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中国人类学评论 (第19辑)

王铭铭 主编



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主题论文 认同与历史

Ethnic Memory and Space: Legends of Zhuge Liang on Sino-Tibetan Frontiers^①

Peng Wenbin(彭文斌)

Zhuge Liang has been widely known in China, and has been perhaps more so in the southwestern region of China where the Shu State was based, for which Zhuge Liang served as a life-time prime minister for the Shu in the Three Kingdoms Period (220~280 A. D.). Cast as an archetype of the valiant sage in Luo Guanzhong's *Sanguo Yanyi* (*Romance of the Three Kingdom* 《三国演义》), Zhuge Liang lives on in official histories and folk memories as a Han cultural hero, whose legendary popularity has been so extensive that the Chinese proverb of *jiayuhuxiao* (known to every household, 家喻户晓) is often used to describe his wisdom and achievements in politics of the Shu Kingdom. Imperial literati in the successive dynasties following the Three Kingdoms Era championed Zhuge as model persona of Confucian values, “a millennium perfect man” (*qianggu wanren*, 千古完人) noted for his unswerving loyalty to the Shu state, for his extraordinary diligence to serve the common good of his country, and for his unsurpassed military talent to achieve the goal of unifying the Central Kingdom of China (*Huaxia*). One theme elaborated most in Chinese imperial historical accounts had been Zhuge Liang's “Southern Campaign” (*Nanzheng*, 南征) in 225 A. D. The military offence was launched to stabilize the volatile ethnic minority regions in southwest China in preparation for massive “Northern Expeditions” (*Beifa*, 北伐) against the Kingdom of the Wei to restore the Han dynastic rule shattered by peasant rebellions and Caocao's villainous usurpa-

① This paper was first presented in the AAS meeting at Boston on March 22~25, 2007, and a Chinese version was later presented at the Tibetan-Yi Corridor Study Meeting sponsored by the Institute of Ethnology & Anthropology, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Xining on September 19~22, 2007. The author of this paper wishes to thank “Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange” for financial support for field research and oral story collections in southwest China in 2004, and also Dr. Wang Ming-ke's insightful suggestion and leading role in studying heroism and ethnicity on China's ancient frontiers.

tion. As often depicted, in the southern warfare, Zhuge had not only demonstrated witty craft in battle strategy, but also extraordinary leniency toward Meng Huo (孟获), a rebel chieftain whom Zhuge Liang's armies had allegedly captured and released seven times (*qiqinqizhong*, 七擒七纵). Desensitizing Zhuge Liang's overall bloody conquest of southwestern aborigines, Chinese imperial literati applauded these theatrical plots of subjugating Meng Huo as "logical" displays of the benevolent Confucian order upon the barbarian frontiers. Centuries later, in the present-day melodramas of ethnic harmony, Zhuge Liang's crafty benevolence has been repackaged as a historical exemplar of the Han nationality's sincerity and good will toward minority nationalities in China, to inspire the latter's confidence in the Han to lead national revolutions and to embark on the agenda of modernization.

In contrast to Zhuge Liang's official enshrinement as Confucian sage or archetype of present-day "multicultural hero", Zhuge Liang has lived on in southwestern minorities' memories as a multivocal sign,^① embodying not only his strategized benignity in ethnic encounters, but also episodes of his veiled deceptions that deprived southwestern aborigines of their land, honor, and autonomy. Local memories of Zhuge Liang's "Southern Campaign" in southwest China have often been linked to ancestral stories of a particular ethnic group, to legends regarding formations of particular places, and, to processes of acculturation by which new farming technologies or agricultural products were introduced from the Han Chinese Proper to frontier regions in southwest China. Indigenous responses to Zhuge's military and civil administrations in southwest China vary among various ethnic groups in different localities, from narratives of fond remembrance and eulogy to those of denial and refutation, contrasting sharply with the essentialist version of Zhuge Liang as a benevolent figure in Han traditional historiography and folkloric representations.

A brief survey of existing folklore and media accounts suggests that Zhuge Liang has been regarded more favorably in Western Yunnan (*Dianxi*, 滇西), despite the fact that his "Southern Campaign" might not have reached the region, a land of relative tranquility in the turmoil of ethnic revolt around 225 A. D. It remains debatable if Zhuge Liang himself had actually been to Dianxi (cf.

① Perhaps a more nuanced description of layers of contested symbolic construction of ancient hero can be found in Duara's discussions of shifting meanings of Guandi, another legendary figure in the Shu-Han Kingdom, in Chinese official and popular narratives. See Prasenjit Duara: "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Nov. 1988), p. 791.

Jiang 1948). ①Jiang Yingliang (江应樑), a noted Chinese ethnologist, did a field research on legends of Zhuge Liang in Dianxi in 1937~1938. He calculated about 18 sites associated with the event of the “Southern Campaign”, in an area from Dali, Baoshan, to Tengchong on Sino-Burmese borders. In Baoshan (previously *Yongchangjun* (永昌郡) in the Han Dynasty) alone, 12 sites were reported, under the names of *Zhuge Ying* (Zhuge Barrack, 诸葛营), *Zhuge Cheng* (Zhuge Fortress, 诸葛城), *Zhuge Qitai* (Zhuge Army Flag-Post, 诸葛旗台), *Zhuge Jing* (Zhuge Well, 诸葛井), Kongming Bei (Monument to Kongming, 孔明碑), etc. Elsewhere in China, Lu Yu (陆羽), or the Sage King of Shen Nong have been deified as “Ancestral God” by tea farmers or guilds. In Simao and Sipsongpanna of Yunnan, however, the annual “Tea Ancestor Festival” (*Chazujie*, 茶祖节) is celebrated in memory of Zhuge Liang who allegedly taught the locals ways of planting tea trees and processing tea products. According to a folk story, *Jinuo* (基诺族), the last ethnic group to be added to China’s officially sanctioned 56 nationality categories, had their origin in the southern warfare. Their ancestors were said to be warriors of Zhuge Liang’s campaign troops, who happened to have overslept one night and were “left behind” in an operation (thus *Diuluo* (丢落族) as they are sometimes called). They did, however, manage to catch up, but Zhuge Liang told them to stay to guard the frontiers. He then gave them some seeds to plant tea trees to help them be self-sufficient, and later on, they became tea farmers in their home region of *Jinuo Shan*, Mt. Jinuo. ②

Boris Riftin, a Russian Sinologist and folklorist who researched on Zhuge Liang’s legendary impact in southwest China, also observed that among southwestern minorities such as Lisu, Miao, and Dai, there are stories narrating their ancestral origins, or disseminations of agricultural technology to their home regions during Zhuge’s “Southern Campaign”. Lisu are said to have their origin in Zhuge’s battles in southwest China:

A legend says that Zhuge Liang, being unable to defeat the southern tribes, recruited a band of craftsmen to make numerous terra-cotta warriors. Ten days later, these terra-cotta warriors came to life, and Zhuge Li-

① Jiang Yingliang (江应樑), “Zhuge Wuhou yu Nanman” (Marquis Wu and Southern Barbarians, 诸葛武侯与南蛮), in *Xinan Bianjiang Minzuzhi* (Southwestern Frontier Ethnography, 《西南边疆民族志》), 1948, pp. 253~276.

② http://www.china.com.cn/aboutchina/zhuanli/jnz/2009-02/12/content_17267231.html.

ang named them *nisu* (“clay figurine”). Later on, *nisu* in folk stories was erroneously taken as *lisu*, and the latter became the appellation for the group of the Lisu people. ^①

Among the Miao and the Dai whose ancestors did not seem to have waged war against Zhuge Liang, Zhuge has often been described as a “unique culture hero”, for his good will and efforts in “teaching the Miao ways of rice and indigo plant (*huailan*) cultivation, weaving, shoe-making, as well as cattle farming”. ^②In Dai folkloric accounts, rice farming and bathing (later developed as the Water Splashing Festival) have also been attributed to Zhuge Liang’s kind instructions. Additionally, the musical instrument of *gu* (drum), widely used by minority groups in southwest China, is said to be Zhuge Liang’s invention. ^③

What makes Riftin’s discussions unique has been his extrapolation of complexity in indigenous responses to Zhuge Liang’s subjugation of the southwestern frontiers, bringing to light issues of agency in the context of ethnic interaction. Riftin’s quest for oral legends of Zhuge Liang in Sichuan in 1991 came with a surprise finding—a lady from the Yi minority group, claiming her lineage from Meng Huo, the rebel chieftain battling against the Shu Kingdom, boldly told him that her people have always hated Zhuge Liang. ^④In Riftin’s collections of the Yi ancestral stories, Meng Huo becomes the major character, an ancestral hero who avenged his father’s death upon the Han invasion—not only had he fought Zhuge Liang on an equal footing, but also managed to capture Zhuge five times on the battleground! The dramatic reversal of events and characters in the Yi narratives, Riftin argues, alerts us to a different scenario in Zhuge Liang’s military operations in the southwestern frontiers. ^⑤It opens up an alternative space for us to critically examine the dynamics of ethnic encounter in social, historical and cultural realms, a subject matter often elided by existing Han Chinese historical and folkloric accounts of the impact of *Nanzheng*.

Following Riftin’s discussions on plural and alternative voices in the

① Boris Riftin (李福清), “Zhuge Liang’s Southern Expeditions Legends among Han and Minorities in Southwest China” (汉族及西南少数民族的诸葛亮南征传说), in *History Monthly* (《历史月刊》), Vol. 66, 1993, pp. 92~105.

② Ibid.

③ Ibid., p. 93.

④ Ibid., p. 105.

⑤ Ibid.

Nanzheng narratives, this paper examines the twists and turns in official and indigenous interpretations of Zhuge Liang's legacies in southwest Sichuan, a region key to Zhuge Liang's "Southern Campaign" and rich in oral histories of relevant events. Based on existing literature and field data I collected in recent years, this paper seeks to unpack *Nanzheng* folk stories across various localities, including: (1) Panzhihua(攀枝花), a Han Chinese city bordering the provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan; (2) Liangshan(凉山), the Yi autonomous prefecture; and (3) the Tibetan border city of Kangding(康定).

Key to this paper is a critical inquiry of the interplay of memory, space, and identity constructions. It intends to highlight a process by which myths or legends, consisting of concrete events in local memories, inform spatial politics and construct socio-historical consciousness on the ethnic frontiers of southwest China.

Southern Campaign and a Process of Historiographical Sedimentation

Zhugeliang's *Nanzheng* (Southern Campaign) has also been referred to as *Nanzhong zhi Zhan* (Battles in the Nanzhong Region, 南中之战) in imperial gazetteers and folkloric narratives. The area of Nanzhong consisted of 4 prefectures (*jun*, 郡) set up in the Han Dynasty, including: *Yuexijun* (越巂郡), *Yizhoujun* (益州郡), *Yongchangjun* (永昌郡), and *Zhangkejun* (牂牁郡), encompassing most of ethnic frontiers in provinces of Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan. These various *jun*, prefectures, were mostly ruled by local "Influential Lineages" (*daxing*, 大姓), allegedly descendents of earlier Han Chinese migrants to the southwestern border regions, who only pledged nominal allegiance to the Shu-Han rule. As a backyard region, *Nanzhong* was strategically important to the overall stability of the Shu state, and to Zhuge Liang's ambitious agenda to recover the Central Plains from the home base of the Shu Kingdom.

After the death of Liu Bei, the first king of the Shu state, in 223 A. D., Yong Kai (雍闓), the powerful lord in *Yizhoujun* rose in rebellion against the Shu, then followed by Zhu Bao (朱褒), prefectural governor of *Zhangkejun*, and Gao Dingyuan (高定元), a Yi chieftain in *Yuexijun*. Shaken by a succession of revolts in *Nanzhong*, Zhuge Liang decided to launch military expeditions against the rebel forces, later known in historical records as *Nanzheng* or *Nanzhong zhi Zhan*. Zhuge Liang dispatched General Ma Zhong(马忠) to at-

tack Zhu Bao in *Zhangkejun*, General Li Hui(李恢) to attack Yong Kai in *Yizhoujun*, and he himself would lead an army to suppress Gao Dingyuan's revolt in *Yuexijun*. Military operations to pacify the *Nanzhong* region began in the spring of 225 A. D., went on for over half a year, and concluded in autumn. In the process, Ma Zhong successfully put down the rebellion in *Zhangkejun* and killed Zhu Bao. In *Yuexijun*, Gao Dingyuan's rebel troops were united with Yong Kai's army in a joint effort to counter-attack Zhuge Liang's invasion. However, owing to an internal strife between Gao Dingyuan and Yong Kai, Gao's subordinate officers killed Yong Kai. Meng Huo, Yong's assistant, succeeded to Yong's commanding post, led his soldiers to cross the Jinsha River, and retreated back to Yunnan. After intense fighting, Gao Dingyuan was killed and his troops were exterminated by Zhuge Liang's army. In May, 225, Zhuge Liang and his soldiers ferried across the Jinsha to chase Meng Huo's remaining forces. Allegedly, Meng Huo was captured and released seven times in the course of war. Deeply moved by Zhuge's leniency, Meng surrendered, pledging that "Southerners will never revolt again". The "Southern Campaign" concluded in the Dian Lake (*Dianchi*, 滇池) when troops led by Zhuge Liang and Li Hui met victoriously. Zhuge Liang returned to Chengdu with his triumphant soldiers in late autumn of 225.

In his analysis of legends of Zhuge Liang in *Dianxi*, Jiang Yingliang surveyed existing historical records of the "Southern Campaign" by chronology, and discussed a peculiar trend of evolution of the *Nanzheng* narratives, a process of "historiographical sedimentation" by which "the remoter in historical times, the simpler a story's narration is, but the closer one tends to get more elaborations."^① *Sanguo Zhi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*, 《三国志》), compiled by Chen Shou, about 50 years after the Southern Campaign, was sketchy in its description of the event, mentioning only the duration of the Campaign. In *Hanjin Chunjiu* (*Spring and Autumn of the Han and the Jin Dynasties*, 《汉晋春秋》) and *Huayang Guozhi* (*Huayang Historical Records*, 《华阳国志》), compiled about a hundred years after the incident, discussion of battle routes in the Campaign became more detailed and elaborate, with an addition of the famous "Seven-Capture-Release-Story" of Meng Huo. However, there was no mentioning about Zhuge Liang's entry to *Dianxi* in these early re-

① Jiang Yingliang(江应樑), "Zhuge Wuhou yu Nanman" (Marquis Wu and Southern Barbarians, 诸葛亮武侯与南蛮), in *Xinan Bianjiang Minzuzhi* (*Southwestern Frontier Ethnography*, 《西南边疆民族志》), p. 268.

cords. Jiang Yingliang contended that it was doubtful if Kongming had been to the region since Lu Kai (吕凯), general of *Yongchangjun* in *Dianxi*, had been loyal to the Shu, and did not rise in rebellion.^① Textual elaborations of Zhuge's battle in the region, Jiang suggested, had much to do with local elite's efforts in extracting popular folk stories, which were, in turn, produced by locals' re-interpretations of the fiction of *Sanguo Yanyi* (*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) to their home locality. Thus *Diankao* (*History of Yunnan*, 《滇考》), compiled in the early Qing Dynasty, and a reworking of local popular stories, developed an elaborate scheme in narrating Zhuge Liang's battles with Meng Huo in Yunnan, pin-pointing each battleground where Meng Huo was allegedly captured and released, infusing legends with concrete spatial referents and turning popular stories into a credible mode of histories.

Textual omissions of Meng Huo in *Sanguo Zhi*, the earliest authoritative account about Zhuge Liang's "Southern Campaign", also raised doubts about the existence of this historical figure and also the hyperbolic narrations of his being captured and released seven times, which led the famous historian Fang Guoyu (方国瑜) to simply dispel related historical and folkloric accounts as "utterly ungrounded hearsay, and pure fabrications".^② Critics argued that given the short period of time after Zhuge's troops crossed the Jinsha to battle with Meng Huo (3~4 months) plus tremendous difficulties in logistical preparations, it was impossible to wage seven battles in the rugged mountain terrain of Yunnan. Neither was it practical to prolong the battles as the Shu state was, at the time, extremely vulnerable in opposition to its powerful neighbors of the Wei and the Wu.

An emergent trend in recent textual analyses of Zhuge Liang's "Southern Campaign" has been a re-evaluation of the proclaimed stability in the *Nanzhong* region after the Campaign. By scrutinizing documentary sources, critics pointed out the persisting turbulence in the region due to the Shu state's heavy extraction of local manpower and resources to finance Zhuge Liang's Northern Expeditions against the Wei, totaling six times in his career!^③

① Jiang Yingliang(江应樑), "Zhuge Wuhou yu Nanman"(Marquis Wu and Southern Barbarians, 诸葛亮武侯与南蛮), in *Xinan Bianjiang Minzuzhi* (*Southwestern Frontier Ethnography*, 《西南边疆民族志》), p. 274.

② Fang Guoyu (方国瑜), "Zhuge Liang de Nanzheng Luxian Kaoshuo"(A Study of Routes of Zhuge Liang's Southern Expeditions, 诸葛亮的南征路线考说), in *Sixiang Zhanxian* (*Thinking*, 《思想战线》), No. 2, 1980, p. 43.

③ <http://www.lsqn.cn/teach/jiaocai/jxyj/200910/171545.html>

Critical inquiries of Zhuge Liang's legacies of "Southern Campaign" have long been a tradition in the Chinese scholarly field. Comparative studies of historical records produced in different historical periods (e. g., Jiang's analysis), are conducive to our understanding of layers of meanings being inscribed upon a particular historical event. Illuminating as they are, the privileging of an original text over its later variations, more importantly, the privileging of history over folk stories may impede us from viewing historical reality not as some sort of perennial and primordial textual truth, but as continuing processes and discursive practices, embodying various forms of knowledge (history, myth and folk legend, etc.), and responding to local needs and local visions of power, space and identity.

Panzhihua and Affirmations of a Place

Panzhihua City, or the City of Ferry (*Dukoushi*, 渡口市) as it used to be called, is located at the intersection of the Jinsha River and the Yalong River, on the borders between the provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan. Among the population of a bit over 1 million, the majority are Han Chinese who came as migrants when the city was being built. Minority groups (Yi, Miao and Lisu, etc.) number about 140,000, taking up 13.60% of the total population. Founded in 1965, the city of Panzhihua has its unique history in urban development. As a product of the Chinese state-planned economy, Panzhihua emerges as a newly created urban space serving the Panzhihua Iron & Steel Company, one of the most important metal production branches located in China's interiors. To construct Panzhihua as an industrial base in the mountainous region of south-west China was envisioned by the Chinese government in the early 1960s as an important phase in China's "Third Front Construction" (*Sanxian Jianshe*, 三线建设), a national defense program engineered to relocate China's heavy industry away from vulnerable coastal regions to counter the perceived threat of the Soviet invasion.

Championed as a successful model of the "Third Front Construction" and a progressive sign of China's modernization process, the Municipality of Panzhihua was said to have been built on a chunk of barren field inhabited only by seven native households. A researcher and a cadre working in Panzhihua's Municipal Culture Bureau told me in an interview in 1997:

Unlike other cities in China that have grown up with a long history and tradition, Panzhihua is just a migrant city with people coming from all over China to build Panzhihua as an industrial base, and the city was created only within a short period of time. It is a brand new city abundant in capital, mineral resources, technology and technical personnel, but falls short of a distinctive cultural tradition... In the past, people only knew that this place has rich mineral resources without a better knowledge of its historical conditions. A lot of misunderstanding exists as people tend to regard this area as a place inflicted by miasma, a piece of barren field, and a land for exile. Thus people have been unwilling to stay on to work in this place. To better understand its histories and to recover its historical conditions, we have done archeological surveys and researched historical literature. A lot of evidences indicate that Panzhihua is a place with a long history, and also with Neolithic archaeological findings.

In addition to archival and archaeological research to boost the cultural-historical image of Panzhihua, staff from the Municipal Culture Bureau also actively participated in a series of ethnological and historical research projects initiated by the regional academic association, the "Society for Southwestern Minority Studies" (*Xinan Minzu Xuehui*, 西南民族学会) since the 1980s, including the projects of the "Six-River Valley Ethnological Investigation" (*liujiang liuyu minzuxue kaocha*, 六江流域民族学考察) and the "Southern Silk Road Exploration" (*xinan sichou zhi lu kaocha*, 西南丝绸之路考察). Both projects have generated wider implications for Panzhihua as a dynamic passage for the flow of ethnic groups and goods on the frontiers of southwest China, linking the peripheral, provincial border city to imperial as well as national histories of China with expanded geographical referents.

In quest for Panzhihua's ancient historical status, one project that is more focused, specific and localized among the culture workers in Panzhihua has been to identify the "exact" point where Zhuge Liang's troops "ferried across the Lushui (the Jinsha River, 金沙江) in May (225 A. D.), and penetrated deep into the barren land" (*wuyue dulu, shenru bumao*, 五月渡泸, 深入不毛). As recorded by *Huayang Guozhi*, *Nanzhong Zhi* (*Huayang Historical Records, Chapter on Nanzhong*), after putting down Gao Dingyuan's rebellion in *Yuexijun* (present-day Liangshan), Zhuge Liang led his army to cross the Jinsha to continue fighting against Meng Huo in Yunnan.

For local historians in southwest China, the point as to where Zhuge's ar-

my actually ferried across has long been a debated issue. One side of the view, represented by Ma Yao, an ethnologist from the Yunnan Minority College, and dubbed as the “Tanglang School” (*Tanglang Shuopai*, 堂狼说派), held that the route Zhuge had taken was to go eastward from the county of Huili, via Huidong and Ningnan, “to ferry across the Jinsha to seize the county of Tanglang” (in the present-day area of Huize and Qiaojia, Yunnan), then fought Meng Huo in Eastern Yunnan (*Diandong*). The other side, dubbed as the “Qingling School” (*Qingling Shuopai*, 青岭说派), and headed by Meng Wentong (蒙文通), a historian from Sichuan University, and Fang Guoyu, an ethnohistorian from Yunnan University, held that Zhuge Liang’s army went south from Huili, via the ancient county of Sanjiang (present-day Lixi Township of Huili), then “ferried across the Jinsha to capture the Qingling County” (in areas of present-day Yongren, Yuanmou, and Dayao, Yunnan), to fight Meng Huo in Western Yunnan. In favor of Meng and Fang’s idea, Panzhihua scholars went further to suggest that not far from Lixi (黎溪) of Huili, there is a ferry called Yuzha (鱼鲊). That’s where Zhuge Liang ferried across the Jinsha and landed at Lazha (拉扎) on the other side river (Lazha currently belongs to the municipality of Panzhihua), then from Lazha, Zhuge Liang’s army marched south to battle with Meng Huo in areas of Yongren, Yuanmo and Dayao.^①

It is not possible to go into minute details in the debate. Suffice it to say, for Panzhihua scholars, to have their voices heard in the debate, and further, to be able to exactly pin down the location where Zhuge Liang’s campaign troops ferried across the Jinsha, has been vital to their efforts to find Panzhihua “a place” in history, and to inscribe the place of Panzhihua with a narrative of ancientness and cultural prestige, associated with a major historical event in Han Chinese expansions in southwest China. In addition, it constitutes part of their efforts to subvert the stereotypical image of Panzhihua as “economically advanced, but culturally backward”, and further, to help cultivate a sense of cultural pride among Panzhihua residents. As the researcher and cadre in Panzhihua’s Municipal Culture Bureau told me: “Panzhihua itself is without much tradition—it’s a new city that needs invention of traditions (*chuangzao chuantong*)”.

① Discussion of the two routes can be found in Li Miao (李淼), “Zhuge Liang Nanzheng Luxian zhi Wojian” (My views on the Routes of Zhuge Liang’s Southern Expedition, 诸葛亮南征路线之我见), in *Panzhihuashi Wenwu Kaogu, Lishi, Minzu Yanjiu Ziliao Xuanji Di Er Ji* (Archaeology, History, Ethnic Studies Data of Panzhihua, Vol. 2, 《攀枝花市文物考古、历史、民族研究资料选集》第二辑), July 1989, pp. 126~127.