BETWEEN LINEAGE AND STATE: EXTENDED FAMILY AND GAZETTEER COMPILATION IN XINCHANG COUNTY

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In 1579 the people of Xinchang County, Zhejiang, were struggling to get their ancestors’ biographies included in Magistrate Tian Guan’s forthcoming county gazetteer. The project had become bogged down in bickering and Magistrate Tian turned for help to the retired Minister of War, Xinchang native Lü Guangxun, and a group of eminent locals. Lü and the others quickly resolved the problems and soon thereafter the gazetteer was published. The gazetteer’s prefaces are unusually detailed and provide a list of contributors. By examining the contributors’ mutual relationships, the compilation process, and the final product, we can open windows not only on the construction of history in Ming China, but also on the meaning of kinship and the roles played by extended families in local society.

For social and economic historians of China, gazetteers are a familiar resource. We routinely glean facts from them, combine those facts with related data from other sources, and analyze the set in topical studies. But individual gazetteers as unified works receive less attention. This article examines the 1579 gazetteer of Xinchang County, Zhejiang, and suggests that sometimes gazetteer sections cannot be properly understood apart from their whole. Aggregating the genealogical information in the gazetteer biographies reveals that the gazetteer’s editors were members of lineage branches that had intermarried. The prefaces reveal that...

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this extended family dominated the compilation process. Viewing
the gazetteer ‘s construction and internal logic in conjunction with
the editors’ writings on genealogy further shows that the editorial
committee’s primary goal was to produce a “public genealogy” of
their extended family. This genealogy was presented as a county
gazetteer and was superimposed on the materials typically found
in the gazetteer genre.

The extended family consisted of the four Xinchang lineages
who had been most successful in terms of official rank since the
previous gazetteer’s publication in 1477 and of their maternal and
affinal relatives as well. The Wanli gazetteer records their mutual
ties of marriage, discipleship, and community cooperation, and
Magistrate Tian Guan’s successful administration. By monopolizing
the biographical entries inserted into almost every gazetteer section
and appending genealogical information to the entries, family lines
were publicly established and marked as prestigious.

In the case of gazetteer editor-in-chief Lü Guangxun, his and
other Lü patrilines not only were described, but also were textually
combined into a higher-order descent group. Viewed through
the genealogical lens, the gazetteer’s writing was a method for
Xinchang’s most successful men to enhance their legacies and build
social cohesion among intermarried lineages. By recording their
own and their relatives’ virtues and publicly linking themselves
to one another, the compilers defined a local elite and created a
basis for continued cooperation and intermarriage among their
descendants. As a unified work, the gazetteer tells us much more
about the production of social status and the operation of family
and local government in sixteenth-century Jiangnan than any
individual section reveals about its subject matter.

Social status in Ming China was gained in many ways. Scholars
have long recognized examination success, literary cultivation, and
lineage. Recent scholarship has added to this list, e.g., Katherine
Carlitz has shown how widow fidelity and ritual reform brought
prestige, and Craig Clunas notes that dwellings, graves, and
gardens were parts of the “public landscape,” entwined with social
status and often described in genealogies and gazetteers. This essay
will show how in the case of one gazetteer the compilers gathered
numerous prestige markers into a single location, organized them
around a genealogical frame, and created a work which blurs the
line between local history and genealogy.

By understanding the gazetteer as the project of a cross-surname extended family and noting other projects undertaken by the same family members, we can hypothesize that elite extended-family groups were key political actors at the county level, mediating between county officials and lineages that exercised authority within villages or sub-county regions. By comparing the Chenghua edition of the *Xinchang xian zhi* to the Wanli edition, we also can postulate that the cross-surname extended family coalesced as fewer Xinchang lineages were producing exam graduates in the sixteenth century than in the fourteenth and fifteenth. Interpreting the Wanli *Xinchang xian zhi* as an extended-family history also has implications for research methodology and how we understand gazetteers and genealogies as genres.

**ABOUT GAZETTEERS AND GENEALOGIES**

Sampling the same sections of multiple gazetteers is a valuable historical research method but it does not exhaust the potential value of gazetteers. Paying attention to the agendas that lay behind the compilations can lead to further insights. Such agendas likely varied by time and region. For example, James Hargett, in his study of Song-dynasty local gazetteers, noted the Southern Song emergence of "scholarly monographs," which not only collected administratively useful information, but also served scholarly and local interests such as promoting the locale. Hargett further argued that beginning in the eleventh century, gazetteers served an educational purpose by presenting ideal models of behavior.¹ This essay will explore one potential agenda for writing a gazetteer: creating a public genealogy of the compilers' extended family. By "genealogy" I mean both textual expression of a construct of kinship through the recording of relationships between selected family members and family history in a broader sense, including descriptions of things like ancestors' lives, residences, graves, accomplishments, and status.

Scholars have documented several motivations for compiling genealogies, some internal to the descent group and some oriented towards a public. For example, Robert Hymes related Southern Song and Yuan genealogies to the building of local power bases,² and Johanna Meskill argued that late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-
century first-edition genealogies could create an organized kinship
group rather than reflect a pre-existing group. Harriet Zurndorfer
and Keith Hazelton have both noted that Huizhou genealogies had
a public audience: Zurndorfer argued that late-Yuan and Ming
Huizhou composite genealogies evidenced a conscious procedure
to ensure the included descent groups' continued survival and
status. In fourteenth-century Huizhou, status derived from lineage
as much as office holding or wealth and the "records of great lineages" (dazuzhi) and "records of famous lineages" (mingzuzhi)
publicly documented the leading lineages. Hazelton, studying
sixteenth-century Huizhou, noted that because genealogy writing
had an increasingly public nature and was strongly associated with
office holders, it should be understood as a way to consolidate gains
won through the prestige of an official career.

Other scholars have pointed to practical uses of genealogy that
stem from acceptance of a common history. Ueda Makoto's study
of local society in Shaoxing's Zhuji County from the fourteenth
to nineteenth centuries argues that family history in late-imperial
China was constructed and recognized as needed to advance specific
family goals and interests. Ueda describes two lineages that were
related through the fourteenth-century uxorilocal marriage of one
lineage's first migrant ancestor and through reciprocal adoptions
in the first generations. The relationship among the ancestors was
largely ignored until the nineteenth century, when one lineage
needed an ally in their struggle over water rights. The common
ancestry again became "acknowledged history" (ninshikisareta
rekishi) by including the story in a genealogy.

David Faure looked at lineages as a flexible cultural form
that served economic and political ends, and genealogies as
constructions of agreed upon lineage history. Sometimes these
histories were based upon fictions of common ancestry and were
used to confer important rights within a village, e.g., the right
to build a house or exploit natural resources, or to enter into
cooperative projects with people having the same surname.

Although one can imagine that some agendas for genealogy
writing might be relevant to gazetteer writing, gazetteers are
generally treated as a genre distinct from genealogy and have
not been examined as tools of family or social organization or
documents that legitimate rights in local society. The most obvious
such right would be a hereditary right to lead. A few scholars have noted areas where the genres intersect. Melvin Thatcher observed that since the time of Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801) some gazetteers have included genealogical sections. Donald Leslie and Otto Berkelbach van der Sprenkel suggested that gazetteer biographies be used in conjunction with genealogies to construct family histories and study inter-lineage relations, and Pan Guangdan conducted such a study. Liang Hongsheng has reported on "village gazetteers" (cunzhi) published since the 1980s that are thinly disguised lineage genealogies published in gazetteer format as a way to avoid government concerns about genealogies. These scholars have shown genealogy to be a distinct part of a gazetteer, gazetteers to be a supplemental tool for studying family history, or the gazetteer format being used as cover for a lineage genealogy. What the Wanli-era Xinchang xian zhi adds to the picture is that extended-family genealogy could be a central organizing principle of an entire county gazetteer.

In thinking about genealogies and gazetteers as genres, we should be alert to both genres' adaptable natures and should pay attention to how a close reading of a work can give clues about the milieu in which it was produced. The Wanli Xinchang xian zhi read as a whole gives many such clues about the nature and operation of kinship, the structure of power in local society, and the role of family in the Chinese imperial state.

THE POLITICS OF COMPILATION

In the fifth year of the Longqing era (1571), Zhang Yuanbian and Tian Guan passed the jinshi exam, Zhang as optimus and Tian in the third tier. While Zhang's early career was in the capital, Tian went to Zhang's native place, Shaoxing Prefecture, becoming Xin Chang County Magistrate in the second year of the Wanli era (1574-5).

After arriving in Xin Chang, Tian became friends with Lü Guangxun, a colleague of Zhang Yuanbian's father, Zhang Tianfu. Lü and the elder Zhang had fought insurgents together in Yunnan and both suffered for it. In 1568, Zhang Tianfu was deprived of rank after the government's defeat at Wuding, and Yuanbian spent the rest of his life trying to restore his father's name. Lü, meanwhile, was criticized and transferred from Minister of War
in Beijing to Minister of Works in Nanjing. Soon thereafter, he retired to Xinchang, where he wrote extensively and enjoyed his garden until his death in 1580. Zhang Tianfu lived until 1578 and with Yuanbian was involved in compiling gazetteers for Shaoxing's Shanyin and Kuaiji Counties. Yuanbian also edited the *Shaoxing fu zhi*, printed in the fifteenth year of the Wanli era (1586-7).

In addition to Lü Guangxun, Magistrate Tian also befriended other officials from Xinchang, including Lü Ruoyu, Director of the Nanjing Ministry of War Equipment and Communications Bureau, and Pan Sheng, who was temporarily out of office. Pan had served as Minister of Rites from the fourth year to the sixth year of the Longqing reign (1570-72) and would return as Minister of Rites under Zhang Juzheng in the sixth year of the Wanli reign (1578), shortly before the gazetteer's publication. Together, Magistrate Tian and the three officials traveled to local scenic spots and had "numerous and wide-ranging discussions."

One year into his term Magistrate Tian conceived of compiling a new edition of the county gazetteer, and to that end began reviewing and editing documents collected by former officials. In the spring of 1578 he presented his idea to Zhejiang Supreme Commander Xu Shi and Education Intendant Qiao and was ordered to proceed. The local Confucian School Instructor and two Assistant Instructors helped Magistrate Tian choose a six-person editorial committee including Lü Guangxun as editor-in-chief, and thirty-six materials collectors from among the county's government students.

Magistrate Tian hired Shanyin native Zhang Yuanyi to draft and polish the manuscript. Zhang had traveled with and was taught by Lü Guangxun's friend Tang Shunzhi. Pan Sheng and Lü Ruoyu critiqued and verified the biographical materials. Altogether, forty-six named individuals would be involved in the collecting, drafting, and editing process. Seven officials and subofficials played purely administrative roles and Shaoxing Prefect Gu Ying wrote a preface.

The editorial committee and Zhang Yuanyi set up an office to examine the collected materials. Pan Sheng established the gazetteer's divisions and the compilers began work on Xinchang's geography, products, officials, and civil service examination sections. The Magistrate organized and wrote introductions to
the various sections and Zhang Yuanyi produced a partial first
draft. All that remained were the biographical chapters, and at
that point the process became difficult. Magistrate Tian described
the scene:

How is one to deal with the county’s literati and commoners
who clamor to boast of their grandfathers and seek the
inclusion of encomia, or who obtain false praise from literary
figures, or who apply pressure with the help of powerful
officials or family connections, or who jostle to come before
me and give flattering responses to my questions, but then tell
a different story after my back is turned?

Magistrate Tian explained that the editing process stalled “because
it was still the custom to falsify and exaggerate, true and false
clashed, and it was difficult for the appointed gentry to reconcile
[the claims].” Arguments began, and as editor-in-chief Lü
Guangxun explained to Zhang Yuanyi:

Why is it that although our county’s taxes are nowhere near
[as high] as those of Shanyin and Kuaiji, our affairs are in
greater disorder? It’s because we have distanced ourselves
from the past’s virtuous customs. Our group likes to argue.
Arguing, we cannot reach agreement; not reaching agreement,
everyone is necessarily angry; anger breeds slander, and it is
indeed difficult to save the situation. I now fear our gazetteer
cannot be finished.

Zhang Yuanyi described his reaction to Lü’s statement as
follows:

When I heard the Minister of War’s words, I was upset by
them. I examined his words in light of everyone’s mood and
indeed this was the case. In discussing borders, they argue
[the districts] of Tai versus Shan. In discussing chronology,
they argue Song versus Yuan. In discussing civil service
examinations, they argue vacuity versus substance. In
discussing the term “surname,” they argue which character
should come first, “shi” or “xing.” In discussing scenic sights,
they argue commemorative inscription versus narration.
In discussing social status, they argue number one versus
number two. In discussing historic residences, they argue
tables versus plaques. In discussing predecessors’ graves, they
argue epitaphs versus memorials. In discussing dynasties,
they argue projected power versus actual accomplishment.
In discussing agriculture, they argue wealth studies (fuxue) versus success writings (gongwen). In discussing womanly virtue they argue about [women like] Mencius' mother, and those who do not, argue about [women like] Gong Jiang. If one example is raised, they argue over one. If one hundred examples are raised, they argue over one hundred. Without exception it is so and thus the Minister of War said, “arguing we cannot reach agreement ... Will this gazetteer ever be finished?”

After a month discussing the draft, the compilers could not overcome their differences, and Zhang Yuanyi sought the Magistrate’s permission to quit, asking, “How can I end their quarrels and calm their anger?” The Magistrate replied:

I have been thinking about this for a long time. This is my problem and the solution must originate in me. If I wish to end people’s struggles, I must first end my own struggles. If I wish to calm people’s anger, I must first calm my own anger. It can only happen if I do not provoke them or seize upon their anger, am public-spirited to bring about courtesy, and am devoid of covetousness to bring forth the collective good. This is how it must be.

In addition, how should I seek the good government of the ancient Zi Chan? By not interfering in the people’s arguments, not triggering the group’s anger, not castigating the local schools, and not restraining the crowd’s criticisms.

Zhang Yuanyi was reassured by the Magistrate’s words and stayed on. Prefect Gu Ying also visited Magistrate Tian, reviewed the collected documents, and again explained the order to compile a gazetteer. This led Magistrate Tian to take personal charge and he ordered a new draft, assigning some people to the initial drafting, some to discussion, and some to revision.

Magistrate Tian obtained the biographical materials from Lü Guangxun and had them checked and corrected by Lü Guanghua. The Xinchang xian zhi does not say how Lü Guangxun obtained the biographies, while the Wanli Shaoxing fu zhi says that they “mostly emerged from Lü’s hand.” Comparing gazetteer biographies to biographies of the same people found in their lineage genealogies suggests that many were abridged genealogy biographies. For example, a gazetteer biography of two virtuous women is an abridged version of Pan Sheng’s Shuang jiefu zhuanshuai, which appears...
in the *Zhang Shi zongpu*. In the gazetteer, there is no mention of the story's origin, but the genealogy version states that Zhang Yanguang told the story to Pan Sheng who wrote it down. The dynamic relationship between gazetteers and genealogies also can be seen in gazetteer prefaces and rules of compilation. Some gazetteers, e.g., the Wanli *Xinchang xian zhi* and the Jiajing-era *Zhejiang tongzhi*, state that the compilers consulted genealogies, and genealogy biographies often cite gazetteers.

Lü Guangxun, Lü Guanghua, Pan Sheng, and Lü Ruoyu critiqued and verified the biographies by comparing them to Zhang Yuanyi's materials. Lü Jiru then worked behind the yamen's main hall to compare the two drafts and verify that names were accurate and dates correct. Two other government students did proofreading. Magistrate Tian further edited the materials and prodded the students to copy over narrations of old events and to "arrange and verify that new items had no private purpose."

After the new draft was completed, Magistrate Tian wrote that he: solicited corrections from the men of the countryside and the scholars of the city. All said it was accurate. Then I polished the introduction, hired carvers to prepare printing blocks, and divided supervisory authority between Vice Magistrate Huang Zuo and Clerk Zhu Lin. The scholars were happy at the county chronicle's continuation and joined in to complete the work.

**CLAIMS OF HISTORICAL ACCURACY**

Magistrate Tian's commendation mattered because Ming local history writing was a contested process that could result in recriminations, and editors needed to protect themselves. An anecdote in the Jiajing-era *Changshu xian zhi* suggests that compiling a gazetteer not only involved political risk, but could even endanger one's life:

Deng Fu compiled the county gazetteer in the style of Chen Shou's *Sanguo zhi*. Vice Censor-in-chief Chen reviewed it and disliked it for selfish reasons. It seemed likely that the group's plan would not be realized and they responded with satire and together attacked [Chen]. [Deng] Fu was very afraid. He relied on Grand Coordinator Ouyang Duo and Regional Inspector Lü Guangxun's support and did not change his draft.
In the gazetteer, Fu accidentally left out two chaste widows. In his old age he was walking alone in the market and was greeted at the side of the road by the two [widows], who were wearing mourning clothes. They said, "Master, what made you think we were not chaste? Please ask the dead." This horrified Fu and it caused him to sicken and die.\(^{62}\)

The "group's plan" is not described, but the reference to the *Sanguo zhi* suggests the issue was which biographies to include and how much weight to give them.

The Wanli-era *Xinchang xian zhi* editors made a concerted effort to present the gazetteer as a model of historical integrity. As Magistrate Tian explained:

Gazetteers are nonetheless histories, and thus that which was not of a public nature was not made central, that which had not been verified was not included\(^ {63}\) ...

Nevertheless, I was filled with trepidation. Confucius was a sage, but in writing the *Spring and Autumn Annals* he still worried that others would criticize him. How much the more [was I concerned] for I am not even the Sage's disciple and have no special talent! At the time that Mo Dan compiled the gazetteer in the Chenghua era, all of the scholars praised it as well documented, but ever since some have criticized it for "conspiring to gain through the written word." I was afraid this [might happen again]. Therefore, I solicited numerous famous officials and outstanding scholars to as a group consider the pros and cons, verify what was extant and lost, and decide what to include and exclude. From [the gazetteer's] beginning to end there were no mistakes.

If you gentlemen have anything you wish to affirm or refute, be diligent and raise it now for public discussion and judgment. Do not be like those who criticized Mo's gazetteer one hundred years after [its completion]. This is good. This is good.

Zhang Yuanyi proclaimed that the compilers' "judgements were as accurate as those of the *Zuoshi* and their records were as systematic as those of Sima Qian ... Those of today will trust it, those of tomorrow will transmit it."\(^ {64}\) ... In my view, readers of this gazetteer should not call it 'Xinchang County's gazetteer,' rather they should call it 'Xinchang County's *Rites of Zhou*. They should not call it 'one county's little history,' rather they should call it 'one county's *Spring and Autumn Annals*.'\(^ {65}\)
Pan Sheng noted that the ruler’s knowledge of the realm necessarily starts from local gazetteers and thus “county gazetteers must not be one family or one township’s private history.” 66 Pan declared the gazetteer to be carefully researched and “refined to the point that it became the words of a single school.” 67 It may supplement what was left out of the dynastic histories in order to complete the Sagely Emperor’s selections; how could it merely be a case of one family or one township’s private servants building a hodgepodge house on the side of the road?!” 68

AVENUES OF INFLUENCE

The editors’ loud protestations of integrity invite us to ask whether the gazetteer was precisely what Pan Sheng said it was not: one family or one township’s private history. By comparing the Wanli gazetteer to the immediately preceding one, compiled during the Chenghua era in 1477, we can see a process of consolidation of family power in Xinchang that created opportunities to shape the gazetteer’s content. The process was already underway in the Chenghua era, but by the Wanli era power had become highly concentrated. Two places to look for mechanisms by which the power holders could exercise undue influence on the gazetteer are the project’s finances and the compilers’ relationships.

Magistrate Tian did not say how he paid for the block carving and printing, but we can speculate that local donations were involved. The money for building the city wall twenty-three years earlier had been raised locally. 69 The money for printing the Chenghua-era Xinchang xian zhi came from a fundraising drive initiated by the magistrate and prefect’s donations. 70 Thereafter, “donations of gold came like swarming ants, contributions like a bubbling spring. Small donors did not mind giving one or two cash; large donations did not exceed five or ten shi.” 71 Genealogies show that most (and probably all) donors were local.

Donations may have influenced content. The Chenghua gazetteer lists by zi seventy-four donors having twenty different surnames. 72 Many were members of the same lineages and members of those lineages are the subject matter of a large percentage of the gazetteer’s biographies. Of the twelve donors surnamed Lü, seven are listed in the Lü shi zongpu and belonged to the same lineage branch. 73 Genealogy lists of zi are incomplete, but four of the other
five almost certainly were members of the same branch based on the branch’s naming patterns for zi. Likewise, for the eleven donors surnamed Yu, three were first cousins and the zi of seven of the other eight correspond to the same lineage’s zi naming pattern. These Lü and Yu lineage branches were the same ones involved in compiling the Wanli Xinchang xian zhi. Comparing the subjects of the gazetteer entries to the donor list, one finds a rough correspondence. For example, fifteen of the sixteen surnames listed in the Chenghua gazetteer’s lineages section are among the twenty donor surnames. The three surnames listed first in the lineages section, Shi, Lü, and Yu, constituted over one-third of the donors.

The Wanli gazetteer entries reflect changes in the lineages that had examination success after the Chenghua gazetteer’s 1477 publication. In the century prior, more lineages shared in examination success than in the century after. From the Ming founding through 1477, people surnamed Lü, Pan, Yu, and He had official success, but were not dominant in Xinchang. They had 8 of 19 jinshi degrees, 19 of 51 juren degrees, and 10 of 85 tribute students. From 1478 to 1579, however, they had 13 of 14 jinshi degrees, 19 of 25 juren degrees, and 37 of 63 tribute students. In the earlier period, fourteen surnames had at least one jinshi, twenty-two surnames had at least one juren, and twenty-five surnames had at least one juren and twenty-five surnames had at least one tribute student. In the latter period, however, only four surnames had at least one jinshi, eight surnames had at least one juren, and fourteen surnames had at least one tribute student.

Not only had the Lü, Pan, Yu, and He lineages been producing the most degrees, they also had produced the highest officials. Lü Guangxun and Pan Sheng had risen higher in the Ming bureaucracy than any other living Xinchang men. In fact, their positions were so high that none of their descendants were likely to surpass them. Thus, with Lü in retirement and fast approaching his death (1580), and Pan serving as Minister of Rites, the seventh year of the Wanli reign was an opportune time for them to shape their legacies. The He and Yu lineages also had produced high ranking sixteenth-century officials: the late He Jian (1442-1522) had served as Minister of War in the Zhengde era, Yu Zhenqiang (1470-1540) was a Vice Director in the Ministry of Works, Yu Chaotuo (1488-1539) had served as Supervising Censor in the Office of Scrutiny for Rites, and Yu Zequan (1509-72) was an Investigating Censor.
The family relationships among the Wanli *Xinchang xian zhi* contributors can be reconstructed from the gazetteer itself, by consulting Xinchang genealogies, and by using Xinchang lineage naming practices. Most, and possibly all, forty-six contributors except for Magistrate Tian and Zhang Yuanyi were related by blood and/or marriage.

Eight Xinchang people played key roles in compiling the Wanli gazetteer: the six-person editorial committee (consisting of Lü Guangxun, Lü Guangyan, Lü Guanhua, He Jiong, He Chang, and Yu Bangshi), plus two men (Lü Ruoyu and Pan Sheng) who critiqued and verified the collected biographies. All eight were relatives. The four Lüs were members of a single lineage branch and were related to the other four by marriage: Lü Guangxun's third daughter married Pan Sheng's eldest son, Lü Guangxun's brother Guangbi married Pan Sheng's cousin, Guangbi's daughter married committee member He Chang's son. Lü Ruoyu married He Chang's first cousin's granddaughter and He Chang himself married a Lady Lü.

Committee member He Jiong was of the same lineage branch as He Chang; their common ancestor was He Chang's great-great-grandfather. He Jiong also married a Lü woman and their eldest daughter was Pan Sheng's first wife (Pan Sheng's second wife was surnamed Yu). Two of He Jiong's three daughters and his eldest sister married men of Lü Guangxun's lineage branch and He Jiong's mother was born in committee member Yu Bangshi's lineage branch.

Yu Bangshi's lineage branch also had intermarried with Lü Guangxun's lineage branch for generations. Yu's cousin married Lü Guangxun's brother Guanglong and Yu's second sister married Lü Guangxun's cousin. Yu's eldest sister married Pan Xianchen, who based on his name likely was Pan Sheng's lineage great-uncle. Yu Bangshi and Lü Guangxun had been friends since their youths and the *jinshi* Lü Nai, Lü Guangxun's lineage uncle, married a Yu woman and taught Yu Bangshi's father, the *jinshi* Yu Zhenqiang.

Looking at all such relationships among contributors makes it even more clear that they were an extended family composed of paternal, maternal, and affinal relatives. Of the 46 contributors, 33 were from a few branches of the Lü, Pan, Yu, or He lineages, and most were also related through their maternal lines and by marriage.
Twelve of the 15 contributors surnamed Lü descended from Lü Guangxun’s great-great-grandfather. In addition to editorial committee members Guangxun, Guangyan, and Guanghua, these included Guangyan’s son, Guanghua’s son, Guangxun and Guangyan’s nephew, two cousins, and four grandnephews, three of whom were brothers.\(^1\)

The remaining three Lüs descended from Guangxun’s fourteenth-generation ancestor and were the great-grandsons of the Xinchang jinshi Lü Xian.\(^2\) Jiru and Jiqiao were first cousins, Jipian was their second cousin.\(^3\) Jiru’s mother and Jiru and Jipian’s paternal grandmother were both surnamed Yu. Jiqiao’s mother was the jinshi Yu Qin’s granddaughter.\(^4\)

The six contributors surnamed Pan included Pan Sheng, his brother, and his father’s brother.\(^5\) As for the remaining three, based on naming patterns one probably was Pan Sheng’s cousin, and two probably were Pan Sheng’s nephews.

The eight contributors surnamed Yu were members of the same lineage branch.\(^6\) Yu Bangshao was committee member Bangshi’s brother\(^7\) and Banghu’s cousin; Binghu was father of Yingsu, lineage uncle of Yingshan, and cousin of Bingzhong.\(^8\)

Most and possibly all of the eleven contributors not surnamed Lü, Yu, Pan, or He were related to them and to each other. Zhang Liangshi and Zhang Yanshou both descended from Liangshi’s great-grandfather\(^9\) and Liangshi’s first cousin, nephew, and grandnephew all married Lü women.\(^10\) Yanshou’s lineage branch cousin married contributor Lü Jipian.\(^11\) Chen Zisheng and Chen Zishao, were almost certainly related to Lü Guangxun, his maternal relatives the Banzhu Zhangs, and the contributors surnamed Yu.\(^12\) Each of the others had the same surname as at least one of the editorial committee member’s mother, wife, or daughter-in-law. In sum, most, and possibly all 46 gazetteer contributors, except for Magistrate Tian and Zhang Yuanyi, were related by blood and/or marriage.

Elite endogamy within the county was the norm in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Xinchang and even national figures like Lü Guangxun and Pan Sheng married locally. Both the Chenghua and Wanli gazetteers stated that members of “old families and ancient clans” married only those of equal status and did not marry those from wealthy, but lower status families.\(^13\) “Old families and ancient
clans" were defined as "those having a genealogy that proves the family's continuity of official rank."

The Wanli gazetteer does not list families that had such genealogies, but the graves section implies a list. The graves section is composed of thirty subsections, each titled with a surname, and a final section labeled, "various surnames." Each surname's section lists the first migrant ancestor. If a surname had multiple descent groups, the graves section distinguishes by both locality and ancestor. When people who shared a common ancestor resided in separate localities within the county, the graves section named the local migrant. For example, it states that the Zhang surname's first migrant ancestor was Zhang Mu, who moved from Fujian to Xinchang's Huaqiang township, and that the Banzhu Zhangs descended from Zhang Yao, who moved from Huaqiang to Banzhu in the Song dynasty. Such information most likely came from genealogies and its specification in the gazetteer created a rough county genealogical map. All thirty of the listed surnames had produced Ming-dynasty officials prior to the gazetteer's publication and they are listed in an order that appears to combine the number and rank of officials having that surname.

The graves section surname order implies a social ranking based on examination and official success, particularly since the publication of the Chenghua Xinchang xian zhi. First rank is the surname Shi, which produced 47 jinshi degrees during the Song and early Ming. Second rank is Lü, which had 28. Third is Yu, with 14; fourth, Pan with 5 including Minister of Rites Pan Sheng. Fifth is He, with 2 including Minister of War He Jian.

Extant Xinchang genealogy descent charts, biographies, and prefaces confirm the endogamous marriage pattern described in the gazetteers. For example, Lü Guangxun's lineage branch genealogy and Lü Guangxun's wife's natal lineage's genealogy reveal a dense web of relationships between Lü Guangxun's lineage branch and the descendants of Zhao Jing, the great-great-grandfather of Lü Guangxun's father-in-law, Zhao Tianyu. Not only did Lü Guangxun marry the Lady Zhao, his adopted son married his brother-in-law's daughter, Lü's brother-in-law's adopted son's mother was the granddaughter of Lü Guangxun's great uncle, Lü Guangxun's sister-in-law married his second cousin, and Lü Guangxun's brother-in-law and father-in-law's wives were
women of Lü Guangxun's lineage branch. Such dense marital webs appeared throughout the compilers' lineage genealogies.

Over time, members of lineages having different surnames might through persistent intermarriage become more closely related to each other, in the biological sense, than to more distant members of their own lineages. This appears to have been the case for many of the gazetteer contributors. These cross-surname relatives also had close social relationships that are evidenced by numerous epitaphs, genealogy biographies and prefaces, and other materials. For example, Lü Guangxun recorded his New Year’s visit to his relatives, the Banzhu Zhangs, with whom Lü’s lineage branch had intermarried for generations. Tang Shunzhi’s biography of Lü Guangxun’s mother, Zhang Bao, explained that after her marriage to Lü Guangxun’s father she lived in his home with his maternal grandmother, a woman of her own lineage to whom she was related by both blood and marriage.

The local editors clearly had the opportunity to shape the gazetteer, but that still leaves the question of why the magistrate would accept their version of Xinchang history. Katherine Carlitz’s study of twenty-one mid-Ming Jiangnan gazetteers suggests one possible answer. Carlitz found that when sojourning magistrates cooperated with local notables in building shrines, “they were (consciously or unconsciously) manipulating the state-sanctioned canons of virtue to legitimize the claim that they and men like them were the appropriate shapers of policy for the empire” and that it was a way for a magistrate to “position oneself advantageously for promotion.” Like shrine building, gazetteer writing could be undertaken as a cooperative effort between local elites and a magistrate to consciously enhance their own status at the county and possibly higher levels.

The editors already had high status locally, but that status needed reification in order to be passed on to new generations. David Faure explained that because “a written genealogy could not be readily updated and because the written word conferred legitimacy, the written genealogy, like the ancestral hall of the official style, objectified lineage history.” Gazetteers were updated even less often than genealogies and provided an avenue to write extended family histories that lineage genealogies did not.
The county gazetteer also provided an avenue for enhancing status at the prefectoral and provincial levels because county gazetteers were a key source for higher level gazetteers. The Wanli Shaoxing fu zhi contains a variety of materials taken from the Wanli Xinchang xian zhi, e.g., three chaste-widow biographies of women married to men of the Yu lineage. The Wanli Shaoxing fu zhi does not appear to have a genealogical organizing principle similar to that of the Xinchang xian zhi, probably because one extended family did not control the compilation. Nevertheless, the editors did include some material for personal reasons, e.g., Zhang Yuanbian's biography of Lü Guangxun gives extensive coverage to the fighting at Wuding, the story of which was central to Zhang's attempts to clear his father's name and restore his rank.

Magistrate Tian had much to gain and probably little to lose by ceding control over most of the gazetteer project. Pleasing Minister of Rites Pan Sheng was probably a better option for Tian than the mere possibility of offending the Shaoxing Prefect or some other official. The story of the building of Xinchang's city wall, recited below, further suggests that Tian needed the local leaders' cooperation to perform his job. There was no point in offending them and he was still able to include his own administrative accomplishments.

**GENEALOGY AS COMMUNITY BUILDING**

Lü Guangxun and Pan Sheng saw genealogy writing as a technique for building social cohesion, ordering social relationships, and cultivating morality. Such cohesion had practical effects, including the ability to protect one's family. If we extend their reasoning to gazetteers, we could take gazetteer compilation as a way to build cohesion among county-level political actors. The compilation process brought them together physically, allowed them to work through issues as a group, and created a book that illustrated cooperation between an intermarried leadership. This "objectified history" could reinforce the propriety of future cooperation. Many scholars have examined community compacts as organizing tools; here we can see that the Xinchang xian zhi functioned as another form of interlineage cooperation.

Lü's interest in genealogy and lineage organization began in his youth and may have come from his father, Shiliang, whom the
Wanli gazetteer credits with rebuilding the Lü lineage temple in the first year of the Jiajing era (1522-3). As a young man, Lü Guangxun compiled his lineage genealogy and late in life wrote genealogy prefaces. Pan Sheng’s interest in genealogy is suggested by his service as Imperial Genealogy Reviser, his genealogy prefaces, and other genealogical writings.

Lü and his relatives had a golden opportunity to shape the Wanli Xinchang xian zhi because he supplied the biographies. Biographical materials are found in almost every section of the gazetteer, not just the formal biography sections such as “virtuous women” and “local worthies.” Possible ways that they would use their opportunity can be inferred from Lü and Pan’s writings on genealogy and from Xinchang’s historical conditions and customs. In genealogies, both men wrote about security and morality, which were central concerns in Ming Xinchang. The gazetteer compilation provided them an opportunity to associate Xinchang’s dominant families with these very attractive issues.

Security

Security was a pressing issue in sixteenth-century Xinchang. Pirate attacks, bandits, feuds, and lawsuits all were potential dangers. Ninety pirates attacked Xinchang in the winter of 1555-6 as they retreated from Tiantai to Shaoxing, killing or injuring over 110 people. A few days after the attack, Lü Guangxun, Pan Risheng (Pan Sheng’s father), Yu Zequan, and Magistrate Wan Peng tried to organize construction of a city wall. Before the attack, Magistrate Wan had raised the idea, but “most commoners feared corvée labor” and it was not built.

After the attack, Magistrate Wan simply ordered the people to build the wall, but they refused until Lü Guangxun and other local leaders from the great lineages intervened. David Faure argues that the need to organize local defense was one reason that lineage came to be the normative form for village organization in the Pearl River delta during the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. In Xinchang, there were already many lineages before the pirate attack, but they were not up to the task of defending the county against ninety pirates. What the county needed was higher level, inter-lineage organization. The consolidation of power from the Chenghua era to the Wanli era in the hands of fewer, but intermarried lineage branches, created an elite extended family
that served as a foundation for such organization.

In addition to pirates, the gazetteer describes other dangers stemming from the lack of social cohesion. In the customs section, Magistrate Tian described a divide between those living in the county seat and those in the mountain valleys. The townspeople had been noted for their honesty and simplicity (although Tian argued that elite customs were deteriorating). In the mountain valleys, however, many people were bandits.

In addition to the random violence of pirates and bandits, intentional, personal violence also might threaten one's family. Magistrate Tian wrote that many sons of old families like to fight and have little regard for life. Even the father of editorial committee man Lü Guanghua was not immune—unjust accusations of patricide sent him to jail in place of his brothers.

Lü Guangxun and Pan Sheng both saw family cohesion as a way to deal with societal dangers. After retiring to Xinchang and before editing the Wanli Xinchang xian zhi, Lü Guangxun visited his maternal relatives, examined their genealogy, and wrote the following preface for their forthcoming revised edition:

> Because Xinchang is an isolated southeastern mountain town that has rarely suffered the destruction of war, there are many old families and great clans, each of which has a genealogy describing its descendants. Of late, many are not updating their genealogies. Among them, how could we discover all the mistakes of “mulberry insect succession and flower grafting?”

When I was a government student I put my heart into matters of genealogy but since removing commoner’s clothes and walking the path of an official, I have not had free time. Now, however, I am temporarily returned from Yunnan, enjoying the forest of repose, and may indulge my intention to revise my genealogy.

At the New Year, I passed Tianmu Mountain on my way to pay respects at my father’s grave. Below Tianmu’s peak is Banzhu Township where the Zhang family has flourished for several hundred years. They have intermarried with my family for generations. Once when I was resting at their forest retreat, people such as Masters Zhu’an and Yunfeng showed me the family genealogy because they were favorably disposed towards me. They were about to revise it and entreated me to...
write a preface. This is deeply connected to my interests, but the Zhang descent charts already have prefaces written by eminent forefathers. [Thus] I will not repeat their narration [of the line of descent], rather [I will discuss why] their genealogy compilation project indeed deserves respect and imitation.

When people of today meet a stranger they do not necessarily have a sense of affinity, but among lineage members there is a sense of kin affection. For most of those who take care of each other in times of trouble, through thick or thin, they are not forced to do so. Indeed, the ancestor’s singular breath silently unites them. Yet if the duty of uniting the lineage is taken lightly, then compilation work is not esteemed, and genealogies are not compiled. [As a result] there are some who do not know their lineage members and some who know their lineage members but are unclear about their generation and age order. This is no different than being strangers. Does not looking upon lineage members as strangers compound the loss of the ancestor’s sense of kin affection? If this is the case, how can we obtain filiality towards parents? How can we obtain deference to elders?

Now, filial piety and brotherly deference are our innate moral compasses but we also rely on genealogies to cultivate their critical aspects. How could they be treated lightly?! Therefore we know that when genealogies are compiled, the invigorated filial and brotherly mind will persist and cannot lapse. [Their compilation] is indeed praiseworthy.

But people are of different minds just as they have different faces. Lineages have many people, and of course they cannot all be similarly virtuous. Some, because they are miserly, take no delight in compiling a genealogy. But how could it be that they alone have filial and brotherly minds that differ from everyone else’s? This bears thinking about at length. We still should encourage them. I am devoted to my genealogy project and soon will complete the work. Thus, I make clear my ideas and the splendor of the Zhang family genealogy revision. This responds to their request. Moreover their genealogy revision creates an example of responsible action distinct from other lineages and may be taken as a model. I await its completion and will request to read it again, taking it as the standard.

At the hour of dawn on the day of the new moon of the first month of the second year of the Wanli era. (January 23, 1574)
Preface by Bestowed Jinshi of the First Rank, Minister of War and Works, Wozhou Lü Guangxun.

Lü Guangxun's concerns were largely about cultivating Confucian morality but he also points to a practical implication of lineage cohesion: security. Those with a sense of kin affection cared for one another in times of trouble and therefore it was critical for lineages to cultivate that sense among their members and to create a clear record of who could provide protection and who should be protected.

Like Lü Guangxun, Pan Sheng saw genealogy compilation as a way to enhance the group solidarity needed to protect one's family:

In today's world it is easy to know the temple order of famous and powerful families from the first generation ancestor to the second and third generations. But when you get past the fifth generation, familial affection dissipates and the mourning relationship is extinguished, or the descendants disperse or move around keeping no permanent residence. If there is no genealogy to connect them, they will not think twice and will regard each other as if they were strangers on the road. Alas!

Now, being born as a human, one is different from the multitude of creatures, and if one acts as a gentleman one is different from the common folk. But if a gentleman cannot recover the strayed and gather the scattered in order to protect his family, that is his shame. If a family's rise and fall depend on the times, if poverty or wealth comes from fate, if wisdom or foolishness, good or evil, comes from social practices, how can recording things in a genealogy put one's mind at ease? By completing knowledge of the Way for relatives to act as relatives - that is how! How can we say that genealogies may only be written once the fallen flourish, the rich are ennobled, and the wise and virtuous have kept others from foolishness?  

Morality

According to Magistrate Tian, customs had degenerated since the early Ming. Weakened morals led to increasing discord, such as lawsuits. The Wanli gazetteer customs section tells that the sons of old families liked to sue and that if they had even slight animosity toward someone they poured out their grievances, spread rumors, posted notices on walls or put them in bamboo
tubes and secretly threw them into the yamen. Magistrate Tian’s commentary accords with James Cole’s observation that Shaoxing had a reputation for producing pettifoggers and corrupt private secretaries since at least mid-Qianlong.

Magistrate Tian blamed the moral degeneration on the elite, saying, “what those above do, those below imitate.” He also, however, looked to them for the solution. The gazetteer editors saw both genealogies and gazetteers as tools for strengthening and reforming customs. Pan Sheng’s preface to the Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu states:

[In ancient times], the dukes, marquises, ministers, and grand masters’ families strictly distinguished wives from concubines and valued the line of descent. The states’ grand scribes were responsible for carefully recording the great families and for notifying the heirs about all recorded children and grandchildren, marriages into and out of the lineage, funerals and burials, and the like, so that for a hundred generations descendants would not forget their roots. This is what distinguishes humanity from the myriad creatures and distinguishes the gentleman from the common folk.

But in later generations the institution was not maintained and improper and chaotic human relations ensued. Thus, making descent charts and linking them in genealogies is not only for creating an eternal record of children and grandchildren, but also is for honoring human ethics and strengthening customs; all of these are aspects of genealogy.

The Wanli gazetteer illustrates a technique for improving customs, describing three of the editorial committeemen’s efforts at ritual reform. The capping section states the ceremony had been discontinued long ago and that Yu Zhenqiang was the first to use the “three cappings ceremony” (san jia li) in capping his sons. This led “his son Yu Bangshi’s generation to also follow this practice. Now there also are those among the gentry households who perform it.”

The wedding section states that Lü Guangxun, Pan Sheng, and Yu Bangshi introduced proper wedding ritual:

A man of the county, the titled gentleman fengjun Lü Shiliang, ordered his son Lü Guangxun to begin carrying out the “welcoming the bride ceremony,” and Minister Pan Sheng carried it out when he was a government student.
Government student Yu Bangshi always followed the *Family Rituals* when conducting engagements and marriages for his junior male relatives. Today, most surnames have those who follow this practice.\(^{149}\)

In a passage cited earlier, Lü Guangxun confessed that even though Xinchang's taxes were lower than those of Shanyin and Kuaiji, its problems were greater due to Xinchang's degenerate customs.\(^{150}\) The confessional tone is surprising, but makes sense if we understand Lü to be positioning himself as an honest mediator capable of harmonizing governmental and local interests, and leading the locals in the self-improvement that will bring about a cohesive society.

### THE XINCHANG XIAN ZHI AS A PUBLIC, EXTENDED FAMILY GENEALOGY

By the Chenghua era we can already see the consolidation of power that would intensify through the Wanli era. Genealogy and family status were a prime concern in the Chenghua *Xinchang xian zhi*. The gazetteer contains an entire section called "lineages" (*shizu*), portraits reminiscent of genealogy ancestor portraits, discussions of lineage villages and gravesites, and biographies that narrate family relationships. The lineage section stresses the importance of lineage in Xinchang society and gives another hint at the politics of gazetteer compilation:

Lineages are that which society esteems, not only because of their wealth and status, prominence and strength, but also because they have worthy ancestors that founded them in the past and worthy descendants that will continue them into the future. They accumulate benevolence and sow righteousness in the netherworld and transmit their good names and extend their good fortune in the registers of this world. This is what is called "old family" (*gujia*), this is what is called "venerable lineage" (*shizu*).

The common ignorant people look upon those whose prominence over the generations has been due to wealth as "old families and venerable lineages," but if one examines their genealogies to see whether their ancestors transmitted the Confucian classics and morality, [one finds] a complete lack of verifiable, substantial traces. Even so, [such prominent people] want to be included in the array of lineages [in this
The Chenghua lineages section, like the Wanli graves section, narrates lineage origins including first migrant ancestors and has an implied ranking. The ranking changed from Chenghua to Wanli, e.g., the Pans are not even on the Chenghua list but appear fourth after Shi, Lü, and Yu, in the Wanli list. Based on the gazetteer's examination tables, the Shi had declined by the early Ming, but they were probably left in first place to honor their Song dominance.

Analysis of the gazetteer portraits and their inscriptions (zān) suggests that they were selected to demonstrate the hoary origins and rise of certain lineages. The 1994 Xin chang xian zhi notes that modern scholars of gazetteers have criticized these portraits as, "illustrating that which should not be illustrated... they in fact are like works from genealogies." Seven of the twenty portraits in the Chenghua gazetteer were inscribed in the Song, and one in the Yuan. The remaining twelve were newly written by Mo Zhen, gazetteer editor Mo Dan's father, and by Yu Qin (1431-1484), a Xin chang native. Six of the seven portraits inscribed in the Song were of men surnamed Shi. The Yuan portrait is of a man surnamed Yu. Eight of the twelve portraits inscribed in the Chenghua era are of people who lived in the Song and Yuan, the rest are from the Ming. The newly inscribed portraits suggest a desire both to show that other lineages besides the Shi had venerable Song ancestors and to provide images connected to important new lineages.

The Chenghua gazetteer pays much more attention to villages than does the Wanli gazetteer. Most of the seventy villages section entries give information on the lineages residing therein, e.g., the entry for Dieshi Village states, "Dieshi Village: Eighty plus li east of the county yamen. The old Wu lineage has lived there for generations." Many have poems about the village, some tell how many families resided there. Most of the Wanli gazetteer's 106 village entries just give the location.

The Chenghua gazetteer is full of biographies of people from successful lineages and they tend towards lavish praise. The 1994 Xin chang xian zhi criticizes its Chenghua predecessor for "making great efforts to exaggerate family status." The exam success, however, was more dispersed before 1477 than after, and those lineages' elite members did not appear to have coalesced into the kind of densely intermarried extended family seen in the Wanli
If the donors were able to influence the compilers, it seems that they were more interested in promoting their own lineage than in portraying the associations and cooperation between members of an elite extended family.

By the Wanli era, the consolidation of power is reflected even more clearly in the gazetteer biographies. In the following paragraphs I will illustrate the genealogical organizing principle that runs through the gazetteer and connects the biographies by examining the Lü biographies and biographical notes appended to various sections.

Lü Guangxun used his position as editor-in-chief to trace his patriline far enough back in time to establish common ancestry for every Ming-dynasty Xinchang Lü jinshi, thereby textually indicating a common descent group. Each man in Lü Guangxun’s patriline back five generations has at least one gazetteer biography, and each Ming-dynasty Lü jinshi descends from one of these men or sixth-generation lineage uncle Lü Sheng. In all, the gazetteer establishes the seven most recent generations of Lü Guangxun’s direct patriline, three generations of his mother’s family, his paternal adoptive grandmother and her father, his paternal great-grandmother, famous Song ancestors, and multiple generations of the branch Lü lines. All of the lines are tied to Lü Yi, the first Xinchang ancestor.\textsuperscript{160}

The degree of biographical detail and number of biographical entries generally is inversely related to the subject’s distance from Lü Guangxun’s patriline. Lü Guangxun himself, his immediate family and his grandparents are the most extensively described. There are several dozen entries about Lü Guangxun’s career, garden, homes, poems, ancestral hall, temples to which he donated, his leadership in ritual reform, and auspicious portents connected to him. Most of these contain additional genealogical or associational information.

Readers are repeatedly informed that Lü Shiliang was Lü Guangxun’s father: their relationship is specified in the literature, customs, prestige title, and graves sections. Lü Shiliang’s literature section biography names and specifies the relationships of seven members of Lü Guangxun’s family: his father, himself, three brothers, his mother, and maternal grandfather.\textsuperscript{161} It also establishes Lü Shiliang’s ritual authority, scholarly ability, and generosity. The
biography further explains that Lü Shiliang built the ancestral hall, distinguished the major and minor lineage branches, and established lineage fields.

In the virtuous women section, a biography of Lü Guangxun’s paternal grandmother through adoption, the Lady Zhang, explains that she was married to Lü Tingan, Lü Shiliang’s paternal younger uncle. Lü Tingan died without sons, and so Lü Shiliang’s biological father, Lü Tinggui, ordered that his youngest son, Shiliang, be Tingan’s heir. The biography also names Lady Zhang’s father and describes her virtuous death:

One night a fire started in Lü Shiliang’s uncle’s rooms. Lady Zhang told the maidservants to bring water to put out the fire and it was soon extinguished. [Another] time there was a flood. The townspeople struggled to escape. Lady Zhang locked her door, sat erect, and said, “I am a widow, where would I go in the middle of the night?” It can be said that having walked through fire and water she remained [chaste] unto death. The magistrate Song Xian memorialized for an official to be sent to verify the story’s truth and a memorial arch was built in her honor.

The biography of Lü Guangbi in the Tribute Students by Purchase section describes his and his wife’s filial behavior: Guangbi (Lü Guangxun’s brother) went to the capital with a memorial asking for commemoration of his deceased grandmother (the Lady Zhang above) who was widowed at a young age. While on the journey, his father (Lü Shiliang) became sick back in Xinchang. Guangbi’s wife, the Lady Pan, day and night gave Shiliang soup and medicine, prayed at the City God Temple, donated lands as an offering for Guangbi’s mother, and bought fields to support ancestral sacrifices for Guangbi’s maternal grandfather.

Lü Guangxun’s sixth-generation lineage uncle, Lü Sheng, is the subject of one of the gazetteer’s longest biographies (455 characters) found in the filialness and fraternalness section (xiaoyou). Read with other passages, it establishes that all fifteen gazetteer contributors surnamed Lü were members of the same lineage, tells that Sheng’s nephews were Lü Buyong and Lü Jiucheng, that Lü Pei was Sheng’s eldest son, that his second son was Lü Lian, and that Sheng’s son by a concubine was sent away, but secretly raised by Lü Pei.
In addition to inserting numerous biographies of his own lineage member’s households, Lü Guangxun also included biographies of his affinal relatives. For example, the virtuous elders section (qide) has a biography of his father-in-law’s great-great-grandfather, Zhao Jing. It tells how at age ten Zhao Jing sucked the pus from his father’s wounds and cared for his arthritic mother until her death. The end of the biography states that Zhao Tianyu, Lü’s father-in-law, through diligence enriched his family for generations to come. This biography appears to have been inserted to create a status marker for Lü Guangxun’s affinal relatives and the multiple members of Lü’s own lineage who had married Zhao Jing’s descendants.

**MONOPOLIZATION OF GAZETTEER ENTRIES**

Examining in their entirety those portions of gazetteer sections pertaining to events subsequent to the Chenghua gazetteer’s publication in 1477 gives a better sense of the degree to which the compilers were writing their own family history on top of basic gazetteer information. Consider for example, the “Auspicious Portents” and “Gardens” sections:

*Auspicious portents*

In the winter of the ninth year of the Jiajing reign (1530-31), five stalks of spirit fungi (lingzhi) grew from Lü Tingan’s grave.

In the nineteenth year (1540-41), Pan Sheng’s family water crock sprouted several lotus plants.

In the twentieth year (1541-2), Camel Mountain called out.

In the bingyin year (1566-67), sweet dew descended on Yu Zequan’s garden. The drops looked like beautiful pearls, the flavor was clean and pure. The droplets dissipated only after four or five days.

During the Jiajing reign, Lü Guangqian and Lü Guangxin corralled clouds into a pavilion. The Chinese redbud tree’s irregular branches became regular. Many famous Yue scholars sang its praises.

In the third year of the Wanli reign (1575-76), a golden pheasant came from the south stopped at the Ritual Gate and flew into the yamen hall, where it perched as a guard on top of the placard of successful examination candidates. Magistrate Tian Guan caught it and released it into the mountains.
In the bingzi year (1576-77), Yu Yingsu’s family silkworms chirped.

Of the seven recorded post-1477 portents, one involved Pan Sheng, two involved the Yu lineage, one involved Lü Guangxun’s grandfather, Tingan, and another involved Lü Guangxun’s lineage cousins. Magistrate Tian was involved in one, and no person was clearly associated with the one concerning Camel Mountain, although that was the location of Yu Zequan’s garden.

Most of these portents should be understood as foretelling examination success. The families of Lü Guangxun, Pan Sheng, Yu Zequan, and Yu Yingsu each had an auspicious portent in the year of, or year prior to their passing the provincial or metropolitan examination. Magistrate Tian’s portent was explicitly connected to exam success and an undated earlier entry for Yu Seng states that because his gravesite’s fengshui was unusual and efficacious, each examination period one rock fell from the mound in front of his grave and one descendant passed the examination. Not every post-1477 jinshi, however, had a portent that was included in the gazetteer, e.g., comparing the examination list to the portent list reveals that Liu Zhongqi, Hu Rui, and other Lü and Yu jinshi holders were exluded.

Gardens
The Lü, Yu, Pan, and He lineages dominated the gazetteer’s gardens section. They received nine of twelve entries and 68 out of 74 lines of text. Lü Guangxun’s garden’s description fills nearly half of the entire section. Four of the other eight entries are for gardens that belonged to the gazetteer’s editors, one belonged to a contributor, and the remaining three belonged to his lineage members. These garden entries provide genealogical information, e.g., Lü Ruoyu’s entry tells that he built his garden next to his father Lü Yizong’s grave, and Lü Guangxun’s tells that his younger brother Guangyan wrote a poem about the garden and that his father and brothers enjoyed it. The entries also tell of elite associations by recording their exchanged garden writings. For example, one entry reveals that Lü Ruoyu wrote a poem for Yu Yingsu’s garden, which was built by his father, contributor Yu Binghu.
CONCLUSION

By reviewing the entire Wanli Xinchang xian zhi it is readily apparent that the majority of entries were included due to the subject's relationship to the compilers. Entries regularly specified family relationships, which taken together reveal a conscious effort to publicly establish the compilers' patrilineals, affinal relatives, and community connections. On top of this genealogical framework, the compilers wrote a myriad of late-Ming status markers. Thus, if we extend to gazetteers David Faure's analysis of genealogies as constructions of agreed upon lineage history that could confer important rights within a village, we could view the Wanli Xinchang xian zhi as an agreed upon extended family history that conferred important rights within the county. The nature of those rights is suggested by the types of stories the gazetteer tells: the right to lead countywide projects, to be the moral exemplars who guide the reformation of customs, to shape and judge aesthetic values, to receive and interpret auspicious portents. If we take Ueda Makoto's notion of recognized family history as the basis for future cooperation, then we could see the Wanli Xinchang xian zhi as laying a foundation for continued intermarriage and cooperation between the compilers' descendants.

By understanding the Wanli Xinchang xian zhi as embodying a concept of kinship (as does a genealogy), setting forth the relationships that counted in the kinship group, and as a model for how people in the group should act, a number of further questions are raised. First this suggests that when considering sixteenth-century lineage building activities, we should broaden our examination to include the activities of "extended families" such as the Xinchang xian zhi compilers. The compilers teamed up not only with members of their own patrilineal lineage branches, but also with their maternal and affinal relatives. Thus, in considering concepts of kinship in Ming China, how should we weigh cross-surname kinship ties created through persistent elite endogamy? In Xinchang, we can see cross-surname lineage branches coalescing at the apex of local society, socializing with each other, acting in concert, and mediating between lineages and the magistrate.

James Cole's monograph on nineteenth-century Shaoxing examined lineage and class-based competition and cooperation. Cole broke his analysis into core and peripheral counties, noting
that in Shaoxing's core, competition and cooperation occurred along both the vertical bonds of lineage and the horizontal bonds of class, and that class cooperation varied directly with proximity to the core. He described the Shaoxing countryside as being controlled by powerful lineages that acted as quasi-governments performing a wide range of functions.

Applying Cole's hypothesis, the peripheral Xinchang would have competition between lineages, cooperation within lineages, and limited class consciousness. The evidence examined in this study complicates Cole's model by positing an elite extended family operating above the lineages at the county level. How Xinchang fits with Cole's model probably changes over the course of the Ming, but answers must await further research.

The Wanli Xinchang xian zhi also raises questions about the relationships among dynastic histories, gazetteers, and genealogies. Although Sima Qian consulted genealogies in writing the Shi ji, and genealogies were sources for county gazetteers, which in turn were sources for higher level histories, genealogy has generally been viewed as a separate genre, e.g., the Siku quan shu "history" classification excluded genealogy but included gazetteers. If, however, we imagine Ming China as a "family-state," then to what extent might we also view the three genres as expressions of the family-state concept but at different administrative levels?

To answer this we can compare the genres in terms of both "family" and "state." Ming and Qing genealogy prefaces often begin by comparing genealogies to histories. A preface to the Lü shi zongpu begins, "The types of trustworthy record books that have been passed down from ancient times to today are histories for the states, gazetteers for the localities, and genealogies for the families." A Wanli-era genealogy preface begins, "Now, a family having a genealogy is like a state guojia having a history shi." But in what senses are the genres alike? If in the Xinchang xian zhi we can see "family" in what we think of as being "state," then we should also examine genealogies to analyze the extent of "state" in what we think of as being "family." The most cursory examination of lineage genealogies reveals that many are much more than descent charts; they often contain extensive materials about administration, e.g., donations to lineage halls, educational endowment lands, grave maintenance and land division contracts, records of lawsuits.
against surname interlopers, etc.

The Wanli *Xinchang xian zhi* also raises methodological questions. Knowing that an extended family was able to dominate much of a gazetteer’s compilation process, what does that imply for how we use gazetteers as historical sources? Would knowing that most chaste widows in a given gazetteer were related to each other affect our interpretation? If local gentry were strong enough to control gazetteer biographies, to what extent might they also have been able to alter tax and population figures?

It may be that the *Xinchang xian zhi* is unusual or unique due to the two powerful ministers’ personal roles in providing and editing materials. Nevertheless, this study strongly suggests that gazetteers as unified works deserve further study from a genealogical perspective, both as a way of understanding the roles of kinship in local society and also to resolve methodological issues for one of our most important historical sources.

ENDNOTES

An earlier version of this paper, titled "Gazetteer Writing as a Strategic Act: The Private Purposes of the Wanli Xinchang County Gazetteer," was presented in 1999 at the Chinese Local History and Genealogy Conference, Orem, Utah, and in Chinese as "Bianzuan fangzhi dangzuo zhanluexing de xingwei: Wanli Xinchang xian zhi de siren mudi" at the International Conference on Chinese Genealogies in Shanghai; it was published in Shanghai Library, Wang Heming, et al., eds., *Zhonghua pudie yanjiu: Mairu xin shiji Zhongguo zupu guoji xueshu yantao hui lunwenji* (Shanghai: Shanghai Kexue Jishu Wenxian Chubanshe, 2000): 156-62.

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1 Hargett 1996, 420-25, 431.

3 Meskill 1970, 141.
5 Hazelton 1986, 151, 163.
7 Ueda 1989, 65.
8 Faure 1989, 6-8, 28.
10 Thatcher 1985, 421.
14 REPXCXZ, 955.
15 WLSXFZ, 2886.
16 DMB, 110.
17 Lin, Vol. 57: 266.
19 DMB, 110; WLXCXZ, postfaces: 5a.
20 DMB, 110.
21 WLXCXZ, 10: 15b.
22 1994 XCXZ, 646.
23 Tian, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 16b.
24 Xu Han, WLXCXZ, postfaces: 2a-b.
25 Lü Ruoyu, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 12b-13a.
26 Tian, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 16b.
27 Lü Ruoyu, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 12b; Tian, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 17a-b.
28 Tian, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 17b.
29 Zhang Yuanshu 1628, genealogy descent-chart biography of Zhang Yuanyi (unpaginated);


30 Tian, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 18a.
The seven men were: The Supreme Commander and Education Intendent who ordered the compilation, the Confucian School Instructor and two Assistant Instructors involved in selecting the editorial committee and materials collectors, and the Vice Magistrate and Clerk who supervised the carving and printing. Tian, WLXZX, prefaces: 18a-b.

Lü Ruoyu, WLXZX, prefaces: 12b.

Lü Guangxun, WLXZX, prefaces: 4b-5b; Lü Ruoyu, WLXZX, prefaces: 13a. The gazetteer consists of thirteen chapters containing 121 sections, plus prefaces and other prefatory matter, illustrations, and postfaces.

Lü Ruoyu, WLXZX, prefaces: 12b-13a.

Lü Ruoyu, WLXZX, prefaces: 12b-13a.

Lü Ruoyu, WLXZX, prefaces: 13a.

Tian, WLXZX, prefaces: 17b.

Shanyin and Kuaiji are counties in Shaoxing Prefecture.

Zhang Yuanyi, WLXZX, postfaces: 5b.

Tai and Shan are literary names for the areas from which Xinchang was carved out as a new administrative unit in the Liang Kaiping period (907-10).

Mencius mother-types refer to mothers as educators of sons, Gong Jiang-types to widow chastity.

Zhang Yuanyi, WLXZX, postfaces: 5b-6a.

Zhang Yuanyi, WLXZX, postfaces: 6a.

Chief Minister of the State of Zheng. See Confucius, Analects, V.16.

Zhang Yuanyi, WLXZX, postfaces: 6a-b.

Zhang Yuanyi, WLXZX, postfaces: 6b.

Tian, WLXZX, prefaces: 17b.

Tian, WLXZX, prefaces: 17b.

Zhang Yuanyi, WLXZX, postfaces:6b.

Tian, WLXZX, prefaces: 18a.

WLSXFZ, 50: 12a (p.3339).

Of course, the same biographies may have been contained in other sources as well.

Biography of the Lady Dong and the Lady Shi. WLXZX, 12: 5b-6a.

Pan Sheng, Shuang jiefu zhuan, in Zhang Shi zongpu.


Tian, WLXZX, prefaces: 18a.

Tian, WLXZX, prefaces: 18a.
The *Sanguo zhi* contains biographies in which the amount of space given each was based on the figure’s importance.

Deng, inside back cover, citing *Luojing shi lue*.

Zhang Yuanyi, WLXCXZ, postfaces: 7a.

Pan Sheng, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 8b-9a.

Cheng yi jia zhi yan. A literal translation of this phrase could be rendered, “become the words of a single family.” The complete sentence in the *Han shu*, “Sima Qian zhuan,” is, jiu tian ren zhi ji, tong gu jin zhi bian, cheng yi jia zhi yan.

Pan Sheng, WLXCXZ, prefaces: 10b.

WLXCXZ, 1: 4b.

Zhang Yan, CHXCXZ, preface; Li Ji. CHXCXZ, postfaces.

Zhang Yan, CHXCXZ, preface.

Zhang Yan, CHXCXZ, preface.

Zhang Yan, CHXCXZ, preface; Lü shi zongpu (You Mu).

Yu Shuxing, Shu’an, and Shuguang. Yu Shi Xi Zhai Shide Ci zongpu, 3: 25th generation: 2a-b.

Six donors’ zi began with “Ting” or “Yong,” which were used in the Yu lineage twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth generations. Yu Shi Xi Zhai Shide Ci zongpu, chapter 3; Yu Shi Jing’an Fang Dong Zhai Cuihe zongpu, chapter 4.

CHXCXZ, 11.

Totals given are based on the number of successful candidates having a given surname because some people cannot be definitively placed in a lineage. The conclusion, however, is stated in terms of lineage because the clear majority can placed within particular lineages.

I am not counting Grand Secretary Lü Ben, who was known as Li Ben until he changed his surname to Lü in the fourth year of the Longqing era (1570). Lü Ben was registered in Yuyao County. Lü “recovered” his surname after he retired from office, claiming that he actually was a member of Lü Guangxun’s lineage. Qizhai Lü Xiansheng ji, 9:16a-b.

1994XCXZ, 645.

Yu 1998, 92.
Yu Shiling'an Fang Dong Zhai Cuihe Ci zongpu, 7: 90a.

94 Yu Shiling'an Fang Dong Zhai Cuihe Ci zongpu, 3: 26th generation: la.

95 Lii shi zongpu (You Mu); Yu Shiling'an Fang Dong Zhai Cuihe Ci zongpu.

96 Yu's cousin, the granddaughter of Yu Zhengming, married Lü Guanglong. Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), 3: 129a; 7: 104a; Yu Shiling’an Fang Dong Zhai Cuihe Ci zongpu: ch. 4. Yu's sister married Lü Yunjin. Yu Shiling’an Fang Dong Zhai Cuihe Ci zongpu, shou: 22a; Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), 7: 90a.

97 Yu Shiling’an Fang Dong Zhai Cuihe Ci zongpu: 22a; Pan Biaohui. Unpublished notes on the Shicheng Pan Shi zongpu.

98 Lü Guangxun. Er-shi-qí shizu Bangshi Gong zhuàn, in Yu Shi Jing’an Fang Dong Zhai Hecui Ci: 26a-b.


100 Contributor He Jiugong was He Jiong's nephew and both descended from He Jiong's grandfather, Minister of War He Jian. Jiugong's granddaughter married Lü Guangxun's grandson Chenglin. RXCXZ, 1280. Lü Guangxun's son-in-law, He Jiuyuan, also was He Jian's great-grandson. He Shì zongpu, 4: 35a. Yu Banghu's daughter's son married Pan Sheng's neph-

101 Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), ch. 4.
102 Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), 4: 40.
103 Lü shi zongpu (Xiao), 7:41b-43b.
104 Lü shi zongpu (Xiao), 7: 43a.
105 Pan Biaohui. Unpublished notes on the Shicheng Pan Shi zongpu.
106 The Xinchang Yus shared a common Tang-dynasty ancestor, then split into three branches. The gazetteer compilers surnamed Yu are all from the Jing'an Fang branch. Yu Jingming. Wufeng Yu Shi, in Chen Baigang 1998, 86-106.
107 Yu Shi Jing'an Fang Dongzhai Hecui Ci, shou: 22a.
108 Yu Shi Jing'an Fang Dongzhai Hecui Ci, 1:9b; descent charts, twenty-ninth generation.
109 Nanming Zhang Shi chongxiu zongpu, 66a-70b.
110 Nanming Zhang Shi chongxiu zongpu, 70a-b.
111 Nanming Zhang Shi chongxiu zongpu, 71b.
112 Lü Guangxun's fourth daughter married Chen Zicheng's son Shibin. Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), 4:5. Contributor Yu Banghu's daughter married Chen Shizhang, who probably was a brother or cousin of Shibin. (REPXCXZ, 1291). Lü Guangxun's maternal cousin, Zhang Jingchuang's daughter married Chen Zice (Song Dajing. He Yunfeng Gong yu Liang Anren liuxun shuangshou xu, in Xinchang Banzhu Zhang Shi zongpu, unnumbered).
113 WLX CXZ, 4:4a; WLX CXZ, 4:2b.
114 CHX CXZ, 4:4a.
115 CHX CXZ, 2: 10a-14a.
116 Lü shi zongpu (You Mu).
117 Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu.
118 Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu, Li #188. (The genealogy is arranged by characters that signify a given ancestor's line, and numbers that identify the descendants' place in that line.)
119 Lü Guangxun (1574). Chongxiu Banzhu Zhang Shi jiaosheng xu, in Xinchang Banzhu Zhang Shi zongpu.
121 Carlitz 1997, 625.
122 Faure 1989, 8.
123 WLSXFZ, 47: 23b-25a; WLXCXZ, 12:9a-11a.
124 WLSXFZ, 41: 57b-59a (2886-9).
125 The Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), however, lists him as merely one of many contributors: 2:2b.
127 For example, Lü Guangxun (1574). Chongxiu Banzhu Zhang Shi jiasheng xu, in Xinchang Banzhu Zhang Shi zongpu. A preface to Lü Guangxun's wife's natal lineage genealogy, the Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu, is dated 1584, four years after his death and may not be authentic.
128 WLXCXZ, 10: 15a.
130 Magistrate Tian also criticized violence within homes, including the drowning of baby girls and mistreatment of maidservant concubines. WLXCXZ, 4: 2b.
131 Pan Sheng. Xin cheng ji, in WLXCXZ, 1: 4b.
132 WLXCXZ, 1: 2b.
133 Pan Sheng. Xin cheng ji, in WLXCXZ, 1: 4b; Biography of Wan Peng, WLXCXZ, 9: 9b-10b.
135 WLXCXZ, 4: 1b-2a; 6a.
136 James Cole points to extensive banditry and other criminal activity in the Shaoxing countryside in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Cole. 1986: 64, citing Jiangnan shangwu bao #33, Guangxu 26 (1900), eleventh lunar month, twenty-first day, "shang qing" section, p. 3b.
137 WLXCXZ, 4: 1b.
138 WLXCXZ, 11: 68a. Shifeng's father died when he was sixteen and an enemy of their family claimed that Shifeng's two older brothers had sent an assassin to murder their father. Shifeng substituted himself in jail for his two elder brothers, who were government students, and "did not fear interrogation." The situation was not resolved for a year. According to the Lü shi zongpu, Shifeng's father died of illness. Zhao Zupeng. Chushi Haigu Lü Weng zhuan, in Lü shi zongpu (Mu You), 7: 134b.
139 Lü Guangxun (1574). Chongxiu Banzhu Zhang Shi jiasheng xu, in Xinchang Banzhu Zhang Shi zongpu. Unnumbered.
140 This refers to unorthodox adoptions. For discussion, see Waltner 1990, 75.
141 Pan Sheng (1581). *Chongxiu Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu xu*, in *Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu*, ch. 1.

142 WLXCXZ, 4: 1a-b.

143 WLXCXZ, 4: 1b.

144 Cole 1986, 131-8.

145 WLXCXZ, 4:7a.

146 Pan Sheng (1581). “*Chongxiu Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu xu,*” in *Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu*, 1.


148 WLXCXZ, 4: 2b.

149 WLXCXZ, 4: 2b-3a.

150 Zhang Yuanyi, WLXCXZ, postfaces:5b.

151 CHXCXZ, 11: 1.

152 CHXCXZ, 11.

153 WLXCXZ, 2: 11a.

154 1994XCXZ, 751.

155 CHXCXZ, prefatory illustrations.


157 CHXCXZ, 8: 4.

158 WLXCXZ, ch. 2.

159 1994XCXZ, 751.

160 Lü Yi was married uxorilocally to a Xinchang native, the Lady Yuan, in the Southern Song. WLXCXZ, 2: 10b: *Lü shi zongpu* (*You Mu*), 1: 2b.

161 WLXCXZ, 11:55a-b.

162 WLXCXZ, 12: 6b.

163 WLXCXZ, 10: 30a.

164 WLXCXZ, 11: 29b-30b.

165 WLXCXZ, 11:67a.

166 WLXCXZ, 12: 13a-14a.

167 Ganoderma lucidum, a dark brown/purple, a hard and lustrous fungus that is said to possess supernatural powers. Currently in Xinchang, ling-zhi is infused into liquor.

168 There also is a poem by Xu Wei attached to this portent.

169 Guangqian and Guangxin both descended from Lü Guangxun’s great-grandfather. *Lü shi zongpu* (*You Mu*), ch. 4: 100a-109a. Guangqian’s first wife, the Lady Zhao, was Guangxun’s wife’s first cousin. *Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu*, 3: 48; *Lü shi zongpu*, 7: 109. Guangqian’s second wife was
the Lady Pan. Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), ch. 4: 109a.

170 WLXCXZ, 2:22b.
171 WLXCXZ, 13:13a.
172 WLXCXZ, 10:13-15b.
173 WLXCXZ, 3: 21b-23a.
175 Lü Jiaomu. Lü shi zongpu (You Mu), prefaces: 8a.
176 Zhang Fu (1574). Banzhu Zhang Shi chongxiu zongpu xu, in Xinchang Banzhu Zhang Shi zongpu.

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Abbreviations
CHXCXZ Chenghua Xinchang xian zhi 成化新昌縣志
DMB Dictionary of Ming Biography
JGXSWJ (Tang Shunzhi) jingchuan Xiansheng wen ji 荊川先生文集
REPXCXZ Republican Xinchang xian zhi 民國新昌縣志
WLSXFZ Wanli Shaoxing fu zhi 萬曆紹興府志
WLXCXZ Wanli Xinchang xian zhi 萬曆新昌縣志
1994XCXZ 1994 Xinchang xian zhi 新昌縣志

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GLOSSARY

Bianzuan fangzhi dangzuo 編纂方志當作戰略性的行爲: 萬曆新昌縣志的私人目的
Chen Shibin 陳世彬
Chen Shizhang 陳世彰

Chen Zicē 陳子策
Chen Zicheng 陳子誠
Chen Zisheng 陳子昇
Chen Zishao 陳子紹
Chongxiu Banzhu Zhang Shi jiasheng 重修班竹章氏家乘序
Chongxiu Xinchang Caiyan Zhao Shi zongpu xu 重修新昌彩鹽趙氏宗譜序
Chushi Haigu Lü Weng zhuan 處士海谷呂翁傳
cunzhi 村志
Da Lü Wozhou 答呂沃洲
Dazuzhi 大族志
Dieshi Cun 垒石村
Er-shi-qi shizu Bangshi Gong zhuan 二十七世祖邦時公傳
Er-shi-wu shizu Xi Gong xingzhuan 二十五世祖巽公行狀
fengjun 封君
Fuxue 富學
Gong Jiang 共姜
Gongwen 功文
Gong Yechang 公冶長
Guanglusi shucheng Tangzhou Gong ji pei Ruren Pan Shi hezang 配孺人潘氏合葬墓誌銘
guojia 故家
guojia 國-家
Gu Ying 賈應
Han shu 漢書
He Chang 何裳
He Jian 何鑑
He Jiong 何綱
He Jiugong 何九功
He Jiuan 何九萬
He Yunfeng Gong yu Liang Anren liuxun shuangshou xu 賀雲峰公暨梁安人六旬雙壽序
Hu Rui 胡汭
Jiefu Lü Anren jingjiang xu 節婦呂安人旌旌序
Jie ke yuán ji 皆可園記
Jinshi 進士
Ji Sun Yuefeng lun zhi shu shi er tong 寄孫越峰論著書事二通
jiu tian ren zhi ji, tong gu jin zhi bian, cheng yì jia zhi yan 究天人之際通古今之變成一家之言
juren 舉人
juzu 巨族
Kuaiji 會稽
Lady Dong 董氏
Lady He 何氏
Lady Lü 吕氏
Lady Pan 潘氏
Lady Shi 石氏
Lady Yuan 袁氏
Lady Zhao 趙氏
Lady Zhang 張氏
Lady Zhang 章氏
Li 禮
Li 里
Li Ben 李本
Liang Kaiping 梁開平
Lingzhi 靈芝
Liu Zhongqi 劉忠器
Lü Ben 呂本
Lü Buyong 呂不用
Lü Guangbi 呂光泌
Lü Guanghua 呂光化
Lü Guanglong 呂光濬
Lü Guangqian 呂光遷
Lü Guangxin 呂光新
Lü Guangxun 呂光洵
Lü Guanyan 呂光演
Lü Jiaomu 呂蕉沐
Lü Jipian 呂繼楩
Lü Jiqiao 呂繼橋
Lü Jiru 呂繼儒
Lü Jiucheng 呂九成
Lü Lian 呂璉
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