

PANEL/КРУГЛЫЙ СТОЛ

YAZILI KAYALAR VE KÂĞIT BELGELER BİZE NELER ANLATMAKTADIR?

WHAT DO ROCKS AND PAPERS TELL US (BUILDING A NEW THEORY FOR CHINESE LOCAL HISTORY DOCUMENTS)?

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Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA/JAPONYA/JAPAN/ЯПОНИЯ

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Ass. Prof. Dr. Joe DENNIS-ABD/USA/США

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Panel Başkanı/Chair of Panel/Председатель:

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA-THOMAS H. C. LEE

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Prof. Dr. Akiko MORO-JAPONYA/JAPAN/ЯПОНИЯ

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Thomas H. C. LEE- TAYVAN/TAIWAN/ТАЙВАНЬ

**YAZILIKAYALARVEKÂĞITBELGELERBİZENELERANLATMAKTADIR?
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О ЧЁМ ГОВОРЯТ НАМ НАСКАЛЬНЫЕ ТЕКСТЫ И ДОКУМЕНТЫ?

1. BÖLÜM: SONG-MING DÖNEMİNDE YEREL KAYNAKLAR

PART 1: LOCAL SOURCES DURING SONG-MING ERA

ЧАСТЬ 1: ИСТОЧНИКИ ЭПОХИ СОНГ-МИНГ

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA (Panel Başkanı/Chair of Panel/Председатель)*:

“In Search of the Value and Potential of Stone Inscriptions as Historical Materials”

INTRODUCTION

Our group in Japan organized the following panel for the 38th ICANAS at Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. As the panel was successful, the ICANAS committee inquired us about submitting the papers for publication. Since I was an organizer and a chair for the panel, I was not in the position to submit a paper. However, since the committee kindly provided me with more time, I decided to discuss more about the topics we presented at the panel.

First, I will provide the overview of the panel as follows.

Panel Description

“What do Rocks and Papers Tell us? Building a New Theory for Chinese Local History Documents”

Chair: Hiroshi Ihara (Josai International University)

PART 1: LOCAL SOURCE DURING SONG-MING ERA

“Local Sources for Global History: Epigraphy and Genealogies for Jingdezhen”

Anne Gerritsen (University of Warwick)

“Rocks Copied on Papers During Song-Qing Era: Why were Stone Inscriptions Recorded in Local Gazetteers?”

Takashi Sue (Nihon University)

“The compilation, circulation, and reading of local gazetteers in Song-Ming China”

Ass. Prof. Dr. Joe Dennis (Davidson College)

“Problematizing ‘Local’ and ‘Central’ Texts About Local Institutions”

Prof. Dr. Sarah Schneewind (UCSD)

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PART 2: FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF OTHER CULTURES AND MODERN CHINESE HISTORY

“How Did People Enjoy Epigraphic Culture in Ancient Greece?”

Akiko Moro (Chiba University of Commerce)

“Stone and Wood Inscriptions: Posing Ecumenical Medicine and Ritual Against Local Customs”

Tj Hinrichs (Cornell University)

“Wall Posters and Political Life in Mao’s China”

Jun Konno (Postdoctoral Fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Sciences)

Discussant: Thomas Lee (The City College of New York)

In this panel, we have discussed, from various angles, issues raised by the use of stone inscriptions that date from the Song dynasty as historical. What did people inscribe on stones and for what reason? What can these inscribed records tell us? Do their contents reflect dynastic or regional differences? We provided multi-faceted discussions of these questions.

The “papers” in the panel title refers to rubbings or hand-written copies of engravings and inscriptions. Often times, since stone inscriptions were not portable, rubbings or copies of them were made in paper format in order to transmit their contents. Later, these copies were collected and edited. In many cases, original inscriptions had long been lost, and only the paper copies remained. These facts present complicated issues when stone inscriptions are used as historical materials, issues which I will discuss in this paper.

– Formats of Stone Inscriptions

Rocks and stones were among the first materials to record information both in the East and the West. Originating in the pre-historic cave paintings, the custom gradually developed as men cut out and processed stones in order to inscribe them with various incidents and records. These stones could be towering pillars like obelisks, processed slates like lithographs, or construction materials for building magnificent palaces or temples. Due to their durability, stones and rocks were considered ideal materials to symbolize authority and power.¹

A variety of contents could be inscribed from symbols of authority and power to various declarations, designs, commemorative writings and records of important

¹ Although I did not discuss in this paper, we must also pay attention to metals as a material for inscriptions. Since both metal and stone inscriptions exist as historical materials, in China, terms such as “studies of metals and stones (金石学)” or “inscriptions on metals and stones (金石文)” are used.

events. They were then collected and categorized as documents.² The work by Li Qingzhao (李清照) of the late Northern Song who was an avid collector of books and rubbings, is a good example.³ Such compilations left us with clues to about lost times.⁴ However, we will not readily accept them as dependable sources since, unlike modern photos, these copies were hand written and may contain transcription.⁵ That is, we must clearly define our approach when using stone inscriptions as historical documents. The problem occurs because we do not have shared understating of what type of information was recorded on stones and rocks, why they were recorded, or under what circumstances they were created.

First of all, we must keep in mind that unlike books, stones and rocks are not portable. The bigger they are, the heavier they are, and the same is true of clay slates. Upon my visit to Turkey, I was able to see many stone inscriptions and clay slates. That was my first time to see clay slates, and many of them were much smaller than I expected. I wondered whether they were deliberately made small for portability. If that were the case, we must consider what value they offer compared to stone inscriptions that are not as portable.

I have not seen any cases where various records were inscribed on a small piece of stone. I believe that stone inscriptions were erected to display the opinions of those in power and authority so that others can take a careful look at them. Needless to say, many inscriptions were destroyed or moved and were lost forever. As professor Moro mentions in her paper, a large quantity of stone

² In China, the custom of collecting and organizing metal and stone inscriptions began early in history. These inscriptions are generally categorized into tombstones (墓碑), record of the deceased (墓誌), inscribed scriptures (石經 or 釈道經幢), statues (造像, including portraits), titles and inscriptions (題名題字), poetry (詩詞), miscellaneous inscriptions (雜刻 such as 甗瓦 or 法帖). Therefore, in China, there are stone inscriptions that record imperial decrees or government policies and laws. In that sense stone inscriptions in China were targeted at a small group of audience in the regional society. Therefore, I find stone inscriptions can be interesting materials for analyzing the regional society and even the structure of the nation as an extension of it.

³ A female scholar who lived between late Northern Song and early Southern Song. Her husband avidly collected metal and stone inscriptions of early Southern Song while he was a student. After her husband's death, she made a record of these collections known as the "Record of Metals and Stones (金石錄)." Refer to Shimizu Shigeru, 中国目錄学 (Chikuma shobo: 1991).

⁴ Since these materials were transcribed and preserved in document format, pictures and figures were not included. It was not easy to hand copy pictures and maps and make bind them. Also, as far as I know, there are not stone inscriptions of imperial decrees or national declarations in China. However, there have been no previous studies about the reason why they did not exist. In addition, it has come to our attention in recent years that precedent analysis of stone inscriptions were based mostly on copies of the original stone inscriptions that include quite a few transcription errors. These points need to be addressed further in the future.

⁵ Refer to Ihara Hiroshi, "河畔の民" (中国水利史研究 29: 2001). Serious errors were made by the scholars who discussed the regional guilds along the Yellow River as they used materials with transcription errors. At times, plasters were used to fill in the chipped sections of inscription, resulting in changes in the original letters. Even photos are not perfect since different angles can create different impressions.

inscriptions were once erected before the Acropolis in ancient Athens. They no longer exist as they were destroyed or removed during the course of history. Thus, the intention of those who carved the inscriptions has been lost for eternity.

Having these points in mind, we need to determine how to treat materials of this sort. In China, invention of papers made it possible to make rubbings of stone inscriptions. However, people did not begin collecting copied materials until much later in history. During the Song dynasty, it became popular to transcribe inscriptions on papers, collect and categorize them.⁶ We had multi-faceted discussions in our panel to think about the reasons why those paper copies of the inscriptions were made. Our panel participants have been studying the different formats of historical materials once inscribed on stones and discovered that we can learn much about the Chinese society. Yet, many issues still need to be addressed, and in this paper, I intend to take the opportunity to discuss them.

Once completed, stone inscriptions are extremely difficult to change. Unlike books, which can be edited and republished, stone inscriptions would be preserved in their original forms as long as the stones remain. However, at times, some parts of the inscriptions may be removed, or slight revision may be made to some of the sentences by subtle changes of the style of the letters. In general, people tend to believe that stone inscriptions can permanently and faithfully seal the original information as recorded, but it is not necessarily so. Intentional partial destruction or removal of the selected section may occur to delete the original information.

Even if such changes are not made, stones can be destroyed accidentally. They may be converted into construction materials or destroyed through erosion or natural wear. I have seen stone inscriptions that have been seriously worn out. For this reason, some stones include the record of their re-inscription as implied by the word “inscribed deeply (深刻).”⁷

In other cases, the documented forms of inscriptions are preserved while the original stones are lost.⁸ We find many copies of the original inscriptions and their contents as they are recorded in historical documents but the original stones are missing. For these reasons, we need to be skeptical about the accuracy of

⁶ It is said that the skills for making rubbings were developed by the 5th century. However, we are not certain whether collections and organization of rubbings as well as collections by the central government affected the contents of the rubbings or not.

⁷ The city map of Song dynasty Suzhou, known as the Song Map of Pingjiang (宋平江図) engraved in the 2nd year of Shaoding 紹定 of the Southern Song (1229) includes a note referring to the re-inscription by Ye Deyi 葉德毅.

⁸ The maps of Song Jiankang prefecture and modern Nanjing are good examples. One of the Song gazetteers, 景定建康志 indicates that there was a map, but it does not exist now. Also, the reproduction of the map of Tang dynasty Changan (長安地図) by Lu Dafang 呂大防 is well-known but survives only in fragments. Refer to Tonami Mamoru, “唐代長安の石刻—その社会的・政治的背景” (長安—絢爛たる唐の都: Kadokawa sensho:1996.

stone inscriptions and their records. Without seeing the original inscriptions, we cannot determine whether their copies are accurate or not. Thus, we must always remember that stone inscriptions are not permanent by nature, and we have to keep the above points in mind when studying them.

I would also like to point out that extant stone inscriptions are records of regional history by nature, fact stressed by the presenters of this panel. To give a recent example, the wall newspapers issued during the proletariat cultural revolution in China, were mostly targeted at local people while the revolution itself was spread nationwide. To speculate on this point more, let us turn our attention to how historical materials have been produced and preserved.

The Tang dynasty is known for its legal, land allocation, and the tax systems. However, it is virtually impossible to find any stone materials that could provide us with information on how these systems developed or how they spread to remote areas of the nation. Of course, there are always exceptions. For the Song, the period that our panel covers, we have the famous stone inscription of the Yuanyou party (元祐党石碑). A dramatic conflict between the old and the new political parties took place during the Northern Song. This conflict was a reflection of the lingering influence of the politicians who splits into two parties because of differences over Wang Anshi's famous reformation. Emperor Huizong of the late Northern Song who supported the New Party had the names of the politicians of Old Party whom he dismissed inscribed on stone tablets that were erected in various places nationwide. This is a rare example in which the will of the emperor and the policy of the central government were propagated at once to all corners of the nation.⁹ In some cases, central government policies were inscribed on stones such as the ones relating to great religious rituals. It is important to study how these tablets were made and erected.

In general however, administrative proclamations of the central government were seldom inscribed. The Tang court issues a number of critical proclamations but almost none were inscribed on stones. Thus, the above example of the Song can be considered an exception and in that sense, stone inscriptions are regional historical materials.

⁹ Wang Anshi initiated a political reform during the reign of Emperor Shenzong of the Northern Song, that gradually led to cause conflicts among political factions. The conflict became increasingly intense after the deaths of Wang Anshi, in the first year of Yuanyou (1086), and subsequent death of Si Maguang. Although the conflict continued, Cai Jing who gained power during the reign of Emperor Huizong, had the names of 120 officials who disagreed with Wan Anshi on a stone tablet and placed it at the Ruili gate. In 1005, names of 309 officials, including Si Maguang, were inscribed on tablet placed in front of the Wende palace. Stone tablets with these same 309 names were also placed in various sites around the nation, but most of them were soon removed due to natural calamities. Only two of them now remain. These cases are exceptional one in which policies of the central government were disseminated over the entire nation at once by means of stone inscriptions.

In China, since antiquity, inscriptions have been made not only on stones but also on metals as implied by the term “metal and stone inscriptions (金石文).” In short, various materials were used for inscriptions in China including stones, metals, and clay, and in some cases, letters were printed on ceramics. Burial inscriptions (磚) are good example. Some burial inscriptions were made with clay (埴). Profile of deceased were inscribed on them and were buried together with the body. During the late Northern Song, emperor Huizong promoted social welfare activities including establishment of public cemetery. Burial inscriptions of common people have been excavated from such cemetery.¹⁰

– Maps Engraved on Stones

In addition to letters, diagrams and figures were also engraved on stones. In the ancient Orient, portraits of the rulers were engraved on stones, but this was not the case in China. Just as proclamations of the central government or imperial decrees were seldom inscribed, so portraits of the rulers were not engraved for dissemination across China, either. Portraits of Confucius, who enunciated the principles on which the nation was founded, were engraved in some cases, but I have not encountered any scholarly work that systematically analyzes them. Although portraits were not engraved in China, maps were engraved on rocks in some regional cities.

Many of the engraved maps of regional cities have been assembled in the “Collection of Ancient Chinese Maps (中国古代地图集)” by Cao Wanru, Huang Shengzhang and others (Wenwu Chubanshe: 1990).¹¹ The Song map of Suzhou is one of the most famous in the collection, which, however, contains few maps from later times. Nevertheless, as maps of Suzhou were produced continuously in succeeding dynasties,¹² it is possible to follow the changes that were made in the city post-Song.

The famous map of Suzhou in Song times was engraved in 1229. The map is called the “Song Map of Pingjian (宋平江图)” since Suzhou was called “Pingjiang prefecture” then. Andrew Boyd concluded that the map is drawn to a scale of 3000:1. Because it is a detailed and accurate map, it has been used for the study of Chinese regional cities. To our advantage, the fundamental structure of

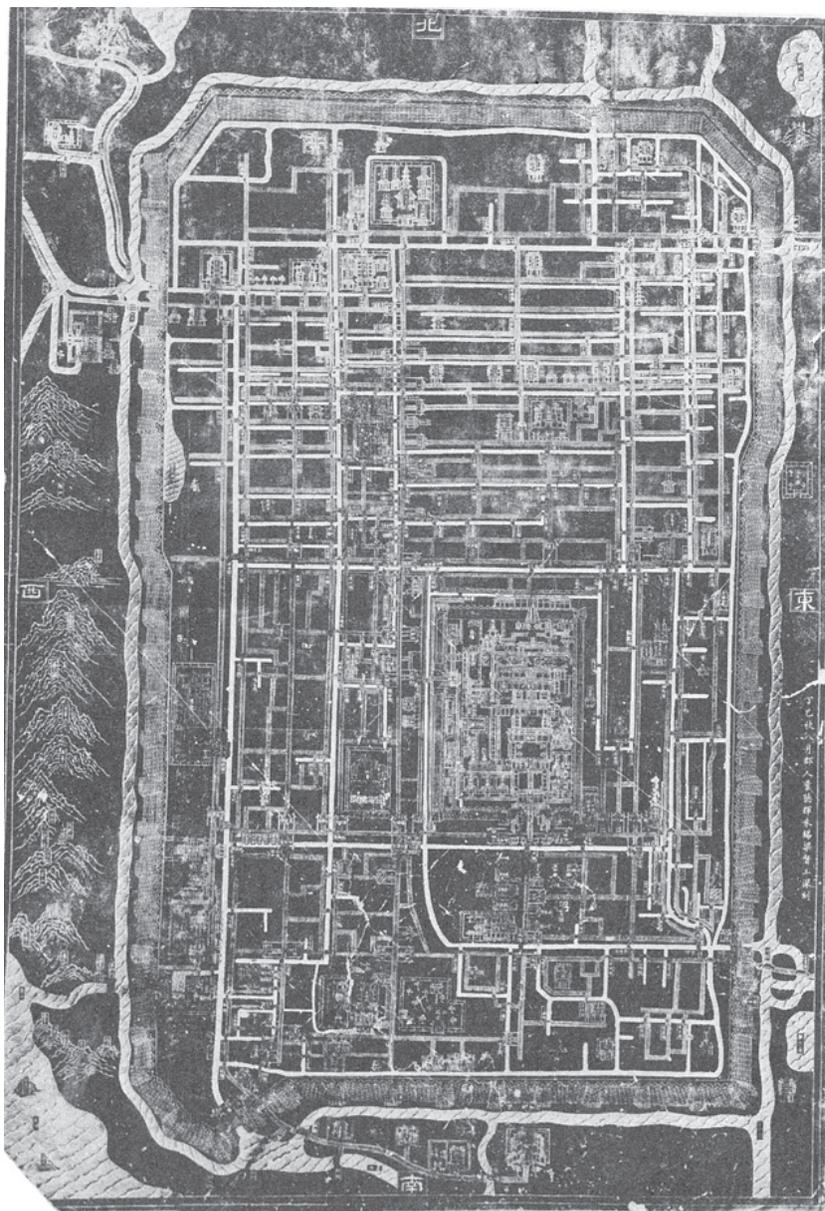
¹⁰ Refer to my paper “河畔の民” as well as “宋代都市における社会救济事业（中世地中海圏都市の救済：Keio University Press: 2004）”.

¹¹ No engraved maps from post-Song times are included in this book. The custom of engraving maps on stones may have ceased during the Song. This may be related to the increased production of papers after the Song, the point that requires further speculation.

¹² **The Atlas of Ancient Suzhou** (蘇州古城地图), published by Guwuxuan publishing:2004, includes several engraved city maps, from the Southern Song map of Pingjian (宋平江图) to Qing maps as well as various supplementary maps of Suzhou. This is a valuable work that collects maps that span a long period of history. There are other drawings or woodblocks of Suzhou, about which I will not discuss here.

the city of Suzhou has changed little since that time. Thus, the value of this map, an accurate work of the Song, as historical material is not limited to its usefulness in studying stone inscriptions, as I have pointed out elsewhere.

We must keep in mind, however, that although city maps were continuously produced in Suzhou after the Song, maps of this kind were not made in other regional cities in China. (Below is the Pingjian Map of Soochow, 1229.)



P'ING-CHIANG T'U PEI. MAP OF SOOCHOW, 1229.

The 宋平江圖 given here is a rubbing, and, therefore, we can speculate that it preserves the original information more accurately than do written documents. However, as mentioned in footnote 7, the map was re-engraved in the late Qing. As a result, there are two rubbings, one made before and one made after the re-engraving. We can readily compare the two, and there seem to be no major differences between them. Moreover, we have available the 宋平江城坊攷 (Examinations of the Song City of Pingjian) by Wang Qian (王鞏), a collection of materials that is crucial for understanding Suzhou and the map in question.

The original engraving is displayed at the Confucian temple in Suzhou, along with other representative maps of Suzhou and a drawing of the solar system. Rubbings of this map were brought to Japan in early times and are archived at libraries or kept by private collectors. The rubbing is also well known in the West. As I mentioned, Andrew Boyd speculated the scale of the map to be 3000:1. F. W. Mote and G.W. Skinner have published their work on the map.¹³ Skinner, in particular, has compared the map to an aerial photo taken by the U.S. air force in 1945, which reveals that the city has changed little over the course of its long history. But although the 宋平江圖 is an excellent map, until recently no good method for using it as historical material was available, so it has been used merely as a visual aid to depict the urban landscape of Song Suzhou. However, with the recent advancement of studies on Chinese cities using old maps, 宋平江圖 has been attracting attention as an ideal material for studying Song urban areas.

There is a similar map of Guilin which was called “Jingjiang prefecture” (靜江府) during the Southern Song. Although Guilin is known as a scenic area, during the Southern Song it was a borderland between Chinese and non-Chinese territory. During late Southern Song, Mongol armies advancing from Yunnan exploited opportunities for military attack from this border region. In 1272, both the city wall and the city itself were renovated and reorganized. A map of the newly reorganized city was then engraved on the cliff of the Yinwu mountain (鸚鵡山). The historical record of map has long been known but not, until recent times, the map itself.¹⁴ The map gives details on the cost of reorganizing the city

¹³ Kato Shigeshi made a systematic analysis of the Song map of Pingjiang. Refer to his work, “蘇州今昔” in 支那学雑草(Seikatusha:1944). Refer also to Andrew Boyd and Tanaka Tan, 中国の建築と都市 (Kashima shuppankai:1979), Andrew Boyd, “Chinese Architecture and Town Planning 1500B.C-A.D.1911” (Alec Tiranti Ltd, London, 1962), F.W.Mote, “A Millennium of Chinese Urban History:Form, Time and Space Concepts in Soochow” in Rice University Studies 59-4(1973), G.W.Skinner ed., “Urban Development in Imperial China” in The City in Late Imperial China (1977).

¹⁴ The stone inscription about the cost of the construction survives, but the existence of the map has not been confirmed. However, in recent years, information regarding this map has begun to circulate in China. 歴史地理 No.6 (Shanghai renmin chubanshe: 1988) includes a large reproduction that shows details of the map. Additional information had been put on the map later and therefore,

and building the city wall. Engraved on a mountain cliff at the dawn of the Mongol attack, the map is quite precise. Although not as detailed as the 宋平江図, it has a clear engraving of Guilin's city structure and other relevant information. From extant documents, we also know that there was an engraved map of Jiankang prefecture (建康府), but as mentioned earlier, it no longer exists.

To this day, we do not understand why these maps were engraved and made public, an issue I have discussed whenever the opportunity has presented itself. The disclosure of maps by engraving was disadvantageous for defense purposes, and the same can be said of maps published in local gazetteers. Numerous gazetteers were compiled during the Song, and many of the extant ones pertain to important urban areas. There are detailed maps in the gazetteers for Linan, the capital of the Southern Song, as well as in the gazetteer for Jiankang fu (建康府). What was the reason that such detailed maps were published in local gazetteers during wartime? Those who needed such maps were people who resided in other regions. Unlike modern maps, area maps of the Song era were valuable sources of information for outsiders. We need to keep this in mind.

– Activities of Local City Residents as Revealed by the Song Map of Pingjiang (宋平江図) Engraved on a Stone

The map of Pingjiang shows the newly organized city of Suzhou in the time of the Southern Song. A large-scale reorganization was conducted at the time. I have studied this map and elsewhere discussed the conditions of urban Suzhou during the Song. Although the western part of this detailed map shows some deformation, it is quite an accurate representation of the city of Suzhou in song times. By comparing this map with modern maps, and with Song records found in local gazetteers and in other relevant materials, I showed how the city had changed since the Tang. My work was regarded as a new and more developed approach to the study of urban areas, and it influenced other scholars and their work.¹⁵ Seo Tatsuhiko used a similar approach in studying the city of Changan

the current map differs from the original. The currently available map - reconstructed version - is included in the aforementioned work, 中国古代地図集. Sadly, many pieces of the map have fallen off and we cannot replace the missing information. Later revisions have reduced the value of stone inscriptions as historical documents. Although this map is a valuable source of information about the cost of reorganizing the city, it is not publically available at this time and is therefore difficult to study.

¹⁵ For the review of the paper, refer to Nakamura Jihei, “中国聚落史研究の回顧と展望—とくに村落史を中心として” in 中国聚落史の研究 (Todaishi kenkyukai: 1989). For the study of cities using stone inscriptions, refer to my works such as “唐宋時代の浙西における都市の変遷—『宋平江図』解説作業” in 中央大学文学部紀要/史学科24 (1979), “江南における都市形態の変遷—『宋平江図』解析作業” in 宋代の社会と文化 (Kyuko shoin:1983), 中国中世都市紀行 (Chuko shinsho:1988), 蘇州 (Kodansha gendai shinsho:1993), and 宋代中国を旅する (NTT sensho:1995).

during the Tang, and Takamura Masahiko referred heavily to my work in his studies. Maps are very efficient historical documents, but we need to establish a solid method of analysis before using them as dependable historical sources. In this sense, mine was a pioneering work, and it opened the door to using and analyzing stone inscriptions as historical documents.¹⁶ I will touch upon this again later and discuss how to use engraved maps and images.

Many scholars have pointed out how detailed the 宋平江図 is. However, they merely disclosed the map's existence and did not develop their arguments further. Maps made during the Song show the sites of government offices, warehouses, and temples in detail. On the map of Suzhou, city streets are engraved in detail. And as mentioned, there is a similar map of Guilin, made when the Mongol attack was imminent. In this regard, the custom of creating engraved maps seems quite puzzling. Even in modern times, maps may become classified information. How much more so in Song times! The disclosure of a map can reveal the details of a city, and this is disadvantageous for self-defense purposes. Even though spies could not have taken stone inscriptions with them, they could learn about a city from the engraved maps.

Let us now analyze some stone inscriptions. I revealed Suzhou's structure by studying the city maps, while Tonami Mamoru also discussed the surrounding areas.¹⁷ We must pay special attention to the social welfare function in the southern part of the city and to the public cemetery outside the eastern city wall, as both reveal different public functions of the time. Stone inscriptions play an important role here, as well.

In the first section, I mentioned that stone inscriptions strongly reflect the characteristics of regional society. In fact, there seem to be few inscriptions made for the purpose of disseminating imperial decrees and notices of the central government. The stone inscription that I am discussing here, which pertains to the city of Suzhou in Jiangnan, supports this point.

¹⁶ Seo Tasuhiko has published too many works for me to mention them all here. He has been developing a method for analyzing the interior of Chinese cities and for conceptualizing urban structures. For Suzhou, refer to Takamura Masahiko's work in which he uses the term "analysis (解析作業)." Takano Keiko discussed the materials he cited and his method of analysis. Refer to Takamura Masahiko, "中国江南の都市とくらし'に対する論評—建築史研究者の立場より" in 比較都市研究2012 (2001). See also, Takano Keiko, "A Review of Towns and Life of Southern China: in **Comparative Urban History Review**, vol. XX, No. 2 (Yamakawa shuppansha). As mentioned in footnote 15, American scholars have also published works that analyze the city of Suzhou, and in them my works have been quoted. I am pleased to know that there is an accepted method for using maps as historical materials.

¹⁷ Tonami Mamoru, "唐宋時代における蘇州" in Umehara Kaoru 中国近世における都市と文化 (Kyoto Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyujo:1984)

The Song map of Pingjiang shows streets and roads in detail, as well as different place names. However, we must also refer to the city maps and local gazetteers of different dynasties when studying this map. For example, let us look at the Siji alley (侍其巷). The 侍其 clan originated in a warrior-class family in Northern China during the Southern Song and spread to the Jiangnan region. The clan members became private tutors in Suzhou and spread out over the area. Sue Takashi discussed the stone inscription pertaining to this clan made in Suzhou during the Song. Although we cannot confirm the residential address of the Siji family of the time on the Pingjiang map, a modern map can provide the information. The same is true of the map of Nanjing, or the map of Jiankang prefecture (建康府) during the Song. Thus, we know that the clan spread all the way to Nanjing during the Song, and we can trace this fact from the modern map. This is another piece of evidence that supports my point that stone inscriptions can shed light on the actual conditions of regional society.¹⁸ Put differently, engraved maps assist us in vividly reconstructing the regional society of a given time. Let me provide another example. There is a stone inscription about street pavement in the southwestern part of the city of Suzhou, work which was supported by donations from residents. Having completed a study of this material in the past, there is no need for me to go into detail about this inscription. For now, I will simply mention that there are a number of stone inscriptions relating to street pavements, and they document the actual conditions of local areas in considerable depth. By combining the information from the stone inscriptions with other historical materials, we can learn who directed the pavement projects, who donated the money, who the contractors were, how much the projects cost, and even what the financial situation of the donors was.

¹⁸ Refer to my work, “中国宋代の都市とエリート—常州の発展とその限界” (史潮 No.28: 1990).

番号	名前	住所ならびに出身地	役職・職業	寄進額
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28	韓八妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫
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30	徐口八口	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
31	胡十八妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫
32	徐二妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫
33	徐二郎	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫五百
34	葉姉大	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
35	袁七妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
36	荊公	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫
37	吳十二妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫
38	潘四郎	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
39	顧二妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
40	魯二妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
41	金五郎	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
42	徐四哥	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
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44	蔣道安	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
45	沈六七郎	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢?貫
46	張三妹	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
47	唐二郎	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
48	張口	蘇州吳県(城内)	郎中	錢二貫
49	王二哥	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫
50	吳一二哥	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢二貫
51	張六哥	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢一貫
52	唐二容	蘇州吳県(城内)		錢五貫
53	王百四	蘇州吳県(城内)	秀才	博一千片

●表 一 蘇州吳県吉利橋版寮巷鋪裝費用寄進額一覽表
(出典:『江蘇通志稿』金石13「吉利橋版寮巷街碑記」)

The inscription shows a list of donations made in Suzhou during the Southern Song. It also records the names of the supervisors, contractors, contributors and their hometown and the amount of donation. As such, the inscription provides us with the information about the residents in Jiangnan during the Song.

The type of material which documents the actual conditions of paved city streets can sometimes tell us what other regions were like at the same time. To give an example, I conducted some research on a stone inscription relating to a Song merchant who lived in Hakata, Japan. He donated a large sum of money to renovate a temple in his hometown of Ningbo. In recent years, this inscription has been discussed by scholars of both Chinese and Japanese history. I will briefly introduce the work here. I hope the readers can learn more by referring to the works introduced in the footnote.

During the Kamakura period in Japan, a merchant of the Southern Song came to live at the port of Hakata in Northern Kyushu. He donated a large sum of money (10 *guang*) to renovate a temple in his hometown of Ningbo.¹⁹ The money was used to pave the streets around the temple. The stone inscription that remains in Ningbo tells us about this clan and its wealth, and the record about the street paving in Suzhou supports the conclusion that the donation was in fact made. I will quote a section from the inscription as reconstructed by Takakura Hiroaki;

日本国太宰府博多津居 住弟子丁淵捨錢十貫文 砌路一丈功德奉獻三界

From the above sentence, we can learn not only about the relationship between Hakata and Ningbo during the Song, but also the fact that this clan had spread to Japan, and how much money was needed to pave the street. Japanese scholars who examined the inscription concluded that contributor was a low class merchant. They claimed that the amount of donation is low, the letters of the inscription are not sophisticated, and that the hometown of the contributor is wrong. However, by looking at the information regarding the amount and the method of donations found in the aforementioned Song engraved map, I discovered that the amount of donation made for the Ningbo temple amounted to several months of income for average Song merchants. I also speculated that the letters of the inscription were not sophisticated because the inscribers were not well trained, the fact of which probably resulted in the error in recording the merchant's hometown as well. Scholars of Japanese history reexamined the case by referring to the average revenue in Japan at the time and accepted my conclusion. This is a representative case in which examination of stone inscriptions provide us with valuable

¹⁹ Refer to Takakura Hiroaki, “寧波市現存の太宰府博多津宋人刻石について” in 大宰府と観世音寺—発掘された古代の筑紫 (Kaicho books: 1996). Refer also to my paper, “宋代の道路建設と寄進額” (日本歴史, vol. 626, 2000), “宋代社会と銭” (アジア遊学, No. 18: 2000), “「波で発見された博多在住の宋人の寄進碑文続論” (アジア遊学, No. 91: 2006). Refer also to Hattori Hideo, “博多の海の暗黙 唐房の消長と在日日本人のアイデンティティ” included in 内陸圏・海域圏交流ネットワークとイスラム/九州大学二一世紀CEプログラム-東アジアと日本: 交流と変容: 2006).

information about the reorganization of the cities in Jiangnan and the activities of the people involved. Further, it even shed light on the interactions of Chinese and Japanese then. Thus, although stone inscriptions mainly tell us about the regional society, they could also provide us information about a broader world beyond the regional boundary.

CONCLUSION

There are various points we must consider when studying the historical information inscribed on rocks and stones. As the organizer and chair of this panel, I wrote this paper to provide a comprehensive view [“of the topic at hand”], while touching upon potential topics that could be discussed in the future. In general, panel chairs do not express personal opinions, but as I was provided an opportunity to submit a paper by the 38th ICANAS committee, I decided to discuss my views here.

As clearly demonstrated by our panel participant Takashi Sue, one of the focal points of our panel is what extant materials reveal about regional society. Other participants also deal with this point. We compared various stone inscriptions, gazetteer records, and texts about stone inscriptions pertaining to the city god shrine in the regional center of Shaoxing prefecture. From this comparison, we learned that gazetteers are a precious archive of documents relating to regional customs.

As it is clear from the panel topic, our discussion focused, first, on stone inscriptions and, in cases in which the original stones and rocks were lost, paper records made of them; and, second, on how to analyze stones or paper records as historical materials. We also looked at the wall newspapers that have appeared in modern China.

In my opinion, stone inscriptions strongly reflect the conditions of the regional society where they were made and can therefore reveal facts about regional society that cannot be found in official records. However, we must take due precautions when studying them. We certainly cannot presume that no changes were made to stone inscriptions once they were made.

We must also be cautious when using transcribed copies of stone inscriptions, since the transcription process itself raises complicated issues for scholars who study them as historical materials. As an example of this, I discussed certain stone inscriptions whose existence had remained unknown because they were difficult to transcribe. For these reasons, we need to be cautious when using stone inscriptions as historical documents. I also analyzed a city map that had been inscribed on stone and showed how we can combine materials from various sources in order to conduct a comparative study of it. I showed how [the map sheds light on] conditions in the urban Jiangnan region and on Jiangnan’s interactions with

other regions beyond the channel. Speaking generally, we can say that, when stone inscriptions describe interactions among residents of different geographical areas, they provide useful information not only about a particular locality but also about the wider region of which it is a part.

Since rocks and stones are non-portable, the information inscribed on them survives the passage of time. Such records prove that regional society is part of the wider scope of national history and, in a sense, they bring to life again those who left their names, and their imprint, on regional society.

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA: Now, Anne Gerritsen.

Anne GERRITSEN* Thank you very much, Prof. Ihara. Can you hear? Yeah? OK!

What I would like to do here is to take a brief but critical look at the nature of Chinese local history documents. I am not proposing that my paper alone will build a new theory as my title suggests, but perhaps taken together the paper is in this panel, do you suggest a way to words' echo here into, may be a new approach to the sources that we usually refer to as local. And this echo herein stamps from, I think, are a shared skepticism that a set of sources can be identified as local rather than central or global. I want to thank the organizers of these two panels to give us, for giving us this opportunity to reflect on a nature of local sources and on the ways in which we use these sources. My own research until now has focused on Ti-an prefecture, In-Jungs province during Sun-Yuan-Min transition. What I would suggest and this confirms the work that I will discuss by my colleagues here is that there is no such thing as a simple die-coater between local and central.

Let me explain that a little bit further; in the textual records I have looked at, one sees both evidences of constructional powerful local identities as well as a desire to present a locality as closely aligned to the center. Sometimes, these two are separated by time, appeared in the localization followed by period of centralization; sometimes, these two are separated by the people, one individual more focused on the local another spending time mostly at the capital; and sometimes, both tendencies are visible within the same literate collection within the same text. I think, we agree the texts need to be interrogated and read as evidence of complex that includes central and empire-wide strategies as well as those of localities and individuals. Let me just give one specific example how this kind of interrogation my work in practice.

In my research on Jiannen countered documents related to a shrine of lady Tan. This shrine is a memory of a woman who had sort refuge with her child from her invading Mongol troops in the confusion temple in the county Sit of Yon-Sin in Western Jian-ni Honan border. The soldiers had tried to rape her and in

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defending herself, she was killed with the child, cradling the child with her arms and her blood stained the floor of the temple. This event has taken place around the four of the sudden soon of a number subsequently noted by the overfilled of Lady Tan included in the official histories of Soon and Yuen. About hundred years later, when a new magistrate visited the temple, this blood stain was still vividly visible on the floor. So he familiar raised himself with the story, restored the shrine, enroot the fully account of these events with gazatier. On the basis of these, another documents and Jian traitor, so the local man, by the name of Li-Tan-Shi, by Li-Jan as well, root of fictional account of the same story, featuring Lady Tan, the magistrate visiting the shrine, the son of the magistrate who encountered the spirit of Lady Tan in his dream. In these various documents, the basis of the story remains the same; a young woman dies in an attempt to preserve her honor, her blood remains visible in the temple and the shrine is built to remember her loyalty.

The interpretation of these events, however, the development in the resources are not the same. I will skip here the background on these two men, just saying that one of these two authoritative documents about this case, one of them is a local man who spent most of his time serving a way from the locality, the other, a man from elsewhere who served within this prefecture. The two versions of the tail of Lady Tan had day left behind one a fictional account the other entry for the gazatier. Reflect this very different positions, one is a local man who serves away from home and wrights about his own locality from a distance; the other is an outsider, uses the local text to enhance his sense of belonging within this locality.

In one version, the fictional account, written by the local man who is away, the Lady Tan text time to explain her local ties, the connections, when she defends herself against Mongols, she draws her sense of lost of exclusion in the pawns that she leaves behind, when she visits the magistrate's son in his dreams and Tiannen Shan-Sheng-Shang features very prominently in the story as a symbol of local pride and identity.

In this version, the magistrate, who came from elsewhere and served here, the emphasis shifts away from the locality who seeks to draw the attention to the verges of Lady Tan and the ways in which there is, verges are presented in the community and his charge highlighting the universality of those values and his own role within that as a capable local magistrate. When that makes in apparent in this version too but here, the political circumstances are elaborated further revealing when Shan-Sheng-Shang fail to arrive in time with the promised reinforcements which implicitly hold when Shan-Sheng-Shang is responsible for the killings in Yong-Shin, a dimension has completely absent in the version of these events, written by Chang-Shin.

These are very subtle differences, of course, but what they reveal is that the local means something very different to these men and the text, they leave behind reveal, is different positions and need to be interrogated with those different

positions in mind. It is only one, we combine different sources there, we see how they can be interrogated and how they can yield useful information about the meaning of a locality. The same is true, I would suggest for the local versus global die-coater mean. Let me explain that in a little more detail to I refer with these terms to two distinct visions of China that co-exist in literature. On the one hand, there is the vision of China, produced by local historians of China; this vision is a composite picture made up from studies of its individual localities based often on gazatiers, on writings by locally based officials and literaty by the ... and epigraphical materials, all of which are though the yield information about the nature of a locality. So the image of China that emerges from such resources is self contained to some extent inward looking, perhaps even isolated and they adapt of places that they take pride in a round identity and in the ways in which they can form too and negotiate their place amongst the norms set out the value throughout China.

Connectively, as local historians, we try to combine these various scattered studies we have, to improve the understanding of the whole, these qualities, working this field, introducing the developing their understanding of China and of the complexity of these relationships between, on one hand, the many constituting parts and the whole that we refer as China that would be one of the better terms. On the other hand, there are those who look at China in a much wider international or global context.

For such studies, it is a section on tribute for non-Chinese people in the Dynastic histories or used or official compendia or foreign trade records, and historians use these to reevaluate Chinese participation in international relations and in global trade. We've image of the China that emerges from those studies, has radically changed over time from a country engaged mostly with the outside world, entirely on its own terms to a place participated actively in official and informal ways in overseas trade networks and exchange patterns. So, there is the local vision of China, the China feels to engage with outside world, dominated by inward looking confusion scholars who concern themselves first informal within local identities and beyond that only with the regional and perhaps the center in the Chinese state. And there is the global vision of China that engages in export with the people at travel trade and migrate and that shape global patterns of taste and conception. I am not suggesting that these are, somehow, in conflict with each other and they go exist, work is done by scholars with very different backgrounds, very different interests and very often in different departments in academic institutions.

Nevertheless, I think in mind be fruitful try to bring these two visions of China rather than separating the local from the global round by distinguishing, by trying to bring together sources from local history together with sources for global history. And I think the work by our colleagues to demonstrate the possibilities here the blue wave that, I think Professor İlhan, I just handed at two few here which looks

at maritime cross-cultural exchanging Asian interplay between maritime trade and local culture, specifically in newborn.

In the remaining minutes of this paper, I would like to consider how in mine go back to interrogation of sources in a different location and inby putting together different types of sources. So, let me briefly provide an overview of some of the available materials that are an existence normally referred as local documents about ... and of course, this is an extremely preliminarily at this stage. But the question that presents itself immediately is how Marquise Tan of Ginda fits into the ministered structure of prefecture and county, generally imposes its order on local sources. There are references to accounting on Ful-Yang from the middle of the eighth century onward but the place of Ginda never gain the state of its county seat. Ful-Yang of both have gazatiers around of the prefecture Ful-Yang, the county late Min-Van but there isn't any specific separate early gazatier for the place of Ginda. The absence of the county seats, in other words, and the shifting boundaries that asserted their authority over the place from prefecture and from different provincial units, mean that we see, what we can see locally only through this prism and actually have hard time fitting Ginda within that.

The same is true when searching for genealogies. Ya-Pullet contain information about Ginda-Gin. These two, thus, fall of the high ordering of the system of place. The Shanghai library, for example, with its boost collection of genealogies, orders the through county seats, and the county seat order that the Shanghai library has several ... referring to the Ful-Yang county as an organizing principle, none of those gazatiers referred directly to Ginda-Gin. So, the materials such as gazatiers and genealogies reach us through this prism of the local administrative structure, and the information, they yield, most readily pretends this administrative structure, securing from dew sides, the challenge this administrative structure such as Gin, Marquise Tan. So, in order to understand how Gin existed as a place of high organized administered, how economic and informal powers were negotiated, locally different types of sources need to be put together.

In some ways, the resources from the end of spectrum, produced by those, interested in Chinese relations with outside world, are equally frustrating for finding out about the ways in which Ginda Gin operated as a place. Scholarship that discusses the global trade in ceramics from Ginda Gin, draws the wide variety of sources including the relevant sections in the dynastic history, the archaic material from imperial household department, foreign trade documents such as the diaries of Dutch ambassadors who visited Peking and records of the various trade companies. But such materials of them provide extensive information about the ways in which ceramics were produced within Ginda-Gin by whom, for whom, and what cost. And none of these tells anything in very great detail about the way in which Ginda-Gin operated as more than aside of export ceramics.

There is a third group of sources associated with Ginda-Gean and these are the records specifically about the production of porcelain. They are produced by

different groups of participants in the process as a whole ranging from those of pointed by the central government to oversee the local production in the imperial kilns to foreign visitors who passed Ginda-Gean on route to the capital and missionaries who came to prize a way the secret of porcelain making from the Chinese. But here too, few sources provide direct information about Ginda-Gean as a place.

What we have from the searches that has been done to date are tantalizing glimpses. We know, for example, that Ginda Gin was a busy place, as it is testified by this 1487 temple inscription. The town is producing imperial porcelain for the entire country, couriers are coming and going day and night, officials are arriving from everywhere, merchants doing their business, insistently ignore their route, seems to be too narrow for all this traffic. The statement has confirmed in a much later source, namely the record of ... a seventeenth century Dutchman who travels through China with the Dutch's Indian company in the seventeenth century, his published notes were quickly translated into English, French and German, and subsequently, widely circulated. This is what he wrote about Ginda Gin in English translation of 1670.

“The place is about two miles long, reach for traffic, and replenished with handsome buildings every year, so full with those that trading porcelain that can scares to pass to throne. The river lies generally full of box wherein they load and so transported all over to the world.”

Perhaps, Ginda-Gin was far from pleasant, if the visitors noticed traffic congestion in the fifteenth century and still observed in the seventeenth century. The combination of those two sources, one a local, the other a global source, conserves to confirm the impression that a single source, use in isolation, fails to do. It will be obvious from my turn here that I have not yet done, the work that needs to be done. What I purpose to do is to look closely at the continuity is in the interplay between local manufacture and export between local production and central government demand between those involved locally in ceramics and those who lived locally but who were not involved in the ceramics business and between local magnets and representative outside tastes and economic strongholds. I don't know yet where this leads exactly but I hope that a close interrogation of those sources can tell us something interesting about the ways in which locality like Ginda-Gin operated within all these circle connecting lines. Thank you very much.

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA: Now, Takashi Sue.

Ass. Prof. Dr. Takashi SUE*: Thank you Mr. Chairman,

Rocks Copied on Papers During Song-Qing Era: Why were StoneInscriptions Recorded in Local Gazetteers? (Translated by Dr. Mayumi Yosida)

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout China's long history, we find a great number of copies of stone tablets or monuments included in collections of stone rubbings as well as various records and local gazetteers. Why did Chinese people transcribe stone inscriptions on papers? This may sound like a silly question, but in fact, in no other country of the world do we find such abundance of relatively accurate copies of stone inscriptions in document format (except for collections of stone rubbings). Needless to say, inscriptions were created in order to make the records permanent, so that future generations could read them. If such was the case, what was the reason for transcribing them onto papers? In order to answer this question, we need to compare the Chinese case with those of other regions in the world that have well-developed stone inscription culture.

For the studies of Chinese history, local gazetteers and stone inscriptions are the best source of regional history as they provide vivid information about the characteristics of each region during particular time in history. In China, since antiquity, there has been a tradition to create geographical gazetteers that described the geographical features of a given region. Until the Tang period, these gazetteers were mostly illustrated texts in which maps played the primary role. The active compilation and printing of local gazetteers began in the late Northern Song, a trend which continued into the Ming and Qing period, when publication of these texts proliferated. These gazetteers were rich in descriptive contents that could be read as the local history of districts and commanderies. Increased interest in local regions reflected not only the needs of the dynasty but also the maturing of regional society. As the regional society matured, cultural activities and projects relating to temples and shrines, schools, social welfare, bridge-building, and water transportation made a remarkable progress. As such, details of these activities and projects were inscribed on stones as perpetual regional records.

In this manner, regional history of China was continuously recorded in local gazetteers and stone monuments. However, there is virtually no prior work on stone inscriptions that clearly discusses the relations between local gazetteers and stone monuments. How did the authors of local gazetteers use the information from the stone inscriptions when writing local gazetteers? Why were many of the inscriptions quoted or mentioned in local gazetteers? Why did compilation of local gazetteers become popular after late XIth century? We are faced with numerous questions. On the other hand, in recent years, scholars are using more and more materials of regional history such as local gazetteers, stone inscriptions and tombstone epitaph for the study of Chinese history. When using these materials, one must carefully examine their characteristics and establish a detailed method of analysis. However, despite the popular use of various materials on regional

history, no one has really attempted to study the characteristics of these materials nor focused on the method of analysis.¹

In order to find answers the questions presented above, I will, in this paper, examine the historical records regarding the city-god shrine² in the superior prefecture of Shaoxing 紹興府 (former prefecture of Yue, 越) as a case study. As is well known, superior prefecture of Shaoxing is a major urban area along the Southeastern shoreline of China with a long history and tradition. Therefore, focusing on these materials helps us reveal the regional characteristics and history of the so-called Ningshao 寧紹 region. The city-god shrine of this place enshrines General Pang Yu 龐玉 who was active in late Sui and early Tang dynasties; thus the shrine has been there since the Tang times.³ Various types of records about this shrine exist, dating from the Five Dynasties to the Qing, and therefore, we can analyze a large quantity of materials stretching over a long period in history. For these reasons, I decided to focus on the historical materials about the city-god shrine of the superior prefecture of Shaoxing. Through the discussion in this paper, I intend to reveal the characteristics and value of stone inscriptions, collections of records and local gazetteers as historical materials. I also hope to show the relationship between inscriptions and local gazetteers on one hand, and local gazetteers and collections of historical records on the others; and to uncover the reason why these inscriptions were transcribed. By doing so, I hope to contribute to the future study of Chinese regional history.

1. List of Historical Records about the City-God Shrine of the Superior District of Shaoxing (紹興府)

Before analyzing the historical materials about the city-god shrine of the superior district of Shaoxing, I will explain the available materials by categorizing them into stone inscriptions and edited materials.

(1) Stone Inscriptions

〈Table 1〉 in the attachment is a list of stone inscriptions about the city-god shrine of the superior prefecture of Shaoxing (prefecture of Yue 越州). As evident

¹ In recent years, Morita Kenji (森田憲司), a leading Japanese scholar of Yuan dynasty stone inscriptions, has pointed out “synchronicity”, “individuality”, and “universal existence (for excavated inscriptions)” as the primary characteristics of stone inscriptions as historical materials. See Morita Kenji (2006a, 2006b).

² In general, city-god shrines are shrines dedicated to guardian gods that protected the cities. They are still centers of strong religious belief in Taiwan and Singapore. There are various theories about the origin of city-god shrines. Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅 (1990) presented a clear discussion about the history of its studies as well as the history of the system for establishing city-god shrines. For the study of city-god shrines of Tang and Song, refer to David Johnson (1985).

³ Since the word “renovated again (重修)” appears in the monument of the “Record of the Shrine of Lord Chongfu (崇福侯廟之記)” erected on the 2nd year of Kaiping 開平 (908), it is apparent that this temple has been there since the Tang period.

from this table, I was able to find 6 relevant inscriptions. ① was made when 錢鏐, Qian Liu, king of Wuyue 吳越 received the title “worshipping god” from later Liang 後梁 dynasty when he renovated a local city-god shrine. A stone rubbing is found in the **Collection of Chinese Stone Inscriptions and their Rubbings Preserved in the Beijing National Library** (北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編, hereafter **SSCI**). In addition, as I mention later, it is also included or quoted in various collections of historical records and local gazetteers such as the **Jinshi Cubiani** 金石萃編 and the **Yuezhong jinshigji** (越中金石記). Thus we learn that this inscription has been valued by those who studied and collected stone and metal inscriptions. Inscription ② was created when Zhai Si 翟思⁴, Prefect of Yuezhou, renovated the city-god shrine. A rubbing of it is found in the **SSCI**, and its copy is also included in the **Yuezhong jinshiji**. Inscriptions ③ and ④ explain how the mounting frame with the name of the shrine and a special title for the god was bestowed in early Southern Song. As far as I know, rubbing of ④ is included in the **SSCI**, but I have not been able to confirm the rubbing of ③. As for these two inscriptions, they are recorded, in full or part, in the texts about stone inscriptions such as the **Yuezhong jinshiji** or local gazetteers. As is apparent from the title of the inscriptions, ⑤ and ⑥ were inscribed when the shrine was renovated. However, as for ⑤, the inscriptions transcribed and included in the **Yuezhong jinshiji**, which is the only text that contains copy of this monument, have too many missing characters. As a result, we do not really know how this monument came to be erected. ⑥ was erected when Xiao Lianggan 蕭良幹, then Prefect of Shaoxin, renovated the shrine. At this point however, I have only seen the parts of the inscriptions quoted under the entry of “Shrines and Worships (祠祀志)” in volume 36 of the **Gazetteer of the Superior Prefecture of Shaoxing** (紹興府志) of the Qianlong 乾隆 period.

Of the six inscriptions I mentioned above, ② and ④ were inscribed on the backside of ① and ③ respectively. Therefore, ① and ② as well as ③ and ④ are inscribed on the front and back side of a single monument.⁵ As far as I know, such inscriptions are rare and are worth paying attention to. However, since ③ and ④ describe the concurrent bestowing of the mounting frame with the name of the shrine and the divine title that took place on a certain day of the fifth month of the first year of Shaoxing, it is understandable that two inscriptions with different contents were recorded on each side of a single monument. However, ② was inscribed on the back side of the monument 190 years after ① was inscribed,

⁴ 翟思 served as Prefect of Yuezhou from the 4th month of the 4th year of Shaosheng 紹聖 (1097) to the 2nd month of the 2nd year of Yuanfu 元符 (1099). Refer to the entry of “太守” in volume 2 of the **Gazetteer of Huiji** (會稽志) of the Jiatai 嘉泰 period.

⁵ Refer to the paragraph that says, “宋越州新修城隍廟記紹聖五年在臥龍山上城隍廟。即刻于崇福侯廟碑之陰”, and “宋越州顯寧廟牒紹興元年在臥龍山上城隍廟。與昭祐公牒一碑兩面”, found under the entry of “金石志” 2 in volume 76 of the **Gazetteer of the Superior Prefecture of Shaoxing** (紹興府志) of the Qianlong 乾隆 era.

which makes us wonder why they did not erect a separate monument. Needles to say, there may have been some monetary issues for erecting a new monument, or the inscriptions of ② may have been copied from a separate monument that are no longer transmitted. Nonetheless, we need to examine the relation between ① and ② with focus on their contents. Inscriptions ①, ②, ③ and ④ are fundamental historical materials that can tell us about the origin of the city-god shrine of the superior prefecture of Shaixing. Furthermore, since many scholars of stone and metal inscriptions have paid due attention to ①, ③ and ④, I will conduct a detailed analysis of the characteristics and value of the two monuments in question consisting of four types of inscriptions altogether in Section 2 of this paper.

(2) Compiled Historical Materials

Above stone inscriptions were transcribed onto papers and included in various types of historical materials that were edited later. Therefore, I will examine what types of historical materials contain transcriptions of stone monuments by focusing specifically on local gazetteers and texts about stone inscriptions. Attached 〈Table 2〉 is a list of these texts. I created this table by referring to the **Index to Titles and Prescripts of Stone Inscriptions** 石刻題跋索引 (商務院書館, 1940) edited by Yang Dianxun 楊殿珣 as well as other texts about stone inscriptions. It enumerates the titles of texts that contain transcribed inscriptions and their contents.

From this table, it becomes clear that the inscriptions of ① about the “Shrine for Lord Chongfu (崇福侯廟之記)” attracted great attention from Qing scholars of metal and stone inscriptions. All texts of stone inscriptions included in this table were written during the Qing dynasty. Many Qing scholars who studied stone and metal inscriptions were interested in this monument. They would transcribe the entire inscription on it, then examine the inscription’s scripts and content, or discuss its layout and format. Further, we also learn from this table that these scholars were also greatly interested in the inscriptions of the temple document 廟牒 from inscriptions ③ and ④ of the early Southern Song⁶ and that each text has a different way of quoting and introducing the inscriptions. For example, while there is a text that introduces the whole inscriptions, there is another text that only provides comments about the author’s personal analysis of the inscriptions. There is also a text in which the author provides his view after examining the opinions of earlier scholars of metal and stone inscriptions, and there is also a text that merely lists the titles of the monuments as part of a project to compile an index of metal and stone inscriptions.

⁶ The inscription of the imperial document about the shrine (廟牒) is an inscription of the imperial statement (牒文) issued by the Department of State Affairs (尚書省) that describes how the mounting frame and the title came to be bestowed by the Song court to the god enshrined there. For the temple document (廟牒) of the Song, refer to Sue Takashi (2000a, 2000b, 2001b, 2004a). For the bestowment of mounting frames and titles, refer to Sue Takashi (1994, 2001a, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a).

Why were Qing dynasty scholars interested in inscriptions such as ①, ③, and ④? First of all, for what reason did they decided to examine these monuments and recorded them in the texts of stone inscriptions? What was their focus? In section 3 of this paper, I will examine the varied ways of introducing and recording the inscriptions by the Qing scholars in order to reveal their varied approach and purpose for compiling texts about stone inscriptions.

Next, I will discuss about local gazetteers. Throughout history, a number of gazetteers were compiled in the superior prefecture of Shaoxing where the city-god shrine that I focus on in this paper existed. **The Gazetteer of the superior prefecture of Shaoxing** of the Qianlong era (紹興府志卷77, 經籍志, 史, 地理類) provides a chronological list of local geographical texts from the earliest to the Qianlong version as follows:

越州圖經9卷：李宗諤祥符所上、李垂·邵煥修。

新修紹興圖經：無撰人名、或李垂·邵煥也。

會稽志20卷：嘉泰辛酉、沈作賓修、施宿等纂。

會稽統志8卷：寶慶乙酉、張湔纂修。

越州新志：宋陳公亮撰。

紹興郡志8卷：元韓性撰。

紹興府志42卷：宏治庚申、府訓道長洲戴冠撰、未刊。

紹興府志：嘉靖初年、知府南大吉修刻、止十二卷、未竟。

紹興府志50卷：萬曆丙戌、郡人張忭·孫鑛同修。

紹興府志：康熙辛亥、知府張三異修。

紹興府志：康熙癸亥、知府王之□修。

紹興府志60卷：康熙辛未、知府李鐸修。

紹興府志60卷：康熙己亥、知府□卿修。

紹興府志80卷：乾隆壬子、李亨特修。（筆者補記）

Attached **Table 3** was created with reference to the above list and shows the genealogy of local gazetteers compiled in the superior prefecture of Shaoxing. In the table, I only listed the titles and common appellations if the compilation dates are unknown. Although the compilation date of the **Newly Revised Illustrated Geography of Shaoxing** (新修紹興圖經) is unknown in the above list, I determined it to be around 1108 because compilation of illustrated gazetteers was promoted nationally after Li Zong'e 李宗諤 submitted 1566 volumes of illustrated gazetteers to the court during the Dazhong Xiangfu (大中祥符) era of the Northern Song, and an imperial order issued in the 2nd year of Daguan 大觀 (1108)

to submit illustrated gazetteers⁷ Furthermore, I designated the compilation year of the **New Local Gazetteers of Yuezhou** (越州新志) edited by Chen Gongliang 陳公亮 to be 1192-1193 because the only information available about Chen is that he was appointed Judicial Commissioner of the Liang-zhe West Route (提点兩浙西路刑獄公事) and then to be Assistant Fiscal Commissioner of Jaingnan West Route (江南西路轉運副使) during this time.⁸ I referred to the **Summary of the Indices of Chinese Local Gazetteers** 中国地方志總目提要 (漢美圖書有限公司, 1996) for the gazetteers compiled during the Kangxi 康熙 period of the Qing dynasty.

From this table, it is apparent that the local gazetteers of the Shaoxing (Yuezhou) were created by referring to repeated revisions of previous works. This fact becomes clearer if we look at the structure of the records relating to the city-god shrine in the last gazetteer written during the Qianlong period of the Qing. Attached **Figure 1** shows the structure of the descriptions of the city-god shrine included in the Qianlong text (紹興府志卷 36, 祠祀志). “俞志” in the map refers to the Kangxi gazetteer compiled in 1719. If we examine the whole text, the only part written by the author of the Qianlong edition was the last paragraph, “新增事實。乾隆五十六年、知府李亨特重修上廟,” and all other parts are extractions from earlier local gazetteers or stone inscriptions. Furthermore, two third of the main text was taken from the Jiatai 嘉泰 edition of the **Gazetteers of Huiji** 會稽志, suggesting that the Jiatai edition was a primary source of history about the city-god shrine of this region. In that case, local gazetteers of the superior prefecture of Shaoxing transmitted the records of local history from Jiatai gazetteer. What then, was the original source of information for the Jiatai gazetteer? Does the Jiatai gazetteer have any relevance to the stone inscriptions that existed at the time? By looking at **Table 1**, we also see that comments are inserted between the main text of the Kangxi and Qianlong editions. Three different inscriptions are quoted in the comments, occupying as much as half the space. The three inscriptions quoted here are ①, ④ and ⑥ from the **Table 1** that I mentioned in Section 1. For each case, primary part of the inscriptions is quoted almost entirely. Why did the editor of the Qianlong edition include these three inscriptions? The Qianlong edition’s way of describing the records about the city-god shrine raises several questions. For this reason, it is necessary to focus on the Jiatai and the Qianlong editions and examine their relevance to the stone inscriptions. I will discuss this point in detail in section 4 of this paper.

In the local gazetteers of Shaoxing, stone inscriptions are quoted under the entries of “Sacrificial Temples (祠廟門)” or “Stone and Metal Inscriptions (金石門).” I will look at how stone inscriptions are recorded in local gazetteers in greater detail. Among the gazetteers compiled in this region, the **Gazetteer of**

⁷ Refer to Sue Takashi (2004b).

⁸ Refer to 吳郡志卷 7.

Huiji會稽志 of the Jitai era and the **Gazetteer of the Superior Prefecture of Shaoxing**紹興府志 of the Qianlong era include entries for "Stone inscriptions (碑刻門)" and "Stone and Metal Inscriptions (金石志)" respectively. However, no inscriptions relating to the city-god shrine are included under the entry of "Stone inscriptions" in the Jitai text.⁹ This was probably because the editor of this text mainly collected stone inscriptions of precious poems and prose writings of different dynasties.¹⁰ Nonetheless, in this text, we find a number of descriptions that were clearly written by referring to the inscriptions relating to the city-god shrine. For example, under the entry of "Shrines and Temples" in volume 6 of the Jitai text, we find the following paragraph, which is almost identical with the inscriptions of the "Imperial Document of Xianning (顯寧廟牒)" or the "imperial Document of Lord Zhaoyou (昭祐公牒)". I will quote the paragraph in question;

紹興元年、詔以駐口會稽踰年、妖祲不作、行殿載寧。城隍崇福侯廟、賜額顯寧、封昭祐公。（嘉泰志）

三省同奉聖旨、駐口會稽、今已踰歲、妖祲不作、行殿載寧。越州城隍崇福侯廟、可特賜額封公。（「顯寧廟牒」and「昭祐公牒」）

The second paragraph is taken from the stone inscription. Although the two paragraphs are not exactly identical, it is clear that the paragraph in the Jitai gazetteer either directly quoted the original inscriptions or modified them slightly. We also find the following description of relevant stone inscriptions under the entry of "Stone and Metal Inscriptions (金石志)" in volume 76 of the **Qianlong** gazetteer;

①崇福侯廟之記：梁重修墻隍神廟兼奏進封崇福侯記梁開平二年在臥龍山上城隍廟。開平二年、歲在武辰月。啓聖匡運同德功臣·淮南鎮海鎮東等軍節度使·檢校太師·守侍中兼中書令吳越王鏐記。金石文字記云、此碑以城為墻、以戊為武。（**here after**, quotations from only the **Record of the Scripts of Metal and Stone Inscriptions**金石文字記by Gu Yanwu顧炎武）

②越州新修城隍廟記：宋越州新修城隍廟記紹聖五年在臥龍山上城隍廟。即刻于崇福侯廟碑之陰。蕭山県主簿吳蹟撰文。知錄事參軍王仲勇書。碑記云、紹聖丁丑孟夏、為龍凶翟公思來治州事、重修城隍廟。所立廟成於紹聖戊寅五月、則為哲宗之五年、即元符元年也。

③顯寧廟牒：宋越州顯寧廟牒紹興元年在臥龍山上城隍廟。與『昭祐公牒』一碑兩面。

⁹ Under the entry of city-god shrines of the 會稽續志(卷3) of the 寶慶 era, we find a paragraph that says, "有梁開平武辰歲吳越錢王重修墻隍神廟記。墻隍即城隍, 武辰即戊辰也。避朱梁諱, 故以墻代城, 武代戊。" Thus, it refers to the "崇福侯廟之記。"

¹⁰ The preface by Lu You陸游 to the 會稽志 of the 嘉泰 era, says, "I tried to discover the fragments of poems and prose writings that are no longer missing in the extant part of damaged texts but were inscribed on metals and stones during the Han, Chin, Tang and later eras as well as information transmitted orally by our fathers and ancestors but are not written down, and I completed my work only after much time and effort."

④昭祐公牒：宋越州顯寧廟昭祐公牒紹興元年在臥龍山上城隍廟。正書七行、字徑三寸。前列小字三行、乃太常寺狀申聞尚書省奉勅施行者也。後有判紹興軍府事·兩浙東路安撫使孟忠厚題名一行、是碑蓋其所立。

Under the entry of “Sacrificial shrines (祠祀志)” in volume 36 of the same text, primary part of the inscription was quoted only as part of the comment. However, under the entry of “Stone and Metal Inscriptions (金石志),” not only the author of the inscription but also the format and layout of the inscription on the monument as well as the texts about stone inscriptions are mentioned.

In this section, I discussed the available historical materials concerning the city-god shrine of the superior prefecture of Shaoxing by categorizing them into stone inscriptions and edited texts (i.e., texts about stone inscriptions and local gazetteers). I also explained how stone inscriptions were transcribed and included in edited texts. Next, I will analyze the historical characteristics of the stone inscriptions.

2. Two Stone Monuments and Their Values as Historical Materials

(1) Stone Inscriptions of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song

The “Record of the Temple for Lord Chongfu” 崇福侯廟之記 (hereafter referred to as the Qian inscription 錢碑) and the “Record of the Newly Renovated City-god Shrine of Yuezhou” 越州新修城隍廟記 (hereafter referred to as the Di inscription 翟碑) built on 908 and 1098 respectively, were inscribed on the front and the back side of a single monument. The Qian inscription attracted attentions from many Qing scholars of stone and metal inscriptions. This inscription has a unique format, which is the most distinguishable characteristic of it. The rubbing of the inscription is shown in attached **Material 1**. On the surface of the stone, Qian Liu’s words consisting of ten and eight lines respectively are inscribed in small letters. At the center, imperial decree in six lines is inscribed in larger letters. It is apparent that this imperial decree is emphasized. Qian Daxin 錢大昕 comments by saying he has never seen such a format in any other stone inscriptions,¹¹ Therefore, we learn that this was an extremely rare case. Why did Qian Liu, the king of Wuyue, had such a unique inscription made?

The inscription mainly tells us that Qian Liu renovated the city-god shrine of Yuezhou again and that the title of Lord Chongfu was bestowed by the later Liang dynasty to Pan Yu enshrined there. It also says that the divine title was given to admire the meritorious achievement Pan Yu made when he was Chief Official of Yuezhou and to revere the miracles occurred after the deification. Further, it also mentions that the bestowing of the title was realized by the request of Qian Liu who

¹¹ Refer to the description for the Record of the Shrine for Lord Chongfu 崇福侯廟記 found in the 金石文跋尾 (卷10) by Qian Daxin 錢大昕 that says, “記文、吳越王錢撰。前十行、後八行、字大徑寸。中列勅文六行、字大徑二寸許。此式他碑所未見。”

was able to petition for such a request because he was ordered to rule both the Wu and Yue regions by the Later Liang dynasty as Head of the Southeastern region. According to the description in the entry of “封嶽瀆” in the **Wudai huiyao** 五代會要 (juan 11), an imperial order to bestow the title of Lord Chongfu to the city-god was issued upon the request by Qian Liu in the first year of Kaiping 開平 (907), immediately after the fall of the Tang. The paragraph given below follows after this sentence. This paragraph is also included in the. **Cefu yuangui** 冊府元龜 (juan 32, 崇祭祀3). As such, I have revised the minor differences between the two records.

後唐清泰元年) 年十一月、勅杭州護國廟封崇德王、城隍神改封順義保寧王、銅官廟改封福善通靈王、湖州城隍神封阜裕安成王、越州城隍神廟改封興德保闡王。從兩浙節度使錢元瓘奏也。

Thus, the above record tells us that the request for bestowing of titles to the enshrined deities was made during the time of Qian Yuanquan, son of Qian Liu, and that titles were given with increase of domination to the gods of Hangzhou (杭州), Huzhou (湖州), and Yuezhou (越州) by the Later Tang dynasty. Qian Liu became Military Commissioner of Zhenhai and Zhendong 鎮海·鎮東兩軍節度使 in 896. When the Tang dynasty collapsed, he established his kingdom in Hangzhou. The Later Liang dynasty enthroned him as King of Wuyue. Since then, the kingdom of Wuyue subjugated itself to the central dynasty in formality to fulfill its propriety as a subordinate nation, demonstrating amicable attitude in general.¹² Therefore, request for titles by Qian Liu and his son, Qian Yuanquan is clearly their way of demonstrating loyalty to the central dynasty. Thus, Qian Liu inscribed the imperial decree in large letters at the center of the monument to reveal his loyalty.

In addition, the record in the **Wudai huiyao** 五代會要 shows that there were gods that were given new titles (改封) at this time, suggesting that they had been given different titles in the past. Thus, it is plausible that in the beginning of the Later Liang dynasty, Qian Liu requested titles for various city-god shrines in the Zhejiang region as the region had fallen under his subjugation. Upon receiving the imperial decree, Qian Liu renovated various city-god shrines that had been serving as the center for devotion by local residents since old times and had the fact of receiving imperial orders and titles for the gods from the central dynasty inscribed

¹² For example, at the beginning of the “Imperial Genealogy of the Ten Nations” 十國世家年譜 in the *Xinwudaishi* 新五代史 (卷71), the author, Ou-yang Xiu 歐陽脩 says that seven nations out of the ten claimed imperial titles but revised their era names while Wuyue 吳越, Jing 荆, and Chu 楚 always used the era name of the central dynasty. However, he adds that Wuyue may have declared imperial title (帝号) and was hiding the fact that they changed the era name. Nonetheless, since he says, “錢氏訖五代、嘗外尊中國、豈張軌之比乎”, we learn that Wuyue, at least in formality, recognized the sovereign power of the central dynasty.

to symbolize his authority. He did so in order to preside over the Zhejiang region as a newly-established King of Wuyue as it was an extremely unstable period following after the fall of the Tang. It is obvious that he intended to demonstrate his authority to local residents by establishing monuments that would highlight imperial decrees. Whether Qian Liu had fabricated the inscription or not was a center of discussion by the Qing scholars of metal and stone inscription. For example, Qian Daxin shows his doubt by pointing out that the official titles of the deified Pang Yu mentioned in the inscription are different from those recorded in his bibliography in the **Xintangshu**新唐書¹³. He also mentions that Qian Liu addresses himself as “啓聖匡運同德功臣” at the end of the inscription. (潛研堂金石文跋尾卷4. In addition, Wang Chang 王昶 claims that while the bibliography of Pang Yu in the **Xintangshu** provides detailed record of his career profile, the inscription merely describes his career in Yuezhou, more specifically, about the shrine dedicated to him built by local residents (**Jinshi Cuibianji**, jucan 119).

Furthermore, a question relating to the content of Qian Liu's inscription is also found in the Di inscription made on the back side of the Qian inscription in 1098. Attached **Material 2** is a rubbing from the Di inscription. All letters are of the same size, which is a distinct characteristic of this monument. In this regard, Di inscription is different from the Qian inscription. The Di inscription mainly describes how Di Si翟思 who became Prefect of Yuezhou in the fourth year of Shaosh 紹聖 (1097) initiated renovation of the city-god shrine, a project that was completed in the fifth month of the following year, and gives admiration to his action. It also mentions about the Qiang inscription as follows;

As I examined, (it became clear) that since a small city unit was moved here at the end of the Sui dynasty, Yuezhou has never been put in a good order. During the Tang dynasty, Pang Yu, the Defense General of the Right executed successful administration for the first time when he ruled the region. Upon his death, local residents of Yuezhou admired his virtue and worshipped him as the city-god. Qian Liu reported the fact to the central court in the 2nd year of Kaiping (908) of the Later Liang dynasty, and an imperial decree was passed to deify Pang Yu a Lord Chongfu.¹⁴ Qian Liu inscribed the imperial decree on a stone monument and erected it at the shrine. However, we cannot find

¹³ For example, at the beginning of the “Imperial Genealogy of the Ten Nations” 十国世家年譜 in the **Xinwudaishi**新五代史 (卷71), the author, Ou-yang Xiu歐陽脩 says that seven nations out of the ten claimed imperial titles but revised their era names while Wuyue吳越, Jing荆, and Chu 楚 always used the era name of the central dynasty. However, he adds that Wuyue may have declared imperial title (帝号) and was hiding the fact that they changed the era name. Nonetheless, since he says, “錢氏訖五代、嘗外尊中国、豈張軌之比乎”, we learn that Wuyue, at least in formality, recognized the sovereign power of the central dynasty.

¹⁴ Both the rubbing and the text of the original record from the “越州新修城隍廟記” says “崇德侯”. However, as it is apparent from the imperial decree in the 五代會要(卷11)as well as the錢碑, it is an error for “崇福侯.”

any written records regarding how Pang Yu was deified as the city-god. Thus I doubt whether Qian Liu had any reliable source to learn the details from. Confucius said, “I have been praying for a long before.”

This phrase poses doubt against the verity of Pang Yu’s deification and quotes the incident of late Sui and early Tang from the Qian inscription on the front side of the monument. The part about the words of Confucius at the end of the paragraph is rather difficult to comprehend. It is a quotation from the Confucian **Analect**. When Confucius fell very ill, his disciple, Zilu, expressed his wish to offer prayers on Confucius’s behalf. Confucius asked him to quote a precedent case, and Zilu quoted a phrase from the Classics saying that he would pray to the gods of Heaven and Earth. Confucius answered by saying, “I have been offering such prayers for a long time.”¹⁵ In the “Record of the City-god Shrine of the Jinyun District” (縉雲鼎城隍廟記) of Chuzhou (処州) erected in the 2nd year of Qianyuan 乾元 of the Tang (759), we find a paragraph that says, “city-gods are not recorded in the canon of worships (祀典) of the Tang royal house. However, the custom of worshipping the city-god existed in the Wuyue region, and local residents dedicated their prayers in times of heavy rain falls, draught, or epidemics.” Therefore, we learn that the city-god shrine of Yuezhou existed by mid Tang, and that it was greatly worshipped by the people of the Wuyue region.¹⁶ Thus, the quotation from the **Analects** was probably inserted to show that since people of Yuezhou had been dedicating their faithful prayers and worshipping the city-god, there is no need for Qian Liu to renovate the shrine and request a title in order to show his reverence. That is, it is self-evident that Qian Liu fabricated Pang Yu’s deification and inscribed the account of Pang Yu and the bestowing of the title. In addition, the Di inscription says, ‘Di Si renovated this shrine not because he sought for fortune like Qian Liu did. Instead, Di Si wished to solemnly revere the god and its divine light. It is only a matter of course that he did so.’ For this reason, the Di inscription was erected in order to admire Di Si’s renovation of the shrine that he initiated as Prefect, by comparing his motivation with that of Qian Liu. The Qian and Di inscriptions may have been inscribed on each side of a single monument because of their analogous contents.

Through the above discussion, I made it clear that the imperial decree in the Qian inscription was deliberately shown in larger letters and why it was so. After the fall of the Tang, Qian Liu renovated the city-god shrine in order to demonstrate his loyalty to the Kingdom of Later Liang and to emphasize his authority as the ruler presiding over the Yuezhou area. In addition, he fabricated the career of Pang Yu and the story behind his deification as the city-god. Qian Liu used such a fabricated profile to request a divine title for the city-god, and finally, erected a monument that deliberately emphasized the imperial decree.

¹⁵ Original Chinese is as follows; 子疾病。子路請禱。子曰、有諸。子路对曰、有之。誅曰、禱爾于上下神祇。子曰、丘之禱久矣。(論語, 述而)

¹⁶ Refer to the “縉雲鼎城隍廟記” included in the 金石萃編 (卷91)

(2) Stone Inscriptions of Early Southern Song

Next, I will examine the characteristics of an inscription of temple documents erected in early Southern Song, to reveal its value as historical materials. As mentioned before, this inscription consists of two imperial documents issued by the Department of State Affairs. The documents describe the bestowing of a mounting frame and a divine title that took place in the first year of Shaoxing (1131). The two documents are inscribed on each side of a single stone monument, erected on the 14th year of Shaoxing (1144) by Meng Zhonghou 孟忠厚 who was Administrative Assistant of Shaoxing (判紹興府).¹⁷ The title “Document of the Xianning Temple (顯寧廟牒)” is inscribed on the front side while the title “Document of Lord Zhaoyou (昭祐公牒)” is inscribed on the other side. The two imperial documents were originally issued in the format shown on **Figure 2** provided below.¹⁸ However, when the inscriptions were made, the documents were rearranged so that the imperial decrees would be shown at the center of the monument. **Material 3**, a stone rubbing of the “Document of Lord Zhaoyou,” clearly shows such an arrangement. Especially, the letter “imperial (勅)” is made to look very symbolic. This layout is similar to that of the Qian inscription. The same is also true with the Document of the Xianning Temple”.¹⁹ We find the following comment at the beginning of the **Yuezhong jinshiji** (juan 4) from which we can replicate the inscription.

碑高六尺六寸、廣三尺六寸。額篆書、「勅賜顯寧廟碑」六字、三行、徑三寸五分。文共十二行、字數不等。首行正書、徑四寸五分、狀三行、徑七分、勅三行、行書、徑四寸二分、牒奉及二勅字、徑五寸五分、年月、徑二寸、押勅、銜名一行、正書、徑四寸二分、題名四行、徑六分。

In **Figure 3**, I have replicated the inscription of the “Document of the Xianning Temple” by referring to the above comments. From this, we learn that this monument shared an identical format with the “Document of Lord Zhaoyou”. Thus, there is no doubt that when inscribing these two official documents, the author (of the inscriptions) had a specific intention, or his message, which he attempted to demonstrate by changing the document layout. What was his intention then?

¹⁷ For the year when this monument was erected, I referred to the comment under the entry of “昭祐公牒” in the *越中金石記* (卷四).

¹⁸ I created attached **Figure 2** by referring to the records found in the *越中金石記* (卷4)

¹⁹ As for other inscriptions of temple documents,, if we look at the Monument of the Temple for Wuyou (武佑廟牒碑) built in the Susan (肅山縣) of Yuezhou in the first month of the 2nd year of Jianguyan 建炎(1128) of the Southern Song, the letter “狀” is inscribed in an extremely small letter while another part of the imperial decree (勅) and the letter “勅” are written in different size. However, the inscription of the “Imperial Order to add Dominant to Lord Lingyuan of Jiaoshui Temple” (勅封湫水廟靈源侯牒碑) erected in the 6th year of Yuanfeng of the Northern Song (1083) does not show such a format although it is also a temple document. Refer to the *越中金石記* (卷4) and the *北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編*.

The imperial documents by the Department of State Affairs included in the inscriptions describe that Gaozong, the first emperor of the Southern Song, came to Yuezhou and remained there for years and evil incidents no longer occurred, and the palace was in peace. “Document of Lord Zhaoyou” explains that Emperor Gaozong visited various cities along the Southeastern shorelines (Zhejiang region) to propagate virtue and justice, and omens of disasters no longer manifested themselves due to divine aids. As such, dominants should certainly be added. Therefore, we learn that the fact of Emperor Gaozong’s visits to the Zhejiang region and his command to bestow mounting frames and titles are particularly emphasized in this case. For what purpose were these monuments erected then?

〈**Table 4**〉 is a chronological list of events concerning Emperor Gaozong’s and the system of shrines and temples during the early Southern Song. As is apparent from this, after assuming the throne in Nanjing, Emperor Gaozong travelled around the Zhejiang area, battling with the Jin armies. Finally, 12 years after his accession, he settled down in Linan and made it a temporary capital in the 8th year of Shaoxing (1138). During this time, his position as the emperor was quite unstable not only because of the continuous battle with the Jin but also because he was the 9th son of Huizong and did not assume the throne by formal abdication. It is a well-known fact that Emperor Qinzong 欽宗, the first son of Huizong, was still alive after he was taken to the North due to the Jingkang 靖康 incident. Thus, among the elites of the time, it was a controversial matter whether to recognize Gaozong’s enthronement as authentic or not. As such, Gaozong had a desperate need to justify his enthronement. By looking at 〈**Table 4**〉 makes it clear that as soon as he assumed the throne, Gaozong gave an imperial decree to protect all shrines and temples registered in the **Canon of Worships**. A year and several months later, he issued an order to bestow mounting frames and titles to shrines and temples known for their miraculous effect. He also issued such an order in the Zhejiang area where he travelled around in the past. In fact, bestowing of frames and titles are concentrated during this time in the areas where Gaozong drifted around in the past. 〈**Table 5**〉 is a list of bestowing of mounting frames and titles during the early Southern Song. I created this table based on the records in the **Song huiyaojigao** 宋会要輯稿 (礼20-21). We can clearly see such a trend from this list. Therefore, by reviewing these facts, it becomes apparent that Gaozong tried to justify his imperial position and authority in the Zhejiang area. The monument was erected in the 14th year of Shaoxing (1144) with reformatted decree by Gaozong in order to emphasize the justification of his visits to local areas and to symbolize the stabilization of his position.

This early Southern Song monument is quite similar in format with the Qianinscription as the imperial decree is placed at the center of the stone in larger letters. To begin with, the kingdom of Wuyue that Qian Liu established was based in Hangzhou, a city Gaozong designated as his temporary capital. Therefore, we

can easily presume that the two monuments are related. However, it is not the purpose of this paper to verify their relevance. Instead, I will quote an interesting paragraph from the **Xianhe yishi** 宣和遺事.

Empress Xianren gave birth to prince Gou 構. Huizong had a dream the night before. In the dream, King of Wuyue took Huisong's sleeve and said, "I will visit your house, upon which time, please retain me. Someday, you shall return my land to me." Empress Xianren also had a dream in which a god-like figure dressed in a solid armor appeared and declared himself to be King Qianwusu. When she woke up, she gave birth to the prince. This is the 9th child of Huizong. When this child was born, the palace was filled with crimson light.²⁰ The prince was enfeoffed as Lord of Kang 康王 in the second year of Xuanhe. Later, he assumed the throne in Nanjing and became Emperor Gaozong. The fact that Gaozong built the capital in Hangzhou corresponds to the dream in which King Qian told him to return his land. King Qianwusu refers to Qian Liu. He died at the age of 81. Emperor Gaozong also passed away at 81. Could this be a mere coincidence?

Needless to say, this is not a veritable historical document. However, we can confirm that during the early Southern Song, there was a popular rumor among lay people that Emperor Gaozong was a reincarnation of Qian Liu and that he was destined to establish a new capital in Hangzhou. Such a rumor may have been generated in order to justify Gaozong's authority as he established a temporary capital in Linan in Hangzhou. It suggests that Gaozong's position as the emperor was still quite unstable then. However, the relations between such a rumor and the Qian inscription, the "Temple Document of Xianning" and the "Document of Lord Zhaoyou" are unknown.

3. Intention Behind the Compilation of the Texts about Stone Inscriptions

As discussed in the previous section, the Qian inscription and the inscription of the temple documents had a unique format. Their contents are suggestive of some messages by the author. What viewpoint did the editors of the texts have about stone inscriptions? What was their editorial policies when they when transcribed such historically significant inscriptions to papers? I will quote the legend from the forward of the **Yuezhong jinshiji**:

There has not been any text dedicated to the stone inscriptions of Yuezhong. Only the **Gazetteer of Huiji** of the Jiatai period has an entry for stone inscriptions and the **Gazetteer of the Superior Prefecture of Shaoxing** of the Qianlong era has an entry for metal and stone inscriptions. However, both of these texts contain records about inscriptions whether they are extant or not. I examined various canons and texts, I discovered that one or two out of ten inscriptions do not exist. Thus, when compiling this text, I decided to include only the inscriptions that are extant. Consequently, I was only able to record few.

²⁰ I created attached <Figure 2> by referring to the records found in the 越中金石記(卷 4).

Therefore, so along as the **Yuezhong jinshiji** is concerned, the author intended to transcribe the extant inscriptions faithfully. Indeed, this text provides detailed comments about the format of each inscription, which is followed by a discussion about the size of the monument, number of inscribed lines and size of the characters. Therefore, as I demonstrated by using the “Temple Document of Xianning,” it is possible to replicate the actual inscription by referring to the layout and format described in these comments. By principle, the author would quote the whole inscriptions with symbols such as “□□□” or comments such as “missing 2 lines (闕二行)” for the sections or characters that are no longer legible due to deterioration. Paragraph change is also mentioned. Thus, we can clearly see that the authors wished to propagate the hidden messages of those who created the stone inscription mentioned above with their unique characters. They transcribed and recorded descriptions of the monuments for later generations since the actual monuments could only be seen in local regions where they existed. Thus, it was natural that monuments such as the Qian and the Di inscriptions or that of the temple documents (廟牒碑) of early Southern Song attracted the attention from the Qing scholars of metal and stone inscriptions because their unique characteristics. Needless to say, the attitude and intention of the authors vary depending on the text. Some are well documented while others are not. However, we can see similar general tendencies in the **Jinshi cuibian** and the **Liangzhe jinshizhi** 兩浙金石志, both of which quote whole inscriptions from the original monuments.

Earlier, I quoted the “Record about the city-god shrines in Jinyun District” included in the **Jinshi cuibian** (juan 91) built in 759. It describes that Li Yangbing 李陽冰, who was District Magistrate of Jinyun during the Qianyuan 乾元 era of the Tang, prayed to the god at the time of a drought to cause a heavy rain fall. He declared to the god that he would burn down the shrine unless there would be a rainfall in five days. However, the monument was rebuilt in the 5th year of Xuanhe (1123) in Northern Song, and the above incident was inscribed together with the main content of the monument. It says;

This monument included characters selected and written by Li Yangbing in seal style (篆書). He was a famed calligrapher, and people fought over his works. As a result, the inscription was stolen, and the stone was damaged and broken down to the point that it was no longer legible. However, I was unexpectedly able to obtain the original paper copy from a lay person. I asked a stone mason to inscribe the writings on a stone. (Thanks to the new inscription), Li Yangbing 李陽冰’s legend will be propagated and be remembered forever. From these examples, we learn that these inscriptions were faithfully transcribed onto papers in order to transmit the unique characteristics of each inscription to later generations as well as to reconstruct or repair monuments that were damaged intentionally or with the passage of time.

As I discussed in Section 1, some of the texts about stone inscriptions consist only of annotations and comments. Annotations and comments about the Qian inscription in the texts I mentioned are as follows;

顧炎武, 金石文字記 : Examination of taboo characters (避諱)

葉奕苞, 金石錄補 : Examination of taboo characters (避諱)

洪頤煊, 平津讀碑記 : Examination about the official titles of the editor, Qian Liu

朱彝尊, 金石文字跋尾 :

Actual inscription is not quoted in 嘉泰, 会稽志 and 寶慶, 会稽統志. It explains however, how the author obtained the inscription, brief biography of the editor 錢鏐, and also examination of the taboo characters (避諱)

錢大昕, 潛研堂金石文跋尾 : Examination about the mounting frame, format of the inscription, official titles of the enshrined deity Pang Yu as well as those of the editor, Qian Liu.

陸增祥, 八瓊室金石補正 : Correct and supplement some of the characters. Quote from the annotations and comments in such works as the 潛研堂金石文跋尾, 兩浙金石志, 平津讀碑記, and 越中金石記 and suggests that the monument may have been inscribed more than once.

From the above, it becomes clear that the Qing scholars who compiled texts about stone inscriptions were more concerned about the inscribed letters, profile of the individuals to whom the inscriptions are dedicated, and the layout of the inscriptions. They wished to emphasize these points more than the contents.

4. Position of the Editors of Local Gazetteers

In the previous section, I discussed the texts about stone inscription. In this section, I will attempt to clarify why the editors of local gazetteers transcribed stone inscriptions and what editorial viewpoint they had. I will focus on the descriptions about the city-god shrine of Shaoxing found in the Jatai gazetteer, the primary source of history about the city-god shrine of the region, and the descriptions in the Qianlong gazetteer, in order to reveal their relations with the relevant stone inscriptions.

(1) Descriptions about the City-God Shrine in the Jiatai Gazetteer

I created 〈Table 6〉 in order to reveal the historical source that the first half of the descriptions about the city-god shrine under the entry of “Shrines and Temples “of the Jatai gazetteer (juan 6) are based on.²¹ The phrase of ① that says, “according

²¹ I have not been able to verify the biography of Pang Yu (龐玉伝) by Ma Wanqing at the end of ④ in the table.

to the records from the old times, the deity enshrined in the city-god shrine is said to be Pang Yu,” is not found in any of the extant documents composed earlier than the available Jitai gazetteer. It is highly plausible that the editor of the gazetteer looked at the monument of the “Record of the Shrine for Lord Chongfu” (erected in 908) and the “Record of the Newly Renovated City-god Shrine of Yuezhou” (erected in 1098). Further, the accounts in phrases ② to ⑤ are supposed to have been extracted from the “Biography of the Loyal” in the **Xintangshu** as is clear from the initial paragraph of ②. However, if we examine the “Biography of the Loyal II (忠義下)” in the **Xintangshu** (juan 193), we realize that the entry of “Shrines and Temples” of the Jitai gazetteer does not quote faithfully from the **Xintangshu**. Instead, accounts under the entry of “Prefect (太守門)” of the same text are more faithful to the **Xintangshu**. For example, description of paragraph ③ does not exist in the **Xintangshu**. The incident of ③ is found under the biographical accounts of Taizong in the **Jiutangshu** and the **Xintangshu** as well as in the **Zizhitongjian** (juan 186). It occurred sometime between the 7th to the 11th month of the first year of Wude (618). The editor may have looked at these texts for this account. Furthermore, according to ④ found in the Jitai gazetteer, Pang Yu became Commander-in-Chief of Yuezhou (越州總管) after the 11th month of the first year of Wudu and subsequently became Supervisor-in-Chief of Liangzhou (梁州都督) in the following year (619). However, according to his biography in the **Xintangshu**, he became Supervisor-in-Chief of Yuezhou after serving as the Commander-in-Chief of Liangzhou of. The same account is found under the entry of “Prefect” in the Jitai gazetteer. According to the entry of the 10th month of the 2nd year of Wudu in the **Zizhitongjian** (juan 187), Pang Yu became Commander-in-Chief of Liangzhou in this month. According to the “Biography of One Hundred Officials” (百官志) in the **Xintangshu** (juan 49) and the **Tongdian** (juan 32), the central administration of the Tang established the position of Commander-in-Chief in the beginning of the Wude era. Subsequently, in the 7th year of the same era (624), the title was changed to Supervisor-in-Chief. Thus, as far as Pang Yu’s biography in the **Xintangshu** is concerned, Pang Yu became Commander-in-Chief of Liangzhou in the 10th month of the 2nd year of Wude and became Supervisor-in-Chief of Yuezhou sometime after the 7th year of Wude.

If that is the case, since the account of Pang Yu in the Jitai gazetteer is supposed to have been taken directly from the **Xingtanshu**, the description under the entry of “Prefect” in the Jitai gazetteer must be identical with the above account. However, the Jitai gazetteer mentions Li Jia 李嘉 as the individual who assumed the position of Commander-in-Chief of Yuezhou after Pang Yu in the 3rd year of Wude. Therefore, the main text of the Jitai gazetteer placed more importance on the record from some other source while referring to Pang Yu’s biography in the **Xintangshu**. What was its source of information then? The answer to this question

can be found in the annotation at the end of the biographical account of Pang Yu in the Jiatai gazetteer. This annotation quotes the phrase that says, “Pang Yu, who was Right General of the Guard (右衛將軍) was given the position of Commander-in-Chief of Yuezhou in the first year of Wudu and became Supervisor-in-Chief of Yangzhou in the 7th month of the 2nd year of Wude” taken from the inscription of the “Record of the Inscription of the Tang Prefect (唐太守題名/太守題名石記)” and mentions that the record does not match with the bibliographical account included in the **Xintangshu**. Although this inscription no longer exists,²² there is a record that claims that the monument was re-established in the 4th month of the 9th year of Tiansheng 天聖 (1031) on which the names of 97 officials including Pang Yu who was Commander-in-Chief in the first year of Wude were inscribed. It also says that the monument was moved to the western eave of the local government office.²³ Therefore, the inscription clearly said that Pang Yu became Commander-in-Chief of Yuezhou in the first year of Wude. In short, the editor of the Jiatai gazetteer valued the information from the monument of the “Record of the Inscription of the Tang Prefect” more than the record in the **Xintangshu**. In addition, in the entry of “Shrines and Temples” of the Jiatai gazetteer, Pang Yu’s assumption of the position of Commander-in-Chief of Yuezhou in ④ is placed after the incident of the 11th month of the first year of Wude in ③, leading to the recall in the 2nd year of Wude.

As is clear from the above examination, as far as the case of Pang Yu’s official position is concerned, the editor of the Jiatai gazetteer valued the information found in the local stone inscription more than the historical texts. I will look at the latter half of the relevant accounts in the Jiatai gazetteer next.

Like <Table 6> , I made <Table 7> in order to reveal the source of information for the accounts found under the entry of “Shrines and Temples” of the Jiatai gazetteer. Here, we must pay attention to the fact that the accounts of ⑥ that says, “when Pang Yu was Commander-in-Chief of Yuezhou, he ruled the region benevolently”. As such, he was pined for by the local residents after his death and was deified as the city-god” is not found in any texts written before the Jiatai gazetteer. I had already mentioned my doubt when I discussed the Di inscription inscribed in 1908. As far as I know, the Qian and the Di inscriptions are the only materials that mention Pang Yu’s deification owing to his virtuous administration in Yuezhou. Since Di inscription was made later, the author of the Di inscription must have referred to the Qian inscription. By comparing their descriptions given in <Table 7> , we realize that both monuments mention the incident of late Sui and the official title of Pang Yu, Right General of the Guard, the accounts that are not mentioned in the **Xintangshu** or the **Zizhitungjian**. Most of all, since these

²² “唐太守題名記” and the “宋太守題名記” are found under the entry of “闕訪” in the second volume of the “越中金石目” included in the 越中金石記.

²³ Refer to the 会稽太守題名記序 by 鄭戩 (会稽掇英集卷18).

two inscriptions were made on each side of a single stone, the content of the Qian inscription must have influenced that of the Di inscription. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Qian inscription was the first source about Pang Yu's deification. In addition, the Qian inscription addresses Pang Yu as the Commander-in-Chief of Yuezhou, and not Supervisor-in-Chief, as in the record of the **Xingtangshu** and other relevant source. The record under the entry of "Shrines and Temples" of the Jiatai ⑥ in the **Jiatai gazetteer** states that the divine title was bestowed from the Later Liang dynasty upon the request of Qian Liu in the 2nd year of Kaiping, when the Qian monument was erected. It refers to the record in the **Wudaihuiyao**. Thus, ⑥ in the Jiatai gazetteer apparently quotes from the Qian inscription, and the author valued this information more than other sources.

Needless to say, description of ⑦ about the bestowing of a mounting frame and the divine title in early Song was taken from the inscription of the temple document. Although I have not been able to verify the source of information about the records ⑧ relating to bestowing of mounting frames and titles in Southern Song after this period, it is possible that a stone monument of temple document was erected every time a mounting frame and a divine title were given, which the editor of the Jiatai gazetteer could have referred to. ⑨ must be the main text of the Jiatai gazetteer.

Therefore, by analyzing the source of information of the accounts found under the entries of "Shrines and Temples" and "Prefect" of the Jiatai gazetteer, it became clear that the editors of local gazetteers placed significant value on the accounts inscribed on local stone monuments although they still referred to texts and other paper-based materials. Such attitude of the editors is also apparent from the way stone inscriptions are quoted in the Qianlong gazetteers. I will discuss this point in the next section.

(2) Descriptions about the City-God Shrine Found in the Qianlong Gazetteer

I have already discussed the structure of the descriptions about the city-god shrine under the entry of "Shrines and Worships" in the Qianlong gazetteer (juan 36) in section 1-(2) of this paper by presenting **〈Figure 1〉**. Over half of the descriptions consist of annotations while the main contents of the three stone inscriptions, namely, the Qian inscription, the "Document of Lord Zhaoyou" (erected in 1144), and the "Record of the Newly Renovated City-god Shrine" (built in 1584) are transcribed faithfully. Why are these three inscriptions included in the Qianlong gazetteer?

The main text of the Qianlong gazetteer is taken almost entirely from the precedent local gazetteers. Approximately two third of the content was taken from the Jiatai gazetteer while the rest was taken mostly from the Wanli gazetteer. As I

discussed in detail, the relevant section of the Jiatai gazetteer primarily describes Pang Yu's deification, bestowing of the divine titles by the request of Qian Liu, and the actual bestowing of a mounting frame and the title during the Southern Song. Thus, the Qian inscription commented in the Qianlong gazetteer and the "Document of Lord Zhayou" correspond directly to the paragraphs quoted from the Jiatai gazetteer. There is no doubt that they were transcribed in order to verify the main content. It is also plausible that the "Record of the Newly Renovated City-god Shrine" erected in 1584 was transcribed in order to verify the record that the Qianlong text quoted from the Wanli gazetteer. Indeed, the records from the Wanli text quoted in the Qianlong gazetteer first gives detailed description about the city-god shrine established in the upper shrine at the top of the Wolong mountain (臥龍山) and the lower shrine built at the mountain foot sometime after the Ming dynasty. It also provides the description of the surrounding scenery. The text also explains that the lower shrine was burnt in a fire in the 12th year of Wanli (1584), and Xiao Liangan 蕭良幹, the Prefect, rebuilt it to make it even more majestic. Needless to say, since the inscriptions were quoted as part of the annotations to the main text, they were transcribed so that readers could refer to the detailed content of the imperial decree about bestowing of the divine title as well the account on how the city-god shrine came to be renovated.

Thus, we can confirm that the contents of the stone inscriptions that had been transmitted in the local region played a significant role when the Qianlong gazetteer was compiled. Unlike the editors of the texts about stone inscriptions, editors of local gazetteers were more interested in the contents than the layout and format of the stone inscriptions. They considered stone inscriptions as valuable source of historical information for writing the regional history.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I focused on the historical materials about the city-god shrine in the superior prefecture of Shaoxing (Yuezhou). I clarified the historical value of the stone inscriptions, records of inscriptions as well as local gazetteers and examined the relations between the stone inscriptions and historical texts about them. Several relevant inscriptions remain concerning the city god shrine of this region among which, the Qian inscription and the inscription of temple document attracted attention from later scholars as they reflected the intention of the authors strongly. Thus, many Qian scholars of stone and metal inscriptions recorded and wrote about them in the texts about stone inscriptions. However, they focused mainly on the format of the inscriptions. They transcribed the original inscriptions faithfully in their texts in order to propagate their value as a source of historical information. On the other hand, editors of local gazetteers were more interested in the contents of the inscriptions that had been transmitted in the region. In their

view, information provided by the inscriptions was more valuable than the records found in local gazetteers and texts about stone inscriptions.

The discussions and examinations I provided in this paper involve known facts, and some may feel that there is no need for detailed analysis. However, with the growing interest in the study of regional history, scholars have been using stone inscriptions and their records as well as descriptions and records from local gazetteers without evaluating or questioning them. I hope that I have successfully alerted to the danger of such use. When using any stone inscription as a primary material for the study of history, one must try to look at the original inscription or else, its value as a source of history as well as the intention of the author of the inscription may be overlooked. When using the recorded or transcribed version of any inscription, we need to replicate the inscription and its layout faithfully before analyzing the contents. Further, when using the records found in local gazetteers, we need to first analyze the structure of the records. We then need to search for the original source of information if such is available in order to verify the reliability of the records. Not only local gazetteers, but also stone inscriptions and their records should not be used casually by referring to parts or fragments of them, as it may lead to misunderstanding of the facts. I have verified this point by examining the profile of Pang Yu and the intentionally revised records regarding his deification.

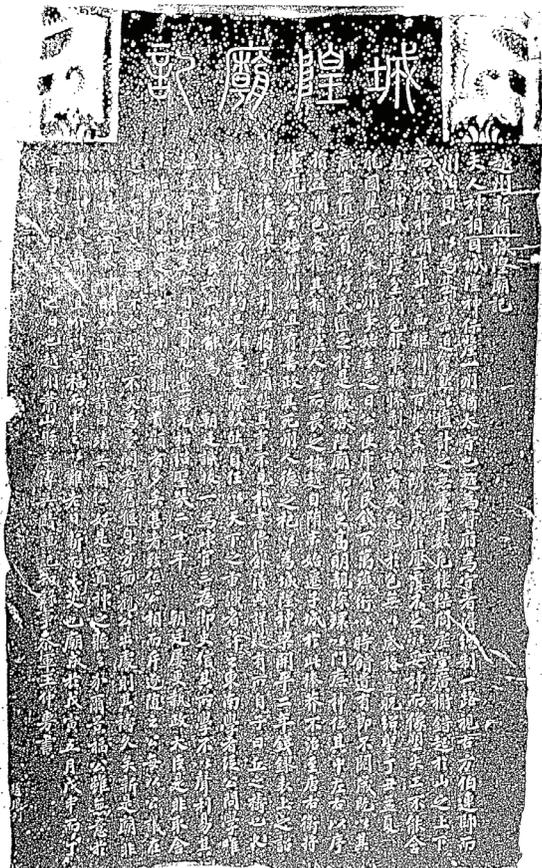
In this paper, I have also suggested that materials of regional history can provide ample information if we analyze them from the viewpoint discussed above. Simply by analyzing the available materials about the city-god shrines, I was able to reveal the characteristics of the political authority of Wuyue, the life of Qian Liu, actions of early Southern Song political authority, controversies about the enthronement of Emperor Gaozong, career profile of Pang Yu who was active in late Sui and early Tang, as well as the formative history of the belief in the city-god of the superior prefecture of Shaoxing and the transmission process of its legends. Thus, unexpectedly, I was able to obtain affluent information about the regional history. Therefore, the achievements of Qian Liu of the Kingdom of Wuyue and Emperor Gaozong of early Southern Song were indispensable for the formation of the regional history of Shaoxing, in which, we may find the characteristics of this region. It is also important to note that records and descriptions in local gazetteers written during the Song dynasty formulated the regional history and was transmitted through later dynasties. Such phenomenon was apparent in the structure of the descriptions about the city-god shrine found in the Qianlong edition of the **Gazetteer of the Superior Prefecture of Shaoxing**. We need to speculate on the viewpoint of Qing editors of local gazetteers. In the future, we need to be more attentive to the fact that local gazetteers were revised repeatedly so that we can expand our research more into examining how the regional history of China was written. Instead of reconstructing regional history from the facts

found in stone inscriptions and descriptions in local gazetteers created one after another in late 11th century, we need to examine their value as historical source by focusing on how they were written. By doing so, we will be able to reconstruct the regional history of China after the 11th century more accurately.

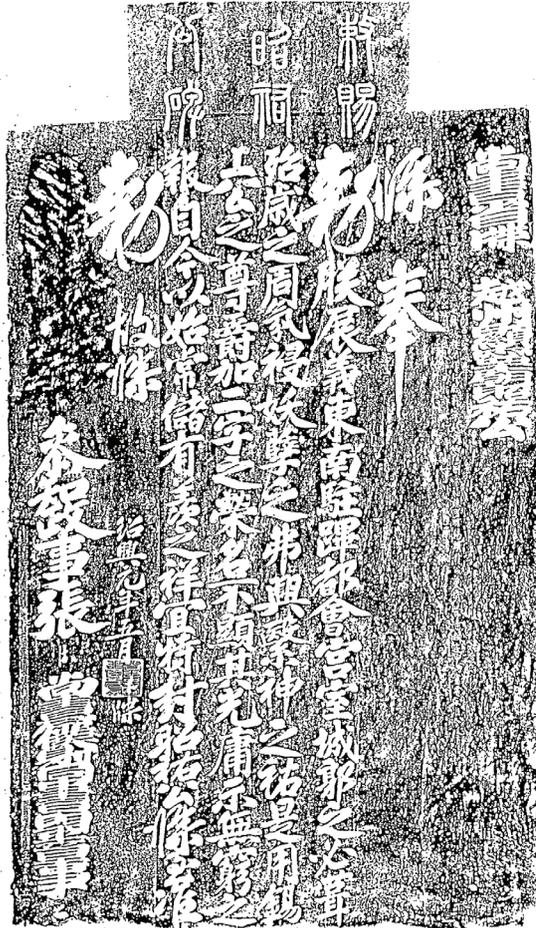
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- 森田憲司 (2006b) 「『臨海墓誌集録』所収史料から見た新出宋元墓誌の史料特性」 (『13, 14世紀東アジア史料通信』第6号)。
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Material 2: The rubbing of the "Record of the Newly Renovated City-god Shrine of Yuezhou" 越州新修城隍廟記 拓片 (所收『北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編』)



Material 3: The rubbing of the title "Document of Lord Zhaoyou" 昭祐公牒 拓片
(所収『北京図書館蔵中国歴代石刻拓本匯編』)



〈Table 1〉 A list of stone inscriptions about the city-god shrine of the superior prefecture of Shaoxing 紹興

	立碑年次	碑記名稱	字體	撰者等	碑高・碑幅・拓片	備考
①	開平2年 (908)	「崇福侯廟之記」	行書 額篆書	錢 鏐撰	118cm・89cm (拓片) 22cm・49cm (拓片)	碑身 額高
②	紹聖5年 (1098)	「越州新修城隍廟記」	行書 額篆書	吳 蹟撰 王仲勇書	142cm・86cm (拓片)	①的碑陰
③	紹興14年 (1144)	「顯寧廟牒」	行書 額篆書			
④	紹興14年 (1144)	「昭祐公牒」	行書 額篆書		156cm・89cm (拓片)	③的碑陰
⑤	泰定3年 (1326)	「重修顯寧廟碑」	正書	馮子振撰 趙孟頫書 于九思篆額		
⑥	萬歷12年 (1584)	「重建城隍廟記」		蕭良幹撰		

〈Table 2〉 A list about the titles of texts that contain transcribed inscriptions and their contents

	碑記名稱・立碑年次	採錄石刻書名	內容構成・引用文獻
①	「崇福侯廟之記」 開平2年（908）	顧炎武『金石文字記』5/30下 顧炎武『求古錄』31/上 朱彝尊『金石文字跋尾』5/14上 葉奕苞『金石錄補』23/5下 錢大昕『潛研堂金石文跋尾』4/70下 阮元『兩浙金石志』4/1上 王昶『金石萃編』119/7上 趙紹祖『金石續鈔』2/44上 洪頤煊『平津讀碑記』8/23上 杜春生『越中金石記』1/65上 陸增祥『八瓊室金石補正』79/3上	按語 全文・按語 按語 按語 按語 全文・按語 全文・『金石文字記』・按語 全文・按語 按語 全文・『金石文字記』・朱彝尊『曝書亭集』・『潛研堂金石文跋尾』・『金石萃編』・『兩浙金石志』・『平津讀碑記』・按語 文字補正・『潛研堂金石文跋尾』・『兩浙金石志』・『平津讀碑記』・『越中金石記』・按語
②	「越州新修城隍廟記」 紹聖5年（1098）	杜春生『越中金石記』3/21上	全文・按語
③	「顯寧廟牒」 紹興14年（1144）	阮元『兩浙金石志』8/4上 杜春生『越中金石記』4/4上 陸增祥『八瓊室金石補正』112/6下	全文・按語 全文・『潛研堂金石文跋尾』・按語 全文・『兩浙金石志』・『越中金石記』
④	「昭祐公牒」 紹興14年（1144）	顧炎武『求古錄』35/上 李光暎『觀妙齋藏金石文攷略』14/13上 錢大昕『潛研堂金石文跋尾』15/17下 阮元『兩浙金石志』8/3上 杜春生『越中金石記』3/5上	全文・按語 題額 按語 全文・按語 全文・『潛研堂金石文跋尾』・按語
⑤	「重修顯寧廟碑」 泰定3年（1326）	杜春生『越中金石記』8/40上	全文・按語
⑥	「重建城隍廟記」 萬曆12年（1584）	未詳	

〈Table 3〉 The genealogy of local gazetteers compiled in the superior prefecture of Shaoxing 紹興

	越州圖經 (新志)	會稽志 (統志)	紹興府志
北宋	1010年 (9卷) 佚 1108年? 佚		
南宋	1192~1193年? 佚	1201年 (20卷) 存 1225年 (8卷) 存	
元			紹興郡志 (8卷) 佚
明			1500年 (42卷) 佚 1522年 (12卷) 佚 1586年 (50卷) 存
清			1672年 (58卷) 存 許志 佚 1683年 (58卷) 存 1691年 (60卷) 存 1719年 (60卷) 存 1792年 (80卷) 存

〈Table 4〉 A chronological list of events concerning Emperor Gaozong's and the system of shrines and temples during the early Southern Song.

年 月	高 宗 的 動 向	祠 廟 制 閔 連 記 事	
1127年 5月1日	高宗即位於南京應天府	勅「五嶽·四瀆·名山·大川·歷代聖帝·明王·忠臣·烈士載於祀典者、委所在長吏清潔致祭。近祠廟處、並禁樵採。如祠廟損壞、令本州支係省錢修葺、監司常切點檢、毋致墮壞。」（『宋會要輯稿』禮20/4）	
9月	揚州	指揮節文「神祠遇有靈應、即先賜額、次封侯、次封公、次封王。婦人之神、初封夫人、次封妃。每加二字、至八字止。」（『兩浙金石志』卷12「宋勅賜忠顯廟牒碑」）	
1129年 1月6日			
3月	揚州瓜洲鎮→鎮江→杭州		
5月	移於江寧、改稱建康		
7月	改稱杭州、為臨安府		
閏8月	回來杭州		
12月	臨安陷落、到明州		
1130年 1月	明州昌國縣→台州章安鎮→溫州		
2月23日			德音「應金人焚燒前代帝王及五嶽·四瀆·名山·大川神祠廟宇、仰所在州縣移那係省錢物、漸次修蓋、如法崇奉。其不經焚燒或有損壞去處、亦仰依此施行。」（『宋會要輯稿』禮20/4）
3月	處州→越州		詔「巡幸經由溫·台·明三州海道應神祠廟宇已有廟額·封号處、令太常寺加封、有封号無廟額去處與賜額、其未有廟額·封号、令所在官司嚴潔致祭、一次錢於本路轉運司係省錢內支破。」（『宋會要輯稿』禮20/4）
4月9日			
1131年 5月		賜額·賜号於越州顯寧廟→以後「顯寧廟牒碑」「昭祐公牒碑」建立	
10月			
1132年 1月	改稱越州、為紹興府 到臨安		

〈Table 5〉 A list of bestowing of mounting frames and titles during the early Southern Song

年 月	所 在	祠 廟	廟額・封号	事 項	出典 (『会要』)
1128年03月	台州臨海縣	白龍澤神祠	滋榮侯		礼20/80
03月	台 州	屈 坦 祠	顯佑侯		礼20/150
05月	衢州江山縣	三石神祠	廣澤公、他		礼20/156
1129年00月	台 州	屈 坦 祠	顯佑通應侯		礼20/150
1130年02月	明州定海縣	東海神祠	助順祐聖淵德顯靈王	車駕巡幸	礼20/111
05月	紹興府	唐 琦 祠	旌忠	擊賊 (金人)	礼20/48
07月	温州永嘉縣	海 神 祠	寧惠英烈公		礼20/111
07月	温州樂清縣	忠烈侯祠	賜廟額		礼20/151
10月	寧波府昌縣	城隍神祠	靈應	車駕巡幸	礼20/18
10月	明州象山縣	五龍王祠	普濟		礼20/82
00月	明州象山縣	宋 皇 祠	祚聖		礼20/44
1131年04月		城隍神祠	明惠		礼20/18
05月	紹興府	城隍神崇侯祠	昭祐公・顯寧	車駕駐蹕	礼20/18
1132年01月	建康府	楊忠襄公祠	褒忠		礼20/41
閏04月	建康府江寧縣	巫山神祠	正烈		礼20/106
閏04月	温州永嘉縣	海 神 祠	寧惠英烈忠亮公		礼20/111
10月	建康府	靈澤夫人祠	嘉應		礼20/58
10月	婺州武義縣	陳元初祠	昭靈侯		礼20/148
1133年03月	湖 州	顏魯公祠	宗烈		礼20/33
04月	常州無錫縣	白龍潭神祠	顯應		礼20/121
08月	鎮江府金縣	白 龍 祠	昭澤敏應公		礼20/70
08月	建康府南陵縣	工山神祠	冲真顯貺侯		礼20/98
1134年02月	紹興府	孝子蔡定祠	愍孝		礼20/47
06月	处州麗水縣	陸仙人祠	普惠侯		礼20/52
1135年00月	平江府崑山縣	馬鞍山神祠	靜濟永應侯		礼20/96
07月	湖州府德清縣	保寧將軍祠	永靈		礼20/161

〈Table 6〉 The historical source that the first half of the descriptions about the city-god shrine under the entry of “Temples” of the Jatai gazetteer (juan 6) are based on

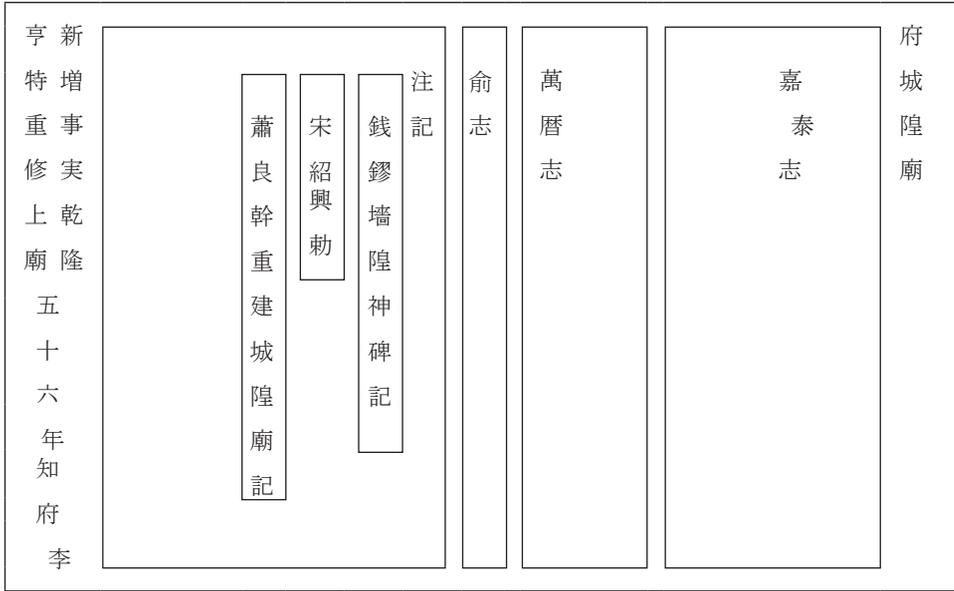
嘉泰『会稽志』卷6「祠廟門」	『新唐書』卷193「忠義下」	嘉泰『会稽志』卷2「太守門」、他
<p>①城隍顯寧廟、在子城內臥龍山之西南。自昔記載皆云神姓龐諱玉。</p> <p>②案唐書忠義傳、實龐堅四世祖也。京兆涇陽人。魁梧有力、明兵法、仕隋為監門直閣。李密據洛口、寢逼東都、玉以關中銳兵屬王世充擊之、百戰不衄。煬帝崩、乃率萬騎歸唐。時唐室新造諸將、起於行伍。高祖以玉隋之舊臣、久宿衛、習朝廷制度、拜領軍・武衛二大將軍、俾為諸將模倣。</p> <p>③秦王尤所親倚、常從征伐。薛舉寇涇州、拔高墪。舉死、子仁果勢益張。秦王命梁實營淺水原。賊將宗羅睺攻之甚力。玉於是奮擊、士卒殊死戰。秦王以勁兵擣其背、羅睺大敗、遂擒仁果、平隴西。</p> <p>④尋為越州總管、威望甚著、盜不敢犯其境。武德二年召還、巴山獠叛、除梁州都督、悉討平之。越州題名記與新唐書所載先後不同。詳見馬萬頃所述玉傳。</p> <p>⑤召為監門大將軍。卒、太宗為輟朝、贈工部尚書・幽州都督。</p>	<p>龐堅、京兆涇陽人。四世祖玉、事隋為監門直閣。李密據洛口、玉以關中銳兵屬王世充擊之、百戰不衄。世充歸東都、秦王東徇洛、玉率萬騎降、高祖以玉隋之舊臣、禮之。玉魁梧有力、明軍法、久宿衛、習朝廷制度。帝顧諸將多不閑儀檢、故授領軍・武衛二大將軍、使眾觀為模倣。</p> <p>出為梁州總管。巴山獠叛、玉梟其首、餘黨四奔、屬縣獠與反者州里親戚為賊游說、言不可窮躡、玉不聽、下令軍中曰「穀熟、吾盡收以饋軍。非盡賊、吾不反。」聞者懼、相謂曰「軍不止、吾穀盡、且餓死。」乃共入賊營、與所親相結、斬渠長以降、眾遂潰。徙越州都督。</p> <p>召為監門大將軍。太宗以耆厚、令主東宮兵。雖老不怠、小大之務無不親。卒、帝為廢朝、贈幽州都督・工部尚書。</p>	<p>參照崇福侯廟記（908年）・越州新修城隍廟記（1098年）</p> <p>唐龐玉、事隋為監門直閣、李密據洛口、玉以關中銳卒萬騎降。高祖以隋舊臣、禮之。玉魁梧有力、明軍法、久宿衛、習知朝廷制度。故授玉領軍・武衛二大將軍、使眾觀以為模倣。（嘉泰『会稽志』卷2「太守門」）</p> <p>『旧唐書』・『新唐書』太宗紀 『資治通鑑』卷186 武德元年7月頃～11月</p> <p>為梁州總管。巴山獠叛、玉梟其首、賊共斬渠長以降。徙越州都督。（嘉泰『会稽志』卷2「太守門」）</p> <p>（武德2年冬10月）以左武侯大將軍龐玉為梁州總管。（『資治通鑑』卷187）</p> <p>召為監門大將軍。太宗以耆厚、令主東宮兵。雖老不怠、卒、贈幽州都督・工部尚書。見新唐書。案唐太守題名、武德元年、自右衛將軍授。二年七月、移揚州都督。與此不合。本府城隍神、相傳以為公死而為神、以福此邦。詳見祠廟門。</p> <p>李嘉、武德三年、授。（後略）（嘉泰『会稽志』卷2「太守門」）</p>

〈Table 7〉 The historical source that the latter half of the descriptions about the

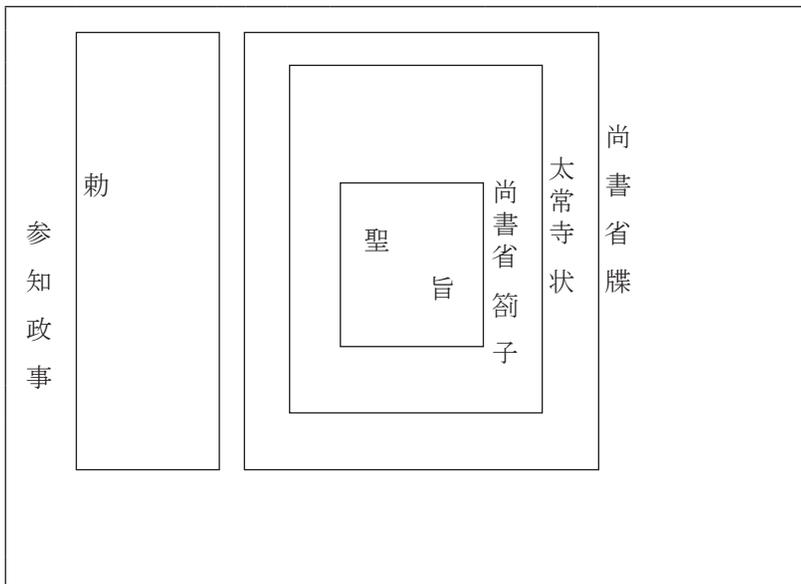
city-god shrine under the entry of “Temples” of the Jatai gazetteer (juan 6) are based on

嘉泰『会稽志』卷6「祠廟門」	「崇福侯廟記」 (908年)	「越州新修城隍廟記」 (1098年) 他
<p>⑥初、玉鎮越、惠澤在民、既卒、邦人追懷之、祠以為城隍神。梁開平二年、吳越武肅王上其事封崇福侯。五代會要作開平元年。</p> <p>⑦紹興元年、詔以駐蹕會稽踰年、妖祲不作、行殿載寧、城隍崇福侯廟賜額顯寧、封昭祐公。</p> <p>⑧三十年、顯仁皇后靈駕渡江無虞、加號忠順。乾道五年、加號孚應。八年、加號顯惠。淳熙三年、封忠應王。後又加號昭順靈濟孚祐。</p> <p>⑨郡人奉祀甚謹、以九月十二日為神生日、享薦尤盛。</p>	<p>自隋末移築子墻、因遷公署、(中略)故唐右衛將軍・總管龐公諱玉、頃握圭符、首臨戎政、披榛建府、吐哺綏民。仁施則冬日均和、威肅則秋霜布令、屬墻愛戴、黔庶譟謠、尋而罷市興嗟、餘芳不泯、衆情追仰、共立巖祠、鎮百雉之崗巒、宰軍民之禍福。(中略)勅鎮東軍墻隍神龐玉、前朝名將、劇郡良材、傾因剖竹之辰、有披榛之績、剏修府署、綏吏民。(中略)大梁開平二年(後略)</p>	<p>案越自隋末始遷子城於此、榛莽不治。至唐、右衛將軍龐公玉始營州治、且有善政。其死、州人德之、祀以為城隍神。梁開平二年、錢鏐表上之、詔封崇德侯。鏐以詔刊石、揭于廟。然其事不見於書傳。鏐得其詳、疑有所自。子曰「丘之禱也、久矣。」(後略)→『新唐書』卷193「忠義下」沒有記載</p> <p>(前略)三省同奉聖旨「駐蹕會稽、今已踰歲、妖祲不作、行殿載寧、越州城隍廟崇福侯可特賜額封公。(後略) (「顯寧廟牒」「昭祐公牒」)</p>

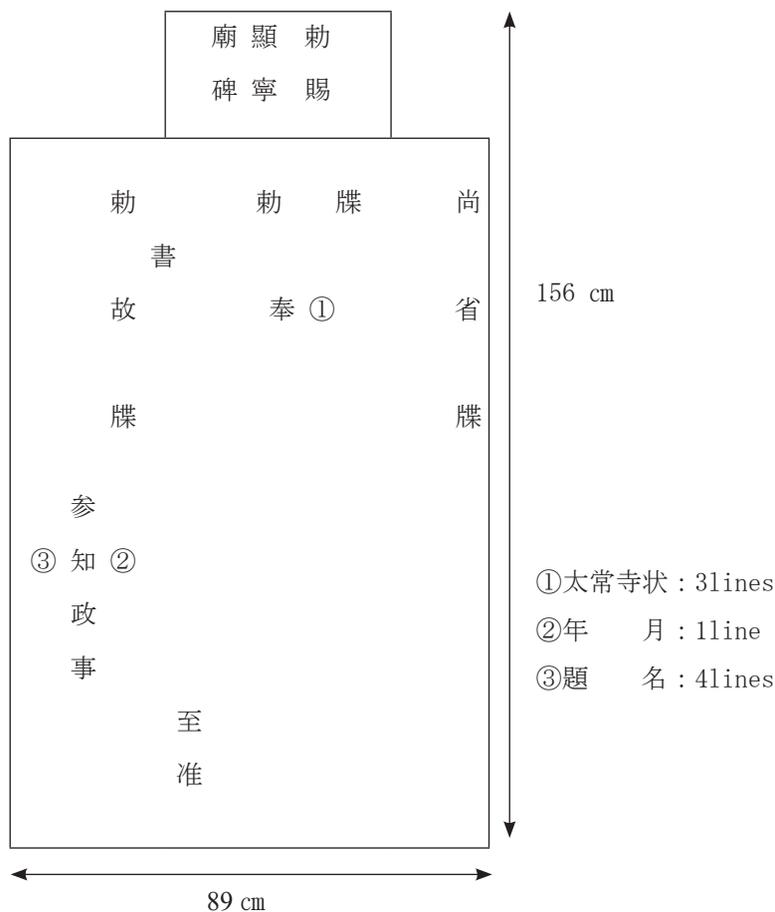
〈Figure 1〉 The structure of the descriptions of the city-god shrine included in the Qianlong text (紹興府志卷 36, 祠祀志).



〈Figure 2〉 The structure of two imperial documents issued by the Department of State Affairs



〈Figure 3〉 The replicated inscription of the “Document of the Xianning 顯寧 Temple”



Prof. Dr. Hiroshi Ihara JOSAI: Now, Joe Dennis.

Ass. Prof. Dr. Joe DENNIS*: Thank you Mr. Chairman.

The Production and Circulation of Local Gazetteers in Song, Yuan, and Early Ming China

Thank you all for coming. Since many of you on this panel are already familiar with my work on mid and late-Ming dynasty local gazetteers, today I will discuss my recent attempts to expand my research to gazetteers of the Song, Yuan, and early-Ming, the early period of the mature gazetteer genre.

I will first provide some general background on the local gazetteer genre. A Chinese gazetteer is a cumulative record of a given administrative unit, institution,

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or scenic site, arranged by topic. The gazetteer genre developed out of government requirements that locales submit maps and textual geographical information to the central government. Over time, biographical, historical, and literary materials were added, and by the 13th century gazetteers had attained the form in which they were typically found into the early 20th century.

My research focuses on gazetteers of administrative units. There was a nested hierarchy of territorial units and thus also a nested hierarchy of gazetteers. The base level was the county gazetteer. Above that was the prefectural, the provincial, and at the top of the pyramid was a comprehensive empire-wide gazetteer.

Local gazetteers have special advantages as sources for the study of the production and circulation of Chinese texts, both “local” and “non-local.” Most importantly, they were based on all kinds of other texts: commemorative stelae, genealogies, local and translocal literary and historical works, government records and archives, grave inscriptions, etc., and this gives us insight into how such texts circulated. Also the gazetteer genre’s continuous existence since the eleventh century allows us to examine changes over a long span of time. Because gazetteers were tied to local governments, they contain substantial materials on production issues, such as financing, publication controls, and other issues of bureaucratic concern. But since most of the editorial work on gazetteers was done by local scholars, gazetteers provide windows into the relationships between central government officials and local literati. In addition, because the gazetteer of a given place was repeatedly supplemented and recompiled, we can examine gazetteer life-cycles to better understand the relationships of manuscript and print cultures. Finally, because gazetteers are tied to known locales, they contain materials that allow us to address questions involving geographic space, such as the distribution of printing craftsmen and the circulation of books.

Gazetteers began to be produced in large numbers in the Song and Mongol dynasties, the 10th to 14th centuries. There are about 2000 gazetteers known to have been compiled during those centuries, but unfortunately, only about 40 are extant. More gazetteers survive from later periods, about 1000 from Ming (1368-1644) and about 7000 from the Qing and Republican eras.

Although there are just a few dozen extant pre-1400 gazetteers, only a few of which are original imprints, there are several hundred extant prefaces and these tell us much about compilation and publication. This paper is based largely on these prefaces.

To understand how early gazetteers circulated we first need to figure out how they were produced. A key question is whether early gazetteers were a primarily manuscript or print genre. Scholars of Chinese book history disagree on when print culture overtook manuscript culture. Some argue that print became ubiquitous in the Song dynasty, in the twelfth century, while others argue that it did not happen until the late-Ming, the 1500s. Examining the production and circulation of local

gazetteers sheds light on this topic. In thinking about manuscript versus print in local gazetteers, it is important to keep in mind that local gazetteers were living texts with complex life cycles. We cannot simply identify titles and label them “manuscript” or “imprint,” count up numbers, and argue that gazetteers were mostly one or the other. First we must understand how they were compiled, printed (or not), circulated, recompiled, lost and discarded. All gazetteers started out as manuscripts, some were eventually printed, but not always immediately upon completion, and most that were printed continued to exist in the original manuscript plus additional hand copies. Numerous short manuscripts were compiled by local governments in response to national, provincial, circuit, and prefectural gazetteer projects. When this was done, a manuscript copy was held locally, and while many of these were not printed some eventually served as foundations for revised, expanded, and printed gazetteers.

Before going further we need a close look at our terms. What was a “gazetteer”? Gazetteer compilers conceived of their works as both individual editions and as histories of particular places that transcended dynastic changes. Authors of the time used gazetteer to refer to both discrete compilations and the entire set of such compilations for the locale. The ideal gazetteer was one considered to be a “complete book” one that fully addressed the locale’s history.

One method used by scholars tracing the ascendance of the imprint in China is to count how many books were printed and how many were manuscript in various periods. If one wanted to calculate the ratio between printed and manuscript local gazetteers a central problem would be deciding what counts as a “gazetteer.” Does an unpublished manuscript compilation in gazetteer format done by a local scholar on his own initiative, not approved by local authorities, and kept by the scholar in his home count as a “gazetteer”? Or what about a county clerk who slapped a cover on a retained copy of a set of materials he submitted to prefectural officials for compiling a new prefectural gazetteer – does that count? If one accepts a broad definition of gazetteer that includes such compilations, then thousands of gazetteers were compiled prior to the 1400s and most were in manuscript form. But that does not mean we should think of “gazetteers” as a manuscript genre. Instead, we should keep in mind the gazetteer life cycle. Most gazetteers submitted in response to higher level collection projects were not done first as independent works. Rather, they were done quickly by local officials for the express purpose of the larger project, often under a tight deadline, e.g., one compiler was given only 45 days. Such quick gazetteers were usually not printed separately and the locally held manuscript copies were often soon lost. But if one construes “gazetteer” more narrowly to include only mature texts compiled over an extended period, based on wide-ranging collection and careful editing, then printing was the norm at least by the thirteenth century.

A second term that needs clarification up front is “edition.” The term is problematic when discussing gazetteers because they were conceived of as ongoing projects – not only were they repeatedly supplemented and recompiled, after a gazetteer was finished local officials and scholars added handwritten notes recording post-publication matters, e.g., the service of new magistrates. Eventually new blocks would be carved and inserted in appropriate places and not infrequently appendices of local literature would be added. Compilers planned for such supplementation e.g., by including blank sheets at the end of each chapter inside the original bound books and by leaving off the back covers.

Even though gazetteers might be constantly updated, it is still useful to think of major recom compilations as “editions.” Gazetteer compilers talked about them that way and a printed edition would be largely the same from copy to copy. An edition was a major milestone even though contemporaries were aware of the ongoing nature of local history.

When we know that a printed edition was made it can be tempting to look backwards to think of the manuscript as simply a stage in the production process leading to printing and to compress in our minds the timeframe between completion of the manuscript and the carving of the blocks. If a manuscript was printed, engraving was in fact usually done immediately after the manuscript was complete. But sometimes there was a time-lag of many years, even decades, and in this time manuscripts circulated.

The compilation of a local gazetteer could be initiated by the central government, a superior-level administrator, a local administrator, or a local scholar. Local geographic works can be traced back more than 2000 years, but the printing of such works is known only from the Song dynasty on. Beginning in the 11th century there were printed national level geographies. From the 13th century on, there were comprehensive national gazetteers covering a greater range of topics than the Song works. These projects had the effect of universalizing gazetteers in progressively smaller territorial units.

Although court orders stimulated gazetteer compilation, most were initiated by a local administrator, either alone or in combination with local scholars. It also was common for a local scholar to first produce a draft gazetteer and then seek permission from the local administrator to turn it into the official gazetteer. How projects were initiated varied by time and place. As literati communities expanded numerically and geographically, initiative increasingly came from the local scholars. In more remote locations, however, outside officials took the lead.

Once the decision to begin was made, the common pattern was set up a compilation office in a school, the yamen. A group of local students would gather oral and written materials, copy inscriptions and records, and copy information about the locale from outside sources. One or more local degree holders, retired

officials, or instructors at the local school would edit and write introductions to the materials and the local administrator would approve the manuscript, with or without his own edits. Pre-publication review was then done by superior officials.

In the late-Ming famous scholars were hired from long distances to compile gazetteers and some participated in multiple projects. While one might assume this to be part of the late-Ming “commodification of writing” described by Kai-wing Chow, the phenomenon developed prior to 1400. In the early 1300s Zhang Zhe compiled five gazetteers in his local area and then was hired by a magistrate outside his local area to write a sixth.

After the Song government published empire-wide geographies there was a growing expectation that significant towns would turn their local materials into full-fledged gazetteers and officials came to consider it an important duty. At first the expectation was mainly for prominent locales but by the first half of the thirteenth century gazetteers could be found even in isolated places. Some compilers believed that their duty was not merely to compile the gazetteer, but also to print it. This is expressed most clearly in Tang Tianlin’s preface to the 1288 **Jiahe Gazetteer**. Tang argued that even though higher officials read and praised the gazetteer after it was completed in manuscript form, “compiling but not printing this gazetteer would be equivalent to not compiling it at all.”

Compilers considered gazetteers to be essential pieces of local documentation and there was a strong preference for printing. Some centers of literati culture printed multiple gazetteers in the early period. For example, there are three known fourteenth century printed editions from Jiangyin, a county near modern Shanghai. The lack of a gazetteer was described as a “gap in the canon.” Compilers argued that a gazetteer was to a locale what a history was to a state, and invoked Confucius’ critical remark that he was unable to comment on the states of Qi 杞 and Song 宋 because they were “insufficiently documented.”

In the eyes of gazetteer compilers, printing had many important benefits. One was fixity. Readers lamented the lack of printed editions because of errors made in hand copies. Keeping gazetteer woodblocks under lock and key in the yamen or Confucian school promoted fixity as long as access was free enough to reduce the need for hand copying, and supervision was tight enough to prevent alterations. Clerks were appointed to control access to the blocks and supervise printing, but private printing was allowed. One gazetteer notes that the blocks were stored in a cabinet in the Confucian school library and when “worthy scholar gentry who travel through here or who live here want copies, the paper’s [cost] should be calculated and craftsmen should be ordered to print it.”

Publishers also believed printing enhanced the likelihood of long-term survival. A stock phrase in gazetteer prefaces was that the text was being “carved in wood to perpetuate its transmission.” Printing also was viewed as a way to increase the

size of a gazetteer's audience by increasing access. Access to manuscript copies of local gazetteers kept in homes, yamens, and the palace library was limited. For example, in 1418 Zhu Hui printed his *Xincheng County Gazetteer* to "disseminate it among the people" because the manuscript he submitted to the palace library was "not easy for people to see."

Although not everyone could read gazetteers in the palace library, officials stationed in the capital and surrounding areas could. The early Ming official Yang Shiqi once read the gazetteer of Raozhou, Jiangxi in the palace library after receiving a request that he write a preface to a Raozhou native's genealogy. The genealogy compiler, an official stationed in southwest China sent his work to the capital with a traveling official. In the genealogy was a record of the compiler's great-grandfather's ancestral hall. Yang went to the palace library, read the gazetteer, and noted that the great-grandfather's affairs were in fact as recorded in the genealogy. In this case, Yang used the gazetteer as an independent source to verify a biography, most likely before agreeing to attach his imprimatur to the genealogy.

To print a local gazetteer one needed money and most local gazetteers were locally financed with donations from local gentry and currently serving non-local officials. Often a single official paid. E.g., in 1368 Chi Liangxin was transferred to a low-ranking post in Guangxi. Upon arrival Chi went to the Confucian school and asked the students about the gazetteer. He learned of an earlier printed edition, but the blocks had been burned by "Yao bandits". He asked elders and obtained pieces they had copied. He wanted to publish his reconstructed gazetteer but was unable until a new assistant prefect liked his work and volunteered to pay.

Once one official made a donation others often followed suit. In the early 1200s a local man compiled the gazetteer of Haiyan garrison. The magistrate, Sun Ribian donated from his own salary to bring in workers to carve and print the gazetteer. Sun's act was praised by the Haining Naval Station Commander, who noted that Sun was able to print the book even though the local tax coffers were depleted. The commander then donated wood and materials and the engraving was done in a garrison office building. The commander's comment about "tax coffers" suggests that it was not uncommon to use government funds to print gazetteers.

When officials were not willing to donate their own money or use government funds for printing, members of local society paid. For example, Huating County Magistrate Yang Qian wrote that when the local "erudite gentlemen" completed the manuscript for the 1193 **Yunjian Gazetteer** the county government's carving and printing fund was exhausted and could not support its publication. Thus, "worthy county gentry" paid. By saying the government printing fund was "exhausted," the magistrate implied that printing with government funds would have been possible in other budget cycles.

What is striking from cases of donations is that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the printing of a substantial book was not unduly burdensome for one or a small group of officials making donations from their salaries. Many of these local officials were not highly paid, yet none of the donors characterized their donations as large or the printing as expensive. In the late Ming, it also was the case that one or several officials could finance a gazetteer. There is remarkable continuity in the number and type of donors it took to print a gazetteer from the start of the thirteenth century through the mid-seventeenth century, which suggests continuity in relative cost. While officials did not consider printing a gazetteer to be overly expensive, one does get the impression that it was not something done with petty change.

Understanding how gazetteers were distributed is an important preliminary step towards understanding audiences and their ways of reading. As previously mentioned, gazetteer blocks were stored in yamens and Confucian schools and printing was on demand. Initial print runs of were small, just a few copies for the yamen, officials, donors, schools, other government offices, and interested local literati. The modest number of initial copies is suggested by the only known initial print run, 100 copies made by Wang Zhen from his movable type edition of the 1298 **Jingde County Gazetteer**. This figure can help us approximate how many copies Wang expected to sell or give away. Since block printing on demand was the norm, the typical initial run was probably substantially less than 100 imprints of the movable type edition, at least for a county comparable to Jingde in population, wealth, and importance.

But the initial run was a just a portion of the total number of imprints. Gazetteer publishers expected that imprints would continue to be made for decades or more. The magistrate's preface to the 1215 **Record of Shan** states, "Looking at these blocks we can tell that one hundred years from now people will not cast them aside even though they be worn down."

Printed gazetteers were important components of what Hilde De Weerdt calls, "the imperial information order." Woodblocks stored locally allowed new administrators, visiting officials, and travelers to get copies much more quickly than they could by hand copying and speed was often important to officials on the go. Circulating officials brought gazetteers and the information they embodied into the national information stream and consciousness. This information was then repackaged and re-circulated in various forms and genres.

Gazetteers were explicitly written for both local and translocal audiences. A preface to a 1296 gazetteer states:

Carving this [text] into wood for printing allows those who travel to Qin to know in detail the lay of its lands without laboring to climb mountains and ford rivers. Those who have not come to Qin can read this book and it will be as if Chang'an appears right before their eyes.

Travelers and sojourning officials were major audiences for local gazetteers. Travelers often asked to see the gazetteers of places along their route and some bought imprints. After receiving a new appointment an official could read a local gazetteer for general background on their new post. Some read gazetteers in the palace libraries and others borrowed them from officials in the capital who had previously served in that locale. Most got the gazetteer on arrival.

While traces showing possession and reading of pre-1400 gazetteers reveal government officials, scholars, and travelers of various types as the main readership, there are occasional hints of a broader readership. Volumes of the late-13th century **Guangchang County Gazetteer** were found in what were likely modest homes in southeastern Jiangxi. He Wenyan, compiler of 1440 edition wrote that the earlier edition was compiled by a local named Lian Zhongmo and was almost completely lost in war. He Wenyan's eldest son asked all around the local area and finally got the front volume from the home of a farmer and the back volume from the home of a lacquer artisan. He put them together and made a complete gazetteer.

Finding the gazetteer in humble homes is unsurprising in light of Lian Zhongmo's background. He worked as a tailor and at the age of thirty was still uneducated. One day while tailor Lian was making clothes in the home of a wealthy family a Confucian student arrived. The master set out a splendid feast and wine in the main hall. Lian ate and drank meager fare in another room. He sighed and said, "Trades and scholarship are separated so!" Lian then gave up tailoring and took up scholarship. In ten years he mastered all of the classics and histories and he eventually wrote two county gazetteers.

In conclusion, there are three points I would like you to remember: Chinese local gazetteers in the 13th to 15th centuries were both a manuscript and printed genre, but printing was the norm for mature works throughout this period. Second, gazetteers were living works, and this has important implications for how we think about what is an "edition." Finally, gazetteers were a way that the local was brought into the national information stream and consciousness and was a key node in producing the imagined state.

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA: Now, Sarah Schneewind.

Prof. Dr. Sarah SCHNEEWIND*: Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Problematizing "Local" and "Central" Texts about Local Institutions

Many historians of China now explore the relations between state or government on the one hand, and society or the governed on the other. Many explore the overlapping but not identical question of relations between the "center," meaning

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the court or the capital, and the “localities,” meaning anything from the province to the prefecture or county or down to the village. To look at the relations between state and society, or center and locality, it is tempting to assume that the two levels can be easily distinguished. Even if one starts with the idea that the two levels – state and society, or center and locality – are intertwined, it is still tempting to believe that at least primary documents represent one level or the other in a pretty straightforward way. It is comforting to think that one set of texts will tell us what the center or state wanted done, or what conflicts were taking place at the court; while a different set of texts will tell us how local society responded, or what people at the local level were up to independent of the state. But, unfortunately, this seductively clear dicotomy does not hold. It is not true that some texts are clearly central and others clearly local, either in content or in intent.

Let me first introduce the research my observations today are based on. The first Ming emperor is often believed to have definitively shaped state and society through his policies. The belief that Ming Taizu was able to carry out his plans is so firm that his policies are often used to explain later phenomena. My research was meant to test how effective the first Ming emperor was. Did Taizu’s policies at the most local level take effect? Did local people perform the ceremonies he demanded? Were the institutions Taizu imposed on the villages in fact built? That was my basic project.

To answer the questions, to test Taizu’s power, I first had to establish exactly what his village policies were. I thought this would be easy. I assumed that all the laws about village institutions would be in one central compilation, such as the **Collected Statutes of the Ming (Ming Huidian)**. But it was not easy. **The Huidian** contained some, but not all imperial orders about village institutions. Others only appeared in the official history of the Ming issued in 1739, the **Mingshi**; or only in the late-19th century private compilation **Ming huiyao**; or only in the reign-by-reign record of daily court matters the **Veritable Records**; or only in the **Grand Pronouncements (Yuzhi Da Gao)** personally written by the Ming founder, etc. So the “central” record of edicts and laws is scattered in different types of central sources. In fact, it is even more scattered than that, as I will show.

Once I had found the extant early Ming edicts on village institutions in “central” sources, I selected one such institution, the community school. I planned to test the implementation of the community school policies through “local” sources, such as county or prefectural or provincial gazetteers, which would report on whether community schools were actually built in each county. But instead, reading gazetteers showed me first that I had to look beyond clearly “central” sources even to figure out what central policy was. Community schools were ordered to be established in 1375. But from the **Ming History** we would know only that

the emperor ordered the whole country to establish community schools, hiring teachers to teach commoner boys. The longer **Veritable Records** entry gives a full paragraph, but two Guangdong local gazetteers add another paragraph, with slight differences. Court sources do not include the second paragraph of the edict at all, and in fact some local gazetteers give the first paragraph more fully than does the **Ming Huidian**. After the initial edict from the emperor, the Ministry of Rites sent a follow-up order to the localities. That order appears in no central source, but must be reconstructed by the historian from overlapping bits and pieces recorded in local gazetteers. Some gazetteers record only one provision of the order, some another; others have reversed characters or paraphrased the original wording. The initial central law requiring community schools must thus be put back together by from local sources.

My reconstruction followed the lead of Wang Lanyin, who showed in the 1930s how this could be done. Wang Lanyin also found that Ming Taizu then abolished community schools in 1380, and that we can only know this from gazetteer reports. The extant central sources suggest that the abolition took place in 1383. Then, moving through the dynasty, orders from the Yongle, Chenghua, and Jiajing emperors affecting community schools are similarly found only in gazetteers or in a private compendium of dynastic institutions. For instance, two editions of the Zhejiang **Xinchang xianzhi** report that there was a Yongle-era order to establish schools for the study of the **Grand Pronouncements**. And orders from provincial, prefectural and county officials on the specifics of implementing central policy on community schools also sometimes appear only in the local gazetteers. In other words, without studying the “local” sources, we cannot even know what central policy on community schools was.

So, could I use gazetteers to test local implementation of central orders? In many cases, allowing for all kinds of partial reports, fabrications, omissions, etc., I did find facts about local implementation. But some gazetteers *only* provide a partial list of imperial orders about schools, or pieces of imperial orders, and give no information at all on the local implementation. They may even comment on the actual condition of schools in the empire at large, rather than commenting on the local situation. For instance, the 1835 Guangdong **Nanhai county gazetteer** 11/5b comments that in 1375, “The authorities were ordered to establish community schools and invite teacher-scholars to teach the commoners’ boys. This is seen in the standard history’s “Basic Annals” and the [encyclopedia] **Wenxian tongkao**. The evidence is solid: they (the schools) were all there.” This “local” source is just quoting from central ones.

I ran into yet a third complication: a central or national or empire-wide source may remove a scrap of text from its local context and apply it more widely, producing a very skewed picture. For instance, a widely-read history of the Ming written in 1555 by Chen Jian notes that Taizu established community schools

in 1375 and that “Thereupon every poor district and backward place each had its school.” Chen’s passage is frequently quoted as evidence that early Ming community schools were widespread. But where did Chen’s claim come from? The last sentence, “thereupon every poor district and backward place each had its school,” came directly from a commemorative record (*ji* – originally a stele), by one of the first Ming emperor’s foremost advisors, Song Lian. Certainly, if anyone did, Song Lian should have known whether the policy was succeeding; his claim that there were schools everywhere could be strong evidence. But, in fact, Song Lian comments on the community school policy, as far as I have seen, *only* in this one sentence, and this one sentence occurs in a larger text that may suggest in fact the general **failure** of the policy. The text celebrates two brothers in Suzhou who established a charitable school, then a *private* elementary school, precisely because there was NO community school in their village.

Now, what does this mean? According to gazetteer figures that I believe to be quotas rather than actual schools, early Ming Suzhou had 737 community schools. If a village in the very heart of this prosperous and sophisticated district lacked a community school, necessitating private action, it is highly unlikely that every poor village across the empire had one. And Song Lian’s piece presents no evidence that they did, merely mentioning them in passing. But the larger, local, text, the context of Song Lian’s sentence, disappeared when Chen Jian borrowed of his sentence. The quotation of the sentence out of context, by Chen Jian and by those who took his history as an authority, reinforced a belief in the general efficacy of the school policy, and thus of other of Taizu’s policies.

Since scraps of text move in this way (from locality to center as well as from center to locality), even when central sources appear to give clearer reports about actual schools than did local ones, we must question them. For example, the local sources say little about why early Ming schools failed. But when the Ming founder abolished community schools, the text of 1383 (the **Grand Pronouncements**), written by the founder himself, explains that he abolished officials and clerks were manipulating them for their own benefit, accepting bribes from wealthy families to let their boys skip school and forcing poor boys who could not afford it to attend to make up the quotas. This suggests widespread class conflict and collusion of the authorities with wealthy folks. But now that we know from the Song Lian case how one local instance can be magnified, we can suspect that the emperor heard of only one case in which this occurred.

To sum up what I have said so far, in terms of their content, “central” and “local” texts are not clearly distinguished. Local documents may include information about central policy that is not available elsewhere, while at the same time omitting information about the local situation. They may even draw on central documents or those with an empire-wide perspective to extrapolate from generalizations to local situations. Central documents do not necessarily represent an empire-wide

knowledge base, but may draw on individual local instances and represent them as applying to the whole empire. Text moves from central to local documents and back, shedding its larger documentary context to misrepresent reality.

Central and local texts are also not clearly distinguishable in terms of their Intent. As Joe Dennis' discussion of gazetteers points out, these quintessentially "local" documents might prominently advertise the activities of a magistrate or prefect. Zheng Luoshu's 1524 gazetteer for Shanghai, for example, includes the texts of commemorative records for many local institutions, and his self-advertisement apparently paid off: he was recommended by imperial favorite Gui E for a higher post. Gui E himself helped establish another genre of "local" document directed at a national and court audience, the "records of administration" (*zheng shu*): a man's own compilation of the orders he had issued while holding office at the county or provincial level. They are a bit like the "prescriptions" TJ Hinrichs discusses, written for a locality but then issued to the whole empire. Both genres do record data on the locality, but the recorder is a representative of the imperial bureaucracy posted to the locality for only a few years, and such gazetteers and "records of administration" were as much as these men's self-advertisements to the court as descriptions of the local place.

Not only officials, but some Ming local writers were aware of the potential of gazetteers to reach a national audience. Three otherwise unknown local men in Fujian's Yanping prefecture wrote a gazetteer for the prefecture in 1525 that condemned many of its places of worship and complained about clerical wealth. They suggested local solutions, but went on to propose a *national* policy of abolishing all Buddhist and Taoist institutions and selling their land off. These authors wrote their "local" gazetteer to influence national policy. Or did they only ostensibly do so, actually hoping that such a bold move would earn them respect at home? The complexities of audience, identity, and purpose in such cases relate to those discussed by Anne Gerritsen.

The questionable "local" character of gazetteers in fact extends to what seems an immovably local text: steles placed when an institution was built or renovated. In their original form as steles, community school records (**she xue ji**) marked and protected a local institution's site, and their functions may have been more multifarious, as Professor Morō suggests for Athenian steles. But, steles also were copied into gazetteers, and were printed in the collected works of their authors. Once transferred to print, the community school records moved from a local and general public sphere to an elite and national one. Thus, even when the content is identical (which as Professor Takashi Sue has shown we cannot assume), rocks and paper do not work the same way. Secondly, because almost all community school commemorative records (steles) center on celebrating the official who is claiming credit for the school, the records are implicitly aimed, even in the moment of composition, at the larger audience who will promote him in his career or judge his reputation.

As institutions, Ming community schools themselves are hard to categorize. Sometimes they were sponsored by the court, sometimes by high officials, or by county officials, sometimes by local men. Their funding, their relation with the community, and the education they offered varied by place and changed over time. It is hard to label them either “state” or “local” institutions. But the same is true of the texts that recorded these varying “facts” of the schools’ institutional existence.

In both content and intent, documents, from laws and memorials to letters and poems to commemorative steles and local gazetteers, cannot be easily assigned to the category “central” or “local.” Just as any study of national policy must take court politics into account, any theory of local history will have to allow for the fact that texts worked not only in a local, but also in a national context; and that texts were copied from one kind of source to another. “Central” and “local” are terms that must be interrogated in each case. This historiographical problem reflects the real processes by which Ming state and society shared and competed for resources: material goods, people, honor, and text.

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA: Now Dr. Thomas H. C. Lee will comment on “**Politics, Historical Imagination, and Central-Local Continuum in China**”

Thomas H. C. LEE*: Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

The five papers presented today, diversified in their content and concerns as they are, share one concern, that of continuity or continuum: how to define or at least understand it with regards to central and local governments. The papers focus on China, and address themselves to the issue of whether there was a “China”, or several/many Chinas. One way of trying to appropriate this issue is to ask whether and to what extent local histories or local gazetteers can help us to answer how China exercised its influences on the local societies. These writings should show to what extent the local reflect the central. This should prove the “belief” that there is one China.

Professor Schneewind uses a negative approach by providing a negative example to argue against the lack of a cohesive, integrated or homogeneous China. I am not using her own words, but I think her arguments could be construed or even understood as oriented to this conclusion. I believe that she thinks that local gazetteers did reflect the implementations of central government policies. One finds that many central government directives and records (documents) are preserved and, often only preserved, in local gazetteers.

The paper by Professor Gerritsen questions how Jingdezhen was related to the world. This is part of what I hope to address as the issue of “universality”. In Jingdezhen, she again finds a negative example. Her conclusion is that Jingdezhen was not like Serville, meaning that Jingdezhen lacked a kind of universal character.

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This may seemingly prove that there was no continuity between Jingdezhen and outside world, although it is hardly correct to say that political and material life in Jingdezhen did not

Reflect Chinese politics in general.

I am wondering what the purposes were for Jingdezhen people to compose so many genealogies. Where they composed by officials for officials? Here I have Zhu Yuanzhang's "horizontal tablet" in mind, which was the example *par excellence* of an officially erected monument for prohibitive admonition. It was to enhance the self-identity of officials, and thus is a kind of history. However, it is the kind of history that H. B. Plumb would characterize as commemorative history, as against analytical history. Genealogies for the laborers were different and they were composed primarily to protect their own memory and familial self-identity.

It is in this sense Professor Dennis' paper is important. This is a paper based on a very careful but comprehensive study of China's local gazetteers. It shows that by the Song times, the consciousness of "locality" (*difang*) has taken shape. This echoes the rise of genealogical compilation that also became popular at about the same time. The awareness of self-identity was arising in the Song times.

The paper by Professor Sue is another exercise in showing how the central-local continuum can easily be broken by the care or lack of care in transmitting local documents, many of which were based on steles and their inscriptions. Most of these documents definitely were meticulously transcribed, copied or preserved in rubbing and preserved. Interestingly, Professor Sue finds that in the earlier part of the Qing, collectors or collators of stone inscriptions were fundamentally interested in their "format", that is, size and composition, in terms of style of writing and even numbers of words in the entire essay and in each line, etc. The attention paid to such matters in fact confirms our knowledge of early Qing philological or textual criticism scholarship.

This is why composers of gazetteers since the Qing increasingly used inscriptions in the steles for sources, in spite that carvers of steles were basically concerned with format matters. The awareness of the importance of steles (important because they are objects of appreciation) led them to studying the content (from "the content of the form" to "the content of content"). The development became a kind of historical inquiry. Quickly steles and inscriptions on them were used to reconstructing local histories. In any case, it is well-known that the use of steles for antiquarian and then historical studies became more and more frequent in the Qing times.

Historical records or findings based on information collected from stone inscriptions, especially those found in local temples (of deities and worthies) are often unreliable, however. Professor Sue therefore advises us to treat them with care.

Sue's finding again confirms, I think, the arguments presented above, that there is a constant process of "rewriting" of history. Benedetto Croce says that all history is contemporary history. This describes Chinese historiography equally well. "Contemporary history" has a very important and almost perennial character. The universal values emanated from the Central which automatically was correct or true for "all under heaven" and therefore partakes historical nature. The emperor mediated between the Realm and "all under heaven". Contemporary history is the history imagined that could affirm the realm-tianxia continuum. History has to be rewritten constantly to uphold and enhance that continuum.

Let me now turn to specific issues to see why it is that three of the four papers presented today use somewhat passive or even negative examples to show that continuity informed China's "local gazetteers" and "local history".

The first is the rise of the "South". This was perhaps the single most important reason behind the rise of the local gazetteers compilation. The "local histories" had to show how the South was from the beginning a part of the Chinese *dao* zone, and hence had been "Chinese". The long-held idea, and an idea popular among China scholars in the West about China being significantly "diversified" actually was most intensely felt by the Chinese themselves in the Mongol Yuan times. It was during Song and Yuan times that the Chinese (at least the Han Chinese) felt strongly that there was a central-local dichotomy and that China was diversified. At the same time, the feeling was strongest that this "diversity" had to be overcome.

In addition to using history to create a belief in the Chineseness of the South, the Chinese government also resorted to many other practical methods to accomplish this, including the introduction of Northern Chinese medicine and medical theories, to rid a lot of traditional Southern customs and beliefs. Of course, in doing so, many practices that were "superstitious" in the eyes of the more authentic Chinese were banned. In all fairness, such a development benefited the Southerners once they were done away with.

Other means of making the South truly Chinese included, for one example, the introduction of classical learning, but with emphasis on textual studies, perhaps to answer to the difficulties encountered in the process of linguistic change.

Activities of commemorative purpose, with religious overtone, also were designed to show their antiquity, that is, authority. But above all, it is in writing system that one finds the most powerful weapon for transformation. The Chinese people had always found writing texts, such as spells, talismans or textualized incantations, in ritual activities particularly effective in achieving magical purposes. This is parallel to the commemorative nature of stone or bronze inscriptions.

To expand out argument a bit more, it is useful to see that functional literacy was never a part, let alone an important part, of literacy education in traditional China. To learn to write was fundamentally a political action. This became

especially so after the Tang and Song, when primers or elementary texts were designed primarily to teach moral lessons, and were increasingly less related to the purpose of helping pupils to write for functional/daily life needs.

Written characters or texts were thus politically oriented and extremely powerful. Even by the XXth century, big-word posters (*dazibao*) remained preferred for political purposes. One needs not to be reminded of the fact that elementary school text books were also political in nature. The Chinese people undoubtedly believed that literacy and written pronouncements were the most effective means for propagating political beliefs. It is well-known to us that big-word posters were often preferred over cartoons, dramas, speeches or songs.

All in all, local history and its representation could not but also be political in nature. Local gazetteers were composed in order to reflect central government policies and Confucian ideologies. This is why so many central government pronouncements were found often in local gazetteers. They were central to the purpose of local historical imagination and were thus deliberately preserved therein.

2. BÖLÜM: DİĞER KÜLTÜRLER AÇISINDAN ÇİN TARİHİNE FARKLI BİR BAKIŞ

PART 2: FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF OTHER CULTURES AND MODERN CHINESE HISTORY

ЧАСТЬ 2: ВЗГЛЯД ДРУГИХ КУЛЬТУР НА КИТАЙСКУЮ ИСТОРИЮ

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA and Thomas H. C. LEE (Panel Başkanları/ Chairs of Panel/Председатель)

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA: You all welcome to the second part of the panel titled “**From The Viewpoint of Other Culture and Modern Chinese History**”. Now, Mr. Moro will speak on: “How Did People Enjoy Epigraphic Culture in Ancient Greece? Inscribing Names on Monuments”

Prof. Dr. Akiko MORO*: Thank you very much Chairman.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the characteristics of literacy and epigraphic habit (practice of epigraphy) in ancient Greece. Though ancient Greece is so remote from Song, Yuan and Ming China both in time and space, I hope to contribute to strengthening the study of Chinese inscriptions. In order to clarify what was Greek, I first describe briefly the nature of early Greek writing. Second, I focus on the emergence and spread of the Athenian epigraphic habit. I shall particularly discuss the interaction between private and public space and the interrelation between elite and non-elite circles. It will be suggested that how fast literacy came down from the aristocrats to the masses and how much people enjoyed writing depended upon their degree of literacy. Finally I shall discuss the impact of writing on Greek (Athenian) society.

1. The Earliest Writings: Private Graffiti on Potsherds and Vases

It is generally thought that the alphabetic writing system was introduced into the Greek world in the eighth century BC.¹ Once it arrived, it prevailed throughout the Greek world within a short period, presumably through the actions of merchants. At first, the alphabet appears to have been used only to mark and/or sign.² Apparently some perishable materials, such as wooden tablets, animal skins

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¹ See particularly EG, 67-73; LSAG, 12-21; Johnston, 1983: 63-68; Powell, 1991:18-20. On the Greek adaptation of the Phoenician script from Cyprus, see Woodard, 1997, particularly 133-204.

² A useful survey on the development of Greek literacy is Harris, 1989: 45-64 and 1996: 60-70. See also Hedrick, 1999 and Whitley, 1997.

and papyri could be used for temporary administrative record. Careful observation of the earliest written materials suggests, however, that writing was not necessarily regarded as indispensable for conducting state/community business among the aristocrats who were responsible for administration and that writing was mostly used for temporary and private purposes.

The majority of the earliest extant writings are graffiti on vessels, potsherds and the like, and date from the eighth century BC on. Considering that no formal writings have been found and that most are written on vessels for symposia regardless of their content,³ the practice of writing appears to have originally developed to be read out among the people who could enjoy this newly developed method.

A. The Spread of Literacy Through Aristocratic Symposia

Dozens of graffiti of the eighth century that show ownership of vases are known from various sites in Greece. Most examples give only names in the nominative or genitive, so it is difficult to infer the status of the owners. A few examples suggest, however, that owners of these vessels were mostly aristocrats and the people who had special relationship with them.

(a) The Dipylon oinochoe (jug) (found in a grave near the Kerameikos, Athens, dated to ca. 740-730 BC. **LSAG** 76 (1) = **EG** 1 135-136 = **CEG** 432 = Powell no. 58 = Immerwahr no. 1)

This is one of the earliest graffiti and also a very isolated Athenian example from this period. Unlike some other places, Athens has no extant graffiti from the eighth century BC,⁴ though a reasonable number of geometric vases have been found there. It is also one of the longest writings in Greece from this period. The precise meaning of the sentence is not easy to interpret. However, it is a metrical inscription and the general meaning of the first part is clear: "He who of all the dancers now performs most excellently". It is generally thought that the graffiti is a kind of prize inscription. Though it might be so, the letters seem to have been scratched rather impromptu and carelessly. In addition, the writer(s) of this inscription gave up the attempt to complete the writing, and the inscription ends up with several alphabets hard to explain.⁵ Therefore, the writing seems to be improvised rather than formal. It seems better to suppose that spoken words were

³ Powell (1991: 119-180) collects 68 early Greek writings up to 650 BC by genre. Snodgrass, 2000 investigates the shapes of inscribed Attic vases up to the fourth century BC. According to his count, 358 of 544 are vessels for sympotic use (Table 2.1, p. 27).

⁴ **IG** I³ 1418 = **LSAG** 76(2) = Powell no. 47 = **DAA** 310 = **CEG** 433, a small fragment of the earliest extant stone inscription found on the Akropolis, is generally thought to belong to the eighth century BC. From its finding spot, it is sometimes thought a kind of dedication. A part of two lines are preserved. Though it is usually called 'an inscription', it seems only to be scratched rather than inscribed and the meaning is uncertain. The nature of this inscription might be similar to that of the Dipylon oinochoe.

⁵ Jeffery (1990: 68) and Powell (1991: 162) think that the latter part of this graffiti was written by another hand.

written down in verse and read out as entertainment. That is, the graffito relates to the aristocratic way of life.

(b) The Nestor's cup (found at Pithekoussai, an island off the west coast of south Italy, the first Greek [Euboean] settlement in the West, usually dated to ca. 730-720. *LSAG* 239(1) = *EG* 1 226-227 = *CEG* 454 = Powell, 1991 no. 59).

Like the Dipylon oinochoe, a graffito of three lines on this skyphos is also written in verse. It reads, "I am the delicious cup of Nestor. Whoever drinks from this cup the desire of beautifully crowned Aphrodite shall seize". Undoubtedly, it is the most elaborate graffito in all the earliest writings despite its early date. Though there has been much debate on this inscription,⁶ it is enough, here, to mention that the inscription alludes to a Homeric verse (11.632-7), and, like the Tataie's lekythos below, follows a common curse phrase: "Whoever ...".

(c) A graffito on a perfume bottle of Tataie found at Kyme (Cumae, South Italy) dated to 675-650 BC: *LSAG* 240 (3) = Powell, no. 60

This says, "I am the lekythos of Tataie. Whoever steals me shall be blind". The letters are scratched on a clay bottle. Not only can this inscription be compared with that of Nestor's cup, but we may also recall Aineta's aryballos (perfume bottle), on which the names of nine males were written along with the name of Aineta herself (*LSAG* 131 (9) = Wachter, *COR*18, dated between the last quarter of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth century BC).⁷ From the distinctive drawing on the surface of the bottle and the writing on the bottle, it is generally supposed that Aineta was a courtesan (*hetaira*). Tataie might also have been one. Like Aineta, she might have imitated the technique of writing used by participants at symposia, and may even have added some curse-like joke in the manner of Nestor's cup.

It is natural to think that names were scratched only to show ownership, and the fact that most materials show only the names of the owners might attest to this. However, clay pots were not as valuable as metal vessels, so it is probable that they were scratched as a kind of memorial of a symposium, on the spur of the moment. Such enjoyment could be shared among the people present on that occasion. Any words that were written were meant to be spoken out loud by the writer, and people who saw the words also enjoyed reading them aloud.⁸ The main occasions for writing and promoting writing were drinking-parties, that is, symposia.

⁶ The most thorough discussion recently is Faraone, 1996.

⁷ "I am of Aineta (or I am Aineta). Meneas. Theron. Myrmidas. Eudikos. Lysandridas. Chariklidas. Dexilos. Xenon. Phryx". Unlike other examples taken here, the letters on Aineta's aryballos were written before baked by fire. This taken into consideration, the aryballos might have been made as a gift to her.

⁸ A graffito on a drinking vessel (kylix) from Rhodes dated to the late eighth century BC (*LSAG* 356 (1) = *EG* 1 328-329 = Powell, 1991 no. 29) is also a good example. It says: "I am the kylix of Korax (of ...)". Presumably Korax was a man who attended a symposium. His signature must have been added on a kylix there with a sense of humor and joke, read aloud and passed among the participants.

2. Private Writing in Archaic Greece

A. Process of Spreading Literacy to a Wider and Lower Group

As mentioned above, the practice of writing was primarily fostered within aristocratic, elite society, where symposia, drinking parties, and similar functions might have played particularly important roles in the development of writing. Because these were places where politics, philosophy, literature, education and the like were freely discussed and enjoyed, it is logical to assume that the newly developed writing system was also discussed and that participants tried writing letters on anything at hand (drinking vessels, potsherds broken during a party, or any other available materials, including perishable ones).

A dipinto painted on a late geometric krater (large pot) by a maker from Pithekoussai, dated to the last quarter of the eighth century BC or ca. 700 BC, is known (Powell, 1991 no. 10 = EG 3 476 = Wachter 2001 EUC1). This reads, “-inos made me”. Though this is a rather isolated example, such signatures became popular elsewhere in Greece from the 7th century BC on. During the second half of the sixth century BC, craftsmen’s signatures, particularly, stand out among other sorts of painted inscriptions.⁹

All vessels containing craftsmen’s writings known to us today are beautifully painted and well finished, regardless of their shape. Such vessels were undoubtedly not for the everyday use of ordinary people, but, at least in the archaic period, for use primarily at aristocratic symposia.¹⁰ In this context, we can deduce that the craftsmen’s names were possibly added to appeal to the users, that is, to those who attended the elitist symposia. My assumption is, therefore, that a craftsman would develop his literacy skills in order to impress his rich customers. Some popular craftsmen might incidentally have had a chance to be taught by these customers how to spell and how to write their signatures, and might, therefore, have been encouraged to sign their work. To please their customers craftsmen might even have added some erotic spells, names identifying painted figures (so-called narrative inscriptions), or any other words suitable for use during symposia. Symposiasts must have read the words on vessels out loud to each other. For craftsmen, this would have been the most effective way to advertise their products and to get new customers, though we do not know how many workshops there were at any one period.

In such circumstances, it can be argued, the signature of a craftsman shows not only his primitive writing ability but also the development of craftsmen-customers relationships. The devolution of aristocratic culture to the lower strata occurred

⁹ In Athens, the first known painted signature is by Sophilos, both painter and potter, whose works are generally thought to have been produced in ca. 590-570 BC. On Sophilos, see Immerwahr, 1990: 21-22 and particularly Kilmer and Develin, 2001.

¹⁰ Their finding spots also suggest this. Most have been found from cemeteries.

before long. As discussed below, by the mid-sixth century BC, there appeared a few successful popular craftsmen who could afford to make luxury dedications and build fine funeral monuments for themselves in the same manner as their aristocratic customers.

B. Votive Offerings: Social Status of the Dedicators

Inscribing words on votive offerings is the most common inscribing act among the Greeks. This is true even in Athens where the largest number of inscriptions was produced. About 1500 stone/bronze inscriptions were erected in Athens by the end of the fifth century BC. Over 500 of these are private dedicatory inscriptions (**IG I³ 526-1030**), and about 190 (**IG I³ 1194-1381**) are private funerary monuments with inscriptions compared to about 500 public decrees (**IG I³ 1-500**).¹¹ The proportion of private dedicatory inscriptions rises sharply, if we only count the number of inscriptions erected before ca. 480 BC, that is, in the archaic period.¹² Besides these, there was a substantial amount of dedicatory inscriptions painted or scratched on vases.

Before the appearance of inscribed offerings, many kinds of offerings without inscriptions were dedicated to the gods. Even after the appearance of inscribed offerings at the end of the eighth century BC, many offerings without inscriptions no doubt continued to be made. However, once dedications with inscriptions began to be made, it rapidly became popular to add an inscription to the offering and particularly to inscribe the name of the dedicator.

More potsherds with inscriptions of the late eighth century BC have been found recently. Some are marks and signs of unknown origin. However, some come from sanctuaries. Of 66 geometric potsherds with graffiti from a sanctuary at Eretria, dated to the end of the eighth century BC, 3 examples are thought to be either sacred objects or dedications.¹³ Also a geometric potsherd with a dipinto found on the Akropolis in Athens can be dated to ca. 700 BC, though Immerwahr is very dubious about the date.¹⁴ It is also worth mentioning that, although they are less ancient, 173 graffiti on potsherds, dating from the beginning of the 7th century BC to the early sixth century BC, come from a sanctuary for Zeus on the top of Mount Hymettos in Attika.¹⁵

The earliest Attic dedicatory inscriptions on stone/bronze are dated to ca. 650-600 BC (**IG I³ 550**: an inscription on a bronze religious basin from the Akropolis;

¹¹ This count is only rough by using IG I³.

¹² Compared to ca. 300 private dedicatory inscriptions, only 5 decrees and 4 sacred laws are known to have been passed before 480 BC.

¹³ Pfyffer et al. 2005: 51-83 with Wachter, 2005: 84-86. Three examples are Pfyffer et al., 2005: nos. 5, 62, 64.

¹⁴ See Immerwahr, 1990: no. 2 and Hurwit, 1999: 90, fig.62. A part of name [A]nte[nor?] is read. Hurwit dates this sherd to ca. 700 BC.

¹⁵ Langdon, 1976: 11-41.

IG I³ 589 = DAA 376: an inscription on a marble basin also from the Akropolis) as shown in **Table 1**, if we set aside **IG I³ 1418**.¹⁶ The most standard formula in dedicatory inscriptions throughout the period is “So-and-so dedicated” or “So-and-so dedicated this offering (or more directly “me”) to ... (name of a god)”. It seems that reference to the dedicators’ names was considered to be the most important information in all text messages¹⁷.

In the beginning, votive offerings with inscriptions seem to have been mostly dedicated by the aristocrats.¹⁸ “So-and-so dedicated” or “So-and-so dedicated this offering to ...” was enough to demonstrate their piety and gratitude to the gods, and enough to demonstrate their prosperity to visitors to temples, sanctuaries and the like.

Signatures and dedications by the craftsmen themselves began to appear almost at the same time. The earliest known signatures by craftsmen are **IG I³ 596 = DAA 329** (ca.550 BC) and **IG I³ 599 = DAA 4** (ca.550-540 BC). Inscribing signatures became more popular after ca.510 BC (**Table 2**),¹⁹ and there are about 68 examples up to the end of the fifth century BC.²⁰

Dedicatory stone/bronze inscriptions by craftsmen themselves appeared from ca. 550 BC. We recognize this by mention of their occupations in the inscriptions shown in **Table 3** (Polykles the fuller, ca.550 BC; a builder/ carpenter [**ho tekton**] whose name was lost, ca. 530-520 BC; Iatrokees and Kephalos the potters, ca. 530-510 BC; Polyxenos the fuller, ca. 530-510 BC; Simon the fuller, ca. 525-510 BC; Mnesiades the potter [**ho kerameus**] and Andokides, ca. 525 BC; Nearchos the potter, ca. 520 BC; Peikon the potter, ca. 510 BC; Smikros the tanner, ca.510-500 BC). Though the number of examples is limited, it appears that only very successful craftsmen could afford magnificent dedications with inscriptions. It is worth mentioning that only craftsmen listed their occupations in dedicatory inscriptions.²¹ This appears to show the craftsmen’s pride and attitude towards aristocratic culture. They followed the custom of their aristocratic customers. It might also be worth noting that some of these inscriptions are thought to have

¹⁶ See n. 4 above.

¹⁷ On discussions about the interactive aspect between a dedicator and a person who read its text and the so-called performative writing, see Day, 1996, Svenbro, 1993: 26-43, Thomas, 1992: 61-65 and Osborne, 1999.

¹⁸ It is not easy to define aristocratic status in archaic Athens. Chairion son of Kleidikos who served a treasurer of Athena is identified as an aristocrat (**IG I³ 590 = DAA 330**). But he is exceptional. The fact that most dedications are given only the dedicators’ names seems to suggest their names themselves clarified their status. On the definition of aristocratic status and its difficulties, see Keesling, 2003a: 65-69.

¹⁹ 5 examples before ca.520 BC and 23 examples after ca.510-500 BC.

²⁰ **DAA 435-436** counts 67 examples of 393 dedicatory inscriptions and followed by Keesling 2003b, 42-43.

²¹ A dedicatory inscription by Chairion says, “Chairion the son of Kleidikos dedicated to Athena when he held the office of tamias (treasurer of Athena)” (**IG I³ 590 = DAA 330**).

been dedicated before Kleisthenes' reforms in 508/7 BC, This means that these acts were not necessarily related to the democracy itself.²²

To Summarize This Section Briefly:

1) Literacy occurred first within the aristocratic circle and then spread to those who, through their business, had contact with aristocrats and were in communication with them. Within a surprisingly short period, the use of writing spread to people belonging to the lower strata.

2) Adding an inscription was an important tool for identifying the dedicator.

3) The custom of erecting votive monuments made the meaning of the writing more symbolic and more representative compared to the writing in earlier graffiti.

3. Emergence of Public Inscriptions

In Athens, the earliest stone/ bronze inscriptions of any public nature are a dedication of Chairion, a treasurer of Athena (**IG I³ 590 = DAA 330**, ca. 600-575 BC) and a series of public dedications. **IG I³ 507-509bis (=DAA 326-328)** are dedications of **hieropoioi** (priests) "who made the stadium (**dromos**)" and "established the athletic contest (**agon**) for the first time for Athena" (**IG I³ 507**), and the names of a board of sacred officials are listed. They are usually dated to ca. 565, ca. 562-558, and ca. 550 BC respectively, and are thought to be relevant to the establishment of the Great Panathenaia in 566 BC. The officials in charge seem to have made a series of dedications in commemoration of their successful tasks. Similar early dedicatory inscriptions with some public character are **IG I³ 510**, ca. 550 BC, a dedication by the treasurers of Athena; **IG I³ 991**, a dedication by an archon Alkiphron responsible for the establishment of the Eleusinian stadium for the Athenians (Eleusis: a sacred place for Demeter and Persephone);²³ and others as shown in **Table 1** and **Table 4**.

Taking into consideration these Attic inscriptions, it seems reasonable to believe that the practice of making public inscriptions derived from private dedicatory inscriptions. In other words, the habit of monumentalizing and displaying public inscriptions seems to have begun with collective, public dedications. Listing names of officials and displaying them publicly are thought to have been the origin of public inscriptions. Such public dedications would have held a place of honor for the officials in charge. Thus I suggest that the making and displaying of public inscriptions did develop from the literate culture of aristocrats and their tradition of monumentalizing. Now, let us compare the character of public inscriptions more closely with that of private inscriptions.

In the earliest examples of public inscriptions, both stone and bronze, the letters fill most of the available space (**IG I³ 507, 508, 509, 510, 991, 1, 231, 232, 5** etc.). This is the most visible difference between public inscriptions and private ones,

²² Keesling, 2003a: 69-71. .

²³ As for the inscriptions from Eleusis, see now Clinton, 2005.

in which inscriptions had a more complementary role; clarifying the contents of monuments. Though this gives an impression that, in comparison with private ones, public inscriptions were written more as records, we have to bear in mind that almost all inscriptions were set up in sacred places (in the case of Athens, in the Akropolis and other sanctuaries). Therefore, the inscriptions were made primarily as part of dedications. The inviolability of laws and enactments and the accountability of the magistrates were shown through the dedications to the gods.

One similarity of public to private inscriptions is the habit of recording the name of the person or group of people responsible for the enactment/dedication. It was most important to name the dedicator(s) in dedicatory inscriptions. In public decrees, too, it seems to have been important, indeed essential, to identify the responsible authority in any enactment, primarily to get the gods' favors. The names of the responsible body and officials were placed at the beginning of the inscription.

The biggest difference between private and public inscriptions is that in the latter the collectivity is shown. Private inscriptions were usually made by individuals (most were made by a single individual), and they rarely stated their public titles. We can see here that the emergence of public inscriptions made society more collective and more integral.

3. Concluding Remarks: Erecting Decrees in Sanctuaries and Sharing Information within a Quasi-Closed Circle

The emergence of public laws and decrees shows that society, in a given case, had become more integrated and, hence, more cohesive. Certainly it cannot be denied that the emergence of archaic written laws changed the norms of society in question, and the repeated reference in the laws to **polis**, **demos**, **koinon** and to various officials, must have given some impression of cohesion.

It is worth mentioning here that the laws of Drakon in the 620s and of Solon in the 590s at Athens were written on wooden beams called **axones** and **kyrbeis**.²⁴ In the time when these laws were enacted, dedicatory inscriptions and funerary inscriptions had already appeared.²⁵ Nevertheless, the laws were not inscribed on stones/bronzes, but on less durable wooden beams. This shows the slowness of the emergence of public stone/bronze inscriptions. Moreover, according to literary traditions, the laws of Drakon and Solon were originally set up somewhere in the

²⁴ There is much discussion about the shape of the axones and kyrbeis and the difference between them. Aristotle's AP 7. 1 informs that the axones of the law of Solon was originally set in the Stoa Basileios, however, it was denied from the archaeological point of view. See Rhodes, 1981: 131-135.

²⁵ The earliest Athenian funerary inscriptions are IG I3 1194 (for Keramo, ca. 650-600? BC) and IG I3 1247 (for Epicharides, ca. 7c BC).

Agora, not on the Akropolis.²⁶ This suggests that, for the Athenians, such laws had different meanings than the dedicatory inscriptions erected in sanctuaries.

Once public decrees and laws on stones/bronzes appeared, they were usually set up in sanctuaries, as were the dedicatory inscriptions.²⁷ That means that these selected documents inscribed on stone were regarded as dedications to the gods.²⁸ In the case of a law from Elis (Buck 61, ca. 500 BC), it was set up in Olympia and treated as “sacred at Olympia”. Olympia was about 55 km far from Elis.

In Athens in the archaic period, when entrance into officialdom was restricted to the aristocratic class, most information was, apparently, only shared among such eligible people. These were the people who held office, who enacted laws/ decrees, and who had a duty to visit and stay at sanctuaries. Because a sanctuary was a public space, and most inscriptions were erected in central state sanctuaries, every sanctuary was theoretically open to all citizens. Nevertheless, what individual not directly involved in enacting laws/ decrees would bother to read them?

Compared with dedicatory inscriptions, public laws and decrees are much less legible.²⁹ From their first appearance, they were written without the expectation that they would have been read widely, and it was after the late fifth century BC that some device for legibility was made in Athens.³⁰ On the one hand, the appearance of public laws and decrees increased the cohesion and integration of a society, but on the other hand, it also helped to differentiate the elite from the non-elite strata.

From around the mid-fifth century BC, the number of public inscriptions increased rapidly. The Athenians recorded on stone lists of accounts, casualty lists, inventory lists and various kinds of public decisions. This might certainly be seen as a result of democratization. Yet we have to bear in mind that such openness to all was made only as a gesture of accountability. Even in the public inscriptions in classical Athens, the most important components of inscriptions were: who proposed the decree; who was responsible for the erection; who proposed the amendment etc. They were carefully inscribed in order to avoid mistakes, even tiny ones.³¹ If there were any, they had to be erased and the corrected words were reinscribed with great care. Here, we find attitudes that parallel those in the archaic writings. Even in classical Athens, naming names, that is, publishing

²⁶ See n. 24.

²⁷ In the case of Athens, IG I3 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 (state decrees) were set up on the Akropolis. As to the sacred laws, they were set up in a sacred place where each law was most relevant (IG I3 230, 231, 232 and perhaps 242). See also table 4.

²⁸ See Linders, 1988 and Davies, 2005: 294.

²⁹ On the stylistic difference between dedicatory inscriptions and other texts inscribed on stones such as decrees, see Keesling, 2003b: 44-52..

³⁰ On this subject, see Moroo, 2005: 50-51 and the works cited there.

³¹ I discussed this subject in Moroo, 2003/4 [2007].

the names of people involved in a decision, was one of the essential elements of public inscriptions. It is important, therefore, that we pay more attention to the continuity of attitudes towards monuments and inscriptions from the archaic to the classical period.

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Table 1: Earliest Athenian Stone/ Bronze Dedicatory Inscriptions to ca.550.

IG	DAA	CEG	Date	Material	Object	Place
550			ca.650-600?	bronze	basin	Akropolis
589	376		ca.650-600?	marble	basin	Akropolis
589bis	385		7c?	?	?	?
590	330		ca.600-575?	poros?	altar	Akropolis
591	318	180	ca.600-575?	bronze?	tripod or bowl	Akropolis
592	1	181	ca.600-575?	poros?	statue	Akropolis
543			ca.600-550?	bronze	statuette of ram	Akropolis
552		281	ca.600-550?	bronze	statuette	Akropolis
553			ca.600-550?	bronze	statuette	Akropolis
551			ca.600-550?	bronze	basin	Akropolis
984			ca.600-550?	?	?	Brauron
989			ca.600-550?	marble	discus	Eleusis
902	374	183	ca.575?	marble	basin	Akropolis
902bis	374	184	ca.575?	marble	basin	Akropolis
903	375	185	ca.575?	marble	basin	Akropolis
988			ca.575-550?	lead	halter	Eleusis
595	324		ca.575-500?	?	?	Akropolis
593	59		ca.570-560?	marble	statue	Akropolis
507	326	434	ca.565?	poros	block	Akropolis
508	327	435	ca.562-558?	poros	block	Akropolis
509	328		ca.550?	poros	block	Akropolis
509bis	328	182	ca.550?	poros	block	Akropolis
510			ca.550?	bronze	?	Akropolis
544		282	ca.550?	bronze	fruits	Akropolis
554			ca.550?	bronze	basin	Akropolis
554bis			ca.550?	bronze	basin	Akropolis
594			ca.550?	?	?	Akropolis
596	329		ca.550?	poros?	altar	Akropolis
597	317		ca.550?	bronze	tripod or bowl	Akropolis
972			ca.550?	poros	block	Attika
990			ca.550?	poros	?	Eleusis
991		301	ca.550?	poros	stele (racepost?)	Eleusis
992		300	ca.550?	marble	basin	Eleusis
1024A			ca.550?	?	?	Sounion
1024B			ca.550?	?	?	Sounion
598	61	186	ca.550-540?	marble	statue	Akropolis
599	4	187	ca.550-540?	?	?	Akropolis
600	195		ca.550-540?	marble	statue	Akropolis
601	325		ca.550-540?	?	?	Akropolis
545			ca.550-525?	bronze	statuette of ram	Akropolis

*Suggested dates are those by *IG* I³.

Table 2: Artists' Signatures on Dedications on the Athenian Akropolis ca.550-500.

<i>IG</i>	<i>DAA</i>	<i>CEG</i>	Date	Dedicator	Artist	Material/ Object
596	329		ca.550?	?	Patrokleides?	poros? altar
599	4	187	ca.550-540?	?	?	?
608	234	190	ca.530-520?	Melanthyros	Melanthyros?	marble statue
627	244	192	ca.520?	?	Eumares	?
628	197	193	ca.520?	Nearchos (potter)	Antenor son of Eumares	marble statue
632	278	215	ca.510-500?	?	Prothymos?	bronze statue
637	65		ca.510-500?	Hegesandros	Gorgias	marble statue
638	147	200	ca.510-500?	?	Gorgias	bronze statue
639	77		ca.510-500?	Thraix son of Kortynios	Gorgias	bronze statue
641	5		ca.510-500?	Ameinias	Gorgias	marble? statue
642bis			ca.510-500?	?	?	?
645	55		ca.510-500?	?	?	?
646	58		ca.510-500?	Smikros (tanner)	Euthykles	?
647	290	205	ca.510-500?	Lyson	Thebades son of Kyrnos	marble statue
649	52		ca.510-500?	?	?	marble statue
656	81		ca.510-500?	?	Hermipos	?
657	307		ca.510-500?	Poly...	Pollias	?
658	220		ca.510-500?	Kriton son of Skythes	Pollias	?
659	221		ca.510-500?	Etearchos and ...	?	?
663	150		ca.510-500?	?	?	?
665	88		ca.510-500?	?	Leobios	?
680	10		ca.510-500?	Epiteles	Pythis	?
683	3		ca.510-500?	Iphidike	Archeromos from Chios	?
640	78		ca.500?	?	Gorgias	?
655a			ca.500?	?	?	?
664b	186c		ca.500?	?	?	?
664c	268		ca.500?	?	?	?
685			ca.500?	...ros	Bion	?

Table 3: Dedications by Craftsmen on the Athenian Akropolis to ca.500

<i>IG</i>	<i>DAA</i>	<i>CEG</i>	Date	Dedicator	Status	Material	Object
554			ca.550?	Polykles	fuller	bronze	basin
606	196	188	ca.530-520?		carpentar	marble	statue
905	342		ca.530-510?	Polyxenos	fuller	marble	basin
616	49		ca.525-510?	Simon	fuller	marble	statue
620	178	191	ca.525?	Mnesiades, Andokides	potter	bronze	statuette
628	197	193	ca.520?	Nearchos	potter	marble	statue
633	44	217	ca.510?	Peikon	potter	?	?
646	58		ca.510-500?	Smikros	tanner	?	?
546			ca.500?	Phrygia	breadseller	bronze	miniature shield

Table 4: The Earliest Inscriptions with Public Nature to ca. 490-480 BC

<i>IG</i>	<i>DAA</i>	Date	Type	Description
590	330	ca.600-575?	votive	altar by Chairion, treasurer of Athena
507	326	ca.565	votive	pillar block by priests (hieropoioi)
508	327	ca.562-558?	votive	pillar block by priests (hieropoioi)
509	328	ca.550?	votive	pillar block by priests (hieropoioi)
509bis	328	ca.550?	votive	pillar block by priests (hieropoioi)
510		ca.550?	votive	bronze object by treasurers of Athena
972		ca.550?	votive	
991		ca.550?	votive	stele (racepost?) by archon Alkiphron
1033		ca.550?	name list	
1023		ca.525-514	votive	herm by Hipparchos?
948		ca.520-511?	votive	altar by archon Peisistratos son of Hippias
230		ca.520-510	lex sacra	
1		ca.510-500	decree	state decree
231		ca.510-500	lex sacra	lex sacra concerning Eleusinian mysteries
232		ca.510-480	lex sacra	
501	173	ca.505?	votive	victory dedication by the Athenians
2		ca.500	decree	state decree for festival of Herakles
5		ca.500	decree	state decree for Eleusinian festival
1087		ca.500?	horos	border stone of Agora
1088		ca.500?	horos	border stone of Agora
1089		ca.500?	horos	border stone of Agora
1091		ca.500?	horos	border stone of Akademeia
3		ca.490-480	Decree	state decree for festival of Herakles
242		ca.490-480	lex sacra	lex sacra of phratry/demos/genos?
4		ca.485/4	Decree	state decree concerning Akropolis

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA and Thomas LEE: We thank you Mr. Moro. Now, Mr. Tj Henrichs spoken “**Stone and Wood Inscriptions: Posing Ecumenical Medicine and Ritual Against Local Customs.**”

Ass. Prof. Dr. Tj HINRICHS*: Thank you very much Chairman.

The Northern Song period (960-1126 C.E.) period is known for a style of interventionist governance that remained unmatched until the twentieth century. By this, I mean extending government structures into local society, for example in the areas of schooling, poor relief, tax collection, monopolies, and surveillance. The most famous initiatives creating such programs came in the mid-1040s, late 1060s, and 1090s. Decades before these better known policies, however, Northern Song officials and the court launched a series of local and regional campaigns to transform southern customs related to the care of the sick. These campaigns targeted southerners avoiding contact with relatives for fear of contagion, preference for shamans over medicine, and general ignorance of medicine.¹ Local officials and the court issued exhortations to use medicine rather than neglect ill relatives, banned shamanic healing, and rounded up shamans and destroyed their shrines.² Also specifically in response to southern healing practices, the government produced and distributed prescription texts, often inscribing these on stone or wood blocks, and posting these for dissemination.

While the purported objects of these transformative acts do not tell us what viewing these inscriptions meant to them, other unstated audiences – officials, literati, and physicians – leave us some hints. This paper explores the political and moral meanings of the production of these inscriptions, especially in relation to Northern Song constructions of local and imperial identity. It will begin focus on the case of the official Cai Xiang (1012-1067, **jinshi** 1030).³

Case of Cai Xiang

The statesman Cai Xiang 蔡襄, a native of Fujian who also served there in Fu and Quan Prefectures in the 1040s and the 1050s, is today a source of local

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¹ Two major imperial edicts against these customs covered what would correspond on maps to the provinces of Sichuan, southern Anhui, southern Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangxi, and Guangdong. Local initiatives also all, with one exception, fell within these territories.

² See Tj Hinrichs, “The Medical Transforming of Governance and Southern Customs in Song China (960-1279 C.E.)”, PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2003, Chapter 2, Appendix 1.

³ Styled Junmou. Person of Xianyou County, Xinghua Military Prefecture, Fujian Circuit. Wang Teh-i 王德毅, **Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin** (hereafter SZZS), 宋人傳記資料索引 (Index to bibliographical materials of Song people), (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1984) 5.3803-3806.

pride. There is a Cai Xiang study group, which has compiled and published the volume on him, including genealogical studies contributed by Fujian Cai family members.⁴ There is a “Putian District Cai Xiang Memorial Hall,” originally built in 1578.”⁵ If you run a search for his name in English on the internet, you will find tourist pages directing you to see stone inscriptions of his calligraphy and the Wan’an Bridge, a protected historic site, built by Cai Xiang between 1053 and 1056.⁶ The Wan’an bridge, with its boat-shaped pile structures that help it stand up to strong tidal currents, was also featured on the American Public Television program “China’s Bridge,” thus contributing to the international luster of China’s scientific and technical achievements.⁷ You will find web sites for exhibitions of his calligraphy, and even more sites selling reproductions of it.⁸ For connoisseurs of such things, you will learn of Cai Xiang’s expertise and discrimination in the areas of lychees and tea.⁹

Today he may serve the interests of regional pride, identity, and even avarice, resurgent since the 1980s.¹⁰ In his own time, Cai Xiang’s official acts, his writings,

⁴ Cai Qingquan, Cai Yuanzhang, Cai Jinshui, Cai Kaiyun, “Cai Xiang jiazuo shixi kaolüe (Brief study of Cai Xiang’s family genealogy)”, in Wu Yining, ed., **Gujin Zhong-wai lun Cai Xiang** (Old and recent, Chinese and foreign discussions of Cai Xiang), (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1988), pp. 186-189.

⁵ Cai Xiang, **Cai Xiang ji** (Collected writings of Cai Xiang), Wu Yining, ann., (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), front matter; also mentioned in the preface to Wu Yining, ed., **Gujin Zhong-wai lun Cai Xiang**.

⁶ Tourist sites for stone inscriptions of Cai Xiang’s calligraphy: Regent Tour China, “Fuzhou – Sights and Attractions – Wushan Hill”, <<http://www.regenttour.com/chinaplanner/foc/foc-sights-wushan.htm>>; Fujian lüyou zhi chuang (Window on Fujian travel), “Fuzhou – Scenery – Inscriptions on Gu Mountain”, <<http://www.fjta.com/english/everywhere/fuzhou/scenery/gushanShike.htm>>. Tourist sites for the Wan’an, also known as the Luoyang Bridge: <<http://bj.chinavista.com/travel/quanzhou/quanzhou.html>>; <<http://chinafair.org.cn/chinafair-eng/xm-outlook/quanzhou.htm>>; Fujian lüyou zhi chuang (Window on Fujian travel), “Fuzhou–Scenery–Luoyang Bridge”, <<http://www.fjta.com/english/everywhere/quanzhou/scenery/luoyangBridge.htm>>. All cites accessed March 2002.

⁷ For program information, images, and partial transcripts, see Public Broadcasting Service, “Nova–Secrets of Lost Empires–China Bridge”, <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/lostempire/china/age.html>>. Accessed March 2002.

⁸ See, for example, Chinese Art Information, “A schedule of Chinese calligraphy reproductions of past dynasties for sale”, <<http://www.art558.com/home-en-shuhua.htm>>; Sinorama, “The National Museum: A Window on Seven Thousand Years of History”, <<http://www.sinorama.com.tw/8410/8410074e.html>>. Accessed March 2002.

⁹ He wrote treatises on these subjects, the **Lizhi pu** and **Cha lu**. For popular references to Cai Xiang’s connoisseurship and to these works, see, for example: Agriec.com, “Culture of Litchi – In June Litchi Peak Season in South”, <<http://lichee.agriec.com/Peak.htm>>; Ellen’s Kitchen, “All the Tea in China”, <<http://www.ellenskitchen.com/faqs/chinatea.html>>; and <<http://www.chinatour.com/digest/tea.htm>>. Accessed March 2002.

¹⁰ See, for example, Edward Friedman, “Reconstructing China’s National Identity: A Southern Alternative to Mao-Era Anti-Imperialist Nationalism”, **Journal of Asian Studies** 53.1 (Febr. 1994): 67-91.

and writings about him place him in a more complex position vis-à-vis locale and “nation,” the latter term being used here advisedly.¹¹ His public identity began not precisely with these geographic coordinates, but with his accomplishments in the cultural tradition. He participated in the movement for “ancient style” (**guwen**) writing as better able to express and cultivate the values of the Sages.¹² In his **Record of the collection of antiquities (Jigu lu)**, the even more prominent statesman Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072, *jinshi* 1030) repeatedly reports his friend Cai Xiang’s judgments on various objects, citing him as a master of and leading authority on calligraphy, and seeking his calligraphy for its preface.¹³ Cai’s calligraphy, like his “ancient style” prose, was seen as morally resonant, combining balance and stability, expressive of his upright character, with beauty and grace. It was greatly prized by contemporaries, including Emperor Renzong.¹⁴ Later, Zhu Xi (1130-1200) was, as we might expect given his suspicion of cultural accomplishment as a path for moral cultivation, less impressed by the calligraphy itself than by Cai Xiang’s expression of filial piety, an example of which he had printed as a model for emulation.¹⁵ Closer to his own time, Ouyang Xiu publicized Cai Xiang’s filial

¹¹ We might expect something akin to nationalism to emerge in the Song, when it was paying tribute to powerful neighbors to keep the peace. However, competing models, such as the dynastic mandate over All-Under-Heaven, were still stronger than anything like that of a bounded corporate national entity that we associate with modern nationalism today.

¹² Peter K. Bol, “This Culture of Ours”, pp. 176 *ff.*

¹³ For examples of Ouyang Xiu’s citations of Cai Xiang’s judgements in **Record of the collection of antiquities** see **Jigu lu**, (**SKQS**, 681) 1.9, 1.11, 3.22-23, 4.10-11, 4.18, 4.27, 5.6-7, 5.16, 5.19, 6.10, 6.18, 9.8, 9.19, 10.15. On Ouyang Xiu seeking Cai Xiang’s calligraphy for its preface, see “Seeking calligraphy from Cai Junmou [Xiang] for the preface to **Jigu lu**” **Wenzhong ji**, (**SKQS**, 1102-1103), 69.11-12. On Ouyang Xiu’s and contemporaries’ high valuations of Cai Xiang’s calligraphy, see **Wenzhong ji**, 73.15.

¹⁴ Renzong asked Cai Xiang to transcribe a memorial inscription that he had composed, which he did. Famously Cai Xiang rejected, on the grounds that this was the type of work ordinarily done for a fee, another imperial request to transcribe a text composed by another official. Ouyang Xiu, “Duanming dian xueshi Cai gong muzhiming” (Tomb inscription for Academician of Duanming Hall Mr. Cai), in **Cai Xiangji**, p. 937; Amy McNair, **The Upright Brush: Yan Zhenqing’s Calligraphy and Song Literati Politics**, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998), p. 11, 58, 68, 82, 130-134. Also see Su Shi’s assessment of Cai Xiang’s calligraphy, as quoted in Bol, “This Culture of Ours”, p. 295.

¹⁵ On Zhu Xi’s moral stance vis-à-vis cultural pursuits, see Peter K. Bol, “Chu Hsi’s” Redefinition of Literati Learning”, in William **Theodore de Bary and John Chaffee, eds., Neo-Confucian Education: Its Formative Stage**, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 151-185. On Zhu Xi’s respect for Cai Xiang’s filial over calligraphic attainments and printing of a piece of Cai’s work, see Zhu Xi, “**Ba Cai Duanming xianshou yi**” (Postscript to Cai Duanming’s “Ceremony of Presentation for Longevity”) **Zhuzi wenji**, Chen Junmin, coll., punc., (Taipei: Defu wenjiao jijinhui, 2000), pp. 82.4079-4080. Zhu Xi also expressed his respect and admiration for Cai’s benevolent governance in “**Ye Duanming shilang Cai Zhongui Gong ci wen**”, (Text on Audience at the Shrine of [Academician of] Duanming [Hall] and Vice Director [of the Department of Personnel] Mr. Cai Zhonghui), **Zhuzi wenji**, 86.4264, and in “**Ba Guo Changyang yishu**” (Postscript to Guo Changyang’s medical book), **Zhuzi wenji** 83.4122.

devotion, describing it as something for which he was admired as a paragon amongst the people of Min.¹⁶

If we can speak of national identity in the Northern Song, it is in the sense that Robert Hymes used it when he contrasted the local orientations of the Southern Song gentry with the national orientations of the Northern Song elite.¹⁷ In this, Cai Xiang was a prominent figure. He was known for his close political and personal associations with the prominent court officials Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) and Ouyang Xiu.¹⁸ He shared in the vogue among junior scholars and officials for making names for themselves through righteous public stands against court policy, and for activist approaches to governance.¹⁹

Cai Xiang was not only a statesman of national stature and commitment. We can see in him a deep attachment to his home-region of Fujian, or Min, in two areas: In his promotion of Fujian's tea and lychees, and in his efforts to reform local customs. His "Record of Tea" (**Cha lu**) and his "Manual on Lychees" (**Lizhi pu**) were both presented to Emperor Renzong. In his preface to the former, he reminds the emperor of the unsurpassed fineness of the "dragon tea" he had submitted earlier to the throne. This work, he writes, fills an important gap left by Lu Yu's "Classic of Tea" and Ding Wei's "Illustrations of Tea," which miss Fujian's leafy wonders entirely.²⁰

"Education and Transformation"

The best Cai Xiang ever said of the local customs of Fujian might be that people there grow a lot of lychees.²¹ More importantly for our purposes, Cai Xiang was also known, both in his own time and prominently in the local gazetteers of

¹⁶ See Ouyang Xiu, "**Duanming dian xueshi Cai gong muzhiming**", in **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 937, and "Text of funerary prayer for Cai Duanming [Cai Xiang]", **Wenzhong ji**, 50.12-13.

¹⁷ Robert P. Hymes, **Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Élite of Fu-chou, Chiang-his, in Northern and Southern Sung**, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), *passim*.

¹⁸ Cai Xiang's friendship with Ouyang Xiu began in 1030, when they passed the **jinshi** examination together in the first rank. Cai Xiang's close friendship with Ouyang Xiu is well-attested in their writings. This extended to include Cai Xiang's brother when he served in the capital, until his untimely death. See Ouyang Xiu, "Tomb Inscription for Cai Junshan", **Wenzhong ji**, 28.1-3.

¹⁹ Bol, "**This Culture of Ours**", pp. 168-170. For example, in 1036, when Fan Zhongyan was demoted for accusing the Chief Councillor Lü Yijian (979-1044) of nepotism, and Ouyang Xiu for supporting Fan, Cai Xiang wrote a poem, which was widely circulated, praising Fan, Ouyang, and their allies, and attacking their chief critic, Gao Ruonuo (997-1055). See Cai Xiang, "**Sixian yi buxiao shi**" (Poem on four worthies and one fool), in **Cai Xiang ji**, pp. 8-11.

²⁰ Preface to "Cha lu", **Cai Xiang ji**, 35.638. On Cai Xiang's attachment to his home area, also see Hugh R. Clark, "An Inquiry into the Xianyou Cai: Cai Xiang, Cai Que, Cai Jing, and the Politics of Kinship", **Journal of Song-Yuan Studies** 31 (2001):81-82.

²¹ "Lizhi pu", **Cai Xiang ji**, 35.644-652.

later periods, for his active suppression of a variety of local practices. Ouyang Xiu describes Cai's achievements as a local official in Fu and Quan²² as follows:

Mr. Cai was ingenious at governance and, his family having been in Min for generations, he knew their mores and customs.²³ When he arrived [as Prefect in Fu and in Quan] he thus treated the worthy among the [local] literati (**shi**) with ritual decorum. For the purposes of encouraging learning, establishing goodness, and improving conditions for the common people (**min**), he extirpated the more harmful [customs].²⁴

Ouyang Xiu tells us here how Cai Xiang was seen in the Northern Song in his capacities as a local official: He was particularly efficacious as an official in Min because he was from Min and possessed insider information about local ways. Ouyang Xiu qualifies his identification of Cai with the place and its people by the emigrant status of his family.²⁵ His parochial affiliations were not to Min mores, and his knowledge would be used not to defend and preserve but to change these. For sympathetic contemporaries viewing his actions from the center, his major achievements were on the one hand the promotion of "worthiness" among the local literati, and on the other hand the moral elevation of the common people through the eradication of abhorrent practices. Although not made explicit here, these policies were usually discussed under the rubric of "education and transformation" (**jiaohua**), or "education and transformation of mores and customs" (**jiaohua fengsu** 教化風俗), an activist approach to governance associated at this time with Fan Zhongyan's circle.²⁶

Most references to education and transformation in the Song period have to do with the establishment of local schools, policies directed at literati.²⁷ In his

²² Cai Xiang served as Prefect of Fu and Fiscal Intendant of Fujian between 1045 and 1052. He served as Prefect of Quan, Fu, and then Quan again between 1056 and 1060. His native prefecture, Xinghua Military Prefecture, lies between these. To a Ming or Qing historian accustomed to the rule of avoidance, this may seem strange. Brian McKnight has shown that there in fact appeared to be a preference in the Northern Song, at least in areas for which he had data, for posting local men to local offices. He analyzed data for Fu in Fujian, and Hangzhou and Mingzhou in modern Zhejiang, See: Brian McKnight, "Administrators of Hangzhou Under the Northern Song: A Case Study", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 30 (1970):190-196.

²³ Reading "shi minren" for "yumin you", following CB 187.13b, and **Ouyang wenzhong gong wenji** as quoted in **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 940, fn. 11.

²⁴ Ouyang Xiu, "Duanming dian xueshi Cai gong muzhiming", **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 936. From 1033 Academicians of the Hall of Upright Divinity were ranked below Hanlin Academicians (rank 3a), in charge of handling the reading of memorials to the emperor. Morohashi, **Dai Kan-Wa jiten**, 8:25806.189; Hucker, **Dictionary of Official Titles**, p. 222, no. 2142.

²⁵ On the history and genealogy of the Cai family in this area, see Hugh R. Clark, "An Inquiry into the Xianyou Cai", pp. 67-101; and Cai Qingquan, et. al., "Cai Xiang jiazou shixi kaolüe."

²⁶ Bol, "This Culture of Ours", pp. 170, 184-185.

²⁷ In contrast to policies to educate and transform the literati, discussions of pre-20th century policies to educate and transform commoners are almost entirely absent from Chinese history text books. This is not unjustified by the sources: A **Siku quanshu** or other database search for **jiaohua** or

own arguments to Renzong we can see Cai Xiang's sympathies with the Qingli reformers' agenda for shifting the emphasis in literati education and examinations away from verse composition to essays on the classics and policy as more suitable for selecting capable officials.²⁸

Ouyang Xiu describes a very different type of "education and transformation" policy directed not at literati (**shi**), but at commoners (**min**):

Min customs are particularly concerned with inauspicious affairs.²⁹ In their devotion to Buddha they assemble guests, and treat the exhaustion of resources in profligacy as filial devotion. If they don't, then they feel deeply humiliated and aggrieved, and are shamed in the village. Furthermore, villains, vagabonds, and rogues are fortunate in their greed for food and drink and avarice for money and property. People come without limit, often reaching to several thousands and hundreds of people. It reaches the point that there are those who, when a parent passes away, do not weep in mourning, but necessarily bankrupt themselves in their preparations, only afterwards daring to mourn. Those with means take advantage of the exigencies [of those faced with funeral expenses] to buy their land and homes cheaply. The poor are immediately depleted, go into debt, and for the rest of their lives face the distress of being unable to pay it back.

[Cai Xiang] said, "What iniquities are greater than this evil!" He immediately ordered prohibitions, extending to such things as shamans (**wuxi**) supervising illness and murder by **gu**-poison.³⁰ He strictly put a stop to all of these. Afterwards

jiaohua fengsu will produce many more passages concerned with literati education than with the customs of commoners. The former is, after all, more immediate and critical to the lives of the literati who produced our source materials. They were furthermore the ones expected to do the **jiaohua** -ing, and you could hardly change much in the common ilk if their presumed objects of emulation were not in order. Nevertheless, even though this side of education and transformation was far less central to 11th century controversies, I think it would be fair to say that scholarly work on the topic has been even less than proportional to its appearance in our sources.

²⁸ For policy arguments on these issues, see, for example, "Zeguan" (Selecting officials), **Cai Xiang ji**, 22.376. On the Qingli reform programs for education and examinations, see Bol, "This Culture of Ours", pp. 166-175; Thomas H. C. Lee, **Government Education and Examinations in Sung China**, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1985), pp. 233-239, 286-289; James T.C. Liu, **Ouyang Hsiu**, p. 29-51. On Cai Xiang's involvement in local literati education, see for example, Ouyang Xiu, "Duanming dian xueshi Cai gong muzhiming", **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 936. A slightly abridged and rearranged version of this passage concerning Cai Xiang's activities as local official from Ouyang Xiu's tomb inscription for him is quoted (without attribution) in the **Changbian** in an entry concerning Zhou Ximeng's assignment in 1058 on the basis of the recommendation of Cai Xiang, as Assistant Instructor, School of the Four Gates, Directorate of Education, and Fu Prefectural School Instructor. See **CB**, Vol. II, 187. 13b-14a.

²⁹ Such as the ritual handling of death, as opposed to auspicious affairs, such as weddings.

³⁰ *Gu*-poisoning is a practice generally understood in this period to involve the production of a poison extracted from demonic creatures, usually centipedes, snakes, or toads, cultivated for the purpose. See Feng and Shryock, "Black Magic Known as **Ku**.". The crime of cultivating **gu** was listed under number six the "Ten Abominations", the most heinous crimes in the legal code at least back to the Tang. See Wallace Johnson, **The T'ang Code: General Principles**, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 70-71.

he selected intelligent commoners, educated them in medicines, and had them treat illnesses. Among the youth there were those who did not follow the instructions [of their elders], so he laid out these affairs in clauses and composed the “Five admonitions” in order to teach and reprove them. After some time, the Min people were greatly pacified.³¹

This passage refers to four of the five sets of Cai Xiang’s policies for transforming commoner customs that are recorded in separate stele.³² His “Sixteen Matters for Educating the Common People” has to do with various economic crimes, such as fraud.³³ The “Five Admonitions,” referred to by Ouyang Xiu, is concerned with long-standing local familial customs, particularly relationships between parents and children and between brothers, and bearing on marriage and property.³⁴ The “Admonition Against Feasts on Mountain Tops” addressed the problems of extravagant Buddhist funerals.³⁵

In other contexts Cai Xiang attempted to match the “extirpation of the more harmful customs” with the dissemination of positive models for emulation. He argued to Renzong for the importance of ritual in governance, and remarks that while Renzong’s “nurturing grace reaches to the animals, yet in the common customs of the four quarters they have yet to hear of Rites and Music, solely applying law.” Cai Xiang goes on to argue for the importance of funerary rites among various types of ritual, and points out, “yet funeral rites exhaustively use Buddhists. . . . Your minister requests to assemble great Confucian (**ru**) and widely learned scholars to summarize ancient institutions and establish modern Rites, in

³¹ This passage continues and concludes: “Once [Cai Xiang] had gone, the people of Min followed each other to the prefecture [headquarters], and requested to have a stele of virtuous governance erected for [Cai Xiang]. The officials refused because it was not permitted by law, but immediately withdrew and had [Cai Xiang’s] good governance privately inscribed on stone. It said: ‘To enable our people to remember [Cai Xiang’s] virtue.’” Ouyang Xiu, “Duanming dian xueshi Cai gong muzhiming”, *Cai Xiang ji*, p. 936.

³² The dates for these stele, except where indicated, are unclear. They could have been erected during or shortly after either of Cai Xiang’s tenures as prefect in Fu.

³³ Liang Kejia, *Chunxi sanshanzhi* (Chunxi Period (1174-1189) gazetteer of “Three Mountains” (Fuzhou)), (*SKQS*, 484), 6a-b. Stele said to be in Cai Xiang’s own calligraphy in Feng Dengfu, comp., *Minzhong quanshi zhi* (Gazetteer of engravings on metal and stone in Min), in *Jiayetang jinshi congshu*, 14 *juan*, (China: Wuxing Liushi Xigulou, 1926), 11.1b. Also see *Cai Xiang ji*, pp. 804-805.

³⁴ *Chunxi sanshanzhi*, 4b-5b. Also see *Cai Xiang ji*, 618-619. This stele and the following “Admonition Against Feasts on Mountain Tops” are translated in part in Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing About Rites*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 70-71. Ebrey gives these as examples of efforts to purify and unify ritual practices, here weddings and funerals, in the Northern Song.

³⁵ Ouyang Xiu appears to be quoting from the stele or a text close to the stele inscription. *Chunxi sanshanzhi*, 5b-6a. Stele said to be in Cai Xiang’s own calligraphy in Feng Dengfu 馮登府, comp., *Minzhong quanshi zhi* 閩中金石志 (Gazetteer of engravings on metal and stone in Min), in *Jiayetang jinshi congshu*, 14 *juan*, China: Wuxing Liushi Xigulou, 1926, 11.2a. Also see Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals*, pp. 70-71.

order to cause the hundreds of officials and myriad peoples to all have equality in the convenience and simplicity of performance.”³⁶ In both his well-known personal distaste for Buddhism and in his advocacy of ritual reform, Cai Xiang is in accord with other Song Confucians, notably his friend Ouyang Xiu.³⁷

Unlike Cai’s prohibitions and admonitions, his ritual reform did not seem to directly target commoners. Moreover, Patricia Ebrey believes Northern Song ritual reform to be motivated in part by desire to “define mores appropriate to their class.”³⁸ However, we might consider that, in contrast to earlier times when Confucian family rituals were intended for aristocratic elites and in certain areas proscribed for the rest of society, in the Song these lines between elite and commoner were drawn less often and less clearly.³⁹ Cai Xiang himself was said to have come from a peasant family.⁴⁰ Elites were furthermore conceived of as providing role models for and otherwise exerting influence in their communities. Thus, reforming elite ritual was a logical first step, for the ultimate reform of society at large.

Cai Xiang also targeted customs considered more indigenous to southern China, *gu* 蠱 – poisoning and shamans. In these cases, we find medical texts, rather than ritual texts, produced and disseminated to combat both problems.

Medicine Against Gu

We are told that during Cai Xiang’s earlier tenure as Prefect of Fu and Fiscal Intendant of Fujian (1045-1052),

he very strictly prohibited the cultivation of *gu*. Overall, he broke up several hundred [*gu*-cultivating] families, and from that time forth [the practice] eased up somewhat.⁴¹

³⁶ **Cai Xiang ji** 22.375-376. Patricia Ebrey has examined Song Confucian attacks on vulgar and heterodox family rituals, particularly the handling of the dead. On Northern Song approaches, see Ebrey, **Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China**, pp. 68-101. On Zhu Xi’s influential **Family Rituals**, similarly aimed at guiding commoner practice although eschewing the official policy approach (the latter distinctive of the Northern Song and Zhu Xi’s eschewing of it distinctive of the Southern Song), see Ebrey, **Confucianism and Family Rituals**, pp. 102-144.

³⁷ On Neo-Confucian revival and the attendant opposition to Buddhism, usually dated to Han Yü (768-824), see Ebrey, **Confucianism and Family Rituals**, pp. 77-79, 88-89. On Ouyang Xiu’s attacks on Buddhism and advocacy of ritual reform, see for example, James T. C. Liu, **Ou-Yang Hsiu: An Eleventh-Century Neo-Confucianist**, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967) pp. 160-172. On Cai Xiang’s views of Buddhism, see, for example, Chi-chiang Huang, “Élite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou”, in Gregory and Getz, eds., **Buddhism in the Sung**, p. 327; Hugh Clark, **Community, Trade, and Networks**, p. 62. In Cai Xiang’s particular case, his antipathy for Buddhism may have had to do with Fujian’s monasteries’ great power and extensive landholdings, having seen marked expansion in the ninth and tenth centuries. See Hugh Clark, **Community, Trade, and Networks**, pp. 59-64.

³⁸ Ebrey, **Confucianism and Family Rituals**, pp. 45, 50, 65, 77.

³⁹ See Ebrey, **Confucianism and Family Rituals**, pp. 45-101, *passim*.

⁴⁰ Ouyang Xiu bio.

⁴¹ **Chunxi sanshan zhi**, 39.7b. Also see **Bamin tong zhi**, and **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 797.

According to a Ming source, even if the practice only “eased up somewhat” – and we can usually assume these reports to be exaggerated in favor of his success – it seems to have had an effect on the popular imagination.

In Min lands they somewhat cultivate *gu*. Its spirit sometimes makes small snakes that poison people. Those that are incapable of killing are mostly in Huian in Quan [Prefecture]. Within eighty *li*, to the north they cannot pass Maple Pavilion and to the south they dare not cross the Luoyang Bridge [another name for Cai Xiang’s Wan’an Bridge]. It is said that in the days when Cai [Xiang] was Prefect of Quan, he arrested and killed many who bred *gu*, and [the Quan] witches fear him to today. This is because [Luoyang] Bridge has a shrine to Cai Xiang, and Maple Pavilion is part of Xianyou and [Cai Xiang] was a person of Xianyou.⁴²

In 1048 Renzong, reviewing legal cases involving *gu* from Fujian, presumably those of Cai Xiang, commissioned the collection of prescriptions for expelling *gu*, particularly relying on the repertoire of the Fu Prefecture doctor (**yigong** 醫工) Lin Shiyuan 林士元. He had these compiled into the book **Qingli Period prescriptions good for rescuing people** (**Qingli shanjiu fang** 慶曆善救方), which he then distributed.⁴³

Such texts were often distributed unevenly, and might only reach to the prefecture level. **Qingli period prescriptions** seems to have made it to the district level in Fu Prefecture only in 1058, when each district carved it on wooden blocks and posted these at the district gates. Twelfth century sources describe and quote a Fu Prefecture stele from this period.⁴⁴ The text seems to have moved more quickly in Zhejiang, where in 1049 it reached the offices of Yin District Magistrate Wang Anshi (1021-1086, **jìnshi** 1042), who had attained office through the recommendations of Cai Xiang and Ouyang Xiu in 1044.⁴⁵ He wrote a postface for the text, had it engraved on stone, and like the magistrates in Fuzhou had this set up outside the district yamen gate so that it would be known and accessible to people without having to make application through the authorities. Wang Anshi

⁴² From **Minbu shu**, quoted in **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 927.

⁴³ **Chunxi sanshan zhi**, 39. Also see **CB**, 163.1b; Okanishi Tameto, **Sô izen iki kô** (Research on Medical Works Before the Song Dynasty), 2nd edition, (Taipei: Jinxue shuju, 1969), p. 728; **Bamin tong zhi**; and **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 797. While the **Changbian** makes it clear that the text is a compilation of prescriptions against *gu*, and this fits well with events in Fujian at this time, Wang Anshi and later writers do not mention *gu*. **Yuhai** only mentions disease-poison in the south. Some scholars have thus interpreted the text as targeting southern epidemics, but contemporary evidence does not support this. See, for example, Catherine Despeux, “The System of the Five Circulatory Phases and the Six Seasonal Influences”, in Hsu, ed., **Innovation in Chinese Medicine**, p. 145; Asaf Goldschmidt, “The Transformation of Chinese Medicine During the Northern Song dynasty (A.D. 960-1127): The Integration of Three Past Medical Approaches into a Comprehensive Medical System Following a Wave of Epidemics”, PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1999, Ch. 1, pp. 33-34, fn. 61.

⁴⁴ These also describe prominent Fu Prefecture *gu* cases of 1132 and 1175. **Chunxi sanshan zhi**, 29.8a; Hong Mai, “*Gu* poisoner Huang Gu”, **Yijian zhi**, vol. 4, p. 1763.

⁴⁵ Bol, “This Culture of Ours”, p. 189.

praised the text as an example of Mencian governance “that does not bear the suffering of others.”

As for rulers, they are the ones who fashion orders. Those who extend those orders and put them into effect among the people are the ministers. When neither rulers nor ministers fail in their vocations, all under heaven receives their rule. Just today, we can say we have a Ruler. Your nurturing virtue penetrates the Four Seas, and reaches to the uncured diseases in the wilds of the Manyi [barbarians]. For all of them, you have considered how to save and preserve them. We ministers, although we are base, have in actuality received orders to rule the people. If we do not extend Your Highness’ beneficence and put it into effect among the people, then I am afraid we will have made offense to all under heaven, and will have no way to excuse ourselves from punishment.⁴⁶

As we expect from Wang Anshi, he gives a clear vision of activist governance. Rulers do not just sit facing south, they fashion orders and ministers extend these to the people, even to curing the diseases of barbarians. Of course from classical times the welfare of the people was the foundation of Confucian governance. Most often, however, this was formulated as something that happened of itself when rulers and officials took a light touch in taxation, avoided costly wars, and behaved well. Education and transformation (**jiaohua**) were an integral function of governance, but took place naturally when rulers set a good moral example. Commoners and barbarians could be expected to conform and submit when shown the Way. It was not something that could be or need be crammed down their throats. In 717, government charity programs were even attacked as un-Confucian.⁴⁷ For activist Northern Song officials like Wang Anshi, however, good Confucian governance entailed its vigorous extension into local society.

Medicine Against Shamans

Cai Xiang made points very similar to Wang Anshi’s in relation to another medical text:

Generation is the Virtue of Heaven and Earth.

Completion is the Vocation of the Sage [Ruler].

When [Heaven and Earth bring about] the circulating transformations and flowing of Phenomena, and these are in accord and nothing is lost, this is the culmination of the Principle of the Generation [of Phenomena].

⁴⁶ See quote in Okanishi, *Sō izen iki kō*, p. 728.

⁴⁷ See Hugh Scogin, “Poor Relief in Northern Sung China”, *Oriens Extremus* 25.1 (1978): 30-31. While Cai Xiang does not attack charity programs, he does share this Tang official’s view that the primary business of governance is to take care of the basic livelihood of the people, not overtaxing them, and not to only “give them succor when they are starving and clothe them when they are cold.” See *Cai Xiang ji* 22.377.

When [the Sage Ruler] extends this basis to establish governance, and [the People] are at peace and have morality, this is the manifestation of the Dao of the Completion [of Phenomena].

For this reason, creating benefit for All Under Heaven is the business of the Sage.⁴⁸

In contrast to Confucius, who proclaimed himself to “transmit but not create” (*shu er buzuo*), and to Mencius, who chided King Hui of Liang for even speaking of benefit (*li*),⁴⁹ Cai Xiang declares “creating benefit” (*zuoli* 作利) to be the sacred cosmic role of the Sage Ruler.⁵⁰ A couple of decades later Wang Anshi’s New Policies would be criticized for seeking “benefit” or “profit,” as antithetical to righteousness (*yi*).⁵¹ Cai Xiang, however, finds justification in classical precedent:

It has been passed down that the Divine Husbandman tasted the hundred herbs and the Yellow Emperor recorded the *Inner Canon* in order to remove the illnesses of the people. Their techniques are capable of making the dead revive and giving the short-lived longevity. To speak of their results — even though the Great Yu dredged the flooding rivers and drove out the dragons and snakes, and Tang and Wu⁵² used weaponry to gain victory in upheavals, they [only] particularly relieved the distress of one age — who could compare to [the Divine Husbandman and the Yellow Emperor in their contributions] that can be inexhaustibly relied upon! Thus I say that creating benefit for All Under Heaven is the business of the Sage.⁵³

Cai Xiang also finds dynastic precedent, and explains why further action is required on his part:

When Song fit itself to the Heavenly Mandate, it brought the peoples of the Nine Regions (of China) out from a fiery cauldron, and blew on and rinsed them [to cool them]. Once Emperor Taizong had pacified the world, and taken the breadth of conquered territory to its maximum extent, he furthermore gave them time to recover their spirits and greatly revived them. He then established grades of official rewards of gold and silk, and had them purchase and gather together the famous prescriptions of antiquity and today, as well as the methods of drugs, acupuncture, and patient examination. The physicians of the realm arranged these in order, categorized and divided them into 100 chapters, and named it **Taiping**

⁴⁸ Cai Xiang *ji*, p. 519. Also see Okanishi, *So izen iji kô*, p. 720; *Chunxi sanshan zhi* 39.4.

⁴⁹ *Analects* VII.1; Mencius, I.1.

⁵⁰ In an essay written for Renzong on “Selecting Officials” he similarly argues against the idea of non-activist (*wuwei*) governance, remarking that “of the hundreds of officials, there are none who do not act (*wubuwei*).”, Cai Xiang *ji*, 22.376.

⁵¹ For example, by Sima Guang. See James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and his New Policies*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 50.

⁵² Founders of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, respectively.

⁵³ Cai Xiang *ji*, p. 519. Also see Okanishi, *So izen iji kô*, p. 720; *Chunxi sanshan zhi* 39.4.

era prescriptions of sagely grace (**Taiping shenghui fang**).⁵⁴ [Taizong] ordered it distributed⁵⁵ to the prefectures for transmission to the officials and the people. But when the prefectures took charge of it, the larger portion strictly locked it away, reverently sunning and airing it and that is all. None of the officials or the people gained benefit from it.

Cai Xiang has very specific benefits in mind for this text for Fu Prefecture:

The customs of Min treat doctors as improper and shamans as proper. The families of the sick rely on shamans to bind [ghostly or demonic] visitants (*suosui* 索祟),⁵⁶ and those who pass the doors of doctors are barely two or three in ten. Thus the transmissions of medicine are increasingly few.⁵⁷

Cai commissions the abridgement of the existing **Taiping Period prescriptions of sagely grace** of 992.

My second year governing this prefecture, I proposed copying the old writings that had been bestowed on us in order to display them to the masses. He Xipeng 何希彭, of this prefecture, had a penetrating understanding of the healing arts. Wherever the **Prescriptions of Sagely Grace** had things that are foreign, dubious,⁵⁸ difficult to effect, as well as sections on eating⁵⁹ metals, rocks, plants, and wood to acquire immortality, he put all these aside.⁶⁰ He adopted what would be convenient for the common people to use, and got 6,916 prescriptions. Xipeng was respectful, prudent, and reserved, and was trusted by the villagers, so I took his book and had it transcribed and recorded on printing blocks, which I had arrayed to the left and right of the yamen. I did this in order to guide the Sagely Ruler's inexhaustible

⁵⁴ Preface dated 992. Wang Huaiyin, et. al. 100 chapters, 16,834 prescriptions, reprinted 1088; extant from 1147 Fujian local gov't reprint. See Okanishi, **So izen iji kô**, pp. 713-720; Miyashita Saburo entry in Hervouet, **A Sung Bibliography**, p. 246.

⁵⁵ Reading *ban* 頒 for *song* 頌.

⁵⁶ The **Chunxi sanshanzhi** version also gives *suosui*. Okanishi p. 721 gives *zuosui*. *Sui* refers generally to demons or ghosts haunting a place or person. It can also refer to possession, which makes better sense of the *zuosui* version. See Li Jianmin, "Suibing yu "changsuo": chuangtong yixue dui suibing de yizhong jieshi" (Sui disorders and "place": One type of explanation of sui disorders in traditional medicine), **Hanxue yanjiu** 12.1 (June 1994):101-148. We find it referring to a clear case of possession in Hong Mai, **Yijianzhi**, vol. 4, p. 1702.

⁵⁷ **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 519. Also see Okanishi, **So izen iji kô**, p. 720; **Chunxi sanshan zhi** 39.4.

⁵⁸ **guiguai** (瑰怪). Okanishi has **guiqi** (瑰奇), "rare" or "unusual." **Chunxi sanshan zhi** has the former. Morohashi 7:21336.13, 21336.6. In Okanishi, this is followed by **gaidan** (怪誕), "questionable and incoherent talk." Okanishi 721, Morohashi 4:10483.62.

⁵⁹ **shi** (食). Okanishi 721 does not have this word.

⁶⁰ Following **Siku quanshu** edition of **Duanming ji** and **Chunxi sanshanzhi**, using **zhizhi** (置之) for that interpretation of **zhizhi** (致之), as used in Okanishi, p. 721. The **Siku quanshu** version was cited and rejected by Wu Yining, **Cai Xiang ji** (p. 524, n. 51) in favor of **zhimin** (致民).

grace of morality to penetrate to those below, and also to enlighten people of the error of relying on shamans, and to cause them to return to the paths of normalcy. This is furthermore the essential duty of the prefect.⁶¹

Like other officials in the Northern Song, Cai Xiang uses medical texts, containing a measure of authority in themselves as texts, and transferring to them the aura of his own authority and power.

Transformative Uses of Texts

We are told in the official **History of the Song** account of Fan Min's initiatives that "the people were affected (**gan** 感) and transformed."⁶² In addition to being affected by the medicines, it seems they were also thought to have been influenced by Fan's act of displaying medical text inscriptions in a niche of the government hall. Who would have had access to these inscriptions, and copied and used these prescriptions? While there may have been a few people who availed themselves of these, we might suspect that very few would have had not only the literacy, but the access to official quarters and the boldness to do so. The posting of these texts may have had more to do with conferring the imprimatur of imperial and official sanction on medical knowledge, than with directly imparting that knowledge. Later officials such as Cai Xiang, Wang Anshi, Zhou Zhan, Luo Shi, and Liu Yi, however, take extra steps to make these texts more widely available. Still, how many of Liu Yi's 3,700 shamans could read the prescription text he gave them?

The use of texts to transform local customs raises several points: First, in the case of Cai Xiang, he is using a text that had already been used in the past for similar purposes. Besides excising sections unsuitable for popular healing because they are "difficult to effect" or involve the search for immortality, he also cuts out "things that are foreign, dubious," apparently finding these portions not orthodox enough for his purposes. Increasingly in the Song, as officials and literati become more involved in medicine and physicians in politics, we find literati like Cai Xiang weighing in on the "dubiousness" of this or that medical knowledge. The passages that Cai Xiang found suspicious had not been so to the official compilers or to custom-transforming distributors of earlier years such as Shao Ye.

Second, in this use of texts, we can expect a mutual transfer and sharing of charismatic authority: Texts in themselves carry a measure of authority as texts; officials carry a measure of power as representatives of the emperor. If Liu Yi's shamans could not read these texts, they may well have still viewed them as having potency – whether with reverence or defiance, we do not know. Whatever

⁶¹ **Cai Xiang ji**, p. 519. Also see Okanishi, **So izen iji kô**, pp. 720-721; **Chunxi sanshan zhi** 39.4. According to **Chunxi sanshanzhi**, Cai Xiang "personally inscribed it on a stele... Today this stele is located at the [He] Xipeng home to the right of the prefecture office residence and halls. See **Chunxi sanshanzhi**, pp. 39.4a-b.

⁶² **SS** 249.8796-97.

the symbolic impact of producing and distributing medical texts on commoner populations, we can at least expect it to have increased the respectability of medical pursuits for local literati élites.

Third, while in the case of the reform of funerary practices as studied by Ebrey we find ritual texts employed to transform customs, in Chinese categories, medicine was not a type of ritual practice. To explain this exception, we might point to the contexts in which southern healing customs shamans became objects of attention and suppression: through **1**) the abandoning of relatives, unfilial and therefore in violation of imperial norms, and **2**) their competition with officials as healers. When officials purchased and attempted to distribute free medicines in response to an epidemic, they found that no one came to get the medicines. They investigated, and discovered that the shamans were warning people against the medicines and, as Xia Song put it, “that the people follow the words [of shamans] more closely than the statutes and regulations, and they fear their power (**wei**) more than that of the officials.”⁶³ As officials increasingly adopted healing into their repertoires of populace-nurturing functions, rejection of their beneficence could be threatening. We might also note that, while medicine, in both the Chinese and European traditions, achieved a status still connected to but textually and occupationally distinct from the religious, ritual, or political spheres – the act of healing retained an aura of the sacred embraced by both political and religious.

CONCLUSIONS

The policies to change southern customs of avoiding contact with the sick, targeting shamans and deploying medicine, were part of broader agendas to transform the whole of Song society.⁶⁴ The subset of these which took activist approaches to the “education and transformation” side of governance, gave institutional form to Confucian theories that had previously suggested less rather than more intervention in society. The lynchpin of these policies was directed at the critical literati pool from which officials were drawn, focusing on examinations and examination education.

Complementary to this were Confucian programs for transforming commoners directly, not waiting for elite models to “trickle down.” Some of these targeted family rituals. The most invasive and the most innovative targeted southerners’ handling of illness. In these, Confucian reformers, as they did in local academies and other areas,⁶⁵ took cues from Buddhist and Daoist clergy. Both the Daoist church since medieval times and the Song state offered rationalized systems

⁶³ SHY li 20.10b-13a. Also see Xia Song, **Wenzhuang ji** 15.12b-13b, *CB* 101.2340-2341, *SS* 9.179.

⁶⁴ See Hymes and Shirokauer, “Introduction”, **Ordering the World**, pp. 12-31.

⁶⁵ Linda A. Walton, **Academies and Society in Southern Sung China**, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), pp. 87-118; Walton, “Southern Sung Academies as Sacred Places”, in Ebrey and Gregory, eds., **Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China**, pp. 335-363.

and procedures, hierarchical authority, and order in opposition to what they characterized as demonic, shamanic, and heterodox (*xie*).⁶⁶

Many of Northern Song reformers were, like Cai Xiang, also southerners. In attempting to transform southern culture, they were not taking allegiance with northerners per se, but with what to them were universal values. I think that Cai Xiang attempted to transform Min because he loved Min, not because he disdained or feared it. The modern polarity between nation and locale, with the expectation of pride in local culture, does not apply here. The reference points in Cai Xiang's life are not national and local, public and private, or secular and religious. We all know that these categories tend not to fit well in China, but they do not necessarily always fit poorly in the same ways. Today, Cai Xiang is the pride of Fuzhou, Quanzhou, and of Fujian. Cai Xiang's calligraphy and his accomplishments as an official belong to Fujian's millenium-old tradition for success in producing men of national prominence. Cai Xiang's calligraphy, admired throughout the world, is part of China's great cultural legacy.

In his own time, the core of Cai Xiang's fame, for Confucian uprightness, was based on his placement of parental care before career advancement, his principled public stands, his loyalty to and deep feeling for friends, his morally expressive ancient writing style (*guwen*), and his graceful yet strong and centered calligraphy. These placed him in relation not to State, People, Nation, or Region, but to the Dao – an immanent Dao flowing through and expressed in time, but also one of absolute norms, known in and from its realization by the Sages in Antiquity, to be recovered by “returning to antiquity” (*figu*). What specifically this Dao might be was hotly contested in the Song, as it was contested specifically in relation to Cai Xiang: For Su Shi, who saw and experienced the Dao in *wen*, Cai Xiang's connection to the Dao could be seen in his calligraphy; for Zhu Xi, it was in his filial behavior. In Min, this Dao could be seen in the norms by which he attempted its transformation and integration, expressed most concretely in stone, wood, and paper.

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA and Thomas LEE: Now, Mr. Konno.

Jun KONNO*: Thank you very much Chairman.

“Wall posters and Political Life in Mao's China”

In the 1960's, Mao Zedong and his cooperators launched the Cultural Revolution (CR) and mobilized numerous students and workers to smash “the

⁶⁶ For examples from medieval Daoism, see Rolf A. Stein, “Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to the Seventh Centuries”, in **Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion**, Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, eds., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 53-81.

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old” and criticize political leaders who were regarded as “revisionists.” As a result of the CR, widespread collective violence emerged in China. This brought serious damage to the Chinese society.

Criticism against communist bureaucracy spread throughout China after Nie Yuanzi (聂元梓), a radical philosophy teacher at Beijing University, wrote a large wall poster (大字报 **dazibao**) attacking the authority of her university. Wall posters therefore had been the “political weapon” for Red Guards during the 60’s.

This study will focus on **Dazibao** (including Red Guard’s newspapers) and explore the role of it in Chinese politics under Mao. Special emphasis will be placed on the political implication of **Dazibao**. At first, I would like to provide some basic information about **Dazibao**.

Dazibao were mainly written by students, workers, and other people who wanted to express political opinions. **Dazibao** generally opened with “the Quotations from **Figure1: Dazibao** Criticizing Liu Shaogi.

Figure 1: Dazibao Criticizing Liu Shaogi (1960)’s



Figure 2: Red Guard's Newspaper Published in Shanghai (1960's)



Chairman Mao,” and it was almost filled with political reports like a criticism against Mao’s opponent, information of the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party and so on.

In the 1950’s, *Dazibao* was written by hand. However, the movement to “seize power from below (*duoquan* 夺权)” was officially sanctioned during the CR period, and radical students and workers started to “seize power” of some newspaper companies. They could therefore access to publishing facilities and print out their *Dazibao*.

In recent years, *Dazibao* have been becoming valuable as historical documents for scholars who study Chinese modern history. When we study the social history of modern China, *Dazibao* provide us the plentiful information of the political life of “ordinary people.” For example, the overview of Red Guard’s movements in many provinces has been clarified by the analysis of *Dazibao*.

These *Dazibao* (including Red Guard’s newspapers) were compiled into a series of source books named “Red Guard’s Materials (*Hongweibing ziliao* 红卫兵资料)” by the center for Chinese Research Materials in Washington. In Japan, Institute of Developing Economies (アジア経済研究所) has a large collection of *Dazibao*, and, in China, the library of East China Normal University has collected

Dazibao of every province. These materials are now indispensable to analyze Chinese society for us.

Now, I would like to provide historical background of *Dazibao*. The appearance of *Dazibao* as political instrument had something to do with the situation of Chinese Journalism. Although there were many official newspapers in China, it was difficult for Chinese journalists to express their complaint against the government. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) controlled journalism, and newspapers had been played an important role in the CCP's political propaganda.

The CCP's control over journalism dated back to the "Yan'an period (1936-1940's)". Yan'an was the town of Northern Shanxi province which was one of China's most poor and backward areas, and Yan'an base area was not only the political and ideological center of the Chinese Communist's revolution but also the symbol of Chinese nationalist resistance to the Japanese invaders.

Yan'an communism was a sort of "wartime communism" under Japanese aggression and the war against Guomindang. Wartime communism demanded "the people's democratic dictatorship" that was a coalition of four classes (proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie) but a coalition under "proletarian hegemony." The ultimate power of a coalition, therefore, resided in the CCP. Mao, the leader of the CCP, tended to define "class" less on the basis of objective social class criteria than by moral and ideological criteria.

Mao's talks at the Yan'an conference on literature and art set criteria of "socialist" literature and art. The criteria had laid restraint on intellectual's activity in Mao's China. Under the wartime communism and the CCP's dictatorship, pluralistic sense of social value had been severely restrained.

Under war condition, Chinese journalists could not keep away from political commitment. They had aroused Chinese nationalism and taken an active part in the success of the Chinese Revolution. Official newspapers, however, was not a perfect for Mao, because it was the "voice of intellectuals and political leaders." Mao, from his idealist perspectives, had made too much of the "voice of the people (*qunzhong*).

The "Hundred Flowers" campaign, in the early 1957's, was the first opportunity that increased the political value of *Dazibao*. The "Hundred Flowers" campaign was intended to serve an anti-bureaucratic purpose. In 1956, Mao asked people for frank opinion on the CCP's administration. As a result, in the early 1957, a lot of political and economic demands came from the urban classes, the intelligentsia

and the industrial working class. It came to be known as the “Hundred Flowers” campaign.

The intelligentsia and the members of Democratic League had written many articles on the official newspapers like **Wenhuibao** (文汇报), *Jiefang ribao* (解放日报) and *Xinminbao* (新民报) and expressed a lot of dissatisfaction with the CCP’s rule while ordinary workers wrote their political opinions on wall posters and put it up on the wall of factories.

The most politically explosive demands came from the intelligentsia. The famous non-Party intelligentsia, Lu Dingyi, criticized the ignorance of the Party members:

The point I want to make is that it is time for Party members to take note of their own inadequacies and remedy them. There is only way to do so: to seek advice and learn honestly and modestly from those who know.

The critical eyes of the intellectuals were more severe than Mao had expected. The failure of Mao’s “Hundred Flowers” policy consequently led the “anti-rightist” campaign which began as the punishment of its critics. In the late 1957’s, Mao had a great distrust of Chinese “intellectuals” and some newspapers which carried the criticism against the CCP. And Mao started to pay attention to *Dazibao* as the “voice of the people” after 1957.

In the supreme state conference in October 1957, Mao stated:

Now, we found out the methods of rectification campaign (*Zhengfeng Yundong*). It is a series of methods like “big controversy”, “free discussion” and “wall poster”... We did not use wall poster during the “three anti (*Sanfan*)” movement and so on...

After 1957, Mao strongly supported that “the people” expressed their political opinion by putting wall posters while oppressing “rightist” intellectuals. The political importance of *Dazibao* was greatly increased by Anti-Rightist Movement in the late 1957’s. In this movement, Maoists mobilized people to write *Dazibao* and attack “rightists (*youpai* 右派). Maoists utilized wall posters as a tool for criticizing “rightists.” As a result, wall poster became the important instrument for Chinese people to express their political opinions after 1958.

Figure 3: Mao read the wall posters of Shanghai factory



In 1960's, *Dazibao* played an extremely important role in the Red Guard's rebellion. In 1966, the Beijing radicals began writing wall posters and attacked high officials of the Party establishment. One of these posters, written on May 25 by seven members of the philosophy department at Beijing University, became the

instrument of the Mao group's first breakthrough. The main writer of the poster was a Nie Yuanzi who was the teacher of Beijing University. Mao ordered the text broadcast over Radio Beijing and it was soon famous nationwide. The Beijing Committee had been "reorganized" as a result of Nie's criticism. Peng zhen, the top leader of the Beijing Committee and a Mao's political opponent, had fallen.

However, we should not regard *Dazibao* as the expression of obedience to Maoist's order. *Dazibao* written by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution was not a mere Maoist's propaganda. In 1970's, some students started criticizing the socialist system under Mao and the CCP on their *Dazibao*.

Li yizhe was a well-known figure for his *Dazibao* named "On Socialist Democracy and the Legal System (*Guanyu Shehuizhuyi de Minzhu yu Fazhi* 关于社会主义的民主与法制)." The poster was written in November 1974 and reprinted throughout China. Li Yizhe criticized the "Lin Biao's Line" which promoted the personality cult of Mao.

Li Yizhe's wall poster pointed out:

Do the Constitution of China, the Articles of Party and the documents of the central committee make mention of the democratic rights of the people? Of course, these make mention of the democratic rights! It is provided that "the democracy for the people should be guaranteed", "retaliated attack is not allowed," and "compulsion of confession is not allowed." However, democracy is not always guaranteed in reality...

Li yizhe's *Dazibao* emphasized the influence of "feudalism" on Mao's China. For Li, "the socialist system is not perfect and has to be improved". His *Dazibao* obviously criticized socialist system under Mao. In the 1960's, it was impossible for official newspapers to criticize Mao. *Dazibao* therefore realized Li's criticism against Chinese socialist system.

From the viewpoint of political implications, we can consider *Dazibao* in two aspects. On one hand it supported a charismatic leader, Mao Zedong, by criticizing Mao's political opponents, and played an important role in expanding his charisma from 1950's to 60's. On the other, it gave young Chinese activists the space of political criticism and generated much discussion on Chinese socialist system after 1970's. The significance of wall posters had been enduring even after Mao's death. *Dazibao* had also played an important role in the Beijing Spring, the Chinese Democracy Movement. In the late 1980's, Chinese young activists wrote many *Dazibao* to criticize their government and put it on the wall known as the "Democracy Wall." The historical change of *Dazibao*'s political function has reflected the change of modern history of China. Study on *Dazibao* will help us better understand political life in modern China.

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA and Thomas LEE: Now, Thomas H. C. Lee

Thomas H.C. LEE*: I've got a lot of to say but the chairman says that I have ten minutes. So, I do my best. First of all, I would like to thank Prof. Ihara for organizing this wonderful session. Because I have been daunted, if our study of local history has gone to an extreme the container disappear.

I speak like a Chinese chauvinist but as a historian of China, I have always, you know, worried about especially, you know, past studies of forty years. They emphasize, you know, its social, economic history, micro history and then using local gazetteers, you know, to understand what obvious student use to understand or didn't use to talk and emphasize the place on that kind of micro studies, gone to such an extreme that we no longer to talk about the general Chinese history.

I am an international advisor to this green way, international project. And I look at there almost two hundred different projects and I protest to Prof. ... saying that but there is not even project, talking about Mongolian invasion of Japan which took place over the sea, Japanese sea. And one advising project is not in that. So, everybody is talking about the quality, you know, local history here and there. So, I told him that I feel there each about them. I am very glad to see that we talk about the continuity of continuum between central and local and this is, you know, very well articulated by several papers here. And we started to examine how local gazetteers, which historians have used a lot past in the thirty years without questioning hot the nature motivation, intention of these works of local gazetteers.

And now, we have one of papers which gives you a general summary of local gazetteers were how they studied, what the others write of these local gazetteers were and intentions were and how these gazetteers should be used in context of all over ten history and it is an entire material, used by these gazetteers, especially in the formal stone inscriptions and how these inscriptions, when they were copied into papers.

You know what happened in the process and you know, as I very happy to read of these papers. One little thing that I am little bit worried is that we have not emphasized the positive aspect of these local gazetteers, instead we say that the local gazetteers, for example, ok. You know, interesting preserved materials which are read local but are central. And then, we look at central materials, central government materials of filed documents, whatever, you often find that the missed the most important policy statement of policy pronouncements.

I am not sure that this is the best way to say that therefore, local gazetteers could be used these studies central and, you know, documents compilations could also be used to study, you know, local information. Perhaps, we can be a little bit

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more positive saying that look, ok, when they compile local gazetteers, they very much had central government purposes in their mind. They were not trying to say that this is local history; therefore, I am envying to look at local history purely from local self identity viewpoints. And this is my first reaction.

Seminary, for example, when we studied Ginda-Gin which is, you know, very well articulated in the paper by Anne Gerritsen and it is interesting to see that Ginda Gin is a negative example of how globalization or how universalization could be fixed into our discussion of the importance of local gazetteers, because obviously, we simply cannot even find enough information to know what is going on in Ginda-Gean.

We almost never find any artisans names, the workers' names. I was just stamp looking at that the top copy, a policy, and I, you know, look at the potteries of cooks one after another, you see. And I said, hey, look of handy people are very fond of eating and they are popular about food. But I have never seen one pottery of a cook. You would not to say the ancient cook, not even in the 19th century, not even in the ... dynasty, no interesting in cook a such, ok, the chief, you know, are never known. Their names are never known, only if I make caught legal, I say, only those who got drunk got their name kept, ok. But those, who brew wine, brew liquor, I think, got their names, are preserved. And so, in the case of Ginda-Gean, the same. We don't know what is going on there and therefore, well, we do know that in Ginda-Gin produce the best pottery, the best porcelain wares which got transported, I mean, exported all Euro-Asian continent a wire super road or a wire the route of pottery. And they were, you know, slipped all over the world. But Ginda-Gin such as a locality is totally missing in our information. It seems to me that this serves as a negative evidence of how we could use those local information or local materials.

The third was, which Prof. Dennis has demonstrated, that the local gazetteers, yes indeed, had local interests in wine, when the other was compiled then. Nevertheless, the fact is not, this is also emphasized by Prof. ... that when the others were compiled in the local gazetteers, they very much had the central in mind, because most of these gazetteers will be written as well as self identity a mausoleum for the commemorative purpose to promote the officials of accomplishment in the locality. The officials were in, you know, if they were conscious enough, if they felt, they had done it within the locality, they wanted to center it now. And so, they ordered the compilation of local gazetteers. And this, you know, this precisely what about in a balage (?), I used to say that Tang history was written by officials for officials the same local gazetteers, if they were a formal history, especially after the Song,

Then, you know, obviously they were also written by officials for officials at we prone to use crack in order to say that this is history to use the commemorative immature and it is only Russian history that we should classify it as a history, and you know, I suddenly, the local gazetteers as we announce in them as what will show that they were indeed very much commemorative immature, and therefore, that leads me to the final, you know, other paper by Sue.

Prof. Sue has done matriculate study on how the stone inscriptions were copied into papers. And in the process, did attention paid to the format to how many words there are in one line and post-philologist interests? And once they were copied into papers and compiled into gazetteers, then, ok, the nature of this text study change, the texts are very interesting. And I hope, I will come back with a little talk about the Chinese regime of texts and how that, ok, affects Chinese abuse of history, abuse about the significance of writing.

For now, I congratulate Prof. Sue for careful work, because it does reflect the fact that the philologist interest in the (Çince isim, anlaşılmıyor) times in that a lot of people were paying much attention to studying the format to preserve, I mean, the texts of these inscriptions for the sake of, probably the sake in the Korean interests. And by the time, these texts were copied into local gazetteers, then we have studied the local historians' interest and that is, precisely, you but I think Prof. Sue is trying to tell us. So, these are my comments, and they are, of course, little questions, you know, here in which I hope that when we open up discussion, people can discuss them. Thank you.

Prof. Dr. Hiroshi IHARA: This completes the presentations of the panelist. We thank them all and you coming and listening us.