

Manufacturing History: Local County Gazetteers in Communist China

Fei Yan¹, Tongtian Xiao²

Affiliations:

¹ Department of Sociology, Tsinghua University, feiyant@tsinghua.edu.cn

² Department of Political Science, University of Washington, ttxiao@uw.edu

Abstract

Many scholars have used local Chinese county gazetteers for historical and socio-economic analyses, yet little research has examined their completeness of coverage or the biases in reporting that characterize their compilation. In this paper, we provide a novel source for studying Chinese political movements and local history under the communist regime after 1949: the internal discussion drafts of county gazetteers (*xianzhi pingyigao*). Our findings constitute the first study to use internal review drafts to examine the authenticity and credibility of county gazetteers. Prior to their publication, gazetteer drafts are compiled by a team of editors and typically receive at least three rounds of rigorous internal review. These internal discussion drafts are subject to a prolonged and strict process of self and external censorship. Our analysis engages in a close comparison of text samples extracted from two versions of local gazetteers collected from four counties of Guangxi Province. Compared to the draft versions, we find evidence of serious data manipulation and a tendency to underreport historical events in the published editions. Our research evidently demonstrates the process of historiography editing and reveals how local history is presented through the lens of government public documents in China.

Keywords: China, local history, politics, historiography, gazetteers

Introduction

Local county gazetteers (*xianzhi* 县志) are one of the most important sources for the study of modern Chinese history. These documents provide evidence for historical processes of local socio-economic structuring by recording conflicts at the micro-level over a long temporal scale. Since the mid-1980s, more than two thousand county gazetteers have been

systemically published across China. Scholars have drawn on aggregated county gazetteer data to study political movements and organized violence in specific regions¹ and comparatively across contexts.² However, local gazetteers vary greatly in their quality and detail when it comes to accounts of particular political episodes. While it is widely acknowledged that contemporary history-writing is limited by several political and bureaucratic constraints,³ there is a lack of research assessing the degree of completeness in coverage and issues of underreporting historical events in particular localities.

The only measure scholars have taken so far is to estimate actual numbers by drawing on indirect evidence either inside the gazetteers themselves or from external data sources. For example, some studies have raised doubts over the quality and credibility of published gazetteer-writing by relying only on external materials like reflexive reports extracted from official newspapers for comparison.⁴ Another crucial source published around the same time of county gazetteers are literary and historical materials (*wenshi ziliao* 文史资料), which scholars have used to study collective memory-building and local educational development during the Mao era.⁵ However, as the oral histories and memoirs of witnesses, these types of materials vary according to the accuracy of informants' recollections of events that happened decades ago, as well as their integrity in reporting their full extent.

In this article, we offer a novel source for studying contemporary Chinese history and measuring data manipulation in local records: the internal discussion drafts of county

¹ Esherick, Pickowicz and Walder 2006; Shinichi 2018; Thogersen 2002; Walder 2014; Yan 2015, 2018.

² Su 2006, 2011.

³ Dikötter 2011; Looney 2008; Thogersen and Clausen 1992; Vermeer 1993; Walder 2014, 2016; Walder and Chu 2020; Walder and Su 2003; Xue 2010.

⁴ See Walder and Su 2003.

⁵ Fromm 2010; Thogersen 2006.

gazetteers (*xianzhi pingyigao* 县志评议稿). Like other official publications issued by the government, local gazetteers are evaluated in order to determine the information that can be shared or is considered appropriate to present to the public. Before being finalized, a pre-published internal discussion version is circulated between local officials and designated experts. These, in turn, go through several rounds of review or are subject to internal discussion. From the perspective of historical study, internal discussion records are not necessarily more honest or impartial than their published versions; nevertheless, limited internal circulation allows editors to have greater latitude and experience less censorship from superior party and propaganda officials when compiling materials on sensitive topics.

We managed to locate the full sets of internal discussion gazetteers from four counties in Guangxi Province. We then concentrated our case analysis on the Cultural Revolution—a decade of political turbulence that profoundly changed the entire political, economic, and cultural landscape of contemporary China. Arguably the most extreme period in modern Chinese history, the Cultural Revolution involved internecine mass conflict and left deep scars on Chinese society.

Based on a comparative content analysis of Cultural Revolution records between officially published county gazetteers and their unpublished internal discussion versions, this paper measures the degree of precision and completeness of coverage in local gazetteers. Our research finds that the problem of coverage on reported political events and conflict intensity during the Cultural Revolution has significantly plagued the quality of event data used to study political movements and collective violence in communist China. This study's findings caution against the tendency to take the data and events reported in published county

gazetteers for-granted and offer a window into the internal review system of state-sponsored publications related to the contemporary history of China. Our findings reinforce a need to seriously consider reliability and material selectivity issues when studying communist China and other autocracies through their own documents and publications.

The Compilation of Local County Gazetteers

In the mid-1980s, the national government mandated the compilation and publication of local gazetteers for all cities and counties. The center hoped to revive the tradition of local historical documentation, which had begun in imperial China, presumably to construct a unified historical narrative under state rule. While the central government's National Directorate for Local Gazetteers leads each provincial office, the local government at every level—from provincial to prefectural and county—is responsible for the compilation of gazetteers at their respective level.⁶ To coordinate and unify standards, the national directorate holds a national conference every five years to discuss and examine the new national plan for compiling local gazetteers. By the early years of this decade, almost all prefecture- and county-level jurisdictions published such annals as records of their local contemporary histories.

Each local gazetteer collects background data on the development of the locality—statistics on its population, economy, educational system, government administration, and other aspects of local history—focusing primarily on events since 1949. In addition, each gazetteer also has a “chronology of major events” (*dashiji* 大事记) at the beginning of the

⁶ Wang, Chengzhi 2009.

volume, focusing primarily on events since 1949. These chronologies recount all notable events: political events, epidemics, health campaigns, industrial accidents, and so forth. Some local gazetteers also include a separate summary section devoted to recording the entire process of political movements (e.g., the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution) in detail, including how they were launched in locales, diffused across the county, and eventually reached their climax. Sometimes, the summaries also provide statistics and information on the number of people persecuted, abnormal deaths, and the proportion of party members involved in the movement.

The writing and publication of local county gazetteers includes several standardized steps.⁷ First, the county government appoints an editorial committee headed by the county's party secretary or mayor and usually designates a senior cadre from the cultural or propaganda department as editor-in-chief. To model the imperial tradition of respecting local gentries or to increase the credibility of gazetteers, the editorial committee also invites non-bureaucratic specialists such as renowned local scholars or writers to be editors or advisers. After its formation, the committee then collects raw text materials from the county archives and other relevant departments (e.g., the People's Political Consultative Conference). It also collects materials from the public and uses interviews or oral histories of key historical events as supplements. Each government department is required to collect and hand over historical materials to the editorial committee.

After finishing the collection of raw text materials, the committee writes the first draft of the local gazetteer, usually beginning with an overview, chronology of major events, and

⁷ There are certain nuances between different counties. This description of the standardized process is based on the epilogues of four collected county annals, which present readers with a sequence of gazetteer compilation.

politics section. The completed first draft then faces a first round of review, which is conducted by the direct superior authorities, i.e., the prefectural gazetteer office. The editorial committee then takes one to three years to refine and write the second draft. The completed first and second drafts are labeled “internal discussion versions” (*pingyigao* 评议稿) and presented during several rounds of review meetings. During these meetings, party leaders, heads of the provincial gazetteer office, designated experts, and retired senior cadres scrutinize them and give their feedback for revision, especially on important political events and sensitive issues. Following this, the editorial committee revises again, finishes the draft for final review (*songshengao* 送审稿), and submits it to the provincial gazetteer office for approval. Only then is the finalized version of the county gazetteer sent for printing.

The Presentation of Sensitive Topics

As “state archives” under the party-state regulation, there were many political constraints and extensive self-censorship behaviors involved in the editing process of county gazetteers.⁸ The most authoritative and comprehensive guidelines for processing unfavorable political events were implemented in 1985, along with the well-known slogan “be rough, not detailed” (*yicu buyixi* 宜粗不宜细).⁹ With regard to “not detailed,” the guidelines elaborate: “no individual names, no trivial details, no individual cases, no comprehensive statistical data, and no investigation of individual responsibility”.¹⁰ Another influential guiding

⁸ Thogersen and Clausen 1992; Vermeer 1993; Xue 2010.

⁹ See Article 11 of Chapter Two of the “Interim Regulations on the Work of Newly Compiled Local Records,” which were discussed and approved by the Chinese Local History Direction Group on April 19, 1985 in *Zhongguo difangzhi zonglan 1949–1987 (A Snapshot of Chinese Gazetteers 1949–87)*, pp. 5–7.

¹⁰ Steering Group for National Gazetteer Work 1999, p. 497.

principle from the same time states that the presentation of “politically negative movements” and “political mistakes” of the party-state should be closely scrutinized and further discussed within the local cell of the party organization before being published.¹¹

By following these two conservative guiding principles, a number of sensitive issues have been systematically avoided, particularly in politics.¹² For example, some local gazetteers chose not to report or to underreport casualties during political movements such as the Cultural Revolution. It is also common for official publications to only mention “large numbers” of deaths or victims instead of referring to specific numbers. Some gazetteers admitted that they often worked hard to “turn the historical facts until they fit into the pattern of the 1981 ‘Resolution’”.¹³ Another typical approach was to highlight measures taken by the party and government to overcome shortcomings, correct mistakes, and surmount difficulties during the difficult times of the Mao era.¹⁴

Despite the conservative tone of the 1985 guidelines, some gazetteers and functionaries still attempted to accurately reflect political errors and extreme violence in their local histories. In fact, some local gazetteers editors were themselves intellectuals or retired cadres who had been harshly persecuted or unfairly treated during those very political movements. For example, a senior editor in Guangxi clearly stated that covering political movements using only rough details was “inappropriate,” as the practice conflicted with another significant guideline of “detailing the present and abbreviating the past” (*xiangjin lveyuan* 详

¹¹ Wa and Esherick 1996.

¹² Yuan 1983.

¹³ Thogersen and Clausen 1992, 177.

¹⁴ Huang 1984.

近略远).¹⁵ According to him, county gazetteers that lacked detailed records of political movements could not adequately document history or serve as stores of information for local cadres. This editor further elaborated that the detailed presentation of political movements did not undermine the image of the party, as long as the practices of gazetteer writers did not harm the veracity and validity of the text materials themselves.

The broad latitude that could be exercised by editors resulted in notable cross-regional variation in the reporting of political events in local gazetteers, making the use of county gazetteers less reliable. As a result, these coverage problems affect event data used in studies of political movements and collective violence in two particular ways: selection bias and description bias.¹⁶ While selection bias refers to whether all of the events that occurred are reported, description bias relates to the veracity of the events that are selected for reporting. Most researchers of collective action agree that these two biases are unavoidable. The question for researchers, then, is whether the data are worth analyzing despite their imperfection, or whether the bias is small enough to be safely ignored.¹⁷ Authoritarian regimes' local censorship of political events intensifies the selection and description biases that exist more widely in studies of collective action. Political pressure from superiors and review agencies is particularly influential for selecting and describing events originally curated by gazetteer editors.

Previous studies have examined the veracity of gazetteers, but they have used other methods. For example, to assess the completeness of coverage and biases in reporting, Martin

¹⁵ Wang, Fuxing 1985.

¹⁶ Earl et al. 2004; Olzak 1989.

¹⁷ Berk 1983.

Fromm used firsthand oral-history testimonials and memoirs to complement data extracted from state-authorized gazetteers. By comparing how the same political events were recorded in locally compiled oral histories and gazetteers, Fromm concluded that the coverage of sensitive political events in the latter was very “scant” and “vague” compared to the former.¹⁸ Walder and Su used the length of words devoted to sections on particular political events to estimate local gazetteers’ degree of precision in covering numbers of deaths and political victims. When studying collective violence during the Cultural Revolution, they found a positive correlation between the length of the accounts comprising the “Cultural Revolution” section and the tendency to report deaths, injuries, and victims of political persecution by county. However, when comparing the reported numbers of deaths and victims from county gazetteers with those from other authoritative sources published by the government immediately after 1978, they found that even provinces with the longest accounts tended to underreport the actual number of deaths and injuries by 33 to 50 percent.¹⁹ The severity of underreporting thus demands other effective approaches for estimating the actual numbers incurred by those traumatic and bloody events when studying local history in modern China.

Data and Method

Beginning in 2016, we started collecting the internal discussion editions of local county gazetteers using Kongfuzi Jiushu Wang (Confucius Old Book), the largest online trading platform for used books in China. It is extremely difficult to get full sets of these internal

¹⁸ Fromm 2019.

¹⁹ The average number of words devoted to these matters is 4,066. The province that devoted the least detail averaged 2,700 words per county (Anhui), while the province that devoted the most detail averaged more than 11,200 words per county (Shaanxi). See Walder and Su 2003.

versions because, in most circumstances, only a single copy would have been leaked to the market, making the volumes incomplete. In many cases, the volumes on political events are simply missing, making the internal materials less valuable to our study. Typically, we had to wait around ten months to get new internal material on the online platform. We also asked an acquainted secondhand book dealer based in Guangxi to help us understand variations in the market. When any related materials appeared, this book dealer notified us and we bought them immediately.

It was only due to these efforts that we were eventually able to collect four complete sets of internal discussion gazetteers in Guangxi Province—for Guiping, Wuxuan, Lingchuan, and Long'an Counties (see figure 1). We focus our analysis on Guangxi Province for two reasons. First, amongst areas that experienced extreme violence, Guangxi undoubtedly suffered the greatest and most unprecedented tragedies during the Cultural Revolution.²⁰ There is also ample evidence revealing the horrors of mass killings and cannibalism in Guangxi.²¹ Second, local gazetteers in Guangxi Province tend to provide more extensive accounts of political events compared with other regions. Based on Walder and Su's assumption that longer gazetteer accounts more closely reflect actual variations in historical events,²² we would expect more accurate reported magnitudes in these published gazetteers. Since the underreporting and coverage problems of county gazetteers in other provinces can only be more significant than in Guangxi, their published versions are likely to be more compromised in their reliability and effectiveness in reporting historical events.

²⁰ Walder 2019, 176–178; Walder 2022; Yan 2016.

²¹ Yue 1999, 228–252; Zheng 1998.

²² Walder and Su 2003.

[insert figure 1]

Each unpublished internal discussion gazetteer that we obtained is classified as “secret” and bears the imprint “for internal review” (*neibu pinggao* 内部评稿). Admittedly, these internal materials are still likely to include biases and speculative remarks. However, given that internal references are not available for public view and can only be circulated among party bureaucrats above a certain rank, they can arguably be treated as more reliable sources of information compared to most openly published documents.²³ Moreover, they provide substantial resources for overcoming information scarcity when studying authoritarian regimes.

Internal materials can be used as vital references to evaluate the validity and precision of publicly accessible documents.²⁴ We compared the collected internal discussion gazetteers with the openly published editions. Drafts submitted for internal discussion should not be treated simply as incomplete versions of the final gazetteers; instead, they are key resources for accessing more-accurate coverage of sensitive political events and explaining variation between districts. More broadly, investigations of internal reviews and content revisions of gazetteer writing help to uncover processes of local history-writing and reveal local intellectual elites’ attitudes towards highly controversial political events, in which many of them were key witnesses and victims.

²³ Christiansen 1989; Xie 2011.

²⁴ Dimitrov 2015.

Assessing the Authenticity and Credibility of Gazetteer Writing

We conducted a close comparison of text samples extracted from the two versions—internal discussion drafts and final published editions—of local gazetteers from the same county. Our analysis began by identifying the specific types of revisions made to content in the arenas of politics, culture, and economy. This process identified four major types of revisions that the published editions made to the internal review editions: 1) revisions to statistics; 2) revisions to political events; 3) revisions to narrative perspective; and 4) revisions to less-sensitive sections.

Revisions to Statistics

The first category refers to the deletion or obscuration of statistics enumerating death tolls and casualties resulting from political events and movements, including the use of vague text descriptions instead of exact numbers. Previous studies have noted the existence of censorship on controversial and sensitive statistics, mostly related to the underreporting of deaths and casualties. With more trustworthy internal discussion versions now available, our content analysis provides direct evidence for censorship and revisions by highlighting key differences between the two versions.

Table 1 demonstrates that there were significant revisions to statistics in the published versions, with detailed statistical reports of repressive violence during several important political events having been intentionally deleted or obscured to cover up the cruelty and tragedy of those struggles. Of four counties, only Lingchuan had the same number of total deaths reported in both of the two versions. However, the internal review version still

includes more detail on local violence during the political campaigns, including The One Strike-Three Anti Campaign (*yida sanfan* 一打三反). In Wuxuan County, the officially published version reports the same total number of deaths as the internal one, but it uses vague text descriptions instead of including the exact number of deaths in each social group.

[insert table 1]

Revisions to Political Events

The second category describes the truncation and deletion of sensitive passages about political events, including factional struggles, the prosecution of local intellectuals, the power seizure of local governments, military takeovers, and details of local violence. Related to these themes, contention for political power, power transition, and mass conflicts were also more susceptible to this type of revision.

In particular, we found that the published versions made substantial efforts to censor three critical periods: 1) early 1967, when local rebels took power from the local government and paralyzed the administration of local party organizations; 2) late 1967, when military forces became deeply involved in the Cleansing of Class Ranks Campaigns (*qingli jieji duiwu* 清理阶级队伍); and 3) beginning in mid-1968, when each locale established a revolutionary committee to reestablish order and control. These three events are widely considered to be key political junctures with the most mass violence during the Cultural Revolution.²⁵

Compared to the internal draft of Wuxuan County's gazetteer, the published edition

²⁵ See Walder 2014, 2016, 2019.

almost completely excludes details of the power seizure in which local militants were ordered to take over the local government and party organs in 1967. Only the date of the revolutionary committee's founding remains. The published version also removes the record describing the process of military intervention into local politics. Likewise, the published version of Guiping County's gazetteer excludes the following passage regarding power seizure and the ensuing military intervention around 1967:

In January 1967, the Cultural Revolution movement reached its climax. The rebels seized the power of local party and government agencies, as well as all enterprises, and public institutions within the county. Incumbent leaders at all levels were forced to step down, resulting in the paralysis of government agencies. The county entered into the state of total anarchy.

In March, the People's Armed Forces Department of the People's Liberation Army in the county was ordered to establish the Headquarter for Organizing Revolution and Promoting Production. On March 24, 1968, with the approval of the Revolutionary Committee of Guangxi, the Guiping County Government Committee and the Party Committee were together abolished. The Guiping County Revolutionary Committee was then established to enforce unified leadership over the county's party and government organizations.²⁶

²⁶ *Guiping xianzhi pingyigao* 1988, vol. 7, pp. 107–108.

Factional conflicts and armed battles were highly prone to truncation or removal in official publications, since the violence between different rebel groups entailed the local state's loss of control and monopoly of violence. Records of violent activities—including factional struggles, the persecution of intellectuals, and the repression of members of the losing faction—could alert readers to the dire consequences and turbulence of the Cultural Revolution. For example, Lingchuan was the county in Guangxi Province that had suffered the largest number of casualties and deaths during the factional violent conflicts. When reporting the intensely violent activities in its county middle school, the internal review draft presented honest death and casualty statistics and reported on the founding of Red Guard organizations within the county:

By September 1968, three middle schools established their own Red Guard organizations, which were divided into two major internal factions, one in favor of violent means (*wudou* 武斗) and another for civilized means (*wendou* 文斗). Their clash resulted in the death of 20 teachers and 22 students in these three middle schools.

Every school established the hierarchical organization of Red Little Soldiers (*hongxiaobing* 红小兵). By 1967, the number of Red Little Soldiers reached 20,583, and the number of instructors in the organization reached 1057 (including 236 from outside schools). The Red Little Soldiers ... were encouraged by authorities then to be anti-institution heroes (*fanchaoliu yingxiong* 反潮流英雄) who should frequently

criticize their teacher's teaching philosophy and personal identity.²⁷

In the published version, however, these two passages were completely deleted. Only a single remark remained: “[D]uring the Cultural Revolution, the order of education was disrupted... [T]he county established the Red Little Soldier organization to replace the Young Pioneer Organization.”²⁸

Organized violence in political campaigns is another extremely sensitive topic for the local gazetteer office to navigate, with even the central government expressing a vague attitude towards these events in the 1980s. An official evaluation of the Cultural Revolution in the early 1980s included only two sentences; the first praised the military takeover for ending the chaos, while the second characterized it vaguely as having “produced some negative consequences.”²⁹ Since no specific example or further explanation was offered in the official document, the best strategy for local gazetteer writers was probably to avoid writing much about controversial issues, such as the repressive and brutal violence in the Cleansing of Class Ranks Campaigns, altogether. For example, the published version of the Guiping County gazetteer deleted an entire chapter summarizing various political campaigns and instead scattered the events originally recorded in that chapter to other places such as the chronology of major events.

These revisions to political content were focused especially on issues of political power, violent factional struggles, and mass persecution carried out in locales. The published

²⁷ *Lingchuan xianzhi pingyigao* 1991, vol. 16, p. 23.

²⁸ *Lingchuan xianzhi* 1997, 608.

²⁹ See “Resolution on Certain Questions in The History of Our Party since The Founding of The People’s Republic of China” in *Resolution On CPC History (1949–1981)*, 37–38.

versions also shun direct descriptions of factions involved in violent struggles, as well as the influence of provincial leadership conflicts on local rebel organizations (the pro-leadership “lianzhi faction” versus anti-leadership “4.22 faction”). In other words, they eliminate crucial information regarding the horizontal and hierarchical linkages of political movement organizations in the Cultural Revolution.

Revisions to Narrative Perspective

The third category describes published versions manipulating narrative perspectives of sensitive events and targets of blame that had previously appeared in internal review versions. In the published versions, records of destruction resulting from political movements in the Mao era tend to be understated. In addition, negative comments or criticisms targeting the Cultural Revolution as a whole (i.e., not only restricted to political content) were very likely to be removed in the published versions. For example, the internal review draft of Lingchuan County states that “without the ten-year catastrophe wrought by the Cultural Revolution, the fiscal deposits of the county would far exceed the current number.”³⁰ This comment was subsequently deleted in the published edition.

In contrast, the published gazetteers highlight achievements amid various adversities and uphold a collective image of responsible local cadres who fulfill their duties and resist the erroneous administration of incumbent authorities. Rather than discrediting the entire movement, as some internal discussion drafts had, published versions place blame on Lin Biao and the Gang of Four for all of the country’s faults, disruptions, and damage. For

³⁰ *Lingchuan xianzhi pingyigao* 1991, vol. 11, p. 72.

instance, the internal review draft from Lingchuan County presents the following criticism to the disruption of education during the Cultural Revolution:

During the decade of the Cultural Revolution, the original guidelines and policies for running schools were totally rejected, and former regulations, textbooks, teaching methods and examination systems were abandoned. The teaching schedule was in disarray. At the same time, our “backbone teachers” were pulled out to teach poor-quality ad-hoc junior high school classes. The newly recruited private school teachers had low literacy levels and no teaching experience, resulting in seriously low teaching quality.³¹

The published edition, however, denounces the alleged counter-revolutionary clique headed by Lin Biao, who, it holds, entirely rejected “the guideline and policies” for running schools since the founding of the communist regime. The instigating red soldiers’ faults are completely attributed to the name of Lin, who was reportedly “a sickly and passive figure”³² under the despotic and impulsive Mao.

Another practice evident in the published version from Guiping County is deleting all passages related to party-member recruitment amid the Cultural Revolution. According to the internal review draft:

After the founding of People’s Republic of China, especially during the Cultural

³¹ *Lingchuan xianzhi pingyigao* 1991, vol. 21, pp. 9–10.

³² Jin 1999, 14.

Revolution, the solicitation of party members was disturbed by the extreme leftist ideology, overemphasizing on the social class and “pure” family backgrounds. Most members joining the party came from poor peasants or had a peasant family background. People from wealthier families or with slightly problematic personal histories were very likely rejected from joining the party. Only party members raised in “poor peasant” families were considered politically reliable, but in fact their literacy and professional knowledge were generally insufficient. After the Cultural Revolution, following the instructions of the higher party authorities, our county corrected the policy that used to recruit party members very cursorily. Now family background was no longer treated as the single factor for party member eligibility.³³

Political screening during party recruitment was deemed a persistent feature and survival strategy of the communist regime.³⁴ In the post-1978 reform era, although political loyalty was still a prerequisite, expertise and knowledge related to modernization and market economy had gained greater weight in the process of recruitment. Succeeding authorities in the early 1980s openly denounced that clientelism during the Cultural Revolution had resulted from the political culture of loyally obeying immediately superior authorities.³⁵ This could explain why county gazetteers published in the mid- and late-1980s chose to refer to party recruitment during the Cultural Revolution clearly as “mistakes.”

However, openly reflecting on embarrassing histories could diminish party members’

³³ *Guiping xianzhi pingyigao* 1988, vol. 7, p. 2.

³⁴ Bian, Shu and Logan 2001.

³⁵ Walder 1986.

loyalty to the regime or spur disputes over official assessments of the Cultural Revolution—especially among party members who had been discriminated against because of their family class backgrounds. In contrast to Guiping County’s excision, the published version of Long’an County kept the original passage criticizing party recruitment during the Cultural Revolution, blaming “some individuals from the ‘Rebel Faction,’ with clique mentality, or favored vandalism” for “causing the ‘impurity’ of party organization.”³⁶ However, the published version still tried to temper its tone compared to the internal one, as the word “*boluan fanzheng* 拨乱反正,” or correcting disorder and restoring normality, was changed to “*zhengdun* 整顿,” or consolidation.

Revisions to Less-sensitive Sections

In the cultural section, censorship strategies are more diversified and topic-specific. As with the politics sections, the open publications also tend to remove critical assessments of the entire Cultural Revolution and content related to political movements, especially targeting intellectuals. They either shorten or entirely remove passages portraying damage in various cultural areas, such as book collections, public health promotion, recreational activities, the film industry, archives management, and the publishing industry. However, education is an important exception, with all of four counties surprisingly presenting harsher criticisms in the published versions by completely denouncing educational reforms conducted during the Cultural Revolution.

³⁶ *Long’an xianzhi* 1993, 386.

This tendency is especially apparent in the published version of Guiping County, which presents detailed descriptions of the regular education system being devastated during the Cultural Revolution. It is also notable that the published version of this chapter is much longer than the original review draft. The open publication of Guiping blames incumbent authorities for instigating students to criticize school leaders and their teachers during the Cultural Revolution and for forcing them to perform revolutionary rituals:

In June 1966, classes were suspended for the “Cultural Revolution.” Primary school students were mobilized to criticize school leaders and teachers, and the “Red Little Soldier” organization was established to organize students to step into society; to break with the “Four Olds” (old ideas, old cultures, old habits, and old customs); embrace the “Four New” (new thoughts, new cultures, new habits, new customs); and clean up all kinds of evil people resembling “ghosts, evils, and snakes.” After resuming classes, students were asked to follow the political trend closely; spend a lot of time to criticize fiercely; study from workers, peasants, and military soldiers; study the spirit of Dazhai Campaign; and memorize Chairman Mao’s quotations and his three classic articles.³⁷

The extensive description of interruption to and chaos within education during the Cultural Revolution is prevalent in the other three counties as well, with the final versions usually exceeding the original length of the internal review drafts. For example, the published

³⁷ *Guiping xianzhi* 1991, 670

version of Long'an County's gazetteer includes a new passage describing how fanatical the rituals and political loyalty show had become, thus making an implicit criticism of Mao's personality cult:

From May to July 1970, ... [m]ass meetings of “recalling, thinking, and checking” were launched widely within the county: first, participants had to recall the sufferings of the working class in the old societies, think of the kindness of Chairman Mao, and check whether their loyalty to the regime is firm enough; second, they have to recall the history of the struggle between the two lines within the Communist Party, think of Chairman Mao's great deeds, check whether their revolutionary determination to follow Chairman Mao is abiding; third, they have to recall their life experiences, think of experiences complying with Chairman Mao's instructions to do things, check whether they are allegiant to Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought.³⁸

In a word, the published versions lengthen and detail passages on topics such as: the indoctrination of extreme leftist ideology, abolishing the examination system, the introduction of physical labor into the curriculum, the mismanagement of schools by revolutionary committees, and the indiscriminate expansion of every type of school across rural areas, which had been deemed “too aggressive” and resulted in severe teacher shortages. Guiping County even adds a paragraph to the published version highlighting the horrible failures of

³⁸ *Long'an xianzhi* 1993, 386.

educational policies carried out during the Cultural Revolution:

When the college entrance examination was restored in 1977, only 99 out of 8,013 liberal arts high school students in the county passed mathematics subjects, 98.8% of them failed. That year, the number of graduates admitted to colleges and technical secondary schools in Guiping ranked last in Guangxi. In the 1978 college entrance examination, there were 8,357 science students in Guiping County, with an average score of 10.1 in mathematics, 1,878 with a score of 0, accounting for 22.4%; 4,637 students in liberal arts, with an average score of 2.07 in mathematics, 66.7% of them scored zero. Many middle and high school graduates were unprepared for work given the limited education they received. From 1979 to 1986, more than 6,000 cadres and workers of public units had to participate make-up literacy classes.³⁹

In the economy section, censorship strategies are also topic-specific. While the internal drafts clearly reprehend political turbulence and a revolutionary mindset for causing unnecessary economic damage, the published versions vaguely mention the faults of the Cultural Revolution instead of naming specific policies or economic ideas. In terms of economic statistics, the published versions not only eliminate data showing economic downturns or declines in industrial production; they also manipulate statistical years to intentionally generate data indicating economic growth. They sometimes also add new data or detail based on the review drafts, but these only appear in less politically sensitive

³⁹ *Guiping xianzhi* 1991, 670.

economic topics, such as forestry management and the agricultural credit union.

Similar to the sections on politics and culture, censorship of economic subjects mainly focuses on the period after military intervention in 1967. Featuring hard-won economic achievements amid political restiveness, statistics indicating economic growth—especially grain production and infrastructure improvement—are added in the published versions. For example, the internal review draft of Ling’chuan initially reports economic setbacks and development during the Cultural Revolution in a mixed and impassioned manner:

Due to the initiation of the Cultural Revolution, these economic developments were interrupted, and the situation took a sharp turn. Lingchuan, like other places in China, experienced great turmoil.... In 1967, under the influence of the “January Storm” in Shanghai’s power seizure, the party and government organs were seized power at various levels, the economic management departments were forced to stop their activities, the effective system was abolished, anarchism was rampant, and militia weapons were distributed to wage a “full civil war.” Therefore, in 1967 and 1968, the total output value of industry and agriculture fell sharply, fiscal revenue dropped acutely, market commodity supplies were tight, cultural and educational undertakings were devastated, and the economic order was on the verge of collapse. The total industrial output value in 1967 was 18.7% lower than in 1966, and in 1968 it was 29.9% lower than in 1967; the total grain output was 7.5% and 12.2% lower than in 1966 and 1967 respectively. After 1969, due to the combined effect of various factors, the social and political situation became relatively stable. In 1969,

the total output value of industry and agriculture increased by 12.9% over 1965, and in 1970 it increased by 19.7% over 1969.... However, during two political movements, “Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius” and “General War against Capitalism and Revisionism,” previous efforts of economic readjustment were regarded as Right-wing leaning, self-retained land, and sideline family business were regarded as the “tail of capitalism.” The result has brought serious consequences to economic development, leading to economic fluctuations. The county’s total industrial output value dropped by 5.6% in 1975 compared to 1974, and in 1976 it dropped by 1.8% compared to 1975.⁴⁰

The published version, in contrast, removes the preceding detailed description of economic disasters from 1966 to 1976 and uses a generally positive tone:

From 1966 to 1978, the state investment in industrial construction increased.... In the 20 years since 1958, due to the Leftist ideological guidance, the unilateral obedience of “grain as the key link” (*yiliang weigang* 以粮为纲) and “steel as the key link” (*yigang weigang* 以钢为纲) had caused the national economy to fluctuate and develop slowly. In 1978, the total industrial output value increased by 17 times compared with 1951. The average annual growth rate was 11%.⁴¹

The primary difference between the two versions is their respective attitudes towards the

⁴⁰ *Lingchuan xianzhi pingyigao* 1991, vol. 12, p. 16.

⁴¹ *Lingchuan xianzhi* 1997, 518.

Learning from Dazhai in Agriculture movement (*nongye xue dazhai* 农业学大寨). The most frequent edit to the published version is the deletion of any account recording intensive or inhumane portrayals of the movement.

Another way of downplaying the destruction of the campaign was to reverse its negative appraisal. For example, an internal draft notes that in 1968 the county government of Wuxuan sent inspection crews to each rural work team to see if any family sidelines existed, in which case villagers owning private property would be severely punished. It stressed that even the scattered fruit trees and trees beside villagers' residences were regarded as bourgeois legal rights.⁴² In contrast, the public version replaces this allegation with an account stating that excessive collectivism was moderated in each commune in Wuxuan beginning in the first half of 1971. It proceeds by describing that only about a year later, all villager complaints under the jurisdiction were resolved and their discontents pacified.⁴³

Another example of the divided attitude on the Dazhai movement can be seen in Lingchuan. The published version of the county's gazetteer first enumerates all of the infrastructure projects completed during the campaign and then attributes the increase in effective irrigation areas from 1966 to 1976 to these achievements.⁴⁴ The internal review draft, in contrast, trenchantly condemns the dreadful environmental damage resulting from the impulsive infrastructure construction:

During the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, due to the lopsided

⁴² *Wuxuan xianzhi pingyigao* 1990, vol. 6, p. 14.

⁴³ *Wuxuan xianzhi* 1993, 96.

⁴⁴ *Guiping xianzhi* 1991, 227.

guideline of “greater, faster, economical, and as productive as launching ‘satellite’” (*duokuaihaosheng fangweixing* 多快好省放卫星), some projects were surveyed, designed, and constructed at the same time. Technical requirements were not followed during the construction. Many projects ended up with extremely poor quality, leaving great troubles for future maintenance work. A few projects were even declared scrapped at the end, resulting in a huge waste of human, material and financial resources. During the Cultural Revolution... as a result of sightless land reclamation, some ponds and reservoirs were silted with sediments with their water storage capacity depleted; some dikes were even used as arable land, causing the irrigation system dilapidated and the original irrigation function weakened.⁴⁵

Discussion and Conclusion

This article has used internal discussion gazetteers as novel sources for studying Chinese political movements and local history under the communist regime after 1949. Although previous historical and social science studies have extensively used statistics and text from published versions of the gazetteers, rarely have they delved into the process of material collection, gazetteer writing, internal review, and content censorship of the historical data themselves.

Based on an analysis of a full-volume review of discussion drafts from four counties, we found a serious coverage issue and evidence of underreporting in the published editions when covering political content. Even less-sensitive events like land occupation were likely to be

⁴⁵ *Guiping xianzhi pingyigao* 1988, vol. 4, pp. 2–3.

completely removed in the final versions. All records related to the power of grassroots party-state organizations were shortened, concealed, or deleted altogether. The published versions also greatly diminished the ideological and political connections between perpetrators (i.e., the local government, rebels from the winning faction, and military forces) and policies in different periods of the Cultural Revolution. In addition, our text analysis shows that adding new material and detail in the published versions is rare and tended to occur only in the case of chapters on educational activities after 1949. A plausible explanation for this is that the party's quick and sweeping rehabilitation of cultural elites after 1978 and the overturning of cultural control in the late Mao era may also lead gazetteer writers to reexamine the devastation of cultural and educational activities incurred by previous political movements.⁴⁶

Moreover, we argue that referring to internal review drafts helps to overcome the problem of data availability and authenticity. Their limited access—intended only for internal circulation among gazetteer editors, reviewers, and party officials above a certain ranking—allows for greater latitude and freedom to report on sensitive political topics and casualties that could damage the public image and compromise the authority of local party organizations and officials. Cross-text differences reveal the parts of local history that subnational governments managed to repress or, instead, to emphasize. This helps to reconstruct local collective memory of and responses to the extreme social and political turmoil of the late Mao era.

In sum, this paper makes two key academic contributions. First, it advances the study of social movements where accessible data are currently limited. Using internal state archives

⁴⁶ Xiao 2008, 204–229.

and conducting a comparative content analysis allows us to examine the reliability of openly accessible materials and any potential reasons for discrepancies. Scholars of contentious politics and social movements in other authoritarian countries are likely to encounter similar problems of data access. Even when researchers have connections inside governments, the collection and use of state archives are subject to severe censorship and limitations imposed by state officials. In response, we have identified the existence of county gazetteer internal drafts from state archives and obtained those available from secondhand book dealers through an online customer-to-customer platform. Although these platforms also frequently face state pressure, book dealers are creative in finding countermeasures to circumvent censorship and scrutiny from state surveillance.

The discovery of internal review drafts to some extent also contributes to ongoing debates over “sinological garbology”.⁴⁷ We obtained these sources through archive dealers, which is a channel well-used by previous “garbology” historians. However, these materials are not at all trivial and can answer essential historiographical questions faced by almost all historians of China—that is, the credibility and validity of local gazetteers in the communist era. This example shows how leaked state archives obtained through “garbology” practices can be historiographically important and help to address questions of substantial interest to social scientists.

The paper’s second contribution is to promote the use of county gazetteers in contemporary Chinese studies. Given the increasing restrictions on accessing data from public-sponsored libraries and archives within China, local gazetteers will continue to be

⁴⁷ Brown 2021.

indispensable sources for historians and social scientists who are interested in local political events as well as social and economic conditions under the communist regime. Although this paper calls into question the authenticity and credibility of published gazetteers, we do not deny their relative usefulness; instead, we encourage the use of published versions of gazetteers, albeit with some reservation and caution. In particular, scholars should consider whether the material being used might have encountered external or self-censorship while being compiled. We demonstrate that these publications tend to be less censored for economic statistics and major events in the education field during the Mao era. However, even that content in the published versions provides in-depth and sometimes ample evidence of social changes, public finance, education reforms, and even violence in schools, amongst other issues, at the county level.

Despite being the first study to use internal review drafts to examine the authenticity and credibility of gazetteer writing, as well as to detail the review process, there are two main limitations of this study that could be resolved in future research. First, our sample only contains internal review drafts from four counties in Guangxi Province. Additional samples from other provinces are needed in order to test the national representativeness of these documents. Second, additional qualitative evidence would be useful to supplement or challenge the findings of the cross-text comparison, as the self-censorship of gazetteer editors may not be directly reflected in the textual evidence.

Overall, the gazetteer format in communist China represents the multiple traditions and characteristics of historical writing. These include its inherited imperial legacy, local gentry participation, bureaucratic interventions into historical writing, communist party history

(*dangshi* 党史), professionalization experiments, localized resource integration, and the innovative practices of local offices. We thus encourage scholarly efforts examining the historiography and intellectual history of local gazetteer writing after 1978 through both archives and oral histories.

References

- Berk, Richard A. 1983. "An introduction to sample selection bias in sociological data." *American Sociological Review* 48(3), 386–398.
- Bian, Yanjie, Xiaoling Shu, and John R. Logan. 2001. "Communist Party membership and regime dynamics in China." *Social Forces* 79(3), 805–841.
- Brown, Jeremy. 2021. "PRC history in crisis and clover." *Positions* 29(4), 689–718.
- Christiansen, Flemming. 1989. "The Neibu bibliography: A review article." *CCP Research Newsletter* 4, 13–19.
- Dikötter, Frank. 2011. *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958–62*. London: Bloomsbury Paperbacks.
- Dimitrov, Dimitrov. 2015. "Internal government assessments of the quality of governance in China." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 50(1), 50–72.
- Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. "The use of newspaper data in the study of collective action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 65–80.
- Esherick, Joseph W., Paul Pickowicz, and Andrew G. Walder. 2006. *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Foreign Languages Press. 1981. *Resolution on CPC History (1949–1981)*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press.
- Fromm, Martin T. 2019. *Borderland Memories: Searching for Historical Identity in Post-Mao China*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Guiping difangzhi bangongshi. 1988. *Guiping xianzhi pingyigao (The Discussion Version of Guiping County Gazetteers)*. Internal Material.
- Guiping xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui. 1991. *Guiping xianzhi (Guiping County Gazetteers)*. Nanning: Guangxi People's Publishing House.
- Huang, Ruzhen. 1984. "Xinfangzhi ruhe jishu jianguohou de lici zhengzhiyundong (How new local gazetteers should record every political movement since the founding of PRC)." *Guangxi difangzhi tongxun (Guangxi Local Gazetteers Newsletter)* 4, 57–58.
- Jin, Qiu. 1999. *The Culture of Power: The Lin Biao Incident in the Cultural Revolution*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Lai, Xinxia. 1988. *Zhongguo difangzhi zonglan 1949–1987 (A Snapshot of Chinese Gazetteers 1949-87)*. Hefei: Huangshan Shushe.
- Lingchuan difangzhi bangongshi. 1991. *Lingchuan xianzhi pingyigao (The Discussion Version of Lingchuan County Gazetteers)*. Internal Material.
- Lingchuan xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui. 1997. *Lingchuan xianzhi (Lingchuan County Gazetteers)*. Nanning: Guangxi People's Publishing House.
- Long'an difangzhi bangongshi. 1988. *Long'an xianzhi pingyigao (The Discussion Version of Long'an County Gazetteers)*. Internal Material.
- Long'an xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui. 1993. *Long'an xianzhi (Long'an County Gazetteers)*.

- Nanning: Guangxi People's Publishing House.
- Looney, Kristen E. 2008. "Village gazetteers: A new source in the China field." *The China Journal* 60, 135–147.
- Olzak, Susan. 1989. "Analysis of events in the study of collective action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 15: 119–141.
- Shinichi, Tanigawa. 2018. "The policy of the military 'supporting the left' and the spread of factional warfare in China's countryside: Shaanxi, 1967–1968." *Modern China* 44(1), 35–67.
- Steering Group for National Gazetteer Work. 1999. *Zhongguo fangzhi wenxian huibian* (*Collection of Documents on Local Gazetteers in China*). Beijing: Fangzhi chubanshe.
- Su, Yang. 2006. "Mass killings in the Cultural Revolution: A study of three provinces." Pp. 96–123 in Joseph Esherick, Paul Pickowicz, and Andrew Walder (eds.). *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Su, Yang. 2011. *Mass Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thogersen, Stig. 2002. *A County of Culture: Twentieth-century China Seen from the Village Schools of Zouping, Shandong*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Thogersen, Stig. 2006. "Approaching the field through written sources." Pp. 189–208 in Maria Heimer (ed.). *Doing Fieldwork in China*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press
- Thogersen, Stig and Soren Clausen. 1992. "New reflections in the mirror: Local Chinese gazetteers (difangzhi) in the 1980s." *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* (27),

161–184.

Vermeer, Eduard B. 1993. “New county histories: A research note on their compilation and value.” *Modern China* 18(4), 438–467.

Wa, Ye and Joseph W. Esherick. 1996. *Chinese Archives: An Introductory Guide*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Walder, Andrew. 1986. *Communist Neo-Traditionalism: Work and Authority in Chinese Industry*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Walder, Andrew. 2014. “Rebellion and repression in China, 1966–1971.” *Social Science History* 38(3–4), 513–539.

Walder, Andrew. 2016. “Rebellion of the cadres: The 1967 implosion of the Chinese party-state.” *The China Journal* 75(1), 102–120.

Walder, Andrew. 2019. *Agents of Disorder: Inside China’s Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Walder, Andrew. 2022. “Anatomy of a regional civil war: Guangxi, China, 1967–1968.” *Social Science History* 46(1), 35–63.

Walder, Andrew and James Chu. 2020. “Generating a violent insurgency: China’s factional warfare of 1967–1968.” *American Journal of Sociology* 126(1), 99–135.

Walder, Andrew and Yang Su. 2003. “The cultural revolution in the countryside: Scope, timing and human impact.” *The China Quarterly* 173, 74–99.

Wang, Chengzhi. 2009. “Chinese local gazetteers: Evolution, institutionalization and digitization.” *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 149, 45–54.

Wang, Fuxing. 1985. “Zhengzhiyundong buyi culue jizai (Political movements should not be

- crudely recorded).” *Guangxi difangzhi tongxun (Guangxi Local Gazetteers Newsletter)* 2, 153.
- Wuxuan difangzhi bangongshi. 1990. *Wuxuan xianzhi pingyigao (The Discussion Version of Wuxuan County Gazetteers)*. Internal Material.
- Wuxuan xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui. 1993. *Wuxuan xianzhi (Wuxuan County Gazetteers)*. Nanning: Guangxi People’s Publishing House.
- Xiao, Donglian, 2008. *Lishi de zhuangui: Cong boluanfanzheng dao gaige kaifang (1979–1981) (The Turn of History: from Mistakes Correcting and Normal Restoration to the Reform Era (1979-1981))*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2008.
- Xie, Yong. 2011. “Neibu wenxian yu gongheguoshi yanjiu (Internal materials and the academic quest for the history of People’s Republic of China).” *Ershiyishiji (Twenty-First Century)* 124, 52–61.
- Xue, Susan. 2010. “New local gazetteers from China.” *Collection Building* 29(3), 110–118.
- Yan, Fei. 2015. “Rival rebels: The political origins of Guangzhou’s mass factions in 1967.” *Modern China* 41(2), 168–196.
- Yan, Fei. 2016. “Zhengzhi yundong zhong de jiti baoli: Fei zhengchang siwang zai huigu, 1966-1976” (“Collective violence within political movements: Unnatural deaths during the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976”). *Ershiyi Shiji (The Twenty-First Century)* 155, 61–75.
- Yan, Fei. 2018. “Political dynamics of mass factionalism: Rethinking factional conflict in Guangzhou, 1967.” *China: An International Journal* 16(4), 1–25.

- Yuan, Wenlong. 1983. "Xiangjin lüegu chuyi (A preliminary discussion on the principle of 'detailizing the present and abbreviating the past')." *Zhongguo difangzhi tongxun* (*Chinese Local Gazetteers Newsletter*) 2, 32–35.
- Yue, Gang. 1999. *The Mouth that Begg: Hunger, Cannibalism and the Politics of Eating in Modern China*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Zheng, Yi. 1998. *Scarlet Memorial: Tales of Cannibalism in Modern China*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Tables and Figures

Figure 1. The geographical location of the four counties in Guangxi province

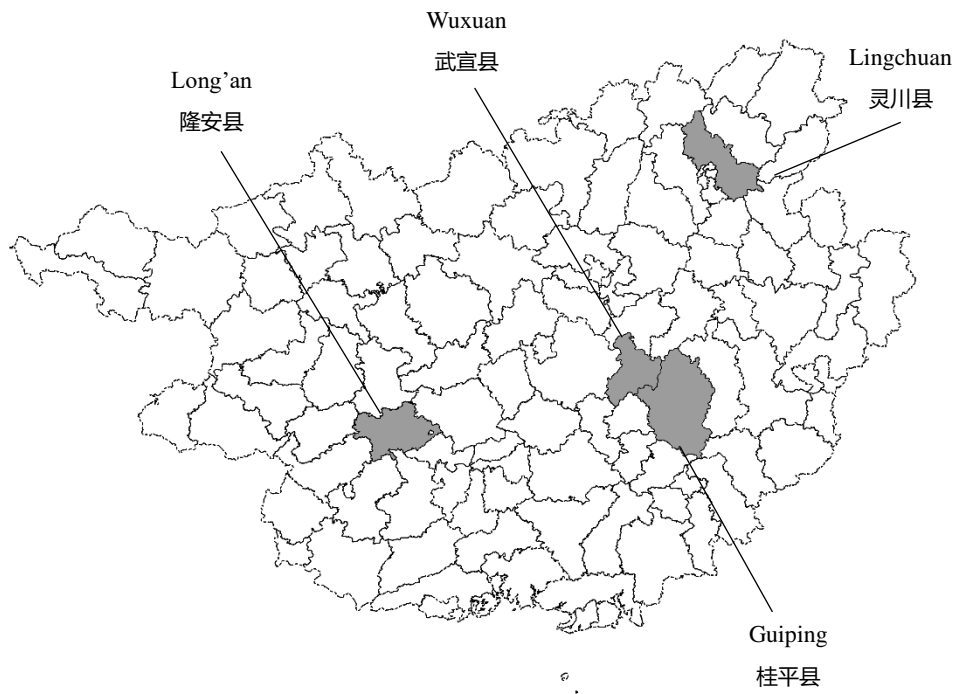


Table 1 Comparing statistics on the Cultural Revolution between published and internal county gazetteers

	Publicized Version	Internal Version
Guiping County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) No detailed death-toll reporting and no recap of political events during the Cultural Revolution b) More than 4,000 wrongful convictions during the Cultural Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) More than 1,217 unnatural deaths during the Cleansing of Class Ranks Campaigns b) More than 8,000 wrongful convictions during the Cleansing of Class Ranks Campaign c) 632 wrongful convictions during The One Strike-Three Anti Campaign
Lingchuan County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 1,321 unnatural deaths during the Cultural Revolution, including 1,103 innocent individuals killed and 218 persecuted to death b) 366 deaths of “Five Black Categories” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 1,321 unnatural deaths during the Cultural Revolution, including 1,103 innocent individuals killed and 218 persecuted to death b) 103 wrongful convictions and 39 suicides during The One Strike-Three Anti Campaign
Long’an County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) No detailed reports on the total death toll b) 522 deaths of “Five Black Categories” c) 3,407 wrongful convictions during the Cultural Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 1,144 unnatural deaths during the Cleansing of Class Ranks Campaigns b) 9,915 wrongful convictions during the Cleansing of Class Ranks Campaign c) 7,451 wrongful convictions during The One Strike-Three Anti Campaign
Wuxuan County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 526 unnatural deaths during the Cultural Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 526 unnatural deaths during the Cultural Revolution, including 55 cadres, 15 workers, 397 farmers, and 23 students; among them, 15 people were disemboweled with livers cut out, and 1 was beheaded publicly

Notes: Reported statistics are cited from *Guiping xianzhi*, 1991, p. 502; *Lingchuan xianzhi*, 1997, p. 593; *Long’an xianzhi*, 1993, p. 415; *Wuxuan xianzhi*, 1993, p. 418; *Guiping xianzhi pingyigao*, 1988, vol. 7, pp. 45–46; *Lingchuan xianzhi pingyigao*, 1991, general catalogue, pp. 41–42; *Long’an xianzhi pingyigao*, 1988, vol. 4, pp. 114, 117; *Wuxuan xianzhi pingyigao*, 1990, vol. 6, p. 171.