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Financial Aspects of Publishing Local Histories in the Ming Dynasty

Joseph Dennis

How much books cost to produce in imperial China and how those costs were paid are important questions in book history. Understanding the financial aspects of publishing is critical to determining affordability and mapping readership, which are in turn important to understanding the significance of books in Chinese society and culture. Unfortunately, financial data are rare, and what little exists is difficult to interpret. These problems have led scholars to opposite conclusions. In early work on the subject, Wilt Idema and Chun Shum (Shen Jin) suggested that books were too expensive for most people to afford.[1] More recently, Kai-wing Chow, Joseph McDermott, and Cynthia Brokaw have argued that by the late Ming books were affordable to a broader reading public, which Chow characterizes as including not only officials and merchants, but also a wide range of skilled workers.[2] Chow stresses that production costs dropped in the late sixteenth century due to near-universal adoption of the "craftsman script" typeface and cheap bamboo paper, and that book market segmentation meant a person of moderate means could afford a variety of inexpensively printed books. Although Chow's economic analysis is the most substantial to date for the Ming (1368–1644), his conclusions are based on a small number of sources. To put such arguments on a firmer foundation more data are needed. The purpose of this essay is to add to the store of data and examine the significance of this new information to the ongoing debate. The data are both qualitative and quantitative and relate to both the editing and physical production of local histories.

Local histories are a rich and largely untapped source for book history. They are more likely than other genres of Ming books to contain information on production costs because of their close connections to the bureaucracy and

its need to track expenses. Some even contain copies of the administrative orders related to compilation and printing. Additional financial information can be found in prefaces, postfaces, and the principles of compilation sections (*fanli*). Because local histories were compiled in every jurisdiction and the place of production is often known, studying them can enrich our understanding of geographic variations in book publishing.

Using financial information found in local histories to understand the publication of other types of books does require caution. After all, local histories were non-commercial books, at least in the sense that making a profit from sales was not the primary motivation for publishing them.[3] Economic calculations for a county magistrate who had government funds, willing or unwilling donors, space in the yamen for compilation and printing offices, volunteer scholarly labor, and clerks who could write out the text and supervise block cutting were different from those for commercial publishers. Nevertheless, much of the information presented herein can inform our understanding of the broader publishing world in the Ming dynasty.

Although the local history appeared as an important genre in the Song and by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century had replaced earlier genres such as "map guides" (*tujing*), this study covers only the Ming because the number of surviving Song and Yuan local histories numbers only in the dozens.[4] Of these, almost none are original editions, which are far more likely to contain financial information than are reconstructions and reprints. Some information can be gleaned from Song and Yuan prefaces reprinted in later editions and authors' collected works, which survive in substantial number. But not all prefaces are equally useful. The ones most likely to give production details are secondary prefaces written by low-ranking contributors, such as Confucian-school instructors and students. Lead prefaces tended to be literary pieces written by higher-ranking administrators or famous scholars who were less familiar with, or less interested in discussing, production details. It was these literary prefaces that were often copied into later editions and collected works.[5] Thus, although a limited study of the financing of Song and Yuan histories is possible, the Ming sources are far richer.

Materials for this essay were drawn from my review of approximately five hundred Ming local histories, or about half of the 1,014 titles still extant.[6] The temporal and geographic distribution of my sample reflects the distribution of surviving imprints: most come from eastern China, and most were published

after 1454, when compilation of the *Da Ming yitongzhi* (Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Ming) spurred publication of numerous local histories that are still extant.

This essay is divided into four parts, beginning with an overview of how local-history projects were initiated. It will then discuss the categories of expenses incurred in producing a local history. The essay's third part presents quantitative information on costs and compares it to similar information found in other sources. The essay concludes with an exploration of financing methods.

Initiating a Local History Project

The compilation of a local history could be ordered by the court, the administrator of a superior territorial unit, or a local administrator, or undertaken upon individual initiative of a local person. Some projects started at the highest level. In 1376 the imperial court ordered locales across the empire to submit histories to the capital.[7] In 1418 the court issued rules of compilation and ordered new submissions.[8] Similar orders followed in 1454, 1520, 1524, and in the Chongzhen era (1628-1644).[9] Most were issued in connection with compilation of comprehensive works, but the 1520 order resulted from the Zhengde emperor's desire to read local histories during his visit to Nanjing.[10]

Many local projects were initiated by officials from superior administrative units. For example, the 1542 *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) was compiled pursuant to an order of the Henan grand coordinator requiring all subordinate units to submit histories.[11] Gushi was ordered to compile a complete work, but in other cases, subordinate units only had to collect and submit materials to be combined and edited into a history of the superior unit. A local yamen would keep a manuscript copy of submitted materials, which were often expanded, polished, and published. This happened with materials used in the 1537 *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History ofHengzhou Prefecture). After subordinate county magistrates provided materials for the new prefectural history, several magistrates decided to publish separate county histories.[12] Such follow-up came not only from magistrates, but also from local residents.[13]

The projects described above started with superiors. The majority of county and subprefecture histories, however, were initiated by local administrators and scholars acting independently of higher-level officials. Compiling a history, especially from scratch, was time consuming, and if a magistrate did not start one

until well into his term, it was unlikely to be finished unless he drew heavily on preexisting work. As a result, many official local histories were based on "private histories" (*si zhi* or *si sheng*) compiled by a single local person working without support or recognition from the local administration. For example, Zhou Wanjin (dates unknown), an out-of-office *juren* degree holder from Neihuang county, Beizhili, spent years working on a private county history without managing to complete it. In 1523 he showed his work to the magistrate, who then opened a history-compilation office, hired Zhou, and brought in the Confucian-school instructor and his students to help Zhou complete the project.[14] But not all authors of private histories were selected to work on later official histories. Local community school teacher Liao Benxiang compiled a private history of Chaling subprefecture, Huguang, in the Zhengde era (1506–1522), but his work became merely one source for the official 1525 edition, and he was not involved in its compilation.[15]

Categories of Production Expenses

Although local histories were noncommercial publications, records of their costs can shed light on production expenses for commercial, family, and religious publishers as well. Like other publishers, publishers of local histories bought source materials and production supplies, paid editorial personnel and craftsmen, fed workers, gave gifts to those who assisted in the compilation or wrote prefaces, and incurred incidental expenses, such as for transportation and storage. Some expenses, such as those for hiring and feeding block cutters, were monetized and generally unavoidable, while others, such as salaries for editorial personnel, could often be limited or avoided altogether by recruiting volunteer labor. (See figure 1 for a list of supervisors, illustrators, calligraphers, and block cutters for a local history project.)

There is no single local history for which the documentation fully describes the expenses involved. Instead it is necessary to sift through the voluminous, but fragmentary record, sampling broadly across time and space, to create a composite picture. In this section I will use qualitative sources to describe the various labor and material inputs before turning to quantitative sources in the next section. Qualitative description is required because numerical records are limited to figures for woodblocks, paper, and craftsmen's wage and board costs. But other types of expenses were incurred and also need to be discussed.

督工人禮房吏馬國珍
繪圖人方春
寫字人辛朝聘　張克讓
南孟冬
刻字人蘇茂元　胥廷義
胥鋒　蘇季陽
胥廷美　蘇重英
胥廷千　蘇進忠
胥廷寬　蘇茂祥

1. Names of supervisor, illustrator, calligraphers, and block cutters for the 1541 *Weinan xian zhi* (History of Weinan County), comp. by Nan Daji, "Xiuzhi houji" (Postface on Producing the History), p. 1b.

Obtaining Source Materials

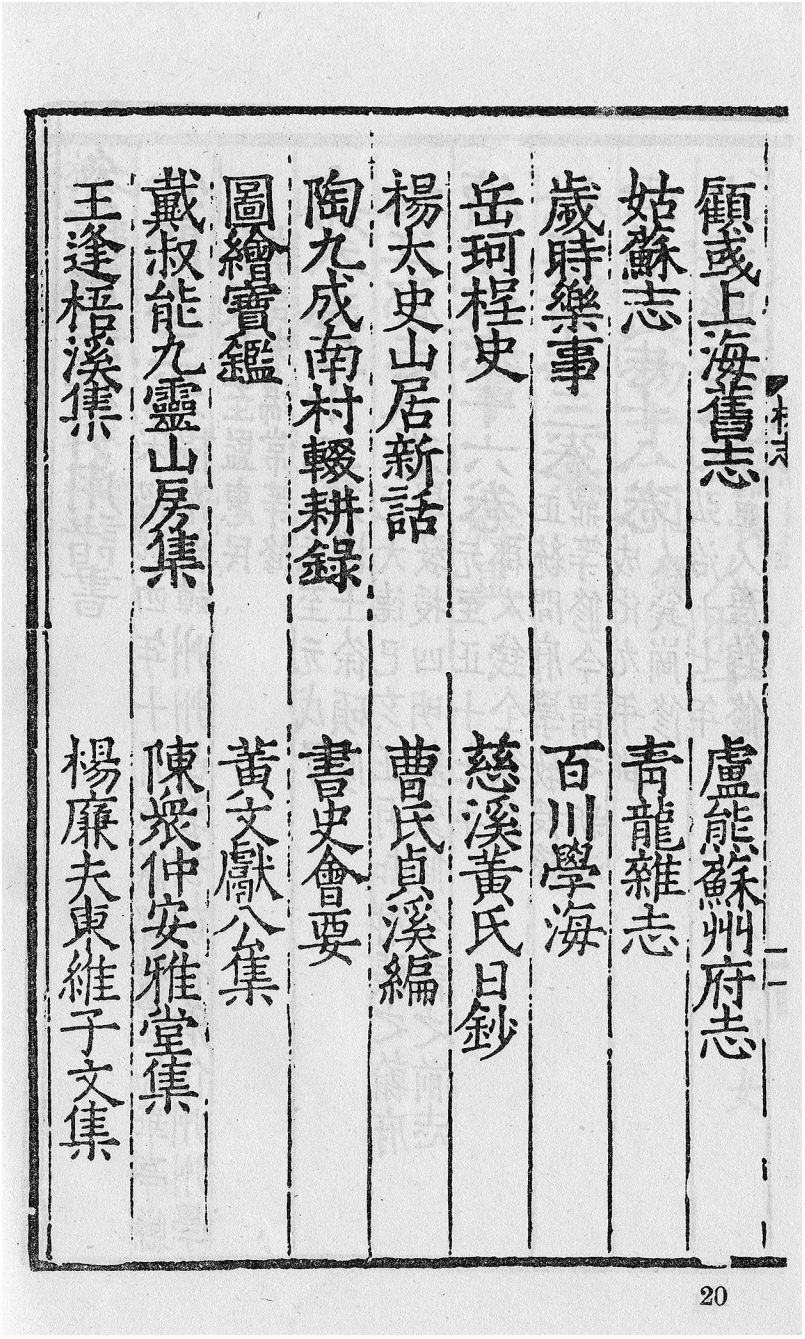
A typical initial concern in compiling a local history was how to obtain access to the wide range of sources needed. Textual sources were essential, especially previous local histories, genealogies, literature, stone inscriptions, and government records. Some compilers obtained additional materials through interviews and observation. The number of works consulted could be large, as is suggested by the 1494 *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]), which lists 107 source books, and the 1474 *Hangzhou fu zhi* (History of Hangzhou Prefecture), which lists 62 sources.[16] [For a list of sources consulted in the 1512 *Songjiang fu zhi* (History of Songjiang Prefecture), see figure 2.]

Typically, many documents and books were available at little or no cost, through copying, borrowing, and gifts. Government records could be copied from the yamen, and local people donated materials. In a 1551 (Jiajing 30) order regarding compilation of the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), the Guangdong education intendant ordered that materials be gathered from the public in the following way.

> First issue a big-character proclamation (*dazi gaoshi*) to clearly notify the entire county's scholars and commoners that those who know of local people, past or present, who possess unused talent; or who were virtuous or righteous in poverty or adversity and have yet to be commemorated; or who know which current government policies should be followed and which should be changed are to forthwith submit reports to the instructor's office in the county yamen to serve as documentation for carrying out the compilation.[17]

Proclamations were typically posted on the yamen gate, which would account for evidence that knowledge of ongoing compilations spread beyond the small circles of compilers, such as references to people submitting biographies of their relatives.[18] (See figure 3 for a text related to the approval of a local history project.)

Because most compilers were local literati and administrators, many had personal copies of important historical, literary, biographical, and geographical works. In fact, key editorial personnel often had substantial book collections. Wang Yuanbin, the editor of the 1585 *Tengxian zhi* (History Teng County), gave his fellow compilers use of over one thousand *juan* from his own collection.[19] As



顧或上海舊志　盧熊蘇州府志
姑蘇志　青龍雜志
歲時樂事　百川學海
岳珂桯史　慈溪黃氏日鈔
楊太史山居新話　曹氏貞溪編
陶九成南村輟耕錄　書史會要
圖繪寶鑑　黃文獻公集
戴叔能九靈山房集　陳衆仲安雅堂集
王逢梧溪集　楊廉夫東維子文集

20

2A

2A–D. Long list of works consulted in compiling the 1512 *Songjiang fu zhi* (History of Songjing Prefecture), comp. by Gu Qing, "Canju jiuzhi

參據舊志幷引用諸書

雲間志三卷 宋紹熙四年十月奉議郎特差知華亭縣楊潛新鎮州州學教授胡林卿信州州學教授林至監惠民南局朱端常等修

嘉禾志三十二卷 元至元戊子博士徐碩修

松江郡志八卷 元大德己亥正月知府張之翰府學教授四明劉蒙修今謂之前志

續松江志十六卷 元至正十七年郡人錢全袞修

松江府志三卷 正統間府學教授孫鼎等修今謂之新志

雲間通志十八卷 成化九年郡人錢崗修

上海縣志八卷 弘治十七年邑人唐錦修

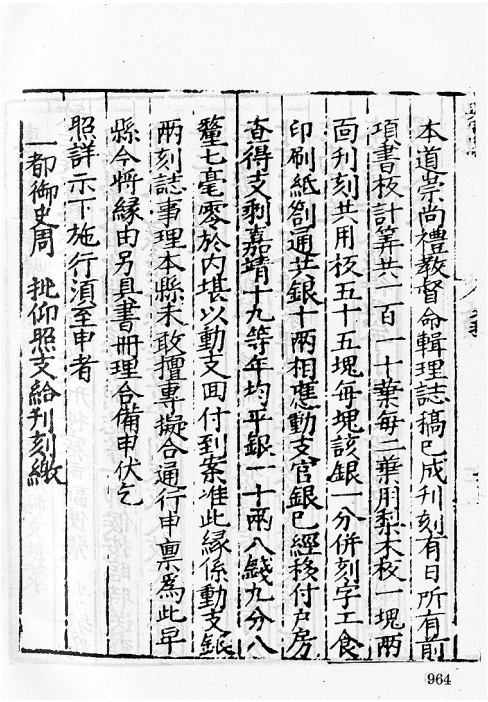
2B

bing yinyong zhushu" (Old Local Histories Consulted and Works Cited), pp. 1a–2b (rpt. pp. 19–22).

張衍水利綱領　姚文灝浙西水利書
衛氏淇水流慶録　開封朱氏世譜
京兆杜氏世譜　嚴陵邵氏世譜
東光劉氏世譜　漁溪王氏潛德録
晉照寺續古録　靜安八咏集
佛祖統紀　船子機緣集
北磵文集　泐季潭詩集
一修纂名氏
翰林院侍讀學士郡人顧清

2C

古樂府　張思廉王笥集
張允弼詩集　貝助教清江集
謝子蘭甌巢摘稾　邵復孺蛾術稾
孫大雅滄螺集　宋學士文集
方希古遜志齋集　金長史覺非齋集
袁海叟在野集　董良史西郊笑端集
蒲谿周氏雙壽堂集　國朝名臣録
周文襄公年譜　葉文莊公水東日記
金處和三吳水政録　金藻三江水學



本道崇尚禮教督命輯理誌稿已成刊刻有日所有前
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查得支剩嘉靖十九等年均平銀一十兩八錢九分八
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縣今將緣由另具書冊理合備申伏乞
照詳示下施行須至申者
一都御史周　批仰照支給刊刻繳

964

3A

3A–C. Petition for permission to print and the approval to print the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al., "Xiuzhi wenyi" (Administrative Documents Regarding Compilation of the Local History), pp. 3a–4a (rpt. pp. 963–965).

惠州府興寧縣為脩輯誌書事奉府帖文抄蒙
欽差提督學校廣東等處提刑按察司副使張　案驗為
申飭學政事欲開各縣印刷誌書一部候按臨時送查
等因奉此緣照本縣誌書原有刻板歲久散失無存本
年七月內蒙
本道按考長樂興寧二縣師生呈收舊誌查考無有分
付何人即加脩輯家牌坐委陞任教諭盛繼蔡修已將
誌稿呈送
本道覆訂數略得興寧小邑建設自古誌備紀載未宜
獨闕今蒙

3B

一巡按御史蕭　批准支用繳
一布政司批仰候
撫按批示施行繳
一分守道批仰候
撫按衙門詳示施行繳
一分巡道批仰候
撫按詳示查照動支施行繳
一本府批仰候
撫按衙門施行
一脩志官姓名

3C

members of the elite, compilers could draw on networks of friends and colleagues to obtain unpublished manuscripts by local authors, genealogies, and other rare materials. Sometimes key sources were found in the homes of common people. In the process of compiling the 1440 history of Guangchang county, Jiangxi, the compiler's son asked all around the local area for the Yuan-dynasty edition of that county's history and obtained the first volume from the home of a farmer and the second volume from the home of lacquer artisan Liu Wenxing.[20]

Gift giving and lending were important means of circulating books in the Ming, and old histories were most welcomed by compilers of new editions.[21]. In 1547 (Jiajing 26) Jiao Xicheng (1519 juren) was compiling the history of Dengzhou prefecture, Shandong, and wrote a letter to Cong Pan (1485–1510) asking for old county histories. Cong, a native of Wendeng, another county in Dengzhou, had his son put a cover on a local history manuscript compiled by his father and deliver it to Jiao.[22] Such sharing of related histories was not uncommon. In 1502 Zhang Yuanzhen (1437–1506), the compiler of a Nanchang prefectural history, gave a copy of his work to Zhou Jifeng, who was compiling a history of Ningzhou, one of Nanchang's subordinate subprefectures.[23] Local literati used such lending and gifts of local histories to make connections with administrators and other scholars. For example, when compilers of the 1671 *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History Hengzhou Prefecture) were looking for copies of old editions, Wang Zhixie, a student at the Hengyang county Confucian school, gave the prefect a copy of the 1593 edition that he had bought and "kept as a treasure" in his home. The prefect turned it over to the compilers.[24]

Compilers regularly approached collectors for sources, especially old local histories, and many allowed access to their collections. In 1533 the printed edition of the Song-dynasty Jiading-era (1208–1224) history of Luhe, Nanzhili, was no longer extant, but compilers of a new edition got a handwritten copy from a book collector.[25] In the case of Zhang Yuanzhen, discussed above, his gift of the Nanchang history reciprocated a favor Zhou Jifeng had done for him three years earlier. In 1499 Zhou had lent Zhang his unfinished manuscript for a history of Ningzhou subprefecture.[26] Zhou's willingness to share was continued by his grandnephew Zhou Qiyong, who allowed the compiler of the 1543 *Ningzhou zhi* (History of Ningzhou [Subprefecture]) to use his entire collection, including two Song-dynasty local histories and eighty-nine other titles.[27] The younger Zhou was a recently retired official who initiated the compilation of a history of Ningzhou and convinced the local administration to hire his friend Gong Xian

as compiler.[28] Gong had just compiled Zhou's genealogy, and the resulting history discusses fourteen generations of the Zhou family, so perhaps Zhou's motivation for granting access to his books was not entirely altruistic.[29]

Local history compilers also looked to local-school libraries and government offices for books. The compilers of the 1564 *Bozhou zhi* (History of Bozhou [Subprefecture]) noted that Bozhou had no book collectors, so they had to rely on books placed in the Confucian school in the 1520s by former magistrate. Those books were the twenty-one histories; *Wenxian tongkao* (Comprehensive Examination of Culture and Institutions); *Yuhai* (The Jade Sea); *Wenxuan* (Selections of Refined Literature); *Chuxue ji* (Record of Initial Learning); and the histories of Zhongdu (Fengyang), Bozhou's superior prefecture, of Guide, its neighboring prefecture, of and Luyi, its neighboring county.[30]

When donations or access were not forthcoming, books and documents had to be purchased or copied. The purchase of materials for use in local histories can be traced back at least to the early Yuan. When Feng Fujing compiled the 1298 *Changguo zhou tuzhi* (History of Changguo Prefecture with Illustrations), he bought materials from local commoners (limin).[31] Unpublished draft histories done by local scholars were often key sources for new editions, and although the compiler or his descendant was usually willing to freely share the manuscript, this was not always the case. Magistrate Wang Luan's preface to the 1489 *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County) notes that he purchased a damaged manuscript of the county history from the family of Zhong Shijie (dates unknown), a local man who had compiled the work in his retirement. Zhong had wanted to publish it, but died before doing so.[32] Obviously, the family and the magistrate considered the manuscript to have monetary value.

There was, in fact, a market for local histories in the Ming. Cao Xuequan (1547–1646), wrote that he bought Nanzhili local histories while stationed in Nanjing and bought Henan and Huguang local histories from descendents of local notables and gentry.[33] Descendants of Guo Nan (retired 1447), the compiler of the 1441 *Shangyu xian zhi* (History of Shangyu County), used imprints as loan collateral.[34] In 1618 the magistrate of Xinchang, Zhejiang, complained that according to precedent, whenever a censorial official came to town, he was expected to present him a copy of the local history, but because the woodblocks had burned, the magistrate had to buy surviving copies, which were becoming increasingly rare and more expensive with each purchase.[35]

However, even when compilers were willing to pay, they were not always

able to acquire an important source. A compiler of the 1552 history of Lüeyang county, Shaanxi, wrote that an earlier edition existed, but he could not consult it because it was "secreted away by a selfish person."[36] Such a refusal was the exception, in light of official pressure to allow access and a general desire to help shape the representation of one's native place and people.

Local-history compilers sometimes had to search for key sources outside of their immediate area. They could learn of potentially useful sources from reference works, such as Ma Duanlin's *Wenxian tongkao*, and sometimes had to incur travel costs to get then.[37] For example, in the Hongwu era (1368–1399), a compiler from Xingguo, Huguang, went to the Palace Library in Nanjing to make a copy of a Song edition he needed.[38] In another case, after Ye Chengzong was appointed compiler of the 1640 history of Licheng county, Shandong, he bought many books for the project locally but had to get a copy of the *Qi sheng* (Historical Records of Qi), a Shandong history first published in 1351, from Shangqiu, Henan, about two hundred kilometers southwest of Licheng, and a copy of *Jinyu ji* (Collected Works of Jinyu) by Licheng native Yin Shidan (jinshi 1547), from the Jin region west of Shandong.[39]

Books and government records were not the sole sources for local histories. Although some merely digested other works, many also drew on interviews and inscriptions collected in the field. Despite a superficial similarity, in fact, there is substantial variety in the scope and coverage of local histories. Many compilers covered only a small number of elite people and institutions in the administrative seats, while others included a greater range of social classes, locales, and topics. The compilers of the 1548 history of Ninghai subprefecture, Shandong, claimed that they interviewed recluses, gentry, patriarchs, old fishermen, village elders, mountain monks, Daoists, cart drivers, and artisans.[40] The researcher for the 1585 history of Teng county, Shandong, government student Shen Yong (dates unknown) traversed the county recording inscriptions and interviewing gatekeepers and old people, and then gave his notes to the editor.[41] The costs for such research would have been the researchers' salaries, if any, transportation, lodging, plus minimal amounts for notepaper, brushes, and ink. Transportation costs would have varied depending on the mode of transportation, extent of travel, and the availability of government lodging. In some cases the costs may have been substantial, as when Xu Mu, a local commoner (*buyi*) who illustrated the 1642 history of Wu county, Suzhou prefecture, spent two months traveling around the county, sketching while on a boat, and preparing the final drawings after his return.[42]

Compiling and Editing the Text

Both the editorial and production work for local histories were typically done in the school or yamen of the subject jurisdiction with personnel and materials brought to the site. Schools and yamen were the preferred sites because they were under governmental control, had sufficient space for editorial and production workers, and were where the cut woodblocks generally were stored.[43] This section of the essay will examine who came to do the editorial work, how they got there, and the costs involved, as well as variations in the general pattern. The next section will address the same questions for the physical production.

Labor was the largest cost in producing a local history. In addition to wages for printing craftsmen, editorial personnel and preface authors were sometimes paid. Most editorial staffs consisted of instructors and students at local schools and local degree holders, and while no doubt many worked on local histories for free, some were paid. Administrators occasionally hired outside literati to compile their local histories.

Out-of-office local degree holders residing in their native places were one of the most important groups of editorial personnel. Local-history projects were a way for officials to provide meaningful work and income to men of their class. Some local degree holders had not yet received official posts, others were between assignments, on mourning leave, sick leave, or retired.[44] A substantial number were men who had passed the provincial examination and worked on a local history while studying for the metropolitan examination. Some *juren* eventually gave up on ever attaining the *jinshi* degree and supported themselves through literary work, including the writing of local histories. Some compilers had served briefly in office but were unable to secure further positions.[45] A typical case is the 1574 *Wuxi xian zhi* (History of Wuxi County). In 1572 (Longqing 6) Zhou Bangjie became Wuxi magistrate and was upset about the poor condition of the existing local history. So he visited Qin Liang (1515–1578), a retired *jinshi*, presented him with money, and asked him to revise it. Qin accepted, and the project began.[46] Payments could be in the form of "book money" (*shubi*) paid in a lump sum, or salaries paid for the duration of the project, as in the case of the *Tengxian zhi*, for which a compilation office was opened, a group of Confucians scholars (*ru*) invited, and "brushes, paper, and salaries" provided.[47] The group consisted of Wang Yuanbin, the local book collector mentioned above, five locals who were former officials, three *juren* degree holders, and one government student.[48]

Like editorial staff, preface authors were sometimes paid. Various types of people wrote prefaces to local histories. Sometimes it was only the lead compiler and sponsoring local official, but often a superior official or an outside literatus contributed a preface as well. It is this last type that was most likely a paid contribution. One such case is that of Su You (*jinshi* 1526), a retired governor-general and author, who was asked to write a preface to the 1564 history of Bozhou, Nanzhili. As a compiler traveling on business passed through Su's hometown of Puyang, Beizhili, he presented Su with a copy of the history and "book money" (*shubi*) provided by the Bozhou magistrate.[49] Payments could be made not only to outsiders, but also to local school officials. Assistant Confucian-School Instructor Feng Bo's postface to the 1504 *Yanshi xian zhi* (Yanshi County History) records that the magistrate "sent money over to the school office and asked me to write a postface."[50] While it is well known that literati were paid to write prefaces for other types of publications, Feng was then serving as a local official. While it is not clear whether such payments were common, this case does suggest that Confucian-school instructors could supplement their salaries through literary work, including work on local histories.

A former instructor could also be retained to finish a history begun during his tenure. In 1551 Sheng Ji, the instructor at the Xingning county Confucian school was working on the county history when he received a promotion outside of Xingning. Magistrate Huang Guokui had just arrived in the fall of 1550 and wanted Sheng to finish the history. County clerk Pan En petitioned the Guangdong superintendent of schools for permission to keep Sheng on, not as the Confucian-school instructor, but as a local-history compiler. The superintendent agreed, noting that previous Xingning officials neglected their duty to publish a history, and ordered that Sheng be given a quiet office in the county yamen, treated "generously according to guest ritual," and be supplied with "necessities, money, paper, woodblocks, etc."[51]

Although most local-history editors other than administrators and Confucian-school instructors were locals, some were hired from outside. Nonlocals tended to come from the same general area as the history on which they worked. For example, Zhang Yuanyi, a native of Shanyin county, Shaoxing prefecture, was hired to polish the 1579 history of Xinchang, another county in Shaoxing. Zhang was a student of the famous literatus Tang Shunzhi (1507–1560) and considered a capable scholar, but he had repeatedly failed the civil service examinations.[52] Zhang also served as a collator of the 1587 Shaoxing prefecture history.[53] Other

editors traveled substantial distances to work on local histories. The magistrate of Puzhou, Henan, sent a letter and book money to Deng Fu (*juren* 1516) at his home more than six hundred kilometers away in Changshu county, Suzhou prefecture.[54] Deng then traveled to Puzhou to compile the history, which was published in 1527. One might assume this to be part of the late Ming "commodification of writing" described by Kai-wing Chow, but the phenomenon pre-dates the Ming.[55] Literati such as Deng Fu, who came long distances, probably commanded higher fees than local hires.

Obtaining and Cutting Woodblocks

Like editorial work, the physical production of local histories was usually done in the yamen or school of the subject locale. (See figure 4.) Occasionally, blocks were cut in other locations, for example, the blocks for the 1537 *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History of Hengzhou Prefecture) were "cut in a humble home" (*zai caoshe ke*), that of Liu Fu, the editor.[56] This section will examine who did the physical production, how they were retained, where they got materials, and the costs involved.

Before cutting a text, woodblocks had to be obtained. When woodblocks were not available locally, they had to be shipped to the production site. Pear woodblocks for the 1600 history of Huairen, a poor county in northern Shanxi, were purchased 700 *li* away with money donated by the magistrate.[57] Although the place of purchase was not recorded, it may have been Beijing, which was approximately seven hundred *li* from Huairen via the Sanggan river. When the manuscript for the 1637 history of Lianzhou prefecture, Guangdong, was completed, "pear and jujube were gathered in Gaoliang; block cutters were called in from Fengcheng."[58] Mt. Gaoliang was about two hundred kilometers east of Lianzhou, and Fengcheng was on the Gan river near Nanchang, Jiangxi, more than eight hundred kilometers from Lianzhou.[59]

How local officials found outside craftsmen is rarely recorded, but for the 1549 history of Longqing subprefecture, the magistrate dispatched someone to Beijing, sixty kilometers to the south, to hire block cutters.[60] More commonly, a history simply notes that craftsmen were "summoned" (*zheng jiang* or *zhao gong*) or "recruited" (*mu gong*).[61] When the manuscript for the 1585 history of Qingyun county, Beizhili, was finished, the magistrate wanted high-quality block cutting, but in his view the county had no skilled craftsmen (*liangjiang*). Thus, he sent a letter and money to an official he knew who was serving in Tianchang, Nanzhili, asking him to retain craftsmen. Tianchang was located about fifty kilometers

4. Printer's colophon for the 1485 *Neixiang xian zhi* (History of Neixiang County), comp. by Hu Kuang, table of contents, last page. Text reads, "In the winter, the eleventh month, of the year Chenghua *yisi* (1485) when the Dragon [stars] aligned, Magistrate Wo Pan ordered workers to cut blocks in the government offices of Neixiang."

northwest of Yangzhou and about six hundred kilometers from Qingyun, but they were linked by river and the Grand Canal.[62]

This is not to suggest that most blocks for local histories were cut by outside cutters.[63] In many cases the block cutters are recorded as being locals. The blocks for the 1383 history of Yongzhou prefecture, Huguang, were cut by a local surnamed Zhao.[64] The 1527 history of Yangwu county, Henan, notes, "Townsmen Zhang Zuo and Zhao Tang copied the text and cut it into wood."[65] The blocks for the 1552 history of Chongyi county, Jiangxi, were cut by Liao Can, a student at the local Yinyang school.[66] And the 1627 history of Pinghu county, Zhejiang, records that a local commoner (*zimin*) named Zhang Qixian was both the calligrapher and block cutter.[67]

In some cases, manuscripts for local histories were sent out for the writing of the fine copy or printing. A transport supervisor took the manuscript for the 1621 *Ganzhou fu zhi* (History of Ganzhou Prefecture) 300 kilometers to the Jiangxi provincial capital, Nanchang, where document clerks wrote out the text in preparation for printing. The sheets of the fine copy were assembled into volumes and shipped back to Ganzhou for block cutting.[68] When the manuscript for the 1494 *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]) was complete, the magistrate sealed and delivered it to "skilled block cutters in the capital" and requested a preface of Lin Han (1466 *jinshi*). "Capital" (*jingshi*) refers to the northern capital, Beijing, where Lin was serving as chancellor of the Directorate of Education.[69] The 1537 history of Yanling county, Henan, also was printed in Beijing, a distance of more than seven hundred kilometers. An official who was a Yanling native, Liu Ren, compiled the history while home on mourning leave. When Liu completed the manuscript, the magistrate said to him, "In the capital, all of the scholars' calligraphy and block cutters' graphic styles are excellent. I am willing to donate from my salary to help have it cut." Thus, when he returned to Beijing, Liu took the manuscript with him.[70] The 1497 history of Tingzhou prefecture, located in southwestern Fujian, was printed in Nanjing, a distance of over one thousand kilometers by the likely water route. Tingzhou prefect Wu Wendu, a native of Nanjing, sent his manuscript to his *jinshi* classmate, Liu Zhen, who was serving as chancellor of the Nanjing Directorate of Education and asked him to have it printed.[71] When woodblocks for histories were cut outside of the subject locale, they were presumably shipped back to the locale, with or without imprints, because the primary market for local histories was in the subject locale.

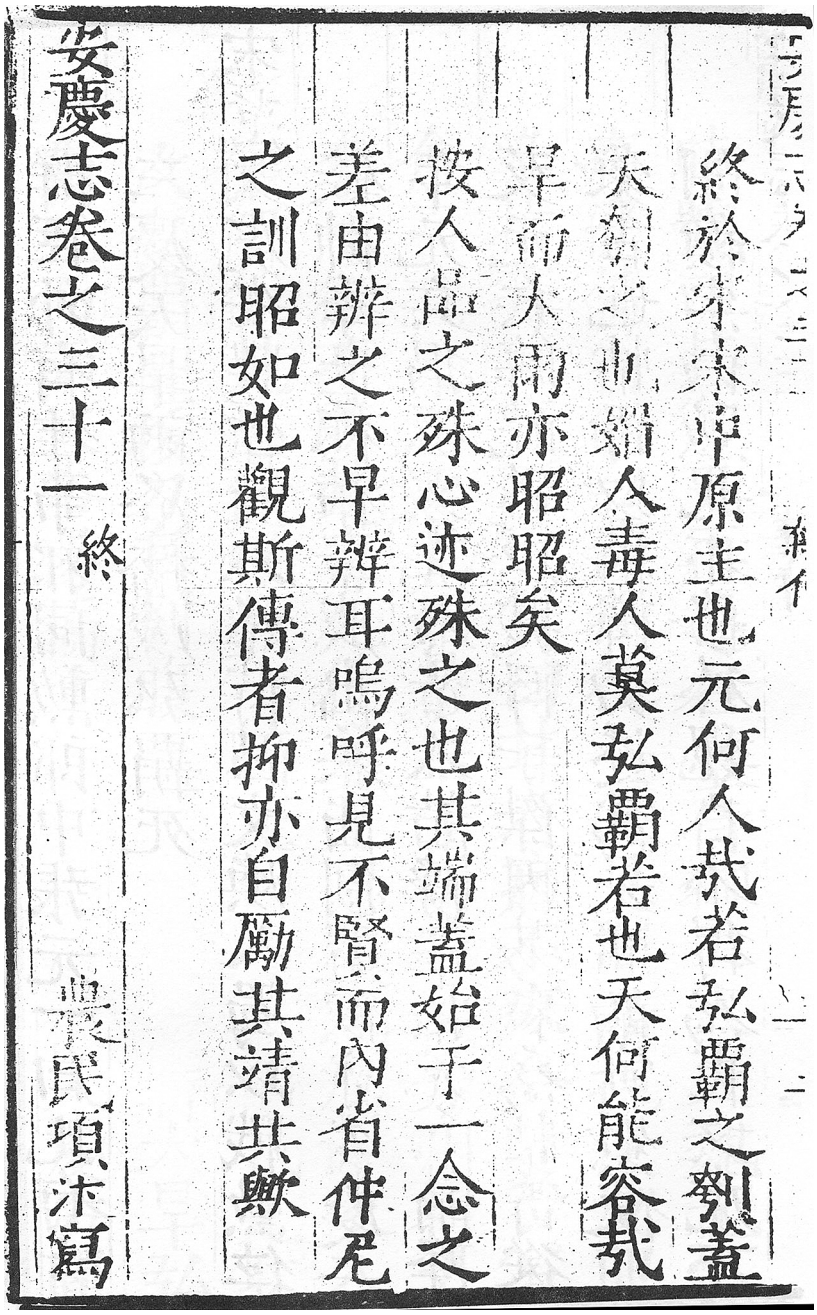
They were typically printed on demand from blocks held in the local yamen or school, and the people who paid for cutting would want the blocks.

In all Ming-dynasty cases for which I have information, woodblocks for first editions of local histories were cut by hired craftsmen. Numerous prefaces mention that the magistrate or prefect called in craftsmen, and administrative orders related to publication of local histories often refer to craftsmen's wages. In addition, I have not found block cutters described as yamen staff or corvée laborers, and print craftsmen (*shuajiang*) are almost never found on lists of local government employees. A rare exception is one staff printing position (*shuajiang*) in 1565 in the Guizhou Provincial Administration Commission branch office in Pu'an subprefecture.[72] Nothing, however, suggests that this person printed the 1565 *Pu'an zhou zhi* (History of Pu'an Subprefecture). The only evidence of a first-edition local history printed by yamen staff craftsmen comes from the Song dynasty. The *Anxi xian zhi* (History of Anxi County) was printed by the local government's own "Book Printing Office" (Yinshuju) in the county yamen.[73] In such cases an analysis of production costs would need to account for staff costs, such as, for example, the six-tael annual salary of the Pu'an staff printer.

The craftsman corvée system had largely collapsed by the mid-Ming, and even in the early Ming, donations funded the printing of local histories. Officials donated from their salaries to print the 1368 *Cangwu jun zhi* (History of Cangwu Commandery), the 1383 *Yongzhou fu zhi* (History of Yongzhou Prefecture) and the 1413 *Yingchuan jun zhi* (History of Yingchuan Commandery).[74] Two local elderly scholars paid to print the 1421 *Jinxi xian zhi* (History of Jinxi County).[75] In all of these cases, no staff or corvée printing craftsmen were mentioned.

As with editors, fees for calligraphers and block cutters no doubt varied with quality and reputation. An administrator could save money by having yamen clerks or cheap laborers write out the fine copy for transfer to the woodblocks.[76] For example, the text of the 1555 *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture) was written out by three yamen clerks and five farmers (*nongmin*). The farmers' calligraphy was acceptable, yet inelegant. (See figure 5.) Farmer Zhu Gao's characters often drift from side to side as the page progresses, are unbalanced, and contain tentative strokes.[77] A yamen clerk and two "commoners of the neighborhood" (*jiemin*) did the mediocre calligraphy of the 1554 history of Yancheng county, Henan.[78] (See figure 6.)

It was possible to avoid such problems by looking outside the local area for craftsmen. The magistrate of Hui county, Henan, hired a man surnamed Chu from



終於宋宋中原主也元何人哉若弘覇之劉蓋
天劉之也媚人毒人莫弘覇若也天何能容哉
早而大雨亦昭昭矣
按人品之殊心迹殊之也其端蓋始于一念之
差由辨之不早辨耳嗚呼見不賢而內省仲尼
之訓昭如也觀斯傳者抑亦自勵其靖其歟

安慶志卷之三十一 終

農民項汴寫

5. Calligraphy by farmer Xiang Bian in the 1555 *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture), comp. by Li Xun et al, *juan* 31, p. 2b (rpt. p. 1678). Calligrapher's name and status are written at the bottom of the first column on the right.

陵岡潰奔道經於鄆城之北

禮房吏王朝選

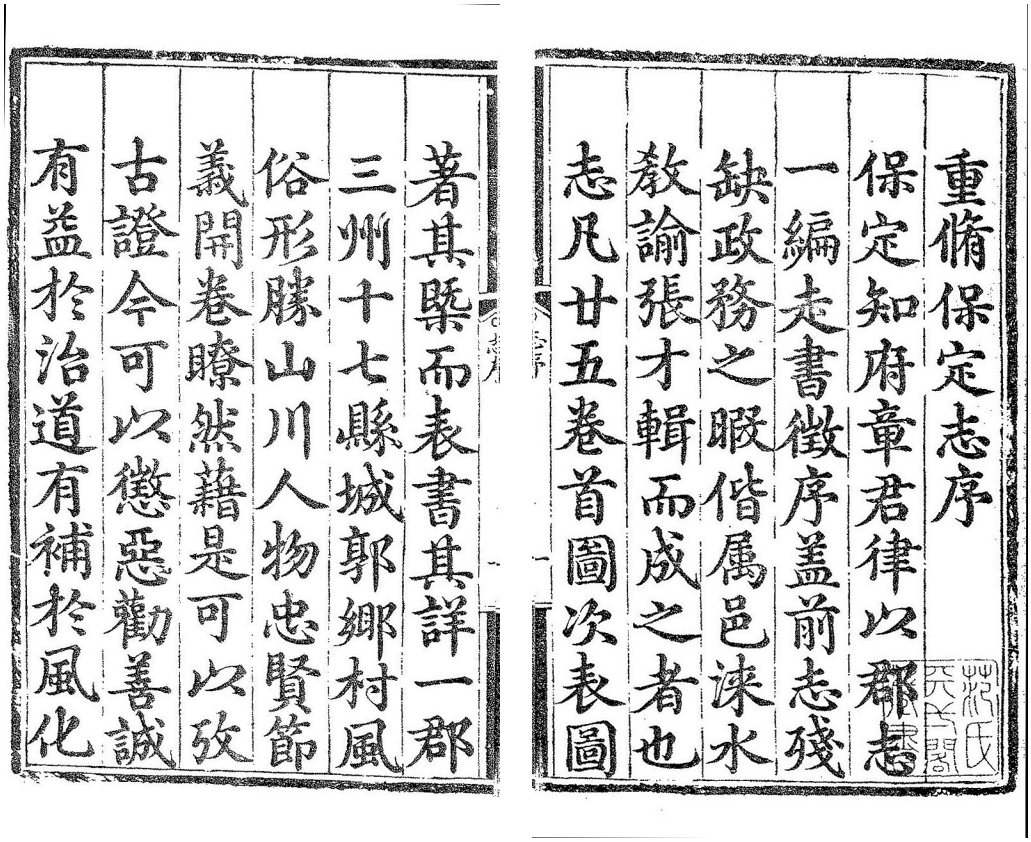
街民李寶

李兆書

鄆城縣志卷之十二終

6. Calligraphy credit lines in the 1554 *Yancheng xian zhi* (History of Yancheng County), comp. by Zhao Yingshi et al., *juan* 12, p. 34b (rpt. p. 938), indicating that the calligraphy was written by Wang Chaoxuan, a yamen clerk, and Li Bao and Li Zhao, local commoners.

Kaifeng, the provincial capital about one hundred kilometers away, to write out the text of the county history and to help polish the manuscript).[79] And as seen above, the manuscript for the 1537 history of Yanling county, Henan, was taken more than seven hundred kilometers to Beijing because of the high-quality calligraphy and block cutting available there.[80] The tremendous range of calligraphic quality found in local histories can be seen in the accompanying illustrations. (See figures 7, 8, and 9.)


重脩保定志序
保定知府章君律以郡志
一編走書徵序蓋前志殘
缺政務之暇偕屬邑涞水
教諭張才輯而成之者也
志凡廿五卷首圖次表圖
著其槩而表書其詳一郡
三州十七縣城郭鄉村風
俗形勝山川人物忠賢節
義開卷瞭然藉是可以攷
古證今可以懲惡勸善誠
有益於治道有補於風化

7. High-quality calligraphy found in 1472 preface to the 1494 *Baoding fu zhi* (History of Baoding Prefecture), comp. by Zhang Cai, Xu Gui, et al., "Chongxiu Baoding zhi xu" (Preface to Reedited Edition of the History of Baoding), pp. 1a–b.

封之命典章且在存沒攸用尔山西布政使司經歷
司經歷偉妻劉氏出自華族嬪于儒門礼義相承方
著宜家之美琴瑟中勤克遵偕老之心宜施夫階以
仲邺命兹特贈為安人懿靈如在茂淫其承
勅曰婦職市于饋祀名不可虛君寵垂于褒封礼不容廢
山國米之定制實闔閭之重承尔山西布政司經歷司
經歷偉維室石氏柔嘉特貞謹舒風遵姆訓維
配儒流井臼勤劳雖未躬于家食頻蘋蘩孝敬亦克効
于宗妫宜錫褒章以旌内助兹特封為安人尚其祇

8. Unbalanced, poorly composed calligraphy found in 1555 *Gongxian zhi* (History of Gong County), comp. by Kang Shaodi et al., *juan* 6, p. 2b.

之興係學校必庶而富而後有成績於是均徭役
平賦歛慎刑罰卹困窮由是民日嚮安得務本以
資衣食乃惟學宮歲久朽壞聖賢遺像日就剥落
無以廣士子嚮慕之心而於祀典弗稱謀及僚友
捐俸廩贖材陶瓦父老富民量力資助由是百需
告備乃撤敝構拓舊址汙者平之虛者實之卑者
崇之隘者廣之剥者飾之曾不踰年廟宇孔偲儀
像孔嚴講堂齋舍高明公敞儲廩有庾會食有堂

9. Moderately misaligned characters written by a farmer found in 1555 *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture), comp. by Li Xun et al., *juan* 16, p. 65a (rpt. p. 853).

Numerical Data on Production Costs

Having surveyed various costs for which we have no hard figures, I will now turn to those for which we do. Table 1 below summarizes numerical information on local-history production costs. Relevant portions of the Chinese texts can be found in Appendix 1. Following the table is an analysis of the data and comparison to information on xylographic-printing costs presented by Kai-wing Chow in his 2004 book, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* and Martin Heijdra in his 2004 article, "Technology, Culture, and Economics: Movable Type versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia.[81]

Publishing costs for woodblock-printed books can be divided into one-time expenses and recurring expenses. The main one-time expenses were for acquiring or compiling a text, buying woodblocks, and paying the wages and board of copyists and block cutters. The main recurring expenses were for buying paper and ink, and also paying wages and board of printers and binders. To date, scholars have a limited understanding of these costs, separately and in total, across space and time. Reconstructing costs and comparing them to incomes and the costs of other goods and services will give us a better understanding of the business of publishing and the affordability of books.

In 2004 Kai-wing Chow brought together some of the limited available information and estimated that late Ming block-cutting costs were between 0.10 to 0.15 taels per folio page.[82] His figure was based on numbers found in two books. The first was a 1554 edition of *Yuzhang Luo xiansheng wenji* (Collected Works of Mr. Luo of Yuzhang) by Luo Congyan (1072–1135), printed in Sha county, Fujian. It required 83 blocks for 161 folio pages, and cost 24 taels for "high-quality cutting" (*xiuzi*).[83] That comes to about 0.15 taels per folio page. The second source for Chow was *Linzi quanji* (Complete Works of Master Lin) by Lin Zhaoen (1517–1598). According to the text, its blocks were cut in Nanjing from 1629 to 1631 and cost 300 taels for "over 1500 blocks," and "nearly three-thousand folio pages," or about 0.1 taels per folio page with double-sided cutting.[84] The text is actually a little under 2,500 folio pages, and thus, assuming that the 300 taels was not a rough figure as well, the cost would have been about 0.12 taels per folio page. These two figures, although important, are separated by seventy-five years of time, come from different regions, and do not break down the costs of wages, board, and woodblocks.

Table 1 provides more detail on specific costs and is a step towards filling in

gaps in the larger picture of publishing costs. In evaluating these figures, however, we must keep in mind that four of the eleven figures explicitly included paper costs, and others may have, but none revealed how many copies were printed or the cost of the paper. This introduces a potentially large margin of error because the larger the run, the higher the paper cost, and the biggest print run for most local histories would have been the first run, when imprints were made for people and offices connected to the project and interested locals.[85]

The only known print run for a pre-Qing local history is the one hundred copies made by Wang Zhen for his movable wooden-type edition of the *Jingde xian zhi* (History of Jingde County), published in 1298.[86] Because movable type is disassembled and reused, this figure likely approximates the number of copies Wang expected to give away or sell, if not immediately, then within a reasonable time. If the text had been printed from cut blocks, the initial run could have been smaller because more copies could have been printed quickly in case of greater-than-expected demand. Although this figure suggests a ceiling for initial print runs in counties similar to Jingde in 1298, over the course of the Ming the potential audience grew due to the expanding educated population and the genre's deeper penetration into local society. The number of local histories being produced began increasing in the Southern Song, though compilation of local histories down to the circuit level only became mandatory in 1296 under the Yuan. In the Ming, periodic edicts beginning in 1376 required compilation all the way down to the county level. This stimulated publication and increased interest.[87]

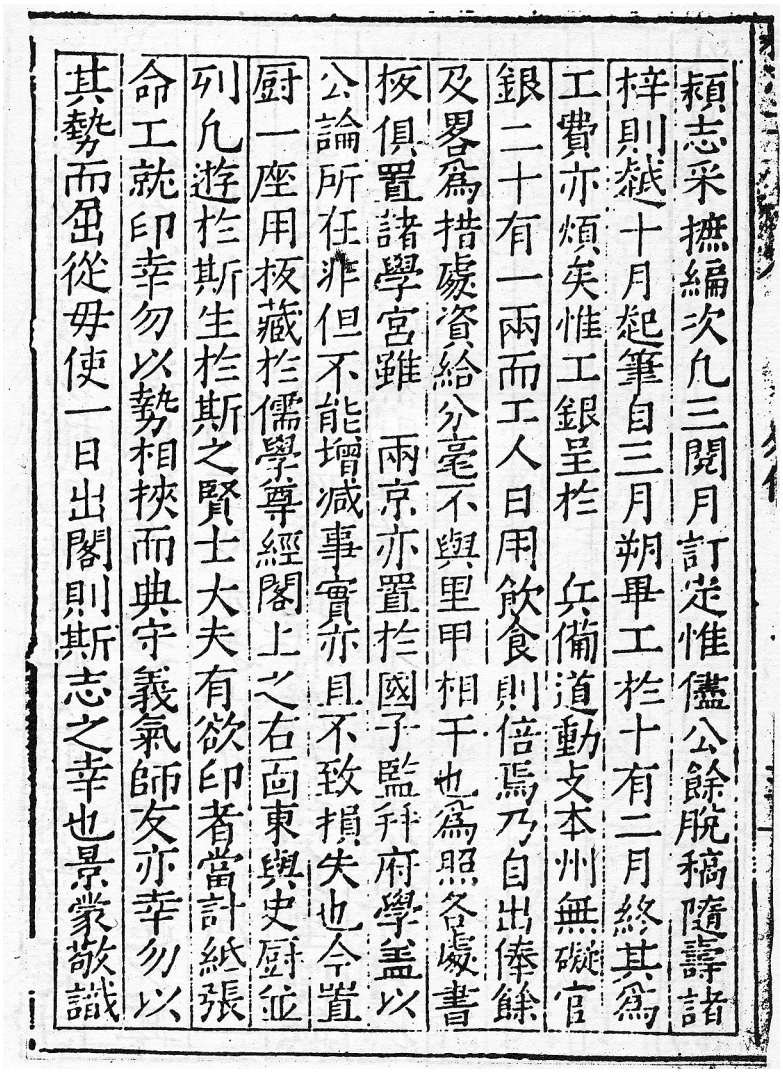
Some evidence, however, suggests that the margin of error introduced by the unspecified paper costs was not large enough to render the figures in Table 1 unusable. Most important are sources implying that people with no connection to a local history project paid for their own copies. If that was the case, then the cost of such copies would not have been included in the figures taken from prepublication petitions, the sources for most figures in Table 1. After an initial print run, cut blocks were stored and local histories were printed on demand. For example, after the blocks for the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* were cut, the magistrate had them placed in the home of compiler Gan Ze in order to "make it convenient for commoners to print copies" (*bian min yinxing*)[88] The magistrate would not have paid for such copies. A record in the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]) notes that the cut blocks were put in the Confucian-school library and that, "when worthy scholar gentry who travel through here or who live

here want copies, the paper's [cost] should be calculated and craftsmen ordered to print it."[89] (See figure 10 for text describing printing on demand.)

Assuming that unaffiliated individuals paid for their own copies, that still leaves an unknown number of imprints made for compilers, donors, government offices, officials, schools, and preface authors. Most county histories list no more than a dozen editorial personnel, but that number could be several dozen for provincial histories. In addition, some local histories list dozens of donors. If each contributor and donor received one free copy in the initial run, then these copies, plus those sent to government offices, the local Confucian school, and preface authors, probably added up to between twenty and one hundred complimentary copies in most cases. A few people, such as the magistrate, main author, and major donors, may have received additional complimentary copies. To reflect this ambiguity, I have used a "<" (less than) symbol in the "per-page block-cutting cost" column of Table 1 for those titles that included paper or unnamed costs among the listed costs. For the 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*, I have used a ">" (greater than) symbol because the craftsmen's board was donated, thereby reducing the total cost.

If we assume various numbers of imprints included in the figures, then rough estimates of paper costs can be made by using paper prices and sheet sizes found in other sources. Although there was a great range in paper prices in the mid- and late Ming, common, bamboo printing paper was relatively cheap, and as Lucille Chia has observed, many late-imperial local histories were printed on bamboo paper rather than on more expensive papers such as mulberry.[90] Kai-wing Chow's summary of known paper prices lists the kind of bamboo paper used by commercial publishers in the 1640s as costing 0.026 taels of silver per one hundred sheets.[91] Chow's figure comes from Ye Mengzhu (b. 1623), who, writing in the 1690s, recalled that in his youth in Shanghai bamboo paper was sold in seventy-five-sheet reams (*dao*) at a price not exceeding 0.02 taels.[92] He did not, however, record the size of the sheets sold at this price.

There is, however, other evidence of common dimensions. The 1589 edition of the *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Regulations of the Great Ming) notes that 1.2 million sheets of *bangzhi* (civil service examination paper) were requisitioned decennially and that the required dimensions were 4.4 x 4 *chi* (150 x 136 cm).[93] A 1580 memorial, written by Minister of Works Zeng Shengwu (b. 1532, retired 1582), lists sheet sizes for three types of paper the ministry requisitioned: *da bai bangzhi* (large, white, civil service paper) was 4.65 x 4.5 *chi* (158 x 153 cm), *bai*



頒志采撫編次凡三閱月訂定惟儘公餘脫稿隨壽諸
梓則起十月起筆自三月朔畢工於十有二月終其爲
工費亦煩矣惟工銀呈於　兵備道動支本州無礙官
銀二十有一兩而工人日用飲食則倍焉乃自出俸餘
及畧爲措處資給分毫不與里甲相干也爲照各處書
板俱置諸學宮雖　兩京亦置於國子監幷府學盖以
公論所在非但不能增減事實亦且不致損失也今置
厨一座用板藏於儒學尊經閣上之右面東與史厨並
列凡遊於斯生於斯之賢士大夫有欲印者當計紙張
命工就印幸勿以勢相挾而典守義氣師友亦幸勿以
其勢而屈從毋使一日出閣則斯志之幸也景蒙敬識

10. Text describing the storage of the blocks for and printing of copies on demand for the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al., *juan* 20, p. 5b. See the ninth and tenth lines from the right for the text reading "when worthy scholar gentry who travel through here or who live here want copies, the paper's [cost] should be calculated and craftsmen ordered to print it."

dazhong jia zhi (white, large/medium thick paper) was 3.9 x 3.8 *chi* (133 x 129 cm), and *bai da Kaihua zhi* (white, large Kaihua paper) was 5.05 x 4.45 *chi* (172 x 151 cm).[94]

Cynthia Brokaw found that publishers of woodblock-printed books in Sibao, Fujian, in the early twentieth century bought sheets of paper the size of door leaves by the *dao*, which, for them was a one-hundred sheet ream. The paper was cut one *dao* at a time into eight, twelve, eighteen, or twenty-four sections based on the size needed for a particular imprint. The twenty-four-cut paper produced a half-folio page roughly 16 cm high by 11 cm wide.[95] Adding margins of 14% margin to the width and 19% to the height would yield a full-folio page measuring 19 x 25 cm. Twenty-four such pages could be cut from a 150 x 76 cm sheet. Illustrations in the 1637 *Tiangong kaiwu* (Devices for the Exploitation of Nature) show papermakers drying sheets that look to be approximately this size, and using frames that appear slightly shorter than wide.[96]

If we assume that publishers of local histories in the Ming used similar-sized sheets of paper, then we can use actual page sizes and book lengths to calculate the approximate number of sheets needed for each imprint. The average measurements of fifty-nine local histories from 1510 to 1642, listed in Table 3, were 25.2 x 33.2 cm, including the blank spaces for the margins. The printed area averaged 21.1 cm high by 29.2 centimeters wide. Thirty such folio pages could be cut from a 172 x 151 cm sheet of paper, twenty-four from a 158 x 153 cm sheet, twenty from a 133 x 129 cm sheet, and twelve from a 150 x 76 cm sheet.

The average length of eleven local histories in Table 1 is 663 folio pages, thus one copy would require 22.1 sheets of 172 x 151 cm paper, 27.6 sheets of 158 x 153 cm paper, 33.2 sheets of 133 x 129 cm paper, or 55.25 sheets of 150 x 76 cm paper. If the paper, like that of Ye Mengzhu's youth, cost 0.02 taels per 75 sheets, it would mean a per-copy paper cost of 0.006 taels, 0.0074 taels, 0.0089 taels, or 0.015 taels, respectively. The paper for 100 copies would have cost 0.6 taels, 0.74 taels, 0.89 taels, or 1.5 taels, respectively. The average production cost of the ten titles used to calculate average length was 120 taels, and thus, cheap paper for 100 copies would have been less than 1.25% of the total cost.

If more expensive paper were used, or if Ye Mengzhu's figure refers to a smaller-sized paper, these figures would have to be adjusted accordingly. For example, according to Shen Bang's 1593 *Wanshu zaji* (Miscellaneous Records of the Wan[ping] Yamen), when the Ministry of Rites published a new edition of the *Da Ming huidian* (1589), it used 11,600 sheets of *lianqizhi* (a high-quality printing

paper), at a cost of 9.28 taels, or 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, about triple the cost of Ye Mengzhu's paper.[97] We can tell that the paper for the *Da Ming huidian* came in large sheets because Shen's entry on the expenses of the Taipusi (Court of the Imperial Stud) includes *lianqi zhi* at the same price but specifies that it was "large" (*da*).[98] From Zeng Shengwu's 1580 memorial, we know that sheet dimensions described as "large" were either 158 x 153 cm, or 172 x 151 cm, while the one described as "large/medium" was 133 x 129 cm. If we use the smaller "large" sheet, the 158 x 153 cm sheet, then at 0.08 taels per 100 sheets the average-sized local history would require 27.6 sheets at a cost of 0.022 taels per copy, or 2.2 taels for 100 copies. This is less than 2% of the average total production cost of 120 taels.

The above calculations were done for the titles as a group, but they can also be done for individual titles. For example, the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* is 214 folio pages long, each folio page is 24.7 cm high by 34.2 cm wide (including margins), and it cost 38.56 taels for "wood for blocks, craftsmen's wages and board, printing paper, etc." If we assume a 158 cm by 153 cm sheet-size costing 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, then printing one copy would require 8.9 sheets at a cost of 0.0071 taels. Paper for one hundred copies would be 0.71 taels, or 1.8% of the total cost. In sum, if in fact the figures in Table 1 include paper for not more than one hundred copies, then the margin of error introduced by the unknown paper costs was likely under 10%. The cost of paper as a percentage of total production cost is presented in Table 2, which makes different assumptions about sheet size and paper costs. The table calculates separate figures based on assumptions of 50, 100, or 200 complimentary copies.

This analysis is not inconsistent with Martin Heijdra's analysis of xylographic printing costs in the nineteenth century. His figures are based on an 1834 article from the *Chinese Repository*, a missionary publication, which compares the costs of printing Chinese Bibles by various methods, most likely in Batavia, Dutch East Indies. Heijdra lists paper as constituting 4.0% of the total cost of blocks, tools, transcription, cutting, printing, binding, and paper, assuming the printing of 100 copies of a 500-page book.[99] He goes on to calculate costs of these items assuming print runs of 2000, 5000, and 7000 copies, and shows that as the number of copies increases, the percentage of the total cost made up by paper also increases. This occurs because the block cutting is a one-time cost, unless the blocks wear out, while paper costs increase with every copy made. For a 5000-copy edition, paper would be the largest single cost and constitute 41.5% of the total cost.

Although paper costs loomed large in economic calculations for printing

Chinese Bibles, they were less important in publishing local histories because for magistrates the definition of success differed from that for missionaries. While missionaries wanted to print and distribute the maximum number of Bibles at the lowest unit cost, magistrates mainly wanted the blocks cut. In fact, the act of cutting the blocks was considered the essential indicator of completion. This is clear from prefaces, which routinely praise magistrates for getting the blocks cut but never praise them for distributing a large number of copies. Although magistrates did present copies to their superiors and a small number of other individuals, they were not funding large-scale printing and distribution. Cutting blocks for a local history was more akin to repairing a bridge or a school; it was a worthy infrastructure project for which the magistrate would be praised, but much of the actual use would come later. Most local histories were finished late in a magistrate's term of office, and he would move on to another post soon after publication, leaving behind a record of his successful administration. Paper costs for future government-paid copies, such as copies provided to visiting officials, would come out of a different magistrate's budget and not be part of the publishing magistrate's original calculations.

In addition to the potential error created by unknown paper costs, three of the figures in Table 1 have a second problem: they may have included editorial costs, which as we have already seen, were often monetized, at least in part. When the *Yong'an xian zhi* (History of Yong'an County) compilation began, the magistrate gave ninety strings of cash to the assistant magistrate and clerk "to manage the project's expenses," but the text does not describe the expenses.[100] The *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County) lists the amounts of donations but not the expenses. The per-page costs of these two titles were substantially higher than the other.[101] A third figure that may have included editorial costs is that for the 1588 *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture). One hundred-fifty "and some" taels were approved for the "local history compilation costs" (*xiu zhi zhi fei*), but costs were not itemized.[102]

A final difficulty in using these figures is that none of my sources record printing and binding costs separately. Some include wages and board for "craftsmen," while others list only "cutters." For example, the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* lists both "craftsmen's wages and food" and "printing paper" among the costs, suggesting that the total figure included printing and binding of the initial copies.[103] The labor costs for the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* are phrased more narrowly as, "cutter wages and food" (*ke zi gong shi*).[104] Nevertheless, the text also mentions printing paper,

implying that printing costs were included. Heijdra lists printing and binding as being approximately the same as the cost of paper in a 100-copy print run, about 4% of the total.

Even though most of these figures contain ambiguities, the set as a whole is nonetheless useful in assessing book production costs between 1510 and 1642. Of the eleven figures, ten are for books of known length and cost. The per-page costs of cutting without adjusting for editorial, paper, printing, and binding costs, ranged from 0.091 to 0.437 taels per page, and averaged 0.201 taels per page. Throwing out the three figures that may include editorial costs, the per-page cost ranged from 0.091 to 0.232 taels per page, and averaged 0.16 taels per page. If we assume that the cost of paper, printing, and binding one hundred copies was included in the figures given, and subtract 10% to reflect those costs, the average cutting cost would be about 0.14 taels per folio page.

The local histories in Table 1 reveal additional information that makes possible rough calculations of the relative proportions of wages, board, woodblocks, and paper. The 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]) records that the craftsmen's daily necessities, food, and drink (*gongren ri yong yin shi*) were double the craftsmen's wages (*gongyin*).[105] From the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi*, we know that its pear woodblocks were 5.5% of the ten taels it cost for blocks, cutter wages, food, and printing paper. If paper was 4.4% (assuming 100 copies printed from 150 cm by 136 cm sheets costing 0.08 taels per hundred) and we split the remaining 90.1% along the lines of the *Yingzhou zhi*, then a rough breakdown of costs for the *Xingning xian zhi* would be: 60% craftsmen's food, drink, and daily necessities; 30% craftsmen's wages; 6% woodblocks; 4% paper.

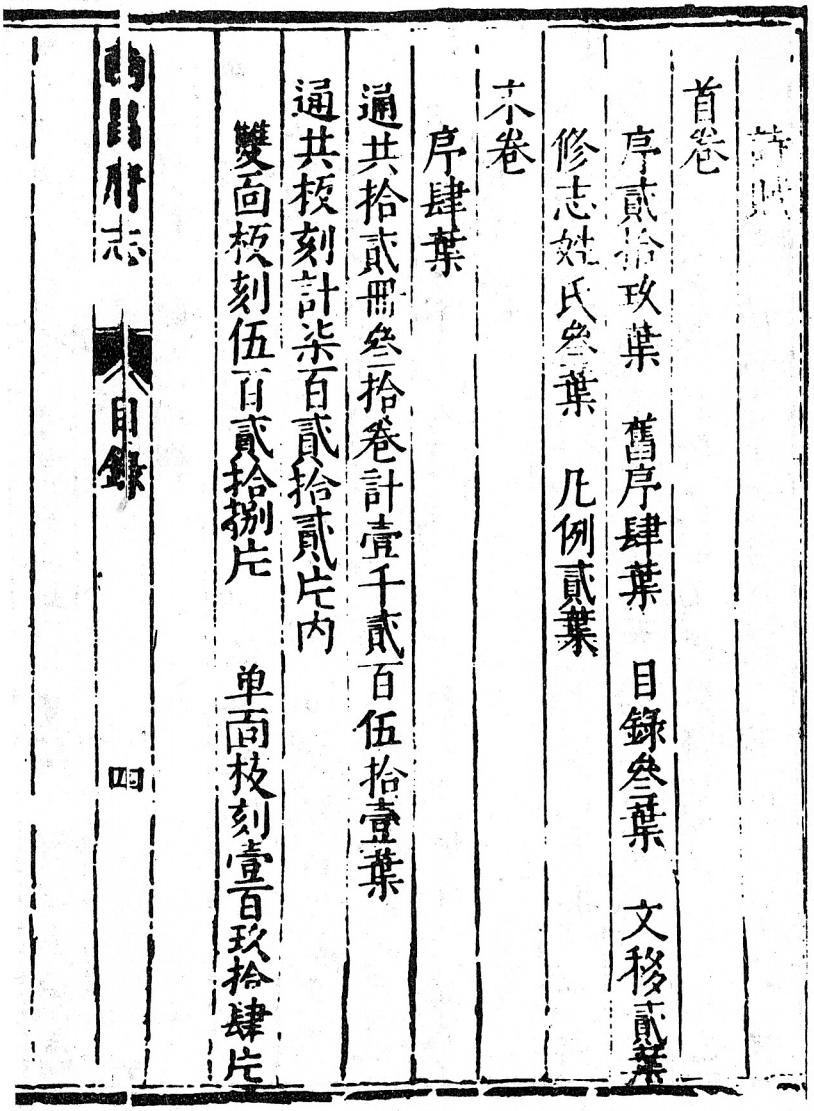
Another way to determine relative proportions of total costs would be to use the 42 tael figure from the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* to calculate a per-page cost for craftsmen's food, drink, and daily necessities, and apply that to the two titles closest in time, the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* and the 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*. The Yingzhou board cost was 42 taels divided by 302 pages, or 0.14 taels per page. Applying that to the *Qizhou zhi*, which was 214 pages, would mean 29.76 taels out of 38.56 taels total, or 77%, went to the craftsmen's board. Assuming 10% for woodblocks and paper would mean only 13% went to wages. Applying the 0.14 taels per page board figure to the 207-page 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*, which lists costs of 34 taels for "only the craftsmen's wages, wood for blocks," would mean 29 taels out of 63 total (for blocks, wages, and board), or 46%, went to board.[106] If the blocks cost about 2 taels, 32 taels out of 63, or 51% would have been for wages. These

calculations suggest substantial variation in the ratio of wages to board costs, but do show that board costs made up a large part of the total.

The variability of costs also applies to woodblocks. The *Xingning xian zhi* price for pear woodblocks, 0.01 taels per block, is much lower than previously known late Ming prices, which range from 0.03 to 0.4 taels per block. Shen Bang's 1593 *Wanshu zaji* lists prices from 0.1 taels to 0.4 taels, figures which represent the expenses of various government offices in Beijing and the nearby Wanping.[107] Kai-wing Chow argues that those prices would have been for more expensive woods, such as jujube, and that since all of the prices came from a single text, the price differences reflected differences in block size and quality.[108] One other source is the Wanli era (1572–1620) edition of *Fangce zang* (Rectangular-Folio Tripitaka), printed in Zhejiang, which records a price of 0.03 taels per block for pear wood.[109] The *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) price of 0.01 taels is noteworthy because it is just one third of the previously known lowest price, is three decades earlier than Shen Bang's prices, and comes from eastern Guangdong. The fact that the 1552 Xingning price was only one-fortieth of the high-end 1580s Beijing price shows that we still need to find many more prices from different times and regions to be confident that we understand Ming woodblock costs.

We also should not assume that magistrates publishing local histories always tried to use the cheapest blocks. The blocks of the Zhengtong-era (1436–1450) history of Xincheng county were made from red jujube (*huazao*).[110] Just as a magistrate who wanted a high-quality book could retain skilled editors, calligraphers, and block cutters, he could also use high-quality materials, both blocks and paper.

For those magistrates who wished to reduce costs, cutting blocks on both sides was an option. Figures for the *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) reveal how much could be saved. If the blocks were cut on one side only, fifty-five additional blocks would have been needed at a cost of 0.55 taels. This would have meant a 5.5% increase in the total cost (listed as blocks, cutters' wages, board, and printing paper). Despite the higher cost of cutting on one side only, the publishers of the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) and 1642 *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County) chose this option. (For a notation on choices made with respect to one-sided or two-sided block cutting, see figure 11.) This probably was done to maintain quality. A block cut on both sides would have worn more


首卷
序貳拾玖葉　舊序肆葉　目錄叁葉　文移貳葉
修志姓氏叁葉　凡例貳葉
末卷
序肆葉
通共拾貳冊叁拾卷計壹千貳百伍拾壹葉
通共板刻計柒百貳拾貳片內
雙面板刻伍百貳拾捌片　单面板刻壹百玖拾肆片

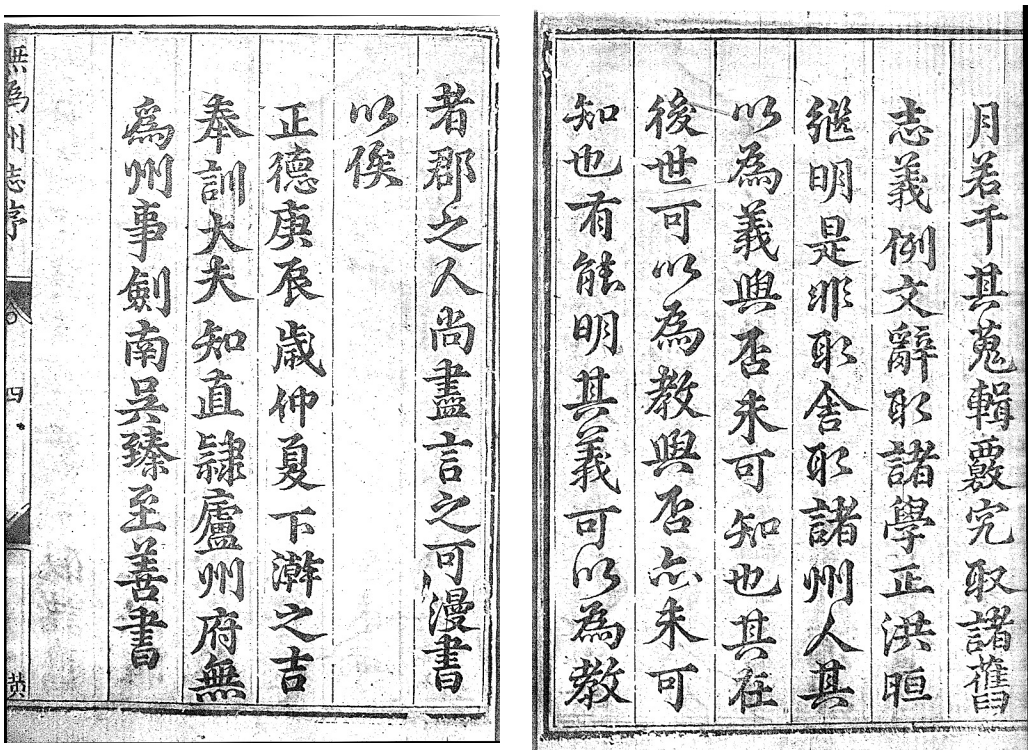
11. Notation on the number of blocks cut on one side and two sides for the 1588 *[Wanli] Xinxiu Nanchang fu zhi* ([Wanli-Era] Newly Edited History of Nanchang Prefecture), ed. and comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al., table of contents, p. 4a. Text of the statement is in the ninth column from the right.

quickly than a block cut on one side because pressure would be applied twice for each imprint. According to Lucille Chia, pear wood blocks could be used to print approximately 2,000–3,000 copies before needing repairs.[111] I have found nothing to suggest that initial print runs were anything near that size, so even if the blocks wore twice as fast as those cut on one side, hundreds of crisp prints could be made at lower cost during the tenure of the magistrate who sponsored the project. The repair or recutting of cheaply cut blocks would be a later magistrate's problem.

Another way to save money was to reuse surviving blocks from previous editions. When the *Wuwei zhou zhi* (History of Wuwei Subprefecture) was recompiled and printed in 1528 (Jiajing 7), 50–60% of the blocks for the previous edition were already lost. To save money and to honor the original compilers' efforts, the magistrate reused the surviving blocks without alteration.[112] (See figure 12.)

One of the local histories listed in Table 1, the 1510 *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji), sheds light on both the pace of cutting and block cutters' earnings for high-quality work. (See figure 13.) Fifteen block cutters worked over a period of seven and one-half months, putting in 1,600 workdays (*gong*). The text was 1,030 folio pages. Thus, on average, each folio page took 1.55 workdays to cut, or in other words, one cutter could complete about two-thirds of a block per day.[113] The total of "labor, board, and other costs" was 110 taels of silver. If 30% was for the block cutters' wages, that cost would be 33 taels, and the daily wage would be 33 taels for 1,600 workdays, or 0.02 taels. If 45% was for the block cutters' wages, the daily wage would have been 0.03 taels. The fifteen block cutters each worked an average of 106.7 days during the 225 day period. If the block cutters all were paid the same rate, each would have received about two to three taels for the project. This figure seems reasonable in light of the six-tael annual salary of the staff printer in the Pu'an, Guizhou, provincial-administration-commission branch office as of 1565, discussed above.

The wage rate could also be expressed in terms of amount paid per number of characters cut. Yang Shengxin estimates that block cutters could cut 100–150 characters per day and were paid 0.02 to 0.05 taels per one hundred characters.[114] To convert the 0.02 taels per day wage for the *Guiji zhi* to a piece rate requires a count of characters per page. Each folio page of the 1510 *Guiji zhi* has 20 columns with space for 20 large characters or 40 small characters per column. Thus, a full page would have 400 large characters, plus about seven to nine small characters



12. End of a preface printed from blocks originally cut for the imperially-mandated compilation of the 1520 edition to *Wuwei zhou zhi* (History of Wuwei Prefecture), comp. by Wu Zhen, Hong Xuan, et al., "Chongxiu Wuwei zhouzhi xu" (Preface for the Reedited History of Wuwei Prefecture), pp. 3b–4a, and reused unaltered in printing the 1528 supplemented edition. Elegant calligraphy written by Wu Zhen.

along the page crease for the title, *juan*, and page number. Few pages, however, are full. Based on character counts of sample pages, approximately 70% of each page was filled, 90% by large characters and 10% by small, which would mean about 316 characters per page, large and small. At 1.55 days per block, the block cutters did the equivalent of about 204 characters per day. Calculated as a piece rate, their wage was about 0.0135 taels per one hundred characters. That is one-third below the low end found by Yang.

命綖集以較讐綖重公盛舉雖衰老頓荒不敢固辭
遂繙閱各本正其譌補其闕而秩其次第無所于闕
者仍舊空之惟以儒學官書為據洊付刋手王廷珊
夏存誠等十有五人端相鋟梓經始于正月二十五
日落成于九月十日凡一千六百工板五百一十五
幅一千三十前志續志共一部該一十有二冊其傭
餐等費悉出于公俸之捐銀計一百一十兩民不知
勞事咸就緒噫數百年廢墜舊典一旦遇公舉而必

13. Details on the production time, costs, etc., for the 1510 reprinting of the 1201 *Guiji xu zhi* (Continuation History of Guiji), comp. by Shi Su, Zhao Hao, et al., comp., postface, p. 2a.

Financing

To understand the economics of Ming local histories, we need to know the sources of the money for production costs, not just how much they cost to produce and purchase. The compilation of local histories was widely recognized as one of a local official's duties, but there was little agreement on how to pay for printing. Although superior-government officers often ordered subordinates to compile local histories, the superior-government officers rarely paid. Almost all first editions were published by local governments with funds raised in a variety of ways. Most commonly, local administrators and compilers donated money, but government funds were also used, especially money from fines, litigation fees, and programs designed to cover magistrates' office expenses. In some cases, one or more local individuals donated, and, in others, funds were raised through the *lijia* (administrative community) and mostly likely through lineage organizations.

An administrator's duty to compile a local history is routinely discussed in his preface. As Xiong Wenhan explains in the 1548 *Ninghai zhou zhi* (History of Ninghai Subprefecture),

> The duty for a state to have a dynastic history, a locale to have a local history, and a family to have a genealogy is the same. There has long been a saying that compares descendants' not compiling a genealogy to being unfilial. That being so, can an official who fails to compile a local history be considered loyal?[115]

A Jiangxi surveillance official wrote circa 1544, "compiling a local history is a primary duty in local administration."[116] Compilers traced their duty to that of Zhou dynasty overseers of feudatories (*zhifang shi*), who were responsible for maintaining local maps, and emphasized that even the sage Zhu Xi (1130–1200) valued local histories. As Song Ji (dates unknown) explained in his 1438 preface to his *Pengcheng zhi* (History of Pengcheng), "When Master Zhu governed Nankang military prefecture, the first thing he did upon arrival was to consult the local history. Commentators say he understood administrative duties, and local histories relate to the administrative system (*zhengti*). They are not insignificant."[117]

Although the duty to compile was recognized, there was not agreement on whether the government should pay for printing, and if so, how. This issue can be seen in the 1536 reprinting of the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]). After the original blocks were cut, the magistrate stored them in

the compiler's home, but within a few years, someone took away seventeen blocks. The new magistrate had the missing blocks re-cut from an original imprint, paying for it out of his salary, even though, in the words of a postface author, "those who discuss it say, 'this certainly cannot be viewed as being outside the scope of his official duties.'"[118]

Local officials often sought permission before spending government money. Assistant Magistrate Lü Jingmeng wrote in his postface to the 1536 *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]):

> Getting the production money was troublesome. I submitted a request to the military defense circuit (*bingbeidao*) for the craftsmen's wages only and spent twenty-one taels of this subprefecture's unrestricted government silver, but the craftsmen required twice as much for their daily food and drink. Thus I took some extra money from my own salary and made arrangements for a very small amount of other money; I did not ask the administrative community units (*lijia*) for it.[119]

Military defense circuits were multiple-prefecture jurisdictions for military affairs. Benjamin Elman has argued that there was a link between military needs and local history production, which may explain the defense circuit's willingness to support the project, if only in part.[120]

Getting permission to spend government funds before beginning to cut the blocks caused problems for local administrators if they only had estimated rather than actual costs. If the project went over budget, administrators would have to cover the difference.[121] In some cases, an official simply declared that the local history was a government project and used unspecified funds. A preface to the 1376 history of Chaozhou prefecture, Guangdong, notes that the previous edition's blocks had been stored in the prefectural-school library, but were damaged as the Yuan dynasty collapsed. In 1375 an assistant censor visited Chaozhou and asked about the local history. When he learned that the blocks had been damaged, he made its restoration and printing an "internal government project" (*gong nei shi*).[122] Superiors also could allow local officials to use whatever funds they had that were not otherwise spoken for. The grand coordinator of Huguang province let the prefect of Changde use "unrestricted government funds" (*wu'ai guanqian*) to compile and publish the 1538 history. The grand coordinator simply required an expense report and list of compilers.[123]

More commonly, however, when the government paid, funds came from

named sources. Publication of the 1552 *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) was financed by "equalization silver" (*junping yin*). The Xingning magistrate requested and received permission to spend the money, writing, "It is on the record that there is an internal account balance of 10.8987 taels and a bit from the equalization silver for 1540 (the nineteenth year of the Jiajing era) and other years."[124] His petition was approved by six different offices: the prefecture, the provincial surveillance commission branch office, the provincial administration commission branch office, the provincial administration commission main office, the regional inspector, and the grand coordinator. This path through the bureaucracy was relatively short—publication of the 1597 *Fu'an xian zhi* (History of Fu'an County) was approved by twelve different offices and officers.[125]

"Equalization" was a program designed to simplify tax payments, cover the magistrate's office expenses, and replace some of the *lijia* requisitions.[126] Categories of expenses covered by equalization silver are listed in the 1547 history of Zhangping county, Fujian, and included paper, brushes, ink, seal mud, as well as wages, food, and drink for copyists and craftsmen. The *Zhangping xian zhi* (History of Zhangping County) records that the amount of equalization silver collected from the *lijia* in the year of publication was 349 taels of silver, of which 149.5 taels had not yet been allocated.[127] Such an amount would have been more than enough to pay publication costs. In the absence of equalization silver or a similar program, the *lijia* was often directly responsible for providing these types of expenses.[128] This, plus the fact that some magistrates proudly recorded that they did not bother the *lijia* or "the commoners" (*min*) to finance the local history, suggests that others did.[129]

One clear case in which *lijia* units were assessed for publishing a local history is the 1618 reprinting of the 1579 *Xinchang xian zhi*. Because the old woodblocks had burned, Xinchang magistrate Zheng Dongbi decided to have new blocks cut from an extant imprint (*fanke*). He calculated the number of characters, divided the cost equally among Xinchang's thirty administrative communities (*li*), and called in craftsmen. The cost to each *li* was "two and some *qian*" (*er qian ling*), or a total of six and some taels.[130]

In addition to direct assessment, administrators could also tap already-collected *lijia* funds. The magistrate of Fengrun county, Beizhili, received permission to spend up to 42.856 taels of "assignable reserve silver" (*paisheng yin*) for cutting and printing the 1570 *Fengrun xian zhi* (History of Fengrun County). *Paishengyin* was money set aside by the *lijia* to meet unexpected taxes.[131]

Money collected by magistrates in local court cases were a major source of funding. Publication of the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) was paid for with "the document, board, and other fees from the criminal Zhang Quan et al."[132] Chaoyang county magistrate Huang Yilong described his financing plan for the 1572 *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County) as follows:

> I plan to use confiscated ill-gotten gains and fines collected in cases under my sole jurisdiction (*zi li cisong zangfa*) for the expenses: monetary gifts of encouragement to local scholars, labor of Confucian students and copyists, and the various supplies, craftsmen, etc.[133]

By "*zi li cisong*" the magistrate meant minor cases that were not normally subject to appellate review. Although he controlled the underlying cases, he still needed permission to spend money derived from them.[134]

Magistrate Su Minwang financed the 1594 *Yong'an xian zhi* (History of Yong'an County) with 90 strings of cash (*min*) paid into the county treasury for the redemption of crimes. Su transferred the money to the assistant magistrate and clerk for use in the project.[135] Similarly, the 1544 *Guangxin fu zhi* (History of Guangxin Prefecture) was financed with fines paid to redeem crimes and "confiscated illicit profits and similar monies."[136]

Money collected from tax cheats was used to pay for the 1597 *Fu'an xian zhi* (History of Fu'an County). Fu'an magistrate Lu Yizai's petition explains that a 1581 flood swept away the 1559 edition's blocks and all but a few imprints. Lu described his plan to finance the recompilation:

> Production materials can be supplied from excess document paper. Other expenses can be paid from [funds collected from those who] cheated on their cultivated field, garden, or other taxes; we will not bother the commoners with an additional burden.[137]

Rents newly assessed against home owners who had encroached on the neighboring Confucian-school grounds covered a portion of the expenses for the 1600 *Gutian xian zhi* (History of Gutian County). When county magistrate Liu Riyi was recompiling the history, he discovered the encroachment. About a century earlier a local person had been given a piece of land cut from the school archery grounds in exchange for land needed for a new town wall. Subsequent owners of the parcel built numerous small homes on the adjacent school property. Instead of having them demolished, the magistrate ordered compensation, some

to be paid as rent to the school and some to be paid to the yamen to support the local history project.[138] Before finding this source of funds, the magistrate wrote that he did not dare take the money from the treasury or assess the people, so his only choice was to donate from his salary, and use money from redemption of crimes and excess stored grain.[139]

The 1544 *Yongfeng xian zhi* (History of Yongfeng County) provides evidence of two types of funding: money collected in the magistrate's court and contributions by officials. Yongfeng was subordinate to Guangxin prefecture, which was compiling a prefectural history. The Yongfeng magistrate gathered materials and submitted them to the prefecture. The Jiangxi grand coordinator ordered the Guangxin prefect to use fines paid to redeem crimes for the compilation and publishing costs. As with the *Fu'an xian zhi*, the local people were not to be bothered with a levy, because that would "further demonstrate the government's sympathy for the people." The grand coordinator's order came down via the assistant surveillance commissioner, who broadened the financing language to include not only fines, but also confiscated illicit profits and similar monies (*ren fan zang shu deng yin*) held by the prefecture and the subordinate county government.[140] After submitting materials for the prefectural history, the county magistrate turned them into a manuscript for a county history, and he, along with the vice-magistrate, Confucian-school instructor and assistant instructor, paid for its publication out of their own salaries. Apparently, all of the county's money from fines had already been spent on the prefectural history.[141]

These examples of local officials using money from named sources outside of general revenues shows that local funds were not fungible. Most local administrators did not use general revenues or special levies to finance local histories. Instead, they sought funds collected from wrongdoers. This practice was not confined to local yamen; the Southern Imperial Academy had a system in which fines received from officials and students were used to repair and supplement woodblocks used to print a variety of texts.[142]

The most commonly mentioned financing method was donations from salary by one or more local administrators and school instructors.[143] Although there are numerous examples of financing by a single magistrate or prefect, the cost of producing a local history could be more than a magistrate or prefect's annual salary, and many sought donations from their colleagues.[144] According to the *Da Ming huidian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Ming), a county magistrate's annual salary was only 27.49 taels and a prefect's annual salary was 62.05 taels, but Table 1 shows sixteenth-century county-history production costs ranging

from ten to ninety taels and one large work published in 1640 as costing more than 298 taels.[145] However, few officials lived on their salaries alone, and clearly many local officials could afford to either pay for the local history or to front the money and be reimbursed from sales, donations, or levies. Some officials may have even profited from publishing local histories. An administrative order contained in the 1530 *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) warns local officials that they must not use the local-history project to extort money from the local people, which suggests that perhaps such extortion was not unknown.[146]

Although references to local administrators' donations are common, not all Ming officials who wanted to publish a local history could afford to do so with their own funds. In the fall of 1368, the year of the Ming founding, Zhuo Chiliang was appointed to a position in the registry office of Wuzhou, Guangxi. Shortly after arriving, Zhuo recompiled the local history and wanted to publish it, but could not afford to do so. Luckily, soon thereafter a newly arrived assistant prefect, Fan Wenli, used his salary to have it printed.[147]

In many cases in which a magistrate donated funds, he did not cover the entire production cost. His donations simply led off a fundraising campaign that spread the cost among local officials and gentry, or covered limited expenses, such as those for recutting a few blocks or unbudgeted expenses. For example, an assistant prefect paid out of his own salary those expenses that exceeded the government funds allocated for publishing the 1556 *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (Guangdong).[148] Excess costs were probably incurred because approved expenditures were based on estimates submitted to higher officials before cutting began and did not always reflect actual costs.

Officials were more likely to donate in times of local budgetary distress than when those pressures were absent. Such distress could come from rebellions, natural disasters, or persistent poverty.[149] An unusual situation occurred when the Zhengde emperor visited Nanjing in 1519–1520 and wanted to read local histories from around the region. Shangyuan, one of Nanjing's two urban counties, had an unpublished manuscript, but no money for printing. According to Shangyuan magistrate, Bai Siqi, public funds had been exhausted by the suppression of the Prince of Ning's rebellion, so Bai asked each of his colleagues to donate funds to print the *Shangyuan xian zhi* (History of Shangyuan County).[150] Such donations were a relatively painless way for a magistrate to do a documented good deed that would reflect well on his administration.

Superior administrative units also could obtain contributions from sub-

ordinate units. The 1503 history of Fuzhou prefecture, Jiangxi, was published with money and woodblocks provided by magistrates of Fuzhou's subordinate counties.[151] The reverse, however, does not seem to be true. I have no evidence of superior units paying to print subordinate units' local histories.

Another funding source was local donors. Most commonly recorded are donations from the compilers themselves and local gentry. The compiler of the 1441 *Shangyu xian zhi* (History of Shangyu County), Guo Nan, expanded and published a manuscript drafted in the Yongle era (1401–1424) by a local commoner Yuan Hua and polished by his elder brother Yuan Xuan, a teacher of children. Guo, a retired assistant prefect, obtained the manuscript, collated it, added an account of the Ming soldiers' entrance into the county at the fall of the Yuan, and then paid for the cutting and printing with his own money.[152]

Where a group of scholars jointly compiled a local history, they all might donate to the cost of its publication. The 1457 (Tianshun 1) *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (Guangdong) was first drafted by Deng Lian, the Confucian-school instructor, in response to the 1454 imperial edict to recompile local histories. After sending the completed manuscript to the court, Deng and several local scholars decided to expand and print it. When the additions were finished, they all donated money for publication.[153] A compiler's family members might also contribute.[154] The cutting of the 1597 *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) was paid for by compiler Yu Jishan (1580 *jinshi*) during a time of crisis. Yu's addendum to his 1597 preface explains why he paid rather than asking the magistrate to provide funds:

> The history is complete, ordered, and error free. I want to give it to Suzhou [prefecture] block cutters and have calculated the workers' costs to be about sixty taels of silver. Because over the last year the locale has been repeatedly invaded and its material resources declared "diminished," I dared not bother the government [purse] and so donated half of a year's income to complete the history.[155]

Not all local donors were compilers. An individual local man Zou Xian (1431–1498) paid the entire cost of cutting the thirty-six *juan* 1494 *Wuxi xian zhi* (History of Wuxi County). The local history's preface described Zou as a "local learned man," but who had no degree.[156] In fact, Zou was a wealthy grain merchant and art collector.[157] Xu Zhidao, an elderly local commoner (*qimin*), paid to publish the 1515 *Dantu xian zhi* (History of Dantu County).[158]

Several prominent individuals paid a portion of the publishing costs for the 1542 edition of the *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County).[159] Its compilation was initiated by order of the Henan grand coordinator to Runing prefecture, Gushi's superior administrative unit, which ordered its subordinate counties and subprefectures to deliver copies of published local histories and "the writings of sages and worthies of ancient times or today."[160] Those like Gushi that had no published local history were to immediately submit a compilation plan to the education circuit intendant's office and, when the work was complete, to send a printed copy to the prefectural yamen. Though Gushi county lacked a published history, nine years earlier its magistrate had hired prefectural Confucian-school student Ge Chen (*juren* 1528) to compile one. Before the manuscript was finished, the magistrate left office, and it was not published. When Magistrate Zhang Ti took office, he looked for the local history and learned that Ge Chen still resided in the county and had his original work. Magistrate Zhang wanted to finish the project, and "prepared book money (*shubi*) to hire Master Ge, a fine man, to help do it."[161] In 1541 the work was completed and the Confucian school submitted an expense report to the education intendant stating:

> We invited with due propriety the county's students and officials [to participate]. We began [compiling the local history] on the first day of the third month and finished on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. When done, we had it cut. The fine copy was written out by Document Clerk Xu Bing and four others. The host official (*yinliguan*) Yang Sui and others voluntarily took care of the craftsmen's food and expenses. Only the workers' wages (*gongjia*) and cost of wood for blocks are included in this calculation, which totals thirty-four taels of silver.[162]

A postface gives more information on the local history's financing:

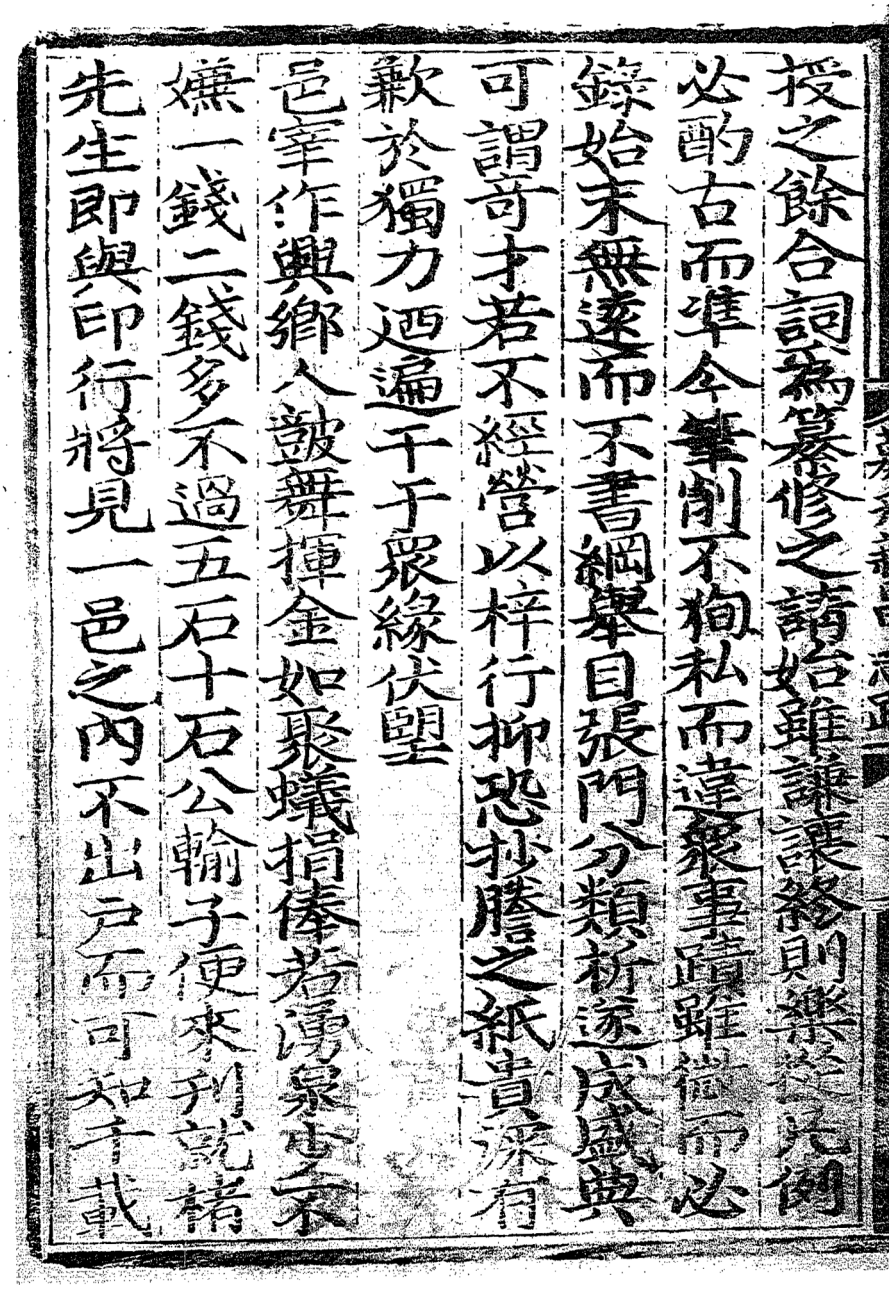
> How is it that in the past the history of Gushi was neglected, yet today it comes together? The group of gentlemen gathering was the confluence of people. Completing the project in two months was the confluence of time. The appearance one after another of those who donated money out of devotion to duty was the confluence of financing. When the three confluences combined, the history was completed. The esteemed participants' names are recorded in the prefaces, but we cannot leave out the names of the humble toilers. The host official Yang Sui took care of

feeding the craftsmen. National University Student Yi Cunxu and host officials Yi Xi and Peng Weiyan fed the copyists.[163]

Another technique for dividing expenses was for a donor to pay for printing a designated number of blocks or specific blocks. The 1505 *Jiangle xian zhi* (History of Jiangle County) was paid for by two "righteous commoners" (*yimin*) and the county administrators. The two commoners, Weng Jing and Yu Sheng, each paid for the cutting of twenty blocks, and Magistrate He Shilin and other officials paid for the rest.[164] In 1552 after fifty blocks were found to be missing from magistrate Zhang Ti's 1542 *Gushi xian zhi*, discussed above, the new magistrate, Shi Huai, had them recut from an existing imprint. Shi's blocks are identifiable by their inscription, "Huangshan shuyuan" (Mt. Huang Academy), which refers to his native place, Huangshan village, Dong'e county, Shandong, whereas Zhang Ti's blocks are inscribed, "Nanjiong caotang" (Nanjiong's Rustic Hall), following Zhang's style name.[165]

In at least one case, that of the 1621 *Ganzhou fu zhi* (History of Ganzhou Prefecture), a publishing house covered printing costs. After the fine copy was written out in Nanchang, it was returned to Ganzhou, where Publishing House Head Mr. Yu (Tangzhang Yu gong) gave it to block cutters and covered the cost himself. Mr. Zhu of the revenue office (*sichu*) provided food for all of the assembled artisans, and the work was finished in four months.[166]

It was also possible to fund a local history with small donations from many donors. Typically, the administrator would make the first contribution to encourage other contributions.[167] Seventy-four local donors, plus the Shaoxing prefect and Xinchang county magistrate, financed the 1477 *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County). The prefect and magistrate kicked off a fundraising drive with personal donations and thereafter, "donations of silver 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* [of rice]."[168] (For this list of donors, see figure 14.) Genealogies show that most donors were from fifteen of the twenty Xinchang lineages listed in the local history's section on local lineages, so perhaps contributions were solicited from lineage leaders.[169] Forty-nine people contributed to the publication of the 1641 *Yongnian xian zhi* (History of Yongnian County), and fifty-four contributed to the 1585 *Changshan xian zhi* (History of Changshan County).[170]



授之餘合詞爲纂修之請始雖謙讓終則樂從其例
必酌古而準今筆削不狥私而違衆事蹟雖備而必
錄始末無遠而不書綱舉目張門分類析遂成盛典
可謂奇才若不經營以梓行抑恐抄謄之紙貴深有
歉於獨力迺遍干于衆緣伏望
邑宰作興鄉人鼓舞揮金如聚蟻捐俸若湧泉忘衆
嫌一錢二錢多不過五石十石公輸子便來刊就諸
先生即與印行將見一邑之內不出戶而可知千載

14A

14A–D. Donor list for the 1477 *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County), comp. by Mo Dan, "Mu kan *Xinchang zhi* shu" (Description of Raising Funds For Cutting [Blocks] for the History of Xinchang), pp. 2a–b.

募刊新昌志疏

伏以

禹貢職方紀載開端於往聖山經地志編摩接踵於後賢光賁人文功垂世教顧茲南明之小邑實為東浙之名區山川秀麗而土物清奇風俗淳龐而人材傑特柰何志書之久闕是以考覈之無憑達士興嗟名邦見鄙人所病也吾實憾焉茲蓋伏遇

貳教先生鑪鄉莫公江南仕族吳下偉人諸生於講

章允明　王廷用　俞廷式
陳履長　張宗堅　呂好道
俞廷芳　王希聲　徐用昌
石廷材　呂廷益　趙孟新
章希柔　石秉和　呂廷烈
陳之悅　蔡丕昭　王叔安
呂中順　何球　俞炌行
王尚明　章詣　陳景和
丁大輝　徐景新　俞少
王茂英　蔡守廉　潘孔光
俞廷彰　潘大道　王公器
胡端禎　石景成　梁以元
石右道　劉思則　趙希正
求尚達　袁宏　何友
潘孔
梁公操
張轅
唐孟能
古京才

之間一舉目而昭然見自此流芳於一世十世百世從
今傳信於百家千家萬家豈惟吾邑之事永播于無
窮而諸公之名亦同垂于不朽共成美事皆賴知音
謹疏
成化十二年八月吉日庠生張鑑等謹疏

助刑姓氏

呂好惠　張蘊文　俞廷器　呂景明
張鞠廷　呂好遠　陳懷廷　張侍廷
呂好山　俞廷瓊　潘乳舒　俞用威
吳永潤　呂好璘　張仁廷　呂廷賓
呂丕元　王以安　呂廷彰　俞紹

The relative sizes of donations can be seen in a donations list from the 1640 *Jiangyin xian zhi*. Three officials and eleven local gentry donated a total of 298 taels. Another five people on the list had the amount of their donations blackened out, perhaps for nonpayment. A total of 112 taels was given by the officials and 186 taels by the local gentry. Two people, the magistrate and a local, donated 200 taels, about two-thirds of the total.[171] From these records we can see that local-history projects, like many local infrastructure projects in the Ming dynasty, were financed jointly by administrators and locals.

Conclusion

This essay has provided new information on the economics of book production in Ming China and illustrated a method for further research. Data presented in tables 1 through 3 make possible cost estimates for craftsmen's wages, living expenses, and production materials. Data on funding show that local histories were financed locally by donations, levies, and government funds, most of which came from named sources, especially money collected in magistrates' courts. Although this project has uncovered substantial new information, it also reveals that we are still at an early stage of research on the economics of book publishing in imperial China. For example, the fact that pear-wood blocks used to print a 1552 history in Guangdong cost only 0.01 taels per block suggests that woodblocks could be very cheap. But we also know that that price was only one-fortieth the price of high-quality blocks used by the Beijing government in the 1580s. This suggests significant cost variation depending on time, place, and type of book, and we need more data before we can confidently make broad conclusions about how to characterize publishing expenses. Ascertaining the affordability of books to readers is an even greater challenge because if we wish to make informed conclusions, we need not only price and wage data across time and space, but also ways to determine the disposable income of people in various occupations.

Nonetheless, and despite these challenges, this study shows that much can be learned about the economics of book publishing in imperial China by casting a wide net for scattered pieces of information contained in local histories. Previous scholarship did not consider local histories to be important sources for the study of the book industry. However, through careful analysis of the minutiae contained therein—by poring over the comments and complaints of the compilers and preface writers, by scrutinizing the work of craftsmen, by

mapping out movements of compilers, materials, and manuscripts, by examining administrators' petitions concerning publication—a fascinating portrait emerges of how officials, scholars, and even common people worked to compile, finance, and publish local histories. While a single local history may reveal little, in the accumulated data from numerous local histories, patterns begin to emerge. In terms of listed production costs, we have seen here that mid- to late Ming local histories ranged in cost from as little as ten taels to over three hundred seventy taels, which on a per-page basis would be 0.091 to 0.437 taels. Although most of these figures contain ambiguities regarding the exact costs covered, especially the amount of paper included in the listed cost, we can get a rough idea of costs.

There is still much more to be found in local histories. Material for this project was drawn from a review of only one-half of the approximately one-thousand extant Ming local histories. Compare that to the more than six-thousand surviving Qing and Republican local histories, and it is clear that additional useful information remains to be gleaned from these sources, especially since later local histories are even richer in economic information related to publishing. It is possible to construct a set of data stretching from the origin of the genre to the early twentieth century, and although it would be much thinner for the earlier period, such data would nevertheless be an important contribution to both our understanding of publishing history and economic history in China.

Appendix 1

Relevant portions of the sources for figures in Table 1, with English translations.

1. *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji) of 1520, in Shaoxing Prefecture, Zhejiang

付刊手王廷珊，夏存誠,等十五人端相鋟梓。經始于正月二十五日，落成于九月十日，凡一千六百工。板五百一十五，幅一千三十。前志、續志，共一部,該一十有二冊。其傭、餐、等費，悉出于公俸之捐，銀計一百一十兩，民不知勞。

The [text] was delivered to the fifteen cutters, Wang Tingshan, Xia Cuncheng, etc. They began work on the twenty-fifth day of the first month and finished on the tenth day of the ninth month, altogether 1600 workdays. There were 515 woodblocks and 1,030 leaves. The original history and the supplemental history were [published] together as one set consisting of twelve fascicles. The 110 taels of

silver for wages, board, and other costs, were all donated by officials; commoners were not bothered.[1]

2. *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) of 1530, in Huguang

刊刻誌書板木，並匠作工食、印刷紙、等項，估計價銀叁拾捌兩五錢陸分。

The cost for woodblocks, craftsmen's wages and board, printing paper, and other items for publishing the local history, is calculated to be 38.56 taels of silver.[2]

3. *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]) of 1536, in Nanzhili

其為工費亦煩矣。惟工銀呈於兵備道。動支本州無礙官銀二十有一兩，而工人日用飲食則倍焉。乃自出俸餘及略為措處資給分毫，不與里甲相干也。

Getting the production money was troublesome. I submitted a request to the military defense circuit (*bingbeidao*) for the craftsmen's wages only and spent twenty-one taels of this subprefecture's unrestricted government silver, but the craftsmen required twice as much for their daily food and drink. Thus I took some extra money from my own salary and made arrangements for a very small amount of other money; I did not ask the administrative community units (*lijia*) for it.[3]

4. *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) of 1542, in Henan

獨工價板木算該銀三十四兩。

The craftsmen's wages and wood for blocks alone were thirty-four taels of silver.[4]

5. *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) of 1552, in Guangdong

書板計算共一百一十葉，每二葉用梨木板一塊，兩面刊刻共用板五十五塊。每塊該銀一分，併刻字工食、印刷、紙劄通共銀十兩。

The book's blocks are calculated as follows: In total there are one hundred and ten leaves, every two leaves uses one pear woodblock carved on two sides. The total number of blocks needed is fifty-five. Each block costs one *fen* of silver, and with the cutters' wages, food, and printing paper, the total cost is ten taels.[5]

6. *Fengrun xian zhi* (History of Fengrun County) of 1570, in Beizhili

見剩銀四十二兩八錢五分六毫，欲於數內動支公用。

Currently remaining [in this account] are 42.8506 taels. We wish to use up to this amount for the public purpose [of printing the local history].[6]

7. *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture) of 1588, in Jiangxi

南昌府，據各縣查明，堪以動支銀壹百伍拾餘兩。

Nanchang Prefecture, in accordance with the reports of each county, may use 150 and some taels of silver [for the project].[7]

各州縣查報學租等項銀兩准動支以充修志之費。其南、新二縣租銀今年先支一半，其一半侯十六年分徵收補支。

Each subprefecture and county is allowed to use the reported silver from school land rents and other sources for the expenses of compiling the local history. The two counties of Nan[chang] and Xin[jian] should provide half of the rent silver this year, and wait until the sixteenth year [of the Wanli reign] to collect and provide the other half.[8]

通共拾貳冊、叁拾卷、計壹千貳百伍拾壹葉，通共板刻計柒百貳拾貳片內，雙面板刻伍百貳拾捌片，单面板刻壹百玖拾肆片。

There are a total of 12 fascicles, 30 chapters, and 1,251 leaves. Altogether there are 722 cut blocks, of which 528 blocks are cut on two sides and 194 cut on one side.[9]

8. *Yong'an xian zhi* (History of Yongan County) of 1594, in Fujian.

又檢閱庫中,得所自理贖鍰幾九十緡，以付邑主簿夏秉彝，典史陳策經紀其費。

I then examined the treasury and took out nearly ninety strings of cash paid for the redemption of crimes in cases under my sole jurisdiction and gave it to Assistant Magistrate Xia Bingyi and Clerk Chen Ce to manage the expenses.[10]

9. *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County) of 1597, in Henan

志成。不揣蕪謬，欲付之吳門剞劂氏，計工費約六十金。年來地方屢侵，物力告詘。不敢以煩公家，善減損歲資之半成之。

The local history is complete. Although I have written it poorly, I wanted to give it to Wumen (Suzhou) block cutters. Their wages will be about sixty taels of silver. In recent years the area has been repeatedly invaded and its material resources declared diminished. I dare not trouble the public purse so have donated half of a year's income to complete it.[11]

10. *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County) of 1640, in Nanzhili[12]

江陰縣■■■[13]		JIANGYIN COUNTY ■■■	
知縣馮士仁	銀一百兩	Magistrate Feng Shiren	100 silver taels
縣丞孫旭	銀十兩	Vice Magistrate Sun Xu	10 silver taels
典史王崇文	銀■■■	Clerk Wang Chongwen	■■■ silver
教諭譚振舉	銀二兩	Instructor Tan Zhenju	2 silver taels
守備		COMMANDANTS:	
鮑道傳	銀■■■	Bao Daochuan	■■■ silver
鄒瀚	銀■■■	Zou Han	■■■ silver
鄉紳		LOCAL GENTRY:	
陳繼芳	銀二十兩	Chen Jifang	20 silver taels
李鵬翀	銀一百兩	Li Pengchong	100 silver taels
貢修齡	銀■■兩	Gong Xiuling	■■ silver taels
張友譽	銀二十兩	Zhang Youyu	20 silver taels
楊永清	銀三兩	Yang Yongqin	3 silver taels
曹璣	先輸銀十兩	Cao Ji	Previously paid 10 silver taels
沈鼎科	銀■■■	Shen Dingke	■■■ silver
趙士春	銀四兩	Zhao Shichun	4 silver taels
徐遵湯	銀十兩	Xu Zuntang	10 silver taels
朱士烈	先輸銀五兩	Zhu Shilie	Previously paid 5 silver taels
徐公燮	銀六兩	Xu Gongxie	6 silver taels
夏維新	銀四兩	Xia Weixin	4 silver taels
■■■	銀四兩	■■■	4 silver taels

11. *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County) of 1642 in Nanzhili

鳩工雕板則昉於壬午季春之，竣於八月既望。計版葉二千二百有奇。糜金三百七十兩有奇。

Block cutting began on the first day of the last month of spring of [1642] the *renwu* year and finished on the sixteenth day of eighth month. The number of blocks and leaves was 2,200 and some. Expended silver was 370 and some taels.[14]

Appendix Notes

1. Postface to *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji), comp. by Shi Su, Zhao Hao, et al. (1510), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 2715, imprint held in National Central Library, Taipei.

2. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) (1530), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1962), *juan* 9, pp. 70a–b.

3. Preface to *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al., (1536), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).

4. Preface and postface to *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County), comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).

5. Sheng Ji et al., comp., *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 964.

6. "Kezhi gongyi" (Administrative Documents on the Cutting of the [Blocks for] the History), *Fengrun xian zhi* (History of Fengrun County), comp. by Wang Nayan, Shi Bangzheng, et al. (1570), rpt. in Sikuquanshu cunmu congshu (Tainan, Taiwan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996), p. 519.

7. "Wenyi" (Official Communications), *Nanchang fu zhi* (Nanchang Prefecture History, comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al. (1588), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 2 (rpt. p. 20).

8. Ibid.

9. Table of contents to *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture), comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al. (1588), p. 4 (rpt. p. 19).

10. Preface to *Yong'an xian zhi* (History of Yongan County), comp. by Su Minwang et al. (1594), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 3b (rpt. p. 6).

11. Addendum to the 1597 preface to *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County), comp. by Bao Ying et al. (1659), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 7 (rpt. p. 15).

12. Prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comp. by Feng Shiren et al., (1640; Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003), rpt. p. 21.

13. The number of missing characters is unclear. It presumably says "contributors" or the like.

14. Prefatory matter to *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County), comp. by Niu Ruolin et al. (1642), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), rpt. p. 164.

Table 1.

Production of Local Histories

Date, Title, and Province	Total Listed Cost	Items Included in the Total Cost	No. of Blocks	Cut on 1 Side or 2	Folio Pages in Text	Cost per Wood Block	No. of Block Cutters	Work Days	Wage Costs	Board Costs	Per-Page Block-Cutting Cost
1510 *Guiji zhi* Zhejiang	110 taels	"wages, board, etc."	515	2	1,030	?	15	1,600	?	?	<0.107 taels
1530 *Qizhou zhi* Huguang	38.56 taels	"wood for blocks, craftsmen's wages, and board, printing paper, etc."	214	1	214	?	?	?	?	?	<0.180 taels
1536 *Yingzhou zhi* Nanzhili	63 taels	wages, "daily needs," drink, food	?	?	302	?	?	?	21 taels	42 taels for "daily needs, drink, food"	0.209 taels
1542 *Gushi xian zhi* Henan	34 taels	"only the craftsmen's wages, wood for blocks"	?	?	207	?	?	?	?	copyists' and cutters' "food and necessities" were donated	>0.164 taels
1552 *Xingning xian zhi* Guangdong	10 taels	pear woodblocks, "cutters' wages, food, printing paper"	55	2	110	1 *fen* (0.1 taels)	?	?	?	?	<0.091 taels

DATE, TITLE, AND PROVINCE	TOTAL LISTED COST	ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL COST	NO. OF BLOCKS	CUT ON 1 SIDE OR 2	FOLIO PAGES IN TEXT	COST PER WOOD BLOCK	NO. OF BLOCK CUTTERS	WORK DAYS	WAGE COSTS	BOARD COSTS	PER-PAGE BLOCK-CUTTING COST
1570 *Fengrun xian zhi* Beizhili	Up to 42.85 taels	"paper, wages, food"	?	?	206	?	?	?	?	?	<0.208 taels
1588 *Nanchang fu zhi* Jiangxi	150 "and some" taels	compilation costs and supplies, including paper	722	528 on 2, 194 on 1	1,251	?	?	?	?	?	<0.12 taels
1594 *Yong'an xian zhi* Fujian	nearly 90 strings of cash	project costs	?	?	206	?	?	?	?	?	<0.437 taels
1597 *Gushi xian zhi* Henan	about 60 taels	Suzhou block cutters' costs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
1640 *Jiangyin xian zhi* Nanzhili	298 taels	donations for unspecified costs	?	?	903	?	?	?	?	?	<0.330 taels
1642 *Wuxian zhi* Nanzhili	370 "and some"	compilation, illustrations, calligraphy, block cutting	2200 "and some"	1	2200 "and some"	?	?	?	?	?	<0.162 taels

Table 2.

Paper Costs of Three Local Histories, Assuming the Use of Papers of Four Different Sizes and Per-Sheet Costs

Paper A: 0.02 taels per 75 sheets, each sheet 150 cm by 76 cm
Paper B: 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, each sheet 172 cm by 151 cm
Paper C: 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, each sheet 150 cm by 136 cm
Paper D: 0.08 taels per 100 sheets, each sheet 150 cm by 76 cm

Date, Title, (Province)	Total Listed Cost	Items Included in the Total Cost	No. of Folio Pages	Folio-Page Size with Margins (cm)	Paper Sheet-Size	Folio Pages per Sheet	Sheets per Copy	Paper Cost for *N* Copies (Taels)			Paper as % of Total Cost for *N* Copies		
								50 sheets	100 sheets	200 sheets	50 sheets	100 sheets	200 sheets
1530 *Qizhou zhi* (Huguang)	38.56 taels	"wood for blocks; craftsmen's wages; and board, printing, paper, etc."	214	24.7 x 34.2	A	12	17.8	0.24	0.48	0.95	0.6%	1.2%	2.5%
					B	30	7.1	0.28	0.57	1.14	0.7%	1.5%	2.9%
					C	24	8.9	0.36	0.71	1.42	0.9%	1.8%	3.7%
					D	12	17.8	0.71	1.42	2.85	1.8%	3.7%	7.4%

DATE, TITLE, (PROVINCE)	TOTAL LISTED COST	ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL COST	NO. OF FOLIO PAGES	FOLIO-PAGE SIZE WITH MARGINS (CM)	PAPER SHEET-SIZE	FOLIO PAGES PER SHEET	SHEETS PER COPY	PAPER COST FOR *N* COPIES (TAELS)			PAPER AS % OF TOTAL COST FOR *N* COPIES		
								50 SHEETS	100 SHEETS	200 SHEETS	50 SHEETS	100 SHEETS	200 SHEETS
1552 *Xingning xian zhi* (Guangdong)	10 taels	pear woodblocks, "cutters' wages, food, printing paper"	110	23.2 x 36.5	A	12	9.2	0.12	0.25	0.49	1.2%	2.5%	4.9%
					B	28	3.9	0.16	0.31	0.63	1.6%	3.1%	6.3%
					C	20	5.5	0.22	0.44	0.88	2.2%	4.4%	8.8%
					D	12	9.2	0.37	0.74	1.47	3.7%	7.4%	14.7%
1588 *Nanchang fu zhi* (Jiangxi)	150 "and some" taels	total compilation costs and supplies, including paper	1,251	27.1 x 30.6	A	10	125.1	1.67	3.33	6.67	1.1%	2.2%	4.4%
					B	35	50.0	2.00	4.00	8.01	1.3%	2.7%	5.3%
					C	20	62.55	2.5	5.0	10.0	1.7%	3.3%	6.7%
					D	10	125.1	5.01	10/02	20.03	3.3%	6.7%	13.3%

Table 3
Size of Printed Area Per Half-Folio Page (centimeters)

DATE	1500	PROVINCE	HEIGHT	WIDTH
1500	*Huangzhou fu zhi*	Huguang	22.0	14.5
1501	*Ningxia xin zhi*	Shaanxi	21.0	15.6
1513	*Kuizhou fu zhi*	Sichuan	21.5	14.6
1515	*Guanghua xian zhi*	Huguang	20.8	14.3
1517	*Jianchang fu zhi*	Jiangxi	22.3	14.5
1517	*Yuanzhou fu zhi*	Jiangxi	21.5	14.8
1521	*Huating xian zhi*	Nanzhili	20.0	12.7
1524	*Dongxiang xian zhi*	Jiangxi	19.8	13.9
1525	*Yannping fu zhi*	Fujian	20.8	14.5
1526	*Pujiang zhi lüe*	Zhejiang	19.2	14.8
1528	*Hui da ji*	Guangdong	20.0	13.5
1529	*Qizhou zhi*	Huguang	20.8	15.0
1530	*Hui'an xian zhi*	Fujian	18.0	14.7
1530	*Tongzhou zhi*	Nanzhili	22.1	13.7
1530	*Youxi xian zhi*	Fujian	18.8	14.0
1531	*Mianyang zhi*	Huguang	19.0	13.3
1535	*Changde fu zhi*	Huguang	21.3	14.5
1536	*Ganzhou fu zhi*	Jiangxi	20.3	15.7
1536	*Haimen xian zhi*	Zhejiang	20.3	14.4
1536	*Hengzhou fu zhi*	Huguang	23.0	15.5
1536	*Shixing xian zhi*	Guangdong	20.6	14.1
1537	*Neihuang xian zhi*	Beizhili	21.0	15.8
1537	*Sinan fu zhi*	Guizhou	20.9	14.1
1539	*Qinzhou zhi*	Guangdong	20.9	14.6
1540	*Yingshan xian zhi*	Huguang	20.8	14.8
1541	*Jianning fu zhi*	Fujian	19.8	14.0
1541	*Yunyang xian zhi*	Sichuan	20.7	13.6
1542	*Nanxiong fu zhi*	Guangdong	19.2	14.5
1543	*Ruijin xian zhi*	Jiangxi	22.0	15.8
1543	*Shaowu fu zhi*	Fujian	22.0	14.2
1546	*Hanyang fu zhi*	Huguang	18.3	13.8
1547	*Qishui xian zhi*	Huguang	22.6	15.2
1548	*Laiwu xian zhi*	Shandong	22.5	14.4
1549	*Pu'an zhou zhi*	Guizhou	20.5	14.5
1549	*Wucheng xian zhi*	Shandong	21.5	16.0
1550	*Guangping fu zhi*	Beizhili	25.0	18.0
1550	*Xundian fu zhi*	Yunnan	21.0	14.8
1551	*Badong xian zhi*	Huguang	19.7	13.8
1551	*Quwo xian zhi*	Shanxi	21.5	14.1
1552	*Anxi xian zhi*	Fujian	18.5	13.5
1552	*Linqu xian zhi*	Shandong	21.9	13.9
1552	*Xingning xian zhi*	Guangdong	19.5	16.0
1553	*Jianyang xian zhi*	Fujian	21.0	13.7
1553	*Luhe xian zhi*	Nanzhili	21.6	14.1
1554	*Yancheng xian zhi*	Henan	21.1	15.5
1555	*Mahu fu zhi*	Sichuan	28.8	17.5
1557	*Anji zhou zhi*	Zhejiang	19.7	13.8

DATE	1500	PROVINCE	HEIGHT	WIDTH
1562	*Gaochun xian zhi*	Nanzhili	20.5	14.5
1567	*Yizhen xian zhi*	Nanzhili	20.5	14.2
1570	*Ruichang xian zhi*	Jiangxi	20.6	14.5
1572	*Haizhou zhi*	Nanzhili	20.0	14.0
1572	*Linjiang fu zhi*	Jiangxi	22.3	15.5
1573	*Cili xian zhi*	Huguang	22.4	15.0
1575	*Luzhou fu zhi*	Nanzhili	27.1	15.0
1576	*Chenzhou zhi*	Huguang	20.5	14.0
1579	*Xinchang xian zhi*	Zhejiang	19.2	14.4
1588	*Nanchang fu zhi*	Jiangxi	22.8	13.4
1621	*Chengdu fu zhi*	Sichuan	24.3	15.0
1640	*Jiangyin xian zhi*	Nanzhili	22.0	14.2
	n=59	Average	21.1	14.6
	~Paper size/folio page, with margins		25.2	33.2

Notes

1. See Wilt L. Idema, *Chinese Vernacular Fiction: The Formative Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), pp. lviii–lix; and Idema, "Review of Evelyn Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (1979)," *T'oung Pao* 66.4–5 (1980), pp. 314–324; and Shen Jin, "Mingdai fangke tushu zhi liutong yu jiage" (The Circulation and Prices of Ming-Dynasty Commercially Published Books), in *Guojia tushuguan guankan* (*National Central Library Bulletin*) 1 (June 1996), pp. 101–118. Also see Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), pp. 190–192
2. Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), chapter 1 and p. 302. Joseph P. McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), pp. 25–31. Cynthia J. Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in Qing and Republican Periods* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), p. 552.
3. For discussion of the non-commercial nature of local histories, see Martin Heijdra, "Town Gazetteers and Local Society in the Jiangnan Region During the Qing Period," translation of Mori Masao, "Shindai Kōnan deruta no kyōchinshi to chiiki shakai," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 62.4 (2004), pp. 1–53.
4. On Song local histories, see James M. Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Histories and Their Place in the History of Difangzhi Writing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1996) 56. 2, pp. 405–442; and Peter Bol, "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001), pp. 37–76. On Yuan local histories, see Timothy Brook, "Native Identity under Alien Rule: Local Histories of the Yuan Dynasty, in Richard Brutnell, ed., *Pragmatic Literacy East and West, 1200–1330* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 235–245.
5. For a study of printing of pre-1400 local histories, see my "Early Printing in China Viewed From the Perspective of Local Histories," in Lucille Chia and Hilde DeWeerdt, ed., *First Impressions: A Cultural History of Print in Imperial China (8th–14th centuries)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, forthcoming).

6. Huang Wei, *Fangzhi xue* (Local-History Studies) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1993), p. 186. Huang states the total number of extant editions as 1017, based on Ba Zhaoxiang's count. Ba recently revised his count to 1014. See Ba Zhaoxiang, "Lun Mingdai fangzhi de shuliang yu xiu zhi zhidu" (A Discussion of the Number of Ming Dynasty Local Histories and Their Compilation System), in *Zhongguo difangzhi* (Chinese Local Histories) 4 (2000), pp. 45–51. It should be kept in mind that two copies of the same title often contain different materials because of additions made after the initial printing.
7. Hu Lian, "Yongzhou fu tuzhi xu" (Preface to the History of Yongzhou Prefecture, with Maps), comp. by Hu Lian et al. (1383), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(404), no. 834, original in the National Library of China, p. 4a.
8. The rules of compilation have been preserved in the *Shouchang xian zhi* (History of Shouchang County) (1586), rpt. in *Mingdai guben fangzhi xuan* (Selected Sole-Extant-Exemplar Ming-Dynasty Local Histories) (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2000). The rules as reprinted in the *Shouchang xian zhi* are dated 1412 (Yongle 10), but other sources document the order as having been issued in 1418 (Yongle 16).
9. On 1 August 1454 (the eighth day of the seventh month of Jingtai 5), the Ministry of Rites was ordered to recompile the realm's local histories. Emissaries were dispatched to the provinces to work on the projects. Zhou Jifeng, *Yunnan tong zhi* (History of Yunnan Province) (1510), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 28, p. 19 (rpt. p. 283). For the Chongzhen era, see Huang Wei, *Fangzhi xue* (Local History Studies), pp. 859–861.
10. Kou Tianxu, preface to *Jiangning xian zhi* (History of Jiangning County), comp. by Wang Gao, Liu Yu (1521), rpt. in Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988), p. 2a (rpt. p. 689).
11. Prefaces to *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County), comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542; 1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 8a–b.
12. Liu Fu, Yang Pei, et al., comps., *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History of Hengzhou Prefecture) (1537), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 1, pp. 14b and 15b.
13. Old prefaces to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (1556), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al., rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1964), pp. 1b–2a.
14. Prefaces to *Neihuang xian zhi* (History of Neihuang County), comp. by Dong Xian (1527), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 4b–5b.
15. Zhang Zhi, Xia Liangsheng, et al., comps., *Chaling zhou zhi* (History of Chaling Subprefecture) (1525), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan xia*, p. 81a (rpt. p. 1085).
16. Respectively, see *fanli* (principles of composition) to *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]), by Ma Tun (1494), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China, pp. 2–4; and "Fan yinyong shumu" (Works Cited), in *Hangzhou fu zhi* (History of Hangzhou Prefecture), comp. by Chen Rang et al. (1474), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(406), original in the National Library of China.

Other substantial lists of works consulted are found in the following three local histories:

- The 1512 *Songjiang fu zhi* (History of Songjiang Prefecture) (fifty-seven works)—see Gu Qing, comp., *Songjiang fu zhi* (1512), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990);
- the 1501 *Ningxia xin zhi* (New History of Ningxia) (forty-two works)—see preface to *Ningxia xin zhi*, comp. by Hu Rukuang et al. (1501) in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990); and
- the 1542 *Yexian zhi* (History of Ye County) (thirty-seven works)—see *mulu* (table of contents) to *Yexian zhi*, comp. by Shao Bi et al. (1542), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(388), original in the National Library of China, p. 7.

17. Prefatory matter to *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al. (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 2a.
18. See, for example, prefaces to *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County), comp. by Tian Guan et al. (1579), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 12b–13a.
19. Prefaces to *Tengxian zhi* (History of Teng County), comp. by Yang Chengfu et al. (1585), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), p. 1b (rpt. p. 1).
20. Old prefaces to *Guangchang xian zhi* (History of Guangchang County), comp. by Wang Jingsheng et al. (1683), rpt. in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1989), pp. 1–2.
21. On books and gift-giving, see McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book*, pp. 84–94.
22. Cong Pan, postface to *Ninghai zhou zhi* (History of Ninghai Subprefecture), comp. by Li Guangxian et al. (1548), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1a (rpt. p. 873).
23. Prefaces for *Ningzhou zhi* (History of Ning [Subprefecture]), comp. by Gong Xian (1543), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), pp. 4b–5b (rpt. pp. 8–10).
24. Zhang Qixun, preface to *Hengzhou fu zhi* (History of Hengzhou Prefecture), comp. by Zhang Qixun et al. (1671; supplemented in 1682), pp. 2–3 (rpt. pp. 6–7) and *juan* 23, p. 37a (rpt. p. 856).
25. *Fanli* (principles of composition) to *Luhe xian zhi* (History of Luhe County), comp. by Dong Bangzheng et al. (1553), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), rpt. p. 718.
26. Prefaces to *Ningzhou zhi* (1543), pp. 4–5 (rpt. pp. 8–9).
27. Ibid., pp. 849–851.
28. Postface to ibid., p. 1b (rpt. p. 858).
29. Gong Xian, preface to ibid., p. 1b.
30. Preface and *fanli* (principles of composition) to *Bozhou zhi* (History of Bozhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Sun Yuanqing, Li Xianfang, et al. (1564), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), no. 812, original in the National Library of China.

31. Feng Fujing, preface to *Changguo zhou tu zhi* (History of Changguo Prefecture with Illustrations), comp. by Feng Fujing et al. (1298), rpt. in Song-Yuan fangzhi congkan (Taibei: Guotai wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1954), p. 6061.
32. Wang Luan, "Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xian zhi xu" [Preface to the Hongzhi 2 (1369) *History of Chaoyang County*], and Zhang Zhu, "Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xian zhi houxu [Postface to the Hongzhi 2 (1369) *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County)], *Chaoyang xian zhi* (History of Chaoyang County), comp. by Lin Dachun (1572), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 1b and 3a.
33. Cao Xuequan, 1623 preface to the *Da Ming yitong mingsheng zhi* (Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Famous Sights of the Great Ming Empire) (1630), Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (Tainan: Zhuang yan wenhua shiye, 1996), pp. 1–8 (rpt. pp. 234–238). For a biography of Cao, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 1299–1301.
34. Xiao Lianggan, Zhang Yuanbian, et al., comps., *Shaoxing fu zhi* (History of Shaoxing Prefecture) (1587), rpt. in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1989), *juan* 50, p. 11b (rpt. p. 3338).
35. Zheng Dongbi, "Xin zhi xu xiaoyin" (A Short Introduction to the *Continuation of the History of Xin[chang]*), in *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County), comp. by Tian Guan et al. (1579), supplemented and rpt. in 1618 by Zheng Dongbi, facsimile copy held in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, Japan, original in the National Diet Library.
36. Gu Yan, preface, to *Lüeyang xian zhi* (History of Lüeyang County), comp. by Li Yuchun et al. (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 6a.
37. Postface to *Jianping xian zhi* (History of Jianping County), comp. by Lian Kuang, Yao Wenye, et al. (1531), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China.
38. Postface to *Xingguo zhou zhi* (History of Xingguo Subprefecture), comp. by Tang Ning et al. (1554), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(497), original in National Library of China.
39. Postface to *Licheng xian zhi* (History of Licheng County), comp. by Ye Chengzong (1640), p. 2. Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 6493, original in the Library of Congress.
40. Preface to *Ninghai zhou zhi* (History of Ninghai Subprefecture), comp. by Li Guangxian et al. (1548), pp. 5a–b (rpt. pp. 663–664).
41. Table of contents to *Tengxian zhi* (History of Teng County), comp. by Yang Chengfu et al. (1585), p. 3b (rpt. p. 4).
42. Prefatory matter to *Wuxian zhi* (History of Wu County), comp. by Niu Ruolin et al. (1642), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), rpt. p. 164.
43. For example, blocks for the *Gu Teng jun zhi* (History of Old Teng Commandery) (1374) were cut in the county Confucian school. See Wang Duanlai et al., eds., *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (Histories Reconstructed from the Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), p. 3032. For additional evidence of block cutting in schools and yamen, see my "The Geography of Ming Dynasty Gazetteer Production and

Circulation," paper presented at the Workshop on the Early Development of Print Culture, Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, April 30, 2005.

44. For editing during mourning leave, see postface to *Jingxian zhi* (History of Jing County), comp. by Wang Tinggan et al. (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1a (rpt. p. 415).

    Zheng Qingyun edited the history of Yanping prefecture while on sick leave. See preface to *Yanping fu zhi* (1525), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).

    For editing while in retirement, see administrative petition in *Yongping fu zhi* (History of Yongping Prefecture) (1501), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1b (rpt. p. 24).

45. Preface to *Neihuang xian zhi* (History of Neihuang County), comp. by Dong Xian (1527), pp. 4b–5b.
46. Preface to *Wuxi xian zhi* (History of Wuxi County), comp. by Zhou Bangjie, Qin Liang, et al. (1574), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(349), original in the National Library of China, p. 2.
47. Preface to *Tengxian zhi* (History of Teng County), comp. by Yang Chengfu et al. (1585), p. 1a (rpt. p. 1).
48. Ibid., *juan* 1, p. 5 (rpt. p. 5).
49. Su You, preface to *Bozhou zhi* (History of Bozhou [Subprefecture]) (1564). Another example is He Tang (1474–1543) who was paid for his preface to the *Xiuwu xian zhi* (History of Xiuwu County). He Tang, "Xiuwu xian zhi xu," in his *Bozhai ji* (Collected Works of the Bo Studio), rpt. in Siku quanshu zhenben liuji (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1976), vols. 277–278, *juan* 5.
50. Feng Bo, postface to *Yanshi xian zhi* (History of Yanshi County), comp. by Wei Jin et al. (1504), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
51. Prefatory matter to *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al. (1552), pp. 1a–4b, and *juan* 4, p. 9b.
52. Zhang Yuanshu, ed. *Shanyin Baiyutan Zhang shi zupu* (Lineage geneaolgy of the Zhangs of Baiyutan, Shangyin) (1628), Library of Congress microfilm Orien China 496, biography of Zhang Yuanyi, unpaginated (see biographies of the thirteenth generation).
53. Front matter to *Shaoxing fu zhi*, comp. by Xiao Lianggan, Zhang Yuanbian et al. (1587), rpt. p. 17.
54. Preface and postface to *Puzhou zhi* (History of Puzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Deng Fu (1527), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 1b (rpt. p. 276) and p. 1b (rpt. p. 732), respectively. Another example is Wang Tinggan, who was "invited with ritual money (*libi*)" to compile the history of Jing county. See postface to *Jingxian zhi* (History of Jing County), comp. by Wang Tinggan et al. (1552), p. 1a (rpt. p. 415).
55. See Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, chapter 3. See also my "Early Printing in China Viewed From the Perspective of Local Histories," forthcoming, cited first in note 5 above.
56. *Hengzhou fu zhi* (1537), *juan* 9, pp. 13a–b. First cited in note 12 above. For more on Liu

Fu's publication of the *Hengzhou fu zhi*, see my "Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Histories in Ming China" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 2004), chapter 3.

57. Postface to *Huairen xian zhi* (History of Huairen County), comp. by Dang Zhao et al. (1600), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(482), original in the National Library of China.
58. Prefaces to *Lianzhou fu zhi* (History of Lianzhou Prefecture), comp. by Zhang guojing et al. (1637), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo Han jian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1992), p. 2b (rpt. p. 1). Lianzhou was in Guangdong in the Ming but is now in Guangxi.
59. Mt. Gaoliang is about thirty-five kilometers north of the modern city of Maoming.
60. Postface to *Longqing zhi* (History of Longqing), comp. by Su Qian et al. (1549), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 4a and *juan* 10, pp. 77a–b. Longqing subprefecture was renamed Yanqing subprefecture upon the Longqing emperor's ascent to the throne in 1567.
61. On summoning craftsmen, see preface to *Wuding zhou zhi*, comp. by Sang Dongyang et al. (1588), rpt. in Meiguo Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan cang Zhongwen shanben huikan (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003).

    On recruiting craftsmen, see "Xiuzhi shiyou" (Record of Compiling the History), *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jin et al. (1544), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fanzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 2a. See also Ke Yiquan, preface to *Qingyun xian zhi* (History of Qingyun County), comp. by Ke Yiquan, Yang Zhouhe, et al., (1585), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(333), original in the National Library of China.
62. Preface to *Qingyun xian zhi*, comp. by Ke Yiquan, Yang Zhouhe, et al. (1585).
63. For additional examples of both local and non-local craftsmen, see my "Early Printing in China Viewed From the Perspective of Local Histories," forthcoming, cited first in note 5 above.
64. See preface to *Yongzhou fu zhi* (History of Yongzhou Prefecture), comp. by Hu Lian et al. (1383).
65. Lü Nan, comp., *Yangwu xian zhi* (1527), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 3, p. 16a (rpt. p. 923). Another example of the use of a local calligrapher is the 1526 *Pujiang zhi*, which was written out by townsman Zhang Yunzhong. See postface to *Pujiang zhi* (History of Pujiang [Zhejiang]), comp. by Mao Fengshao (1526), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 2b.
66. Postface to *Chongyi xian zhi* (History of Chongyi County), comp. by Wang Tinghui, Zheng Qiao, et al. (1552, Jiajing 31), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(422), original in the National Library of China.
67. Cheng Kai et al., comps., *Pinghu xian zhi* (History of Pinghu County) (1627), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 42.
68. Yu Wenlong, Xie Zhao, et al., comps., *Ganzhou fu zhi* (History of Ganzhou Prefecture) (1621; 1660), rpt. in Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988), p. 1b.
69. Preface to *Xuzhou zhi* (History of Xuzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Ma Tingzhen et

al. (1494), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China, pp. 3–4. See Zhang Tingyu et al. eds., *Ming shi* (Official History of the Ming) (1736; Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 16, p. 883, and *juan* 163, p. 4428–4429, respectively, for references to the term "jingshi" and for a biography for Lin Han.

70. Liu Ren, postface to *Yanling zhi* (History of Yanling), comp. by Liu Ren et al. (1537), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 8, pp. 95a–97a.
71. Old preface to *Tingzhou fu zhi* (History of Tingzhou Prefecture), comp. by Wu Wendu et al. (1527), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
72. Gao Tingyu et al., comps., *Pu'an zhou zhi* (History of Pu'an Subprefecture) (1549), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 32a.
73. "Yinshuju" (Book Printing Office), Lin Younian et al., comps., *Anxi xian zhi* (History of Anxi County) (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 8, p. 73a.
74. See, respectively, prefaces to *Yongzhou fu zhi* (History of Yongzhou Prefecture), comp. by Hu Lian et al. (1383), p. 6; and Zhang Ben postface to *Yingchuan jun zhi* (History of Yingchuan Commandery), comp. by Chen Lian, Tian Chen, et al., (1413; 1429), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(491), original in the National Library of China, p. 1b. Yingchuan was the Han-dynasty name for Xuzhou in Kaifeng prefecture, Henan.
75. Original preface to *Jinxi xian zhi* (History of Jinxi County) (1751), rpt. in Gugong zhenben congkan (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), p. 2 (rpt. p. 6).
76. For example, Wu Lian, the copyist for the history of Ruizhou county, Jiangxi, was a clerk in the prefectural yamen and a local person. See Xiong Xiang et al., comps., *Ruizhou xian zhi* (1518), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 14, p. 28b (rpt. p. 1324).

    The copyists for the history of He subprefecture, Sichuan, were Wang Dewen of the Personnel Office and Gan Shouxian of the Revenue Office. See Liu Fangsheng et al., comps., *Chongxiu Hezhou zhi* (History of Hezhou [Subprefecture], Recompiled) (1579), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), rpt. p. 3
77. Li Xun et al., comps., *Anqing fu zhi* (History of Anqing Prefecture) (1555), rpt. in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1985), pp. 270, 486, 724, 1038, 1222, 1369, 1494, and 1678. Scribal credit comes at the end of a *juan* in the form, "written by farmer/clerk X." The farmers, Geng Ziming, Sheng Tai, Zhu Gao, Zhou Tang, and Xiang Bian, had different surnames and thus do not appear to have been part of a family block-cutting business.
78. Zhao Yingshi et al. comps., *Yancheng xian zhi* (History of Yancheng County) (1554), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 12, p. 34b (rpt. p. 938).
79. Postface to *Huixian zhi* (History of Hui County), comp. by Zhang Tianzhen (1528), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan xukan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), p. 3a (rpt. p. 273).

80. Liu Ren, postface to *Yanling zhi* (History of Yanling), comp. by Liu Ren et al. (1537), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 8, pp. 95a–97a.
81. See Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, pp. 33–38. See also, Martin Heijdra, "Technology, Culture, and Economics: Movable Type Versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia," in Isobe Akira, ed., *Higashi Ajia Shuppan Bunka Kenkyū: Niwatazumi* (Studies of Publishing Culture in East Asia: Puddles of Inspiration) (Tokyo: Nigensha, 2004), p. 230. Heijdra's figures come from an anonymous article, "Estimate of the Proportionate Expense of Xylography, Lithography, and Typography, as Applied to Chinese Printing; View of the Advantages and Disadvantages of Each," written under the pseudonym "Typographus Sinensis," in *Chinese Repository* 3.6 (1834), pp. 246–252.
82. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 37.
83. See Ye Dehui, *Shulin qinghua* (Clear Talk on the Forest of Books) (*ca.* 1920; Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1961), p. 186. Ye's account differs from that in Du Xinfu's *Mingdai banke zongmu*, which records 83 blocks and 141 folio pages. Using this figure would give a per-page figure of 0.17 taels. Du records that each half-page consisted of thirteen columns with space for twenty-three characters, or a total of 598 characters per folio page. *Mingdai banke zongmu*, *juan* 7, p. 9a.
84. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 37, citing Lin Zhaoen, *Linzi quanji* (Complete Works of Master Lin) (1631), rpt. in Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan, vol. 63 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), pp. 1240–1241.
85. For more on what happened to local histories after they were printed, see my "The Distribution and Circulation of Local Histories in the Ming" (paper presented at "Colloque international: Imprimer Sans Profit? Le livre non commercial dans la Chine impériale," Paris, Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 12 June 2009).
86. Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* (*cha tu zhencang zengding ban*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji chubanshe, 2006), p. 550. Wang Zhen (fl. 1290–1333) discusses the *Jingde xian zhi* in his *Nongshu* (*ca.* 1312), rpt. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), p. 538.
87. See Timothy Brook. "Native Identity Under Alien Rule: Local Gazetteers of the Yuan Dynasty," in ed. Richard Brutnell, *Pragmatic Literacy East and West, 1200–1330* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 241. See also Peter Bol, "The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001), pp. 37–76.
88. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) (1530), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1962), *juan* 9, p. 72a.
89. Postface to *Yingzhou zhi* (History of Yingzhou [Subprefecture]), comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan, xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).
90. Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit*, 2002, p. 328, n. 9. However, not all local histories were printed on bamboo paper, for example, the 1525 *Chaling zhou zhi* (History of Chaling Subprefecture [Huguang]) was printed on white mulberry paper. See Long Sheng, handwritten note appended to postface to *Chaling zhou zhi* (1525), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).
91. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 35.

92. Ye Mengzhu, *Yueshi bian* (Compilation on the World of Reading) (early Qing), rpt. in *Qingdai shiliao biji congkan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2007), *juan* 7 (rpt. p. 182).
93. Li Dongyang, *Da Ming huidian* (1589; Taibei: Dongnan shubaoshe, 1964), *juan* 195, pp. 4–5 (rpt. p. 2645). One *chi* was about thirty-four cm. See *Hanyu da cidian* (Great Chinese Dictionary) (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1994), index volume, s. v. "chi," p. 6.
94. "Fu chucao libi shuchao" (Appendix to Memorial on the Advantages and Disadvantages Related to Paper), in Wang Zongmu, *Jiangxi sheng da zhi* (Great History of Jiangxi Province) (1597), rpt. in Nanjing tushuguan guben shanben congkan: Mingdai guben fangzhi zhuanji (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2003), *juan* 8, pp. 13–22.
95. Cynthia J. Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in Qing and Republican Periods*, pp. 121–122.
96. Song Yingxian, E-tu Zen Sun, and Shiou-chuan Sun, trans., *Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century: T'ien-kung k'ai-wu*, by Song Yingxing (b. 1587) (1966; Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1997), pp. 226, 228, and 229.
97. For *lianqi zhi*, see Tu Long (1542–1605), attr., *Kaopan yushi* (Extraneous Matters of Realized Enjoyment), which describes *lianqi zhi* as thick, large, and high-quality. See *Kaopan yushi*, rpt. in Baibu congshu jicheng, series 32, case 6, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1968), *juan* 2, p. 10. On the 1589 publication of *Da Ming huidian*, see Shen Bang, *Wanshu zaji* (1593; Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 145.
98. Shen Bang, *Wanshu zaji*, p. 150.
99. Martin Heijdra, "Technology, Culture, and Economics: Movable Type Versus Woodblock Printing in East Asia," p. 230. First cited in note 81 above.
100. Preface to *Yong'an xian zhi* (History of Yong'an County), comp. by Su Minwang et al. (1594), reprinted in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 3b (rpt. p. 6).
101. Prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comp. by Feng Shiren et al. (1640; Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003), rpt. p. 21.
102. "Wenyi" (Offical Communications), in *Nanchang fu zhi* (History of Nanchang Prefecture), comp. by Fan Lai, Zhang Huang, et al. (1588), reprinted in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 2 (rpt. p. 20).
103. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (History of Qizhou [Subprefecture]) (1530), *juan* 9, p. 70.
104. Sheng Ji et al., comps., *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County) (1552), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 964.
105. Postface to *Yingzhou zhi*, comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).
106. Prefaces to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542) p. 8; and postface to idem.
107. Shen Bang, *Wanshu zaji* (Miscellaneous Records of the Wan[ping] Yamen), pp. 138–142.
108. Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, p. 34.
109. Zhang Xiumin, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* (History of Chinese Printing) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), p. 534.
110. *Xincheng xian zhi*, comp. by Huang Wenyue (1516), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 11, p. 18a (rpt. p. 831).
111. Chia, *Printing for Profit*, p. 31 and n. 37. Chia's figure comes from modern woodblock

printers. Tsien Tsuen-Hsiun states that 15,000 imprints can be made before repairs are necessary, but he does not specify the type of wood. See Tsien Tsuen-Hsiun, *Paper and Printing*, vol. 5, pt. 1 of Science and Civilisation in China, ed. by Joseph Needham (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 201.

112. Wu Zhen, Hong Xuan, et al., comps., *Wuwei zhou zhi* (History of Wuwei Subprefecture) (1520), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China.
113. Postface to *Guiji zhi* (History of Guiji), comp. by Shi Su, Zhao Hao, et al. (1510), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 2715, imprint held in National Central Library, Taibei.
114. Yang Shengxin, "Lidai kegong gongjia chu tan" (An Initial Discussion of Block Cutters' Wages in Historical Times), in *Lidai keshu gaikuang* (An Overview of Book Publishing in Historical Times) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1991), pp. 553–567.
115. Postface to *Ninghai zhou zhi* , comp. by Li Guangxian et al. (1548), p. 3.
116. "Xiu zhi shi you" (Record of Compiling the History), *Yongfeng xian zhi*, p. 2. First cited in note 61 above.
117. Song Ji began serving as an instructor in the Xuzhou prefectural school in 1433. For the quotation, see third preface to *Pengcheng zhi* (History of Pengcheng), comp. by Song Ji et al. (1438), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(394), original in the National Library of China. Also see old preface to *Linying xian zhi* (History of Linying County), comp. by Du Nan et al. (1529), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(386), original in the National Library of China, p. 1.
118. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (1530), *juan* 9, p. 72a.
119. Postface to *Yingzhou zhi*, comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110).
120. Benjamin Elman, "Geographical Research in the Ming-Ch'ing Period." *Monumenta Serica*, 35 (1981–1983), pp. 1–18.
121. Postface to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al. (1556), p. 1b.
122. *Sanyang tuzhi* (History and Maps of Sanyang), reconstructed in Wang Duanlai et al., eds., *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (Histories Reconstructed from the Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), pp. 2699–2755.
123. Chen Hongmo et al, comps., *Changde fu zhi* (History of Changde Prefecture) (1538), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1964), *juan* 20, pp. 18–19. The administrative order regarding the local history's financing is dated 1534. The history was first printed in 1538. The Tianyige edition contains a 1547 postface. In the case of the 1604 *Huairou xian zhi* (History of Huairou County [Beizhili]), the Beizhili grand coordinator allowed a magistrate to use "unencumbered silver" (*wu'ai yin*) to publish the local history. See compilation order for *Huairou xian zhi* (History of Huairou County), comp. by Zhou Zhongshi et al. (1604), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(325), original in National Library of China, p. 3.
124. Prefatory matter to *Xingning xian zhi* (History of Xingning County), comp. by Sheng Ji et al. (1552), pp. 3b–4a.
125. Surnames section (*xingshi*) in *Fu'an xian zhi* (History of Fu'an County), comp. by Lu Yizai et al. (1597), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), pp. 7–9 (rpt. pp. 110–111).
126. Martin Heijdra, "Socio-economic Development of Ming Rural China (1368–1644):

An Interpretation," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1994), pp. 175–177, and his "Socio-economic Development of Ming Rural China," in *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, Part 2, ed. by Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, vol. 8 of the *Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 458–496. See also Ray Huang, *Taxation and Governmental Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 86–87.

127. Zeng Rutan, comp., *Zhangping xian zhi* (History of Zhangping County) (1549), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 5, pp. 7a–b.
128. Leif Littrup, *Subbureaucratic Government in China in Ming Times: A Study of Shandong Province in the Sixteenth Century* (Oslo: Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, 1981), pp. 55–56.
129. See the following four sources: "Tongling xian zhi gongyi" (Administrative Documents on the [Compilation] of the History of Tongling County) with respect to *Tongling xian zhi*, comp. by Li Shiyuan et al. (*ca.* 1563), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 1b; postface to *Yingzhou zhi*, comp. by Lü Jingmeng et al. (1536), *juan* 20, p. 5b (rpt. p. 1110); postface to *Yanshi xian zhi* (History of Yanshi County), comp. by Wei Jin et al. (1504); and *Tianchang xian zhi* (History of Tianchang County), comp. by Wang Xin et al. (1550), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuan (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982), *juan* 7, p. 7.
130. Zheng Dongbi, "Xin zhi xu xiaoyin" (Short Introduction to the New Supplement to the History), *Xinchang xian zhi* (History of Xinchang County) (1579; 1618), p. 2.
131. "Kezhi gongyi" (Administrative Documents on the Cutting of the [Blocks for] the History), *Fengrun xian zhi* (1570), p. 519. For *paisheng yin*, see Hoshi Ayao, ed., *Chūgoku shakai keizaishi goi* (Vocabulary of Chinese Social and Economic History) (Tokyo: Kindai Chūgokū kenkyu sentā, 1966), 1, p. 335, citing Wada Sei, ed., *Minshi shokkashi yakuchū* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1957), p. 382.
132. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (1530), *juan* 9, p. 70a–b.
133. "Xiuzhi yiwen" (Administrative Documents Regarding Compilation of the Local History), *Chaoyang xian zhi*, comp. by Lin Dachun (1572), p. 1.
134. The 1563 *Tongling xian zhi* (History of Tongling County) also was financed with funds from magistrate's cases. See "Tongling xian zhi gongyi" (Administrative Documents on the [Compilation] of the History of Tongling County), *Tongling xian zhi*, comp. by Li Shuyuan et al. (*ca.* 1563), p. 1.
135. Preface to *Yong'an xian zhi*, comp. by Su Minwang et al. (1594), p. 3b (rpt. p. 6). One *min* was equal to one tael of silver. *Hanyu da cidian*, s.v. "*min*."
136. Prefatory matter to *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jing et al. (1544), pp. 1a–4b. First cited in note 61 above. Another local history funded with fines was the 1639 history of Danghsan, Nanzhili. Liu Fang, comp., *Dangshan xian zhi* (History of Dangshan County) (1639), rpt. in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe), p. 385.
137. Lu Yizai, petition in *Fu'an xian zhi* (Fu'an xian zhi), comp. by Lu Yizai et al. (1597), pp. 7a–b.
138. Liu Riyi et al., comps., *Gutian xian zhi* (History of Gutian County) (1600), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(422), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 8, p. 6b.
139. Ibid., *juan* 14, p. 2.

140. Prefatory matter to *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jing et al. (1544), pp. 1a–4b. First cited in note 61 above.
141. Ibid., pp. 4a–b.
142. Miao Yonghe, *Mingdai chuban shi gao* (Draft History of Ming Dynasty Publishing) (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2000), p. 51, citing Ye Dehui, "Ming nanjian fakuan xiuban zhi miu" (Mistakes made When Using Fines [Levied] in the Southern Imperial Academy in the Ming To Repair Problems with [Printing] Blocks) in his *Shulin qinghua*, rpt. Changhsa: Yuelu chubanshe, 1999), *juan* 7, p. 51.
143. For financing through salaries of local administrators and school instructors, see the following five sources:
    - Xue Liang, preface to 1469 *Gushi xian zhi* (History of Gushi County [Henan]), rpt. in *Gushi xian zhi* (1542; 1552), comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al., *juan* 10, p. 39. (Note that the numbers are out of sequence and p. 39 follows p. 43);
    - preface to *Jingxian zhi* (History of Jing County), comp. by Wang Tinggan et al. (1552), p. 4b (rpt. p. 8);
    - preface to *Gongxian zhi* (History of Gong County), comp. by Kang Shaodi et al. (1555), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 3b (rpt. p. 950);
    - postface to *Xingxian zhi*, comp. by Wei Chun et al. (1577), Harvard-Yenching microfilm, FC 4876(393), original in the National Library of China; and
    - *fanli* (principles of compilation) to *Wucheng xian zhi* , comp. by Liu Yichun, Xu Shougang, et al. (1637), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), p. 5b (rpt. p. 225).
144. The following eight sources provide examples of local histories for which officials sought donations:
    - *Yingchuan jun zhi* (History of Yingchuan Commandery) of 1413—see postface to *Yingchuan jun zhi*, comp. by Chen Lian, Tian Chen, et al. (1413);
    - *Jingzhou fu zhi* (History of Jingzhou Prefecture) of 1456—see 1456 preface to *Jingzhou fu zhi*, comp. by Sun Cun, Wang Chongrang, et al. (1532), Harvard-Yenching microfilm, FC 4876(405), original in the National Library of China, p. 3;
    - *Xuanping xian zhi* of 1484—see *Xuanping xian zhi* (History of Xuanping County), comp. by Xiao Yan, Zheng Xi, et al. (1546), Harvard-Yenching microfilm, FC4876(423), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 4, p. 34;
    - *Suzhou zhi* (History of Suzhou [Subprefecture]) of 1499—see postface to *Suzhou zhi*, comp. by Zeng Xian et al. (1499), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990);
    - *Chaling zhou zhi* (History of Chaling Subprefecture) of 1525—see Zhang Zhi, Xia Liangsheng, et al., comps., *Chaling zhou zhi* (1525), *juan xia*, p. 81 (rpt. p. 1085);
    - *Yongfeng xian zhi* (History of Yongfeng County) of 1544—see prefatory matter to *Yongfeng xian zhi*, comp. by Guan Jing et al. (1544), p. 4;
    - *Pingliang fu zhi* (History of Pingliang Prefecture) of 1560—see Zhao Shichun, comp., *Pingliang fu zhi* (1560), rpt. in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, series 2 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1996), *juan*. 13, p. 20 (rpt. p. 121); and

· *Yingtian fu zhi* (History of Yingtian Prefecture) of 1577—see preface to *Yingtian fu zhi* (History of Yingtian Prefecture), comp. by Wang Yihua et al. (1577), rpt. in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, series 2 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1996), p. 5.

145. Ray Huang, "The Ming Fiscal Administration," in *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, part 2, ed. by Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, vol. 8 of the *Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 152, citing *Da Ming huidian* (*Collected Statutes of the Great Ming*), *juan* 39, pp. 1a–7b.
146. Gan Ze, comp., *Qizhou zhi* (1530), *juan* 9, p. 69a.
147. Wang Duanlai et al., eds., *Yongle dadian fangzhi jiyi* (Histories Reconstructed from the Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), pp. 2971–2972.
148. Postface to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al. (1556), p. 1b.
149. See preface to *Xiong sheng* (Xiong Chronicle[, Hebei]), comp. by Wang Qi (1533), rpt. in tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhixuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shudian, 1981).
150. "Shangyuan xian zhi jiu houxu" (Old Postface to the History of County), *Shangyuan xian zhi* (History of Shangyuan County), comp. by Cheng Sanxing, Li Deng, et al. (1593), *juan* 12, pp. 63–64, Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(322), original in the National Library of China.
151. Lü Jie, preface to Lü Jie et al., comps., *Fuzhou fu zhi* (History of Fuzhou Prefecture) (1503; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 2a (rpt. p. 3).
152. See old prefaces to *Shangyu xian zhi jiaoxu* (History of Shangyu County, Collated and Supplemented), comp. by Chu Jiazao and Xu Zhijing (1889), rpt. in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975), pp. 3810–3811; and *Shangyu xian zhi* (History of Shangyu County), comp. by Zhu Shifu, Tang Xichun, et al. (1891), rpt. in Zhongguo fangzhi congshu (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), *juan* 8, p. 23 (rpt. pp. 186–187).
153. Old prefaces to *Huizhou fu zhi* (History of Huizhou Prefecture) (1556), comp. by Yang Zaiming et al., pp. 1b–2a.
154. The Wanli era history of Xincai county was published by the compiler's three sons. Liu Daen, comp., *Xincai xian zhi*, Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC4876(483), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 1, p. 1.
155. Yu Jishan's addendum to his 1597 preface to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Bao Ying (1659), rpt. in Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1992), p. 7 (rpt. p. 15)
156. Preface of 1494 to *Wuxi xian zhi*, rpt. in *Wuxi xian zhi* (1574), p. 5a. First cited in note 46 above.
157. For information on Zou Xian, see Cheng Minzheng (1466 *jinshi*), "Zou Youzhi zhuan" (Biography of Zou Youzhi), in *Huangdun wenji*, Siku quanshu, vol. 1253 (Shanghai guji chubanshe), *juan* 50, pp. 33–35 (rpt. pp. 207–208). See also Li Rihua (1565–1635), *Liuyanzhai sanbi* in *Liuyanzhai biji*, rpt. in Siku quanshu zhenben qiji (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974), *juan* 4, p. 31. Further, see Wang Shu (1416–1508), *Wang Duanyi zouyi*, "Lun Zhongshike rao min suode wujian zouzhuang" (Discussion of Memorial Regarding Items Obtained by the Palace Eunuch When They Harrassed the Commoners), rpt. in Sikuquanshu zhenben wuji (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974), *juan* 5, p. 44b.
158. Li Dong and Yang Wan, comps., *Dantu xian zhi* (History of Dantu County) (1515), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(378), original in the National Library of China, *juan* 4, p. 19b.

159. The copy of the *Gushi xian zhi* in the Tianyige library was printed sometime after 1552 when fifty new blocks were cut to replace missing blocks. *Mulu* (table of contents) to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542), p. 2b.
160. "Runing fu Guangzhou Gushi xian wei chaqu zhishu wenji shi" (In the Matter of Examining and Obtaining Local Histories and Documents of Runing Prefecture, Guangzhou [Subprefecture], and Gushi County), prefatory matter to *Gushi xian zhi* (1542), p. 8.
161. Postface to *Gushi xian zhi* (1542), pp. 1–2.
162. "Runing fu Guangzhou Gushi xian wei chaqu zhishu wenji shi" (In the Matter of Examining and Obtaining Local Histories and Documents of Runing Prefecture, Guangzhou [Subprefecture], and Gushi County), prefatory matter to *Gushi xian zhi*, (1542), p. 8.
163. Cai Jin, postface to *Gushi xian zhi*, comp. by Zhang Ti, Ge Chen, et al. (1542).
164. Preface to *Jiangle xian zhi* (History of Jiangle County) (1505), rpt. in Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), p. 4a (rpt. p. 9). While the history contains no other information on the two commoners, we can note that Yu Sheng had the same surname of two local *juren*, Yu Lian and Yu Tai.
165. For blocks with this inscription, see *Gushi xian zhi* (1542; 1552), table of contents, p. 2b and *juan* 5, p. 5a. In some cases, the recut blocks contain new entries, e.g., the lists of county officials were updated.
166. Preface to *Ganzhou fu zhi*, comp. by Yu Wenlong, Xie Zhao, et al. (1621; 1660).
167. For publication of the 1488 *Wujiang zhi* (History of Wujiang County), the magistrate, three vice-magistrates, the assistant magistrate, and the clerk, "each donated from his salary as an encouragement, and local supporters all were happy to help out" (*ge juanfeng wei chang er yiren haoshizhe jie lezhu ye*). See preface to *Wujiang zhi* (History of Wujiang County), comp. by Mo Dan (1488), rpt. in Zhongguo shixue congshu (Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1987), rpt. p. 3.

    For another example, see prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comp. by Feng Shiren et al. (1640). First cited in note 101 above.
168. Preface to *Xinchang xian zhi*, comp. by Mo Dan (1477), photocopy, in the Xinchang County Library, of the manuscript exemplar held in the library of the Nanjing Zhongguo kexueyuan dili yanjiusuo.

    Based on archaeological excavations, one *shi* in the Ming dynasty equaled approximately 70.8 kilograms. "Zhongguo lidai heng zhi yanbian cesuan jianbiao," appendix to *Hanyu da cidian*, s.v. "*shi*," p. 19.
169. See my "Between Lineage and State: Extended Family and History Compilation in Xinchang County," *Ming Studies* 45–46 (Spring & Fall, 2001), pp. 69–113, esp. pp. 78-79.
170. Shen Jiayin et al., comps., *Yongnian xian zhi* (History of Yongnian County) (1641), reprinted in Mingdai guben fangzhi xuan (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2000), pp. 27–32; Zhan Lai and Wang Mingdao, comps., *Changshan xian zhi* (History of Changshan County) (1585, rpt. 1660), Harvard-Yenching microfilm FC 4876(404), *juan* 15, p. 40.
171. Prefatory matter to *Jiangyin xian zhi* (History of Jiangyin County), comps. by Feng Shiren et al. (1640), rpt. p. 21. First cited in note 101 above

GLOSSARY.

Anqing fu zhi 安慶府志
Anji zhou zhi 安吉州志
Anxi xian zhi 安溪縣志
Badong xian zhi 巴東縣志
bai da Kaihua zhi 白大開化紙
bai dazhong jia zhi 白大中夾紙
Bai Siqi 白思齊
bangzhi 榜紙
Bao Daochuan 鮑道傳
Baoding fuzhi 保定府志
Bao Ying 包䕫
Beizhili 北直隸
bian min yinxing 便民印行
bingbeidao 兵備道
Bozhai ji 栢齋集
Bozhou 亳州
Bozhou zhi 亳州志
buyi 布衣
Cai Jin 蔡縉
Cangwu jun zhi 蒼梧郡志
Canju jiuzhi bin yinyong zhushu
參據舊志並引用諸書
Cao Ji 曹璣
Cao Xuequan 曹學佺
Chaling 茶陵
Chaling zhou zhi 茶陵州志
Changde fu zhi 常德府志
Changguo zhou tu zhi 昌國州圖志
Changshan xian zhi 常山縣志
Changshu 常熟
Chaoyang xian zhi 朝陽縣志
Chaozhou 潮州
Chen Ce 陳策
Chengdu fu zhi 成都府志
Cheng Kai 程楷
Cheng Minzheng 程敏政
Cheng Sanxing 程三省
Chen Hongmo 陳洪謨
Chen Jifang 陳繼芳
Chen Lian 陳璉
Chen Rang 陳讓
Chenzhou zhi 郴州志
chi 尺
Chongxiu Hezhou zhi 重修合州志
Chongxiu Wuwei zhou zhi xu
重修無爲州志序
Chongyi 崇義
Chongyi xian zhi 崇義縣志
Chu 褚
Chu Jiazao 儲家藻
Chuxue ji 初學記
Cili xian zhi 慈利縣志
Cong Pan 叢磐
da 大
da bai bangzhi 大白榜紙
Da Ming huidian 大明會典
Da Ming yitong mingsheng zhi
大明一統名勝志
Da Ming yitongzhi 大明一統志
Dang Zhao 党炤
Dangshan 碭山
Dangshan xian zhi 碭山縣志
Dantu xian zhi 丹徒縣志
dao 刀

dazi gaoshi 大字告示
Deng Fu 鄧皷
Deng Lian 鄧璉
Dengzhou 登州
Dong Bangzheng 董邦政
Dong'e 東阿
Dong Xian 董弦
Dongxiang xian zhi 東鄉縣志
Du Nan 杜枏
Du Xinfu 杜信孚
er qian ling 貳錢零
fangce zang 方冊藏
fanke 繙刻
Fan Lai 范淶
fanli 凡例
Fan Wenli 范文禮
Fan yingyong shumu 凡引用書目
fen 分
Feng Bo 馮伯
Fengcheng 奉城
Feng Fujing 馮福京
Fengrun 豐潤
Fengrun xian zhi 豐潤縣志
Feng Shiren 馮士仁
Fengyang 鳳陽
Fu'an xian zhi 福安縣志
Fu chucao libi shuchao 附楮槽利弊疏鈔
Fuzhou 撫州
Fuzhou fu zhi 撫州府志
Gan 贛
Gan Shouxian 甘手憲
Gan Ze 甘澤
Ganzhou 贛州
Ganzhou fu zhi 贛州府志
Gaochun xian zhi 高淳縣志
Gaoliang 高涼
Gao Tingyu 高廷愉
Ge Chen 葛臣
ge juanfeng wei chang er yiren haoshizhe jie lezhu ye 各捐俸為倡而邑人好事者皆樂助也
Geng Ziming 耿子明
gong 工
gongjia 工價
gong nei shi 公內事
gongren riyong yin shi 工人日用飲食
Gong Xian 龔暹
Gongxian zhi 鞏縣志
Gong Xiuling 貢修齡
gongyin 工銀
Guangchang 廣昌
Guangchang xian zhi 廣昌縣志
Guangdong 廣東
Guanghua xian zhi 光化縣志
Guangxin 廣信
Guangxin fu zhi 廣信府志
Guan Jing 管景
Guanping fu zhi 廣平府志
Guide 歸德
Guiji xu zhi 會稽續志
Guiji zhi 會稽志
Guo Nan 郭南
Gu Qing 顧清
Gushi 固始
Gushi xian zhi 固始縣志
Gu Teng jun zhi 古藤郡志

Gutian xian zhi 古田縣志
Gu Yan 賈言
Haizhou zhi 海州志
Hangzhou fu zhi 杭州府志
Hanyang fu zhi 漢陽府志
He 合
Hengyang 衡陽
Hengzhou fu zhi 衡州府志
He Shilin 何士麟
He Tang 何瑭
Hezhou zhi 合州志
Hong Xuan 洪晅
Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xianzhi hou xu 弘治二年朝陽縣志後序
Hongzhi ernian Chaoyang xianzhi xu 弘治二年朝陽縣志序
Huairen 懷仁
Huairen xian zhi 懷仁縣誌
Huairou xian zhi 懷柔縣志
Huangdun wenji 篁墩文集
Huang Guokui 黃國奎
Huangshan 黃山
Huangshan shuyuan 黃山書院
Huang Wenyue 黃文鸞
Huangzhou fu zhi 黃州府志
Huating xian zhi 華亭縣直
huazao 華棗
Hui 輝
Hui'an xian zhi 惠安縣志
Hui da ji 惠大記
Huixian zhi 輝縣志
Huizhou fu zhi 惠州府志
Hu Kuang 胡匡
Hu Lian 胡璉
Hu Rukuang 胡汝礦
Jiading 嘉定
Jianchang fu zhi 建昌府志
Jiangle xian zhi 將樂縣志
Jiangxi sheng da zhi 江西省大志
Jiangyin 江陰
Jiangyin xian zhi 江陰縣志
Jianning fu zhi 建寧府志
Jianping xian zhi 建平縣志
Jianyang xian zhi 建陽縣志
Jiao Xicheng 焦希程
jiemin 街民
Jin 晉
Jingde xian zhi 旌德縣志
Jingjiang wangfu 靖江王府
jingshi 京師
Jingxian zhi 涇縣志
Jingzhou fu zhi 荊州府志
jinshi 進士
Jinxi xian zhi 金谿縣志
Jinyu ji 金輿集
juan 卷
juan xia 卷下
junping yin 均平銀
juren 舉人
Kaifeng 開封
Kaihua 開化
Kang Shaodi 康紹第
Kaopan yushi 考槃餘事
Ke Yiquan 柯一泉
Kezhi gong yi 刻志公移
kezi gongshi 刻字工食

Kou Tianxu 寇天敘
Kuizhou fu zhi 夔州府志
Laiwu xian zhi 萊蕪縣志
li 里
lianjiang 良匠
Lian Kuang 連鑛
lianqizhi 連七紙
Lianzhou 廉州
Lianzhou fu zhi 廉州府志
Liao Benxiang 廖本祥
Liao Can 廖燦
Li Bao 李寶
libi 禮幣
Licheng 歷城
Licheng xian zhi 歷城縣志
Li Deng 李登
Li Dong 李東
Li Dongyang 李東陽
Li Guangxian 李光先
lijia 里甲
limin 里民
Lin Dachun 林大春
Lin Han 林瀚
Linjiang fu zhi 臨江府志
Linqu xian zhi 臨朐縣志
Linying xian zhi 臨穎縣志
Lin Younian 林有年
Lin Zhaoen 林兆恩
Linzi quanji 林子全集
Li Pengchong 李鵬翀
Li Rihua 李日華
Li Shiyuan 李士元
Liu Daen 劉大恩
Liu Fang 劉芳
Liu Fangsheng 劉芳聲
Liu Fu 劉敷
Liu Ren 劉訒
Liu Riyi 劉日暘
Liu Wenxing 劉文興
Liuyanzhai biji 六研齋筆記
Liu Yichun 劉沂春
Liu Yu 劉雨
Liu Zhen 劉震
Li Xianfang 李先芳
Li Xun 李遜
Li Yuchun 李遇春
Li Zhao 李兆
Longqing 隆慶
Longqing zhi 隆慶志
Long Sheng 龍盛
Luhe 六合
Luhe xian zhi 六合縣志
Lun Zhongshike rao min suode wujian zouzhuang 論中使科擾民所得物件奏狀
Luo Congyan 羅從彥
Luyi 鹿邑
Lu Yizai 陸以載
Luzhou fu zhi 廬州府志
Lüeyang 略陽
Lüeyang xian zhi 略陽縣志
Lü Jie 呂傑
Lü Jingmeng 呂景蒙
Lü Nan 呂柟
Ma Duanlin 馬端臨
Mahu fu zhi 馬湖府志
Mao Fengshao 毛鳳韶
Maoming 茂名

Ma Tingzhen 馬廷震
Ma Tun 馬暾
Mianyang zhi 沔陽志
Miao Yonghe 繆咏禾
min (commoner) 民
min (string of cash) 緡
Ming nanjian fakuan xiuban zhi miu 明南監罰款修板之謬
Mingshi 明史
Mo Dan 莫旦
mu gong 募工
Mu ke Xinchang zhi shu 募刻新昌志疏
mulu 目錄
Nanchang 南昌
Nanchang fu zhi 南昌府志
Nan Daji 南大吉
Nanjiong caotang 南坰草堂
Nankang 南康
Nanxiong fu zhi 南雄府志
Nanzhili 南直隸
Neihuang 內黃
Neihuang xian zhi 內黃縣志
Neixiang xian zhi 內鄉縣志
Ning 寧
Ninghai 寧海
Ninghai zhou zhi 寧海州志
Ningxia xin zhi 寧夏新志
Ningzhou 寧州
Ningzhou zhi 寧州志
Niu Ruolin 牛若麟
nongmin 農民
Nongshu 農書
paisheng yin 派剩銀
Pan En 潘恩
Pengcheng zhi 彭城志
Peng Weiyan 彭危言
Pinghu 平湖
Pinghu xian zhi 平湖縣志
Pingliang fu zhi 平涼府志
Pu'an 普安
Pu'an zhou zhi 普安州志
Pujiang zhi 浦江志
Puyang 濮陽
Puzhou 濮州
Puzhou zhi 濮州志
qimin 耆民
Qingyun 慶雲
Qingyun xian zhi 慶雲縣志
Qin Liang 秦梁
Qinzhou zhi 欽州志
Qi sheng 齊乘
Qishui xian zhi 蘄水縣志
Qizhou zhi 蘄州誌
Quwo xian zhi 曲沃縣志
ren fan zang shu deng yin 人犯贓贖等銀
renwu 壬午
ru 儒
Ruichang xian zhi 瑞昌縣志
Ruijin xian zhi 瑞金縣志
Ruizhou 瑞洲
Ruizhou xian zhi 瑞洲縣志
Runing 汝寧
Runing fu Guangzhou Gushi xian wei chaqu zhishu wenji shi 汝寧府光州固始縣為查取誌書文籍事
Sang Dongyang 桑東陽
Sanggan 桑乾
Sanyang tuzhi 三陽圖志

Sha 沙
Shangqiu 商丘
Shangyuan 上元
Shangyuan xian zhi 上元縣志
Shangyu xian zhi 上虞縣志
Shangyu xian zhi jiaoxu 上虞縣誌校續
Shanyin 山陰
Shanyin Baiyutan Zhang shi zupu 山陰白漁潭張氏宗譜
Shao Bi 邵苾
Shaowu fu zhi 邵武府志
Shaoxing 紹興
Shaoxing fu zhi 紹興府志
Shen Bang 沈榜
Shen Dingke 沈鼎科
Sheng Ji 盛繼
Sheng Tai 盛苔
Shen Jiayin 申佳胤
Shen Yong 神用
shi 石
Shi Bangzheng 石邦政
Shi Huai 師槐
Shi Su 施宿
Shixing xian zhi 始興縣志
Shouchang xian zhi 壽昌縣志
shuajiang 刷匠
shubi 書幣
Shulin qinghua 書林清話
Sibao 四堡
sichu 司儲
Sinan fu zhi 思南府志
sisheng 私乘
sizhi 私志
Song Ji 宋驥
Songjiang fu zhi 松江府志
Song Yingxing 宋應星
Su Minwang 蘇民望
Sun Cun 孫存
Sun Xu 孫旭
Sun Yuanqing 孫元卿
Su Qian 蘇乾
Su You 蘇祐
Suzhou 蘇州
Suzhou zhi 宿州志
Taipusi 太僕寺
Tang Ning 唐寧
Tang Shunzhi 唐順之
Tang Xichun 唐熙春
Tangzhang Yu gong 堂長余公
Tan Zhenju 譚振舉
Tengxian zhi 滕縣志
Tianchang 天長
Tianchang xian zhi 天長縣志
Tian Chen 田琛
Tiangong kaiwu 天工開物
Tian Guan 田琯
T'ien-kung k'ai-wu, *see Tiangong kaiwu*
Tingzhou fuzhi 汀州府志
Tongling xian zhi 銅陵縣志
Tongling xian zhi gongyi 銅陵縣志公移
Tongzhou zhi 通州志
tujing 圖經
Tu Long 屠隆
Wan 宛
Wang Chaoxuan 王朝選
Wang Chongrang 王寵瀼

Wang Chongwen 王崇文
Wang Dewen 王得文
Wang Duanyi zouyi 王端毅奏議
Wang Gao 王誥
Wang Jingsheng 王景升
Wang Luan 王鑾
Wang Mingdao 王明道
Wang Nayan 王納言
Wang Qi 王齊
Wang Shu 王恕
Wang Tinggan 王廷榦
Wang Tinghui 王廷輝
Wang Tingshan 王廷珊
Wang Xin 王心
Wang Yihua 王一化
Wang Yuanbin 王元賓
Wang Zhen 王禎
Wang Zhixie 王之燮
Wang Zongmu 王宗沐
Wanli xinxiu Nanchang fu zhi 萬曆新修南昌府志
Wanping 宛平
Wanshu zaji 宛署雜記
Wei Chun 維純
Wei Jin 魏津
Weinan xian zhi 渭南縣志
Wendeng 文登
Weng Jing 翁璟
Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考
Wenxuan 文選
Wenyi 文移
Wo Pan 沃頖
wu'ai guanqian 無碍官錢
wu'ai yin 無碍銀
Wucheng xian zhi 烏程縣志
Wuding zhou zhi 武定州志
Wujiang zhi 吳江志
Wu Lian 鄔濂
Wumen 吳門
Wuwei zhou zhi 無為州志
Wu Wendu 吳文度
Wuxian 吳縣
Wuxi xian zhi 無錫縣志
Wu Zhen 吳臻
Wuzhou 梧州
Xia Bingyi 夏秉彝
Xia Cuncheng 夏存誠
Xia Liangsheng 夏良勝
Xiang Bian 項汴
Xiao Lianggan 蕭良幹
Xiao Yan 蕭彥
Xia Weixin 夏維新
Xie Zhao 謝詔
Xincai 新蔡
Xincai xian zhi 新蔡縣志
Xinchang 新昌
Xinchang xian zhi 新昌縣志
Xincheng 新城
Xincheng xian zhi 新城縣志
Xingguo 興國
Xingguo zhou zhi 興國州志
Xingning xian zhi 興寧縣志
xingshi 姓氏
Xingxian zhi 興縣志
Xinjian 新建
Xin zhi xu xiaoyin 新志序小引

Xiong sheng 雄乘
Xiong Wenhan 熊文韓
Xiong Xiang 熊相
Xiuzhi houji 修志後記
Xiuwu xian zhi 修武縣誌
Xiuwu xian zhi xu 修武縣誌序
Xiuzhi shiyou 修志事由
xiuzhi yiwen 修誌移文
xiuzhi zhi fei 修志支費
xiuzi 繡梓
Xuanping xian zhi 宣平縣志
Xu Bing 徐昺
Xue Liang 薛良
Xu Gongxie 徐公燮
Xu Gui 徐珪
Xu Mu 徐霂
Xundian fu zhi 尋甸府志
Xu Shougang 徐守剛
Xu Zhidao 徐志道
Xu Zhijing 徐致靖
Xuzhou 許州
Xuzhou zhi 徐州志
Xu Zuntang 徐遵湯
Yancheng 郾城
Yancheng xian zhi 郾城縣志
Yang Chengfu 楊承父
Yang Pei 揚佩
Yang Sui 楊璲
Yang Wan 楊琬
Yangwu 陽武
Yangwu xian zhi 陽武縣志
Yang Yongqing 楊永清
Yang Zaiming 楊載鳴
Yangzhou 揚州
Yang Zhouhe 楊州鶴
Yanling 鄢陵
Yanling zhi 鄢陵志
Yanping 延平
Yanping fu zhi 延平府志
Yanqing 延慶
Yanshi xian zhi 偃師縣志
Yao Wenye 姚文燁
Ye Chengzong 葉承宗
Ye Dehui 葉德輝
Ye Mengzhu 葉夢珠
Yexian zhi 葉縣誌
Yi Cunxu 易存緒
yimin 義民
Yingchuan 穎川
Yingchuan jun zhi 穎川郡志
Yingshan xian zhi 營山縣志
Yingtian fu zhi 應天府志
Yingzhou 穎州
Yingzhou zhi 穎州志
yinliguan 引禮官
Yin Shidan 殷士儋
yinshuju 印書局
Yinyang 陰陽
Yizhen xian zhi 儀真縣志
Yi Xi 易詵
Yong'an xian zhi 永安縣志
Yongfeng 永奉
Yongfeng xian zhi 永奉縣志
Yongnian xian zhi 永年縣志
Yongping fu zhi 永平府志
Yongzhou 永州

Yongzhou fu tuzhi xu 永州府圖志序
Yongzhou fu zhi 永州府志
Youxi xian zhi 尤溪縣志
Yuan Hua 袁鏵
Yuan Xuan 袁鉉
Yuanzhou fu zhi 袁州府志
Yueshi bian 閱世編
Yuhai 玉海
Yu Jishan 余繼善
Yu Lian 余廉
Yunnan tong zhi 南通志
Yunyang xian zhi 雲陽縣志
Yu Sheng 余盛
Yu Tai 余泰
Yu Wenlong 余文龍
Yuzhang Luo xiansheng wenji 豫章羅先生文集
zai caoshe ke 在草舍刻
zang 贓
Zeng Rutan 曾汝檀
Zeng Shengwu 曾省吾
Zeng Xian 曾顯
Zhang Cai 張才
Zhang Guojing 張國經
Zhang Huang 章潢
Zhangping 漳平
Zhangping xian zhi 漳平縣志
Zhang Qixian 張啟賢
Zhang Qixun 張奇勛
Zhang Quan 張全
Zhang Ti 張梯
Zhang Tianzhen 張天真
Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉
Zhang Youyu 張友譽
Zhang Yuanbian 張元忭
Zhang Yuanshu 張元淑
Zhang Yuanyi 張元益
Zhang Yuanzhen 張元禎
Zhang Yunzhong 張允中
Zhang Zhi 張治
Zhang Zhu 張注
Zhang Zuo 張佐
Zhan Lai 詹萊
Zhao 趙
zhao gong 召工
Zhao Hao 趙淏
Zhao Shichun (name of a compiler of a 1560 history) 趙時春
Zhao Shichun (name of a contributor to a 1640 history) 趙士春
Zhao Tang 趙堂
Zhao Yingshi 趙應式
Zheng Dongbi 鄭東璧
zheng jiang 徵匠
Zheng Qiao 鄭喬
Zheng Qingyun 鄭慶雲
zhengti 政體
Zheng Xi 鄭禧
zhifang shi 職方氏
Zhongdu 中都
Zhong Shijie 鍾仕傑
Zhou Bangjie 周邦傑
Zhou Jifeng 周季凰
Zhou Qiyong 周期雍
Zhou Tang 周棠
Zhou Wanjin 周萬金

Zhou Zhongshi 周仲士
Zhu 朱
Zhu Gao 朱誥
Zhuo Chiliang 卓赤良
Zhu Shifu 朱士黻
Zhu Shilie 朱士烈
Zhu Xi 朱熹
zi li cisong zangfa 自理詞訟贓罰
zimin 子民
Zou Han 鄒瀚
Zou Xian 鄒賢
Zou Youzhi zhuan 鄒佑之傳