A STUDY OF THE TRANSFORMATION FROM *T'U CHING* TO *FANG CHIH*

by

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Chinese gazeteers are of a very ancient origin. Some scholars say that gazeteers can be traced to the book *Chou kuan* 周官; others say that the pre-Ch'in 秦 text *Shan hai ching* 山海經 is the source of such works; and still others consider the "Yu kung" 禹貢 section of *Shang shu* 尙書 to be the ancestor of gazeteers. Of course, there are many who advocate a relationship between the emergence of local gazeteers and such books as *Yueh chueh shu* 越絕書, *Wu Yueh ch'un-ch'iu* 吳越春秋, and *Hua-yang kuo-chih* 華陽國志.[1] While books such as those mentioned above are appropriately regarded as the ancient ancestors of local gazeteers in China, from the perspective of content, form, function, etc., the gazeteers of the Ming-Ch'ing 明清 period differ markedly from these earlier sources. This is a fact most scholars openly acknowledge.

The local gazeteers of Ming-Ch'ing times evolved from the Sui 隋 and T'ang 唐 Dynasty *T'u ching* 圖經 or *T'u chih* 圖志, which were compiled for individual prefectures and counties. *T'u ching* or *T'u chih* are specialized works from that time for recording the affairs of local areas. *T'u* is a map, and *ching* or *chih* are the written passages providing an explanation of maps. If we look at the most ancient *T'u chih*, *Yuan he chun hsien t'u chih* 元和郡縣圖志, edited in the T'ang Dynasty by Li Chi-fu 李吉甫, we can see that the content of *T'u chih* at that time was quite simple. Since the book records only such things for each area as customs, products, maps, population figures, a survey and historical sketch of lands, administrative offices, transportation networks,

1 Concerning this topic there are many publications in China. The most important of these are Fu Chen-lun 傅振倫, *Chung-kuo fang-chih hsueh t'ung-lun* 中國方志學通論 (Taipei: Commercial Press); Chu Shih-chia 朱士嘉, *"Chung-kou ti-fang chih te chi-yuan t'e-cheng chi ch'i shih-liao chia-chih"* 中國地方志的起源, 特徵及其史料價值, *Shih-hsüeh shih tzu-liao* 史學史資料, 1979; Huang Wei 黃葦, Fang-chih lun-chi 方志論集, 1983; etc. The latter two publications are from Mainland China.

mountains, rivers, bridges, temples, etc., it can truly be said that it does not go beyond the realm of geography. This particular book is a national *T'u ching* which resulted from the author's compilation of the *T'u ching* of various local areas. It records matters according to the administrative area (the T'ang Dynasty *tao* 道), and the items covered under each area are always the same. No record is made of such items as important persons or literary works.[2] Because of a lack of historical material, we are not certain of the number of *T'u ching* that existed during the Sui-T'ang period. However, it is noteworthy that all Sui and T'ang *T'u ching* are anonymous, and in this respect, they differ from *T'u ching* dating from the Sung 宋 or from later periods. For example, the *Sui Shu* (隋書 History of the Sui Dynasty) lists *T'u ching* of Chi-chou 冀州, Chi-chou 齊州, and Yu-chou 幽州; and the *Chiu T'ang shu* (舊唐書 The Old T'ang History) records a *T'u ching* from Hsiang-chou 湘州. But in none of these cases is the name of an author given.[3] Perhaps at that time local officials received a command from superiors to compile a work and submit it to the central government for reference. Since these works were brief and simple, and since they were not texts written by experts such as appeared from the Sung period on,[4] it is quite natural that the names of authors were not provided.

As we pass through the great disorder in the last years of the T'ang Dynasty and come down to the era of the Northern Sung, the content of the *T'u ching* began to transform. Not only was there a broadening in the scope of items recorded, but the title "*T'u ching*" changed. This state can be seen from Chu Ch'ang-wen's 朱長文 *Wu chun t'u ching hsü chi* 吳郡圖經續記. Chu's book altogether is divided into three *chuan* 卷. The table of contents is as follows:

> First *chuan*: Territories, The City, Population, Markets, Products, Customs, Gate Names, Schools, Famous Houses, Gardens, Granary Affairs, Sea Routes, Hostels, Officers, Men of Distinction.
> Second *chuan*: Bridges, Sacrificial Altars, Taoist Temples, Buddhist Temples, Mountains, Rivers.
> Third *chuan*: Water Control, Historical Remains, Tombs, Stone Inscriptions, Records of Events, Miscellaneous Records.

2 For details, please see *Yuan-he chun-hsien t'u-chih* 元和郡縣圖志, T'sung-shu chi-ch'eng 叢書集成, #3094 (Taipei: Commercial Press).

3 *Sui shu* 隋書, chüan 33, "Essay on Literature" (Rpt., Taipei: Ting-wen), p. 986. *Chiu T'ang shih* 舊唐書, chüan 46, "Essay on Literature Pt. I" (Rpt., Taipei: Ting-wen), p. 2014.

4 Most of the local gazeteers written in the Sung were by famous scholars. For example, *Sung shih* 宋史 lists gazeteers written by such figures as Yüan Kuan 袁觀, Chang Chin 張津, Ts'ai K'an 蔡戡, Liu Tzu-teng 劉子登 (Taipei: Ting-wen), p. 5158.

From the above, it can be seen that Chu's work, compared to the earlier *Yuan he chun hsien t'u chih*, has added such items as "Men of Distinction," "Past Remains," "Tombs," "Records of Events," "Miscellaneous Records," etc. All of these new items have a significant relationship to man—that is, the emphasis is placed upon recording affairs that are related to people.

At the same time, in the first sentence of Chu Ch'ang-wen's preface, he especially stresses that "the study of *fang-chih* 方志 (local gazeteers) was emphasized by former scholars." This is the first time the term "*fang-chih*" is used.[5] In summary, the change of the title "*T'u ching*," which had been used during the Sui and T'ang Dynaties, to "*fang-chih*," and the transformation from a concise to a more thorough content, both began in the Northern Sung period. Thus, Chu Ch'ang-wen's work is worthy of our attention.

Generally speaking, in the Southern Sung, as a result of changes in academic thought and of the proliferation of local affairs, specialized books recording local affairs could no longer comply with the content and form of the earlier *T'u ching*. Since so many affairs were recorded, divisions of content also had to increase accordingly. Moreover, the recording of affairs gradually shifted from a simple geographical format towards historical narrative. Even the literary works of famous scholars were included. As a consequence, the written narrative in the text gradually assumed the central position, while charts and maps became secondary. Nevertheless, the Sui and T'ang *T'u ching* tradition of "establishing titles based on categories of affairs" continued to exist. For example, when Liu Wen-fu 劉文富 revised *Yen-chou t'u ching* 嚴州圖經 in 1186, the work did not include such topics as "Men of Distinction," and "Literary Works" but placed primary emphasis upon an account of geography.[6] Of course, the format of the older *T'u ching* of the Sui and T'ang continued to coexist with Chu Ch'ang-wen's newly created format, and both of these formats had significant impact on later generations. The modern scholar Fu Chen-lun 傅振倫 has said, "After the middle years of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the *T'u ching* format was gradually done away with."[7] This opinion is not entirely accurate, because such works as *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung chih* 大清一統志 takes the *T'u ching* format as its standard. Also, certain Ch'ing Dynasty

5 *Sung Yüan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu* 宋元地方志叢書 (Rpt., Taiwan fang-chih yen-chiu hui 臺灣地方志研究會), p. 2171.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 6913.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

Taiwan gazeteers utilize the *T'u ching* format.[8] Moreover, during this transitional period, the distinction between the *T'u ching* and the gazeteer (*fang chih*) was still not at all clear. For example, Chang Chin's 張津 *Ssu ming t'u ching* 四明圖經, published in 1169, uses *T'u ching* in its title but is very much like a gazeteer in content. Not only does the book contain the biographies of important people, but it also contains poetry and other types of literary works.[9] Furthermore, the content of the *Hsin ting chih* 新定志 of 1186 records only geographical items; although it has "*chih*" in its title, it does not contain the content of a later gazeteer.[10] The only apparent fact in the transition from *T'u ching* to gazeteer is that books on particular geographical areas gradually used the word "*chih*" (gazeteer) more frequently in their titles. For example, Lo Yuan's 羅願 1175 *Hsin an chih* 新安志, Liang K'e-chia's 梁克家 1182 *San shan chih* 三山志, Lo Chun's 羅濬 1227 *Ssu ming chih* 四明志, Ch'ien Yueh-yu's 潛說友 1269 *Lin an chih* 臨安志, etc. all did not use the name "*T'u ching*."

The transformation of *T'u ching* into the Ming gazeteers is reflected in the table of contents for individual works. The table of contents of the Sui-T'ang *T'u ching* is extremely simple. It is usually made up of category heads of two characters—for example, *jen-k'ou* 人口 (population), *feng-su* 風俗 (customs), etc.—and has no subcategories. After the Southern Sung, the content of the gazeteer proliferated, and, as we would expect, the categories in the table of contents also increased. This change can be seen from Lo Yuan's *Hsin an chih*. For example, the first chapter has the general heading "Prefectures" (*chou-chun* 州郡) and contains twenty-one subcategories:

Chou chun 州郡 (Prefectures)

A.	*Yen ko* 沿革	(Successive Changes)
B.	*Fen yeh* 分野	(Constellation and Territory)
C.	*Feng su* 風俗	(Customs)
D.	*Feng chien* 封建	(Nobility)
E.	*Ching t'u* 境土	(Territory)
F.	*Chih so* 治所	(Prefectural Sites)
G.	*Ch'eng she* 城社	(City Walls and *She*)

8 T'u Chi-shan's 屠繼善 *Heng-ch'un hsien-chih* 恆春縣志, written in Taiwan during the late Ch'ing Dynasty, also reflected a pure *T'u-ching* style. All twenty chuan are made up of subject titles of two characters such as "Households and Population" (*hu-k'ou* 戶口), "Goods and Products" (*wu-ch'an* 物產), etc.

9 *Sung Yuan ti-fang chih ts'ung-shu*, p. 4957.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 6913.

H. *Tao lu* 道路 (Roads)
I. *Hsing shih* 姓氏 (Surnames)
J. *Fang shsh* 坊市 (Wards and Markets)
K. *Kuan fu* 官府 (Yamens)
L. *Miao hsueh* 廟學 (Confucian Temples and Schools)
M. *Kung yuan* 貢院 (Examination Halls)
N. *Fang sheng chih* 放生池 (Pond for Liberating Fishes)
O. *Kuan i* 館驛 (Post Stations)
P. *Ts'ang* K'u 倉庫 (Granaries and Treasuries)
Q. *Hsing yü* 刑獄 (Prisons)
R. *Ying chai* 營塞 (Barracks and Stockades)
S. *Yu chuan* 郵傳 (Postal Service)
T. *Tz'u miao* 祠廟 (Temples)

Chapter 3 of this work can also serve as an example. It is organized as follows:

Hsi hsien 歙縣 (Hsi County)
A. *Yen ko* 沿革 (Successive Changes)
B. *Hsien ching* 縣境 (County Territories)
C. *Hsiang li* 鄉里 (Rural Districts)
D. *Hu k'ou* 戶口 (Households)
E. *T'ien mu* 田畝 (Cultivated Lands)
F. *Tsu shui* 租稅 (Land Tax)
G. *Chiu shui* 酒稅 (Wine Tax)
H. *Ch'eng she* 城社 (City Wails and *she*)
I. *Kuan hsieh* 官廨 (Yamen)
J. *Tao lu* 道路 (Roads)
K. *Ch'iao liang* 橋梁 (Bridges)
L. *Chin tu* 津渡 (Ferries)
M. *Shan fu* 山阜 (Mountains)
N. *Shui Yuan* 水源 (Rivers), etc.

Obviously this differs from the table of contents of the old *T'u ching*.[11] As a further example, Liang K'e-chia's *San shan chih* has a table of contents in his section on geography as follows:

A. *Chou* 州 (Prefectures)
B. *Hsien* 縣 (Counties)

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 491.

C. *Ch'eng* 城 (Cities)
D. *I p'u* 驛舖 (Post Stations)
E. *Hai tao* 海道 (Sea Routes)

Under his category "Local Products," the following subcategories appear:

A. *Mu* 木 (Trees)
B. *Chu* 竹 (Bamboo)
C. *Ts'ao* 草 (Grasses)
D. *T'eng* 藤 (Climbing Plants)
E. *Shou* 獸 (Animals)
F. *Ch'in tsu* 禽族 (Birds)
G. *Shui tsu* 水族 (Fish)
H. *Ch'ung* 蟲 (Insects)[12]

In addition, Yuan Chiao's 袁桷 *Ssu mine chih* 四明志, adds the character "*ka'o*" 考 (Textual Critique) to each of the general categories. Thus, they become "A Textual Critique of Conservatism and Reform," "A Textual Critique of Local Customs," "A Textual Critique of Men of Distinction," etc. Moreover, under each general category were subcategories, and under the subcategories subsubcategories. For example, chuan 2, "Official Positions," is divided into periods of time as T'ang, Five Dynasties, and Sung. Under each of these subcategories are recorded various ranks and different titles for officials.[13]

Ch'ien Yueh-yu's *Lin an chih* has a different system of drividing the table of contents. He first uses "*chih*" 志 "treatise" as the title of his general categories. For example, chuan 22 to 39 is a "Treatise on Mountains and Rivers," This contains the following subcategories:

A. *Ch'eng nei shan* 城內山 (Mountains Inside Cities)
B. *Ch'eng nan shan* 城南山 (Mountains South of Cities)
C. *Ch'eng hsi shan* 城西山 (Mountains West of Cities)
D. *Lin-an shan* 臨安山 (Mountains in the Hangchow region)
E. *Ke ti shan* 各地山 (Mountains of Various Regions)
F. *Hai hu* 海湖 (Seas and Lakes)
G. *Ch'uan* 泉 (Springs)
H. *Ching* 井 (Wells), etc.

In the same book, chuan 87 is a "Treatise on Tombs," which includes the subcategories of

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12 *Ibid*, pp. 7625-7629.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 5495.

A. *Hsien hsien* 先賢 (Previous Worthies)
B. *K'e mu* 客墓 (Tombs of Immigrants)
C. *Ku mu* 古墓 (Ancient Tombs)
D. *Seng t'a* 僧塔 (Monks Pagodas)[14]

From the actual examples given above, we can see that after the Southern Sung the method of arranging the content in the local gazeteers was fundamentally different from the simple system of the earlier *T'u ching*.

Furthermore after the Sung Dynasty there was still another phenomenon worthy of notice. That was the tendency of authors of local gazeteers to follow the method of national standard histories to prepare their works. This in general is related to the transformation in the nature of the contents. Since the content of *T'u ching* had tended to record more and more historical events, when such events were unclear or insufficiently detailed, the author then had to make an examination or a "textual critique." Thus, the authors of gazeteers quite naturally had to possess a knowledge of historiography. And, as we would expect, the principles and concepts which they encountered in historical texts gradually began to influence the gazeteer.

From what is currently known, Chou Ying-ho's 周應合 *Chien k'ang chih* 建康志, written in 1262, is perhaps the earliest gazeteer to use the format of the standard histories. Mr. Chou first arranged his work into four large categories: "maps" (圖 *t'u*), "charts" (表 *piao*), "treatises" (志 *chih*), and "biographies" (傳 *chuan*). His "Essay on Literature" (藝文志 *I-wen chih*), is particularly complete—equal to those of the standard histories and the later gazeteers of Ming and Ch'ing times. The author moreover emphasized the scholarly examination of historical events. It is said that "every time he completed a chapter," he would "in the evenings examine ancient affairs, and in the mornings collate contemporary affairs". To use a standard derived from the preparation of standard histories to prepare gazeteers, and to adapt a procedure of careful examination and weighing of evidence, is something not seen in gazeteers previous to this time.[15]

The *Chin ling hsin chih* 金陵新志, prepared by Chang Hsuan 張鉉 in 1344, advanced the application of the format of standard histories still one more step. He acknowledged the fact that he used Chou Ying-he's *Chien k'ang chih* as his model, but he also added a one-chapter "Comprehensive Annal" (*t'ung-chi* 通紀) "in order to disclose the general principles of the continuities and

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 3865, 3873.
15 *Ibid.*, pp. 672, 684, etc.

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transformations from antiquity to modern times." Mr. Chang transformed Mr. Chou's divisions of "Maps," "Charts," "Treatises," and "Biographies" into a format that included "Annals," "Charts," "Treatises," and "Biographies." The inclusion of "Annals" in gazeteers begin with him and brought gazeteers even more into compliance with the format of chapters and divisions in the standard histories. Down to the present time, when gazeteers of areas in Taiwan are prepared the books always contains at its beginning an "Annals of Major Events." Mr. Chang's *Chin ling hsin chih* has two further characteristics. First, in recording the affairs of important persons, "the large and minute are both included, the good and evil completely recorded." Second, in weighing historical events, he followed the principle of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. "What was believable he reported as believable, and what was doubtful he reported as doubtful."[16] In conclusion, Chou and Chang established a strong foundation for the influence of standard histories upon the production of gazeteers.

From what has been stated above, we can see that the scope of Sung and Yuan 元 local gazeteers and their transformation, in terms of format, primarily included three types.

1. Old examples that still preserved the original format of the *T'u ching* of the Sui, T'ang and Northern Sung periods.
2. The transformed example of *T'u ching* that had added a general table of contents.
3. The transformed tradition which had put aside the format of the old *T'u ching* and followed the format of the standard histories.

Besides this, some people were creative and produced a new, simplified format. For example, the *Yung chia p'u* 永嘉譜 of 1192 was divided into the major categories of *p'u-nien* 譜年 (history), *p'u ti* 譜地 (land), *p'u-ming* 譜名 (officials?), *p'u-jen* 譜人 (famous people).[17] The author, Tsao Shu-yuan 曹叔遠 obviously was suggesting a new formal influenced by the "Chin-hsin" 盡心 Chapter of *Mencius*, which says, "The treasures of the feudal lords are three in number: land, people and government affair." In later generations there were others who utilized this statement from *Mencius* as a principle of organization. Thus, although the format of *Yung chia p'u* was a simple one, it had a noticeable influence upon gazeteers produced in later ages. Ch'ing

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 1547-1549.

17 See Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫, *Chih chai shu-mu chieh-t'i* 直齋書目解題, chüan 8 (Taipei: Commercial Press, Everyman's Library), p. 240; and Fu Chen-lun, *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

dynasty gazeteers from regions of Taiwan still showed vestiges of Tsao's work and utilized this type of format.[18]

Finally, we should briefly discuss still one more important issue, and that is the question of the purpose for the production of *T'u ching* and gazeteers after the Sung. The compilation of *T'u ching*, according to the "Bibliographic Essay" of the *Sui Histroy*, had the purpose of clarifying the general conditions of each area so as to "put governments in order" and "cultivate education." When we come down to the Southern Sung, conditions had changed somewhat.[19] Chou Ying-ho's compilation of *Chien k'ang chih* clearly explains that his work has a much higher ideal. He wishes to compare favorably with Ssu-ma Kuang's 司馬光 *Tzu chih t'ung chien* 資治通鑑: "I desire to record the successes and failures of seventeen hundred years of Chien k'ang." Moreover, he wishes to seek out the reasons for "success and failure." He also emphasized the corrupt environment and political society of his day. Therefore, with an eye towards the national needs of his era, he advocated "venerating and enriching local customs and making known human talent."[20]

During the Southern Sung, because of the invasion of peoples from the north, the power of the state weakened, and morality and human sentiment went into daily decline. Many intelligentsia had the desire to repay the state but had no hope of serving in government. Therefore, they turned towards establishing academies, transmitting learning, writing books to establish their theories, and proclaiming proposals in hope that they could plant ethics and morality in the human heart and widely influence the masses of society, that they could advance and change the attitude of society, and that they could strengthen the state. Chu Hsi 朱熹 was one of the most famous of these. From the background to this period we can see that it does not matter whether we are considering the production or local gazeteers or the compilation of clan genealogies, there was at that time the hope of "venerating and enriching local customs, and making known human talent" and also "cultivating order and peace," "esteeming parents and bringing clans into harmony," etc. The transformation in the content and format of gazeteers and genealogies during the Soutern Sung is, my opinion, a fact worthy of notice.

In the Yuan dynasty Chang Hsuan advanced still one more step. He

18 Such works as Ch'en P'an's 陳盤 *Kuang p'ing hsien* chih 廣平縣志, T'ang Shu's 唐樞 *Hu chou fu chih* 湖州府志 and the 1807 *Hsu hsiu T'ai-wan hsien chih* 續修臺灣縣志, by Hsieh Chin-luan 謝金鑾 and Cheng Chien-ts'ai 鄭兼才 all were influenced by Ts'ao.

19 *Sui shu* 隋書, 33 "Ching-chi" 經籍, 2 (Rpt., Taipei: Ting-wen), p. 987.

20 *Sung Yuan fang chih ts'ung shu*, p. 686.

imitated the Grand Historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien's 司馬遷 principle of "examining into the borders of Heaven and Earth." That is to say, he hoped to seek out the cause and effect relationship of historical affairs, to investigate truth and falsehood, and to establish the words of a single school.[21] Such an approach utilizes the format of historical studies and the methodology of historical studies in order to write a gazeteer and is quite different from the general principles of writing gazeteers that existed previously.

During the Ming dynasty there was more creative energy poured into the production of gazeteers than ever before, and many people sought after new forms. Everyone, it seems, made the decision to seek changes. But most took change in format as their central focus. For example, Chou Ying's 周瑛 *Hsing hua fu chih* 興化府志 divided his work into six major categories, based upon the structure of the central government around six boards (civil personal administration, revenue, rites, military, punishment, and public works). Each of these categories followed a chronological format.[22] Moreover, Ch'en Shih-yuan's 陳士元 *Luan chou chih* 灤州志, imitating the style of the *Ku-liang* 穀梁 *commentary's* treatment of *Spring and Autumn Annals*, utilized a style of self-interrogation.[23] Ch'en P'an 陳盤 and Wang I-lung's 王一龍 *Kuang p'ing hsien chih* 廣平縣志, and T'ang Shu's 唐樞 *Hu chou fu chih* 湖州府志 both are based upon the words of *Mencius*' "Chin-hsin chapter" and are divided into "lands," "people," and "government affairs."[24] Tung Ssu-chang's 董斯張 *Wu hsing pei chih* 吳興備志 is divided into sections called "*cheng*" 徵 (investigations)—altogether thirty-eight such sections.[25] These are only a few of the strange formats we know about currently. I believe there were still many other unusual formats and designations we do not know about.

Generally speaking, when we come to the Ch'ing dynasty the format of gazeteers was settled. Specialists in gazeteers either used the old style of the Sui-T'ang *T'u ching* or they used the transformed style that arose from the Sung and Yuan periods and was characterized by influence from the standard histories. There was not the disarray of many different formats that had existed during the Ming. The style of gazeteers promulgated by the Ch'ing central government during the reigns of K'ang-hsi 康熙, Yung-cheng 雍正 and

21 *Ibid.*, p. 1548.
22 See Chou Ying's 周瑛 *Hsing hua fu chih* 興化府志, lu 10 (1503, rpt., 1871).
23 Fu Chen-lun, p. 33.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
25 Please see *Wu hsing pei chih* 吳興備志, mu-lu (rpt., 1914).

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Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 took as its standard the old *T'u ching*.[26] The apparent reason for this was related to the ease of perusing such a work. Nevertheless, my own opinion is that such an order was related to the attempt to block emphasis upon ethnic consciousness appearing in the gazeteers. Assuredly if gazeteers have as central purpose to seek out the "successes and failures" of government and society, they certainly will discuss the problem of Sino-Manchu ethnic relationships, and such discussion would be disconcerting to the Manchu rulers.

The principles of the Ming and Ch'ing gazeteer, no matter how much the format had changed, imitated the standard history structure of "annals," "charts," "treatises" and "biographies." Although there were minor alterations, there was not major change. Moreover, in regard to historical methodology, these works were rather stricter than those of Chou Ying-ho during the Sung and Chang Hsüan during the Yuan. Chi Yun's 紀昀 *Ssu k'u t'i yao* 四庫提要 states that Chang Ming-feng's 張鳴鳳 *Kuei sheng* 桂勝 and Tung Ssu-chang's 董斯張 *Wu hsing pei chih* 吳興備志, both written in the Ming, and Lu Lung-ch'i's 陸隴其 *Ling shou hsien chih* 靈壽縣志, written in the Ch'ing, are the most famous gazeteers and that their research is extremely thorough.[27] Unfortunately Mr. Chang's *Kuei sheng* is no longer extant, but the works of Tung and Lu do exist and can be examined. Tung's gazeteer is a work made up from deleting and adding to original material. He uses materials to investigate materials and achieves a level of research not attained by most works. Lu's gazeteer is truly an excellent work of thorough scholarship. Moreover, Hung Liang-chi's 洪亮吉 *Ku shih hsien chih* 固始縣志, written somewhat later, is a very valuable book with a profound examination into the continuities and changes of geography. Of course, Chang Hsueh-ch'eng's 章學誠 promotion, study, and critique of the study of gazeteers during the Ch'ien-lung period made a great contribution to this field of study.

From this we can understand that the Ch'ing dynasty local gazeteers did not record the events of a single place and truly brought the gazeteer into the world of scholarly research. The Ch'ing dynasty gazeteer not only imitated the standard histories, but some authors surpassed the level of the standard histories in their spirit of investigation. This is a result of the "School of Empirical Research" which flourished in the Ch'ing.

26 In the introductory section of *Ch'ang chou chih* 滄州志 it says, "When K'ang Hsi established an office to compile the Ming History, he especially commanded the governor-generals and governors of all provinces to compile provincial gazeteers. Their style was to follow Chia Han-fu's 賈漢復 format as found in his gazeteer of He-nan 河南."

27 *Ssu-k'u ch'uan shu tsung mu t'i yao* 四庫全書總目提要, chüan 70, pp. 2470, 2504, etc. (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1983).

From the description presented above, we can draw the following simple conclusion. Ancient *T'u ching* were also called "local gazeteers." This is stated in the *Sui shu* "Essay on Literature" and is also mentioned by Chu Chang-wen of the Northern Sung. However, the *T'u ching* is only the forerunner of the gazeteer and has characteristics that are, in fact, quite unlike the modern local gazeteer. If we now turn to the words of the Ch'ing scholar Chi Yün, and explicate those words somewhat, we can gain a clearer understanding of this question. In the *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu tsung-mu*, Chi Yun says:

> The ancient gazeteers recorded only lands and boundaries, mountains and rivers, local customs and local products. Today these books are not extant. Still from the books of *Chou Li* one can know their general outline. The *Yuan he chun hsien chih* reflects somewhat ancient traces and in general uses the format of *Shan-hai ching*. *T'ai-p'ing huan yu chi* 太平寰宇記 adds in famous persons, and also occasionally literary works, and thus becomes the fountainhead of province and county gazeteers. After the Yüan and Ming, this format is handed down and the biographies become more detailed than in family records, and the literary works are more abundant than in collections. The incidentals become more important than the fundamentals, and the maps, contrary to previous works, are like an appendix.[28]

In this passage, Chi Yün has put it very ingeniously and succinctly. He not only gives a general explanation of the difference between *T'u ching* and gazeteers, but he also succinctly treats their transformation. The modern gazeteer decreases the proportion of the work dealing with maps and increases the chapters containing the autobiographies and literary works of important people. But for Mr. Chi to say that *T'u ching* only record such items as lands and boundaries, mountains and rivers, local customs and local products, and also to raise as examples *Yuan he chun hsien chih* and *T'ai p'ing huan yu chi* is a bit too facile. In actuality, the two gazeteers mentioned by him were two national gazeters of the T'ang and Sung and placed emphasis upon official government exhortations. But Mr. Chi does not emphasize this point, and we cannot avoid adding it. From this, we can induce the following differences between the characteristics of the *T'u ching* and the gazeteer.

28 *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu tsung-mu*, chüan 68, "History Section" 24, "Geography Division", "Main Preface".

1. The *T'u ching* is a book dealing with a place from a geographical point of view, while a gazeteer is a book uniting geographical and historical characteristics.

2. The modern local gazeteer's records of the historical events of a particular region have no limit. What can be narrated is presented with great thoroughness. The clearer the record, the better the gazeteer. Consequently, some good local gazeteers have "textual critiques" and "essays" in order to fashion the gazeteer according to the principles for writing history.

3. The modern local gazeteer, regardless of the particular format, always includes as part of its structure such topics as "annals," "charts," "treatises," "biographies," and literature. Especially from the Republican period on, when the Ministry of the Interior specified that the first section of a local gazeteer should arrange a record of important events, the format of the standard history was even more manifest.

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