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# The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou

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WHY did Chinese literati begin to write local history? And what does this tell us about Chinese history? For historians the “local history” in a Chinese context refers in the first place to the “local gazetteer,” a rather standardized compendium of information about an administrative unit: the prefecture, county, canton or town. The gazetteer is a record of those the central government appointed to administer the area, as prefectural administrators and county magistrates, for example, and the buildings that were part of their infrastructure, such as offices, warehouses, postal stations, and schools. It is also a record of the natural and constructed landscape, its rivers and mountains, reservoirs and bridges, and of the local population in the villages and cantons, their shrines and academies, students and degree holders, and men and women who became famous at home and abroad. In one of the stock phrases used in prefaces to local gazetteers the gazetteer (*zhi* 志) is to the locality as the history (*shi* 史) is to the nation.<sup>1</sup>

The gazetteer was not the only format in which local history was written, but because it became ubiquitous we can use it to address the question of when local history began. The standard union catalogue of local gazetteers lists about 8000 extant editions from before

<sup>1</sup> *Wuyi xianzhi* (1520 ed.), Pan Fu preface.

1949. The catalogue gives the impression that the local gazetteer became widespread in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The sixteenth century was a period of extraordinary expansion in domestic and international trade and, given that the decision to compose a gazetteer was a local decision rather than a central mandate in this period, the publication of gazetteers probably can be related to greater local wealth. The prefecture which will be central to this story, Wu prefecture (Wuzhou 婺州, known as Jinhua Prefecture 金華府 in the Ming) and seven of its counties,<sup>3</sup> conforms to the general trend. The Wuzhou gazetteers available today do indeed begin in the sixteenth century, with the one exception of a prefectural gazetteer from 1480,<sup>4</sup> and have continued down to the very present—a new set was published in the 1990s.

However, the prefaces to the sixteenth century editions of gazetteers for southern China claim derivation from earlier editions, and many editions include earlier prefaces. This allows us to trace the rise of local gazetteers back to Song and Yuan periods. In fact by 1368, when the Mongols' Yuan dynasty fell, about 2000 various kinds of local records had been written for all of China, of which 99 percent have been lost.<sup>5</sup> Wuzhou conforms to this picture as well. Table 1 shows the derivation of later editions from earlier ones (a question mark signifies a lack of information about the sources for the work below the question mark). My goal is to identify the sources for extant gazetteers; I have thus ignored works that did not figure in the compilation of later gazetteers. Extant works are in roman type, the lost works are in italic type.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Zhuang Weifeng, et al., *Zhongguo difangzhi lianhe mulu* 中國方志聯合目錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), the most complete union catalogue, includes Taiwan; it lists 8200 editions and locations.

<sup>3</sup> I ignore Tangxixian 湯溪縣, founded in 1472 by division from Lanxixian. The 1604 edition of the gazetteer is extant; it draws on the lost 1474 edition; however it begins from 1472, merely reproducing existing sources for earlier matters. See *Tangxixian zhi* 1931, *juan* 20, for a history of Tangxi gazetteers.

<sup>4</sup> *Jinhua fuzhi* (1480 ed. Harvard University, microfilm of the Shanghai Library copy).

<sup>5</sup> For approximately 2000 geographies, descriptions of places, and gazetteers through the Yuan dynasty, see Zhang Guogan 張國淦, *Zhongguo gu fangzhi kao* 中國古方志考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962).

<sup>6</sup> In addition to Zhang Guogan, *Zhongguo gu fangzhi kao* I have also consulted Dow's study of Jiangsu and Zhejiang gazetteers, the most comprehensive list of all known Zhejiang gazetteers, lost and extant, in all libraries. See Francis D. M. Dow, *A Study of Chiang-su and*

Table 1  
Filiation of Gazetteers for Wuzhou/JinhuaFu and Its Seven Xian

Wuzhou JinhuaFu 金華府志 extant	lost	Jinhua Xian 金華縣志 extant	lost	Lanxi Xian 蘭溪縣志 extant	lost	Dongyang Xian 東陽縣志 extant	lost	Yongkang Xian 永康縣志 extant	lost	Yiwu Xian 義烏縣志 extant	lost	Wuyi Xian 武義縣志 extant	lost	Pujiang Xian 浦江縣志 extant	lost
	1154									1078-85					
						?		1201-04							
						1254		1265-74		1265-74				1265-74	
	1335					1323		1314-20		1353					
										1445				1409	
1480						1483		1465-87				1520			
			1510, r1614												
			1540					1522				1524		1526	
1578						1572				1572					
		1598						1581		1596, r1640		1590		1590	
												1609		1610	
														1618	
		1655										1646 1654		1637	
1683		1683	1672	1672	1681	1672	1672	1672	1673	1673	(1683)	1673	1673	1673	
		1695						1698		1692		1698			
		1823	1800	1800	1832	1837	1837	1837	1804	1799		1804		1779	
		1894	1888			1892	1892	1892						1896	
		1915								1929 rpt.					
1992		1992	1988	1988	1993	1982 1991	1982 1991	1982 1991	1990	1987		1990		1990	

With one exception the local gazetteers in Wuzhou begin during the Southern Song period (1127–1279). Of particular importance is the fact that local writers did not think they had a local record antedating the Song period.<sup>7</sup> Later, Yuan and Ming editors would make a conscious decision to ensure that this would be a continuous, cumulative record and a complete record in terms of administrative geography. Some earlier information was dropped, but much of it was kept.<sup>8</sup>

Later gazetteers are a rich source for the study of Song and Yuan local history. But the larger point I wish to make is that if we wish to account for the rise of local history we must go back to the Song period. I propose to ask why certain kinds of people were interested in local history by looking at writings from Wuzhou in the context of a particular kind of social transformation.

Respectively using local case studies and surveys of incumbents in high office, Robert Hymes and the late Robert Hartwell have demonstrated that between the Northern Song period (960–1126) and the Southern Song period (1127–1279) elite families shifted from a national to a local orientation as they sought for ways to defend the privileged position of their families in society. Beverly Bossler, combining studies of Song chief councilor families and the Wuzhou local elite, has shown that a localist strategy became popular because being “local” had value for those who aspired to greater, even national, prominence. She notes too that a historiographical shift accom-

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*Ch'e-chiang Gazetteers of the Ming Dynasty*, Monographs on Far Eastern History 3 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1969). I have also referred to Hung Huanchun 洪煥椿 *Zhejiang fangzhi kao* 浙江方志考 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1984). I have tried here to establish which works figured in the history of a county's gazetteers and thus make no mention of works which are said have existed but that were not used by later compilers. I would contrast this attempt to define relationships between known works and to determine which of them contributed to the cumulative history of local knowledge with the efforts by Zhang and other bibliographers to list all works that may have existed.

<sup>7</sup> There was a one chapter record of the region that included Wuzhou from the fifth or sixth century, the *Dongyang ji* 東陽記, which was already lost by Southern Song.

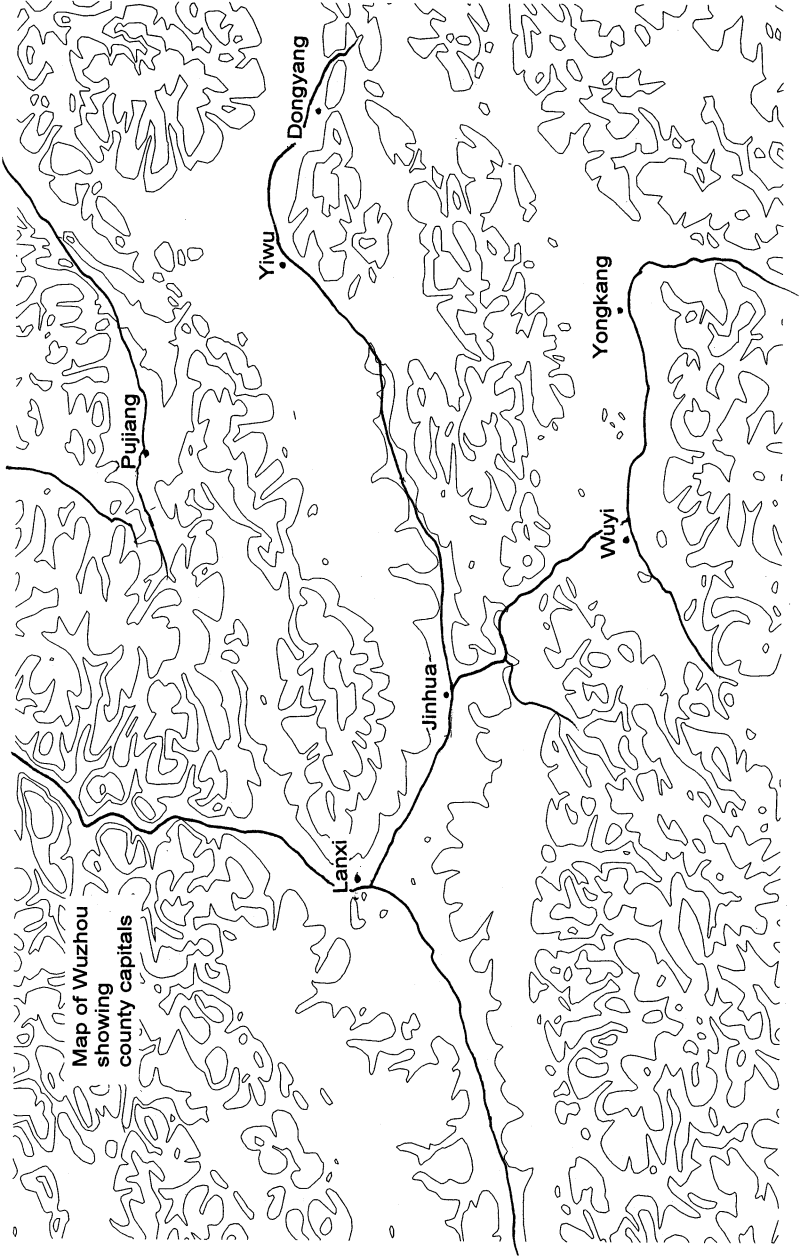
<sup>8</sup> It follows that when earlier editions are known to have existed, we should expect more complete information for that earlier period. Thus we would expect Yiwu to have more complete records of Song local officials than other counties. This is in fact the case: name lists of county officials in the Yiwu gazetteer of 1596 (reprint of 1640) go back to the mid-eleventh century and are more complete than those of any other county, often providing dates of service.

panied this development. That is, the Southern Song sources provide us with a relatively more extensive account of locally elite families (more sources are preserved, some of the authors are men whose careers are embedded in local society, the dynastic territory is limited to the south) and thus we can know more than before about their local ties.<sup>9</sup>

In Wuzhou, and I think this extends to many other places in southern China, there is evidence for two social transformations taking place simultaneously during the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries. First, the inability of bureaucratic families to maintain their progeny in government induced those families who already owned land and had kin in a particular place to (re)strengthen those ties. Second, by successfully promoting the building and adequate funding of county and prefectural schools beginning in the 1070s, the government encouraged well-to-do families of the locale to identify themselves as *shi* 士 (literati), the traditional term for the national cultural and political elite, through their participation in the educational system. The combination of the families of officials striving to secure their place as leading local families and leading local families converting themselves to literati families helps explain why in Wuzhou and many prefectures in south China there was a rather sudden and marked increase in types of writing that commemorate members of elite families. But there was also a demonstrable increase in a variety of writings that remembered what was conceived of as the “local” rather than the “national.” This signaled a larger project than writing to commemorate successful family members and their kin.

Wuzhou was not located in the most prosperous region of eastern Zhejiang, which was further to the north around the great commercial city of Hangzhou. The prefecture itself was divided by mountain ranges, with rivers running through broad valleys and connecting all but one of its county seats. By river the prefectural seat was about 120 miles south from Hangzhou, and when

<sup>9</sup> Beverly Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960–1279)* (Cambridge: Harvard University, Council on East Asian Studies, 1998); Robert Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750–1550,” *HJAS* 42.2 (1982): 365–442; Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).



Map of Wuzhou  
showing  
county capitals

Map

Hangzhou became the capital in 1129 Wuzhou was no longer as much of a hinterland as it had been (see Map).

Its population grew as in Table 2.<sup>10</sup>

Table 2

		Registered Households	Population
Song	1008-16	134,985	679,562*
	1131-62	154,339	776,997*
Yuan	1290	216,228	1,088,569

The wealth that went into education and literati cultural life increased as well. Toward the end of the twelfth century, in addition to the country and prefectural schools, there were private schools training students for the examinations and private academies functioning as intellectual centers in most counties. The reputation of the place was helped immeasurably in mid-twelfth century by Lü Zuqian, a scion of one of the most illustrious northern refugee families. A man of great erudition, Lü had passed the highest special examination, shown himself to be a master of historical and literary scholarship, and allied himself with the most influential moral thinkers of the day, Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi. He also had social connections—his eleventh-century ancestors had thrice provided chief councilors—and in Wuzhou gathered around him the sons of well-to-do families, promising to train them for the examinations and to introduce them to the new Neo-Confucian moral philosophy. The somewhat eclectic but erudite mix of historical, literary, and moral learning was not unique to Lü, and this characteristic of the Wuzhou intellectual style is apparent in the works considered below.

From the twelfth into the fourteenth century Wuzhou literati became increasingly devoted to documenting, recording, commemorating things local. Their writings were extensive and diverse; their purposes varied. Some dealt with local matters retrospectively, others recorded present affairs as a record for the future; some did both. This work became a cumulative tradition and it is this body of literature that provides the material to propose an explanation for the nature of local history, its increasing popularity among the literati,

<sup>10</sup> *Jinhua fuzhi* (1578 ed.), 5.9a-13b (\*population totals for 1108-16 and 1131-62 are estimated).



and its endurance. My examples are three kinds of overlapping works, none of which was unique to Wuzhou: the local gazetteer, the cultural geography, and the anthology of local biography and literature.

#### THE GAZETTEER

The “local gazetteer” (the prefectural or county *zhi* 志) was a new form of local record, one so successful that earlier forms of local record disappeared. We can date its emergence as the pre-eminent form with some accuracy. Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–62), who devoted monographs to geography and cities in his encyclopedic *Comprehensive Treatise* (*Tongzhi* 通志), did not notice it when collecting sources, but by the mid thirteenth century the bibliographer Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 was listing gazetteers instead of “map guides.” Aoyama Sadao, the first to do a comprehensive study of Song gazetteers, counted 343 works (of which only 27 are extant) in contemporary bibliographies.<sup>11</sup> The gazetteer as a “treatise on a place” (*fangzhi* 方志) replaced the older “map guide” (*tujing* 圖經). The map guide was an administrative text, different from the literary “record” (*ji* 記) a passing gentleman or retired official might compose to recall a place and its marvels. As James Hargett has noted in his study of the Song gazetteer, the map guide was generally the product of infrequent central government orders to local governments to prepare or revise their map guides according to standard categories and send them to the capital, where they could be used in compiling national geographies. A collection of such map guides from 1010 was 1566 chapters long, at a time when there were approximately 1200 counties and 300 prefectures.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄, “Tō Sō chihōshi mokuroku oyobi shiryō kōshō” 唐宋地方誌目録及び資料考證, *Yokohama shiritsu daigaku kiyō* 横濱市立大學紀要 92 (1958). Many more titles could be added by including references to Song work in prefaces in later editions. Others have counted as many as 383 *zhi*, 176 *tujing*, and 22 *tuzhi*. For references see Lai Xinxia 來新夏, *Zhongguo difangzhi*, 中國地方志 (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1995), p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> James M. Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and their Place in the History of *Difangzhi* Writing,” *HJAS* 56.2 (1996): 405–442. Also Aoyama, *Tō Sō jidai no kōtsū to chihō shizu no kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地方志圖の研究 (Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1963), pp. 465–72. The map guides of 1010 were to record distances between administrative seats, taxes, population, local products, local customs, historic sites, and borders. A call for circuit and

But were the gazetteers that became so popular in the latter half of the twelfth century actually different? At first glance the content of the local gazetteers seems quite continuous with the map guide tradition. There are even a few cases where the two names are brought together in the form of “map treatise” (*tuzhi*). Ikeda On’s study of the remaining two of a five chapter Dunhuang map guide manuscript, largely from the late seventh century with later additions, shows that it had many of the same categories that would be found in Song gazetteers.<sup>13</sup> Aoyama identified the following categories as common to the majority of works:

<i>yange</i>	沿革	changes in administrative units
<i>sizhi</i>	四至	distances to the surrounding administrative capitals
<i>jiangyu</i>	疆域	the borders
<i>chengguo</i>	城郭	the walls of administrative seats
<i>xiangcun</i>	鄉村	cantons and villages in the county
<i>hanchuan</i>	山川	mountains and rivers
<i>hukou</i>	戶口	population
<i>fangshi</i>	坊市	urban quarters
<i>qiaoliang</i>	橋梁	bridges
<i>jindu</i>	浸度	fords
<i>yanzha</i>	堰閘	the water conservancy system
<i>puyi</i>	鋪驛	postal stations
<i>tuchan</i>	土產	local products
<i>xuexiao</i>	學校	schools
<i>fengsu</i>	風俗	customs

There were variations: some gazetteers also included chapters on government offices, storehouses, taxes, monopoly revenues, military installations, local officials, and degree holders. Others had sections on religious and cultural matters: historical figures, Buddhist clerics and Daoist immortals, monuments, shrines, temples and monasteries, and steles. About half of the works had maps and sections intended to gather stray bits of information. Only about half

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prefectural maps in 1088 required information on administrative seats, population, tax, walls, natural geography, and local officials. The two extant official national geographies are Yue Shi’s 樂史 *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 in 200 *juan* from about 980 and Wang Cun’s 王存 very summary *Yuanfeng jiuyuzhi* 元豐九域志 in 10 *juan* from 1080. A Tang example is extant, Li Jifu’s 李吉甫 *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志.

<sup>13</sup> Ikeda On 池田温, “Shashū zukyō ryakkō” 沙州圖經略考, in *Enoki hakase kanreki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* 榎博士還曆記念東陽史論叢 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1975), pp. 33-101.

had sections devoted to water and land routes, to selections from literary works, to gifts of imperial calligraphy, to examination halls, to local portents, or to collections of anecdotes. Land maps were cruder than maps of walls and officials buildings. Song gazetteers rarely listed the leading families or strategic points for attack and defense, information common in Tang, and only a few included entries on book collectors, charitable fields, medicine-dispensing offices, and service personnel. Zhejiang produced more gazetteers than other areas. There is little evidence to suggest that many were done in the north after the Jurchen conquest in 1126.<sup>14</sup> All this suggests that the Song gazetteer was, like the map guide, a local administrator's handbook and reference work for the central government; in short, it was an owner's manual.

This would seem to fit well with the New Policies attempt to "unify morality and customs" and better regulate local society from the 1070s to the 1120s. Indeed the New Policies regime sent commissioners out to investigate local conditions and prepared a new national geography. Certainly the gazetteer as tool of state was a possibility, as the author of the preface to the Dongyang county gazetteer of 1322 noted when he placed the work in the tradition of historical geography, both as a local record for the writing of national history and as part of the local project of unifying culture and standardizing practices.<sup>15</sup> Modern observers can find in them evidence of both the continued intellectual hegemony of a statist perspective and the resistance of local elites to state demands.<sup>16</sup>

Yet the gazetteer was different from the map guide, which truly was an administrator's record. In the first place gazetteers were produced at local initiative, *not* at central command. Secondly, they were much longer (works of ten, twenty, or even fifty chapters replaced map guides that had been only one to four chapters long) and thus more expensive to prepare. They were expected to have a larger audience, for they were almost always printed. Typically the

<sup>14</sup> Aoyama *Tō Sō jidai no kōtsū*, pp. 497–504. I suggest that the lack of Jin gazetteers stemmed from the fact that Jin literati depended on capital connections and were not locally focused.

<sup>15</sup> Du Rongzu's preface from 1322 is in the *Dongyang xianzhi* (1681 edition).

<sup>16</sup> Timothy Brook, in "Native Identity under Alien Rule, Local Gazetteers of the Yuan Dynasty," in *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200–1330*, ed. Richard Britnell (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1997) makes this argument with reference to the compilation of gazetteers under the Mongols. This could apply equally well to the Southern Song.

compilation of a gazetteer involved scholars, who sometimes argued that compiling such a work was a form of responsible scholarship.<sup>17</sup> Just how elaborate the compilation of a gazetteer could become is evident from such extant works as the Jiankang 建康 (modern Nanjing) gazetteer of 1261, done at the behest of the prefect Ma Guangzu 馬光祖 (a native of Wuzhou) but compiled by a scholarly office directed by Zhou Yinghe 周應合, who had already compiled a gazetteer for another prefecture. Zhou left a full account of the procedures he followed in Jiankang.<sup>18</sup>

Many Song gazetteers were credited to a local official, but the bibliographers at the time also noted cases where local literati were either asked to produce the work or did so at their own initiative.<sup>19</sup> Much of the contents must have required some cooperation from local government, but there was a growing body of private sources of information such as the literary collections of local men and the ubiquitous steles and inscriptions that commemorated public and private building projects. Some compilers did argue that the purpose of gazetteers was to supply knowledge of the locality to local officials, who came from outside. Gazetteers did do this, if officials were interested.<sup>20</sup> However, the century-long gaps between editions and the occasional comment announcing that the gazetteer was lost (usually a loss that was only discovered when the rare official asked for a copy) suggest that few officials were interested in reading gazetteers and that there was little official impetus to keep them up to date.

Aoyama Sadao sees the gazetteer as a product of more widespread intellectual change. The Song gazetteer, he argues, brings a more rational spirit to bear on the local scene. Now freed from both Buddhism and the pedantry of Confucian classical exegesis, literati turned toward the historical; they took a more critical attitude toward the “tales of the strange” that had been intrinsic to stories about the “local” in the past; they developed critical standards for the use of multiple sources, and this in turn allowed them to include

<sup>17</sup> Aoyama, *Tō Sō jidai no kōsū*, pp. 472–84.

<sup>18</sup> *Jingding Jiankangzhi* 景定建康志, forematter 13b–20b.

<sup>19</sup> See the notes on gazetteers from Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題, as included in Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao jingjika* 文獻通考經籍考, juan 31–32.

<sup>20</sup> Aoyama, *Tō Sō jidai no kōsū*, pp. 485–88.

a broader range of materials.<sup>21</sup> To varying extents gazetteers did reflect the intellectual culture of their times and in Song some scholars were thinking about critical standards and sources, although the categories common to map guides and gazetteers allowed for the collection of information *sans* critical evaluation. Aoyama adds another possibility: the literati interest in antiquities led them to take an interest in local records in order to seek out ancient sites and monuments.<sup>22</sup> This too has some grounds, for some gazetteers included detailed information on ancient sites, steles, and monasteries and, as we shall see in the discussion of Wang Xiangzhi's cultural geography in the next section, literati read gazetteers and map guides to learn about them.<sup>23</sup> James Hargett notes more general phenomena such as urbanization and printing and, appropriately for the map guide, the political goal of integrating the local into the national. He grants the localist turn among the elite as a social context but his implicit explanation is intellectual: Song literati were interested in the systematization of new knowledge, historical scholarship of all sorts, and there was a great increase in biographical writing. The local gazetteer was a ready vehicle for these interests.

The gazetteer could do many things—as an approach to collecting and representing information about past and present human affairs of a specific place within the nation and heaven-and-earth it cannot be reduced to one element. It included many different kinds of information, presented separately in most cases, and drew on diverse genres of documents from lists of local officials to inscriptions on local buildings. The citation of documentary evidence and a chronological arrangement were constant. Writers and readers of the time could see various things in the gazetteer, because the gazetteer offered various things, few of which were truly new.

Why did those compilers and readers in Wuzhou think their gazetteers mattered? The history of Wuzhou gazetteers begins in the mid-twelfth century with the compilation of the first prefectur-

<sup>21</sup> Aoyama, *Tō Sō jidai no kōtsū*, pp. 488–89.

<sup>22</sup> Aoyama, *Tō Sō jidai no kōtsū*, p. 490.

<sup>23</sup> In this light an interest in local gazetteers (and geography generally) fits well with the rise in popularity of the literati miscellany. On the latter see Peter Bol, “A Literati Miscellany and Sung Intellectual History: The Case of Chang Lei's *Ming-tao tsa-chih*,” *Journal of Sung Yuan Studies* 25 (1995): 121–52.

al gazetteer. Hong Zun 洪尊 (1120–1174) had passed the highly selective “Broad Learning and Literary Mastery” (*boxue hongci*) decree examination in 1144. When this writer of bibliographic and historical studies came to Wuzhou as vice-prefect in 1154, he made the compilation of a gazetteer a matter of intellectual responsibility: “the learning of geography,” he wrote, was necessary in order to keep track of the administrative changes that had taken place over the last nine centuries. However, he continued, once he found the free time to look at the local guides (*fangjing* 方經) they were “in disorder” and practically useless. Hong thus set about (as a good local official should) to bring about “order.” He asked the seven counties to provide him with information on their local customs, local products, population figures, the amounts of grain and silk [in their tax quotas], the reasons for the names of the mountains and rivers, the origins of their temples and monasteries, and the government offices, postal stations, and bridges. To this he added whatever he could glean from histories and any anecdotal sources.<sup>24</sup> For Hong the gazetteer was a scholarly enterprise, not a tool for bureaucratic administration. He included information relevant to the governing of Wuzhou, but he was producing a book for remembering the past and understanding when and how things in the present came to be known as they were. It is not the landscape that interests him but the history of the human naming of the landscape. He is ordering the past on behalf of the future, much like the dynasty had compiled giant compendia to summarize and categorize the record at its beginning; Hong dedicates the book to “the gentlemen of later times” to whom he has given memory of the past.

Yet in the course of the Yuan dynasty those “gentlemen of later times” in Wuzhou were not grateful. They criticized Hong, an outsider, for paying too little attention to local worthies and too much attention to tales of marvelous and strange events that had taken place in Wuzhou.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, there is nothing in Hong’s preface to suggest that he was concerned with matters local literati particularly cared about: local schools, examination degrees, and biographies. This changed when, in 1335, the prefectural official Zhan Si 瞻思

<sup>24</sup> Hong Zun’s preface is included in the *Jinhua fuzhi* (1683 ed.).

<sup>25</sup> Wu Shidao, *Jingxianglu* (Xu Jinhua congshu ed.)

added six chapters to update Hong's original ten. He reprinted the original work, which the local clerks had at first declared lost, suggesting again that the gazetteer was of little value to those most concerned with practical administration. Zhan said that his primary goal was intellectual: to maintain a written tradition and to add to it was itself a value, a sentiment that distinguished Zhan from many of the Chinese, Mongolian, and Central Asian officials who served in Wuzhou during the Yuan. But a local man, Zhao Shao 趙紹, had written up the materials for Zhan and Zhao had given particular attention to biographies, that men in the present might know the words and deeds of past men.<sup>26</sup>

When the new twenty chapter edition of 1480 was prepared, the local government had once again lost its copy. Now the prefectural gazetteer was justified in yet more ways. In addition to being a manifestation of the prefect's desire to put in order what was disordered, to remember the past, and to continue tradition it was also said to be part of a program for educating and improving the local people. This was to be done by teaching them about the past achievements of their own local literati. The Way is the means to correct men's minds and behavior and the Way is thus the true basis for governing, and so readers were told to attend to the Song and Yuan Neo-Confucian teachers of Wuzhou. To see that literature is to convey the Way readers were directed to the literary intellectuals of the Yuan and early Ming. The editors now arranged the biographies by category. They began with men known for Neo-Confucianism (*Daoxue*), then took up paragons of filial piety, loyalty, governance, Ru conduct, bravery, integrity, etc. and finally women of great virtue. They included as well an anthology of local literary compositions.<sup>27</sup> Beginning in the late fifteenth century there was a resurgence of interest in Daoxue Neo-Confucianism in Wuzhou, among both the local officials and the leading local literati; the gazetteer foregrounded their view of culture and government.

But a century later, in 1578, the prefectural editors returned to a chronological arrangement of biographies. Remarkable now was their claim to a certain objectivity and professionalism against what

<sup>26</sup> Zhan Si's preface is included in the *Jinhua fuzhi* (1683 ed.).

<sup>27</sup> The preface to the 1480 edition, by the Minister of Personnel and triple optimus Shang Lu 商輅 (1414–86) is found in the 1578 and 1683 edition of the *Jinhua fuzhi*.

they saw as the didacticism, self-promotion, and sloppiness of the previous editions. With the permission of the provincial officials, they set up a local office staffed by a local scholar and a retired official who oversaw ten local students. They in turn consulted with the literati community through the schools and asked for their assessment of figures and literary selections, leaving out those of recent times on whom there was not yet a "final judgment," and they drew on local literary anthologies and biographical collections to supplement past records. The 1578 edition includes a discussion of editorial principles, which bluntly disavows the manipulation of information for didactic purposes: the editors dropped the biographical categories of the past in favor of a chronological arrangement and invited readers to judge the achievements of past men for themselves; they would record bad local customs as well as the good. Compared to the 1480 edition the thirty chapter edition 1578 is better researched and more informative: the list of local *jinshi* degree recipients, for example, was increased from 450 to 673, by 50 percent.

The 1578 edition said it was representing Wuzhou as it actually was; in fact it was attempting fairly to represent the Wuzhou literati community and its interests. In a move against the clergy the editors note that they have only included those local cults whose deity had been officially recognized (and in consequence they drop several hundred temples and monasteries included in the 1480 edition), but protesting against the demands of the state they also have included the old tax quota in hopes that in the future the injustices of the new tax system would be corrected.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the differences between editions, the history of the Wuzhou prefectural gazetteer is a history of the increasing importance of the literati as the local elite and their place in history. But what happens over the centuries in the prefectural gazetteer had already happened in the county gazetteers of Wuzhou. From the start county gazetteers appear to have been the work of local literati. When You Yu 尤燿 (1192–1272), whose father had been the magistrate of Dongyang 1196, was asked to write the preface to its gazetteer in

<sup>28</sup> The preface to the 1578 edition is found in the 1681 edition of the *Jinhua fuzhi*; the editorial principles are in both.



1254, he wrote a brief account of the transformation of Dongyang's powerful families into literati families and their rise to political prominence in the thirteenth century. In this case the gazetteer was itself from the hand of a local literatus and, from You's perspective, it was noteworthy as a record of Dongyang literati life, with biographies and description of the things literati appreciated, thus evoking memories of his childhood there.<sup>29</sup> The 1322 continuation of the Dongyang gazetteer was a collaborative effort led by the local retired official Du Rongzu 杜榮祖, who himself gave credit to the vice-magistrate.<sup>30</sup> Similarly the Yiwu gazetteer as it was revised in the mid-thirteenth century was the work of a local literatus, Huang Yinghe 黃應猷, the great-grandfather of the famous writer Huang Jin 黃潛, who would later direct two students in preparing the 1353 edition. Huang also credited a local official, the *darughaci* Irinjin 亦憐眞, who the local literati of Yiwu celebrated as the first administrator since the conquest to take an interest in the place and its people.<sup>31</sup>

The Wuzhou gazetteers support two conclusions. The first has to do with how a gazetteer creates a definition of place out of its categories. In a sense it is merely a listing of information; in only one case, magistrate Zheng Jun's 鄭準 preface to the 1572 Dongyang gazetteer, do we see a rather weak attempt to show that the received categories constituted a necessary, integrated, and meaningful framework.<sup>32</sup> A gazetteer traced the histories of many subjects, going to the earliest beginning and following changes over time. It gave the administrative boundaries of the place over time—something that the changes in dynasties could make extremely confusing—and

<sup>29</sup> You Yu's preface is in *Dongyang xianzhi* (1681 edition). Although the standard biographical reference gives Yu as the son of Pei, the gazetteer gives You Gai as the magistrate of 1196. You Yu takes up a local explanation for Dongyang's rise—a flood that changed the geomancy of the county—and (I think) implies that such a flood with such an effect would have been a response to his father's good work.

<sup>30</sup> For Du's preface see the *Dongyang xianzhi* (1681 edition). The vice-magistrate inquired after and recovered the "lost" edition of 1254. Du's authorship is mentioned in his biography, see *Dongyang xianzhi* (1833 edition) 18.21a. The other scholars involved in the project are noted in *Dongyang xianzhi* (1833 edition) 18.21a, biography of Hu Huo. They were Hu Huo 胡惑, Chen Ji 陳及, Wang Kui 王奎, and Jiang Yuan 蔣元.

<sup>31</sup> For Huang's preface see the *Dongyang xianzhi* (1681 edition). For an account of Irinjin's administration see the commemorative stele written by one of the students who worked on the gazetteer, Wang Wei 王禕, *Wang zhongwen ji* 王忠文集 (Siku quanshu) 16.11a–14b.

<sup>32</sup> For Zheng's preface see the *Dongyang xianzhi* (1681 edition).

the incumbents in local office. It traced the configuration of the natural (mountains and rivers) and the history and location of the man-made (roads, postal stations, bridges). It mentioned those who had achievements in political and community life, gave biographies of the famous, anthologized local scholars, reproduced important documents regarding the locality or marking intellectual and literary achievement, registered the books written by local people, and so on. What it did in the process was give the place content, diversity, and history that was in fact longer and more continuous than any dynasty. Dynasties rose and fell, but Wuzhou grew ever more distinct and gained ever more detail.

The production of a first gazetteer was the writing the “history” of a place, for it was then that the compilers tried to find the earliest possible local signs of civilization. Thereafter part of the task was the updating of the gazetteer every century by filling in and adding on and arranging for printing (a costly matter if the old print blocks were lost). The gazetteer was not a single integrated history but the records and histories of many things. And yet the lack of internal unity, the absence of a narrative that drew all the parts together, and the failure to explain why change took place clearly did not preclude intellectual and polemical purposes.

This brings me to a second conclusion about the purpose of the gazetteer. There is no evidence that the gazetteer was relevant to the day-to-day work of local government. Very rarely—once a century—a local official became involved (we are told) in compiling or revising the gazetteer, and when he did his interest (or his willingness to be interested in what the compilers were doing) was interpreted as a sign of an unusual degree of concern for the well-being of the place. At the county level gazetteers seem to have been local literati projects. At the prefectural level, where the work was sometimes led by local scholars, it was an official project and the printing was officially sponsored. If the gazetteer was of interest to some local officials but not of administrative value, what was the point of having it? What the Wuzhou gazetteers tell us is that what mattered—and what was worth criticizing and revising—was the way the story of the local literati elite was told. Now in fact, as the gazetteers recognize, there were other human players in the local community who are almost entirely ignored—for example, the

clergy who populated the very large number of temples and monasteries whose buildings the Wuzhou gazetteers list. And there were barely-mentioned events that truly punctuated time with their destructiveness—rebellion (by Fang La in the 1120s), conquest (by the Mongols in the 1270s), and civil war (Zhu Yuanzhang's rise in the 1350s)—that seem to serve primarily as the context for appreciating displays of elite moral integrity and community leadership against a backdrop of the failures of government. It seems to me that the Wuzhou gazetteers told its local history as the story of a relationship in which there were two dominant players: the local government and the local literati. Like the map guide before it, the gazetteer was an owner's manual. But now there were new authors, and new owners.

#### THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

My second example of the historiography of the local belongs to the bibliographic category of "geography" within the division of historical writing, although it is a "cultural" rather than administrative geography. This is Wang Xiangzhi's 王象之 *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 (Record of the Best Sites in the Realm) in 200 chapters from 1227.<sup>33</sup> Wang was from a Jinhua family, the son of the successful local government administrator Wang Shigu 王師古, a *jinshi* of 1154. He himself received the *jinshi* degree in 1196. One of his brothers, Wang Yizhi 王益之, was the author of the *Zhi yuan* 職原, a guide to the history and function of bureaucratic offices in fifty chapters.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, 8 vols. (Qing ed., rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992). The autopreface is dated 1221, but the Qing scholar Liu Yusong notes that the book includes references to Ningzong, a posthumous title designated in 1224. There are also references to 1225–26 and Li Zhi's preface is dated 1227. Liu thinks the work must have been finished in 1226; he accounts for a reference to Shaoding 1 (1228), but with cyclical year for 1227, as a case of Wang including something he knew of personally after hearing the announcement of the reign title change in 1227/11; see Liu Yusong 劉毓菘, *Tongyi tang wenji* 通義堂文集 (1918 ed.) 7.13a–19a. For the history of this edition, which stems from a copy of a Song edition discovered by Qian Daxin 錢大昕, see Zou Yilin 鄒逸麟, preface to the 1992 Zhonghua shuju edition. This edition is missing a total of 31 out of 200 *juan* and there are pages missing in 17 *juan*.

<sup>34</sup> Liu Yusong provides an erroneous account of Wang's background in *Tongyi tang wenji* 7.13a–19a. Liu and his father were commissioned by Ruan Yuan in 1843 to prepare textual notes on a copy of the Song edition. Liu apparently did not know of the biographi-

The *Yudi jisheng* devotes one chapter to each prefecture. (It was originally accompanied by a 16 chapter map collection, the *Yudi tu* 輿地圖 (now lost), with a chapter for each Southern Song “province” or *lu*). The following summary of the chapter of the *Yudi jisheng* on nearby Huizhou 徽州 will illustrate Wang’s methods and categories (unfortunately the Wuzhou chapter is lost):

*Zhou xian yange* 州縣沿革 (The history of changes in the prefecture and counties as administrative units). Wang gives a chronological account specifying which source he has adopted—he has in fact quoted its language—and when there is a discrepancy he explains his reasons for the choice. For example, on the matter of whether Hui belonged to Wu or Yue during the Spring and Autumn period he cites Sima

cal references to the Wang family in Wu Shidao’s 吳師道 *Jingxianglu* 敬鄉錄 (Xu Jinhua congshu ed.) 12.1a–2b from the Yuan period.

The *Jingxianglu* cites the *muzhiming* for Wang Shigu 王師古 by Lü Zujian 呂祖儉, brother of Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙, for information on his career and lists seven sons (following the naming pattern of Wang XXX-zhi) but does not include the name “Xiangzhi.” However the *Jingxianglu* includes Wang Xiangzhi’s biography here, leading the Qing editor of the text to suspect a scribal error in the list of sons. In any case we have the birth order list of sons and their honorifics; Wang Xiangzhi’s autopreface to the *Yudi jisheng* which notes the collaboration of his second and third older brothers (i.e., Wang Yizhi and Wang Guanzhi 王觀之), citing their honorifics; Li Zhi’s preface to the same which gives Wang Xiangzhi by birth-place, name, and honorific; and Wang Yizhi’s autopreface to the *Zhiyuan* which mentions the help of his younger brother (Wang Guanzhi), giving name and honorific. Given these correspondences Wang Xiangzhi is more likely a brother than a cousin to Wang Shigu’s sons.

The *Yudi jisheng* contains a number of references to “my father,” as Liu Yusong notes. These correspond to the account of Wang Shigu as given in the *Jingxianglu*. These include references to “my father” as serving in Jiangzhou 江州 (this is Jiujiang 九江 in the *Jingxianglu*) and building a house next to the Zhou Dunyi shrine (Liu Yusong 7.14a and *Jingxianglu* 12.1a). Liu insists, however, that an unknown Wang Shidan 王師竄 was the father of Wang Xiangzhi. Liu (7.13b–14a) bases this on an entry in *Yudi jisheng* 38.11b, which is an anecdote about “my father” and which in the original edition that Liu saw gives the father’s full name in a taboo form. Based on this, the Qing edition rewrites that name as Wang Shidan 王師竄. In fact Liu decided that the taboo form of the third character *gu*, namely 𠂔, was really a “mistake” for a taboo form of *dan*, namely 𠂔, a form which Liu says is used consistently in the original edition. Clearly the confusion is resolved if we read the character as an avoidance of *gu* and not a mistake. The “text-critical notes” (p.7a) in the 1833 edition of the *Dongyang xianzhi* reaches the same conclusions by a different route. *Dan* was consistently tabooed in the text because it was a Song imperial taboo character; see *Jinhua jingji zhi* 金華經籍志 9.4a.

This leaves us with the problem of who Wang Shigu was. There was an illustrious Jinhua family with a Wang Shigu, younger brother of Wang Shixin 王師心 (1097–1169), older brother of Wang Shide 王師德 (who was the father of Wang Huai 王淮 (1126–89), the chief counselor in the 1180s); all sons of Wang Deng 王登 (1066–1126). A rare sixteenth-century genealogy of this family, the *Wang shi yiyuan shipu* 王氏一原世譜 (copy held at the Shanghai Library) indicates that this is not the same family.

Guang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* to explain why he has followed the early Song cultural geography the *Taiping huanyu ji* and the late Northern Song geography *Yudi guangji* 輿地廣記 by Ouyang Min 歐陽忞 rather than the Tang *Yuanhe junxianzhi*.<sup>35</sup> He also cites the dynastic histories and Luo Yuan's Huizhou gazetteer, the *Xin'an* 信安志 *zhi* of 1175. His chronology extends into the Song "restoration" in the south. His notes on counties are not as detailed but they are more detailed than those found in other geographies.

*Fengsu xingsheng* 風俗形勝 (The customs and sights). This section consists of phrases and sentences quoted from past texts, with the source noted. Wang proceeds in chronological order. Rather than seeing this as a review of customs he seems to be interested in the general reputation of the place. The lines he quotes are on the order of "A rich place"; "Fine natural scenes"; "Where Xu Xuanping got the dao and Li Bo met ill fortune"; "Ten great surnames and nine of them are Wang"; "During the Six Dynasties the prefects were often people famous at the time"; "Many tree peonies [transplanted] from Luoyang."

*Jingwu shang* 景物上 (Fine sights, first part). A catalogue of 25 natural sights. For the famous Huangshan he also names the subordinate natural sights: 36 peaks, 36 springs, 24 streams, 12 grottos, and 8 caves. He states what the sight is (occasionally including a literary couplet), cites the textual reference for its existence, notes the story of how it got its name, and traces any changes in the name over time.

*Jingwu xia* 景物下 (Fine sights, second part). Seventy-eight places, now including man-made structures: towers, arbors, pavilions, cloisters, temples, and monasteries. Wang gives the reasons why a building is special (e.g., famous figures were here, there is an imperial inscription, historical events occurred here, etc.). Apparently these are all places that can still be visited. These should be distinguished from the next category.

*Guji* 古跡 (Traces of the past). These seem to be places which no longer exist. Wang gives eight place names and locates each in a note, but mainly discusses the historical personages, including religious figures, associated with them. There also are entries on the five former locations of a county seat, a residence, and two graves.

*Guanli* 官吏 (Local officials, in two parts). In chronological order Wang notes officials from Han times on who either contributed to the well-being of the locale or were famous and served here. Stories about their deeds are given in a note. Most stories concern the Tang period but there are stories about four Song prefects. Part 1 is for prefects. Part 2 is for prefectural subordinate officials and county officials.

<sup>35</sup> All these works are extant. See *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. Etienne Balazs and Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), pp. 128-131 for the Song geographies. Ouyang Min's *Yudi guangji* is a shorter work (30 *juan*) and is mainly concerned with changes in administrative units over time. It was republished in 1204 in Jiujiang (where Wang Shigu served!); see the *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu*: *shibu* 中國古籍善本書目: 史部 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991) 10.3b-4a.

*Renwu* 人物 (Famous local personages). A chronological account with notes on the reason for their fame. Five antedate the Song and fourteen are from the Song (including a young woman who would not let herself be taken by rebels). Wang includes Southern Song figures and uses sources such as Hong Mai's *Yijianzhi*.

*Xian shi* 仙釋 (Immortals and Buddhist clergy). Five immortals (e.g. the daughter who kept her father in a coffin saying he was not dead; the man who became enlightened from 2 hexagrams and could then understand numerical systems, predict the future, lived to be 81, and whose body disappeared from the coffin or as the multitude said "dissolved"), four monks (one an arhat), and a Wutong cult temple with an official plaque and later enfeoffments.

*Beiji* 碑記 (Steles and inscriptions). Wang notes the location and authorship of each. There is also an entry detailing an early Song tax adjustment, presumably a matter that had been inscribed.

*Shi* 詩 (Poems). A series of couplets, some by named authors and some by anonymous "earlier men." There appear to be only two whole poems.

*Siliu* 四六 (Parallel prose). Quotations of parallel phrases and sentences from various official documents that bear on the place.

What did Wang Xiangzhi think he was accomplishing with this monumental work? As the nineteenth century scholar Liu Yusong noted, Wang's work and the early Song *Tai ping huanyu ji* both had a broad interest in the natural and human qualities of a locality, in contrast to standard government issued administrative geographies.<sup>36</sup> Wang himself pointed out the rich sources for local information, including the gazetteers he collected. But in his preface he explicitly distinguished his work from all earlier geographies, including the *Tai ping huanyu ji*. His argument was that earlier geographies traced change over time, noted the strategic geographical formations, dealt with the unity and division of north and south, and so on, whereas his work alone had collected the best manifestations of the natural scenery to help writers; it made it possible for the poet or talented literatus to imagine the sight as if it were right before him. This was his own reason for writing. He had traveled with his father to various posts and heard about other areas from his brothers at their posts, but wanted more. So he began to collect geographical information and prefectural map guides and compiled his data by place and category, including anecdotal writings and literary

<sup>36</sup> Liu Yusong 7.19b; Zou Yilin makes a similar point about Wang's breadth of interest.

compositions that were relevant to local customs and atmosphere. He was confident, he wrote, that all the famous things in every prefecture had been included, so that one needed only turn to the right chapter to get everything one needed. He closes on a note of humility: Sima Qian had traveled and thus wanted to write, Wang had stayed at home and collected books, it was from books that he became interested in local places.<sup>37</sup>

There were all manner of literary anthologies which compiled snippets from writers—in fact one had been compiled in Wuzhou in about 1200—but Wang appears the first to use locality as an organizing principle.<sup>38</sup> Yet this was more than a literary encyclopedia: for it was vastly informative about the local histories of all of Song territory in the south and spoke also to a nonliterary audience. Yet the claim that this book was valuable because it would aid writers did not go uncontested. Wang had persuaded Li Zhi 李埴 (1161–1238, js. 1190) of Meishan in Sichuan, a strong-minded prefectural and court official with an interest in statecraft, to write a preface. Li was suspicious: talented and idealistic literati should know historical geography, he wrote, after all had not Han Yu himself once written of borrowing a map guide? It was also true that existing map guides were crude and unreliable unless corrected by a scholar; moreover, only a third of the 1566 map guides used by Li Zongge in 1010 had survived. Li applauded the fact that there were private writings by learned literati about every locale. The examples of private works that Li cited, one each from the Tang and Song, were accounts of the imperial capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang, and, in fact, the only part of Wang's work Li had seen was the chapter on the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou. Clearly Wang had labored hard, Li wrote, so hard that it would be quite ridiculous to think that his purpose was only to produce the materials that would allow people to have fun writing poems without having to do the reading themselves. Surely Wang must really be trying to make a larger point? But what did Li think Wang's larger point was? Li concluded that Wang was not merely displaying his erudition, his

<sup>37</sup> *Yudi jisheng*, Wang Xiangzhi preface.

<sup>38</sup> For one such text see Peter Bol, "Intellectual Culture in Wuzhou ca. 1200—Finding a Place for Pan Zimu and the *Complete Source for Composition*," *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on Sung History* (Taipei: Zhonguo wenhua daxue Shixue yanjiusuo Shixuexi, 1996): 788–738.

broad learning (*boxue* 博學), but trying to illustrate the kind of learning that was profound and integrative in contrast to the superficial imitation of the day. Certainly Wang understood, he opined, that for literati “erudition” was not an end in itself but a means to “usefulness.” Geographical knowledge had proven its usefulness in establishing dynasties, serving the ruler, and defending the country against foreign states. Merely to know the origin of the name of something in order to show off one’s erudition was not usefulness. Thus, Li concluded, he expected that what Wang was really doing was showing that he wanted to aid the ruler and the dynasty.<sup>39</sup>

No matter how detailed its account of the history of administrative units, it seems to me that the *Yudi jisheng* offers faint comfort for those sharing Li Zhi’s statecraft agenda. I think Wang meant what he said: he had compiled a book about all cultural history and the application of culture (e.g. naming) to the natural world for all the prefectures and counties of Southern Song by quoting from literary writings and other sources. His work invited others to envision a place—at least to know its names and to know who else had written of it—and to incorporate that knowledge into their own writing.

This was useful, but it was not what Li Zhi meant by usefulness. It was useful in a host of practical matters for literati as literati rather than as officials per se: knowing where to go sightseeing on a trip, writing poems about the sights, composing farewells for friends going off to a new post or greeting new friends from afar. In other words, Wang’s book was a useful reference work for the literary glue of a relatively mobile literati society of officials, their families and retinues, and examination candidates.

Wang Xiangzhi makes some important, perhaps unprecedented, assumptions. He believes there is an audience for whom the “local” is important. He expects that writers will want to be able to refer to the specifics of locales in their writing. He thinks that breadth of cultural and historical knowledge can be usefully organized in terms of locality. He thinks that all places possess worthwhile sights, famous people, and so on. And he does not try to justify an appreciation of nature and culture at the local level in terms of either

<sup>39</sup> *Yudi jisheng*, Li Zhi preface.



moral edification and or patriotic statecraft. This is not a book that is meant to show literati how to defend the south or conquer the north. It has no obvious political agenda except perhaps his acceptance of the Southern Song status quo. Li Zhi spoke of the administrative texts, the map guides, as the source for local information, reluctantly (?) acknowledging that local literati also wrote about the locality, but the body of Wang Xiangzhi's work refers mainly to gazetteers.<sup>40</sup>

It seems to me that the focus of the *Yudi jisheng* is the locality as a place with a natural and cultural history. Government does matter to this because, although dynasties come and go and the locality remains, it is the dynasty that changes its name and redraws the borders. Still, is it not fair to say that every locality has a history that transcends all the dynasties? In this sense Wang's book has much in common with a gazetteer, but except for tracing administrative boundaries and the contributions of government officials to the local welfare, the book is not about the intersection of local society and the state; if anything he shows that the local place has

<sup>40</sup> Liu Yusong, 7.19b-23a, agonizes over the inclusion of references to local men who "are not on a par with moral gentlemen," including some leading Song political figures such as Wang Qinruo, Ding Wei, Xia Song, Zhang Zihou, Zhang Shangying, and Sun Gou. For Liu it is obvious that there is a correct moral judgment to be made and that a good scholar would have made it. Liu thus takes Wang's including the bad to be meant to teach a lesson. Thus when he reads, in the note on Qin Gui in the Jiankang historical figures section, that Qin was the "restoration prime minister to Gaozong, promoted peace, and took back military authority from the various generals," Liu (who sees the general Yue Fei was a great hero and Qin Gui as a villain) assumes that by writing straightforwardly Wang must have wanted to make clear that Qin led the dynasty astray by pursuing peace and holding back the military. Liu argues that there are over a hundred cases of people in the historical personage and local officials sections who are given accounts that show what Qin Gui did to them, thus revealing Qin's perfidy, including followers and flatterers of Qin who later suffered. He acknowledges a place where Wang refers to Duke Qin but takes it to be a quote from an earlier text. It is clear to Liu that Wang was blaming Qin without offering any praise. He notes that in 1206 Qin's original and positive posthumous title was changed to "Misleading and Evil" but back to its original in 1208 and was not changed again until 1254. Wang wrote his book after the return to the original, when the court had not reached a final judgment. The fact that under these circumstances he wrote frankly—to punish one already dead—shows Wang to be a good literatus and accounts, Liu says, for his first (but mistaken) impression that the biographical references in the text lacked measure. I think Wang is in fact recording local views as given. It was not uncommon for Song officials to be critical of the government; to say that men had suffered in various purges did not mean the book had a hidden political message.

survived as the political power has changed. Dynasties have limited histories, localities go back to the beginning of heaven-and-earth, and every single place has a natural and cultural history of its own. The *Yudi jisheng* invites literati to appropriate local history for themselves—it makes it possible for them to absorb it into their writing. Moreover, it makes every place worthy, for Wang shows that every place contains more or less the same categories of uniquely worthwhile things. In Northern Song the literatus who was called a “literatus of the entire realm” (*tianxia zhi shi* 天下之士), versus the man of more limited vision, was one who thought about national politics and matters of the common interest. In a sense Wang has suggested that to be a literatus of the entire realm is to know all the particular places that make up the realm, whether one has been there or not.

Wang Xiangzhi’s *Yudi jisheng* was not unique. There was a widespread interest in historical geography in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; in Wuzhou alone we can cite a series of works. In the 1170s Ni Pu 倪朴 of Pujiang county completed his *Yudi huiyuan zhi* 輿地會元志 in forty chapters, with which he went looking for better known scholars and officials to recognize his talent. Ni combined historical strategic geography, administrative history, and maps; he wrote just the kind of book Li Zhi was looking for. Zhou Kui 周葵 (1098–1174), prefect of Wuzhou in 1160, had taken Ni and Chen Liang under his wing; they shared an interest in the recovery of the north, statecraft, and the search for practical, historically-based knowledge. Fifteen years later Ni turned to another prefect, Zheng Boxiong 鄭伯熊, one of the leading statecraft intellectuals of the day, and gave him an eight-foot square map showing changes in the northern border throughout history.<sup>41</sup> Two other figures who had played substantial intellectual roles in Wuzhou had also been interested in geography. Tang Zhongyou 唐仲友 (1136–88) had included a number of administrative geographical sections in his *Diwang jingshi tupu* 帝王經世圖譜, a compilation of statecraft studies based on the Classics.<sup>42</sup> In the 1180s Tang moved to a Dongyang academy

<sup>41</sup> Ni Pu’s letter to Prefect Zheng in 1175 describes his book and its intellectual commitments, see *Jingxianglu* 6.10a–11a.

<sup>42</sup> Tang’s lost work, *Dili xiangbian* in 3 *juan*, may have original been part of this compilation.

taking over 100 students with him; he was succeeded in Dongyang by Fu Yin 傅寅 of Yiwu, whose *Yu gong jijie* 禹貢集解 commented on the *ur-text* of historical geography, the “Tributes of Yu” chapter of the *Book of Documents*. A work about which we know very little is Wang Xixian’s 王希先 200 chapter historical geography, the *Huangchao fangyu zhi* 皇朝方域志. Wang is said to have been from Dongyang also, the son of a migrant who had received his degree in 1199; his work is said to have been largely based on his father’s manuscripts. The 120 chapters devoted to the Song period dealt with past events but located them relative to contemporary places. When he submitted this work to the throne in 1238 he was rewarded with a permanent exemption from the need to qualify for the metropolitan examination by taking the prefectural examination.<sup>43</sup>

Wang Xiangzhi was not interested in strategy and historical administrative geography; he was composing a geography that dealt with the *wen* 文—the culture and literature—of the local place. The success of his efforts is apparent from the fact that a decade later an even more successful imitation appeared elsewhere, Zhu Mu’s 祝穆 *Fangyu shenglan* 方輿勝覽 in 70 chapters.<sup>44</sup> Zhu Mu, from Huizhou and Fujian, studied briefly with Zhu Xi; he is also credited with an encyclopedia, the *Shuwen leiju* 事文類聚 in 170 chapters (extant), and a lost work on parallel prose. Although Zhu Mu’s edition was published in 1239, the current edition is an amended version published by his son Zhu Zhi 祝洙 in 1266–67. Zhu Zhi was a promoter of Zhu Xi-ism; he did a subcommentary for Zhu’s *Collected Commentaries on the Four Books* that consisted of quotations from the various records of speech. With the exception of sections for administrative changes and stele inscriptions, Zhu adopts all of Wang’s categories with some minor adjustments.<sup>45</sup>

Zhu’s *Fangyu shenglan* is further evidence of increasing attention

<sup>43</sup> The only description of Wang Xixian’s work is found in Chen Zhensun’s bibliography; see *Jinhua jingji zhi* 9.5b–6a.

<sup>44</sup> My comments are based on Tan Qixiang’s 譚其驤 modern preface to the reprint of the Song edition, *Song ben Fangyu shenglan* 宋本方輿勝覽 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991), pp. 1–33.

<sup>45</sup> Zhu has made more distinctions, for example, he divides the section on “scenic sites” into its component parts: mountains and rivers, wells and springs, halls and academies, monasteries and temples, and so on. On the other hand he combines sections too: for instance Zhu does not treat Buddhist and Daoist figures separately.

to the cultural representation of the locality. The Tang *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* (Maps and records of prefectures and counties from the Yuanhe period) and the early Song *Taiping huanyu ji* occasionally introduced relevant literary passages but no earlier work had sections devoted solely to examples of locally relevant poetry and parallel prose. Zhu is briefer than Wang in everything except parallel prose; in fact the original edition carried an advertisement at the front “Essential [for composing] Parallel Prose,” and Zhu provides numerous examples of varying length, in the main of his own composition. Wang cited couplets from poems and only a few lines of prose; Zhu cited entire prose pieces as well as poems and includes a list of the 1750 pieces he cites, giving author and title, arranged by genre and topic.

Zhu Mu borrowed Wang’s organization and scope, but he did not plagiarize his contents. Indeed, the issue of intellectual independence and originality was a matter of some concern to him and he took precautions to avoid having his work treated as a digest of Wang’s longer work. He had an affidavit presented to the Fiscal Intendant attesting to the fact that the book was his own work and expressing the fear that his efforts would be in turn snatched up by commercial printers who would sell it as a “Digest of the *Yudi jisheng*.” The Intendant’s acknowledgment of the affidavit and its contents were in turn printed as a notice in Zhu Mu’s first edition.

Wang Xiangzhi’s lengthy literary appropriation of local history and geography fits well with other large-scale literary and textual endeavors by three of Wang’s Wuzhou contemporaries. The *Jizuan yuanhai* 記纂淵海 (*The Complete Source for Composition*), is a literary thesaurus organized around ideas by Pan Zimu 潘自牧. Pan received the *jinshi* degree in 1196 and served in various local government posts. In 1209 Pan wrote a preface for the work, stating that it had 22 categories of information and 1246 subcategories in 236 chapters with 800,000 words.<sup>46</sup> The *Qunshu kaosuo* 群書考索

<sup>46</sup> The earliest known and most extensive biography of Pan, giving his degree date and service is Wu Shidao, *Jingxianglu* 13.5a. Wu says Pan’s book is still in circulation. However, the Song edition available to us has only 196 *juan* and 1195 subcategories. The length is something over 780,000 characters. For a discussion of this work see Bol, “Intellectual Culture in Wuzhou ca. 1200—Finding a Place for Pan Zimu and the Complete Source for Composition,” *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on Sung History*, pp. 788–738.

(*Investigations of the Multitude of Books*), originally in 100 chapters, was an encyclopedic digest of traditions of Classical exegesis, government policy, and much else by Zhang Ruyu 章如愚, an 1196 *jinshi*, who may have served at the Imperial University and as a lecturer in the palace of the heir apparent. Zhang taught in Dongyang county after leaving government service and built on manuscripts left by Fu Yin.<sup>47</sup> His text was useful in learning, for a twenty chapter abstract, the *Zhuo yue* 卓約, apparently was marketed for examination candidates.<sup>48</sup> A third work, now lost, was the 200 chapter *Sui lei lu* 隨類錄 by Yu Kan 喻侃, *jinshi* of 1199, a scion of a Yiwu family with well-known officials and literary men, and an erstwhile student of Chen Liang.<sup>49</sup> Pan's and Zhang's works were printed in the early thirteenth century, and I assume that Wang's was as well, given Zhu Mu's need to differentiate his own work from it. These were extensive and expensive works, no doubt of some utility in examination learning, which shared the great ambition of providing exhaustive accounts of their subjects. Wang Xiangzhi also aimed to be exhaustive and, in the process, to bring a larger world into the confines of a book that literati could use in representing their interaction with other literati and the world around them through writing. It showed them how to incorporate the "local" into the literary construction of themselves as local men who were also literati.

#### THE BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY RECORD

Wu Shidao 吳師道 of Lanxi county's *Jingxianglu* 敬鄉錄 (*Record of Respect For Our Locality*) is a collection of short biographies of lead-

<sup>47</sup> Zhang's work is available today as part of a greatly enlarged Yuan-Ming edition. *Jingxianglu* 13.5a states that Zhang reached the position of *guobo gongjiang* 國博宮講. The earliest prefectural gazetteer, from 1480, states only that he was a Qingyuan period *jinshi*, that he reached the rank of *chaofenglang* (ca. 6A) and *Guozi boshi*, Erudite of the Imperial University; see *Jinhuaifu zhi* (1480 ed.) 8.3b. The Ming edition of the *Kaosuo* includes a spurious dynastic history biography. The Song edition advertises the work as the product of "Zhang Gongjiang." This edition was printed in Wuzhou. See *Qunshu kaosuo* (rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), editorial preface. For a discussion of this work see Peter K. Bol, "Zhang Ruyu, the *Qunshu kaosuo*, and Diversity in Intellectual Culture—Evidence from Dongyang County in Wuzhou," *Qingzhu Deng Guangming jiaoshou jiushi huanan lunwenji* 慶祝鄧廣銘教授九十華誕論文集, (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), pp. 644–73.

<sup>48</sup> *Jingxianglu* 13.5a.

<sup>49</sup> *Jinhuaifu zhi* (1578 ed.) 16.31a.

ing Wuzhou residents since the Liang dynasty and an anthology of their literary compositions. It is the product of considerable research and contains much unique material. Wu combined two traditions, the biographical collection and the literary anthology. Earlier Wuzhou men, Lü Zuqian and Tang Zhongyou for instance, had compiled and even published literary anthologies, but they were not devoted to Wuzhou or any other one place. More to the point the *Jingxianglu* was the most important work in the first generation of literary and biographical collections devoted to Wuzhou and its leading counties. The local popularity of such works during the Yuan and Ming periods is evident from Table 3.

Wu Shidao probably compiled the *Jingxianglu* as a student in the 1310s.<sup>50</sup> Wu traced his family back to Wu Ruzong 吳儒宗, an Imperial University student at the end of the Song. He had been introduced to Neo-Confucian thought through a book by Zhen Dexiu in about 1300 and had decided to pursue the “learning of righteousness and principle” and the “way of the sages and worthies.” Within a decade he had started to study with Xu Qian 許謙 (1270–1330), who taught that the concept of “principle being one but its manifestations many” was the key to the doctrine of “maintaining inner mental attentiveness and extending knowledge.” Xu claimed a direct link to Zhu Xi through his teacher Jin Lüxiang 金履祥 (1232–1303), who was a student of the late Song Wuzhou Neo-Confucians He Ji 何基, who had studied with Zhu Xi’s son-in-law and disciple Huang Gan, and Wang Bo 王柏.<sup>51</sup>

The *Jingxiang lu* we have today is the prefectural continuation of Wu’s initial study of historical figures and writings of his native Lanxi county.<sup>52</sup> He was bothered, he writes with reference to the (now lost) Lanxi collection, by the fact that his home had a history of 1000 years yet Hong Zun’s prefectural gazetteer of 1154 had biographies of only six Lanxi figures, half of whom were clergy.

<sup>50</sup> By the time Wu returned to Wuzhou to teach locally as a retired official, the prefectural gazetteer had been supplemented but Wu’s work refers only to the 1154 edition and not the supplement.

<sup>51</sup> Zhang Shu, funerary biography of Wu Shidao, appended to *Wu Zhengchuan xiansheng wenji* 吳正傳先生文集 (*Yuanren wenji zhenben congkan* ed.).

<sup>52</sup> This explains the lack of Lanxi men among the current *Jingxiang lu*’s seventy-odd subjects. I suspect that Wu’s study of Lanxi men was used in compiling the Ming prefectural gazetteer, which included about twenty Lanxi men up to Wu Shidao himself.

Table 3  
Biographical Collections and Literary Anthologies for Wuzhou<sup>53</sup>

<i>Author</i>	<i>Clty</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Chp.</i>	<i>Ext</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>
Yu Liangneng	yw	喻良能 忠義傳	20	?	c. 1170	jjz 7.8a
Wu Wei	pj	吳渭 月泉吟舍	1	y	1287	jjz 22.16a
Xie Ao		謝翱 浦陽先民傳	1	n	1290s	jjz waibian 1a
Huang Yinghe	yw	黃應麟 華川文派錄		n	1310a	Song Lian7.8b
Wu Shidao	lx	吳師道 敬鄉錄	10, 14	n, y	1310s	jjz 7.9a
Hu Huo	dy	胡惑 東陽人物表		n	1320s	jjz 7.8b
Zhang Shu	dy	張樞 忠義錄		n	1320s?	jjz 7.12b
Song Lian	pj	宋濂 浦陽文藝錄	8	y	1350s	jjz 23.2b
Song Lian	pj	宋濂 浦陽人物紀	2	y	1350s	jjz 7.13a
Wang Wei	yw	王偉 造邦賢勳略	1	y	1370s	jjz 7.13b
Zheng Bo	pj	鄭伯 金華賢達傳	12	y	1428	jjz 7.15a
Du Chu	dy	杜諸 東陽文獻錄		?	1490 +	jjz 7.15b
Zhang Mou	lx	章懋 婺鄉賢志	2	?	1496	jjz 7.14a
Dong Zun	lx	董遵 金華淵源錄	2	?	1510s	jjz 7.15b
Qi Xiong	jh	戚雄 婺賢文軌	4, 1	?	1511 +	jjz 23.4a
Zhao He		趙鶴 金華正學編	10	y	1511	jjz waibian 1a
Zhao He		趙鶴 金華文統	13	y	1511	jjz waibian 9a
Ling Han	lx	凌瀚 續敬鄉錄		?	1520s	jjz 7.16b
Ling Han	lx	凌瀚 金華正祠錄		?	1520s	jjz 7.17a

Jin Jiang	金江	yw	義烏人物記	2	y	1535	ijz 7.18b
Ying Tingyu	應廷育	yk	金華先民傳	10	y	1558	ijz 7.16a
Dong Pin	董品	lx	金華文獻錄		?	16th c.	ijz 7.15b
Wu Zhiqi	吳之器	yw	婺書、婺書別錄	8, 4	y	1641	ijz 7.21a
Liu Zheng	劉徵	jh	金華名賢傳	3	?	Ming	ijz 7.14a
Hu Xi	胡僖	lx	崇正書院志	11	?	Ming	ijz 7.17a
Yang Jing	楊倣	yw	補金華賢達傳		?	Ming	ijz 7.17b
Tang Long	唐龍	lx	康山群忠錄	1, 2	y	Ming	ijz 7.18a
Xu Shidan	徐師旦	lx	春藉准魁		?	Ming	ijz 7.19a
Zhao Fengchong	趙鳳翀	lx	辨隱錄	4	?	Ming	ijz 7.19a
Zhang Yinghuai	張應槐	pj	浦陽人物續記		y	Ming	ijz 7.20a
Xu Xueju	徐學聚	lx	歷朝瑣鑿	4	n	Ming	ijz 7.20a
Xu Yucan	徐與參	lx	金華徵獻錄	22	?	Ming	ijz 7.20b
Xu Mingxun	徐明勳	yk	孤臣錄		?	Ming	ijz 7.20b
Ruan Yuansheng	阮元聲		金華文徵	20	y	Ming	ijz waibian 9b
Ruan Yuansheng	阮元聲		金華詩粹	12	y	Ming	ijz waibian 9b
Chen Shifang	陳時芳	dy	鄒魯遺芳		n	Ming	ijz 7.21a
Guo Runqing	郭潤卿		鄉哲遺珠集	4	n	Ming	ijz 23.4b
Jiang Borong	江伯容	lx	蘭溪歷朝詩	12	?	Ming	ijz 23.9a

<sup>53</sup> This list is based on the most extensive bibliography of Wuzhou writing, Hu Zongmao 胡宗楸 *Jinhua jingji zhi* 金華經籍志 (Xu Jinhua congshu), hereafter given as *jjz*. In Table 2 “*cy*” refers to county of origin in Wuzhou and “*ext*” to whether the work is known to be extant at present.



Wu's collection in fact documents that Wuzhou had pre-Song religious and administrative histories—and he collected inscriptions from temples as well as government offices that documented this—but that it began to have a cumulative *literati* history only in the twelfth century.<sup>54</sup> Wu made the same complaint about Hong Zun's treatment of the entire prefecture. If Hong had limited his coverage to before 1127 the lacunae would have been explicable, Wu contended, but he did not. He had given considerable attention to religious figures but not to “worthy *shidafu*” such as the loyal statesman Zong Ze, thus leaving out figures of great stature, yet he had devoted a whole chapter to tales of the strange and marvelous. Not to give “worthy *shidafu*” a record was to allow them to disappear from memory. But it was more than that, Wu continued, beginning with the late Northern Song men of truly national stature had begun to appear in Wuzhou. Zong Ze had set a standard for loyalty, later Lü Zuqian had set an enduring moral and intellectual model, and then a veritable stream of political leaders, great scholars, and famous men had come forth. At the end of the dynasty He Ji and Wang Bo continued Zhu Xi's learning, which had been continued through private teaching to Wu Shidao's own day. Wu finally explains that his selection is a reflection of shared opinion—he had consulted his peers—and that he had tried to be broadly inclusive. He then adds:

However, my original intent was to make known the obscure as well as dealing with the illustrious. If there are cases where the person and his writing are illustrious but this record does not mention them, well, that is not quite without significance. Now that a literatus should be remembered simply depends upon what he has accomplished. Those who will be remembered irrespective of this compilation are in the majority; but if there are one or two among them who are remembered because of my record, it will not be thanks to me that this has happened.<sup>55</sup>

In other words, Wu claims to speak for a certain body of opinion and, within that, to have tried to represent his subjects fairly. Nevertheless he has, at the margins, dropped some famous people

<sup>54</sup> The preface to the “First *Jingxianglu*” is in Wu Shidao, *Wu Zhengchuan xiansheng wenji*, 15. The preface to the existing prefectural level text is actually the preface to the second collection. The best edition is in the *Xu Jinhua congshu* with critical notes by Hu Zongmao.

<sup>55</sup> Wu Shidao, preface, *Jingxianglu*.

to make a point and included some whose worth was overlooked at the time. It is a motivated record, one with a point of view.

The exclusions reaffirm what we might suspect from Wu's biography, his own writings, and the introduction.<sup>56</sup> He celebrates the rise of the literati in Wuzhou. There is only one Daoist and one Buddhist, both from the Tang period. He does not limit himself to Neo-Confucians but he excludes two illustrious figures who were at odds with Zhu Xi: the great scholar and influential Wuzhou teacher Tang Zhongyou, whom Zhu Xi drove from office with charges of corruption and immorality, and Wang Huai 王淮 (1126–89), who as chief counselor defended Tang and was hostile toward Daoxue. Wu presses hard to overcome what Hong Zun's gazetteer revealed: there was very little literati history to speak of before the Song. Wu finds Liu Jun 劉峻 in the fifth century, whose writings are included in the *Wen xuan*, was the first "to give our area a reputation for *wen* (literature and by extension 'Culture')." Liu's local connection stems from his withdrawal to the "Jinhua Mountains" (which may not be in Wuzhou, although the gazetteer identified the place he taught and claimed that a local Buddhist temple building was his former residence).<sup>57</sup> The early Tang literary scholar Luo Binwang did have local origins but did not return—although his ghost remained a local literary presence.<sup>58</sup> Zhang Zhihe 張志和, a writer and thinker of the early ninth century, left and settled elsewhere.<sup>59</sup>

What was Wu's point in preserving these writings and biographies? What do they mean and why do they matter? Wu uses an inscription from 801 for a Buddhist temple in Lanxi county by Feng Xiu 馮宿, the most successful among a group of brothers who took the Tang literary examinations, to reflect on the problems of creating a local historical record out of past writings of which little survived. Even engraving a stele was uncertain, it could be moved, broken, or as happened to the name of the local official in this case, erased. And even if a record survived could it be relied upon? Wu

<sup>56</sup> One of Wu's essays, "On the Origin of the Literati" (Yuan shi 原士), is an explicit, straightforward argument for the supremacy of the *shi*. See Wu Shidao 10.27b–29b.

<sup>57</sup> *Jingxianglu* 1.1a–3b.

<sup>58</sup> *Jingxianglu* 1.3b.

<sup>59</sup> *Jingxianglu* 1.7a–b.

notes that in his own times officials were eager for the locality to erect stelae with praise for their virtue and governance, yet locally they were ridiculed for this. A literary text could not in fact make someone's reputation, Wu asserts, reputation was the product of the public judgment of the locality. But for the locality to judge their officials and themselves depended upon having a continuous history of frank writings by local men and a cumulative local memory. In Lanxi the wall inscription with the names of local officials was lost, Wu comments, yet from discussions with the local elders Wu had concluded that there had rarely been good officials worth knowing about.<sup>60</sup> In Wu's anthology memory is a reward, something to be secured for those who are judged to be worth remembering by the literati community, and it is this memory that creates the tradition against which future literati were to measure themselves.

From this perspective *Jingxianglu* is—and here I take Wu Shidao's claim to represent shared opinion seriously—a considered, scholarly effort to define a past for Wuzhou literati as the grounds for their future. Neither the administrative history of the counties and the prefecture nor the hundreds of temples and monasteries recorded by the 1480 gazetteer figure in this past. Instead literati—many of whom became involved in government and all of whom contributed to local and national culture through scholarship and writing—define the past. The relative paucity of Wuzhou literati into the Northern Song only serves to highlight the momentous changes that began in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the prefecture emerged as a center for literati who, at least as depicted here, cared about culture, morality, and government.

Wu begins with Song figures in his second chapter. There is the very first *jinshi* of 989, who had a successful career and secured a reduction in the poll tax for Wuzhou.<sup>61</sup> The next three figures are all scholars who gained the recognition of eminent figures of their times. Teng Fu 滕甫 of Dongyang was a successful official, a student of Hu Yuan 胡瑗, and a man known to Fan Zhongyan; he also

<sup>60</sup> *Jingxianglu* 1.7b-9a.

<sup>61</sup> Referring to Hu Ze 胡則, *Jingxianglu* 2.1a. Although Hu's kin remained in Wuzhou, he moved his own household to Hangzhou. He eventually reappeared in Wuzhou, first in the Hu lineage temple and then as Lord Hu, a very popular local god.

<sup>62</sup> *Jingxianglu* 2.2a.

opposed Wang Anshi's New Policies.<sup>62</sup> Xu Wudang 徐無黨 made a connection to Ouyang Xiu and wrote notes on Ouyang's history of the Five Dynasties.<sup>63</sup> Yu Zizhi 俞紫芝, known for his poems, was mentioned by Wang Anshi and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅.<sup>64</sup> But over half of the chapter is devoted to the biographies and writing of the Pan family of Jinhua, whose descendants were, Wu tells us, known still in his day as the "pure" Pans. Pan Zuren 潘祖仁, who established the family, found greater pleasure in the Classics and virtue than in the sensual delights of drink, food, and gambling.<sup>65</sup> His descendants, led by his son Pan Lianggui 潘良貴 (1094–1150) and grandson Pan Zhi 潘時 (1126–89), included scholars, officials, and models of integrity. Moreover they associated themselves with the leading proponents of Cheng Yi's ideas about morality: Yang Shi, Zhang Shi, Zhu Xi, and Lü Zuqian.<sup>66</sup>

The third chapter takes up a series of literati who died either in defending the locale against Fang La's rebels in 1121 or in defending the emperor and the capital against the Jurchens in 1126.<sup>67</sup> The fourth chapter continues this theme with accounts of men who played important roles in the war against the Jurchens and opposed the peace policy of Qin Gui. With the exception of a lone literati recluse who was not politically ambitious, the figures in the fifth chapter opposed Qin Gui and his peace policy. Special attention is given to the Neo-Confucian Wang family of Jinhua. One brother was a good official and opposed Qin. Another brother became a literary student of Pan Lianggui, stood for the proper conduct of affairs in the family and state, and was grandfather to the Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Bo. But the son of the third, the chief councilor Wang Huai, is only identified.

Wu Shidao sides with the opposition to the court in the twelfth century and the Neo-Confucians loom large in that opposition. But in fact he gives more detailed attention to those opposition figures not associated with Daoxue but with utilitarian statecraft. All of the

<sup>63</sup> *Jingxianglu* 2.3a.

<sup>64</sup> *Jingxianglu* 2.5a.

<sup>65</sup> *Jingxianglu* 2.6b–8b.

<sup>66</sup> *Jingxianglu* 2.8b–14b.

<sup>67</sup> *Jingxianglu* 3; note that in the first case, of Qian Yu, Wu includes an alternative story in which Qian tries to collaborate with the rebels who have the good sense to execute someone so disloyal.

sixth chapter is devoted to Ni Pu, including his draft letter to the emperor on military strategy and his explanation of the importance of historical geography, perhaps an example remembering the obscure. The seventh chapter introduces the descendants of Su Che who settled in Jinhua, before turning to Lü Zuqian and his brother Lü Zujian. I assume that the inclusion of a bibliography for each man but the lack of biographies is a sign that these two figures are already amply well-known. Both the Sus and the Lüs were émigrés. Two of Lü Zuqian's disciples are included here. Almost all of the eighth and ninth chapters are devoted to the most famous local statecraft writer: Chen Liang 陳亮. Chen gets more attention than any other figure and the tenth chapter is devoted to his associates. The eleventh chapter deals with followers of Lü Zuqian. The last three chapters are devoted to a range of scholars, teachers, and officials, including two state councilors. Wu makes it clear in his account of Wang Bo and He Ji that their transmission of the Zhu Xi line was of signal importance, but he has included men who were not associated with Zhu Xi. The biographies end with the end of the Song dynasty.

Wu Shidao's compendium is evidence that during the course of the Song dynasty Wuzhou established its own literati intellectual tradition, but in fact it defines that tradition. He presents this tradition not as a local gazetteer might, by trying to list all those with a degree of achievement such as high office or examination degrees, but through the judicious use of biographies and writings to show exceptional qualities of achievement: dying to defend country and family, standing by one's political principles, and the attainment of intellectual and literary influence. He gives Yuan literati a history of various but almost always positive role models, who are marked by their independence from prevailing political, social, and cultural currents. And he shows them that they can find guidance in making judgments for themselves, judgments even of the officials who govern them, by taking their standards from their own past.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This essay has argued that three kinds of compilations—the local gazetteer, the cultural geography, and the biographical and literary

record—are forms of local history that appear in Wuzhou between the mid twelfth and early fourteenth century and are continued thereafter. This is not an argument for the uniqueness of either these works or this place, for writing in the same genres with the same local scope appears elsewhere. In terms of content the three genres overlapped each other and drew upon each other. Wang Xiangzhi used local gazetteers, later editions of the local gazetteer drew on Wu Shidao's record, and all three depended on local biographical records and local materials in literary writings. All three works came from well-established traditions. The gazetteer was a product of the local record and map guide tradition. The cultural geography owed much to national geographies, going back to antiquity. The biographical and literary record combined two traditional forms. The compilers of these works were putting old pieces together in slightly new but obviously recognizable forms.

And yet, following the lead of Wang Xiangzhi, I think we can see ways in which these three works break with the traditions they come from. Two common characteristics define this newness. First, all three are also products of an intellectual culture that has a solid *local* existence. There were more literati than ever before, writing more than ever before, having more things printed than ever before, and purchasing more books and inscriptions than ever before. Very few among the local literati went on to gain fame or have successful official careers, and very few beyond that select group in the Song and Yuan had their writings preserved. Nevertheless, as the density of the literati in Wuzhou increased (something they boasted of), those who became successful carried with them extensive local networks. In fact many of the encyclopedic compilations produced by Wuzhou literati generally were collaborative projects of local scholars. Some cultivated these networks, returning during periods out of office to teach or take over the direction of existing academies, and those who did ended up writing for their local friends. To say far more attention was being paid to local things is to say that literati were continuing to pay attention to themselves, except now the center of their existence has shifted from the capital to the locality. For Wang Xiangzhi the great city of Hangzhou, which would later so impress a Marco Polo, was simply one more prefecture. Just as the writer pays closer attention to writing than

most readers or the gardener notices more details about plants than others, local intellectuals in twelfth century China were paying closer attention to their own local figures, events, institutions, and landscapes than ever before.

The second characteristic of these three types of works is that the center of gravity, so to speak, has shifted from state interests to local interests. These texts do not deny that the government governs, that it creates administrative boundaries and names places, that it appoints local officials, and that it extracts goods and services from the locality. Nevertheless, in each case I think we see both an assertion of the importance of the locality and its interests and a recognition that the favoring of local interests circumscribes and limits the state. The prefectural gazetteer in Wuzhou began as the work of the prefect, an outsider; by the end of the sixteenth century the gazetteer was firmly in the hands of local men and had become the vehicle for the recording of their judgments. The same localism is apparent much earlier in the county gazetteers and in Wu Shidao's work. The local gazetteer thus becomes an ever more cumulative production of local scholars interested in the ways in which the locality has played a role in governance (its taxes, its degree candidates, its schools) and the cultural, natural, and administrative sites of community life and identity. Wang's cultural geography gives even less attention to government and does not associate itself with any dynastic project, except that it ignores the north. It values the past of every prefecture and county. Wu Shidao shows that Wuzhou has a tradition of moral and political thought and literary accomplishment and makes it an object of study. The Southern Song saw a growing interest in local affairs but also in local responsibility and local autonomy. And some Southern Song historians, in opposition to the centralization of the New Policies era, idealized the feudalism (*fengjian* 封建) of antiquity as an alternative to the centralized bureaucratic governance of the prefecture-county system (*junxian* 郡縣).<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Luo Bi's 羅泌 *Lushi* 路史 argues that feudalism is preferable, see Yang Lien-sheng, "Ming Local Administration," in *Chinese Government in Ming times: Seven Studies*, ed. Charles O. Hucker (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969): 1-21. Chen Liang is an example of someone who objected to localism; yet Ye Shi, an even more influential statecraft writer, called for decentralization and defended localism.

Together these three kinds of works create a past and a history for the locality, be it a prefecture or county, and give the locality all that goes with having a past. This suggests some answers to the question of why local history becomes popular, all of which are substantiated by the texts discussed here. Having a past makes the literati of the present heir to that past. It provides them with the local manifestation of intellectual and cultural traditions that we and they knew were national in scope and thus provides them with the sources and models for passing judgment on others and representing themselves. Central to this is the use of the past to create an identity for Wuzhou literati. The texts defined a community in which local men participated and which they, not the government defined. The fact that the particular categories and traditions that defined Wuzhou's history were not unique to Wuzhou meant that this local history was also evidence that Wuzhou men were indeed literati. In contrast to the other inhabitant of the place they were participants in a national culture that transcended both local and dynastic boundaries. Having this kind of local history, even though every place might have a similar past, meant also that Wuzhou had contributed to that larger culture. Wuzhou was, its literati asserted with the language of the Analects of Confucius, a *wenxian zhi guo* 文獻之國 (a country which preserves the cultural record), and the local officials agreed. A contribution to maintaining these traditions held out the possibility that one would not be forgotten.

The rise of local history in Wuzhou suggests that a fundamental change was taking place in the way China's cultural elite thought about themselves and the country. My articulation of this change owes much to Wu Shidao's *Jingxianglu*, which celebrates the growth of the Wuzhou literati and, among all the different sorts of Wuzhou literati, celebrates literati of two sorts. First there are those who gained greatest fame as intellectuals—men who played influential roles through the dissemination of their writings and especially through their activities as local teachers. Among the writings of this group he gives particular attention to those that were concerned with saving the nation. In the cases of Ni Pu and Chen Liang, to whom he devotes the most space, these men wrote on national issues as local literati who did not have official positions. Second there are



those who gained fame for political action in opposition to those in power at court. In fact from the biographies and writings in *Jingxianglu* the reader would have to conclude that Wuzhou writers and officials made a career of being at odds with the local and national government. In this there is a simple claim of great consequence: that the literati who have cultivated their local traditions and histories are the ones who will save the nation, for the nation exists in the first place as a collection of localities, and the commonality that makes a nation possible is instantiated in the shared categories with which local uniqueness is constructed. And this suggests to me that the rise of local history ought to be seen as a sign that Song literati had begun to reconceptualize the nation as something less imperial, less derivative of court culture, and less centralized.