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The *Gazetteer of the Nanjing
Ministry of Revenue*
The Record of an Auxiliary Capital
Department in the Ming Dynasty

JUN FANG

The *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* (*Nanjing hubu zhi*) is one of the many departmental gazetteers compiled by bureaucrats at Nanjing, the southern capital of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Although modern scholars are well aware that two national capitals, a primary northern one, Beijing, and a secondary southern one, Nanjing, existed during the Ming dynasty, and may marvel at the identical bureaucratic apparatus and power structure at the two capitals,¹ few have noticed that almost all the major government agencies in the southern capital compiled and printed their own departmental gazetteers.² In contrast, only two offices in the northern capital ever published such works.³ Fortunately, approximately a dozen gazetteers produced by the Nanjing administration have survived. This article discusses the hitherto neglected *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* — its compilation, its two known editions, and the extant copies. It then explores the genre of the departmental gazetteer and the reasons for its widespread use by southern-capital officials in the Ming. The article further discusses the contents

of the departmental gazetteer and analyzes its significance for the study of the Ming dual-capital system.

At present it is not clear which Nanjing office first compiled a departmental gazetteer. What is known is that at least two institutions published gazetteers earlier than the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue.⁴ According to the preface to the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* written by Han Shiyong, in the late 1540s when he became minister of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue, he felt the need to prepare a ministry monograph that would contain regulations, administrative responsibilities, and precedents for his subordinates to follow. His intention to compose such a guidebook was further propelled when he came across the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Court of Judicial Review* (*Nanjing dalisi zhi*). Xie Bin, then director of the Guizhou Bureau of the Ministry,⁵ offered to do the job. He started compilation in the sixth month of 1549, completing the work in the first month of 1550. Seven months later, Zhao Hesui, manager of the General Service Office under the ministry, was entrusted with the task of editing the new gazetteer. When the editing was under way, however, Han Shiyong was transferred to the Nanjing Ministry of War. Therefore it was Wang Chongqing (1484–1565), Han's successor, who read the edited version of the gazetteer and ordered it to be printed (see illustration 1). It took another eight months for the book to appear in print.⁶

The *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* has at least two editions, dated 1550 and 1595. The 1550 edition consists of four *juan* of "general records" (*zongzhi*), twenty *juan* of "classified records" (*fenzhi*), and two appended *juan* (*fujian*).⁷ It also includes two prefaces by ministers Han Shiyong and Wang Chongqing, both dated 1550.

The Fu Ssu-nien Library at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, holds an exemplar of the original 1550 edition of the twenty-four-*juan* gazetteer, and the East Asian Library at the University of Chicago has a microfilm copy made from the Taiwan original. The 1550 edition in Taiwan is, however, incomplete, lacking *juan* sixteen (except for the first page) and twenty-four, as well as the two appended *juan*. And *juan* five and twenty both lack the last few pages. The first page of Han Shiyong's preface (which is also the first page of the gazetteer), page fifteen of *juan* one, and page one of *juan* seventeen are

序南京戶部志

兩京六曹未有志創南京戶部志
 者今大司馬石溪韓公始也先
 是石溪公既覃精思於厥務而又
 慮夫

祖宗成法備載會典諸書思欲往有所
 稽來有所程也遂命郎中謝君彬
 旁蒐而博采之取其事關職司爲

1. First page of the preface to the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* dated 1550 by Wang Chongqing (1484-1565). Eight cols. of 15 chars.; border 14 x 20.8 cm. Photographic copy of exemplar in the Fu Ssu-nien Library of the Academia Sinica, Taipei, held by the East Asian Library, the University of Chicago. All the illustrations appearing in this article are taken from this photographic copy.

also missing. I have not yet determined whether another exemplar of the 1550 edition exists.

The Sonkeikaku Bunko in Tokyo holds a copy of the 1595 edition, which contains a postscript dated the same year by Yin Rong, director of the Guizhou Bureau at the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue. Yin writes that he was browsing through the gazetteer in his spare time and found that the copies housed at the ministry were already incomplete, so he decided to collate and reprint the gazetteer. Some minor differences exist between the two editions. The 1595 edition contains a preface by Xie Bin, author of the gazetteer, which is missing from the 1550 edition. Nor does the 1595 edition include the two prefaces written by Han Shiyong and Wang Chongqing, the "principles of compilation" (*fanli*), and the list of reference works used for compiling the gazetteer, all of which are present in the 1550 edition. But the table of contents and the texts of the two editions are exactly the same, without a single page missing from the 1595 edition. The Fu Ssu-nien Library at the Academia Sinica has a photographic copy of this edition produced in the 1970s.

Some biographical records exist for two of the five officials involved in compiling and publishing the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue*, Han Shiyong and Wang Chongqing. Han was a native of Nanchong, Sichuan Province, who received the "metropolitan graduate" (*jinshi*) degree in 1514.⁸ Before becoming the Nanjing minister of revenue, he served in the same ministry as vice director of the Fujian Bureau, director of the Shandong Bureau, and vice minister. He was then transferred to the Nanjing Ministry of War.⁹ Wang, on the other hand, was a native of Kaizhou (modern Puyang, Henan Province). He became a metropolitan graduate in 1508. Author of four books on Chinese classics, Wang succeeded Han as the Nanjing minister of revenue. Later he also served as the Nanjing minister of rites.¹⁰

There is a short biographical entry in the local gazetteer of Xie Bin's native county of Longxi in Fujian Province. It tells us that on receiving the metropolitan-graduate degree in 1544, Xie was appointed secretary at the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue. He then served for a time as director of one of the ministry bureaus before becoming prefect of Guangzhou Prefecture.¹¹ Little is known about the other two lower-

ranking ministry officials who contributed directly to the publication of the gazetteer, Yin Rong and Zhao Hesui. Yin came from Neijiang, Sichuan, and like Xie Bin, assumed the directorship of the Guizhou Bureau in the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue.¹² Zhao was a native of Nanhai, Guangdong Province, and held a “provincial graduate” (*juren*) degree.¹³

The so-called gazetteer is a unique genre in Chinese historiography, recording important information about a particular place or administrative unit. A gazetteer usually runs to several volumes and preserves a wide range of information about the history, geography, administration, biography, and cultural features of the place or the unit it chronicles. Depending on the subject matter, Chinese gazetteers can be classified into three main groups: administrative, topographical, and institutional. Best known to historians are gazetteers dealing with the history and geography of an administrative unit, such as a county, subprefecture, prefecture, province, or even the entire country. Topographical gazetteers treat natural features such as mountains, and institutional ones deal with man-made structures like monasteries and academies.¹⁴ Less well known are the “departmental gazetteers” (*bumen zhi*), which record the history, administrative responsibilities and precedents, and major officials of a government department.

It is unclear when Chinese officials started to compile these departmental gazetteers. Examining the extant documents, it seems safe to suggest that such gazetteers appeared at least as early as the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). One example is the *Gazetteer of the Directorate of the Palace Library of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuan mishujian zhi*) written by Wang Shidian (fl. 1342).¹⁵ During the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), departmental gazetteers were also printed. One of them is the *Imperially Sponsored Gazetteer of the National University* (*Qinding guozijian zhi*) which was compiled during the Qianlong (1736–1795) and Daoguang (1821–1850) reign eras. But the compilation of departmental gazetteers during the Yuan and the Qing dynasties was never conducted on as large a scale as it was during the Ming when virtually every major governmental office in the southern capital published its own.¹⁶ These works are shown in table 1.

One commonality of these departmental gazetteers is that each was compiled and edited by officials working for the same department, and

Table 1
DEPARTMENTAL GAZETTEERS COMPILED BY NANJING
ADMINISTRATION OFFICES

TITLE	PUBLISHING AGENCY	DATE OF PUBLICATION OR COMPILATION
<i>Jingxue zhi</i> ^b	Nanjing Prefectural School	1603
<i>Jingxue zhi</i>	Nanjing Prefectural School	?
<i>Jiujiang cilin zhi</i> ^b	Nanjing Hanlin Academy	1597
<i>Liudu wuxue zhi</i>	Nanjing Military School	?
<i>Nanjing bingbu zhi</i>	Ministry of War	?
<i>Nanjing dalisi zhi</i>	Court of Judicial Review	pre-1550
<i>Nanjing duchayuan zhi</i>	Censorate	?
<i>Nanjing duchayuan zhi</i> ^b	Censorate	1623
<i>Nanjing gongbu zhi</i>	Ministry of Works	?
<i>Nanjing guanglusi zhi</i>	Court of Imperial Entertainments	?
<i>Nanjing guanglusi zhi</i> ^b	Court of Imperial Entertainments	1596
<i>Nanjing hanlin zhi</i>	Hanlin Academy	?
<i>Nanjing honglusi zhi</i>	Court of State Ceremonial	?
<i>Nanjing hubu zhi</i> ^b	Ministry of Revenue	1550; 1595
<i>Nanjing jinyiwei zhi</i>	Embroidered Uniform Guard	?
<i>Nanjing libu zhi</i>	Ministry of Rites	?
<i>Nanjing libu zhi</i>	Ministry of Personnel	1571
<i>Nanjing libu zhi</i> ^b	Ministry of Personnel	1622 (revision of 1571 edn. above)
<i>Nanjing qintianjian zhi</i>	Directorate of Astronomy	?
<i>Nanjing shangbaosi zhi</i>	Seals Office	?
<i>Nanjing shanglinyuan zhi</i>	Directorate of Imperial Parks	?

AUTHOR OR SPONSOR	NUMBER OF JUAN	MODERN EDITIONS OR REPRINTS	LOCATION OF EXTANT EDITIONS ^a
Jiao Hong	8	Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1965	
He Qizhi et al.?	?		
Zhou Yingbin	6	Collected in <i>Xuanlantang congshu</i> (Shanghai, 1941), fascicles 65-68	
Xu Bozheng	5		
unknown	?		
unknown	17		
Shi Pei	40		
Xu Bida	40		Fu (microfilm copy), Naikaku
Zhu Changfang	18		
unknown	4		
Xu Daren	4		Fu, Naikaku
Dong Qichang	12		
Sang Xuekui	4		
Xie Bin	24		1550 edn.: Chicago (microfilm copy), Fu; 1595 edn.: Fu, Sonkeikaku
Zhang Keda	20		
unknown	?		
Wang Zongyi	15		
Wang Fengnian	20		Taipei
Shi Ruiyun	8		
Pan Huansu	20		
unknown	?		

(Table 1, continued)

TITLE	PUBLISHING AGENCY	DATE OF PUBLICATION OR COMPILATION
<i>Nanjing taichangsi zhi</i>	Court of Imperial Sacrifices	?
<i>Nanjing taichangsi zhi</i>	Court of Imperial Sacrifices	?
<i>Nanjing taipusi zhi</i> ^b	Court of Imperial Stud	1522-1566
<i>Nanjing tongzhengsi zhi</i>	Office of Transmission	?
<i>Nanjing xingrensi zhi</i>	Messenger Office	?
<i>Nanjing xingbu zhi</i>	Ministry of Justice	?
<i>Nanjing xingbu zhi</i> ^b	Ministry of Justice	1556
<i>Nanjing zhanshifu zhi</i> ^b	Office of the Heir Apparent	?
<i>Nanyong jiuzhi</i>	Nanjing National University	1458
<i>Nanyong xinzhizhi</i>	Nanjing National University	?
<i>Nanyong zhi</i> ^b	Nanjing National University	1544
<i>Xu Nanyong zhi</i> ^b	Nanjing National University	1623

^a Libraries are identified as follows:

Beijing	National Beijing Library
Chicago	East Asian Library, University of Chicago
Fu	Fu Ssu-nien Library of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Naikaku	Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo
Sonkeikaku	Sonkeikaku Bunko, Tokyo
Taipei	National Central Library, Taipei

^b Extant gazetteers. Others may or may not have survived. Some Ming works that also deal with administrative responsibilities (*zhizhang*) and regulations (*tiaoli*) of certain departments of the Nanjing administration appear in Wang Huanbiao's *Shoudu zhi*. I have, however, included in the table only those I consider to be departmental gazetteers. *Shoudu zhi* attributes *Nanjing zhanshifu zhi* to Liu Chang, whereas *Beijing tushuguan guji shumu* lists Shao Dian as the author. There are

AUTHOR OR SPONSOR	NUMBER OF JUAN	MODERN EDITIONS OR REPRINTS	LOCATION OF EXTANT EDITIONS
Wang Zongyuan	13		
Shen Ruolin	40		
Lei Li	12	Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keshushe, 1987	
unknown	?		
Weng Fengchun	16		
Jiang Shanli	26		
Pang Song	4		Fu (microfilm copy), LC
Shao Dian	20		Beijing
Wu Jie	18		
unknown	18		
Huang Zuo	24	Taipei: Weiwen tushu chuban youxian gongsi, 1976	
Huang Rubing	18	Taipei: Weiwen tushu chuban youxian gongsi, 1976	

two possibilities for this discrepancy. The first is that the two might be authors of different editions, the other that Liu Chang was the sponsor and Shao Dian the actual compiler. I suspect the latter is the case for *Shoudu zhi* states that Wang Chongqing was the author of one of the editions of *Nanjing hubu zhi*, when in fact he was its patron in his capacity as the Nanjing minister of revenue.

SOURCES: Beijing tushuguan, *Beijing tushuguan guji shumu* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987); Wolfgang Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968); Gu Qiyuan, *Kezuo zhuiyu* (Nanjing 1618; new edn. in *Jinling congke*, 1904) 7, p. 12; Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, *Taiwan gongcang shanben shumu shuming suoyin* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1971); Library of Congress, *Far Eastern Languages Catalog* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1972); Naikaku Bunko, *Naikaku Bunko kokushō bunrui mokuroku* (Tokyo: Naikaku Bunko, 1961); *Sonkeikaku Bunko kokushō būnrui mokuroku* (Tokyo: Seikōsha, 1939); University of Chicago, *Catalogs of the Far Eastern Library* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1973); Wang Huanbiao, *Shoudu zhi* (1935; rpt. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1966), pp. 1377-1381; Zhang Weiren, *Zhongguo fazhishi shumu* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1976).

the compilation was usually done under the auspices of the department head.¹⁷ Three major reasons may explain why almost all of the Nanjing civil offices produced their own departmental gazetteers. First of all, a departmental gazetteer, like other types of gazetteers, could be used by Nanjing officials to bolster the status of their office, to justify the very existence of the auxiliary southern capital, and, more important, to help them keep their jobs. During the Ming dynasty, although Nanjing had the same number of bureaucratic agencies as Beijing did,¹⁸ and its officials received the same emolument as their counterparts in Beijing, the area under the jurisdiction of the Nanjing administration was considerably smaller than that of the Beijing administration. It was territorially restricted to the Southern Metropolitan Area (Nan zhili) and a few provinces in south China. The Nanjing administration also had fewer officials and functionaries than the Beijing administration.¹⁹ In the eyes of some Ming contemporaries, the Nanjing government was definitely not indispensable, and some even regarded the secondary southern capital as a redundant and wasteful institution. Their opinion is vividly reflected in a saying that "the Nanjing Ministry of Personnel does not bear responsibilities for evaluating and selecting officials; the [Nanjing] Ministry of Rites does not know how to organize and administer the civil service recruitment examination; the [Nanjing] Ministry of Revenue has no duty to collect taxes; and the [Nanjing] Ministry of War possesses no power to deploy troops."²⁰ The publication of departmental gazetteers was obviously aimed at providing people with some information about what the agencies in the southern capital were doing so as to improve their own image.

Second, the compilation of departmental gazetteers was based on practical considerations. These gazetteers could be used, among other things, as guidebooks for junior officials wishing to familiarize themselves with their departmental duties. Third, the comparatively undemanding duties of the Nanjing administration allowed its officials the time to compile these gazetteers. Its relatively small jurisdiction and the usual absence of the court and the emperor from the southern capital simplified the Nanjing administration's official duties. And this was common knowledge among Ming officials. For example, when a metropolitan graduate was

appointed secretary of the Bureau of Reception in the Nanjing Ministry of Rites, his father, a senior official in Beijing, admonished him that “the official duties in the southern capital are simple, but you should not take a laissez-faire attitude; to achieve greater accomplishments, you should pursue your studies diligently.”²¹ Yin Rong’s postscript to the 1595 edition of the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* also confirms this impression. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons he collated the gazetteer was that he had plenty of free time while in office, and did not want to squander it.²²

The *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* consists of twenty-four *juan* in two parts: general records and classified records; there are also two *juan* of appendixes. Each *juan* of the gazetteer generally begins with quotations of official policies and regulations from such government publications as the *Jurisdictions of Government Agencies* (*Zhusi zhizhang*), *The Great Proclamation* (*Dagao*), *Guiding Principles* (*Xiangang*), and *Code of the Ming Dynasty* (*Da Ming lü*). It then explicates the administrative responsibilities of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue on specific matters, and lists relevant statistics. It also describes the history of the ministry prior to 1420 when the primary capital of the Ming was relocated to Beijing. The titles for each *juan*, section, and subsection are listed in table 2.

Juan one traces the evolution of the ministry and its subordinate offices (see illustration 2); *juan* two lists officials and functionaries under the ministry, their respective ranks, and the staffing at various ministry offices; *juan* three describes the locations of the ministry offices and the residences of the ministry’s high-ranking officials; *juan* four defines the official responsibilities of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue. Records in *juan* four indicate that besides supervising the financial affairs of various local offices in Nanjing, the ministry also had some national financial responsibilities: the management of national household registers, known as the “yellow registers” (*huangce*) during the Ming dynasty (see illustration 3), issuance and inspection of the use of salt certificates (*yanyin*; see illustration 4), and collection of grain taxes from Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Huguang provinces and the Southern Metropolitan Area (see illustration 5).

Juan five reports the registration and management of households, punishment for violation of registration policies and regulations, and the

Table 2

CONTENTS OF THE GAZETTEER OF THE NANJING MINISTRY OF REVENUE

<i>JUAN</i> TITLE	NUMBER OF <i>JUAN</i>	<i>JUAN</i> NUMBER AND SECTION TITLE	<i>JUAN</i> NUMBER AND SUBSECTION TITLE
General Records	4	1. Evolution of the Ministry (<i>jianzhi zhi</i>) 2. Offices under the Ministry (<i>zhiguan zhi</i>) 3. Ministry Offices (<i>gongshu zhi</i>) 4. Administrative Jurisdiction (<i>zhishou zhi</i>)	
Classified Records	20	5-7. Statistics (<i>minke</i>) 8-11. General Accounts (<i>duzhike</i>) 12-17. Specific Accounts (<i>jinke</i>) 18-24. Granaries (<i>cangke</i>)	5. Registered Population (<i>hukou zhi</i>) 6. Accounting (<i>kuaiji zhi</i>) 7. Miscellaneous (<i>zaxing</i>) 8. Expenditure (i) (<i>jingfei zhi</i>) 9. Expenditure (ii) 10. Expenditure (iii) 11. Official Salaries (<i>linlu zhi</i>) 12. Reserves (i) (<i>kucang zhi</i>) 13. Reserves (ii) 14. Reserves (iii) 15. Reserves (iv) 16. Material Supplies (<i>gongying wuliao</i>) 17. Weights and Measures (<i>quanliang zhi</i>) 18. Taxation (i) (<i>zhengshou zhi</i>) 19. Taxation (ii) 20. Taxation (iii) 21. Granaries (i) (<i>cangyu zhi</i>) 22. Granaries (ii) 23. Ministry Officials (i) (<i>huanji zhi</i>) 24. Ministry Officials (ii)
Appendixes (<i>fujian</i>)	2		

compilation and audit of the yellow registers. This *juan* also includes the total number of yellow registers produced by all the thirteen provinces of the country and the two metropolitan areas, the total amount of summer and autumn grain taxes collected from the whole country, and in particular the amount of such taxes submitted in 1542 by individual provinces and metropolitan areas. The sixth *juan* records the amount of grain and wheat allocated to members of the nobility residing in Nanjing, eunuch chiefs, civil officials, and military officers. The seventh *juan* relates, as its title suggests, the miscellaneous duties of the ministry. *Juan* eight concerns the Ming regulations on rewards, and the amount of rewards administered by the ministry. *Juan* nine stipulates the grain rations allocated monthly to the soldiers of the guard units and the fodder for army horses. *Juan* ten records the amount of grain consumed by soldiers in charge of the transportation of tribute grain from southern China to the north. *Juan* eleven reveals the salary grading for imperial nobility, civil and military officials, and functionaries. It also contains related government regulations and emendations.

Juan twelve records all the taxes administered by the ministry. According to the gazetteer, they include taxes on commodities, fishing, and transit. During the Ming, customs houses were established along the Grand Canal to collect transit duties on all shipping, and the ministry took charge of the customs houses at Yangzhou, Huaian, and Hangzhou. It is worth noting that the ministry also issued tea certificates (*chayin*) used nationwide. *Juan* thirteen focuses on monetary policies in general and is not specifically related to the duties of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue. It discusses the issuance, production, and circulation of currency, and provides relevant government regulations. *Juan* fourteen describes the salt administration (*yanfa*). During the Ming, the production and distribution of salt were regulated by the Ministry of Revenue in Beijing, but the issuance of salt certificates fell under the jurisdiction of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue. *Juan* fifteen describes the "palace treasuries" (*neifuku*) and the nine storehouses run by eunuchs in Nanjing and records the volume of grain and silver stored in those storehouses in 1549. *Juan* sixteen lists tributary articles sent to Nanjing by prefectures and counties within the Southern Metropolitan Area. *Juan* seventeen

南京戶部通志卷之一

志卷一

賜進士南京戶部貴州司郎中龍溪
鄉進士南京戶部司務廳司務南海趙

建置志

嘗觀周禮六卿分職各率其屬以倡九牧阜成兆民則成
周之制我朝不設丞相而以天下庶務責之六部而又
都並建六卿以分理之則我

國家之制夫帝者因時創制何必相襲要於為成民之意
一也南京之有戶部舊矣無所聞於載籍而論著者自
國初迄于今大畧為建置志後有君子得以考焉 按

2. Opening page of the first juan of the Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue. Ten cols. of 22 chars.

正德七年令於後湖荒洲蓋造廚房搭橋水次以便造飯人等往來仍立牌禁約有將火過橋者治以重罪

嘉靖元年令於後湖東北二面築立牆垣千餘丈仍於湖外沿牆蓋立鋪舍責令地方人等晝夜巡邏以防不虞

已上後湖禁例

黃冊數目

國初直隸府州縣并十三布政司黃冊共五萬三千三百九十三本

弘治十五年黃冊共六萬七千四百六十八本

嘉靖二十一年南北直隸府州縣并十三布政司黃冊共

3. Page 15b of *juan* five of the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue*. Under the heading "Number of Yellow Registers" are the numbers of the yellow registers of the Ming empire during three different reign eras.

南京戶部分志卷之十

志卷十四

庫藏志三

鹽法

按今鹽法屬戶部掌行鹽引勘合則出本部然鹽引為鹽法而設不詳其法孰知引之為用也故備載之

按大明會典序云國朝鹽課專以供給邊方糧餉或水旱凶荒亦藉賑濟其利甚博然必私鹽禁嚴而後官鹽流通法久弊滋故自洪武以來鹽法條件因時漸密云

諸司職掌

凡天下辦鹽去處每歲鹽課各有定額年終各該運司并



4. First page of *juan* fourteen of the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue*. Ten cols. of 22 chars. The issuance of salt certificates and the inspection of their use during the Ming were the responsibility of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue.

<p>府州縣其徵於夏者謂之夏稅其徵於秋者謂之秋糧夏</p>	<p>按今本部徵收不外浙江江西湖廣三布政司及南直隸</p>	<p>已上秋糧米豆雜糧</p>	<p>備發邊支用以後年分照舊派納</p>	<p>銀每米一石折銀六錢徑解戶部轉送太倉銀庫收貯以</p>	<p>十四年各處該解南京各衛倉米并水兌正餘米盡數折</p>	<p>二十四年為陳邊務以裨安攘事准戶部咨內開嘉靖二</p>	<p>徵銀五錢黑豆一石徵銀三錢</p>	<p>處賑濟以救饑民事議將應天等十一府州每米一石止</p>	<p>欽依去後續該巡撫應天都御史丁 題為地方極重旱災議</p>
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5. Page 31a of *juan* eighteen of the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue*. Ten cols. of 22 chars. The last two lines on the left explain that the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue was responsible for collecting the grain tax from the Southern Metropolitan Area and Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and Huguang provinces.

concerns general government policies and the regulation of weights and measures. This *juan* also has no direct relevance to the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue.

Juan eighteen is an account of grain taxes collected by the ministry. *Juan* nineteen deals with the collection and distribution of fodder in the Southern Metropolitan Area. *Juan* twenty discusses the genesis and development of military farms during the Ming, and the related government regulations and practices. It also contains the quotas for grain to be produced by the thirty-four Nanjing guard units in 1548. *Juan* twenty-one and twenty-two describe the Ming policies on granary maintenance and famine relief, particularly the granaries managed by the Nanjing guards, their geographical locations, and the level of grain reserves. *Juan* twenty-three lists the names and terms of office for ministers, vice ministers, directors, and vice directors of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue. Occasionally, names of lower-ranking officials, such as office managers, record keepers, and proofreaders, are also entered in this volume (see illustration 6). *Juan* twenty-four deals with eleven prominent ministers who served in the ministry, some of whom worked for the ministry when the Ming primary capital was still in Nanjing. One of the two appended *juan* is devoted to eulogies of ministry officials, the other to a list of books housed at the ministry.

The *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* has preserved a large amount of valuable data and information on the implementation of certain Ming national economic policies and the functioning of the ministry. Records in this work, together with other surviving departmental gazetteers of the Nanjing administration, would further advance our understanding of the Ming two-capital system. The gazetteer also includes excerpts from sixteen collections of Ming imperial decrees and government policies. Of these sixteen collections, the following eight are most frequently quoted: *Jurisdictions of Government Agencies*, *The Great Proclamation*, *Guiding Principles*, *Code of the Ming Dynasty*, *Ancestral Instructions of the Imperial Ming Dynasty* (*Huang Ming zuxun*), *Imperial Proclamation for Educating the People* (*Jiaomin bangwen*), *Legal Directives of the Ming Dynasty* (*Da Ming ling*), and *Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty* (*Da Ming huidian*). But since all eight works are still available for modern

丙	巳	乙	辰	甲	癸	庚
	年一十二		年十二		年九十	
			潘榮 字尊用 福建龍溪人進士以本 部右侍郎陞任			
		李和 字同輔 安陽人進士				王達 在職進士 山東人
鄧珙 見前任 廣西司	汪正 見前任 河南司	黃東山 任陝西司	孔舉 任陝西司	朱文環 見前任 廣東司	黃伯埏 任浙江司	林樞 任浙江司
冒政 見前任 福建司	陳軒 廣東揭陽人 任河南司	袁宏 任河南司	薛珪 任陝西司	方全 任江西司	鄧珙 任浙江司	黃東山 任江西司
崔興 直隸晉州人進士 任福建司	趙渾 河南人進士 任河南司	黃鑑 任陝西司	車明理 任陝西司	林表 福建浦浦人進士 任江西司	冒政 直隸秦州人進士 任四川司	張綱 任江西司
				周奇 廣東人進士 任四川司		趙榮 任江西司

6. Pages 19b–20a of *juan* twenty-three of the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue*. This *juan* lists the names, native places, and terms of office of the officials who served at the pre-1420 Ministry of Revenue and the post-1420 Nanjing Ministry of Revenue from 1368 to 1546. The eight horizontal rungs are reserved respectively, from top down, for the ministers, vice ministers, directors, vice directors, secretaries, office managers, record keepers, and proofreaders in the ministry.

scholars to consult,²³ quotations of these works in the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* are not as valuable as the original data gathered in the gazetteer (although they do provide another early version of these texts for comparison). These original data may offer tentative answers to some of the puzzles in Ming history.

After it moved its primary capital to Beijing in 1420, the Ming government still retained an auxiliary capital, with over one thousand officials and functionaries, in Nanjing. To many this southern capital

seemed wasteful and financially burdensome to the central court, and scholars then and now have wondered about the differences in the functioning of the two capitals and how the Ming court justified maintaining a separate capital. Records in the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* reveal that in addition to performing various indispensable local political, economic, and military functions,²⁴ the Nanjing administration had a national role to play. An important branch of the Nanjing administration, the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue was responsible for collecting grain taxes from Jiangxi, Zhejiang, and Huguang provinces, and the Southern Metropolitan Area, which amounted to almost half of the empire's total grain income.²⁵ In 1542, for example, grain collected from the three provinces and one metropolitan area amounted to 35 percent of the empire's summer grain tax and 55 percent of the autumn grain tax.²⁶ These figures indicate that the duties of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue may have been much more complex than many scholars had imagined.

The large amount of grain tax gathered in Nanjing also required the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue to play another important role in the national economy: transporting grain to north China. During the Ming dynasty, the Nanjing vice minister of revenue was from time to time concurrently appointed director-general of tax-grain supplies (*zongli liangchu*),²⁷ a position with overall supervisory responsibilities for the reception and storage of tax grain at Nanjing and its transportation to the north.²⁸

Issuing and supervising the use of salt certificates is another example of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue's involvement in the management of national financial affairs. The ministry printed the certificates and distributed them to the Salt Distribution Commissions (*yanyun si*) across the country. The individual commissions issued the certificates to salt merchants in their jurisdiction and at the end of every quarter handed back to the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue for audit and cancellation the certificates that had been used by the merchants.²⁹ Another less important national function that the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue performed was the storage and examination of the yellow registers of the empire.³⁰

Records in the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue* all point

to the fact that Nanjing was not only the locus of the former imperial palace and tombs, but also the storehouse of important government documents and a main collection point for the empire's tax revenue. It is for these reasons that Xie Bin argued forcefully that Nanjing should retain its status as the southern capital of the Ming dynasty.³¹

NOTES

The author is grateful to Timothy Brook, Ken MacDonald, and F. W. Mote for their help and comments.

1. For more information about the two-capital system of the Ming, see F. W. Mote, "The Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp. 101-153; Edward Farmer, *Early Ming Government: The Evolution of the Dual-Capital System* (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Council, Harvard University, 1976); Huang Kaihua, "Ming zhengzhi shang bingshe Nanjing buyuan zhi tese," *Mingshi lunji* (Hong Kong: Chengming chubanshe, 1972), pp. 1-52.
2. In this article "department" (*bumen*) is defined broadly to include not just ministries but government departments and national institutions.
3. The two northern capital departmental gazetteers are: *Huang Ming libu zhi* in forty *juan* printed in 1620, and *Libu zhigao* in one hundred *juan* printed in the same year. It is worth noting that the two gazetteers were not published until the end of the dynasty.
4. They are the Nanjing National University and the Nanjing Court of Judicial Review. Editions of the *Gazetteer of the Nanjing National University* (*Nanyong zhi*) were compiled in 1458 and 1544; the *Gazetteer of the Court of Judicial Review* (*Nanjing dalisi zhi*) was published before 1550.
5. The Guizhou Bureau was one of the thirteen functional bureaus under the Nanjing Ministry of Revenue, which corresponded to the thirteen provinces in the Ming empire.
6. See Han Shiyong's preface to *Nanjing hubu zhi*.
7. The author uses two methods for numbering his work. In the table of contents, the four-*juan* general records and the twenty-*juan* classified records are numbered separately. In the text, however, the numbering of the two sections in the left-hand fold is consecutive, whereas on the right-hand side it is both separate and combined. For example, the first *juan* of the classified records is identified as "juan one of the classified records (*fenzhi juan zhi yi*); juan five of the gazetteer (*zhi juan wu*)." To avoid confusion, *juan* mentioned in this article are numbered consecutively.
8. Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, ed., *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1966), p. 892; Zhu Baojiong and Xie Peilin, *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), vol. 3, p. 2501.

9. *Nanjing hubu zhi* 23, pp. 35a, 37b. See also Han's preface to the gazetteer.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 53. Zhu Baojiong and Xie Peilin, *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin*, vol. 3, p. 2496.
11. Yang Jingsu et al., *Longxi xianzhi* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1967; rpt. of the 1879 edn.) 16, p. 12a. See also Zhu Baojiong and Xie Peilin, *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin*, vol. 3, p. 2528.
12. Yin Rong's postscript to the 1595 edition of *Nanjing hubu zhi*.
13. *Nanjing hubu zhi* 23, p. 56b.
14. For a detailed discussion of the administrative, topographical, and institutional gazetteers, see Timothy Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History* (Ann Arbor: The Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988), pp. 49-66.
15. The eleven-juan gazetteer, which was first printed in 1272, records the evolution, jurisdiction, and officials of the Directorate of the Palace Library during the Yuan dynasty. A collated edition of the gazetteer was published by Zhejiang guji chubanshe in 1991.
16. It is not certain whether the Academy of Imperial Medicine (*taiyiyuan*), the Central Buddhist Registry (*senglusi*), and the Central Taoist Registry (*daolusi*), three minor agencies in the southern capital administration, compiled departmental gazetteers.
17. For example, Tao Shangde and Pang Song were the minister and the Shandong Bureau director of the Nanjing Ministry of Justice respectively when they compiled the *Nanjing xingbu zhi*; Xu Bida, author of the *Nanjing duchayuan zhi*, was the assistant censor-in-chief of the Nanjing Censorate; Xu Daren was the chief minister of the Nanjing Court of Imperial Entertainments when he composed the *Nanjing guanglushi zhi* in the 1590s.
18. For details on the organization of the southern capital, see *Da Ming huidian* (Taipei: Zhongwen shuju, 1963; rpt. of the 1587 edn.) 1, 1-19; *Ming shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 75, pp. 1831-1836; 76, pp. 1864-1865.
19. The ratio of the number of ranked officials in the Beijing and Nanjing governments was roughly two to one, and the ratio between Beijing and Nanjing functionaries approximately three to one. See *Da Ming huidian* 2, pp. 1-40; 3, pp. 1-19; 7, pp. 1-46.
20. *Nanjing hubu zhi* 1, p. 5b. Quoted in Huang Kaihua from Tan Qian, *Guo que* (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1959) 13, p. 893.
21. He Qiaoxin, *Jiaoqiu wenji* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1974; rpt. of the 1781 edn.) 20, p. 4a.
22. See Yin Rong's postscript to the 1595 edition of the *Nanjing hubu zhi*.
23. The other eight works consulted by the author of the gazetteer are: *Da Ming guan zhi*, *Daxue yan yi bu*, *Huang Ming jilue*, *Huang Ming wenheng*, *Jigu dingzhi*, *Junfa dinglü*, *Shuangxi zaji*, and *Wenxing tiaoli*. Of them, only the fate of *Junfa dinglü* is uncertain. It may still be extant.
24. Militarily, the southern capital administration assisted the central government in Beijing to maintain peace and stability in the southern part of the empire. It played an active role in suppressing the rebellions of aboriginal peoples in the southwestern provinces. It also contributed considerably to the suppression of coastal piracy

during the Ming. Politically, the southern capital served to some extent as a training ground for junior officials to enrich their experience of bureaucratic service. In the words of some Ming people, Nanjing was "a place for accumulating seniority" (*yangwang di*). See *Hai Rui ji*, ed. Chen Yizhong (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962, rpt. 1981), p. 572. Since the two capitals assigned equal ranking for those who assumed the same positions, many Beijing officials were dispatched to the southern capital to assume a higher position. After a certain period of service in Nanjing, they were summoned back to Beijing to take the same position there. For a detailed study of this political function of the southern capital, see Huang Kaihua's "Ming zhengzhi shang bingshe Nanjing buyuan zhi tese," pp. 27-52.

25. *Nanjing hubu zhi* 18, p. 19b.
26. *Ibid.* 5, pp. 20a-21a.
27. This grain came to the government as taxes paid in kind.
28. The post of director-general of taxed grain supplies shuttled between the Beijing censor-in-chief and the Nanjing vice minister of revenue several times during the Ming. In the early Ming period, the post was held by the Beijing censor-in-chief, and in 1447 the Nanjing vice minister of revenue was ordered to assume the position. During the Chenghua reign era (1465-1487) the post was assigned back to the Beijing censor-in-chief. In 1547 the Nanjing vice minister of revenue was again assigned to the post. In 1560 the Ming government, for the third time, gave the post to the Beijing censor-in-chief, and ten years later, in 1570, the Nanjing vice minister of revenue was ordered once again to take charge of the transportation of the taxed grains. See Wang Tianyou, *Mingdai guojia jigou yanjiu* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 205-206.
29. *Nanjing hubu zhi* 14, pp. 14b-15a.
30. *Ibid.* 5, pp. 3a-14a.
31. *Ibid.* 1, p. 5b.

GLOSSARY

bumen zhi 部門志

cangke 倉科

cangyu zhi 倉庾志

chayin 茶引

Dagao 大誥

Da Ming huidian 大明會典

Da Ming ling 大明令

Da Ming lu 大明律

Daoguang 道光

Dong Qichang 董其昌

duzhike 度支科

fanli 凡例

fenzhi 分志

Fu Ssu-nien (Fu Sinian) 傅斯年

Fujian 福建

fujian 附卷

gongshu zhi 公署志

gongying wuliao 供應物料

- Guangdong 廣東
 Guangzhou 廣州
 Guizhou 貴州
 Han Shiyong 韓士英
 Hangzhou 杭州
 He Qizhi 何琪枝
 Henan 河南
 Huaian 淮安
 Huang Ming zuxun 皇明祖訓
 Huang Rubing 黃儒炳
 Huang Zuo 黃佐
 huangce 黃冊
 huanji zhi 宦跡志
 Huguang 湖廣
 hukou zhi 戶口志
 Jiang Shanli 江山麗
 Jiangxi 江西
 jianzhi zhi 建置志
 Jiao Hong 焦竑
 Jiaomin bangwen 教民榜文
 jingfei zhi 經費志
 Jingxue zhi 京學志
 jinke 金科
 jinshi 進士
 Jiujing cilin zhi 舊京詞林志
 juren 舉人
 Kaizhou 開州
 kuaiji zhi 會計志
 kucang zhi 庫藏志
 Lei Li 雷禮
 linlu zhi 廩祿志
 Liudu wuxue zhi 留都武學志
 Longxi 龍溪
 minke 民科
 Nan zhili 南直隸
 Nanchong 南充
 Nanghai 南海
 Nanjing bingbu zhi 南京兵部志
 Nanjing dalisi zhi 南京大理寺志
 Nanjing duchayuan zhi 南京都察院志
 Nanjing gongbu zhi 南京工部志
 Nanjing guanglusi zhi 南京光祿寺志
 Nanjing hanlin zhi 南京翰林志
 Nanjing honglusi zhi 南京鴻臚寺志
 Nanjing hubu zhi 南京戶部志
 Nanjing jinyiwei zhi 南京錦衣衛志
 Nanjing libu zhi 南京禮部志
 Nanjing libu zhi 南京吏部志
 Nanjing qiantianjian zhi 南京欽天監志
 Nanjing shangbaosi zhi 南京尙寶司志
 Nanjing shanglinyuan zhi 南京上林苑志
 Nanjing taichangsi zhi 南京太常寺志
 Nanjing taipusi zhi 南京太僕寺志
 Nanjing tongzhengsi zhi 南京通政司志
 Nanjing xingbu zhi 南京刑部志
 Nanjing xingrensi zhi 南京行人司志
 Nanjing zhanshifu zhi 南京詹事府志
 Nanyong jiuzhi 南雍舊志
 Nanyong xinzhizhi 南雍新志
 Nanyong zhi 南雍志
 neifuku 內府庫
 Neijiang 內江
 Pan Huansu 潘煥宿
 Pang Song 龐嵩
 Puyang 濮陽
 Qianlong 乾隆

Qinding guozijian zhi 欽定國子監志
quanliang zhi 權量志
Sang Xuekui 桑學夔
 Shandong 山東
Shao Dian 邵點
Shen Ruolin 沈若霖
Shi Pei 施沛
Shi Ruiyun 施瑞雲
 Sichuan 四川
Sonkeikaku Bunko 尊經閣文庫
Wang Chongqing 王崇慶
Wang Fengnian 王逢年
Wang Shidian 王士點
Wang Zongyi 汪宗伊
Wang Zongyuan 汪宗元
Weng Fengchun 翁逢春
Wu Jie 吳節
Xian'gang 憲綱
Xie Bin 謝彬
Xu Bida 徐必達
Xu Bozheng 徐伯徵

Xu Daren 徐大任
Xu Nanyong zhi 續南雍志
Xuanlantang congshu 玄覽堂叢書
yanfa 鹽法
Yangzhou 揚州
yanyin 鹽引
Yanyun si 鹽運司
Yin Rong 陰鎔
Yuan mishujian zhi 元秘書監志
zaxing 雜行
Zhang Keda 張可大
Zhao Hesui 趙鶴隨
 Zhejiang 浙江
zhengshou zhi 徵收志
zhiguan zhi 職官志
zhishou zhi 職守志
Zhou Yingbin 周應賓
Zhu Changfang 朱長芳
Zhusi zhizhang 諸司職掌
Zongli liangchu 總理糧儲
zongzhi 總志