

On the Hang or the Associations of Merchants in China,

with Especial Reference to the Institution
in the T'ang and Sung Periods

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INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that in China there are associations of merchants resembling, in some degree, the guilds of the middle ages in Europe, formed around the buildings called "hui-kuan" 會館 or "kung-so" 公所; that during the Ch'ing period they flourished most; and that since the close of that period they have ceased to be as active as before, and yet they are still numerous found in China. As the buildings where the members of those associations meet are called "hui-kuan" or "kung-so", the associations themselves are often called "hui-kuan" or "kung-so" by many Japanese and Europeans, and also called Chinese guilds by European scholars for they resemble the European organisations of that name. Regarding the conditions of the organisations during the Ch'ing period, especially at the close of the period, there are many studies by Occidental as well as by Japanese scholars, but there has been long felt a want in the studies on the origin and early history of the organisations. In the 11th year of *Taisbô* 大正 (1922), a study on the buildings known by the name of "hui-kuan", and the origin of the name, was published by my friend Prof. Sei WADA 和田清.⁽¹⁾ Though it was rather a short lecture, it may be regarded as the very first historical research ever published on the subject. In the second year of *Shôwa* 昭和 (1927), the present writer also published a study entitled "*On the Associations of Merchants in the T'ang and the*

(1) Prof. Sei WADA: (*On the Origin of the Hui-kuan and the Kung-so*) 會館公所の起源について, *Shigaku-zasshi*, Vol. 33, No. 10.

Sung Periods” 唐宋時代に於ける商人組合行について in which I tried to prove that in the T'ang 唐 and the Sung 宋 periods there already existed some sorts of organisation, which might be regarded as the forerunners of the “hui-kuan” or “kung-so.” Having continued my studies on the subject since, however, I have come to find some faults with my previous studies, and also some points have come to my notice upon which some new light can be thrown. This paper is intended to present those points.

CHAPTER I

Hang as the Streets of the Same Trade

In the T'ang and the Sung periods, the merchants' associations were known by the name of “hang” 行, but the term “hang” was also used in the sense of a street or street block consisting of shops dealing in the same goods or engaged in the same trade. As there is reason to believe that the associations originated in such a street of shops of the same trade, we will take up, first, consideration of the “hang” in this sense, and examine the passages where it is mentioned.

The *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽,⁽¹⁾ which was edited at the beginning of the Sung period, quoting the *Hsi-ching-chi* 西京記, says:

西京記曰,東都豐都市,東西南北,居二坊之地,四面各開三門,邸凡三百一十二區,資材一百行,云云.

又曰,大業六年,諸夷來朝,請入市交易,煬帝許之,於是修飾諸行,葺理邸店,皆使臺宇齊正,卑高如一,瓌貨充積,人物華盛,云云.

“According to the *Hsi-ching-chi*, the *Fêng-tu-shih* 豐都市 of the Eastern capital occupies an area of two *fang* 坊, or blocks. Each of the four sides of the walled area is provided with three gates. There are some three hundred and twelve ‘ti’ (邸) or warehouses in all, and a hundred ‘hang’.”

“The *Hsi-ching-chi* says again, ‘In the sixth year of *Ta-yeh* 大業 (610 A. D.) when various barbarian tribes came to pay homage to the emperor, they asked

(1) The *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽, Vol. 191, Section of the *Shih* 市.

him to grant them permission to engage in barter in the *shih* 市, which the Emperor Yang-ti 楊帝 granted. Hereupon all the shops of the *hang* were repaired and decorated, the ware houses repaired, and the roofs of the houses were made even in height. Excellent goods were piled up, and finely dressed people busily came and went.”

The two passages were, according to the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, derived from the *Hsi-ching-chi*, but the name of the *Hsi-ching-chi* is, I believe, probably a corruption of the *Liang-ching-chi* 兩京記, that is, the *Liang-ching-hsin-chi* 兩京新記 by WEI SHU 韋述 of the T'ang period.⁽¹⁾ (It will be discussed more in detail in notes, but let it suffice here to state that it will be easily guessed, even simply from their allusion to the Eastern capital 東都 in the text, that the passages do not refer to the Western capital 西京.) The Eastern capital was no other than Lo-yang 洛陽, and *Fêng-*

(1) The name of the *Hsi-ching-chi* 西京記 appears also in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, in its *Yin-shu-mu* 引書目 or list of the references; and again in the *Sui-shu Ching-chi-chih* 隋書經籍志, the *Chiu-t'ang-shu I-wên-chih* 舊唐書藝文志, Volume I, and the *Hsin-t'ang-shu I-wên-chih* 新唐書藝文志. The last two books even give as its author the name of HsIEH MING 薛冥. However, considering that the books mentioned, in the *Hsin-* and the *Chiu-t'ang-shu*, preceding and following the name of the *Hsi-ching-chi*, are all books by writers of the Six Dynasties 六朝 period, the *Hsi-ching-chi* may well be regarded as a work of the same period. Consequently the so-called *Hsi-ching-chi* in which references are made to the *Fêng-tu-shih* of Lo-yang in the Sui period and to the reign of the Emperor Yang-ti of Sui during the era of *Ta-yeh*, is most probably not the above-mentioned *Hsi-ching-chi* of HsIEH MING. The *I-wên-chih* of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* and that of the *Sung-shih* 宋史 mention WEI SHU's *Liang-ching-hsin-chi* 兩京新記, while the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* gives WEI SHU's *Tung-ching-tsa-chi* 東京雜記 and WEI SHU's *Hsi-ching-hsin-chi* 西京新記 in its list of references. The present author is inclined to think that probably WEI SHU originally wrote two books, the *Tung-ching-tsa-chi* and the *Hsi-ching-hsin-chi* 西京新記, but later the two books were collected into one volume by somebody else, and came to be called *Liang-chin-hsin-chi* 兩京新記. CHAO YÊN-WEI 趙彥衛, a writer of the Sung period, referring in his *Yün-lu-man-ch'ao* 雲麓漫抄, Vol. 2, to Ch'ang-an 長安, says: "The book is based on old charts and WEI SHU's *Hsi-ching-hsin-chi*" 以舊圖及韋述西京記爲本, 云云. The *Hsi-ching-chi* herein referred to was no doubt a part of the *Liang-ching-hsin-chi*, or the *Hsi-ching-hsin-chi*, as it is called in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*. As the *Hsi-ching-hsin-chi* came to be called by the abridged form of *Hsi-ching-chi*, so the *Liang-ching-hsin-chi* also, I believe, came to be called by the abridged form of *Liang-ching-chi*; and the *Hsi-ching-chi* mentioned in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, Vol. 191, section of *Shih*, was clearly a corruption of this *Liang-ching-chi*. As is indicated in the text it may be easily proved, from its reference to the *Fêng-tu-shih* of the Eastern capital 東都豐都市 in spite of its explicit remark, "the *Hsi-ching-chi* says 西京記曰", that the *Hsi-ching-chi* mentioned in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, Vol. 191, section of *Shih*, must be a misnomer of the *Liang-ching-chi* which contained both the *Hsi-ching-chi* and the *Tung-ching-tsa-chi*.

tu-shih was the appellation of the *shih* used in the Sui period, it being called *Nan-shih* 南市 during the T'ang period. The first of the above two passages which are believed to have been taken from the *Liang-ching-chi* refers, it will be clear, to the *Fêng-tu-shih* as it was in the Sui period, while the second passage also must be regarded as describing mainly the conditions of *Fêng-tu-shih*, the most flourishing of the *shih* of Lo-yang of the day, for in the sixth year of *Ta-yeh* mentioned in the passage the Emperor Yang-ti of Sui was staying in Lo-yang and the various barbarians of the outlying districts paid tributes to the emperor. Again the *Yüan-ho-nan-chih* 元河南志⁽¹⁾ has the following passage in the section giving descriptions of Lo-yang during the T'ang period.

“*Nan-shih*, as it was called during the T'ang period, was called *Fêng-tu-shih* during the Sui period. The *shih* occupies an area of two *fang*⁽²⁾ or blocks. There were in it one hundred and twenty *hang*, comprising more than three thousand 'ssü' 肆 or shops. Inside the walls on the four sides of the area there were more than four hundred 'tien' 店 or warehouses, which were all filled up with piles of goods.”

．．．唐南市，隋曰豐都市，東西南北，居二坊之地，其內一百二十行，三十餘肆，四壁有四百餘店，貨賄山積，云云。

The *Yüan-ho-nan-chih* 元河南志 was edited during the Yüan period, and its description of Lo-yang in the T'ang period, being chiefly based upon the *Ho-nan-chih* 河南志 by SUNG MIN-CHIU 宋敏求 of the Sung period, may be regarded as a trustworthy account. The “ti” 邸 mentioned in the so-called *Hsi-ching-chi* and the “tien” 店 referred to in the *Yüan-ho-nan-chih*, denote, it will readily be seen, one and the same thing in the two passages, and among the various things that can be denoted by these words, in the two passages above both refer to a storehouse. As the

(1) *Yüan-ho-nan-chih*, Vol. 1.

(2) The Chinese city, of the T'ang period, usually had its interior divided into scores of *fang* 坊 and one or two *shih* 市, and both the *fang* and the *shih* were surrounded with walls, which contained houses within. This was a practice inherited from ancient times; but with the decay of the institution of the *shih*, the practice also ceased to exist.

“ssü” 肆 mentioned in the above passage of the *Yüan-ho-nan-chih* denotes a store, the *hang* in the same passage signifies, it will be apparent, a street block consisting of shops engaged in the same trade, which again enables us to infer that the “hang” mentioned in the so-called *Hsi-ching-chi* denotes the same thing. There is a slight difference in the wording between the description of *hang* in the *Hsi-ching-chi* in question and that in the *Yüan-ho-nan-chih*, but the passages in the two books apparently describe all but the same situation: that in the period extending from the Sui to the T'ang dynasty the *shih* 市 of Lo-yang was provided with hundreds of warehouses running along the inner side of the walls of the area, and there was in the interior a sort of street called *hang*, consisting of scores of shops. Again, the *Yüan-ho-nan-chih*,⁽¹⁾ describing Ta-tung-fang 大同坊 of Lo-yang in the T'ang period, says:

“In the sixth year of *Ta-yeh* of Sui, Ta-tung-shih 大同市 was removed to this area which used to be known by the name of Chih-yeh-fang 植業坊. The *shih* 市, four *li* 里 in circumference, had four gates, was provided with one hundred and forty-one warehouses, and comprised sixty-six *hang* consisting of shops dealing in goods.”

本曰植業坊, 隋大業六年, 徙大同市於此, 凡周四里, 開四門, 邸一百四十一區, 資貨六十六行, . . .

From this it will be conjectured that the *Ta-tung-shih* of Sui was laid out in a way not much different from the *Fêng-tu-shih* of the T'ang period.

The *Ch'ang-an-chih* 長安志⁽²⁾ edited by SUNG MIN-CHIU 宋敏求, which contains detailed descriptions of the walled city of Ch'ang-an, has the following to say about the Tung-shih 東市 of the city:

“There are in the *shih* two hundred and twenty *hang* 行, and the *hang* are surrounded on four sides with warehouses which are filled with rare and curious goods of the whole country.”

市內貨財二百二十行, 四面立邸, 四方珍奇所積.

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) *Ch'ang-an-chih*, Vol. 8.

En-nin 圓仁, a Japanese Buddhist priest who went over to T'ang and pilgrimaged throughout the country for the study of Buddhism, writes in his *Nittô-gubô-junreikôki* 入唐求法巡禮行記⁽¹⁾ or Travel Sketches of Pilgrimage through T'ang, in the section of the Third Year of *Hui-ch'ang* 會昌 (843 A. D.):

“At midnight a fire broke out in the *Tung-shih* 東市, and twelve *hang* comprising four thousand shops, west of the Ts'ao-mên Gate 曹門, were burnt down.”

夜三更, 東市失火, 燒東市, 曹門以西十二行, 四十餘家。

It is doubtful if four thousand was a correct figure of the shops actually composing the twelve *hang*, but it still gives us an idea of the size of those *hang* that consisted of a large number of shops. In its passages relating to the *Hsi-shih* 西市, the *Cb'ang-an-chih* does not make any mention of *hang*, but as it states that the conditions of the shops and warehouses of the *shih* were the same as in the *Tung-shih*, we can be certain that there must have been *hang* in the *Hsi-shih* as well as in the *Tung-shih*.

If we examine various literature of the T'ang period, we will come across the names of some particular *hang*. K'ANG PIEN 康駢 tells in his *Chi-tan-lu* 劇談錄⁽²⁾ for example, that he went to a *jou-hang* 肉行 or butchers' *hang* to buy a head of a white cow to obtain material for medicine. The *Cb'ien-sun-tzŭ* 乾驥子⁽³⁾ by WEN T'ING-YIN 溫庭筠 says that there was a very clever fortune-teller named Fan-shêng 范生, in the *i'ieb-hang* 鐵行 or ironware *hang*. The *Liang-ching-hsin-chi* 兩京新記 by WEI SHU refers to a great *i-hang* 衣行 or clothing *hang* in the *Hsi-shih* of Ch'angan. In the *I-shih* 逸史⁽⁴⁾ by LU-TZŪ 盧子 is mentioned the name of the *cb'iu-p'ei-hang* 鞞轡行 or bridle and saddlery *hang*. The *Cb'ien-sun-tzŭ* 乾驥子⁽⁵⁾ gives

(1) The *Nittô-gubô-junreikôki* (The Travel Sketches of the Pilgrimage through the T'ang Empire), Vol. 4.

(2) The *Chi-tan-lu*, Part 1.

(3) The *Cb'ien-sun-tzŭ* quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi*, Vol. 261.

(4) The *I-shih* quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi*, Vol. 157.

(5) The *Cb'ien-sun-tzŭ* quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi*, Vol. 243.

the name of the *ch'êng-hang* 秤行 or the scale and measure *hang* as well as *chüan-hang* 絹行 or silk *hang*. The *Nittô-gubô-junreikôki* 入唐求法巡禮行記⁽¹⁾ above-mentioned tells a story that when a Taoist priest presented to the emperor a memorial enumerating various rare medicines to take so that one might become an immortal wizard, the Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 ordered those medicines to be secured at the *yao-hang* 藥行 or medicine *hang*. The above-mentioned *hang*, i. e. the butchers' *hang*, the ironware *hang*, the clothing *hang*, the bridle and saddlery *hang*, the scale and measure *hang*, the silk *hang*, and the medicine *hang* must have been among the two hundred and twenty *hang* that constituted the *Hsi-shih* of Ch'ang-an and each of the *hang* must have formed a street block.

Thus *jou-hang* must have signified a street of butcher's shops, *t'ieh-hang* a street of ironware shops, *i-hang* a street of shops of clothing, *ch'iu-pei-hang* a street of shops of bridles and saddlery, *ch'êng-hang* a street of shops of scales and measures, *chüan-hang* a street of draper's shops, and *yao-hang* a street of medicine shops. It can then be inferred that *hang* was a street consisting of shops of the merchants engaged in the same trade, and the size of a *hang*, or the number of the shops that constituted a *hang*, differed according to trade, varying from less than ten to several scores. There can be no doubt that a *hang* was nothing less than an aggregation of shops engaged in the same trade. It was probably the same, there is reason to believe, with the *hang* of the *Nan-shih* 南市 of Lo-yang.

As for the names of the *hang* in the cities other than Ch'ang-an, they can be ascertained to some extent. LI MEI 李致 of the T'ang period says in his *Tsuan-i-chi* 纂異記⁽²⁾ that at the Spring festival of the Mausoleum of Wu-tai-po 吳泰伯 in Su-chou 蘇州 the headman of the *chin-yin-hang* 金銀行 or gold and silver smith *hang* made an offering to the deity of a picture depicting the figure of a beautiful woman. The *Yu-yang-tsa-tzû* 酉陽雜俎⁽³⁾ by TUAN CH'ENG-SHIH 段成式 has a pas-

(1) The *Nittô-gubô-junreikôki*, Vol. 4.

(2) The *Tsuan-i-chi*, quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, Vol. 280.

(3) The *Yu-yang-tsa-tzû*, Second Series 續集, Vol. 3, Section of *Chih-no-kaô* 支諾皋.

sage to the effect that the son of a municipal clerk of Yang-tzū-hsien 楊子縣, Yang-chou 揚州 buried the remains of a woman in the ditch to the west of the *yü-hang* 魚行 or fish *hang*. In the *Hsü-hsüan-kuai-lu* 續玄怪錄⁽¹⁾ of LI FU-YÊN 李復言, reference is made to the *t'sai-hang* 菜行 or vegetable *hang* of Sung-ch'êng-hsien 宋城縣,⁽²⁾ Sung-chou 宋州. It is to be noted that the above three passages do not mention "shih" in connection with the *hang*. However, in China in the period extending from the Ch'in 秦 and Han 漢 dynasties to the T'ang 唐 dynasty, there were in the cities one or more fixed business quarters, called "shih" 市, where the merchants as a rule were used to have their shops. The *shih* mentioned above in connection with Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang were of such nature, while such *shih* was an established institution not only in large cities like Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an but also in every city which was a seat of prefectural or provincial government. Therefore, Su-chou 蘇州, Yang-tzū-hsien 楊子縣, and Sung-ch'êng-hsien 宋城縣, mentioned above, must have had their *shih*, so the gold and silver *hang*, fish *hang* and vegetable *hang* mentioned in connection with these cities, should be regarded as streets of silver and gold merchants, of fish mongers, and of vegetable merchants. To sum up the argument, in the T'ang period the merchants grouped themselves according to the sort of articles they dealt in, forming what was called "hang" (行), and the *shih* in the capital and the cities in other parts of the country were composed of a large number of *hang*.

MINAMOTO-NO-SHITAGÔ 源順, a Japanese writer of the Hei-an 平安 period, has the following passage in his *Wamyô-ruijû-shô* 和名類聚抄:⁽³⁾

唐令云,諸市每肆立標題.

"The T'ang Code requires every *ssü* 肆 of all *shih* 市 to put up its sign."

(1) The *Ting-hun-tien* 定婚店, a novel in the *Hsü-hsüan-kuai-lu* 續玄怪錄, contained in the *T'ang-jên-hsiao-shuo* 唐人小說; published by the Shên-chou-kuo-kuang-shê, 神州國光社, Shanghai, in 1932.

(2) Shigeshi KATÔ: *Tôshô-jidai-no-ichi* 唐宋時代の市 (Shih during the T'ang and Sung Periods), a paper included in the Collected Papers in Commemoration of the late Tokuzô Fukuda 福田徳三, Doctor of Law.

(3) *Wamyô-ruijû-shô*, Vol. 3, section on dwellings.

However, Ekisai KARIYA 狩谷掖齋 who annotated MINAMOTO-NO-SHITAGÔ's book in his *Wamyô-ruijû-sbô-senchû* 和名類聚抄箋註, points out that, seeing that the code of the Yôrô-ryô 養老令 of similar nature of Japan reads, "Every *shi* (肆 *ssû*) of all *ichi* (市 *shih*) puts up a sign to show the name of the *ko* (行 *hang*)," (凡市每肆立標題行名) the original text from which the above passage of the *Wamyô-ruijû-sbô* was taken, probably contained, there is reason to believe, the two letters *ko-mei* 行名 at the end of the passage, as in the code of the Yôrô-ryô. I believe this view is correct. The letter 肆 (*ssû*) in the above two passages, is, as will be explained in full, synonymous with the letter 行 (*hang*). My inference is that probably in the T'ang period each *hang* used to have at its entrance a sign giving its name, like "Ch'ian-Hang" or "T'ieb-Hang", etc., and that though it is doubtful whether this practice was really in effect throughout the country, yet in large cities like Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang and many others, it could be maintained as long as the power of the T'ang dynasty could be felt, that is, during the first half of the T'ang period.

It must be mentioned in this connection that in the T'ang period the word *shih* 市 also sometimes signified *hang*, hence the word *shih*, besides expressing the business quarters of a city, was sometimes used in the sense of a street within the business quarters. A couple of instances in question can be seen in the *Hsü-hsüan-kuai-lu* 續玄怪錄 where the word "ts'ai-shih" 菜市 is used in place of "ts'ai-hang" 菜行, and in the *Sung-ch'ing-chuan* 宋清傳⁽¹⁾ where its author LIU TSUNG-YÜAN 柳宗元, referring to the *yao-hang* 藥行 or medicine *hang* of the Hsi-shih of Ch'ang-an, writes *yao-shih* 藥市.

The street of shops of the same trade, as has been described above, existed also in the Sung period, and was called *hang* 行 or *shih* 市, or sometimes *t'uan* 團. These names are often come across in the *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu* 東京夢華錄 which describes the conditions of K'ai-fêng 開封, the capital in its closing years of North

(1) The *Liu-ho-tung-chi*. First Series 正集, Vol. 17.

Sung 北宋 period, and the *Fan-shêng-lu* 繁勝錄, the *Tu-ch'êng-chi-shêng* 都城紀勝, the *Mêng-liang-lu* 夢梁錄, the *Wu-lin-chiu-shih* 武林舊事, and the *Hsien-ch'ün-lin-an-chih* 咸淳臨安志, which all contain descriptions of Lin-an 臨安, the capital of South Sung 南宋, and also in the geographical monographs of prefectures and districts of South Sung. It must be borne in mind, however, in this connection that in the Sung period the place where the merchants, buyers and sellers were assembled to do business, *i.e.* the market, was called *hang*, *shih* or *t'uan*, and it was probably due to this circumstance that in the T'ang period a market was held in the streets of shops of the same trade, that is, *hang*. Evidences tend to show that in the Sung period also the *hang* was often the scene of holding a market. The *kuo-tz'ü-hang* 果子行 or fruits *hang* in K'ai-fêng 開封 was an instance in question, and according to the *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu* 東京夢華錄,⁽¹⁾ the *kuo-tz'ü-hang* 果子行 stood for a street of shops selling fruits or flowers, or a place where a flower and fruit market was held. However, a market was not always held at a *hang* in the Sung period, a situation that had to be explained by the decline of the T'ang system of *shih* that allotted a special space as business district where all shops were to be situated. The *shih* 市 institution began to decline about the middle of the T'ang period, and completely broke down in the latter half of the North Sung period, bringing about the redistribution of shops within a city in one or the other of the following two ways. Either various kinds of shop were mixed up in a street without any restriction; or shops of the same trade, though freed from the regulation that required them to be situated within the *shih* 市, still continued to be grouped together here and there within the city. It was in the second case only that a market was held in a street of shops of the same trade; and in the first case when shops of the same trade were scattered over the city, a market would be held on the bank of a river, at the approach of a bridge, or the space inside or outside a walled gate where access was easy, and was called by the name of *hang* 行, *shih* 市, or *t'uan* 團, wherever it was held. Thus it

(1) *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu*, Vols. 2 and 3.

will be seen that *hang* or *shih* in the above-mentioned *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu* and other books of the Sung period, do not always refer to a street consisting of shops of the same trade.

The *Mêng-hua-lu* 夢華錄⁽¹⁾ mentions:

The *Chiang-hang* 薑行 or Ginger *Hang*;

The *Sha-hang* 紗行 or Silk Gauze *Hang*.

The *Hsien-ch'un-lin-an-chih* 咸淳臨安志⁽²⁾ gives the names of:

The *Yao-shih* 藥市 or Medicine *Shih*;

The *Hua-shih* 花市 or Flower *Shih*;

The *Chu-tz'ü-shih* 珠子市 or Pearl *Shih*;

The *Mi-shih* 米市 or Grain *Shih*;

The *Jou-shih* 肉市 or Butcher's *Shih*;

The *T'sai-shih* 菜市 or Vegetable *Shih*;

The *Hsien-yü-shih* 鮮魚行 or Fresh Fish *Hang*;

The *Yü-hang* 魚行 or Fish *Hang*;

The *Nan-chu-hang* 南豬行 or the South Pig *Hang*;

The *Pei-chu-hang* 北豬行 or the North Pig *Hang*;

The *Pu-hang* 布行 or the Linen *Hang*;

The *Hsieh-hang* 蟹行 or the Crab *Hang*;

The *Hua-t'uan* 花團 or the Flower *T'uan*;

The *Ch'ing-kuo-t'uan* 青果團 or the Fresh Fruits *T'uan*;

The *Kan-tz'ü-t'uan* 柑子團 or the Orange *T'uan*;

The *Hsiang-t'uan* 鱻團 or the Dried Fish *T'uan*, etc.

The *Wu-ti-chi-hou-chi* 吳地記後集 gives:

The *Ting-hang* 釘行 or Nail *Hang*;

The *Cb'a-hang* 茶行 or Tea *Hang*;

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. 2.

(2) *Hsien-ch'un-lin-an-chih*, Vol. 19

(3) *Wu-chün-chih*, Vol. 6.

The *Yü-hang* 魚行 or Fish Hang, etc.

The *Wu-chün-chi* 吳郡志 gives :

The *Yü-hang chiao* 魚行橋 or Fish-hang-bridge ;

The *Kuo-tzŭ-hang* 果子行 or Fruits Hang ;

The *Mi-hang* 米行 or Grain Hang.

The *Pao-ch'ing-ssŭ-ming-chih* 寶慶四明志⁽¹⁾ gives :

The *Ts'ung-hang-ch'iao* 蔥行橋 or Onion-hang-bridge ;

The *Chu-hang-ch'iao* 竹行橋 or Bamboo-hang-bridge.

The *K'ai-ch'ing-ssŭ-ming-chih* 開慶四明志⁽²⁾ gives :

The *Hua-hang* 花行 or Flower Hang ;

The *Fan-hang* 飯行 or Restaurant Hang ;

The *Chu-hang* 竹行 or Bamboo Hang.

The *Ching-ting-chien-k'ang-chih* 景定建康志⁽³⁾ gives, among others, the following :

The *Yü-shih* 魚市 or Fish *Shih* ;

The *Ku-shih* 穀市 or Grain *Shih* ;

The *Sba-shih* 紗市 or the Silk Gauze *Shih* ;

The *Yin-hang* 銀行 or the Silver Smith Hang ;

The *Hua-hang* 花行 or the Flower Hang ;

The *Cbih-hang* 雞行 or the Live Chicken Hang.

As I have explained above, these names did not always stand for a street of shops of the same trade, but sometimes meant a market of some particular goods held in some convenient lot. Evidences found in the *Mêng-liang-lu*⁽⁴⁾ show that the *Mi-shih* 米市, the *Hsiang-t'uan* 糞團, the *Jou-shih* 肉市 and others mentioned in the *Hsien-ch'un-tin-an-chih*, were mere markets. However, I am inclined to believe that most of the above-mentioned names were at once a street of shops of the same

(1) *Pao-ch'ing-ssŭ-ming-chih*, Vol. 4.

(2) *K'ai-ch'ing-ssŭ-ming-chih*, Vol. 7.

(3) *Ching-ting-chien-k'ang-chih*, Vol. 16.

(4) *Mêng-liang-lu*, Vol. 16.

trade and a location where a market was held. In an epitaph on a monument, that was written in the fifth year of *Ming-ch'ang* 明昌 of Chin 金 (the fifth year of *Siao-hsi* 紹熙, during the reign of the Emperor Kuang-tsung 光宗 of Sung, 1194 A. D.), and which is contained in the *Pa-ch'iung-shih-chin-shih-pu-chêng* 八瓊室金石補正,⁽¹⁾ there is a remark to the effect that there was the *Yin-hang-chieh* 銀行街 or a silver smith *hang* street in Ching-chao 京兆 which in the T'ang period formed a part of Ch'ang-an. The *Yin-hang-chieh* was the name of a street, and although it is doubtful whether at the time of writing the epitaph the street still actually formed a silver *hang*, there is no doubt that it once was, and it was probably at least a street consisting of the shops of silver merchants. Hsu Ting 徐霆, a writer of the South Sung period, tells in his *Hei-ta-shih-liao* 黑鞮事略 that when he was dispatched to the court of the Emperor Tai-tsung 太宗 of Mongol, on a mission of the Emperor Li-tsung 理宗 of South Sung, he found at Yèn-ching 燕京 what was called the *Chiao-hsüeh-hang* 教學行, and also what was called the *Ch'i-êrh-hang* 乞兒行, and that the former was a place where a number of schools were situated, i.e. a street of schools, and the latter a place filled with beggars' hovels. The *hang*, as is used here, probably derived its meaning from the usage of the term in the sense of a street of shops of the same trade. To sum up, in the Sung period a breakdown of the *shih* took place, and brought about the collapse of the institution of *hang*; but still the practice of grouping together in a street the shops engaged in the same trade was to some extent retained, and such a street was called by the name of *hang* 行 or *shih* 市.⁽²⁾

I wish to make a brief mention about the numbers of *hang* that are found in the literature of the T'ang and Sung periods. A passage in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* that is believed to have been quoted from the *Liang-ching-hsin-chi* gives 100 as the number of the *hang* in Lo-yang; the *Ch'ang-an-chih* gives 220; a passage in the *Yüan-ho-nan-*

(1) *Pa-ch'iung-shih-chin-shih-pu-chêng*, Vol. 126, *Ching-chao-fu-t'i-hsüeh-so-t'ieh-pei*. 京兆府提學所帖碑.

(2) The *To-so-jidai-no-ichi* above.

chih which is believed to have been based upon SUNG MIN-CHIU's *Ho-nan-chih*, gives the number as 120 or 66. The *Tu-chêng-chi-shêng* 都城紀勝 which we have not had a chance to quote yet, gives 414, and the *Chin-hsien-chih* 金線池, a drama of the Yüan period, mentions 120. The word *hang* later came to signify the kind of trade. T'ïEN JU-CH'ENG 田汝成 of the Ming period who wrote the *Hsi-hu-yü-lan-chi-yü* 西湖遊覽志餘⁽¹⁾ and the author of the novel *P'ai-an-ching-ch'i* 拍案驚奇⁽²⁾ which was written in the closing period of the Ming dynasty, use the word in this sense, mentioning 360 *hang*. In China at present they use such an expression as 36 *hang*, 72 *hang*, or 360 *hang*, when they want to refer to the great varieties of trades. In view of these facts, I am inclined to believe that the number of the *hang* in a *shih* 市 100 *hang* or 120 *hang* for instance, as is found in the literature of the T'ang and Sung periods, was meant to denote not the actual number of the *hang*, but the great number of the varieties of trades as well as the streets of shops of the same trade. One hundred and twenty *hang* is an expression most often found in the literature of the T'ang and Sung periods, and is believed, as has been just pointed out, to have been most commonly used to express the great number of *hang*. It is a number that can be obtained by dividing 360 by three, and 360 is a number that can be obtained by multiplying 36 by 10, and 36 was a favourite number with the Chinese of ancient times, as can be seen in such expressions as Thirty-six Constellations 宮, Thirty-six Plans 計, and Thirty-six Lakes 陂. The present writer does not mean to say that the idea of 36 *hang* and 360 *hang* was anterior to the idea of 120 *hang*, but what he means is that the number 120 was conceivably derived from the numbers 36 and 360. All the existent editions of the *Ch'ang-an-chih* 長安志 mention 220 *hang*, but the number is probably a mistake for 120 *hang*.

The *hang* originally stood for a street consisting of shops of the same trade, but at the close of the T'ang period shops composing a *hang* were not restricted to those of the same trade, but apparently included shops of different trades, as we

(1) The *Hsi-hu-yü-lan-chih-yü*, Vol. 250.

(2) The *P'ai-an-ching-ch'i*, Vol. 8.

can see from a story in the *I-shih* 逸史, a novel written in the closing days of T'ang, referring to a spree at a public house situated in the *Ch'iu-p'ei-hang* 鞦韆行, or the Saddlery *Hang* in the *Hsi-shih* of Ch'ang-an. With the decay of the institution of the *shih* in the closing days of T'ang, some shops came to be located in the *fang* 坊 which was outside the *Hsi-* and *Tung-shih*, though close to them, and according to the *Pei-li-chih* 北里志, some *Chiao-chieh-p'u* 絞纈舖 or coloured silk textile shops were found in the *I-yang-fang* 宜陽坊, while the *Tung-ch'üeb-shih* 唐闕史 says that there were some shops dealing in gold, silver and precious stones in the *Yên-shou-fang* 延壽坊. These are among the instances to show that a group of shops of the same trade, though they may not have been many in number, was located outside a *hang*. With the complete collapse in the Sung period of the *shih*, the tendency showed an increase of more shops being located outside a *hang*, instances of which can be numerous found in the *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu* and the *Mêng-liang-lu*. Thus the "purity of a hang" was impaired in the middle of the T'ang period when the institution of the *shih* began to break down; and in the Sung period when the institution completely gave way, the tendency was rapidly accelerated.

CHAPTER II

Hang as an Association of Merchants (I)

The proprietors of the shops that composed a *hang* organised themselves into an association; and the association itself was also called *hang*, and the merchants that belonged to the association were known by the name of *hang-jêng*, *hang-shang* 行商, *hang-hu* 行戶, or *hang-chia* 行家. The *Chiu-t'ang-shu Shih-huo-chih* 舊唐書食貨志 cites an Imperial edict issued in the first year of *Chien-ching* 建中 (780 A. D.) with the object of preventing the rise of prices of rice, providing that the *hang-jên* of the *Tung-* and *Hsi-shih* would have 100,000 *tan* 石 each of rice and barley sold to them by the government, which they should sell to the people at low prices. The *hang-jên* referred to here was, there is reason to believe, probably

a merchant of the *mi-hang*, that is, a merchant of a rice-dealers' street, and at the same time a merchant that belonged to the rice merchants' association. Books published in the Sung period contain a large number of such expressions as *hang-shang*, *hang-jên*, and *hang-hu*, examples of which will be given later, and let it suffice to mention here that these terms probably meant sometimes a merchant whose shop belonged to a street of shops of the same trade, and also a merchant who belonged to some merchants' association; or sometimes especially the latter; but after the institution of the *shih* collapsed, I believe that the word was probably used mostly in the sense of a merchant who belonged to some merchants' association. There are also found in the literature of this field some such expressions as *hang-p'ü* 行鋪, *hang-huo* 行貨, and *hang-tso* 行作. *P'ü* 鋪 meant *p'ü-bsi* 鋪席, that is, shop; and *huo* 貨 and *tso* 作 both meant commercial goods. We also come across an expression "hang-lan" 行濫, which meant cheap goods.

A *hang-t'ou* 行頭, *hang-shou* 行首 or *hang-lao* 行老 was appointed as the head of *hang* 行. It is likely that at first these names signified the headman of a street of shops of the same trade, as well as the head of the association which was organised by the merchants of the shops of the street but after the breakdown of the institution of the *shih*, mainly stood for the head of the merchants' association. In his note⁽¹⁾ on the *Chou-li* 周禮, CHIA KUNG-YÊN 賈公彥, a writer of the early T'ang period, explaining the office of the *Ssü-chang* 肆長 referred to in the *Chou-li*, says that the office was something like that of the *hang-t'ou* of his days. In the Imperial edict of the 8th year of *Chên-yüan* 貞元 (792 A.D.) quoted in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu Shih-huo-chih* 舊唐書食貨志,⁽²⁾ a *hang-t'ou*, proprietor of a hotel, and *ya-jên* 牙人 or broker, were given orders to prevent the unlawful acts of the merchants. In the books published during the period of North Sung, there is apparently found no reference to the head of the merchants' associations, but the complete works by CHÊN TÊ-HSIU 真德秀,⁽³⁾ a statesman of

(1) The *Chou-li-chu-su* 周禮注疏, Vol. 15, section of *ssü-chang* 肆長.

(2) The *Chiu-t'ang-shu*, Vol. 48, *Shih-huo-chih*, Part 1.

(3) *Chên-hsi-shan-wên-chi* 真西山文集, Vol. 7.

the period of South Sung, contains a story that an official of Huang-ch'ih-chên 黃池鎮, T'ai-p'ing-ch'ou 太平州, feathered his own nest by employing a *hang-t'ou*. According to the *Wei-chêng-chiu-yao* 爲政九要⁽¹⁾ contained in the *Chü-chia-pi-yung shih-lei-chüan-chi* 居家必用事類全集, the *ch'a-fang* 茶房 or teahouse, *chiu-ssü* 酒肆 or ale house, *chi-kuan* 妓館 or public house, *shih-tien* 食店 or restaurant, *k'uei-fang* 櫃房 or safe deposit firm, *ma-ya* 馬牙 or broker of horses, *chieb-p'u* 解庫 or pawnshop, *yin-p'u* 銀鋪 or silversmith shop, and *lü-tien* 旅店 or hotel, were each required to have their own *hang-lao* for the prevention of theft and other wrongdoing. The *Chü-chia-pi-yung-shih-lei-chüan-chi* was edited in the Yüan period,⁽²⁾ but the content of the *Wei-chêng-chiu-yao*, one of the books contained in the series, was apparently written by a man of South Sung. Again according to the *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu* 東京夢華錄,⁽³⁾ they were required to apply to the respective *hang-lao* to employ a labourer, a craftsman or an artisan, and the *Mêng-liang-lu* 夢梁錄⁽⁴⁾ has also a passage to similar effect. The labourers' or artisans' practice of having a *hang-lao* is similar to that of the merchants' associations having their own *hang-lao*, and is believed to have been modelled after the example of the latter. HUNG MAI 洪邁 writes in his *I-chien-chih* 夷堅志⁽⁵⁾ that in Po-yang 鄱陽 the *shih-wu* 師巫 or a witch who ministers well to the gods was called *hang-lao*, and this nomenclature also, I believe, imitated that of the merchants' associations. We often come across a passage in a Yüan drama, where a popular singing-girl is called a *hang-shou*, probably another instance of the nomenclature of the merchants' associations. In short, the foregoing remarks have made it practically clear, I believe, that in the T'ang and Sung periods, each of the merchants' associations had its head, who was called *hang-t'ou*, *hang-shou*, or *hang-lao*; and that the practice affected other walks of life.

(1) *Wei-chêng-chiu-yao*, Vol. 8.

(2) Shigeshi KATÔ: *Tô-sô Kibô-kô* 唐宋櫃坊考 (A Study on *K'uei-fang* 櫃坊 or the safe deposit firm during the T'ang and Sung Periods) note 5 for Chapter 1; the *Tôyô-gakuhô*, Vol. 12, No. 4.

(3) The *Tung-ching-mêng-hua-lu*, Vol. 3.

(4) *Mêng-liang-lu*, Vol. 19.

(5) *I-chien-chih*, *Hsin (8th) Series* 辛集, Part 1.

CHAPTER IV

Hang as an Association of Merchants (II)

In the Sung period, the *hang* as the merchants' association was under the obligation called *hang-i* 行役 of supplying government needs at its demand, and the merchants who belonged to the association were, in turn, to supply the government order. For the goods thus supplied, the government paid the merchant who served them with the goods; but the obligation was a cause of much grievance to the merchant, because the price paid by the government was lower than the market price, he had to pay for the transportation of the goods himself and moreover the officials of the government used to take the opportunity to squeeze money from the merchant. Therefore, at the petition of Hsü Chung-chêng 徐中正, a merchant of the *jou-hang* 肉行 or pork and mutton *hang* of K'ai-fêng 開封 in April of the 6th year of *Hsi-ning* 熙寧 (1073 A. D.), a change in the institution was effected in August by the government, according to which the merchant was to pay monthly or quarterly, according to his ability, to the government a fee for exemption from the *hang-i*, called *mien-hang-ch'ien* 免行錢, or, in full, *mien-hang-i-ch'ien* 免行役錢, and the government was to pay the merchant the market price for goods supplied to the government. A result of the new system was that the merchants' association forced petty merchants, who had not joined the association yet, to join it, and to make them share the burden of paying the *mien-hang-ch'ien*, and several reforms of the system had to be carried out to rectify this evil. In the 8th year of *Hsi-ning* 熙寧 (1075 A. D.), at K'ai-fêng, the *hang* that paid the fee amounted to one hundred and seventy in number, and in the 8th year of *Yüan-fêng* 元豐 (1085 A. D.) the shops of different *hang* that paid some fee numbered more than 6,400, and the total sum of the fee paid amounted to more than 43,000 *min* 緡, a *min* being equivalent to 1,000 coppers. The new regulation was put into effect in the capital and in the country district, but the metropolitan system was abolished in September of the 8th year of *Yüan-fêng*, while that of the country district, being kept up longer, was done away with at the

close of the era of *Sbao-hsing* 紹興 (circa 1162 A. D.) of South Sung. After the abolition of the system, both the capital and the country district returned to their former practice that required the merchants of the *hang* in turn to supply the government needs at its demand. Such is the gist of the studies by the present writer on the subject, by referring to the *Hsü-tz'ü-chih-t'ung-chien-ch'ang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編, the *Chien-yên-i-lai-hsi-nien-yao-lu* 建炎以來繫年要錄, the *Sung-shih Shih-buo-chih* 宋史食貨志 and others.

The obligation a member of the *hang* owed the government, was not limited to supplying the government needs at its demand. SŪ-MA KUANG 司馬光, for instance, gives in his *Su-shui-chi-wên* 涑水紀聞⁽¹⁾ a story that when he was governor of Yung-hsing-chün 永興軍, Wên Yên-po 文彥博 called to his house some merchants of the silk *hang*, and disposed of to them several hundred *pi* 疋 of silk stored in his house, and with the view of keeping up the credit of the iron money 鐵錢, he had the merchants pay him for the silk in iron money. In his *Pei-hsing-jih-lu* 北行日錄,⁽²⁾ LOU YAO 樓鑰, a writer of the South Sung period, speaking of his trip when he accompanied a mission from the court of Sung and visited Nan-ching 南京 of Chin 金, formerly K'ai-fêng, capital of Sung, describes how the reception officials of Chin sold the articles, presented by the Sung mission, to merchants of some *hang* in Nan-ching, and obtained money in exchange for them, which they loaded on wagons and carried north. It was probably a practice inherited from the time of North Sung that the government officials of Chin sold those articles to merchants of the *hang*. In the light of these facts, I believe that the government officials made use of the merchants of the *hang* when they wanted to purchase what they needed as well as when they wanted to sell what they had. In other words, it was probably one of the obligations (*hang-i* 行役) of the merchants of a *hang* to purchase what the government wanted to sell. We read in the biography of Hân Ch'i 韓琦 supplemented to his *An-yang-chi* 安陽集, in the section of the first year of *Ch'ing-li* 慶曆

(1) *Su-shui-chi-wên*, Vol. 10.

(2) *Pei-hsing-jih-lu*, Part 1.

(1041 A. D.), that more than ten merchants of the silk *hang* of P'an-yüan-hsien, Wei-chou (渭州 潘原縣) were each bid to lend seventy *kuan* (貫) of money to the government, and were placed in an awkward situation. This story makes me believe that not only in the sale and purchase of goods but in many other matters regarding government finance the merchants of the *hang* were taken advantage of for the benefit of the government.

Such was the obligation the *hang* owed the government, but it cannot be ascertained exactly when the practice was begun. The reign of the Emperor Tê-tsung 德宗 of T'ang (780-804 A. D.) was notorious for the evils that attended on the *Kung-shih* 宮市, but the records describing the conditions of the *Kung-shih* do not warrant us to infer that at that time the *hang* had already been made responsible for such an obligation. My inference is that the practice regarding the obligation of the *hang* probably came into existence later than in the reign of that emperor, and probably originating at the close of the T'ang period or in the Five Dynasties period 五代, it came to develop rapidly in the Sung period.

I wish to consider next the relations among the members themselves of a *hang*. To those who are acquainted with the customs of the Chinese merchants, it may be easily suggested, first, that in observing the Buddhist or other religious festivals, there was probably co-operation among the members of a *hang*, and I believe it can be corroborated by the previously given story in LI MEI'S *Tsuan-i-chi* 李玫纂異記 that at the suggestion of their headman, the members of the Gold and Silver *Hang* at Su-chou 蘇州 made an offering to the Mausoleum of Wu-t'ai-po 吳太伯 of a picture of a beautiful woman, or the story in the *Mêng-liang-lu*⁽¹⁾ to the effect that on the birthdays of the gods and the old saints the *hang* made it a rule to make an offering to their spirits; the *ch'i-pao-hang* 七寶行 or cloisonne *hang*, for example, making an offering of some cloisonne toy, the *ch'ing-kuo-hang* 青果行 or the fruits and vegetables *hang* the fruits of the season, the *yü-êrb-huo-hang* 魚兒活行 a rare fish or tortoise. The next

(1) *Mêng-liang-lu*, Vol. 19.

question is: How did the members behave toward each other in matters other than religious? In the sections regarding the Era of *Chih-tao* 至道 (995-997 A. D.) of *T'ai-tsung* 太宗, the *Sung-shih Shib-huo-chih*, *Cha-fa* 茶法,⁽¹⁾ has the following story.

其輸邊粟者，持交引詣京師，有坐賈置鋪，隸名榷貨務，懷交引者湊之，若行商，則鋪賈爲保任，詣京師榷貨務給錢，南州給茶，若非行商，則鋪賈自售之，轉鬻與茶賈。

The merchant who sold provisions to the frontier army at the north frontier of Shen-hsi 陝西, was given a sort of promissory note that was called "*chiao-yin*" 交引, and came to K'ai-fêng, the capital, with it. In case the merchant was a "*hang-shang*" 行商, the merchants who were purveyors to the monopoly bureau (*Ch'ueh-hua-wu* 榷貨務) of the government stood surety for him, upon which he was paid by the monopoly bureau for the provisions he had sold to the army. Or if the merchant so desired, he could go to a tea-producing district and get an amount of tea equivalent to the prices of the provisions. In case the merchant was not a *hang-shang*, no resident merchant would vouch for him, so that, unable to get any payment from the monopoly bureau of the government, he was obliged to sell the *chiao-yin* to some resident merchant, who in turn sold it to some tea merchant. It may be noted in passing that the *tso-chia* 坐賈 was a resident merchant in contrast to the *ke'o-shang* 客商 or travelling merchant, or peddler.

In the North Sung period, there was a practice often followed that the government made payment at the capital for the provisions it bought for its army at the north frontier, or in place of money paid in kind, such as salt or tea. The above story is a case in point. The important thing to note in connection with it is that if the merchant who came up to the capital and presented a *chiao-yin* was a *hang-shang*, some resident merchant who belonged to the monopoly bureau would stand surety for him, but unless he was one, any resident merchant would not vouch for him. As

(1) *Sung-shih*, Vol. 183.

long as he was a *hang-shang*, the merchant who dealt in grain in the frontier district must have been a grain merchant belonging to the rice *hang* of K'ai-fêng, although it cannot be ascertained what the resident merchant dealt in. If the resident merchant was an important merchant belonging to the same rice *hang*, it is possible to regard the above as a case of co-operation for mutual benefit in business among the members of the same *hang*. Of course, in case the *hang-shang* and the resident merchant were not members of the same *hang*, we must not, it is needless to say, regard it in such a light. However, even if they were not of the same *hang*, the fact remains that as long as they were merchants belonging to some *hang* or other of the same city, they made much of the membership in a *hang*, and tried to help each other for their mutual benefit. It is only too natural to infer from this that the member merchants belonging to the same *hang* should have co-operated with one another for their mutual benefit. I am inclined to think that the most important use of a *hang* from the standpoint of a *hang* merchant, consisted in its being an organ for furthering the common good of the *hang* members, and the most important common interest lay in the monopoly of some business by the *hang* members.

As I have stated above, in the T'ang period business was chiefly carried on within the *shih*, a restricted area for business within a city. It was a system whereby the *shih* itself tried to monopolize business. Hence we have reason to believe that various sorts of business were monopolized by the merchants having their shops in the streets of the shops of the same trade. For instance, the silk business was monopolized by the merchants of the silk *hang*, and the gold and silver business by those of the gold and silver *hang*. It was the natural result of the institution of the *shih*, and the merchants' associations were not responsible for it. However, with the gradual decline of the *shih* institution after the middle of the T'ang period, followed by such a complete breakdown of the institution after the middle of the Sung period that although some *hang* still retained their form, shops of some trades were opened outside their *hang*, and shops of other trades were opened within the *hang*, the restrictions about location of the shops were almost completely

disregarded and the monopoly of the *hang* shops came to face a crisis. Urged by this situation, the consolidation of the *hang* as an association was strengthened, and it is reasonable to infer that the *hang* merchants tried, in the face of the breakdown of the *hang* as a street of the shops of the same trade, to maintain their monopoly by dint of the *hang* in the form of an association, achieving almost fully their purpose. Therefore, as far as the *hang* is concerned, the period from the latter half of the T'ang dynasty to the middle of the Sung dynasty represented a period of the breakdown of the *shih* system, and at the same time a period of the growth of the *hang* as a merchants' association. As has been stated previously, the institution of the *hang-i* 行役 originated at the close of the T'ang period or in the Five Dynasties period, and rapidly developed in the North Sung period. The *hang-i* or the obligation of a *hang* toward the government was, in my opinion, what the government demanded of the *hang* as a compensation, as a return for the government's recognition of the right of a *hang* continuing its monopoly, and it is not a mere accidental coincidence, I believe, that the development of the *hang-i* went side by side with the development and consolidation of the *hang* as a merchants' association. There is not any evidence explicitly stating that in the Sung period the *hang* of a trade had the monopoly of its trade. However, in view of the character of the "shih" and its relation with a "hang", and if we consider, as will be discussed in the next chapter, that an association that was called *hang* kept its existence down to the Ch'ing 清 period, and that the seventy-two *hang* of Canton 廣東七十二行 each maintained their monopoly of their trade, I believe it may not be wide of the mark to make the above inferences.

The member merchants of a *hang* did not always work together for their common benefit, but it was more likely that the richer merchants of a *hang* tyrannized over the poorer members and made a monopoly for their own benefit. The Shih-i Act 市易法 put into force by Wang An-shih 王安石 in the fifth year of *Hsi-ning*

(1) *Tu-ch'êng-chi-shêng*, Section of various *hang* 諸行.

(1072 A. D.) aimed of course, first, at increase of the national revenue, but it also had the object of rectifying such evil practices. The *Hsi-tz'u-chih-t'ung-chien-ch'ang-pien*, in its section on the intercalary month of July of the 5th year of *Hsi-ning*, contains the memorial Wang An-shih presented to the emperor, which reads in summary as follows :

In the *hang* of tea, more than ten richer merchants are used to tyrannize over the rest. When tea is brought to the capital by travelling merchants, first of all they invite these tea merchants to a feast, and arranging with them to sell their tea at so low a price as will hardly bring any benefit upon them, secure their consent to connive at the high prices they are going to charge for the tea which they will sell to the comparatively poorer merchants of the tea *hang*. If the present *Shih-i Act* is put into effect, the rich merchants and the comparatively poor tea merchants will have to buy tea at the same price with the consequent result that the richer merchants will blame the newly-enacted trade law. The above information was obtained from a merchant of the tea *hang*, but similar evils prevail in all other *hang*.

如茶一行，自來有十餘戶，若客人將茶到京，即先饋獻設燕，乞爲定價，此十餘戶所買茶，更不敢取利，但得爲定高價，即於下戶倍取利，以償其費，今立市易法，即此十餘戶，與下戶買賣均一，此十餘戶，所以不便新法，造謗讖也，臣昨見得茶行人，狀如此，餘行戶蓋皆如此。

In the same section of the book, in quoting Wang An-shih 王安石, it is related how, as the richer ones of the comb merchants, haggling with the travelling merchants who brought to the capital some materials for making combs, would not take the materials at fair and reasonable prices, the travelling merchants appealed to the *Shih-i-wu* 市易務, who thereupon purchased the goods, and turning down the offer of the richer comb merchants to buy the whole thing for themselves, sold the goods to comb merchants at large. From these accounts, it seemed that even in a *hang*

(1) *Mêng-liang-lu*, Vol. 13.

the richer merchants, combining together, used to tyrannize over the rest of the merchants of the *hang*. It is clear, therefore, that the merchants of the *hang* did not always work together in perfect accord, but it is quite probable that for their common interests all the merchants acted in concert one with another.

From the standpoint of the government, a *hang* was likely to be regarded as an organ for *hang-i*. In the section for April of the 6th year of *Hsi-ning* 熙寧 (1073 A. D.), the *Hsü-tzū-chih-t'ung-chien-ch'ang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編 says that both in the capital and in the country *hang* have been established to supply various kinds of goods to the government.⁽¹⁾ There are also remarks in the *Tu-ch'êng-chi-shêng* 都城紀勝⁽²⁾ and the *Mêng-liang-lu* 夢梁錄⁽³⁾ to the effect that *hang* or *t'uan* have been set up so that the government might purchase from them what they wanted. It is written in the *Hsi-shan-wên-chi* 西山文集 of CHEN TE-HSIU 真德秀 that a *hang* has been set up for each kind of goods, and once a merchant joins a *hang*, he will long have to suffer exaction at the hands of government officials.⁽⁴⁾ From these accounts we might be inclined to infer that the *hang* was nothing but an instrument for doing services for the government, but really such was not the case. The obligation the *hang* owed to the government that is, the *hang-i*, was apparently a pretty heavy burden for a *hang* merchant, but the tax was not levied without reason. As has been mentioned above, the *hang-i* may be regarded as a form of tax that was instituted as a means of the *hang* merchant's repaying the government for the privilege secured by his *hang* in the monopoly of the trade of his *hang*. In the early days of Sung, sixteen rich merchants of Ch'êng-tu 成都, Ssü-ch'uan 四川, were granted the privilege of issuing a sort of paper money called *chiao-tzū* 交子 and in return for it, they were to pay the wages of the workers employed by the government for measuring the corn to be taken as land-tax, and also to pay the expenses for repairing

(1) 續資治通鑑長編卷二四四。(初京師供百物有行,雖外州軍等,而官司上下須索,無慮十倍以上,云云。)

(2) 都城紀勝。(市肆謂之行者,因官府科索而得此名。)

(3) 夢梁錄卷一三。(市肆謂之團行者,蓋因官王回買而立此名。)

(4) 真西山文集卷七。(諸般百物,皆有行名,人戶之掛名簿,終其身以至子孫,無由得脫。)

certain dams. Later on in the Ch'ing period, the sale of salt and the pawnshop were licensed trades, and the number of the licenses to be issued was restricted. Thus the licensed merchants who were engaged in these trades used to reap a vast profit, so much so that not infrequently they were forced to make a contribution of a large sum of silver to the government in the name of repaying favours and the like. Privilege and reward always go hand in hand. The *hang-i* stands mainly for a reward and in the case in question the *hang* and their privilege existed first, and were followed by the *hang-i*. The case is not that the *hang-i* gave birth to the *hang*.

In short, I believe that the *hang* as a merchants' association was a by-product of the system that established the *hang* as a street block consisting of shops engaged in the same trade. Co-operation among the member merchants of a *hang* was probably a natural outgrowth of the situation that the shops of the same trade were assembled in one place. At first, they co-operated with one another in regard to religious, festivals, and then proceeded to co-operate in some degree in matters connected with business for their mutual benefit. With the breakdown of the *shih* menacing the right of monopoly of the *hang* merchants, the merchants of the same trade tried to maintain their privilege of monopoly and organised themselves into some form of association, which taking the place of the *shih* proved a means of protecting their privilege against that which menaced it.

So much for the *hang* as a merchants' association. I wish to take up a couple of points regarding a *hang* that have been left untouched so far. In the first place, as far as a trade was concerned, the *hang* street of the same trade in a town was not limited to one in number. For instance, as there were two *shih*, Tung- and Hsi- or Eastern and Western, in Ch'ang-an of the T'ang period, there were probably two *hang* streets of some trades, one each in the Eastern and the Western *shih*, a situation we can infer from an account in the *Engi-shiki* 延喜式⁽¹⁾ (a Japanese Code of the Engi Period, 901-922 A. D.) where it refers to the names of "ten"

(1) *Engi-shiki*, Vol. 42. See section on *Tōshishi* 東市司.

(麀), which is synonymous with "hang" 行, of the Eastern and Western *shih* of Hei-an-kyô 平安京 or Kyôto. In such a case, we have to assume that there were two *hang*, two headmen, and consequently two merchants' associations of the same sort in a town, each of them enjoying the monopoly of their trade respectively in their *shih*. As to their situation, after the institution of the *shih* and that of the street of the same trade broke down in the Sung period, we are inclined to believe that when there were more than one merchants' association of a trade in a town, they probably came to be merged into one, the combined organisation enjoying the monopoly of their trade. However, there is nothing in literature to prove this last point.

In the second place, as I have stated above, in the period extending from the T'ang to the Sung dynasty each *hang* had its headman called "hang-shou" or "hang-lao" but there is hardly any reference to this fact found in the literature of the Sung period. The *Hsi-tz'u-chih-t'ung-chien-ch'ang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編 and some other books contain many references to the *mien-hang-ch'ien* 免行錢 or the money for exemption from the *hang-i*; however, no references to the *hang-lao* in this connection are found in those books. From this I am inclined to think that in the Sung period the *hang-lao* were not very influential persons, and just like the *tung-shih* 董事 of the *hui-kuan* in the Ch'ing period, were in charge only of the business matters of the *hang*, while the more important commercial business was controlled by the richer merchants of the *hang* or "ch'ien-ping-chih-chia" 兼併之家 as they were called at that period, in the manner that WAN AN-SHIH, quoted above, describes it in relating the tyrannical behaviour of the richer members of a *hang* in the fifth year of *Hsi-ning*. Hence my inference is that unlike the *hang-lao* in the T'ang period, the *hang-lao* in general in the Sung period were not installed by order of the government, and were not employed by the government for police purposes, but only in some particular line of business which was likely to be infested by villains and rogues, such as tea-houses and bars, the government ordered a *hang-lao* to be installed, and took advantage of his services for keeping the ruffians under control.

CHAPTER IV

Hang in the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing Periods

The custom of having shops of the same trade assembled in one place was maintained to some degree even until after the Yüan period, but apart from this custom the "hang", as merchants' associations of various trades, has been kept up even to this day.

The *Liang-ché-chin-shih-chih* 兩浙金石志,⁽¹⁾ quoting the inscription on the monument of Tung-yüeh-hsing-kung-pei 東嶽行宮碑 that was erected in the 1st year of *Yên-yü* 延祐 (1314 A. D.) by the Government of Ch'ang-hsing-chou 長興州, gives also the names, inscribed on the monument, of the contributors toward paying the expenses for building the monument, among which are found the following :

- 子孫司. 五熟行, 因元貴, 徐富, 周敬.
 都城隍司. 香燭行, 宋文政, 錢思政, 鄒文貴, 姚源, 姚福, 徐全祖, 宋榮祖.
 龍王司. 銀行, 吳永祥, 楊新.
 速報司. 玉塵行, 陳榮, 周二秀, 倪成, 因通, 王德, 姚子龍, 許明.
 李王祠. 度生行, 陳安, 錢通, 周元, 俞厚, 卞良.
 土地司. 灑燭打, 帛印馬行, 陳聰, 沈應, 雷章輝.
 水府司. 篙師行, 俞慶, 沈林, 周慶, 毛富.
 昭證司. 淨髮行, 姚珍, 桑琇, 費榮, 錢大亨, 俞慶.
 積財司. 裁縫行, 陳元, 金贊, 營琳, 莫繼祖.
 放生司. 錦鱗行, 楊富, 包源, 費政.
 輪迴司. 碧緣行, 陳富, 沈進.
 齊僧司. 糖餅行, 陸進, 陳良, 朱文彬, 鄒宗榮, 潘宜, 朱擇善.
 曹職司. 曹行, 錢旺, 唐桂, 徐勝, 談成等.
 張太尉司. 五色行, 馮晨, 沈琳, 高元, 王榮.
 皮場王司. 正冠行, 姚松, 因屋, 姚奉真, 沈德榮, 王椿, 盛茂, 陸程.

(1) *Liang-ché-chin-shih-chih*, Vol. 15.

執政司. 雙線行, 吳巖, 馬元, 費椿, 陳成, 黃成, 姚楠, 張旺.

功德司. 果行, 張宣, 因貴, 王應森, 施元亨.

注福司. 綵帛行, 金潤, 張君堂, 王涇, 錢文彪, 錢德秀.

掌命司. 厨行, 趙興祖, 湯勝, 蔡輝, 蔡榮.

掠剩司. 飯食行, 俞厚, 卞良, 沈敬.

千聖小王樓. 酒行, 高天瑞, 金林, 徐榮祖, 姚榮, 朱埜, 徐政尹.

The first words of each line above represent the names of deities, which are followed by the names of the donors of the money for building the shrines of those deities. The names of the donors are preceded by words reading such and such a *hang*, which may well be understood to be the names of the merchants' associations or craftsmen's associations to which they belonged. It is difficult to clarify the meaning of the names of all those *hang*, but among those whose meaning I can make out, are the following :

The *Hsiang-chu-hang* 香燭行 or the Incense-stick and Candle *Hang* :

The *Yin-hang* 銀行 or Silversmith *Hang* :

The *Kao-shih-hang* 篙師行 or Junk Sailors' *Hang* :

The *Ching-fa-hang* 淨髮行 or Hair Dressers' *Hang* :

The *T'ai-fêng-hang* 裁縫行 or Dress Makers' *Hang* :

The *Chin-lin-hang* 錦鱗行 or Goldfish *Hang* :

The *T'ang-ping-hang* 糖餅行 or Sugared Cakes *Hang* :

The *Shuang-hsien-hang* 雙線行 or Best Silk *Hang* :

The *Kuo-hang* 果行 or Fruits *Hang* :

The *T'sai-po-hang* 綵帛行 or Coloured Silk *Hang* :

The *Ch'u-hang* 厨行 or Cooks' *Hang* :

The *Fan-shih-hang* 飯食行 or Restaurant *Hang* :

The *Chiu-hang* 酒行 or Liquor *Hang*.

From these passages, it can be made out that in the Yüan period at Ch'ang-hsing-chou 長興州 which corresponds to what is Ch'ang-hsing-hsien 長興縣 in Ché-chiang Province 浙江省 there were many merchants' associations such as *wu-shou-*

hang 五熟行 and others. Again the memorial presented by Yüan I-chi 袁一騏, Governor of Fu-chien 福建 Province, to the then emperor in the *Wan-li* 萬曆 Era, (1573-1619 A. D.) in which its author tried to impeach Kao Ts'ai 高棗, *Chien-shui-t'ai-chien* 監稅太監 or the eunuch superintendent of the maritime customs, regarding his maladministration, reads, as is quoted in the *Tung-hsi-yang-kao* 東西洋考 by CHANG HSIÉH 張燮 of the Ming period, in part as follows:

“For personal benefit, he levied taxes upon all merchants, exacting more than 700 *taels* of *tsü-chin* 紫金 or red gold from the *chin-hang* 金行 or gold *hang*, more than fifty large pearls from the *chu-hang* 珠行 or pearl *hang*, more than fifty pieces of blue and red *chiu-huang* 酒黃 from the *pao-shih-hang* 寶石行 or precious stone *hang*, two mace of silver for every *yen-yin* 鹽引 or salt license from the salt merchants, a large sum of money daily from every hundred silk merchants.”⁽¹⁾

Setting apart for the moment the the cases of the salt merchants and others, the pearl *hang*, the gold *hang*, and the precious stone *hang* will be considered. The reference is to the gold, pearl and precious stone *hang* which were located in Hai-chêng district 海澄縣, the centre of the Fu-chien trade of the day; and the pearl *hang* which had fifty pearls levied, the gold *hang* more than 700 *taels* of *tsü-chin* gold, and the precious stone *hang* more than fifty *chiu-huang* 酒黃, are, in my opinion, to be interpreted as the associations respectively of the pearl merchants, the merchants who mainly dealt in gold, and the merchants who dealt in precious stones. In the books dealing with the various institutions of the Ming period, including the *Ming-hui-tien* 明會典, the *Hsü-tung-tien* 續通典, and the *Ming-shih Shib-huo-chih*, there are found here and there some references to *hang* 行 and *hang-t'ou* 行頭, but they will not be taken up here. All the above cases cited are examples of *hang* in the provincial districts, but I believe they suffice to

(1) 東西洋考卷八. . . . 私派一切行戶, 金行取紫金七百兩, 珠行取大珠五十餘顆, 寶石行取青紅酒黃五十餘塊, 鹽商每勒銀二錢, 歲萬餘兩, 其他綢段鋪戶百家, 編定輪日供應, 日取引數百計, 云云.

show that there existed *hang* in the Yüan and Ming period.

In the Ch'ing period, the *hang* of Canton were the most famous. The *hang* of Canton were popularly known as the seventy-two *hang* 七十二行, which, however, at the close of the Ch'ing period, still showed an increase and, including the silver *hang*, the gold *hang*, the pawnshop *hang*, the silk *hang*, and the tea *hang*, amounted to ninety-seven *hang* in all. In Canton it was prescribed in those days that unless he joined some *hang*, a merchant could not carry on his business, and that in order to join a *hang*, he must be a trustworthy merchant, and also have two or three merchants stand surety for him, and to pay about a hundred *liang* 兩 as initiation fee; but in actual practice it was difficult for a merchant to join a *hang* unless he managed to purchase the good will of a firm that belonged to some *hang*.⁽¹⁾ Some of the influential *hang* built a *hui-kuan* 會館, popularly known as *kung-so* 公所, and assembling in the hall worshipped deities or held conferences. A bell that was hung in front of the shrine of a *yin-hang-hui-kuan* 銀行會館 called "Chung-hsien-t'ang" 忠信堂 had the following inscription on it:⁽²⁾

在銀行會館玄壇祖師案前永遠供,奉旨,康熙五十三年,歲次甲午,季春吉旦,佛山隆盛爐造。

"This is dedicated for all time to come, to Yüan-t'an-tsu-shih 玄壇祖師, god of the Yin-hang-hui-kuan. Manufactured by Lung-shêng-lu 隆盛爐 (the name of a smith) of Fo-shan-chên 佛山鎮, in obedience to the order of the god, in March, the fifty-third year of K'ang-hsi 康熙 (1714 A. D.)."

The inscription proves that the silversmith *hang* of Canton built a *hui-kuan* as early as the fifty-third year of K'ang-hsi, so that the silver *hang* itself must have already been in existence for a long time when the *hui-kuan* was built. The present

(1) *Shina-keizai-hokokusho* (Report on the Economic Conditions of China) published by the TÔA-DÔBUN-KAI. Vol. 11: On 72 Hang and South and North Hang 南北行.

(2) CHÔZÔ MUTÔ: *Ginkô-kaiikan-naru-meiji-ga-yaku-nihyakunen-zen Shina-ni-sonseshi-jijitsu-no-Hakken*. 銀行會館なる名辭が約二百年前支那に存せし事實の發見 (Discovery of the fact that the term Yin-hang-hui-kuan 銀行會館 existed some two hundred years ago in China). *Nagasaki-Kôtôshôgô-gakko Kenkyûkan-nempô* (Annual report of the Research Institute, the Nagasaki Higher Commercial School), Vol. 3, 1922.

writer is almost inclined to believe that the silversmith *hang* of Canton was at least as old as the closing days of the Ming period. Among the so-called "seventy-two *hang*" there were probably, besides the silversmith *hang*, many others of long history. It may be noted in passing that "Fo-shan-chên" mentioned in the inscription was then a flourishing commercial and industrial town situated to the south-west of Canton. According to the *Fo-shan-chung-i-hsiang-chih* 佛山忠義鄉志⁽¹⁾ revised in the twelfth year of the Chinese Republic (1923 A.D.), there were scores of *hang* in the town; and among others, the *Chu-fa-hang* 鑄發行, or the *hang* of the merchants dealing in iron and copper wares, had their hall "Chiang-chi-t'ang" 江濟堂 built in the forty-fourth year of *Chien-lung* 乾隆 (1779 A. D.), the *Lien-fang-hui-kuan* 蓮芳會館 was built by the *Chih-hang* 紙行 or paper *hang* of Fu-chien in the 11th year of *Yung-chêng* 雍正 (1733 A. D.), and the *Chin-yü-t'ang* 金玉堂 was built by the *Shing-ting-hang* 新釘行 or the new nail *hang* during the era of *Chia-ch'ing* 嘉慶 (1796-1820 A. D.). It is only natural to infer from the cases of Canton and Fo-shan-chên that during the Ch'ing period there were in all cities, large and small, merchants' associations called *hang*, and the more powerful of the *hang* built their *hui-kuan*, as in Canton and Fo-shan-chên.

According to the *Tu-mên-chi-liao* 都門紀略, a guide-book of Peking published at the close of the Ch'ing period, there were six *hui-kuan* in Peking, although my first-hand investigation in 1927 shows that besides the six mentioned in the book, there were three more, making the total of nine. One of them was located in the *Lu-ts'ao-yüan* 蘆草園, outside the *Ch'ien-mên* Gate 前門, and was called the *Yên-liao-hui-kuan* 顏料會館, also being known as the *Hsien-wêng-miao* 仙翁廟 because there were enshrined in the Hall two immortal wizards, *Mei-hsien* 梅仙 and *Ko-hsien* 葛仙 by name. The inscription on the cenotaph that was built within the *hui-kuan* compound in the 17th year of *K'ang-hsi* (1678 A. D.) reads in part as follows:

(1) *Fo-shan-chung-i-hsiang-chih*, Vol. 6.

... 京都中城中, 東北蘆草園地方, 建有仙翁廟壹所, 崇祀者有年矣, 乃雨風剝蝕, 既不足以大憑依, 棟宇摧殘, 且不足尊瞻仰, 爰集闔行, 聿從公議, 踴躍捐資, 各無畏難之色, 辛勤董事, 咸有爭赴之忱, 於是敬卜吉期, 重修大殿, 云云.

In Lu-ts'ao-yüan which occupies the north-eastern part of the central section of Peking, there stands the Hsien-wêng-miao shrine. It was a long time since the shrine was first built, and having been weather-beaten, the eaves and the roofs were so worn that the appearance did not command sufficient respect from the worshippers. Hence all the members of the *Yên-liao-hang* were assembled and conferred, and as the result, every member of the *hang* readily contributing money, the repair of the grand shrine was effected.

The inscription does not make any reference to the age of the shrine building but another cenotaph also standing within the shrine compound and erected in the 6th year of *Ch'ien-lung* 乾隆 (1741 A. D.) has an inscription that refers to it, saying :

... 我行先輩, 立業都門, 崇祀梅葛二仙翁, 香火攸長, 自明代以至國朝, 百有餘年矣.

According to this inscription, the shrine building was built in the Ming period, and more than one hundred years had passed by the time mentioned in the inscription. The period that was more than a hundred years ahead of the 6th year of *Ch'ien-lung* corresponds to the period prior to the era of *Chia-ching* 嘉靖 of the Ming period. According to the above-quoted inscription of the cenotaph built in the 6th year of *Ch'ien-lung* and the inscription of the cenotaph built in the 24th year of *Chia-ch'eng*, the Hsien-wêng-miao shrine was again repaired in the 49th year of *K'ang-hsi*, 32 years after the repairs in the 17th year of *K'ang-hsi*; again it was repaired 31 years later in the 6th year of *Ch'ien-lung*; and again 77 years later, in the period from the 23rd year to the 24th year of *Chia-ch'ing* 嘉慶. The shrine was found in the 17th year of *K'ang-hsi* in such a miserable condition that the eaves were decayed and the roofs were falling in. Therefore, it is only natural to infer that the last repairs before that time, or the construction of the shrine itself, took place at least seventy or eighty years

before. Suppose the repairs or the construction took place just eighty years before, it would have been in the 26th year of *Wan-i* (1598 A. D.) during the reign of the Emperor Shên-tsung 神宗 of Ming. Therefore, we have to regard the Hsien-wên-miao or *Yên-liao-hang*, as having been built during the *Wan-li* era at the latest, even if not so early as prior to the *Chia-ching* 嘉靖 era, and hence the *Yên-liao-hang* itself must have been in existence since the Ming period. The solidarity of the merchants of the *Yên-liao-hang* firmly united for the protection of their interests is proved by the inscription in the 18th year of *Ch'ien-lung*, which says that struggling against the attempt of cunning merchants to act as brokers in violation of the usual practice to the contrary, the paulownia merchants of the *Yên-liao-hang* appealed to the government and won the dispute. There is no literature to prove that besides the *Yên-liao-hang-hui-kuan*, there has been any other *hang* and hall in existence in Peking since the Ming period. However, the inscriptions on the cenotaphs found within their hall compounds show respectively that the *Ho-tung-yên-hang-hui-kuan* 河東煙行會館, or the Hall of the Tobacco *Hang* of the Ho-tung district, was established by the Tobacco *Hang* in the 5th year of *Yung-chêng* 雍正 (1727 A. D.); the Yao-hang-hui-kuan 藥行會館, or the Hall of the Medicine *Hang*, by the Medicine *Hang* in the 22nd year of *Chia-ch'ing* (1817 A. D.); the Lin-hsiang-hui-kuan, 臨襄會館 by the *yu-hang* 油行 or oil *hang*, the *liang-hang* 糧行 or provisions *hang*, and the *yên-hang* 鹽行 or salt *hang* which all consisted of the merchants from the prefectures of Lin-fên 臨汾 and Hsiang-ling 襄陵 of Shan-hsi Province 山西省 in the 33rd year of *Ch'ien-lung* (1768 A. D.); and the Chêng-i-t'zü 正乙祠, by the merchants of the Yin-hao 銀號 or the silver *hang* in the 49th year of *K'ang-hsi* (1710 A. D.). Consequently there is no doubt that the *hang* was in existence in Peking and its neighbouring districts during the Ch'ing period.

To sum up, it has been made clear so far by the cases of Peking, Canton and Foshan-chên that during the Ch'ing period there were merchants' associations known as *hang* in existence in the towns, large and small, in Southern and Northern China, although there may have been some differences in the degree of their activities. The more powerful of these *hang* built halls as the places of their meeting

and worship. Some of the halls were built at the close of the Ming period, as can be learned from the inscription of the monument in the compound of the *Yên-liao-bang-hui-kuan*, but it was more likely in the Ch'ing period that the practice of building its own hall by a *hang* became general. It is needless to say that those halls owed their development to the growth of trade and of the *hang*. The European and American scholars of Oriental studies like to regard the word *hui-kuan* as synonymous with the English word "guild", but in my opinion the *hui-kuan* corresponds to the guild hall, and what corresponds to the guild is the *hang*, a merchants' association which grew out of the practice of the T'ang and Sung periods that shops engaged in the same trade were assembled in one place and made up a street block of that trade.

CHAPTER V

The Street of the Shops of the Same Trade before the Sui Period

Apparently it was a very old practice that the shops of the same trade were assembled to make up a street of their trade. In the section of the *Ssü-shih* 司市 of the *Chou-li* 周禮, the Book of *Ti-kuan* 地官 has the following to say: "以次叙分地而經市" again, "以陳肆辨物而平市." These passages, which are very difficult to understand, carefully examined in the light of the interpretation of the notes on the book by CH'ENG HSÜAN 鄭玄 of the Later Han period and CHIA KUVG-YÊN 賈公彥 of the T'ang period, mean, among other things, that the shops dealing in the same goods were assembled and assigned to a section of the city, which had been properly divided into sections. The date cannot be ascertained when the *Chou-li* was edited, but as it must have been during either the Age of the Contending States or the Former Han Age, the inference is that the conditions described in the above-quoted passages from the *Chou-li* were prevalent when the *Chou-li* was edited, and the editor of the *Chou-li* made use of his

knowledge of the conditions of his day to describe what he supposed to have been the conditions prevalent in the Chou 周 period. The *Hsi-tu-fu* 西都賦 of PAN-KU 班固, in the *Wên-hsüan* 文選,⁽¹⁾ which describes the conditions of Ch'ang-an in the Later Han period, contains the following passage :

九市開場,貨別隧分.

貨別隧分 means that the goods sold were different with each street, which was, it will be found thus, no other than a street of the shops of the same trade. We are justified therefore in inferring from these two remarks that about in the period of the Contending States and the Ch'in-h'an 秦漢 periods there prevailed a system in which the shops engaged in the same line of business were assembled in one place. From the books of *T'ien-kuan* 天官, *Nei-tsai* 內宰; and the section of *Ti-kuan* 地官, *Ssü-shib* 司市 and *Ssü-chang* 肆長, in the *Chou-li*, we also know that such a street consisting of shops engaged in the same trade was called in those days "ssü" 肆 or "t'zü" 次, although we shall not take the trouble of quoting those passages in their original form here. Therefore, in the section of the thirtieth year of Prince Hsiang 襄公 the *Tso-ch'uan* 左傳, describing the death of Po-yu 伯有 of Chêng 鄭, 伯有死於羊肆, *yang-ssu* 羊肆 is to be interpreted in the sense of the street of shops dealing in mutton. Again, in the passage in the chapter of *Wai-wu-p'ien* 外物篇, *Ch'uang-tz'ü* 莊子, reading :

會不如早索我於枯魚之肆.

枯魚之肆 must mean a street of shops dealing in dried fish.

鮑魚之次 in the passage 與小人遊,貸乎如入鮑魚之次,久而不聞,則與之化矣 in the chapter of *T'sêng-tz'ü-chi-ping-p'ien* 曾子疾病篇 of the *Ta-tai-li* 大戴禮 also means a street of shops dealing in salted fishes. In his notes on the Book of *Ssü-shib* 司市 in the *Chou-li*, CHENG HSÜAN 鄭玄 of the Later Han period, explains the meaning of "ssü" 肆 by the two letters 行列 *hang-lieb*, which again enables us to infer that the street of shops of the same trade was called *hang-lieb* in those

(1) *Wên-hsüan*, Vol. I.

days. Hence, the letter 列 *lieh* in the following passages :

The *Han-shu*, *Shih-huo-chih*, Part 1 漢書食貨志上 :

商賈大者,積貯倍息,少者坐列販賣.

The *Han-shu*, *Shih-huo-chih*, Part 2 :

卜式言曰, . . . 今弘羊令吏坐市列,販物求利.

The *Hou-han-shu*, *Liu-p'ên-tzû-chuan* 後漢書劉盆子傳 :

賜滎陽均輸官地,以爲列肆.

is to be understood in the same sense. Again, according to the *Wu-tu-fu* 吳都賦 of Tso Ssü 左思 in the *Wên-bsüan* 文選,⁽¹⁾ such a street of shops engaged in the same trade was apparently also called *ch'an* 廛. In the *Engi-shiki* 延喜式, a Japanese statute of the Hei-an period 平安朝, we come across a passage where the letter "ten" 廛 is apparently used in such a sense, and we believe that the old Chinese use of the word was followed here.

In the chapter of *Hsün-li-chuan* 循吏傳 where the life of Sun Shu-ao 孫叔敖, the premier of Ch'ü 楚, is given, the *Shih-chi* 史記 contains the following remark :

Prince Chuang 莊王 of Ch'ü 楚 thought that the coins of his country were too little in value and had larger coins minted. The people thought it inconvenient and suspended their business. The headman of the market told the premier that the market having been thrown into confusion, the people were ill at ease and could not settle down in their *tzü-hang*. . . . Five days thereafter, the premier went to the palace and told the king, "Your Majesty had new coins minted because the older ones were too little in value. But the headman of the market came to me and said that the market having been thrown into confusion, the people were ill at ease and could not settle down in their *tzü-hang*. Therefore, I beg your Majesty to restore the old conditions." The king granted the request, and issued his orders to the effect. Three days after

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. 5.

that, the market was restored to normal conditions.

莊王以爲幣輕,更小以爲大,百姓不便,皆去其業,市令言之相,市亂,民莫安其處,次行不定, . . . , 後五日朝,相言之王曰,前日更幣,以爲輕,今市令來言曰,市亂,民莫安其處,次行之不定,臣請遂令復如故,王許之,令下三日,而市復故.

The "shih" 市 referred to in the above-quoted passage was, in my opinion, not a business section, such as the *Tung-shih* 東市 or the *Hsi-shih* 西市 of Ch'ang-an, where the shops dealing in the same line of goods stood in rows, but a sort of fair where prospective buyers and sellers of goods occasionally assembled at certain fixed dates. In the market place, the probability is that the merchants dealing in the same sort of goods formed themselves into groups, arranging their booths in rows; and such rows were called "tzü-hang" 次行. In Korea there still obtains a practice now, that in the market place dealers in the same sort of goods form themselves into groups, reminding us of that which probably prevailed in earlier times in China. Hence "the market was thrown into confusion . . ." probably refers to the situation that on account of the new, awkward coin being issued, the merchants could not transact their business smoothly, so that they left their rows and were making a fuss. It is further inferred that later when side by side with the market system above described, the institution of the *shih* as a business section made its appearance, the older market practice of keeping the same line of merchants together in a group in the market was applied to the new situation by assembling and organising the same line of shops into a street. Chuang Wang of Ch'ü lived about the close of the Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋 period, and the above story was fabricated to emphasize the discretion of Chuang Wang and Sun Shu-ao 孫叔敖. The market system given in the story might or might not be an exact description of the system that was prevalent in the days of Chuang Wang, but the description must in some way be a description of some very old institution, which there is reason to believe, continued in existence considerably long after the institution of "shih" as a business section came into existence. In short, the practice of having the shops of the same

trade assembled in a section of a market was probably the forerunner of the practice of having the shops of the same trade assembled in one place and organised into a street block.

In the Sui and T'ang periods the streets of the shops of the same trade were sometimes called "ssü" 肆, but mostly were known by the name of "hang 行". Before the Han period, including the Former and the Later, they were known by the name of *ssü* 肆, *tzü* 次, *lieb* 列, or *hang-lieb* 行列, and considering that the expressions "*hang-lieb* 行列 and *tzü-hang* 次行" also apparently had been in existence, they might possibly have been called by the name of *hang*. However, it was not until after the Sui period that the expression "hang", used in the sense of a street of the shops of the same trade, came into general use.

If the street of the shops of the same trade existed from a very old time, say, before the T'ang and Sui periods, what should have been the form of the merchants' association? The institution resulted from the "shih", or the business section. The street of shops of the same trade came into existence when the "shih" or the business section was instituted. The merchants belonging to the street of shops of the same trade enjoyed the privilege of monopoly in their line of business; hence, although they had some occasions to co-operate with one another, they did not feel any special necessity of forming themselves into a strong organisation for common action. It was after the breakdown of the institution of the "shih" at the close of the T'ang period, or even later, that they came to organise a real merchants' association.

In the Sung and the Yüan periods, craftsmen organised themselves into a sort of a trade association. The organisation was more often called *tsuo* 作, but was sometimes called *hang* as well. In the present paper, however, discussion of the subject has been omitted because the writer fears that the clarity of the present discussions may be sacrificed by the introduction of the new topic. Studies on the craftsmen's organisations will be published in another paper.

(Translated into English, from the Japanese text, by H. Kodama.)

