, 上馬而彥處之自如, 發物·供奉大抵類朱勔, 凡竹數竿, 用一大車·牛驢數十頭, 其數無極, 皆責辦於民, 經時閱月, 無休息期, 農不得之田, 牛不得耕墾, 殫財靡芻, 力竭餓死,

A similar description is also given in the essay by Ch'en Tung which is introduced below. The *Chuang-chien-chi* also refers to a memorial by Li Kuang to the throne in 1126. "The Board of Finance, the body responsible for the nation's treasury in the last years of the *Hsüan-ho* period, knew nothing of the country's financial state while the palace court also had no idea of the amount of money and grain which it had stored. The taxes that were collected for 'palace expenditures' were carried into various officials' personal residences and people murmured that the entire wealth of the east and southern regions had been embezzled by Chu Mien, while all the people in the western and northern lands were suffering from Li Yen's extortions."

"The nation's wealth fell entirely into the hands of Ts'ai Ching and Wang Fu, and the national finance was almost entirely depleted when such people as Hsu Chu 徐鑄 and Chiang Yi 蔣彝, price control administrators; Ho Chien 何漸, military officer responsible for purchasing horses with official tea (*Ch'a-ma-ssü-kuan* 茶馬司官); Chang Wan 張琬, Hsü T'i 徐惕, and Yen Ying 燕瑛, officers in charge of overseas trade (*Shih-po-kuan* 市舶官); Hu Chih-ju 胡直孺 and Lu Tsung-yüan 盧宗原 transportation officers (*Fa-yün-shih* 發運使); Wang Chung-hung 王仲閔 and Hu Sui 胡邃, local judicial directors (提點刑獄); Sung Hui 宋晦, (*Hsiang-yen-kuan* 香鹽官); Ying An-tao 應安道, Chu Yen-mei, Wang Tzū-hsien, and Wang Fu, transportation commissioners; and Liu Ch'i, Lu P'i, and Mao Hsiao-li, provincial administrators and local subordinate officials, etc. abused their authority for their own self-interest and paid practically no attention to the needs of the people. The situation further deteriorated owing to the war with the Chin and the subsequent financial difficulties." (66)

This memorial to the throne also mentions that people's wealth in the west and northern regions became the personal property of Li Yen, and gives the names of the previously mentioned Wang Tsu-hsien, Liu Ch'i, Lu P'i, and Mao Hsiao-li as his accomplices. Li Yen's *kung-t'ien* policy on behalf of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*, then, caused great harm to the people in northern China and especially to the people of Ching-tung, Ching-hsi, Ching-ch'i, and Ho-pe

或自縊轅輅間，如龍麟薛荔一本，蠶致之費，踰百萬，喜賞怒刑，禍福轉手，因之得美官者甚衆，顯昌兵馬鈴轄范寥，不爲取竹，誣刊蘇軾詩文于石，爲十惡，朝廷察其摺據，亦令勒停，當時謂，朱勔結怨于東南，李彥結怨於西北。

- (66) 莊簡集 卷8，論制國用劄子，靖康元年李光上奏：臣伏觀祖宗之制，天下財穀，悉摠於三司，非條例有定數，不敢擅支，朝廷知其數，量入爲出，故能倉廩充溢，用度有餘，近年以來，政出多門，法度寢弛，戶部既不得總天下財賦，朝廷亦無緣盡知錢穀大數，侵支互用，不可幾察，名爲應奉御前，其實般入私宅，東南財賦，盡於朱勔，西北財賦，困於李彥，天下根本之財，竭於蔡京，王黼，自徐鑄、蔣彝爲常平司官，何漸爲茶馬司官，張琬、徐惕、燕瑛爲市舶官，應安道、朱彥美、王子獻、王復爲轉運司官，胡直孺、盧宗原爲發運使，王仲閔、胡邃爲提點刑獄，宋晦爲香鹽官，劉寄、呂昉、毛孝立爲鹽[監]司、屬官，天下財賦，盡歸權倖之家，小人乘時，無復忌憚，今所至匱竭，公家無半年之儲，百姓無旬日之積，加之兵興，府庫金帛散用，將盡此，乃國用危急之時，所謂理財經久之術，不可不慮，……

provinces during the last years of the *Hsüan-ho* period.

3) The Abolition of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*'s Public Lands and the Punishment of Li Yen and His Colleagues.

Although during the last years of the *Hsüan-ho* period the Sung had destroyed the Liao in collaboration with the Chin and had taken over Yen-shan-fu (Peking), they had at the same time revealed their weakness to the Chin who now turned against the Sung and invaded them. The fate of Sung Dynasty menaced also by many local rebellions in Ho-pei and Ching-tung Provinces, stood on the verge of total collapse, and, as a result, on the 21st day of the 12th month, 1125, the emperor promulgated a decree suspending the collection of rents on behalf of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* as well as for the *Yen-fu-kung* so as to give the people some respite. The decree ordered all money and goods stored by the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* to come under the control of the government, and ordered that those lands previously confiscated and re-registered as public lands of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* should be returned to their original owners. It also gave orders that the money and goods stored in the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* should be employed to defray part of the provincial and military expenditures.<sup>(67)</sup>

The decree, furthermore, ordered the dismissal of the officers of *Hsi-ch'êng-so* from their posts, and made instructions that the duties and responsibilities of the *Ch'êng-hsi-so* (*Hsi-ch'êng-so*) should be taken over by the *Yen-fu-kung*. Office workers of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* who had been seconded there from other offices were returned, and the ground on which the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* stood was returned to the *Ching-ch'êng-so* 京城所. The market buildings in the western sector of the capital (*Hsi-ch'êng-so*) were also to be controlled and maintained by the *Ching-ch'êng-so* in accordance with the system in force during the *Yüan-fêng* period. Officers of the *Yen-fu-kung* and *Pao-lu-kung* were also discharged and instructions were given that these offices should be administered in accordance with the system of the *Shang-ch'ing-chu-hsiang-kung*\* and that the functions of the *Chieh-fang-yuan-so* were to be returned

\* Regarding these, there is a reference to the *Shang-ch'ing-pao-lu-kung* and *Lung-te-kung* in the *Sung Shih*, 85, Ti-li-chih, Ching-ch'êng.

(67) 三朝北盟會編 卷25, 宣和7年12月21日, 詔: 應茶鹽立額結絕, 應奉司江浙諸路置局及花石綱等, 諸路採斫木植置造局所, 諸路非泛上供拋降物色, 延福宮·西城租課·內外修造並罷, ……罷應報局諸路歲貢, 罷天王君聖主字爲諱, 罷講議司賣鈔, 黃老兼經, 并西城所見管錢物, 並付有司, 其拘收到元係地土, 並給還舊佃人, 減掖廷用度, 減從官以上月糧, 及罷諸局, 以上並令有司據所得數, 撥充諸路糴本及樁充募兵賞軍之用。Refer to「宋會要輯稿」職官, 應奉司, 宣和7年12月19日, 手詔。

to the *Lung-te-t'ai-yi-kung-chuan-fas-so*.<sup>\*</sup> Officers of the *Chieh-ching-tung-yuan* were disbanded while its estates and the *Hsi-yuan* also were returned to the control of the *Ching-ch'êng-so*.<sup>(68)</sup>

These descriptions indicate that the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* had been sited in the west of the capital and had controlled all the market buildings standing in its premises. That the *Ching-ch'êng-so* had originally been responsible of the market buildings in the east and western sectors of the capital during the *Yüan-fêng* period of Shêng-tsung's reign (1078–1085) is proved by a passage in the *Hsü-tzu-chih-t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編 which says "The department responsible for maintaining the buildings of the capital (修完京城所) in the 9th month of 1079 erected buildings in the capital grounds to be rented out to commoners as a flour, noodle and bread market from which they collected rent . . . and later ordered the millers and bakers to establish a flour market and to establish shops and stores in the east and west of the capital."<sup>(69)</sup> A description relative to this event also appears in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao*. "People were invited to rent lands from the *Pien-ho-ti-an-ssü* 汴河提岸司 and the *Ching-ch'êng-so*, and a huge market comprising shops that sell paper, *hung-hua*, and hemp cloth, together with a yeast-makers guild and their shops and warehouses<sup>\*\*</sup> were erected on these grounds."<sup>(70)</sup> The tax revenues thus collected as rents from the shops and stores and water mills for preparing tea, under the control of the *Pien-ho-ti-an-ssü* and from the shops and stores under the control of the *Ching-ch'êng-so*, with the exception of those portions earmarked as *mien-hang ch'ien* 免行錢 or 'guild exemption charge', were ap-

\* Regarding these, there is a passage dated the 19th day of the 6th month, 1126 in the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* (Economics 56, Board of Finance) which deals with a report made by Mei Chih-li 梅執禮, President of the Board of Finance (戶部尚書). "The board on the 23rd day of the 12th month, 1125, ordered all money and goods stored by the *Chu-chü-so* 諸局所 and *Hsi-ch'êng-so* to come under the control of the competent offices, and collected rents by leasing to the commoners the buildings and garden located in the *Chieh-fang-yüan* 榷芳園. Despite these steps, the General Controller of the *Ching-ch'êng-so* (專切提舉京城所) taking advantage of the imperial orders (御寶劄子) which had been granted to them, took over 34 buildings and gardens for its own use. As the memorial was not issued through the regular ministerial channel, there is no way to take these under the government control". It further says that a decree was issued by the emperor to enable confiscation of these assets by the Board of Finance.

\*\* Also see *Hsü-tzu-chih-t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*, Vol. 315, *Yüan-fêng* 4.8. *chi-ssü*.

(68) *Ibid.*, 城西所官吏等罷, 事歸延福宮, 人歸合屬, 地歸京城, 西壁依元豐法, 修房廊, 艮獄宮官吏並罷, 延福宮·寶籙宮官吏並罷, 依上清儲祥宮法施行, 榷芳園所罷, 並歸龍德太一宮專法所, 榷景東園官吏人物並罷, 地歸京城所, 西園撥屬京城所。

(69) 續資治通鑑長編 (HTCCP.), 卷 300, 神宗·元豐 2 年 9 月 丙子: 修完京城所請, 賃官地創屋, 與民爲麪市, 收其租, 下開封府相度, 乞如其請, 從之, . . . 修完京城所有言, 令磨戶及熟食人於城東西房廊, 作麪市, 收衆磨戶錢入官。

(70) SHY., 食貨 17·商稅·元豐 4 年 8 月 15 日: 都大提舉汴河堤岸宋用臣言, 本司沿汴及京城所房廊地, 並召人僦納官課, 紙紅花麻市酵行, 皆隸本所爲堆棧場。

propriated to the *Hu-pu-tso-ts'ao* 戶部左曹 as part of their annual revenue.”<sup>(71)</sup> The description suggests that in the *Yüan-fêng* period, the maintenance department of the *Ching-ch'êng-so* owned a number of buildings in the east and western sectors of the capital and leased these to merchants. The *Hsü Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* also deals with the repair and maintenance work undertaken by the maintenance department on the capital walls and buildings saying that the department, “in order to procure timbers for capital repairs, placed a requisition for 300 ships to carry timbers from Wen-chou and Ming-chou in Chê-tung-lu.”<sup>(72)</sup> It seems that the *Ching-ch'êng-so* was also governed by eunuchs since, according to the *Ching-k'ang chuan-hsing-lu* 靖康傳信錄, “Eunuch Ch'en Liang-pi 陳良弼 in control of the *Ching-ch'êng-so*, when the Chin army attacked the capital city on the 5th day of the first month of 1126, opposed Li Kang's 李綱 proposition to resort to a defensive strategy because only one per-cent of the watch towers of the capital had undergone repairs, and their defense, therefore, would be extremely difficult.”<sup>(73)</sup> Although the eunuchs had originally been put in charge of the *Ching-ch'êng-so* to carry out the necessary repair and maintenance work in the capital and to look after the capital buildings, it was only in the days after the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* had been created in the western part of the capital to take over these duties that Li Yen began to enforce the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*'s public land policy. The *Hsi-ch'êng-so* was disbanded and subordinated to the *Yen-fu-kung* and their jurisdiction over the capital premises was returned to the control of the *Ching-ch'êng-so* in the 12th month of 1125.

Personal lands that had been confiscated as *kung-t'ien* were also returned to their original owners. Also, the taxes that were levied on the Liang-shan-po lake districts in Ching-tung-lu were discontinued. According to the epitaph of Hsiang-kung (Hsiang Shih-shao 向士韶) included in the *Yang-kuei-shan-wên-chi* 楊龜山文集, Hsiang, when he was appointed deputy transportation commissioner of Ching-tung-lu in 1126, took steps to give tax exemption for the first time by announcing the discontinuation of the lake district taxes and also of the labor-substitute tax paid by farmers in Yen-shan-fu so as to give some respite to these people who had suffered most bitterly under Li Yen's *kung-t'ien* policy. The Emperor also dismissed Wang Tzû-hsien and other corrupt officials. Hsiang, since many of people had still not returned to their homes because of their distress and many local rebellions still raged, made a general report to the throne on the results of Li Yen's *Kung-t'ien* policy.<sup>(74)</sup>

(71) HTCCP., 卷 359, 哲宗·元豐 8 年 9 月 乙未條：汴河提岸司所管房廊水磨茶場及京城所所管房廊，歲入錢數，除代還免行錢，指定合支數外，並充戶部左曹年計支用，……

(72) *Ibid.*, 卷 490, 哲宗·紹聖 4 年 8 月 庚子條：京城所奏，乞就差買修城木植內臣，於溫·明州等處，起發船三百隻，赴本所支撥使用，付中書。

(73) 李綱「靖康傳信錄」卷 1：有內侍領京城所陳良弼，自內殿出奏曰，京城樓櫓，創修百未及一二，又城東樊家岡一帶，濠河窄狹，決難保守，願陛下詳議之。

(74) 楊龜山文集 卷 35, 忠毅向公墓誌銘：山東久苦李彥暴虐，朝廷初罷梁山濠稅，燕山夫錢，黜興利之臣，民凋瘵未復，盜賊相煽野聚，公條具民間利病十餘事，上之。

The *Kung-t'ien* under the control of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* and the *Hua-shih-kang* 花石綱 which had been set up in Chiang-nan by Chu Mien, were abolished and handed back to their original owners on the 21st day of the 12th month of 1125. This was followed, two days later, by the abdication of Hui-tsung. Ch'in-tsung 欽宗 took the throne at the time when the Chin army conquered Hsi-yuan-fu (Chao-chou) and Hsin-te-fu (Hsing-chou) in Ho-pei Province. A memorial was then placed before the emperor on the 27th by Ch'en Tung, T'ai-hsüeh-shêng 太學生, and his colleagues, to punish the "six rebels", Ts'ai Ching, Wang Fu, T'ung Kuan, Liang Shih-ch'êng, Li Yen, and Chu Mien openly and publicly for leading the country into disaster. Ch'en Tung in this memorial exposed all the evils committed by these people. "Although Li Yen's *kung t'ien* policy in Ho-pei, Ching-tung, and Ching-hsi Provinces of confiscating personal lands as public land, and his arrogant manner at the local government offices where he ordered the supervisors and governors to sit in a row before him had been reported to the emperor Hui-tsung according to the due procedures, the report had been intercepted by the eunuch Liang Shih-ch'êng. Li stole the people's property; levied excessive rents, punished those officers who did not meet his approval, and caused many farmers who lived in the three provinces mentioned above to flee from their houses or to become bankrupt. His merciless administration reached a climax in 1124 when he levied the *kung-t'ien* rent in Ching-tung and Ho-pei Provinces and collected labor-substitute tax from farmers in Yen-shan-fu. These measures led to many uprisings of rebels and made the people say "Li Yen has produced the people's rancor in the western and northern territories while Chu Mien has done the same in the east and south." (75)

Ch'en's impeachment continued: "Li literally monopolized all money and goods stored in the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* that when a riot was reported and when the price of rice skyrocketed to a degree that forced people and soldiers to go without food in 1124, Li spent millions of strings of cash (*kuan*) deposited in the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* to procure rice in the provinces of Huai-nan, Che-tung, and Che-hsi, and sold it at a high price in Ching-tung-lu. Li Yen, furthermore, when Hui-tsung ordered the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* to hand over these funds and goods to the government on the 21st day of the 12th month of this year, stubbornly resisted the order so that when the officials actually took over the warehouses

(75) 陳少陽先生文集 卷1, 宣和7年12月27日·登聞檢院上欽宗皇帝書: 頃歲李彥, 以根括民田, 按行河北·京東·京西, 威赫三路, 所在州郡, 據堂廟坐, 使監司·郡守列侍其傍, 而列侍之輩, 咸藉彥進, 不敢輒違, 臣等聞中間曾有人詣太上, 論列此事, 是時[梁]師成適在上側, 抗聲言曰, 王人在古, 諸侯之上, 使其人不得盡言, 遂致李彥凶欲益熾, 奪民常產, 重斂租課, 當職官吏, 稍有違忤, 即諷監司摭撻他故, 無辜送獄, 士大夫憤鬱, 而死者往往有之, 三路百姓, 破家流蕩, 不知其幾人, 愁歎怨苦之聲, 洋溢道路, 去年京東·河北, 止以租錢及燕山免夫之征, 剝克太甚, 盜賊四起, ……李彥結怨於西北, 朱勳結怨於東南。



only a small amount of money and goods were left in the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*.<sup>(76)</sup> This indicates that Li Yen had considered the *kung-t'ien* rent as his own personal income and not as palace revenue.

Ch'en in his request to the throne also commented on Yang Chien's life and concluded that even though he no longer lived, his grave must be destroyed and bones exposed to the elements to make him atone for the evils he had committed.<sup>(77)</sup>

Li Yen as described was pronounced guilty of his *kung-t'ien* policy and the authorities confiscated his residence after sentencing him to death. Yang Chien was also deprived of his posthumous title, and all those officers who had been favored with promotion in connection with the implementation of Li's *kung-t'ien* policy were deprived of their ranks. Wang Tzū-hsien, transportation commissioner of Ching-tung-lu; Han Tsung-chou, governor of T'ang-chou; Liu Yüan, governor of Ch'ueh-shan-hsien in Ts'ai-chou; and Wang Hu, governor of Shê-ch'êng-hsien in Ju-chou, were dismissed from their posts. It was later requested, however, that they should be penalized more strictly, because they were known to be spending their time in pleasure in their native places after being purged. An order, therefore, was issued on the 26th day of the 7th month of 1126 which assigned Wang Tzū-hsien, Mao Hsiao-li, Lü P'i, Jên Hui-yen, Li Tuan-yüan, and Liu Chi, etc. as petty officers to remote territories. The personnel agency later on the 8th day of the 8th month of the same year, dismissed Wang Hu from his post and sent Li Shih-huan, Wang Sui, Chiang Tun, Chien Huo and Sung Hsien to remote territories as official underlings. The palace following this imposed further punishment on the 11th day of the 8th month of the same year by forfeiting the ranks of Liu Ch'i, Jên Hui-yen, Lü P'i, Mao Hsiao-li, Li Tuan-yüan, Wang Sui, Chiang Tun, Chien Huo, Sung Hsien and Wang Tzū-hsien. On the 19th day of the 10th month this year, Liu Ch'i's name was stricken from the government's personnel list and he was exiled to Shang-chou.

## V

### CONCLUSIONS

As reviewed above, the *Kung-t'ien-fa* 公田法, or the public lands administration law, was introduced during the late Northern Sung in the province of Ching-hsi. During the early Northern Sung times, there were

(76) *Ibid.*, 李彥, 據有西城所錢物, 去歲京東盜起, 米斗千錢, 民兵缺食, 中外憂之, 彥即發錢數千萬, 往淮浙買米, 運至京東, 以規厚利, 前日太上詔罷西城所錢, 令以其錢付之有司, 聞彥尚欲強占, 不肯交割, 及至交割, 所存無幾, 宦官抗國悖慢如此, 尚復何容。

(77) *Ibid.*, 楊戢雖死, 願陛下亦勿赦此賊, 發其塚, 暴其骨, 以解天下之怨憤。

large masses of land left uncultivated in that province and land taxes were assessed at a relatively low rate. Thus, these uncultivated lands were progressively put under cultivation. During the reign of Emperor Shên-tsung (1078–1085) the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* 方田均稅法, or the "square field tax equalization law" was implemented and during the *Yüan-fêng* era (1078–1085) the province's fields were classified into five grades according to soil fertility for "tax equalization." Consequently, the province's land taxes became heavier. Then in the early days of Emperor Chê-tsung, at the same time as the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was annuled, the *Yüan-fêng* assessment scale was also abolished. Under Emperor Hui-tsung, the *Fang-t'ien* taxation law was brought back into force and in 1109 the *Yüan-fêng* formula was reinstated, with the result that the land-tax burden was aggravated several times. This immediately provoked Shih Kung-pi's protest against the aggravation and the formula was scrapped again later in the same year. Later in 1112, the *Yüan-fêng* formula was adopted again in the four Ching-hsi-lu prefectures of T'ang, Têng, Hsiang and Ju and the *Kung-t'ien* taxes were made payable only in *ch'ien* (money). In consequence, the burden of land tax in these districts was drastically increased.

In the 12th month of 1116 in Ju-chou the *Hou-yüan-tso* 後苑作 established its *Kung-t'ien-so* 公田所 an office which had previously been called the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* 稻田務. It is presumed that the *T'ao-t'ien-wu* was engaged in irrigating waste lands newly resurveyed under the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* and developing them into paddy fields. The *Hou-yüan-tso*, an office in charge of the manufacture of a variety of implements, clothing and weapons for use by the Imperial court, was then under the control of the eunuch Yang Chien 楊戩.

Later, the *Kung-t'ien-so* of the *Hou-yüan-tso*, made a through investigation of the title deeds held by the people, and examined the transfers of ownership from one party to another, as far back as was possible. If there was anything which was not definitely proved with evidence, the land was confiscated as *Kung-t'ien*. In that investigation, the title of each plot of privately owned land was checked with respect to every one of the previous owners as well as the present holder as specified in all the deeds of transfer that had been drawn up in the past. If the present ownership of any land was not sufficiently established by the investigation, it was confiscated and added to the *Kung-t'ien* property. Another method employed to increase the property was the use of a new scale of length called the *yüeh-ch'ih* 樂尺 which was shorter than the prevalent scale.

The scale in question was based on the scale used for new musical instruments. Its use for official purpose took effect in 1110 and its employment for the resurvey of farmland as from 1112. With this new scale, the previously set length of one *ch'ih* 尺 became 1.0416 *ch'ih* and likewise, the previously set acreage of one *mu* 畝 became 1.0849 *mu*. Thus, the resulting differential of 849 *ch'ing* for every 10,000 *ch'ing* of privately owned land came to be confiscated

and added to the *Kung-t'ien* property. Moreover, there is an indication that even newly resurveyed, unproductive lands were made into additional *Kung-t'ien* and taxed as such. *Kung-t'ien* tenants' rents were made payable only in cash presumably in conformity with the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* rule then prevalent in Ching-hsi-lu which called for "cash land-tax payments only." The *Hou-yüan-tso* administered *Kung-t'ien-fa* later made inroads from Ching-hsi-lu into the two neighboring provinces of Ching-ch'i-lu and Ho-pei-lu. In Ching-hsi-lu, Liu Chi 劉寄 then the province's *Ch'ang-p'ing t'i-chu-shih*, lent himself to the enforcement of this law under Yang Chien. A record has it that he appropriated 500,000 *min* 緡 of the *ch'ang-p'ing-ch'ien* under his custody for the purchase of nonglutinous rice for delivery to the *Hou-yüan-tso*. Toward the end of the *Chêng-ho* era (1111-1117) a similar *Kung-t'ien* property was created for the *Ying-shang-so* 營繕所 headed by the eunuch Chang Yu 張佑. All the *Kung-t'ien* properties under the control of Yang Chien and Chang Yu were later combined and taken over by the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*.

The *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was "temporarily" suspended in the sixth month of 1120 because, despite its original purpose of evening out the land tax burdens through resurvey, tax inequities were loudly complained of. The rich and influential propertied families in conspiracy with law enforcement agents flagrantly evaded taxes and thus shifted their tax burdens onto the petty farmers.

Thus, the tax assessment formula based on this law was replaced in the second month of 1121 with the one which had been in force prior to its enforcement. With respect to lands seized as "illegally privately owned," those reclaimed from under salt and river water and those deserted by the cultivators, taxation authorities were ordered to suspend all further resurvey and assessment investigations, and lands of these sorts on which rents had been either increased or recently levied for the first time were given 50 per cent tax-exemption. All these remissive measures were apparently the result of the outbreak of Fang La's 方臘 revolt in Chiang-nan and of Sung Chiang's 宋江 uprising in Ho-pei and Ching-tung. The old tax assessment formula reinstated upon the abolition of the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa*, however, was not comprehensively followed in some parts of the empire, including Ching-hsi-lu. It seems that some of the inequities in assessment that had originated from the enforcement of the *Fang-t'ien* taxation law thus remained unrectified.

The *Hsi-ch'êng-so* under the control of the eunuch Li Yen 李彥 seemed to have maintained its own *Kung-t'ien* property since about 1119. But it was apparently after the death of Yang Chien in 1121 that the *Kung-t'ien* properties of both the *Hou-yüan-tso* and the *Ying-shang-so* were combined and put under Li Yen's control. In view of its location within the *Hsi-ch'êng* of the capital, the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* 西城所 seems also to have been referred to as the *Ch'êng-hsi-so*.

The *Hsi-ch'êng-so*'s *Kung-t'ien* administrators confiscated 34,000 *ch'ing*

of newly cultivated lands in Ching-ch'i, Ho-pei and Shan-tung. In that process, or even after the annulment of the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* in the second month of 1121, large portions of fertile lands in private ownership were designated as government-owned and were added to the *Kung-t'ien* property by confiscation. The swampy areas in and around Liang-shan-po 梁山泊, too, were brought under the control of the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* as the rebel forces under Sung Chiang who had risen in insurrection with Liang-shan-po as their stronghold were crushed in the second month of 1121. Taxes and levies on lands and fishing vessels there were mercilessly extorted in this region. Li Yen, furthermore, was in conspiracy with the *Ying-fêng-ssü* 應奉司 governed by Wang Fu 王黼, the chief minister. He colluded with Wang who had set up the agency in summer of the same year, when the Fang La rebellion was suppressed, to take care of the general palace expenditures, and opened a bureau in Ju-chou 汝州. He also issued an order to hoist a flag on each ship of the transportation fleets carrying the tax to identify these as palace procurements, thus to prevent interceptive checks by the government officers on their way to the palace.

A large portion of private lands in Ching-hsi, Ching-tung, Ching-ch'i and Ho-pei Provinces were registered as *Kung-t'ien* without being exempted from the *liang-shui* taxes. Although public lands usually only paid rent (*tsu-ch'ien* 租錢), the transportation commissioners of these provinces also imposed the *liang-shui* system upon them, and levied the tax at the same rate as on private lands in other district, thus making the burden to tax payers even more severe.

Thus the transportation commissioners and their subordinates in the provinces of Ching-hsi and Ching-tung greatly assisted the implementation of *Hsi-ch'êng-so's* public land policy. The confiscation of personal lands as public land under the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* in Ching-hsi-lu was pushed most actively by Jên Hui-yen, transportation commissioner; Liu Ch'i and Li Tuan-huan, price control administrators; Han Tsung-chou, governor of T'ang-chou; Ts'ai Chuan, governor of Ying-ch'ang-fu; Sung Hsien, government supervisor to Ju-chou; Wang Hu, magistrate of Shê-ch'êng-hsien in Ju-chou; Li Shih-huan, magistrate of Lu-shan-hsien in Ju-chou; and Liu Yuan, magistrate of Ch'üeh-shan-hsien in Ts'ai-chou. In the province of Ching-tung, Wang Tzū-hsien, transportation commissioner; Mao Hsiao-li, and Chien Huo, government supervisors to Chi-chou; Lü P'i, government supervisor to Tung-p'ing-fu; Lu Min-chung, magistrate of Chung-tu-hsien in Tung-p'ing fu; Wang Sui, assistant magistrate of Chung-tu-hsien; Chiang Tun, *tu-tai-nien-yun* of the Kuang-chi Canal, were chiefly concerned with collection and transportation of rents from Liang-shan-po and with the confiscation of personal lands as *Kung-t'ien*. Li Yen toured these areas to supervise the *Hsi-ch'êng-so's* *Kung-t'ien* in a quite lordly manner, and purged all government officers who objected not to his policy. Li Yen's *Kung-t'ien* policy imposed great harm on the people of northern China who grieved "all wealth of the eastern and southern districts have been exhausted by Chu Mien, and all people in the western and northern

territories are suffering from Li Yen", or "Li Yen has produced the people's rancor in the western and northern districts, while Chu Mien has produced it also in the eastern and southern areas". As many rebellions broke out in northern China as the result of severe tax collection, and as the Chin army started to invade China, the government in the 12th month of the 7th year of Hsüan-ho (1125) suspended levying tax and rent for the *Hsi-ch'êng-so*; transferred all money and goods stored in the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* to the Board of Finance, and returned all lands previously confiscated as *Kung-t'ien* to their original owners. The *Hsi-ch'êng-so* was then abolished and subordinated to the *Yen-fu-kung*, while the ground on which the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* had stood was returned to the *Ching-ch'êng-so*. The market buildings previously supervised by the *Hsi-ch'êng-so* in the western sector of the capital also were ordered to be maintained by the *Ching-ch'êng-so* as stipulated in the laws drafted in the *Yüan-fêng* period. The taxes levied on the lake districts also were discontinued. Following the abdication of Hui-tsung, whose throne was taken over by Ch'ing-tsung, an impeachment was drafted by Ch'en Tung condemning Li Yen together with Ts'ai Ching, Wang Fu, and others. As the result, Li Yen in the first month of the following year was sentenced to death and his residence was confiscated. Yang Chien was also deprived of his posthumous honours. Wang Tzū-hsien and other followers of Li Yen were either discharged from their posts or penalized when Li Kuang drafted an impeachment and presented it to the throne.

In brief, the *Kung-t'ien-fa* of the late Northern Sung times was put into force by the eunuchs in control of the palace finances with a view to raising funds to finance the court's construction and maintenance projects. Locally, some officials, from the *Chuan-yün-shih* of Ching-hsi and Ching-tung down, lent themselves to the rigorous enforcement of this system under these eunuchs. They first enforced this law with the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa*, then in force in North China, as its base and in that process large portions of *min-t'ien* or privately owned lands were confiscated and turned into *Kung-t'ien*. Even the lands taken from the Government by private individuals, those still lying waste, or those abandoned by their owners, were put into cultivation as additional *Kung-t'ien* properties and taxed heavily under this new system. Even after the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* was annuled in 1121, because of the revolt by Fang La in Ching-nan and that by Sung Chiang in North China, the *Kung-t'ien-fa* remained in force and was implemented with vigour and rigour. Swampy lands brought under cultivation in the vicinity of Liang-shan-po were seized as new *Kung-t'ien* properties, and together with the local fisheries were exploited relentlessly as a source of tax. This caused bitter resentment among the people of North China and provoked a series of uprisings in various parts several years later. The rebel influences gained more and more strength with the invasion of the Chin's armies into the empire and paved the way for the downfall of the Northern Sung Dynasty, and for

another wave of insurgency which raged through the early Southern Sung in Chiang-nan.

Viewed in this light, the late Northern Sung's land policy featuring the *Fang-t'ien-chün-shui-fa* and the *Kung-t'ien-fa* was a failure. The latter law, in particular, was partly to blame for the Northern Sung's downfall. The same was the case with the *Kung-t'ien-fa* administered by Chia Ssu-tao 賈似道 under the late Southern Sung. Despite all the differences discernible in the manner in which this law was administered under the Northern Sung and under the Southern Sung,\* neither differed from the other in that privately owned lands were expropriated and made into the public land under the name of *Kung-t'ien*. Moreover, these laws constituted a large contributory factor in the downfall of the Southern Sung as well as of the Northern Sung. This seems to be of profound significance in studying the land policy of the Sung.

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\* Refer to Y. Suto, *op. cit.*, ch. XII: Nansōmatsu no Kōden-hō.

