

THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GUILDS OF PEKING AND RELIGION AND FELLOW- COUNTRYMANSHIP AS ELEMENTS OF THEIR COHERENCE

BY NIIDA NOBORU*

I. Introduction

Industrial and commercial guilds are associations of people of the same profession whose activities are exercised within a locally limited area. In Europa associations of this kind have vanished; in China, however, they are still existing and, as examples from Peking show us, it is not to be overlooked that the old guilds, though they have taken on the shape of modern professional associations after Western patterns, were even able to retain old national characteristic traits. Namely, what in the historical process of Europe is called "medieval" society, has not disappeared after the end of Ch'ing dynasty, that is in the time of so-called modern China, but it still exists as a strong under-current of present-day China. These medieval elements are gradually eliminated, the Chinese guilds, and among them those of Peking, are undergoing a change, being taken by a whirl and following a zigzag course.

It has been said that the Chinese have no cohesive power, that they are to be compared with a heap of sand, that they are incapable of organising and managing cooperative undertakings. (Lin Yü-t'ang in his "*The Spirit of the Chinese Civilisation*" and "*My Country and My People*", Japanese translation by Ogaeri Yoshio 魚返善雄).

Indeed, the single Chinese can be compared with a grain of sand. Yes, he is like a grain of sand with regard to his state or nation mindedness, as also Sun Wen says in his *San Min Chu I*. But we cannot deny a strong associative disposition within them based on blood-relationship firmly keeping together the inner structure of the Chinese society (Ubukata Naokichi: *Asia-teki na mono to kodaiteki na mono*—幼方直吉: アジア的なものと古代的なもの. In: *Kikan daigaku* 季刊大學 No. 2, p. 55). Also Sun Wen asserts firmly

* 仁井田陞

Note.—The present paper has been translated by M. Eder from its Japanese original which was published under the title *Peking kōshō guild no shūkyō oyobi dōkyōteki ketsugō* (北京工商ギルドの宗教及同郷的結合) in *Kindai Chūoku Kenkyū* 近代中國研究, 1948, a collection of papers edited by the Special Committee for Research on Modern China of the Conference for Scientific Researches (學術研究會議現代中國研究特別委員會).

that family relations and religion are actually powerful factors in the formation of the society in China, working in the opposite direction of individualistic trends and tendencies, in cooperation with associations outside family ties. The latter associations are formed out of clear insight that they serve the common interests of the members in their struggle of existence, and only in so far and as long they serve this aim are they lasting. The Chinese are interested in forming groups only in so far as collectivity helps to secure better the benefit of all participating in it. The common links may be of various types, several links may work at the same time. There are groups based on kinship or common geographical origin (*t'ung-hsiang* 同鄉), on graduation from the same school, on common trade, on a common religion (associations organised to provide mutual help to the individual member may or may not be based on religion) or on common occupation as it is the case with the industrial and commercial guilds, the subject of the present paper. These associations are but some examples out of the basic categories of the cross-connection of the Chinese society. They are general and universal, common interests, common feelings, common social standing produce community consciousness; if people are not strangers to one another, though only slightly acquainted, a chance is given to develop community consciousness, whereas strangers remain widely separated from one another. Furthermore, while they are expected to be companions on the same level, their associations were not confined to free unions on an equal basis. In this case there took place, in these restrictions, the self-negation of the companion, the negation of his being a true companion. But, be it as it may be, the association relationship is not limited to a specified number only, there are various types of it. Besides this, such complex relations come into being, there are in fact not a few of them. Thus, though the frame of the group was widened, finally it was difficult, as far as consciousness is concerned, to go beyond the frame as such.

The industrial and commercial guilds, being an association of fellow-traders, are frequently called *pang* (幫), that is "comrades". The meaning of the Chinese word is in fact that of assistance, and the term indicates by itself the purpose of the association of colleagues. Namely, fellow-traders in China, living in the same city (specified area), originally organised themselves into groups of their own with the goal to secure cooperation regarding protection and extension of the profits of common economics or with the intention to achieve mutual help and coexistence. Perhaps in the *Genossenschaft* and *Körperschaft*, the latter being an advanced form of the former, in the German law, we can see a parallel to the early form of trade associations in China. These latter were groups of colleagues sharing brotherly the gains of their association with one another, they were no unions based on blood as are families and clans, they were a kind of *Brot* (bread) associations. They were formed by common action out of a common will possessed by all members. In China,

such unions were called *hang* (行), they shew, compared with the *Gilde*, *Gild*, *Gield*, *Guild* of the European Middle Ages, many points of similarities and of specific dissimilarities. The industrial and commercial guilds in Europe were of two types, there were guilds formed solely for religious purposes, and others formed for mutual help, the so-called protective guilds (Frith gild, *Schutzgilde*); professional groups were not different from them, but they had not only an economic meaning, they were at the same time religious groups performing religious ceremonies before the common guardian god of the members of the guild, and they celebrated common festivities and had their own drinking parties; they helped one another in time of illness or distress, defended themselves against enemies from without; they took part, for the sake of their common interests and aims, in the administration of their town or city, assuming thus a political significance.¹⁾ Chinese guilds are composed of members with a common trade, common fate and interests, common ethical principles and religious belief. But we must not exaggerate the spiritual and ethical side of the community mindedness of the Chinese guilds; we cannot satisfactorily explain these groups so conspicuous for their selfish calculations and forcible obligations, these dark aspects are not only a problem for the guilds in modern times; at the same time we can them hardly take as degenerate forms of the Chinese guilds.

Some years ago I carried out some research work on the industrial and commercial guilds of China, especially on those in Peking, in collaboration with Mr. Imahori Seiji (今堀誠二) of the College of Literature and Science of Hiroshima, and with Mr. Okuno Shintarô (奥野信太郎) of Keiô University.²⁾ In the present paper the guilds are looked at from the view-point of common religion and of common geographical origin as connecting ties. Because of lack of space I had to abstain from treating the other aspects of guild life, such as the legal mindedness of the members, their ethical ideas, their attitude towards the rules of their association. For a comprehensive treatment of all this I am waiting for another opportunity.³⁾

- 1) Thus, Gierke in his *Das Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (Band I, 1868; S. 226 f., 242, 345 359 f.) says that the guild is an association that claims the whole personality of its members for lifetime. Otaka Kunio (尾高邦雄) in his *Shokugyô-kan no henkaku* (職業観の變革), *The Revolution of the Idea of Profession* quotes together the opinions of Gierke and Durckheim.
- 2) Imahori Seiji (今堀誠二) in his *Peking shimin no jichi-kôsei* (北京市民の自治構成), *The Self-governing Organisation of the Citizens of Peking*, Shôwa 22 (1947), Sept., has given us many suggestions for the study of the guilds of Peking. Okuno Shintarô (奥野信太郎) wrote "*Ko-en nissho*" *hidokei no aru fûkei* ("古燕日涉" 日時計のある風景), Shôwa 22 (1947), Sept., a report of our investigations carried out in common with the author of this paper in the autumn of Shôwa 19 (1944) into the guild-houses and the ancestor-master temples (祖師廟).
- 3) Niida Noboru: *Peking kôshô guild to sono enkaku* (北京工商ギルドと其沿革), *The Industrial and Commercial Guilds of Peking and their Historical Development* in *Tôyô bunka kenkûjo kiyô* (東洋文化研究所紀要), vol. I, Shôwa 18 (1943), December, and *Peking no kôshôjin to sono nakamateki ketsugo* (北京の工商人と其仲間的結合), *The Craftsmen and Merchants of Peking and Their Brotherly Union*, in *Hôritsu jihô* (法律時報), vol. XVI, No. 1; Shôwa 19 (1944) January.

II. Religion and the guilds. Guild-houses and ancestor-master temples

Industrial and commercial guilds, economic by nature, certainly have not been organised for merely religious purposes, but nevertheless they presented some aspects of religious associations. The common religious belief promotes among the members the spirit of comradeship and makes them more conscious of their being a group of their own. At the center of their particular belief we find a special tutelary god whom they worship as ancestors of their trade. In Europe, St. Paul and the other apostles were frequently venerated as celestial guardians of guilds. The worship of guardian saints in Europe and of tutelary gods in China with ceremonial gatherings is a strong tie keeping the members of the association together. For example, merchants trading with paints for painting the outside of houses say that the paints all belong to gods, Mei Hsien (梅仙) and Ko Hsien (葛仙). The makers of jade objects say that their god (Ch'ang Ch'un Chen-jen 長春真人) taught them their technique. The acts of worship are explained by guild-members as offerings (*kung-hsien* 供獻) to their guild-gods. New members, when they are initiated, have to give *k'o-t'ou* (prostration) to the god and burn incense before him. In our times, the connection of the guild-members with their guardian god may be different in different guilds. Manual labourers, such as hairdressers and sheep-skin dealers, consider themselves as pupils of their trade ancestor-god. Out of this common connection with their ancestor-god, those who have joined the guild before others, are considered by the junior members as their elder master-brothers (*shih-hsiung* 師兄), the new-comers are called, correspondingly, younger master-brothers (*shih-ti* 師弟). Even the manager of a shop is a younger brother of his employees if he has been initiated after them. He has to be content with the rank of a younger master-brother in so far as his membership of his guild goes, even subordinates may excel him in rank within the guild. Guild members call one another elder and younger brothers not only because of their common occupation but also of their common worship of the same trade ancestor-god.

It occurs frequently that one and the same god is worshipped by several professions, for example Kuan-ti (關帝), (the military God of Wealth, whereas Pi Kan (比干) is the literary God of Wealth), or Tseng-fu Ts'ai-shen (增福財神, lit. the Happiness Increasing God of Wealth). Other trades have their individual gods who are their ancestor-masters. For example, manufacturers and sellers of paper claim Ts'ai Lun (蔡倫) of the later Han dynasty (*Hou Han-shu pen-chuan*) as their guardian god, he was the inventor of paper; medicine-shops are coming under Yao-wang, that is Shen-nung, who taught man the art of pharmacy (cf. *Shih-chi, san-huang pen-chi*). Tea-shops are protected by Lu Yü (陸羽), an hermit of the T'ang

dynasty, who compiled the *Ch'a-ching san-p'ien* (茶經三篇) (cf. *Hsin-t'ang-shu pen-ch'uan*). Merchants frequently travelling overseas look up to the goddess T'ien-hou (天后) as to their guardian, masters of river-boats to the river-gods Ching-lung Szu-ta-wang (金龍四大王) (references to this gods are to be found in 35, *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* 陔餘叢考三十五). Manufacturers of jade-objects and carpenters and all other wood-workers are worshipping Lu Pan (魯班) (cf. *Meng-tzu li-lou* 孟子離婁 and *Mo-tzu kung-shu* 墨子公輸), who is the great ancestor of all handicrafts, as their ancestor-master. In the *Wan-ch'üan yü-hsia-chi* (萬全玉匣記)⁴⁾ attributed to Hsü Chen-chün (許真君) of Chin (晉), Lu Pan and others are named "Ancestor-masters of the one hundred and twenty handicrafts" (一百二十行手藝祖師). These tutelary gods are known not only in Peking, they find their worshippers all over the country also, though there is no uniformity in their connection with the various trades. For example, native bankers are generally praying to Chiang Kung (姜公), that is T'ai Kung Wang Lu-shang (太公望呂尙), that is the Great Ancestor Wang Lu-shang (cf. *Hou-han-shu shih-ho-chih* 後漢書食貨志), but not in Peking, where Kuan-ti is taking his place. Whom they call their trade ancestor-god is not only the guardian god of the guild, he was originally the god of all professions (that is the meaning of the term ancestor-master in the *Wan-ch'üan yü-hsia-chi*). A corresponding example from Japan is that the carpenters and wood-cutters here, in general all crafts working on wood, have deified Otaishisama (御太子様), that is Shôtoku Taishi, weavers Hataori Gozen (機織後前) (cf. Yanagida Kunio, *Nihon no densetsu*, Shôwa 15, 1940). How such trade ancestor-gods came into existence is shown by legends or also by historical facts. How Ts'ai Lun got connected with paper manufacturers, Yao-wang Shen-nung with pharmacy, Lu Lü with tea trade, we have already touched on above. Huang-ti, who is supposed to be the inventor of bows and arrows (*I-ching hsi-tz'u ch'uan* 易經繫辭傳) was made the ancestor-god of manufacturers of these weapons. Huang-ti is also said to be the inventor of clothing (*I-ching k'ung-ying ta-shu* 易經孔穎達疏), he became therefore the ancestor-god of tailors. The star Vega (Shih-nü hsing 織女星) became the god of the weavers' loom (*Li-yuan ts'ung-hua* 履園叢話); Meng T'ien (蒙恬) of whom a general of the Chi'n dynasty

4) Edition Kuang-hsü 17, May. A copy of the *Wan-ch'üan yü-hsia-chi* I borrowed from the Taoist monk Yang Ching-chih in the Nan-yao-wang-miao outside Hatamen, in the summer of Shôwa 18 (1943), later I was presented by Mr. Imahori with the same book. This book, under the heading "The ancestor-masters of hundred and twenty arts" is also dealing with the ancestor-gods of various handicrafts and with the days of their festivals. Of course, not all the ancestor-gods are indicated in this book, for instance, the Kitchen-god (Tsao-chün 竈君), worshipped by cooks and kitchen-personel, of Lo Tsu (羅祖) of the hairdressers, of Hu-ting Chen-jen (胡鼎真人), the ancestor-god of the tin-men and steelyard-makers are omitted. The main deities, however, are all recorded there.

said that he is the inventor or improver of the writing brush (*Po-wu-chih* 博物志 and *Ku-chin chu* 古今注), was made ancestor-god of brush-makers and sellers. Wu Tao-tzu, the great painter in the Hsien-tsung time of T'ang (*Wang-shih hua-yüan* 王氏畫苑), became ancestor-god of oil-painters and manufacturers of lacquer ware. Tu K'ang (杜康) of the Chou dynasty, said to have been a famous wine distiller (*Po-wu-chih* and *Yü-p'ien*), and together with Li Po (李白) and Lu Tung-pin (呂同賓), a wine genius, became trade ancestor-god of distillers and sellers of wine. The Taoist Ma I (麻衣), a distinguished physiognomist of Sung time (*Wen-chien ch'ien-lu* 聞見前錄 and *Hsiang-shan yeh-lu* 湘山野錄) was made the guardian god of physiognomists. At the time of Huan Kung (桓公) of Chi' (齊), when pleasure houses were established, the so-called Three Hundred Brothels, by Kuan Chung (管仲) (*Chan-kuo tz'u t'ung-chou tz'u* 單國策東周策), this man became the ancestor-god of the inmates of this kind of houses. The compiler of the *Chiu-chang-lü* (九辛律), Hsiao Ho (蕭何), and his collaborator and continuator Ts'ao Ts'an (曹參) (*Hou-han-shu p'en-ch'uan*) became the profession gods of petty officials; emperor Ming Huang of T'ang, that is Hsüan Tsung, the founder of the actors' school called Li-yuan (Pear Garden) (*Hsin-t'ang-shu li-lo-chih* 新唐書禮樂志), was promoted to the rank of a god of actors, the reason we can easily understand. Lu Pan, an outstanding artist of the Chou time, the inventor of the scaling-ladder (*Meng-tzu li-lou* and *Meng-tzu kung-yü*) ascended to the position of a trade ancestor-god of carpenters, plasterers, stone-masons and producers of leathern suit-cases, for which not much explanation is needed.⁵⁾⁶⁾ But there are

- 5) If we look into the collection *Min-chien shen-hua ch'üan-chi* (民間神話全集) by Chu Yü-tsun (朱雨尊), Republic 22, 1934, May), we find that Lu Pan Hsien-jen (the ancestor-master of the carpenters) and his younger sister (the ancestor-mistress of bricklayers) were competitively displaying their fairy art some time, Lu Pan built a temple in one night, his sister a nunnery in the same time, a legend has it. Hereafter, Lu Pan became the ancestor-master of the carpenters, his sister that of the bricklayers. According to the paper of Ishibashi Ushio (石橋丑雄), *Soshi no shinkô* (祖師の信仰 *The Belief in Ancestor-masters*) (published in the first number of the magazine *Kami Nagara*), carpenters making menure pails are worshipping the wife of Lu Pan as the ancestress of their profession, calling her Shih-niang (師娘 *Mistress-Lady*). The constructors of mat-shelters are worshipping the younger sister of Lu Pan as the ancestress of their profession, calling her Shih-mei (師妹 *Mistress-Sister*). Out of these *Yin-yang* ideas the carpenters are applying their hook in a downward direction, the menure-pail makers do it upwards, as a rule.
- 6) Dr. Negishi (根岸), in his *Shina guild no kenkyû* (*Studies on the Guilds of China*) (Shôwa 7, 1932, December, p. 239), writes that carpenters worship Ch'ang Lu (張魯), ink-dealers Lu Tsu (呂祖), rice-dealers Shen-nung (神農), pharmacists Wu Chen-jen (吳真人), boat-makers Shui Hsien-tsun (水仙尊). To give an example from the sand-market (沙市), tile-makers are worshipping Nü Kuo, the sister and successor of Fu Hsi, painters Ta-mo (達磨). Chen Ta (陳達) in his *Chung-kuo lao-kung wen-t'i* (中國勞工問題) and Ch'uan Han-sheng (全漢昇) in his *Chung-kuo hang-hui cheng-tu-shih* (中國行會制度史) tell us that the painters in Hang-chou pray to Ku Hsien, the carpenters to Lu Pan, the musicians to K'ung-ming, the shoe-makers to Kuei-ku-tzu (鬼谷子), the writing-brush makers to Meng T'ien (蒙恬), the paper-dealers to Lu Tsu, the tile-makers to Nü Kuo, the pharmacists to Yao-wang Pusa, the tailors to Huang-ti, the weavers to Chi-shen (機神).

instances in which no inner connection between the god and the trade, whose protector he is, is visible at first sight and no legends or historical facts are at hand to give us reasons for his installation as a guardian-god. Examples are Lo Tsu (羅祖), venerated by hair-dressers, Sun Pin (孫贖), who had his legs cut off, worshipped by shoe-makers. People of workshops producing vessels of copper, brass or iron pray to Lao-tzu (老子), the reason being unknown.⁷⁾ As to the worship offered by the hair-dressers to Lo Tsu, the doubtful explanation is given that Lo Tsu introduced a good way of hair-binding, but another explanation is more plausible, namely that Emperor Yung Cheng of the Ch'ing, when he had developed a tumour on his head, could not bind his hair without pain and the chamberlains who had to attend to the hair-dressing of the Emperor, met the rage of the master each time and were executed. Finally Lo Tsu taught them a good method of coiffure so that from then on they could carry out their task without the risk of life. Thus Lo Tsu became the patron-god of the hairdressers' profession. Others say it was Emperor K'anghsi who burst out in a rage and not chamberlains but hairdressers were the victims. Just the same, there is no uniform tradition about Lo Tsu's connection with hairdressers.

Sun Pin was a man of Chi of the time of the Waring States. He is said to be a descendant of Sun Wu (孫武), his name (*ming*) is not known. He fell prey to the envy of P'ang Chüan (龐涓) and got his legs cut off (*Shih-chi*, *Sun-tzu lieh-ch'uan*), therefore his name Sun Pin, that is Sun, the man with his legs cut off (for punishment). He figures also as the ancestor-master of shoe-makers. There exist two explanations for this, the one says, he got this rank because he invented shoes in order to hide his mutilated legs; the other says he was the originator of decorations on shoes by which the difference between literary and military shoes was marked. Tanners and fell-mongers worship Pai-t'ou-fo (白頭佛), also called Pai-t'ou-er fo (白頭兒佛), needle-makers and dealers worship Liu Hai (劉海), we do not know why. Mr. Ishibashi Ushio is of the opinion that Pai-t'ou-fo has to do with a story going back to the Han dynasty: when the founder of that dynasty had worn out his shoes there appeared an old man with white hairs, who repaired the Emperor's shoes. Thus the tanners say. Liu Hai lived during the time of the Five Dynasties. He was a genius who took advantage of seclusion to get able to ascend to heaven. He went out to the sea to catch there the reflex of the moon, the needle-makers say. A good many humorous stories

7) According to the *Yüeh-wei ts'ao-t'ang pi-chi* (閱微草堂筆記), (*chüan* 4 im *Lo-yang hsiao-hsia-lu* 滎陽消夏錄卷四), its author says already in the Ch'ing time the same as I say about this matter, namely that the prostitutes are worshipping Kuan Chung (管仲), the actors Hsüan Tsung (玄宗) of T'ang, yamen-clerks Hsü Huo (蕭何) and Ts'ao Ts'ao (曹參) of the Han, the carpenters Lu Pan, makers of boots Sun Pin (孫贖), iron-workers Lao-tzu, the servants of officials Jih-chung San-lang (日鍾三郎); but the author says they do not know whether these gods are also considered to be the ancestors of the respective professions.

are told to explain the connection of profession gods with the professions under their tutelage. With regard to the Liu Hai legend, the makers and sellers of needles for tailors and embroidery workers possibly took the needles for fishing-hooks and the genius with whom they have otherwise no connection whatsoever is arbitrarily made use of for their profit. Prof. Burgess in his *The Guilds of Peking* (1928; p. 177 sqq.) deals to some extent with the guardian-gods of Peking trades, but is falling short in their description. For instance, he writes of Wen Ch'ang Ti (文昌帝), who is the guardian-god of paper-hangers, that he is probably one of the gods of the Buddhist pantheon. But we rather follow the story that he saved books from being burnt by Ch'in Shih-huang and became a god and a hero of many stories and legends. He is also adored by bookseellers and printers (cf. *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao, ch'üan* 35 and Niida Noboru, *Peking no kôshô guild to sono enkaku* 北京の工商ギルドとその沿革 *The Industrial and Commercial Guilds of Peking and Their History. Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 vol. 1; p. 110). Besides, Prof. Burgess gives the only explanation about the ancestor-gods of paint sellers, namely Mei Hsien and Ko Hsien⁸⁾—no doubt Mei Hsien is the genius Mei Fu (梅福) of the Han dynasty, an expert in alchemy; Ko Hsien is Ko Hung (葛洪), a genius of the Chin dynasty, famous for his publication of *Pao-p'u-tzu* (cf. *Lieh-hsien-ch'uan* and *Hsien-fo chi-tsung* 仙佛奇踪)—that they are “kings of the world of geniusses, making their appearance in popular legends (通俗神話).” Lo Tsu, according to Prof. Burgess, is the ancestor of the hairdressers, but Prof. Burgess resigns himself to the statement that no reports are available concerning the career of this legendary personality.⁹⁾ He makes Sun Pin, the ancestor-master of the shoe-makers, to the god of leather stores (*ib.* p. 189),¹⁰⁾ without solving, however, the question.¹¹⁾

In Peking and Tientsin the guilds since old times until now frequently possess association houses (*hui-kuan* 會館, they are also called *kung-so* 公所, “public houses”). These houses correspond to the European guild-halls. They contain offices for the handling of the affairs of the guilds and are used for meetings and feasting of the members of the guild so that they make a

8) Shen Chen-hsün (申鎮均) in his translation of Burgess' *The Guilds of Peking* (1928, pp. 240 and 252), omitted to read the Mei Hsien-wang and Ku Hsien-wang (メイ仙王, ク仙王) of the original text (for Mei and Ku he uses only *kana*, undoubtedly Mei Hsien (梅仙) and Ku Hsien (葛仙) are meant).

9) According to Gamble, *Peking, A Social Survey*, 1932, p. 431, Huang-ti of the Ming, when he was about to be captured by Mongol soldiers, was saved by the wit of Lo Tsu who helped him to change his hairdress and his clothes after the style of the Manchu; afterwards Huang-ti decreed the change of customs, bringing thus prosperity in the hairdressers' business, and he himself from then on was worshipped as the ancestor-master of hairdressers. Burgess worked together with Gamble and he should have known the above related story about the connection of Huang-ti with Lo Tsu, but, in fact, what Gamble writes differs entirely from what the author of this paper has heard in Peking about the Lo Tsu story.

10) In the Chinese word *pi-chiang* (皮匠) the accent lies on *chiang*, the word means here tannery

social center, sometimes they are also used as a school-house for the children of the members. At the same time they serve as a shrine (*shen-tien* 神殿) of the guild's god and have a stage for theatrical performances. When the guild is holding a religious ceremony, its members gather there for worship and feasting. Theatrical shows are part of the worship as they are given in honour of the god. Conferences and proceedings also take place in the *hui-kuan*, in them the officers are elected, the rules of the association changed, fines pronounced, parties given (to them only the officers are invited if the total number of the members is too big). In one and the same place economic, religious, ethical and artistic elements are accumulated in an indifferentiated manner. The guild-houses show the guild's cohesive and economic strength. Concerning these guild-houses, the scholars of the past, relying on works like *Tu-men-ki-liao* (都門紀略), *Chao-shih ts'ung-tsai* (朝市叢載), have noted about nine different *hui-kuan*, namely of the *yao-hang-hui-kuan* of the druggists, the *Ho-tung yen-hang hui-kuan* (河東煙行會館) of the tobacco producers of Shansi, the *Tung-yuan-ning hui-kuan* (東元寧會館) of the silk-merchants of Nanking and others (a list of all nine will be given below; cf. *Pei-ching-chih* 北京志; Dr. Katô: *Shin-dai ni okeru Peking no shônin kaikan ni tsuite* 清代に於ける北京の商人會館に就いて in *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌, vol. 53, 2, Shôwa 17, 1942, Febr., p. 1 sqq.: Ch'üan Han-sheng (全漢昇): *Chung-kuo hang-hui chih-tu shih* 中國行會制度史, p. 10 sqq.), but my investigation includes also the *Chih-yün kung-so* (織雲公所) of the silk-trade, the *Tang-yüeh hui-kuan* (當舖會館) of the pawn-shops, the *Yen-shao hui-kuan* (延邵會館) of the paper-merchants of Fukien, the *Ch'eng-i hui-kuan* of the tailors of Chekiang, the *Pi-hang hui-kuan* of the sheep-skin dealers, the *Tien-hang hui-kuan* (靛行會館) of the dyers, altogether more than twenty guild-houses came to my notice, all but two were built before the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. It is said that the guild-house of the tailors goes back even to the Ming. But there is no doubt that it existed already in the early years of the Ch'ing. Also the center of the dyers is said to have been created at the end of the Ming time, the *Hsien-ch'eng* (仙城), *Yen-hang* (煙行), *Tung-yuan-ning*

and has, therefore, a close connection with leather stores; when the accent lies on *pi* leather, the word means repair of boots, then it is natural that Sun Pin is considered to be ancestor-master of this profession. It seems that Prof. Burgess did not see the matter clearly. Furthermore, when Shen, in his translation of Burgess' book, writes (in Japanese *kana*) that Lun Pin is the ancestor-god of boot-makers, it must mean Sun Pin. This name Burgess incorrectly renders Lung P'in.

- 11) In Peking, picture mounters made Wen-ch'ang Ti-chün (文昌帝君), Sun Wen-kung (宋文公), Chu Fu-tzu (朱夫子) to their ancestor-masters, carpenters and plasterers and stonemasons (左官) Lu Pan, iron-workers Lao-tzu (T'ai-shang lao-chün 太上老君), hairdressers Lo Tsu. That these personalities were made ancestor-masters can be seen in *Peking no rôdôsha* (北京の勞働者 *The Workmen of Peking*) (an appendix to *Shantung no rôdôsha*), the fruit of investigations carried out by Japanese (Taishô 10, 1921 March).

(東元寧), Lin-hsiang (臨襄), *Yü-hang* (玉行) (for the guild-house of the dyers and others see Katô, 1. c., p. 1 sqq.) and the *hui-kuan* of the oil-shops have all a history that starts with the first years of the Manchu dynasty.

In these twenty guild-houses we frequently find a room reserved for religious worship (*shen-tien* 神殿) where the guild's guardian-gods and ancestor-gods are adored, given thanks for protection and asked for help in the future. For instance, silk-merchants and pawnshops look up to Kuan-ti, Fukien paper-sellers to T'ien-hou (the goddess of sea-travellers was originally the daughter of a Lin from Fukien, see *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* and others), tailors to San Huang (三皇), sheep-skin traders to Tung-yüeh-ti (東嶽帝) (it is generally assumed that T'ai-shan is meant by this name. I have been informed by the chairman of the association that their guardian-god is Huang Fei-hu (黃飛虎), who lived during the Chou dynasty and introduced the art to make sheep fur. Dyers, in the *tien-hang* (靛行, indigo-shops), have the two geniusses Mei and Ko in common with the paint merchants and worship them in their guild-houses. The foundries of copper, brass and iron industries pray to Lao-tzu in Lu-sheng-an (爐聖菴) where the guild has its center. Reference to this worship is made already in the *T'ang-tu ming-sheng-t'u-hui* (唐土名勝圖會). The paper manufacturers' guild, who worships its ancestor-master Ts'ai Lun (蔡倫), has its house in Pai-chih-fang (白紙坊) where paper industry had developed already at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. A close relation exists between the ancestor-master, his temple and the members of the same trade (reference to Pai-chih-fang is made also in *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao* 日下舊聞考).

In the following a list of twenty guildhouses is presented with the names of the guilds and their guardian gods.

- 1) *Yao-hang hui-kuan* (藥行會館), the apothecaries' guild
 - a) guardian-gods: Yao-wang Shen-nung, Wei Hsin-jen (韋新人), Sun Chen-jen (孫真人)
 - b) members: druggists
- 2) *Hsien-ch'eng hui-kuan* (仙城會館), lit. fairies-city guild-house
 - a) Kuan-ti, T'ien-hou and others
 - b) Merchants from the Kuangtung province
- 3) *Yen-liao hui-kuan* (顏料會館) paint merchants' guild-house, also called Hsien-wong-miao (仙翁廟)
 - a) Chen-wu Ta-ti (真武大帝), Mei Ko Erh-hsien
 - b) Paint shops
- 4) *Ho-tung yen-hang hui-kuan* (河東煙行會館)
 - a) Huo-ti (火帝), Kuan-ti, Ts'ai-shen (財神)
 - b) Sellers of tobacco leaves from Shansi
- 5) *Tung-yüan-ning-hui-kuan* (東元寧會館)
 - a) Ts'ai-shen

- b) Silk-merchants from Nanking
- 6) *Lin-hsiang hui-kuan* (臨襄會館)
 - a) Hsieh-t'ien Ta-ti (協天大帝, sc. Kuan-ti), Hsüan-t'an Lao-yeh (玄壇老爺), Chiu Hsien (酒仙) and four other gods
 - b) Oil-merchants from the districts Lin-fen (臨汾) and Hsiang-ling (襄陵) in Shansi
- 7) Cheng-i-tz'u (正乙祠)
 - a) Chen-i-hsüan-t'an ts'ai-shen (正乙玄壇財神), Kuan-ti and other gods
 - b) Gold and silver merchants and gold and silver smelters
- 8) *Yü-hang hui-kuan* (玉行會館), guild-house of jade-shops, also called *Chang-ch'un hui-kuan* (長春會館)
 - a) Chang-ch'un Chen-jen, Lu Pan and Tseng-fu ts'ai-shen
 - b) Traders with jade-ware
- 9) *Wen-ch'ang hui-kuan* (文昌會館) (*Pei-chih Wen-ch'ang hui-kuan* 北真文昌會館)
 - a) Wen-ch'ang ti (文昌帝), Huo-shen (火神)
 - b) Booksellers
- 10) *Tang-yüeh hui-kuan* (當業會館), guild-house of pawnshop owners
 - a) Huo-shen, Ts'ai-shen, Kuan-ti
 - b) Pawn-shops
- 11) *Chih-yün kung-so* (織雲公所)
 - a) Kuan-ti
 - b) Silk-merchants
- 12) *Yen-shao hui-kuan* (延邵會館)
 - a) T'ien-hou
 - b) Paper-merchants from Fukien
- 13) *Chih-hang hui-kuan* (紙行會館) (Tsu-shih-miao 祖師廟)
 - a) Yao-wang, Kuan-ti, Ts'ai-lun
 - b) Paper-makers
- 14) *Mao-tzu hui-kuan* (帽子會館, also called *Mao-tzu kung-hui* 帽子公會)
 - a) San Huang (T'ien Huang 天皇, Ti Huang 地皇, Jen Huang 人皇)
 - b) Hat-makers and -merchants
- 15) *Hsieh-hang hui-kuan* (鞋行會館)
 - a) Ts'ai-shen, but all shoe-makers worship also Sun Pin
 - b) Shoe-makers and -shops
- 16) *Ch'eng-i-hang hui-kuan* (成衣行會館), also called *Chih-tz'u hui-kuan* (浙慈會館)
 - a) San Huang (Fu-hsi, Shen-nung, Huang-ti)
 - b) Tailors
- 17) *Tien-hang hui-kuan* (靛行會館), guild-house of dyers
 - a) Mei Hsien and Ko Hsien
 - b) Dyers

- 18) *Pi-hang hui-kuan*, fur dealers' guild-house
 - a) Tung-yüeh-ti, Pi-kan-ch'eng-hsiang (畢甘丞相), Kuan Kung
 - b) Sheep-fur trade
- 19) *Pi-hsiang-hang-hui-kuan* (皮箱行會館) (*Tung-chi-kung* 東極宮)
 - a) Lu Pan, Kuan-ti, Tseng-fu ts'ai-shen
 - b) Makers of leathern suit-cases
- 20) *Lu-an hui-kuan* (潞安會館), also called *Lu-an-tung-kuan* 潞安東館 and *Lu-sheng-an* (爐聖菴)
 - a) Lao-tzu, Kuan-yin, Kuan-ti
 - b) Foundries and producers of copper, brass, iron utensils
- 21) *K'o-tzu-hang kung-so* (刻字行公所) (*Kui-tzu-miao* 歸子廟)
 - a) Kuan-ti
 - b) Seal-engravers
- 22) *Kung-shu-tzu-tz'u* (公輸子祠)
 - a) Lu Pan
 - b) House construction undertakers
- 23) *P'eng-hang hui-kuan* (棚行會館)
 - a) Lu Pan
 - b) Mat-shelter shops
- 24) *Cheng-yung-hang-hui-kuan* (整容行會館)
 - a) Lo Tsu
 - b) Barber-shops
- 25) *Yu-hang-hui-kuan* (油行會館)
 - a)
 - b) Oil-dealers, before those from Shansi came in.

Among these guild-houses those of the tobacco-dealers from Shansi (4), of the silk-merchants from Nanking (5), of the paper-merchants from Fukien (12) and of the oil-shops (25) ceased functioning entirely or almost entirely. The names of the guild-houses are often taken from the names of their respective guardian-gods, for instance, the guild-house of the gold and silver dealers is called *Cheng-i-tz'u*, the guild-house of the dealers with paints is called *Hsien-wong-miao*, booksellers call their guild-house *Wen-ch'ang hui-kuan*, jade-ware manufacturers have their *Ch'ang-ch'un-hui-kuan*, these houses are given their names in honour of their respective tutelary gods, that is of Cheng-i hsüan-t'an ts'ai-shen, Mei Ko Erh-hsien-wong, Wen-ch'ang ti-chün (文昌帝君), Ch'ang-ch'un Chen-jen (see Katô, 1. c., p. 1 sqq.). Furthermore, the house construction undertakers call their guild-house *Kung-shu-tzu-tz'u*, the paper-makers theirs *Tsu-shih-miao*, copper, brass and iron smelters *Lu-sheng-an*; all these houses are ancestor-temples, because Kung-shu Lu Pan, Ts'ai Lun and Lao-tzu are considered to be the ancestors of their trades, and we see that several celestial beings function as such. The number of worshipped gods varies according to the guilds,

the gold- and silver-merchants, for instance, know no less than ten different guardian-spirits. Consequently, since the gods have all their birth-day, such a guild has to celebrate the ten birth-days of all its gods, nearly one every month. Ordinarily the guild-members gather once or twice a year in the guild-house, they do this in one and the same hall, at the same time enjoying a banquet. This is always done on a day when an act of worship is due to the guardian-god. Many guilds stage a theatre-play in honour of their god, this is done in the Cheng-i-tz'u, the pawnshops guild-house, the Chih-yün kung-so, the paint-merchants' house, also in that of the dress-makers, the paper-makers, the Shansi oil-merchants, the pharmacists, the guild-houses of all of them are provided with a stage. The gold and silver merchants are worshipping, besides Cheng-i-hsüan-t'an ts'ai-shen, eighteen gods more, they summon six big religious meetings a year in the guild-house, each of them accompanied by a banquet in their Cheng-i-tz'u, at four of these meetings a theater play is enacted as part of the worship and carried out by hired professional actors. Quite many of these plays last even for two days. In this way the gods are honoured and the companions entertained. The content of the plays has no connection with the respective guardian-god, they are not even religious, but just taken from the repertoire common to the theater-houses. This was different in Europe. The plays enacted there by the guilds of the Middle Ages were of religious nature and preferably had connection with the character of the guild, for example, the wine-producers of Portugal had a play "The Wedding at Cana," the candle-makers one "The Star of the Orient," boat-constructors one "The Construction of Noe's Ark" (see Ashley, *The Economic Organisation of England*, 1914, p. 31). In the Peking of present times plays have largely been given up at the meetings of the guilds because of the outlays involved.

Those guilds that cannot afford to have a house of their own are carrying out their acts of worship in various temples of the city. They find there a place for their common divine ceremonies where they gather for their proceedings and parties and where they also honour their gods with theatrical performances, hold their elections of functionnaires, establish the tribunal of the guild, in brief, where the whole guild-life is centered. In the temple Ch'ing-ch'ung-miao (精忠廟) in the Chinese city with Yüeh Fei as chief god, worships the actors' guild the God of Joy (Hsi-shen 喜神), carpenters, brick-masons carving beautiful patterns into bricks for the embellishment of houses, stone-masons, timber-merchants, saw-pullers and tinters worship Lu Pan; varnishers the Three Gods of Wealth (San Ts'ai-shen), painters (in charge of painting the walls and the ceiling etc. of houses) are worshipping either Lu Pan oder Wu Tao-tzu (吳道子) or P'u-an Chen-jen (普安真人), shops manufacturing bronze imported from the South (*nan-t'ung-hang* 南銅行) worship Lao-tzu, hairdressers Lo Tsu, shoe-makers Sun Pin, soya-bean-

oil makers and menure dealers and all other kinds of guilds with manual work pray to their ancestor-master and they are still in recent years playing theatre on the stage of their temples. Some guilds have their own hall in a temple, for instance the actors may have a hall for the God of Joy (Hsi-shen-tien 喜神殿), shoe-makers their Sun-tzu-tien (孫祖殿), inside the Ch'ing-ch'ung-miao, in public temples such special halls are sometimes placed at the disposition of guilds. Inside the Ch'ing-ch'ung-miao, in the Southern courtyard of it, there is a Lu Pan Hall, in front of this hall carpenters and brick-masons like to erect monuments of the guilds on which also the rules concerning wages for hired workers are engraved (such a monument is pictured in Shen Chen-chün's 申鎮均 translation of the book of Burgess). Groups with Lu Pan as guild-god call themselves Lu Pan sheng-hui (魯班聖會), that means "Holy Association of Lu Pan"; both master-workers and assistant workers belong to it and consider Lu Pan as their ancestor-master. In the Ts'ai-shen-miao in Tung-hsiao-shih (東曉市), where Pi Kan is worshipped as Wen-t'sai-shen (文財神 Literary God of Wealth), about ten industrial and commercial guilds of the Ch'ing dynasty have devoted themselves to repairs and theatrical performances. Also shoe-maker guilds of Peking have done something similar, since the Ch'ing dynasty they have built the Sun-tsu Pao-tien (孫祖寶殿 the Precious Hall of the Ancestor Sun) on the East-side of the Ts'ai-shen Temple to worship there Sun Pin. With the Chen-wu-miao (真武廟) in Tung-hsiao-shih, where people pray to Chen-wu Ta-ti, the guild of shops painting pictures in golden colour on various objects (*miao-chin-hang* 描金行) had already connection since the early Ch'ing period.¹²⁾ In front of the temple, a monument of this guild was erected in the years of Yung Ch'eng (1723-1735). The art of lacquering with gold (*miao-chin* 描金) has been brought to China during Ming (cf. Teng Chih-cheng 鄧之誠: *Ku-tung so-chi* 骨董瑣記 and Hsü Yen-yüeh: *Chung-kuo kung-i yen-ko-shih* 許衍約: 中國工藝沿革史; Dr. Katô: *Shina keizai-shi*, Shôwa 19, 1944, p. 69). Though it is almost needless to explain how the art made its way also to Peking already during Ming time, it constitutes however a document of the fact that the art of lacquering with gold became known in Peking at least in the early Manchu time (cf. Niida Noboru: *Shin-dai Peking no makie-shi guild hi-bun* 清代北京の蒔繪師ギルド碑文, *The Inscription on the Stone-monument of the Gold-lacquers' Guild in Peking. Shigaku zasshi*, No. 571, a paper read October 1946). The Tsao-chün-miao (竈君廟) in Hua-erh-shih (花兒市) was well known for having attracted the devotion of restaurant managers and cooks. We read in the *Ching-tu feng-szu-chih* (京都風俗志) that the third day of the eighth month was the birth-day of the

12) In the *Wan-li hui-tien* (萬曆會典卷百五禮部), *chüan* 105, there are mentioned as tributary goods brought from Japan book-stands sprinkled with gold, gilded powder-boxes and gilded pen-cases.

Kitchen-god and that restaurant personel held a so-called *Tsao-chün-hui*, that is a Kitchen-god meeting, in the temple on this day. A guild consisting of makers of a kind of cake, called sugar-cakes shop (*t'ang-ping-hang* 糖餅行) is a combination of a Northern and a Southern school of cake producing (cf. Prof. Okuno, "*Ko-en nissho*" *hidokei no aru fukei* ("古燕日涉" 日時計のある風景, p. 214). They have combined the worship of Lei tsu (雷祖) with that of the Kitchen-god, already in the middle years of K'ang-hsi they also built a Horse-god temple (馬神廟) inside the Sha-wo-men in the Chinese city where they prayed to Lei Tsu and also to Kuan-yin and Kuan-ti. The temple Cheng-wu-miao (its full name is Tz'u-yuan-ssu Chen-wu-miao 慈源寺真武廟) has by now fallen into ruins completely and the stele of the guilders' shops seem to stand forgotten on its side. In 1943, when making researches in the Ch'ing-ch'ung-miao and Nan-yao-wang-miao, if my collaborator Mr. Imahori Seiji (今堀誠二) had not paid any special attention to this stele, I also would not have noticed it. In 1942, in the autumn, I took Mr. Okuno Shintarô (奥野信太郎) along with me to that place and I visited the temple again together with him, my companion went in ahead of me. We found that the temple had been made meanwhile to living quarters of some people and we noticed nothing but an inscription dated Chienlung 11 (1747) on an iron tripod (Prof. Okuno, 1. c. P. 207). Also the Horse-god Temple (Ma-shen miao) consists only of debris now, the Tsao-chün-miao was demolished and the remains of it have been adapted for the purposes of a school, the *Mu-teh-hsüeh-hsiao* (穆德學校). The stele from the K'ang-hsi period in the Tsao-chün-miao was lying on the ground and looked as a faint reflection of by-gone days. In the summer of 1943 I stepped into the midst of the debris and, covered with dust from the collapsing walls, examined carefully everything under my eyes.

In the Nan-yao-wang-miao I could at least find out the last remains connected with the guild of hat-makers, the incense-shops, the shoe-makers, the pharmacists, and others, also the association of singers (*ch'ang-ch'un-hang* 長春行). The singers are worshipping at present Chuang-wang (莊王) of Chou inside the Nan-yao-wang-miao as their guardian-god. The paint dealers' guild went to the Ho-teh-hsing-chün-miao (火德星君廟), adjacent to their guild-house. Shops making silk-cords for fastening Chinese gowns have No-ch'a (哪吒), who is said to be the third son of Pi-sha-men-t'ien (毘沙門天), as their guardian-god (Prof. Okuno, 1. c., p. 211),¹³⁾ they are now performing their religious acts in the No-ch'a-miao west of the former Temple

13) In the *San-chiao yüan-liu sou-shen ta-chüan* (三教源流搜神大全), *chüan* 7, we find that No-ch'a was born after conception in the womb of Su Chih (素知), the mother of Li Ching (李靖). No-ch'a is worshipped everywhere, not only in Peking. References concerning him can be found also in the *Hsi-yu-chi* (西遊記) and *Feng-shen-chüan* (封神傳), novels from the Ming dynasty.

of Agriculture. In the Kuan-ti-miao outside the city, in the village of Weikung (魏公村), I was taken there by Mr. Ishibashi Ushio (石橋丑雄), we found a Lu Pan Hall, now a pilgrimage goal of the mat-shelter builders; in the T'ou-mu-tien (斗母殿) in the Ch'ing-ning-kuan (慶寧觀) on the Kang-tzu-chieh (崗子街) many stone-masons are making their appearance, in front of the idol a statue of a stone-mason holding a mallet has been erected. There is a Taoist School, called T'ien-shih-pai (天師派), anxious to promote utilitarian and worldly religious practices, whose typical formula is: "Yu chiu pi-ying" (有求必應, who prays will see his prayers fulfilled,) and the prayers themselves consist in charms, spells and exorcism. Different from this type of Taoism is the School of Lu Ch'un-yang (呂純陽派) who had much in common with the Ch'an sect (禪宗); his followers devoted themselves to introspective and quiet self-perfection. This is the so-called Ch'uan-chen-miao (全真教) (cf. Dr. Koyanagi 小柳: *Haku-un-kan-shi* 白雲觀志 1934; p. 375). The first mentioned School of Taoism is in Peking represented by the Tung-yüeh-miao (東嶽廟), a temple with many fervent believers among the members of the industrial and commercial guilds. It was and partly is still closely related with the guild of actors and with pig and sheep dealers. Pig dealers in the Tung-szu pai-lou district have organised a society called *Ch'ing-szu lao-hui* (慶司老會), every year they are praying before two of the 72 tribunals in the Tung-yüeh-miao¹⁴⁾ so that after a cycle of thirty-six years one round is finished. During the reign of the Emperors K'ang-hsi and Chien-lung this pig-dealers' association existed already and their stone monument amidst the forest of steles in the temple precincts shows its antiquity. The Ma-wang-tien (馬王殿 Horse-god Hall) in the Tung-yüeh-miao, at the time functioning as Kuan-ti-tien (關帝殿), was connected with the mule dealers. On the 23rd day of the sixth month, the day on which Yen-ti (炎帝) is worshipped, the mule drivers made contributions towards the expenses of the festival and celebrated Ma-wang, from those who made use of their mules they asked for a specially high fare, a fact mentioned in *Hsin-yen-yü* (新燕語). Two Lu Pan Halls, an old one and a new one, are adjoining to the Horse-god Hall of the Tung-yüeh-miao. With the older one, the carpenters and the brick-masons, the blacksmiths, the mat-shelter makers and others have to do, the new one has been rebuilt September Min-kuo 30 (1942), by the associations of brick-masons and carpenters of Peking which is a combined organisation of the carpenters of the Lu Pan Sheng-hui and the stone- and brick-masons (a picture of this hall is reproduced in Shen Chen-chün's translation of the book of Prof. Burgess).

14) In each of the seventy-two tribunals of the Tung-yüeh-miao a statue of a god who is in charge of exhorting and warning the people is placed. Several opinions exist concerning the number of these gods (cf. Dr. Koyanagi, *Haku-un-kan-shi* 小柳, 白雲觀志 *Shōwa* 9, 1934, March, p. 220). Hirano Yoshitarō (平野義太郎), who also investigated the Tung-yüeh-miao, speaks of seventy-six tribunals.

The two statues in front of the god, the one showing a workman holding a small knife for cutting mat-rush and an inked string as the carpenters also use it for marking lines, the other showing a boy, are the same as those that can be seen in the guild-house of the mat-shelter makers. As Jeng Lien (讓廉) of the Ch'ing dynasty writes in his *Ch'ung-ming sui-shih suo-chi* (春明歲時瑣記) about the festivals at the Tung-yüeh-miao of Peking, they begin on the 15th day of the third month of the old calendar, all the industrial and commercial guilds take part in them, the statues of the gods of water and land (水陸諸天像) are the best attended on this day and the acts of worship offered to them are copious. The felicitous relation between the Tung-yüeh-miao and the industrial and commercial guilds do not exist only in Peking and it has already a long history behind it. A report (*Liang-chih-chin-shih-chih* 兩浙金石志, *chüan* 15) came to our notice of a stele in the Tung-yüeh Temple in the district of Chang-hsing (cf. Dr. Katô: *Tô-sô jidai no shônin kumiai* "hang" wo ronjite *Shin-dai no kaikan ni oyobu* 唐宗時代の商人組合 "行" を論じて清代の會館に及ぶ *Shigaku*, vol. 14, No. 1; *Shôwa* 10, 1935, April, p. 28 sqq.). From this stele we know that twenty-one guilds were devoted to the Eastern Peak. During the Ch'ing dynasty, in Nanking and in Huai-an in Kiangsu and in other places *Tung-yüeh-hui* (Eastern Peak Societies) existed, they were recruited from among the guilds who organised solemn festivals in honour of the sacred mountain. The Chiang-nan Ch'eng-huang-miao (江南城隍廟) in the Chinese City of Peking has a hall for the God of Joy where the actors' guild worships. A hall of this god we find also in the Tung-yüeh-miao. Mr. Ishibashi Ushio says that the God of Joy has a wife and in fact two pillars have been placed in the god's room. Also actresses visit frequently the temple. The Taoist temples of the School of Ch'üan Chen, though they are not used for religious ceremonies of industrial guilds so frequently as the Tung-yüeh-miao, nevertheless, powerful guilds practiced there their religion. The jade-ware makers' guilds, during the Ch'ing dynasty and also now in the Republic, venerate Lu Pan, the great ancestor of artistic skill and the inaugurator of the jade-industry, at the same time they honour also Ch'ang-ch'ung Chen-jen (長春真人), the chief deity of Po-yün-kuan, the famous center of the Chuan Chen religion, in the guild-house of the jade-industry. According to written sources from the early Ch'ing time and to present-day practices, every New Year on the days of the great Po-yün-kuan festival, a meeting took place in which four *man-t'ou* (steamed bread) were offered (therefore called *man-t'ou-hui* 饅頭會) to Ch'ang-ch'ün Chen-jen of Po-yün-kuan by the guild as such. Besides, each individual guild member had to offer a *man-t'ou*. Furthermore, there existed also so-called duster-meetings, associations charging themselves with the cleaning of Po-yün-kuan from dust. Still in the 21st year of the Republic the guild of jade-ware makers dedicated a huge stone-monument in the temple compound as a token of thanksgiving for the benevolence of

Ch'ang-ch'un Chen-jen who taught the art of jade-carving to craftsmen in Peking (cf. Niida Noboru: *Peking no kôshô guilds to sono enkaku. Tôyô bunka kenkyûjo kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 vol. I; with a picture of the monument). The goddess Pi-hsia-yüan-chün (碧霞元君) on the Miao-feng-shan (妙峰山), the pilgrimage center West of Peking, is honoured in a similarly fervent way by manual work of her faithful believers. During the annual pilgrimage period between the first and the fifteenth day of the fourth month (lunar calendar), shoe-makers repair the shoes of the pilgrims free of charge, black-smiths take care of damaged copper, brass and porcelain pots in the roadside inns, paper-hangers stick new paper on the windows of the temple-halls of gods and Buddhas, all cases that show that the craftsmen of Peking and its vicinity are not afraid of exercising their trade for altruistic purposes out of religious motives¹⁵⁾ (cf. Prof. Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛: *Miao-feng-shan*, Republic 17, 1929, p. 61-63; Fong Kuan: *Miao-fong-shan suo-chi* 奉寬: 妙峰山瑣記; Republic 19, 1931, p. 71).

The members of the guilds of Peking are tied together still in our times by religious forces and they are keeping their character as religious bodies, though not all to the same degree. Younger members do not see more in the idols than the work of human hands and show little interest in the belief on a celestial ancestor-master. Faced by such a rational attitude of the new generation the elder ones console themselves by saying that the youth does not yet understand the old belief and that, when growing older, it will fall in line with tradition.

The Mohammedan guilds go their own ways in their religious life¹⁶⁾ and meet, therefore, the antagonism of the Taoists. As mentioned above, in the heretofore treated guilds Taoism is most prevalent, except among Mohammedan people. At the time of our inquiries (1943) the Bureau of Social Affairs requested all professional associations to hang a picture of Confucius on the wall of their assemblée hall. Confucius was in many cases linked up with the governmental authorities, was supported by the officials and Confucius was imposed on the guilds as their god, not well received by quite a few guilds. But we cannot say that there existed no Confucianist gods in the religion of the guilds. Another Confucianist god that entered the realm of the guilds' belief is Yü, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, who became the ancestor-master of the professional cloisonné designers; Han Yü and Chu Hsi got there from the paper hangers (cf. Burgess, l.c., p. 188). We must say however that more popular among the common people than these Con-

15) Concerning the belief of the porters' guild in Miao-feng-shan see Burgess, l.c., pp. 89, 197, and Ch'üan Han-sheng, l.c., p. 124.

16) Concerning the Mohammedans in Peking, see Niida: *Peking no kaikyô-to shôkôjin no nakamateki ketsugo* (北京の回教徒商工人と其仲間的結合) in *Kaikyô-ken* (回教圈), vol. VIII, No. 6, Shôwa 19 (1944), August.

fucian literary gods and also figuring as ancestor-masters are Kuan-yin and No-ch'a. May be they have been taken in a Taoist sense or in a broad religious sense in general. There are still other trade ancestor-gods and guardian-gods of guilds which we have not treated here. We want to have another opportunity to show them all in a list. But since trade ancestor-gods and guardian-gods of guilds do not fall within the scope of this paper, I hope to find some other occasion for a treatment of them.

III. Coherence of the guilds effected by common native places and common trades of their members

Not only by common occupation are the members of a guild kept together but also by common native places. These two factors were of importance also in the European guilds,¹⁷⁾ though less obviously than in China. When there is the question of a common native place, no fixed rules can be found about the exact meaning of this term, in other words, whether members of the same guild have in common the district of their birth or were born only in the same province. What matters is the homogeneity of geographically conditioned human characteristics. But frequent though it is, the common native place is not an essential condition for membership of a given guild. Guided by the special cases cited by Norse (*The Guilds of China*, 1909; p. 49) there were not a few writers who took it for granted that only few guild merchants have joined their respective guild without having their native place in common with the other members of it, but we lack still sufficient data to say the last word in this matter already now. What we can say for the time being is that the tendency exists that fellow-country-men flock together in guilds. As far as Peking is concerned, this tendency cannot be regarded as irrelevant (about this point more below). As everywhere else in China, also the guilds of Peking are joined, more or less as a rule, by people of both common occupation and common geographical origin. To put it more precisely, in many cases those people of the same place who are of the same profession organise a guild. Dr. Katô's investigations have shown us that the element of common origin from the same native place was missing in the early period of the history of the pharmacists of Peking (*Shindai ni okeru Peking no shônin kai-kan ni tsuite, On commercial guild-houses in Peking during the Ch'ing dynasty*; p. 15). Examples from Peking of the contrary are by no means few. We are however practically entitled to take common local origin as a rule.

17) According to Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, 1909, Part I, p. 103 sq., the merchants of the cities of France and Germany, for example those of Amiens, have organised their guilds in English cities on the basis of fellow-countryship. Later, in order to make good for the deficiencies of this system, the two Hansa (the London Hansa and the Chewton Hansa) were created.

In the following we shall bolster this statement by a number of examples.

The guild of gold- and silver-merchants (both ore-merchants and smelters) and the tailors' guild were recruited from people of Chekiang. The managers of banks for the issue of drafts, also those of pawnshops, oil-merchants and tobacco-dealers used to be from Shansi, booksellers from Kiangsi. Since the Ch'ing dynasty up to now, the trade with paints for painting buildings was a monopoly of Shansi people. The same is true with the banking business, called *chang-chuang* (賑莊), which existed since the Ch'ing dynasty. During the war they were fused with the cash-dealers (*Peking kôshôgyô gaisetsu* 北京工商業概説 p. 556). It cannot be said that a certain trade is completely monopolised by a group of country-fellow-men, but in a great number of them this monopolisation is almost perfect, in others it has again crumbled. Present-day pig-brokerage consists almost exclusively of natives of the Hopei province, pork-dealers and butchers and lard-dealers from Hopei can hardly stand however the serious competition of Shantung people. Natives of Shantung are also outstanding as dealers of sesame-oil and as owners of shops for old clothes and of restaurants. That among the cooks natives of Su-chou and Shao-hsing (紹興) are numerous, we can find in the *Chiu-ching i-shih* (舊京遺事). That the water-peddlers (cf. *Hokuhei-shi kôshôgyô gaisetsu*, p. 379) and the menure collectors are mostly natives of Shantung is generally known.¹⁸⁾ According to the *Chiu-tu po-hua* (舊都白話), both industry and commerce of Peking were firmly controlled in old times by natives from Shansi and Shantung for several hundred years, labour by Shantung people, business to a large extent by Shansi folk. The great business house of the Shansi merchants was *Huei-tuei-chuang* (滙兌莊) in the street called 'Ta-mo-ch'ang (打磨廠) East of Ch'ien-men; the Shantung people had theirs in the silk-shops (*ch'ou-tuan-tien* 綢緞店) in 'Ta-cha-lan (大柵欄) West of Ch'ien-men. In these two places the guild-members used to gather. Quite a few instances can be found in which common native place does not mean the same province only but the same district (*hsien*) or bounding districts. This is the case with the tobacco merchants which were originating from three districts in Ho-tung (河東), namely Chi-shan (稷山), Chiang (絳) and Wen-hsi (聞喜); they have built at their own expenses the Ho-tung tobacco-traders guild-house (河東煙行會館) (cf. Dr. Katô, l.c., p. 11 sqq.). The paper-merchants of Peking had their native places in the two regions Yen-ping (延平) and Shao-wu (邵武) in Fukien and they owned the *Yen-shao-hui-kuan* (延邵會館) in Peking. The gold- and silver-smelters were coming from the districts Shang-

18) In the *Ching-tu chu-chih-tzu* (京都竹枝詞) (*Pei-ching feng-szu lei-wei*) and in the book *Peking yokochô* (北京橫丁) by Takagi Takco (高木健夫), Shôwa 18 (1943), May, we find songs of the Shantung natives who make their living in Peking as water-carriers, they usually wear a livery coat and a straw-hat.

yü (上虞) and Tz'u-ch'i (慈谿) in Chekiang¹⁹); the tailors from the Tz'u-ch'i district,²⁰ their guild-house was called *Chih-tz'u hui-kuan* (浙慈會館) or *Ch'eng-i-hang-hui-kuan* (成衣行會館). As Dr. Katô has it (l.c., p. 19), the oil-merchants' guild consists of compatriotes from the two districts Lin-fen (臨汾) and Hsiang-yang (襄陽) in Shansi, they call their guild-house accordingly *Lin-hsiang hui-kuan* (臨襄會館). The paint trade of Peking is in the hands of Shansi men, more than half of them are from the district of Ping-yao (平遙) (cf. Dr. Katô, l.c., p. 9), they were mixed with people of the neighbouring districts of Chieh-hsiu (介休) and Fen-yang (汾陽). The copper, brass and iron industry was controlled by people from the district of Lu-an (潞安) in Shansi, they had their *Lu-an hui-kuan*, also called, because of their guardian-god residing there, *Lu-sheng-an* (爐聖菴). Today also many natives from Hopei are taking part in the same trade, together with some from Shantung. The Shansi craftsmen are exclusively natives from the South-eastern part of their province, namely from the districts of Ping-shun (平順), Lu-ch'eng (潞城), Lu-an (長治), Hu-kuan (壺關) and others. The banking business was dealt with by natives from Central Shansi, that is the districts from Yang-ch'ü (T'ai-yuan) to the South, T'ai-ku (太谷), Ping-yao (平遙), Chieh-hsiu (介休) and Chiao-ch'eng (交城), Wen-shui (文水) and others. At present many of those managers of banks in Peking and Tientsin who came from Shansi are originating from the same region, others from places North-East of it (something more about them will be said below). In the rice-trade, the overwhelming majority of dealers are natives from the Shantung peninsula, namely from the district of Fu-shan (福山), the trade with rice-flour is shared by people from Fu-shan and Huang-hsien (黃縣) of the same peninsula, lard-shops are run entirely by Yeh-hsien (掖縣) folk. Among the managers of dining houses we find many who are from Yeh-hsien, Fu-shan or Chao-yuan (招遠). The investigation results from the 28th year of the Republic are somewhat out-dated, but according to them, the managers of the famous *Chih-mei-chai* (致美齋), *Tung-hsing-lou* (東興樓), *Hui-hsien-t'ang* (會賢堂), *T'ung-ho-chü* (同和居) are all, or were at least at the time of the investigation, natives from Fu-shan. Pig brokers are coming to a great

19) Dr. Katô writes in his paper *Shindai ni okeru Peking no shônin kaikan ni tsuite* (*On the Guild-houses of the Merchants of Peking during the Ch'ing Dynasty*) that the Southern silver-smelters who have built Cheng-i-tzu (正乙祠) were people from Shao-hsing, but according to my own inquiries the forty-four families living in Peking at the time of the construction of the above mentioned guild-house came all from Shang-yü (上虞) and Tz'u-ch'i (慈谿) in Chekiang. It makes a difference from what place in Chekiang people are coming. On the stone-inscription of Chia-ching the characters can be found 浙慈弟子 "brethren from Tz'u-ch'i in Chekiang".

20) The *Li-yuan ts'ung-shu* (履園叢書) says: "The tailors inside and outside the capital are all Ning-p'o people" (京城內外成衣者皆寧波人), but my investigations have shown that the above reported statement holds true only if taken in a broad sense, namely that the tailors came from the prefecture (*fu*) of Ning-p'o of which Tz'u-ch'i is a district (*hsien*).

extent from districts North of Peking, as Shun-i (順義) and Mi-yün (密雲); tea-shop managers are also people from districts of the Peking plain, An-tzu (安次), Yü-t'ien (玉田), Liang-hsiang (良鄉), T'ung-hsien (通縣) and Shun-i. Bookshops, hardware-stores (where iron-plates, iron-tubes, screws and nails are made), house-furniture workshops, jade-object shops, are similarly occupied by Hopei people, mostly Southerners from Heng-shui (衡水), I-hsien (冀縣), Tsao-ch'iang (棗強), Shu-lu (束鹿), and other districts. The guild of bath-house owners consists also of Hopei men, namely from the districts of Ting-hsing (定興) and the adjoining districts of Lai-shui (涞水) and I-hsien (易縣) (*Hokuhei-shi kôshôgyô gaisetsu*, p. 619 sq.). But Mr. Gamble was of the opinion that some guilds took on the peculiarity to have members originating from the same province or district or from one and the same city or town, and that the trade with furs and leather in Peking was in the hands of people from Chih-li, Shansi and Shantung and that water peddlers were natives from Shantung. He finds that it was a peculiarity of some guilds in Central and South China that their members originated from one and the same city or town, and that not a single example can be found that membership of a guild in Peking was limited to natives from the same district or city (Gamble, *Peking. A Social Survey*, 1921; p. 168). Mr. Shimizu Morimitsu (清水盛光) follows the opinion of Gamble and Avenarius and Prof. Burgess whose investigation results he had read (*Shina shakai no kenkyû*; Shôwa 14, 1939, June, p. 37 sq.), but I myself cannot agree with their conclusions concerning the question of common regional extraction of the members of the Peking guilds. The most obvious counter-evidences their assumptions have to face are the guilds of the gold- and silver-smelters and the tailors' guild coming from Tz'u-ch'i-hsien in Chekiang and the tobacconists' guild from the Ho-tung region in Shansi, the smiths from An-lu in Shansi, one group of sugar-cake shops of Peking, the jade-ware guilds of Peking, the paper-merchants' guild recruited from Yen-shao in Fukien. They may already have the connection with their place of origin, but if we follow the track of their historical development back to their origin, we find that only one or two, like the paint dealers from Shansi, do not display the characteristic feature of common origin. For reference we may mention that, according to the *Wu-tsa-tsu* (五雜俎) (*chü'an* 14, 事部二), during the Ming time nine tenth of the population of Lin-ch'ing (臨清) in Shantung consisted of merchants from Huei-chou (徽州). In a city of the size of Peking it would not attract anyone's attention if the immigrated population outnumbered the local natives or if in a provincial city immigrated merchants were the absolute majority among the merchants, but not so in smaller places.

On account of need for mutual help for those craftsmen and merchants who immigrate from outside districts into the city where they are strangers and have otherwise no support they flock together in associations in order to

get strong for the competition with their local rivals. Among the tea traders of Peking two groups exist, the one is the *Ching-huei-pang* (京徽幫) composed of immigrants from the Anhwei province, the other one is the *Chih-tung-pang* (直東幫), the tea traders from Chih-li and Shantung (*pang* as a verb means to help, to defend; as a noun an association, confraternity). Each of these two groups has its own independent office, its own head and staff of officers and its own meetings (cf. *Hokuhei-shi kôshôgyô gaisetsu*, p. 412). The sugar-cake makers' association consists partly of natives from Peking, the so-called *Pei-an* (北案, lit. Northern table) and of natives from Nanking, called *Nan-an* (南案). The bean-curd (*tofu*) makers and also the wood-carvers are to be subdivided into the Southerners and Northerners. The ink and writing-brush dealers have their Northern Association (*pei-pang*) and a plurality of Southern associations, namely the *Hu-pang* (湖幫), the *Hsiang-pang* (湘幫) and the *Huei-pang* (徽幫), that is associations composed of natives from Hupei, Hunan and Anhwei respectively.

Those who immigrate from outside places to Peking have to conform themselves to the code of customs of Peking. Already the Book of Rites warns them: "When you enter the boundaries (of another place) ask what inhibitions are to be respected there; when you come to (another) country, ask what customs are to be observed there." But among themselves the immigrants continue to conform themselves to the customs and rules of their place of origin, to the moral principles of their home-country which concern the methods of arbitration by which disputes arising among members of the association are solved; which concern also their religious belief, for instance natives from Fukien continue their worship of T'ien-hou, the goddess of sea-transportation. They also bring in to their new home the pettiness of spirit typical of provincial folk. It also happens that they are implanting their skillful home-techniques and their rules to their new surrounding. Southern cake- and beancurd-shops make even the best of their production methods, with which their local competitors are not familiar, to attract customers. Traders with thin silk from Suchou have taken along everywhere their customary measurement to measure out silk and the Suchou foot (*Su ch'ih* 蘇尺) is not used only by them but by all when Suchou silk is sold. Similarly, the managers of banks for the issue of drafts are observing special rules and applying special techniques that are in contrast to those of the Southern bankers and in concordance with those of the bankers from Shansi and this holds true not only for Peking but even for Urga in Mongolia, for K'un-ming in Yunnan, for the whole country, since the net-work of the control exercised by Shansi bankers over the cash-market is laid out throughout the whole of China. These Shansi merchants have monopolised the draft issue business and they practice their own devices in it, money transactions are carried out by making use of a mediator who is a Shansi man, the money is flowing to and fro through

the channels that are provided by the nationwide organisation of Shansi businessmen, so that their customs and rules are law everywhere and for everybody. In the same way, the counting houses (*chang-chuang* 賬莊) of the banks of these Shansi merchants show the same peculiarities (the connections with the government officials, remitting uncovered amounts of money to reliable firms only). Therefore, as Dr. Negishi said, in old cities like Hankou, Kanton, Chungching, there existed a hundred or so of business customs that had been brought in by visiting merchants all over the country. We can find a parallel to this in the European Hansa, the members of it may have gathered for instance in London and transactions may have been carried out in many different ways according to individual customs. In Hankou, for example, there existed nearly as many systems of weight and coin units as guilds. Sure, business practices, weight and coinage were not system-less. The rules were fixed according to a system adopted by the guild; and there existed also ways of communication among the guilds (Dr. Negishi: *Shina guild no kenkyū*, p. 243 sq.).

Nowadays, however, the members of a guild, originally all natives from the same region, are no longer organised in the same way as they were when the guild was founded a long time ago. Since the end of the Ch'ing dynasty the local merchants began to raise their heads, thus the gold- and silver-merchants and the tailors from Chekiang have gradually lost ground to the natives of Hopei; the tobacco-leaves merchants and pawn-shop keepers from Shansi are now pressed by local rivals; the paper-merchants of Fukien are rarely visible anymore, the same is true with the booksellers from Kiangsi, also Hopei people took over their position. In the oil-business, though it has not been invaded by Hopei rivals and the Shantung merchants are also making headway, coming next already to their Hopei colleagues, thus natives from Shansi are no longer in their former predominant position. Prof. Burgess (i.e., p. 73) writes that the bankers are still coming from Shansi as before, but in fact bankers of Southern origin began to step into the picture, only the currency business is still traditionally handled by Shansi merchants since the Ch'ing dynasty. Already at the time of Prof. Burgess' investigation the management of money circulation must already have lost its former aspect of being controlled by Shansi folk and in our days it can no longer escape the tendency to wither. My good friend Yoshimura Takeo (吉村武生) gave the information that Shōwa 17 (1942) thirty-six of the forty-four native banks of Peking, of which seventy or eighty percent were started after the foundation of the Republic, are managed by Hopei natives, only five by Shansi people, so that the influence of Shansi merchants on the native banking business in Peking has lost its former importance, at least as far as the staff is concerned, leaving aside the question of capital investment. But the bank *Ta-teh-heng* (大德恒), founded during the years of Kuang-hsü and managed by natives

of Ch'i-hsien (祁縣) in Shansi, and *Ta-teh-t'ung* (大德通), also in the hands of Shansi people, are still continuing the old history of the banking business, together with two banks in Tientsin that were also founded at the same time and are also managed by natives from Ch'i-hsien. In this way, of course, T'ai-yuan in Shansi, Tientsin, Ch'i-nan, Ch'eng-ting (正定), Pao-ting, Shih-chia-chuang, Han-tan (邯鄲), and other places in Hopei and Shantung, are still the fields of activity of numerous natives of Shansi. The geographical center of their origin is Ch'i-hsien, their native places are situated along a narrow stretch of land starting from T'ai-yuan in the North and running to the South, reaching Ping-yao (平遙) and Ling-shih (靈石) and touching T'ai-ku (太谷) in the East, Wen-shui in the West, including Fen-yang at the center of the Shansi province. Other merchants, it seems, came from Ping-ting (平定), Shou-yang (壽陽) and Meng-hsien (孟縣), places situated North-east of the above mentioned towns. It is said that we have before us a reverberation of former times. Also among the actors and the owners of the silver-ware shops,²¹⁾ the members of both groups were formerly people from Anhui only, the old ties of country-fellowship are slackening. It is still true to say that the tea-merchants of Peking, especially those with the name Wu, are Anhui people, namely coming from Hsi-hsien (歙縣) in the district of Hueichou, but there were formerly more tea-merchants from Anhui in Peking, later great changes have taken place. In the booksellers' guild the Hopei men have made great progress since the end of the Manchu reign. They began to work besides the old bookshops' guild which was composed mostly of Kiangsi folk, and in which the Hopei booksellers played the role of a minority; later they left that guild and organized their own and built also a house for its purposes. For a while Peking had, therefore, two guilds of booksellers, both consisting of country-fellowmen, finally the guild of the Kiangsi men faded away and was superseded completely by the Hopei guild. Today Peking has several bookshops owned by people from various places, but they are all members of one and the same professional association. Nevertheless the members of the Hopei guild have not yet given up their former relationship of country-fellowmen, and their special coherence does not coincide with the general booksellers association. Though they are members of the association, their social intercourse and mutual help is carried out through the medium of their own guild-house (*hui-kuan*) as before. The new booksellers' association and the old guild are living their own and different lives. In recent years, the association of the pawnshops, the tailors, the paint stores, and the oil-merchants of Peking show all the tendency to be prolongations and regenerations of the former respective guilds, their old guild-houses function

21) In the *Chung-hsü-hsi-hsien hui-kuan-lu* (重續歙縣會館錄) (Meng Tung edition of Tao-kuang 14) we find what position natives of Anhui, especially from Hsi-hsien (歙縣) have occupied among the silver- and tea-merchants (see Niida, *Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, vol. I, p. 276.)

now as offices of the associations, and there are cases on record that even the old guardian-gods of the guilds remain on duty. The booksellers' association, though it is the continuation of their former guild, has adopted new formalities, but its ranks are still inaccessible for the people from other places than their own homes. Further investigations have still to find an answer to the question how it happened that local people took the places of those from defined outside areas. Tailors and silver-shop owners say: "In Peking the Southerners died out and had no successors of their own, new ones did not immigrate and thus they have disappeared." But the question still remains why new Southerners do no longer come to Peking. As far as the tailors are concerned, according to the inscription on the stele in the guild-house of the tailors' guild, erected during the Ch'ing dynasty, not only Southerners could be apprentices of tailors, also Northerners were admitted to the workshops of guild-members, consequently tailor-shops in the hands of local masters were opened in an increasing number. In the gold and silver trade and in the book business Peking people had as natives many advantages. Today there are not only many Hopei men running book-stores, they are also using their compatriotes as employees. Though we cannot explain all facts by referring to the advantages enjoyed by local people we can at least find one explanation in them.

Furthermore, the loss of ground suffered by Shansi merchants in the currency field during the Ch'ing dynasty has evidently influenced the operational fields of business management in Peking. As said above, the gold and silver and tailoring and currency and tea business has shown the tendency to pass over into the hands of natives from Hopei; on the other side, it is worthy of notice that the position of Shansi people, especially from Ping-yao-hsien, in dealing with paints, is overwhelming. The breakdown of the exchange enterprises of Shansi merchants, however, is one case of the fall of the former position held by Shansi folk; but it strikes us that natives from Shansi could still hold leading positions in the field of the paint business in which natives from Shansi are still exclusively employed. (If somebody is a Shansi man he finds help in everything and everywhere.) This is probably due to this last mentioned circumstance that the principle of country-fellowship is still uphold. Local products are transported by local merchants, who also do the selling, but sometimes local products remained always and exclusively in the hands of local folk from the guilds who control the trade-routes to Peking and the market there. Local production and the guilds in the city were sometimes closely related all the business way along. A similar situation existed in the tea-trade of Anhui-people and in the silk-trade of Nanking merchants, both were taking care themselves for the delivery of their merchandise to Peking through their guild-members (cf. Dr. Negishi, l.c., p. 73 for similar situations and problems existing in other parts of the country). Though there exists no open door policy in the literal sense of the word in the Chinese

cities, towns and villages, we cannot say that a closed door policy prevails in the literal sense of the word. We cannot say that Chinese economics are shaped after the lines of what Bücher and Schmoller call city-economics (*Stadtwirtschaft*), but it is still a question whether or not it is going to take on such a blocked nature. The city-economics in the Middle Ages, as Bücher and Schmoller saw them, were not the only form of economics at that time.²²⁾ Still more, Peking, harbouring a population of more than one million of which many are not productive, and other big cities, with the surrounding farmer villages, were during the Ch'ing dynasty also no complete economic units (during the Ch'ing dynasty duty was exacted from merchants of all the various merchandise brought in to the city at the Tsung-wen-men 崇文門 in Peking). Now since the businessmen of Peking have to rely on the connection with the production of their native places, they are keeping up the structure of their guilds, composed of members of common regional origin. Beyond doubt, prosperity and decay of the guilds depend on prosperity and decay of the production and on resources of merchants in their native places. But the paint-shops' guild, composed of Shansi merchants, and others, are not linked up with the production of their native places. Though some guilds consist still exclusively of natives of the same district, the continuation of the coherence with the production of their native places is not always responsible for the continuation of guilds based upon the basis of country-fellowship. We can see that in the case of the paint dealers' guild country-fellowmen only are trained for the profession, so that the organisation structure of personal contact that is kept, exists on one way, on the other way the guild's membership is not easy to obtain for natives of other places by practical reasons, and this state of affair may be a weighty reason for the maintenance of guilds with only fellow-countrymen as members.

In the industrial and commercial guilds of Peking the members from outside places outnumber the local members in quite a few cases, but not all are composed of strangers only. The guilds of the gold and silver and oil merchants were open originally to people from outside districts only, whereas the jade merchants' guild seems to have consisted from its very beginning mainly of natives from Hopei, there prevailed parochialism, a change of membership does not seem to have taken place. Their guardian-gods were Lu Pan, the inventor of their art, and Ch'ang-ch'un Ch'en-jen, who is wor-

22) Niida, *Shindai Ko-nan ichi-chihô toshi no gyôsei to guild* (清代湖南一地方都市の行政とギルド) (Shôwa 22, 1946) (*City-administration and Guilds in a Part of the Hunan Province During the Ch'ing Dynasty*) (a paper read before a meeting of the Historical Society—*Rekishigaku Kenkyûkai*—and to be published in the near future in *Rekishigaku Kenkyû*). What Bücher and Schmoller have especially born in mind were the small cities and towns of Europe. Large commercial cities like those of Italy and the Hansa cities should not be treated on the same level together with highly developed industrial and commercial cities like those in Flanders, a point that met criticism from historians of Economics.

shipped in Po-yün-kuan, the great center of Taoism in North-China. But it must not be forgotten that in the history of the jade-trade Mohammedan merchants have played an important role, and in Peking they had their own guild. Thus, there existed in Peking formerly two guilds of jade merchants differing from one another in their religious background. After the second year of Hsüan-tung, as a consequence of regulations issued concerning industrial and commercial associations, the two fractions were combined, but their belief, traditions, customs, ethics, interests and sentiments could hardly be changed, the originally different currents remained different, and the combination was doomed for scission. The combined guilds joined one professional association, but those jade-shops, whose members were not Mohammedans, did not dissolve their former guilds, so that the combination consisted in the common association only. Both fractions allowed nobody to intrude into their own affairs, both remained in possession of their own traditions, interests and sentiments and both watched their own domain to keep any invasion from the other side away. A similar coexistence of a new association and the old guilds was found among the booksellers, but in their case the old guilds were continued out of the principle of common extraction, whereas in the first case, namely that of the jade-merchants, the difference of religion was decisive. The inner coherence of jade-merchants was brought about by strong factors, these were for the Mohammedan merchants the common profession and the common religion; for the non-Mohammedan merchants the common profession plus their own religion as different from that of the Mohammedans (cf. Niida, *Peking no kaikyôto shôkôjin to sono nakamateki ketsugo* 北京の回教徒商工人とその仲間的結合, Shôwa 16, 1947, August; *Kaikyôken* 回教圈, vol. VIII, No. 6; p. 23).

I want to add here that in the guilds of the pig-dealers, sheep-fur dealers, hairdressers, silk-dealers (a group different from that of Nanking), natives from Hopei are now most numerous and the shoe-makers' guild does not take in other members than natives from Hopei, most of them come from the districts of Wu-ch'ing (武清縣) and Nan-kung (南宮縣). In the guild of the shops selling incense and candles for religious use, people from Hopei, mostly from two districts near Peking, Ta-hsing (大興縣) and Wan-p'ing (宛平縣), are in the majority. To sum up, in the industrial and commercial life of Peking, people from outside places have secured for themselves many monopolies, but the inhabitants of Peking have been either active competitors, or co-operators or have even monopolised some fields for themselves from the first outset.