

TOWN GAZETTEERS AND LOCAL SOCIETY IN THE JIANGNAN REGION DURING THE QING PERIOD

MORI Masao

translated by **Martin Heijdra**

Introduction

Judging from extant editions, town and township¹ gazetteers seem to have been compiled in great quantities in the Jiangnan region during the Qing period.² In a 1996 study³ this author examined four late-Ming town gazetteers that form a precedent of this trend and discovered that they had the following five characteristics: 1. All grew out of an internal impulse of the compilers. 2. They manifested a clear self-identification of the writers with their local society, centered upon the market town. 3. The gazetteers reflected a concern with acute problems facing those market towns. 4. The writers had personally collected, edited and adapted the material and written sources. 5. Finally, therefore, each of these gazetteers possessed a strong individuality *vis-à-vis* the others. As I have noted in the past,⁴ Qing period town gazetteers from the Jiangnan region, whose numbers increased greatly, inherited the same internal reasons as those of the late Ming.

However, new external impulses were also at work, through which these internal ones were mediated. In the first place, editors were keenly aware of such

¹ This article was originally published in issue 58: 2 (1999). For ease of comprehension, and to show the original terms used, the following literal translations have been used when translating Chinese citations: “town” for *zhen* 鎮, “township” (or, rarely, “local township”) for *xiang* 鄉, and “market” for *shi* 市. If referring to current official administrative units, these terms have been capitalized; the actual content of these terms may vary across citations. Any deviations from this convention are accompanied by the original term in *pinyin*. It should be pointed out that the author considers in almost all citations the words *xiang* “township,” *li* 里, “locality”, and *cun* 村, “village”, to be literary equivalents of *zhen* “town,” and they should be understood as such. Similarly, terms such as *li zhi* 里志 “locality gazetteer,” *xiang zhen zhi* 鄉鎮志, “township and town gazetteers,” or *li ren* 里人 “local inhabitants” should be taken to refer to, respectively, town gazetteers and inhabitants of the town in question. Also, some translations are based on additional or revised information provided by the author, and may deviate slightly from the texts as published in the original Japanese article. (Tr. note).

² Mori 1994a, 1994b.

³ Mori 1996.

⁴ Mori 1994a.

town gazetteers being written in other neighboring market towns. Such awareness surely reflects the fact that through increased distribution among market towns, their inhabitants became more strongly aware of the existence of other towns. In the second place, there was a heightened awareness of a hierarchical system of gazetteers from the *yi tong zhi* ("united comprehensive gazetteer") through the *sheng zhi* ("provincial gazetteer") and *fu zhi* ("prefectural gazetteer") to the *xian zhi* ("county gazetteer"), and its relationship to the compilation of town gazetteers. This may be related to the slow incorporation of the market town into the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy of the country (from the national level down to the province-prefecture-county).

This article explores the characteristics noted above in the town gazetteers from Qing Jiangnan, while also tracing their development during the early Republican period. It investigates the compilation of town gazetteers within the context of the specifics of their local society centered on the market towns, in which they were written.

Since the 1990s, studies on local society in Jiangnan market towns have developed rapidly. In 1992 and 1993 Inada Seiichi researched the details of local society in market towns from the late 18th century to the early 19th century (i.e., from late Qianlong through Jiaqing to early Daoguang) in three counties: Baoshan, Jia ding (both Taicang Department), and Qingpu (Songjiang Prefecture), all areas in the northern delta region of Jiangnan. He showed how famine relief there was based upon contributions of private capital, and was controlled by the *shengyuan* and *jiansheng* strata as *dongshi* ("members of the board"), who either lived in these market towns, or derived their primary income from there. The range of their activities widened to other such "local public affairs" as philanthropy, water management, and transport maintenance. One result was the transformation of the *chang* ("depot"), which originally had been a "relief station" during the famine relief, into a territorially fixed administrative area.⁵ More recently Inada has pointed out, that in the case of Chenhang Town (Shanghai County, Songjiang Prefecture), territories of "local public affairs" appear no later than during the second half of the 19th century. Such affairs were neither those of traditional philanthropy taken up by the market town leadership class, nor simply adjuncts to official government. In view of their relationship with local self-administration of late Qing times, such territories were very important.⁶ On the other hand, Ôta Izuru has recently

⁵ Inada 1992, 1993.

⁶ Inada 1999.

turned his eye to the hitherto barely investigated *xunfang*⁷ (literally, “flood-time patrol system”) in Jinshan County (Songjiang Prefecture), and Wujiang and Zhenze counties (both Suzhou Prefecture). This consisted of a military organization composed of the *daxun* and *xiaoxun*, respectively literally “large” and “small flood-time patrol” groupings, of the *Lüying* (“Army of the Green Standard”). He showed how the *daxun* groupings were based in market towns and had the whole local social area (in the sense of the market area) as their area of jurisdiction. The *xiaoxun* groupings were located on transport nodes linking the market towns with villages or the market towns with each other. They engaged in police activities focused on the safety of human movement and circulation of commercial products. He also showed that the *daxun* area of control sometimes became an area of self-government during the late Qing.⁸ The opinions of Inada and Ôta differ in the areas they study (albeit in the same Jiangnan region), and in their approach to the relationships of administration and local society. Yet they both show in concrete detail that local social areas, centered around a market town and consisting of a well-defined territory, had formed by the early 19th century. Recently also, Zhang Yan published an article called “Preliminary investigation of the administration of market towns in the Qing period” in China. Unlike Inada and Ôta, Zhang argues that the administrative structure of Jiangnan market towns was characterized by their overlapping territories.⁹ On related issues, in 1999 Kawakatsu Mamoru published his monograph on the social history of market towns in the Jiangnan region in Ming and Qing times.¹⁰ Finally, Satô Yoshifumi has recently investigated the political changes from the late Qing to the early Republican period through the life of Qin Xitian. Qin Xitian was the eldest son of Qin Rongguang, *zhendong* (“Board member of the Town Council”) of the same Chenhang Town taken up by Inada. During the Qing, Qin, a *juren*, had been an official, and later during the self-government period, he served as a council member for respectively Jiangsu Province, Shanghai County and Chenhang Township. Satô tells us that during that period, in rural Jiangnan society had crystallized around one concrete “territory.” Such a territory was integrated by the power stratum that had its basis of living in market

⁷ 汛防. This is a literal translation. *Xun* 汛 were originally temporary military groupings established for dealing with the *wakô* pirates, who usually attacked in the Jiangnan area during times of high water levels. They gradually evolved into more permanent groupings with mainly police functions by Qing times. (Tr. note).

⁸ Ôta 1998.

⁹ Zhang 1999.

¹⁰ Kawakatsu 1999.

towns. During the late-Qing period, this integrated space was incorporated by the self-government movement as the lowest-level administrative unit, the *xiang* ("Township").¹¹

In passing, I would also like to stress that the studies noted above build upon work completed during the 1980s. For instance Hamashima Atsutoshi investigated in great detail the temple areas of the Tutelary Gods in the Jiangnan area, while Fuma Susumu was the first to show and explain the activities of the *shantang*, Halls of Benevolence, in the towns (as urban settlements) of the Jiangnan region.¹² In 1992 I wrote a narrative history from Ming times to the present, of Zhujiajiao Town (Qingpu County), located in the center of this Jiangnan region. I provided material to understand the specifics of local society during that period.¹³ In this study, Jiangnan is defined as the area of Jiangsu Province south of the Yangzi (i.e., the administrative areas of Suzhou, Changzhou, Wuxi and Zhenjiang Municipalities, as well as a part of Nanjing Municipality), the northern area of Zhejiang Province (i.e., the areas of Huzhou, Jiaxing and Hangzhou Municipalities), as well as Shanghai Municipality. This is the area that conforms in large part to the former Suzhou, Changzhou, Zhenjiang, Jiangning (partially), Huzhou, Jiaxing, Hangzhou and Songjiang Prefectures, and Taicang Department.

This paper draws mainly upon the town gazetteers that the author has read and/or copied since 1983 in the libraries of Shanghai, Nanjing and Beijing. Most of these are now contained in the 32 volumes of the 1992 *Xiangzhenzhi zhuanji* (Town gazetteer series) part of the *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng* (Collection of Chinese Local Gazetteers).¹⁴

However, since I have not finished reading all of the Qing Jiangnan town gazetteers which form over half of the 254 town gazetteers contained in that newly available series, I will largely proceed using those excerpts of prefaces, postscripts and principles of compilation which I have noted down since I began my research.

¹¹ Satô 1998.

¹² Hamashima 1989, Fuma 1983. Recently, Hamashima collected his numerous articles after 1989 on folk religion in Hamashima 2000.

¹³ Mori 1992.

¹⁴ 中國地方志集成 鄉鎮志專輯, Shanghai, Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe. Hereafter, unless especially mentioned otherwise, I use in all my quotations in this paper the texts in this collection, and refer to the volume in which a particular title is contained as *XZZ*, vol. xx.

1 Compilation Dates of Jiangnan Town Gazetteers

When we exclude the Republican period, the dates of compilation of the large majority of the currently extant Jiangnan gazetteers are as follow: Qianlong (1736-1795, 11.21%), Jiaqing (1796-1820, also 11.21%), Daoguang (1821-1850, 9.87%), and Guangxu (1875-1908, 15.70%). Note that among these the Qianlong period lasted sixty years, and that therefore relatively the 25 years of the Jiaqing, the 30 years of the Daoguang, and the 34 years of the Guangxu period have a greater density of town gazetteers per year. The Qianlong period, starting in the 1730s, is preliminary to the first peak of town gazetteer compilation formed by the following combined Jiaqing-Daoguang periods. The Guangxu period (i.e., the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century) is the pre-Repub-

Table 1. Compilation Dates of Currently Extant Jiangnan Town Gazetteers

Period			Shanghai	Jiangsu	Zhejiang	Total	Percentage
Song	Shaoding	1228-1233			1	1	0.45%
	<i>subtotal</i>				<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0.45%</i>
Ming	Zhengde	1506-1521			1	1	0.45%
	Jiajing	1522-1566		1	1	2	0.90%
	Wanli	1573-1619			1	1	0.45%
	Chongzhen	1628-1644	1	2	1	4	1.79%
	Period unclear				1	1	0.45%
<i>subtotal</i>			<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>4.04%</i>
Qing	Shunzhi	1644-1661		3		3	1.35%
	Kangxi	1662-1722	1	8	2	11	4.93%
	Yongzheng	1723-1735		3	2	5	2.24%
	Qianlong	1736-1795	5	11	9	25	11.21%
	Jiaqing	1796-1820	14	6	5	25	11.21%
	Daoguang	1821-1850	1	15	6	22	9.87%
	Xianfeng	1851-1861	2	1	3	6	2.69%
	Tongzhi	1862-1874	2	3	8	13	5.83%
	Guangxu	1875-1908	12	15	8	35	15.70%
	Xuantong	1909-1911	4	2	1	7	3.14%
	Period unclear		5	4	2	11	4.93%
<i>subtotal</i>			<i>46</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>73.09%</i>
Republican	Minguo	1912-1949	18	20	12	50	22.42%
	Period unclear				1	1	0.45%
<i>subtotal</i>			<i>18</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>22.87%</i>
total			65	94	64	223	
Based on Mori 1992, with corrections based on Mori 1994b.							

Table 2. Compilation dates of County, Prefecture and Provincial Gazetteers in Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang

Period		Shanghai	Jiangsu	Zhejiang	Total	Percentage
Nanchao-Tang	<i>subtotal</i>		1	5	6	0.45%
Northern Song	<i>subtotal</i>		2	1	3	0.23%
Southern Song	<i>subtotal</i>	1	16	16	33	2.50%
Yuan	<i>subtotal</i>		5	5	10	0.76%
Ming	Hongwu		2		2	0.15%
	Yongle		1	1	2	0.15%
	Zhengtong		2	1	3	0.23%
	Tianshun		3		3	0.23%
	Chenghua		2	8	10	0.76%
	Hongzhi	1	10	8	19	1.44%
	Zhengde	5	8	4	17	1.29%
	Jiajing	2	30	32	64	4.85%
	Longqing		8	3	11	0.83%
	Wanli	4	47	38	89	6.74%
	Tianqi	2	3	8	13	0.98%
	Chongzhen	2	15	12	29	2.20%
	Period unclear		14		14	1.06%
	<i>subtotal</i>	16	145	115	276	20.91%
Qing	Shunzhi	1	9	12	22	1.67%
	Kangxi	8	75	106	189	14.32%
	Yongzheng	4	10	14	28	2.12%
	Qianlong	14	58	57	129	9.77%
	Jiaqing	4	31	24	59	4.47%
	Daoguang	3	35	32	70	5.30%
	Xianfeng	1	9	7	17	1.29%
	Tongzhi	4	17	17	38	2.88%
	Guangxu	16	67	55	138	10.45%
	Xuantong	2	18	3	23	1.74%
	Period unclear		41	2	43	3.26%
	<i>subtotal</i>	57	370	329	756	57.27%
Republican	Minguo	24	113	71	208	15.76%
	Period unclear		28		28	2.12%
	<i>subtotal</i>	24	141	71	236	17.88%
total		98	680	542	1320	

Compiled from the Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang data in Jin and Hu 1996, vol. 1. Ordinary department gazetteers are included in the county gazetteers, independent department gazetteers in prefectural gazetteers. For the format the "Table of Compilation and Publication Dates of Jiangsu Gazetteers," in: idem was consulted.

lican period in which town gazetteers were compiled in the greatest numbers. As we also will have occasion to mention later, over the whole period, however, it was the Republican period until 1949 (the founding of the People's Republic of China) in which with 22.42% the greatest number of town gazetteers was compiled.

I would like to point out here the differences which can be seen when we compare the changes in the compilation numbers of the currently extant Jiangnan town gazetteers with those of all local gazetteers, county (including ordinary departments), prefectural (including independent departments) and provincial gazetteers included; that is, all gazetteers above and including the county level except for the supra-provincial ones. The dates of the currently extant county, prefectural and provincial gazetteers from Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang listed in Table 2 are compiled from the gazetteer catalogs of those areas listed in vol. 1 of Jin Enhui and Hu Shuzhao eds., *Zhongguo difangzhi zongmu tiyao*.¹⁵ I have also consulted the "Table on Compilation and Publication Dates of Jiangsu Gazetteers" in the same volume.

Note that the table also includes areas that do not adhere to the definition of Jiangnan as used in this article (to wit, Jiangsu north of the Yangzi, and the part of Zhejiang outside of its north). Hence we cannot compare these figures directly to the numbers of town gazetteers for Jiangnan. Nevertheless, since among the gazetteers of Jiangsu 62.36% deal with the part south of the Yangzi, and among the gazetteers of Zhejiang 39.9% with its northern part, we may be allowed to compare roughly the trends seen in Table 2, with those above-mentioned ones of the town gazetteers seen in Table 1.

What is first obvious is that while there is only one Jiangnan town gazetteer from the Yuan period or earlier (one in the Southern Song, 0.45%), there are as many as 52 (3.94%) county and higher gazetteers. Similarly, in the Ming period there are only 9 Jiangnan town gazetteers (4.04%), while there are as many as 276 county and higher level gazetteers in the Ming period (20.91%). On the other hand, in the Qing period we find 163 town gazetteers (73.09%), versus 756 county level and higher ones (57.27%). Although the latter therefore constitutes more than a half of the total, it does not compare with the overwhelming proportion the Jiangnan town gazetteers constitute. Another interesting fact in the Qing period is the relative percentage of town gazetteers produced during the Kangxi period (which lasted with 60 years roughly as long as the Qianlong period). The relative proportion of Kangxi Jiangnan town gazetteers is only 4.93% (11 titles), but that

¹⁵ Jin and Hu 1996.

of Kangxi county level and higher ones is 14.32% (189 titles), extremely high. Incidentally, as for the Republican period until 1949, the town gazetteers' weight is 22.87% (51 titles), versus 17.88% (236 titles) for the county level and higher gazetteers. Thus, the weight of Jiangnan town gazetteers then is also relatively higher. Therefore we can see a clear contrast in temporal changes between Jiangnan town gazetteers compilation and the compilation of county-level and higher ones from Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang. It is clear that the former works were concentrated in the Qing period, since the Qianlong, and especially since the Jiaqing and Daoguang periods. This trend continued during the Republican period.

2 The origin of the term *xiang zhen zhi* ("town gazetteer") and an awareness of a town area

Given that those gazetteers that centered on a market town are indeed known under the term *xiang zhen zhi* ("[township and] town gazetteers"), any investigation of this term, which recently has become the prevalent one in Japanese and Chinese scholarly circles, might not seem necessary. After all, already during the Southern Song there was compiled a town gazetteer in Zhejiang called *Ganshui zhi* (*Gazetteer of Ganshui*).¹⁶ During the Ming period too nine such local gazetteers were compiled, each with its own idiosyncrasies. However, we cannot overlook the fact that it seems that the term *xiang zhen zhi*, or similar ones such as *xiang zhi* ("township gazetteer") or *zhen zhi* ("town gazetteer"), originated precisely in the Qing period. The fact that gradually these kinds of gazetteers came to be compiled in large numbers only at this point, is intrinsically related to the origin of this term at that time.

The use of *xiang zhi* in the 1752 *Xinyi zhi*¹⁷ (*Gazetteer of Xinyi*, southern Jiangsu, now Zhengyi Town in Kunshan Municipality) was the first occurrence of this kind of term. In the following quotation, the "combined gazetteer of the two counties" refers to the 1751 *Kunshan Xinyang he zhi* (*Combined Gazetteer of Kunshan and Xinyang*.)

Now, a combined gazetteer of the two counties has recently been made (i.e., the *Kunshan Xinyang he zhi*). (...) Therefore it would seem that there is no need for a Xinyi gazetteer. However, Xinyi is a famous region

¹⁶ Luo Shushao and Chang Tang, "Ganshui zhi." 1256 (Shaoding 3); in XZZ, vol. 20.

¹⁷ XZZ, vol. 8.

of old, and its cultural heritage is double that of other areas. When the prefectural gazetteer is not sufficient, there is still the county gazetteer, and when the county gazetteer is not sufficient, then there is the township gazetteer (*xiang zhi*); therefore, it is naturally fitting that there a Xinyi gazetteer should be made.

(Preface, Wang Quan)

Fourteen years later, in the 1766 *Dong-Xi-Lin hui kao*¹⁸ (*Collected Researches on Donglin and Xilin*, northern Zhejiang, now Shuanglin Town, Huzhou Municipality), the term *xiang zhen zhi* makes its first appearance.

A township or town gazetteer (*xiang zhen zhi*) is not the same as a prefectural or county gazetteer (*jun yi zhi*). It does not record any affairs that concern the prefecture or county as a whole but do not pertain solely to its own area. But as for all the heritage of its one particular region, it records them in copious detail without any omissions.

(Principles of Compilation)

The *xiang zhen zhi*, “township and town gazetteers” are here conceptualized in clear contradistinction with the *jun yi zhi*, that is, prefectural and county gazetteers (*fu zhi* and *xian zhi*, respectively). Subsequently, this term is also used, approximately hundred years later, in the 1848 *Yuanhe Weiting zhi*¹⁹ (*Gazetteer of Weiting in Yuanhe County*, Southern Jiangsu, now Weiting Town in Suzhou Municipality).

Now, my late father, a *juren*, used to be of the opinion, that the township and town gazetteers (*xiang zhen zhi*) were of assistance to those areas where the prefectural and county gazetteers did not cover. Although our town (*li*, i.e., “locality”) is but one tiny pellet of an area, its cultural achievements should still be collected.

(Author's Preface, Shen Zaocai)

In his 1847 preface to the *Yuanhe Weiting zhi*, Zhu Jian writes:

¹⁸ XXZ, vol. 22A.

¹⁹ XXZ, vol. 7.

As for township or town gazetteers, these are very popular these days.

Thus we can see that, in conjunction with the realization of a flourishing movement to compile town gazetteers themselves at that time, also the term *xiang zhen zhi* steadily gained popularity in the Jiangnan region. As this paragraph shows, this was because also the term *xiang zhen* ("township and town", or perhaps simply "town") itself had become widely used as the general term for a market town.

Of course the general terms for gazetteers on market towns were not limited to *xiang zhen zhi* exclusively. The term *zhen zhi*, "town gazetteer," naturally also existed, as is witnessed by the 1879 *Luodian zhen zhi*²⁰ (*Gazetteer of Luodian Town*, southern Jiangsu, then Baoshan County, Taicang Department, now Luodian Town in Baoshan District, Shanghai Municipality):

During the Jiaqing period (1796-1820), Master Wang Fanyi compiled a town gazetteer (*zhen zhi*), but it was not printed and its draft has been lost.

(*Preface*, Written by Yang Hengfu from Jiading [County])

Judging from the fact that gazetteers from a certain market town were often titled *X zhen zhi*, (*Gazetteer of X Town*), it may very well be that the name *zhen zhi* was the one most commonly used.

Therefore, such terms as *xiang zhen zhi*, *xiang zhi* and *zhen zhi* were used for those gazetteers treating market towns in the Jiangnan region. They appeared in exactly those periods most important for the compilation of Jiangnan town gazetteers, namely the Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang and Guangxu periods. We can conclude that those were the periods especially meaningful in the history of these gazetteers, which we now generally term "township and town gazetteers," or simply "town gazetteers."

During this period also (since the beginning of Qianlong) an awareness by the compilers of town gazetteers of the boundaries of a town territory became clearer. Of course, a few such town gazetteers were compiled already as early as the Ming period (nine as far as we can judge from the number of extant ones). As I noted in an earlier article, in the 1516 *Xinshi zhen zhi*²¹ (*Gazetteer of Xinshi Town*,

²⁰ XXZ, vol. 4.

²¹ XXZ, vol. 24.

now Xinshi Town in Deqing County, Huzhou Municipality), in the section on “Distances” which follows the section “Town Name,” the distances of Xinshi Town to other places are clearly recorded. For instance, it mentions the distances “in the east to Shigui village of Canton (*du*) Sixteen of Chongde County, in the west to [the seat of] Deqing County, and in the northeast to Wuzhen in Wucheng County (now Wuzhen Town in Tongxiang Municipality).” This reflects an awareness of the position of Xinshi town in relation to neighboring regions. Also in the “historical boundary changes” section of *juan* 1 of the 1601 *Wuqing zhen zhi*²² (*Gazetteer of Wuqing Town*, also treated in my earlier article), the position of the town in relation to the six surrounding county [seats] (“in the southwest to Gui’an and Chongde, in the northeast to Xiushui, in the west to Wucheng, in the east to Tongxiang, in the northwest to Wujiang”) is clearly noted. From these we can postulate the presence of an awareness of the position of Wuzhen.

Nevertheless, town gazetteers of the Qing period since the beginning of Qianlong reveal much more clearly the compiler’s awareness of his town area, usually expressed in the *Principles of Compilation* and the *Preface*. This awareness becomes linked with the activities and functions of the market town and becomes expressed in more concrete terms. For instance, the introduction of the 1792 *Tangshi zhi*²³ (*Gazetteer of Tangshi*, now Tangshi Town, of Changshu Municipality) notes in section one that “although Tangshi is a huge town in Changshu County, how could its local environment and personalities be adequately described in the prefectural and county gazetteers (...).” It subsequently observes:

We also include sometimes such topics as the way people from rural areas and villages neighboring our town do business within the market, or affairs concerning this same canton (*du*).

This shows that in some cases the villages bordering the town, with inhabitants who do business in the town’s market, become objects of narration. Indeed, Xu Zhao, who was a schoolmate of the compiler Ni Si and an inhabitant of Tangshi, notes in his *Preface* in regard to the prosperity in that town’s market:

The number of families in this town is only some 300-400. It is topographically located in a low, wet, and narrow area; people live from seeking com-

²² *XXZ*, vol. 23.

²³ *XXZ*, vol. 9.

mercial profit. Before the sun has risen and the dawn has come, each family already has lighted its fires, buys and sells food and sundry products; the clamor is more intense than the sound of a fighting battalion.

A similar awareness of the relationships of the market town with the surrounding villages can be seen in the 1808 *Anting zhi*²⁴ (*Gazetteer of Anting*, now Anting Town in Jiading District, Shanghai Municipality), in the *Principles of Compilation*.

On any busy market day in the town the people of all the surrounding rural areas (*si xiang*) come in the morning and return in the evening, just like the surrounding areas (*si jing*) are linked to the capital city.

In the Jiangnan region the commercial area of the market town and the surrounding villages was integrated through the exchange of commercial commodities. The space thus formed should be called the "town area." This relationship is clearly recognized in the *Tangshi zhi* and the *Anting zhi*. That such a space came to have the character of a territory equivalent to the lowest administrative level of a county, has been shown, as noted above, recently by Inada Seiichi and Ôta Izuru. Inada showed in detail the temporal changes in the process of formation of such town areas in Jiading and Baoshan counties that lay in the northern hill areas of the Jiangnan region.²⁵ He made clear that in Baoshan the *chang*, "depots," began to be established from 1795 as areas that one could call *changmian* "depot areas," which took over famine relief efforts. Almost immediately after a flood of 1808, we have descriptions that discuss the relations of the market town with the surrounding villages, which formed the territories of responsibility of the depots. Inada further maintains that, on occasion of the famine relief during the great flood of 1823, such depots were founded in eleven market towns under the county. Such areas became fixed and slowly took form as the administrative areas of late-Qing local self-government by the late 1870s, in Baoshan at the latest at the beginning of the Guangxu period, in Jiading by its last years.

In the "Distances" section of *juan* 1 of the 1879 *Luodian zhen zhi*²⁶ (*Gazetteer of Luodian Town*), it says of Luodian town, which originally resorted to Jiading County but was moved in 1725 to the jurisdiction of Baoshan County,

²⁴ XXZ, vol. 3.

²⁵ Inada 1993.

²⁶ XXZ, vol. 4.

The reason why there are borders of a town [area] separating such a town from the other towns, is the same as why there are borders of a county separating that county from other counties. If some say that since all these places belong to the same county, it seems superfluous to write them all down, they don't realize that the county is like a quilted patchwork of contiguous [town-centered] territories, and that, since the whole country is divided into these depot territories, we naturally should comprehend their boundaries by noting the distances from their county seat. (...)

Thus, it says that depot territories were established. In regard to its delineation, it observes in a note:

There was a flood in Kangxi 9 (1670). In the various towns (*xiang zhen*) of Jiading gruel depots were established, and they engaged in providing famine relief. Since then, whenever there happened to be any public affairs, these were decided in the towns of the urban and rural areas on basis of these depots, and the term *zhen* ("town") subsequently was replaced with that of *chang* ("depot").

Additional evidence for this is a passage in the *Old Preface* included in the 1921 *Jiangwan li zhi*²⁷ (*Gazetteer of Jiangwan Locality*), a town gazetteer of current Jiangwan Town (Hongkou District, Shanghai Municipality), which until 1724 similarly belonged to Jiading County. This *Old Preface* was written in 1828 by Sheng Dayong, a "local resident," that is a native from the same town. Incidentally, also Inada cites this *Old Preface* as one of his proofs in his table "Chronology of the Establishment of the Depots in Baoshan and Jiading Counties."²⁸

As for this town's (*li*) boundaries, their delineation by the gazetteer writers greatly varies and is not at all clear. Since the famine relief administration of Qianlong 60 (1795), depots were established based upon the towns, and the previously prevalent administrative Township and Administrative Village Community areas (*xiang, tu*) were transferred to their respective depots. The officials subsequently made these into official administrative territories, and that's why since that time the boundaries can be ascertained.

²⁷ XXZ, vol. 4

²⁸ Inada 1993.

Now, one has to be careful. First, other cases where, like in this area of Jiading and Baoshan Counties, in response to the activities and functions of the market towns a “town area” in the form of a *chang*, “depot,” was administratively established, have not yet come to light. Second, Ôta, who showed the relationships of the *daxun*, in Wujiang and Zhenze counties, with the market areas centered upon a market town, did not immediately generalize from those cases.²⁹ Therefore, it seems that in most cases during the compilation of the town gazetteers, if we look at them from a global perspective, compilers established “town areas” according to their own view, while still based on the activities and functions of the market town at its core. The following passage from the *Zhouzhuang zhen zhi* (*Gazetteer of Zhouzhuang Town*, current Zhouzhuang Town, Kunshan Municipality), is typical, and in this we can see the difference of the area of the *xunjiansi* (“Police Office”), with the area according to the compiler Tao Xu.³⁰

The Police Office of Zhouzhuang controls in total eight Cantons, 137 Administrative Village Communities. Their area is therefore very large and wide, and moreover they are all located to the north and the northwest of the town; those areas located to the southwest and southeast of the town do not resort to the Office. However, here we note down all items within six to seven *li* (3-3.5km) of the town, and we do not limit ourselves to the official boundaries of the Police Office.

(1882, compiler of the *Zhouzhuang zhen zhi*, *Principles of Compilation*)

On the one hand, the market town-centered territorial local society acquired more and more the characteristics of an administrative region from the beginning of the 19th century onwards (which were to be inherited in the self-administration movement of the late Qing). On the other hand it also maintained characteristics that could not be incorporated in such administrative areas. However, it is certain that there had developed a centripetal territorially and socially integrated space mediated by the market town.

²⁹ Ôta 1998.

³⁰ *XXZ*, vol. 6. In addition, in the 1870 *Shuanglin zhen zhi* (*Gazetteer of Shuanglin Town*, current Shuanglin Town, Huzhou Municipality, in: *XXZ*, vol. 22B), it states in the *Principles of Compilation*: “We take as the town area covered by this gazetteer those villages bounded within ten *li* (5km) in each direction [from the central town].”

3 Awareness of Other Town Gazetteers and of a System of Local Gazetteers

The preceding section has shown that the number of Jiangnan gazetteers compiled from the Qianlong period increased; that such terms as “township gazetteers,” “township gazetteers,” and “town gazetteers” appeared then; and that an awareness of a market town area (the “town area”) became clearer in the mind of some gazetteer compilers. Those trends continued. This whole range of facts points to a heightened desire for the compilation of a gazetteer on the part of a market town’s population. There are two main immediate causes. One is the trend towards gazetteer compilation in other market towns in the neighborhood, and the other one is the existence of official gazetteers. The latter linked the county gazetteers available for the county in which these towns were located, through prefectural and provincial ones, finally with the *yi tong zhi* “unified comprehensive gazetteer” on the level of the whole country. Let us start with the first of these two causes.

In his “*Preface to the Loutang zhi*,” at the beginning of the *Loutang zhen zhi*³¹ (*Gazetteer of Loutang Town*, now Loutang Town, Jiading District, Shanghai Municipality), compiled in 1772 but not published until 1805, the compiler Chen Xi writes:

Our county was established in Jiading 10 (1217) during the reign of Ningzong of the Song period, but it had to wait until Qin Fuzhi during the Yuan dynasty for its first gazetteer. Since then, the county magistrates revised it several times, and its historical facts are well established. Also other towns, such as Chaxi, Zhudi, Jiwang, Anting and Waigang each have their own works in which the facts of one smaller area are recorded. Despite the fact that Cheng Guodong says in his [Qianlong 7 (1742)] gazetteer [of Jiading County] that these works are not worth looking at, still it is better than not having such local gazetteers at all. If now Loutang alone, no matter how small an area it constitutes, would have had no one who had collected its facts and wrote those down, where then would its future inhabitants, who will be born and grow up here, find reliable facts?

³¹ XXZ, vol. 3.

In the other towns belonging to the same Jiading County, such as Chaxi (= Nanxiang), Zhudi, Jiwang, Anting and Waigang, town gazetteers had already been compiled. If Loutang were the only one without a gazetteer, then its descendants would have no way to investigate its history. The 1853 *Huangdu zhen zhi*³² (*Gazetteer of Huangdu Town*, now Huangdu Town in Jiading District, Shanghai Municipality) describes the development of later gazetteers in that county.

Cheng Guodong says in his *Gazetteer of Jiading*, that the oldest towns in the county are Nanxiang, Anting and Huangdu. I found that by the middle period of the former Ming dynasty there were already three gazetteers, of Dachang, Jiangdong and Waigang. During the Jiaqing period of our dynasty, other towns also gradually compiled their gazetteers; [based on them] Qu Zhongrong published the 61-juan *Liu yi zhi lin* (*Forest of Gazetteers of Jiading County*). Its collection of materials was extremely complete. Only our town (*li*), since it did not have its own book, could not be included.

(Preface)

Since the Jiaqing period the other towns within the county had each compiled a gazetteer. However, in Huangdu there was none, and neither was the town included in the 61-juan *Liu yi zhi lin* of Qu Zhongrong. This *Liu yi zhi lin* is no longer extant, as is witnessed in the *Shanghai fangzhi ziliao kaolu*³³ (*Investigations on Shanghai Gazetteer Materials*), which is the most detailed study of Shanghai local gazetteers. It says there: "*Liu yi zhi lin*. Qing Jiaqing blockprint ed. No complete edition yet seen; the only mention of it is on the front page of the *Shigang Guangfu he zhi* (*Combined Gazetteer of Shigang and Guangfu*), where there appears a series title *Liu yi zhi lin*." (see "Part B. Special Gazetteers. 1 General Catalog. 1 Collectanea"). However, in this *Shanghai fangzhi ziliao kaolu* we find the following Table of Contents, which is thought to have been provided by Wu Jingshan of the Shanghai Museum: *Nanxiang zhen zhi* (12 juan), *Anting zhi* (20 juan), *Loutang zhen zhi* (9 juan), *Xu Waigang zhi* (2 juan), *Shigang Guangfu he zhi* (4 juan), *Songnan zhi* (8 juan), and *Malu zhi* (6 juan). It became clear that within one and the same county there existed quite a few city-like settlements called towns and that each town was compiling its own gazetteers. The lack of a town gazetteer for

³² XXZ, vol. 3.

³³ 上海方志資料考錄. Published by the Shanghai Shudian in 1985 as a revised edition of the 1962 work of the same title which was published as a mimeograph by the Shanghai Shifan Daxue Tushuguan.

one's own town was an acute embarrassment, which had to be remedied.

Also in Wujiang County, resorting to Suzhou Prefecture, we can discern the same awareness. Thus in the *Fenhu xiao shi*³⁴ (*Small Facts on Fenhu*), compiled in 1842 and published in 1847 concerning Luxu town in that county, it says:

Fenhu is located in Wujiang, 60 *li* (30 km) southeast from the county seat. Since Tang and Song times it had famous people in period after period, and it would be difficult for anyone to count all those who were recorded, no matter who would try. However, from Qianlong 12 (1747), a *dingmao* year, when the greatly erudite rural scholar Mr. Shen (i.e., Shen Tong) revised the gazetteer (the Qianlong *Wujiang xian zhi*), to now, almost one hundred years have lapsed. While in the other towns of this county, such as Tongli, Shengze, Huangxi, Lili, someone published a "locality gazetteer," (*li zhi*) and thereby provided material for [later official] revisions, I have not heard of any such plan for Fenhu.

(*Author's Preface*, Compiler Liu Shufang)

So, while in each of the other towns in Wujiang County, such as Tongli, Shengze, Huangxi (currently Huangjiayi Village, northeast of Shengze Town), Lili, a *li zhi* ("locality gazetteer," a literary term for "town gazetteer") had been compiled, only Fenhu (now Luxu Town) did not have one. If the gazetteer for Wujiang County, which was already 100 years old since its previous edition, would be revised anew, then the other four towns would have bases for the collection of materials and the investigations of past events; only Fenhu would be placed in an outsider's position. The writer expresses such feelings, remarking upon the tendency towards town gazetteer compilation in other towns. In this passage his thoughts begin with his worries how the events of his own region are to be incorporated into the county gazetteer. However, they are directly linked to his feelings regarding other towns existing on the same level.

The second immediate reason for the heightened desire of a market town's inhabitants to write their town gazetteer was the existence of officially-compiled gazetteers. How can the existence of an official hierarchical series of gazetteers, from gazetteers of one's own county, via those of one's prefecture and province, until the unified comprehensive gazetteer with the whole country as its object, be said to have been a cause of the compilation of a town gazetteer? In a general

³⁴ XXZ, vol. 14.

sense, officially-compiled gazetteers prompted localities to try to record information for posterity that might otherwise be abridged or omitted during the compilation of an official gazetteer of county level or higher. Such an awareness of the necessity for the compilation of town gazetteers can already be seen in the Kangxi period. At the beginning of the *Zidi cun zhi*³⁵ (*Gazetteer of Zidi Village*, now Zhudi Town, Minhang District, Shanghai Municipality), extant in a 1728 draft manuscript, there is the following passage in the 1678 *Original Preface* by someone named Wang Hui, which precedes the *Later Preface* by the author Wang Yong'an.³⁶

Rural areas and cities (*xiang cheng*) are all alike the emperor's land. But when the traces of a village enter the county gazetteer, they are already abridged. When entered in the prefectural gazetteers, then they are still more abridged, and when you start with abbreviated materials, then later it surely will get lost altogether. The more so in a case such as Zhudi's, which resorts at the same time to two prefectures and three counties, how could its affairs be comprehensively recorded in each gazetteer, and be contemplated in detail?

The "village" is here a literary turn of phrase "town," and "traces" means "past events." Although "the village" belongs to "the emperor's land," its events are abridged in a county gazetteer, and even more so in a prefectural gazetteer. Therefore, there has to be a separate "village gazetteer" in order to record the events of a town.

The 1732 *Pingwang zhen zhi*³⁷ (*Gazetteer of Pingwang Town*) treats Pingwang town in Wujiang County, currently still an important water and land relay point as Pingwang Town in Wujiang County, Suzhou Prefecture. Its only preface is by Chu Yuansheng, teacher at the prefectural school of Suzhou, and originally from Yixing County in the neighboring Changzhou Prefecture.

There are four kinds of local gazetteers, namely the unified comprehensive

³⁵ Included in the typeset 1961-*Shanghai shiliao congbian* 上海史料叢編 (*Collectanea of Materials on Shanghai*), by the Shanghai-shi Wenwu Baoguan Weiyuanhui.

³⁶ Incidentally, Zidi village is a literary phrase for contemporary Zhudi Town, of which it is said that it lies in the border areas of 2 prefectures and 3 counties (Jiading County of Suzhou Prefecture, and Qingpu and Shanghai Counties of Songjiang Prefecture). When I visited there in the summer of 1984, there were still some old streets left in a corner of this town in the western suburbs of Shanghai, and it was then full of old men who had come to listen by bike to a *pingtan* master who, bathed in sweat, performed his traditional Suzhou ballad stories in a teahouse.

³⁷ *XXZ*, vol. 13

gazetteer (*yi tong zhi*), the provincial gazetteer (*tong zhi*), the prefectural gazetteer (*fu zhi*), and the county gazetteer (*xian zhi*). Among these only the county gazetteer records things in some detail. But as for villages or towns, how could their events be detailed? Therefore, the reason that villages and towns have gazetteers is in order to make up for the lacunae of the county gazetteers.

Here also it is argued that the reason that “villages or towns” have their “gazetteers” is because their past events are not recorded in detail, even not in the usually rather detailed county gazetteers. Behind this argument, however, is a sense that Pingwang town has events worth recording. “Pingwang is south of the Chang Qiao, Great Bridge, in Wujiang, in the west it is linked with the Juqu (Great Lake Taihu), in the east it borders Wusong River, and in the south it leads to Jiahe (Jiaxing Prefecture), and to the north one can go in the direction of the Huai[he] River and Yang[zhou]. Therefore it is an important ford where four directions meet, a place where trading ships and all kinds of commodities rush to assemble.” Although it had been laid bare by the *wakô* pirates, now “the beauty of its manners and its local products, the density of houses and stores, the imposing Daoist and Buddhist temples, all are the most eminent in Songling (i.e., Wujiang). How prosperous this place has become! It must be because our country has long been at peace, and the realm is rich and plentiful. Therefore, even if it is just the land of one town, it still is sufficient to proclaim its prowess in Wu and Yue (i.e., Jiangsu and Zhejiang). How could we not convey this situation to the world and to posterity?” Such a city-like splendor during the Qing Peace was the premise of this town gazetteer’s compiler.

In the numerous town gazetteers since the mid-Qianlong period, especially since the subsequent Jiaqing period, the necessity of compiling gazetteers is frequently discussed as a way to make up for the lacunae of a town’s events occurring in the county, prefectural, provincial and unified comprehensive gazetteers.

The 1774 *Luxi zhi* (*Gazetteer of Luxi*, on Lujiabang in Kunshan County, Suzhou Prefecture, current Lujia Town in Kunshan Municipality) was compiled by Zhu Shiqi, *shengyuan* of the town, who among other occupations functioned as *muyou*, “private secretary,” of the *xunfu* “governor-general” of Shanxi, Bi Yuan. In its *Preface* written by his friend Du Gang, is the following passage.³⁸

³⁸ XXZ, vol. 8. On the relationship of writer Zhu Shiqi with Bi Yuan, see Hu Guocan(?), “Zhu Shiqi zhuan” (“Biography of Zhu Shiqi”), included at the beginning of the 1939 typeset edition, in: XXZ, vol. 8.

The unified state (*yi tong*) is the accumulation of individual local townships (*yi xiang*). To value local townships is to value the unified state. Nowadays from the unified state to the province, prefecture and the county, each unit has its own records, but records on townships (*xiang zhi*) are very uncommon. Therefore the historical events of villages and towns (*li han*) often become lost and are not transmitted. Even if sometimes you can see them in county gazetteers, they are still abridged and incomplete. People do not realize that if the events of one township are abridged, then those of one county will be, and if those of one county are thus, so will be those of a prefecture; all the way up to the provincial and the unified comprehensive gazetteer, all will be full of abridgements and lacunae. And ah, since this is so, how could one not value highly township gazetteers?

If there are no “township records” or “township gazetteers,” then the “historical events of villages and towns” are not transmitted, and even if there is a “county gazetteer” events therein are likely to be abridged. This form of logical reasoning is like those we have seen thus far. However, I would stress here the explicit awareness of the two kinds of relationships, and their mutual linkage. In the first place, the “individual local township” (*yi xiang*) is the indispensable basis of the “unified state” (*yi tong*), and only on the basis of the accumulation of “local townships” can the “unified state” exist. This is an awareness of the relationship of the local regional society with the empire as a whole. In the second place, there is an awareness of the mutually indispensable relationship of the local gazetteers, (on the basis of the “township gazetteer,” in a hierarchy through county, prefectural and provincial gazetteer) to the unified comprehensive gazetteer. Prefaces that clearly articulate an awareness of either relation can be widely seen in town gazetteers of this period.

An example of the awareness of the first kind of relation is seen in the *fajan* (*Principles of Compilation*), in *juan* 1 of the 1807 *Fangtai zhi*³⁹ (*Gazetteer of Fangtai*, now Fangtai Town, Jiading District, Shanghai Municipality) penned by Wang Yuanlie:

As long as scholars do not forget about local townships (*xiang*), they can talk about the whole world. That is why it is absolutely necessary that this town gazetteer be made.

³⁹ XXZ, vol. 3.

Xiao Yuhui, one of the compilers of the contemporary 1807 *Shigang Guangfu he zhi*⁴⁰ (*Combined Gazetteer of Shigang and Guangfu*, now respectively Shigang Village, in Malu Town, Jiading District, and Guangfu Village in Liuhang Town, Baoshan District; both Shanghai Municipality), writes in his *Preface* as follows.

The whole world consists of an accumulation of local states (*guo*, i.e., “provinces”). A local state is an accumulation of local townships (*xiang*). Then the affairs of one local township are really those of the whole world and state. Confucius said: “When I look at the festivity in the country districts (i.e., *xiang*, “local townships”) I know how easily the Royal Way may obtain free course.” (*Liji*, *Book of Rites*, Communal Wine-drinking Ceremony 45). Seeing these records, I certainly can believe this!

The local township is the foundation of the whole world. The accumulation of local townships form the whole world and state; that is why the affairs of one local township are equal to those of the whole world and state.

Such an awareness can already be seen earlier, during the Kangxi period. In the 1702 *Wujun Fuli zhi*⁴¹ (*Gazetteer of Fuli, Suzhou Prefecture*), written as a town gazetteer of then Luzhi town in Yuanhe County, Suzhou Prefecture, now Luzhi Town of Wuxian County, is attached a *Preface* by Cai Fangbing from Suzhou, who was the uncle of Chen Weizhong, the local compiler, in which the following passage appears.

Now, the whole world (*tian xia*) is the accumulation of individual local states (*guo*). One local state is the accumulation of individual local townships (*xiang*). The large expanse of the whole world goes completely back to the small expanse of each local township, and is formed by their accumulation. This means that if there had not been local people who collected the songs and ballads from the town and village streets (*li xiang*) and transmitted them, then how could those have been presented to the state historians, how could they have been edited by the Sages, and how could they have been used to praise the Ancients and be passed down to posterity? Therefore those assigned the duty of the whole world recorded [the affairs] of the whole world; those assigned with the duty of a local state recorded

⁴⁰ XXZ, vol. 3.

⁴¹ XXZ, vol. 5.

the affairs of an individual state. But who will take up the duty for one local township? Will there be, without that duty, any records?

Here the “local state” is in the middle, but the reasoning that the *tianxia*, “whole world” is an accumulation of “local townships” is already stated here. Beginning with such a premise, the author states that the duties of the whole world parallel the records of the whole world, the duties of a local state parallel the records of a state, and the duties of a local township parallel the records of a local township. Cai Fangbing relates after this that Chen Weizhong engaged in the factual compilation, as a “scholar who fastened together the manners and lessons of the whole township.” (Incidentally, the “local state” mentioned here must be seen as a literary term for a province-level administrative unit, with reference to the pre-Qin vassal states.)

As for the second kind of relation, many prefaces of this period show an awareness of the hierarchy of township gazetteers, county, prefectural, provincial gazetteers and unified comprehensive ones, and their mutually indispensability. For instance, there are the examples of the 1804 *Zhujing zhi*⁴² (*Gazetteer of Zhujing*, now Zhujing Town, Jinshan District, Shanghai Municipality), the already cited 1807 *Fangtai zhi*⁴³, the contemporary 1807 *Shigang Guangfu he zhi*⁴⁴, and the 1815 *Malu li zhi*⁴⁵ (*Gazetteer of Malu Locality*, currently Malu Town, Jiading District, Shanghai Municipality). Although the 1805 *Songnan zhi*⁴⁶ (*Gazetteer of Songnan*, currently Jiwang and Zhudi Towns of Minhang District, Shanghai Municipality) does not explicitly go as far as the unified comprehensive gazetteer or a provincial gazetteer, we still can discern an awareness of the above-mentioned relationship in it. Let us look at an example that shows such a relationship even more clearly.

In the *Preface* of the 1732 *Pingwang zhi* noted above, the system of local gazetteers is arranged in the four levels of the national *yi tong zhi*, “unified comprehensive gazetteer,” the *sheng zhi*, the “provincial gazetteer,” the *fu zhi*, the “prefectural gazetteer,” and the *xian zhi*, the county gazetteer. As an indispensable fifth layer is given the “gazetteer” of the “village or town.” In the *Preface* of the 1826 *Shuangfeng li zhi*⁴⁷ (*Gazetteer of Shuangfeng Locality*, now Shuangfeng

⁴² *XXZ*, vol. 1.

⁴³ *XXZ*, vol. 3.

⁴⁴ *XXZ*, vol. 3.

⁴⁵ *XXZ*, vol. 3.

⁴⁶ *XXZ*, vol. 4.

⁴⁷ *XXZ*, vol. 9.

Town of Taicang Municipality) by Tan Tiancheng from neighbouring Tangshi town (which is placed before the *Author's Preface* of its compiler, the native Shi Baochen), it says, after a discussion of the value that the records of the "various branches" have within a genealogy (*zupu*) for the genealogy as a whole, that "it is the same for local gazetteers." Then it says:

In the wide and large world, nothing is not an accumulation of prefectures and counties; in prefectures and counties, [nothing] is not an accumulation of townships and localities (*xiang li*, i.e., "towns"). If one township's gazetteer is completed, then the gazetteers of counties, departments and prefectures can base themselves on it, and so in a similar way the provincial and the unified comprehensive one. Nothing is outside this [relation].

Also in the *Preface* by Yang Xian, from Gui'an County, Huzhou Prefecture, to the 1893 *Linghu zhen zhi*⁴⁸ (*Gazetteer of Linghu Town*, now Linghu Town, Huzhou Municipality), the author writes:

As for gazetteers, there exists the unified comprehensive gazetteer, and the provincial, prefectural and county gazetteers. As for town gazetteers, their objectives are limited. But if there is no town gazetteer, then the prefectural and county gazetteers have nothing to get their sources from, and if there are no prefectural and county gazetteers, then the provincial and the unified comprehensive gazetteers have nothing they can rely upon. Therefore the town gazetteers really form the basic beginning of the various gazetteers, and therefore their relations are certainly neither unimportant nor infrequent.

On the one hand, above the market towns was a hierarchical administrative system from the county upwards. On the other hand was a hierarchical system of officially-compiled local gazetteers of county level and higher. The compilers of town gazetteers were keenly aware of these facts. In other words, the town gazetteer and the local society centered upon the market town occupied in the awareness of its compilers the basic position in the hierarchical systems of local gazetteers and administrative order. However, we should not overlook that the town gazetteer compilers, who on the one hand were always acutely aware of the

⁴⁸ XXZ, vol. 24.

existence of county gazetteers, were on the other hand also fully cognizant of the great differences between those county-level and higher gazetteers, and the town gazetteers.

4 Differences with the Official Gazetteers; Responsibility of the Writer as a Human Being

Those engaged in the compilation of town gazetteers, no matter what kind of expressions they used, were unmistakably of the opinion that the town gazetteers were clearly different from the gazetteers of county or supra-county level (such as the prefectural gazetteers), in that the latter kinds were published by “officials.” In the *Principles of Compilation*, section 2 of the above-mentioned 1732 *Pingwang zhen zhi*,⁴⁹ the “Master of the Grass Hall in the Western Outskirts,” who represents the local town inhabitants involved with the compilation, expresses the following opinion.

From the unified comprehensive gazetteer to the county records, one necessarily has to establish a general managerial editor (*zongcai*) for their compilation and revision. That is why there exist established standards, from the titles of each section to be investigated, to the curriculae vitae of the various men who are co-compilers. But a town gazetteer is not an official gazetteer. Its agreed-upon task is only to record the items that the various gentlemen of the town (*li*) saw with their eyes and trod with their feet, and to treat those [records] as sources for [the history of] one’s town. Therefore, we discard here the usual conventionalities, and only say that this gazetteer is “compiled collectively by the local [town] residents (*li ren gong ji*).”

In other words, officially compiled local gazetteers, from the unified comprehensive gazetteer down to county gazetteers are compiled, out of necessity, with an organization from the general editor down. This organization establishes the various section titles and collects material under the corresponding fields, and further at the beginning of the gazetteer it lists the status and names of all those people who participated in the compilation. In all cases a certain standardized practice has to be followed. A town gazetteer, however, is not an official gazetteer,

⁴⁹ *XXZ*, vol. 13.

and it is free from all those restrictions placed upon the official gazetteers. As for its format, it has only to write down all what those engaged in its compilation have seen, heard or witnessed, and by doing so it gathers those recollections into a town document to be left to posterity. That is why the *Pingwang zhen zhi* does not adopt the usual practice seen in county gazetteers. It only states that it was "collectively compiled by the local [town] residents," that it is a collective effort by various people from the town itself.

The same point of view is strongly expressed in other words in the *Pu zhen ji wen*⁵⁰ (*Recollections of Pu Town*, now Puyuan Town, Tongxiang Municipality), with a *Preface* of 1787. The sole preface to that town gazetteer is written by someone called Zhao You. The *Preface* starts by mentioning the large scale of the unified comprehensive gazetteer, which treated *tian xia*, the "whole world," of the *tong zhi*, which treated the regular and directly-governed provinces, and of the prefectural, departmental and county gazetteers with their respective contents. Zhao then contrasts these with the very small scale of a township or town: "one county is divided into individual townships and towns. Their sizes are not even sufficient to compose a corner of that county, therefore one certainly cannot compare their respective sizes! Excessive veneration and extravagant descriptions are not really appropriate." It continues :

And as for the provincial gazetteers, or the prefectural, departmental and county gazetteers, or above until one reaches the comprehensive gazetteer, these are all assigned to officials. An official bureau is established, the estimated expenses are collected, and only after the work of several tens of people, and after several decades or several years the gazetteers are for the first time put together and completed. It even happens that soon afterwards, a few years after compilation, again there are found lacunae waiting to be filled. How could a mere small township or town (*xiang zhen*) have something similar! This again shows that it is not worth even comparing their sizes!

For any of the comprehensive, provincial or prefectural, departmental and county gazetteers, "officials" take responsibility, and they establish an organization for its compilation called the "official bureau." They assemble a budget and several tens of people to take care of the compilation, and they take several decades or at least

⁵⁰ XXZ, vol. 21.

several years. In the case of a town gazetteer, however, there is no way that such an organization could be established. Later in the same *Preface* we find the following:

If large, then one has to rely on various officials; if small, then ordinary people all can exert themselves.

This is a decisive difference between the local gazetteers of county level and higher and the town gazetteers, in their being compiled by officials and by commoners, respectively.

Incidentally, the above-mentioned 1702 *Wujun Fuli zhi*⁵¹ was based upon repeated efforts towards compilation dating back to the Chenghua, Longqing, Wanli, Tianqi and Chongzhen periods of the mid-to late Ming.⁵² In that work the compiler Chen Weizhong also contrasts town gazetteers with prefectural and county ones:

In the past, my illustrious predecessors Jin Wenchuan (i.e., Jin Mengxiang) and Zhao Fuyang (i.e., Zhao Weishi) already undertook the compilation of this town's (*li*) gazetteer, but unfortunately it was not finished and printed. After the violent convulsions (the changes from the Ming to the Qing dynasty), the drafts were slowly scattered and lost. Until now, nobody has taken up again their compilation. Now, I think that the work of gazetteers originally formed the counterpart of histories, and that only virtuous official holders could undertake that work, and that local gentlemen could compile the records under them. As for prefectural and county gazetteers, it was the same. But the affairs of one small town (*li*) are of course not within the purview of officials, and the local gentlemen have no time to waste on such matters.

(Author's Preface)

Thus, gazetteers as far down as the prefectural and county-levels were planned by the *yousi*, "office holders," i.e., local officials, and the *xiang xiansheng*, "local gentlemen," i.e., the local gentry undertook their compilation. Neither the local officials nor the gentry were involved with the *li zhi*, "locality gazetteers," i.e., town

⁵¹ *XXZ*, vol. 5.

⁵² "Jiangsu-sheng difangzhi shubiao" 江蘇省地方志述表, in: Jin and Hu 1996, vol. 1.

gazetteers. The author quoted above sees a decisive difference between the town gazetteers and the local gazetteers of county level and higher. Pan Lüxiang, who was the local author of the above-mentioned 1889 *Luodian zhen zhi*⁵³ (comp. 1879), also says as follows in a piece at the beginning of that gazetteer. In 1876-1877 the compilation of departmental and county gazetteers in each province was ordered, and so it came to pass that also the *Baoshan xian zhi* (*Gazetteer of Baoshan County*) was published. He himself had also participated in that work, but expenses were not provided. Accordingly, he stopped his work midway through the project, and in 1879 "closed his doors and retired to his home." Idling away summer, he suddenly decided to continue the works of a "Mr. Fan," who previously had started to compile a *li zhi* ("locality gazetteer") of Luodian, but which had been finished without ever having been printed. In reference to his decision, he writes:

The responsibility of whether a county gazetteer is completed or not lies [with the officials] above, but whether a town's (*li*) gazetteer is completed or not lies [with the people] below.

Those who undertook the compilation and printing of a town gazetteer differed completely from those of the county level gazetteers and higher. That mirrors also a difference in the character of a local society centered upon a market town (which formed the space in which the compilation and publication of a town gazetteer took place), with that of the regional space, to which administrative officials were sent, and which formed the content of the gazetteers of the county level and higher. As noted above, the Qianlong period witnessed a spectacular growth in the compilation of town gazetteers. It also saw the emergence of such terms as "township and town gazetteers," "township gazetteers," and "town gazetteers." In each market town there was a keen awareness that there was a widespread trend towards the compilation of town gazetteer in surrounding market towns. Under these conditions, people realized that both the town gazetteer (at the bottom of the sequence county gazetteer-prefectural gazetteer-provincial gazetteer-unified comprehensive gazetteer), and the society centered upon a market town (at the bottom of the administrative sequence county-prefecture-province-whole world) formed basic units of existence.

Nevertheless, as we have seen in this fourth section, a town gazetteer was

⁵³ XXZ, vol. 4.

sharply distinguished from the county level gazetteers and higher. What could that mean? It is a complex question, which also bears upon the nature of administration and culture. No matter what the explanation may be, we have to elucidate the loci from which originated during the Qing this strong self-realization of the “commoners” position *vis-à-vis* the “officials.” The next section therefore examines the compilers of the town gazetteers and their relations with local society.

5 Compilers of Town Gazetteers and their Local Society

a The *Qi sheng lei bian* (*Organized Compilation of the Records of Qi*)—the unpublished draft of the 1760s

Below, I examine how and by whom town gazetteers were compiled with special attention to the specific context of their local market-centered societies.

The *Qi sheng lei bian* (*Organized Compilation of the Records of Qi*) was compiled in 1765, in Tangqi, which was known as a “huge town.” It corresponds to current Tangqi Town (Yuhang Municipality). To reach it, one goes north along the Grand Canal from Hangzhou Municipality, proceeds through the suburbs of Hangzhou and the current city of Yuhang, and then turns northeast at the border of Deqing County. The work differs from both the *Tangqi zhi lüe gao*⁵⁴ (*Short Draft of the Gazetteer of Tangqi*), which was compiled two years later in 1767 and is included in the second series of the *Wulin zhanggu congbian* (*Collectanea of Historical Stories from Wulin*), and the *Tangqi zhi*⁵⁵ (*Gazetteer of Tangqi*), published in 1890, in the fact that it remained little-known; a manuscript copy is preserved in the former Yanjing University Library, now Beijing University Library. It is not included in the previously mentioned *Xiangzhenzhi* series of the *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng*.

According to his *Author's Preface* of 1765, Yimin “Recluse” Zhou Zhaoqian was a local person. He notes that “continuing the scholarly tradition of his family, he had daily applied himself to his scholarship, but when he had not yet reached the fullest depths of his studies,” he “had collected materials on the topography of the mountains and rivers of my township and formed them into a book called *Qi li tu shuo* (*Annotated Atlas of the Qi Locality*).” As a predecessor of his work, Zhou Zhaoqian respected highly Zhang Zhinai’s (i.e., Zhang Ban’an’s) *Qi li jing wu lüe*

⁵⁴ XXZ, vol. 18.

⁵⁵ XXZ, vol. 18.

(*An Introduction to the Sights of Qi Locality*). However, what left the greatest impression on him was the *Qi shui wen sheng* (*Records of the Rivers of Qi*), also known as the *Qi sheng* (*Records of Qi*) by Cao Qi (i.e., Cao Shuyuan), who had “revised and expanded” the previous *Qi li jing wu lue*.

According to the section on elders in *juan* 12 of the *Tangqi zhi* the appellation Yimin, “Recluse,” was Zhou’s formal style name. Zhou “excelled geography” and was a “descendant of a Mr. Zhou who had been Director of the Bureau of Appointments of the Ming.” Both Zhang Zhinai and Cao Qi had been *shengyuan*. But the section does not mention what examination degree Zhou Zhaoqian may have held. In the *Principles of Compilation*, which like the *Author’s Preface* has Zhou Zhaoqian’s name attached, it says:

Tangqi was from old lacking in gazetteers and records. At the beginning of the Kangxi period, the local [town] resident and established scholar Zhang Ban’an (i.e., Zhang Zhinai) and Xu Yejun (personal name unknown) for the first time put the *Qi li jing wu lue* together. Subsequently Cao Shuyuan (i.e., Cao Qi) toiled his whole life writing a gazetteer, and once again adding materials to the previous drafts, called it the *Qi sheng*.

Thus the *Author’s Preface* records how Zhou Zhaoqian compiled his *Qi sheng lei bian* on the basis of Cao Qi’s *Qi shui wen sheng*.

Cao Qi’s *Qi shui wen sheng*, the expanded revision of the *Qi li jing wu lue*, indeed was somewhat of a “gazetteer” of Tangqi town, but it was not published. For more than twenty years, it was in possession of his son’s widow. After her death it was kept in the hands of Qian Yinshang, thanks to money raised by several people who feared its disappearance. After the death of this Qian, it came, together with a sequel draft that had been kept by the Cao Family, into the possession of Zhou Zhaoqian and his like-minded friends. It subsequently took Zhou Zhaoqian and his friends two years to organize Cao Qi’s draft into the format of a regular local gazetteer, thus forming the 16-*juan* *Qi sheng lei bian*. During that compilation the decision was made not to make any changes to the original text of Cao Qi itself. Even in cases where additions were made, mere “conjectures” were to be avoided; they were to rely only on “inquiries made of the wisest and most virtuous for guidance in corrections.” The *Qi sheng lei bian* also remained only in draft form; its publication was deferred until later.

The background of the compilation of the *Qi sheng lei bian* again throws into relief the fact that a gazetteer was considered a local need, that it originated from

the literati of Tangqi town itself, and that such works were compiled by their own hands. This had also been the case of the preceding *Qi li jing wu lue* of Zhang Zhinai and Xu Yejun and the *Qi shui wen sheng* of Cao Qi.

The following details provide further proof that the *Qi sheng lei bian* was due to spontaneous compilation by local people. Barely two years after the draft of the *Qi sheng lei bian* was completed, it was criticized by a non-local scholar named He Qi (i.e., He Chunzhu), "who, for some time now, had appreciated the purity and immensity of the town's mountains and rivers, and the fact that the town did not seem to be just a rural corner tucked away, having row upon row of houses." When He Qi happened to be shown the draft by the local [town] resident Gao Zhaizhong, he criticized it: "its divisions are too numerous and too varied, and its writing also is too obsequious."⁵⁶ He Qi wrote thereupon the exceedingly simple *Tangqi zhi lue gao*, of which it would be said later that "its writing is extremely simple and rustic; and it still suffers from lacunae in the historical stories of this one town."⁵⁷ In the case of county gazetteers, which maintained a publicly established compilation bureau and possessed a financial basis, and which would invariably be published as a book, one ordinarily does not come across cases where so soon after publication such revisions were needed.

At the same time, this spontaneous origin by local people was tightly linked with the need to solve particular problems facing that local society. The way the *Qi shui wen sheng* was expanded in the *Qi sheng lei bian* reflects such needs. The *Principles of Compilation* provide explanations regarding the expansions. In addition to the desire to expand the *Qi shui wen sheng*, the compilers wanted to fill in the lacunae in the "county gazetteer." The latter was probably the 1687 *Renhe xian zhi* (*Gazetteer of Renhe County*), and was the model during the revision of the *Qi shui wen sheng*, as we will touch upon later.

The sections that were especially singled out in the *Principles of Compilation* for expansion were the following: *juan* 1 ("Boundaries": the parts on walls, streets, bridges); *juan* 2 ("Topography"); *juan* 3 ("Public Buildings"), *juan* 3 and 4 (the parts on local products and corvee as listed in the "Local Manners and Customs" section); *juan* 6 ("Water Management"); *juan* 7 ("Relief Administration"). Other sections felt in particular need of revision were *juan* 8, 9, 10 and 11 ("Personalities", which comprised the categories "Celebrities," itself composed of seven sub-categories among which "the Pure" and "the Upright," as well as the catego-

⁵⁶ *Preface to the Tangqi zhi lue gao*. For further discussion of the rest of this passage, see below.

⁵⁷ *Tangqi zhi*, *juan* 20, "Miscellaneous Records."

ries on “Virtuous Widows,” “Chaste Women,” and “Immigrant Worthies”); and the “Literary Records” of *juan* 15 and 16. The parts among these that particularly show Zhou Zhaoqian’s viewpoint are the sections on bridges, water management, local products, and “Celebrities.” For example, the part on bridges reads:

Since Qi (i.e., Tangqi town) belongs to a region full of water, if there were no bridges, no one could go anywhere. Therefore the merit of building a bridge over a river is great indeed. However, in the gazetteer (i.e., the *Renhe xian zhi*) not even two or three out of ten bridges are recorded. For instance, the Great Bridge is enormous, and its engineering was an immense effort. It has no equal within an area of thousand *li* (500km). Now, although the facts of its repeated renovations, their encouragements of good works and their contributions of donations, and their commendable plans and splendid achievements are engraved upon precious stones (i.e., stelae), if they are not recorded in the books, how could we stir up good feelings and encourage the desire to do good!

In this passage, the author notes that although the Great Bridge of Tangqi town is not recorded in the county gazetteer, it is enormous. He makes the point that if good works were not recorded in books, one could not convey to the people of the local society the instances of [past] devotion to public works, and thereby put them in the mood for subsequent contributions in the future.

The section of “Celebrities” in the following passage shows the urgent desire to make up for the lacunae of the county gazetteer.

The compilation of the Biographies [section] in a county gazetteer relies largely upon interviews and investigations by a few people, and these usually record only those near [the county seat] and leave out those farther away. As a result those shining celebrities of our Qi whose fame overflows the whole world, are always left out. The two gentlemen Zhang and Cao collected their documents, and praised them one by one. I thereupon organized these, and include them here each according to their category.

Through these numerous sections of the *Principles of Compilation* we can see that according to Zhou Zhaoqian, compiler of the *Qi sheng lei bian*, he recorded the public works and activities that were the *raison d'être* of the local society in his town. He called for concern for such works and activities through the expedience

of listing the people who were contributors, and filling in the lacunae of the county gazetteer related to his town. In this sense the phrases “to benefit the local administration and the people’s livelihood” and “the public affairs of our town (*li*),” which occur in the section on the “Literary Records” placed closely after the end of the *Principles of Compilation*, are highly revealing.

Literary prose and poetry all have their origin in the strenuous efforts of the literary crowd. I cannot of course copy completely everything what I have come across, but neither do I dare to leave anything out lightly. (...) Especially those acts that benefited the local administration and the people’s livelihood need to be collected and recorded. (...) As for the public affairs of our town (*li zhong zhi gong wu*), even if [their titles] are recorded in the Stelae Texts [section], their full texts are listed according to their location [in the Literary Records section], or separately in a special section, “Historical Records” (*ji wen*). One reason is that one can use them as reference when thinking about the achievements of the past. Another reason is that by contemplating them, one can be so moved that one wishes to emulate those previous meritorious acts.

Barely two years after its draft was completed, the *Qi sheng lei bian*, met, as noted above, with the criticism of He Qi, compiler of the *Tangqi zhi lue gao*. He felt that “its divisions were too numerous and too varied, and its writing also was too obsequious.” Indeed, as seen in *juan* 4 (“Corvee”) and *juan* 6 (“Water Management”), it often includes verbatim the complete texts of the original documents and stelae inscriptions regarding official proclamations and private memorials. One can easily surmise that this was one reason he faulted the gazetteer’s style. However, it is precisely this style of source collection and inclusion that illustrates the fact that the *Qi sheng lei bian* had been directly compiled by the people of local society in the very midst of that local society.

b The *Lili zhi* (Gazetteer of Lili) and the *Lili xu zhi* (Sequel to the Gazetteer of Lili)—the early and late 19th century editions

The fact that a town gazetteer compiler was typically an inhabitant of that particular town, and brought with him a strong interest in local public topics of debate, is even clearer in the early 19th century 1805 *Lili zhi*⁵⁸ (*Gazetteer of Lili*, Wu-

⁵⁸ XXZ, vol. 12.

jiang County, Suzhou Prefecture), and its late-19th century sequel, the 1897 *Lili xu zhi*⁵⁹ (*Sequel to the Gazetteer of Lili*).

The *Lili zhi* was compiled by Xu Dayuan⁶⁰, inhabitant of Lili Town, who through a *juanna* contribution had attained in 1798 the degree of *jiansheng* and the position of a supernumerary Editorial Assistant of the Hanlin Academy.

Already when still young, I, Dayuan loved it when people talked about the past events of the town, and every time when I heard something new I immediately committed it to paper. As an adult, I read through new and old county gazetteers, but I found barely three pages with any bearing on Lili. In my heart I was secretly vexed.

The following is a description of the Xu Dayuan who single-handedly finished the 16-*juan* *Lili zhi* out of a fierce local pride for Lili town: "whenever I found even one character which talked about our town (*li*) in a work, I bought it as if it were a precious treasure, and I became so excited that I forgot about cold or heat and stopped sleeping and eating." At the end of the *Author's Preface* it says:

Those who will later need to collect our customs, now will have materials as evidence. Also all the facts of our locality (i.e., Lili town) are here recorded, and their basic outline is briefly preserved. Written by local [town] resident Xu Dayuan, alias Wuji, in the Fuyuantang (Hall of Inspiring the Distant).

Thus the *Lili zhi* came to be somewhat of a public record that was to be transmitted to posterity by the people of Lili town. Further, as it says in the *Author's Preface*, he was helped by his friends, mainly local people, on the occasion of its publication:

After finishing the draft, various acquaintances came together in order to investigate [the mistakes in] the work, and each made great efforts to correct them. After another two years, they contributed money to have it printed. Without this, how could this book have been so extremely fortunate!

⁵⁹ XXZ, vol. 12.

⁶⁰ *Lili zhi*, *juan* 6, "Table of *Lishi*, Officials by Donation," under 1798.

According to the "names of the correctors" at the beginning of the gazetteer, among the seventeen names listed as "correctors and reviewers," are ten who were *tong li*, that is, people of the same town. Also listed were four men from Wujiang County, one from Zhenze County, and two from Xiushui County.

Xu Dayuan's activities were not limited to this *Lili zhi*. In the *Stelae Texts of the Zhongshantang* (*Hall of a Multitude of Benevolences*) in *Lili* by Li Tingfang, included in the *Lili xu zhi* (about which later), *juan 2* ("Halls of Benevolence," with appendices on courtesy ferries and lineage foundations), there is the following passage.

In the provincial capital there were since former times the Tongrentang (Hall of Common Humanity) and the Tongshantang (Hall of Common Benevolence). Their rules on the performance of benevolence were most detailed, and each year they collected unburied corpses bodies widely and in great numbers. But outside the capital city these activities were not implemented anywhere. Recently in our Lili town there was a Hall established in emulation, named the Zhongshan [tang] (Hall of a Multitude of Benevolences), and all the affairs within that Hall confirm completely to the rules of the Tongshan and Tongren Halls. Its history is such that first, Xu Shanmin, Editorial Assistant in the Hanlin Academy (i.e., Xu Dayuan), contributed with his friends money to found it. Its daily expenses were funded by other literati and commoners of this town. Mr. Xu thought out its rules after collecting the various opinions of others. In the third month of Jiaqing [17] (1812), a *renshen* year, the Lineage Hall of Minister Ling of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices of the former Ming Dynasty was used as its managerial office. (...) Now, the gentlemen of the whole town are thrilled with joy to have the pleasure of submitting donations and work hard to make this endeavor a success.

This is followed by a passage by Yang Gui, also called *Stelae Texts of the Zhongshantang* (*Hall of a Multitude of Benevolences*):

The Zhongshantang (Hall of a Multitude of Benevolences) was established in Lili town, Wujiang County, and a branch office is located in Pingwang town, resorting to Zhenze County. Their main task is the burial of abandoned corpses, but associations that devote themselves to the provision of coffins and ceremonial grave clothing, assistance to widows, the [reverent]

disposal of material with written characters (*xizi*), or the release of caged birds and fish (*fangsheng*), were also added. First in Jiaqing 17 (1812) Mr. Xu, together with his friends, donated money and founded the Lili establishment, and barely one year later followers from Pingwang wishing to promote benevolent deeds were thrilled with joy to have the pleasure of submitting donations.

The Zhongshantang implemented locally in Lili town and its neighboring Pingwang town the typical activities of benevolent societies that had become common in the cities of the Jiangnan region; primarily the burial of abandoned corpses. They, however, also engaged in such activities as the purveyance of coffins and ceremonial grave clothing, livelihood assistance for widows, the disposal of pieces of paper or ostraca upon which characters were written, and the protection of living creatures. Xu Dayuan was one of its advocates.

Xu Dayuan's activities in the local community of Lili town also included donating money to the construction in 1817 of the Second Bridge (in Ranzi-wei, "Ranzi polder"⁶¹) that had been proposed by Fenhui Police Chief Zhou Wenlan. Xu also contributed funds to the building of the Tiansui Bridge (also in Ranzi-wei) in 1838.⁶²

The compilation of Cai Bingqi 1899 *Lili xu zhi* (*Sequel to the Gazetteer of Lili*) resembles that of Xu Dayuan's earlier *Lili zhi*. Cai Bingqi⁶³, a *jiansheng* of 1872 by way of a *juanna* contribution and a prospective county magistrate, points out in his *Author's Preface* the lack of records for the town in the 90 years since the *Li li zhi* was published. He also notes the many abridgments, lacunae and mistakes related to the affairs of Lili in the recently published *Wujiang xian xu zhi* (*Sequel to the Gazetteer of Wujiang County*). Again like Xu, Cai Bingqi did not carry out the publication single-handedly. According to the "Correctors and Reviewers" section of the gazetteer, twenty people engaged in this work, among them eight from Lili town itself, four from Zhenze County, four from Wujiang County, three from Xiushui County, and one from Yixing County.

Cai Bingqi, again like Xu Dayuan, had close relations with the activities of the

⁶¹ "Polder" translates here the word *wei* 圩, dikes, or by extension, the lots of arable land within the dikes. It can designate in later times, as it does here, also urban town areas derived from such land. Ranzi is the lot's designation. (Author's additional note).

⁶² *Lili xu zhi*, *juan* 2, "Bridges."

⁶³ *Lili xu zhi*, *juan* 5, "Table of *Lishi*, Officials by Donation," under 1872. In the "Table of *Yixu*, Officials Promoted due to Contribution" is contained his later official career.

benevolent society. According to *juan* 2 of the *Lili xu zhi*, "Halls of Benevolence," Cai Bingqi had participated in the upkeep of the physical building of the Zhongshantang itself.

In Tongzhi 12 (1873) it was rebuilt by the local [town] residents Shen Guangjin, Zhang Yuanhao, Xu Baoshu, Cai Bingqi, Wang Bangrui; it was renovated in Guangxu 19 (1893) by local [town] residents Shen Guangjin, Cai Bingqi, Wang Shifan, and Zhang Mingzou.

Publicly donated estates that sustained the expenses of the Zhongshantang were held in Wujiang, Zhenze and Jiashan Counties (the latter in Zhejiang), and houses (for rent) in Wujiang County. Cai Bingqi participated in the expansion of this real estate.

In Guangxu 10 (1884) the local [town] residents Shen Guangjin, Zhang Yuanhao and Cai Bingqi, added one piece of property of four bays in Ranziwei to the charity estate. In Guangxu 11 (1885), local [town] resident Cai Bingqi added 34.75 *mu* land to it. In Guangxu 14 (1888) local [town] residents Shen Guangjin, Cai Bingqi and Wang Shifan added one renovated piece of property of 19 bays.

That the publication of town gazetteers itself became an increasingly public affair in local society can be seen from the following passage by Tao Xu in the *Principles of Compilation* of the 1882 *Zhouzhuang zhen zhi*⁶⁴ (*Gazetteer of Zhouzhuang Town*, Kunshan County):⁶⁵

It happened that during the planning to help with the recent famine in Henan, it was decided to solicit donations from the tea tax merchants within the town, and subsequently this was also done to help with the Shanxi and Zhili famines. After these relief efforts were completed, prefect Qian Qinghe was requested to assign this outlay to the publication of the town's gazetteer and other benevolent activities. It was suggested to wait until those needs were met before deciding to halt the contributions. The prefect agreed to this. Subsequently, by the end of the winter of Guangxu 6

⁶⁴ *XXZ*, vol. 6.

⁶⁵ Tao Xu is famous for his work, the *Zuhe* (*Investigation on Rent*). See Suzuki 1997.

(1880), a *gengchen* year, the draft was handed over to the publisher. But who could have guessed that [the editor], my first cousin (i.e., Tao Ran) would no longer be there to witness that! Guangxu 8 (1882), a *renwu* year. Respectfully recorded in the summer, fourth month of the year, by local [town] resident Tao Xu, styled Zichun.

That is, in Zhouzhuang in 1881 a charity donation collection was organized to help with the disaster relief efforts in the north. With the permission of the Suzhou prefect, its surplus money was used for the publication of the town gazetteer and to implement other social work in the town. In Lili town, Suzhou Prefecture, therefore, in the Qing period from the early 19th century (late Jiaqing) to the end of the century (Guangxu) one can identify the people engaged with the compilation of the town gazetteer with those engaged in the public works of the town. This holds true as well for those people involved with the town gazetteer of Zhouzhuang town, Kunshan County, in the same Suzhou Prefecture.

**c The *Qianmentang xiang zhi* (Gazetteer of Qianmentang Township)
from the late 1700s to the 20th century**

In the case of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*⁶⁶ (*Gazetteer of Qianmentang Township*) the relationship of the compiler with his activities in local society is especially clear. The gazetteer was begun during the trend towards the compilation of town gazetteers in Jiangnan in the late Qianlong period, the late 18th century, and finally was published in 1921.

From the Southern Song to the Ming period, Qianmentang was a thriving town. According to the *Author's Preface* of the *Qianmentang shi ji* (*Records of Qianmentang Market Town*), contained in *juan* 10 ("Literary Records A") of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, when early during the Southern Song period Jiading county had been established, a warehouse had been located there. Canal transport boats had assembled there, southwards from the Xuhangpu to the Wusongjiang River. Qianmentang had grown to such a scale that "the population was very dense; merchants came to trade, frequently coming and going there to meetings, and from east to west they formed an uninterrupted line for four or five *li*

⁶⁶ In the *XXZ*, vol. 4 is contained the facsimile of the manuscript copy preserved in the Nanjing University Library, but since this is difficult to read in parts, I have used in this article the printed version contained in the *Shanghai Shiliao Congbian*, op.cit.

(2-2.5km).” It was said that “its literati and commoners were wealthy and rich; the town had the appearance of a neatly arranged small city, almost on a par with Nanxiang (in Jiading County).” However, the town fell into decline after the late Ming period. The above-mentioned *Author’s Preface* notes, “from the twilight years of the past dynasty it deteriorated daily.” And in the postscript of the type-set Shanghai-shi Wenwu Baoguan Weiyuanhui edition of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi* it is noted that in the Qing “there were barely a hundred families in the market [town], and the its rural area (*xiang*) did not number more than 3000-plus inhabitants.” During the drought of 1671 in Jiading County, *chang*, “depots” were established in each town as the places for cooking and the distribution of rice gruel. The Qianmentang depot was established as early as that same year, according to the table in *juan* 1 of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, (“Historical Administrative Changes”).⁶⁷ According to the same table, in 1910 this depot region was changed into Qianmentang Township, and this administrative status was continued after the establishment of the Republic of China.⁶⁸

The origin of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi* goes back as far as the previously mentioned *Qianmentang shi ji*, compiled by the *jiansheng* Xu Wenfan in 1795 when he was 61 *sui* old. Xu was a local person, who had also written the *Dong-Jin Nanbeichao yudi biao* (*Geographical Table of the Eastern Jin and Northern-and-Southern Dynasties Period*), for which Qian Daxin and Wang Mingsheng had written prefaces.⁶⁹ Later a native, Tong Shan, who had in 1833 become a *shengyuan*, complained of the lack of a Qianmentang gazetteer while all the other towns in Jiading county such as Nanxiang, Loutang, Anting, Waigang, Fangtai and Malu had theirs published by the early Jiaqing period. He thereupon revised and expanded the *Qianmentang shi ji* that had fallen into his hands as a manuscript, and wrote the *Qianmentang zhen zhi*⁷⁰ (*Gazetteer of Qianmentang Town*). He died however

⁶⁷ This differs from the recent opinion of Inada Seiichi, mentioned above.

⁶⁸ Currently, while Wangxianqiao Township, the township which bordered Qianmentang Township in the Republican period, has become Wangxin Town of Jiading District, Shanghai Municipality, Qianmentang has been absorbed therein as the administrative Qianmen Village; and while both the Guozetang and Gupu rivers which cross in Qianmen are still rich, the appearance of its old streets is rather smallish.

⁶⁹ In the “Literary Records—History” section of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, *juan* 10, is given as the first of six parts on “Geography,” a simple publication record of the work itself. This is followed by the complete texts of the *Preface of Qian Daxin* and the *Preface of Wang Mingsheng*. eface of Wang Mingsheng.

⁷⁰ In the “Literary Records—History” section of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, *juan* 10, there is mentioned a *Qianmentang zhen zhi* compiled by Tong Shan, and its *Preface by Zhao Han* and *Postscript by Tong Yiqian* are contained there. I rely upon these two texts here.

without having finished it. Tong Shan's younger brother, also a *shengyuan*, Tong Ren, planned to "continue" this *Qianmentang zhen zhi*, the legacy work of his elder brother. Tong Ren's second son, Tong Yiqian (*shengyuan* of 1866), made yet another copy of the *Qianmentang zhen zhi* of his uncle Tong Shan, which had been lost during the Taiping Rebellion but which he had again recovered when he was gathering sources for the compilation of the 1868 *Jiading xian zhi* (*Gazetteer of Jiading County*). Tong Yiqian bound, edited, and enlarged this copy.⁷¹ Tong Yiqian's second son, Tong Shigao (*shengyuan* of 1899), began once again to compile a gazetteer in the Guangxu-Xuantong periods (1875-1911), basing himself upon the *Qianmentang zhen zhi* "which had been stored in an old basket." He finished his draft in the autumn of 1912, and after revision published it in the winter of 1921 as the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, in mimeograph form.⁷² Tong Shigao says the following in his *Author's Preface*.

In recent years, I, Shigao, examining the great changes of this turbulent time, fearing the disappearance of the ancient order, without considering too closely whether it was rather a rash thing to do, visited and interviewed elders, and collected written records and books. I deliberated over them and edited them, and again organized them into several *juan*. Hereby I merely wish to continue respectfully my ancestor's will.

This passage conveys the acute pressure Tong Shigao felt during the unprecedented great changes from the Xinhai Revolution through the World War to publish, almost as if it were a last opportunity, the town gazetteer of the Qianmentang area, which he had inherited from three generations earlier, from his great-uncle. Thus, the compilation work of that area's town gazetteer, which led finally to the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, had been continued since the early 19th century, the Daoguang period, from the brothers Tong Shan and Tong Ren to the father and son pair Tong Yiqian and Tong Shigao. However, by no means did the Tong family limit its efforts to the publication of the town gazetteer. The town gazetteer should be seen as just one facet of their activities in local society.

⁷¹ See the *Postscript* by Tong Yiqian mentioned in the previous note and the *Author's Preface* of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi* by Tong Shigao.

⁷² See the *Author's Preface* by Tong Shigao mentioned in the previous note, and the postscript by the editorial committee of the typeset Shanghai-shi Wenwu Baohuan Wei yuanhui edition (Sept 1963) listed in note 66.

A recent biography of Tong Shiliang,⁷³ fourth son of Tong Yiqian, second younger brother of Shigao, notes that: "Tong Shiliang, with *zi* name Jitong, was born March 12, 1883 in Qianmentang, Jiading, in a family of literary status in which five people had attained the *shengyuan* degree." Indeed, as we have seen, Tong Ren, Tong Shan, Tong Yiqian and Tong Shigao, had all been *shengyuan*. In addition to being literati, the Tong family also engaged in social activities in the region, where they were considered as naturally the people to resort to when any problem needed to be solved.

In *juan* 12 of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, ("Miscellaneous Writings—Stories on Disasters"), there is an entry on a harvest failure caused by a two-month period of rain that began on the 29th of the fourth month in 1849. In his essay on this disaster, Tong Yiqian faithfully described the scenes of devastation:⁷⁴

The cries were sad and impossible to stand. As soon as one's clothes were all pawned, one sold one's plates and any other odd item to exchange for food. In the worst cases one even took the bricks from one's walls, broke off the beams and rafters of one's house, and cut down one's trees to sell.

Also described in this essay is the way the Qin pawnshop single-handedly took care of the selling rice and cotton in the Qianmentang depot against special relief prices. The fear of what would happen if a flood of such scale were to take place now after the Taiping Rebellion, when half of the tenants had become a floating population "with no reserves at all," comes through clearly.

In the same section of natural disasters in the *Qianmen xiang zhi*, it is recorded that the Jiading county magistrate Chen Rong "had established 'depots' (i.e., rice gruel distribution areas), appointed leaders and distributed relief against the disaster, and that he had begun planning for their subsequent management." In the same "Miscellaneous Writings—Stories on Disasters," there is mention under 1899 of "the people of the township returning grain [that they had borrowed from the relief granaries] to the granaries." Under spring 1901 there is a similar entry. To both is attached an essay starting with "According to Tong Yiqian..."⁷⁵

⁷³ Yin 1990.

⁷⁴ See the *Tong Yiqian Shui zai ji lue* (*Short Record of the Flood Disaster by Tong Yiqian*) in *juan* 12 of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, "Miscellaneous Writings," on the flood since day 29 of the fourth month, Daoguang 29 (1849).

⁷⁵ See the sections starting with "Tong Yiqian yue..." ("According to Tong Yiqian..."), under the items of winter 1899 and spring 1901, in *juan* 12 of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, "Miscellaneous Writings."

The essay records the total lack of grain among the tenants from the whole western part of Jiading county from the harvest failure in winter 1897 until spring of the next year 1898. Especially bitter were the circumstances of the Qianmentang township tenants, who constituted the majority of those Jiading tenants. Also recorded are the granary loans for relief from the Southern Granary of Jiading County to the poor of the three depots of Qianmentang, Wangxianqiao and Anting, which took place in 1898, as well as the second round of loans in spring 1901.

Further it is recorded that during the 1849 disaster, when the authorities of Jiading county "established depots, appointed leaders, and distributed relief against the disaster," Tong Ren, father of Tong Yiqian, "had taken up this task." Furthermore, on the occasion of the grain loans in 1897, Tong Yiqian discussed the situation with the "gentry" of Jiading city. When the "leadership of the various depots" tried to avoid responsibility, foreseeing difficulties with the repayment of this relief grain after the crisis ended, Tong Yiqian acted on the conclusions of talks he had had with the leadership of the two depots of Anting and Wangxianqiao to solve the issues. The gazetteer relates how he listened to the complaints of the poor of Qianmentang and Wangxianqiao in 1901, and, in general, how he had played a very active role in the grain loans of the county.⁷⁶ Thus it is clear that in 1849, Tong Shigao's grandfather Tong Ren had been a leader of the Qianmentang depot and that during the late 1890s—early 1900s, his father Tong Yiqian had been a leader. Thus, from the middle of the 19th century Tong Ren and Tong Yiqian maintained responsible administrative positions in the local society of Qianmentang.

Entering the 20th century and its final stage, the Qing attempted to import a constitutional system. In 1906 it issued an edict establishing a provisional constitution. After the promulgation in 1908 of the *Regulations for local self-government for cities, towns and townships* and the *Regulations for elections* in the same, the so-called local self-government movement began throughout the whole country.⁷⁷ Tong Shigao thought highly of this local self-government, and he began the section on "Self-government" (*juan* 5) of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi* by expressing his strong opposition to its rescission in 1914 by Yuan Shikai:

When the constitution was put into practice, those gentlemen who were elected in our township were in general able to convey the people's wishes

⁷⁶ See the previous note.

⁷⁷ As the earliest study in Japan regarding the self-government movement of the late Qing and early Republican periods, see Teraki 1962 and as one of the most recent studies, see Huang 1998.

and to strive for the public good. Even if now its banners have been lowered and its drums have been silenced, it is still talked about among the people.

From the Guangxu through the Xuantong period, until the beginning of the Republican period, as "gentlemen who were elected in our township," Tong Yiqian and Tong Shigao, father-and-son, both played active roles in the self-government movement in the Qianmentang region. According to the "Self-government" section of the gazetteer, as a member of the "local gentry," Tong Yiqian first "deliberated over the management of the local government elections", then was elected as a *xiang zuo*, Assistant Township Reeve, and subsequently as a *xiang dong*, Township Reeve. In 1912 he "retired because of his age." On the other hand, Tong Shigao was elected in January 1912 as a *xiang yi yuan*, Township Council Member, and subsequently in May as *xiang dong*.⁷⁸

The most telling way in which the Tong family's engagement over three generations in the public activities in Qianmentang local society can be shown is in the establishment and management of the local schools by Tong Yiqian and Tong Shigao. This started in the autumn of 1905, after the dissolution of the examination system by the Qing court.⁷⁹ *Juan 6* ("Schools") of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi* gives the details. According to this chapter, Tong Yiqian worked as the *xue dong*, Director of the School Board, and as *xiao zhang*, Principal, of the Mengxuetang, Elementary School, of Qianmentang. Tong Shigao worked in the same positions of the No. 2 Junior Grammar School of the Third Township, which had come into being through the amalgamation in 1914 of the Qianmentang and Wangxianqiao Townships, as well as of its later incarnation, the No. 2 People's School.

Conclusion

Wangxianqiao Township was located west of the city seat of Jiading County, and, as already has been mentioned, bordered on Qianmentang Township. It was

⁷⁸ These records on the gamut of elections in Qianmentang Township and its neighbouring regions are here boiled down to their bare essentials, and are all based upon *juan 5* ("Self-government") of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*; see its "Abbreviated Record of the Elections of the Various Institutions."

⁷⁹ I cannot give here all the details of the establishment and management of the academies and schools in Qianmentang Township. On the educational reforms in the late Qing period, see Takada 1993.

the birthplace of Qian Daxin. The 1927 *Xu Wangxianqiao xiang zhi gao* (*Draft of the Sequel to the Wangxianqiao Township Gazetteer*), which is alongside the original gazetteer included in vol. 5 of the *Xiangzhenzhi zhuanji* series, is by the hand of Yang Dazhang, a pupil of Zhang Qitai, compiler of the Guangxu *Wangxianqiao xiang zhi gao* (*Draft of the Gazetteer of Wangxianqiao Township*). It remained in manuscript form, never being published. The following section in the *Author's Preface* starts with questions Yang Dazhang asked of Tong Shigao in 1927 about the way a township gazetteer should be compiled. He had happened to meet Tong Shigao at a moment when he had temporarily stopped writing, due to the criticism of some individual.

On November 13 I went for some cause to the city (i.e., Jiading), and on the return I shared a boat with Master Tong Lingcang (i.e., Tong Shigao) from Qianmen. Accordingly I asked him the proper way to compile a township gazetteer. He answered that "as long as you rely upon observations without mixing them with your own opinions, and seek out those observations with an open mind and in a peaceful manner, and subsequently organize them into clear categories and sections, nobody will be able to find fault. You have your wife's father as an advisor. How could then not all the old events of your township (*xiang*) be crystal clear! Moreover, if you investigate some more to amplify those recollections, you can also easily avoid ridicule for taking only one thing and leaving out a myriad others." In addition he said, "The compilation of township gazetteers is not done by people pursuing profit. Especially in this area, now that the local economy is in such a difficult shape, how could anybody else have the leisure to compile such a township gazetteer! Since you have the right spirit, I really hope that you will work hard to accomplish it!" Upon hearing his words, I again took responsibility and resumed compilation.

Thus, those with an eye to profit will not devote themselves to compiling a township gazetteer. The more so since now the local economy is quite in shambles; no one will take the time to compile a town gazetteer. I hope that since you have the right spirit, you will therefore work even harder to do it.

For Tong Shigao, compiler of the *Qianmentang xiang zhi*, the compilation of a township gazetteer was an unremunerated act that was done for oneself. The "spirit," i.e. the will of the compiler himself, was its motivating impulse. The compilation of town gazetteers increased substantially in the Jiangnan region from

the Qianlong through the Jiaqing and Daoguang periods, and from the Guangxu and Xuantong periods to the early Republican period. The same times saw the emergence and spread of such terms as *xiang zhen zhi* ("township and town gazetteers"), *zhen zhi* ("town gazetteers") and *xiang zhi* ("township gazetteers"). Parallel to these trends, the *Qianmentang xiang zhi* also went through several drafts, and finally saw publication. However, Tong Shigao's remarks suggest that the compilation process and final publication had certainly not been without problems, and that they very much depended on the multigenerational "spirit" of the Tong family which had continued the original work of Xu Wenfan. The strong internal reasons for compilation, which we already had established for the Jiangnan town gazetteers in the later half of the Ming period, thus remained also characteristic for town gazetteers during the Qing period when such compilations witnessed their heyday. The awareness of the differences between a town gazetteer and an "official gazetteer," visible in the first and fourth decades of the early 18th century, also continued during the late 18th century, as well as during the 1880s. From this we can establish that that awareness is probably related to these internal factors. This article has not investigated all five facets mentioned in the introduction as the internal factors of town gazetteer compilation during Ming times. However, along the lines of the discussion above, one could maintain that each of them would basically be valid in the case of the Qing period as well.

However, the question remains of the relationship of these internal factors with the two external motivations, that is, the mutual awareness among market towns regarding town gazetteer compilation and the recognition of a system of local gazetteers from county to prefecture, province, and the whole world. These were the two factors that we took to be external motivations since the Qianlong period, in contrast to the Ming period.

Both Jiading County in the northern delta region and Wujiang County in its center, from where we took our examples regarding mutual awareness, happen to be regions where we can detect traces of the establishment of administrative areas centered upon market towns. In the case of Jiading these went by the name of *chang*, "depots," and originated from famine relief activities. In the case of Wujiang they went by the name of *daxun*, and were related to the area of control of army garrisons. We can conclude that in those areas a territorially based local society, centered upon market towns, developed with areas constituting as it were the eyes of a fishnet covering the region. One could say that such development of a cluster of market-centered, territorially-based local societies became an external motivation for the compilation of town gazetteers, mediated by the awareness of

each other among market towns.

As for the awareness of a system of local gazetteers, one should recall the fact that the Qing period, as shown in Table 2, was the time when 57.27% percent of the extant county, prefectural and provincial gazetteers of Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang were compiled. It is clear that among all dynasties it was the Qing period when a system of officially-compiled local gazetteers, from county to provincial gazetteer, came to be fully established. The collection of source materials that took place during the compilation of county gazetteers, and the inclusion and exclusion of historical facts that occurred during their publication, both factors which constituted the basis of this system, gave birth to an array of external motivations to compile town gazetteers. The internal motivations to compile town gazetteer during the Qing, then, differ from those during the Ming in the fact that they were mediated by such external motivations.

However, mediation by external motivations certainly does not mean that the internal motivations for town gazetteer compilation were weak during the Qing. Xu Dayuan, compiler of the *Lili zhi*, of Lili town, Wujiang County, published in the early 19th century; Cai Bingqi, compiler of the *Lili xu zhi* in the late 19th century; the Tong family from Qianmentang township, Jiading County, who from the early 19th century, until the early 20th century, brought the *Qianmentang xiang zhi* to completion; all these people were directly engaged with public works in their local society. Zhou Zhaoqian, who “together with his friends” came into possession of the *Qi shui wen sheng*, and worked on the compilation of the *Qi sheng lei bian*, was deeply concerned with such works. Moreover, since the 18th century, compilation of town gazetteers was quite frequently not by individual writers, but by groups of like-minded colleagues. For instance, the 1732 *Pingwang zhen zhi* does not list the compilers’ names but indicated them with the designation “collectively compiled by local [town] residents.” Such were the background factors of the quantitative increase of town gazetteers. One could even say that the internal motivations to compile Qing Jiangnan town gazetteer were even stronger than those of the previous dynasty. This also reflects the fact that the market-centered local society had established itself to such a degree that we can discern the formation of a particular territory in which it was active. We can also see examples that local residents were themselves aware of such areas.

There are still many studies to be undertaken. Detailed investigations on the *shengyuan-jiansheng* strata resident in the market towns, which were the ones who undertook the town gazetteers, are needed. We need to investigate forms of social integration, economic bases, and public issues within “the local society cen-

tered upon a market town.” These lines of inquiry will require digging deep into the contents of each and every town gazetteer and their related county gazetteers. We also should learn from the recent studies on local Qing society from the late Qing to the early Republican period. Again, the deep chasm between the town gazetteers and the local gazetteers of county-level and higher, which is tied to the distinction between privately-compiled and officially-compiled gazetteers, is a basic problem. It relates to questions of the essential nature of the administration and culture of the dynastic state since Song times. The investigation of the compilation of town gazetteers in Jiangnan from the late Ming through the Qing in this article is but one thread among studies of that period, focusing on local society.

Appendix

As suggested by the spate of publications on maps and place names, recent changes in China in the appellations of administrative areas have been striking. Especially important are the implementation of, first, the district system, whereby Jiading County in Shanghai Municipality became Jiading District; second, the Municipality system, whereby Wuxian (County), resorting to Suzhou Municipality in Jiangsu Province became Wuxian Municipality; and, third, the town system, whereby Jiwang Township in Minhang District, Shanghai Municipality, became Jiwang Town. Hence, my “Kōnan deruta kyōchinshi mokuroku” (“Jiangnan town gazetteer catalog”) needs updating and revision. While writing this article, I established the current equivalent names with the help of Ni Suo'an 倪所安, who worked in the summer of 1999 as the assistant head of the Gazetteer Compilation Committee of Jiading County (now renamed), and Shen Chunrong 沈春榮, head of the Gazetteer Office of Wujiang Municipality, as well as the following publications and maps.

1. Shanghai diming zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海地名志》編纂委員會 ed., Chen Zhenglin 陳征琳, Zou Yilin 鄒逸林, Liu Junde 劉君德 chief eds., *Shanghai diming zhi* 上海地名志 (*Shanghai Place Name Gazetteer*), Shanghai Shehuxueyuan Chubanshe, 1998.
2. Xiang Yuanhong 相遠紅, Zhou Ruixiang 周瑞祥 eds., *Shanghai-shi shiyong dituce* 上海市實用地圖冊 (*Practical Atlas of Shanghai Municipality*), Zhongguo Ditu Chubanshe, 1998.
3. Shanghai-shi Cehuiyuan 上海市測繪院 ed., *Shanghai-shi Jiading-qu shangwu*

- jiaotong tu* 上海市嘉定區商務交通圖 (*Commercial and Transportation Map of Jiading District, Shanghai Municipality*), Zhonghua Dituxueshe, 1998.
4. Shanghai-shi Cehuiyuan ed., *Shanghai-shi Baoshan-qu shangwu jiaotong tu* 上海市寶山區商務交通圖 (*Commercial and Transportation Map of Baoshan District, Shanghai Municipality*), Zhonghua Dituxueshe, 1998.
 5. Zhongguo xiangzhen: Jiangsu juan bianzuan weiyuanhui 《中國鄉鎮·江蘇卷》編纂委員會 ed., Wu Rong 吳鎔 chief ed., *Zhongguo xiangzhen: Jiangsu juan*, 中國鄉鎮·江蘇卷 (*Townships and Towns of China: Jiangsu*) vols. 1-3, Xinhua Chubanshe, 1997.
 6. Dong Xiaomu 冬嘯木 ed., *Jiangsu-sheng shiyong dituce* 江蘇省實用地圖冊 (*Practical Atlas of Jiangsu Province*), Chengdu Ditu Chubanshe, 1998.
 7. Jiangsu-sheng Quanfang Ditu Yingyong Kaifa Zhongxin 江蘇省全方地圖應用開發中心, Wujiang-shi Lüyouju 吳江市旅遊局 joint eds., *Wujiang lüyou jiaotong tu* 吳江旅遊交通圖 (*Tourist Transportation Map of Wujiang*), Fujian-sheng Ditu Chubanshe, 1998.
 8. Zhejiang-sheng Jiansheting 浙江省建設廳, Zhejiang-sheng Cehuiju 浙江省測繪局 eds., *Zhejiang-sheng dituce* 浙江省地圖冊 (*Atlas of Zhejiang Province*), Zhonghua Dituxueshe, 1998.

Glossary

<i>Anting zhi</i>	安亭志	Chen Xi	陳曦
Baoshan	寶山	Cheng Guodong	程國棟
Bi Yuan	畢沅	Chongde	崇德
Cai Bingqi	蔡丙圻	Chu Yuansheng	儲元升
Cai Fangbing	蔡方炳	Dachang	大場
Cao Qi (Shuyuan)	曹呬(菽園)	<i>daxun</i>	大汛
Chaxi	槎谿	Deqing	德清
<i>chang</i>	廠	<i>dongshi</i>	董事
<i>changmian</i>	廠面	<i>Dong-Jin Nanbeichao yudi biao</i>	
Chang Qiao	長橋	東晉南北朝輿地表	
Changshu	常熟	<i>Dong-Xi-Lin hui kao</i> 東西林彙考	
Chang Tang	常棠	<i>du</i>	都
Chenhang	陳行	Du Gang	杜綱
Chen Rong	陳鎔	<i>fafan</i>	發凡
Chen Weizhong	陳惟中	<i>fangsheng</i>	放生

<i>Fangtai zhi</i>	方泰志	<i>Li Tingfang</i>	李廷芳
<i>Fenhu</i>	汾湖	<i>Lili xu zhi</i>	黎里續志
<i>Fenhu xiao shi</i>	分湖小識	<i>Lili zhi</i>	黎里志
<i>Fuyuantang</i>	孚遠堂	<i>Linghu zhen zhi</i>	菱湖鎮志
<i>fu zhi</i>	府志	<i>Liuhan</i>	劉行
<i>Ganshui zhi</i>	澉水志	<i>Liu Shufang</i>	柳樹芳
<i>Gao Zhaizhong</i>	高齋中	<i>Liu yi zhi lin</i>	繆邑志林
<i>Gupu</i>	顧浦	<i>Loutang zhen zhi</i>	婁塘鎮志
<i>Gui'an</i>	歸安	<i>Lujia</i>	陸家
<i>Guozetang</i>	郭澤塘	<i>Lujiabang</i>	菴葭浜
<i>He Qi (Chunzhu)</i>	何琪(春渚)	<i>Luxi zhi</i>	菴溪志
<i>Hongkou</i>	虹口	<i>Luxu</i>	蘆墟
<i>Huo Guocan</i>	胡國搦	<i>Luzhi</i>	甬直
<i>Huangdu zhen zhi</i>	黃渡鎮志	<i>Lüying</i>	綠營
<i>Huangjiayi</i>	黃家溪	<i>Luodian zhen zhi</i>	羅店鎮志
<i>Huangxi</i>	黃溪	<i>Luo Shushao</i>	羅叔韶
<i>Jiawang</i>	紀王	<i>Malu li zhi</i>	馬陸里志
<i>jiwen</i>	紀聞	<i>Minhang</i>	閔行
<i>Jiading</i>	嘉定	<i>Mengxuetang</i>	蒙學堂
<i>Jiahe</i>	嘉禾	<i>muyou</i>	幕友
<i>Jiashan</i>	嘉善	<i>Nanxiang zhen zhi</i>	南翔鎮志
<i>Jiangdong</i>	江東	<i>Ni Ci</i>	倪賜
<i>Jiangwan li zhi</i>	江灣里志	<i>Pan Lüxiang</i>	潘履祥
<i>Jinshan</i>	金山	<i>pingtan</i>	評彈
<i>Jin Wenchuan (Mengxiang)</i>	金問川(夢祥)	<i>Pingwang zhen zhi</i>	平望鎮志
<i>Juqu</i>	具區	<i>Puyuan</i>	濮院
<i>juanna</i>	捐納	<i>Pu zhen ji wen</i>	濮鎮紀聞
<i>jun yi zhi</i>	郡邑志	<i>Qi li jing wu lue</i>	棲里景物略
<i>Kunshan</i>	崑山	<i>Qi li tu shuo</i>	棲里圖說
<i>Kunshan Xinyang he zhi</i>	崑山新陽合志	<i>Qi sheng lei bian</i>	棲乘類編
<i>li han</i>	里閘	<i>Qi shui wen sheng</i>	棲水文乘
<i>li ren gong ji</i>	里人公輯	<i>Qian Daxin</i>	錢大昕
<i>li shi</i>	例仕	<i>Qianmentang shi ji</i>	錢門塘市記
<i>li xiang</i>	里巷	<i>Qianmentang xiang zhi</i>	錢門塘鄉志
<i>li zhong zhi gong wu</i>	里中之公務	<i>Qian Qinghe</i>	錢卿鉢
		<i>Qian Yinshang</i>	錢殷尚

Qin Fuzhi	秦輔之	Tongren	童仁
Qin Rongguang	秦榮光	Tongshan	童善
Qin Xitian	秦錫田	Tong Shigao (Lingcang)	童世高(凌蒼)
Qingpu	青浦		
Qu Zhongrong	瞿中溶	Tong Shiliang (Jitong)	童世亮(季通)
Ranziwei	染字圩		
Renhe xian zhi	仁和縣志	Tongxiang	桐鄉
shantang	善堂	Tong Yiqian shui zai ji lue	童以謙水災紀略
Shen Guangjin	沈光錦		
Shen Tong	沈彤	tong zhi	通志
Shen Zaocai	沈藻采	tu	圖
sheng zhi	省志	Waigang	外岡
Sheng Dayong	盛大鏞	Wang Bangrui	王邦瑞
Shengze	盛澤	Wang Fanyi	王范翼
Shi Baochen	時寶臣	Wang Hui	王晦
Shigang	石崗	Wang Mingsheng	王鳴盛
Shigang Guangfu he zhi	石岡廣福合志	Wang Shifan	王室蕃
		Wang Yuanlie	王元烈
Shigui	石龜	Wangxianqiao xiang zhi gao	望仙橋鄉志稿
Shuangfeng li zhi	雙鳳里志		
Shuanglin	雙林	Wangxin	望新
si jing	四境	Wang Yong'an	王永安
si xiang	四鄉	Wang Quan	王荃
Songjiang	松江	Weiting	唯亭
Songling	松陵	Wucheng	烏程
Songnan zhi	淞南志	Wujiang	吳江
Taicang	太倉	Wujiangxian xu zhi	吳江縣續志
Tan Tiancheng	譚天成	Wu Jingshan	吳靜山
Tangqi zhi	唐棲志	Wujun Fuli zhi	吳郡甫里志
Tangqi zhi lue gao	唐棲志略稿	Wulin zhanggu congbian	武林掌故叢編
Tangshi zhi	唐市志		
Tao Ran	陶然	Wuqing zhen zhi	烏青鎮志
Tao Xu (Zichun)	陶煦(子春)	Wuzhen	烏鎮
Tiansui	天隨	xi zi	惜字
Tongli	同里	xian zhi	縣志
Tongrentang	同仁堂	xiang cheng	鄉城
Tongshantang	同善堂	xiang dong	鄉董

<i>xiang xiansheng</i>	鄉先生	<i>yousi</i>	有司
<i>xiang yi yuan</i>	鄉議員	<i>Yuhang</i>	餘杭
<i>xiang zuo</i>	鄉佐	<i>Yuanhe Weiting zhi</i>	元和唯亭志
<i>xiaoxun</i>	小汛	<i>Yuan Shikai</i>	袁世凱
<i>xiao zhang</i>	校長	<i>Zhang Mingzou</i>	張鳴騶
<i>Xiao Yuhui</i>	蕭魚會	<i>Zhang Qitai</i>	張啓泰
<i>Xinshi zhen zhi</i>	新市鎮志	<i>Zhang Yuanhao</i>	張元灝
<i>Xinyi zhi</i>	信義志	<i>Zhang Zhinai (Ban'an)</i>	張之鼐(半庵)
<i>Xiushui</i>	秀水		
<i>Xu Baoshu</i>	徐寶澍	<i>Zhao Fuyang (Weishi)</i>	趙甫陽(魏史)
<i>Xu Dayuan (Shanmin, Wuji)</i>	徐達源(山民、無際)		
		<i>Zhao Han</i>	趙翰
<i>Xuhangpu</i>	徐行浦	<i>Zhao You</i>	趙佑
<i>Xu Waigang zhi</i>	續外岡志	<i>zhen dong</i>	鎮董
<i>Xu Wangxianqiao xiang zhi gao</i>	續望仙橋鄉志稿	<i>Zhenze</i>	震澤
		<i>Zhengyi</i>	正儀
<i>Xu Wenfan</i>	徐文範	<i>Zhongshantang</i>	衆善堂
<i>Xu Yejun</i>	徐野君	<i>Zhou Wenlan</i>	周文瀾
<i>Xu Zhao</i>	許朝	<i>Zhou Zhaoqian</i>	周兆謙
<i>xue dong</i>	學董	<i>Zhouzhuang zhen zhi</i>	周莊鎮志
<i>xunfu</i>	巡撫		
<i>xunjiansi</i>	巡檢司	<i>Zhudi</i>	諸翟
<i>Yang Dazhang</i>	楊大璋	<i>Zhujiajiao</i>	朱家角
<i>Yang Hengfu</i>	楊恒福	<i>Zhu Jian</i>	朱珩
<i>Yang Gui</i>	楊圭	<i>Zhujiing zhi</i>	朱涇志
<i>Yang Xian</i>	楊峴	<i>Zhu Shiqi</i>	諸世器
<i>Yimin</i>	逸民	<i>Zidi cun zhi</i>	紫隄村志
<i>yi tong zhi</i>	一統志	<i>zongcai</i>	總裁
<i>Yixing</i>	宜興	<i>Zuhe</i>	租覈
<i>yixu</i>	議敘	<i>zupu</i>	族譜

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1. The responsibility for the selection of articles rests with the Planning Commission. While taking into consideration the opinions of the members of the Board of Trustees, the Editorial Board, and the Translation Committee, the final decision is made by the Planning Commission.
2. After the selection has been decided upon, and after obtaining the permission of the writer, the translation work is undertaken. While basically the form of the original publication will be closely respected, the writer will provide additional notes helpful for the comprehension of current scholarly trends, such as further publications subsequent to the publication of the original article, or explanations regarding the history of relevant research questions in Japan.
3. The translator is chosen mainly by the Translation Committee. Its current members are:

Joshua Fogel (Professor, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara)

Martin Heijdra (Chinese Bibliographer, East Asian Library, Princeton University)

David Robinson (Associate Professor, Department of History, Colgate University)
4. The members of the Editorial Board are the liaisons and regulators between the writer and the translator.
5. The translated article is to be published in the final issue each year.

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