

# SOME PROBLEMS OF POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN CHINA UNDER THE T'ANG DYNASTY (I)

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## I. Introduction

In the remote areas among the mountains of southern China, especially near *Jui-chin* 瑞金 where the Chinese Communist Party established its first soviet government in 1931, it began conspicuous, during the middle of the T'ang period (唐, 618-907), that a number of fugitives from many localities built some mountain forts or settled down in caves.<sup>1</sup> For example, *Yu-ch'i hsien* 尤溪縣 was founded in 740 by coordinating some deep and large caves in which about one thousand refugee families from various places, led by a man named *Kao Fu* 高伏, had settled down.<sup>2</sup> The neighboring prefecture of *T'ing-chou* 汀州 was also founded in like manner, but afterwards it remained a den of mountain bandits.<sup>3</sup> Another example is *T'ai-p'ing hsien* 太平縣 founded in 752, where there were many delinquent households and rebel groups in steep mountains and deep caves after the rebellion of *An Lu-shan* 安祿山 in 755.<sup>4</sup>

The appearance of these refugee settlements in southern China was a part of the movement of population all over the country. In China, population movements were strictly restricted by successive dynasties in ancient times, and all people were registered in their native localities as their permanent domiciles. But, in 780, when the two-tax system (*liang-shui fa* 兩稅法) was established, the discrimination between native families and settled vagrants was removed in matters of taxation and registration.<sup>5</sup> The vagrants and migrants had formerly existed as illegal unregistered squatters, but since the establishment of the two-tax system, they became officially registered 'settler households' called *k'o-hu* 客戶, and were legalized as well as the native households called *t'u-hu* 土戶 or *chu-hu* 主戶.<sup>6</sup>

As to the social substance of *k'o-hu*, many scholars have considered it only to be the tenant-farmers on great estates.<sup>7</sup> However, recent research has made it clear that, among

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<sup>1</sup> See Manabu Nakagawa 中川學, 'Tō-matsu Ryō-sho Kanan no kyakko to Hakka Ro-shi 唐末梁初華南の客戶と客家盧氏', *Shakai-keizai-shigaku* 社會經濟史學, Vol. 33, No. 5, 1967, and historical records mentioned below.

<sup>2</sup> *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* 太平寰宇記, 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 102 and *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, 98.

<sup>4</sup> *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi*, 103, *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書, 41, and *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書, 40.

<sup>5</sup> See Shigeshi Katō 加藤繁, *Shina keizaishi gaisetsu* 支那經濟史概説 (Tokyo, 1944), p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See S. Katō, 'Tō-Sō jidai no shōen no soshiki narabini sono shūroku toshite no hattatsu ni tsukite 唐宋時代の莊園の組織並にその聚落としての發達に就きて', first published in 1928, and reprinted in the author's *Shina keizaishi kōshō* 支那經濟史考證, Vol. I (Tokyo, 1952), pp. 208-60, and Shun Suzuki 鈴木俊, 'Ubun Yū no kakko ni tsuite 宇文融の括戶について', in *Wada Hakase kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* 和田博士還曆記念東洋史論叢 (Tokyo, 1951), pp. 329-44.

*k'o-hu*, there were not only tenant-farmers called *tien-hu* 佃戶, *tien-k'o* 佃客, *tien-chia* 佃家, *chuang-k'o* 莊客, *chuang-hu* 莊戶, or simply *k'o* 客, but also hired agricultural laborers on great estates,<sup>8</sup> and, especially under the Sung 宋 dynasty, the tax-exempt landholding peasants.<sup>9</sup> In order to gain a more clear and firm conception of *k'o-hu*, we must not forget that the term *k'o-hu* in historical records was used mainly as the legal term for the purpose of census registration or tax collection, because the historical records available for our studies were written and edited from the viewpoint of state administrators.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, in using the term *k'o-hu*, we must make a sharp distinction between its administrative meaning and its actual meaning.<sup>11</sup>

From the viewpoint of census registration and tax collection by the state power, what comes into question is that *k'o-hu* in general was to be burdened with some new kind of taxes in a new way. So, at first from this point of view of fiscal administration, I will investigate the policy of re-registration of population carried out by *Yü-wen Jung* 宇文融 in 724, and try to throw light on the changing process of the principle of taxation from *tsu-yung-tiao fa* 租庸調法 of the early T'ang to *liang-shui fa* of the later T'ang.<sup>12</sup> Next, from the viewpoint of the social substance of *k'o-hu*, what becomes an issue is that *k'o-hu* took various forms of existence so as to pay or evade the taxes or to resist the state rule. From this point of view of social history, I will briefly summarize in this paper some results of my studies on *k'o-hu* as landholding peasant settler households, hired laborers in agriculture or public works, merchants and such rebel vagrant groups as stated above.<sup>13</sup>

## II. The Re-registration Policy

Some scholars have considered that the policy of re-registration of population carried out by *Yü-wen Jung*, in the reign of Hsüan-tsong 玄宗, developmentally inherited the proposal

<sup>8</sup> See Yoshiyuki Sudō 周藤吉之, 'Sō-dai no denko, denboku, yōnin-sei 宋代の佃戶・佃僕・傭人制', in his *Chūgoku tochi-seido-shi kenkyū* 中国土地制度史研究 (Tokyo, 1955), pp. 605-726.

<sup>9</sup> See Setsuko Yanagida 柳田節子, 'Sō-dai no kyakko ni tsuite 宋代の客戸について', *Shigaku-zasshi* 史學雜誌, Vol. 68, No. 4, 1959.

<sup>10</sup> This is one of the key problems for understanding Chinese history. See Tatsuo Masubuchi 増淵龍夫, 'Characteristics of the unified state of Ch'in and Han (b)', in *Rapports II Histoire des Continents*, Comité international des sciences historiques, XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Wien, Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne (1965), Introduction.

<sup>11</sup> The necessity for making such distinction has been emphasized by Yasushi Kusano 草野靖, 'Sō-dai no shuko, kyakko, denko 宋代の主戸・客戸・佃戶', *Tōyō gakuho* 東洋學報, Vol. 46, Nos. 1 & 2, 1963, and M. Nakagawa, 'Tō, Sō no kyakko ni kansuru shokenkyū 唐・宋の客戸に關する諸研究', *Tōyō gakuho*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1963.

<sup>12</sup> See M. Nakagawa, 'Soyōchō-hō kara ryōzei-hō eno tenkan-ki ni okeru seidoteki-kyakko no sozei-futan 租庸調法から兩税法への轉換期における制度的客戸の租税負擔', *Keizaigaku-kenkyū* 經濟學研究, 10, Hitotsubashi Univ., 1966.

<sup>13</sup> See M. Nakagawa, 'Tō-dai no kyakko ni yoru tōkiden no hoyū 唐代の客戸による逃棄田の保有', *The Hitotsubashi Review* — 橋論叢, Vol. 53, No. 1, 1965, 'Tō-dai no ryūyō ni tsuite 唐代の「流庸」について', *Tōyōshi-kenkyū*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1967, and 'Tō-dai ni okeru shōgyō-hatten no ichi-sokumen 唐代における商業發展の一側面', *The Hitotsubashi Review*, Vol. 59, No. 3, 1968, etc.

brought forward in 695 by Li Chiao 李嶠 to Empress Wu 武后.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, Li Chiao's proposal had a deep effect on the later policy of Yü-wen Jung, but in practice we can find a subtle difference between them as follows.

Li Chiao proposed four methods for keeping people registered.<sup>15</sup>

The first method was to lay prohibition on people's escaping from their domicile. In order to prevent all residents from escaping, they had to be organized in the neighborhood association of mutual surveillance. If anyone did escape and not come back, the neighboring members of the same association had to inform the local government against the fugitive.

The second method was to grant a favor to fugitives avoiding military services and delinquent runaways, in such a way as to exempt them from re-enrolling or collecting their taxes in arrears, to allow the poor fugitives necessary money and food for returning home, and to help them in reviving their devastated farm lands. It may be said that the purpose of this method was to promote the repatriation and rehabilitation of runaway households.

The third method was to increase in the aggregate the number of the registered population all over the country by drawing a distinction between the rich and the poor among the runaway households that desired to settle at the place of refuge, in such a way as to rehabilitate the rich refugees by sending them back to their home addresses, and to permit the poor refugees to settle and have their names entered in the family register at their temporary residence. This method was characterized by the name of the policy of maintaining the equilibrium (*ch'üan-hêng* 權衡) of the registered population.

The fourth method was to allow refugees to give themselves up to the local governments within a certain time limit, and if they would not, to force them to migrate to remote districts.

Now, I will try to trace how these four methods proposed by Li Chiao were inherited by Yü-wen Jung and, in the course of time, how the priority of one method over another was changed. The conclusion is that the repatriation and rehabilitation of runaway households was primarily enforced during the period of Empress Wu when Li Chiao made the proposal, while, in the reign of Hsüan-tsung, Yü-wen Jung followed the policy of maintaining the equilibrium of registered population by permitting the settlement of poor fugitives at their temporary residence of refuge. We must remember that, between the two periods, the epoch-making change both in the conscription system and in the regulation of migration occurred. Before 719, inhabitants in the capital district and in the military areas were strictly prohibited from migrating to other places, but afterwards, until 737, the restriction was relaxed to promote the migration from the restricted localities suffering from comparative overpopulation (*hsia-hsiang* 狹鄉) to the sparsely populated localities (*k'uan-hsiang* 寬鄉).<sup>16</sup> It was the result of the break-down of the militia system during the first decade of the reign of Hsüan-tsung that the militias (*fu-ping* 府兵) were gradually replaced by professional soldiers

<sup>14</sup> See Zehaku Tamai 玉井是博, 'Tō-jidai no shakaishiteki-kōsatsu 唐時代の社會史的考察', in his *Shina shakai-keizai-shi kenkyū* 支那社會經濟史研究 (Tokyo, 1942), Fumio Okazaki 岡崎文夫, 'Uben Yū no kakkoseisaku ni tsuite 宇文融の括戸政策について', *Shinagaku*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1939, Shun Suzuki, *loc. cit.*, and T'ang Chang-ju 唐長孺, 'Kuan yü Wu Tsê-t'ien t'ung-chih mo-nien tê fu-t'ao-hu 关于武则天統治末年的浮逃戸', *Li-shih Yen-chiu*, 6, 1961.

<sup>15</sup> *T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要, 85, T'ao-hu, and *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文, 246, Li Chiao's 'Ch'ing ling yü-shih chien-chiao hu-k'ou piao 請令御史檢校戸口表'.

<sup>16</sup> See M. Nakagawa, 'Tō-dai ni okeru kakkō jikkō-hōshiki no henka ni tsuite 唐代における括戸實行方式の変化について', in *Chūgoku kodai-shi kenkyū dai 2* 中國古代史研究第二 (Tokyo, 1965), pp. 300-302.

(*chien-erh* 健兒) and levied troops (*chao-mu* 召募) consisting mainly of *k'o-hu*.<sup>17</sup> Under such conditions, Yü-wen Jung did and could legalize the settler households as *k'o-hu* in 724.

The first method, which depended upon the neighborhood association of mutual surveillance, was inherited by the central government of Hsüan-tsung in 721, when the local governments were used to shifting the duty of tax payment of the fugitives on their neighbors.<sup>18</sup> But, on the contrary, in 749, Hsüan-tsung prohibited such substitutional tax payment by neighbors of the fugitives, and issued a proclamation exempting the returned fugitives from repaying such tax debts.<sup>19</sup> In 757, Su-tsung 肅宗 issued another proclamation forbidding the collection by local officials of tax debts of refugee families from their neighbors who had remained behind.<sup>20</sup> It may be said that this method of organizing the neighborhood association for the purpose of preventing the people from escaping became the pretext of levying taxes excessively from the remaining neighbors of refugee families, and that, as a result, enforcement of this method aggravated the tendency of people abandoning their lands, which were under the regulation of the land allotment system (*chün-t'ien fa* 均田法), and escaping from their registered domiciles.

As for their abandoned lands, let us look at the fourth method. The time limit allowed for the fugitives to come back and give themselves up to the local governments was one hundred days at first, but afterwards, in 736, it was renewed for a year.<sup>21</sup> Since then under the T'ang dynasty, we cannot find any record of this kind, but there are some records on the time limit of officially preserving the lands abandoned by refugee families. Why did the T'ang government strive for preserving the abandoned farm lands for a certain period for the sake of refugees? It was because the government wanted to make runaway households repatriated and rehabilitated in their native domiciles, by waiting for them at first in 736 for a year,<sup>22</sup> next in 764 for two years,<sup>23</sup> and at last in the reign of Wu-tsung 武宗 and I-tsung 懿宗 for five years.<sup>24</sup> This increase in the term of preserving the abandoned lands means, I think, that the runaway families were in no hurry to come back and that the government waited for them in vain. Therefore, since the reign of Su-tsung and Tai-tsung 代宗, successive central governments started on the plan of renting out such abandoned farm lands and houses and, at last, of granting them to other families including settler households, re-registered as *k'o-hu*, after term of preservation was over.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the fourth method started as a means to allowing the refugee families making a census return, but the fugitives made no response, because it was lacking in any incentive. Then, it was changed into a means of fostering the settler households, who had escaped from other places, as the successive cultivators and owners of the vacant farm lands abandoned by native runaway families. I will refer to this problem again in the following chapter.

<sup>17</sup> See Shigekuni Hamaguchi 濱口重國, 'Fuhei-sei yori shin-hei-sei e 府兵制より新兵制へ', *Shigaku zasshi*, Vol. 41, Nos. 11 & 12, 1930.

<sup>18</sup> *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 22, 'K'o-chin chu-chou t'ao-wang chih 科禁諸州逃亡制'.

<sup>19</sup> *T'ang hui-yao*, 85, *T'ao-hu*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, 214.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *T'ang hui-yao*, 85, *T'ao-hu*, *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 册府元龜, 495, *pang-chi pu t'ien-chih* 邦計部田制.

<sup>24</sup> *T'ang hui-yao*, 85, *T'ao-hu*, *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei*, 495. See the edicts of Wu-tsung *Hui-ch'ang* 會昌 2 and I-tsung *Hsien-t'ung* 咸通 11.

<sup>25</sup> M. Nakagawa, 'Tōdai no kyakko ni yoru tōkiden no hoyū'.

This change ran parallel with the switch-over from the second method to the third in enforcing the re-registration policy by Yü-wen Jung. According to the third method called *ch'üan-hêng* of Li Chiao's proposal, as stated above, the rich refugees were to be sent back to their home addresses, and only the poor refugees were to be permitted to settle at their temporary residence. But we cannot think the third method was beyond the blueprint stage, because the 2835th of the manuscripts discovered from Tun-huan 敦煌 by the Ōtani 大谷 expedition says that in March of 703, when Li Chiao was prime minister eight years after his proposal, the censor for arresting the refugees (*k'uo-t'ao yü-shih* 括逃御史) or the provincial inspecting commissioner in charge of arresting the refugees (*k'uo-t'ao ts'ai-fang shih* 括逃採訪使) was despatched to the provinces around Tun-huan to arrest and send the refugees back to their original domiciles, without distinction between rich and poor.<sup>26</sup> On the basis of this manuscript, Mr. T'ang Chang-ju 唐長孺 concluded that Li Chiao's proposal was fully put in practice,<sup>27</sup> but, in my opinion, the fact that the refugees were sent back without distinction between rich and poor and were exempted from two years' taxes means not only the practice of the second method called *ên-tê* 恩德, but also the rejection of the third *ch'üan-hêng* method. It was afterwards in the reign of Hsüan-tsung that the *ch'üan-hêng* method was put in practice. In January of 736, an edict was issued ordering that the refugees having old properties (*chiu-ch'an* 舊產) were to be sent back to their native domiciles (*pên-kuan* 本貫), while that the refugees having nothing were to await special instructions.<sup>28</sup> Needless to say, this method was adopted at first by Yü-wen Jung in January of 721, when the edict prohibiting all people from escaping provided that the refugees, who gave themselves up within one hundred days and would like to stay at their temporary residence, were to be registered and levied taxes there, then that the local government of their native domicile was to stop levying taxes from them.<sup>29</sup> Strictly speaking, a difficult problem remains unresolved. That is to say, it seems sure that the local government of the native domicile of the refugees stopped levying taxes from them by receiving the official report that they were re-registered in the other province of their temporary residence, but there is a lack of definite information as to whether the name of the fugitive household was then eliminated from the original family register of its native domicile, or remained only as the registered household taxable but exempt from regular taxation. In other words, the provision to stop levying taxes from them is possible to be interpreted variously, at least in two ways: in a way of thought, it means to stop levying taxes by striking off the name of the fugitive household from the old family register in its domicile, but in other way, it may be said that to stop levying taxes does not always mean the removal of the family name from the old register.

In order to answer this question, we must inquire into the principles and practices of taxation on *k'o-hu*.

<sup>26</sup> See Kenkichi Naitō 內藤乾吉, 'Saiiki hakken Tōdai kan-bunsho no kenkyū 西域發見唐代官文書の研究', in *Tonkō Turufan shakai-keizai shiryō* 敦煌吐魯番社會經濟資料 (*Monumenta Serindica*), Vol. 2, 1960.

<sup>27</sup> See T'ang Chang-ju, *loc. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, 214.

<sup>29</sup> M. Nakagawa, 'Seidoteki-kyakko no sozei-futan'.

### III. *The Principles and Practices of Taxation on K'o-hu*

There have been two types of view on the taxation on *k'o-hu* as follows:

- 1) *K'o-hu* was lack of property and was never levied taxes under the regulation of both *tsu-yung-tiao fa* and *liang-shui fa*.<sup>30</sup>
- 2) Under the *tsu-yung-tiao fa*, *k'o-hu* was to pay only a special 'light tax' (*ch'ing-shui* 輕稅).

The second type of view includes four sub-types of opinion divided by the difference of interpretation on the two kinds of historical records as follows: the first record says that the refugees who voluntarily gave themselves up (*kuei-shou* 歸首) were to be offered five years free of all taxes on the payment of 1500 cash per person, while the second record says that the newly registered (*hsin-fu* 新附) *k'o-hu* were to be given exemption from taxes for six years and instead would have to pay only a special 'light tax'.<sup>31</sup>

Then, the interpretations differ as follows:

- 1) The 'light tax' means the payment of 1500 cash per person.<sup>32</sup>
- 2) The 'light tax' does not mean such a fee of 1500 cash per person as too heavy in regard with the price level of the time, and, therefore, the first record is believed to have been fabricated.<sup>33</sup>
- 3) The 'light tax' means a fee of 1500 cash in return for the exemption from *tsu-yung-tiao* taxes for five or six years.<sup>34</sup>
- 4) The 'light tax' means a fee of 1500 cash per annum in return for the exemption not only from *tsu-yung-tiao* taxes, but from extraordinary levies and employment in *corvée* work for five or six years.<sup>35</sup>

All these interpretations have been made on the assumption that so-called 'light tax' was levied at a flat rate such as 1500 cash per person all over the country. However, an edict of 724, appointing Yü-wen Jung as commissioner for encouraging agriculture (*ch'üan-nung shih* 勸農使), reads as follows:

The runaway squatters are to be allowed to give themselves up. If they strive for cultivating waste lands anywhere they squat, they are to be levied taxes according to the local customs (*tu-i* 土宜), free from *corvée* labors of the local government, and exempted from the basic *tsu-yung* taxes. Yü-wen Jung, under-secretary of the department of the

<sup>30</sup> See Kaisaburō Hino 日野開三郎, 'Yō En no ryōzei-hō jisshi to doko kyakko 楊炎の兩税法實施と土戸・客戸', in *Takikawa Hakase kanreki kinen ronbunshū* 瀧川博士還暦記念論文集, 1, 1957, 'Tō-dai ryōzei-hō ka ni okeru taishō shisan to fuzei no keiretsu 唐代兩税法下に於ける對象資産と賦税の系列', *Tōyō gakuho*, Vol. 41, No. 1, 1959, 'Yō En no ryōzei-hō no kenkyo gensoku to sensū-sennō gensoku 楊炎の兩税法の見居原則と錢數納原則', *Shien* 史淵, 84, 1961, 'Ryōzei-hō no kihon-teki yon-gensoku 兩税法の基本的四原則', *Hōsei-shi kenkyū* 法制史研究, 11, 1961.

<sup>31</sup> The first record is *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 48, *Shih-huo chih* 食貨志, and the second records are *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 105, Yü-wen Jung *ch'uan* 宇文融傳, and *T'ung-tien* 通典, 7, Li-tai shêng-shuai hu-k'ou 歷代盛衰戶口.

<sup>32</sup> F. Okazaki, *loc. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> S. Suzuki, *loc. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> See E.G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan*, Oxford U.P., 1955, Chap. III, pp. 30-31, and n. 34, p. 125.

<sup>35</sup> See D.C. Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty*, Cambridge U.P., 1963, Chap. I, p. 14 and n. 131, p. 222.

military affairs (*ping-pu yüan-wai-lang* 兵部員外郎) and member of the censorate (*shih-yü-shih* 侍御史), should hold an additional post of commissioner for encouraging agriculture (*chüan-nung-shih shih* 勸農事使 or *chüan-nung shih* 勸農使) with empire-wide authority in charge of population settlement. The commissioner for encouraging agriculture and his executive officers must talk with the local officials and native families over the special taxation on the squatters.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, we know that the tax amount on the squatters was decided by the commissioner and his executive officers in consultation with the officials of the local authorities and the native families according to local customs, or that it was not levied at an empire-wide flat rate. The reason why this new method was called 'light tax' is that, I think, the compulsion of levying tax by the state power was lightened by the intervention of the native families that have the driving force of the local customs. Conversely speaking, the state power had to depend upon the social power of the native influential families, especially in the matter of the squatters that had broken away from the state control. But the state did not transfer the all-mighty power to such native families, and the re-registered squatters—*k'o-hu*—had to pay the tax independently. Thus the state rulers intended to rehabilitate the re-registered *k'o-hu* as independent farmers, not tenant farmers, with the assistance of native families.

As stated in the foregoing chapter, after the middle of T'ang, the successive governments of this dynasty carried out the policy of renting out or granting the abandoned farm lands, mulberry fields and houses with homesteads belonging to the runaway squatters to other families including *k'o-hu*. One of the typical examples is such as follows: in 848, the local officials and such native influential persons as called old people of the village (*hsiang-ts'un lao-jên* 鄉村老人) and the neighbors of the runaways were (1) prohibited from disposition of the farm lands, mulberry fields and trees, houses and homesteads belonging to and abandoned by the runaways, (2) ordered to make neighbors or people possessing no land tenant the abandoned lands, fields and houses, and (3) allowed to make such temporary tenant farmers possess them, if the runaways did not come back within five years.<sup>37</sup> We can find two phases of managing the abandoned lands; temporary tenancy and successive possession by landless farmers, including *k'o-hu*, and neighbors. In the phase of temporary tenancy, the lands and houses of the runaways were given in the custody of landless farmers or neighbors, and their family names on the census register were preserved. But in the phase of successive possession, it may be said that the local authorities struck off their names from the old registers, if they had received notice of re-registration of the runaways as *k'o-hu* in the other localities.

Viewed from the *k'o-hu* side, in the former phase, the landless *k'o-hu* farmers became tenant farmers of the abandoned lands under the control of the local authorities of the state, but in the latter phase, they became independent by possessing the abandoned lands by the guarantee of the local officials, native influential persons and neighbors, in other words, by a tripartite guarantee. In order to become independent landholding peasants, they had to obtain officially the certificate called *kung-yen* 公驗 which was granted through the medium of the tripartite guarantee.<sup>38</sup> Becoming independent, they had to bear the *liang-shui* tax since

<sup>36</sup> *T'ang ta chao-ling chi* 唐大詔令集, 111, Chêng-shih 政事, 'Chih chüan-nung shih an-fu hu-k'ou chao 置勸農使安撫戶口詔', and *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 29, Hsüan-tsung, 'Chih chüan-nung shih chao'.

<sup>37</sup> M. Nakagawa, 'Tō-dai no kyakko ni yoru tōkiden no hoyū'.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

780. Before the establishment of the *liang-shui fa* system, *k'o-hu* could not be independent enough to bear the taxes as much as *t'u-hu* because landholding by *k'o-hu* was restricted and the policy of temporary tenancy prevailed, under the regulation of *tsu-yung-tiao fa* system in the process of breaking down.

Now, let us see briefly and chronologically the changing process of the tax amount imposed on *k'o-hu*.<sup>39</sup>

721 *Tsu* and *tiao* taxes were imposed on *k'o-hu* re-registered in spring.

723 *K'o-hu* were exempted from *tsu-yung-tiao* taxes and *corvée* labor for six years after re-registration, but lightly taxed.

724 *K'o-hu* were allowed to bring devastated lands into cultivation, bearing light tax according to the local customs.

725 *K'o-hu* paid monetary tax (*shui-ch'ien* 稅錢), which was to be earmarked for the operation fund of price-regulating granaries (*ch'ang-p'ing-ts'ang* 常平倉).

733 The selective imposition (*ch'ai-k'o* 差科) was levied from *k'o-hu*.

762 The amount of selective imposition on *k'o-hu*, who had bought lands sold under foreclosure and independently succeeded in cultivating them for more than a year, was assessed half of that on *t'u-hu*.

764 *K'o-hu* were treated as the common people (*p'ien-hu* 編戶) in common with *t'u-hu* and levied the selective imposition according to grades of household (*hu-teng* 戶等) based on property assessment.

796 Both *k'o-hu* and *t'u-hu* were imposed the same amount of the household monetary levy (*hu-shui* 戶稅) in the same grade of household. But there were few rich *k'o-hu* of higher grade, so almost all *k'o-hu* belonged to eighth or ninth grade. The eighth paid 700 cashes, while the ninth 500.

780 The *liang-shui fa* system was established.

In this transitional period from *tsu-yung-tiao fa* to *liang-shui fa*, as restricted in landholding, *k'o-hu* could not but take various forms of existence seeking for living, groaning under heavy load of taxation.

(To be continued.)

<sup>39</sup> M. Nakagawa, 'Seidoteki-kyakko no sozei futan'.