Early Chinese Empires and the People without History: Resistance, Agency and Identity of Ancient Colonial Sichuan

Chuan-an Hu

Department of East Asian Studies
McGill University, Montreal
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Abstract

Early Chinese Empires were colonial regimes. The major aim of my dissertation is to elaborate on previous interpretations of cultural change and to highlight the negotiation of identity between imperial and local agents in a colonial context. Colonial encounters not only have occurred in modern times, but also in early Imperial China. The state of Qin (778 BC-221 BC) conquered the entire land of Sichuan (316 BC). This region may well have been Qin's first colony before it finally unified China and created an empire (221 BC). Forceful military acquisitions of the land and the construction of a colonial landscape reshaped the indigenous cultures. The adoption of the metropolitan cultures (traditionally recognized as "sinicization") continued for more than five hundred years.

In the past, historians have tended to view cultural change under Qin and Han colonial rule as a normative process, by which the superior metropolitan cultures were passively accepted by the "naturally" inferior, local peoples of ancient Sichuan. However, the society of ancient colonial Sichuan was dynamic, composed of complex interactions among mobile individuals and groups. Local and metropolitan identities emerged nearly simultaneously. Micro and macro identities developed in close relationship with each other and were mutually constitutive. The peoples in ancient Sichuan were not merely "sinicized," but rather that they often played an active role in constructing their local cultural identities within greater imperial world.

Studies of ancient China often take cultural contact as monolithic and portray China as a state/empire with a monotonic voice. This dissertation seeks to deconstruct the Sino-centric identity through the investigation of the contact between China and her neighbor, ancient Sichuan. I see the cultural contacts as a set of diversified, uneven and heterogeneous interactions, rather than a one-way process. This dissertation deploys an interdisciplinary approach to address this question and to produce a critical synthesis based on the methods of history and archaeology; it analyzes textual sources in the form of standard histories, local histories and inscriptional evidence; and material cultures from burials and other sites. These approaches are well integrated with each other and will be used in both macro and micro contexts. Several expressions of identity are examined including local intellectual agency, ritual practice, and the compilation of local history.

Résumé

Les premiers empires chinois étaient des régimes coloniaux. L'objet principal de ma thèse repose d'une part sur l'approfondissement des interprétations précédentes relatives aux modifications culturelles et d'autre part sur la mise en lumière des négociations d'identités entre les agents impériaux et les autochtones dans un contexte colonial. La colonisation n'a pas uniquement eu lieu pendant les temps modernes, elle existait déjà au début de la Chine impériale. La conquête de l'ensemble de Sichuan par l'État de Qin (778 av. J.-C. – 221 av. J.-C.) a lieu en 316 av. J.-C. Cette région est peut-être bien la première colonie de Qin, avant l'unification de la Chine et la création d'un empire (221 av. J.-C.). Ce sont ces violentes acquisitions militaires de terres et la construction d'un paysage colonial qui ont redessiné les cultures autochtones. L'adoption des cultures métropolitaines (traditionnellement appelée « sinisation ») se poursuit ensuite pendant plus de cinq cents ans.

Les historiens avaient autrefois tendance à dater la modification culturelle à l'époque des lois coloniales de Qin et Han et à les considérer comme un processus de normalisation. Les peuples autochtones de Sichuan, « naturellement » inférieurs, auraient passivement accepté les cultures métropolitaines supérieures. La société de l'ancien Sichuan colonial était dynamique, composée d'interactions complexes entre les groupes et les individus mobiles. Les identités locales et métropolitaines sont nées presque simultanément. Les micro- et macro- identités se sont développées en étroite liaison les unes avec avec les autres et ont été mutuellement constitutives. La conclusion de ma thèse tend à prouver que les peuples de l'ancien Sichuan n'étaient pas simplement « sinisés », mais plutôt qu'ils ont souvent joué un rôle actif dans la construction de leurs propres identités culturelles au sein du plus grand monde impérial.

Les études sur la Chine ancienne considèrent souvent le contact culturel de façon monolithique, et brossent un portrait de la Chine comme un état/empire avec une voix monotone. Cette thèse cherche à déconstruire l'identité sino-centrique en explorant le contact entre la Chine et son voisin, l'ancien Sichuan. Je conçois les contacts culturels comme étant un ensemble d'interactions diversifiées, irrégulières et hétérogènes plutôt que comme un procédé à sens unique. Cette thèse déploie une approche interdisciplinaire permettant d'approfondir cette issue et d'aboutir à une synthèse critique en se basant sur l'histoire et l'archéologie ; elle analyse les sources textuelles, les comptes rendus historiques, les histoires locales et les preuves épigraphiques ainsi que la culture matérielle retrouvée dans les sépultures et dans d'autres sites. Ces approches s'intègrent bien les unes aux autres et seront utilisées aussi bien dans le contexte général que dans le contexte particulier. Plusieurs expressions d'identités seront examinées, dont l'institution intellectuelle locale, la pratique

rituelle et la compilation de l'histoire locale.

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List of Abbreviations

AS	*Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization*	
BDLHTK	*A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23-220 AD)*	
CHAC	*Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*	
SJ	*Shi ji*	史記
HS	*Han shu*	漢書
HHS	*Hou Han shu*	後漢書
HYGZ	*Huayang guozhi jiaobu tuzhu*	華陽國志校補圖註
KG	*Kaogu*	考古
SW	*Sichuan wenwu*	四川文物
TP	*T'oung Pao*	
SYSJK	*Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*	中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊
QHW	*Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*	全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文
SBCK	*Sibu congkan*	四部叢刊
SJS	*Shangjun shu*	商君書
WW	*Wenwu*	文物
ZGC	*Zhanguo ce*	戰國策

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1

Ancient Sichuan: A Branch of Chinese Culture or a Lost Civilization?

In 1986, people around the world were astonished to learn that two huge Shang-era ritual pits containing about a thousand rare items had been discovered at Sanxingdui in Guanghan County, Sichuan. The site was regarded as "the most exciting excavation discovery" in memory and "more astounding than the discovery of the Terra Cotta Warriors" by Chinese publications and media. Some even proposed that it might be "the ruins or masterpieces of an alien culture."[1]

In Sanxingdui, a huge number of bronze masks, statues, and animals were unearthed. Examining their forms and molds of the bronzes, excavators could determine that the items were different from those bronze vessels found in central China. The Sanxingdui bronze masks and statues of humans had elevated noses and deep eyebrows, with protruding cheekbones, wide mouths, and huge ears. Their ears were even pierced. These items did not look like "Chinese" artifacts at all. Also, among the bronze vessels, there were no daily utensils. Most of them were ritual utensils.

The archaeological findings at Sanxingdui ultimately bewildered archaeologists, historians, and even members of the general public. This bewilderment arose mainly because the unearthed items were seemingly inconsistent with the knowledge of ancient China carefully developed by past historians and archaeologists. As the historian Wang Ming-ke

[1] For a comprehensive bibliography of Sanxingdui that dates before 1993, see Qu Xiaoqiang 屈小強, Li Dianyuan 李殿元, and Duan Yu 段渝, eds., *Sanxingdui wenhua* 三星堆文化 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1993).

stated,

> Obviously, the common sense of the "past" is very different from the "past" excavated. Therefore, we have to ask: When did past people formulate the knowledge of Chinese history in the past? How was the authentic past forgotten?[2]

Before the 1980s, Chinese historians and archaeologists tended to think that Chinese civilization had only one origin.[3] Moreover, they tended to interpret archaeological findings largely on the basis of historical documents.[4] Therefore, historians would quite naturally register surprise to note that findings at the rim of China seemed inconsistent with central Chinese culture and with the "single origin" view of Chinese civilization. How did these Sanxingdui people of ancient Sichuan without history disappear in the omitted texts?

Eric Wolf, in his book *Europe and the People Without History*, focuses on the peoples in Africa, Asia, America, and Oceania. It was not until the coming of Europeans that many of these peoples became topics written about in "European history." Before that, they had been "people without history." Approaching this issue from the perspective of Marx's modes of production, Wolf reads the global history of people in the past five hundred years.[5] I would like to borrow this term "people without history" from Wolf but expand on its meaning a bit. I would like to argue that the establishment of the Chinese empires resulted in the disappearances of many cultures in the East Asian mainland, whose peoples consequently lost their long-held cultures. Hence, each culture's population became a "people without

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[2] Wang Ming-ke, "Jingren kaogu faxian de lishi zhishi kaogu－jianlun lishi xushi zhong de jiegou yu fuhao" 「驚人考古發現」的歷史知識考古－兼論歷史敘事中的結構與符號, *SYSJK* 76:4 (2005): 570.

[3] See Zhang Guangzhi (Chang Kwang-chih), "Ershi shiji houban de Zhongguo kaogu xue" 二十世紀後半的中國考古學, *Gujin lunheng* 古今論衡 1(1998): 38–43; Tong Enzheng, "Thirty Years of Chinese Archaeology (1949–1979)," *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, eds. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 177–197.

[4] Lothar von Falkenhausen, "On the Historiographical Orientation of Chinese Archaeology," *Antiquity* 67 (1993): 839–49.

[5] See Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

history." With their historic memories wiped out, they lost their history. This dissertation discusses the reasons behind the aforementioned pattern of disappearance.

People without History/Culture

An examination of these two ritual pits revealed that Sanxingdui culture was already quite complex by late Shang times in Sichuan. Moreover, the culture's skill and technology in bronze craft was mature, as well as being unlike the skill and technology associated with the excavated bronze vessels in central China familiar to historians and archaeologists. Somehow, somewhere during the course of history and the construction of historical knowledge, historians forgot about this impressive culture. This lapse in historical memory created a situation where people living in the Sichuan Basin came to consider themselves part of Huaxia and a branch of the descendants of Yandi and Huangdi dating back to ancient times; in other words, they came to consider themselves a part of the Chinese people. Archaeologists' discovery of this long-lost culture was bewildering largely because it pointed to a past that was presumed never to have existed.

The historians and archaeologists influenced by the "great unification" view have tended to stress that the unification of China and the formation of empire were necessary and inevitable trends in history. This view treats the trends as both progressive and objectively observable. When under the sway of this view, historians and archaeologists have risked neglecting the different cultures that existed in different places before and during unification. This umbrella of "unification" effectively represses the cultures of far-flung regions, resulting in their disappearance from memory.

The state of Qin (778 BC-221 BC) conquered the entire land of Sichuan (316 BC). Forceful military acquisitions of the land and the construction of a colonial landscape reshaped the indigenous cultures. Peoples who lived in the early Chinese empires perceived new social and political changes differently from the previous conditions they had lived under: the new

structure of empire heavily influenced various geographical areas and bound peoples together. As the wide-ranging social and political conditions changed, the peoples and different groups within the empire had new ways of acting. The force of the imperial or metropolitan centers intervened with their daily lives. Colonized by the foreign rule, Sichuan culture still exhibited its initiative and identity actively. How exactly did Sichuan's identity emerge and what factors were most prominent in this emergence during the seven-hundred-year period of contact (ca. 4th century BC–2th century AD)? When we discuss colonialism, we must consider the interactions between the colonizer and colonized. Did the colonized resist? How did they present their agency and identity? How did the colonized society interact with the metropolitan society?

In this dissertation, from the geographical perspective, Sichuan refers to the Sichuan Basin. Regarding archaeology, the term covers the archaeological cultures discussed in Chapter 2. From the perspective of historical documents, it covers *Ba* and *Shu* mentioned in *Shiji*, *Hanshu*, and *Huayan guozhi*. The term also refers to the counties and commanderies established by the Qin, Western Han, and Eastern Han empires in the Sichuan Basin. Owing to its geographical location, Sichuan society had frequent interactions with the neighboring mountain peoples. Early Chinese empires governed them in manners very different from those used in the Chengdu Plain area. Of course, many of these tangentially-related issues are beyond the scope of this dissertation. I hope to explore some of them in future projects.

The adoption of metropolitan culture (traditionally recognized as "sinicization") continued for more than five hundred years. Dru Gladney noted that "cultural change [in China] was overwhelmingly one way" and "that anyone who came into China, foreigner, minority, or barbarian, was subject to 'sinicization'."[6] In this field, many scholars to varying degrees have argued that the cultural exchanges between Chinese people and the frontier zones'

[6] Dru Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities," *Journal of Asian Studies* 53.1 (1994:2): 94.

"barbarians" were unequal cultural contacts in which the civilizing center claimed a higher degree of civilization over peripheral groups. This monolithic characterization of frontier peoples as passive is one of the weak points in sinicization theory. The people within the empire were not passive participants but had to act in this social system. Different local elites and residents across the empire acted in response to their own local and metropolitan identities under this structure. As I will argue in this dissertation, they chose to adopt the empires' cultures to suit Sichuan identities and actively participated in the making of the empires' cultures.

The making of metropolitan culture in early Chinese empires was a part of empire-building (see Chapter 5), but it did not extended their cultures and influences homogeneously from the center. The Metropolitan culture of Qin, Western Han and Eastern Han Empires was not a coherent system of practices that was established at one point or one place over time. Instead, the distribution of metropolitan culture was a dynamic process that changed according to changing situations and places. The Metropolitan culture may or may not be developed in the capital or represent territorial entities, but can define certain groups within a broader imperial world; for example intellectual cultures and the related practices arise at some places in particular times and these could be widely spread in different areas as we will discuss in Chapters 5 and 6. As early Chinese imperial policies, cultures and identities differed from each other, ancient Sichuanese responses to and interactions varied.

In this context, let us turn to a discussion of the terms 'culture.' Each area of study defines the term according to their own necessities, at times creating their own new definitions for the word.[7] The idea of culture was firstly used in European ethnographic and anthropological studies and it traces back to the spread of Western identity and European expansion. As

[7] Spencer-Oatey lists more than 164 definitions given to the term *culture*. See Helen Spencer-Oatey, "Unpacking Culture," in *Intercultural Interaction – A Multidisciplinary Approach to Intercultural Communication*, eds. Helen Spencer-Oatey et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 13-49.

Bauman demonstrates, the word culture was mostly used to describe how Europeans were considered civilized whereas the peoples living in the colonies were considered exotic possessors of different cultures.[8] Bauman then went on to discuss about how the term went from projecting a set of national characteristics to encompassing all kinds of human activities. When different peoples around the world were perceived to have different cultures, there also came the recognition that peoples shared commonalities and differences. Adaption of a certain culture was for people a way to identify themselves or to make their lives meaningful.[9]

Local identity typically comes about through a process of identification with a place.[10] There are many places, of various sizes, that are meaningful to people. Tuan Yi-Fu pointed out that people are attached to place through practices, beliefs, and social systems.[11] Local identity is not isolated; instead, it is interactive and mutually influential. Through frequent interactions, the differences between people and groups are manifested because people fathom the differences between themselves and others. The boundaries between themselves and others are not fixed but fluid, overlapping, or diverse, and they change in accordance with the social conditions and time.

Did the central authorities of early Chinese empires really have a concept of 'Sichuan' as a whole? Or did people who live in ancient Sichuan have a sense of being Sichuanese? The answer for both questions is yes. During the Western Han era (202 BCE- CE 23), as I will argue in Chapter 4, Sima Xiangru (179-117 BCE) wrote two important essays for

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[8] Zygmunt Bauman, *Culture as Praxis* (London: Sage, 1999).

[9] John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Continuum, 1991), 5.

[10] Since the 1990s, ethnic identity has become a major concern for scholars conducting anthropological and historical research in Chinese studies. In this regard, an outstanding work is Wang Ming-ke's *Huaxia bianyuan: lishi jiyi yu zuqun rentong* 華夏邊緣—歷史記憶與族群認同 (Taipei: Yunchen, 1997).

[11] Tuan Yi-Fu, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 149–160.

Sichuanese: *Yu Ba Shu xi* (喻巴蜀檄, *A Call to Ba and Shu*)[12] and *Nan Shu fulao* (難蜀父老, *Blaming the People of Shu*).[13] These two works became important sources for insights into the identity of Shu and Ba peoples at that time. As a coordinator between the capital and Sichuan, Sima went to Shu with instructions from Emperor Wu of Han (141-87 BCE) to lessen the tension among locals. In *A Call to Ba and Shu*, Sima told the locals of Shu and Ba as a whole about the mission to make Sichuan become an imperial subject. By viewing the history of ancient Sichuan over the long term, we can more accurately determine how ancient Sichuanese interacted with the different empires. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, a native Sichuanese, Dong Fu 董扶 (?-?), who worked in the imperial court, believed that a sign from the Son of Heaven had arisen in Sichuan, and he even encouraged Governor Liu Yan 劉焉 (?-195 CE) to make Sichuan as a whole for an overthrow of the Eastern Han empire (CE 25-220).[14]

Empire, Imperialism, Colonialism, and Early Chinese Empires

Was pre-modern China an empire? Or did it consist of multiple empires? What is the difference between dynasty and empire? How are the concepts of 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' applicable to the study of the early Chinese empires? Before discussing imperialism and colonialism, we must clarify our concept of empire. It is better for us to start from discussing the relationship between dynasty and empire.

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[12] For one of the best annotated versions of *Yu Ba Shu xi* (喻巴蜀檄, *A Call to Ba and Shu*), see Jin Guoyong 金國永, *Sima Xiangru ji jiaozhu* 司馬相如集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 147–158. For a detailed study of the work's history and reliability, see Xiong Weiye 熊偉業, *Xima Xiangru yanjiu* 司馬相如研究 (Chengdu: Dianzhi keji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 346–362.

[13] For one of the best annotated versions of *Nan Shu fulao* (難蜀父老, *Blaming the People of Shu*), see Jin Guoyong 金國永, *Sima Xiangru ji jiaozhu* 司馬相如集校注, 159–176. For a detailed study of the work's history and reliability, see Xiong Weiye 熊偉業, *Xima Xiangru yanjiu*, 363–386.

[14] *HHS*, 38, 2734; *SGZ*, 865.

Dynastic Approach to Chinese History

The establishment of Chinese nation state[15] also affects the study of history. Historians have also regarded the boundary of modern China and its territory as the scope of the study of Chinese history. Liang Qichao (梁啟超, 1873-1929) assumed that there was a political entity existing in history. And that entity existed continuously in time, being a unique body in space. It even manifested the features of a nation state.[16] However, there is a premise to this assumption that renders this hypothesis valid. It is the "dynastic approach to history." Dynasty (*chaodai*, 朝代) in Chinese history referred to a succession of rulers from the same family, with the first dynasties starting as early as the Xia Dynasty. From *Chinese History: A*

[15] Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 first addressed the idea of the "Republic of China,' he adopted the model of the European nation-state, trying to create a China on the basis of a homogeneous (Han) ethnicity and culture. See Wang Hui, *China from Empire to Nation-State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 116.

[16] At the end of the Qing era, intellectuals began to rewrite Chinese history according to a *national* historical narrative. Liang Qichao (梁啟超, 1873–1929) was the first scholar to write Chinese history in such a context. Using as his template the popular historical narratives in the West, he applied to China the Western triadic periodization of history—ancient times, medieval times, and modern times. This periodization gained widespread acceptance among Chinese historians.

Liang's division of Chinese history into three segments merits more attention here. For Liang, ancient times in China constituted an era when the purest origins of Chinese civilization shaped the Chinese people and their culture, as he noted particularly in reference to the prosperity of the Pre-Qin period (before 221 BCE) and the Two-Han periods (206 BCE–220 CE). By contrast, medieval times referred to an era of deterioration caused by internal conflicts and alien invasions. However, throughout medieval times, the strong will of the Chinese people helped preserve the core of China's pure national culture, as was purported to be the case during the turmoil of the Wei Dynasty (220 CE–265 CE) and the Jin Dynasty (265 CE–420 CE) and the Han people's protection of the Yangtze River (220 CE–589 CE). For Liang, China's modern times were an era of rejuvenation, when the march of history remedied the medieval era's fissures and connected modern China with its proper ancient roots. In other words, the fundamentals of pure Chinese culture remained intact during medieval times so that, with the coming of modernity, all of China could inherit the endowments of its ancient sages and usher in a revival of the great Chinese people. Liang's clear preference for linearity in his structuring of Chinese history neatly explains the consistency of the Chinese people since ancient times. There was a political objective to this explanation: it served to legitimate the establishment of China as a cohesive whole—as a nation state. By virtue of its national character, China could justifiably oppose Western powers' efforts to partition it. For the criticism to Liang's approach, see Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Manual, we can have a glimpse of the continuation of dynasties.

Pre-Qin: The Three Dynasties (*Sandai* 三代)[17]

	BC
Xia 夏	ca. 21st -16 c.
Shang 商	ca. 1600-1045
Early Shang (Erligang 二里崗 period)	ca. 16th-14th c.
Yin Shang 殷商 (Anyang 安陽 period)	14th c.-1045
Zhou	1045-256
Western Zhou 西周	1045-771
Eastern Zhou 東周	770-256
Spring and Autumn (Chunqiu 春秋)	770-476
Warring States (Zhanguo 戰國)	475-221

Dynasties of Imperial China[18]

Qin	221-206 BC
Han	202 BC-AD 220
Former Han 前漢 (also called Western Han)	202 BC-AD 23
Xin 新 (Wang Mang 王莽 reign)	AD 9-23
Later Han 後漢 (also called Eastern Han)	25-220

◎Adapted from the *Chinese History: A Manual* in part.

The drawback of the "dynastic approach to history" is that it is unable to explain that many parts of the contemporary Chinese territory did not fall under the control of past dynasties. Many places were not part of any dynasties in the historical past of China. If these places were not a part of the historical China, then why are they a part of modern China? Regarding the construction of the modern and contemporary China, the dynastic approach will result in

[17] Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 10.
[18] Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 11.

serious theoretical crisis. I have no intention of patching up this crisis with a nationalistic approach to history. In this dissertation, I would like to abandon the "dynastic approach to history," without using the terms Qin Dynasty, Han Dynasty, and Xin Dynasty. Instead, I am going to refer them as the Qin Empire (221-206 BCE), Western Han Empire (202 BCE- CE 23), Xin Empire (CE 9-23) and Eastern Han Empire (CE 25-220).

If we put aside the historical perspective of a national narrative, how should we begin telling the history of early Chinese empires? I believe it is necessary first to understand the nature of early Chinese empires. Then, it would be useful to consider whether or not colonialism can serve as a suitable theoretical framework for studies covering various aspects of these empires. In the subsequent discussion, we will discuss whether the term empire is applicable to these three empires or not. Then, we will go on to consider the concepts of 'imperialism,' 'colonialism,' and 'colony' to find out if they can be applied into the discussion of these four empires (in the following, these four empires will be referred to as early Chinese empires in general).

Defining Empire, Imperialism and Colonialism

In *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 BC-AD 220* edited by Michael Loewe and Denis Twitchett in 1986[19] and *Early Chinese Empires: Qin and Han* written by Mark Lewis in 2012,[20] the Han and Qin are both regarded as empires. Obviously, the authors and editors of both books consider the Qin and Han to meet the definition of an empire. However, neither books presents any definition of the term empire. The Han Dynasty, which lasted for about four hundred years, was divided into the Western Han period, Wang Mang's regime, and the Eastern Han period. These two books do not consider

[19] Michael Loewe and Denis Twitchett eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 BC-AD 220* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[20] Mark Lewis, *Early Chinese Empires: Qin and Han* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

the Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han to be three different empires. I would like to argue that the division of the Qin and Han as two empires is influenced by the aforementioned "dynastic approach to history" that blurs the demarcation between a dynasty and an empire. Therefore, we must consider whether early Chinese empires meet the definition of an empire.

In my definition, an 'empire' is an expansionist political entity and may imply a monarchy that rules over a large, diverse and extensive territory.[21] Therefore, the Qin, Western Han, Xin, and Eastern Han can all be defined as empires. And it is related to the establishment of the system of *huang-di* (emperor, 皇帝).[22] Previously, the terms *huang* and *di* were titles used separately. Normally, *huang* (皇) was regarded as the ancestor, a deity, or a great ruler. And *di* (帝) was generally thought to be a tutelary deities.[23] When Qin Shi Huang (259–210 BCE) united China, he ended the division of six kingdoms that had lasted for five hundred years. He thought himself to be more accomplished than all the past rulers – The Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors. Likewise, he combined the two terms to highlight his own greatness. Hence, this term was laden with more powerful implications than an ordinary king or emperor. Therefore, *huangdi* not only suggested a powerful monarchy but also divinity.

Let us turn to a discussion of the terms 'imperialism' and 'colonialism.' I would like to suggest that imperialism is a kind of political proposition or practice and a process of empire building. Its major content is to build up an economic and political hegemony, with an empire, by annexing the territories of other polities in order to dominate other groups, peoples, or regimes. From the perspective of the definition of imperialism, the early Chinese empire

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[21] Susan Alcock *et al*. eds., *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xvii-xxii.

[22] Xing Yitian [Hsing I-tien] (邢義田), "Zhongguo huangdi zhidu de jianli yu fazhan" 中國皇帝制度的建立與發展, *Qin Han shi lungao* 秦漢史論稿 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1987), 43–84; Gan Huizhen 甘懷真, "Qin Han tianxia zhengti: yi jiaosi li gaige wei zhongxin" 秦漢天下政體：以郊祀禮改革為中心, *Xin shixue* 新史學 16.4 (2005:12): 13–56.

[23] See Michael Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 19.

established its economic and political dominance over its terrain by constructing the system of commanderies (*jun*, 郡) and counties (xian, 縣) and exerting economic exploitation.

Both the terms imperialism and colonialism are used to describe a process of dominance over another group, a polity, or people because of their superiority and domination. Scholars propose different definitions of imperialism and colonialism.[24] Sometimes, their definitions may overlap each other. Now, I would like to define the term colonialism, with reference to Jürgen Osterhammel:

> [colonialism is] a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis.[25]

Colonialism does not necessary accompany the establishment of an empire because it suggests that it establishes a relationship of domination in other territories out of its self-interest (political or economic consideration).[26] Sometimes, colonialism may involves the occupation of a particular territory, the establishment of a colony or a settlement in other territory, controlling a majority of the population in the colony by a minority of rulers.

From the definition above, even if it is not an empire, there may be the establishment of colonialism or colony. We can discuss this issue with the example of ancient Sichuan. In 316 BC, the Qin state conquered Sichuan. Originally, Qin planned to rule the country with two different political systems. It also permitted the original ruler and his heirs of Sichuan to

[24] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Publishers, 1994), 9; Robert Young, *Empire, Colony, Postcolony* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015).
[25] Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 16-17.
[26] For example, in the first half of the first millennium BCE, most of Greek city-states began to look beyond Greece for land and resources, and so they founded colonies across the Mediterranean. Trade exchanges were often the first ways in the colonization process. See G R Tsetskhladze, *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

rule over its territory. However, from 285 BC on, the Qin exerted direct rule, with the major policies of: building cities, migration, and economic exploitation. I will explain these policies in detail in Chapter 3 under the rubric of "Colonial Policy" instead of "Imperial Policy." The major reason is that the Qin did not use the title *huang-di* then, without constructing an empire. However, the enforcement of these policies is a process of empire building and fits into the definition of imperialism, i.e., the definition discussed above: constructing an economic and political hegemony and dominating over other countries or groups. When Qin unified China in 221 BC and the ruler adopted the title of *huang-di* to build up an empire, these policies were still applied in Sichuan. They further became important policies in controlling the six states it had conquered. In other words, Sichuan was the "imperialism laboratory" of the Qin Empire before the successful establishment of the empire. The Western Han Empire and Eastern Han Empire inherited the colonial policies from the Qin Empire in ruling Sichuan. In addition, they also expanded the colonial policies and enhanced the magnitude of economic exploitation. The difference between the Qin Empire, Western Han Empire, and Eastern Han Empire lies in their "civilizing missions," which demonstrated their different attitudes towards imperialism, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

A Review of Historical and Archaeological Secondary Sources

Shortly before the middle of the twentieth century, missionary scholars started to conduct archaeological work in Sichuan. In the early 1930s, David C. Graham's archaeological and museum activities, with the support of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, led to the discovery of jade at Guanghan 廣漢, an area later made famous as the Sanxingdui site. By collecting ancient artifacts in Sichuan, Graham helped many Chinese at the time understand their past.[27] Japan's invasion of China in 1937 led many scholars to move to Sichuan, where quite a few of

[27] Jeffrey Kyong-McClain and Geng Jing, "D. C. Graham in Chinese Intellectual History: Foreigner as Nation Builder," in *Explorers and Scientists in China's Borderlands, 1880–1950*, eds. D. M. Glover et al. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 211–239.

them began studying the relationship between the Central Plains and Sichuan. Most of these scholars characterized the history of Sichuan as local history and situated it within the broader scope of Chinese history. However, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, a leader of the *Yigu pai* 疑古派, the Doubting Antiquity School, argued that there had been no substantive relationship between the ancient Central Plains and Sichuan before the Qin and Han dynasties. According to Gu, "Qin–Han unification ideology" (大一統思想) makes "scholars forever unwilling to think that the many cultures of this place could possibly develop independently."[28]

Graham's successor, the Harvard-trained archaeologist Cheng Te-k'un 鄭德坤, devoted his research to ancient Sichuan and, in 1946 published the comprehensive work *Sichuan gudai wenhua shi* 四川古代文化史 (The History and Culture of Ancient Sichuan).[29] Cheng held the nationalistic view typical of the Republican Period and found evidence of "ancient China" in Sichuan. He argued that "Sichuan is fundamentally a marginal area, and the culture of this province has never been a product of independent development."[30]

After 1950, the research on ancient Sichuan can be divided into two periods. The first period stretched from the early 1950s to the late 1970s. Although drawing on Marxism,[31] scholars of the first period valued empirical research and, thus, excavated many sites. On the whole, these scholars understood the distribution and characteristics of ancient cultures in the Sichuan basin. The majority of unearthed tombs and their artifacts in Sichuan were discovered during this period by students and faculty in the Department of Archaeology at

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[28] Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, "Gudai Ba-Shu yu Zhongyuan de guanxishuo ji qi pipan" 古代巴蜀與中原的關係說及其批判, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu huikan* 中國文化研究匯刊 1 (1941): 229–230.

[29] Zhen Dekun [Cheng Te-k'un] 鄭德坤, *Sichuan gudai wenhua shi* 四川古代文化史 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2004).

[30] Cheng Te-k'un, "An Introduction to Szechwan Archaeology," *West China Union University Museum Guide Book Series* 3 (1947): 5.

[31] Tong Enzheng, "Thirty Years of Chinese Archaeology (1949–1979)," in *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, eds. Philip Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 177–197.

Sichuan University under the supervision of two famous archaeologists, Tong Enzheng 童恩正 and Feng Hanji 馮漢驥.[32]

The second period of research, which began in the early 1980s and has continued into the present, was marked by archaeological excavations and analyses leading to a huge wave of discoveries. The most famous of these were the excavations at the Sanxingdui site and nearby sites on the Chengdu Plain. Benefiting from accidental finds, archaeologists and historians realized that a significant, unique civilization had developed in the area several thousand years ago. Apart from the archaeological reports on the sites themselves, a large body of research has emerged regarding the Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀 cultures,[33] as well as ancient Sichuan.[34]

Archaeological discoveries have enabled scholars to realize the complexity of regional cultures in ancient China, thus leading to the further realization that the so-called Chinese civilization in fact contained many very different societies and cultural regions.[35] The Sanxingdui culture in the upper Yangtze River valley has attracted the attention of

[32] Tong Enzheng 童恩正, *Gudai de Ba Shu* 古代的巴蜀 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1998); Feng Hanji 馮漢驥, *Feng Hanji kaoguxue lunwen ji* 馮漢驥考古學論文集 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985).

[33] For the issues of Ba and Shu, see Chapter 2.

[34] After the complete Sanxingdui report appeared in 1999, several past studies quickly became out-of-date. For a comprehensive bibliography that dates before 1993, see Qu Xiaoqiang 屈小強, Li Dianyuan 李殿元, and Duan Yu 段渝, eds., *Sanxingdui wenhua* 三星堆文化 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1993). For the archaeological report, see Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 四川省文物考古研究所, *Sanxingdui jisi keng* 三星堆祭祀坑 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999). Other important volumes include Sun Hua 孫華, *Sichuan pendi de qingtong shidai* 四川盆地的青銅時代 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000); for a more general discussion on the topic, see Jiang Zhanghua 江章華, *Guguo xunzong: Sanxingdui wenhua yu gu Shu wenming de xiaxiang* 古國尋縱—三星堆文化與古蜀文明的遐想 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2002); Sun Hua 孫華 and Su Rongyu 蘇榮譽, *Shenmi de wangguo: dui Sanxingdui wenhua de chubu lijie he jieshi* 神秘的王國—對三星堆文明的初步理解和解釋 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2003).

[35] Many cultures distinct from that prevailing in the Central Plains have been discovered in the surrounding areas. This shattered the belief that China's civilization had a single origin. These cultures had not previously been recorded in the historical texts and were quite sophisticated. If they are considered a part of "China," they would then be an "Unknown China." See Jessica Rawson, *Mysteries of Ancient China: New Discoveries from the Early Dynasties* (New York: George Braziller, 1996).

archaeologists and historians.[36] Unlike the Shang civilization, which was located in the Central Plains and is documented in ancient records,[37] Sanxingdui culture was located far beyond the Central Plains, in the area long considered "uncivilized" in early China.

When one compares the ritual bronze vessels from the ancient Shang city of Anyang with the artifacts unearthed at the Sanxingdui site, one can realize just how different the Sanxingdui culture is. Archaeologists' excavations on the Chengdu Plain have shed light on the area's local material cultures dating from the Neolithic Period[38] through early Western Han times (from approximately 206 to 9 BCE).[39] This archaeological effort has not been limited to just a few select locations: the many unearthed locations could actually be linked together to form substantial evidence of a distinct culture for the whole region.[40]

After the Sanxingdui culture died out, the Chengdu Plain experienced immense social

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[36] Western sinologists, archaeologists, art historians, and historians are also paying attention to the study of ancient Sichuan. Western-language papers and books on the Sanxingdui site include the following: Robert W. Bagley, "A Shang City in Sichuan Province," *Orientations* 21.11(1990): 52–67; Robert W. Bagley, "Sacrificial Pits of the Shang Period at Sanxingdui in Guanghan County, Sichuan Province," *Arts Asiatiques* 43 (1988): 78–86; Ge Yan and Katheryn M. Linduff, "Sanxingdui: A New Bronze Age Site in Southwest China," *Antiquity* 64 (1990): 505–513; Wu Hung, "All about the Eyes: Two Groups of Sculptures from the Sanxingdui Culture," *Orientations* 28.8 (1997): 58–66; and Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Some Reflections on Sanxingdui," in *Disan jie guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwen ji: zhong shiji yiqian de diyu wenhua, zongjiao yu yishu* 第三屆國際漢學會議論文集:中世紀以前的地域文化、宗教與藝術, ed. Xing Yitian 邢義田 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo, 2002), 59–97.

Japanese scholars are quite interested in ancient Sichuan, as well. See Koga Noboru 古賀登, *Shisen to Chōkō bunmei* 四川と長江文明 (Tōkyō: Tōhō Shoten, 2003). Likewise, Kiyotaka Nishie put together a Chinese-language compilation of Japanese scholars' works on Sanxingdui dating from 1979 to 1999: see Kiyotaka Nishie 西江清高, *Fusang yu ruomu: Riben xuezhe dui Sanxingdui wenming de xin renshi* 扶桑與若木:日本學者對三星堆文明的新認識 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2002).

[37] Kwang-chih Chang, *Shang Civilization* (New Haven, Yale University, 1980).

[38] Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 成都市文物考古研究所, Sichuan daxue lishi xi kaogu jiaoyan shi 四川大學歷史系考古教研室, and Waseda daigaku Chōkō ryūiki bunka kenkyū jo 早稻田大學長江流域文化研究所, *Baodun yizhi* 寶墩遺址 (Tokyo: APR, 2000).

[39] Song Zhimin 宋治民, "Ba Shu wenhua de xiaoshi" 巴蜀文化的消失, in *Shu wenhua yu Ba wenhua* (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1998), 259–268.

[40] Hu Chuan-an 胡川安, "You Chengdu pingyuan kan Zhongguo gudai duoyuan zouxiang yiti de guocheng" 由成都平原看中國古代多元走向一體的過程 (Master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 2006).

upheaval. Archaeological excavations have uncovered evidence indicating the abandonment of the Sanxingdui site, changes in the distribution of pottery, and a shift in the center of population from Guanghan to present-day Chengdu City. Archaeologists studying the Chengdu Plain today define the period from around 1250 BCE through 1000 BCE as the Shierqiao 十二橋 Culture period.[41] Among related sites, the Jinsha 金沙 site[42] is recognized as the largest site and perhaps the one yielding the maximum amount of luxury goods. The Jinsha site is a cluster of several loci, whose area reaches five square kilometers in total. Archaeologists have therefore proposed that Jinsha became the political and religious center of the Chengdu Plain after the decline of Sanxingdui. The Chengdu Plain that the Qin state (778–221 BCE) faced was not the "barbaric wilderness" that the traditional texts *Shi ji* 史記 and *Han shu* 漢書 had claimed it to be before the governorship of Wen Weng 文翁 during the Western Han Dynasty. Basically, the social composition of the plain was quite complex before the Qin moved south; however, after several years of effort, the Qin state conquered the entire Chengdu Plain (316 BCE). Nearly a century later, the Qin unified China, thus establishing an empire, and during this hundred years or so, Qin policies transformed the Chengdu Plain.[43] Sage argues that the Qin annexation of Sichuan was a rehearsal of the

[41] Sun Hua 孫華, "Chengdu Shierqiao yizhi qun fenqi taolun" 成都十二橋遺址群分期討論, in *Sichuan kaogu lunwen ji* 四川考古論文集, ed. Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 四川省文物考古研究所 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996).

[42] Zhu Zhangyi 朱章義, Zhang Qing 張擎, and Wang Fang 王方, "Chengdu Jinsha yizhi de faxian, fajue yu yiyi" 成都金沙遺址的發現、發掘與意義, *Sichuan wenwu* 四川文物 2 (2002): 3–10.

[43] Both Duan Yu and Wang Zijin discuss the Qin's policy toward the Shu: see Duan Yu 段渝, "Lun Qin Han wangchao dui Ba Shu de gaizao" 論秦漢王朝對巴蜀的改造, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1 (1999): 23–35; Wang Zijin 王子今, "Qin jianbing Shudi de yiyi yu Shuren dui Qin wenhua de rentong" 秦兼併蜀地的意義與蜀人對秦文化的認同, *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao* 四川師範大學學報 2 (1998): 111–119; Luo Kaiyu 羅開玉, "Qin zai Ba Shu diqu de minzu zhengce shixi: Cong Yunmeng Qinjian zhong dedao de qishi" 秦在巴蜀地區的民族政策試析—從雲夢秦簡中得到的啟示, *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 4 (1982): 27–33.

unification of China on a small scale.[44]

Before the contemporary Chinese government's construction of the Three Gorges Dam in 1994, both historical and archaeological scholarship ignored this area, treating it as a region of peripheral importance. This trend is especially prominent in English-language scholarship. Terry Kleeman's *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom*[45] and Rowan Flad and Chen Pochan's *Ancient Central China: Centers and Peripheries along the Yangzi River*[46] divert attention away from the Three Gorges area and re-modify the World Systems Theory to explore the relationships among Ba, Chu, and Shu known from ancient texts. In general, these three scholars endowed the peoples of these "peripheral" areas with agency. The society of ancient central China (i.e., the Three Gorges area) was dynamic, composed of mobile agents whose interactions were complex within the broader scope of the Yangtze basin.

Scholarship that concentrates on art history has also contributed to this field. *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization*[47] is an important publication in the archaeology and art history of ancient Sichuan. The contributors worked together on an exhibition covering ancient Sichuan at the Seattle Art Museum. Rather than amounting to a catalog of the exhibition's items on display, this publication strongly illuminates the heterogeneous Bronze Age cultures of ancient East Asia and challenges the hypothesis that Chinese people have constituted a homogeneous group.

Methodologies and Issues: This dissertation uses interdisciplinary methods in history and archaeology to address the making of metropolitan and local identities in early imperial

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[44] Steven Sage, *Ancient Sichuan and the Unification of China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).
[45] Terry Kleeman, *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).
[46] Rowan Flad and Pochan Chen, *Ancient Central China: Centers and Peripheries along the Yangzi River* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[47] Robert Bagley, ed., *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

China. The dissertation uses textual sources in the form of standard histories, local histories, and inscriptional evidence as well as non-textual material sources from burial sites and other sites.

The standard histories written in the metropolitan area often include sections on the Sichuan people of the Qin, Han, and Three Kingdoms periods. Four works, in particular, include remarkable accounts of administrative records, ritual customs, and intellectual biographies of Sichuan peoples: *Shi ji* (史記) was written by Sima Qian (司馬遷 109–91 BCE), *Han shu* (漢書) was written by members of the Ban 班 family (first century CE), *Sanguo zhi* (三國志) was written by Chen Shou (陳壽, 233–297 CE), and *Hou Han shu* (後漢書) was written by Fan Ye (范曄, 398–445 CE).

The most important work of local history, *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 (*Records of the Lands South of Mt. Hua*), comprises twelve scrolls (*juan*) written and compiled by a native Sichuan scholar, Chang Qu 常璩, in the mid-fourth century CE. Analyzed extensively in this dissertation, Qu's local history rests on an annalistic approach to the subject matter and contains biographies of worthies of the region. This local history contains information on various aspects of governmental administration, the economy, local customs, and popular tales.[48] Other written sources that I use in this dissertation are inscriptions, epitaphs, and texts found on bamboo slips and boards,[49] including transmitted and newly excavated materials. The creation of Han inscriptions was a commemorative practice that helped shape social relations between patrons and clients, teachers and disciples. The lists of names in Han inscriptions reveal, in particular, that the disciples and former officers were the patrons who

[48] The best annotated version of *Huayang guozhi* is the one by Ren Naiqiang 任乃強, *Huayang guozhi xiaobu tuzhu* 華陽國志校補圖注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

[49] The newly published Liye Qin bamboo slips and boards have information relevant to Shu history. See *Liye Qin jiandu jiaoshi (diyi juan)* 里耶秦简牍校释（第一卷）, chief ed. Chen Wei 陳偉 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2012).

erected the stelae.[50] These inscriptions tell us, more generally, about social relations, and point to the issue of whether or not—and if so, how—social relations in Sichuan differed from those in Shandong and Henan during Han times. Central here is the degree to which Sichuan's local identity affected the contents of Sichuan's inscriptions.[51]

Archaeological findings are important sources for historians' understanding of metropolitan and local identities in early China. How did material cultures express local identity? Because of the visual monumentality of ritual bronze vessels, bronze figures, and pictorial materials, tombs have been seen as foci for social identification.[52] The specific contents of tombs are one way to understand the identity of a certain group. In the late decades of the first century CE, civil officials and wealthy individuals began to commission tombs in Sichuan.[53] The labour involved in both constructing a basic tomb and decorating it would have typically required participation by various segments of society.[54] Tombs that feature decorative stone or brick pictorials [55] were produced by people linked together by shared ideas and behaviors common in a certain place.

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[50] Patricia Ebrey, "Later Han Stone Inscriptions," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40.2 (1980): 325–353; Patricia Ebrey, "Patron–Client Relations in the Late Han," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983): 533–542.

[51] Hidemasa Nagata 永田英正, ed., *Kandai sekkoku shūsei* 漢代石刻集成 (Kyōto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1994); Gao Wen 高文, ed., *Sichuan lidai beike* 四川歷代碑刻 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chuban she, 1990).

[52] According to Wu Hung, monuments materialize monumentality, which is deeply characteristic of the society that produced them. In his research, he presented diverse forms of art and then identified meaningful relations among them. He used bronze vessels, stelae, and pictorial stones in ritual contexts to explain his concept of expressing monumentality. See his *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

[53] Xing Yitian 邢義田, "Han dai bihua de fazhan he bihua mu" 漢代壁畫的發展和壁畫墓, in *Huawei xinsheng: huaxiang shi, huaxiang zhuan yu bihua* 畫為心聲:畫像石、畫像磚與壁畫 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 9–27.

[54] Xing Yitian 邢義田, "Han bei Han hua he shigong de guanxi" 漢碑、漢畫和石工的關係, in *Huawei xinsheng: huaxiang shi, huaxiang zhuan yu bihua* 畫為心聲:畫像石、畫像磚與壁畫 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 47-68.

[55] Feng Hanji 馮漢驥, "Sichuan de huaxiang zhuanmu yu huaxiang zhuan" 四川的畫像磚墓與畫像磚, *Feng Hanji kaogu xue lunwen ji* 馮漢驥考古學論文集 (Beijing: Wenwu chuban she, 1985), 65.

Outline of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into two parts: Part 1 deals with the colonial setting and consists of three chapters: Chapter 1 through Chapter 3. Part 1 discusses mainly how ancient Sichuan, a lost civilization, was ruled by the Qin colonial regime. Part 2, which consists of Chapters 4 through 6, argues that the Sichuan people, rather than submit passively to colonialism, frequently refused to comply with imperial rule, thus openly demonstrating their rebellious initiative and their strong local identity.

At this point, a brief review of each chapter's content would be useful. Chapter 2 discusses the conditions of ancient Sichuan before it was conquered by the Qin in 316 BCE. This discussion takes place over the course of two sections: Section 1 analyzes the aforementioned materials written in ancient characters and historical documents; Section 2 discusses archaeological materials, comparing and contrasting these two kinds of materials. Ancient Sichuan not only conducted cultural exchanges with the Shang and Zhou states in central China, but also maintained certain degrees of cultural contacts with southern China, Southeast Asia, and northern China. In a sense, ancient Sichuan was a cultural center instead of a branch of Chinese civilization based on Yellow River basin.

Chapter 3 discusses how the Qin empire used its colonial policies to govern Sichuan. As a colony of the Qin state, Sichuan faced three types of colonial policies: The first type of policy established a capital in Chengdu and consisted of a county-commandery system with the power to levy taxes. The second type of policy diluted Sichuanese resistance to the Qin colonial regime by encouraging massive migration into the region. The third type of policy exploited the colony economically by taking over all of its resources. Ruling the Sichuan region with effective colonial policies, the Qin state was well situated to conquer the six other neighboring states and, thus, to transform itself into an empire.

When the Qin state drew on its colonial policies to govern Sichuan, did its peoples revolt against the oppressive rule? Did they demonstrate initiative, agency, or local identity

in this regard? These questions shape the central theme of my dissertation's second part. Chapter 4, which begins the second part, explains how the original rulers of Sichuan, after the Qin's colonization of the land, repeatedly attempted to counter the foreign rule. The success of these attempts was varied, as the Western Han empire maintained the Qin's colonial policies. In addition to open rebellion, the Sichuan people chose to rebel passively by not participating in the empire's administrative system. Worthy of mention are two important figures: Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong; they traveled between the metropolis and Sichuan. The two scholars spent their early lives in Sichuan, and spent the rest of their lives serving the empire in the metropolis, Chang'an. During their service to the empire, they composed great literature in great quantities and traveled widely. They specifically evaluated the complex relations between the metropolis and Sichuan. As the two scholars left us with a considerable amount of writings, we can analyze their lives and their articulated thoughts in order to explicate the choices of the scholars' from the point of view of the colonized.

Chapter 5 discusses Sichuan scholars who operated under the rule of the Eastern Han empire. In the first century CE, the Eastern Han established its orthodox ideology through manipulation of politics, knowledge, and educational institutions. With the establishment of the imperial academy, the Eastern Han exerted control over regional folklore and customs with the help of scholars who—trained by the empire—thus shouldered its civilizing mission. In short, the empire refused to value colonial Sichuan's own officials, academic achievements, and culture. As a result, colonial Sichuan's nobles and bureaucrats restricted their concerns to the regional affairs of Sichuan and came into contact with the center of the empire only during wars or important public construction projects. In almost all other circumstances, these Sichuan power-brokers practiced self-restraint. Regarding academic matters, although central China influenced Sichuan's intellectual life, it had its own genealogy of academic practices and patterns. From the 1st century to the fourth century CE, Sichuan's intellectual

life was not only unaffected by the rise and fall of the Eastern Han empire but also developed its own ideology for the subversion of empire during the later years of Eastern Han rule.

Chapter 6 discusses ancient Sichuan's tomb painting, which reflect the culture's imagination of the afterlife. The Sichuan peoples did not want to enter the afterlife of the metropolitan areas. They wanted to live in an afterlife as perceived and detailed by Sichuanese. And although the structure of Sichuan's tombs was similar to that of central China's tombs (which perhaps reflects a historical endowment from the latter to the former), the Sichuan tomb paintings were not imitations of those in central China. Chapter 6, thus, acknowledges central China's influence on the Sichuan people while emphasizing their own insistence on demonstrating their own choices, be it in this life or the afterlife.

2

Ancient Sichuan before the Qin Conquest

Introduction

This chapter discusses Sichuan before it was conquered by the Qin state in 316 BCE and accomplishes two main tasks: first, it analyzes textual materials, including transmitted historical documents and inscribed materials, written in ancient Chinese characters; second, it discusses relevant non-textual archaeological findings. The major purpose of this chapter is to compare and contrast these two types of materials since primary textual sources and non-textual archaeological findings are equally useful for historical analysis. The chapter's analysis of textual materials suggests that the peoples of ancient Sichuan left us no decipherable written documents. Although we, today, cannot clearly understand ancient Sichuan society on the basis only of written sources, we can improve this understanding by analyzing recent archaeological findings. The chapter's analysis of recent non-textual archaeological findings establishes that highly sophisticated polities existed outside the Central Plains. Although a more systematic clarification of ancient Sichuan's social complexities requires the discovery and analysis of further archaeological findings, currently unearthed archaeological materials can shed light on ancient Sichuan's ritual and cultural

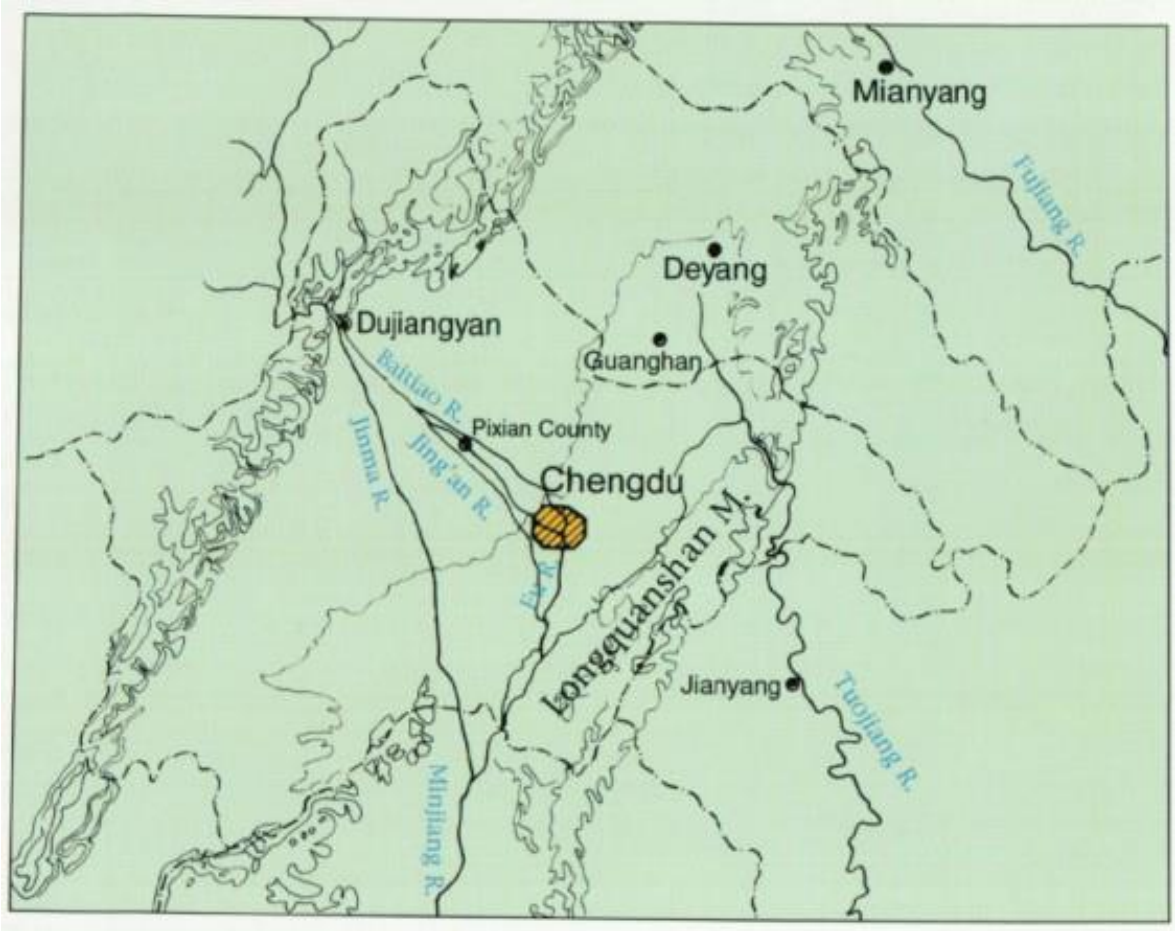
characteristics and can expose the differences between these characteristics and the corresponding characteristics of the Central Plains cultures. Ancient Sichuan had cultural contacts not only with the Shang and Zhou civilizations but varyingly with southern, northern, and eastern Asian early cultures, as well. To a certain degree, ancient Sichuan society was a cultural center, not a branch of other cultures or a subject at the periphery of Chinese civilization.

The Natural Environment of Ancient Sichuan

Sichuan[1] is located south of the Yellow River, and the Yangtze flows along the southern edge. Geographically, it is the boundary between southern and northern China. On an east–west axis, Sichuan is centrally located, occupying an area roughly between the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau and the Jiang-Han Plain mid-way along the Yangtze River. If one were to consider a map of the present-day People's Republic of China, one would find that the Chengdu Plain is located in the western portion of the Sichuan Basin. Since ancient times, the Chongqing area and the Chengdu Plain have strongly influenced history and culture.[2]

[1] The term Sichuan has many diverse connotations, three of which stand out: (1) It refers to the areas around the Sichuan Basin from historical and cultural perspectives. (2) It refers to Sichuan Province, a provincial-level administrative district in the People's Republic of China (PRC). (3). It refers to the historical administrative districts of Sichuan, including the Sichuan *Zhizhi Shi* 制置使 (Military Commission) in the Song Dynasty, Sichuan Province in the Yuan Dynasty, the area under the Sichuan Chengxuan Commissioner in the Ming Dynasty, and Sichuan Province in the Qing Dynasty and the Republican Era. Recently, the former Sichuan province has been split into two administrative entities by the PRC government, Sichuan to the west, Chongqqing to the east along the Yangtze.

[2] It is important to note that historical Chinese documents referred to ancient Sichuan as Ba-Shu.



Map. 1. The Geographic Region of the Chengdu Plain (Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 2006)

The Sichuan Basin is surrounded by high mountains. In addition, there is hardly any entry way at the rim of the basin, except for the Jialing River 嘉陵江 in the northeast and the Yangtze River in the east, both of which are traffic gateways. The main stretch of the Yangtze River runs across southern Sichuan. In addition, Sichuan is crisscrossed by rivers of various sizes, including the Min River 岷江, the Tuo River 沱江, the Jialing River, and the Fu River 涪江 flowing from the north to the south, and the Wu River 巫江 and the Chishui River 赤水河 flowing from the south to the north and connecting with the Yangtze

River: all of these waterways constitute a closely knit aquatic network.[3] Both the rivers flowing along a north–south axis and the Chengdu Plain, which is the alluvial fan resulting from the aforementioned rivers, function as north–south traffic corridors traversing high mountains. The Chengdu Plain is high in the north, and low in the south, with altitudes ranging from 200 m to 700m above sea-level. Divided by natural barriers, the plains, hills, and plateaus vary significantly, creating diverse conditions for a wide range of flora and fauna.

In the western part of Sichuan Plain, the most important river is the Min River, which originates in the southern slope of the Min Mountains. With a total area of 8,000 km^2, the plain formed when massive amounts of sand and soil washed down from up-stream along the Min River, Qian River, and Shiting River. In this region, the soil is deep and rich in such minerals as iron, potassium, and phosphorus.[4] Soft in quality, the soil is ideal for farming, especially the cultivation of paddy rice. The major landforms in the Chongqing area are hills and mountains, on which terraced fields are widely scattered, providing fertile sites for the production of such crops as paddy rice and wheat. In the north, the Qinling and Daba Mountains are the natural barriers of the Sichuan Basin. Cold wind tends not to blow directly into the basin from the north during the winter. Shielded from the coldness coming

[3] Ren Mei'e, Yang Renzhang and Bao Haosheng, *An Outline of China's Physical Geography* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985), 314–344.
[4] Ma Lifang et al., eds., *Geological Atlas of China* (Beijing: Geological Publishing House, 2002), 277–284.

out of Central Asia, it is rather warm in the winter. During the summer, moist air from the Pacific and Indian Oceans generate plenty of rainfall, resulting in a subtropical climate that is warm and humid.[5]

Historical Sources for Ancient Sichuan

Beginning in the Warring States period, the term 'Shu' referred to the Chengdu Plain in the western part of Sichuan and Ba in the east.[6] The earliest documents regarding the Shu and Ba were written on oracle bones excavated from Shang-era sites in Anyang. In Shang, diviners told fortunes by burning animal bones until they cracked. From the oracle-bone inscriptions, scholars have learned about not only the society and culture of the Shang state but also the relations between the Shang state and its neighboring peoples.[7] The inscriptions have also revealed to scholars that the terms 'Shu' and 'Ba' referred to places and groups that had a close relationship with Sichuan.[8] However, it is impossible to paint a sufficiently

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[5] Matsuoka Kazumi 松岡数充, "Higashi Shina umi engan no kankyo hensen" 東シナ海沿岸の環境変遷, in *Bunmei to kankyo II: Nihon bunka to minzoku ido* 文明と環境 *II:*日本文化と民族移動, eds. Matsuoka Kazumi and Yasuda Yoshinori 安田喜憲 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan), 206–210; Chen Fa-Hu, Cheng Bo, and Zhao Hui, et al., "Post-glacial Climate Variability and Drought Events in the Monsoon Transition Zone of Western China," in *Late Quaternary Climate Change and Human Adaptation in Arid China*, eds., David B. Madsen, Fa-Hu Chen, and Xing Gao (New York: Elsevier 2007), 25–39.

[6] See the next chapter.

[7] See David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

[8] For other scholarly analyses of "Shu" characters on the oracle bones, see the following works: Kunio Shima 島邦男, *Inkyo bokuji kenkyū* 殷墟卜辞研究 (Hirosaki-shi：Chūkoku kenkyūkai, 1958), 374–375; Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, *Yinxu buci zongshu* 殷墟卜辭綜述 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 294–296; Zhong Baisheng 鍾柏生, *Yinxu buci dili luncong* 殷墟卜辭地理論叢 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1989), 138–139.

complete picture of this complex history on the basis only of these indirect and fragmented sources. Moreover, some of the oracle bones are so damaged as to render any effort to decipher them hopeless.

The relationships among the Shang, Shu, and Ba tended to center on war, diplomacy, and agricultural affairs.[9] Yet, from the oracle-bone inscriptions excavated at the Yin ruins in Anyang, scholars have determined that peoples like the Jiang Fang (姜方), Gui Fang (鬼方), and Tu Fang (土方) were the ones who engaged in the most serious military conflicts with the Shang state. The oracle bones bear no suggestion that the Shu or Ba[10] posed any major threat to the Shang state, nor do the bones suggest that Shu or Ba participated in any military expedition led by the Shang rulers. Much is not known about these cultures from these sources. Indeed, present-day scholars have yet to reach a consensus regarding even the geographical locations of the Shu and Ba. Do the oracle-bone inscriptions mention the Shu in relation to the Chengdu Plain?[11] Do the oracle-bone inscriptions mention the Ba in

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[9] Guo Shengqiang 郭勝強, "Shu yu Yin-Shang guanxi chulun-cong jiaguwen jizai tanqi" 蜀與殷商關係芻論—從甲骨文記載談起, *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexueban)* 鄭州大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 4 (2004): 13–20.

[10] For scholarly analyses of the character 'Ba' on the oracle bones, see these works: Tang Lan 唐蘭, *Tianrangge jiagu wencun bing kaoshi* 天壤閣甲骨文存并考釋 (Beijing: Furen daxue, 1939), 54; Han Feng 寒峰, "Jiagu wen suojian di Shang dai jun zhi shuce" 甲骨文所見商代軍事數則 in *Jiagu tanshi lu* 甲骨探史錄, ed. Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣 (Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 1982): 416–418.

[11] For a long time, ethnologists have paid attention to issues surrounding the identity of ethnic groups, yet when historians have examined an ethnic group on the basis of historical documentation, they have tended to lack appropriate useful definitions, resulting in confusing interpretations. An autonym is a term with which an ethnic group names itself. It is the simplest and the most effective "definition" of an ethnic group's self-identification. An exonym is a term with which an ethnic group names another ethnic group. When one ethnic

relation to the hilly areas of eastern Sichuan? Much remains unknown, and historians are uncertain about whether or not 'Shu' and 'Ba' were terms signifying self-identified peoples.

Likewise, the existing evidence does not permit historians to conclude whether or not the 'Shu' that appears in primary sources, even those dating from the Spring and Autumn Period, is a reference to Sichuan. The ancient Chinese historical records entitled *Zuo zhuan* (左傳) exemplifies this confusion, as they contain three distinct opinions regarding the meaning of the term 'Shu' according to Chen Pan. Studying the geographical locations of the Spring and Autumn Period, Chen Pan pointed out that Shu society in the Spring and Autumn Period was located in what is, today, the coastal province of Shandong.[12] When did the states in the Central Plains begin to associate Shu society with the Chengdu Plain? Current research suggests that the answer to this question is the Warring States Period.

Analyzing and synthesizing the various uses of the term 'Ba' in early Chinese texts, Steven Sage drew the following conclusion:

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group regards another ethnic group from the perspective of a defined exonym, the first group tends to regard the second group as inferior or even as inhuman. For insights into anthropological studies on ancient Chinese foreign peoples, see Wang Mingke, "The Ch'iang of Ancient China through the Han Dynasty: Ecological Frontiers and Ethnic Boundaries" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1992). He later published his dissertation findings in several Chinese-language works, including *Huaxia bianyuan* 華夏邊緣 (Taipei: Yuchen chubanshe, 1994); *Manzi, Hanren yu Qiangzu* 蠻子、漢人與羌族 (Taipei: Sanmin shujun gufen youxiangongsi, 2001); *Qiang zai Han Zang zhijian: yige Huaxia bianyuan de lishi renlei xue yanjiu* 羌在漢藏之間：一個華夏邊緣的歷史人類學研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2003); *Youmu zhe de jueze: miandui Han diguo de bei Ya youmu buzu* 游牧者的抉擇：面對漢帝國的北亞游牧部族 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2008).

[12] Chen Pan 陳槃, *Chunqiu dashi biao lieguo juexing ji cunjian biao zhuanyi* 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表譔異 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1997), 38.

> The impression of the Ba conveyed by textual sources is that of a bellicose folk who adopted the tiger as a totem, recalling the beast's mythical association with the Ba hero and founder Linjun. Their war chants and dances were widely famous. In addition to fighting well, these people seem to have lived well. Paddy rice culture was developed, but the Ba also pursued a mixed economy, planting a variety of grains, raising several types of domestic beasts, feeding silkworms on mulberry trees, and cultivating hemp, the lac tree for lacquer, and tea. They reportedly fished and hunted wildfowl, turtles and rhinoceros. Other alleged Ba products included bronze, iron and salt as well as certain valued medicinal herbs.[13]

As there is no surviving document written by the Sichuan peoples, all the writings about them are necessarily sources written by peoples from other states and places. Therefore, we can observe these peoples from the perspectives only of social outsiders. From the documents left from the Warring States Period, Qin and Chu recorded that the people living in the western Sichuan Basin were called Shu; those in the eastern part of the basin were called Ba. However, both 'Ba' and 'Shu' were the names used by the states during the Warring States Period to refer to the peoples living there. It is difficult, if not impossible, for historians today to uncover compelling written evidence that depicts ancient Sichuan as it was.

In the documents written during the Warring States Period and Han times, several of the documents contain passages concerning the wars between the Shu and the Chu and between the Ba and the Chu; however, there are no records regarding the causes of the wars. Some scholars suggest that the Shu originally belonged to Chu society.[14] Some others argue that

[13] Steven Sage, *Ancient Sichuan and the Unification of China* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 54.

[14] Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, *Lun Ba Shu wenhua* 論巴蜀文化 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1982): 212–236.

the Shu allied with the Ba to wage war against the Chu in order to resist their invasion of the Shu.[15] We can interpret the relations between the Shu and the Chu from a broader perspective: geopolitics. From it, we can examine the relations between the Chu and the Shu in a multidimensional manner. By the end of the seventh century BCE, the Ba had become vassals of the Chu. As a result, the Ba required approval from the Chu to develop diplomatic relations with the Deng (鄧). In the latter half of seventh century BCE, the Chu became stronger and stronger, conquering many small states along the Yangtze River. Perhaps the Ba became vassals of the Chu during this period.[16] However, the relations between the Chu and the Ba were rather unstable. Geographically, the Ba and the Chu were neighbors who frequently interacted with each other. The only extant records pertaining to these interactions during the period are records describing wars—punctuated by interludes of peace—between the two societies. Being a large southern state, the Chu pushed northward during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period in a quest to rule the Central Plains. Located to its east, the Ba were naturally regarded as potential threats.

In addition, the Qin, a large state in modern Shaanxi Province, always warred with the Chu over which of them might rule the Ba and the Shu. These Qin–Chu relations are mentioned in historical documents. During the Warring States Period, records regarding

[15] Guo Dewei 郭德維, "Shu Chu guanxi xintan" 蜀楚關係新探, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1991 (1): 91–97; Guo Dewei 郭德維, "Shu Chu guanxi fazhan jieduan shitan" 蜀楚關係發展階段試探, in *Sanxingdui yu Ba Shu wenhua* 三星堆與巴蜀文化, ed. Qu Xiaoqiang 屈小強 et al. (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1993), 243–249.
[16] *Zuo zhuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 120.

relations between the Shu and the Qin were more numerous than records regarding any other states.[17] As was the case with relations between the Ba and the Chu, the Shu and the Qin fought with each other sometimes, and made peace the rest of the time. By studying the rivalry between the Qin and the Chu, perhaps we can uncover the reasons for the Qin's conspiratorial actions against the Shu, specifically in the Han River region. Nanzheng 南鄭, a city by the Han River, controlled both a gateway to the Yangtze River (by which the Qin could gain access to the south) and the Guanzhong Plain, through which the Chu could push northward. Therefore, the Shu, Qin, Ba, and Chu regarded the city as their shared bone of contention. During the states' maneuvering for hegemony, Qin and Chu regarded their successful conquest of the Ba and the Shu as a necessary condition for victory in the contest for dominance over each other. When the Chu became weaker, the Qin appeased the Ba and the Shu, intending to use the diplomatic gains as a way to secure successful attacks against the Chu. Similarly, when the Qin became weaker, the Chu would enter into various conspiracies against the Shu. The primary sources from this period suggest that their authors had little interest in ancient Sichuan in and of itself; they paid attention to it chiefly when the Shu, Ba, and Qin interacted with each other.

From texts dating before the Warring States Period, we cannot ascertain whether or not the Shu or the Ba were located in modern Sichuan or not. It was not until the Warring States

[17] *SJ*, 15, 688; 716; 727.

Period that texts began providing reliable evidence of the Shu's and Ba's location in present-day Sichuan, and none of the texts describe the actual conditions of ancient Sichuan. Fortunately, from archaeological findings, we can acquire a useful understanding of ancient Sichuan's material culture. From these findings, we can specifically establish that Sichuan was a part of neither the Shang nor the Zhou civilizations in the Central Plains.[18] Instead, it was a unique complex society of considerable diversity in East Asia.

Archaeological Findings from Ancient Sichuan

Archaeologists state that the Chengdu Plains were dominated by "Baodun Culture" (寶墩文化) during the Neolithic Era (specifically *ca.* 2700–1700 BCE). Excavations since 1995 have uncovered the ruins of multiple early sites. Although the dates of these sites are not identical, the sites' overall cultural manifestations are similar. For example, the sites have yielded consistently styled pottery with similar style and decoration. At present, archaeologists have discovered six ancient Sichuan cities, or "villages." They are Baodun Village 寶墩村 in Xinjin County 新津縣,[19] Mangcheng Village 芒城村 in Dujiangyan City 都江堰市,[20] Gucheng Village 古城村 in Pi County 郫縣,[21] Yufu Village 魚凫村 in

[18] For research on the civilizations in the Central Plains, see Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *State Formation in Early China* (London: Duckworth, 2003); Chang Kwang-chih, *Shang Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980); Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[19] Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 成都市文物考古研究所, Sichuan daxue lishi xi kaogu jiaoyan shi 四川大學歷史系考古教研室, and Waseda Daigaku Chōkō ryūiki bunka kenkyū jo 早稻田大學長江流域文化研究所, *Baodun yizhi* 寶墩遺址 (Tokyo: APR, 2000).

[20] Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu dui 成都市文物考古隊, and Dujiangyan shi wenwu ju 都江

Wenjiang County 溫江縣,[22] Zizhu Village 紫竹村 in Chongzhou City 崇州市, and Shuanghe Village 雙河村 in Chongzhou City 崇州市.[23] According to local archaeologists, there may be nearby prehistoric city ruins, as of yet undiscovered, in addition to these six unearthed ones: perhaps there might be ten in total dating from 2800 to 2000 BCE.[24] Scholars of these subjects are interested mostly in the cultural conditions of the Chengdu Plains during the prehistoric age and the conditions' influence on the rise of Chinese civilizations.[25]

Although many fascinating sites emerged in the Chengdu Plains during the Neolithic Era,[26] we have no evidence that sufficiently details either the interrelations of these sites or

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堰市文物局, "Sichuan Dujiangyan shi Mangcheng yizhi diaocha yu shijue" 四川都江堰市芒城遺址調查與試掘, *KG* 1997 (7): 14–27.

[21] Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu dui 成都市文物考古隊, and Pi xian bowu guan 郫縣博物館, "Sichuan sheng Pi xian Gucheng yizhi diaocha yu shijue" 四川省郫縣古城遺址調查與試掘, *WW* 2001 (3): 52–68.

[22] Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu gongzuo dui 成都市文物考古工作隊, and Sichuan Lianhe daxue lishixi kaogu jiaoyan shi 四川聯合大學歷史系考古教研室, and Wenjiang xian wenguan suo 溫江縣文管所, "Sichuan sheng Wenjiang xian Yufu cun yizhi de diaocha yu shijue" 四川省溫江縣魚凫村遺址的調查與試掘, *WW* 1998 (12): 38–56.

[23] Sun Hua 孫華 and Su Rongyu 蘇榮譽, *Shenmi de wangguo: dui Sanxingdui wenhua de chubu lijie he jieshi* 神秘的王國—對三星堆文明的初步理解和解釋 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2003), 118.

[24] Wang Yi 王毅 and Jiang Cheng 蔣成, "Chengdu pingyuan zaoqi chengzhi de faxian yu chubu yanjiu" 成都平原早期城址的發現與初步研究, *Daozuo taoqi he dushi de qiyuan* 稻作、陶器和都市的起源 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000), 146.

[25] Researchers from Harvard University, McGill University, UCLA, and National Taiwan University began conducting a systematic archaeological regional survey in 2005 in order to shed more light on the prehistoric Chengdu Plains. For the preliminary report, see Chengdu pingyuan guoji kaogu diaochadui 成都平原國際考古調查隊, "Chengdu pingyuan quyu kaogu diaocha" 成都平原區域考古調查, *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 6 (2010): 255–278.

[26] Peng Bangben argues that Baodun Culture was a chiefdom. See "Gucheng qiubang yu gu Shu gongzhu zhengzhi de qiyuan-yi Chuanxi pingyuan guchengqun weili" 古城、酋邦與古蜀共主政治的起源—以川西平原古城群為例, *SW* 2003 (2): 18–25; Peng Bangben, "In Search of the Shu Kingdom: Ancient Legends and New Archaeological Discoveries in

the sites' primary function: did the sites serve chiefly as bases for military defense or for flood prevention or both or something else entirely? In some of these sites, there were inner areas and outer areas: what were their purposes? Also, were the sites home to large populations? Were the residences of a poor or a good quality? Answers to these questions must remain speculative until considerably more archaeological findings come to light.[27]

As can be seen in the following Table 1**,** the construction of such sites was a large engineering project that involved complicated social operations. Therefore, in addition to the engagement of engineering technology and resources, in order to complete these projects, the population needed to have significant mechanisms for social and operational coordination.

Site	Total wall length (in m)	Estimated volume of the wall (in m^3)	Labor at 1 m^3/person/day (in person-years)	Labor at 2 m^3/person/day (in person-years)	Labor at 3 m^3/person/day (in person-years)

Sichuan," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4 (2002):75–100.

[27] The unpublished dissertation by Lin Kuei-chen points out that no chiefdom or other centralized state controlled the production of pottery in the Sichuan Basin. The production seems to have responded to the local needs at the community level. Even in such loosely organized production contexts, different places in ancient Sichuan shared production methods with one another. See Lin Kuei-chen, "Pottery Production and Social Complexity of the Bronze Age Cultures on the Chengdu Plain, Sichuan, China" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2013).

Baodun	3,200	243,200	666	333	222
Baodun (outer wall)	>5,200	Ca. 130,000	356	178	119
Mangcheng	1,900	47,500	130	65	43
Shuanghe	2,800	108,750	298	149	99
Gucheng	2,220	116,550	319	160	106
Yufu	2,000	45,000	123	62	41

Table 1. Estimated labor required for the production of walls around the Baodun Culture sites[28]

After the Baodun Culture, the Chengdu Plain entered the Bronze Age (specifically *ca.* 1900–1250 BCE), during which two Sanxingdui ritual pits were the most significant ruins.[29] The two ritual pits excavated in Sanxingdui together constitute one of the most important Chinese archaeological findings in the twentieth century.[30] The excavations also attracted the attention of scholars beyond archaeological circles. All in all, my view is that scholars should examine these two Sanxingdui ritual pits in the context of what we already know about ancient Sichuan. Scholars should compare the two ritual pits with other ancient Sichuan ruins dating from before, during, and after this period in order to identify as much as possible

[28] Rowan Flad and Pochan Chen, *Ancient Central China: Centers and Peripheries along the Yangzi River* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 86.
[29] Chen De'an 陳德安, "Sanxingdui yizhi" 三星堆遺址, *SW* 1991 (1): 63–66.
[30] For the complete report, see Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 四川省文物考古研究所, *Sanxingdui jisi keng* 三星堆祭祀坑 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999).

about the Sanxingdui culture.

The excavation of the Sanxingdui ritual pits has strengthened our understanding of the Bronze Age Chengdu Plains.[31] In the archaeological sites, the ruins—which were surrounded by high city walls—harbored traces of intensive human activities, such as bronze workshops and tombs. Compared with the Anyang ruins dating from the Bronze Age and the late Shang period in the Central Plains, the Sanxingdui site was equally remarkable. The large-scale city site of Sanxingdui points to a complex, hierarchical society. The perimeter of the city walls stretched more than 9km. The area of the existing city site exceeded 3.5 km^2. Judging from other contemporaneous city ruins excavated in China, Sanxingdui was huge. For example, the perimeter of Yanshi Shang City was 5.4km, that of the Shang city of Zhengzhou was 7km, and that of Panlong City in Hubei was 1km.[32] Lothar von Falkenhausen describes the comparative context succinctly: "Sanxingdui is one of the largest known Bronze Age settlements in East Asia."[33]

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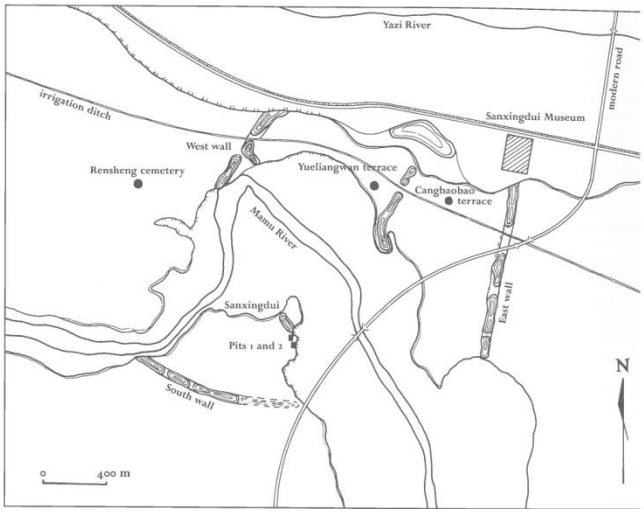
[31] For a comprehensive study of the bronze culture of the Sichuan Basin, see Sun Hua 孫華, *Sichuan pendi de qingtong shidai* 四川盆地的青銅時代 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000).

[32] Robert Bagley, "P'an-lung-ch'eng: A Shang City in Hubei," *Artibus Asiae* 39 (1977): 165–219. For more recent studies, see Feng Tianyu 馮天瑜 and Liu Yingzi 劉英姿 eds., *Shang dai Panlong cheng xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 商代盤龍城學術研討會論文集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2014).

[33] See Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Some Reflections on Sanxingdui," in *Di 3 jie guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwen ji: zhong shiji yiqian de diyu wenhua, zongjiao yu yishu* 第三屆國際漢學會議論文集: 中世紀以前的地域文化、宗教與藝術, ed. Hsing I-tien 邢義田 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2002), 63.



Map 2. The Sanxingdui site. Map from Bagley, 2001, 24.

In the two ritual pits excavated in Sanxingdui, there were many bronze human figures and statues, with only a small number of bronze vessels and weapons. In Ritual Pit 1 (K1) and Ritual Pit 2 (K2), archeologists also discovered gold sticks, masks, tiger-pattern ornaments, and other finds, as well as bronze human figures.[34] Regarding archaeological findings in China generally, only *ornamental* gold items have been excavated from such sites as the Yin ruins in Anyang City, the Shang-era urban ruins in Zhengzhou City, and the Shang-era tombs in Beijing's Pinggu District. By contrast, the gold items excavated from K1 and K2 remain unprecedented in terms of their form and number.[35]

[34] See Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 四川省文物考古研究所, *Sanxingdui jisi keng* 三星堆祭祀坑 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999).

[35] Chen De'an 陳德安, Wei Xuefeng 魏學峰 and Li Weigang 李偉綱, *Sanxingdui: Changjiang shangyou wenming zhongxin tansuo* 三星堆:長江上游文明中心探索 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe), 46; Du Po 杜朴 (Robert Thorp), "Sichuan Guanghan Sanxingdui jisi keng" 四川廣漢三星堆祭祀坑, in *Qiyi de tumu: xifang xuezhe kan Sanxingdui* 奇異的凸目: 西方學者看三星堆, ed. Lothar von Falkenhausen (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2003), 317.

Most of Sanxingdui's excavated bronze items were human, animal, and plant figures. Each was rare or had never before been seen at other bronze-era excavation sites in the Central Plains. The bronze human figures excavated in Sanxingdui included representations of human heads, human faces, masks, and kneeling individuals. The sizes of the human statues varied. Some of them were full figures in upright positions; others were sitting on their knees or, as noted, kneeling. Researchers categorized them in reference to either their forms and shapes or the special features of the eyes. The animal figures tended to be representations of ox heads, bird heads, and the faces of mythical beasts. The tree figures were rather special: two huge bronze sacred trees were unearthed.[36]

Fig. 1. Bronze figure from Sanxingdui. Photo after Bagley 2001, 73.

Fig. 2. Bronze tree from Sanxingdui. Photo after Bagley 2001, 62.

Archaeologists at the two sites excavated, in addition to bronze wares, a large number

[36] For a general understanding of Sanxingdui bronze culture, see Xu Jay, "Sichuan before the Warring States Period," *AS*, 21–37.

of jade items. Most of them were forked jade blades and jade daggers, the former of which were found in copious numbers. The forked blades (牙璋) excavated in Sanxingdui were considerably larger than those excavated in other places, and this prodigious size was the blades' most salient feature.[37] The largest item excavated from K1 was 162 cm in length. The two pits yielded a total of 57 forked jade blades (K1 yielded 40; K 2, 17). Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫 argued that the forked blades found in Sanxingdui bear the influence of Shijiahe Culture 石家河, which was based in modern Hubei Province. In addition, the blades seem to have involved sun worship.[38] Although the specific details pertaining to the themes of cultural influence and religious or spiritual significance are beyond the scope of this study, it is worth mentioning that two small Sanxingdui bronze figures (K2⑶: 325 and K2⑶: 292-2) vividly demonstrate the use of the forked blades in rituals, which seem to have differed markedly from comparable rituals practiced in the Central Plains, Shijiahe, and other neighboring locales.

[37] Deng Cong 鄧聰, "Dongya Xian-Qin yazhang zhu wenti" 東亞先秦牙璋諸問題, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 1997 (6): 325–333.

[38] Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫, "Shilun Sanxingdui yi er hao keng chutu de zhang" 試論三星堆一、二號坑出土的璋, in *Fusang yu ruomu-Riben xuezhe dui Sanxingdui wenming de xin renshi* 扶桑與若木—日本學者對三星堆文明的新認識, ed. Nishie Kiyotaka 西江清高 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2003), 100–101.

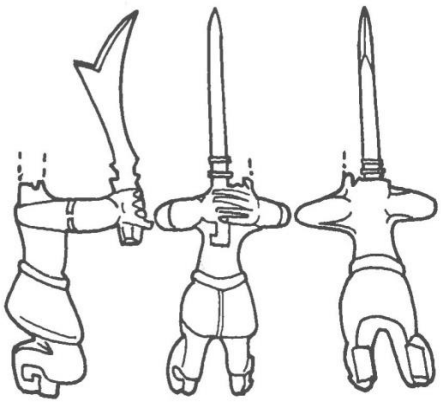


Fig. 3 . Drawing of kneeling figure. After Bagley 2001, 151.

Since the excavation of these two pits, scholars have discussed many aspects of the findings and have published studies on the subject.[39] The first report, by the archaeologists who unearthed the objects, referred to the two sites as "ritual pits" in the title: "The Ritual Pits in Sanxingdui." The term 'ritual' suggests that the items excavated in these two pits had the same general function; that is, roles to play in the service of ceremonies. Both Robert Bagley and Lothar von Falkenhausen argued that the ritual items unearthed in Sanxingdui differ significantly from those excavated in Anyang.[40] No bronze tripod *ding* was discovered among the bronze items excavated in ancient Sichuan. In the Sanxingdui

[39] Chen Xiandan 陳顯丹, "Guanghan Sanxingdui yi er hao keng liangge wenti de tantao" 廣漢三星堆一、二號坑兩個問題的探討, *WW* 1989 (5): 11–16; Zhang Xiaoma 張肖馬, "Jisi keng suo bianxi" 祭祀坑說辨析, in *Sichuan kaogu lunwen ji* 四川考古論文集, ed. Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 四川省文物考古研究所 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 70–78; Sun Hua, "Guanyu Sanxingdui qiwu keng ruogan wenti de bianzheng" 關於三星堆器物坑若干問題的辨正, *SW* 1993 (4): 21–25; Robert W. Bagley, "Sacrificial Pits of the Shang Period at Sanxingdui in Guanghan County, Sichuan Province," *Arts Asiatiques* 43 (1988): 78–86; Ge Yan and Katheryn M. Linduff, "Sanxingdui: A New Bronze Age Site in Southwest China," *Antiquity* 64 (1990): 505–513.

[40] For a detailed comparison between Anyang and Sanxingdui, see Chen Shen, *Anyang and Sanxingdui: Unveiling the Mysteries of Ancient Chinese Civilizations* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2002).

pits, there were a large number of gold wares, bronze wares, and jade pieces, indicating that the rituals held there were very different from those in the Central Plains. Hence, at least regarding the use of resources, the cultures in ancient Sichuan appear to have been very different from those in the Central Plains.[41] Comparing to the sacrificial pits in Anyang, Ge Yan suggests in the following table:

Table II: Comparison of Sacrificial Objects in Anyang and Sanxingdui[42]

Item	Anyang	Sanxingdui
Jade	A few (four pieces were found)	A large amount (47% of the total deposits)
Bronze	A large amount, including vessels, weapons and tools)	A large amount, including vessels, trees, human heads, masks and a statue Few Weapons
Pottery	A large amount	A few

[41] For the use of resources and the conception of bronze use between Anyang and Sanxingdui, see Chen Fang-mei, "Shang dai duoyuan qingtong yishu xitong yanjiu de xinxian suo—yishu jishu yongtong gainian yu yongqi xingwei" 「商代多元青銅藝術系統」研究的新線索—藝術、技術、用銅概念與用器行為, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 23:2 (2005:6): 21-82.

[42] Ge Yan, "The Coexistence of Artistic Styles and the Pattern of Interaction: Sanxingdui during the Second Millennium BC" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1997), 33.

Human	A large amount	None
Writing	Inscriptions on many bronze vessels	None
Other	Grain, fabric and bone carvings	Elephant tusks, animal bones and shells

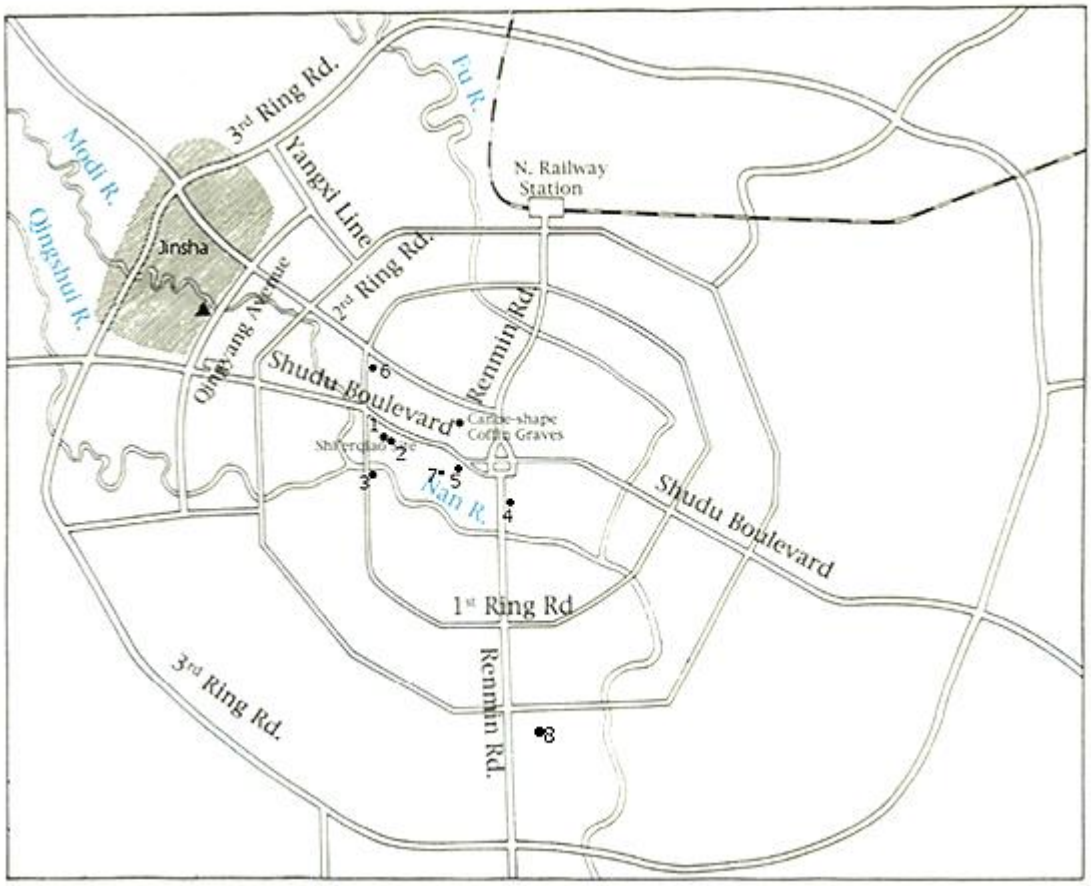
Of course, the lack of textual primary sources from Sanxingdui, whether in the form of oracle bones or other types of inscription, stands in contrast to the valuable textual primary sources found in Anyang, and for this reason, historians simply cannot rigorously draw conclusions about Sanxingdui's specific cultural characteristics, whether in themselves or in relation to those of Anyang.[43] Nevertheless, we can suggest with a commendable degree of rigor that the two Sanxingdui pits convey rather specific ritual characteristics.[44]

[43] For an examination of Shang history based on the oracle bones, see David Keightley, "The Shang: China's First Historical Dynasty," *CHAC*, 232–291.
[44] For a comprehensive study of ritual activities in Sanxingdui, see Rowan Flad and Chen Pochan, A*ncient Central China: Centers and Peripheries along the Yangzi River*, 209–278.

Map 3. The location of the Sanxingdui and Anyang sites. After Shen 2002, 6.

The Chengdu Plains, after the decline of Sanxingdui culture, underwent a series of social changes. Archaeologists define the culture of the Chengdu Plains from 1250 BCE to 1000 BCE as Shierqiao Culture (十二橋文化).[45] Its major ruins include the Shierqiao Ruins, the Jinsha Ruins (金沙遺址), the Yangzishan Mud Platform 羊子山土台, and the Zhuwajie Ruins in Peng County 彭縣竹瓦街. The pottery wares from the Shierqiao culture are clearly descendants of Sanxingdui culture, with roots in the Chengdu Plains.

[45] Sun Hua 孫華, "Chengdu Shierqiao yizhi qun fenqi taolun" 成都十二橋遺址群分期討論, in *Sichuan kaogu lunwen ji* 四川考古論文集, 123–144.



Map 4. The Shierqiao-site cluster in relation to the contemporary Chengdu city. After Sun Hua 1996: 124.

1. Shierqiao (I–III)
2. Xinyicun
3. Qingyanggong
4. Zhihuijie
5. Shangwangjiaguai
6. Fuqintai Xiaoqu
7. Fangchijie
8. Minjiang Xiaoqu

Of the Shierqiao sites, the Jinsha site is the largest.[46] From the perspective of archaeology, the connections between Sanxingdui culture and Shierqiao Culture are rather clear. Archeologists argue that the Jinsha site was the center of Shierqiao Culture. Covering

[46] Zhu Zhangyi 朱章義, Zhang Qing 張擎, and Wang Fang 王方, "Chengdu Jinsha yizhi de faxian, fajue yu yiyi" 成都金沙遺址的發現、發掘與意義, *SW* 2 (2002): 3–10.

an area of 20,000 m^2, the site consists of 20 religious or ritual ruins and about 4,000 valuable items. The divergently categorized gold items constitute the largest number ever retrieved from a single site in East Asia. Of the approximately 400 excavated bronze items, most were small. The Jinsha site yielded no huge bronze product comparable with the ones unearthed from the Sanxingdui pits. About 600 jade pieces, however, were excavated from the Jinsha site, accounting for about 40% of the total excavated items. In addition to jade, many of the items had been fashioned from various kinds of stone mined from the mountainous areas around the Chengdu Plains.[47]

Fig. 4. Photos of the Jinsha site. Photo by the author.

The Yangzishan Earth Platform existed at the same time as the Jinsha ruins and provides us with the best example of a ritual site in the Chengdu Plains. About 1 km from the North Gate of present-day Chengdu City, near the western portion of Chuan-Shan Highway (川陝公路), there is an earth platform reaching a maximum height of 10 m and a maximum

[47] Beijing daxue kaogu wenbo yuan 北京大學考古文博院 and Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 成都市文物考古研究所, *Jinsha taozhen* 金沙淘珍 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002).

diameter of 140 m. In the 1950s, both neighborhood residents and archeologists initially believed that the un-excavated site was the huge tomb of an emperor of ancient Sichuan. However, after archaeologists cleaned and measured the site in 1957, they realized that it was, in fact, a huge earth platform whose major function had been to serve as a site for ritual practices.

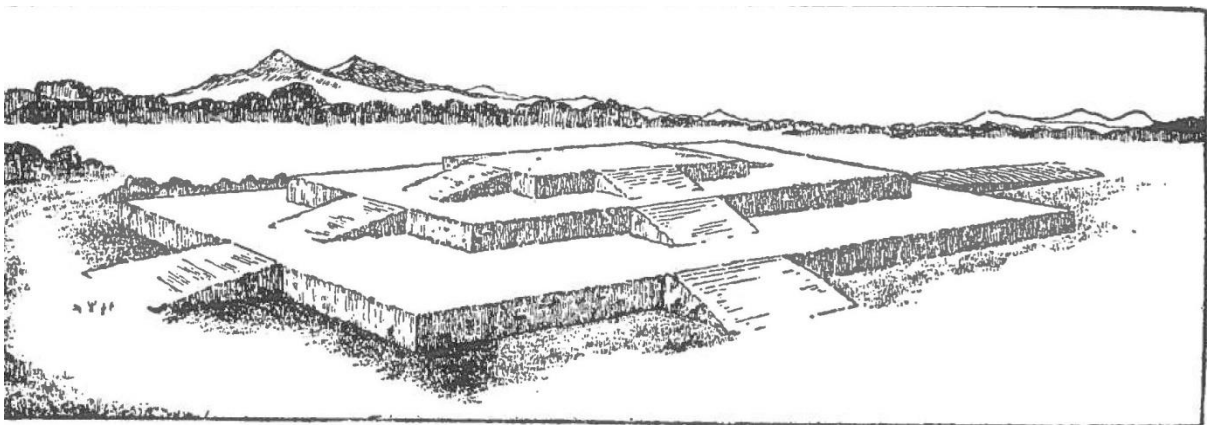


Fig. 5. Terraced mound at Yangzishan. After *Kaogu xuebao* 1957.4, p. 20, fig. 3.

The platform consisted of three sub-platforms: each one was rectangular, with the smallest one on top, the largest one on the ground, and the medium-sized one between the other two. All of them could be ascended via sloped walkways located on each of the rectangles' four sides. The platform's base had an area exceeding 19,000 m^2 and sides that were 103.6 m in length. The length of the sides of the medium-sized sub-platform was 67.6 m; and those of the smallest sub-platform measured 31.6 m. Its sides were laid with mud bricks and its center part was built with rammed earth. The size of this earth platform was shockingly large. For example, consider the sides alone: they were built with more than 1.3 million pieces of earth bricks. Although the relics found around the earth platform do not

permit an exact identification of the structure's active existence, people probably used the earth platform between 1300 BCE and 316 BCE, after the Qin had conquered Sichuan.[48]

Shu and Ba

The terms 'Ba culture' and 'Shu culture' have a long history of use in academic circles.[49] Normally, 'Ba culture' has implied eastern Sichuan and the Sanxia area (三峽) and 'Shu culture' western Sichuan and the Chengdu Plains.[50] Both 'Ba' and 'Shu' imply an ethnic group, a state, or an archaeological culture. The recent archaeological excavations of the Chengdu Plains and the Three Gorges areas have strengthened our understanding of ancient Sichuan and suggested to scholars that the two cultures were not particularly distinguishable from each other. It would seem that, during a prolonged period of culture exchange, the material cultures in the Sichuan Basin mixed with each other, resulting in more similarity than difference in certain regards.[51] As a result, different groups might have used similar vessels, had similar lifestyles, and practiced similar rituals. Most past researchers

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[48] Sichuan sheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 四川省文物管理委員會, "Chengdu Yangzishan tutai yizhi qingli baogao" 成都羊子山土臺遺址清理報告, *KX* 1957 (4): 1–20; Lin Xiang 林向, "Yangzishan jianzhu yizhi xinkao" 羊子山建築遺址新考, *SW* 1988 (5): 3–8.

[49] Tong Enzheng 童恩正, *Gudai de Ba Shu* 古代的巴蜀 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1998); Song Zhimin 宋治民, *Shu wenhua yu Ba wenhua* 蜀文化與巴文化 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1998).

[50] Jiang Zhanghua 江章華, "Shilun Exi diqu Shang Zhou shiqi kaogu xue wenhua de bianqian—jiantan zaoqi Ba wenhua" 試論鄂西地區商周時期考古學文化的變遷—兼談早期巴文化, *KG* 2004 (11):1037–1042.

[51] Alain Thote stated, "Since the mixing of objects of diverse provenance are seen at all Sichuan sites, to distinguish a Shu material culture from a Ba material culture is not possible." See "The Archaeology of Eastern Sichuan at the End of the Bronze Age (Fifth to Third Century BC)," *AS*, 203.

overlooked this significant homogeneity in the Sichuan Basin because they depended much more on historical documents than on archaeological findings.[52]

The major difference between Eastern and Western Sichuan during the Bronze Age was economic and centered on salt production. In 1998, archaeologists excavated the salt workshops in Zhong County 忠縣 and found evidence that the Sichuan Basin's salt industry had begun during Shang times. In the eastern part of the Sichuan Basin, the salt industry was specialized, resulting in differences between production methods in the east and those in the west. Perhaps the complexity of societies in the east and west began with the specializations in economic production.

Cultural Contacts of Ancient Sichuan

Archaeological findings have revealed not only that ancient Sichuan harbored a "lost civilization"[53] different from the Central Plains' ancient societies but also that this "lost civilization" pursued unique interactions with other societies. Moreover, ancient Sichuan

[52] The salt industry was not independent from other economic sectors. In addition to well drilling, the salt industry required (1) kilns for the production of salt-holding vessels (2) mining for the fuel used to boil brine, (3) a transportation network for the delivery of the vessels, the fuel, the brine, and the cooked salt, and (4) a food-production system capable of nourishing the workers engaged in these various tasks. See Sun Zhibin 孫智彬, "Zhong xian Zhongba yizhi de xingzhi–yanye shengchan de sikao yu tansuo" 忠縣中壩遺址的性質—鹽業生產的思考與探索, *Yanye shi yanjiu* 鹽業史研究 2003 (1):25–30; For a discussion about recent archaeological surveys of Sichuan's salt industry, see Li Shuicheng 李水城, "Jinnian lai Zhongguo yanye kaogu lingyu de xin jinzhan" 近年來中國鹽業考古領域的新進展, *Yanyeshi yanjiu* 鹽業史研究 2003 (1): 9–15; Rowan K. Flad, *Salt Production and Social Hierarchy in Ancient China: An Archaeological Investigation of Specialization in China's Three Gorges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[53] I would like to borrow this term "lost civilization" from Robert Bagley, *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

did not restrict its interactions to societies in the Central Plains: communities along the Yangtze River's middle portions, in Southeast Asia, and in northwestern China had ties to ancient Sichuan.

From the Bronze Age, the peoples living in the Sichuan Basin had frequent interactions with surrounding peoples. Items excavated in the basin include jade pieces, ivory, gold ornaments, and seashells, as well as the much celebrated bronze vessels. These prolific artifacts have provided us with a solid basis for comparing ancient Sichuan culture with the cultures of neighboring areas. Scholars tend to regard the Central Plains as a cultural center.[54] Such thinking tends to over-emphasize the cultural importance of the Central Plains and neglects that of peripheral regions. In this section, I regard ancient Sichuan as the cultural center. With the unearthed remains of the Sanxingdui site and Jinsha sites, historians and archaeologists can now map, through a process of comparative analysis, the areas where bronze vessels, jade pieces, gold items, seashells, and other objects were distributed. Such a map will furnish strong clues as to which areas had contact with ancient Sichuan.

With the discovery of more and more jade artifacts in ancient Sichuan, researchers in the 1990s began to realize that significant exchanges must have taken place between ancient

[54] The degree to which the Shang civilization of the Central Plains may have influenced the development of Sanxingdui culture is the subject of intense scholarly discussion. See Huang Jianhua 黃劍華, "Sanxingdui wenming yu Zhongyuan wenming de guanxi" 三星堆文明與中原文明的關係, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2001 (4): 51–56; Li Boqian 李伯謙, "Dui Sanxingdui wenhua ruogan wenti de renshi" 對三星堆文化若干問題的認識, *Kaogu xue yanjiu* 考古學研究 1997 (3): 84–94; Zou Heng 鄒衡, "Sanxingdui wenhua yu Xia Shang wenhua de guanxi" 三星堆文化與夏商文化的關係, in *Sichuan kaogu lunwenji*, 57–58.

Sichuan and various other locations.[55] Among these jade artifacts were T-shaped jade rings discovered by Sanxingdui-based archeologists beginning in the 1920s.[56] From the two pits, a considerable number of T-shaped jade bangles were excavated. Identical bangles dating from the third century BCE were excavated in northern China, and archaeologists in Vietnam unearthed the same type of bangles dating back to the second century BCE. Worthy of mention is the fact that highly similar artifacts were excavated in the Malaysian Peninsula and Thailand dating back to the first century BCE.[57]

Seashells, excavated in the ritual pits, were objects used in exchanges between ancient Sichuan and Southeast Asian communities. Regarding the origins of seashell-based exchanges in ancient China, the research conducted by Egami Namio 江上波夫 in the 1930s has proven to be the most resourceful. He argued that the seashells circulating among communities during the late Shang times and Western Zhou times came from the South Sea.[58] Even more interesting is the fact that the seashells found in Sanxingdui did not come from the South Sea. Scholars deduced that they came from the Indian Ocean.[59] Further evidence

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[55] Jenny F. So, "Jade and Stone at Sanxingdui," *AS*, 59.

[56] Yoshikai Masato 吉開將人, "Lun T-zi yuhuan" 論 T 字玉環, in *Nan Zhongguo ji linjin diqu guwenhua yanjiu—qingzhu Zheng Dekun jiaoshou congshi xueshu huodong liushi zhounian jinian lunwenji* 南中國及鄰近地區古文化研究—慶祝鄭德坤教授從事學術活動六十周年紀念論文集, ed., Deng Cong 鄧聰 (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1994), 255–268.

[57] Jenny F. So, "Jade and Stone at Sanxingdui," in *AS*, 59.

[58] Egami Namio, "Migration of the Cowries: Shell Culture in East Asia," *Acta Asiatica* 26 (1974): 1–52.

[59] See Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 四川省文物考古研究所, *Sanxingdui jisikeng* 三星堆祭祀坑 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 223.

tied to seashells can be uncovered from analyses of Sanxingdui's neighbor, the Dian society where a significant number of seashells were excavated.[60] These seashells came from the "Silk Road in the South"[61]—the path from the Indian Ocean to southwestern China. Therefore, scholars regard the seashells found in Sanxingdui culture as the earliest evidence of cultural exchanges conducted over the Silk Road in the South.

Among the remains excavated in ancient Sichuan, *zun* and *lei* were two categories of the bronze vessels most closely related to their counterparts found in the Central Plains. In Sanxingdui, these two kinds of bronze vessels had an identical function: they held seashells. The number of bronze vessels belonging to these two categories was very small in number, accounting for only 12% of all the excavated bronze artifacts. This numerical distribution of excavated items stands in stark contrast to the situation in the Central Plains, where the predominant types of artifacts were bronze vessels.[62] In 1959, a considerable number of bronze vessels were excavated in Zhuwajie in Peng County;[63] and in 1980, similar

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[60] Zhang zengqi 張增祺, *Dianguo yu Dian wenhua* 滇國與滇文化 (Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 1997).

[61] Luo Erhu 羅二虎, "Xinan Sichou zhilu de kaogu diaocha" 西南絲綢之路的考古調查, *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 南方民族考古 5 (2001): 372–396; Jiang Yuxiang 江玉祥, *Gudai xinan sichou zhilu yanjiu* 古代西南絲綢之路研究 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1990); Sichuan daxue lishixi 四川大學歷史系 ed., *Zhongguo gudai xinan de jiaotong yu wenhua* 中國西南的古代交通與文化 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1994).

[62] Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹, *Gugong Shang dai qingtong liqi tulu* 故宮商代青銅禮器圖錄 (Taipei: Guli gugong bowuyuan, 1998), 52.

[63] Wang Jiayou 王家佑, "Ji Sichuan Peng xian Zhuwajie chutu de tongqi" 記四川彭縣竹瓦街出土的銅器, *WW* 1961 (11): 28–30; Sichuan sheng bowu guan 四川省博物館 and Peng xian wenhua guan 彭縣文化館, "Sichuan Peng xian Xi–Zhou jiaocang tongqi" 四川彭縣西周窖藏銅器, *KG* 1981 (6): 496–4999, 555.

excavations took place in Cheng County 城縣 and Yanggu 洋固 in the Hanzhong Basin. In Peng County, 8 bronze *lei* vessels and 13 bronze weapons were unearthed. All of them were stored in huge pottery jars. In Cheng County, 4 bronze *zun* vessels and 15 bronze weapons were excavated. All of these items, which dated from the early Western Zhou period, were found stored in huge pottery jars.

Fig. 6. Bronze *zun* from Sanxingdui. Photo by the author.

Fig. 7. Bronze *lei* from Sanxingdui. Photo by the author.

We should consider whether the bronze wares in Sanxingdui and Zhuwajie were made locally or imported from other areas. The first archeologist who reported on these bronze wares was Feng Hanji 馮漢驥.[64] He argued that these nine bronze *lei* pieces from Zhuwajie had been produced locally. Rawson held similar views, suggesting that they reflected traditional production traits of the Yangtze River basin. For example, the pieces bore realistic depictions of animals and intricate zigzag patterns. Such style had certain impacts on the production of bronze vessels in the early Western Zhou times. Moreover, not only did the Sichuan bronze vessels imitate the bronze vessels found in the Central Plains but also influenced production of bronze wares generally. Rawson's hypothesis was interesting, challenging the hitherto widely accepted proposition that the Central Plains were the center of regional influence at the time.[65]

The development of bronze vessels in the Central Plains began during the Erlitou period (ca. 1900-1350 BCE), and made advances in Erligang (c. 1500-1300 BCE) and Anyang times. The bronze ritual vessels in the Central Plains, in general, served religious ends closely related to ancestor worship. In Shang times, most bronze wares were food vessels and wine vessels, with the latter outnumbering the former. These types of bronze wares were

[64] Feng Hanji 馮漢驥, "Sichuan Peng xian chutu de tongqi" 四川彭縣出土的銅器, *KG* 1980 (12): 38–47.
[65] Jessica Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 30.

distributed throughout northern China.[66] After the Erligang period, the terrain over which bronze wares were distributed grew even wider, encompassing Sichuan and Hunan. However, the functions of bronze wares in these areas were different from the comparable functions in northern China. In short, communities in the regions differed from one another regarding their respective uses of bronze wares developed in Shang, as noted by Jessica Rawson in regard to ritual practices.

Archaeologists excavated a number of *zun* and *lei* in southern China. The sites stretched along the Yangtze River.[67] Similar to the situation in Sichuan, most of the *zun* and *lei* discovered along the Yangtze River basin were for the storage of seashells. This evidence greatly enhanced the hypothesis that there had been significant interactions among the cultures occupying the upper and middle regions of the Yangtze River valley. Rawson and Bagley observed similar evidence in Hunan and Yunnan, although this evidence dated from a later period. Perhaps the people in Sanxingdui used bronze vessels *zun* and *lei* as storage containers for seashells rather than as wine containers. And perhaps this function is

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[66] Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹, "Yishu yu zongjiao–yi Shang dai qingtong yishu de fazhan yu suizang lizhi de bianqian weili" 藝術與宗教–以商代青銅藝術的發展與隨葬禮制的變遷為例, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 18.3 (2001): 1-92.

[67] Robert Bagley, "Changjiang Bronzes and Shang Archaeology," in *Zhonghua minguo jianguo bashinian Zhongguo yishu wenwu taolun hui: qiwu* 中華民國建國八十年中國藝術文物討論會:器物, ed. National Palace Museum (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1992), 209–255; Jessica Rawson, "Contact between Southern China and Henan during the Shang Period," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 57 (1994): 1–24; Jessica Rawson, "Statesmen or Barbarians, the Western Zhou as Seen through Their Bronzes," *Proceedings of the British Academy* LXXV (1989): 71–95; Jessica Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," *CHAC*, 353–449.

evidence of a significant difference between Sanxingdui rituals and Shang rituals.

In Hunan and Hubei, the *zun* and *lei* were discovered mostly in hoards scattered along the Yangtze River basin and its branches.[68] The mapped distribution of the vessels strongly suggests that the people interacted with one another via the river. A possible route might run from the Chengdu Plains in the west to Wushan 巫山, Shaxi 沙溪, Jiangling 江陵, Huarong 華容, Yueyang 岳陽, and Funan 阜南 in Anhui in the east.[69] This path was likely the major channel for outbound communication in ancient Sichuan. The Yangtze River promoted exchanges between not only eastern and western China but also northern and southern China via the river's closely knitted branches. *Zun* and *lei* have also been found scattered in the areas of Chenggu[70] 城固 and Jingzhou 荊州. These findings indicate that

[68] Robert Bagley, *Shang Ritual Bronzes in the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 35–36.

[69] See among other scholarly archaeological reports and analyses of southern Shang bronze vessels, Zhongguo qingtong qi quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國青銅器全集編輯委員會 ed., *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji di yi juan Xia Shang* 中國青銅器全集第 1 卷夏商 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993), 115–119; Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 荊州地區博物館, "Ji Jiangling Cenhe Bagutai chutu Shang dai tongzun" 記江陵岑河八姑台出土商代銅尊, *WW* 1993 (8): 31, 67–68; Yueyang shi wenwu guanli suo 岳陽市文物管理所, "Yueyang shi xin chutu de Shang Zhou qingtong qi" 岳陽市新出土的商周青銅器, *Hunan kaogu jikan* 湖南考古輯刊 2 (1984): 26–28; Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 江西省文物考古研究所, Jiangxi sheng bowu guan 江西省博物館 and Xin'gan xian bowu guan 新淦縣博物館, *Xingan Shang dai damu* 新淦商代大墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), color plate 7, 16; Peng Jinhua 彭錦華, "Shashi jiaoqu chutu de daxing tongzun" 沙市郊區出土的大型銅尊, *Jiang Han kaogu* 江漢考古 1987 (4): 12–18; Shi Jingsong 施勁松, *Changjiang liuyu qingtong qi yanjiu* 長江流域青銅器研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003); Zhang Changping 張昌平, "Lun Yinxu shiqi nanfang de zun he lei" 論殷墟時期南方的尊和罍, *Kaogu xue jikan* 考古學集刊 15 (2004:2): 116–128; Nanba Junko 難波純子, "Kachu gata seido iki no hattatsu" 華中型青銅彝器の発達, *Nihon Chūgoku kōko gakkai kaihō* 日本中国考古学会会報 8 (1998): 1–31.

[70] Zhao Congcang 趙叢倉, "Chenggu Yangxian tongqiqun zonghe yanjiu" 城固洋縣銅器群綜合研究, *Wenbo* 文博 1996 (4): 17.

the Han River also played an important role in northbound–southbound transportation.

Similar to the exchanges via the Yangtze River, the exchanges between the Hanzhong Basin and Sichuan took place along tributaries and rivers, especially those centered on the Jialing River 嘉陵江, which flows through the Chengdu Plains. The Jialing River provides a convenient channel for transportation between Hanzhong and Guanzhong 關中. In this way, the river enabled Baoji 寶雞 and Chenggu 城固 along the upper part of the Han River to engage in cultural and economic exchanges with Sichuan during ancient times. In an ancient graveyard at Yuguo, Shaanxi, archeologists excavated *zun* pottery and round-based *lei* pottery. Similar vessel combinations were found among the items at the Zhuwajie site in the Chengdu Plains. In Rujiazhuang 茹家莊, archaeologists uncovered small human-shaped bronze figures in standing positions,[71] and the figures had shapes similar to those of the huge human-shaped figures in Sanxingdui. The similarity strongly suggests that the two cultures shared a set of quite similar production principles for bronze figures.[72]

[71] Lu Liancheng 盧連成, "Baoji Rujiazhuang Zhuyuangou mudi youguan wenti de tantao" 寶雞茹家莊竹園溝墓地有關問題的探討, *WW* 1983 (2): 12–20; Lu Liancheng 盧連成 and Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, *Baoji Yuguo mudi* 寶雞魚國墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988).

[72] Liu Shie 劉士莪 and Zhao Congcang 趙叢倉, "Lun Shaannan Cheng Yang diqu qingtongqi jiqi yu zaoqi Shu wenhua de guanxi" 論陝南城、洋地區青銅器及其與早期蜀文化的關係, in *Sanxingdui yu Ba Shu wenwu*, 203–211; Wei Jingwu 魏京武, "Shaannan Ba Shu wenhua de kaogu faxian yu yanjiu jianlun Shu yu Shang Zhou de guanxi" 陝南巴蜀文化的考古發現與研究—兼論蜀與商周的關係, in *Sanxingdui yu Ba Shu wenhua*, 131–139.

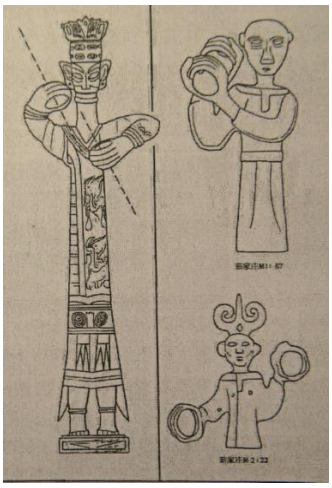

Fig. 8. Comparison between the bronze human figures from Sanxingdui and those from Rujiazhuang.

In fact, from the excavation of the *zun* and *lei* bronze wares, we can see that ancient Sichuan had exchanges not only with cultures in the Yangtze River basin but also, and more broadly, with cultures in East Asia's grasslands. Depicted on the lids of the Zhuwajie *lei* vessels are spiral dragons featuring carved patterns on their bodies. This style of *lei* bronze work is noticeably similar in style to the bronze work unearthed in Pit 2 at Beidonggou 北洞溝 in Liaoning 遼寧.[73] Researchers have compared these two sets of bronze wares, exploring them in terms of the light they can shed on the long-distance interactions between Sichuan and Liaoning. In an essay, Tong Enzheng argued that the similarities between these two sets of vessels provided proof that there had been interaction among cultures in the "semi-crescent communication belt" (半月型傳播帶). The belt linked Inner Mongolia, the Loess Plateau, the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau, and Sichuan to one another and to Southeast

[73] Kazuo xian wenhua guan 喀左縣文化館, "Liaoning Kazuo xian Beidong cun chutu de Shang dai qingtong qi" 遼寧喀左縣北洞村出土的商代青銅器, *KG* 1974 (6): 364–372.

Asia.[74]

If we can unburden ourselves of the idea that the Central Plains was the center of influence in ancient China, we can—I argue—strengthen the accuracy of our insights into ancient China. It is entirely possible that east–west and north–south interactions took place during this time. Archaeological evidence points to cultural contacts among distinct ancient Chinese societies in southern, northern, and eastern regions of East Asia. And if we observe the interactions over a broad geographical terrain, with Sichuan as the center, we might see a broad series of concentric circles, with each sequentially larger circle representing a cultural emanation from Sichuan.

Conclusion

Scholars studying ancient Sichuan acknowledge that there is a general lack of primary written sources about the society. In the oracle-bone inscriptions, little information pertains to the Shu or the Ba. Scholars relying exclusively on primary documents cannot rigorously conclude whether these references to the Shu and the Ba are, in fact, references to ancient Sichuan or to another society. Therefore, scholars must depend on archaeological findings in order to understand the social conditions of ancient Sichuan. Baodun culture in the Neolithic era and both Sanxingdui culture and Jinsha culture in the Bronze Age have attracted considerable attention among scholars trying to fathom Sichuan's relations with the rise of

[74] Tong Enzheng 童恩正, "Shilun woguo cong dongbei dao xinan de biandi banyue xing wenhua chuanbo dai" 試論我國從東北到西南的邊地半月形文化傳播帶, *Nanfang wenming* 南方文明 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2004): 134–146.

civilization. Indeed, ancient Sichuan might be a point of origin, among several, for civilization in the East Asian subcontinent. China's official history, which developed over centuries, forgot ancient Sichuan, relegating it to a non-historical status. Not until recent archaeological discoveries have scholars and the world generally come to recognize that ancient Sichuan is a "lost civilization" worthy of intensive research.

3

The Colonial Project of the Qin

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the historical significance of the Qin's conquest of ancient Sichuan and the Qin's colonial project there. After the Qin ruler Duke Xiao 秦孝公 (361-338 BCE) initiated political reforms, the Qin state grew in strength and began setting its ambitions on the eastern states of the Central Plains. However powerful the Qin state may have been, the eastern states outnumbered it six to one. Unable to unify the six kingdoms because of this bottleneck in the east, the Qin leadership decided to strengthen its economic foundations by expanding southward.[1] Through diplomacy and numerous wars, the Qin finally established supremacy over the various polities of Sichuan, hence successfully eliminating the influence of the Chu 楚 on the upper stretches of the Hanshui River 漢水 and in the Sichuan Basin.

Sichuan became the Qin's first colony. From military conquest and occupation to direct control and elimination of existing local powers, the process of colonization was one of continuous learning and adaptation on the part of the colonizer. The Qin's direct colonial control of ancient Sichuan was based on a policy that had three dimensions. The first had to

[1] Shi Nianhai 史念海, "Gudai de Guanzhong" 古代的關中, *Heshan ji: Zhongguo shidi lungao* 河山集:中國史地論稿 (Taipei: Hongwenguan, 1986), 63–95.

do with developing and putting into place a colonial system that transformed the Sichuan area into a colony. On the Chengdu Plains in 311 BCE, the Qin began building Chengdu city. At the same time, the construction of Chengdu city established in the region the Qin's political system, thus helping ensure its control of local resources. A second dimension of the Qin's colonial policy in Sichuan concerned a huge resettlement project, bringing in people from other territory held by Qin. The state gave the immigrants land, farming tools, and rank (爵) in exchange for taxes, labor, and military service. This shift in the social order was a blow to traditional structures in Sichuan's local communities and further enhanced the Qin's regional colonial institutions. The third notable dimension of its colonial policy was economic and was demonstrated through the state's monopolization of the products of mountains, rivers, gold mines, currency, salt, and iron, and the state's construction of the impressive Dujiangyan Irrigation System (都江堰).

The Qin's Conquest of Ancient Sichuan

The Decision to Withdraw from the East and Move South

After Duke Xiao had reformed the law, the Qin grew in power and, as noted, began setting their sights on the lands to the east. King Huiwen 惠文王 took the throne in 338 BCE. A quarter century after Duke Xiao's reforms, it was clear that his vision for the state was far different from his father's. Duke Xiao's goal had been to recover lost lands whereas King Huiwen intended to engage the Qin state in a final showdown with the six states to the

east. The achievements of King Huiwen were closely linked to the defection of Zhang Yi 張儀 (?-310 BCE) to the Qin.[2] Originally an aristocrat from the Wei, Zhang Yi had attempted to convince the Chu court of his talents. Snubbed, he headed west to the Qin, arriving there in 329 BCE, while the Chu state was at war with the Wei. Zhang Yi persuaded King Huiwen to send Qin troops to the aid of the Wei. The Qin's assistance proved central to the Wei's defeat of the Chu at Xingshan 陘山, enabling the Qin to occupy the territories in Hexi 河西.[3] Over the next few years, Zhang Yi's diplomatic manipulations backed by the Qin's powerful military forced the Wei to cede its fifteen counties in Shangjun 上郡 to the Qin.[4]

Just as Zhang Yi's diplomatic and military strategy greatly benefited the Qin, Gongsun Yan 公孫衍 of Wei organized eastern states in order to fight against Qin. In 324 BCE, Zhang Yi led an army through the Hangu Pass 函谷關 and captured the Wei city of Shan 陝. Zhang Yi intended the city to serve as his base for the conquest of the Central Plains, and he built the Shangjunsai 上郡塞.[5] The following year, Zhang Yi met with top officials from the Qi and Chu states to prevent Gongsun Yan from persuading the Qi and Chu to form an alliance. The five kingdoms of the Wei, Han, Zhao, Yan and Zhongshan 中山 all joined

[2] For a biography of Zhang Yi, see *SJ*, 70, 2279–2306; translated in Nienhauser, T*he Grand Scribe's Records*, vol. 7, 123-138.
[3] *ZGC*, 975; *SJ*, 45, 1873–1874.
[4] *SJ*, 70, 2284–2286.
[5] *SJ*, 5, 206; *SJ*, 70, 2284.

this alliance,[6] which nevertheless achieved little because of mutual distrust. The diplomatic war between Zhang Yi and Gongsun Yan continued unabated.

Over the next few years, alliances and partnerships shifted with even greater frequency between the various states. At the time, it was said, "Such is the power commanded by Gongsun Yan and Zhang Yi! If they are moved to anger the lords shiver, if they are at peace then the world rests" (公孫衍、張儀豈不誠大丈夫哉！一怒而諸侯懼，安居而天下熄).[7] Gongsun Yan's "Meeting of the Five Kings" ultimately failed, so Zhang Yi became perhaps the greatest influence upon international war and peace in East Asia for the next few years.[8] In 322 BCE, the Qin attacked and conquered Wei's Quwo 曲沃 and Pingzhou 平周 (modern Shanxi). Because the Wei's strategy of allying with the Qi and Chu to defend against the Qin had failed, the Wei had no choice but to follow Zhang Yi's strategy of "defeating the Qi and Chu with an alliance of the Qin, Han, and Wei" (欲以秦、韓與魏之勢伐齊、荊楚).[9] Zhang Yi was appointed Chancellor of the Wei while retaining his position as the Chancellor of Qin. Once the Qin, Wei, and Han became allies, Zhang Yi launched a campaign against the Qi by harnessing the alliance between the Han and the Wei. King Wei of the Qi 齊威王 ordered his general Kuang Zhang 匡章 to repulse the invasion, and

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[6] *ZGC*, 1174.
[7] Jiao Xun 焦循, *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 415.
[8] For more on Zhang Yi's and Gongsun Yan's diplomatic activities, see Yang Kuan, *Zhanguo shi* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1997), 315–23.
[9] Chen Qitian 陳啟天, *Hanfeizi jiaoshi* 韓非子校釋 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), 439.

through clever tactics in Sangqiu 桑丘 (modern Shandong), the Qi forces won a resounding victory in 323 BCE.[10]

This setback to Zhang Yi's plans resulted in Gongsun Yan's elevation to the position of Chancellor of the Wei. In this capacity, he was able to begin executing his strategy known as *hezong* 合縱 the vertical alliance against the Qin. In 319 BCE, the Qi and Chu joined together in driving out Zhang Yi, with the Wei dispatching ambassadors to the Chu, Yan, and Zhao to form a vertical alliance. With the support of the six states in the east, Gongsun Yan was able to launch a campaign in 318 BCE under the *wuguo fa Qin* 五國伐秦 the Five State Anti-Qin Alliance. This invasion of the Qin comprised armies from the Wei, Zhao, Han, Yan, and Chu, with the reins of leadership held by King Huai of Chu 楚懷王.[11] The five states failed in 317 BCE at Hangu Pass. In this major defeat for the alliance, the Wei's losses were particularly heavy. The Qin forces followed up on its success the next year with an offensive military campaign and killed over 82,000 Han troops.

With the failure of Gongsun Yan's *hezong* strategy, the Qin began plotting a policy of expansion and annexation once more. The long period of alliances and counter-alliances that had preceded these events created a situation where every involved state experienced its own successes and losses. Though the Qin was usually the winner in these conflicts, the eastern six states grew more and more vigilant against the Qin, creating a knife-edge balance

[10] *ZGC*, 327; *SJ*, 44, 1842.
[11] *SJ*, 40, 1722–1723.

of power.[12] Thus, the Qin, despite being the most powerful East Asian state at this time, lacked the power to annex the other six. To achieve final victory, the Qin leadership began searching for a way to break this deadlock. Even before the setback to their eastward expansion, Qin strategists had been looking at diverse options. Zhang Yi was the main proponent of eastward expansion. He called for the capture of two Han cities, Xincheng 新城 and Yiyang 宜陽, which would permit the Qin to seize the Son of Heaven, located in modern Luoyang, Henan, and, in turn, to establish effective control over the other kings.[13] Sima Cuo 司馬錯, however, opposed this strategy and favored an alternative approach. As he pointed out, "invading Han territory to seize the Son of Heaven"[14] provided little actual benefit and, indeed, could give the six states to the east a justification to strike back. Though the Zhou King had by this time lost all substantive legitimacy, he retained the royal title. Fierce debates over the next major step took place in the Qin court between Zhang Yi and Sima Cuo.

Zhang Yi's chief goal was to establish fame for his state and a dominant regional position for the conquest of the six states. Unlike the practitioners of grand diplomacy, General Sima Cuo had a background steeped in military leadership, which led him to regard war as the most important means of establishing regional power. Because wars are won and

[12] For the issues of war, international relations and the formation of state from a comparative perspective, see Victoria Tin-bor Hui, *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[13] *SJ*, 70, 2282.
[14] *SJ*, 70, 2282.

lost often on the basis of provisions and logistics, seizing territories suitable for agriculture was the key to the Qin's ultimate victory. In this regard, ancient Sichuan was perfectly suited to the Qin's needs and had the added advantage of not disturbing the balance of power in the Central Plains.[15] But Zhang Yi demonstrated that a conquest of Sichuan would take the Qin too far away from a complete conquest of the six states. Zhang Yi also argued that Sichuan was no more valuable than a "Barbarian King" 狄戎之長 to the south. In short, Sima Cuo's proposal was the complete opposite of Zhang Yi's.

After the Shang Yang Reformation (359-338 BCE), the Qin state's economic wealth and military prowess made it the perennial victor in the various wars that broke out.[16] Although the Wei had been the leading power at the beginning of the Warring States period, years of war with the Qin had caused the Wei state to falter. The Qin controlled Guanzhong 關中, which enabled the state to construct irrigation systems and to implement land-use reforms that, together, fed the Qin's soldiers and people, thus supporting large-scale military mobilization.[17] Despite the Qin's great success in dominating the western lands and opening up the eastern fringes of the Loess Plateau 黃土高原, within its borders only the Weishui

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[15] *SJ*, 70, 2282.

[16] Shang Yang Reformation turned one of the weakest states into the single most powerful state of the Warring States era. For specific policies, see Mark Edward Lewis, *The Early Chinese Empires: Qin and Han* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 30-50.

[17] As for the development of irrigation systems during the Warring States Period, see Yang Kuan, *Zhanguo shi*, 62–71; Wang Zijin 王子今, "Qin tongyi yuanyin de jishu cengmian kaocha" 秦統一原因的技術層面考察, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 2009 (9): 150–169.

River 渭水 region was suitable for farming. After long years of war with the six states to the east, the Qin's food supply from the Weishui River region was unable to keep up with the demand.[18] When Shang Yang arrived in the Qin state in 359 BCE, he knew that its insufficient resources were going to become an issue, so he called for a massive increase in agricultural production.[19] As Sima Cuo expressed this situation when, on the eve of the Qin army's entry into ancient Sichuan, he declared, "Today your highness' lands are small and your servant would rather take the easy path" (今王地小民貧，故臣願從事於易).[20] After the Shang Yang Reform, the search for an increased agricultural base thus became the next critical step in the Qin's quest to defeat the six states and conquer the known world.

Centered in the Weishui River region in Guanzhong, the Qin state extended north to the southeast parts of present-day Gansu 甘肅. The Qin state's borders followed the Yellow River between present-day Shaanxi and Shanxi while part of the state's southeast territories protruded into present-day Lingbao 靈寶 in Henan Province. Historical texts suggest that, the Qin state shared borders with the Wei, Han, and the kingdom of Dali (大荔) in the east and with the Chu, Ba, and Shu in the south. Its northern border faced other polities such as the Yichu 義渠 and Quyan 朐衍. The formation of the Qin and the state's subsequent

[18] Shi Nianhai 史念海, "Gudai de Guanzhong" 古代的關中, *Heshan ji: Zhongguo shidi lungao* 河山集:中國史地論稿 (Taipei: Hongwenguan, 1986), 63–95.
[19] Yang Kuan 楊寬, "Lun Shang Yang bianfa" 論商鞅變法, *Lishi jiaoxue* 歷史教學 1955 (5): 30–35.
[20] *SJ*, 70, 2283.

achievements are in part attributable to its struggles with these peoples.[21] By contrast, while the other states such as the Han, Wei, and Qi enjoyed a geographical advantage over the Qin, they were all squeezed into the Central Plains with little opportunity for efficient expansion. Even the smallest upset there could trigger costly, pointless wars between the various states. And apart from the Qin's western frontier, the Shu's "fertile country" (其國富饒) lay to the Qin's south.[22] By expanding in this direction, the Qin was able to acquire land without upsetting the delicate balance of inter-state power.

Military and Diplomatic Actions

The Qin conquered the Shu in 316 BCE.[23] Records suggest that this conquest occurred just when the Shu and Ba 巴 states were at war. The Ba and Shu appeared to have been at odds for a long time. The Ju's ruler was on friendly terms with the king of the Ba. When the king of the Shu ordered an attack against the Ju state, its ruler escaped to the Ba and sought help from the Qin.[24] This sequence of events opened the way for foreign intervention. The Qin's conquest appears to have begun as a surprise attack. Apart from being recorded in *SWB* and *HYGZ*, the only other references to this military campaign are in *SJ* and *ZGC*.[25] The conquest appears to have been an event of little importance at the time

[21] *SJ*, 194. For a related study, see Nicola Di Cosmo, "The Northern Frontier in Pre-Imperial China," *CHAC*, 885–966.
[22] *SJ*, 70, 2283.
[23] For more about the reliability of the dates, see Steven Sage, *Ancient Sichuan and the Unification of China* (Albany: SUNY, 1992), 199–201.
[24] *SJ*, 70, 2281.
[25] *ZGC*, 102–103.

and was not mentioned in any other classical literature.

In fact, when the Qin conquered ancient Sichuan, the link between Guanzhong and the Chengdu Plains was the Hanzhong Basin. This basin was still within the Chu's sphere of influence at the time.[26] By 313 BCE three years after the Qin's conquest of the Shu, King Huiwen had already made the decision to prepare for a final confrontation with the Chu. Having successfully taken control of Sichuan, the Qin naturally could not tolerate having another state control the important link of the Hanzhong Basin. To fully realize his strategy, Zhang Yi had to disrupt the Chu's alliance and look for an opportunity to seize Hanzhong. When King Huai of Chu 楚懷王 was in his sixteenth year on the throne, Zhang Yi traveled to the Chu state and made King Huai an offer—if the Chu broke off its alliance with the Qi, the Qin would offer him "600 *li* of land in Shangyu [商於]".[27] Shangyu was located east of Wuguan 武關 and had been Chu territory before Qin forces occupied it. Located at a critical point on the route from Guanzhong to the Jianghan Plains 江漢平原, its occupation by the Qin state had always been a thorn in the Chu state's side. Zhang Yi's offer to return the Shangyu lands pleased the Chu king greatly. He overrode objections raised by Chen Zhen 陳軫 and broke off ties with the Qi.

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[26] For a detailed study on this issue, see Hisamura Yukari 久村因, "So-Chin no Kannakagun ni tsuite" 楚-秦の漢中郡に就いて, *Shigaku zashi* 史学雑誌 65:9 (1956:9): 46–61; for a study incorporating archaeological and historical analyses of Chu influences on Ba and Shu, see Zhu Ping 朱萍, *Chu wenhua de xijian—Chuguo jingying xibu de kaoguxue guancha* 楚文化的西漸—楚國經營西部的考古學觀察 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2010).

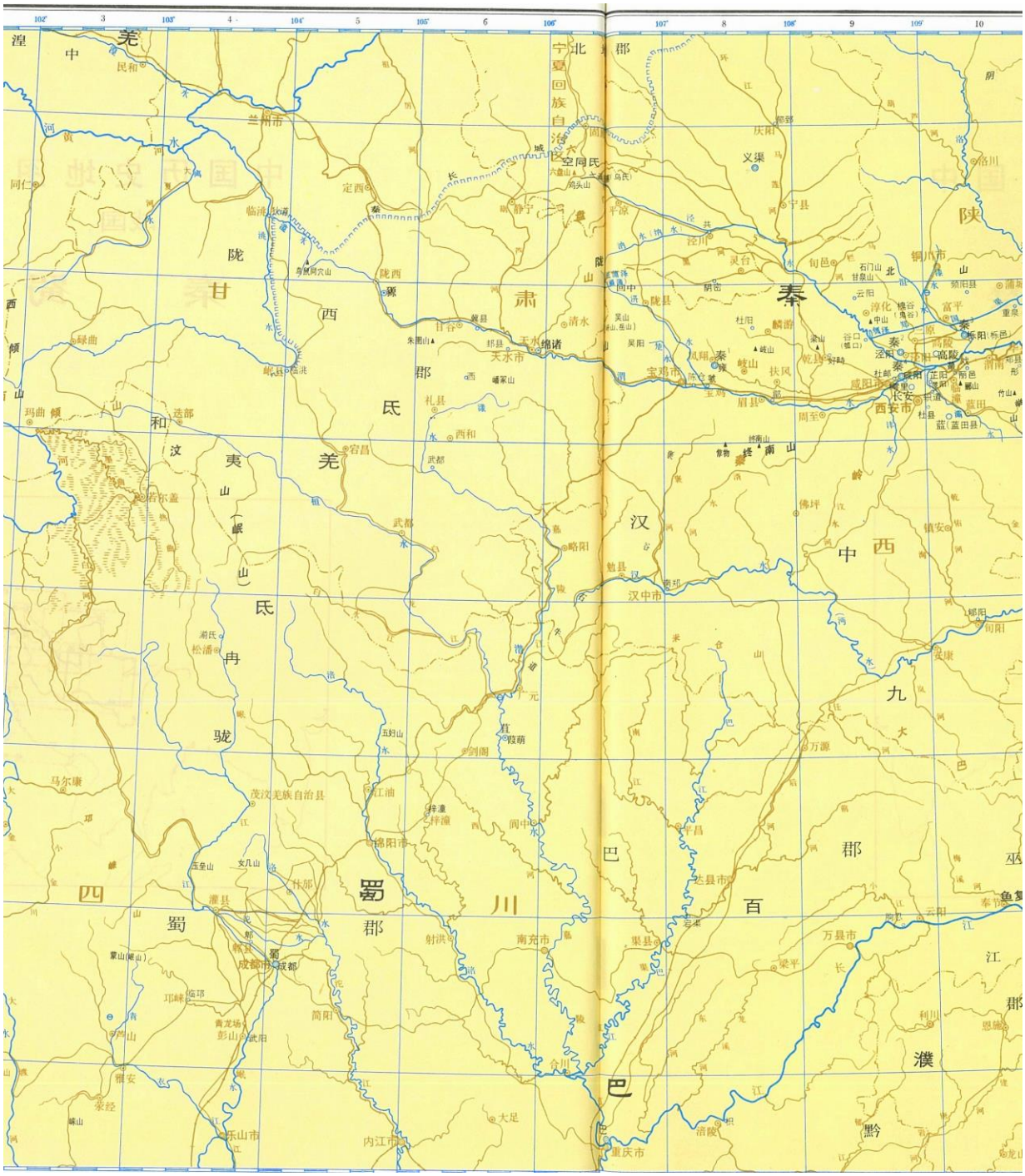
[27] *SJ*, 70, 2288.

After the Qi and Chu broke off their alliance, when Chu sent troops to take over Shangyu, Zhang Yi responded that only 6 *li* had in fact been offered. Furious, King Huai of the Chu ordered his state to go to war against the Qin.[28] The Qin, however, had already decided to deal with the Chu once and for all, and Zhang Yi's mission to the Chu state had been a delaying tactic, effectively buying time for the Qin to complete the preparations necessary for a victorious military campaign against the Chu. The resulting battle would be the first one to occur between the Qin and the Chu during the Warring States period; and its outcome would determine the shape of China's future. In 312 BCE, the two states launched an all-out war against each other. The Chu divided its forces into two: one army, led by General Qu Gai 屈丐, attacked Shangyu; the other army, led by Jing Cui 景翠, attacked Han's Yong 雍. The Qin's response to this two-pronged campaign was a three-pronged campaign of its own: the eastern campaign was led by General Shuli Ji 樗里疾 and departed from Hangu Pass to bolster the Han's efforts against the Chu; the central campaign, which was led by Shuzhang (庶長, Chieftain of the Multitudes) Wei Zhang 魏章, moved out from Wuguan Pass to attack Qu Gai's forces; the western campaign, commanded by Gan Mao 甘茂, departed from Nanzheng 南鄭 and moved along the Hanshui River in an attack on the Chu city of Hanzhong. The first battle was at Danyang 丹陽, where Wei Zhang destroyed the Chu army, took eighty thousand heads and captured the Chu general Qu Gai. After his

[28] *ZGC*, 133–136.

victory at Danyang, Wei Zhang moved west to unite with Gan Mao's forces. Together they seized 600 *li* of Chu's Hanzhong territories and set up the Hanzhong Commandery. In the east, Shuli Ji also defeated the Chu forces in 312 BCE and, in the process, helped the Han and Wei recover their lost territories.[29]

[29] Yang Kuan researched this war in great detail; see *Zhanguo shi*, 358–359.



Map 5 Qin, Shu and Ba. Map from *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 1996, Vol. 3, 6.

Through diplomacy and several wars, the Qin established its control over Sichuan, pushing the Chu out of the Basin and the upper reaches of the Hanshui River. Over the next several decades, the Qin used Sichuan to launch several attacks on the Chu. By the time of

King Huai, the corruption of Chu politics had led to serious divisions between the government and the people. At the end of King Huai's reign, the Zhuang Jiao Revolt 莊蹻 broke out in 301 BCE, and "Zhuang Jiao's uprising split the Chu into pieces" (莊蹻起，楚分為三四) as Xunzi 荀子 stated.[30]

Although the Qin were planning to capture the Wei capital city of Daliang (大梁) at this time, whenever Qin forces moved out of the Hangu Pass, the six states of the east invariably united to oppose the incursion. And despite the Qin's strength, it could not achieve a decisive victory against so many opponents. The Qin leadership, therefore, decided to move south and capture the Chu state instead. A key part of this plan called for a Qin army to capture the Chu capital.[31] In 277 BCE, Qin forces launched a two-pronged assault on the Chu. Zhang Ruo 張若, the governor of Shu, led one force, which departed from Sichuan and followed the Yangtze River all the way to the Chu's Wu Commandery 巫郡 (modern Three Gorges area), which fell to the attackers. In this campaign, the Qin military leaders showed that they understood clearly the strategic advantage that possession of Sichuan gave them over the Chu. Given the demonstrable importance of Sichuan, the Chu state had no choice but to assume a defensive posture toward the possibility of attacks from Sichuan, as well. During the war between the Qin and the Chu, Chu Commander Zhuang Jiao temporarily recovered Qianzhong Commandery 黔中郡 and used the area as a

[30] *Xunzi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 282.
[31] *ZGC*, 887.

base from which to launch an attack on the southwest. He hoped to seize a strategic advantage by circling around the Chengdu Plains. Zhuang Jiao crossed the Yuan River 沅水, captured Qielan 且蘭, occupied Yelang 夜郎, and advanced to the area around modern-day Dianchi 滇池 (Dian Lake). However, in 277 BCE, the Qin leadership ordered the Shu governor Zhang Ruo to head an army that would launch another attack on Qianzhong. Cut off from his base of operations, Zhuang Jiao promptly went for broke, declaring himself king of the Dian 滇.[32] At this point in time, the Qin's strategic position in ancient Sichuan had decisively weakened the Chu, who found themselves *dongmian er li* 東面而立 (Facing the East) while the Qin state emerged as the most advantageously positioned power in the region.[33]

After several years of effort, the Qin acquired the entire Guanzhong territory and the Hanzhong territory as far as the Sichuan Basin, eliminating Chu influence in the region. The Qin's decision to fight the Chu for control of Sichuan demonstrated the region's military, political, and economic importance. This region can be considered the Qin state's first colony. The Qin state's acquisition of this region followed a sequence of steps, beginning with military conquest, proceeding to indirect rule, and ending with direct control. This sequence of steps essentially enabled the Qin state to eliminate all traces of Sichuan's original ruling houses and involved a process of continued learning and adaptation. I will discuss

[32] *SJ*, 116, 2993.
[33] *SJ*, 40, 1730.

the resistance of local agents to the Qin and Western Han colonial rulers in the next chapter. In the following section, I will analyze the three-point strategy by which the Qin state constructed a colonial landscape on the Chengdu Plains.

The Construction of a Colonial Landscape (285 BC–221 BC)

The Construction of the Shu Route (蜀道)

The Qin's annexation of ancient Sichuan depended on diverting the attention of Chu. However, the Qin faced another critical problem, as well. To reach Sichuan from Guanzhong, Qin forces had to cross the Qinling Mountains and Daba Mountains, which reach a height of over 2,000 m. With a distance of over 1,000 km between Xianyang and Chengdu, moving and supplying large armies was no simple endeavor. Communications between the two regions had to be carried through mountain passes. In other words, when the Qin leadership decided to push south and occupy Sichuan, the Qin forces had to make their way through these passes in the mountains to reach the Chengdu Plains.

The Hanshui River is nestled between the Qinling and Daba Mountains, flowing from west to east until it empties into the Yangtze River at the borders of modern-day Hubei Province. There were smaller rivers between the two mountains. Apart from Jialing River and its tributaries which flowed into the Yangtze, the remainder all flowed into the Hanshui River. On the southern slope of the Qinling, the larger Hanshui River tributaries include the Bao River 褒水, the Dang River 灊水, the Jinshui River 金水河, the Ziwu River 子午河,

the Chi River 池水, the Xun River 旬水, the Jinqian River 金錢河, and the Dan River 丹水. On the Daba Mountains' northern slopes, the Hanshui River tributaries include the Jinyang River 涇洋河 and the Ren River 任河. The Dan River is the largest of these tributaries. It originates in the northwestern part of Shang County 商縣, flowing east through the southwestern mountains of Henan, where it empties into the Hanshui River at the Hubei border.

Previous scholars have already noted the rugged terrain between the Qinling and Daba Mountains as well as the need for all military supply chains to go through the passes. Of these, Shi Nianhai 史念海[34] and Hisamura Yukari 久村因[35] are the most illuminating. According to their studies, there were six important routes through the Qinling Mountains: the Chencang Route 陳倉道, the Baoxie Route 褒斜道, the Dangluo Route 儻駱道, the Ziwu Route 子午道, the Kugu Route 庫谷道, and the Wuguan Route 武關道. These routes were based mainly on the valleys and rivers through the Qinling Mountains, with the Baoxie Route, the Ziwu Route, the Chencang Route, and the Dangluo Route known collectively as the *Shudao beizhan* 蜀道北棧 (the Northern Shu Routes). As for the Daba Mountain range, three major routes crossed it: the Jinniu Route 金牛道, the Yinping Route 陰平道, and the Micang Route 米倉道, collectively known as the *Shudao nanzhan* 蜀道南

[34] Shi Nianhai 史念海, "Qinling Bashan jian zai lishi shang de junshi huodong ji qi zhandi" 秦嶺巴山間在歷史上的軍事活動及其戰地, in *Heshan ji disi juan* 河山集第四卷 (Xi'an: Shaanxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1991), 121–152.
[35] Hisamura Yukari 久村因, "Shinkan jidai no nyushokuro ni tsuite jo" 秦漢時代の入蜀路に就いて上, *Tōyō gakuhō*東洋学報 38.2 (1955:9): 54–84.

棧 (the Southern Shu Routes). Apart from the Northern and Southern Shu Trails, one route extended from Longxi 隴西 to the Chengdu Plains.[36] Of these routes, the most important during Qin and Western Han times were the Baoxie Route and the Jinniu Route. They were also open for military activities and aided the Qin army as it moved south to conquer Sichuan, and Liu Bang 劉邦, the founding emperor of the Western Han Empire, as he and his army advanced toward Nanzheng 南鄭 in 206 BCE.

The Qin invested in building a road by which they could reach Sichuan. The Jinniu route goes west from Hanzhong, crosses the Bao River and Mian County 勉縣, and then enters the mountains. At this point, the route continues west until Jinniu Township 金牛鎮 before turning south into Wudingxia 五丁峽. In Ningqiang County 寧強縣, the route turns southwest again. At Qipan Pass 七盤關, it enters Sichuan's Shenxuanyi 神宣驛 and proceeds south along the steep cliffs on the eastern bank of the Jialing River. Turning southwest at Guangyuan 廣元, the route crosses the Jialing River and passes Zhaohua 昭化, Jianmen 劍門, and Mianyang 綿陽 before finally arriving at Chengdu.

Chengdu City and the Development of the Commandery–County System

The biggest difference between the landscape of the Warring States period and that of the Western Zhou period was in the rise of the "City Building Movement" (築城運動)[37] and

[36] *SJ*, 5, 213.
[37] "City Building Movement" is a term coined by Du Zhengsheng 杜正勝, and refers to increases in the size and population of cities. During the Warring States period, all the states

in the political, economic, and social changes it triggered. There are few archaeological sites dating from that period in Sichuan history, but we do know that the overall development of the Sichuan area differed quite significantly from that of the seven states during the Warring States period.[38] Furthermore, the development of cities in Qin, Chu, and the Sanjin 三晉 regions exhibited similarities and differences from one to the other. For example, the Qin and the Chu differed most strongly from the Sanjin regarding the concentration of state power: in the Qin and Chu regions, the establishment of a county and the construction of a city were one and the same thing,[39] with the two states relying heavily on their *jun xian zhi* (郡縣制), commandery-and-county system), which promoted a significant centralization of authority; by contrast, in the Sanjin, the cities were more independent, possessing largely autonomous economic and military decision-making bodies.[40] When the Qin began building their city in Sichuan, it represented a practical manifestation of the Qin state's direct political and material control over Sichuan.

In 311 BCE, King Huiwen of Qin accepted Zhang Yi's suggestion that the Shu governor

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became involved in city building. Some used old cities' ruins as the foundation for new cities, repairing existing structures like walls; other states chose new sites for the construction of cities. Moreover, the expansion of suburban areas was particularly rapid, changing the concept of what constituted a city. See Du Zhengsheng, "Zhou Qin chengshi – Zhongguo di er chi "Chengshi geming" 周秦城市－中國第二次「城市革命」, *Gudai shehui yu guojia* 古代社會與國家 (Taipei: Yunchen, 1991), 345–420.

[38] Hu Chuan-an 胡川安, "Cong Chengdu pingyuan kan Zhongguo gudai cong duoyuan zouxiang yitong de guocheng" 從成都平原看中國古代從多元走向一統的過程 (Master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 1988), 130-172.

[39] Isao Okada 岡田功, "Sokoku to Go Ki henpo--Sokoku no kokka kozo haku no tame ni" 楚国と呉起変法--楚国の国家構造把握のために, *Rekishi kenkyū* 歴史学研究 490 (1981:3): 15–30.

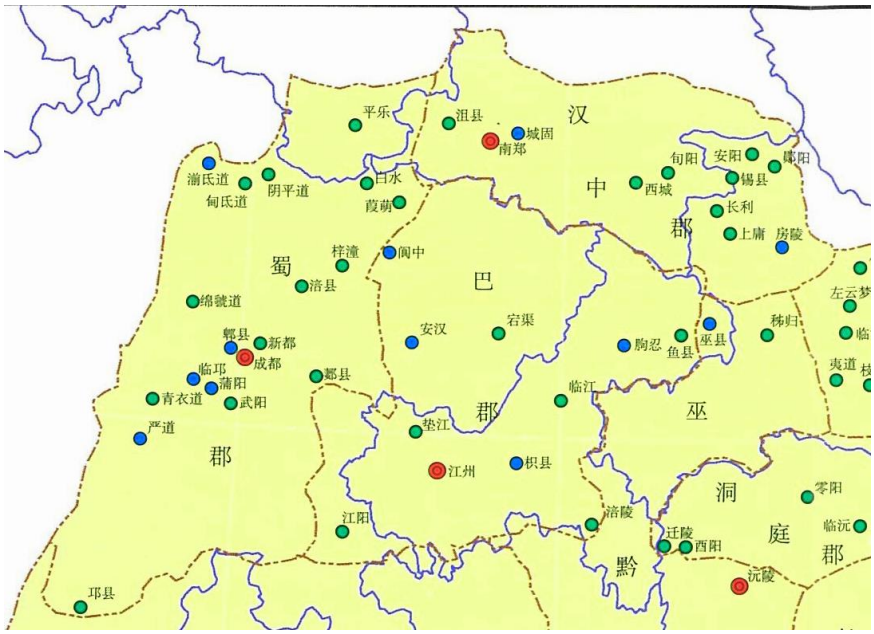
[40] Emura Haruki 江村治樹, Sengoku Shin Kan jidai no toshi to kokka: kōkogaku to bunken shigaku karano apurōchi 戦国秦漢時代の都市と国家:考古学と文献史学からのアプローチ (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 2005).

Zhang Ruo build Chengdu City along the lines of Xianyang.[41] The city had a perimeter of 12 *li* and walls 7 *zhang* (丈) high.[42] The city was divided into an East and West Side. The East Side, also known as Dacheng (大城, the Greater City), was where the commandery's administration and political governance took place, as exemplified by the Shu governor's offices which were located there. The West Side, also known as *Shaocheng* (少城, the Lesser City), was where the county's administration took place and where the business district and residential areas were located. Because it was modeled on the lines of Xianyang, Chengdu was also known as *Xiao Xianyang* (小咸陽, Little Xianyang). Yang Kuan believed that the layout of Chengdu City was generally identical to the layouts of all the major states' capital cities in the Central Plains during the Warring States period.[43] Current archaeological excavations have not discovered any traces of Qin-era Chengdu.

During the Warring States period, the establishment of a *xian* (縣, county) and the development of a *cheng*（城, town) usually went hand in hand, so the two terms are often used interchangeably. To take control of a new conquest and prevent the enemy from recapturing it, the defenders usually built and garrisoned a fortified town there. The

[41] *HYGZ*, 128–129.
[42] Archaeologists have not yet discovered the incarnation of Chengdu City that was built on the orders of Zhang Yi. It may be located underneath modern Chengdu. I believe that Chengdu City was constructed after the Qin's annexation of Sichuan, and this is something that scholars agree on. Because Chengdu City was known as little Xianyang (小咸陽) when Yang Kuan was studying the reconstruction of Xianyang's layout, he used references to Chengdu City's layout in classical literature as a reference. See Yang Kuan, "Qin Du Xianyang xi cheng dong guo lianjie de buju" 秦都咸陽西「城」東「郭」連結的布局, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidu shi yanjiu* 中國古代都城制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003), 96–103.
[43] Yang Kuan, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidu shi*, 98.

aforementioned term *xian* referred to this new form of political organization, which involved essentially the centralized control of the place. Ma Feibai 馬非百,[44] Nishijima Sadao,[45] and Yang Kuan[46] rigorously examined the Qin process of establishing *xian*. For the five decades following the establishment of Ba Commandery 巴郡 in 317 BCE and Shu Commandery 蜀郡 in 311, the Qin strategy was to bypass the Sanjin region in the search for a new base of operations in Sichuan. Through its direct control of the Chengdu Plains, the Qin attacked the Chu state. The Qin also established urban areas, commanderies, and counties in these areas in order to expand the central government's control over them.



Map 6. Sichuan under Qin Rule. Map from *Qindai zhengqu dili* 2013, 440.

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[44] Ma Feibai 馬非百 *Qin jishi (xiace)* 秦集史(下冊) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 564–677.

[45] Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生, *Chūgoku kodai teikoku no keisei to kōzō: nijittō shakusei no kenkyū* 中国古代帝国の形成と構造:二十等爵制の研究 (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdaigaku shuppankai, 1983), 503–574.

[46] Yang Kuan, *Zhanguo shi* (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Printing House, 1997), 227–231.

Migration and Land Reform

The main policy of the Shang Yang's Reform was "Agriculture and War" (農戰) and the maintenance of a stable agricultural society through peasants' attachment to the land. An agricultural society based on peasants' attachment to the land was easy to control and was, therefore, quite useful to rulers.[47] This Agriculture and War policy was developed in concert with the Qin's new system after the Shang Yang Reform. The basic foundation of this attachment to the land was the ruler's enforcement of strict controls on residents' movements.[48] The *Yunmeng Shuihudi Bamboo Slips* 雲夢睡虎地秦簡 discovered in an excavation in 1975 records the following in the *Falü dawen* 法律答問: "A moves his residence. He requests the official to transfer the (population) register, but the official refuses and does not change the register for him"[49] 甲徙居，徙數謁吏，吏環，弗為更籍.[50] This quote shows that those seeking to migrate had to apply for permission from the authorities before they moved. The reason for the restrictions on migration reflected Shang Yang's belief that state strength was realizable only through agriculture and war.[51] Farmers could not

[47] Xing Yitian 邢義田, *Qin Han shi lungao* 秦漢史論稿 (Taipei: dongda, 1987), 432.

[48] For the recent study of *Shangjun shu*, see Yuri Pines, *The Book of Lord Shang: Apologetics of State Power in Early China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).

[49] A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd Century B.C. Discovered in Yun-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 161.

[50] Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組, *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 213-214.

[51] *SJS*, 83.

devote their attention to farming if they moved often.[52]

After the Shang Yang Reform, the Qin government began organizing large-scale re-settlement. In *SJS*, the chapter entitled *Laimin* (徠民) describes how the Qin state lured residents of the Sanjin region to undeveloped Qin land by promising them farmland, housing, and military-service exemptions. Once there, the former Sanjin residents would develop the land for agriculture and would therefore contribute to the Qin state's resources. The *laimin* chapter refers to large-scale resettlements by Qin, what was practiced was actually *kobetsu jinshin shihai* 個別人身支配 (Government Control of the Individual - a term coined by Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生). As Nishijima pointed out, these settlers were moved to towns that were already planned and built then they were assigned their individual plots of land. These towns comprised of new settlers were different from those comprised of people related by blood or family name.[53]

According to Ma Feibai, the Qin-era resettlements yielded three main benefits for the government. The first was political: these resettlements may have been comprised of powerful local families or political prisoners found guilty of a major offense. Resettlement could weaken their local influence. The second benefit was economic: the main resettlement destinations had rich farmlands, so, by settling people there, the Qin state could harness the

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[52] *SJS*, 14.

[53] Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生, *Chūgoku kodai teikoku no keisei to kōzō: nijittō shakusei no kenkyū* 中国古代帝国の形成と構造:二十等爵制の研究 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1983), 507–523.

regions' resources. The third benefit was defensive: the Qin state established this kind of defensive resettlement areas to strengthen the Qin state's borders.[54] All three benefits were useful to the Qin state's colonization of Sichuan, and were the subject of commentary the following primary sources:

1. *Shuihudi Qin Bamboo Slips*:

> A, a commoner of X Village, said in his denunciation: "I request to have the feet of my own son, C, a commoner of the same village, fettered and to have him banished to a border county in Shu, with the injunction that he must not be allowed to leave the place of banishment. This I beg to announce." I inform the Head of Fei-ch'iu [Feiqiu]: "The commoner from Hsien-yang [Xianyang], living in X Village, called C, has been adjudicated because his father A requested to have his feet shackled and have him banished to a border county in Shu, with the injunction that to the end of his life he be not allowed to leave the place of banishment.[55]

某里士伍甲告曰:「謁黥親子同里士伍丙足,遷蜀邊縣,令終身不得去遷所,敢告。」告廢丘主:士伍咸陽才某里曰丙,坐父甲謁黥其足,遷蜀邊縣,令終身不得去遷所論之。[56]

2. *SJ*: 巴蜀道險，秦之遷人盡居之。[57]

> The area of Pa [Ba] and Shu is cut off by mountains and inhabited largely by settlers sent by Ch'in [Qin].[58]

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[54] Ma Feibai, *Qin jishi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 916.

[55] A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd Century B.C. Discovered in Yun-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 195.

[56] Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組, *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1978), 261–262.

[57] *SJ*, 316.

[58] For the English translation, see Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China (The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien), Vol. 1* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 56.

3. *SJ*: 賜文信侯書曰：其(呂不韋)與家屬徙從蜀。[59]

He [the King of the Qin] sent Marquis Wen-hsin [Wenxin] a letter, saying: You [Lü Buwei] and your family are to move to Shu.[60]

4. *SJ*: (嫪毐)及其舍人，輕者為鬼薪，及奪爵遷蜀四千餘家，家房陵。[61]

Those of Lao Ai's housemen whose transgressions were light served as Woodcutters for the Royal Ghosts.[62] More than 4,000 people were divested of noble rank and their households were [ordered to] moved to Shu, to live in Fang-ling [Fangling].[63]

5. *SJ*: 蜀卓氏之先，趙人也，用鐵冶富。秦破趙，遷卓氏……致之臨邛。[64]

The ancestors of the Zhuo family were natives of Zhuo who made a fortune by smelting iron.When the Qin armies overthrew the state of Zhou, the family was ordered to move to another part of the empire for resettlement…Lin-Ch'iung [Linqiong].[65]

6. *SJ*: 程鄭，山東遷虜也。亦冶鑄，賈椎髻之民，…，俱臨邛。[66]

Cheng Zheng, like Mr. Zhou, was one of those taken captive east of the mountains by the

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[59] *SJ*, 2513.

[60] William H. Nienhauser et al., eds., *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume VII* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 315.

[61] *SJ*, 227.

[62] The term 'guixin' (鬼薪) may refer simply to a type of punishment. Anthony Barbieri-Low and Robin D.S. Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), LXXX translate the term as "gatherer of fuel for the spirit."

[63] William H. Nienhauser et al., eds., *The Grand Scribe's Records Volume I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 130

[64] *SJ*, 3277.

[65] For the English translation, see Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China (The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien), Vol. II*, 495.

[66] *SJ*, 3278.

Qin armies and forced to resettle in the far west. He too engaged in the smelting industry and carried on trade with the barbarians who wear their hair in the mallet-shaped fashion. His wealth equealed that of Mr. Zhou, and the two of them lived in Lin-ch'iung [Linqiong].[67]

Example 1 refers to a father's petition to have the Qin government not only forcibly resettle his own son in a border territory in Sichuan and but also prohibit the son from leaving the area for life. This suggests that resettling these peoples to reinforce the Sichuan region may have been a routine procedure at the time.[68]

Example 2 is a Qin-Han contemporary impression of Sichuan. The quote shows that many people whose names were not recorded in history nevertheless became new residents of Sichuan. Apart from these materials, both *SJ* and *HYGZ* contain many references to resettlements in Sichuan. Some of these resettled people were important political prisoners, their families, and accomplices. Regarding Lao Ai's housemen, more than 4,000 people were divested of merit rank and their households were moved to Shu." If each household had 4 to 5 members,[69] this particular resettlement represented a mass migration of nearly 20,000 people. As for Lü Buwei's case, his influence in the Qin royal court suggests that not only him but also his accomplices and their families would have entailed a resettlement that was at least the same scale as the one pertaining to Lao Ai (Examples 3 and 4). Examples 5

[67] For the English translation, see Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China (The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien) Vol. II*, 496.
[68] Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄, Wu Songdi 吳松弟, and Chao Shuji 曹樹基, *Zhongguo yimin shi dier juan* 中國移民史第二卷 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1997), 77–80.
[69] For the scale of household, see Du Zhengsheng 杜正勝, "Chuantong jiazu shilun" 傳統家族試論, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 65.2 (1982): 7–34.

and 6 refer to Qin's decision to move residents of the six states to regions such as Linqiong 臨邛, Jiameng 葭萌, Fangling 房陵, and Yandao 嚴道. These counties were all on the edges of the Chengdu Plains where the plains met the mountains, making them important for border defense. Some of these counties also had major timber and mineral resources.

In 278 BCE, the Qin military general Bai Qi 白起 conquered Ying 郢都 (modern Hubei), the capital of Chu, and established the Nan Commandery 南郡 there, in what had been the heartland of the Chu state. He also totally destroyed the four-century-old Chu capital. According to *SJ*, "In the twenty-ninth year [278 BCE], Pai Ch'i [Bai Qi], the Great Excellent Achiever, attacked Chu and took Ying, making it into Nanjun. The king of Chu fled" (二十九年，大良造白起攻楚，取郢為南郡，楚王走).[70] Jinan City 紀南城 had a large population during the Chu period, with many Chu tombs outside the city. In fact, the city has the greatest known concentration of Chu tombs. After Bai Qi, however, tombs in this region from the late Warring States period to Qin times are very few in number. This scarcity might indicate that the population around Jinan had, itself, become very sparse. The majority of the population had likely fled, died in war, or been part of the *en masse* resettlement of populations to the Sichuan region.[71] In 222 BCE, Qin forces destroyed the remnants of the Chu state and forcibly resettled the Chu royal family to Shu. The Qin state also subjected the royal families of the six states to forced resettlement in order to eliminate

[70] William H. Nienhauser, Jr et al., eds., *The Grand Scribe's Records Volume I,* 118.
[71] Zhu Ping, *Chu wenhua de xijian—Chu guo jingying xibu de kaoguxue guancha*, 132.

the families' remaining influence. The Qin government wanted to ensure that no post-victory uprisings could upset the newly imported Qin system.

At the Chengdu Plains' migration sites dating from the late Warring States period, archaeological excavations uncovered mostly burial materials. We do not know for sure whether these tombs were the resting places of forcibly resettled people. Some of the buried people may have been volunteer settlers.[72] The Qin government organized most migrations, going so far as to award parcels of land and merit ranks to an area's new residents. Many scholars have examined the migrant tombs in the Chengdu Plains from a variety of perspectives. Among these scholars are, most notably, Jiang Zhanghua 江章華, Song Zhimin 宋治民, and Mase Kazuyoshi 間瀬收芳. Regarding the tombs from the late Warring States period, the most important issue addressed by these scholars has been the physical distribution of Chu and Qin tombs throughout the region.

The tombs of Warring States period at Haojiaping 郝家坪, Qinchuan 青川, indicated a variety of cultural influences. One scholar has argued that the tombs contained the remains of Qin settlers,[73] whereas other scholars have contended that the tombs were for Chu settlers.[74] This area is located in northern Sichuan, with its western and northern borders

[72] For the argument that Sichuan's settlers included some salt traders from Chu, see Chen Pochan 陳伯楨, "Shijie tixi lilun guandianxia de Ba Chu guanxi" 世界體系理論觀點下的巴楚關係, *Nanfang minzu kaogu diliu ji* 南方民族考古第六輯 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2010), 41–68.

[73] Song Zhimin 宋治民, "Luelun Sichuan de Qin ren mu" 略論四川的秦人墓, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1984 (2): 23–29.

[74] Jiang Zhanghua 江章華, "Ba-Shu diqu de yimin mu yanjiu" 巴蜀地區的移民墓研究, *SW* 1996 (1): 12–18; Mase Kazuyoshi 間瀬収芳,"Shinteikoku keisei katei no ichikosatsu" 秦帝国形成過程の一考察, *Shirin* 史林 67.1 (1984:1): 1–33.

connected to modern-day Gansu Province 甘肅省. The area also covers the banks of the Bailong River 白龍江. Although not located in the center of the Chengdu Plain, the Qingchuan tombs lie on the route from the Guanzhong Basin to the Chengdu Plain. From Xianyang, the route followed the Weishui River west. After passing Baoji (寶雞), travelers would turn south, cross the Qinling mountains, and make their first stop in Qingchuan County; thus, this place was a location of great strategic importance. Between 1979 and 1980, archaeologists carried out three excavations at Liangshan 梁山 in Haojiaping, with a total of 72 burial cemeteries catalogued.[75] All of the tombs were rectangular vertical pits with no sealing dirt or passage. The 72 tombs could be classified as coffin-and-chamber tombs, coffin-but-no–chamber tombs, chamber–but-no-coffin tombs, and no-coffin-and-no-chamber tombs. Some of the tombs had rather complex arrangements involving "side boxes" and two-level platforms. The layout of most tombs was such that the wooden coffin occupied one side of the burial chamber, leaving considerable room for the burial goods.

The burial goods occupied the side boxes or the available space around the wooden coffin of a given tomb. Archaeologists recovered over 400 artifacts in total, most being pottery for everyday use, but 58 were bronze items. Relatively few in number, they had little ornamentation, and were not particularly well made. The more interesting items were

[75] Sichuan sheng bowu guan 四川省博物館 and Qingchuan xian wenhua guan 青川縣文化館, "Qingchuan xian chutu Qin gengxiu tianlü mudu—Sichuan Qingchuan xian Zhanguo mu fajue baogao" 青川縣出土秦更修田律木牘—四川青川縣戰國墓發掘報告, *WW* 1982 (1): 1–21.

the pieces of lacquer ware. A total of 177 such pieces were found. These had a strong resemblance to Chu lacquer ware from the late Warring States period. Of the wooden items, apart from 11 wooden figurines (6 male, 5 female, features painted in ink with clothing drawn in colored paint) there were 2 wooden boards. The boards' contents refer to how King Wu of the Qin, in the 2nd year of his reign, ordered the Chancellor Gan Mao to revise a statute on Agriculture (a topic that I will discuss later in this chapter in more detail).[76] Mase Kazuyoshi's analysis of the tombs' structure and burial goods suggests that the tombs bear a strong resemblance to the Chu tombs of the late Warring States period. Most of the lacquer-ware items found in the tombs were classic examples of Chu culture. The Chu-style bronze mirrors and the Chu pots also all display too strong a Chu cultural influence to be mere imitations; these items quite clearly indicate a planned migration.[77] Furthermore, the hundred or more tombs discovered so far indicate a settlement of some scale that was culturally homogeneous. No weaponry was found among the burial goods either. These findings all point to the existence of a new settlement established by migrants after the Qin's conquest of Sichuan.

An item from the Haojiaping tomb is *Wei tian lü mudu* (為田律木牘, Wooden Boards on the Statute of Making Fields). Many scholars have sought to interpret this wooden board in

[76] The report and related scholars pointed out that the Qingchuan Warring States tombs came from the mid-Warring States Period—in other words, the scholars date the tombs from a period that followed the Qin's annexation of Sichuan.

[77] Mase Kazuyoshi, "Sichuan sheng Qinchuan Zhanguo mu yanjiu" 四川省青川戰國墓研究, *Nanfang minzu kaogu disan juan* 南方民族考古第三卷 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue bowuguan, 1993), 149–162.

relation to the farming system implemented by the Qin after the reforms of Shang Yang. Other scholars consider it proof that the Qin leadership implemented its own farming system on the Chengdu Plains.[78] However, most scholars neglect to take into account the historical background of this wooden board's origins. The Qingchuan burial site consisted of migrants, and most of them were very likely migrants whom the Qin government had forcibly resettled from Chu territories. Upon removing these migrants from their old social system, the Qin government had provided them land and farming tools. Those resettled migrants could not live as they wished and would have lived under onerous regulations dictated by the Qin state.[79]

Whether Wooden Board on the Statute of Making Fields is proof that most parts of Sichuan had implemented the Qin farming system by 309 BCE remains a matter of conjecture awaiting further evidence and analysis. It is possible to consider these settlements, which stood on important geographical lines of communication, as important points of control for the Qin government's rule of the Chengdu Plains. From these locations, the Qin state was able to gradually expand and consolidate its power into other regions.

Economic Exploitation

[78] Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Qinchuan Haojiaping mudu yanjiu" 青川郝家坪木牘研究, *WW* 1982 (10): 68–72; Li Zhaohe 李昭和, "Qinchuan chutu mudu wenzi jiankao" 青川出土木牘文字簡考, *WW* 1982 (1): 24–27; Yang Kuan, "Shi Qinchuan Qindu de tianmu zhidu" 釋青川秦牘的田畝制度, *Yang Kuan gushi lunwen xuanji* 楊寬古史論文選集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003), 35–39.
[79] Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生, *Chūgoku kodai teikoku no keisei to kōzō: nijittō shakusei no kenkyū*, 517–522.

Monopoly of Mountain and Water Resources

HS noted the importance of the reforms of Shang Yang to the state's coffers: "In Qin, the Shang Yang Law brought in king's control instead….over the bounty of the waters as well as riches of the mountains and forests" (至秦則不然，用商鞅之法，改帝王之制，……又專川澤之利，管山林之饒).[80] The government had to control the primary sources of production so that the ruler could extract profits from the exchanges and incorporate the profits into the ruler's income.[81] Apart from agriculture, mountain and water resources significantly influenced people's livelihood.[82]

Of these natural resources, the most important were iron, gold, and salt. Ironworks became a state-managed system for two central reasons: the sizeable manpower required for smelting and the complex organization required for mining and transportation. Farming implements and other iron tools were an important part of people's lives.[83] Also, because of its role in international trade, gold grew in importance during the Warring States period. In

[80] *HS*, 4, 1137. Though this is a quotation from Dong Zhongshu, a biased source for the Qin policy, we could still take as a reference. For the related study, see Nancy Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 50; Martin Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty, 206 BC–AD 25* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967)

[81] From the newly excavated texts from Liye, Hunan, the Qin state were deeply involved in the market economy. But the Qin government still control the primary sources. For the Liye materials, see Ye Shan 葉山 (Robin D.S. Yates), "Jiedu Liye Qinjian" 解讀里耶秦簡, *Jianbo* 簡帛 8 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013), 106-108.

[82] For Qin and Han economic history, see Richard von Glahn, *The Economic History of China: From Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridg University Press, 2016), 84-128.

[83] Donald B. Wagner, *Iron and Steel in Ancient China* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 267-335.

fact, for trade and barter, gold became the common currency among the region's states.[84] As for natural resources that were important to people's everyday lives, state-monopolized salt was the most critical resource. Not only did the preservation of food require salt, but so too did the preparation of tasty condiments. During the Warring States period, the supply of salt increased significantly.[85]

After expanding south to acquire Sichuan, the Qin state began implementing its land policies in the Sichuan areas settled by migrants. At the same time, the Qin state monopolized the rich natural resources in the surrounding hills and mountains. On the Chengdu Plains, the Qin's monopolization of mountain and water resources fell into one or the other of two categories: the first centered on salt and iron mining, and the second, on workshops. In the first category, *yantie shi guan* (鹽鐵市官, Salt and Iron Official)[86] in *HYGZ* referred to a state-owned iron work that sold goods to the private sector. With regards to iron, *SJ* contains a chapter entitled the "Biography of Money Makers," which states that many iron merchants became rich during the Warring States period. The state, however, had its own state-run iron workshops. According to the *Yunmeng Qin Bamboo Slips*, the Qin state operated two agencies, *You caitie* (右采鐵) and *Zuo caitie* (左采鐵),

[84] Chen Yanliang 陳彥良, "Xian-Qin huangjin yu guoji huobi xitong de xincheng-huangjin de shiyong yu xian-Qin guoji shichang" 先秦黃金與國際貨幣系統的形成—黃金的使用與先秦國際市場 *Xin shixue* 新史學 15:4 (2004:12):1–40.

[85] From the archaeological excavations and historical literature, it can be seen that the use of salt expanded greatly during the Warring States period, and the salt went from being a luxury good to an everyday item. See Rowan K. Flad, *Ancient Central China: Centers and Peripheries along the Yangzi River* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 171-207.

[86] *HYGZ*, 128.

responsible for mining iron ore.[87] Apart from mining iron ore, they oversaw the sale of iron tools. In general, agricultural tools and military weaponry were the main focus of state-owned workshops and other businesses. Of the many migrants whom the Qin state resettled on the Chengdu Plains, some were merchants who had been involved in the iron business back east. These merchants helped the Qin state organize the Chengdu Plains' mining, smelting, forging, and trading of iron.[88]

As for the Chengdu Plains' salt industry, *HYGZ* mentions the importance of salt wells there.[89] Hans Ulrich Vogel, an economic historian specializing in ancient China, once pointed out that Chinese state monopolization of the salt industry originates from the Qin policy in the Chengdu Plains.[90] The available evidence is inconclusive as to whether or not the Qin state implemented a complete monopoly on salt and iron. Perhaps the first truly complete governmental monopolization of iron and salt took place under Emperor Wu of the Han 漢武帝.

State-run workshops constituted the second category of governmental monopolies associated with the Chengdu Plains' natural resources. From the records contained in the Qin *Yunmeng Qin Bamboo Slips*, we can see that both the counties and the commanderies had

[87] Liren Shuju 里仁書局 ed., *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Taipei: Liren, 1981), 191.
[88] Sato Taketoshi 佐藤武敏, *Chūgoku kodai kōgyōshi no kenkyū* 中國古代工業史の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), 423–427.
[89] *HYGZ*, 132–133.
[90] Hans Ulrich Vogel, *Untersuchungen über die Salzgeschichte von Sichuan (311 v.Chr. 1911): Strukturen des Monopols und der Produktion* (Researches on the History of Salt in Sichuan (311 BC–1911): Structures of the Monopoly and of Production) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 26–30.

their *gongshi* 工室 (artisan workshops).[91] Scholars differ widely with one another regarding the origins of the *gongshi*. Archaeologist Yu Weichao 俞偉超 even went so far as to date the origins of *gongshi* to as late as the regimes of Emperor Jing (157-141 BCE) and Emperor Wu in Western Han times.[92] The available historical materials suggest that the *gongshi* and the state-owned workshops of the Qin and Han in the Chengdu Plains were involved in manufacturing pottery and lacquer ware.[93] Scholars have identified two pieces of weaponry made by a Qin *gongshi*. From the inscription on the weapons, scholars have been able to conclude that an agency named *Shu donggong* 蜀東工 (Shu's East Workshop) was dedicated to the manufacture of weapons in the Chengdu Plains.[94]

Archaeological evidence has revealed another important finding: during the Warring States period, many Qin and Han burial sites in the Chengdu Plains contained pottery or lacquer marked with the character "Ting" (亭). The Qinchuan tombs also bore the two-character sequence "Chengting" (成亭).[95] Archaeologists have found the "Chengting" mark on manufactured items produced outside the borders of the Chengdu Plains. These

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[91] Anthony Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China*, 67.

[92] Yu Weichao 俞偉超 and Li Jiahao 李家浩, "Mawangdui yihao Hanmu chutu qiqi zhidi zhuwenti: cong Chengdu shifu zuofang dao Shujun gongguan zuofang de lishi bianhua" 馬王堆一號漢墓出土漆器制地諸問題:從成都市府作坊到蜀郡工官作坊的歷史變化, *KG* 1975 (6): 344–348.

[93] Luo Kaiyu 羅開玉, "Qin Han gongshi gongguan—chulun Sichuan kaogu ziliao xunli zhi yi" 秦漢工室、工官初論—四川考古資料巡禮之一, *Qin Han Shi luncong* 秦漢史論叢 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1986), 176.

[94] Sichuan sheng bowu guan 四川省博物館, Chongqing shi bowu guan 重慶市博物館 and Fuling xian wenhua guan 涪陵縣文化館, "Sichuan Fuling diqu Xiaotianxi Zhanguo tukeng qingli jianbao" 四川涪陵地區小田溪戰國土坑墓清理簡報 *WW* 1974 (5): 61; Huang Jiaxiang 黃家祥, "Sichuan Qinchuan xian chutu jiunian Lü Buwei ge kao" 四川青川縣出土九年呂不韋戈考, *WW* 1992 (11): 23–28.

[95] Yu Weichao 俞偉超 and Li Jiahao 李家浩, "Mawangdui yihao Hanmu chutu qiqi zhidi zhuwenti, *KG* 1975 (6): 344–348.

places include Jiangling 江陵 in Hubei Province and Yunmeng Shuihudi 雲夢睡虎地, Dafentou 大墳頭, and Changsha 長沙 in Hunan Province.

With regards to the two-character mark "Chengting," Yu Weichao 俞偉超 and Li Jiahao 李家浩 proposed that the character "Cheng" (成) refers to a manufactured item's place of manufacture. Like the two-character mark "Chengshi" (成市) used in early Western Han society, Chengting originated from Chengdu. Between the Qin and Western Han periods, workshops likely operated in Chengdu, and the mark "Chengting" was probably a reference to an administrative organization that included lacquer-ware workshops. Most scholars who have studied this issue have concluded that the state-run workshops in Qin territory produced pottery and lacquer ware for sale to the general public.[96]

Gold Mines and Currency Though archaeologists have not formally excavated the gold mines of the ancient Chengdu Plains, the gold discovered at the Sanxingdui ritual pits and the Jinsha site indicate that from the late Shang to the Western Zhou periods, gold was a key element in the societies of the Chengdu Plains.[97] On the question of where the Chengdu Plains' ore came from, the editors of *Jinsha taozhen* (金沙淘珍) made the following point:

> The gold items of the Chengdu Plains were probably all made locally. Gold ore has a wide distribution in the north and edges of the Sichuan Basin, with most of it being alluvial gold. The ore beds were Holocene sand and gravel from the Quaternary period.

[96] Tian Ningning 田甯甯, "Qin Han guanying shougongye" 秦漢官營手工業 (Master's thesis, Graduate Institute of History and Philology, Cheng Kong University, 1988), 53.
[97] Emma C. Bunker, "Gold in the Ancient Chinese World: A Cultural Puzzle," *Artibus Asiae* 53:1/2(1993): 27–50.

> The great rivers in the western and northern edges of the Basin as well as the river valleys of their tributaries—particularly where the river valley widens, turns or merges—were all places where alluvial gold collected in great abundance.[98]

As for currency, most scholars posit that the Qin banned all currency issued by the six states after Qin's unification of Chinese world.[99] The purpose of the ban was to permit Qin's successful issuance of the *banliang qian* (半兩錢, half-tael) as the currency for all of the empire.[100] The Qin government created two grades of currency—upper and lower grades. Large transactions involved gold while minor ones involved copper coins. In other words, gold served as the standard while copper coins played the role of fractional money. Most trades among the population involved copper coins.[101] New archaeological discoveries of *banliang qian* in the Haojiaping tombs (Qinchuan, Sichuan) give us a clearer understanding of the Qin's currency system. The discoveries suggest that the Qin had already minted *banliang qian* before conquering the six states. *SJ* comments on this topic with a reference to "the issuing of currency in the second year of King Huiwen of Qin" (惠文王二年，行錢). This was probably a reference to Qin's minting of the *banliang qian* for

[98] Beijing daxue kaogu wenbo yuan 北京大學考古文博院 and Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 成都市文物考古研究所, *Jinsha taozhen* 金沙淘珍 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002), 18.

[99] For the related studies, see Jiang Ruoshi 蔣若是, *Qin Han qianbi yanjiu* 秦漢錢幣研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997). Jiang points out that Qin were casting *banliang* before the unification of China.

[100] Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien, Vol. II*, 106.

[101] Chen Yanliang 陳彥良, "Xian-Qin huangjin yu guoji huobi xitong de xincheng huangjing de shiyong yu xian-Qin guoji shichang" 先秦黃金與國際貨幣系統的形成—黃金的使用與先秦國際市場 *Xin shixue* 新史學 15.4 (2004:12):1–40.

general circulation.[102] Archaeologists have excavated not only numerous Qin *banliang qian* in Sichuan,[103] but coin dies, as well.[104] The geographical distribution of Qin *banliang qian* found so far suggests that these coins, before the Qin state's conquest of the six states, were concentrated in Guanzhong and Sichuan—very few have been found in other regions.[105] The discovery of Qin *banliang qian* in Sichuan, therefore, points to the Qin state's control of ancient Sichuan. What happened to the existing economic system of the Warring States period after the Qin annexed Sichuan?

During the Warring States period, as cities and commerce matured, the major states developed the "gold standard" both to promote trade between one another and, in the same sense, to eliminate obstacles to trade.[106] The gold standard provided a platform for trade. Ancient Sichuan however, was outside this economic system. After annexing Sichuan, the

[102] How far back can we trace *banliang qian*? *SJ* states that coins first circulated in the second year of King Huiwen of the Qin (289 BCE). As for what *xingqian* (行錢) referred to, Kato Shigeru 加藤繁 states that this record deals with the issuance of currency. Thus, as early as the second year of King Huiwen of the Qin, the state had begun issuing its own currency and controlled minting rights. Disagreements exist over what kind of coin was actually minted at this time. Recent archaeological discoveries have found that *banliangqian* already existed by the Warring States Period. For this reason, the currency issued in the second year of King Huiwen was probably *banliang qian*.

[103] Even in the northwest hilly area of the Chengdu Plain in what today is known as Mao County 茂縣 there were reports of coins found as well. See Sichuan sheng wenguan suo 四川省文管所 and Mao xian wenhua guan 茂縣文化館, "Sichuan Mao Wen Qiang zu zizhixian shiguan fajue baogao" 四川茂汶羌族自治縣石棺葬發掘報告, *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 文物資料叢刊 7 (1983):38–43.

[104] He Zeyu 何澤雨, "Sichuan Gao xian chutu banliang qian fanmu" 四川高縣出土半兩錢範母, *KG* 1982 (1): 105.

[105] Two researchers compiled a table of all locations where *banliang qian* have been found. See Wang Xuehong 王雪紅 and Liu Jianmin 劉建民, *Banliang qian yanjiu yu faxian* 半兩錢研究與發現 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005).

[106] Chen Yanliang 陳彥良,"Xian-Qin huangjin yu guoji huobi xitong de xincheng—huangjin de shiyong yu xian-Qin guoji shichang" 先秦黃金與國際貨幣系統的形成—黃金的使用與先秦國際市場 *Xin shixue* 新史學 15.4 (2004:12):1–40.

Qin state began issuing *banliang qian* in the region. This issuance marked the first trans-regional expansion of the Qin's economic system. The Chengdu Plains' gold mines provided the Qin with an economic basis on which the state could fund its wars with the six states to the east. According to *HYGZ*, "The lands were rich, with its cloth, silk, gold, and silver and were sufficient to support the military" (其國富饒，得其布帛金銀，足給軍用).[107] Scholars have pointed out that the Qin annexation of Sichuan and the subsequent development there was not only a political landmark but an economic one, as well. The activities' first effect was to indirectly create an economic superpower never seen before; the colonial activities' second effect was to change the relative financial strengths of the warring states, which had so far been in balance.[108]

Construction of the Dujiangyan Irrigation System After occupying the Chengdu Plains for nearly half a century, the central Qin leadership decided to order Governor Li Bing 李冰 to build the Dujiangyan Irrigation System for the area. The manpower, money, and materials involved represented a shift in Qin policy. This shift had an important aspect: the irrigation system could sustain food production that, in turn, could sustain the Qin's wars in the east.

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[107] *HYGZ*, 126.

[108] Chen Yanliang, "Xian-Qin huangjin yu guoji huobi xitong de xincheng—huangjin de shihyong yu xian Qin guoji shichang" 先秦黃金與國際貨幣系統的形成—黃金的使用與先秦國際市場 *Xin Shixue* 新史學 15.4 (2004:12): 38. Hu Chuan-an 胡川安, "Cong Chengdu pingyuan kan Zhongguo gudai cong duoyuan zouxiang yitong de guocheng" 從成都平原看中國古代從多元走向一統的過程 (Master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 1988), 130-172.

As for food production, the Chengdu Plains' low elevation meant that flooding often occurred when the Min River overflowed its banks. Both the plentiful rains feeding the Min River and the abundant snow melting from the highlands meant that the Min River, while a blessing to the population of the Chengdu Plains, could also be a curse. The flow of water had to be properly channeled so it could be used safely. According to archaeologist Wang Yi, communities attempted to control the flooding in the Chengdu Plains before Li Bing's construction of the Dujiangyan.[109] In *SWB* and *HYGZ*, passages also recording the ancient history of Sichuan refer to legendary flood-control efforts in the region.[110]

References to the Sichuan basin's flooding and to Sichuan communities' flood-control efforts have a great deal of continuity. Apart from Bie Ling 鱉靈, Gun Yu 鯀禹 is an often cited figure noteworthy for having carried out a plan for controlling the region's flooding. Archaeological also records show that the unique characteristics of the Chengdu Plains' land and waterways preserved the local populations' flood-control efforts.[111] In the Chengdu Plains, the flood-control legends and the material traces of flood-control activities are evidence that, before Li Bing's contributions to the Dujiangyan Irrigation System, the people in ancient Sichuan had already developed a wealth of flood-control experience.

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[109] Wang Yi 王毅, "Cong kaogu cailiao kan penxi pingyuan zhishui de qiyuan he fazhan" 從考古材料看盆西平原治水的起源和發展, *Huaxi kaogu yanjiu* 華西考古研究,ed. Luo Kaiyu et al. (Chengdu: Chengdu chubanshe, 1991), 146-171.

[110] *SWB*, 403; *HYGZ*, 126.

[111] Wang Yi 王毅, "Cong kaogu cailiao kan penxi pingyuan zhishui de qiyuan he fazhan" 從考古材料看盆西平原治水的起源和發展, *Huaxi kaogu yanjiu* 華西考古研究, ed. Luo Kaiyu et al. (Chengdu: Chengdu chubanshe, 1991), 146–171.

What they lacked was the ability to mobilize the massive manpower required for a far more satisfactory engineering-based resolution to the problem of flooding.[112]

Shu governor Li Bing drew on the past experience of flood-control efforts to lead the local population in carrying out the needed hydraulic-engineering project. The project was composed of three main parts, these being the Yuzui 魚嘴 (Fish Mouth), Feishayan 飛沙堰 (Flying Sand Weir), and Baopingkou 寶瓶口 (Precious Bottle Mouth). The objective of the first part was to divide the main water flow of the Min River into two. The Yuzui was an embankment and was built in the middle of the Min River as a partition that divided the Min River into an outer river and an inner river. Li Bing used the outer river to deal with flooding and the inner river to irrigate crops; He also further divided the inner river into two parts to reduce the volume and speed of the flowing water. The second part of the project—Feishayan—was a river barrage, and Li Bing used it to diminish flood waters, scour sand deposits, and control the normal flow of water. The third part of the project—Baopingkou—was an artificial small water passage, and Li Bing used it to control the amount of water entering the plains. In fact, Baopingkou and was so named because it was shaped like the mouth of a bottle. After passing through Baopingkou and entering the

[112] Tsuruma Kazuyuki 鶴間和幸, "Gudai Ba-Shu de zhishui chuanshuo ji qi lishi beijing" 古代巴蜀的治水傳說及其歷史背景, *Zhongguo xinan de gudai jiaotong yu wenhua* 中國西南的古代交通與文化, ed.. Sichuan daxue lishi xi 四川大學歷史系 (Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 1994), 131–142. Tsuruma argued that the history of the Chengdu Plains' development was also the history of the region's nearly constant struggle against flooding. The Li Bing legend grew with the development and expansion of irrigation in the Sichuan Basin, and Li Bing was gradually deified.

Chengdu Plains, the inner-river water traveled along various canals that distributed it into an irrigation network.[113] The region around Chengdu became free of flooding and was supplied with plentiful water to irrigate the fields stretching for hundreds of miles around. Aside from *HYGZ*, few classical texts have discussed the project. The continued operation of the Dujiangyan Irrigation System after more than two thousand years, however, is the best evidence of its importance.[114]

The Dujiangyan Irrigation System's contribution to water transportation was another important aspect. In the "Treatise on the Yellow River and Canals," *SJ* states the following:

> In Shu, Li Ping [Bing], the governor of Shu, cut back the Li Escarpment to control the ravages of the Mo River and also opened up channels for the Two Rivers through the region of the Chengdu. All of these canals were navigable by boat, and whenever there was an overflow of water it was used for irrigation purposes, so that the people gained great benefit from them.[115]
>
> 蜀守(李)冰鑿離堆，辟沫水之害，穿兩江成都之中。此渠皆可行舟，有餘則用概浸。[116]

By constructing the Dujiangyan alongside two man-made waterways on the Chengdu Plains, Li Bing was clearly aiming to accomplish not only flood control but water transportation, as

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[113] *HYGZ*, 133.
[114] For details on the construction of Dujiangyan and the development of irrigation system, see Deng Zixin 鄧自欣 and Tian Shang 田尚, "Shilun Dujiangyan jingjiu bushuai di yuanyin" 試論都江堰經久不衰的原因, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1986 (3): 101-110; Okawa Yuko 大川裕子, "Shin no Sho kaihatsu to Tokoseki--Sensei heigen senjochi to toshi suiri" 秦の蜀開発と都江堰--川西平原扇状地と都市-水利, *Shigaku zashi* 史学雑誌 111.9 (2002:9): 1439-1466.
[115] Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien Vol. II*, 71
[116] *SJ*, 29, 1407.

well. In the Shu region, the Min River ran all the way to the Yangtze but was a little too far from the economic center of Chengdu (the shortest distance being about 100 *li*). Passengers and cargo arriving at or departing from Chengdu had to make a time-consuming, complicated, and costly journey across the land. Constructing a dedicated waterway that would connect Chengdu and the Min River to each other became an important prerequisite for economic exploitation.[117]

During the Warring States period, most freight in the north went by land. The most powerful vehicle available was the mule- or horse-drawn cart, with the only other option being the shoulders of coolies. Land freight was simply too small and too slow; water transport, however, offered a completely different set of options. A large boat could carry as many goods as dozens of mule-drawn carts; it could also carry people. Moreover, the rivers were not as twisting and rugged as most roads. Thus, for the ancient world, water transport was the first preference. And thus, the ease of water-based transportation in the Sichuan Basin enhanced the region's strategic importance. Before the Qin annexation of the Chengdu Plains, Sima Cuo had already discussed how water transport was closely linked to military strategy.[118] In the Qin campaign to unify China, Sichuan's strategic position enabled the

117 For details on the construction of Dujiangyan and the development of the irrigation system, see Deng Zixin 鄧自欣 and Tian Shang 田尙, "Shi lu Dujiangyan jingjiu bushuai di yuan yin" 試論都江堰經久不衰的原因, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1986 (3): 101–110; Ookawa Yuko 大川裕子, "Shin no shokukaihatsu to tokoseki sensei heigen senjochi to toshi suiri" 秦の蜀開発と都江堰--川西平原扇状地と都市-水利, *Shigaku zashi* 史学雑誌 111.9 (2002:9): 1439–1466.

118 *SJ*, 70, 2290.

Qin state to greatly weaken the Chu state.

Conclusion

The Qin state conquered the entire Sichuan region in 316 BCE. This region may well have been the first colony acquired by the Qin state before it finally conquered the six states and established itself as empire (221 BCE). A distance of approximately 1,000 km stands between the Chengdu Plains and the Guanzhong, with the Qinling Mountains and the Ba Mountains punctuating the middle of this stretch. Not even any of the seven powers in the Warring States period had ever controlled territories that stretched over such a long distance. The Qin spent a century learning and revising its ruling strategy to colonize ancient Sichuan. The Qin state's "colonial landscape" took shape in response to city building, migration, land policies, and economic exploitation. The Qin state constructed a capital city in Sichuan; this city represented the vast array of political controls and material resources at the Qin state's disposal. In its colonization of Sichuan, the Qin state also exiled aristocratic families, wealthy families and criminals to Sichuan. After moving to Sichuan, these exiles were far from their native lands and were, therefore, fairly easy to control. Regarding its economic policy, the Qin state monopolized resources, expanding the state's overall basis for economic power.

After implementing its colonization policy, the Qin seems to have encountered no further significant resistance in Sichuan, at least according to extant historical records. These

records show that the policy was, in sum, a big success. Sichuan became the material base from which the Qin went on to conquer the six neighboring states. In addition to providing the Qin state with the military resources it required for these conquests, the geopolitical superiority of Sichuan enabled the Qin state to victoriously extract itself from the seemingly intractable mire of inter-state confrontations during the Warring States period. So successful was this blueprint for conquest and control that the Western Han Empire inherited the Qin's colonial strategies as applied to the Chengdu Plains. As we shall see in the next chapter, the colonial projects of the Western Han Empire not only imitated Qin policies but also expanded their scale.

4

Struggles of Local Agents under Qin and Western Han Colonial Rule

Introduction

Although the Qin and Western Han empires were two distinct colonial regimes, they had in common their status as foreign rulers governing the ancient Sichuanese. After conquering Sichuan, rather than eradicate the native ruling class, the Qin state implemented indirect rule, which made it possible for native Sichuan rulers to practice resistance against the foreign regime. With its powerful armed forces, the Qin state eventually exterminated the native ruling regimes, implementing efficient but harsh colonial policies there.

As colonized subjects, except for resistance, what else could ancient Sichuanese have done to express their agency? What were the choices of Sichuanese peoples? After the Qin empire collapsed, Sichuanese decided to cooperate with the new Han regime in exchange for social and economic benefits. The Western Han central authorities, in its early days, granted Sichuanese the opportunity to become part of the ruling class through selection systems. In general, however, Sichuanese intellectuals chose to pass over this opportunity. It is noteworthy that Sima Xiangru (179-117 BCE) and Yang Xiong (53 BCE-18 CE) were two figures living between the metropolis (Chang'an, 長安) and colonial Sichuan: the two Sichuanese became courtiers in the Han imperial court. Having established themselves as productive writers and extensive travelers, they felt the tempting draw of the metropolis while constantly assessing and re-assessing the relationship between the Sichuan and the Han capital. As a good deal of information about these two intellectuals has survived in the

extant literature, analyzing their lives can bring to light the varied and complex choices of colonial intellectuals.

In this chapter, I re-interpret traditional literature, which—by overemphasizing the homogeneity of the Qin and Han empires' different peoples—has overlooked their diversity. I review the history of colonial Sichuan specifically to understand the choices and the agency of Sichuanese peoples, including intellectuals, in the face of the two regimes.

Resistance and Collaboration

How did ancient Sichuanese live under colonization? What kinds of relations existed between colonial Sichuan and the metropolis? Did ancient Sichuanese aggressively resist the Qin and Western Han colonial regimes? Did Sichuanese choose to collaborate with these colonial regimes? One way to get a broad, encompassing perspective of these questions is to review an example from modern history: Japan's 1937 invasion of China and occupation of Shanghai. How did intellectuals in occupied Shanghai live their lives? Past political histories of this period tended to analyze it from a binary moral and nationalist viewpoint, claiming that those who cooperated with the Japanese were *Hanjian* (漢奸, Chinese traitors), while those who resisted the Japanese were "Chinese heroes." In his research, Poshek Fu proposed a "gray zone" concept rooted in the complexity that permeates human struggles, compromise, and ambiguity. Fu depicted three entangled conditions in occupied Shanghai: passivity, resistance, and collaboration.[1] Although ancient Sichuan obviously was not Shanghai in the 1930s, as both places were under colonization or occupation, these three conditions proposed by Fu have inspired my research. Many past instances of colonization divided colonized people into two distinctive groups: resistors and collaborators. That is to say, people either stood up and resisted the colonial regime or

[1] Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

chose to cooperate with it.[2] This viewpoint has led many people to overlook the challenges faced by colonized people and to underestimate their complex, tactic efforts to survive under colonial conditions.

In the present study, I focus on Sichuan history in order to observe the agency of the conquered from the viewpoint of ancient Sichuanese. In contrast with Sino-centric history, which categorizes the conqueror as the subject, the history of Sichuan during the Qin and Western Han empires was a history of "Sinicization," narrating how Sichuanese became "Chinese."[3] However, the Qin and Western Han were distinct empires, so two significant questions arise in this regard: When the empires colonized Sichuan one after the other, did they "Qin-ize" or "Western Han-ize" Sichuan? And if so, what were the material components of this "process of assimilation"? No scholar, to the best of my knowledge, has ever rigorously answered these questions. I believe that the issue of Sinicization will diminish in importance when scholars rightly abandon the Sino-centric concept and begin observing ancient Sichuan from a different viewpoint. My goal, here, is to observe how ancient Sichuanese interacted with the Qin and Western Han empires from the viewpoint of

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[2] Rejecting the binary concept of resistance and collaboration, some historians and archaeologists of colonialism have adopted the "middle ground" concept to identify a space where communication and negotiation can took place in the midst of two or more cultures or colonial contacts. For example, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Michael Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London: Routledge, 2004); Caroline A. Williams, *Between Resistance and Adaptation: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonisation in the Choco, 1510–1753* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005).

[3] Both Duan Yu and Wang Zijin discuss Qin policy toward the Shu. See Duan Yu 段渝, "Lun Qin Han wangchao dui Ba Shu de gaizao" 論秦漢王朝對巴蜀的改造, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1 (1999): 23–35; Wang Zijin 王子今, "Qin jianbing Shu di de yiyi yu Shu ren dui Qin wenhua de rentong" 秦兼併蜀地的意義與蜀人對秦文化的認同, *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao* 四川師範大學學報 2 (1998): 111–119; Luo Kaiyu 羅開玉, "Qin zai Ba Shu diqu de minzu zhengce shixi: Cong Yunmeng Qinjian zhong dedao de qishi" 秦在巴蜀地區的民族政策試析—從雲夢秦簡中得到的啟示, *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 4 (1982): 27–33.

the colonized people. Some chose to resist, some chose to collaborate, and some reacted passively; some even supported their ideal new regime when the Western Han empire was on the verge of collapse.

Predicament of Indirect Rule

Geographically, the Qin colonizers divided Sichuan into two sections—the hilly area in the east and the Chengdu Plains in the west—and ruled them differently. The hilly area in the east was Ba, where the Qin established the Ba Commandery in 314 BCE. Chancellor Zhang Yi built a city in Jiangzhou (江州), the capital of Ba.[4] Peoples living in the hilly area were known for their bravery and skill as warriors. Despite having fought the Ba people before and defeated them decisively, the Qin state dared not try to rule the Ba directly. The Qin preferred to show respect for local Ba social organizations and customs, and there were two reasons for this approach. First, the hilly area was far from the Qin base in Guanzhong, and thus, the Qin state was woefully unfamiliar with the local topography and society. Second, the peoples living in the hilly area had established a close relationship with the Chu, whose strong state lay in the east.[5] This relationship hindered the Qin from eradicating Sichuan's major ruling class and from re-structuring local society. Although the Qin had defeated the royal clan of Ba, the Ba's traditional social organization remained unchanged. Even though the Qin established Ba Commandery, local aristocratic families ruled the area.[6] Indeed, as long as the governor of Ba paid the required taxes, the Qin ruler permitted locals to preserve their preferred forms of political system. The Qin even granted locals the rank of

[4] See *HYGZ*, 27.
[5] For insights into the political, military, and economic relationships between the Ba and the Chu during the Warring States period, see Chen Pochan 陳伯楨, "Shijie tixi lilun guandianxia de Ba-Chu guanxi" 世界體系理論觀點下的巴楚關係, *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 6 (2010): 41–68.
[6] See *HYGZ*, 14.

bugeng (不更) and exempted them from statutory government service.

The Qin state's rule over the Chengdu Plains in the west proved to be vastly different. The one hundred years between the Qin's capture of the Chengdu Plains in 316 BCE and the Qin's unification of China in 221 BCE can be divided into two periods. The first period (316 BCE–285 BCE) involved a system of rule composed of *jun* (郡, commanderies) and *guo* (國, kingdoms) operating in parallel. After submitting to Shang Yang's reforms, the Qin state basically operated according to a Commandery-County system. However, in Sichuan, the Qin established a kingdom that recognized the existing local rulers, so two different systems existed within one state. The local aristocratic families survived and continued to exert significant influence on society during the first period, so the indirect rule caused serious tensions between the Qin court and local ruler. In the second period (285 BCE–211 BCE), the Qin state established cities in Sichuan and then promoted land reforms. In this period, the Qin state completely eliminated the local aristocratic families from the social hierarchy. Apart from their direct control of Sichuan, the Qin state placed particular emphasis on the extraction of economic resources from Sichuan, as discussed in the previous chapter.

After annexing Sichuan, the Qin state could not immediately impose the Commandery-County system on the annexed land. There were two reasons for this: First, the Chengdu Plains were over 1000 km away with Qinling and the Daba Mountains 大巴山 lying in between the two regions. In the Warring States period, no state had tried to establish commanderies and counties at such distances. Whether to actually apply the commandery system to Sichuan was a test of the Qin's governing methods. Second, the sheer size of Sichuan impeded the Qin's imposition of the Commandery-County system on the region. Sichuan was the largest stretch of land that the Qin state had ever acquired during its expansion. If the Qin state had to mobilize large amounts of manpower to consolidate its

hold on the region, the distances involved made the outcomes unreliable.

In the first period following Qin's annexation of Sichuan, the Qin approach to Sichuan was to use a special, indirect form of governance. This lasted from 316 BC to 311 BC when revolts broke out in Shu.[7] *SJ* recorded that "the title of Shu's ruler was changed to *hou* [侯, Marquis]." In 314 BCE, King Hui of the Qin (秦惠王) made Gongzi Tong (公子通, Prince Tong) Marquis of the Shu.[8] Prince Tong was the son of the Shu king.[9] After controlling the chaotic situation with its powerful army, the Qin leadership appointed a *shou* (守, Governor) to the head of military affairs and a *xiang* (相, chief minister) as the head of civil administration. The Qin court downgraded the traditional "King of Shu" leadership position to the much lower position of Marquis, which became a puppet of the Qin state. Worried that the local army was not sufficient to meet sudden emergencies, once the occupation was successful the Qin state ordered a large number of settlers to move from Guanzhong to Chengdu.[10]

The policy of indirect rule was immediately put to the test again in Shu. When King Hui of Qin died in 311 BCE, the Shu rose in rebellion and made the Danli (丹黎), the people of the hilly area, submit to the Shu. We do not know what precise region corresponds to Danli today, but after the Shu governor acquired control of Shu, he ensured this control by having the Marquis of the Shu killed. Succeeding King Hui of Qin upon his death, King Wu of Qin (310-307 BCE) consolidated his power by establishing firm control over his own court and subjects during the Sichuan revolt. As the Shu governor involved in the revolt, the next year,

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[7] See *SJ*, 70, 2284; *HYGZ*, 128.
[8] *SJ* wrote as Gongzi Yao Tong 公子繇通; *HYGZ* wrote as Gongzi Tong Guo 公子通國. For associated research, see Ren Naiqiang, *Huayang guozhi xiabu tuzhu*, 129–130.
[9] The Chinese historian Meng Wentong 蒙文通, using as evidence *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 and *SJ*, concluded that the Qin leadership, rather than name a member of the Qin royal family to the position of Duke of the Shu, appointed the son of the Shu King to the position. See Meng Wentong, "Ba-Shu shi de wenti" 巴蜀史的問題, *Sichuan daxue xuebao* 四川大學學報 5 (1959): 23.
[10] *HYGZ*, 128.

King Wu of Qin dispatched Gan Mao 甘茂, Sima Cuo, and Zhang Yi to Shu, where they killed the Shu governor and laid siege to Danli.[11]

After quashing the Sichuan uprising, the Qin government had to review its policies in the region. The classical literature is silent about whether or not the indirect rule continued to operate during the years extending from 311 BCE through 308 BCE. It is possible that the Chengdu Plains were under martial law during this period and that the armies of Sima Cuo, Zhang Yi, and Gan Mao from Xianyang established a political order approved by the Qin court. However, to avoid more resistance from the area's population, the court eventually maintained the basic principle of having a Shu native govern the Shu. The Qin state reinforced military and political measures. Among these measures were the construction of Chengdu City and the control over the Sichuan regions through migration and land reforms, as described in the previous chapter.

The measures adopted by King Wu of Qin were swift and decisive, bringing the Chengdu Plains back under Qin control within three years of the Sichuan revolt. He was new to the throne, however, so the domestic and external situations remained precarious. The Shu government preserved some of the old ways while introducing reforms, though they basically reflected the model of indirect rule. In 308 BCE, King Wu of Qin declared that the new Marquis of the Shu would be a descendant of a previous Marquis, named Hui (煇). King Wu of Qin knew that the old ruling classes of the Chengdu Plains were still quite powerful. Any abrupt change in their status might have triggered uncontrollable resistance to Qin rule in the region. Prime Minister Zhang Yi and General Wei Zhang 魏章, who had been in power for decades, were removed from power, and Gan Mao and Shuli Ji 樗里疾 were named the new Left and Right Prime Ministers.

By this time, King Wu of Qin's focus was no longer on the south. His ambitions were

[11] *SJ*, 5, 209.

greater than those of King Hui of Qin. One of the basic policies followed by the Qin state during Eastern Zhou times was the protection of the Zhou royal house. However, historical texts record that King Wu entered Luoyang, the capital of Eastern Zhou, with 100 chariots led by Shuli Ji. In August 307 BCE, King Wu even traveled to Luoyang to set up a caldron-lifting tournament. This was a clear challenge to the Zhou's authority as the tripod was the symbol of the Mandate of Heaven. In a surprising turn of events, however, the king broke his shin bones while trying to carry the caldron. King Wu died in Luoyang in 307 BCE.[12]

The sudden death of King Wu destabilized the Qin government. Too busy with its own problems, it was easiest for the Qin leadership to allow Hui, the son of the former Shu marquis, to continue governing the Shu. Because King Wu had no heir, his brothers fought each other for the throne in a civil war that lasted three years.[13] Because the Qin leadership underwent a serious internal reshuffling during this period, the Qin state waged few large-scale wars against outside states from 308 BCE through 300 BCE.

In 301 BC, the Shu rose up in rebellion again.[14] And Sima Cuo cracked down hard on the resistance again. After Sima Cuo's pacification of the Shu, the Qin's basic policy toward Sichuan remained unchanged. That the local ruling classes still retained a great deal of power is evident in *HYGZ*, which asserts that after Duke Hui of the Shu died, the local people erected shrines for him.[15] In 300 BCE, the Qin leadership chose Hui's son Wan 綰 to be the next Marquis of the Shu.

Qin policies toward the Chengdu Plains reveal the basic flaw in the implementation of indirect rule. Because the Qin state was in control of the Chengdu Plains, it would never tolerate local rulers' acquiring a degree of power that could threaten Qin rule there. Whenever regional powers and the central authority were at odds with each other, there could

[12] *SJ*, 5, 209.
[13] This civil war was recorded in *SJ*, 210.
[14] *SJ*, 5, 210.
[15] *HYGZ*, 129.

be only one of two possible outcomes: a parting of ways between the rivals or the more powerful rival's dominance over the less powerful rival. Under the heel of the more powerful rival's political and military system, the weaker rival's voice and traditions would likely diminish in influence over time.

By 285 BCE, Qin had gradually become the most powerful state in China. The Qin leadership, confident in its government's basic soundness, decided to eradicate the old ruling classes of the Chengdu Plains and, thus, to turn the region into an integral part of Qin.[16] The appointment of Li Bing 李冰 as Shu's third governor marked a shift in policy for Sichuan, as argued in the previous chapter.

The failure of indirect rule enabled the Qin to seize political and economic control of the Chengdu Plains. This assertation of power was consistent with the Qin's imperial and colonial policies, though it was a huge, time-consuming enterprise: the Qin spent a century formulating and revising its strategy to colonize the Chengdu Plains. Historical records show that the empire's colonization policy was a big success. After the colonization policy went into effect, no further significant resistance in Sichuan seems to have occurred under Qin rule. Sichuan became the launching site for the Qin state's conquest of the neighboring six states. In this way, Sichuan's geopolitical superiority and economic resources enabled the Qin empire to end the seemingly inexhaustible conflicts that had erupted during the Warring States period. The Qin state became, for a time, the unchallenged power in the region.

Sichuan between Empires

In 210 BCE, after conquering the other six powerful states, the First Emperor of the Qin died while touring the eastern part of his territory.[17] After the Second Emperor inherited the

[16] *HYGZ*, 129.
[17] *SJ*, 6, 263.

throne, large-scale peasant revolts erupted throughout the Qin territories, a reflection of the new emperor's lack of both talent and vision, in contrast to the First Emperor.[18] Liu Bang and Xiang Yu (232-202 BCE) were amongst the most influential leaders in the movement opposing the Qin Empire, and Sichuan was the key to Liu's assuming the throne and building a new empire. In the interregnum (206-202 BCE), Liu and Xiang competed with each other for the throne. Xiang enjoyed more advantages as he was enfeoffed with the power disintegrated from the Qin Empire, while Liu was enfeoffed with Sichuan by Xiang who aimed to cut off all his support with the dangerous and difficult access to the Ba and Shu regions. Instead of trapping Liu in the Sichuan Basin, on the contrary this enabled him to establish political power and obtain more resources.[19]

Xiang, however, failed to recognize the importance of the Chengdu Plains for the Qin Empire's conquest of the other six states. Xiao He 蕭何 (251-193 BCE), the military advisor to Liu, recognized the importance from the beginning. Xiao He knew that the Qin Empire had implemented laws and administrative systems pertaining to every little aspect of society; thus, by capturing important maps, records, and government documents, Liu Bang could control the Qin government and the commanderies and counties under it. The six states' resistance against the Qin Empire did not affect the Chengdu Plains.[20] Related literature shows that there was no adjustment period between the ancient Sichuanese and Liu, the new ruler. Liu quickly controlled the plain and seized local resources. Perhaps it was because Liu was the legitimate successor of the Qin Empire as he accepted the empire's surrender and maintained the empire's political and social order.

Liu mobilized the Ba and Shu peoples in different ways. The Chengdu Plains provided

[18] The late Qin Empire period was almost as chaotic as the late Warring States period. See Tian Yuqing 田余慶, "Shuo Zhang-Chu" 說張楚, *Qin Han Wei Jin shi tanwei* 秦漢魏晉史探微 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 1–29.
[19] *SJ*, 8, 365; *HS*, 1B, 61.
[20] *HS*, 39, 2006–2007.

Liu with rich food resources and abundant military manpower; and the peoples residing in eastern Sichuan were brave and skillful warriors. When Liu was trying to take over Guanzhong, he received significant support from seven families of the Cong 賨.[21] Equipped with Sichuan's resources, Liu strategically made his first conquest Guanzhong. After capturing Guanzhong, the food supply from Sichuan to Liu's troops was key to his success in taking the throne. However, no direct transport of food from Shu to Guanzhong was possible. Food from the Chengdu Plains had to be transported via the Yangtze River. According to historian Ren Naiqiang, water transport from the Chengdu Plains to eastern locations depended exclusively on the Jialing River, which flowed in a southerly direction from Chengdu. Next, travelers would have to use the Yangtze River heading in an easterly direction. After entering Chu region, they would take inland transport from Nanyang to Luoyang.[22] Therefore, apart from capturing most part of Guanzhong and Sichuan, it was necessary for Liu to control Ying Bu 英布 (?-195 BCE) and Peng Yue 彭越 (?-196 BCE) of Chu so as to secure food transport from the Chengdu Plain (204 BCE). In the third year of his regime (204 BCE), Liu attacked Peng City 彭城 and retreated from Liang City 梁城 after being defeated by Xiang. Xiao He traveled to the land enfeoffed to King Huainan 淮南王 to persuade Ying Bu. From "The Biography of Ying Bu" in *Records of the Grand Historian*, the importance of food from Shu in the competition between Liu and Xiang is clear.[23] Liu defended Chenggao 成皋 in modern Henan Province tenaciously because of the grain transported from Sichuan. Building fortresses and bunkers to defend this transportation route was Liu's only way to secure a reliable food supply for his armies.

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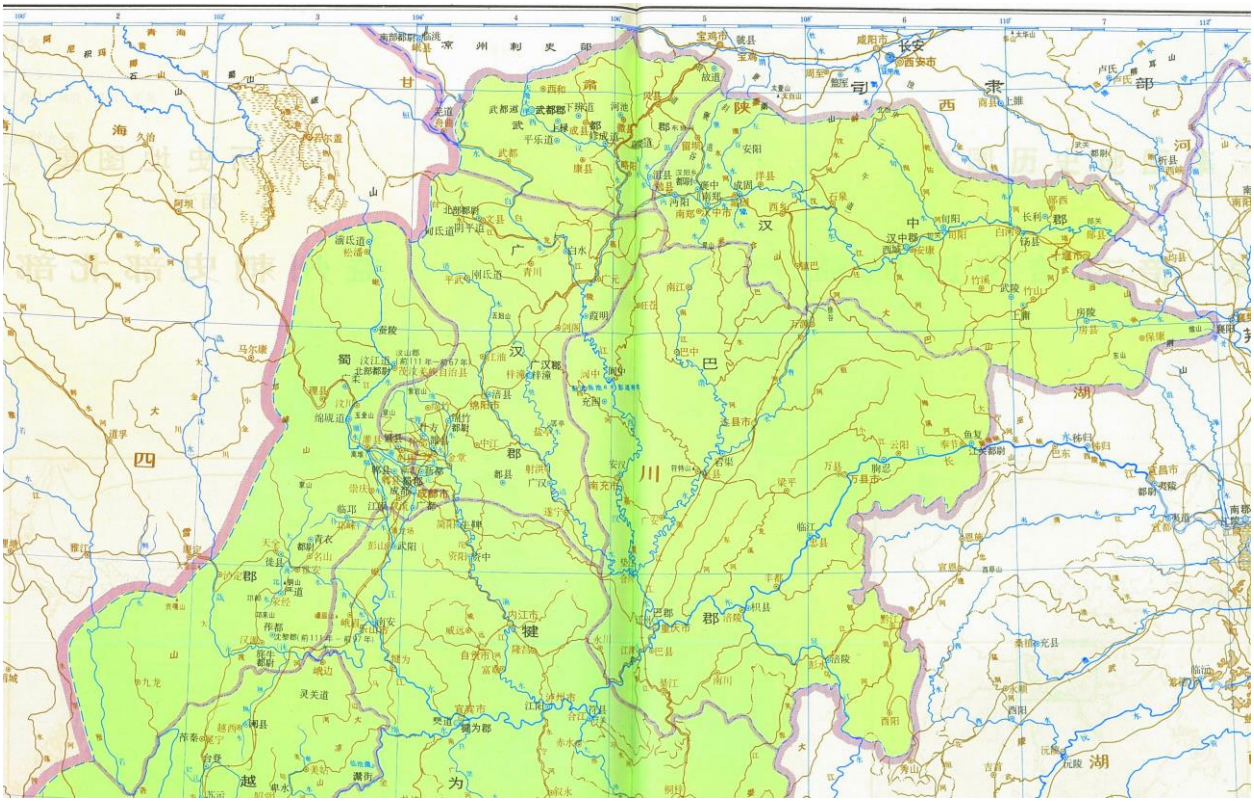
[21] *HYGZ*, 14. For the peoples who lived in the hilly area of eastern Sichuan, see Yang Weili 楊偉立, "Congren jianguo shilue" 賨人建國始略, *Xinan minzu xue xubao* 西南民族學學報 3 (1980): 42-50.
[22] See *HYGZ*, 143.
[23] See *SJ*, 91, 2601.

Owing to its substantial food and human resources, Sichuan played a critical role in the establishment of the Western Han Empire. Therefore, the Western Han government often exempted local Sichuanese people from taxes.[24] For example, Liu once exempted the residents of Guanzhong from taxes for an entire year.[25] And when he concluded that Sichuanese were working harder than Guanzhong residents on behalf of the empire's military goals, Liu even exempted them from paying taxes for two years.[26] After the official establishment of the Western Han Empire in 202 BCE, Liu honored his Sichuanese soldiers by granting them a lifetime exemption from taxation.[27] In a continuous stream of decrees, Liu repaid Sichuanese with all kinds of tax incentives. This generosity is a subtle but very real reflection of the agency of ancient Sichuanese: these people *chose* to collaborate with a foreign ruler during the collapse of the Qin Empire, and they did so, in part, in exchange for their benefits.

Sichuan under the Rule of Western Han

[24] See *HS*, 1A, 34.
[25] Sichuan also belonged to Guanzhong in early Western Han times. See Wang Zijin and Liu Huazhu 劉華祝, "Shuo Zhangjiashan Hanjian《Ernian lüling‧Jinguanling》suo jian wuguan" 說張家山漢簡《二年律令・津關令》所見五關, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 1 (2003): 44-52.
[26] See *HS*, 1B, 73.
[27] See *HS*, 1B, 78.



Map 7. Sichuan under Western Han Rule. *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 1996, Vol. 3, 29-30.

Local wealthy families and immigrants. From late Qin to early Western Han times, the regions' most influential social groups fell into one of two categories: local great families and immigrants from far-flung parts of the empire. Great Ba families chose to collaborate with the colonial government. After defeating Xiang Yu, Liu acknowledged that the Ba peoples had helped him seize Guanzhong by exempting their leaders and noble families from taxation. *Records of the States South of Mount Hua* notes that great local families of Sichuan during Western Han times included the Fans 范 of Shu Commandery. The Fans and the other six Sichuan families—the Lu 羅, Pu 樸, E 鄂, Du 杜, Xi 夕, and Gong 龔 families of Banxun 板循—were all local peoples.[28]

The Qin state exiled aristocratic families, wealthy families, and criminals from the six conquered states to Sichuan. Far from their native land, many of these exiled families

[28] See *HYGZ*, 14.

exploited Sichuan's abundant resources and established themselves as wealthy local families during early Western Han times. According to "The Biography of the Money-makers" (貨殖列傳) in *Records of the Grand Historian*, these new wealthy families included the Zhuos 卓氏 from the state of Zhao and the Chengs 程氏 and the Zhengs 鄭氏 from the state of Lu. The Zhuos in Shu were native to the state of Zhao, and their ancestors had amassed a fortune from iron making. Exiled to Sichuan as prisoners of war, they settled in Linqiong 臨邛 which had rich mineral resources.[29] Harnessing their own effective metallurgical techniques, the Zhuos made and sold metal-ware dependent on local mineral resources. Besides being good metal-smiths, the family boasted several great merchants. Apart from selling metal locally in Shu, the Zhuos distributed products to Yunnan and had over 1,000 slaves at their disposal. Like the Zhuos, the Chengs and Zhengs, who were initially residents from Shandong, soon made a fortune from iron making and sold metal to neighboring peoples.[30] All three families resided in Linqiong and were equally rich.

Imitating the Qin Empire, the Western Han Empire moved vast numbers of people to Sichuan.[31] Historical records show that most people who were forced to move to Sichuan were criminals. However, many were no ordinary criminals: some were bureaucrats, nobles, members of the royal family, and rich people whom the state had found guilty of breaking the law. In *Han shu*, the section entitled "Table of Nobles Related to the Imperial Clan" 諸侯王表 asserts that nobles guilty of criminal offenses were exiled to Sichuan nine times.[32]

It is worth noting that the state's mass-immigration policy was also a way to dilute the local people's bonds, thus diminishing the native Sichuanese people's power to resist the

[29] *SJ*, 129, 3277.
[30] *SJ*, 129, 3278.
[31] *HS*, 1A, 31.
[32] Cui Xiangdong 崔向東, *Handai haozu diyu yanjiu* 漢代豪族地域研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 109.

empire. These immigrants under the Western Han Empire moved into new settlements. Under state orders, these newcomers settled in *li* (里, hamlets) and received farmland, tools, and even a rank. The state also ordered them to provide statutory labor and military service.[33]

Economic exploitation. The Western Han Empire coveted and exploited the rich natural resources of Sichuan. Emperor Wu decreed salt and iron to be state monopolies when the empire's expansionary policy depleted the state revenues.[34] The Western Han Empire established five government ironworks in Sichuan. Besides Linqiong, there were government ironworks in Jianwei 犍為, Wuyang 武陽, and Nan'an 南安 in Shu Commandery and Mianyang 沔陽 in Hanzhong Commandery.[35] These geographical locations were in close proximity to neighboring peoples who lived in Sichuan's aforementioned hilly area. This proximity reflected the state's plan to exploit mineral resources in neighboring mountainous areas. In Sichuan, the government offices that managed the production of salt were located specifically in Linqiong in Shu Commandery, Nan'an in Jianwei Commandery, and Gouren (枸忍) and Linjiang 臨江 in Ba Commandery. The offices helped implement the metallurgical techniques needed to make large metal containers in which salt would be boiled. In fact, an undamaged large metal container was

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[33] For a discussion of the structure of rural society, see Nishijima Sadao, "The Economic and Social History of Former Han," *CHCH*, 551–559.

[34] After his death, Emperor Wu's policy on salt and iron triggered a huge court debate. An important scholarly work on the Han iron and salt monopolies is Huan Kuan's *Yantie lun* (鹽鐵論, Discussions on Salt and Iron). For an English translation of twenty eight of the work's sixty chapters, see Esson M. Gale, *Discourses on Salt and Iron: A Debate on State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China* (Leiden: Brill, 1931); for another reliable study on this subject, see Donald B. Wagner, *The State and the Iron Industry in Han China* (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2000). See also Michael Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China* (London: Routledge, reprint edition, 2016), 37-91.

[35] Yang Yuan 楊遠, "Xi-Han yantie gongguan de dili fenbu" 西漢鹽、鐵、工官的地理分布, *Xianggang Zhongwen daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報 9 (1978): 219-244.

recently discovered in Sichuan's present-day Pujiang County 蒲江縣, Linqiong during Han times. Used for evaporating salt, it measures 131 cm in diameter by 57 cm in height and has a thickness of about 3.5 cm.[36] The Western Han workers who produced the salt and metal at these ancient industrial sites were *zu* (卒, conscripted laborers), *tu* (徒, convicted-criminal labors), and *nu-bei* (奴婢, slave laborers). *Zu* were divided into *zhengzu* (正卒, conscripted laborers) and *gengzu* (更卒, call-up laborers). Males between ages of 23 and 56 had to provide labor service in the military for one year: this pool of labor was the source of the conscripted laborers. Males between the ages of 15 and 50 needed to provide labor to the state for one month every year. The term '*tu*' refers to convicted criminals from whom the state extracted forced labor.[37] As they were all conscripted laborers, the empire treated them harshly.

In colonial Sichuan, there were imperial workshops in both Shu Commandery and Guanghan Commandery. The former had been established by the Qin, and the latter was subsequently founded by Emperor Gaozu of the Western Han, according to the historical literature. Archaeological findings show that the earliest lacquer-ware dates from the second year of Emperor Zhaodi (昭帝, 85 BCE) of the Western Han.[38] Lacquer-ware production continued until the tenth year of Emperor Hedi (和帝, 102 CE) of the Eastern Han. The research of Anthony Barbieri-Low has revealed the work conditions of lacquer-ware studios in Han times. The lacquer-ware workshops adopted the structure of the imperial

[36] Hou Hong 侯虹, "Pujiang yanjing de kaifa yu Xi-Han Sichuan yantie jingji de fazhan xingtai" 蒲江鹽井的開發與西漢四川鹽鐵經濟的發展型態, *Yanyeshi yanjiu* 鹽業史研究 3 (2002): 18-27.

[37] For the labor service of male adults in Western Han times, see Nancy Lee Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 50; Martin Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty, 206 BC–AD 25* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), 223. For the recent study, see Anthony Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 212-27.

[38] Hong Shi 洪石, *Zhanguo Qin Han qiqi yanjiu* 戰國秦漢漆器研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006), 174.

court system. Some supervisory Han officials were responsible for determining whether or not artisans were producing lacquer-ware in full compliance with the imperial standards governing quantity and quality. As mass production of lacquer-ware in that era required great technical skill and even greater financial resources, the highly sophisticated division of labor and the well-designed supervision system of the imperial workshops were remarkably similar to those used in England's factory system during the Industrial Revolution: a production line of workers manufactured the lacquer-ware, and supervisors carefully calculated the varied costs of labor.[39]

Rigorous and even harsh management was a method of choice for achieving consistency and high quality in these products. Archeologists have noticed that the production of even a small wine container, such as an *erbei* (耳杯, an eared cup) took place under the supervision of five types of officials, hence providing further proof of the imperial workshops' highly sophisticated division of labor and management.[40] Economic benefits flowing to the metropolis, however, were the central consideration.[41] For example, lacquer-ware products made by workshops in Sichuan circulated extensively across the empire and were favored by emperors and nobles in matters of trade and gift-giving.[42]

In addition to salt, iron, and lacquer-ware, the empire established government offices that oversaw other resources and products, including *muguan* (木官, the wood office) in Yan March 嚴道, where officials supervised forest resources,[43] *juguan* (橘官, the tangerine office) in Gouren 枸忍, where officials supervised tangerine agriculture, and Yufu 魚復 in

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[39] Anthony Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 73–83.
[40] Hong Shi 洪石, *Zhanguo Qin Han qiqi yanjiu* 戰國秦漢漆器研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006), 169–190.
[41] Anthony Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China*, 212–256.
[42] Hong Shi discussed the circulation of lacquer-ware in the Han Empire; see *Zhanguo Qin Han qiqi yanjiu* , 218–221.
[43] *HS*, 8A, 1598.

Ba Commandery, where officials attended to the special needs of the wealthiest and most powerful residents of the metropolis.[44]

Agency of merchants. The metropolis controlled colonial Sichuan's iron mines and salt industry. In addition, the empire willfully privileged agriculture and degraded business in a concerted policy to inhibit merchants from making profits. Paradoxically, the greater the government's pressure on merchants, the greater the merchants' influence on society. The famous statesman Chao Cuo 鼂錯 in early Western Han times commented on this paradox: "At present, merchants are rich and honored although they are humbled by the law; farmers are poor and lowly although they are respected by the law" 今法律賤商人，商人已富貴矣；尊農夫，農夫已貧賤矣.[45] This comment clearly reflects the inefficient policy, which ultimately failed to prevent merchants from gaining varying degrees of wealth.[46]

These social patterns characterized colonial Sichuan, in particular. According to *Record of the States South of Mount Hua*, merchants developed industry and commerce in Sichuan. Some of these merchants were among the migrants that the Qin and Western Han Empires had sent to the region. Furthermore, Shu had huge amounts of salt and iron resources and forests. This trove of natural resources enabled Sichuan's merchants to grow rich and to establish "wealthy families." Competition among them led to conspicuous

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[44] *HS*, 8A, 1603.

[45] *HS*, 24A, 1133; Nancy Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*, 166.

[46] Nishijima Sadao points out that the growth of great families and large-scale land ownership was beyond state control. See "The Economic and Social History of Former Han," *CHCH*, 554–559.

displays of wealth in clothing, food, transport, and burial practices.[47]

One may be curious about how merchants operated their business and demonstrated their agency in Sichuan under the control of the colonial government. These facets of merchant life can be viewed from two compatible perspectives:

(1) Negotiated & reinvested profits: First, merchants collaborated with the colonial government to make profits, which the merchants then skillfully and reinvested in real estate, acquiring large swathes of land. For example, early on, the Western Han Empire allowed merchants to cast (i.e., to mint) money privately.[48] Emperor Wen assigned the right for the copper mine in Yandao, Sichuan, to Deng Tong 鄧通, who in turn leased the copper mine to the Zhuos of Linqiong, whose job was to operate the site.[49] Besides making ironware, the Zhuos cast money. With the special permit from the government, the Zhuos gradually amassed a huge fortune.[50] In general, after making exorbitant profits by cornering the market through monopolistic practice, merchants would reinvest these profits in real estate. Merchants, purchased farmland, in particular, and annexed the adjoining farmland to acquire sizable tracts of land. Thus, merchants were acting simultaneously as large land holders. This practice was common in mid- and late Western Han times. The *Tong Yue* 僮約 (The Contract for a Youth"),[51] written in 59 BCE by Wang Bao 王褒 of Shu Commandery, depicts the social conditions in Sichuan.

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[47] See *HYGZ*, 148.

[48] The "Statutes on Cash," issued by Empress Lü, were abrogated by Emperor Wen (179-157 BCE). For the issue of "Statutes on Cash," see Anthony Barbieri-Low and Robin D.S. Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 626-630.

[49] See *HYGZ*, 157.

[50] *SJ*, 129, 3277.

[51] For a reliable English translation and annotated version of *Tong Yue*, see Martin C. Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.—A.D. 25*, 383-392.

Wang was a writer who had traveled to Chengdu during his youth. Written in 59 BCE,[52] the work faithfully reflects the financial and agricultural conditions of large landholdings in Sichuan, an assertion supported by Japanese scholar Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi 宇都宮清吉, whose thorough study of this work links its portrayal of these economic conditions with the conditions that characterized landholding economies stretching from middle and late Western Han times through Eastern Han times.[53]

(2) Evasion of the law: Second, merchants evaded the law to avoid the government's controls. The Western Han Empire, for example, restricted the export of goods outside the country.[54] In response, Sichuanese merchants simply ignored the laws and evaded law enforcers, resorting to successful smuggling operations. Considerable evidence of these extra-legal practices exists in relevant historical literature. One event, in particular, gives expression to the extent of the black markets' success. During the reign of Emperor Wu, Tang Meng was dispatched on a diplomatic mission to Nanyue (Nam Viet) in 135 BCE, where locals honored his presence with many resplendent dishes, including *qu* berry sauce 枸醬. Tang found it to be delicious. Tang later learned that the sauce was available only in Sichuan, and that merchants in Shu had stealthily sold it to buyers in Yelang, located along the empire's southwestern border, from where Nanyue people

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[52] The textual research on *Tong Yue*, the circulation of the text and its reliability was done by Yang Shengmin 楊生明, "*Tong Yue* xintan" 僮约新探, *Zhonguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1996 (3): 26-35.

[53] For a detailed discussion of the work, see Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi 宇都宮清吉, "Doyaku kenku" 僮約研究, *Kandai shakai keizaishi kenkyū* 漢代社会経済史研究 (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1955), 256–374.

[54] In Han law, *jianlan chuwu* (尖闌出物, goods secretly sent [beyond borders] in defiance of prohibitions) referred specifically to both "Chinese goods that were prohibited to be exported to the outer barbarians and the Chinese merchants who crossed the border or went to the frontier market to trade with barbarians without government-issued travel documents." See Yü Ying-shih, *Trade and Expansion in Han China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 122.

had bought the berry sauce.[55] Another example of merchants' extensive circumvention of the law has to do with Zhang Qian's first return to Chang'an (126 BCE) after overseeing a mission to distant western Asian states. Reporting to Emperor Wu, Zhang noted that he had seen sticks made with Qiong bamboo and fabrics from Shu during his mission, which had taken him twelve thousand *li* away from the capital. Out of curiosity, Zhang asked merchants from the Kingdom of Bactria (大夏) about the origins of the two items.[56] According to the merchants, the goods from Shu had come from Hindu lands located thousands of *li* southeast of Bactria, because there was a market run by Shu merchants in Juandu 身毒, which corresponds roughly to present-day India. It is clear that valuable items from Shu could be bought a thousand miles away, and that an established market in Shu goods existed in India.[57] Related archaeological evidence has brought to light the trade route, crossing Yunnan and Burma, between Sichuan and India.[58] In fact, the artifacts unearthed from the Sanxingdui archaeological site (discussed in Chapter 2) included seashells from the Indian Ocean, suggesting that an ancient trade route extended between Sichuan, India and Burma. This route has recently received support from archaeological findings pertaining to the "Southern Silk Road."[59] From the above accounts, the metropolis quite clearly was ignorant of the contraband

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[55] *SJ,* 116, 2993–2994; Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien, Vol. II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 291.

[56] *SJ,*116, 2995.

[57] Yü Ying-shih, *Trade and Expansion*, 110–117.

[58] See Schuyler Cammann, "Archaeological Evidence for Chinese Contacts with India during the Han Dynasty," *Sinologica* 5.1 (1956): 6.

[59] Luo Erhu 羅二虎, "Xinan sichou zhilu de kaogu diaocha" 西南絲綢之路的考古調查, *Nanfang minzu kaogu diwu juan* 南方民族考古第五卷 (Chengdu: Sichuan keji daxue chubanshe, 1992), 350–389; Jiang Yuxiang 江玉祥 ed., *Gudai Xinan sichou zhilu yanjiu diyi juan* 古代西南絲綢之路研究第一卷 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1990); Sichuan daxue lishixi 四川大學歷史系 ed., *Zhongguo gudai Xinan de jiaotong yu wenhua* 中國西南的古代交通與文化 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1994).

trade between Sichuan and India. The very fact of this ignorance proves that Sichuanese merchants circumvented the empire's laws and other controls in order to get rich.

When exploiting resources in Sichuan, the empire tried to control merchants with rigid laws and strict enforcement. However, merchants often avoided the law, re-investing their wealth in real estate to become landlords and annexing the adjacent farmland. This strategy seemed to be in keeping with Sima Qian's principle of economic prosperity: "make riches through secondary occupations [i.e., trade], and preserve those riches through fundamental occupations [i.e., agriculture]" 以末致財，以本守之.[60] Besides eroding the government's tax base, landlords owned slaves and exercised significant control over farmers and maidservants. This control enabled landlords to become major local magnates capable of forcing the government to compromise with them.[61] At the close of the Western Han era, the government was unable to control the growth in landlords' power.

Colonial Officials and the Selection System

In the early years of the Western Han Empire, Liu and his meritorious group formed a ruling clique. Both Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生[62] and Masubuchi Tatsuo 増淵竜夫[63] analyzed the structure of Liu's group. In his book *Han diguo de jianli yu Liu Bang jituan*

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[60] *SC*, 3281; Nancy Lee Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*, 462.

[61] Nishijima Sadao, "The Economic and Social History of Former Han," *CHCH*, 554–559; Xu Zhuoyun [Hsu Cho-yun] 許倬雲, "Xi-Han zhengquan yu shehui sheli de jiaohu zuoyong" 西漢政權與社會勢力的交互作用, *SYSJK*, 35 (1964): 261–281.

[62] Nishijima Sadao, "Chugoku kodai teikoku keisei no ichi kosatsu kan no koso to sono koshin" 中國古代帝國形成の一考察——漢の高祖とその功臣, *Rekishi kenkyū* 歷史学研究 141 (1949): 1–15.

[63] Masubuchi Tatsuo 増淵竜夫, "Kandai ni okeru minkan chitsujo no kozo to ninkyoteki shuzoku" 漢代における民間秩序の構造と任俠的習俗, *Hitotsubashi ronsō* 一橋論叢 26.5 (1951): 97–139.

(漢帝國的建立與劉邦集團, *Establishment of the Han Empire and the Group of Liu Bang: Studies on the Military Meritocracy*), Li Kaiyuan points out that, early on, the Western Han's top leaders serving the emperor hailed from a few specific regions and not from a representative swathe of the empire's vast territories, largely because no standardized empire-wide system existed for the recruitment of talented administrators.[64] The official recruitment system during these early years was in its infancy and had much room for improvement. Therefore, the central regime before Emperor Wu was unable to take root at the bottom of society, nor could it change or disturb local social order.[65]

As for Sichuan, the colonial policies of both the Qin and Western Han empires placed draconian controls on the region's administration, transportation, and economy, and there was no effective way for Sichuanese to directly resist the empire's local administration. Under the colonial rule of the Western Han Empire, some Sichuanese entered the ranks of the colonial regime through an imperial selection system. Basically in this system, established recruiters in the Western Han Empire selected candidates for a given official position according to their background. In the selection system, which was known in Chinese as *chaju* 察舉, the local government selected local candidates for a position by comparing their respective competencies with one another. Upon selection, the novice, commandery officials travelled to the capital Chang'an to act as *lang* 郎, gentlemen in the emperor's court and then, after further evaluation, received assignments to local governments.[66] Beginning in the first century BCE, the Emperor Jingdi gave local elites the opportunity to participate in

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[64] Li Kaiyuan 李開元, *Han diguo de jianli yu Liu Bang jituan* 漢帝國的建立與劉邦集團 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2000).

[65] Abe Nobuyuki 阿部信幸, "Lun Han chao de 'tongzhi jieji' yi Xi-Han shiqi de bianqian wei zhongxin" 論漢朝的「統治階級」—以西漢時期的變遷為中心, *Taida dongya wenhua yanjiu* 台大東亞文化研究 1 (2012): 1–32.

[66] Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Qin Han langli zhidu kao" 秦漢郎吏制度考, *SYSJK* 23 (1951): 89–143.

administration.[67]

Under Emperor Jing's rule, Governor Wen Weng 文翁 of Shu Commandery was recruited from Lujiang 廬江 (modern Anhui).[68] Through the selection system, he became a gentleman official in the metropolis and later received orders to serve as the governor of Shu Commandery.[69] An overview of the man can be found in "The Biographies of Upright Officials":[70]

> Wen Weng was a native of Lu Chiang [Lujiang]. He was studious as a young man and knew thoroughly *The Spring and Autumn Annals*. The district magistrate recommended him and eventually he was made governor of a part of Szechuan [Sichuan] in the reign of Ching Ti [Jingdi]. He was benevolent in his administration and encouraged education. On taking up his post he discovered that the district was uncivilized, the culture resembling that of the Man barbarians, so he tried to educate and improve the people. He selected a number of minor officials who showed ability, supervised their education himself, and later sent them to the capital to study under the po shih…. A few years later these men returned, and were appointed to higher positions. In Ch'eng-tu [Chengdu], Wen Weng established a department of education administered by these trained men, and invited boys of outlying districts to come and study under them. The best students became candidates for official positions, while those of lesser ability received an honorary title…. Civilization therefore improved, and the scholars were equal to those of the district of Qi and Lu.[71]

> 文翁，廬江舒人也。少好學，通《春秋》，以郡縣吏察舉。景帝末，為蜀郡守，仁愛好教化。見蜀地辟陋有蠻夷風，文翁欲誘進之，乃選郡縣小吏開敏有材者張叔等十余人親自飭厲，遣詣京師，受業博士，或學律令。減省少府用度，買刀布蜀物，齎計吏以遺博士。數歲，蜀生皆成就還歸，文翁以為右職，用次察舉，官有至郡守刺史者。　　又修起學官於成都市中，招下縣子弟以為學官弟子，為除

[67] Gan Huaizhen 甘懷真, "Han Tang jian de jingcheng shehui yu shidafu wenhua" 漢唐間的京城社會與士大夫文化, in *Zhongguo shi xinlun* 中國史新論, ed. Qiu Zhonglin 邱仲麟 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2013), 172.

[68] For all the Governors of Shu and their related literature in the Western and Eastern Han eras, see Yan Xiuxia 閻秀霞, "Liang-Han Shujun taishou kaoshu" 兩漢蜀郡太守考述, *Zhengzhou hangkong gongye guanli xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 鄭州航空工業管理學報 (社會科學版) 26:1 (2007:2): 48-49.

[69] For research on Wen Weng, see He Ruquan 何汝泉, "Wen Weng zhi Shu kaolun" 文翁治蜀論考, *Xinan Shifan daxue xuebao (shekeban)* 西南師範大學學報(社科版), 1980 (4): 34–51; Fang Rui 房鋭, Wen Weng hua Shu yu ruxue chuanbo 文翁化蜀與儒學傳播, *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中華文化論壇 2005 (4): 88–91.

[70] English translations of Wen Weng's biography in *HS* are available in John K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius* (New York: Paragon, 1966), 68; Witold Jablonski, "Wen Weng," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 21 (1957): 135–136.

[71] John K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius*, 68.

更徭，高者以補郡縣吏，次為孝弟力田。…….由是大化，蜀地學于京師者比齊魯焉。[72]

Believing that Shu was an "uncivilized" place, Wen Weng selected over a dozen promising people from his office and had them acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to be a promising government official, all with the aim to "civilize" the Shu. According to *Han shu*, after Wen governed Sichuan, the Confucian learning was comparable to Confucian learning in Shandong.[73] In his article "Han dai xunli yu wenhua chuanbo*"* (漢代循吏與文化傳播), Yü Ying-shih points out that the upright officials mentioned in *Xunli lie chuan* (循吏列傳, "The Biographies of Upright Officials") in the *Han shu* administered the empire and governed people according to Confucian ideals. Through the education of "upright" (i.e., model) officials at the commandery level, the Western Han Empire disseminated Confucian ideals to all parts of the empire, hence establishing cultural order everywhere and effectively carrying out the "Sinicization" mission.[74] However, none of the historical literature seems to mention the specific methods by which Wen Weng disseminated Confucian learning.

According to Li Kaiyuan, Weng Wen was an official of Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing who preferred legalist training to Confucian learning, and instead of "Confucian scholars," they should have hired "law officers" who understood legalist ideas better. From the time of Emperor Gaozu to the time of Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing, Commandery

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[72] See *HS*, 59, 3625.

[73] Hu Shi 胡適 called Wen Weng as "Confucian statesman" 儒生政治家, in "Rujia de yuwei zhuyi" 儒家的有為主義, *Zhongguo Zhonggu sixiang zhangbian* 中國中古思想史長編 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), 231.

[74] For a discussion about the relationship between upright officials and the spread of Confucianism, see Yü Ying-Shih 余英時, "Handai xunli yu wenhua chuanbo" 漢代循吏與文化傳播, *Zhongguo sixiang chuantong de xiandai quanshi* 中國思想傳統的現代詮釋 (Taipei: Lianjing, 1987), 67–258. Wang Jianwen mentions the relationship between upright officials and Huaxia consciousness during Han times: see Wang Jianwen 王健文, "Diguo zhixu yu zuqun xiangxiang—dizhi Zhongguo chuqi de Huaxia yishi" 帝國秩序與族群想像—帝制中國初期的華夏意識, *Xin shixue* 新史學 16:4 (2005:12): 195–220.

governors were either military officers or law officers.[75] The *Han shu* offers no evidence that Wen Weng received appointment to official imperial positions because of his familiarity with Confucian thought.

The effect of *yifeng yisu* 移風易俗 ("changing customs and altering traditions") by Wen Weng should not be overestimated, and no record is found in the *Han shu* regarding what Confucian culture Wen Weng disseminated. In Sichuan during Western Han times, there were only three *wujing boshi* (五經博士, academicians of *The Five Classics*), and only one was mentioned in the "*Rulin liezhuan*" (儒林列傳, "Biographies of the Classicists") in The *Han shu*. During the same period in Sichuan, scholars completed only three works on classics and two works on Confucian learning, constituting only a fifth of surviving works and was way far below with Qi 齊 (modern Shandong), the region of Confucian learning.[76] In this context, what kinds of officials did Wen Weng train? As a bureaucrat of the empire in Sichuan, Wen Weng aimed to train law officers. Han-era wooden slips excavated at Zhangjiashan 張家山 have shed light on the regional administration of the Western Han Empire. According to Robin D. S. Yates, early training for specialist functionaries may have taken place at their homes. Then the partly trained functionary candidates would have attended government schools to receive training from government instructors. The schools, many of which were commandery-level institutions located in big cities,[77] used a curriculum that was preserved in the statutes:

> [Test] the student scribes on the *Fifteen Sections*. Those who are capable of reciting and writing more than five thousand graphs then get to be scribes. Furthermore, test them on the eight forms of writing; the commandery sends those (capable in the)

[75] Li Kaiyuan 李開元, *Han diguo de jianli yu Liu Bang jituan* 漢帝國的建立與劉邦集團 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2000), 283.
[76] Lu Yun 盧云, *Han Jin wenhua dili* 漢晉文化地理 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), 48.
[77] Robin D.S. Yates, "Soldiers, Scribes, and Women: Literacy among Lower Orders in Early China," in *Writing and Literacy in Early China*, eds., Li Feng and David Branner (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2011), 350–351.

> eight forms of writing to be examined by the Grand Scribes; the Grand Scribes examines their reciting and selects the best individual(s) to become the Scribe Director(s) at the county level. Those who are of poor quality are not to be made scribes. Every three years, they are to be examined together once. Take the best individual to be a Shangshu cuishi (Scribes in the Imperial Secretariat).[78]
>
> [試]史學童以十五篇。能風(諷)書五千字以上、能的為吏。有(又)以八體試之，郡移其八體課大史，大史誦課，取最一人以為其縣令(簡 475)史，殿者勿以為史。三歲壹并課，取最一人以為尚書卒史。(簡 476)

Modern scholars generally believe that regional government academies in Han times originated with the academy established by Wen Weng in Shu Commandery. In fact, the Han-era imperial government adopted the Qin system for establishing regional academies. These regional academies trained scribes (史, *shi*), diviners (卜, *bu*), and invocaters (祝, *zhu*), who had to acquire a degree of professional knowledge before they could become officials. I assume that the officials trained by Wen Weng as law officers in Chengdu should be the same. This way, low-level officials recruited from Sichuan could understand the empire's statutes, orders, and administrative system. In addition, Wen Weng gave these officials the opportunity to receive further training in the capital and, thus, to earn a promotion. Following a promotion, an official's social status also rose. If selected elite Sichuanese expected access to a progressive career track, fulfilled its requirements, and reaped its rewards, the empire would have a significantly enhanced administration.

However, it is necessary to ask if all officials of Sichuan were as kind-hearted as Wen Weng. Did these Sichuanese officials coordinate effectively between the metropolis and the colony, as Wen Weng seems to have done successfully? Or was Wen Weng just an exception? According to surviving historical records, Wen Weng was a true exception, because most officials dispatched to Sichuan by the central authorities were brutal. For example, Feng Dang 馮當, the Governor of Shu Commandery, brutally tortured local

[78] The English translation comes from Anthony Barbieri-Low and Robin D.S. Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 1093.
[78] See *HYGZ*, 157.

citizens. Li Zhen 李貞, Governor of Guanghan Commandery, treated his subjects with equal severity: records observe that he enjoyed dismembering criminals.[79] The policy of the Western Han Empire was so cruel, in fact, that Sichuanese eventually embraced open resistance against their persecutors. In the *Han shu*, the section entitled "Sun Bao liezhuan" (孫寶列傳, "Biography of Sun Bao") mentions just such a Sichuanese revolt against the government, whose perfidious treatment of the colonial subjects can be measured by the revolt's large scale of popular support (18 BCE).[80] For example, in 15 BCE, residents of Guanghan Commandery in Sichuan were discontent with the empire's harsh policy. This discontent simmered over when a gang of bandits led by Zheng Gong 鄭躬 attacked a government office, released all the prisoners in its adjoining jail, seized the site's weapons, and declared themselves *Shanjun* 山君, masters of the mountain. The gang was so large in number that the local government was unable to respond decisively, triggering shock throughout the metropolis and specifically the emperor's court.[81] The capital sent thousands of troops to Guanghan Commandery to suppress the revolt. In addition to beheading Zheng Gong, the imperial troops arrested thousands of rebels.[82]

Local Sichuanese Intellectuals

The residents of Sichuan chose to resist the rule of the Western Han Empire by means of revolt. What were the choices of Sichuanese intellectuals? First, local intellectuals were not interested in the selection system offered by the capital, so they passively chose to decline the offer. Second, they were not interested in the capital's emphasis on Confucian knowledge and concentrated, instead, on other types of knowledge.

During the Western Han era, most scholars in Ba and Shu regions responded with

[79] See *SJ*, 122, 3154.
[80] See *HS*, 47, 3258.
[81] See *HS*, 53, 3393.
[82] See *HS*, 47, 3258.

notable disinterest to the capital' career offers.[83] Take Zhuang Zun 莊遵 for example: he was born in Chengdu and ran a fortune-telling studio in the city center, promising to help people solve life's varied confusions with the powers of divination. Although Zhuang could have served as a well-compensated official for the Empire, he was convinced that fortune-telling could help more people than could bureaucratic work:

> Divining fortunes is my vocation, but it can also help people. When it is a matter of things evil or incorrect, then I say what could be profitable or harmful according to the tortoise or milfoil. I advise sons according to filiality, younger brothers according to deference, and subjects according to loyalty. According to their individual circumstance, I lead them toward good, and over half do as I say.[84]
>
> 卜筮者賤業，而可以惠眾人。有邪惡非正之問，則依蓍龜為言利害。與人子依於孝，與人弟言依於順，與人臣言依於忠，各因勢導之以善，從吾言者，已過半矣。

In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss Yang Xiong, who was a student of Zhuang Zun. Yang once praised Zhuang as a "talent of the Shu" 蜀才 and a "treasure of the Shu" 蜀珍.[85] The *Han shu* describes Zhuang as "a knowledgeable person who knew everything" 博覽、無不通.[86] He was well educated and read extensively, particularly Confucian and Daoist works. During Han times, people who mastered one classic could be an official. However, Zhuang chose to decline a government position. Even when Li Qiang 李強, Governor of Yizhou, tried to recruit Zhuang with a great compensatory offer, Zhuang harshly criticized and roundly rejected it.[87] Zhuang died in Chengdu in his nineties. As a famous scholar of the Dao, Zhuang specialized in *The Book of Changes*, *Laozi*, and *Zhuangzi*. Today only half of his written work is extant: *Daode zhenjing zhigui* (道德真經

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[83] See *HYGZ*, 532–533.
[84] *HS*, 72, 3056. The English translation of the text is by Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990), 71.
[85] Aat Vervoorn, "Zhuang Zhun: A Daoist Philosopher of the Late First Century BC," *Monumenta Serica* 38 (1988–1989): 72.
[86] *HS*, 72, 3056.
[87] *HS*, 72, 3056.

指歸, *The Gist of the Veritable Classic of the Way and Its Potency*). This book integrated Confucian and Daoist learning.[88] During the same period in Western Han history, other local Sichuanese intellectuals who held similar views as Zhuang included Linlü Wengru 林閭翁孺,[89] Li Hong 李閎,[90] Zheng Zizhen 鄭子真,[91] and Li Zhongyuan 李仲元.[92] They were all qualified to be government officials, but none of them were interested in the temptingly generous remunerations offered by the capital.

What topics held the interest of Sichuanese intellectuals during the Western Han era? Although little about the dissemination and legacy of knowledge in ancient Sichuan is known, surviving fragmentary literature shows that knowledge was disseminated somehow before Wen Weng became the governor of Shu Commandery (i.e., before the time of Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing). Intellectuals in the Ba and Shu regions who declined to be government officials were often skilled at composing poetry, performing arithmetic, practicing herbal medicine, and contributing to Huanglao teaching.[93] *Chenwei* (讖緯, prophetic-apocrypha) and divination were also well developed in the Ba and Shu regions. For example, Yang Xuan 楊宣, a native of Shefang 什邡 in Guanghan Commandery, received an education

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[88] The intellectual interests of Zhuang Zun focused mainly on mystic texts. See Deng Xingying 鄧星盈 and Huang Kaikuo 黃開國, "Shilun Yan Junping de xueshu sixiang" 試論嚴君平的學術思想, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 6 (1997): 72–77; Jin Chunfeng 金春峰, *Han dai sixiang shi* 漢代思想史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 415–439. Also see Aat Vervoorn, "Zhuang Zun: A Daoist Philosopher of the Late First Century BC," *Monumenta Serica* 38 (1988–1989): 69–94.

[89] See *QHW*, 410-411; *HYGZ*, 532-533.

[90] See *HYGZ*, 532-533.

[91] Zheng Zhizhen was very famous in his day. During the reign of Emperor Cheng, Commander-in-Chief 大將軍 Wang Feng 王鳳 invited him to the capital, but Zheng refused to accept the request. See *HYGZ*, 597.

[92] See *HYGZ*, 533.

[93] Meng Wentong points out that the intellectual culture of Ba and Shu was close to that of Chu. Chu intellectual culture was famous for Huanglao philosophy and literature, which probably influenced Ba and Shu culture. See Meng Wentong, *Ba Shu gushi lunshu* 巴蜀古史論述 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1981), 97–100; Li Daming 李大明, "Xiangru cifu yanjiu" 相如詞賦研究, *Ba Shu wenhua yanjiu (diyi ji)* 巴蜀文化研究（第一輯) (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2004), 101–107.

under Wang Ziqiang 王子強 in the Chu area. Later on, Yang Xuan studied celestial patterns and *hetu* 河圖 (The diagrams from the River) under Zheng Zihou 鄭子侯 from Henai 河內. Zheng was a student of Yang Wengshu 楊翁叔. The academic legacy of Ba and Shu was unique from Western Han times to the Three Kingdoms period, spanning over three centuries and the rise and fall of two empires.

Sichuanese Intellectuals in the Capital: Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong

Not all Sichuanese intellectuals rejected offers from the Western Han imperial authorities to join the ranks of government officials. Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong were two Sichuan locals who, in the capacity of government officials, traveled between Sichuan and the capital. Both of the men were natives of Chengdu, Shu Commandery. Past studies portrayed Sima as a man of letters[94] and Yang as a philosopher.[95] In the current study, I focus instead on their lives, experiences, and how they interpreted their relationships between Sichuan and the capital.

Born in the first year of Qianyuan (前元) during Emperor Wen's reign (179 BCE) and dying in the sixth year of Yuanshou (元狩) during Emperor Wu's reign (117 BCE), Sima was 62 years old when he passed away. Alive during the final years of the Western Han era, Yang was born in the first year of Ganlu (甘露) during Emperor Xuan's reign (53 BCE) and died in the fifth year of Tianfeng (天鳳), when the Xin Empire was taking shape under its founder, Wang Mang (CE 18). According to standard history, both of these Sichuan natives habitually stammered or stuttered and were thus weak in verbal expression. Perhaps they

[94] For a comprehensive treatment of Sima Xiangru's life and literary achievements, see Xiong Weiye 熊偉業, *Sima Xiangru yanjiu* 司馬相如研究 (Chengdu: Dianzhi keji daxue chubanshe, 2013).

[95] For a comprehensive treatment of Yang Xiong's life and philosophical achievements, see Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, *Liang Han sixiang shi di er juan* 兩漢思想史第二卷 (Taipei: Xuesheng, 2000), 439–562.

spoke Sichuanese smoothly and had difficulty communicating with others in the official language spoken in the capital. Also, both Sima and Yang were initially minor functionaries in the capital and received promotions to join the literary retinue of the emperor. In their lives and work, the two men articulated the relationship between the metropolis and their native Sichuan land while proposing how the empire could effectively subsume the subject.[96]

Records of the Grand Historian contains a section entitled "The Biography of Sima Xiangru." In it, Sima Qian describes the background and experience of Sima Xiangru.[97] Sima Xiangru came from a well-off family and retained this wealth after becoming an official in the administrative apparatus of the Western Han Empire. He became a gentleman *lang* in Chang'an and served Emperor Jing. Although Sima excelled at writing rhapsodies (*fu*, 賦), Emperor Jing was not interested in literature, and Sima could not get an important position in the imperial court. One day while accompanied by a group of traveling scholars, King Xiao of Liang (梁孝王) called on the emperor. Attracted to these traveling scholars, Sima thus turned to King Xiao of Liang who loved literature and recruited talented and virtuous scholars. After the death of King Xiao of Liang (144 BCE), Sima returned to Chengdu. By this time, Sima was living in extreme poverty, and for help he turned to Wang Ji 王吉, the magistrate of Linqiong County.[98]

Merchants were the most influential social group in Linqiong, particularly Zhuo

[96] Wang Mingming 王銘銘, "Shi wenzhang yu dayitong cong Shiji "Sima Xiangru liezhuan" kan rensheng shi" 士、文章與大一統—從《史記・司馬相如列傳》看人生史, in *Rensheng shi yu renlei xue* 人生史與人類學 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2010), 236–339 re-interprets the life of Sima Xiangru in the light of anthropology, and draws a link between the identity of Sima Xiangru and the prevailing notion of China's Great Unity (大一統).

[97] For a detailed discussion of the biography of Sima Xiangru, see Martin Kern, "The 'Biography of Sima Xiangru' and the Question of the *Fu* in Sima Qian's *Shiji*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123.2 (2003): 303–316.

[98] For an English translation of the biography of Sima Xiangru, see Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien Vol. II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 297–342.

Wangsun 卓王孫, who ran the area's iron-mining business. Because bureaucrats and merchants had frequent contact with each other, Sima Xiangru could enter merchants' social circles, and it was in this way that Sima met Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君, who was a widow of a wealthy member of the Zhuo merchant family. After marrying her, Sima immediately acquired so much wealth that he could buy farmland and other real estate. According to the historical literature, he even had hundreds of slaves working at his home. From that point forward, Sima could put aside his material worries and focus on writing. After reading his "Rhapsody of Sir Vacuous" 子虛賦 in about 134 BCE, Emperor Wu, a rhapsody fan, was deeply impressed with Sima's literary skills. After receiving a recommendation from Yang Deyi 楊得意, who happened to be the keeper of the imperial hunting dogs (狗監), Sima got the opportunity to return to the capital at age 43.

The first half of Sima's life reveals a stark difference between him and most Sichuanese intellectuals, who rejected the empire's offers of prestigious governmental work in preference of literary careers: Sima yearned for a life in the capital. On his second return to the empire's capital, Emperor Wu was in power and was pursuing an expansionist policy.[99] Specifically, Emperor Wu intended to conquer southwestern regions just as Sima began working for him. Emperor Wu's southwestern actions were divided into two phases. The first phase was initiated by Tang Meng and the second phase was launched by Zhang Qian.[100] During this era, "the Southwest" referred to the regions that bordered Sichuan and that were home to less "civilized" groups.[101] Playing a key role in the Empire's conquest of these

[99] For a detailed study of Han Wudi's policies, military acts, and colonialism in Inner Asia, see Chang Chun-shu, *The Rise of the Chinese Empire, II: Frontier, Immigration, and Empire in Han China, 130 BC–AD 157* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

[100] *SJ*, 168, 3168; *HS*, 31, 2692; For the detailed discussion of Zhang Qian's initiative to the Western Regions, see Yü Ying-shih, "Han Foreign Relations," *CHCH*, 407-409.

[101] The chapter entitled "Account of Southwestern Barbarians" 西南夷列傳 in *SJ*, 115, 2991–2998 deals with these peoples; For an English translation, see Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien Vol. II*, 290–296.

regions, Sima wrote two articles on the southwestern occupation: *Yu Ba Shu xi* (喻巴蜀檄, *A Call to Ba and Shu*)[102] and *Nan Shu fulao* (難蜀父老, *Blaming the People of Shu*).[103] These two works became important sources for insights into the identity of Shu and Ba peoples at that time. There are significant inconsistencies in three celebrated histories of the southwestern occupation: *Records of the Grand Historian*, *Book of Han*, and *Records of the States South of Mount Hua* have sometimes created just as much confusion as clarification regarding the events and the timelines of this occupation. After referring to the extraordinarily helpful research findings of Xiong Weiye 熊偉業 and after combining them with relevant accounts, I have managed to tabulate a summary of the southwestern expansion's major events and timeframe.[104]

Table III: Timeline of Events in the Southwestern Expansion

Time	Event
Jianyuan (建元), 6th year (135 BCE)	Tang Meng was dispatched to Panyu 番禺 in Nanyue and investigated the *qu* berry sauce route after returning to Chang'an.
Spring of Yuanguang (元光), 4th year (131 BCE)	Tang Meng recommended the Western Han Empire's expansion into southwestern regions.

[102] For one of the best annotated versions of *Yu Ba Shu xi* (喻巴蜀檄, *A Call to Ba and Shu*), see Jin Guoyong 金國永, *Sima Xiangru ji jiaozhu* 司馬相如集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 147–158. For a detailed study of the work's history and reliability, see Xiong Weiye 熊偉業, *Xima Xiangru yanjiu* 司馬相如研究 (Chengdu: Dianzhi keji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 346–362.

[103] For one of the best annotated versions of *Nan Shu fulao* (難蜀父老, *Blaming the People of Shu*), see Jin Guoyong 金國永, *Sima Xiangru ji jiaozhu* 司馬相如集校注, 159–176. For a detailed study of the work's history and reliability, see Xiong Weiye 熊偉業, *Xima Xiangru yanjiu*, 363–386. For the study of "lao" 老, check Han Shufeng 韓樹峰, "Lun Qin Han shiqi de lao" 論秦漢時期的老, *Jianbo* 簡帛 13 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016), 165-183.

[104] Xiong Weiye 熊偉業, *Sima Xiangru yanjiu*, 95–110.

Summer of Yuanguang, 4th to 5th year (131–130 BCE)	The imperial court sent a thousand workers to Ba and Shu to construct roads to the hilly area of Sichuan. The imperial court heard of unrest among locals.
Spring to summer of Yuanguang, 5th year (130 BCE)	Sima Xiangru went on his first diplomatic mission to Shu to soothe the flared tempers of Ba and Shu locals.
Summer of Yuanguang, 5th year, to Yuanshuo 元朔, 1st year (130–128 BCE)	Tang Meng sent tens of thousands of workers of Ba, Shu and Guanghan for road construction.
Autumn of Yuanguang, 5th year, to winter of Yuanguang, 6th year (130–129 BCE)	Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 surveyed public sentiment in Sichuan.
Yuanguang, 6th year, to Yuanshuo 元朔, 1st year (129–128 BCE)	Sima Xiangru went on his second diplomatic mission to the southwest and wrote *Blaming the People of Shu*.

As we have already seen, the Western Han Empire quickly implemented harsh policies in Shu. As Sichuan was a natural geographical point of access to the peoples living in the hilly area of the southwest, the area became the empire's "southward-movement base" to fulfill Emperor Wu's expansionism. Sichuan and its locals thus provided resources and manpower for the empire, specifically in the way of military mobilization and requisitioned rice. As Sichuanese resisted these imperial activities, Tang Meng implemented military rule there. This authoritarian presence frightened Ba and Shu locals and even shocked the capital, according to relevant historical records.

As a coordinator between the metropolis and the colony, Sima went to Shu with instructions from Emperor Wu to lessen the tension among locals. In *A Call to Ba and Shu*, Sima told the locals of Shu and Ba about the mission to become an imperial subject:

First, Sima explained that the Western Han Empire was a powerful, moral, and righteous empire that sought to maintain the rights and benefits of its people. Second, as Sichuan was a part of the empire, Sichuanese should support the imperial policy and behave well as subjects of the empire. Sima further identified three sets of obligations that the empire's subjects should shoulder: (1) assume the empire's responsibilities as though they were your own, even if you must make personal sacrifices for the empire; (2) show loyalty to the emperor and the empire, just as you show filial piety and respect for the elderly; and (3) honor your family through rendering meritorious service to the empire.[105]

Therefore, Sima gave two options to locals: accept the value system offered by Chang'an and become good subjects of the empire or become "barbarians." By helping the Western Han Empire colonize the southwest, Sichuanese could receive rewards from the empire and pass down land to their descendants. Locals of Sichuan, however, seem to have remained unimpressed with the worth of such benefits, even after Sima sent his *A Call to Ba and Shu*. Although the people of Shu did not collectively stop or resist the southwestern expansion, they resisted passively—and this, despite Tang Meng's threatening military presence in the region. In response to the passive resistance, the emperor sent Chancellor Gongsun Hong on an on-site inspection to Shu. After returning to the metropolis, Gongsun Hong argued that the emperor should stop the southwestern expansion and that colonizing the

[105] For the colonized peoples' rendering of meritorious service to the empire, Sima Xiangru equated "loyalty to the emperor and the empire" with "civilization." A remarkably similar colonial discourse took place between metropolitan Tokyo and colonial Taiwan. Intellectuals in colonial Taiwan yearned for "modernity" (a byword for 'civilization') and reduced the practice of modernity to displays of loyalty to the Japanese emperor and the empire, as discussed in Leo T. S. Ching, "Colonizing Taiwan," in *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 28–29.

southwestern part of the Western Han Empire would bring the metropolis little benefit.

Emperor Wu, however, seems to have rejected the arguments made in Gongsun's report. The emperor soon sent Sima to Shu, where the native Sichuan official was tasked with the difficult job of establishing calm in the region.[106] This time Sima was given more opportunities to show Shu locals the benefits of becoming active supporters of both the empire and its colonizing project in the southwest. The governor of Shu Commandery even welcomed Sima outside Chengdu city, where locals could gain exposure to the metropolis' generosity. Shu locals were impressed with the glory that the empire had bestowed on Sima, a Sichuan native. In this sense, as a broker, Sima successfully demonstrated the worth that the empire could offer to would-be skeptics and resistors.

From the viewpoint of the metropolis, to turn Sichuan into the empire's "southward-movement base" required positive reinforcement in both political and cultural terms. Using such propaganda, the central authorities could transform the peoples of Sichuan into loyal subjects who would willingly meet the empire's needs for colonizing the southwest. The colonial policy of the Western Han Empire's metropolis resembles the colonial policies of modern empires. Take, for example, Japan's colonization of the East Asian island of Taiwan, from 1895 to 1945. By initiating the Pacific War (1941–1945), Japan was attempting, in part, to assimilate Taiwanese to Japanese ways of thinking,[107] which would make Taiwan a twentieth-century "southward-movement base" capable of benefitting the Japanese Empire and of transforming "colonized peoples into loyal imperial

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[106] Ye Hong 葉紅, "Sima Xiangru he Han Wudi shidai de Xinan kaifa" 司馬相如和漢武帝時代的西南開發, *Xinan minzu xueyuan xuebao (zhexue shehui kexueban)* 西南民族學院學報(哲學社會科學版) 21.9 (2000:9): 126–128; Wang Gui 王瑰, "Han xing yibainian Shu di minzhong guojia rentong de fazhan he shenhua" 漢興一百年蜀地民眾國家認同的發展和深化, *Chengdu daxue xuebao (shekeban)* 成都大學學報 (社科版) 2012 (6): 30–36.

[107] For the best analysis of wartime Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule, see Wan-yao Chou, "The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937–1945" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1992).

subjects in preparation for the war."[108]

In terms of function, the Western Han Empire's use of Sichuan closely mirrors the Japanese Empire's use of Taiwan. In an attempt to rationalize and legitimate the Western Han Empire's southwestern expansion, Sima argued that if Shu people opposed the expansion, Ba and Shu alike would remain isolated and uncivilized.[109] He further pointed out that the southwestern expansion was an extension of power common to powerful states and that, although people might fear the expansion at first, they would embrace it upon its successful conclusion, sharing profitably in the empire's glory. As the chief intermediary coordinating between the metropolis and the colony, Sima won the support of Sichuanese. According to *Records of the Grand Historian*, the leaders of Qiong (邛), Zuo (筰), Ran (冉), Malong (馬龍), and Shiyu (斯榆) submitted themselves to the rule of the Western Han Empire.[110] Sima enjoyed great success in his efforts to facilitate the empire's southwestern expansion. Emperor Wu was pleased with Sima's success, and in the end, Shu became the empire's "southward-movement base."

In this respect, both *A Call to Shu and Ba* and *Blaming the People of Shu* were propaganda pieces intended to convince Sichuanese of the benefits of becoming imperial subjects. In *A Call to Ba and Shu*, Sima specifically emphasized the characteristics of qualified subjects of the empire and listed the incentives that faithful imperial subjects could expect, including a fair promotional system and enhanced family honor. In *Blaming the People of Shu*, Sima presented the picture of a utopia, endeavoring to persuade locals to

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[108] Leo T. S. Ching, "Between Assimilation and Imperialization: From Colonial Projects to Imperial Subjects," in *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 92.

[109] The international-relations specialist, Shi Yinhong of Renmin University of China, has analyzed and compellingly interpreted Sima's *Blaming the People of Shu* from the perspective of imperialism. See Shi Yinhong 時殷弘, "Wenming diguo zhuyi de Zhongguo banben—Sima Xiangru 《Nan Shu fulao》 ji qita" 文明帝國主義的中國版本—司馬相如《難蜀父老》及其他, *Wenhua zongheng* 文化縱橫 8 (2011): 97–100.

[110] *SJ*, 116, 2994.

support imperial policies spiritually, to unite their own future with the empire's future, to contribute their talents to the realization of the empire's ideals, and to make personal sacrifices on behalf of the empire. Sima's work served to imbue in locals a patriotic ideal that would become part of their self-awareness. Once a part of their core belief system, the Western Han's subjects would promote peace within the empire and demonstrate the ideal of imperialism so that others might follow it.[111]

Sima quite clearly exhibited an inclination to identify himself with the metropolis, endeavored earnestly to make Sichuan part of the empire, and was an ardent collaborator with the empire's colonial projects. As for Yang Xiong,[112] whose birth occurred nearly a century after Sima's but whose life experiences were similar to Sima's, the "empire" with which Yang identified was dramatically different from the one to which Sima had pledged his allegiance. The Western Han Empire during the peak years in Yang's life was on the verge of collapse. At the time, Yang chose to study at the Imperial Library, the empire's knowledge base, in the metropolis. During the transition from the Western Han Empire of the Lius to the Xin Empire of Wang Mang, Yang identified with the new empire, which he regarded as founded upon the classical ideal of Confucianism. To Yang, an empire was not so much a political entity unto itself as a political representation of a cultural ideal.

Yang's scholarship owed its roots to the academic traditions of Sichuan. Before

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[111] We can see a remarkably similar colonial discourse in colonial Taiwan. In 1937, the seventeenth Governor-General of Taiwan, Kobayashi Seizo, declared, "Given the imperial nation's mission, the position of Taiwan, and current world affairs, the imminent task is to have five million islanders unite equally in acquiring the qualification of Japanese people, in renewing their resolution together for the prosperity of the nation. In order to do so we must…cultivate the groundwork for loyal imperial subjects." Leo T. S. Ching, "Between Assimilation and Imperialization: From Colonial Projects to Imperial Subjects," in *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 92.

[112] The related text of Yang Xiong is "The Biography of Yang Xiong" in *HS*, 87. The English translation and the annotation of Yang Xiong's biography are by David Knechtges, *The Biography of Yang Xiong (53 BC–AD 18)* (Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1982). For research pertinent to Yang Xiong, see Wang Qing 王青, *Yang Xiong pingzhuan* 揚雄評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2000) and Ji Guotai 紀國泰, *Xidao Kongzi Yang Xiong* 西道孔子揚雄 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2012).

becoming an official in the metropolis, Yang had been deeply influenced by Shu traditions. Likewise, Sima Xiangru had been a Shu native who became an official in the metropolis, as discussed above. Occurring before the Western Han Empire institutionalized its official recruitment system, Sima's success provided a reference for Sichuanese who wished to pursue an official career in the metropolis. Ban Gu points out,

> When Sima Xiangru made his foray into officialdom among the lords of the capital and became renowned to the age for his exquisite literary language, his fellow townsmen longed to follow in his footsteps. Later, there were the likes of Wang Bao, Yan Zun, and Yang Xiong, whose writings were the best in the subcelestial realm. This was from Wen Weng's guiding their instruction and [Sima] Xiangru's serving as a model for them.[113]
>
> 及司馬相如遊宦京師諸侯，以文辭顯於世，鄉黨慕循其跡。後有王褒、嚴遵、揚雄之徒，文章冠天下。繇文翁倡其教，相如為之師。

Inspired by Sima, Yang knew the skills on which colonial intellectuals depended when pursuing an official career in the metropolis. The success of Sima inspired Yang to follow in his elder's steps. Therefore, Yang also wrote rhapsodies.[114] Interestingly, Sima was not the only source of inspiration for Yang: another Sichuanese, Wang Bao 王褒, had become an official of the empire owing, in part, to his composition of rhapsodies. Born later than Sima but earlier than Yang, Wang received a personal recommendation from the governor of Yizhou and subsequently served Emperor Xuan in the metropolis.[115] Yang thus followed the example of not only Sima but Wang and perhaps others, as well. Yang arrived in Chang'an in December of Yanyuan 延元, the 1st year of Emperor Cheng 成帝. First Yang served under *dasima* 大司馬 (the Marshal of State) Wang Shang 王商 (?-25 BCE). Amazed by Yang's writings, Wang recommended him to Emperor Cheng, who appointed him

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[113] *HS*, 8B, 1645, trans., Michael Farmer, *The Talent of Shu: Qiao Zhou and the Intellectual World of Early Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 14.
[114] For an analysis of Yang's rhapsodies, see David Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the* Fu *of Yang Hsiung (53 BC–AD 18)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
[115] *HS*, 34B, 2822; an English-language introduction to Wang Bao's life is available in Sharon S. J. Hou, "Wang Bao," in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William Nienhauser Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 871–892.

Palace Attendant (待詔承明殿). This appointment started his official career, which brought him into contact with the Western Han Emperors Cheng (33-7 BCE), Ai 哀, Ping 平 (7-1 BCE), and—as an infant—Ying 孺子嬰, until Wang Mang established the Xin Empire.

Emperors Yuan and Cheng, who held the throne during the later years of the Western Han Empire, were not as fond of rhapsodies as Emperor Wu had been. Regarding the development of Confucian learning, the selection system underwent no significant change until the reign of Emperor Cheng. This development may be the historical start of *duzun rushu* (獨尊儒數, the dominance of Confucian learning).[116] On the imperial court, not only did Confucian officials gradually marginalize non-Confucian officials but also scholars steeped in the classics could catch the emperor's attention much more readily than could officials who presented rhapsodies to the emperor. To meet the changing demands of the metropolis, Sichuanese scholars changed accordingly. For example, consider Emperor Cheng's Marshal of State, He Wu 何武. Born in Pi County 郫縣 in Shu Commandery, He Wu honored the merits of the Western Han Empire during his youth by composing rhapsodies with Wang Bao. He Wu and Yang Fuzhong 楊覆眾 from Chengdu became *getong* (歌僮, junior performers), and in this capacity, He Wu got the opportunity to travel to the metropolis.[117] However, he became a high-ranking official there after having entered the Imperial Academy and studied under academicians specialized in the classics. With his increasingly impressive résumé, He Wu came to the attention of the emperor.

Emperor Cheng had a penchant for Confucian learning and was not even slightly interested in rhapsodies. Already in mid-life when Yang Xiong noticed Emperor Cheng's pronounced indifference to rhapsodies, Yang began to study Confucian learning intensely.

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[116] For a discussion *duzun rushu* (獨尊儒數, the dominance of Confucian learning), see Chapter Five.

[117] *HS*, 56, 3481–3488.

According to Yang, *The Book of Changes* and the *Analects* were the most important classics, so he wrote *Taixuang jing* (太玄經, *The Canon of Supreme Mystery*)[118] and *Fa yan* (法言, *Exemplary Sayings*).[119] Both *The Book of Changes* and *The Analects* were, from Yang's perspective, superior to *The Classic of Poetry*, *The Book of Documents*, *The Book of Rites*, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*. Of all the Confucian classics, only *The Book of Changes* has earned consistent praise in Huanglao philosophy. Scholars agree that Yang's Confucian works exhibit a strong Sichuanese influence, which likely reflects Yang's formative years in Sichuan. During his youth, Yang studied under Zhung Zun, who was called the "master of Daoism" and who expressed a strong preference for Huanglao philosophy.[120] Zhung's works have garnered a reputation for being masterpieces in the Shu academic tradition. After acquiring the essential teachings of Huanglao learning, Yang re-interpretively blended them with Confucian principles. In his later years, Yang devoted himself to researching the classics and wrote *The Canon of Supreme Mystery*, which referred heavily to *The Book of Changes*, and *Fa yan*, which referred heavily to *The Analects*.

Later Yang worked at the Tianlu Pavilion 天祿閣, the imperial library. Many scholars believed that he was stepping down from the political stage to devote himself to academic research.[121] As a court official conducting academic research at the imperial library, why did Yang not passively resist the Western Han Empire, in contrast to most Sichuan intellectuals? Before his forties, Yang chose not to be a government official. His masters—Zheng Zizhen, Zhuang Zun, and Linlü Wengru—had also chosen not to be

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[118] For an English translation of *Taixuan jing* (太玄經, *The Canon of Supreme Mystery*), see Michael Nylan, *The Canon of Supreme Mystery: A Translation with Commentary of the* T'ai Hsüan Ching (Albany: SUNY, 1993).

[119] For an English translation of *Fa yan*, see Michael Nylan, *Exemplary Figures: A Complete Translation of Yang Xiong's* Fayan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

[120] Wang Ping 王萍, "Yan Zun Yang Xiong de Daojia sixiang" 嚴遵、揚雄的道家思想, *Shandong daxue xuebao* 山東大學學報 1 (2001): 72–77.

[121] Xu Fuguan, *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 286.

government officials, even though they had acquired the qualifications to attain such positions. When Yang became an official in his forties, he realized that even his status as a low-ranking gentleman *lang* gave him an opportunity to witness the political activity of the imperial court. According to Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, Yang alienated himself from politics because he did not really identify with the Han court. As a Sichuanese official in the metropolis, he traveled back and forth between the capital and his hometown, and his mindset shifted back and forth between an appreciation for realpolitik and a commitment to classical ideals.[122] Yang ultimately identified himself not with the Western Han Empire but with classical Confucian ideals.

More specifically, Yang admired Confucian ideals but rejected the Confucian classics recognized by the Han court.[123] According to him, Confucian learning represented by Confucius was the core of authentic Confucian learning. By modeling the form of his work *Fa yan* after the Question & Answer format of *Lun yu* 論語 (The Analects), he sought to comment on four primary issues: (1) pre-Qin academic schools in order to underscore the importance of Confucian learning; (2) Western Han academic thought in order to criticize both the "chapters and sections" method of commentary and Western Han scholars' inclusion of prophetic-apocryphal works in Confucian studies; (3) historical figures in order to convey his belief that criticism should rest on facts and not on unsubstantiated opinion, even though Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* frequently made unsubstantiated

[122] Scholars argue that Yang stood as a recluse in the halls of imperial power and often sequestered himself in the imperial library. See Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty*, 203–227; Alan J. Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 140–145.

[123] *Zhangju*, or the "chapters and sections" method, is way of extensively interpreting the difficult passages in ancient texts. The Western Han government officially sanctioned the method. Yang states, "When I was young, I was fond of study. I did not engage in *zhangju* [章句, the 'chapters and sections' method], but limited myself to an understanding of the glosses and explanations." *HS*, 57A, 3514; trans. David Knechtges, *The Han shu Biography of Yang Xiong*, 12–13.

assertions; (4) Yang praised the regime of Wang Mang through Confucian classics.[124]

By praising and condemning various historical figures and events in his written works, Yang aimed to uncover problems in the Western Han Empire's academic circles and to defend authentic Confucian ideas. It is clear that the rapidly declining Western Han Empire was not the realization of Confucian ideals. It is equally clear that Emperor Cheng was a wasteful and licentious ruler, Emperor Ai was incompetent, and Emperor Ping was young, politically weak, and intellectually naive. From Yang's perspective, the truly sage emperor is the one who genuinely embraces Confucian ideals. Only such an emperor can undertake successful governance.

Wang Mang's commitment to classical knowledge inherent in the principle of *fengtian fagu* (奉天法古, "follow heaven and learn from the ancients"). According to Yang, the precept "follow heaven" means that the legitimacy of rule comes from the heavens, so that when an emperor does not behave, the heavens will unleash disasters on his empire, thus warning him of his disobedience's dire consequences. If such an emperor proves to be incorrigible, Heaven will punish him. In this sense, rulers who learned from the ancients were rulers who practiced *lizhi* 禮治 (rule by ritual). In the eyes of Yang, Wang Mang was diligent about public affairs, established schools, composed ceremonial music, assigned specific styles of clothing to different ranks and occasions, and restored the well-field system—all accomplishments that made Wang comparable with great figures like the "sage kings" Yao, Shun, and Duke of Zhou.[125]

In his works, Yang also revealed his assessment of the relationship between the

[124] Zhu Xi 朱熹 of the South Song dynasty (1127-1279 CE) demonstrated that the last section of Yang Xiong's *Fa yan* eulogized Wang Mang's deeds and Wang's virtue equaled the virtue of Yi Yin 伊尹 and the Duke of Zhou. See Zhu Xi, *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 8.63a–b.

[125] Yan Buke 閻步克, "Fengtian fagu de Wang Mang xinzheng" 奉天法古的王莽新政, *Shidafu zhengzhi yansheng shigao* 士大夫政治演生史稿 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), 360–411.

metropolis and the provinces. Both the Qin and Western Han Empires conquered and colonized places that differed both from one another and from the metropolis culturally. Every year, provincial officials needed to report to the metropolis regarding their Commandery's population figures, financial conditions, criminal statistics, and social conditions. This process was called *shangji* 上計 (report to superiors).[126] Officials reporting to a superior would gather in the imperial capital and would convey the information in their own dialect. In addition, minority groups that submitted themselves to imperial rule needed to pay tribute to the emperor every year. Given these many instances of ethnic and linguistic diversity in the Western Han Empire, Yang took an interest in the topic. In fact, he spent 27 years studying and recording "alien languages" spoken by emissaries at their lodging places.[127] In his later years, he completed his work *Fang yan* 方言 (Regional Speech) after integrating his records with *Fang yan genggai* 方言梗概 (Outlines of Regional Speech), written earlier by his master Linlü Wengru of Sichuan.[128] From Yang's point of view, *Fang yan* could help the central government rule different peoples around the empire and disseminate metropole culture to remote regions. It also apparently would strengthen the central government's efforts to archive issues related to these different peoples.[129] *Fang yan* is, in a legitimate sense, an early work of ethnography and linguistics.

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[126] For the process of *shangji*, see Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄, "Qin Han de shangji he shangji li" 秦漢的上計和上計吏, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 19 (1982:2): 15-22; Xu Xinxi 徐心希, "Shangji zhidu de lishi kaocha" 上計制度的歷史考察, *Fujian shifan daxue xuebao* 福建師範大學學報 4 (1992): 35-53.

[127] See *QHW*, 411.

[128] For a detailed study of textual history, see Wang Qing, *Yang Xiong pingzhuan*, 298–307; a version of Hong Mai (1123–1202) can be found in *SBCK*, 15.5a–b, and is entitled *Youxuan shizhe juedai yushi bieguo fangyan* 輶軒使者絕代語釋別國方言 (*The Light Chariot Envoys' Languages of Distant Ages: Explaining the Regional Spoken Words of Different States*). The best English study on this issue is David Knechtges, "The Liu Hsin/Yang Hsiung Correspondence on *The Fang Yan*," *Monumenta Serica* 33 (1977–78): 318–25.

[129] Guo Junming 郭君銘, "*Fang yan* de chuangzuo yu Yang Xiong de minzu sixiang" 方言的創作與揚雄的民族思想, *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中華文化論壇 43 (2004:3): 55–58.

Although Yang never conducted fieldwork in different parts of the empire and acted more like an armchair anthropologist, his records of the regions' languages and customs facilitated the ruler of the Western Han Empire.

Besides collecting information about dialects, Yang wrote a history of the metropolis and Sichuan. In *Records of the Grand Historian*, Sima Qian shed light on the history of the Western Han Empire by recording events that extended from Emperor Gaozu to Emperor Wu (141-87 BCE). By contrast, Yang studied and wrote about the history of the Western Han Empire extending from Emperor Xuan (74-48 BCE) to Emperor Ping (9-6 BCE).[130] As no surviving copy exists of Yang's written history of the empire, his viewpoints on the history of Sichuan remain unknown. The surviving passages in *Shuwang benji* 蜀王本紀 (Basic Annals of the Kings of Sichuan), which is his history of ancient Sichuan, reveal that Yang willfully modeled the structure of this text after the structure of Sima Qian's *Records.*[131] That is to say, Yang employed the biographical approach to writing his history of ancient Sichuan. For example, for his *Annals*, Yang wrote brief introductions to the lives of Cancong 蠶叢 and Yufu 魚鳧, two ancient Sichuanese kings. He also mentioned the abdication of King Duyu 杜宇 in ancient Sichuan. It seems likely that Yang willfully included the story of King Duyu in his *Annals* in order to advise the Western Han emperors regarding how they might best hand over their own thrones to true sages.

In addition, regarding the origin of the Sichuanese dialect, Yang created a new historical memory by establishing a link between the Yellow Emperor and Yu the Great, thus

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[130] According to Wang Chong, *Lun heng*, 198.

[131] Hong Yixuan 洪頤煊 ed., *Shu wang benji* 蜀王本紀, *Jingdian jilin* 經典籍林 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan). Some scholars question the authenticity of *Shuwang benji*. See Zhu Xizu 朱希祖, "*Shuwang benji* kao" 蜀王本紀考, *Shuowen yuekan* 說文月刊 3.7 (1942): 117–120; Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, "Lun *Shuwang benji* chengshu niandai ji qi zuozhe" 論蜀王本紀成書年紀及其作者, *Lun Ba Shu wenhua* 論巴蜀文化 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1981), 138–149. For an evaluation of the authorship of *Shuwang benji*, see Michael Farmer, *The Talent of Shu: Qiao Zhou and the Intellectual World of Early Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 124–125.

incorporating the history of Sichuan into the history of the Central Plains.[132] Yang fabricated historical stories about abdications and hangings.[133] Yang idealized the Xin Empire, not the Western Han Empire. After Wang Mang founded the Xin Empire, Yang wrote "Denigrating the Qin and Praising the Xin" (劇秦美新)[134] to express his loyalty to Wang Mang's regime and even called Wang the "true son of heaven" and "true emperor" (真皇):

> You are a partner with heaven, a twin with earth;
> You join with the divine luminaries.
> You match the Five Sovereigns,
> And tower over the Three Kings
> Since the Creation, I have never heard of anyone greater. I am truly delighted to make manifest the Hsin [Xin] virtue and let it shine without limit.[135]

To intellectuals after him, Yang was not a man of integrity, as he betrayed the Western Han Empire.[136] Yang did not, however, betray anyone or anything and this identity was his way to act and to resisting under Western Han colonial rule, because he believed that a new imperial regime built upon Confucian ideals would make manifest his political ideals.

Conclusion

Being colonized, peoples in Sichuan struggled against their colonizer. In this chapter, I have abandoned the conventional "Sinicization" view of Chinese history while reviewing the history of Sichuan after the Qin and Han occupations. I have argued that "Sinicization" is a

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[132] Wang Mingke 王明珂, "Lun panfu: jindai Yan Huang zisun guozu jianguo de gudai jichu" 論攀附：近代炎黃子孫國族建構的古代基礎, *SYSJK* 73.3 (2002:9): 596–597.

[133] Yang Ming 楊明, *Qin Han Xi-Jin Zhongyang yu Ba Shu difang guanxi yanjiu*, 90.

[134] Yang Xiong, "Ju Qin mei Xin" 劇秦美新, *QHW*, 415–416; for an English translation of *Ju Qin mei Xin*, see David R. Knechtges, "Uncovering the Sauce Jar: A Literary Interpretation of Yang Hsiung's 'Chu Ch'in mei Hsin'" in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization,* eds., David T. Roy and Tsien Tsuen-hsuin (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), 235–243.

[135] David R. Knechtges, "Uncovering the Sauce Jar: A Literary Interpretation of Yang Hsiung's 'Chu Ch'in mei Hsin'," 235.

Zhu Xi highly criticized Yang Xiong's "Ju Qin mei Xin" for his disloyalty. See Zhu Xi, *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目, 8.63a–b.

Sino-centric belief fabricated by conquerors, irrespective of facts. Facing colonial regimes, ancient Sichuanese did not fit the stereotypical profile of "passive barbarians." Under Qin and Western Han colonial rule, ancient Sichuanese demonstrated their agency by choosing resistance, passivity, or collaboration. As Qin and Western Han colonization policy changed, ancient Sichuanese changed their preferred expression of agency in responding to the colonizer. When the Qin state implemented indirect rule, believing that they could recover the land that Qin had taken away, the original ruling class of Sichuan began to resist the Qin state. When the Qin Empire fell, ancient Sichuanese chose to cooperate with a new ruler, Liu Bang. The Western Han Empire launched the policy of economic exploitation after taking over Sichuan; some Sichuanese merchants attempted to comply with the policy, whereas others broke the law and sold merchandise illegally across borders. These two groups of merchants expressed their agency by pursuing the optimal outcome, as they perceived it, in the context of the empire's strict colonial policy. When Sichuanese *en masse* perceived the empire's treatment of the Sichuanese colony as being too harsh, they stood up and resisted.

Many Sichuanese intellectuals passively avoided involvement in the Western Han colonial regime even though they were qualified for prestigious official positions; indeed, some of these intellectuals openly rejected multiple recruitment offers. Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong were two Sichuanese intellectuals who, by contrast, worked for the empire. Sima chose to collaborate with the Western Han colonial regime and brokered conflicts between the metropolis and Sichuan. The role of Yang was rather ambiguous: although he served the Western Han Empire for many years, he concentrated on academic research and ignored public affairs, thus adopting a rather passive attitude. Rather than identifing with the declining Western Han Empire, Yang expressed his preference for the Xin Empire, which—he argued—was founded upon genuine ancient values and Confucian ideals.

5

The Making of Metropolitan and Local Identities in the Eastern Han Empire

Introduction

How exactly were metropolitan and local identities of early imperial China created and constituted and what factors were involved during the Eastern Han era? In this chapter, I analyze three aspects of how the Eastern Han Empire established its metropolitan identity: (1) the establishment of the Confucian classics as the orthodox texts; (2) the establishment of Confucian morality and knowledge of the texts as the basis for the recruitment of bureaucrats; (3) the empire's capital, Luoyang 洛陽 became the center of a metropolitan society where bureaucrats and intellectuals across the empire gathered to establish a collective intellectual identity; and (4) the imperial government established academies in the capital and academies at the local level, staffed with Confucian officials, whose central aim was to control local customs and to civilize imperial subjects.

How local influential social group in Sichuan respond to the metropolitan identities? Through the empire's selection system, they became part of the ruling class. Despite supplying the empire with many bureaucrats, these Sichuanese families were of little importance to the empire's overall bureaucratic organization and academic culture. Hence, the families tended to focus on local affairs, including agricultural irrigation, business operations, resource extraction in the surrounding mountains, and road construction.

Sichuan's great families contacted the metropolis only when they needed government assistance for major public construction projects and for wartime contingencies. In most cases, the families handled local affairs by themselves.

Although the metropolis made its influence felt in Sichuan's academic development, Sichuan had its own academic tradition. Sichuanese selectively, rather than passively, accepted the orthodoxy established by the metropolis. From the first to the fourth centuries CE, local Sichuanese identity actually developed a distinctly anti-metropolitan stance.

Establishment of the Empire's Orthodoxy

In the Western and Eastern Han Empires, the Confucian classics constituted the official syllabus of government academies. In addition to the classics' academic significance, they were undeniably important to the history of China's political and social development. According to previous scholarship, the Western Han imperial government recognized, by the reign of Emperor Wu, that the Five Classics include *The Book of Poetry*, *The Book of Documents*, *The Book of Rites*, *The Book of Changes*, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*, and were superior to the works of all other schools of thought.[1] Emperor Wu promoted scholars who made it their life's work to study the Five Classics. Nevertheless, the emperor's goal of "dismissing the hundred schools and reserving Confucianism as the sole, dominant ideology" (罷黜百家 獨尊儒術) remained controversial.[2] According to Fukui Shigemasa 福井重雅, the state sponsorship of academicians devoted to studying and promoting The Five Classics probably emerged during the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (25-57

[1] However, a leading scholar has argued that "there is nothing in Western Han records to warrant a belief that in his [Emperor Wu's] time 'Confucianism' existed as an ideal or an established way of controlling and enriching mankind, or that it had vanquished other modes of thought by a 'victory'." See Michael Loewe, *Dong Zhong shu, a 'Confucian' Heritage and the Chunqiu Fanlu* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 335.
[2] *HS*, 6, 212.

CE)—which is to say, during Eastern Han times.[3] Regardless, the Imperial Academy still taught non-Confucian texts, and Confucian scholars did not play a dominant role during the reign of Emperor Wu.[4] One thing that is certain, however, is that scholars who trained in Confucian texts began to gain increasing influence at court in late Western Han times.[5] Although the Confucian classics became the official curriculum of government academies, the emperor needed to hold meetings in order to resolve disputes over the choice of classics. The Shiquge Pavilion Meeting 石渠閣, held in 51 BCE during the reign of Emperor Xuan, was one such meeting, important because the emperor attended it in person to settle a dispute over the choice of classics in the curriculum.[6] The presence of the emperor reflects the central role played by Confucian classics in the curriculum of the Imperial Academy.[7]

As the task of interpreting the Confucian classics (including apocrypha) became increasingly complex in late Western Han times, the imperial court began to systematize and simplify the Confucian classics. When founding the Xin Empire, Wang Mang declared that Confucianism was orthodox,[8] and Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han Empire continued

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[3] Fukui Shigemasa 福井重雅, *Kandai Jukyō no shiteki kenkyū—Jukyō no kangakuka o meguru teisetsu no saikentō* 漢代儒教の史的研究—儒教の官学化をめぐる定説の再検討 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2005), 111–260.

[4] For a demonstration of Emperor Wu's strong personal concern for the teachings of the *fangshi* and for literature in general, see Yang Shengmin 楊生民, "Han Wudi 'bachu baijia, duzun rushu' xintan – jianlun Han Wudi 'zun rushu' yu 'xiyan (yin) baiduan zhi xue'" 漢武帝 '罷黜百家獨尊儒術'新探–兼論漢武帝 '尊儒術' 與 '悉延(引)百端之學', *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao* 首都師範大學學報 2000 (5): 6–11.

[5] Cai Liang points out that the witchcraft event made the great opportunity for the development of the Confucian empire, see Cai Liang, *Witchcraft and the Rise of the First Confucian Empire* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014).

[6] *HS*, 6, 1929; 41, 3047; Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussion in the White Tiger Hall* (Westport: Hyperion Press, reprint 1973), 91–93.

[7] Qian Mu 錢穆, *Liang-Han jingxue jinguwen pingyi* 兩漢經學今古文平議 (Taipei: Dongda tushu, 1983), 14–17.

[8] When discussing imperial orthodoxy, Robert P. Kramers asks why Confucian scholars ended up playing the most important role in the construction of a Chinese state ideology. He then answers his own question: "In the first place, the Confucians were valued as the preservers and transmitters of earlier royal traditions, and not simply as representatives of one

this policy. During the reign of Emperor Zhang 章帝 (75-88 CE), in order to further standardize Confucian ideology, Emperor Zhang held a meeting in the White Tiger Pavilion Meeting 白虎觀 in 79 CE to elaborate on the similarities and differences among the five works constituting the Five Classics. The aim of this meeting was to continue to promote the interpretation of the Confucian classics, initiated by Emperor Guangwu.[9] Under the emperor's order, Ban Gu organized these debates into the minutes of the meetings, and the text that has come down to us is known as the *Baihu tong* (Minutes of the Baihu Meeting).[10] Rather than determine the content of the Confucian classics, the emperor decided that Confucianism should play the lead role in shaping imperial culture. Therefore, *Baihu tongy* was considered the imperial *guoxian* (國憲, estate of the realm).[11] In sum, Confucian ideas deeply influenced not only the politics of the empire, but its culture, as well.

To the inner circle of elite in the metropolis, however, *Baihu tong* demonstrated a "universal worldview" and the legitimacy of the emperors. Heaven mandates the legitimacy of political power, the ruler on earth (i.e., the emperor) is the son of heaven who rules the public with the mandate of heaven, order on earth comes from heaven, and the emperor receives decrees from heaven to enforce this order on earth. To combine Confucianism with the *yin–yang* and *wu-xing* (Five Phases) schools of thought, Ban Gu modified prophecy and

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school of thought among others. Second, and this was of even greater importance, the driving force behind the development of the Confucian schools was the prophetic quality of a holistic interpretation of man and the universe in their mutual interaction." See "The Development of the Confucian Schools," *CHCH*, 765.

[9] See *HHS*, 3, 137–38.

[10] See *HHS*, 3, 138.

[11]The term '*guoxian*' comes from the *HHS*. According to Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, the emperor ordered the holding of the Baihu Pavilion Meeting, where the attendees were to standardize the meaning of the Confucian classics. Up until then, interpretations had been trivial, disorganized, and ineffectual in the service of the empire's ideology. The standardization transformed Confucian classics into an invaluable tool with which the government could establish order across the empire. See *Zhongguo zhexue fazhan shi: Qin Han* 中國哲學發展史:秦漢 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985), 475.

apocrypha in the *Baihu tong*.[12]

From late Western Han times to the Xin period, emperors attempted to claim political legitimacy by referring to prophecy and apocrypha. For example, Wang Mang exploited a *fuming* (符命, token of the mandate) to found the Xin Empire,[13] and Liu Xiu 劉秀, the founding emperor of the Eastern Han Empire, also used a *fuming* to help his rise to the throne.[14] As prophecy and apocrypha were powerful tools that people believed would be used to overthrow a monarch, the imperial court had to control them so as to emphasize the legitimacy of the Eastern Han Empire. In 56 CE, during the reign of Emperor Guangwu, the court even published illustrated prophecies to avoid opposition to the asserted legitimacy of his imperial rule.[15]

After absorbing elements of different schools of thought and continuously evolving during Han times, Confucianism became the orthodoxy of the Eastern Han Empire. Indeed, Japanese scholars have referred to the empire as a "Confucian state."[16] From then on,

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[12] For more on the subject, see Lin Congshun 林聰舜, *Han dai ruxue biecai: diguo yishi xingtai de xingcheng yu fazhan* 漢代儒學別裁: 帝國意識形態的形成與發展 (Taipei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2013), 213–261.

[13] Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 argues that, although evidence points to Wang Mang as the creator of the *wei* text (apocryphal books), the texts might have had earlier origins. See Gu Jiegang, *Han dai xueshu shilue* 漢代學術史略 (Beijing : Dongfang chubanshe, 1996), 188.

[14] Hou Wailu 侯外廬, *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi (dier juan)* 中國思想通史(第二卷) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1957), 224. Hou demonstrates that the publication of prophecies and apocrypha by Emperor Guangwu was part of the effort to build the Confucian state.

15 Jack Dull, "A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal (Ch'an-wei) Texts of the Han Dynasty" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1966), 5–6. Dull defines the term '*Ch'an Wei*': "the apocrypha are usually referred to as *ch'an-wei*. *Ch'an* means prognostication or divination. *Wei* is the counterpart of the *ching* which means, literally, the warp or lengthwise threads of a fabric but which is used as the general term for the Chinese classics. *Wei* thus means the woof or transverse threads of a fabric, but carries the idea of that which completes the classics; the *Wei* supposedly conveyed the other half of canonical truth."

[16] Itano Chōhachi 板野長八, *Jukyō seiritsushi no kenkyū* 儒教成立史の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), 493-509; Fukui Shigemasa, *Jukyō no kokkyōka kō: Nihon ni okeru gakusetsushi kenkyūshi no seiri* 儒教の国教化(稿) : 日本における学説史・研究史の整理

emperors began to recognize Confucianism's role as a foundation for the emperor's dominance.[17] As noted by Yoshihiro Watanabe, no Chinese ruler until that time had confirmed the dominant role of Confucianism in imperial governance.[18]

Confucianism strongly influenced bureaucrats. Right from the beginning of the Eastern Han Empire, over 70% of major bureaucrats were officials who had studied Confucian learning, a figure that stands in stark contrast to the 26.7% of officials who were Confucian during the reign of Emperor Yuan (49-33 BCE), the highest such figure in the Western Han Empire. The prevalence of Confucianism among bureaucrats in the Eastern Han Empire reflects the establishment of the "Confucian state" in this period.[19] Taking advantage of the "New Texts" [20] approved by the emperor, Confucian bureaucrats secured their "road to wealth and fortune" 利祿之途.[21]

In sum, the emperor, who was the Son of Heaven, received the mandate of heaven to rule the empire. His chief responsibility was to civilize all parts of the empire, and in this mission, Confucian scholars played two important roles: First, the scholars had the right to

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(Tokyo: Shuppansha fumei, 2000), 1-42.

[17] The Baihu Meeting can be seen as the "great monument of an official scholarship, closely bound up with the mystique of empire, which had been the characteristic link between metaphysics and politics." See Robert Kramers, "The Development of the Confucian Schools," *CHCH*, 764.

[18] According to Watanabe Yoshihiro 渡邊義浩, the creation of a Confucian state required that Confucianism (1) be accepted as a concept of governance, (2) permeate the ranks of the bureaucracy, (3) play observable roles in specific seats of power, and (4) find acceptance among local elite. See *Gokan kokka no shihai to Jukyō* 後漢国家の支配と儒教 (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku shuppan, 1995).

[19] See the analysis of the Eastern Han bureaucracy by Watanabe Yoshihiro, *Gokan kokka no shihai to Jukyō*, 99–153.

[20] In later dynastic eras, scholars falsely constructed the Han-era debate between proponents of New Text scholarship and proponents of Old Text scholarship. Little evidence supports the assertion that fierce conflicts erupted between the *jinwen* and *guwen* "schools." Actually, these so-called distinguished schools of Han times were nothing more than a later invention of tradition. Han-era scholars both paid attention to "Old Learning" and adopted New Text classics to interpret apocrypha. The two camps supported the establishment of official learning and understood the importance of imperial patronage, rewards, and reputations to the competitive milieu of intellectuals. See Michael Nylan, "The Chin Wen/Ku Wen Controversy in Han Times," *TP* 80 (1994): 45–83.

[21] *HS*, 58, 3620.

interpret the content of the Confucian classics; and second, Confucian scholars were the practitioners of the civilizing mission and brokers between the metropolis and the rest of the empire. The nature of Confucianism was indispensable to the empire's political functions. And thus, rather than establish a religious system totally independent of the political system, Confucian scholars inserted Confucianism in the political system. For local cultures, the Confucian state's civilizing mission changed their prevailing "aberrant" customs. In the next section of this chapter, I discuss the state's institutionalized representation of Confucianism.

The Roles of the Selection System and the Imperial Academy in the Formation of Metropolitan Society

As the Confucian classics rose in prominence, they came to serve as a foundation for the criteria that the government used when recruiting officials in Eastern Han times. The metropolis recruited local talent through two systems: *chaju* (察舉, personal recommendation) and *taixue* (太學, the Imperial Academy). These systems enabled the metropolis to "institutionalize" metropolitan identity throughout the empire. Two historians—Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望[22] and Huang Liuzhu 黃留珠[23]—have provided detailed information about the official recruitment systems of the Qin and Han Empires. From their works, it is clear that the imperial government implemented *chaju* (察舉) starting in the reign of Emperor Wu in Western Han times. During the Eastern Han Empire, officials reformed this system so that the imperial court would regard knowledge of the Confucian classics as a criterion for the official recruitment in the imperial government. According to Huang, for 350 years,

[22] Yan Gengwang, "Qin Han langli zhidu kao" ("A Study on the Civil Service System of the Qin and Han Dynasties"), *SYSJK* 23 (1951): 89–143.
[23] Huang Liuzhu, *Qin Han shijin zhidu* (Xian: Xibei daxue chubanshe, 1985).

from 134 BCE (during the reign of Emperor Wu) to the end of the Eastern Han era in 220 CE, about 74,000 people were recommended based on the *Xiaolian* standard [孝廉, filial piety and integrity]. About two thousand years ago, when information communication was inconvenient, *chaju* enabled local talent throughout the empire to share a way of life that was the core of the "metropolitan society."[24]

The Imperial Academy was established in 134 BCE during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han times for two purposes: (1) to cultivate talent that would satisfy the intellectual demands of the imperial government;[25] and (2) to standardize the thought of the empire's far-flung intellectuals and, thus, to propagate the empire's policies in different parts of the empire. Although Emperor Wu agreed to Dong Zhongshu's suggestion of establishing the Imperial Academy, the emperor did not actually approve the establishment of the Imperial Academy until a decade later, when Chancellor Gongsun Hong proposed the *dizi yuan* (弟子員, student of the Imperial Academy) system.[26]

The Imperial Academy was a venue for teaching and research. Early on, it was small and hosted only a correspondingly small number of students. In fact, during the reign of Emperor Wu, there were only 50 *dizi yuan*. These students enjoyed exemption from labor service and certain taxes.[27] There were two sources of *dizi yuan*: those whom the imperial court directly selected from 18-year-olds possessing moral character and those whom local officials (commandery, kingdom, county) would recommend to the imperial government.

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[24] Gan Huaizhen has studied Han- and Tang-era *jingcheng shehui* (京城社會), which I translate as "metropolitan society." See Gan Huaizhen, "Han Tang jian de jingcheng shehui yu shidafu wenhua" 漢唐間的京城社會與士大夫文化, in *Zhongguo shi xinlun* 中國史新論, ed. Qiu Zhonglin 邱仲麟 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2013), 165-198.
For a detailed study of the Eastern Han capital, see Hans Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 48 (1976): 1–147.

[25] Zhang Rongfang 張榮芳, "Lun liang-Han taixue de lishi zuoyong" 論兩漢太學的歷史作用, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexueban)* 中山大學學報(哲學社會科學版) (1990:2): 68–76.

[26] *HS*, 6, 172.

[27] *HS*, 58, 3594.

During the reign of Emperor Wu, expertise in Confucian classics was not a necessary qualification for *dizi yuan* because the imperial court had not yet established an orthodox intellectual foundation for the empire. The number of students at the Imperial Academy increased to 100 during the reign of Emperor Zhao (87-74 BCE), to 200 during the reign of Emperor Xuan (74-48 BCE), and then to an impressive 3,000 during the reign of Emperor Cheng.[28] In 146 CE, Emperor Zhi (質帝) proclaimed that government officials—from the General-in-Chief 大將軍 to officials with a pay grade of 600 *shi*—should send their disciples to Luoyang for intensive studies.[29] The massive increase in the number of students attending the Imperial Academy also significantly contributed to the formation of the metropolitan society.

Due to the rapid increase in the number of students at the Imperial Academy, the capital became the center of intellectual exchange for "the best and the brightest" from across the empire. In about the middle of the second century CE, up to 30,000 students resided in the capital,[30] and the Imperial Academy was at the heart of it all. From their social circles in the capital, academicians and students formed a larger, empire-wide network. At the Imperial Academy, students received instruction in the Confucian classics, including *Shi jing* (*The Book of Songs*), *Shang shu* (*The Book of Documents*), *Yi ching* (*The Book of Changes*), *Li ji* (*The Book of Rites*), and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*. The academy also incorporated into its curriculum the lessons learned from codes of conduct, ways of thinking, systems of

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[28] *HS*, 58, 3596.

[29] Du You 杜佑, *Tong dian* 通典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 1463.

[30] For research on the development of the Imperial Academy in Han times, see Gao Mingshi 高明士, *Tang dai Dongya jiaoyu quan de xingcheng-Dongya shijie xingchengshi de yi cemian* 唐代東亞教育圈的形成—東亞世界形成史的一側面 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1984), 84–105; Zhou Guangzhuo 周光倬 and Qiu Lianghu 仇良虎, "Liang-Han taixuesheng kao" 兩漢太學生考, *Shidi xuebao* 史地學報 3.1 (1924): 75–104. For research on the academicians and the classic texts associated with the Academy, see Qian Mu, *Liang-Han jingxue jingu wen pingyi*; Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, 82–165.

morality, and past rulers' successes and failures.

According to Gan Huaizhen, scholars who studied in the capital together, despite hailing from all corners of the empire, would understand one another and develop commonalities. In the capital, scholars mingled not only with one another but also with officials, forming complex social circles. Through such interpersonal relationships as examiner-and-disciple, former-superior-and-subordinate, and master-and-consultant, these talented people gave birth to an empire-wide intellectual identity and network.

The Civilizing Mission

In its own civilizing mission, which invariably changed local customs, modern imperialism forced colonies to fit—or approximate—a designated image.[31] In ancient China, although both the Qin and Western Han empires had their respective civilizing missions, neither of the empires established a metropolitan identity, partly because both of the empires had not Imperial Academy students who could help complete such a mission—circumstances that were not true for the Eastern Han Empire.[32]

After unifying China, the Qin Empire needed to rule its territories, which were home to significantly diverse cultures. Chancellor Li Si is said to have proposed to adopt "officials as legal masters" (*yili weishi*, 以吏爲師). Li Si's aim was to standardize significantly diverse cultures.[33] His aim was the same as the excavated document *Yushu* (語書) of the

[31] Scholarship on French and Portuguese colonialism emphasizes the civilizing mission in modern empires. See M. B. Jerónimo, *The "Civilising Mission" of Portuguese Colonialism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa 1895–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983).

[32] There are significant differences between the civilizing mission of the Roman Empire and that of the Eastern Han Empire. Research points out that the bureaucrats of the Roman Empire did not plan to influence native societies. See Jonathan Williams, "Roman Intentions and Romanization: Republican Northern Italy," in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, eds., S. Keay and N. Terrenato (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001), 94.

[33] Tian Changwu 田昌五, "Qin guo fajia luxian de kaige−du Yunmeng chutu Qin jianzha ji" 秦國法家路線的凱歌−讀雲夢出土秦簡札記, *WW* 文物 1976 (6): 15–19.

Yunmeng Shuihudi Bamboo Slips: In the 20th year of the reign of Emperor Zheng of the Qin Empire (227 BCE), Governor Teng (騰) of the Nan Commandery ordered all counties and cities to standardize their customs.[34] After General Bai Qi 白起 of the Qin defeated the Chu in 278 BCE, the state established Nan Commandery in the northern part of what had previously been Chu. From the defeat of the Chu through the establishment of Nan Commandery to the issuing of *Yushu*, a half century passed, and by the end of that period, the general population residing in the Nan Commandery region still had not given up their customs.

Both the Qin Empire and the Western Han Empire had pursued their own set of ideas for the standardization of significantly diverse cultures' equally diverse customs. The Qin Empire thus banned illicit ceremonies. In the "Langye Inscription,"[35] the First Emperor emphasized rectification of alien local customs 匡飭異俗. Emperors of the Han sent upright officials to different parts of the empire to promote the civilizing mission and change customs (*yifeng yisu*, 移風易俗). Originally multiple customs should be rectified and standardized in order to achieve the goal of *wanli tongfong* (萬里同風, "one empire, one culture"). Bureaucrats tasked with the civilizing mission wanted to ensure that "one culture" reigned across the empire.[36]

A major difference is observable between the Eastern Han Empire and the Qin and Western Han Empires: whereas the Eastern Han Empire established a large group of officials

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[34] Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組, *Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 [Bamboo strips from the Qin tomb at Shuihudi] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991).

[35] For the annotated translation of the Langye Inscription, see Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2000), 17-18.

[36] Wang Jianwen also mentions the relationship between the "upright" officials and Huaxia consciousness during Han times. See Wang Jianwen 王健文, "Diguo zhixu yu zuqun xiangxiang─dizhi Zhongguo chuqi de huaxia yishi" 帝國秩序與族群想像─帝制中國初期的華夏意識, *Xin shixue* 新史學 16.4 (2005:12): 195–220.

and Imperial Academy students to promote the civilizing mission, the other two empires did not. Under the Eastern Han Empire, local officials were the intermediaries between the Son of Heaven and the locals, the latter of whom were the target of the state's civilizing mission. When historian Ban Gu (32–92) of the Eastern Han Empire wrote the chapter entitled "A Treatise on Geography" in the *HS*, cultural diversity remained a prominent feature of the empire. When describing regional customs, Ban promoted two ideas: the idea of managing the customs and the idea of eliminating the bad ones. In his opinion, building schools was the most important task in the civilizing mission, particularly in the metropolis and at the Commandery level.

Local government academies were the empire's key locations for disseminating orthodoxy. To counter the Shu's "barbarian," Governor Wen Weng built government academy in Chengdu and recruited locals to study at this academy. Students were exempt from the otherwise mandatory labor service and could become officials in the local government if they exhibited a high degree of academic excellence. Emperor Wu praised Wen for his effort to run Sichuan academy and thus ordered all commanderies in the empire to build and run their own government academies, which incidentally were not nearly as popular as in the Shu region.[37] It was not until the Eastern Han Empire that commandery academies gained importance.

In colonial Sichuan, the most important government academies were located in Chengdu. To commemorate Wen Weng, the Shu government-run academies in Eastern Han times were called *Wen Weng shishi* (文翁石室, Wen Weng Stone Chambers).[38] According to the

[37] For an evaluation of Wen Weng's achievement, see the previous chapter.

[38] For a discussion about the location of the Wen Weng Stone Chambers, see Michael Farmer, "Art, Education, and Power: Illustrations in the Stone Chamber of Wen Weng," *TP* 86 (2000): 100–135; also see Zhang Xunliao 張勛燎, "Chengdu Dongyujie chutu Han bei wei Han dai Wen Weng shishi xuetang yicun kao—cong Wen Weng shishi Zhougong lidian dao Jinjiang shuyuan fazhanshi jianlun" 成都東御街出土漢碑為漢代文翁石室學堂遺存考—從文翁石

inscription on the tablet *Yizhou taishou Gao Yi xiu Zhougong lidian ji* (益州太守高頤修周公禮殿記, Record of Renovation of the Duke of Zhou Ritual Hall by Gao Yi, Governor of Yizhou) erected in 194 CE during the reign of Emperor Xian, in the early Eastern Han Empire (34 CE), Governor Wen Can (文參) built more than 200 buildings for the Wen Weng Academy. With the exception of Wen Weng's stone building, every single school building in Chengdu burned down in fires that broke out between 107 and 113 CE. Later on in 194 CE, Governor Gao Yi rebuilt the Wen Weng Academy.[39]

Recently unearthed materials have given us new information about the academies in Sichuan's past. In November 2010, workers at the Tianfu Square 天府廣場 construction site in Chengdu unearthed two huge stone tablets dating from Eastern Han times. The tablets respectively recorded the lives of two Shu governors (Pei and Li) between roughly 130 and 150 CE, and were thus named the "Pei Tablet" (2 m tall) and the "Li Tablet" (3 m tall).[40] Because the prime tasks of the two governors were to civilize the locals, advocate the Confucian classics, and build local academies, some scholars believe that the location of these tablets might have been the campus of Chengdu's government academy.[41]

Government academies dotted other counties in Sichuan, as well. Although existing historical records do not precisely locate these academies, they were prominent. For example, during the reign of Emperor Zhang, Yang Ren 楊仁 was a native of Ba who served

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室、周公禮殿到錦江書院發展史簡論, *Nanfang minzhu kaogu* 南方民族考古 8 (2012): 107–172.

[39] See Hong Shi 洪適, *Li shi* 隸釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 17.

[40] For an archaeological report on the "Pei Tablet" and "Li Tablet," see Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 成都市文物考古研究所, "Chengdu Tianfu guangchang Dongyujie Han dai shibei fajue jianbao" 成都天府廣場東御街漢代石碑發掘簡報, *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 南方民族考古 8 (2012): 1–8.

[41] See Zhang Xunliao 張勛燎, "Chengdu Dongyujie chutu Han bei wei Han dai Wen Weng shishi xuetang yicunkao cong Wen Weng shishi Zhougong lidian dao Jinjiang shuyuan fazhan shi jianlun" 成都東御街出土漢碑為漢代文翁石室學堂遺存考—從文翁石室、周公禮殿到錦江書院發展史簡論, *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 南方民族考古 8 (2012): 107–172.

as a magistrate in Shifang County 什邡 in Shu and who ordered the construction of several government academies there.[42] During the reign of Emperor Shun and Emperor Huan in late Eastern Han times, over 800 students attended the government academies established by Feng Hao 馮顥, magistrate of Chengdu County. These facts indicate the impressive scale of government academies in Sichuan at the time.[43]

Not until the Eastern Han Empire did the metropolis establish Confucianism as the empire's intellectual orthodoxy. Then, the state declared that local talent, in order to be appointed as an officials, had to attend and graduate from government-run academies like the Imperial Academy in the metropolis. Some graduates returned to their hometowns and others received assignments throughout the empire to implement the state's civilizing mission.

What roles did bureaucrats of the Eastern Han Empire play when serving as brokers between the metropolis and colonial Sichuan? In the following discussion, I elaborate on these roles.

From *haozu* to *shizu*: The Middle Ground between the Metropolis and Colonial Sichuan

The *haozu* (豪族, great families) in the Eastern Han era are not well defined in the transmitted literature. Since the 1930s, historians in Japan and China[44] have been studying them. According to Yang Lien-sheng 楊聯陞, a *haozu* consists of a family whose members carried the same surname and who formed a prominent, wealthy local social group to which

[42] *HHS*, 79B, 2574.
[43] *HYGZ*, 156.
[44] Yu Yingshi, "Dong-Han zhengquan zhi jianli yu shizu daxing zhi guanxi" 東漢政權之建立與士族大姓之關係, *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua* 士與中國文化 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1987), 217–285; Lao Gan 勞幹, "Han dai de haoqiang jiqi zhengzhi shang de guanxi" 漢代的豪強及其政治上的關係, *Zhongguo gudai de lishi yu wenhua (shangce)* 中國古代的歷史與文化 (上冊) (Taipei: Lianjing, 2006), 132–163.

many other individuals were attached through political or economic relations.[45] Referring to the relations between a *haozu* and the local society, Yang argues that *haozu* had a powerful influence on local societies. From Marxist and economic points of view, Chinese scholars have classified *haozu* as "landlords."[46] From a sociological point of view, Japanese scholar Kawakatsu Yoshio 川勝義雄 defines *haozu* as groups formed by a powerful family connected to many small families through mutual support.[47] Therefore, *haozu*, as a social group, had multiple characteristics, which I discuss below.

Haozu could manipulate the political, economic, and social resources of a local area during Eastern Han times. In early imperial China, *haozu* gradually formed around the middle period of the Western Han era, and their economic influence grew continuously thereafter. Once the Eastern Han Empire established its intellectual and social orthodoxy, members of many *haozu* devoted themselves to studying the Five Classics and thus entered the ruling class, which garnered them even more political influence.[48] Thus, *haozu* eventually became *shizu* (士族, official families).[49] In this section, I use the definition proposed by Liu Tseng-kuei 劉增貴, who refers to *shizu* as "official families," which he

[45] Yang Liansheng 楊聯陞, "Dong-Han de haozu" 東漢的豪族, *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 11.4 (1936): 1007–1063; the English version was published as "Great Families of the Eastern Han," in *Chinese Social History: Translations of Selected Studies*, eds., Sun E-Tu Zen and John de Francis (Washington, DC: American Council of Learned Societies, 1956), 103–136.

[46] Cui Xiangdong 崔向東, *Han dai haozu diyu yanjiu* 漢代豪族地域研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shujiu, 2012), 7.

[47] Kawakatsu Yoshio 川勝義雄, *Rikuchō kizokusei shakai no kenkyū* 六朝貴族制社会の研究 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1982).

[48] For a discussion about the Eastern Han official selection system and its relation to great families, see Higashi Shinji 東晉次, "Gokan jidai no senkyo to chihō shakai" 後漢時代の選挙と地方社会, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 46.2 (1987): 33–60.

[49] It is hard to translate *shi* into a uniform English term. "Man of service," "officer," "knight," and "soldier," were adopted in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For the term *shizu* 士族, I translate it as "official family."

characterizes as (1) any family where more than two members were officials or (2) any family where, although only one member was an official, the family displayed other signs of significant influence.[50]

During the Eastern Han Empire, *haozu* and *shizu* occupied the middle ground between the metropolis and local society. These families were the most prominent leaders handling local affairs and influencing local life. Large families in a single region would often compete with one another, and locals usually aligned themselves with a particular family according to its official ties, moral prestige, and economic influence. A common goal among *haozu* was to transition into *shizu* because, with family members serving as bureaucrats, the families could obtain public displays of recognition from the court, thus forming a desirable and much lauded interdependent relationship between the families and the metropolis.

The selection system and the Imperial Academy provided talented Sichuanese—especially those from *haozu*—to become officials working in the service of the empire. After becoming officials, these Sichuanese used family succession as an effective way of securing "membership in officialdom" for their dependents. According to Liu Tseng-kuei, surviving literature, including *HS*, *HHS* and *HYGZ*, identifies 62 *shizu* in Sichuan during Han times, including 10 from Western Han times and the remaining 52 from Eastern Han times. These statistics suggest that the Eastern Han Empire exceeded the Western Han Empire in providing opportunities for Sichuanese to become imperial bureaucrats.[51]

Table 4: *Shizu* in Sichuan during Han Times[52]

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[50] Liu Zenggui 劉增貴, "Han dai haozu yanjiu—haozu de shizuhua yu guanliaohua" 漢代豪族研究—豪族的士族化與官僚化 (PhD diss., National Taiwan University, 1985).

[51] Liu Zenggui, "Han dai de Yizhou shizu" 漢代的益州士族, *SYSJK* 60.4 (1989:12): 527–577.

[52] Cui Xiangdong 崔向東, *Han dai haozu de diyu texing* 漢代豪族的地域特性 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2013), 112.

Commandery		Shu		Guanghan	Ba		Jianwei		Xiangke	Yongchang
Era		W. E.	19 41	E. 52	W. E.	13 35	W. E.	1 23	E. 2	E. 1
Total		60		52	48		24		2	1

* W.=Western Han era; E.=Eastern Han era

Although Sichuanese could enter political circles in the Eastern Han Empire, discrimination against Sichuanese existed in the metropolis. In the Eastern Han era, members of *haozu* could become officials by passing the *xiaolian* standard, and most officials with pay grades of 2,000 *shi* or higher or with high-ranking positions corresponding to the Three Excellencies (三公) or the Nine Ministers (九卿) were mainly from Guandong 關東.[53] Geographical connections became an important factor in a person's successful acquisition of a position in the Eastern Han Empire. Civil officers from Guandong, recruited according to the *xiaolian* standard, dominated the empire's politics for two hundred years. This is because Guandong at the time had the greatest economic and cultural development. In fact, the political dominance exercised by certain Guandong families can be traced back to the times of Emperor Zhao and Emperor Xuan of the Western Han Empire. Thus, the Eastern Han Empire depended on the leading families from Guandong, rendering its dominance untouchable. This variation in regional power helps explain Sichuanese people's relatively inferior presence in the ranks of Eastern Han officials.

The Eastern Han historian Ban Gu openly demeaned Sichuanese peoples:

> Ba, Shu, and Guanghan commanderies were originally [populated by] the Southern Yi 南夷 [barbarian tribes]. After [these areas] were annexed by Qin, they were made commanderies. The land is fertile and beautiful, possessing rivers to water the wilds and a bounty of mountain forests, bamboo and trees, vegetables, and edible fruit. To the south they purchase young slaves of Dian 滇 and Bo 僰; to the west it is near the horses and yaks of Qiong 邛 and Zuo 笮. The people eat rice and fish, and have no worry about famine years. Since the

[53] Xing Yitian 邢義田, "Dong-Han xiaolian de shenfen beijing" 東漢孝廉的身分背景, *Qin Han shi lungao* 秦漢史論稿 (Taipei: Dongda, 1987), 192–93.

common folk do not suffer hardships, they are easygoing and profligate, weak and mean.[54]
巴、蜀、廣漢本南夷，秦並以為郡,土地肥美，有江水沃野，山林竹木蔬食果實之饒。南賈滇、僰僮，西近邛、莋馬旄牛。民食稻魚，亡凶年憂，俗不愁苦，而輕易淫泆，柔弱褊阨。[55]

The metropolis-based discrimination against Sichuanese gave rise—perhaps ironically, perhaps not—to the strong regional character of Sichuanese, known for their pronounced concern about local affairs and about uniqueness of intellectual identity.

Regional Characteristics and Local Affairs

Past research on the *haozu* or *shizu* of the Eastern Han Empire paid little attention to the regional characteristics of these families. Since the 1980s, more and more scholars, especially Japanese scholars, have noticed that regional characteristics in the Eastern Han Empire resulted in significant differences among these families.[56] The research of some of these scholars revealed that *haozu* and *shizu* were concentrated (1) in the eastern and western regions of the Western Han Empire and (2) in the southeastern, northwestern, and Nanyang regions of the Eastern Han Empire.[57] Interestingly, in neither the Western Han Empire nor the Eastern Han Empire were *shizu* from colonial Sichuan able to play an important role in central political circles. For this reason, these *shizu* turned their focus to local affairs.

The formation of *shizu* in colonial Sichuan during the Eastern Han era was highly correlated with local development. Specifically, the development of Ba and Shu was the

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[54] The English translation comes from Michael Farmer, *The Talent of Shu: Qian Zhou and the Intellectual World of Early Medieval Sichuan*, 9.
[55] *HS*, 8B, 1645.
[56] Tsuruma Kazuyuki 鶴間和幸, "Kandai gozoku no chiikiteki seikaku" 漢代豪族の地域的性格, S*higaku zashi* 史学雑誌 87.12 (1978:12): 1677–1714; Mori Masao 森正夫, *Kyū Chūgoku ni okeru chiiki shakai no tokushitsu: Heisei 2-5 (1990–93) nendo kagaku kenkyūhi hojokin ippan kenkyū (A) kenkyū seika hōkokusho* 旧中国における地域社会の特質 : 平成2-5 (1990–93) 年度科学研究費補助金一般研究(A)研究成果報告書 (Nagoya: Yūjinsha, 1994).
[57] Ma Biao 馬彪, *Qin Han haozu shehui yanjiu* 秦漢豪族社會研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2002), 137–200.

result not of central-government planning but of the voluntary efforts of local *haozu*. During the Eastern Han era, natural disasters, such as floods, droughts, locusts, and plagues, caused the population to shrink and the economies to stagnate in the commanderies and counties controlled by the imperial government.[58] By contrast, agriculture and businesses flourished in Sichuan. With its rich mineral resources and its trade with neighboring communities, Sichuan witnessed growth in its local population. Equipped with well-developed irrigation systems, the farming areas in Sichuan's sloped regions expanded significantly, too. In this context, *haozu* in Ba and Shu acquired great landholdings, extracted the basin's mineral resources, and accumulated wealth to ensure self-sufficiency. These great families asked for metropolitan support only as necessary; at all other times, they attended exclusively to local affairs. Moreover, the chaos in late Eastern Han times prompted the empire to extend military authority to the *haozu* in Ba and Shu, thus foreshadowing Sichuan's *haozu*'s local influence.

Agricultural Development

To exploit the economic resources of Sichuan, the Qin state built Dujiangyan in the 250 BCE, which was an irrigation system north of the alluvial plain of the Min River, to settle local flooding problems. During Western Han and Eastern Han times, the river basin's population relied on the irrigation capacity of the Min River for agriculture. On the Chengdu Plains, major population centers, such as Chengdu and Pi County, were located in the river basin. Before Dujiangyan was built, floods were frequent in the Min River basin; by contrast, the completion of Dujiangyan not only solved the local flooding problems but provided a facility for agricultural irrigation, as well. Archaeologists' discovery of the pottery farming models for mortuary practice have given historians an idea of Sichuan's Han-era farming methods. In general, each basic unit of agricultural land was surrounded

[58] For a discussion of demographic and geographic changes, see Lao Kan, "Population and Geography in the Two Han Dynasties," *Chinese Social History*, 83–101.

by a ridge. Four shorter ridges divided the interior of each unit, and water would pass through openings in these ridges for irrigation purposes. A ditch in middle of the field served as a means of discharge control. The model also shows that ancient Sichuanese divided fields into small units to ensure the flatness of each unit, which was critical to maintaining an even water depth and an orderly maturation of planted seedlings.[59] Paddy fields were the main type of arable land in ancient Sichuan. The model reveals the importance of irrigation facilities to Sichuan's paddy cultivation.

When building a suspension bridge and dike outside of Dujiangyan in 1974, workers found a 2.95-m-tall stone statue. The statue is of a man wearing a hat, a robe, and a serious expression, his hands cupped together. An inscription that accompanies the statue confirms that the statue dates from 168 CE and is of Li Bing, whom it commemorates for his flood-suppression efforts.[60] This statue re-affirms Dujiangyan's ongoing importance to the Chengdu Plains during Eastern Han times. Thanks to Dujiangyan and the Pi (郫), Jian (檢), Jian (湔), and Wenjing (文井) Rivers, irrigation was convenient in the Chengdu Plains and was suitable in the Chengdu Plains for all four seasons, including periods of abundant rainfall and high humidity.

The eastern Chengdu Plains were generally sloped during Eastern Han times, as they are today, and Han-era technology and irrigation improved agricultural production in this area. The sloped area of the Sichuan Basin is about 200 to 300 m above sea level. Although very few records exist regarding irrigation development and agriculture in the sloped areas, objects unearthed from tombs in the sloped area provide evidence of local irrigation and agricultural

[59] For a discussion of the model, see Liu Wenjie 劉文傑 and Yu Dezhang 余德章, "Sichuan Han dai potang shuitian moxing kaoshu" 四川漢代陂塘水田模型考述, *Nongye kaogu* 農業考古 1983 (1): 132–135; see also Liu Zhiyuan 劉志遠, "Kaogu cailiao suojian Han dai de Sichuan nongye" 考古材料所見漢代的四川農業, *WW* 1972 (12): 61–69.

[60] Sichuan Guanxian wenhua ju 四川灌縣文化局, "Dujiangyan chutu Dong-Han Li Bing xiang" 都江堰出土東漢李冰像, *WW* 1974 (7): 13–18.

development. To overcome the geographic problem, farmers practiced terrace cultivation in the sloped area. There were terraces in Qi (鄪), Guanghan (廣漢), Deyang (德陽), and Zizhong (資中).[61] A terrace involves a large area of flat earthen steps, or platforms, each one higher than the preceding one. To build these steps, farmers cut into the slope. Walling, which surrounds parcels of terraced land, ensures that the water inside the land will not flow away from the crops.

Considering the labor required for building terraces, maintaining them, and cultivating paddies, one can surmise just how critical the concerted efforts of locals were to meeting agricultural targets.[62] Terraced agriculture also apparently attributed to the rise of *haozu* in Sichuan during Eastern Han times. In 2000 in the sloping region of Santai County 三台縣, archaeologists found 1,638 tombs within a 15-square-kilometer radius of the riverbank. The interior of the tombs displayed elaborate murals. In the tombs of Liujiayan 劉家堰, in a sloped area less than 100m by 30m, archaeologists uncovered 66 tombs carefully spaced in three orderly rows, with the larger tombs corresponding to the more socially affluent among the deceased.[63] Observations of my field work show that the design of these tombs must have been closely correlated with the sloped area.

Population growth also reflects mass agricultural development. According to the *HS*,

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[61] Based on mortuary objects unearthed from nearby tombs, a Japanese scholar analyzed the agricultural technology, including the irrigation systems, of Eastern Han Sichuan and argued that many immigrants from other parts of the empire had lived in groups in the topographically sloped areas. See Okawa Yuko 大川裕子, "Suiri kaihatsu yori miru Shinkan jidai no Shisen bonchi senjochi to kyuryochi no hikaku kara" 水利開発よりみる秦漢時代の四川盆地--扇状地と丘陵地の比較から, *Chūgoku suirishi kenkyū* 中国水利史研究 32 (2004): 1–14.

[62] See Okawa Yuko 大川裕子, "Suiri kaihatsu yori miru Shinkan jidai no Shisen bonchi senjochi to kyuryochi no hikaku kara" 水利開発よりみる秦漢時代の四川盆地--扇状地と丘陵地の比較から, *Chūgoku suirishi kenkyu* 中国水利史研究 32 (2004): 1–14.

[63] Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 四川省文物考古研究所, Mianyang shi bowu guan, 綿陽市博物館 and Santai xian wenwu guanli suo 三台縣文物管理所 eds., *Santai Qijiang yaimu* 三台鄪江崖墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 265–273.

during the Western Han era in Yizhou, there were 972,783 registered households and 4,608,654 people. According to *HHS*, during the Eastern Han era in Yizhou, there were 1,525,257 households and 7,242,028 people. During the reign of Emperor Ping, the figures for the empire as a whole were 12,233,062 households and 59,594,978 people—the highest such figures at any point during the Western Han era.[64] During the reign of Emperor Heng 恒帝 (146-168 CE), the empire's total number of households was 10,677,960 and total number of people was 56,486,856—the highest such figures at any point during the Eastern Han era.[65] Although the Western Han population outnumbered the Eastern Han population, Sichuan's Ba and Shu Commanderies followed an opposite trajectory, suggesting that the Sichuanese population grew rapidly from the Western Han era to the Eastern Han era. To feed such a large population, Sichuan had to raise its food production. Sichuan had been the rice basket of the Han world since Western Han times, and examples of this agricultural bounty are telling: Emperor Gaozu (Liu Bang) once sent "ten thousand boats to carry rice from Shu and Han to the military" 蜀、漢米萬船而給助軍糧;[66] on another occasion, when a famine broke out in Guanzhong, the empire ordered the Shu people to release rice to victims; and people commonly described paddy fields in Sichuan as a *luhai* 陸海 ("a sea on land").[67]

In this section, we have seen that land acquisition was very popular in Sichuan during Eastern Han times. Through terraced agriculture and irrigation improvements, landowners transformed large tracts of Sichuan into farmland and operated it systematically. The success of this effort helped give rise to great families, or *haozu*, many of whom became formidable landholders. This situation became more pronounced in Eastern Han times, when one family

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[64] For a discussion of demographic and geographic changes, see Lao Kan, "Population and Geography in the Two Han Dynasties," 83–101.
[65] For a discussion of demographic and geographic changes, see Lao Kan, "Population and Geography in the Two Han Dynasties," 83–101.
[66] See *HYGZ*, 133.
[67] See *HYGZ*, 133.

could own tens of thousands of hectares of land.

Sichuanese *haozu* had a strong sense of regional character. Some became officials locally and contacted the imperial authorities only for matters related to irrigation facilities beyond the reasonable control of a single family. This progressive accumulation of economic, governmental, and social power gave these families even more control over local affairs, which encompassed everything from the establishment of commandery and counties to road works and even interactions with neighboring communities.[68] In the next section, I will discuss these issues in Sichuan during Eastern Han times.

Establishment of Commanderies and Road Works

Following agricultural development in the plains and hilly or mountainous areas of Sichuan, the Sichuanese population grew. However, administrative areas and staff were insufficient, and the hilly area east of Sichuan needed new administrative planning. Owing to the hometown avoidance system during the Eastern Han era, government officials could not serve in their own counties, whether at the commandery level or the county level. For this reason, governors and magistrates had to hire local functionaries familiar with local affairs and carry out administration. For example, local functionaries played a decisive role in the division of the Ba Commandery during the period of Emperor Huan's reign (154 CE).[69] The administrative area of the Ba Commandery was extensive. After passing the mid-point of the Eastern Han era, the local population in this administrative area grew rapidly. In 140 CE, the local population of 1,086,049 included 310,691 households. By 154 CE, the population had increased to 1,875,535 people, with the number of households having increased to 464,780. In other words, over a fourteen-year stretch, the number of households increased by 140,000 and the number of people by 790,000. This demographic

[68] Ueda Sanae 上田早苗, "Tomoeshoku no gozoku to kokka kenryoku Chinju to sono sosen tachi o chushin ni" 巴蜀の豪族と国家権力—陳寿とその祖先たちを中心に, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 25.4 (1967:3): 1–22.

[69] See *HYGZ*, 20.

growth increased the workload of local functionaries, whose standard staffing was inadequate to meet the new, larger population's demands. Local functionary Zhao Fen 趙芬 of Danqu 宕渠 County thus gathered Chen Si 陳禧 of Anhan 安漢 County; Gong Rong 龔榮, Wang Ci 王祈 and Li Wen 李溫 of Dianjiang 墊江 County; and Yan Jiu 嚴就, Hu Liang 胡良 and Wen Kai 文凱 of Linjiang 臨江 County to request the dividing of Ba Commandery, increasing government offices, and expanding workforce to Dan Wang 但望, governor of Ba Commandery, so as to increase the number of local officials to carry out local administration. The imperial court eventually established new counties and commanderies to suit the local needs.[70]

Haozu of Ba and Shu asked the central government for help regarding local matters, such as the repair of Baoxie Road 褒斜道.[71] During Eastern Han times, both Baoxie Road and Ziwudao Road 子午道 were the main thoroughfares connecting Sichuan and Guanzhong to each other, and were thus important politically, commercially, and militarily. Baoxie Road was damaged in the Qiang rebellion but was expanded during the reign of Emperor Ming. The importance of the Baoxie Road to the Ba and Shu people can be seen in the "Baoxie Road Opening Tablet" (開通褒斜道石刻).[72] The central government recruited a total of

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[70] For a discussion about the issue, see the following publications: Lan Yong 藍勇, *Xinan lishi wenhua dili* 西南歷史文化地理 (Chengdu: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997), 22–23; Luo Erhu 羅二虎, *Qin Han shidai de Zhongguo xinan* 秦漢時代的中國西南 (Chengdu: Tiandi chubanshe, 2000), 90–101; Li Xiaolong 黎小龍, "Zhanguo Qin Han xinan bianjiang sixiang de quyuxing tezheng chutan" 戰國秦漢西南邊疆思想的區域性特徵初探, *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中國邊疆史地研究 2000 (4): 9–15.

[71] For a comprehensive study of the Baoxie Road, see Guo Rongzhang 郭榮章, *Shimen moya keshi yanjiu* 石門摩崖刻石 (Xian: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985).

[72] For a detailed study of the route during Han times, see Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Han Tang Bao-Xie dao kao" 漢唐褒斜道考, *Xinya xuebao* 新亞學報 8.1 (1967): 101–56. For an English-language introduction to and translation of "Baoxie Road Opening Tablet" (開通褒斜道石刻), see Robert Harrist, *The Landscape of Words: Stone Inscriptions in Early and Medieval China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 38–52.

2,700 prisoners from Guanghan, Ba, and Shu to repair the road. Qiang riots made Baoxie Road impassable in the mid-Eastern Han; only the narrower and dangerous Ziwu Road was passable. During these years, Ba and Shu bureaucrats in the capital submitted many reports to superiors regarding how to secure and repair Baoxie Road. The "Baoxie Road Opening Tablet" reveals that Yang Mengwun 楊孟文, a native Sichuanese, who held the position of *sili jiaowei* 司隸校尉 (Colonel Director of Retainers) in the capital, submitted such a report to the emperor, and with the support of Ba and Shu bureaucrats in the capital, the metropolis finally approved the Baoxie Road repair project.[73]

Business Development

With the access to the selection system, members of *haozu* in Shu became local functionaries. Through political influence, *haozu* ran businesses and accumulated substantial wealth. According to *HYGZ*, as the natural resources of agricultural *haozu* estates varied, each *haozu* specialized in business affairs according to its unique means and interests.[74] Some *haozu* specialized in specific fields, such as mulberry cultivation, tung-tree cultivation, mining, salt production, and metal works. During the Western Han era, the Zhuos made a fortune from iron works and became a local *haozu*. Following the agricultural terracing of hilly areas in the Eastern Han period, many local families became wealthy, and the number of *haozu* increased, as shown in *HYGZ*.[75] One may be curious about how *haozu* lived their life in Eastern Han Sichuan. We could take Chengdu and Jiangzhou as examples.

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[73] For more on this topic, see Nagata Hidemasa ed., *Kandai sekkoku shusei* 漢代石刻集成 Vol. 2 (Kyoto: Dohosha Shuppan, 1994), 104–105.

[74] Ba Jiayun 巴家云, "Han dai Sichuan nongye fangmian jige wenti de tantao" 漢代四川農業方面幾個問題的探討, *SW* 1988 (6): 13–18.

[75] For a detailed analysis of the mineral resources in Eastern Han Sichuan recorded in *HHS*, see the study of Nakabayashi Shiro 中林史朗, "Higashi Kan jidai ni okeru Ekishu ni tsuite—go kanjo o chi" 東漢時代に於ける益州について—『後漢書』を中心として, *Daito bunka daigaku kankaku kaiji* 大東文化大学漢学会誌 1978 (3): 62.

(1) Chengdu and nearby satellite cities:

The Qin state constructed a colonial landscape in Chengdu as a foundation for colonizing the area. Chengdu was an administrative city, and local industry and commerce were controlled by the Qin state. In Western Han times, business flourished in Chengdu. In the first century of the Common Era, the population of Chengdu was only second to that of Chang'an, the capital of the Western Han Empire.[76] As the capital city of Yizhou and the Shu Commandery, Chengdu was both a political and an economic center. During Han times, Chengdu's handicraft industry produced bronze ware, lacquer ware, silk, and linen. Shu fabric was famous:[77] the best of its kind, the fabric was known as "velvety yellow fine cloth" 黃潤細布 and could cost several pieces of gold for a bolt. Gold and silver processing techniques were well developed in Sichuan during Han times, and related products were sold in all parts of the empire and even exported to Lelang 樂浪 (modern Pyongyang) in Korean peninsula.[78] Chengdu was the center of Sichuan lacquer ware: most products were distributed to Hunan and Hubei, and were famous for their exquisite craftsmanship. The colonial government monopolized salt and iron, and had officials oversee the monopoly near Erjiang 二江 in Chengdu during Western Han times. From Western Han to Eastern Han times, Chengdu became an important business metropolis and formed a business network with neighboring markets, including Linqiong County, Pi County, Jiangyuan County 江原縣, Guangdu County 廣都縣, Xindu County 新都縣, Shefang County, Luo County 雒縣, Mianzhu County 棉竹縣, and Wuyang County. These satellite markets were connected to Chengdu by means of convenient river-based transportation: namely, the Min River, Pi River,

[76] Zhou Changshan 周長山, *Han dai chengshi shehui* 漢代的城市社會 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007).
[77] *SDF*, 233.
[78] Harada Yoshito 原田淑人 and Tazawa Kingo 田澤金吾, *Rakuro* 樂浪 (Tokyo: Tokoshoin, 1930), 56–58.

Jian River, and the Wenjing River. In terms of distance from Chengdu, three examples should suffice: Pi County was about 20 km away, Linqiong was about 70 km away and Xindu was about 20 km away, with most—if not all—of the satellite markets tending to be within a 70-km radius of Chengdu. As the center of the Sichuan Basin, Chengdu became the largest southwest city in the Eastern Han Empire and a city with integrated economic functions.[79] The Pei Tablet, unearthed at Tianfu Square in 2010, offers not only a profile of governor Pei of the Shu Commandery but also some insight into the social conditions of Chengdu during the Eastern Han era:

As one of the five metropolises of the Han Empire, Chengdu has rich treasures and rarities. Morality is commonly practiced and people are educated and well behaved. Shu contains rich treasures and people are surprised to see them. Therefore, desires for luxury goods arise.

[成都]列備五都，眾致珎怪，德盛文彌，尊卑有度，舊設儲值，瑱盈殿館，金銀文錦，駭目動慾。[80]

(2) Jiangzhou 江州:

Chengdu was the capital city of Shu, and Jiangzhou was the capital city of Ba. Located at the intersection of the Yangtze and Jialing Rivers, Jiangzhou is today's old district of Chongqing. The Qin state established Ba Commandery and built the administrative hall in Jiangzhou. In addition to its administrative function, Jiangzhou as the leading city of eastern Sichuan was the major distribution center of local and subsidiary agricultural products. According to *HYGZ*, the rice of Jiangzhou was not ordinary rice: it was superior-quality *yumi* (御米, imperial rice), used as tribute paid to the court.[81] Subsidiary agricultural products

[79] Gao Weigang 高維剛, *Qin Han shichang yanjiu* 秦漢市場研究 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 120.
[80] For an annotated and modern Chinese translation of the Pei Tablet, see Hu Chuan-An 胡川安, "Chengdu Tianfu guangchang 2010 nian chutu zhi peijunbei yizhu" 成都天府廣場 2010 年出土之裴君碑譯注, *Shiyuan* 史原, 27 (2015:9): 211-231.
[81] See *HYGZ*, 30.

from Jiangzhou included mulberries, red lacquer, fabrics, and fish. These products made their way not only to other parts of Sichuan, but to the capital, as well. High-value agricultural products were a specialization of Jiangzhou and included tangerines, litchi, and *yumi*. Perhaps partly because these products were tribute payable to the imperial court, they were attractive to wealthy consumers, thus enabling local influential families in Jiangzhou to make fortune. According to *HYGZ*, there were ten *haozu* living in Jiangzhou: the Pos 波氏, ans 鉋氏, Wus 毋氏, Xies 謝氏, Rans 然氏, Yangs 楊氏, Bais 白氏, Shangguans 上官氏, Chengs 程氏, and Changs 常氏.[82]

Haozu's Interaction with Indigenous Peoples

Haozu's interactions with neighboring peoples, particularly those living in hilly and mountainous regions, constituted another major factor accounting for the formation of *haozu* in Sichuan. In the previous chapter, we saw that Emperor Wu of the Western Han Empire conquered southwestern regions, with Sichuan serving as the staging base for these conquests. After colonizing the southwest, Emperor Wu established a commandery there. During Eastern Han times, these colonized populations interacted more closely with Sichuanese, thus contributing to the rise of Sichuanese *haozu*. These neighboring populations included *yi* 夷 in the south, *Xi Qiang* 西羌 in the north, and *Shuyi* 蜀夷 and *Banshun* 板循 within the Commandery. The *haozu* in these areas generally fit in one of two categories:

(1) Leaders of local groups: Take the Po 僰 people as an example. Their leading clan, the Mengs 孟氏 of Jianning 建寧 in Nanzhong 南中, consisted of descendants of Po people.[83]

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[82] See *HYGZ*, 30.

[83] Yang Yuda 楊煜達, *Nanzhong daxing yu Cuanshi jiazu yanjiu* 南中大姓與爨氏家族研究 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2002), 141; Wang Jilin 王吉林, "Shilun Yunnan Cuanshi zhi xingqi jiqi zai Nanbeichao de fazhan" 試論雲南爨氏之興起及其在南北朝的發展, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 47.1 (1973): 37–39.

(2) Groups comprised of border immigrants: Nanzhong was located in the hilly area between the Sichuan Basin and the highlands. The Eastern Han Empire transported many death-row convicts and malfeasant wealthy people (奸豪) to the area. These forced immigrants often lived together in families. For example, the Yongkais (雍闓), one of the wealthy families in Nanzhong, were from Shifang County in Shu Commandery. After finding members of the family guilty of serious infractions, the government forced the whole family to migrate to Nanzhong. In addition, after Western Han forces defeated the Nanyue State, the central government again forced the whole family to migrate to Nanzhong.[84] During the course of several generations, the family became wealthier and more powerful, eventually attaining the status of a *haozu* in the Eastern Han era. According to the "Meng Xiaoju Tablet" (孟孝琚碑) of 65 CE, unearthed in Zhaotong in Yunnan in 1901, the Mengs had originally accumulated wealth in western Sichuan's Yandao County. They relocated in Nanzhong, where they became a leading family.[85] According to the historian Fang Guoyu 方國瑜, the central authorities used upper-class immigrants to control general immigrant populations.[86] For their own benefit, these upper-class immigrants compromised with the central authorities. According to the *chaju* records of the Eastern Han Empire, very few members came from Nanzhong's *haozu*. Recommended officials had to comply with the hometown-avoidance rule. To consolidate power, local wealthy families would stay in Nanzhong. Through *bichao* 辟召 (assignment and recruitment), they became local

[84] Yang Zhaorong 楊兆榮, "Xi-Han Nanyue wang xiang Lü Jia yizu ru Dian jiqi lishi yingxiang shitan" 西漢南越王相呂嘉遺族入滇及其歷史影響試探, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 2004 (4): 23–33.

[85] Lu Gang 魯剛, "Yunnan Zhaotong 'Meng Xiaoju' bei shiliao jiazhi juyu" 雲南昭通〈孟孝琚碑〉史料價值舉隅, *Zhongguo bianzheng* 中國邊政 141 (1998): 14.

[86] Fang Guoyu 方國瑜, *Dianshi luncong* 滇史論叢 Vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982), 28–57.

functionaries.[87] In general, most local functionaries were from local *haozu*.

As the Eastern Han Empire grew increasingly concerned about the Qiang people,[88] the central government established in Sichuan a special administrative region headed by a *shuguo duwei* 屬國都尉 (Commandant of Dependent States), whose role was to oversee the governance of this people. Commandants of Dependent States had the administrative power equivalent to that of a governor. Despite this equivalence, commandants and governors differed from each other regarding their duties: a governor attended to local administrative affairs, while a commandant generally monitored the movement of non-Chinese border populations. There were three Dependent States in Yizhou: Guanghan,[89] Shujun,[90] and Jianwei.[91]

During the entire span of the Eastern Han Empire, border communities near Yizhou requested that the imperial court permit them to merge with it. According to *HHS*, twelve Dependent States requested mergers with the empire before the reign of Emperor An 安帝

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[87] Yang Yuda 楊煜達, "Shilun Han Wei shiqi Nanzhong diqu daxing de xingcheng he Hanzu shehui de shanbian" 試論漢魏時期南中地區大姓的形成和漢族社會的嬗變, *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 2003 (5): 75–82.

[88] These people were referred to by the term 'Qiang', which can be found in ancient Chinese texts ranging from Shang-era oracle-bone inscriptions to the standard history text *HHS*. The Qiang were an amorphously defined group of people whom ancient Chinese people labeled and conceptualized as non-Chinese westerners. See Wang Mingke, "The Ch'iang of Ancient China through the Han Dynasty: Ecological Frontiers and Ethnic Boundaries" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1992). He later published his dissertation in several Chinese-language works: *Huaxia bianyuan*: *lishi jiyi yu zuqun rentong* 華夏邊緣：歷史記憶與族群認同 (Taipei: Yunchen chubanshe, 1997); *Qiang zai Han Zang zhijian: yige Huaxia bianyuan de lishi renleixue yanjiu* 羌在漢藏之間：一個華夏邊緣的歷史人類學研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2003); and *Youmuzhe de jueze: miandui Han diguo de bei Ya youmu buzu* 游牧者的抉擇：面對漢帝國的北亞游牧部族 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2008).

[89] *HHS*, 28, 3621.

[90] *HHS*, 28, 3614–3615.

[91] For more information about the institution of Dependent States, see Liao Boyuan [Liu Pakyuen] 廖伯源, "Lun Han dai xizhi bianjiang minzu yu sainei zhi zhengce" 論漢代徙置邊疆民族於塞內之政策, in *1–6 Shiji Zhongguo beifang bianjiang, minzu, shehui guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 1–6 世紀中國北方邊疆・民族・社會國際學術研討會"論文集, ed., Jilin daxue guji yanjiusuo 吉林大學古籍研究所 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2008), 62–85.

(106-125 CE). After his reign, three neighboring groups—the Yuejun 越雋, the Yongchang 永昌, and the Jianwei—revolted against the imperial government while they were under the jurisdiction of a Commandant of Dependent States. The first rebellion broke out in Sichuan during the reign of Emperor An.[92] In northern China at the same time, natural disasters were frequent, and power struggles in the court were rampant. As the central government had no strength or energy to spare for suppressing the rebellion, the Yizhou government had to resolve the situation by dispatching manpower from southwestern commanderies for the punitive expedition.

Although Sichuanese *shizu* did not generally earn respect from the Eastern Han leadership, during the reigns of Emperor An and Emperor Shun, references to these families began to appear in standard histories of the period because of the rebellion of the indigenous groups. The imperial court grasped specifically the importance of these *shizu* to smoothly handle local affairs and the revolts. For example, Tan Xian 鐔顯, Zhang Ba 張霸, Chen Chan 陳禪, Li Tai 李邰, and Zhang Hao 張皓 came from Sichuan's *shizu* and traveled from Chengdu to the metropolis to study at the Imperial Academy. In 108 CE the Qiang people revolted in Liangzhou 涼州, threatening the safety of Sichuan. In this circumstance, the central authorities began to notice the value of officials from Yizhou and thus appointed Chen Chan Governor of Hanzhong and Wang Tang 王堂 Governor of the Ba Commandery. Chen, a native of Ba Commandery, was appointed governor of the neighboring Commandery; Wang, a native of Guanghan, was appointed governor of Ba Commandery. Although the central government's appointment of Wang to the governorship of Ba Commandery and Chen to that of Hanzhong did not violate the hometown-avoidance rule, the imperial

[92] For a detailed study on the revolts of indigenous groups in the Sichuan Basin during Eastern Han times as recorded in *HHS*, see Nakabayashi Shiro 中林史朗, "Higashi Kan jidai ni okeru Ekishu ni tsuite go kanjo o chi" 東漢時代に於ける益州について--『後漢書』を中心として, *Daito bunka daigaku Kankaku kaiji* 大東文化大学漢学会誌 1978 (3): 71–79.

government appointed Sichuanese to official government positions in Sichuan. Chen Cheng 陳澄, son of Chen Chan, also served as governor of Hanzhong. Facing the rising influence of local *haozu* in Sichuan, the imperial court needed to recognize their improved status. Thus, the imperial government appointed members of Sichuan's *haozu* to governmental positions pertinent to local affairs. The central government granted military authority to *haozu* in Ba and Shu because of the Qiang rebellion, thus allowing the families to grow stronger and paving the foundation for the independency of Shu Han (221–263) in the Three Kingdoms period (220–280).[93]

Intellectual Lineage and Local Identity

In the *HS*'s entitled "Treatise on Geography," Ban Gu criticizes Ba and Shu literati for writing contemptuously of others and for coarsely admiring power.[94] Nevertheless, Ban Gu's treatise praises the unrivaled literary achievements of Sichuanese scholars including Sima Xiangru, Wang Bao, and Zhuang Zun, all of whom were active during Western Han times. Under the strong influence of the metropolitan identity established by the Eastern Han Empire, the academic culture of colonial Sichuan demonstrated an academic inclination and identity associated with but different from the metropolitan.

The fu 賦 (Lyric rhapsody) with empire-wide fame was the pride of Sichuanese people. To scholars of the Eastern Han Empire, when speaking of the genealogy of Ba and Shu people, Sima Xiangru, who had earned an empire-wide reputation, was the person on their mind, and this intellectual genealogy remained unchanged regardless of the change in the

[93] Xu Zhuoyun 許倬雲 pays attention to the roles played by *haozu* in the rise of regionalism, which eventually led to the collapse of the Eastern Han Empire. See "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, eds., Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 176–195.
[94] *HS*,28B, 1645.

imperial regime. From the "Li Tablet" unearthed from Tianfu Square, it is clear that the central government had to respect the local intellectual identity of Sichuan. Li received an education from the Imperial Academy in the metropolis and became the governor of Shu Commandery. During his term, besides building government academies, advocating Confucian classics, and implementing the Eastern Han's "civilizing mission," he observed the local identity of Sichuanese and responded to them.[95] Sichuanese people were grateful that he helped local intellectuals collate the works of Sima Xiangru, Zhuang Zun, and Yang Xiong, so that these celebrated texts might pass down from one generation to the next. These scholars, who were proud to be Sichuanese, became models for local intellectuals in the future.

During Eastern Han times, a major academic field among Ba and Shu students was the study of prophecies and apocrypha. In fact, a mixture of classics and prophecy-apocrypha texts enjoyed increasing importance in Ba and Shu circles in this era. When prophecy-apocrypha ideas rose in the late Western Han era, the discipline absorbed many ideas peddled by diviners and omen-readers, and the like, known collectively as *fangshi* 方士.[96] Many prophetic and apocryphal texts were added to the canon of Confucian classics. As prophecy and apocrypha contain anti-orthodox thinking, the Eastern Han Empire designated specific prophecy and apocrypha as official in order to prevent the ideas from challenging the legitimacy of the Liu house's control of Mandate of Heaven. In Sichuan specifically, many *haozu* could not gain acceptance much less prestige in metropolitan intellectual circles, and thus many members of these families developed a distinctly

[95] See Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 成都市文物考古研究所, "Chengdu Tianfu guangchang Dongyujie Han dai shibei fajue jianbao" 成都天府廣場東御街漢代石碑發掘簡報, *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 南方民族考古 8 (2012): 1–8.

[96] For a general study of *fangshi*, see the following two works: Kenneth DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of Fang-shih* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Hsu Cho-yun, "The Activities and Influences of Fang-shih," *Asian Culture* 19.2 (1991): 59–86.

anti-imperial ideology based on prophecy and apocrypha as we could see in Dong Fu's 董扶 case below.[97]

In the Eastern Han era, if government academies were locations disseminating the metropolitan identity, private academies were places advocating noticeably distinct and even contrary views. Nevertheless, it was during this era that imperial and local government academies enjoyed their heyday. Unfortunately, there were limited vacancies at the Imperial Academy in the metropolis. Moreover, owing to the unique academic inclination of so many Sichuanese students, they may not have even wanted to study at government academies. In fact, private academies were very popular in Ba and Shu, and some women also began receiving educations there.[98] In Sichuan, private academies developed a fairly consistent balance among prophecy, apocrypha, and Confucian classics. Most of the thirty-two diviners and magicians recorded in "Biographies of *Fangshi*" in *HHS* were located in Ba and Shu, Huanghuai 黃淮, Sanfu 三輔, Wuhuai 吳會, and Yandai 燕代. More of these *fangshi*—eight in total—hailed from the Ba and Shu regions than from any of the other four regions.[99]

Quite obviously, the academic inclination in Sichuan was to re-package Confucian classics with prophecy and apocrypha, which emphasized family lineage and local connections. In Shu, the Yang School best represented this inclination toward prophecy and

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[97] The formation of the Chen-wei academic tradition in Shu is highly related to Shu society's distinctive cultural traits. Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, "Shuku ni okeru shin'i no gaku no dentō" 蜀における讖緯の學の傳統, in *Shin'i shisō no sōgōteki kenkyū* 讖緯思想の綜合的研究, ed. Yasui Kozan 安居香山 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1984), 193–227.

[98] Li Guifang 李桂芳, "Ruxue de chuanbo yu Han dai Ba Shu de difang jiaoyu" 儒學的傳播與漢代巴蜀的地方教育, *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中華文化論壇 2005 (3): 10–15.

[99] According to "Biographies of *Fangshi*" in *HHS*, eight *fangshi* resided in Yizhou. Statistics on the Ba and Shu *fangshi* show that there were also Ren An 任安, Jing Wu 景鶩, Yang Hou 楊厚, and Di Fu 翟輔. According to Lu Yun, Ba and Shu were home to twelve scholars who specialized in prophecy and apocrypha. See Lu Yun 盧雲, *Han Jin wenhua dili* 漢晉文化地理 (Xian: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1997), 210–211.

apocrypha. The school was known for its master instructor Yang Hou 楊厚 and his disciples Dong Fu 董扶, Ren An 任安, and Zhou Shu 周舒.[100] In the late Western Han Empire, Yang Zhongxu 楊仲續 from Xindu 新都 in Guanghan Commandery began researching Confucian classics and studied *Textual Interpretations of Book of Documents of Xiahou* 夏侯尚書, which was a famous analysis of Confucian texts by a man named Xiahou.[101] From one generation to the next, from fathers to sons, and from masters to disciples, the genealogy of Yang Chunqing 楊春卿 continued through Eastern Han times, and a clear linkage became observable in the Three Kingdoms period.[102] During the Xin era, nestled briefly between the Western Han and Eastern Han eras, some Sichuanese intellectuals who refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Xin Empire supported Gongsun Shu as the person best suited to found a state in Sichuan, despite his "outsider" status. At the time, Yang Chunqing served on the court of Gongsun Shu (25-36 CE).

Yang Tong 楊統, son of Yang Chunqing, successfully attended his father's prophecy-and-apocrypha school and became an official of the Eastern Han Empire. In the early years of Emperor Zhang, Yang was the magistrate of Peng City. When a drought broke out, his subsequent prayers reflected his knowledge of prophecy and apocrypha. The drought ended shortly after Yang's prayers, proving to the credulous that he possessed the powers to which he laid claim. The court began asking him about natural disasters and other abnormal events, and eventually appointed him *shizhong* 侍中 (Palace Attendant) and

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[100] For a detailed study of Yang Hou, see Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏, "Dong-Han Shu Yang Hou jingwei xue zongchuan" 東漢蜀楊厚經緯學宗傳, *Guoli bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊 17.1 (1988): 31-48.

[101] For a discussion of the Xiahou tradition and related issues, see Edward Shaughnessy, "Shang shu," in *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany: SUNY, 2006), 381.

[102] Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, "Shuku ni okeru shin'i no gaku no dentō" 蜀における讖緯の學の傳統, in *Shin'i shisō no sōgōteki kenkyū* 讖緯思想の綜合的研究, ed. Yasui Kozan 安居香山 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1984), 193–215.

Counsellor of the Imperial Household (侍中光祿大夫). Before passing away at the age of 90, he also gained note for his written works. He was succeeded by his son Yang Hou, who—from Emperor An (108 CE) to Emperor Shun (136 CE)—served in the empire's capital for nearly 30 years: records state that his prophecies on pests, floods, fires, and wars were correct.[103] In late Eastern Han times, however, control of the empire fell into the hands of the consort kin (i.e., the supporters of either an empress dowager or the emperor's wife) and eunuchs. Unhappy with Grand General Liang Ji 梁冀 (?-159 CE), Yang decided to resign and return to Sichuan. Later on, he settled in Xindu in Guanghan Commandery to study Huang-Lao and recruit students. Over 3,000 students eventually studied under him. His religious and philosophical doctrine strongly reflected regional characteristics, particularly in his caution about politics and his indifference to the central government.[104] Even when he had been an official in the metropolis, he had abstained from politicized court conflicts. When abstention was no longer feasible, he quit and resigned immediately.[105]

Yang's 3,000 students yielded only seven experts: Zhao Yue 昭約, Kou Huan 寇懽, He Chang 何萇, Hou Ci 侯祈, Zhou Shu, Ren An, and Dong Fu. In terms of background, they all came from Sichuan. According to *HYGZ*, Zhao and Kou were hermits whose life stories remain unclear.[106] Records of He and Hou are also untraceable. According to *SGZ*, Zhou Shu is known not so much for his own activities as for those of his son Zhou Qun 周群, who gained fame as a purveyor of prophecy-and-apocrypha ideas in the Three Kingdoms period.[107] Only Ren and Dong have life stories that are elucidated in historical records.

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[103] See *HHS*, 30A, 1047; de Crespigny, *BDLHTK*, 960.
[104] Yang Ming 楊明, *Qin Han Xi-Jin zhongyang yu Ba Shu difang guanxi yanjiu* 秦漢西晉中央與巴蜀地方關係研究 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2011), 126.
[105] Lei Jiaji 雷家驥, *Zhonggu shixue guannian shi* 中古史學觀念史 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1990), 287–290.
[106] *HYGZ*, 12, 727.
[107] *SGZ*, 42, 1021-1042.

Ren studied at the Imperial Academy when he was young. Later on, he lectured in his hometown of Mianzhu 綿竹 in Guanghan Commandery, Sichuan. There, he ran a private school and specialized in prophecy and apocrypha. He passed away in 202 CE. Like Yang Hou, Ren cultivated many students to spread Yang's doctrines. Ren taught in Sichuan through the fall of the Eastern Han Empire, thus permitting these distinctly Sichuanese doctrines to continue into the era of divided kingdoms that followed.

As for Dong, he studied the Confucian classics during his youth. Later on, he studied prophecy and apocrypha under Yang. Then, he studied at the Imperial Academy in Luoyang. After graduating from the Imperial Academy, he returned to his hometown, where he held lectures. During the reign of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (168-189 CE), the last emperor of the Eastern Han Empire, Grand General He Jin 何進 (?-189 CE) recommended Dong for the position of Palace Attendant. After entering the imperial court, he could not identify with the aims and the workings of the regime. One year before Emperor Ling passed away, Dong predicted that there would be a revolt in the empire and mentioned the prediction to Liu Yan 劉焉, also in Luoyang. Dong added that a sign from the Son of Heaven had arisen in Sichuan, and he encouraged Liu to make Sichuan his starting point for an overthrow of the empire.[108]

Conclusion

The metropolis and colonial Sichuan were in a dialectic relationship with each other. In the first century CE, the Eastern Han Empire established an orthodox ideology through a network of political and educational systems. For its educational system, the empire implemented its "civilizing" mission by establishing imperial and local academies based on the Confucian classics. The academies helped the imperial government change local customs. However, rather than simply assimilate to the empire's "civilizing" orthodoxy,

[108] *HHS*, 38, 2734; *SGZ*, 865.

colonial Sichuan demonstrated its heterogeneity through the agency of local individuals. Sichuanese *haozu* formed a middle-ground between the metropolis and colonial Sichuan. Sichuanese focused on local affairs as the metropolis disrespected colonial Sichuan and barred Sichuanese intellectuals from involvement in leadership roles. The story locally was quite different, however: through agriculture, mining, trade with neighboring markets, and other business ventures, Sichuanese *haozu* strengthened their influence in their home commandery and reached out to the metropolis only for needs related to flood control, transportation, and warfare.

The development of *haozu* in Sichuan was highly correlated with the Eastern Han Empire's propagation of Confucian classics. Sichuanese intellectuals packaged prophecy and apocrypha with the Confucian classics, under the empire's Confucian influence. In this way, new interpretations of the Confucian classics arose in Sichuan, where a strong sense of local identity arose in local academic circles. From the viewpoint of local identity, Sichuanese intellectuals were unable to avoid the influence of popular prophecies spread across Ba and Shu societies. But, Sichuanese did not passively accept the imposed metropolitan ideology: Sichuanese re-interpreted Confucianism with prophecy and apocrypha and, hence, demonstrated their local identity.

6

The Imagination of Heaven in Ancient Colonial Sichuan

Introduction

How did material expression show local culture? The selection and use of an object plays an active role in forming the user's identity. In considering the context of burial practice, it involves communality and participation. The labour involved in the construction of a tomb and its decoration needs participation by the group.[1] Most of the pictorial stones[2] and bricks[3] were carved and baked by specialist artisans. The reliefs were anonymous works of several artisans, probably led by a master craftsman. Certain pictorial motifs were spread wider and were reproduced from region to region and from time to time. In Han times, people often used murals, picture bricks or stone carvings to decorate their tombs and shrines. The motifs of pictorial stone reliefs include figures of legendary sovereigns, filial,

[1] Ian Hodder, "Burial, Houses, Women, and Men in the European Neolithic," In *Theory and Practice in Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1995), 69.

[2] The complete collection of Sichuan stone carvings, see Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji bianji weiyuanhui 中國畫像石全集編輯委員會, ed., *Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji Zhongguo huaxiang shi quanji* 中國畫像石全集, vol. 7 of *Sichuan Han huaxiang shi* 四川漢畫像石 (Ji'nan: Shandong meishu; Zhengzhou: Henan meishu, 2000).

[3] For the complete collection of Sichuan decorated bricks, see Zhongguo huaxiang zhuan quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國畫像磚全集編輯委員會, ed., *Zhongguo huaxiang zhuan quanji: Sichuan Han huaxiang zhuan* 中國畫像磚全集: 四川漢畫像磚 (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu, 2006).

loyal men, assassins and exemplary women. Also, they comprise ghosts and spirits, strange beasts, auspicious images, farming, animal husbandry, famous human figures, and historical stories.[4] Although the decorative schemes of Sichuan coffins share some ideas on life and death with those ideas in more metropolitan regions, such as Shandong 山東 and Nanyang 南陽, Henan 河南 province, they emphasized different aspects.[5] The aspects of transformation and localization of Han pictorial tombs in colonial Sichuan, can be seen as an expression of local identity.[6]

In this chapter, I attempt to reconstruct ancient Sichuanese people's imagination of heaven by consulting archaeological data and classical literature, with the intention of highlighting the differences between Sichuan and the metropolitan areas. Did peoples of Han Sichuan longed to enjoy a life after death in a heaven constructed by the metropolitan areas? Past research paid insufficient attention to the colonial nature of Sichuan society. Comparing the tomb chambers in Sichuan with those in eastern China, many researchers argued simplistically that the tomb structures of Sichuan had been brought there from eastern

[4] The comprehensive studies of Shandong and Nanyang, see Xin Lixiang 信立祥, *Handai Huaxiangshi Zonghe Yanjiu* 漢代畫像石綜合研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000); Huang Peixian 黃佩賢, *Handai Mushi Bihua Yanjiu* 漢代墓室壁畫研究 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2008).

[5] Wu Hung argues the wall program of Wu Liang shrine represents a visual expression of the New Text school of Han historiography. He states that the Wu Liang Shrine has given us the visualization and ideology of Han scholastic thinking. The Wu Liang Shrine is "an outstanding example of Han Confucian art," see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 228.

[6] Martin Powers, "Social Values and Aesthetic Choices in Han Dynasty Sichuan: Issues of Patronage," in *Stories from China's Past* (San Francisco: The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1987), 54-63.

China.[7] The Sichuanese tombs' murals, according to these researchers, were simplified and inferior imitations of those in central China and were fruits of the "Han influence." The conventional consensus is that ancient Sichuanese people were "influenced by Han culture" not only in daily life but also in their imagination of heaven.[8] However, from an examination of Sichuan's tomb murals I argue that the colony's culture was not a slavish replica of Han culture, particularly regarding heaven: Sichuanese people longed for immortality in the fairy-like realm of Xiwangmu. In the discussion that follows, I first delineate the changes that took place in Sichuanese tomb structures after the Qin's colonization of the region. Second, I categorize and decipher the paintings in the tombs found in Sichuan in order to depict the Sichuan people's imagination of the world after death.

The Transformation of Tomb Structure

Archaeologists have discovered many tomb engravings dating from the first century to the fourth century, coincidental with efforts to colonize Sichuan. During the later Warring States period, the Qin state annexed the Sichuan Basin. After 316 BCE, the material culture of the basin appears to have been rather complicated. Although original local burial culture still existed, the material culture coming from the Chu regions in the east was becoming less

[7] Huang Xiaofen, *Han mu de kaogu xue yanjiu* 漢墓的考古學研究 (Changsha: Yuelu chubanshe, 2003): 90–93.
[8] Xin Lixiang 信立祥, *Han dai huaxiangshi zonghe yanjiu* 漢代畫像石綜合研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000): 322-335.

pronounced.[9] Meanwhile, local burial objects from the Qin areas in the north appeared to have increased in quantity. During this period, the Sichuan Basin underwent a series of political and social changes.[10]

Luisa Mengoni's research reveals that from the 5th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE, the Chengdu Plains were home to diverse tomb structures and burial objects, indicating the presence of diverse groups comprising aristocrats, officers, soldiers, and immigrants among others. Several years ago, archaeologists in Longquanyi (龍泉驛), located in the southern suburbs of the Chengdu City, excavated a tomb dating from the 3rd century BCE to the 2nd century BCE. There, they found daily-life bronze and pottery vessels. Among the other discoveries was Qin-style lacquer ware and a small quantity of simple weapons.[11] Some of the tools, like farm tools, reflected daily-life production activities. The style of this tomb burial shares certain characteristics with Shaanxi burial styles. The scarcity of weapons in the unearthed tomb suggests that the buried individuals were not soldiers and might be immigrants.

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[9] Hu Chuan-an 胡川安, "You Chengdu pingyuan kan Zhongguo gudai duoyuan zouxiang yiti de guocheng" 由成都平原看中國古代多元走向一體的過程 (Master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 2006), 212–213.

[10] Alain Thote, "The Archaeology of Eastern Sichuan at the End of the Bronze Age (5th to 3rd Century BC)," in *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization*, ed. Robert Bagley (Princeton: Princeton University, 2000), 203–252.

[11] Meng Luxia 孟露夏 (Luisa Mengoni), "Gongyuanqian 5—2 shiji Chengdu pingyuan de shehui rentong yu muzang shijian" 公元前 5—2 世紀成都平原的社會認同與墓葬實踐, Nanfang minzu kaogu 6 (2010): 99–112; Luisa Mengoni, "Identity Formation in a Border Area: The cemeteries of Baoxing, western Sichuan (third century BCE–second century CE)," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10:2 (2010): 198–229.

Burial customs changed midway through the Western Han era. One prominent change was the practice of burying couples together. In fact, by Eastern Han times, the practice of joint-interment had grown significantly in popularity, as demonstrated by the tombs found in family graveyards.[12] With the emergence of new burial customs, the form and style of tombs changed as well. Tombs that had previously been vertical pits evolved into horizontal ones for the convenience of the increasingly popular joint-interment practices. From the middle to the late Western Han times, the development of large landholdings in Sichuan led to further changes in Han-era tomb structures. With the emergence of family graveyards, tomb murals made their appearance. Hsing I-tien has argued that the murals satisfied not only aesthetic needs but also the demands of moral and political teachings.[13] However, the tomb murals discussed by Hsing were mainly from eastern China. And from the evidence presented in Chapters 4 and 5 here, we can see that Sichuanese identity differed in several notable regards from that in the metropolitan areas, eastern China. Did similar differences exist in regard to these societies' respective imaginations of the world after death?

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[12] For more information about the development of Han tomb structures, see Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995): 126–136; Xin Lixiang 信立祥, *Han dai huaxiangshi zonghe yanjiu* 漢代畫像石綜合研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000); Huang Xiaofen 黃曉芬, *Han mu de kaogu xue yanjiu* 漢墓的考古學研究 (Changsha: Yuelu chubanshe, 2003): 90–93. Huang Yijun 黃義軍, "Chang'an's Funerary Culture and the Core Han Culture Huang" in Chang'an 26 BCE: An Augustan Age in China, eds. Michael Nylan and Griet Vankeerberghen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015)153-174

[13] Xing Yitian 邢義田, "Han dai bihua de fazhan he bihua mu" 漢代壁畫的發展和壁畫墓, in *Huawei xinsheng: huaxiang shi, huaxiang zhuan yu bihua* 畫為心聲:畫像石、畫像磚與壁畫 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 9–27.

From late Western Han times to Eastern Han times, tombs fell into one of two major categories: brick tombs and cave tombs. Paintings on brick were found mainly in brick tombs, most of which were raided over the course of many centuries. In Sichuan, archaeologists have discovered only a few brick tombs that still bear a complete mural-based narrative. Aside from the fact that the cave tombs were simpler than the brick tombs, the structure of brick tombs in Eastern Han time was similar to the structures of brick tombs dating from the same period in Shandong and Henan, the metropolitan areas. The greatest concentration of cave tombs was mainly in the Chengdu Plains and the Chongqing area. Archaeologists also discovered a few cave tombs in Yunnan's Zhaotong 昭通 and Zunyi 遵義 areas. In the Chengdu Plains, most of the cave tombs are in the Leshan 樂山 and Pengshan 彭山 areas. According to Tang Changshou and Luo Erhu's studies, the earliest cave tomb, with an inscription of its date, was built in 65 BCE.[14] The development of cave tombs can be roughly divided into three periods: the first period extended from the mid-first century CE to the second century; the second period extended from the mid-second century to 180, which was the peak of its development; and the third period extended from 180 to the third century, which was the acme of cave tombs in Sichuan. The Mahao 麻浩 area is a good example of an area for the development of cave tombs in Sichuan. There are three types of tomb structures in the Mahao area: the single-chamber tomb, the double-chamber

[14] Tang Changshou 唐長壽, *Leshan Yaimu he Pengshan yaimu* 樂山崖墓和彭山崖墓 (Chengdu: Dianzi keji daxue chubanshe, 1993), 31–40; Luo Erhu 羅二虎, "Sichuan yaimu de chubu yanjiu" 四川崖墓的初步研究, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 89 (1988): 141–44.

tomb, and the "three or more"-chamber tomb. A single-chamber tomb has a main chamber, a hallway, an ear (i.e., side) chamber, and a coffin chamber with the length of less than 10 meters. In double-chamber tombs, there are two main chambers, a hallway, an ear chamber, and a coffin chamber with the length of between 10 meters and 20 meters.[15] In a "three or more"-chamber tomb, there is a front main chamber, two or more back main chambers, a hallway, an ear chamber, and a coffin chamber, and the tomb has a length of more than 20 meters. The cave tombs in Mahao feature many stone carvings, including architectural carvings and inscriptions. The architectural carvings show that the layout of a given tomb chamber, despite being in a cave, was a faithful or idealized imitation of the tomb dwellers' above-ground house. Therefore, the carvings were imitations of the house's wooden pillars, beams, cornices, brackets, or towers. More than one hundred unearthed cave tombs in Leshan had carvings. Remarkably, Mahao Tomb No. 1 had more than 35 such carvings.[16]

Regarding the origin of cave tombs in Sichuan, an early scholar suggested that the practice made its way to China from foreign lands or that it was a remnant of barbarians' burial customs.[17] This view provoked strong opposition from Chinese scholars. Luo argues that the cave tomb originated in China. Two important factors—burial customs in central

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[15] Luo Erhu 羅二虎, "Sichuan yaimu de chubu yanjiu" 四川崖墓的初步研究, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 89 (1988): 141–44.

[16] Tang Changshou 唐長壽, "Sichuan Leshan Mahao yihao yaimu" 四川樂山麻浩一號崖墓, *Kaogu* 2 (1990): 111–115.

[17] T. Torrance, "Burial Customs in Sz-chuan," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 41 (1910): 57–75.

China and Sichuan's geographical environment—caused Sichuan's burial customs to shift from vertical pits to cave tombs. In fact, the cave tomb became the most common form of burial during the period extending from Eastern Han times to the Six Dynasties.[18] Jessica Rawson and Susan Erickson argue that Mancheng, Hebei, is home to a prototype of the Sichuan cave tomb: the tomb of Liu Sheng 劉勝, King of Zhongshan (?-113 BCE). Although the structure of the tomb of Liu Sheng differs slightly from that of the Sichuan cave tombs, they were obviously constructed as residences for the dead and influenced by the same thinking. People in Han times, because they "regarded the dead as living," decorated tombs to resemble residential spaces used by the living. Obviously, this thinking influenced the Han tombs found in Sichuan.[19]

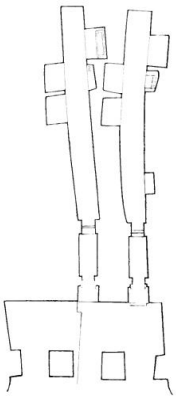


Fig. 9. Plan of the entrance of Mahao Tomb No. 1, Leshan (from Tang Changshou, 1997, fig. 2-3).

[18] Luo Erhu 羅二虎, "Sichuan yaimu de chubu yanjiu" 四川崖墓的初步研究, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 2 (1988): 133–68.

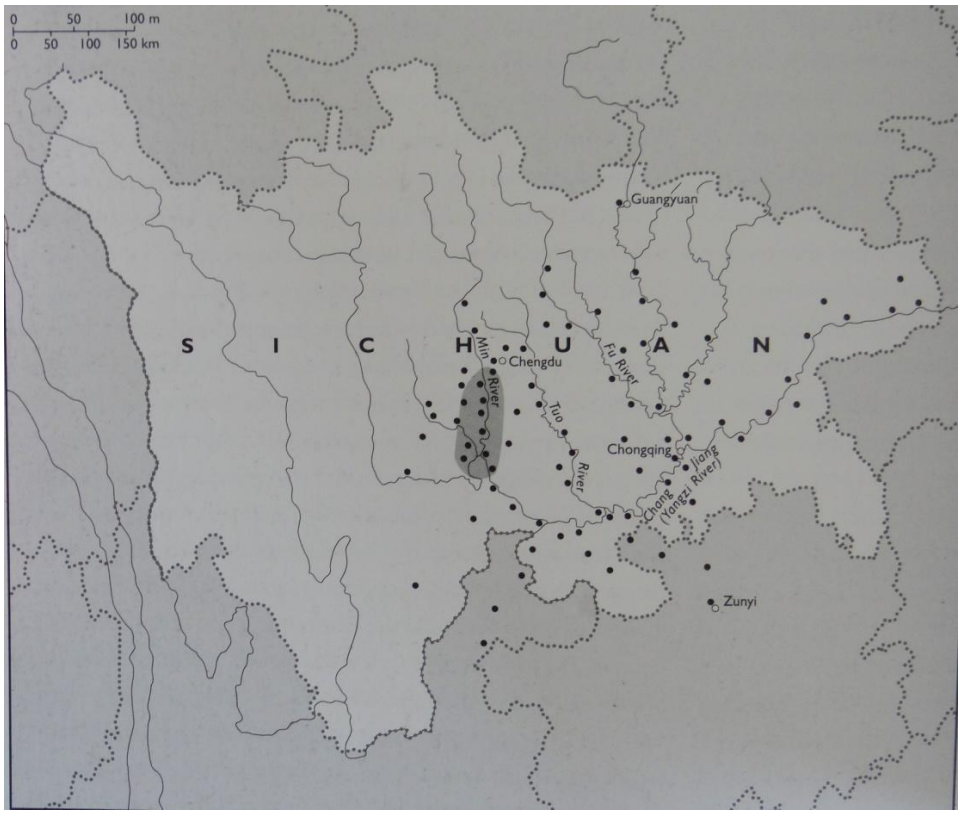
[19] Jessica Rawson, "Tombs and Tomb Furnishings of the Eastern Han Period (AD 25–220)," in *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization*, ed. Robert Bagley (Princeton: Princeton University, 2000), 253–262; Susan N. Erickson, "Eastern Han Dynasty Cliff Tombs of Santai Xian, Sichuan Province," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 5 (2006): 401–469.

Sichuan's commodity economy helped give rise to both brick tombs and cave tombs in the region. Brick tombs were prevalent in the Chengdu Plains.[20] The artisans was firing and then coloring the pictures. According to archaeological findings, different tombs used the same kinds of bricks. This fact suggests that workshops would fire the bricks in batches large enough to meet the needs of multiple tomb-building projects. The family members of the tomb owner could choose and buy the pictographic bricks according to personal preference.

The construction of the cave tombs was different from that of the brick tombs. In Sichuan, most cave tombs were on hillsides, each of which might be the site of several dozen cave tombs. Arranged neatly in order, all the tombs would face the same direction and have the same structure. Luo Erhu states that professional artisans likely designed the cave tombs. At the same time, workers would have performed the menial labor required to dig the caves.[21]

[20] Tang Guangxiao 唐光孝, "Shixi Sichuan Han dai zangsu zhong de shangpin hua wenti" 試析四川漢代葬俗中的商品化問題, *SW* 5 (2002):53–60.

[21] Luo Erhu 羅二虎, "Sichuan yaimu de chubu yanjiu" 四川崖墓的初步研究, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 2 (1988): 133–68.



Map 5. Distribution of the Cliff Tombs in the Sichuan Basin (from Wu Hung, 2000, fig. 2).

As most of the painted tomb chambers in Sichuan have been looted over the centuries, archaeologists and historians cannot satisfactorily understand the tombs' social and historical contexts, regardless of whether the tombs in question are cave tombs or brick tombs. Nevertheless, scholars can categorize the tombs on the basis of the excavated tombs' pictographic themes. And the pictures, themselves, shed light on Sichuan people's imagination of heaven.

The Imagination of Heaven in Han-Era Sichuan

In the last section, we discussed the structure of Sichuanese tombs dating from Eastern Han times. Are the tomb murals in Sichuan the same as those in the metropolis? How did ancient Sichuanese people depict heaven in these murals? When working on tombs, Han

artisans would draw from cosmology, mythology, and astronomy.[22] In *Picturing Heaven in Early China*, Lillian Lan-ying Tseng treats ancient Chinese culture and religion as an organic whole with homogenous attributes. In particular, she treats Chinese conceptions of heaven as uniform. Tseng neglects even the possibility that different imaginations of heaven might have existed across the extensive territory of the Han Empires, with the differences corresponding to region, social strata, era, and religious tradition.[23] Are there significant differences between Han-era Sichuanese paintings and Han-era paintings from other Han regions regarding imaginations of heaven?

Sichuanese tomb murals[24] reflect Sichuanese people's imagination of heaven. Half a century ago, in "Illustrated Brick Tombs and Illustrated Bricks in Han Sichuan," Feng Hanji divided the contents of those paintings into five categories:[25]

1. *Work paintings*: these painted bricks depicted labor, including farm work (sowing, harvesting, rice husking), salt production, mulberry harvests, brewing, and cooking.
2. *Architectural paintings*: though rare, these painted bricks depicted mainly garden architecture and interior floor plans.
3. *Cultural paintings*: these painted bricks depicted many facets of social life, including common occurrences at markets, feasts, games, dances, gymnastics, and family events, often with an emphasis on commoners.

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[22] Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, *Picturing Heaven in Early China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 1–15.

[23] Hu, Chuan-an, "Book Review of *Picturing Heaven in Early China*," *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州學林 34 (2014:9): 293–305.

[24] The tomb murals contained more than just painted stones and painted bricks: newly excavated materials include a money tree and bronze plaques.

[25] Feng Hanji 馮漢驥, "Sichuan de Han huaxiang zhuan mu yu huaxiang zhuan" 四川的畫像磚墓與畫像磚, in his *Feng Hanji kaoguxue lunwen ji* 馮漢驥考古學論文集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), 67.

4. *Transportation paintings*: these painted bricks depicted horse-drawn carts and journeys.
5. *Mythological paintings*: these painted bricks depicted supernatural themes regarding primarily the legend of Xiwangmu.

With the discovery of more and more painted bricks, researchers refined Feng's categorization. Liu Zhiyuan 劉志遠,[26] Yu Dezhang 余德章,[27] and Gao Wen 高文[28]

[26] Liu Zhiyuan divided Sichuanese painted bricks into six categories: (1) *political paintings*, which depicted annual evaluations, drum ceremonies at temple gates, visitor welcomings in front of pillars, and official trips; (2) *agricultural paintings*, which depicted farm work, wine brewing, and salt production; (3) *city-life paintings*, which depicted marketplaces, pubs, wagon stations, horse-drawn carts, pillars, and gardens; (4) *life-in-officialdom paintings*, which depicted everyday life of regional officials; (5) *art paintings*, which depicted themes related to dance, music, and operas; and (6) *mythology paintings*, which depicted supernatural themes. See Liu Zhiyuan, *Sichuan Han dai huaxiang zhuan yu Han dai shehui* 四川漢代畫像磚與漢代社會 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983).

[27] Yu Dezhang divided Sichuanese painted bricks into six categories: (1) *political paintings*, which depicted annual evaluations, drum ceremonies at temple gates, visitor welcomings in front of pillars, and officials' trips; (2) *agricultural paintings*, which depicted farm work, lotus harvests, taro harvests, mulberry harvests, wine brewing, and salt production; (3) *city-life paintings*, which depicted marketplaces, horses, wagons, twin pillars, gardens, and pubs; (4) *cultural paintings*, which depicted social norms, feasts, instruction in classical texts, and cock-fights; (5) *art paintings*, which depicted dance, music, and opera; and (6) *mythology paintings*, which depicted Xiwangmu, Fuxi Nüwa, the sun, the moon, stars, and Liupo the fairy. See Yu Dezhang and Liu Wenjie 劉文傑, "Shi lun Sichuan Han dai huaxiang de fenbu diqu kesu jifa ji qi shiliao jiazhi" 試論四川漢代畫像的分布地區、刻塑技法及其史料價值, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 5 (1986), 13–17.

[28] Gao Wen divided the Sichuanese cave-tomb paintings into four categories: (1) *realistic paintings*, which depicted weaving, wine brewing, fishing, hunting, cart transportation, irrigation farming, popular tales, social gatherings, teachers, wagon transportation, military life, kitchens, feasts, animal slaughter, opera, dance, music, acrobatics, pavilions, warehouses, bridges, pillars, beasts, fish, bugs, and more; (2) *historical paintings*, which depicted tales concerning Jing Ke's attempted assassination of Qin Emperor, a visit by Confucius to Laozi, and the famous activities of kings, generals, ministers, righteous women, filial exemplars, and the like; (3) *good-fortune paintings*, which depicted mythical tales of Fuxi, Nüwa, Xiwangmu, three-legged birds, nine-tailed foxes, and more; and (4) *landscape paintings*, which depicted

divided painted bricks into either four categories or six categories. These categorizations have enabled researchers to understand vague or ambiguous aspects of Sichuanese paintings.

This aforementioned categorizations neglect the contexts in which Sichuanese people conceived of and produced the tomb illustrations. Luo Erhu's studies have pointed out several significant problems with the aforementioned categorizations of Sichuanese tomb illustrations. He argues that the tomb murals are not only a *literal* reflection of daily life but also a *symbolic* reflection of people's precise views on burial and other ritualistic practices. Examining all the available materials related to these Sichuanese illustrations, Luo proposes that the illustrations' themes reflected popular conceptions of heaven and convincingly argues that the illustrations' depictions of everyday life reflect tomb owners' expectation that they could bring the wealth and glory of this life into the next life.[29] Rather than categorize the illustrations on the basis of their content, Luo Erhu explores the social contexts in which Sichuanese artisans created the illustrations. Zhao Dianzeng explores *zhidao sixiang* 指導思想 (instructive thinking) present in the painted bricks in order to associate the thinking implied in the paintings found in Sichuan. He argues, specifically, that "heaven's gate" was a passage through which the recently deceased could become immortals on their way to heaven. He also argues that the illustrations' many depictions of everyday life and cultural themes

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the sun, the moon, stars, clouds, grass, trees, and more. See Gao Wen, "Sichuan Han dai huaxiang shi chutan" 四川漢代畫像石初探, *SW* 4 (1985): 4–8.

[29] Luo Erhu 羅二虎, *Han dai huaxiang shiguan yanjiu* 漢代畫像石棺研究 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2002): 169.

symbolized the continuous enjoyment that the tombs' owners would experience in the afterlife. Zhao surmises that, before dying, each eventual occupant of a tomb "wanted to construct ideal environments in the heavenly kingdom for his or her own enjoyment, not simply representing things and ideas directly."[30]

In the next section, I will discuss the illustrations in ancient Sichuanese tombs and argue, first, that the pictures depict a realm populated by immortals, governed by Xiwangmu, and protected by the sun, moon, fortune, and sacred beasts. The pictures reflect Sichuanese people's belief that they, upon death, could ascend to heaven to become immortals. Second, I intend to demonstrate the pictures' *symbolic* portrayal of the world after death. Sichuanese people communicated their imagination of heaven through worldly ideals—hence, the symbolism. Sichuanese people hoped to enjoy all of these material acquisitions in heaven after death.

The Xiwangmu Cult

In the Han Dynasty, many people longed to become fairies. Ideas about good omens and immortality spread in the court, as well as among the masses. Quite famously, Emperor Wudi pursued immortality with a passion and believed in the pronouncements of *fangshi*. With

[30] For further studies on tianmen, see Zhao Dianzeng 趙殿增, "Tianmen kao—jian lun Sichuan han huazhuanshi de zuhe yu zhuti 天門考—兼論四川漢畫磚石的組合與主題," *WW* 6 (1990): 3–11; Li Weixing 李衛星, "Dui Sichuan Han hua 'tianmen' tuxiang kaoshi zhiwojian 對四川漢畫 '天門' 圖像考釋之我見," *SW* 3 (1994): 59–61.

Taiyi (太一, the god of heaven), Feng Shan rituals, and architectural iconography on their side, most if not all of the Han-era emperors and aristocrats sought immortality.[31] This intense interest in eternity hinged on the deity Xiwangmu because it was she who grasped the secret of eternity. Entering the queendom of Xiwangmu was synonymous with eternal bliss.

Where did the belief in the Xiwangmu cult originate? On the famous excavated oracle bones, scholars discovered the characters '西母' (Ximu, or "Western Mother").[32] However, it is rather unlikely that scholars will be able to prove that Ximu was Xiwangmu. On the bronze-ware of Western Zhou times, scholars discovered the characters '王母' (Wangmu, or "Queen Mother"). It was not until the Warring States Period that primary sources—namely, the famous text *Zhuangzi*—shed more light on Xiwangmu and her role in the lives of Fuxi (a mythologized king) and Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor). All three legendary figures possessed the attribute of longevity. It was said that Shaoguang 少廣 was the territory of Xiwangmu. In the ancient compendium of tales entitled *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (*The Classic of Mountains and Seas*), there are ample delineations of Xiwangmu.[33] Contemporary scholars have suggested that the authors of this work hailed from Chu and Ba-Shu at some

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[31] Michael Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202 BC–AD 220)* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1982), 104-13; Joseph Needham *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 132–39.

[32] Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, "Gu wenzi zhong zhi Shang-Zhou jisi" 古文字中之商周祭祀, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 19 (1936): 131–133.

[33] See Yang Jinggang 楊靜剛, "*Shanhai jing* de zuozhe ji shidai ji qi yu Sichuan Han dai huaxiang zhuanshi shang suojian zhi Xiwangmu" 山海經的作者及時代及其與四川漢代畫像磚石上所見之西王母, *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州學林 6.2 (2008:6): 2–55.

point ranging from the early Warring States Period to the Han era.[34] The representations of Xiwangmu in the *Shanhai jing* fall into three major categories. In the first category, Xiwangmu was a *vengeful half-beast, half-human goddess*, who imposed plagues and punishments on mortals. In the second category, Xiwangmu was a *benevolent half-beast, half-human goddess*, not intent on inflicting suffering on mortals. In the third category, Xiwangmu was a *benevolent human-like goddess*, who appeared no longer as a beast but as an elegant and kind female deity. Kominami Ichirō 小南一郎 and Michael Loewe conducted research showing that the composition of *Shanhai jing* took place over several historical periods. This fact helps explain the diverse portrayals of Xiwangmu in the book.[35]

The tale of the Zhou-era King Mu, entitled *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳,[36] contains several references to Xiwangmu. However, the authenticity and time of the text's authorship became controversial matters.[37] Now scholars generally accept the assertion that the work dates from the early to mid-Warring States Period. In *Shanhai jing*, Xiwangmu lived in a cave and had a tiger's teeth and a panther's tail. In *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, Xiwangmu lived in

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[34] Kominami Ichirō 小南一郎, "Seiobo to tanabata densho" 西王母と七夕伝承, *Tōhō gakuhō*東方学報 46 (1974): 33–81

[35] Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979): 89–92.

[36] For an English introduction of *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, see Michael Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), 342–346.

[37] Yang Shanqun 楊善群, "*Mutianzi zhuan* de zhenwei jiqi shiliao jiazhi" 穆天子傳的真偽及其史料價值, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 54 (1995): 227–251; Yang Kuan 楊寬, "*Mutianzi zhuan* zhenshi laili de tantao" 穆天子傳真實來歷的探討, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 55 (1996): 182–204.

western regions and exchanged gifts and poetry with King Mu of Zhou. The text also conveys her power of immortality. Worthy of mention is the fact that *Huainanzi* mentioned Xiwangmu in association with the Kunlun Mountains 崑崙山. However, in *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, Xiwangmu had no relationship with the Kunlun Mountains.[38]

The main Western Han works of literature to mention Xiwangmu are *Huainanzi* and The *Shiji*. These two works contain plots that never appear in earlier literature and that address the relationships between Xiwangmu and the Kunlun Mountains and between Xiwangmu and immortality medicine. In *Records of the Grand Historian*,[39] two sections of the work—"The Biography of Sima Xiangru"[40] and "The Biography of Dawan"[41]—depict Xiwangmu in the following terms:

> [The Queen Mother of the West] With her hair of silvery white
> And her burden of hairpins, living in a cave!
> Fortunately she has her three-legged crow to bring her food.
> Yet if she must live in this state forever,
> Though it be for ten thousand ages, what joy can she find?[42]

In "Daren *fu*," Sima Xiangru, a native of Sichuan, depicted Xiwangmu as a goddess with

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[38] For a detailed visual and textual study of Mount Kunlun, see Sofukawa Hiroshi 曽布川寛, *Konronzan e no shōsen: kodai Chūgokujin ga egaita shigo no sekai* 崑崙山への昇仙—古代中国人が描いた死後の世界 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1981).

[39] For a detailed discussion of the biography of Sima Xiangru, see Martin Kern, "The 'Biography of Sima Xiangru' and the Question of the *Fu* in Sima Qian's *Shiji*," *Journal of the American Oriental Studies* 123.2 (2003): 303–316.

[40] For an English translation of the biography of Sima Xiangru, see Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien Vol. II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 297–342.

[41] *Shiji*, 123, 3163–3164.

[42] Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China: The Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien Vol. II*, 335.

pure white hair wearing a glamorous gown with jade pendants. A three-legged bird acted as her servant. "The Biography of Dawan" recounts tales that Zhang Qian heard when he was an ambassador out west. Zhang Qian states that, much farther out west, perhaps in what is Iran now, Xiwangmu resided in the Tiaozhi Kingdom 條支國.[43] In 97 CE, Ban Chao 班超 sent Gan Ying 甘英 to Daqin[44] 大秦, where he would serve as an ambassador. During his trip, he stopped by Tiaozhi Kingdom, where he could not find Xiwangmu. Gan Ying concluded that the goddess had to be residing in a place even farther out west.[45]

In *Hanshu*, however, we can see that Xiwangmu was the center of popular belief, which triggered a massive turmoil in 3 BCE caused by thousands of people, from Guandong to the capital, from the first lunar month to autumn.

> In the first month of the fourth year of the *Jianping* era, the population was running around in a state of alarm, each holding a stalk of straw or hemp, carrying them on and passing them to one another, saying that they were transporting the wand of the goddess's edict. Large numbers of persons, amounting to thousands, met in this way on the roadsides, some with disheveled hair or going barefoot. Some of them broke down the barriers of gates by night; some clambered over walls to make their way into [houses]; some harnessed teams of horses to carriages and rode at full gallop, setting up relay stations so as to convey the tokens. They passed through twenty-six commanderies and kingdoms, until they reached the capital city.[46]

That summer the people came together, meeting in the capital and in the

[43] A. F. P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1979): 24.
[44] Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "The Roman Empire as Known to Han China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 119, (1999:1): 71–79.
[45] *HHS*, 88, 2918.
[46] *HS*, 11, 342.

> commanderies and kingdoms. In the village settlements, the lanes and paths across the fields, they held services and set up gaming boards; and they sang and danced in worship of Xiwangmu. They also passed round a written message, saying "The Queen Mother tells the people that those who wear this talisman will not die; let those who do not believe her words look down at the pivots on their gates, and there will be white hairs to show that this is true.[47]

According to *Hanshu*, the imperial government lost control. *Hanshu* provides evidence that the Xiwangmu cult caused turmoil and social unrest. Wu Hung and Michael Loewe argue that this turmoil was an organized religious movement, in which people would often gather together to worship Xiwangmu with song and dance.[48] Synthesizing the facts in various texts, Xiwangmu was a goddess of immortality as well as the "savior" for the people in the Western Han era.

Classical documents reveal, in sum, two major characteristics of the Xiwangmu legend: First, the legend about her became more and more complex over the centuries, with the addition of references to such topics as the Kunlun Mountains.[49] Second, the duties of Xiwangmu grew in number as her personality changed from vindictiveness to beneficence. In essence, she became a savior to people and a holder of the secrets to immortality. Where did

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[47] *HS*, 27, 1476. Based in Michael Loewe's translation, see Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 99.
[48] Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979) 100; Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 128.
[49] For example, Xiwangmu appears with a consort, Dongwanggong 東王公. See Sun Zuoyun 孫作雲, "Luoyang Xi-Han Bu Qianqiu bihua mu fajue jianbao" 洛陽西漢卜千秋壁畫墓發掘簡報, *WW* 6 (1977), 17–22.

the Xiwangmu myth originate? Many scholars have pointed to Sichuan.[50] No definitive evidence can confirm or rule out the Sichuan argument. Nevertheless, in the next section, I discuss the extraordinary differences between the treatment of Xiwangmu in excavated Sichuanese representations and the treatment of Xiwangmu in comparable paintings from elsewhere in China.

Archaeological Evidence of the Xiwangmu Cult

Scholars of Han paintings have noted that ancient portraits of Xiwangmu differ from one another regarding form, style, and meaning.[51] In the paintings of Xiwangmu excavated in Sichuan, the goddess enjoys a supreme-like status: seated, she occupies the center of the painted scene and is the head of all other gods. Such depictions differ from those in ancient Shandong paintings, where she is just one of many deities. According to Li Song's studies, Xiwangmu had five basic features in ancient Sichuanese paintings:

1. Artists engraved Xiwangmu on bricks, stone coffins, money trees, stone pillars, and more. Some of the engraved objects were unique to Sichuan.
2. Most of the paintings depicted Xiwangmu alone, and only very few of them represented Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong as a pair.[52]
3. Most of the paintings matched Xiwangmu with a tiger-dragon seat.

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[50] Michael Nylan, "The Legacies of the Chengdu Plain," *AC*, 318; Yang Jinggang 楊靜剛, "*Shanhai jing* de zuozhe ji shidai ji qi yu Sichuan Han dai huaxiang zhuanshi shang suojian zhi Xiwangmu" 山海經的作者及時代及其與四川漢代畫像磚石上所見之西王母, *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州學林 6.2 (2008:6): 2–55.

[51] Li Song 李凇, *Lun Han dai yishu zhong de Xiwangmu tuxiang* 論漢代藝術中的西王母圖像 (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 173–215.

[52] Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong 東王公 (King Father of the East) represented as a pair evidently suggested in their association with the *yin* and *yang* in Shandong, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 108-141.

4. In most of the paintings, Xiwangmu appears front and center with symmetrically proportional images to her left and right.
5. These paintings date chiefly from the early Eastern Han Empire to the late Eastern Han Empire, with some extension into the Shu Han period (221-263 CE).[53]

In these Sichuanese paintings, a close association exists between the "gate" and Xiwangmu. The legend is that the dead pass through the gate, which divides this world from heaven, on their way to the world of Xiwangmu. On the tomb murals excavated in Sichuan, the theme of heaven's gate is rather obvious.[54] The tombs' bronze plaques, in particular, explicitly depict the dead's entrance into the land of Xiwangmu, and for this reason, I analyze the plaques in the next section.

Bronze Plaques

In the 1980s, archaeologists excavated fourteen bronze plaques from Sichuanese tombs located in Wushan County. Placed outside the tombs' wooden coffins, the bronze plaques appear to have been a key component of the region's unique burial norms. Of the fourteen bronze plaques, eight were round whereas the others were square, rectangular, or calyx-like. Engraved on the surfaces of these bronze plaques were human figures, sacred beasts, clouds, twin pillars, and gate of heaven. The images are quite clear and ornate owing largely to the refined gilding and engraving techniques used by the artists. Having a diameter of between 23 cm and 28 cm, the pictures on these plaques have more or less the same layout. The gilded

[53] Li Song 李凇, *Lun Han dai yishu zhong de Xiwangmu tuxiang*, 172.
[54] Zhao Dianzeng 趙殿增, "Tianmen kao—jian lun Sichuan Han hua zhuanshi de zuhe yu zhuti" 天門考—兼論四川漢畫磚石的組合與主題, *WW* 6 (1990): 3–11.

carvings vividly depict streamlined architecture, clouds, sacred beasts, and more. The buildings on these bronze plaques are the oft-referenced twin pillars, which symbolized the heavenly gate. Wearing a headgear commonly called *sheng* 勝 by scholars,[55] Xiwangmu is seated in the middle of each of the fourteen bronze plaques, with clouds floating behind her. Over the head of Xiwangmu are two engraved Chinese characters: 天門 ("*tian men*," gate of heaven).[56] In fact, the presence of these two Chinese characters—when presented in the context of the plaques' background images—enabled contemporary scholars to understand the afterlife as it was conceived by ancient Sichuanese people.

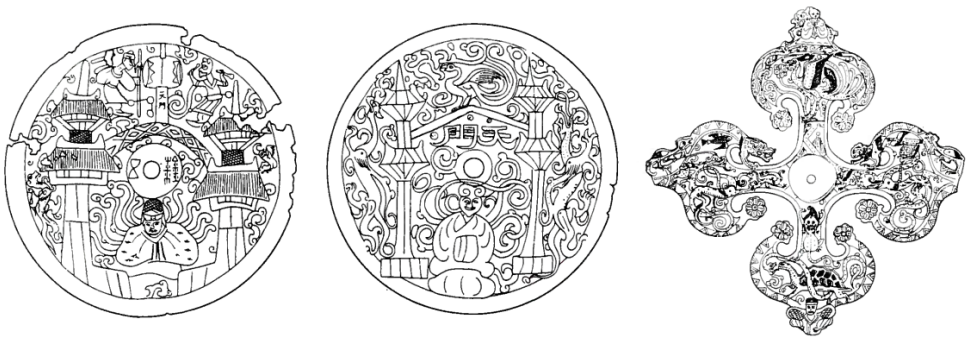

Fig. 10. Drawings of both the Gate of Heaven and the Queen Mother of the West as found on Wushan County. Drawing from Chongqing Wushan xian wenwu guanlisuo 重慶巫山縣文物管理所 and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Sanxia gongzuodui 中國社會科學院考古研究所三陝工作隊 1998, fig. 1, fig. 4, and fig. 7

[55] For a useful discussion of *sheng* headgear, see Sofukawa Hiroshi 曽布川寛, "Konronsan to Shosenzu" 崑崙山と昇仙圖, *Tōhō gakuhō*, 51 (1979): 158–163.

[56] Chongqing Wushan xian wenwu guanli suo 重慶巫山縣文物管理所 and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiu suo Sanxia gongzuo dui 中國社會科學院考古研究所三陝工作隊, "Chongqing Wushan xian Dong-Han liujin tongpai shi de faxian yu yanjiu" 重慶巫山縣東漢鎏金銅牌飾的發現與研究, *Kaogu* 12 (1998): 77–86.

Tower-gates (*Que,* 闕)

On the bronze plaques, twin pillars appear in front of gate of heaven. What exactly is a pillar, also known as a *que* 闕 in Chinese? Tower-gates were upright architectural columns that symbolized "power and authority" and that were particularly evident in Han times.[57] 28 tower-gates have survived into the present and 20 of which are in Sichuan. All of them were part of ancient tombs.[58] Archaeologist Feng Hanji states that, in Han times, only an official with a salary of at least two thousand *shi* 石 (bushels) could afford tower-gate in his tomb. The tower-gates represented the tower-gates in the tomb owner's terrestrial residence before death. However, the archaeologist Tang Changshou, arguing against this interpretation, proposes that tomb tower-gates were affordable for people with smaller salaries and were reflective of tomb owners' identity.[59] The tomb's pillars or the gate is the border between our world and heaven. Tomb owners' burial passage through their tomb pillars symbolized the owners' passage into the realm of Xiwangmu, much as gate of heaven in painted murals symbolized this same passage.

In *Stone Pillars in Han Sichuan*, we can see the complete portrayal of Xiwangmu and

[57] Liu Zenggui 劉增貴, "Han dai huaxiang que de xiangzheng yiyi" 漢代畫像闕的象徵意義, *Chūgoku shigaku* 中國史學 10 (2000): 97–127.
[58] Chen Mingda 陳明達, " Han dai de shique" 漢代的石闕, *WW* 12 (1961): 9-10; Zhu Xiaonan 朱曉南, "Que de leixing ji jianzhu xingshi" 闕的類型及建築形式, *SW* 6 (1992):13–20.
[59] Tang Changshou 唐長壽, "Han dai muzang menque kaobian" 漢代墓葬門闕考辨, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 3 (1991): 67–74.

ten tower-gates.[60] For an example of *que*, take the Fan Min tower-gates (Fan Min Que, 樊敏闕): in 205 CE, Ba County Magistrate Fan Min had a tomb built for himself, and although the tomb itself was destroyed at some point during the intervening centuries, the tomb's left tower-gate has survived into the present. Xiwangmu is depicted on the pillar as having two wings, wearing a crown, and sitting on the dragon-tiger seat. The fact that no other icon was painted in the area around Xiwangmu accentuates her position as a top-tier deity.[61]

Fig. 11 Photograph of Fan Min towe-gate

In the next section of this chapter, I discuss the portrayal of Xiwangmu on Sichuanese tombs' bricks.

[60] Chongqing shi wenwu ju 重慶市文物局 and Chongqing shi bowu guan 重慶市博物館 ed., *Sichuan Han dai de shique* 四川漢代的石闕 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992).

[61] Feng Hanji 馮漢驥, "Sichuan de Han huaxiang zhuanmu yu huaxiang zhuan" 四川的畫像磚墓與畫像磚, in *Feng Hanji kaoguxue lunwen ji* 馮漢驥考古學論文集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985):65.

Painted Bricks

The Chinese scholar Li Song 李淞 wrote a book containing photos of 26 painted-brick Xiwangmu portraits unearthed in the Sichuan Basin.[62] In each portrait, Xiwangmu is in a seated position. One painted brick that clearly reflects Xiwangmu's popularity as a deity is from Xinfan County's Han Tomb No. 1.[63] Excavated by the archaeologist Feng Hanji in 1955, the tomb consisted of a central chamber, east and west side chambers, and an ear chamber. In the central chamber, a painted-brick portrait of Xiwangmu decorated the main wall; and in the portrait, an image of the sun appears on her left and an image of the moon on her right. The deity is sitting on a dragon-tiger seat outfitted with a generous canopy overhead. On her sides are wisps of clouds wandering upward. Directly below her is a dancing toad. To her bottom left is the legendary three-legged bird. Meanwhile, a jade-rabbit holding a lingzhi 靈芝 fungus is kneeling in the lower far right of the portrait. In the picture, there is also a nine-tailed fox. At the bottom of the brick are kneeling worshippers. Yu Haoliang suggested that these kneeling figures are, in fact, the tomb owners requesting longevity medicine from Xiwangmu, a hugely important element in Sichuanese people's imagination of heaven.[64]

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[62] Li Song 李淞, *Lun Han dai yishu zhong de Xiwangmu tuxiang*, 174-179.

[63] Sichuan sheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 四川省文物管理委員會, "Sichuan Xinfan Qingbai xiang Dong-Han huaxiang zhuanmu qingli jianbao" 四川新繁清白鄉東漢畫像磚墓清理簡報, *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 6 (1956): 36–34.

[64] Yu Haoliang 于豪亮, "Jikuai huaxiang shi de shuoming" 幾塊畫像石的說明, *Kaogu tongxun* 考古通訊 4 (1957): 106–109.

Fig. 12. Image of Xiwangmu, found on a painted brick excavated from Han Tomb No. 1 in Xinfan County. Photo from Wu Hung 1987, fig. 6.

Stone Coffins

Stone coffins decorated with painted figures constituted a special component of Sichuan burial rituals in Sichuan and the surrounding Chongqing areas. The engravings on these stone coffins replaced the paintings found in brick tombs and cave tombs.[65] Because the capacity of stone coffins was much smaller than that of brick tombs and cave tombs, the stone coffins required significantly less labor for construction.[66] *The Art of Chinese Painted Stone Coffins*, written by Gao Wen and Gao Chenggang, is a thorough presentation of stone coffins' paintings.[67] The image of Xiwangmu commonly appeared on stone coffins' engravings. In

[65] Luo Erhu, *Han dai huaxiang shiguan*, 246.

[66] Chen Xuan, *Eastern Han (AD 25–220) Tombs in Sichuan* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), 84.

[67] Gao Wen 高文 and Gao Chenggan 高成剛, *Zhongguo huaxiang shiguan yishu* 中國畫像

general, the engravings depict the realm of the immortals. Appearing in the middle of the stone coffin's engraving, the deity is sitting poised on a dragon-tiger seat. A three-legged bird and a nine-tailed fox are on her left. On her right are a toad and musicians playing instruments. Engravings with this kind of layout are associated mainly with the stone coffins unearthed in the cave tombs in Sichuan's Bei County and Pengshan County (Figure 13).[68] These engravings, in general, crudely depict Xiwangmu's realm. Stone coffins excavated in Sichuan's Bei County also exemplify this kind of engraving. In the middle of the painting, a winged Xiwangmu is sitting poised on a dragon-tiger seat. Three trees form a canopy behind her. Two immortals are playing a *liubo* chess game,[69] and one of the immortals has wings.[70]

Fig. 13. Engraving on a stone coffin from Pengshan Xian. From Chang Renxia 1988:84.

石棺藝術 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1996).

[68] Luo Erhu, *Handai huaxiang shiguan*, 46

[69] Yang Lien-sheng, "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game Liu-po," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15, nos. 1/2 (1952), 138–39; Tseng Lan-ying, "Picturing Heaven: Image and Knowledge in Han China" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2001), 57–58; and Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, "Representation and Appropriation: Rethinking the TLV Mirror in Han China," *Early China* 29 (2004), 186–91.

[70] Sichuan sheng bowu guan 四川省博物館 and Pixian wenhua guan 郫縣文化館, "Sichuan Pixian Dong-Han zhuanmu de shiguan huaxiang" 四川郫縣東漢磚墓的石棺畫像, *Kaogu* 6 (1979): 496.

Money Trees

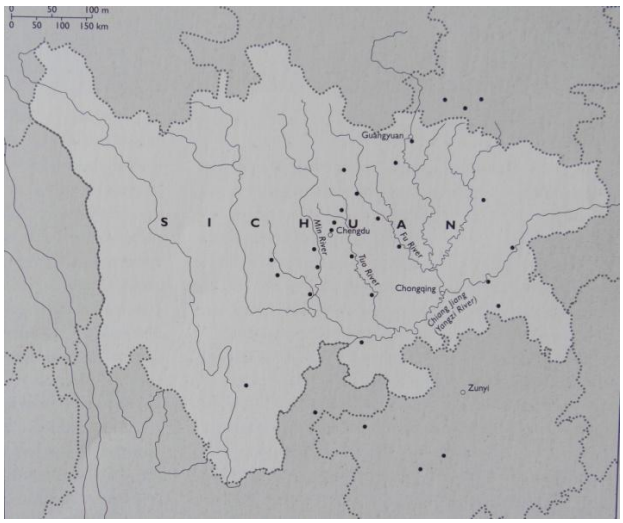
Money trees are unique artifacts dating from Han times and excavated in southwestern China. A money tree is not a real tree but artwork consisting of a base (made of pottery), a trunk (made of bronze), and branches and leaves (made of bronze). In general, the branches and leaves feature molded images of Xiwangmu or, especially, of coins; hence, the name 'money tree'. The surviving 'money tree' have a combined height of between 120 cm and 196cm.[71]

The money trees have been found mainly in the Chengdu Plains and secondarily in Guizhou, Shannan, Gansu, and Qinghai.[72] Archaeologists have excavated more than 184 money trees, a significant number that indicates their ubiquity. However, most excavated money trees are missing parts. In fact, only seven are fully intact.

[71] He Zhiguo 何志國, "Zhongguo zuida de yaoqianshu ji qi neihan" 中國最大的搖錢樹及其內涵, *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地 2 (1998): 45–48.

[72] He Zhiguo 何志國, "Xinan diqu de Han-Wei yaoqianshu" 西南地區的漢魏搖錢樹, *Zhongguo Han hua yanjiu di er juan* 中國漢畫研究 第二卷 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006), 19–38.

Fig. 14. Photograph of money tree. From Bagley 2001: 277.



Map 6. The distribution of excavated money trees. From Wu Hung 2000, 81.

According to the scholars He Zhiguo and Susan Erickson, the significant similarity among various money trees' corresponding parts is proof that each part of the money tree was made from a mold.[73] Similar to painted bricks, money trees were commercialized burial

[73] Susan Erickson, "Money Trees of the Eastern Han Dynasty," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 66 (1994), figure 29.

items for purchase in Sichuan. And although money trees could be taller than an adult man, they could be disassembled for easy transport and re-assembly. Consumers could choose money trees with images of either Xiwangmu or coins molded on the branches or both.

No primary source mentions money trees. However, archaeological findings prove, first, that, in Han Sichuan, people put money trees in tombs. Second, the findings prove that the money trees depicted scenes not of everyday life but of mythical places like heaven or the land of immortals. Third, there was a close relationship between money trees and Xiwangmu rituals. The standard image of Xiwangmu on money trees was of her seated on a dragon-tiger seat, her shoulders supporting a pair of upward-pointing wings that held a canopy overhead. These portraits of Xiwangmu appeared on the based of money trees as well as on the branches.

An especially interesting money tree was excavated in an Eastern Han tomb in Chengdu. Its appearance is dramatically unique because the money tree was made entirely from ceramic. Depicting the process by which recently deceased mortals become immortals, the base of the ceramic money tree is 60.5cm in height, and curiously has the shape more of a hill than of a tree. Human figures are engraved on this hill-shaped tree, which has four discernible horizontal layers. The highest layer is the summit, atop which Xiwangmu sits with maids in attendance by her side. In the second-highest layer, two people are standing in front of a gate,

which is evidently gate of heaven.[74] In the other two lower layers, several people are climbing the hill in order to enter the queendom of Xiwangmu. In this context, money trees were popular substitutes for tomb murals and represented Sichuan people's imagination of the world after death, as did stone coffins, bronze plaques and painted murals.

Fig. 15. Pottery of money tree base. Photo from Wu Hung 2001, fig. 15.

In the Sichuan region, Xiwangmu was highly respected and popular. Most Sichuanese artistic representations of Xiwangmu placed her in the center of the artwork and had her sitting on a dragon-tiger seat, covered with a canopy, and accompanied by a gate of heaven.[75]

[74] Wang Fang 王方, "Yaoqianshu cemian guan" 「錢樹座」側面觀, *Chengdu wenwu* 成都文物 1 (1987): 52, figure 2.

[75] Where did the historical practice of artistically portraying Xiwangmu originate? Three possible places of origin are central China, and India. Wu Hung suggested that the image of Xiwangmu in Sichuan reflected the influence of Buddhist art. However, according to the studies of Elfriede R. Knauer, Mediterranean cultures may be the origins of this artistic practice. According to He Zhiguo, images of Xiwangmu originated in Sichuan perhaps during the middle to late Western Han periods. This general historical era pre-dates the introduction of Buddhist art and central Asian art into China. Both the bronze statues and bronze masks excavated in Sanxingdui suggest the worship of deities in ancient Sichuan. However, the

Artistic representations of Xiwangmu were found in not only large Han tombs in Sichuan but small ones, as well. This fact, by itself, strongly suggests that Xiwangmu was very popular in Sichuan, including among commoners.[76]

Ancient Sichuanese People's Construction of Everyday Life in the Afterlife

Passing through heaven's gate, the recently deceased would have entered Xiwangmu's heaven, where they would have experienced everyday life in the afterlife. What imagination of heaven did ancient Sichuanese people have? The everyday life of *heaven-bound* Han-era Sichuanese resembled that of *earth-bound* Han-era Sichuanese. Residents of the hereafter pursued a lifestyle specific to terrestrial Sichuan and distinct from the cultures elsewhere in the Han empire.

Sichuanese tomb murals depict everyday scenes of agricultural production. Archaeologists Yu Dezhang and Liu Wenjie divided the artistic depictions of the conditions of agricultural production in Eastern Han Sichuan into three categories: First, seed sowing;

Sanxingdui excavations do not provide definitive evidence about an association between Xiwangmu and the artifacts in the Sichuan region. This interesting research question merits continued attention. See Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 108–141; Elfriede R. Knauer, "The Queen Mother of the West: A Study of the Influence of Western Prototypes on the Iconography of the Taoist Deity," in *Contact and Exchange in the Ancient World*, ed. Victor H. Mair (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 62–115; He Zhiguo 何志國, "Lun Han dai Xiwangmu tuxiang de qiyuan" 論漢代西王母圖像的起源, *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中華文化論壇 2 (2007): 27–32.

[76] Jean M. James, "An Iconographic Study of Xiwangmu during the Han Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 55 (1995): 17–41.

second, the growing and harvesting of paddy rice; and third, lotus and taro harvesting. Painted tomb bricks depicted these activities. A good example of such bricks can be found in Zengjiabao 曾家包, where archaeologists excavated a tomb dating back to Eastern Han times. Although thieves had stolen most of the tomb's burial items, its painted bricks had remained partially untouched. The rear chamber of this tomb contained a mural that displayed everyday conditions in three parts. The first part, at the top of the mural, portrays hunting: using a bow and arrow, a hunter is shooting a deer near a flowing river as birds fly overhead. The second part, in the middle of the mural, portrays human activities on the homestead: a woman is fetching water by a river as an ox-drawn cart carries foodstuff and brewed wine. The third part, at the bottom of the mural, portrays animal husbandry: poultry and other animals are grazing freely in a leisurely atmosphere.

Fig. 16. Tomb mural depicting daily food-production activities. From Chen Xianshuang 1981, fig. 4.

Another example of Sichuanese tomb murals' depiction of everyday agricultural life can be found on the painted bricks excavated in Anren Village 安仁, Dayi 大邑, Sichuan in

1972. With a height of 39.6 cm and a width of 46.6 cm, the mural consists of two parts. Painted on the upper part of the mural is a lotus pond, where ducklings are swimming among blossoming lotus plants and where wild geese are flying overhead. The bottom of the mural depicts a harvest scene involving six people: one is carrying a basket, three are stooped over tending to the rice crops by hand, and the remaining two are swinging scythes nearby. Overall, the mural represents a vivid snapshot of everyday life, demonstrating the farm life of a rural village concretely. Sichuanese people hoped to live similarly in the afterlife.

Fig. 17. Rubbing of a ceramic tile with scenes of hunting and harvesting. From Chang Renxia 1988:158.

Erotic Scenes

In Sichuan, ancient tombs' murals abundantly depicted sexual scenes. In 1977 in the Sichuanese County of Xindu, archaeologists collected a dozen painted bricks depicting scenes of rice husking, wine brewing, dancing, music making, acrobatics, and the like. Two of the bricks also depicted people having sex in a mulberry field. With a length of 49.5 cm, a

width of 29 cm, and a height of 6 cm, the first of the two bricks (see Fig. 18) depicts three naked men and one naked woman. Lying on her back in the center-right of the mural, the woman's legs are elevated and spread, and her hair is in a bun. To her right is a basket, tossed aside, for collecting mulberry leaves. The loosened belt of her gown has been tossed carelessly by her side. Between the man's legs, an erect penis is protruding, ready for sexual intercourse with the woman. Behind the woman and man having sex, there is a short, kneeling man. His penis is also erect and his hands are pushing the first man's hips, evidently in an effort to assist with the penetration. On the left, there is a tall mulberry tree and a man watching the sex scene as if aroused by the trio's bliss. He also has an erection. The clothes of these four naked people are hanging from the tree's branches, where—in addition—four birds are perched and two monkeys are excitedly swinging. On the whole, the picture communicates an atmosphere of harmony and sensual pleasure. The men are not fighting for priority in having sex with the woman. The painting on the second brick (see Fig. 19) is remarkably similar to the painting on the first one. Again, in the center-right of the painting, we see a man having sex with a woman in the missionary position, and to their left are two men. All four are again near a tree. However, this time, the man who is now having sex appears to be panting. Meanwhile, the man directly behind the copulating couple is leaning tiredly against the tree. Perhaps it will soon be his turn to have sex with the woman.

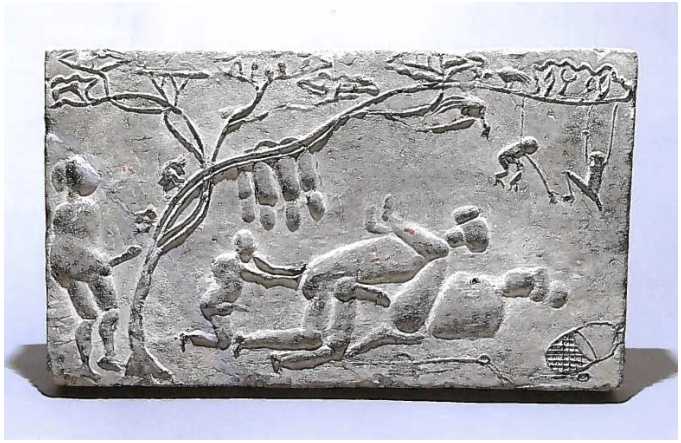


Fig. 18. Ceramic tile depicting an erotic scene from Xinlong Xiang in Xindu Xian. From Bagley 2001: 293.

Fig. 19. Ceramic tile depicting an erotic scene from Xinlong Xiang in Xindu Xian. From Bagley 2001: 293.

Some scholars have tried to interpret these types of erotic paintings from the perspective of Daoist sexual practices. Ge Zhaoguang argues that the depicted scenes represent a rite of passage in Daoism:[77] the practitioners are engaged in the "practice of joining energy."[78] Such kind of practice was life-nurturing in Daoism to a person's transformation for longevity. Other scholars argue that the depicted scene must have been a primitive sexual rite[79] or the

[77] Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Qufu shi ji qita Liuchao Sui Tang daojiao de sixiang shi yanjiu* 屈服史及其他：六朝隋唐道教的思想史研究 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2003), 61.
[78] Gao Wen 高文, "Yehe tukao" 野合圖考, *SW* 1 (1995): 19–20.
[79] Chen Yunhong 陳雲洪, "Sichuan Han dai gaomei tuhua xiangzhuan chutan" 四川漢代高禖圖畫像磚初探, *SW* 1 (1995): 15–18.

wanton behavior of the gentry class.[80]

It is worth pointing out that, in the Sichuanese tombs, the painted bricks depicting sexual pleasure lie side by side with those depicting Xiwangmu. The erotic art conveys the ancient belief that, in the afterlife, Sichuanese people would enjoy worldly pleasures and happiness. Excavated in the Sichuanese county of Yingjing, a Han-era painted brick depicts a robed woman stepping through a half-opened door. On the left are a man and a woman who are kneeling, robed, holding hands, and looking longingly into each other's eyes. This painting was generally regarded as a "secret game."[81] On the right, a robed Xiwangmu is seated in a meditative position.[82] Archaeologists have excavated similar paintings in Pengshan's cave tombs.[83] My view is that Xiwangmu in this art symbolizes heaven and that scenes of physical intimacy represent Sichuanese people's imagination of heaven—a place where they could continue enjoying sex after death.

图1 四川荥经石棺上的启门图像

Figure 20. Rubbings of the side of a stone coffin from Yingjing Xian From Chang Renxia 1988: 84.

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[80] Feng Xiuqi 馮修齊, "Sangjian yehe huaxiang zhuan kaoshi" 桑間野合畫像磚考釋, *SW* 3 (1995): 60–62.

[81] Lucy Lim, ed. *Stories from China's Past* (San Francisco: The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1987), 128.

[82] Paul R. Goldin, "The Motif of the Woman in the Doorway and Related Imagery in Traditional Chinese Funerary Art," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 539, 548.

[83] Lucy Lim, ed. *Stories from China's Past* (San Francisco: The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1987), 131.

From the discussions above, we can conclude that Xiwangmu was a hugely important element in Sichuanese people's imagination of heaven. Unearthed Sichuanese tomb murals express ancient local people's beliefs about heaven. The narrative on the murals is highly similar to—or at least consistent with—the narrative on painted stone coffins, bronze plaques, and money trees. In Han-era Sichuan, tomb murals displayed the common belief that Xiwangmu was central to the hereafter. The imagined heaven was similar to the farms in Sichuan.

Conclusion

During the Eastern Han era, the imagination of heaven found in the metropolis emphasized Confucian morals. The pictures in the tombs reflected not only the interests of the tomb owners but also the interests of the wider community of Confucian scholars. In Eastern Han times, Confucian scholars had their own set of social and cultural values. These values were manifested in, for example, Wu's ancestral temple.[84]

By contrast, ancient Sichuanese people gave remarkably little heed to the thinking in the metropolis. From Chapter 5, we can see that Sichuanese intellectuals tended to care chiefly about local affairs. These intellectuals' attitudes were reflected in their academic inclinations, which expressed strong local consciousness and collective identity. Ancient Sichuan also differed from the metropolis regarding people's imagination of heaven.

[84] Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989).

The mortuary practices in Sichuan expressed local people's unique cultural identity. Metropolitan areas tended to use funerary objects that emphasized the themes of loyalty, spousal fidelity, and filial piety, whereas Sichuanese areas tended to use funerary objects that emphasized the Xiwangmu cult, everyday life, and earthly enjoyment. As a result, Sichuanese mortuary practices, despite following popular Han-era metropolitan schemes, expressed local identity.

Conclusion

The *writing* of Chinese history as we understand now has long been nation-oriented. It allows only one Chinese people to exist. Even if there were different cultures and peoples that existed within the current borders of the People's Republic of China in ancient times, historians have made them into "Han" or have submerged into their generalized 'Chinese' history. Therefore, Sichuan history has been subsumed into the general rubric of 'Chinese' history. Despite the complexities of the history of the early Chinese empires, Chinese nation-building in modern times has prompted many historians and archaeologists to embrace the theory of a Chinese common ancestor—*Huangdi*. The term *Huaxia* (華夏) for Chinese historians and archaeologists refers to a huge homogeneous population of people living mainly on the Chinese Central Plains. The concept of 'sinicization' rests on the assumption that, because this population's culture was naturally superior to the cultures of peripheral indigenous populations, it absored them. As noted by Robin D.S. Yates, sinicization's description of a gradual and unconstrained spread of Han Chinese culture from the imperial center to the local rests on a further assumption: the existence of a primordial 'Chinese people': "an ethnically, linguistically, and homogeneous group dwelling in the East Asian subcontinent, has been one of the abiding myths of the Chinese from ancient times."[1] This assumption makes us unable to examine ancient Sichuan in its own right or to give it subjectivity. However, if we set aside the 'sinicization' thesis and ignore the assumptions of historians who have been influenced, either implicitly or explicitly, by modern and contemporary 'nation-building' and look directly at the archaeological findings and historical documents, we can return to the past to understand the authentic historic process, as discussed in this dissertation.

[1] Robin D. S. Yates, "Cosmos, Central Authority, and Communities in the Early Chinese Empire," in *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, eds. Susan E. Alcock et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 351.

Early Chinese empires all managed to unite a vast culturally, linguistically, and geographically diverse population into a single polity. At its height in the first century BCE, the Western Han empire stretched (in terms of present-day borders) from the Xinjiang Desert in the west to the Sea of Japan in the east, and from the Great Wall in Inner Mongolia to northern Vietnam. While expanding their own frontiers, the early Chinese empires incorporated territories that experienced different intensities of imperial involvement and, thus, varying patterns of colonial encounters and social change.

Colonialism is a phenomenon in not only modern history but ancient history, as well. The concept of colonialism enables us to understand the diverse cultures that, though critical to early Chinese empires, have attracted insufficient attention from historians. Overshadowing these cultures, the metropolitan veneer of imperial society has helped obscure or even erase our historical memory of them. Of course, the question arises as to why most sinologists have neglected the concept of colonialism in their studies on early Chinese history. I believe that the main reason is closely related to the prevailing views on the history of modern nation states. The construction of the Chinese nation state has created an emphasis on the allegedly continuous and uninterrupted history of the Chinese people, thus marginalizing the diversity and heterogeneity of their history. Historians studying imperial China's colonial past should strive to explain the political hegemony and the economic exploitation characterizing the colonial policies and should acknowledge the agency of the colonized in order to understand how they demonstrated their local identity under the colonial rule.

Before the Qin conquest, archaeological findings have revealed not only that ancient Sichuan harbored a "lost civilization" different from the Central Plains' ancient societies but also that this "lost civilization" pursued unique interactions with other societies. Moreover, ancient Sichuan did not restrict its interactions to societies in the Central Plains: communities along the Yangtze River's middle portions, in Southeast Asia, and in northwestern China had

ties to ancient Sichuan. The Qin occupation brought an end to the independence of these societies and they became incorporated into the rapidly expanding Qin colonial state and empire. By 285 BCE, important changes in the political system, as well as economic exploitation radically transformed ancient Sichuan. Qin's direct control of ancient Sichuan had three dimensions: First, the construction of a capital (commandery) city and the establishment of a series of counties were one and the same thing, with the Qin state relying heavily on their commandery-and-county system, which promoted a significant centralization of authority. Second, unforced and sometimes forced migration and the building of new settlements. The Qin state gave the residents land, farming tools and status while demanding goods, labor and military service in return. This policy resulted in the destruction of the old social structure among the local communities and central authority was imposed in its place. Third, expanding the economic basis for the military needs. This is demonstrated through policies such as the state monopoly on the products of mountains, rivers, gold mines, the minting of coins and the construction of the Dujiangyan Irrigation System. The abundance of the Sichuan basin provided Qin with a very wealthy economic basis with which to support its wars with the six states to the east. Qin colonized the Chengdu Plains and the subsequent development was not only a political landmark but an economic one as well. After the collapse of the Qin Empire, the Western Han Empire basically followed the colonial projects of Qin.

Traditionally, most scholars have suggested that the success of the early Chinese empires in Sichuan could be explained by sinicization. By making the subjects of the people of ancient Sichuan, these peoples came to accept actively the metropolitan cultures. In this dissertation, I emphasized the importance of the local agents in these socio-cultural changes, and suggested that these agents incorporated the metropolitan cultures not because they were inherently superior. Such an interpretation, I believe, in the case of Sichuan under Qin,

Western Han, and Eastern Han rule at least, is simply not supported by the transmitted texts, and arguably places too much emphasis on the ritual and material objects. I suggest that it was rather because their adoption of the outer trappings of metropolitan culture was a way to show their agency or local identity. In regard to this latter point, as we have seen in Chapters 4 through 6, I looked at local agents, such as intellectuals, officials and great families. Ruled by the Qin state, there were constant upheavals. The Qin state eliminated the old aristocrats and established the commandery-and-county system. However, in the Western Han era, the political situation in Sichuan was still unstable. The people of Sichuan were dissatisfied with the selection system of the Western Han court. Sichuanese intellectuals passively avoided involvement in the Western Han regime even though they were qualified for official positions; indeed, some of these intellectuals openly rejected multiple recruitment offers. Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong were two Sichuanese intellectuals who, by contrast, worked for the empire. Sima chose to collaborate with the Western Han regime and brokered conflicts between the metropolis and Sichuan. Yang concentrated on academic research and ignored public affairs, thus adopting a rather passive attitude. Rather than identifying with the declining Western Han Empire, Yang expressed his preference for the Xin regime of Wang Mang.

Through the Confucianism and selection system, the Eastern Han Empire turn the local powerful families into scholar-bureaucrat magnates (*haozu*). These projects made the intellectuals and scholars into cultural brokers between the capital and the region. During the Eastern Han era, due to the geographical barriers, and the sense of local identity, the Sichuan intellectuals were not important in the network of metropolitan intellectual groups. The social networks of Sichuan intellectuals were limited to a small circle. In this circumstance, through agriculture, mining, trade with neighboring markets, and other business ventures, Sichuanese *haozu* strengthened their influence in their home commandery and counties.

Moreover, Sichuanese did not passively accept the imposed identity of metropolitan ideology: Sichuanese re-interpreted Confucianism with prophecy and apocrypha and, hence, demonstrated their local identity.

The sense of local identity of ancient Sichuan was not confined to the people recorded in the transmitted texts. The burial practices could be utilized to enlarge our understanding of how local people acted. The distinctive ritual values underlying pictorial art in the different parts of China help explain its selection of decorative motifs. The pictorial stone reliefs in the Shandong area show the strong influence of Confucianism. On the other hand, the funerary art in Sichuan places much emphasis on motifs of the immortality cult. This is understandable in light of the religious beliefs and local identity of Sichuan where a ritual cult known as Xiwangmu was practiced. It will be seen that the mortuary practice not only followed the popular ideas of life and death, but also responded to the special demands of the particular values of the Sichuanese peoples' own culture and identity.

This dissertation is strongly rooted in local history, specifically, Sichuan, China, but it is also concerned with broader historical questions regarding the significance of regions, local identity, and the relationship between regions and early Chinese metropolitan areas. I adopted an interdisciplinary methodology, and drew from different scholarly traditions (e.g., those of North America, Japan, China, and Taiwan). This dissertation contributes significantly to the field of sinological, historical, and archaeological studies by exploring the creation and transformation of metropolitan and local identities in early imperial China. Furthermore, this dissertation is valuable to scholars interested in comparative history, as I address theoretical considerations that concern the study of colonialism, and widens and expands the scope of research on Chinese history.

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