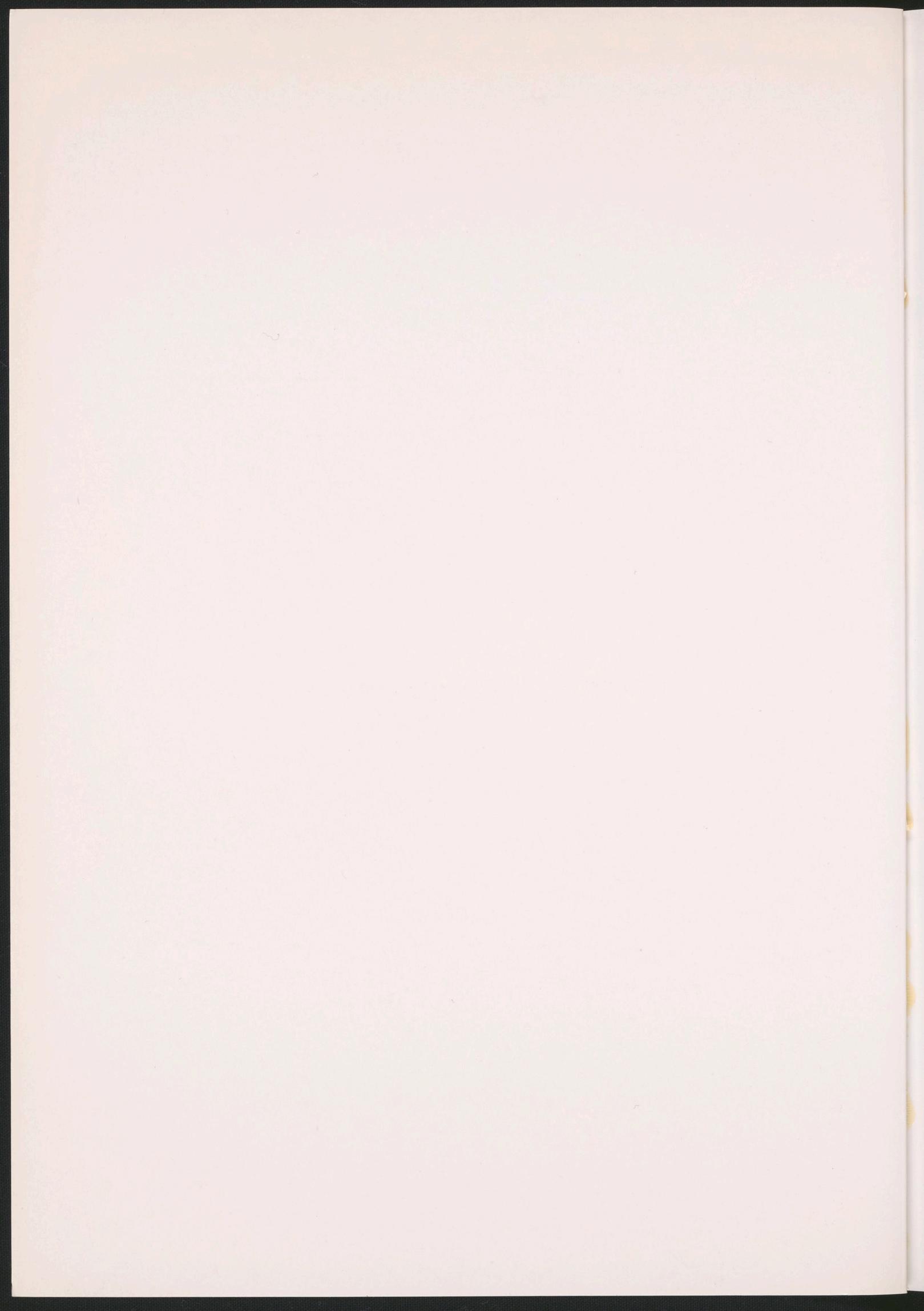


THE BURIED ARMY
OF QIN SHIHUANG







■ front cover: One of the First Emperor's warriors

■ front spread: A general view of pit number one

■ back spread: The First Emperor's tomb mound set in wheat-fields near Xi'an in modern-day China

THE BURIED ARMY OF QIN SHIHUANG

Auckland City Art Gallery - 30 August - 13 October 1986
Robert McDougall Art Gallery Christchurch - 25 October - 7 December 1986
National Art Gallery and National Museum, Wellington - 20 December 1986 - 7 February 1987

Organized by the Auckland City Art Gallery
Identified by the New Zealand Government

Director: T. J. Rodney Wilson
Manager: Duncan Campbell
Photography: Gillian Ogden
Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China
Minister: Chien Chien
Auckland City Art Gallery
100 Queen Street Auckland

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NZI Corporation Auckland City Art Gallery exhibition
Auckland City Art Gallery 1986

Auckland City Art Gallery 30 August – 12 October 1986

Robert McDougall Art Gallery Christchurch 25 October – 7 December 1986

National Art Gallery and National Museum, Wellington 20 December 1986 – 3 February 1987

Organized by the Auckland City Art Gallery
Indemnified by the New Zealand Government

Director	T. L. Rodney Wilson
Text	Manying Ip Duncan Campbell Gillian Chaplin Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China
Photography	Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China Gillian Chaplin
Design	Ann Wadworth Auckland City Art Gallery
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■ an NZI Corporation/Auckland City Art Gallery exhibition

■ Auckland City Art Gallery 1986

THE BURIED ARMY OF QIN SHIHUANG



Auckland City Art Gallery - 24 August - 12 October 1986

Robert McDougall Art Gallery, Christchurch - 27 October - 7 December 1986

National Art Gallery and National Museum, Wellington - 20 December 1986 - 2 February 1987

Organized by The Auckland City Art Gallery
Indemnified by the New Zealand Government

Director	J. L. Rodney Wilson
Text	Maweng Lu Doreen Campbell Gillian Chaplin
Photography	Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China Gillian Campbell
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FOREWORD

Greater contact between China and New Zealand can only benefit both nations.

It was but 14 years ago, in 1972, that Prime Minister Norman Kirk formally recognised the People's Republic of China.

From small beginnings, New Zealand's trading contact with China has increased dramatically. Today, China is our largest export market for wool and there is an expanding trade in a range of commodities and finished products. In addition, China has entered into joint ventures with New Zealand firms.

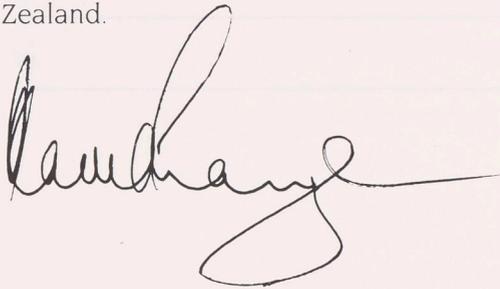
However, as with our largest trading partner, Japan, there is a slow recognition by New Zealanders of China's culture, past and present. Trade is our major point of contact, yet the relationship is increasingly broader based.

The tour to Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch of the artefacts from Emperor Qin Shihuang's tomb is an exceptional example of Chinese culture. It should be seen by as many New Zealanders as possible.

The Government supports this venture. It arose out of a government to government treaty which celebrates the cultural accord between New Zealand and China.

The New Zealand Government has indemnified the exhibition during its stay in New Zealand.

I wish this exhibition well. It is another step towards greater understanding of one of the world's great cultures – and of a close friend and important trading partner of New Zealand.



The Rt. Hon. David Lange
Prime Minister of New Zealand

*This exhibition has been made possible by a partnership between
NZI Corporation Limited and the Auckland City Art Gallery*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NZI Corporation is proud to join the Auckland City Art Gallery in bringing "The Buried Army of Qin Shihuang" exhibition to New Zealand. NZI Corporation is firmly committed to corporate sponsorship of the arts and we believe that it is appropriate for NZI, as one of New Zealand's leading international companies, to assist in bringing the world closer to New Zealand through major exhibitions of international significance.

"The Buried Army of Qin Shihuang" brings to New Zealand a magnificent selection of terracotta figures and artefacts from a discovery labelled by many experts as 'the Eighth Wonder of the World' and which is certainly one of the greatest archaeological finds of modern times.

We are especially pleased that the exhibition will travel to Wellington and Christchurch as well as Auckland and so provide all New Zealanders with the opportunity to gain an insight into the fascinating history of one of the world's great civilizations.

Sir Alan Hellaby

Chairman of Directors
NZI Corporation Limited

The Auckland City Art Gallery is proud to be able to include in its international exhibitions programme *The Buried Army of Qin Shihuang*, a representative collection of artefacts from the remarkable terracotta army guarding the tomb of the First Emperor of China.

These objects, so recently discovered near Xi'an in Shaanxi Province, enable us to glimpse a little of the power and authority of the First Emperor's court.

We are deeply indebted to the Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China for its willingness to allow the collection to travel to New Zealand, and Mr Jin Feng of the Administrative Bureau for Museums and Archaeological Data, for his assistance in the details of planning.

We are grateful to the New Zealand Government for its indemnity of this exhibition as part of a continuing programme of major exhibitions, and to the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, without whose assistance the exhibition simply would not have happened. In particular, thanks are due to Mr Nigel Moore and Ms Mary Chamberlin.

Dr Manying Ip and Mr Duncan Campbell of the University of Auckland have provided invaluable advice and contributed informative essays to this catalogue.

The Buried Army of Qin Shihuang continues the partnership between the Auckland City Art Gallery and the NZI Corporation. This partnership, which, during the last two years, has brought to the New Zealand public four diverse exhibitions of extremely high calibre, has become one of the most successful examples of collaboration between business and the arts in this country. As always, we are indebted to our partners.

We are confident that our New Zealand public will respond with the same awe and enthusiasm that has characterized audiences in other cities privileged to receive collections of similar objects from the First Emperor's tomb.

We are sure that the exhibition will further cement New Zealand's friendship with the People's Republic of China.

T. L. Rodney Wilson

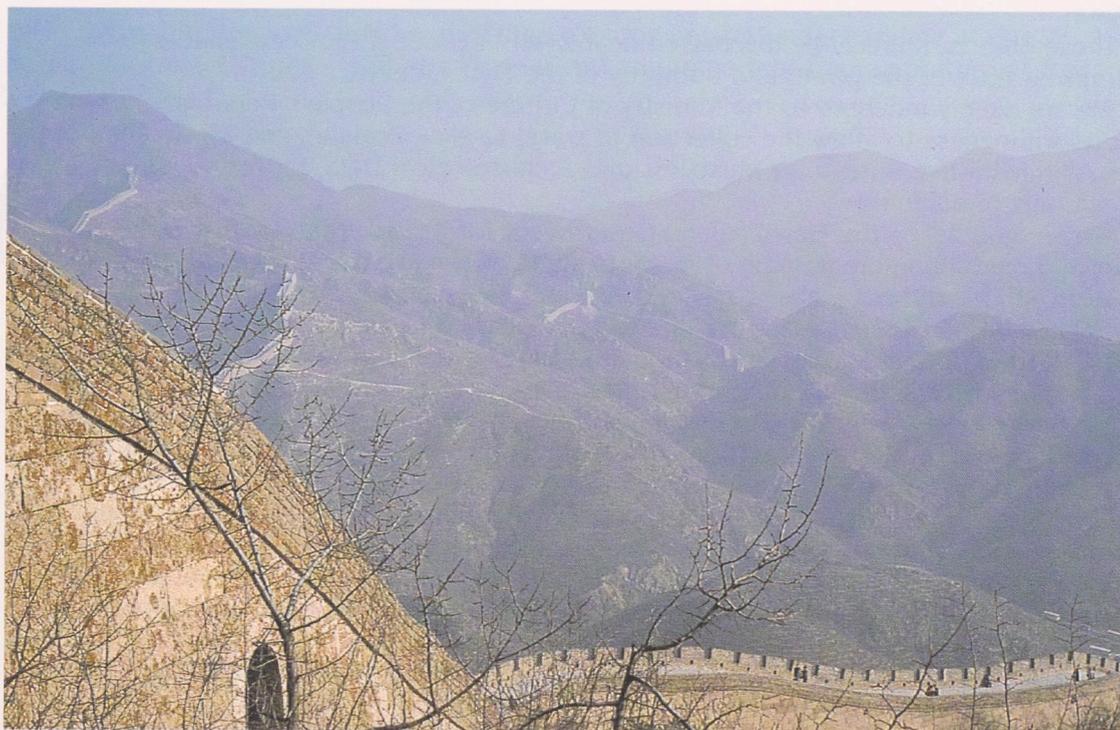
Director, Auckland City Art Gallery

INTRODUCTION

The Qin (Ch'in) dynasty (221-206 BC) gave China both the name by which it has since been known to the outside world and its most recognized symbol, the Great Wall. More importantly, this first and shortest-lived of all major Chinese dynasties served also to define the racial, geographic, cultural and political contours of a civilization that has flourished continuously for more than two millennia.

Throughout this period, the actual extent of the Chinese empire expanded or contracted in keeping with the waxing or waning of political or military fortunes, and an imperial system has given way to a socialist republic. But the image, if not always the reality, of an integral political entity, centrally administered, of a unique people united by common bonds of race and culture, has persisted. A uniform written script, a unitary system of money, weights and measures, a network of roads connecting the farthest reaches of the empire, and a clearly demarcated northern boundary – all specific measures of the State of Qin – have helped maintain this sense of unity and continuity.

The short fifteen years of the Qin dynasty established for all time what it meant to be Chinese, and what China was to mean to the rest of the world.



■ A view of the Great Wall of China. Its construction was one of Qin Shihuang's greatest achievements. This photograph shows part of the restored section of the Wall near Nankou Pass, north-west of Beijing. Each year thousands of tourists, Chinese and foreign, visit the Wall.



■ General view of pit no. 1



■ Exterior view of the main museum building at the Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty, Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong. The large structure covers the excavated pit no. 1 and was opened to the public, 1 October 1979.

THE FIRST EMPEROR OF QIN (QIN SHIHUANG)

In China, as elsewhere, times of chaos, warfare and extreme social dislocation have given rise to historical figures that loom larger than life. The First Emperor is such a figure, for it was due to his abilities, vision and implacable ambition that the State of Qin was finally able to achieve within such a short compass of time its mastery over a China which had been rent by internecine warfare for more than two hundred years. But the very rapidity of this drive towards unity and centralization, and the harshness it implies, has earned the Qin the odium of all succeeding generations of Chinese.

The First Emperor himself, a man plagued by the fear of his own inevitable mortality, ever resentful of the constraints placed upon human action, and increasingly prone to distrust of those around him, has been held especially culpable. China was never to be the same after his death in 210 BC, but within four years the empire that he had established and sought to maintain with such restless energy lay in tatters. An enterprise he had intended to last for ten thousand generations, in the event, had barely outlasted his own lifetime. By 206 BC China was again plunged into chaos and disunity, and the Han dynasty rulers who next held sway over a united China consciously sought to distance themselves from the man whose legacy had in many ways made their own sovereignty possible.

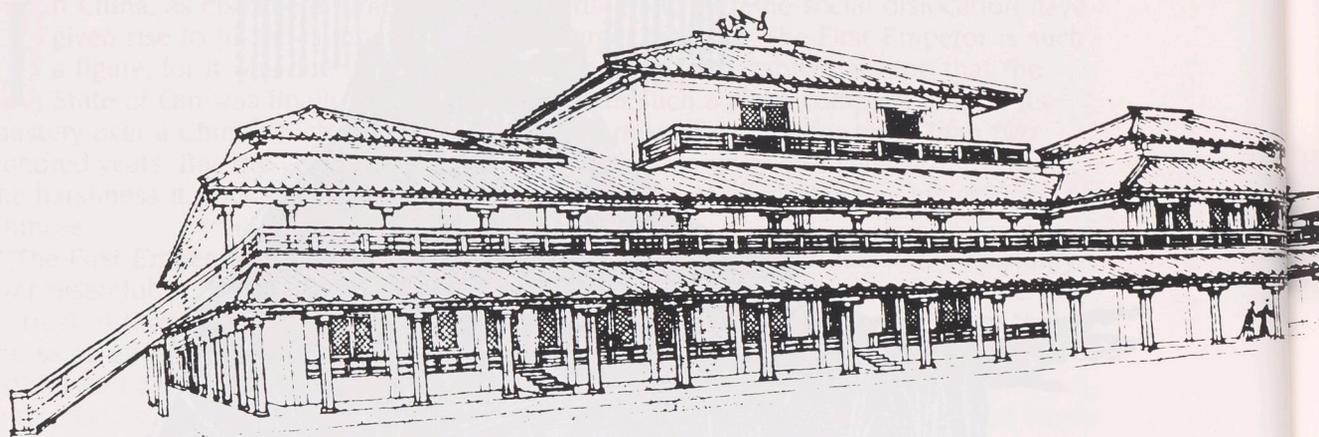
The Chinese have always had difficulty in coming to terms with a man who was at once both capable of achieving so much but who was otherwise so evil. How much more difficult for us now to understand him! Writing within living memory of the fall of Qin, and still obviously overawed by the image of the man, the Han dynasty scholar Jia Yi (201-169 BC) was to say of the First Emperor that "cracking his long whip he drove the universe before him . . . Ascending to the highest position, he ruled the six directions, scourging the world with his rod, his might shook the four seas". Jia Yi intends no praise. His essay, entitled "The Faults of Qin", is but one of the earliest denunciations of both emperor and dynasty by a historiographical tradition that was overwhelmingly moralistic in its criteria for judging the past. The Qin had failed to rule with the humanity and righteousness required of Chinese rulers by a Confucianism that became orthodox. The severity of their laws, their harsh exactions of tax and corvée labour, their destruction of the learning and usages of the past had led inevitably, it is held, to the popular uprisings that overthrew them. The First Emperor was held up for opprobrium as a cruel and rapacious tyrant, obsessed with the search for longevity and personal aggrandizement, and ruthless in the measures he took to ensure his ascendancy.

Jia Yi's critique is attached to the end of the earliest biography we have of the First Emperor, "The Annals of the First Emperor of Qin" which forms Chapter Six of Sima Qian's (145-79 BC) great work the *Shi ji* (Records of the Grand Historian). Intended as a

■ opposite: Qin Shihuang, the First Emperor of China and founder of the Qin dynasty. The rounded front of his headdress indicated imperial status. Only the Emperor could wear this many beads on a headdress. He had 24 strings with 12 white jade beads on each string. The headdress was held in place by a jade hairpin from which red ribbons hung. Opposite each ear was a jade **toukuang** which it was believed would protect the Emperor from hearing slanders.

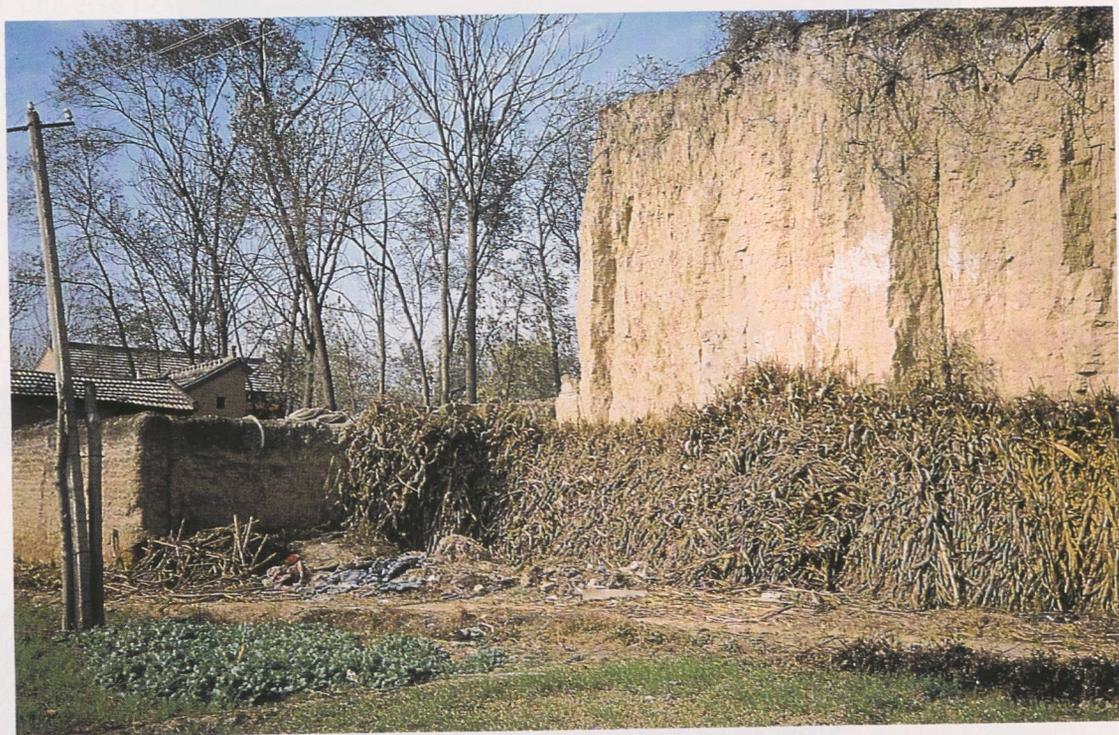
This headdress and robe could be worn only on ceremonial occasions. The robe was predominantly black with a red over-skirt. Both garments were embroidered with symbols of majesty. The Emperor's footwear was made of red silk. The form of imperial dress adopted by the First Emperor persisted until the Manchus took over China in 1644.



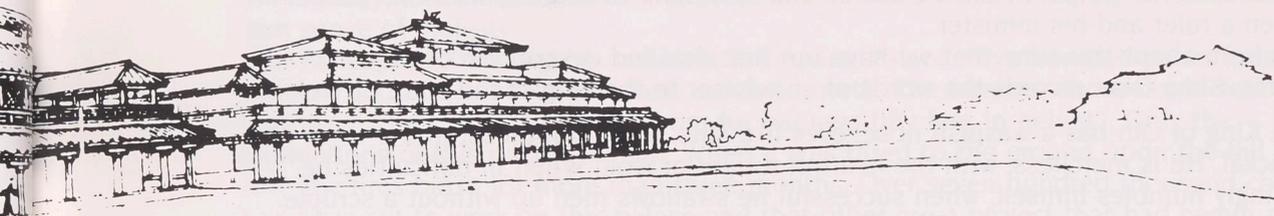


■ An artist's impression of the Qin Imperial Apang Palace at Xianyang.

comprehensive account of the entire knowable past up to Sima Qian's own day, this work is remarkable both for its objectivity and its eye for telling detail of character and event. This chapter, along with information contained in the individual biographies of



■ The rammed-earth foundations of Qin Shihuang's Apang Palace at Xianyang. The palace was said to have been constructed in accordance with astronomical principles. It is recorded that in its heyday it was filled with gold, jade, rarities and numberless other treasures.



other leading figures of the times, forms our most important written source material for the period, and is relatively free from the anti-Qin bias that marks later works of history. Increasingly, the archaeological finds of the last decade have served to verify Sima Qian's account of this formative period of Chinese history.

We know little about the early years of the First Emperor's life. In marked contrast to the auspicious signs that were traditionally said to herald the birth of a man of great imperial destiny, what is recorded of his birth is decidedly ignoble. The *Shi ji* records that his putative father, Zichu (later to be King Zhuang Xiang of Qin), was the unfavoured son of the Crown Prince of Qin and a secondary wife. Held hostage in the neighbouring state of Zhao, Zichu happened to catch the eye of a great merchant of Yangdi called Lü Buwei. This man, who we are told had made his fortune "buying cheap and selling dear", recognizing in Zichu a sound investment, offered his services in first ensuring that Zichu be confirmed as successor to the Crown Prince, and later in helping him to escape back to Qin. Zichu in the meantime had taken a fancy to one of Lü Buwei's concubines. Reluctantly, Lü Buwei offered her to him, concealing the fact that she was already pregnant. The son to which she gave birth in 259 BC was named Zheng, and was destined to become the First Emperor of China.

Perhaps these unseemly details with their suggestion of illegitimacy are later interpolations? Certainly they are not found recorded within the First Emperor's own biography. What is undeniable is that by 246 BC, at the age of thirteen, Zheng had become King of Qin. Lü Buwei, who had earlier profited from his support for Zichu by being made Grand Councillor, now acted as regent for the minority king, and the State of Qin continued its seemingly relentless march towards empire under their leadership. The relationship between the two was obviously very close – Lü Buwei was addressed as 'Uncle' – and, whatever the truth of the First Emperor's birth, Lü Buwei was certainly a sort of surrogate father to the young boy. This situation was to change dramatically in 238 BC, however, soon after the First Emperor had come of age. A palace scandal involving Lü Buwei's former concubine (now of course queen-dowager, and become more lascivious with age), a false eunuch named Lao Ai, and suggestions of a plot over succession, implicated Lü Buwei and he was banished. Several years later he drank poison and died.

Here again, the actual reasons for the rift between the two men are open to debate. It may be that the First Emperor had become jealous of his own newly acquired power, or that Lü Buwei's political outlook was no longer acceptable to his ruler. The ideology of Li Si (died 208 BC), the man who gradually assumed both Lü Buwei's role and his titles,

was decidedly Legalist in its concern for the authority of the ruler and the measures needed for the subjugation of the populace. For the rest of his reign the First Emperor was to be dependent upon Li Si for his advice and counsel. But the relationship that was established between these two men was very different from that which had existed between the First Emperor and Lü Buwei, and was more in keeping with that proper between a ruler and his minister.

It is from about this time that we have our first detailed description of the First Emperor. Sima Qian records the words of an adviser to the king of the state of Wei:

The King of Qin has a waspish nose, eyes like slits, a chicken breast and a voice like a jackal. He is merciless, with the heart of a tiger or wolf. When in difficulties he willingly humbles himself, when successful he swallows men up without a scruple . . . should he succeed in conquering the empire, we shall all become his captives.

By 221 BC the Chinese world had indeed become his captive. With the fall of the State of Qi in that year, the King of Qin became the First Emperor of a united China. He was thirty-nine, and his first edict as emperor proclaimed both his awareness of his own unique destiny and his hopes for the future:

We have heard that in remote antiquity kings had titles but no posthumous appellations. The kings of later days not only had titles but after their death were given appellations based on their conduct. In other words, sons passed judgement on their fathers, subjects on their sovereigns. This is improper and we will not countenance it. Posthumous titles are herewith abolished. We are the First Emperor, and our successors shall be known as Second Emperor, Third Emperor, and so on for generations without end.

And just as the First Emperor was unwilling to allow the future the prerogative of passing judgement upon him, he was intent on ensuring his absolutist control of the present. The establishment of empire after more than twenty years of almost constant warfare brought him neither respite nor contentment. The final decade of his life was spent in continuous movement around the far reaches of his empire, erecting stone tablets extolling his own virtue and authority wherever he paused.

An incident from one of these tours affords us some insight into the character of this remarkable man. In 219 BC a gale prevented him from crossing the Yangtze River to visit a temple on Mount Xiang. Enraged, the First Emperor ordered three thousand convicts to cut down all the trees on the mountain, leaving it completely bare. Another record maintains that he went so far as to have the mountain painted red in punishment, for red was the colour worn by convicts.

The years 221 BC to 210 BC saw the enactment of all the measures which served to ensure that the legacy of the Qin dynasty would leave an indelible imprint upon China's historical development – the standardization of weights and measures, the unification of the written script by means of the infamous "burning of books and burial of scholars", the abolition of feudal rights and prerogatives and the building of the Great Wall. The First Emperor showed himself hard working, innovative and receptive to the advice of the real genius behind unification, Li Si. It is said that the First Emperor dealt with thirty kilograms of written reports each day.

It was also a decade that saw the First Emperor increasingly prone to megalomania, however, and ever more obsessed with his own image and position as supreme ruler. His suspicion of those around him worsened. One record tells us that he had made a magic mirror that was able to expose the motives of those reflected in it. A number of

assassination attempts, the first of which in particular he barely escaped, exacerbated both his distrust and his pathological fear of death. He began to sleep in a different room each night, and disclosure of his whereabouts became punishable with death. Greater and greater resources were diverted to his desperate search for the elixir of immortality, and elaborate building projects that were to serve merely to confirm his own sense of majesty.

In his capital Xianyang he had built the Apang Palace, "five hundred paces from east to west, and five hundred feet from south to north. The terraces above could seat ten thousand, and below there was room for banners fifty feet in height". Only the foundations of this palace remain. When it was razed to the ground upon the fall of the Qin, the fires burnt for more than three months. Over seven hundred thousand convicts had been set to work on this palace and that other great project that had begun on the First Emperor's accession to the throne of Qin, his tomb, situated on Mount Li, not far from present-day Xi'an.

The First Emperor died as he had lived much of his life, on the move, and away from his capital. The fact of his death was concealed in order to give Li Si and the eunuch Zhao Gao time to manipulate the succession. Imperial edicts were issued in his name, and his coffin was borne on a litter, food and official reports being presented as usual. "It was summer," Sima Qian tells us, "and the litter began to reek. To disguise the stench, the escort was told to load a cart with a picul of salted fish."



■ General view of pit no. 1

THE STATE OF QIN (PRE-UNIFICATION)

The First Emperor had shown exceptional vision and tenacity in bringing about the unification of China. However, all the factors favouring the unification had been present by the time he came to the throne as a young boy of thirteen. His greatness lies in his success in recognizing and harnessing the new social dynamics unleashed during the political chaos of his time. He brought to culmination a process that had been under way since 361 BC, as successive rulers of the Qin worked to build up the economic resources and the military strength of their state in preparation for the ultimate goal of defeating all the rivalling powers within China.

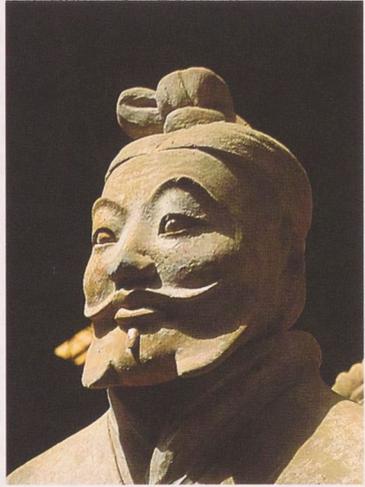
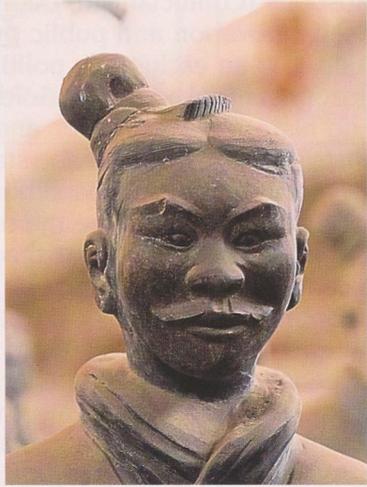
The State of Qin had two major advantages over its rivals: a geo-political factor, and a philosophical factor. The Qin was initially a petty western state considered to be beyond the pale of Chinese civilization, insignificant and barbaric, amid the group of feudal states that formed the China of the Zhou dynasty (1027-256 BC). The first Zhou kings ruled the country by feudalism, sharing out fiefs of lands to relatives, meritorious ministers and victorious generals. Tied to the Zhou royal house by blood or personal allegiance, such vassal states were expected to come to the aid of the Zhou Son of Heaven in times of crisis. This system of Zhou feudalism was idealized by Confucius (551-479 BC), China's most influential philosopher, as "the Golden Age of Antiquity": when sage kings ruled by superior moral example, loyal feudal lords ruled with paternal benevolence, rulers and the ruled alike abided by the moral principles of humanity and righteousness, and everyone conducted both private and public affairs according to the fine letter of the code of etiquette. Confucian scholars saw Zhou feudalism as the actualization of the concept that a country could be run like a family, by mutual goodwill and obligation.

When feudal ties weakened with the passage of time, the Zhou kings were progressively neglected by their over-mighty vassals. The Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 BC) saw the unmistakable crumbling of the feudal system, with constant wars, during which weak states fell prey to their powerful neighbours. Powerful hegemonies emerged periodically, calling inter-state conferences in the name of the Zhou kings, and trying to keep a semblance of political order. It is significant that the State of Qin never attended such conferences up to 361 BC, remaining outside the genteel circle of feudal obligations and uninvolved with the activities that consumed much of the power and energy of the other feudal states.

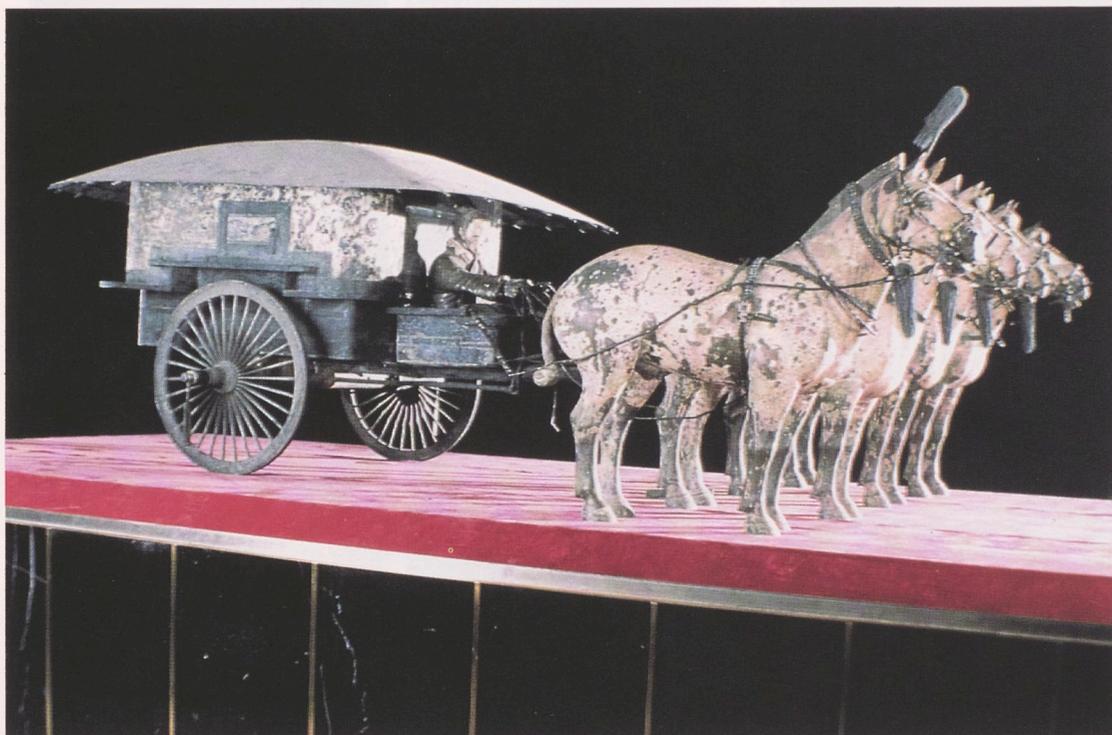
The subsequent Warring States Period (403-221 BC) saw the final demise of the ancient concept of personal government and feudal loyalties. The seven rulers of the remaining states usurped royal prerogatives and appropriated the title 'king'. Factors of political reality and economic advancements had outstripped the confines of the feudal system. The age saw a rapid advance in the use of iron, which brought about iron-tipped ploughs, effecting an agricultural revolution. Population increased dramatically, towns grew, traders and artisans appeared and brought about great changes in the economic structure of feudal China. The Qin was exceptionally advantaged, situated as it was outside the core of civilized China. Since it had no powerful landed aristocracies with vested interests in the old feudal system, sweeping changes could be introduced with far less opposition.

It was Lord Shang (died 330 BC), an early leading exponent of the Legalist school, who started the transformation of the Qin State into a formidable political and military machine. It is customary in the west to identify Confucianism as China's state ideology. Actually, it was Legalism, the school of thought which upheld universal law, statecraft

■ opposite: Heads showing variation in facial features

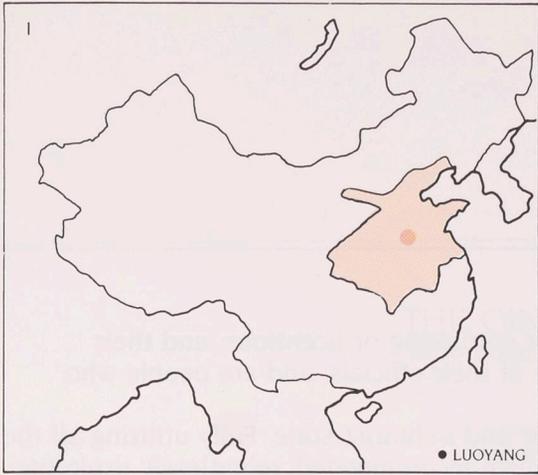


and strict punishments, that was historically the first state ideology of China. Contrary to all other major schools of philosophy (Confucianism, Daoism, Mohism) which concerned themselves with both self-cultivation and public principles, Legalism denied any link between ethics and politics. It is an exclusively political philosophy, and totally amoral. While other Chinese philosophers looked to the Golden Age of Antiquity for inspiration, the Legalists sought no historical precedents, and looked only to the present and the future. The Legalists' goal was to increase state wealth and power, and to maintain the ruler supreme. All resources were to be subordinated to one single goal, the ultimate conquest of all China. Lord Shang became the minister of the State of Qin in 361 BC and put into practical application such Legalist theories. He abolished feudalism, dividing all lands into commanderies governed by officials dispatched directly from the central government. He confirmed the right of private landownership, abolishing corvée labour to feudal lords, thereby giving great encouragement to agriculture. He introduced a strict penal code with a system of mutual spying and compulsory denunciation. He also made the Qin army into the most mobile, efficient and ruthless military force of the time. There is a contemporary eyewitness report of the condition in the State of Qin, written with approval and probably reluctant admiration by the great Confucian thinker Xunzi (active during 298-238 BC): "... its people are

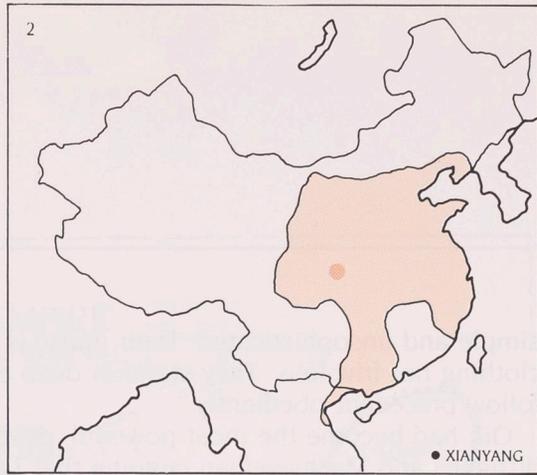


■ One of the bronze chariots excavated from an area close to the First Emperor's tomb in December 1980. These chariots show remarkable sophistication in bronze technology and are much treasured in China.

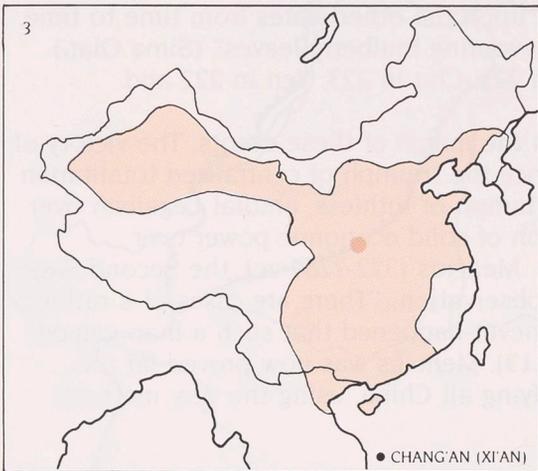
■ opposite: China's boundaries from the Zhou dynasty to the present day.



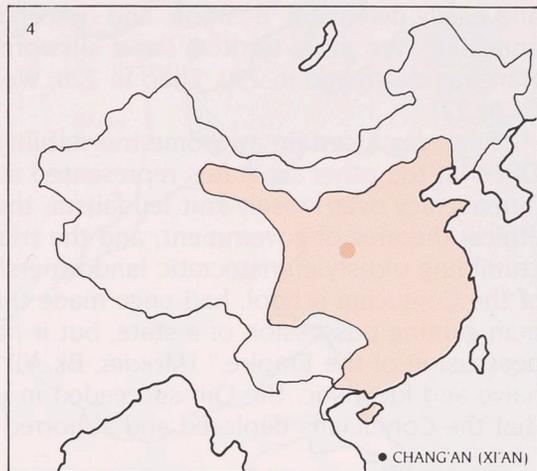
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Zhou Dynasty 1027-256 BC



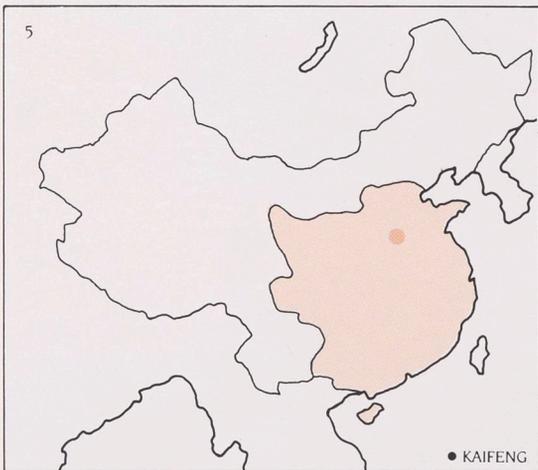
2
Qin Dynasty 221-206 BC



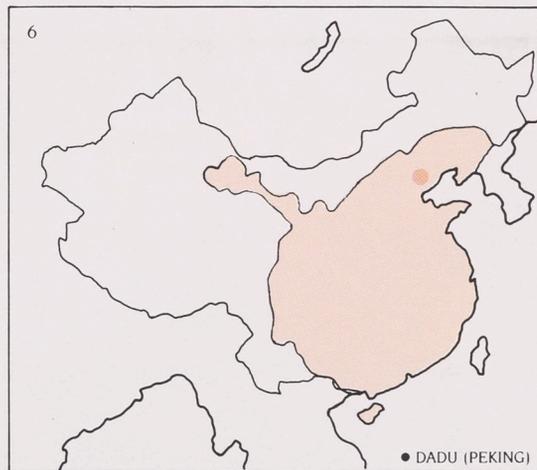
3
Han Dynasty 206 BC-AD 220



4
Tang Dynasty 618-906



5
Song Dynasty 960-1279



6
Ming Dynasty 1368-1644



7
Qing Dynasty 1644-1911



8
People's Republic of China 1949-

● Capital

■ Boundary

— China's present boundary

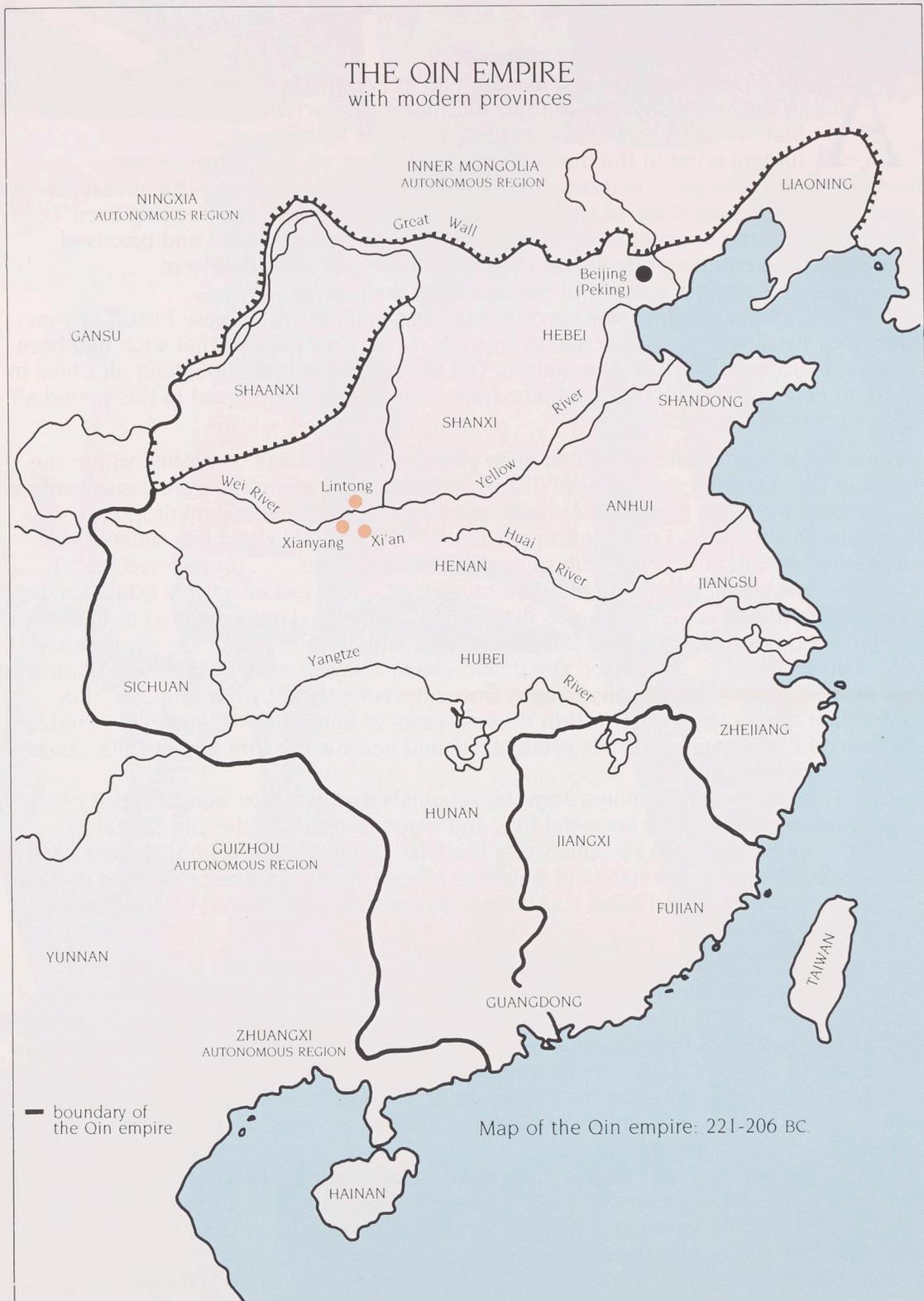
simple and unsophisticated. Their music is not corrupting or licentious, and their clothing not frivolous. They stand in deep awe of their officials, and are people who follow precedent obediently."

Qin had become the most powerful, despotic and militarist state. Fully utilizing all the intrigues and Machiavellian cunning that Legalism recommended, relentlessly exploiting the differences of the central and eastern states, the Qin made the most of its strategic and easily defensible position, and descended upon the other states from time to time, annexing even more territory "as a silkworm devouring mulberry leaves" (Sima Qian). Han was destroyed in 230, Zhao in 228, Wei in 225, Chu in 223, Yen in 222 and Qi in 221.

There was a certain awesome inevitability in the march of these events. The victory of Qin over the other six states represented at once the triumph of centralized totalitarian bureaucracy over loosely-knit feudalism; the triumph of ruthless, amoral Legalism over ethical theories of government; and the triumph of solid economic power over crumbling old-style aristocratic landownership. Mencius (372-?289 BC), the Second Sage of the Confucian school, had once made this observation: "There are cases of a ruthless man gaining possession of a state, but it has never happened that such a man gained possession of the Empire." (*Mencius*, Bk. VII B, 13). Mencius was now proved far too naive and idealistic: the Qin succeeded in unifying all China, using the very methods that the Confucians deplored and abhorred.



■ A fallen warrior in the course of excavation. The statue's broken state is evidence of the plundering of the pits soon after the fall of the Qin dynasty.



■ Map of the Qin Empire, 221-206 BC. Lintong is the site of the First Emperor's tomb and Xianyang was his capital. The Han dynasty chose Xi'an as their capital.

All China came under unified Qin rule in 221 BC. There was something symbolic in the formidable Qin military machine's destruction of the once-powerful State of Qi, the centre of traditional culture and etiquette. It marked a turning-point in the direction of Chinese history. In a sense, policies introduced after the great unification were continuations of tried-and-true measures carried out within the State of Qin before 221 BC. Whereas such policies had been enacted within the boundaries of one state, they were now extended and practised throughout the entire empire. It was their magnitude and scale that were unprecedented, not the essence of the measures themselves.

The First Emperor rightly saw his own reign as significant in Chinese history, a view shared by his Grand Councillor and evil genius, Li Si. They realized that what had been practised successfully within the State of Qin should be pushed throughout all China in order to ensure the unity of the empire. Important policies introduced in this period all bore such characteristics.

Feudalism as a political system had been effectively curbed and controlled within the State of Qin since the days of Lord Shang. After the unification, there were suggestions to revert to the Zhou precedent of distributing fiefs to relatives and meritorious generals. This the First Emperor firmly rejected: "If the whole world has suffered from unceasing warfare, this is the fault of feudal lords and kings. . . . If I restored feudal holdings, war would return." Centralized bureaucratic rule was effectively established over all conquered lands. China was divided into thirty-six (later expanded to forty-two) commanderies, each subdivided into prefectures, with a military and civilian governor, and a third official as supervisor. Qin officials were chosen either by recommendation or because of their merits (usually military bravery). Handpicked by the Emperor, they owed their allegiance to him. Within the first years of unification, a large non-hereditary bureaucratic structure was firmly established, and became the firm basis of the despotic centralized monarchy.

As for the aristocratic families from the vanquished states, they were stripped of all power, removed from their ancestral fiefs and made to reside in the Qin capital of Xianyang, under the close surveillance of the First Emperor. To ensure that there should be no weapons left in the hands of would-be rebels, the First Emperor decided that all weapons be collected and taken to Xianyang where they were melted down to make giant bells and statues.

Parallel with this formidable bureaucratic administrative system, the First Emperor wanted to establish ideological uniformity. In keeping with Legalism, all Qin rulers had actively discouraged culture and learning among the people. The First Emperor became particularly notorious over two anti-cultural measures, dubbed by Chinese historians as "the Burning of Books" and "the Burying [alive] of Scholars". Both cases, draconian and horrific as they were, were not the haphazard and whimsical measures of an enraged tyrant, but rather the concrete manifestations of totalitarian theories expounded by several leading Legalist philosophers.

Lord Shang had warned: "If study becomes popular, people will abandon agriculture and occupy themselves with debates. . . . There will be crowds of disloyal subjects." More specifically, he reportedly "advised him [Duke Xiao, ruler of Qin at that time] to burn the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents*".

Han Fei, the greatest of all Legalist philosophers, also addressed the issue: "In the

■ opposite: Soldiers in rank, pit no. 1



state of an enlightened ruler there are no books written on bamboo slips; law supplies the only instruction. There are no sermons on the former kings; the officials serve as the only teachers."

Therefore, when Li Si memorialized, in 213 BC, "These scholars learn only from the old, not from the new, and employ their learning to oppose our rule and confuse the black-headed people. . . . Let all historical records but those of Qin be destroyed," he was but following a long Legalist tradition of thought control.

A thirty-day period was given for all works of literature, philosophy and history to be surrendered to the government for burning. Books on medicine, agriculture, and divination were exempted. Li Si maintained that thereafter no one would be able to "use the past to discredit the present".

The systematic destruction of books was in fact less catastrophic than it sounded. While all privately-held books had to be surrendered, the government held complete sets of all classics, literature and histories in the archives of the imperial library. It was effective control, not total destruction, at which the First Emperor and the Grand Councillor aimed.

The gruesome punishment meted out for some four hundred and fifty of the nation's foremost scholars (mostly Confucians) was decreed in a similar spirit: to frighten the rest of the nation into abject subjugation so that no one would "spread vicious rumours to confuse the people".

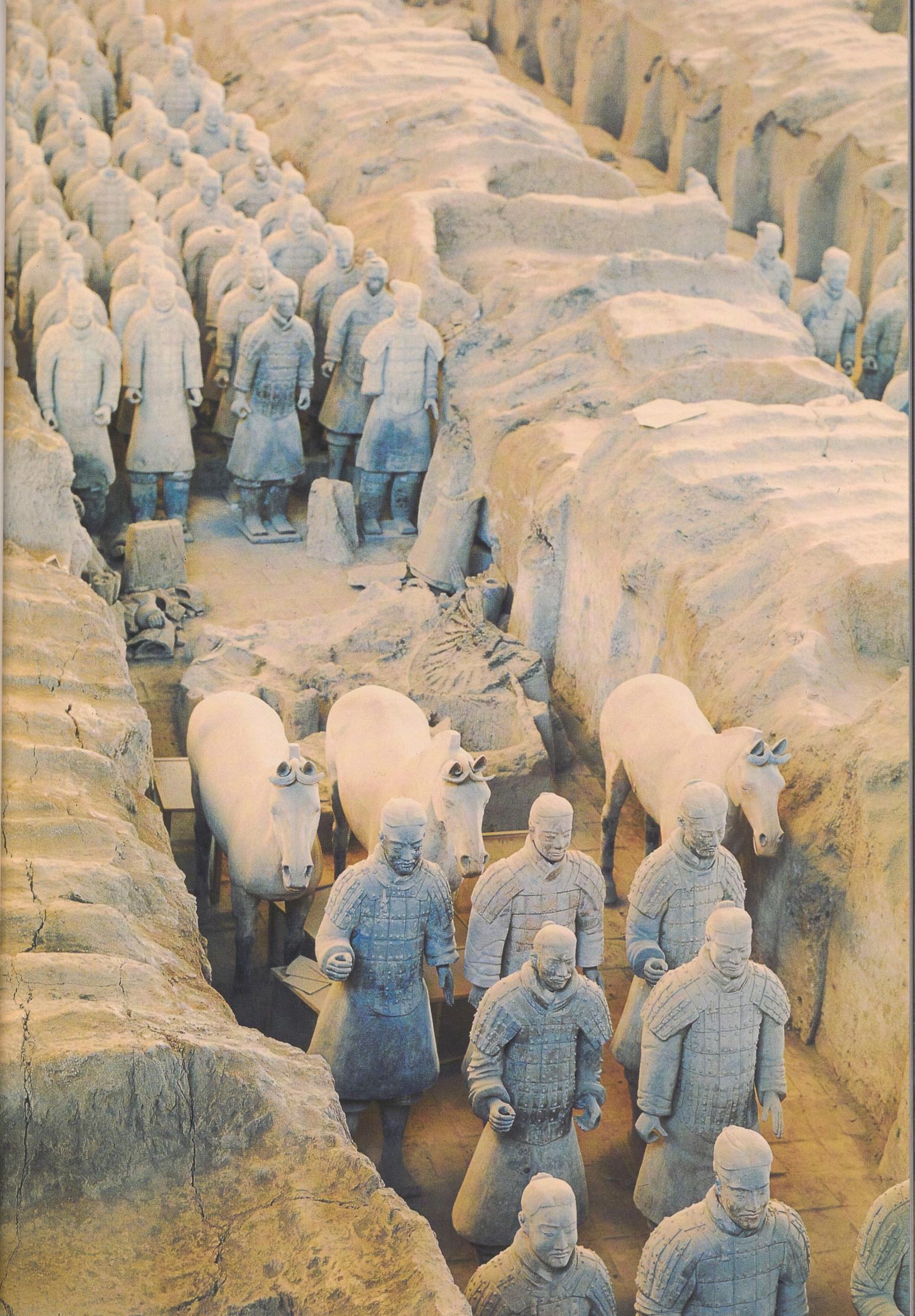
Various pacification campaigns were carried out to consolidate the frontiers. In the north, the Qin army marched against the Xiongnu (forefathers of the Huns) and pushed them out of the Ordos in Northern Shaanxi. It was also against the Xiongnu that the Great Wall was constructed. Under the direction of the eminent general, Meng Tian, soldiers and over thirty thousand conscript labourers constructed the Great Wall "in accordance with the configuration of the terrain". In generations to come, the Great Wall served to mark the frontier where China's agricultural economy ended and where the northern barbaric nomadic economy started. A barrier against northern incursions in the past, the Great Wall stands today as the symbol of the Chinese nation, and a reminder of the awesome power and ruthlessness of the Qin dynasty.

Campaigns were also conducted in the south. By 210 BC the Qin army reached the southern coast of China. Areas inhabited by people like the Thai, Mon-Khmer and Viet (in Indo-China) were also conquered. The Magic Canal joined the Yangtze and West River systems, facilitating north-south communications within the empire.

A network of roads was constructed for the same reasons. Started in 220 BC, the roads radiated outwards to all four directions from the capital Xianyang; they reached Inner Mongolia to the north, Shandong in the east, and the Central Yangtze region in the south. Such roads were fifty paces wide, tree-lined, and solidly built. Narrower roads were built for more remote areas, such as Yunnan and Guizhou in the south-west, and Guangdong and Guangxi in the south. Such roads were no doubt built primarily for military purposes, but they served to facilitate trade, and helped to keep the nation together.

The unification of writing was the most important of all Qin's innovations. The *Shi ji* says, "[Li Si] equalized... the written characters, and made these universal throughout the empire." Chinese characters are pictographic. The form used in the early Zhou period (the Large Seal), had strokes that are curved and stylized. This form evolved

■ opposite: General view of pit no.1



because characters were carved on to bamboo slips. During the Warring States Period, each state developed its own variant form of writing system. The Qin used Small Seal Script, a simplification of Large Seal used previously. Li Si may have simply proclaimed that what was used by the Qin should now be universal. It is also known that the Clerk Script was invented after unification. Clerks in Qin courts had to handle so many cases that they had to simplify the characters further. The Clerk Script had much straighter and simpler strokes, and the lines of the characters showed clearly that they were made by brushes on paper, not by knives on bamboo. The Clerk Script bears great resemblance to the characters used in China today.

That China never lost her cultural continuity and identity in spite of the many political disruptions can be attributed to the Qin standardization of the writing system. The continuity and universality of the written script are especially valuable, since there are so many dialects in China.

The First Emperor also standardized the monetary system of China. The Warring States had used different sorts of money: knife money, spade money, checker pieces and round money. These coins were also of different shapes, sizes, and weight. The First Emperor introduced two kinds of coins, gold and copper. They were to be used in taxation and trade.

Weights and measures were standardized. This was not an innovation; Lord Shang had started it within Qin in 361 BC. The calendar was also made uniform; again, the Qin calendar was made universal in China.

By the time the First Emperor died, the Qin peasantry had been bled white by a taxation system that had increased by thirty per cent. Reportedly, over half of their agricultural production had to be surrendered to the government as grain tax. There was a poll-tax and taxes on salt and iron. Compulsory military and labour service also exhausted the populace.

The Qin dynasty saw great construction projects on an unprecedented scale. As well as the Great Wall, the Magic Canal and the network of roads, there were the Emperor's famous Apang Palace and, of course, his mausoleum. The splendour of these was said to be unequalled in world history. Their construction stretched not only Qin manpower, but also put incredible pressure on the transport system, and on natural resources like timber and stone. A Tang dynasty (eighth century) poet wrote, "The mountains of Sichuan [were] bald; the Apang Palace [was thereby] built." The timber of the Sichuan Province was renowned for its sturdiness and durability; so many trees were felled that the mountains were completely eroded.

The very harshness of Qin laws (which stipulated no fewer than twelve types of capital punishment), helped to bring about its own demise. General uprisings across the empire erupted with the rebellion of two desperate petty military officials who were to meet with execution for their failure to escort some conscripts to a particular outpost by a certain date.

Although such uprisings were quelled by the mighty army of Qin with comparative ease, other revolts led or inspired by members of the old aristocracies and former feudal lords proved much more formidable.

Deprived of an efficient ruler since the death of the First Emperor and the suicide of the Crown Prince, and weakened from the centre by strifes perpetrated by rapacious eunuchs who surrounded the Second Emperor, the Qin government collapsed ingloriously.

THE TOMBS AND THE PITS

The Shaanxi Province in the valley of the Yellow River is an archaeologist's paradise. From 221 BC until the fall of the imperial dynasties in 1911, it was this region that was known as the "pivotal kingdom". The drive from the city of Xi'an to the excavations is through the flat land characteristic of a river valley. Fertile fields spread out on each side of the tree-lined road, and near the cluster of tourist shops leading to the steps up the side of the mausoleum, peasants display persimmons and other exotic fruits for visitors to buy. In this valley region are innumerable imperial tombs, most of which have never been excavated.

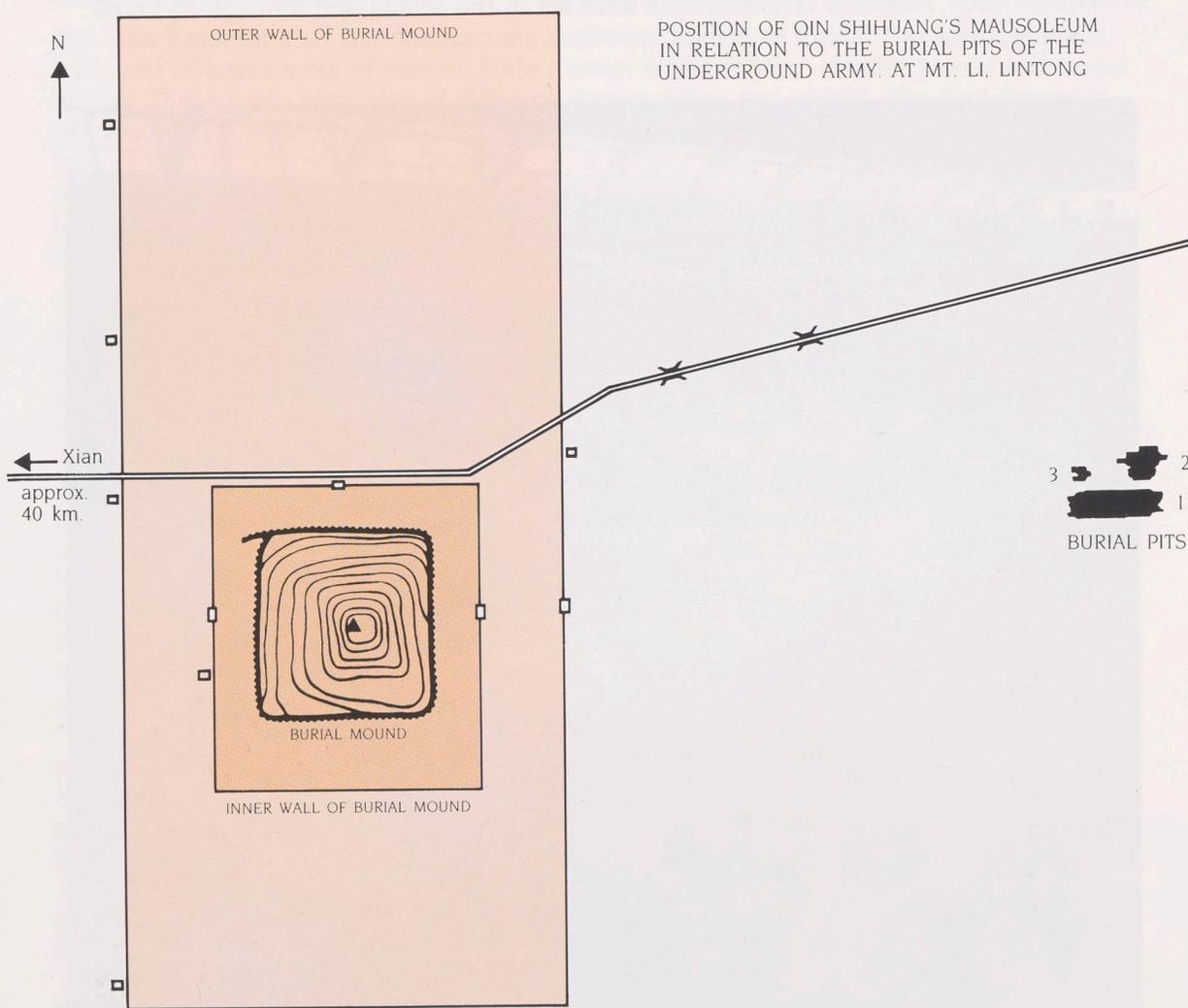
The legendary descriptions of the First Emperor's tomb almost defy imagination. The tomb is said to be filled with models of palaces, pavilions and offices. Crossbows were devised to kill any intruders. All the country's streams, the Yellow and the Yangtze rivers, were reproduced in quicksilver and are said to flow by mechanical means into a miniature ocean. Heavenly constellations were set in the ceiling and the regions below



■ Archaeologists at work in pit no. 1

were centred around the copper coffin of the Emperor himself. Candles were made of whale oil to ensure their burning for the longest possible time. Sima Qian, who left us this record, also indicates that the tomb may have been plundered at the same time as the guardian army.

The tomb mound, which is about as high as a fifteen-storey building, was originally in the centre of an enclosed area or "spirit city". It contained sacred tomb tablets, inscribed soul towers and prayer temples. These constructions lay in the "inner city". Yet another wall encompassed this whole area and created the "outer city". The wall was twenty-three feet thick at its base, made of stone and had watchtowers on each of its four corners. The total area was five hundred acres.



■ Position of the First Emperor's tomb at Mt Li, Lintong, relative to the burial pits of the underground army. The distance between the tomb and the pits is approximately 1¼ kilometres. Diggings in the north, south and west have failed to reveal further archaeological finds.

The army lies approximately one-and-a-quarter kilometres east from the tomb and there was speculation that, in keeping with Chinese ideas of symmetry, other finds may be as yet undiscovered on the north, south and western quarters. Nothing has been found in the twelve years since the initial discovery in 1974.

The building of the mausoleum and its accompanying army is of such a scale, however, that it is possible that it was never completed. Even so it is known that for thirty-six years over seven hundred thousand peasants worked on these sites and many died in the course of this hard labour.

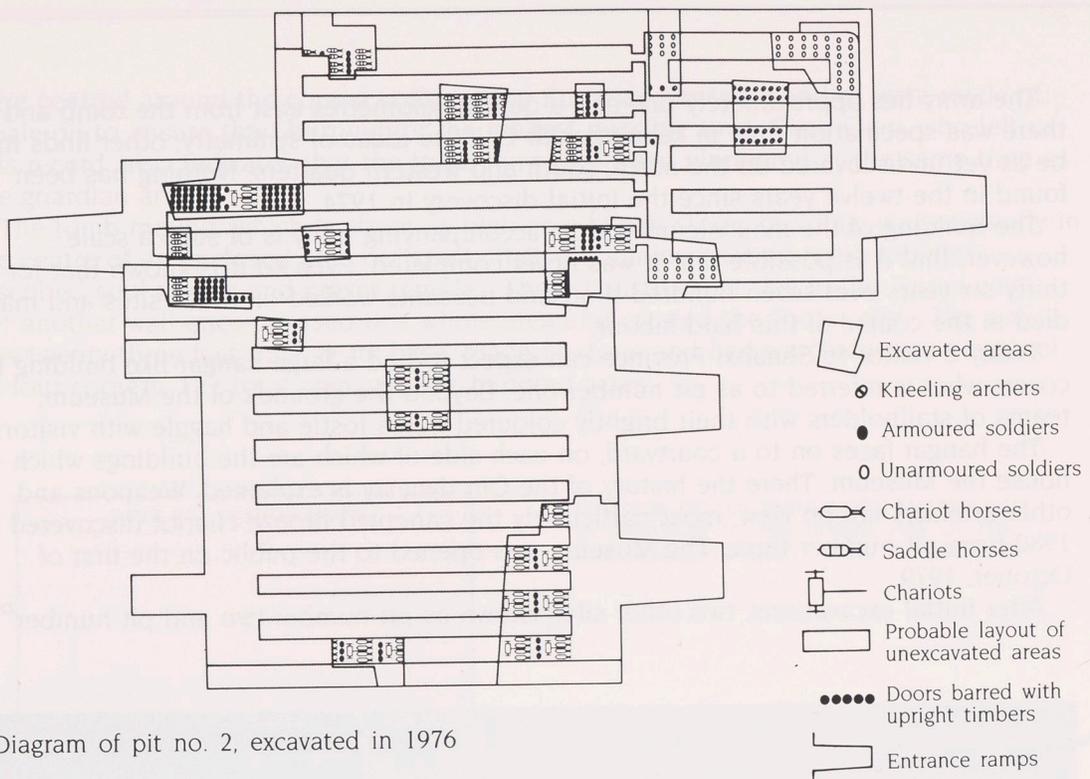
Today a visitor to Shaanxi Province can expect to find a large hangar-like building that covers what is referred to as pit number one. Beyond the grounds of the Museum, teams of stallholders with their brightly coloured wares jostle and haggle with visitors.

The hangar faces on to a courtyard, on each side of which are the buildings which house the Museum. There the history of the Qin dynasty is explained. Weapons and other artefacts are on view, most particularly the canopied bronze chariot discovered in 1980 from pit number three. The Museum was opened to the public on the first of October, 1979.

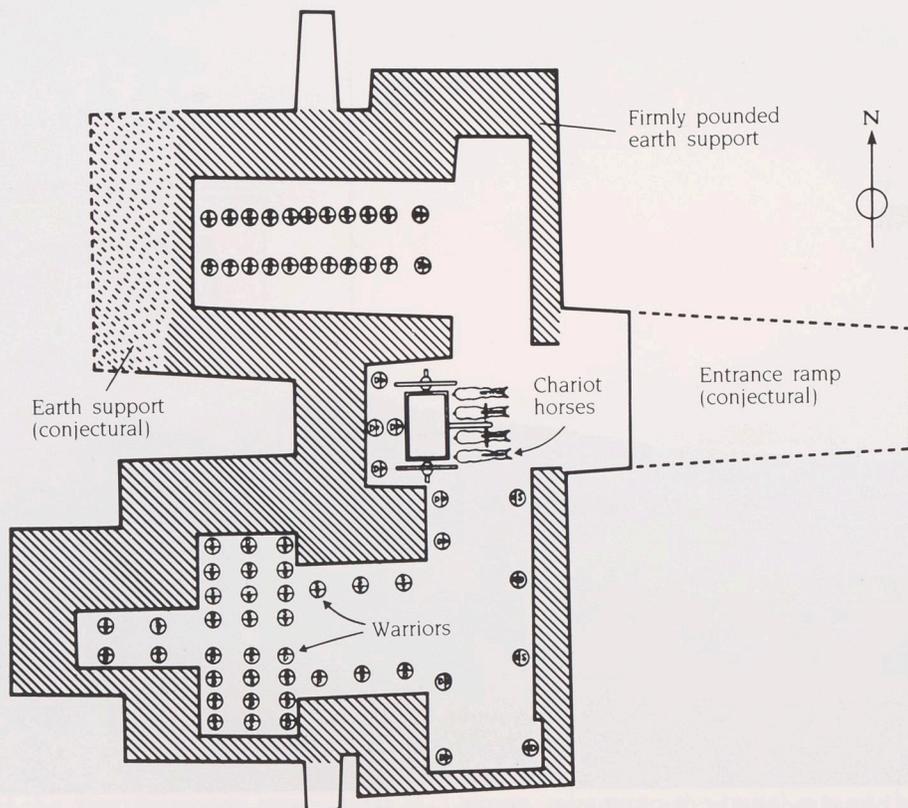
After initial excavations, two other sites known as pit number two and pit number



■ The burial mound of Qin Shihuang's tomb at Lintong, situated about 1¼ kilometres from the buried army. The First Emperor's guardian army stands buried with its back to his tomb, and facing Qin's traditional enemies in the east.

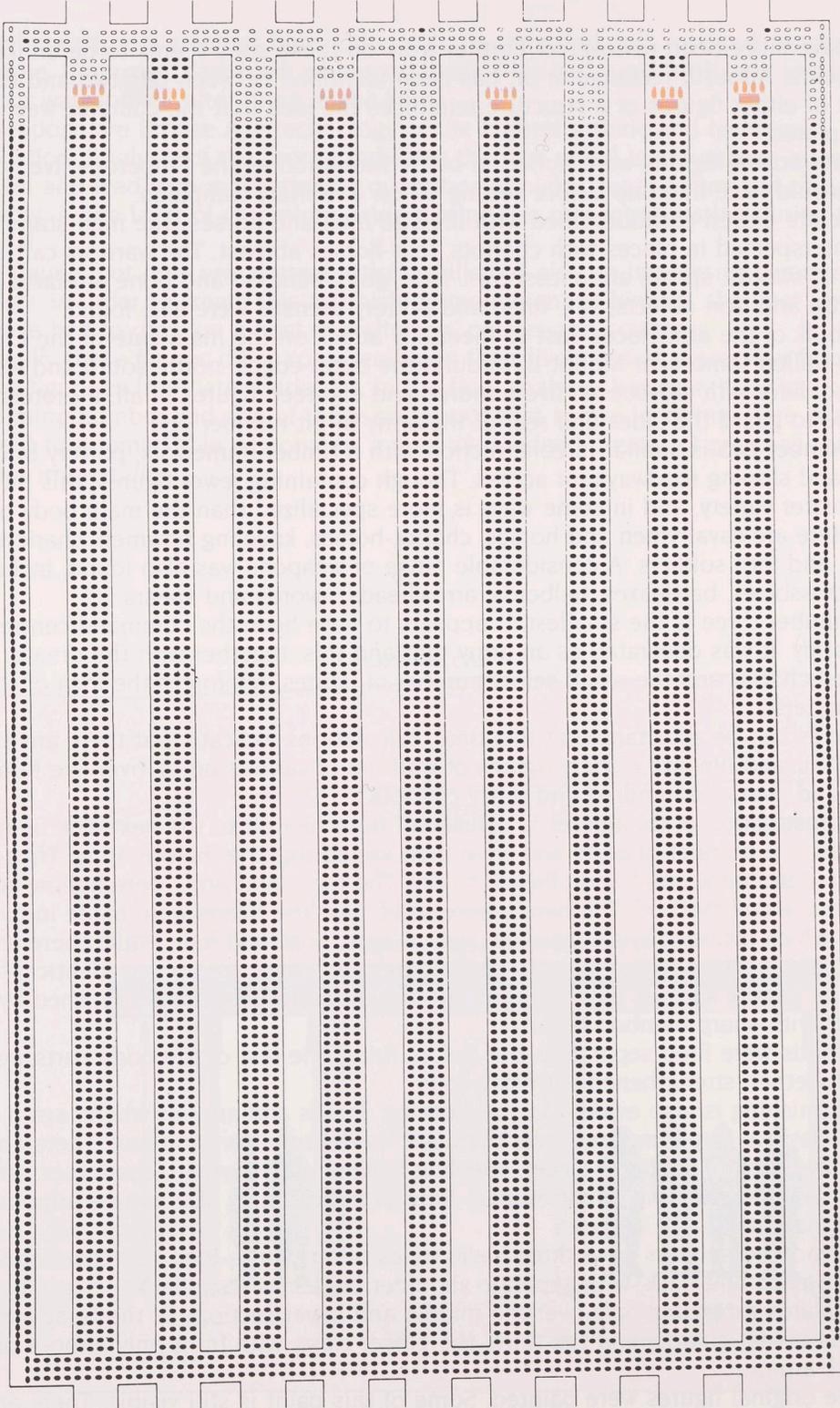


■ Diagram of pit no. 2, excavated in 1976



■ Diagram of pit no. 3, excavated shortly after pit no. 2

 Four-horse chariot team
  Armoured soldier
  Unarmoured soldier



■ Plan of pit no. 1, showing the estimated layout of the 6000 pottery figures and chariots

three have since been re-covered. Further work on these sites seems to be unlikely for many years. A fourth rectangular pit has been identified between pits two and three, but its lack of either figures or a structure reinforces the idea that the complex was uncompleted.

The terracotta legions were buried in battle formation as the Emperor's live honour guard would have lined up before setting off on a military campaign.

There are eleven corridors filled with life-size men and horses. The men stand rank on rank, interspersed in places with chariots, four horses abreast. The warriors carried real weapons, swords, spears and crossbows. Jade, gold, bamboo and bone artefacts as well as bronze and iron objects, silk, linen and pottery utensils were also found.

The bulk of the army faces east to meet any attack on the main gate of the Emperor's double-walled tomb near Mount Li. Around the outer edges, north, south and west, stand soldiers with crossbows, five hundred and eighteen figures in all, a protective measure to guard the sides and rear of the army in pit number one.

Pit number two is similar in construction with a timber framework, pottery brick floors, and sloping roadways for access. Though containing fewer figures, this pit houses a far greater variety, and in some ways is more specialized than the main body of the army. Here are cavalymen and horses, chariot-horses, kneeling bowmen, charioteers and drivers, and foot soldiers. A considerable range of weapons was also found, including bows, crossbows, battleaxes, halberds, arrowheads, swords and spears.

Pit number three is the smallest. It appears to have been the command centre for the entire army. It was decorated as an army tent and this, together with the ornate canopied chariot and the small select number of figures, reinforces the idea of the army headquarters.

As far as can be ascertained at this time, calculations indicate that there are at least seven thousand life-size pottery figures of warriors of various ranks, over five hundred horses and over one hundred and thirty chariots.

The construction of the figures is consistent from one pit to the next. The figures were produced in a number of parts and were then joined together before firing. Thus the feet and legs were made solid and allowed to dry. The torso and arms were hollow and made by the coil method. The hands were solid clay. The heads were made in two-piece moulds which included basic features such as ears, nose and hair. While there are certain consistencies to the faces in each figure type, there are no two identical faces. Individual details such as mouths, eyes, moustaches and beards were finished by hand, probably with sharp bamboo tools.

The heads were fired separately, but before firing, the rest of the body parts were joined together, strengthened with clay coils.

Hand finishing is also evident in the clothing details and armour where, again, a fine layer of clay was superimposed over the basic model to allow for detail. There are seven broad categories of soldiers: officer, kneeling bowman, cavalryman, charioteer, armoured infantryman and standing crossbowman. Rank is indicated by size, ornate armour, headgear, and tabs and sashes.

The armoured soldiers have three basic styles of armour: a long suit covering the chest, stomach and back, with separate shoulder plates; one similar in length, but with armour plates extending only over the middle and lower sections of the body armour and on shoulder guards; and the third, the officer class, with front only armour or front and back armour.

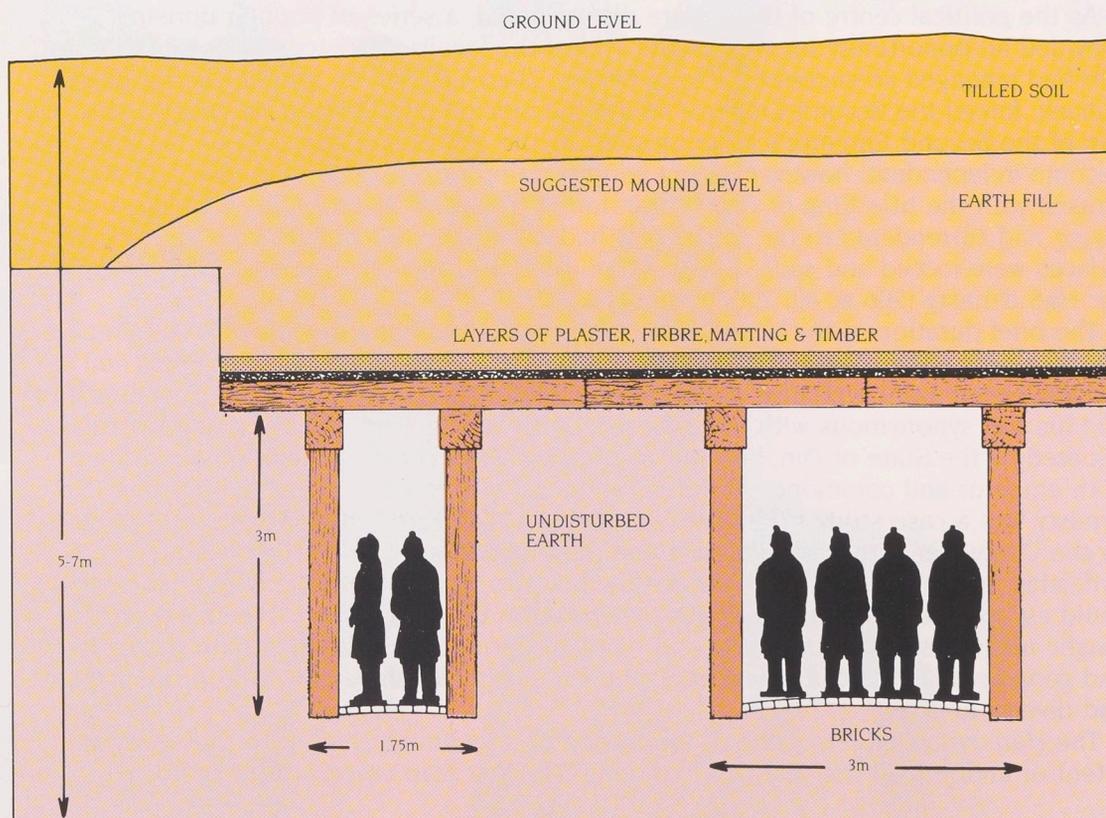
All the original figures were painted. Some of this paint is still visible. There are thought to have been about twelve colours. The armour was usually brown and the

costume beneath red, green or blue. Other colours were dark red, rose red, tangerine, pink, purple, turquoise, dark blue, white and black. Pink was used for hands and faces. The colour was applied after firing in the kiln.

The weapons are Bronze Age technology of the highest artistic and technical sophistication. Analysis of the bronze indicates that the metal is an unusual alloy of copper, tin and lead with much smaller quantities of nickel, magnesium and zinc. Remarkably, a fine layer of chromium oxide plating has prevented rusting during the long burial.

These figures not only reveal great artistic skills but also an impressive ceramic technology. In order to create this astonishing monument to himself, the First Emperor would have had to draw on a host of craftsmen, potters and sculptors.

Artistically these figures differ considerably in their liveliness of expression from terracotta figurines from later burial art. In the final analysis, however, it is the overwhelming number and size of these sculptures that is awe-inspiring. Here is a monument to a remarkable personality, a man who indeed dreamt of greatness and longed for immortality.



■ Cross-section of pit no. 1, showing the timber framework that was constructed over the corridors housing the pottery figures.

The collapse of the Qin dynasty proved even more rapid than its rise to empire. The four years following the death of the First Emperor present an unedifying spectacle of intrigue, usurpation, suicide and murder. The First Emperor had fathered twenty sons. Now in his fiftieth year, seriously ill and tormented by recurring nightmares, he sought to ensure that his eldest son Fusu succeed him. The news of his death at Shaqiu, between July and August, 210 BC, far distant from his capital, was concealed from his subjects.

As his corpse was being transported back to the tomb long prepared for it at Mount Li, Zhao Gao, his Keeper of Chariots, forced a reluctant Li Si to acquiesce in the enthronement of the twenty-one year old Huhai, one of the First Emperor's youngest and most loved sons. Fusu was tricked into committing suicide, and gradually Zhao Gao began to assert a malevolent influence over the Second Emperor whose tutor he had once been. High officials were executed, the harsh Qin laws were ever more rigorously enforced, and the wasteful expenditure on construction projects such as the Apang Palace resumed. "What is splendid about possessing an empire," proclaimed the new emperor, "is being able to do as you please and satisfy your desires."

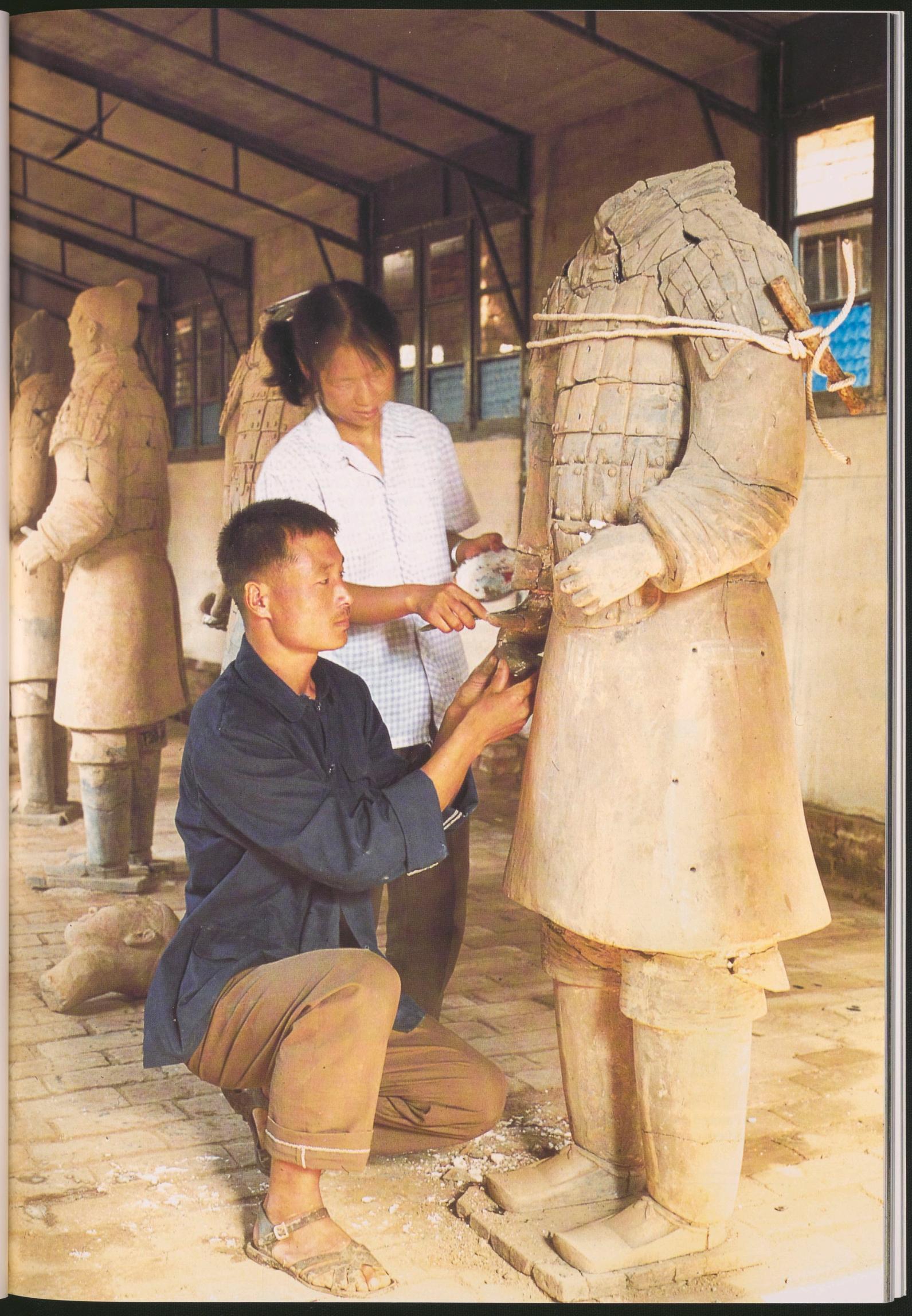
Li Si, now probably the only man capable of holding the empire together, soon fell foul of this dreadful parody of the very Legalist philosophy he had spent his life advocating. In 208 BC both he and his entire family were executed. Within two years, the Qin dynasty had lost the two men who had provided the impetus behind its momentous achievements.

As the political centre of the empire disintegrated, a series of popular uprisings provided an opportunity for the brief revival of the localized aristocratic forces that the Qin had managed so successfully to suppress. Zhao Gao, intent upon usurping power himself, forced the Second Emperor to commit suicide, installing in his place Ziyang, the son of the Second Emperor's elder brother. As the other six major states had once again become independent, however, Ziyang laid no claim to the status of emperor, contenting himself with the title King of Qin. Within forty-six days Zhao Gao too was dead, and Ziyang had surrendered to the forces that had taken the Qin capital, Xianyang. The Qin palaces were looted and sacked, and the ruling house was exterminated. Five years later the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) was established.

The brief duration of the Qin dynasty and its unenviable reputation belie the impact it was to have on the course of China's historical development. In theory, China's first dynasty became the symbol of harsh and tyrannical rule, the name of the First Emperor and his son synonymous with inhumane despotism. Legalism, the state philosophy adopted by the State of Qin, became anathema to succeeding generations of Chinese, both emperor and commoner. To later historians and political theorists alike, the Qin dynasty was a case study in the consequences of the use of imperial power untempered by the Confucian virtues of humanity and righteousness to which all subsequent dynasties professed allegiance. The reality, however, has been very different. Nobody could escape the implications of this watershed in Chinese history. The Qin dynasty's drastic measures of centralization and reorganization had established both the racial and geographic limits of Chinese rule, and the means for the administration of this vast and diverse area.

The Han dynasty rulers came to the throne of a reunified China with the avowed intent of undoing all that the Qin had done. The first Han emperor attempted to

■ opposite: Soldier-figures undergoing restoration in the conservation workshops adjacent to pit no. 1



reintroduce feudalism and to reduce the elaborate Qin law code with one of just three clauses. The first of these measures proved disastrous, the second unrealistic. All subsequent dynasties were to be centralized bureaucracies administered by non-hereditary officials and headed by an absolute monarch, a structure modelled on that of the Qin dynasty. In practice, the Confucian philosophy that provided the explicit ideological underpinnings of this imperial system reinforced Legalist administrative measures.

The legacy of the Qin dynasty goes beyond matters to do with the nature of government, of course. The Chinese race took its name from the succeeding Han dynasty. It had been the Qin, however, who had given this people a sense of their own unique identity by distinguishing them from the various peoples who inhabited the areas around China's boundaries. It was a sense of racial and cultural unity which transcended the various political vicissitudes suffered by China throughout its long history. Henceforth, periods of political disunity were to be regarded as deviant and temporary aberrations to the established fact of unity. The unitary writing system established by the Qin dynasty provided the means for the literary expression of this feeling of Chinese identity.

Most of the material expression of China's first dynasty was destroyed as the Qin dynasty fell. The Great Wall remained, of course, continually repaired throughout the ages, both a military and a psychological defence against the outside world. The Apang Palace lived on only in literature, a grand and futile gesture. The splendours of the First Emperor's tomb, attested to by Sima Qian but always only half-believed, remain



■ Painted reconstruction of two armoured soldiers

■ Painted reconstruction of a standing crossbowman and a cavalryman

unexplored. The Qin, after all, were considered a semi-barbaric people, capable of great military successes, but little else. Earlier cultural histories of China had always skipped over this fifteen-year period in silence.

All this changed in 1974 with the discovery of the first of the terracotta soldiers. Soon a whole army had been uncovered. No written records had given a clue of its existence, an extraordinary fact within the Chinese context. Both the scale and the size of the individual figures were unprecedented. The artistic and technological levels implied by these figures – and by the bronze chariot uncovered in 1980 – will mean a rewriting of China's cultural history. This exhibition gives us an opportunity to share with the Chinese people the glory of their history, and to stand and wonder at the capacity of humankind for such astonishing achievements.



■ Painted reconstruction of a kneeling bowman

■ Painted reconstruction of an officer

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

THE QIN DYNASTY: HISTORY AND CULTURE

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■ opposite: Broken heads, found on excavation



GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION

The *Pinyin* system of romanization has been employed throughout this catalogue, with the exception of certain proper names that have become familiar to Western readers in other forms. Most letters in *Pinyin* represent sounds more or less similar to English sounds, with the exception of the following:

<i>Pinyin</i>	=	English sound
c	=	ts
q	=	ch
x	=	sh
z	=	dz
zh	=	j



■ Stalls at the entrance to the Lintong Museum building. The brightly coloured garments are part of the folk art of the north-western region.



1 STANDING CROSSBOWMAN

height 178 cm
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 2.

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

Unlike the other standing figures from the burial pits, the standing crossbowman does not adopt the strict frontal pose, and displays a degree of naturalism in the animated stance. The pendant left arm and tightly held right arm are clearly poised as if to hold a crossbow. The impression of alertness is completed by the careful tilt of the head.

The crossbowman is dressed in an unarmoured battle robe, fastened around the waist with a belt and belt hook, short boots and leg protectors. The hair is tightly coiled into a neat bun on the right side of the head.





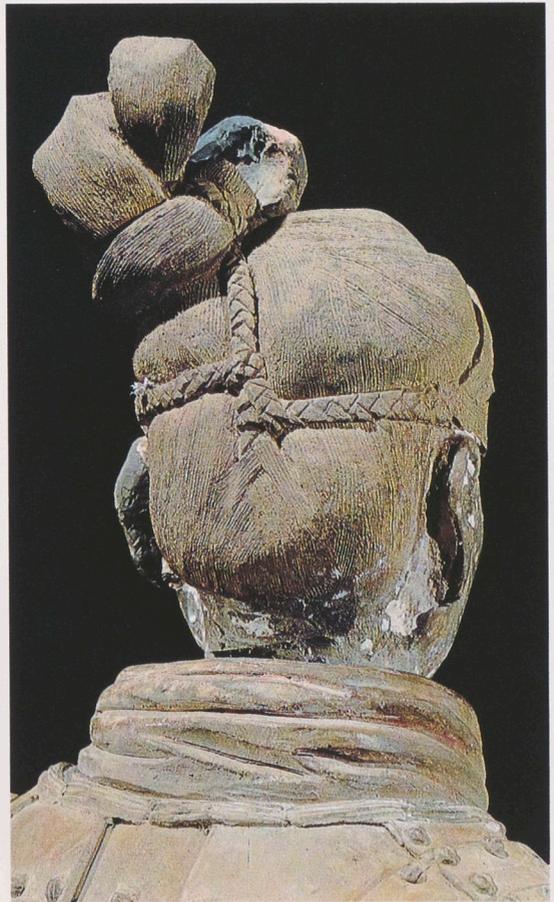
2 KNEELING CROSSBOWMAN

height 122 cm
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 2
Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an

The figures of kneeling crossbowmen, all of which were recovered from pit no. 2, are basically similar but with slight detail variations. This example adopts the characteristic pose, resting on the right knee with the left knee raised. The right arm is held towards the right thigh with the hand open and ready to hold the weapon. The left arm rests on the raised left knee, the hand extended across the chest in order to hold the crossbow. Particularly characteristic of the figure type is the straight, almost arched back which emphasizes the impressions of concentration and discipline. The head is held firm and the eyes look directly ahead.

The crossbowman wears plated armour on the upper half of the body, together with shoulder pieces. The battle robe beneath is distinguished by the series of pleats and folds as it rests over the legs. The square-cut shoes feature the tread of the sole in great detail.

The hair is tied in a decorative plait on the back of the head and then coiled into a bun tied with ribbons. On the head, face, and hair, traces of the original pigments may be seen.



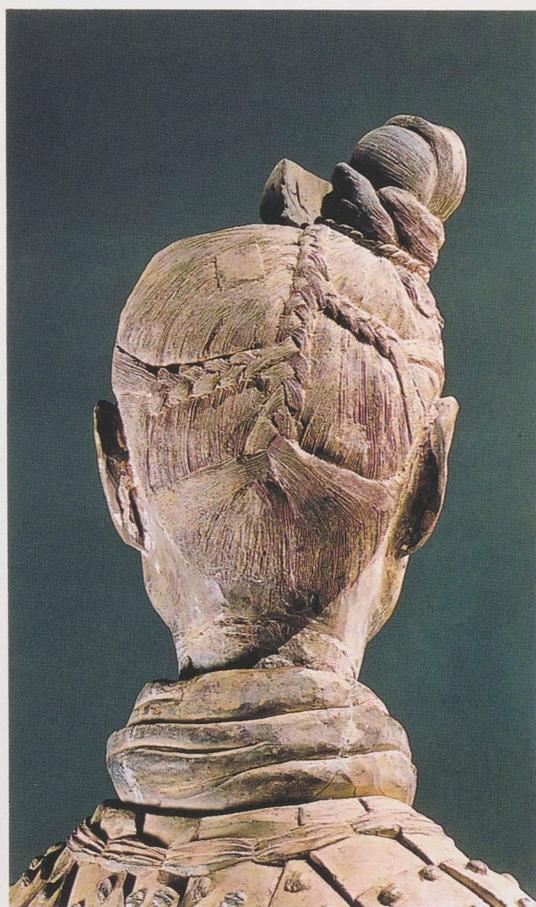


3 KNEELING CROSSBOWMAN

height 122 cm
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 2

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This figure of a kneeling crossbowman is fundamentally similar to catalogue no. 2, with some detail distinguishing features. The right arm on this example is held slightly higher, with the elbow held back and, as if to heighten the sense of alertness, the head too appears to be raised, with a longer neck. Slight differences to the facial features, in particular the moustache, may also be noted. The hair, while ornately plaited in the style of the previous figure, is tied into a bun on the right side of the head. Another distinguishing feature is the absence of pleats on the battle robe.



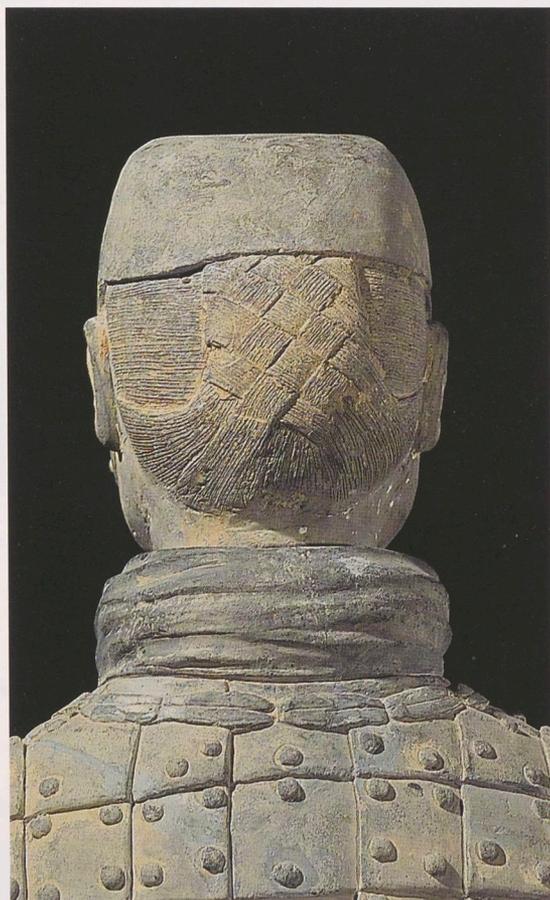


4 CAVALRYMAN

height 180 cm
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 2
Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an

All the figures of cavalymen so far recovered were placed in pit no. 2, together with cavalry horses. The figures are generally consistent in pose and overall detail. This example has the short, tight-fitting armour on the upper half of the figure and, in common with other cavalymen, no shoulder plates and no sleeve armour. Beneath the belted waist the robe appears full with pleats and folds. The stitched leather shoes are represented in some detail with lacing and ties.

Similarly characteristic of the figure type is the small tight-fitting cap fastened under the chin. According to excavation reports it is thought, on the evidence of paint remains, that such caps were originally painted a reddish brown, suggesting leather, with an all-over decorative pattern of red dots in groups of three. The hair is plaited into a chequered pattern on the back of the head. Originally, he held a bow in his left hand and the horse's reins in his right.





5 CHARIOT HORSE

height 171 cm
length 226 cm
excavated in 1974 from pit no. 2

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

The tied tail of the chariot horse and the absence of a saddle are two of the more obvious distinguishing differences between the chariot horse and the cavalry horse, although they are of similar appearance and breed. The chariot horse also leans forward slightly as if pulling a chariot. It is longer, and has shorter legs than the cavalry horse. This breed of horse has survived in the Sichuan province in Western China and is used today as a cart-horse.

This particular exhibit was excavated from the southern corridor of pit no. 2; it is estimated that there are 256 such horses in that part of the pit.



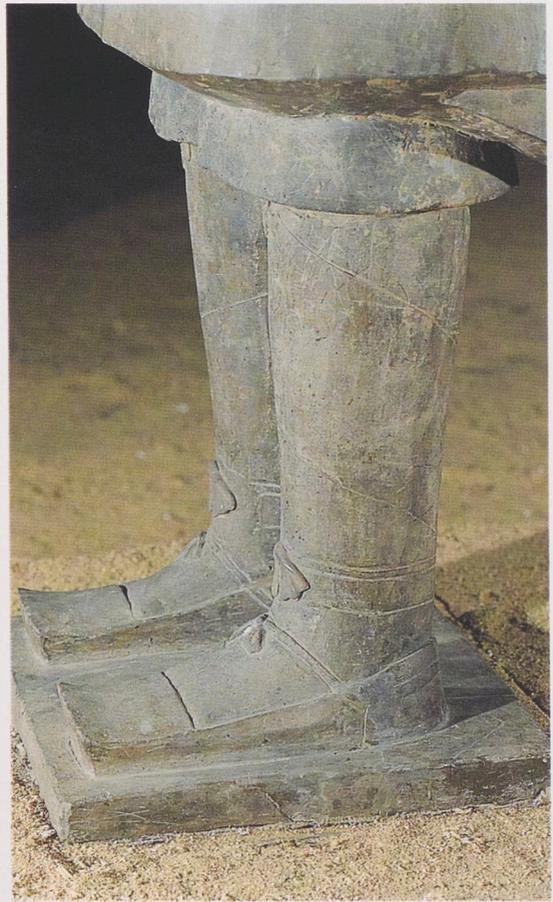
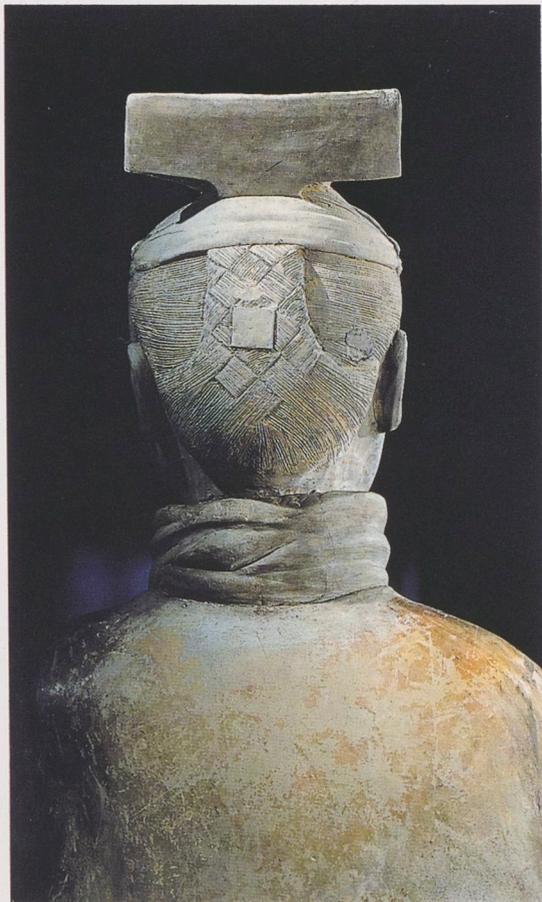


6 UNIFORMED WARRIOR

height 196 cm
excavated in 1979 from pit no. 1

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This soldier is not wearing armour. The right hand held a long weapon and the left hand is pendant. He is dressed in a light battle robe, and the belt around his waist is fastened with a distinctive belt-hook. He wears short trousers underneath the robe and laced boots on his feet. A small cap with a chin strap sits on his head and the hair on the back of his head is plaited into a chequered pattern.





7 CHARIOTEER

height 190 cm
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 2

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This figure is a chariot driver. He wears a battle robe and armour and has both hands stretched out in front of him as if holding the reins in a tight grip. The charioteer was found beside the fifth chariot in the first column in the southern part of pit no. 2. This area is occupied by eight columns of chariots with eight chariots in each; a total of 64 chariots. Each chariot was manned by a chariot driver flanked by two soldiers in armour carrying long weapons. Various types of armour were used, depending on the battalion to which the crew belonged.

This figure wears a cuirass without shoulder plates or sleeve armour, the most common form of dress for charioteers in pits 1, 2, and 3. The type of armour where the shoulders as well as arms down to the wrists were protected by plates is found only in pit no. 2 and is a type of armour which originates from the Warring States Period. It was not used after the Han dynasty.



8 WARRIOR

height 183 cm
excavated in 1974 from pit no. 1

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

The figure is dressed in armour with shoulder plates. The chest and backplates are firmly riveted together while the other parts are jointed to give freedom of movement in combat. The right arm is raised as if to hold a long weapon.

With the exception of crossbowmen, the majority of foot soldiers at this time carried spears, and that was probably the case with this soldier. It is known that during the Western Han dynasty the infantry was issued with shields carried in one hand. There is no proof, however, that this was the case in the Qin dynasty. Spearheads of bronze, about 15.3-17.5 cm long, fitted to wooden staffs, have been found. An 11 cm long bronze casing was fitted to the other end of the staff.



9 OFFICER IN ARMOUR

height 184.5 cm
excavated in 1974 from pit no. 1

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This figure, representing an officer, is dressed in battle robe with short trousers and wears armour with shoulder plates of similar type to **Warrior (8)**. The legs are protected by leg-shields under which the broad angular boots protrude. It can be seen by the position of the hands and arms that the figure held a long weapon in the right hand. The headdress is ornate, and on the back of the head the hair is plaited into a chequered pattern.



10 KNEELING STABLEBOY

height 68 cm
excavated in 1976 from the horse pit at
Shangjiao village, east of the First Emperor's tomb

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This figure was excavated with 19 similar terracotta objects.

Close to the village Shangjiao, approximately 350 metres east of the outer wall that surrounds the burial mound of the First Emperor, there are two pits in a north-south direction. Parts of the pits contain terracotta warriors and horses. Another part consists of holes where horses were buried alive. Over a stretch of approximately 1500 metres north to south there are 93 holes, some of which have been excavated. The horses were buried one at a time, in one pit, together with terracotta stableboys, tools and fodder.

The figures are dressed in full-length robes and kneel upright. The hair is plaited and tied at the back. They all have individual facial expressions and the position of the hands also varies from figure to figure.

Originally these figures were painted but only traces of pigment remain. The hair was black, the faces and hands skin-coloured, and the robes were painted green or red, with the sleeve turnups green or purple.

The head, hands and body were made separately and assembled prior to firing.

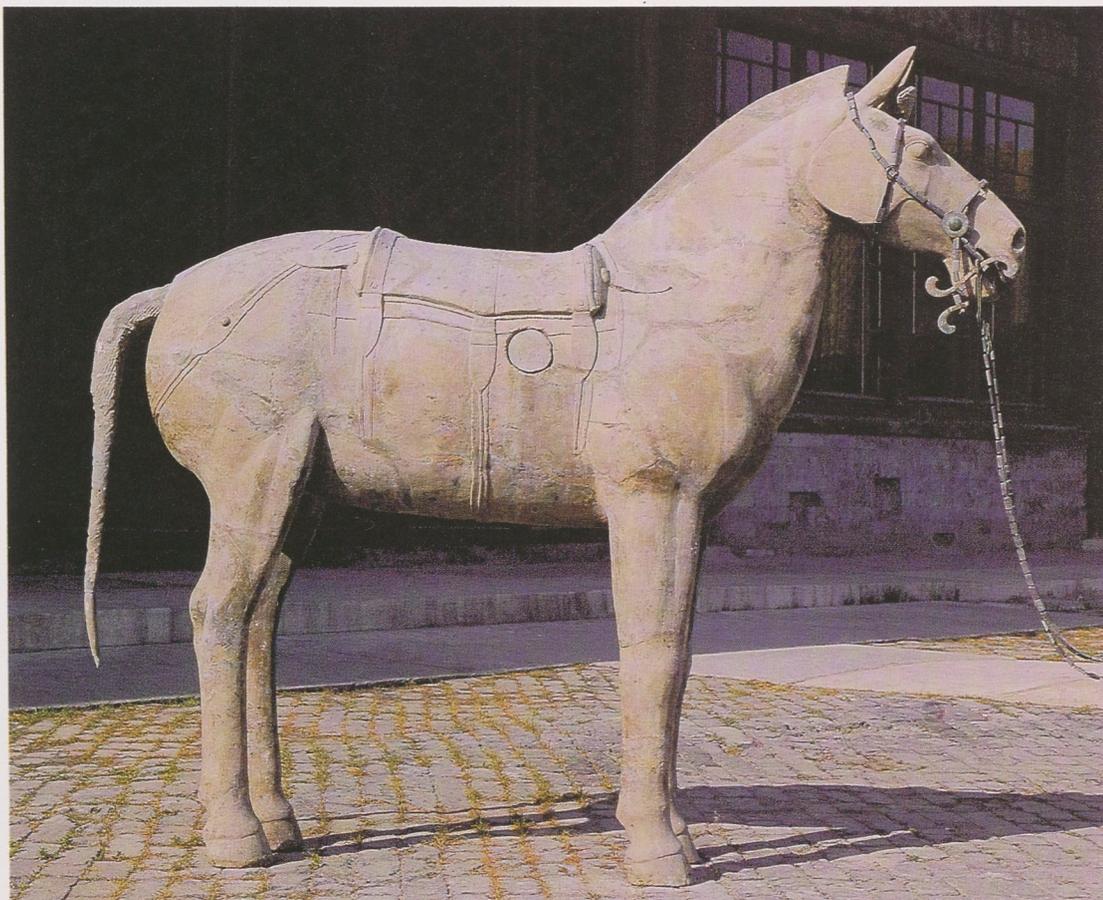


11 CAVALRY HORSE

height 172 cm
length 203 cm
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 2
Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an

The horse's head is raised and the ears pricked. The moulded saddle with hand-finished carved and incised detail probably represents a leather original. On the surface of the saddle are modelled a series of black circles representing tacks, which were painted red, white, brown and blue. Around the pommel of the saddle are tassels and ribbons. The saddle is held in place by a girth underneath the belly of the horse. The shape and style of the saddle is similar to modern versions with the exception that stirrups, it seems, were not known in China at that time.

When this horse was unearthed the bit of its bridle was still in place in the mouth. Around the horse were bronze bits, bronze rings and ornamental harness fittings. After restoration work the protective head cage and reins were reconstructed. There are two reins, each approximately 1 metre in length; one end of each was joined to the bit with two large rings and to the other end was attached a scissor-shaped bronze ring to enable the rider to hold the reins. The reins themselves were made of a bronze chain or string and small square limestone pieces.



12 BRONZE SWORD

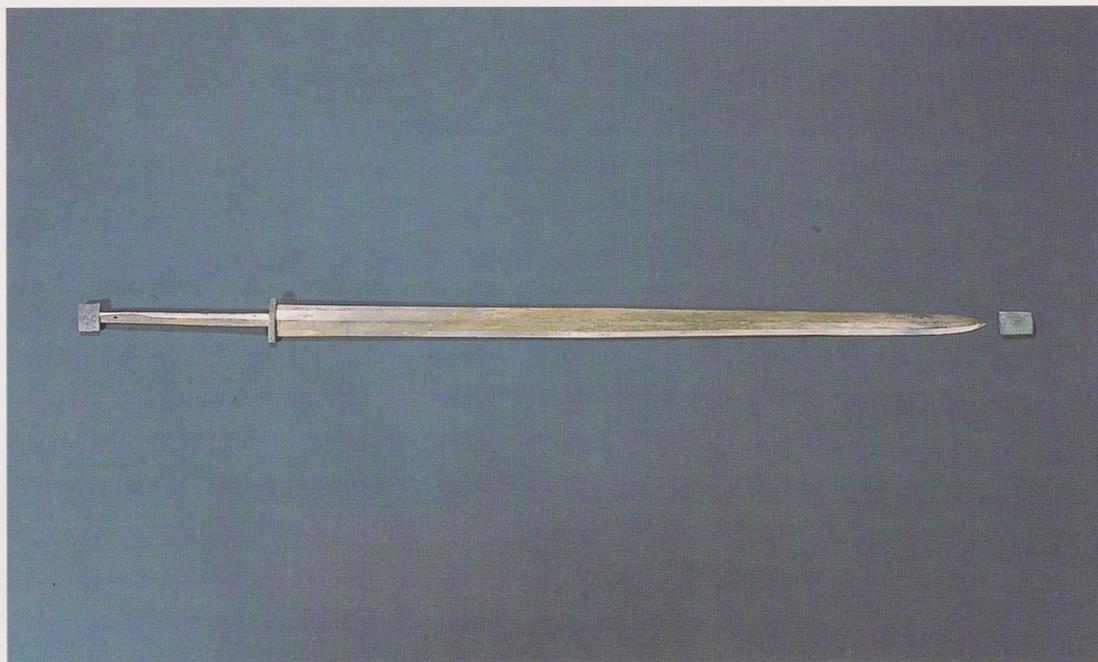
total length 91.5 cm
length of handle 19 cm
excavated in May 1981 from pit no. 1

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This sword was discovered intact from trench 1 in pit no. 1 and is in a remarkable state of preservation. The original wooden scabbard has decayed.

The sword blade is narrow and thin with a ridge along the centre. According to analysis the principal metals used were copper and tin, with a higher percentage of tin (21.3%) than in other bronze pieces from the excavation. The higher tin content resulted in an increased hardness comparable with tempered carbon steel. The surface of the sword contains 0.6 to 2.0% chromium, with a thickness of .10 to .15mm. This acted as a protective coating against corrosion during the long burial.

In style and appearance the sword resembles the classic Zhou sword which continued to be used in the succeeding Han dynasty. Iron swords of similar shape, dating from the later Zhou, Qin and Han dynasties, have also been found at other sites. Many bronze swords of this type are decorated with turquoise, gold, silver or jade inlay on the guard and in the top surface of the pommel. The plain solid hilt in this example would originally have had a binding to ensure a safe grip.



13 BRONZE CROSSBOW MECHANISM

length 8 cm
height 16.2 cm
width 3.6 cm
excavated in 1979 from pit no. 1

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This trigger mechanism for a crossbow is a type that was invented towards the end of the Zhou dynasty. It quickly found favour and was widely used. The mechanism was made in four separately cast pieces and precision in the manufacture was essential for its efficiency.

The bronze crossbow mechanism was very much more powerful than any of its contemporary weapons as, reputedly, it could fire a bronze bolt a distance of 200 metres. Its importance in ensuring military supremacy over China's marauding 'barbarians' on her northern and north-western borders was considerable.

The mechanism was of equal significance and in widespread use during the succeeding Han dynasty. A number of excavated Han examples have brief inscriptions, often incorporating a date. This Qin example is inscribed with a single character, **geng** (the seventh of the ten Heavenly Steps) in two places. This is probably a serial number.

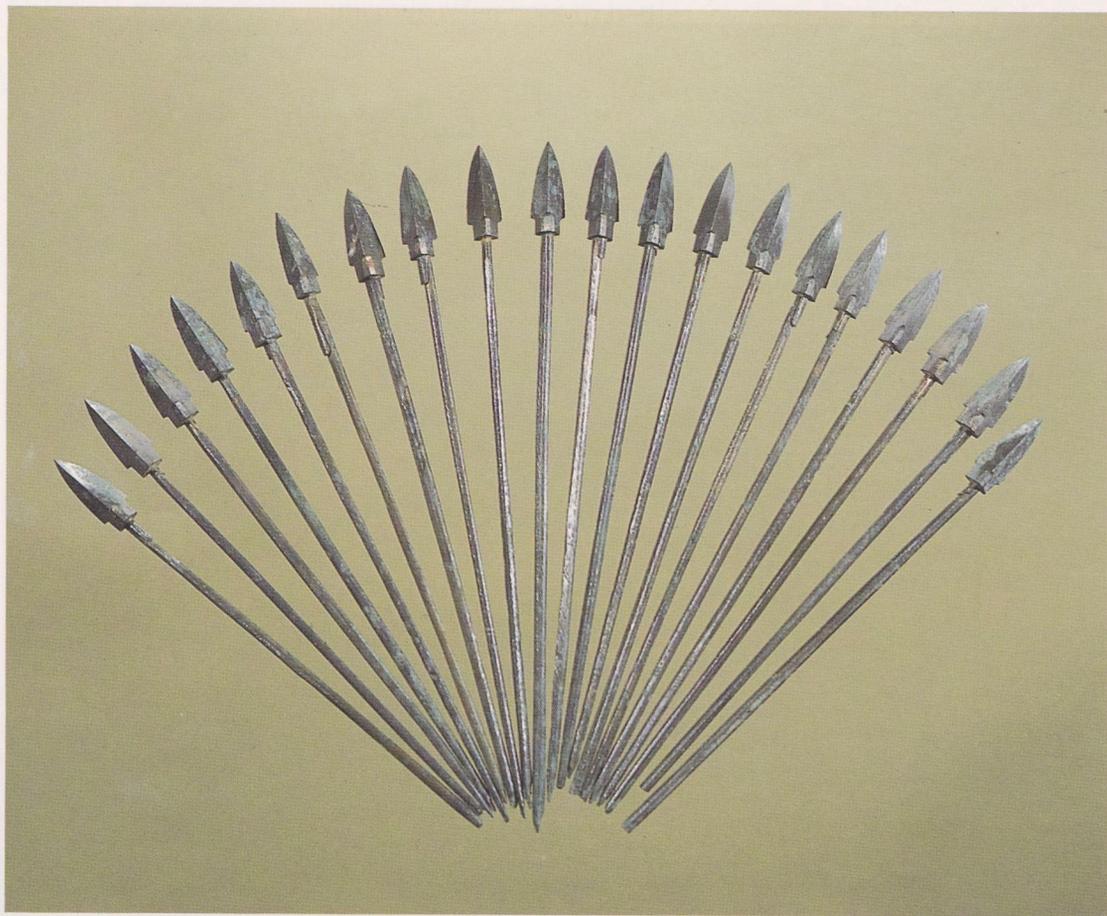


14 BRONZE CROSSBOW BOLTS (20 examples)

length 17.2 to 20 cm
excavated in 1976 from pit no. 1

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

The pointed heads of the bolts are triangular cones with equal sides, cast independently of the circular stems. Analysis has shown the composition of the bronze to be similar to that of the crossbow mechanism (13), an alloy of copper and tin with small lead and zinc contents. Like the sword (12), the surface has a layer of chromium oxide to provide extra hardness and durability.



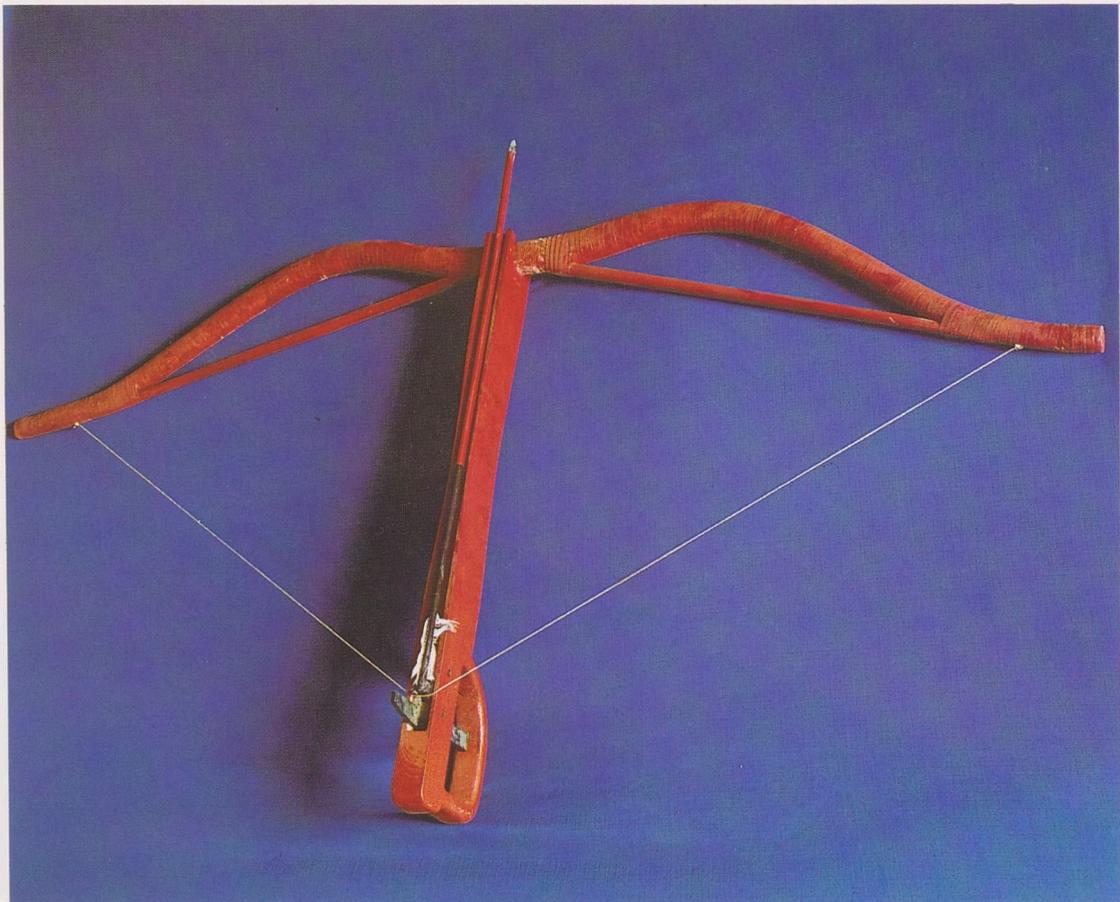
15 RECONSTRUCTION OF A CROSSBOW

length 140 cm

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This reconstruction of a Qin crossbow was made on the evidence of fragmentary remains and impressions in the earth of an example buried in pit no. 1, where a large number of the pottery soldiers were equipped with these weapons. The original crossbow would have been made of wood and painted, or possibly lacquered, red. The body of the bow is 71.6 cm in length, with a groove at the front in which the bolt rested, and the bronze trigger mechanism at the rear.

While the composite bow had been known in China since Shang times, the mechanically-triggered bow, such as this, appeared only in the late Zhou period. The earliest examples, dating to around the 4th century BC, had a simple firing mechanism without the casing seen on this reconstruction, and on the bronze crossbow mechanism (13).



16 MODEL OF A CHARIOT (1/4 scale)

length 121 cm
width 82.5 cm
height 46 cm
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 2

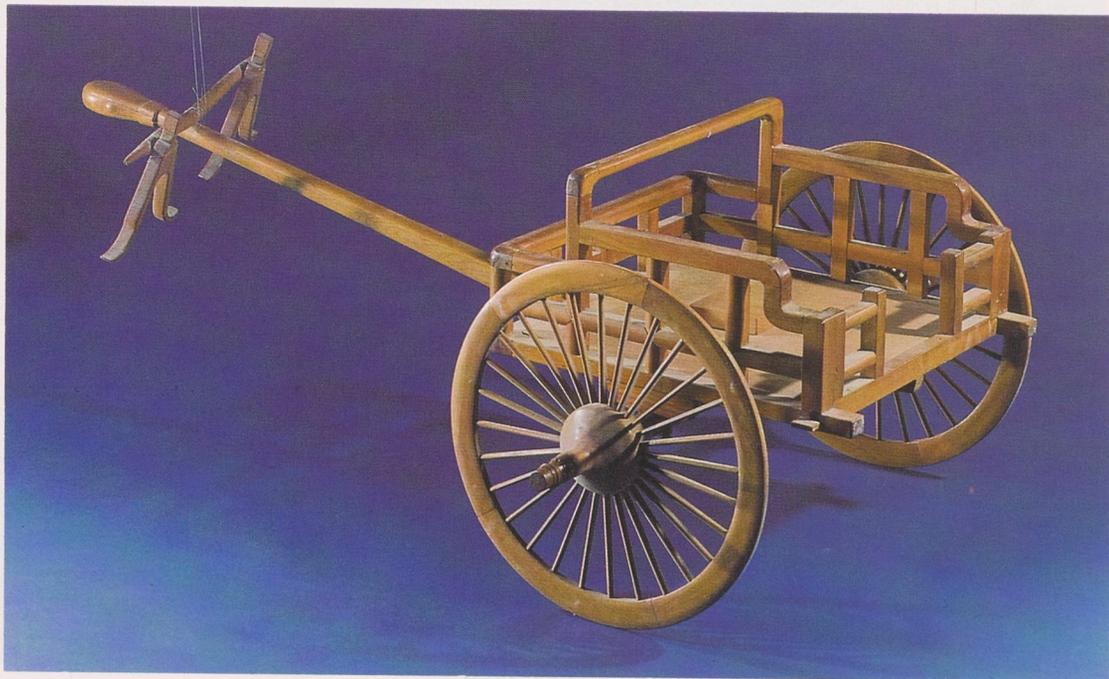
Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This reconstruction of a chariot was made on the basis of fragmentary evidence and impressions from an example that was buried in pit no. 1. All chariots of Qin date were made of wood and those buried, therefore have been lost not only through natural decay, but also as a result of the fires that occurred during the rebel assault on the pits at the end of the dynasty.

The chariot is rectangular in shape with wood railings along the front sides. A raised horizontal bar for the charioteer to hold is fixed towards the front. The wood was evidently painted with classic geometric designs in lacquer. The single shaft is attached to the underneath of the vehicle with a crossbar for the harness of the four horses. Chariots were found in China as early as the Shang dynasty. Fragments have been discovered in a number of mid to late Shang royal tombs of *circa* 1300 BC. Many ornate and sophisticated bronze fittings of Shang and Zhou chariots, such as linchpins and axle caps, have been recovered from tombs and burial mounds.

The chariot became a significant factor in military affairs in Bronze Age China, and historical records make numerous references to battles involving large forces of chariots and troops. One such reference describes a battle, in 589 BC, between the states of Jin and Qi in which 800 chariots and 12,000 men took part.

Whilst, undoubtedly refined in some respects, this Qin example is the natural successor to those chariots of Bronze Age China and the forerunner to those of the Han dynasty. During the Han and subsequent dynasties the chariot continued to be used, but was gradually superseded by the quicker and more effective cavalry.



17 HALF TAEI, COPPER COIN

diameter 3.4 cm
thickness 0.2 cm
weight 11 grams

excavated in Guodu village,
Changan county, Shaanxi Province

Round coins, with square holes for stringing cord, were introduced by the Qin as one of the many standardization measures. Prior to their introduction, the principal forms of currency in China had been 'knife' and 'fabric' money, much less conveniently circulated than these small round coins. They continued to be the basic model for coinage in China until the end of the Qing dynasty in 1911.

The two characters cast in relief either side of the square hole indicate the value of the coin and read **ban liang**: half tael, a tael being a unit of weight for silver.



18 TIGER-SHAPED 'YANGLING'
BRONZE IMPERIAL TALLY INLAID WITH GOLD (Reproduction)

total height 3.4 cm
total length 8.9 cm

the original reportedly excavated at
Lincheng, Shandong Province
Historical Museum of China, Beijing

Imperial tallies were used to authorize imperial instructions and particularly military movements. They were carried by the messenger as his evidence of authenticity. For some reason the tiger was adopted as the form for such tallies which were divided down the middle into two sections. The hollow interior may have carried an imperial seal. This replica is inlaid with gold, like the original, with an inscription comprising 12 characters which reads: **jia bing zhi fu, you zai huangdi, zuo zai yangling**: "an imperial tally for the armoured force, the right (half) with the emperor, the left (half) with Yangling."

The original cannot be opened because of the corrosion of the bronze. That the two parts were found together is probably due to the fact that they were never used.



19 BRONZE STANDARD WEIGHT

total height 7.4 cm
weight 250 grams
excavated in 1976 in the vicinity of the
First Emperor's tomb, Lintong
Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an

Among the First Emperor's reorganizations of the structure of government was the standardization of weights and measures. This bronze standard weight is tangible evidence of those reforms. It is in the shape of a bronze hollow bell with a small handle.

The measure has two lengthy incised inscriptions which form the complete text of the decrees issued by the First Emperor and his successor, the Second Emperor, Qin Ershi, relating to the standardization of measures. The First Emperor's decree reads:

erhliu nian, huangdi jin bing jian tianxia, zhu hou qianshou da an, li hao wei huangdi, nai zhao chengxiang zhuang wan, fadu liang, ze bu yi, qianyi zhe, jie ming yizhi: "In the 26th year [221 BC] the Emperor conquered the empire, the feudal lords acknowledged his authority and there was peace. He proclaimed himself the emperor and summoned the Prime Minister Zhuang to standardize measurements. Whatever was not standard or in doubt was standardized."

The Second Emperor's decree reads:

yuan nian zhi, zhao chengxiang si, qu ji, fadu liang, jinshi huangdi weizhi, jie you ke ci—. Jin xi hao, er ke ci bu chengshi huangdi, qi yujiu yuan ou, ru hou si wei zhe, bu cheng cheng gong chengde. Ke ci zhao, gu ke zuo, shi wu yi: "In the first year of his reign, [the emperor] summoned Prime Minister Li Si to eliminate abnormality and proclaim standardization. These were the instructions of the First Emperor and had all been documented. Nowadays, in writing, people no longer follow the standardization of the First Emperor. This deterioration is caused by the passage of time. If in the future this trend continues, the great achievement [of the First Emperor] will not be followed. Therefore this decree is issued and engraved on the left (of the original decree) to dispel any doubt."



20 BRONZE STANDARD MEASURE (Reproduction)

total length 30.3 cm
height 9.8 cm

Historical Museum of China, Beijing

A bowl-shaped oval measure with a protruding groove in which a handle could be fitted. The vessel gives the standard volume of one **dou** which on the basis of the capacity volume of this vessel is equal to 2050 millilitres.

On one side of the outside surface is engraved the First Emperor's decree of 221 BC and on the other side the Second Emperor's decree of 209 BC, both of which relate to the standardization of weights and measures (see 19).



POTTERY WATER PIPE

length 72 cm
height 47 cm
excavated at the First Emperor's
tomb site, Lintong

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This five-sided pottery moulded water pipe has a pattern on its exterior surface. Such pipes were evidently made in quantity and formed part of the drainage system for the burial pits. Water pipes of this kind were also used in other constructions, including the burial tomb buildings and the Qin Palace at Xianyang.



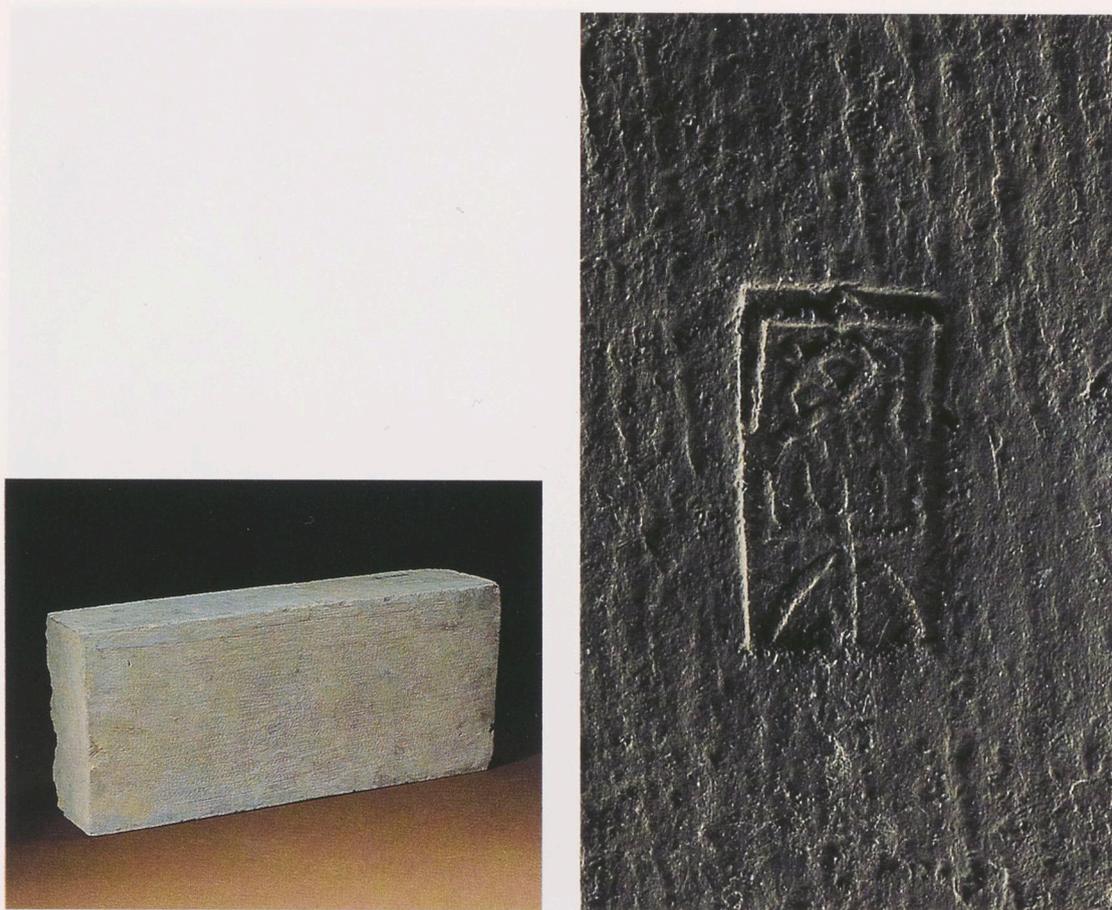
22 RECTANGULAR POTTERY BRICK

length 42 cm
width 18.2 cm
depth 9.2 cm
weight 13.5 grams
excavated in 1977 from pit no. 1

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

A solid grey pottery brick from the floor of pit no. 1. Such bricks were clearly made in very large quantities as all the floors of the three burial pits were paved. The surface pattern came from the mould.

On one edge are stamped the characters **an wei**. According to a passage in the **Lu Shi Chunqiu** (Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals by Lü): "Articles were stamped with the names of the craftsmen to indicate their authenticity." **An wei**, therefore, may be the name of the brickmaker.



23 BRICK WITH DRAGON DESIGN

length 70 cm

width 39 cm

depth 17 cm

excavated in 1974 from the site of the
Qin Palace at Xianyang

Xianyang City Museum, Shaanxi Province

A hollow grey pottery brick used in the construction of the Qin imperial palace at Xianyang where it was probably part of the surrounding terrace. The brick is incised with a lively coiled dragon and other decorative motifs that would have extended on to form a continuous pattern.



24 BRICK WITH SUN MOTIF

length 44 cm
width 32.5 cm
depth 4 cm

excavated in 1974 from the site of the
Qin Palace at Xianyang
Xianyang City Museum, Shaanxi Province

A thin rectangular pottery brick of greenish-grey colour with an all-over decorative relief pattern. The design is composed of parallel lines forming a lozenge pattern, with each lozenge a circular sun motif.

Pottery bricks of this kind have been discovered at both the Qin Palace site at Xianyang and in the vicinity of the First Emperor's tomb. It is thought they were used for paving the floors.



25 BRICK WITH RHOMBIC AND CIRCULAR PATTERN

length 34 cm
width 27 cm
depth 3 cm

excavated in 1974 in the village of Yuchi,
north of the First Emperor's tomb

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

At the centre there is a circle divided by two bow-shaped lines. To the left and right are three parallel lines and a sling called a cloud pattern. Above and below the circle are four diamond shapes. A circle segment is in each corner.

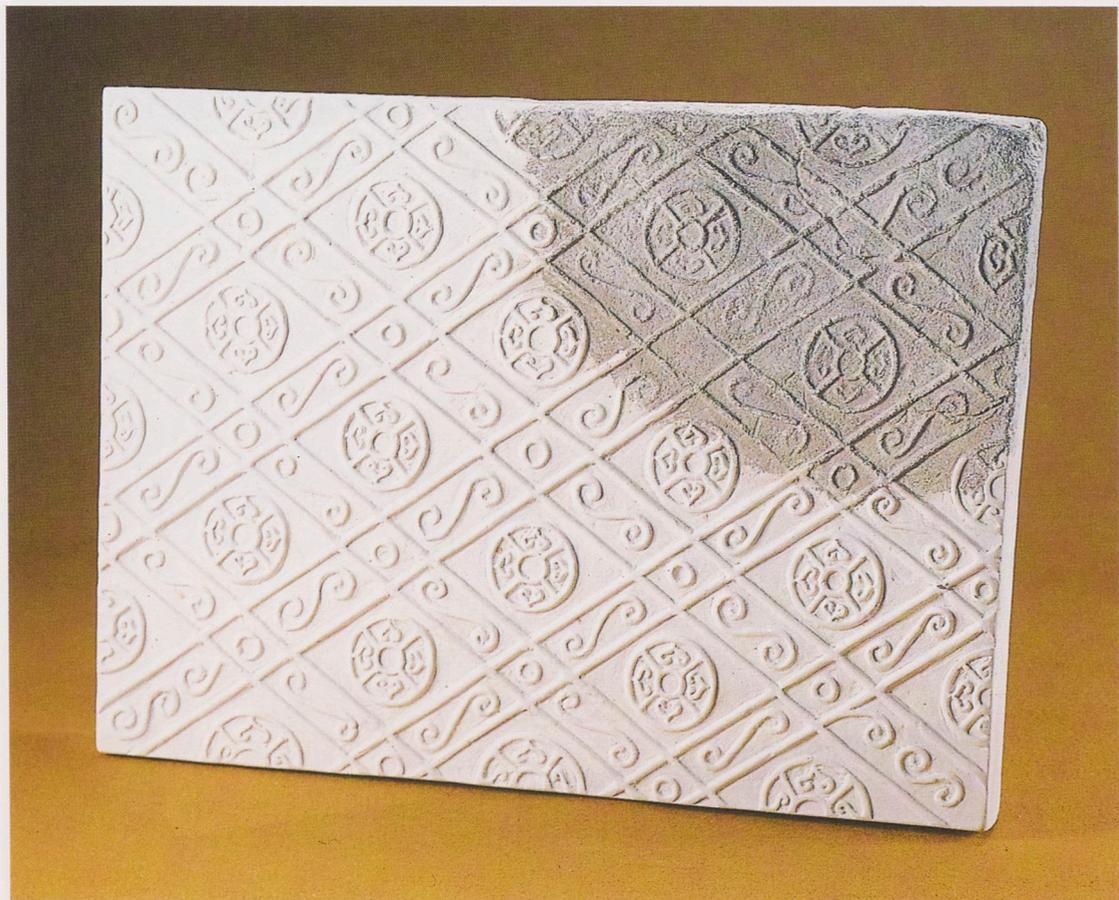


26 BRICK WITH LOZENGE PATTERN

length 42.5 cm
width 31.3 cm
depth 4 cm
excavated in 1976 in the village of Yuchi,
north of the First Emperor's tomb

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

The decoration consists of parallel lines that form a lozenge pattern. In each square there is a circular ornament (a bi ring) with a cloud pattern. Within the parallel lines are circles and S-shaped scrolls. The back is decorated with a chequered pattern.



27-28 ROOF TILE-ENDS WITH COILED CLOUD DESIGN

diameter 16.5 cm
excavated in 1981 from the site of Chengou,
north-west of the First Emperor's tomb

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

Two typical examples of round end-tiles made of terracotta. Both tiles are decorated in similar geometric pattern. A circle in the middle is surrounded by decorative scrolls usually known as a cloud design.

Roof tiles of this type were in common use at the time and have been found close to the First Emperor's tomb and near the Qin Palace in Xianyang.

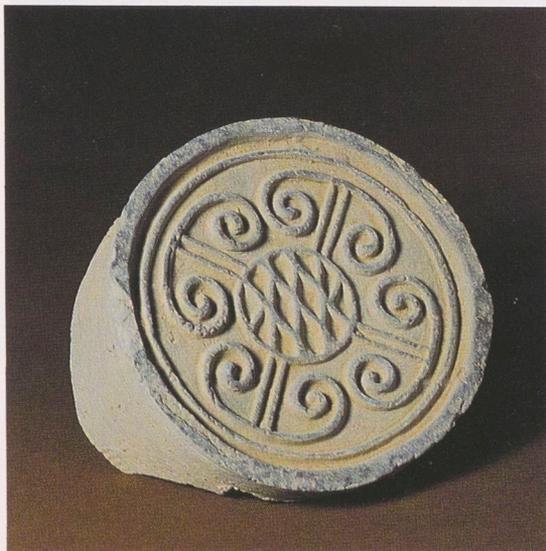


29 TWO ROOF TILE-ENDS

diameter 16 cm (A); 16.5 cm (B)
excavated in 1976 at
the First Emperor's tomb site, Lintong

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

A pair of typical circular roof tile-ends, possibly from one of the ancillary buildings at the First Emperor's tomb site. Both are made of a grey pottery with moulded geometric design of similar but not identical composition.



30 GREY POTTERY JAR

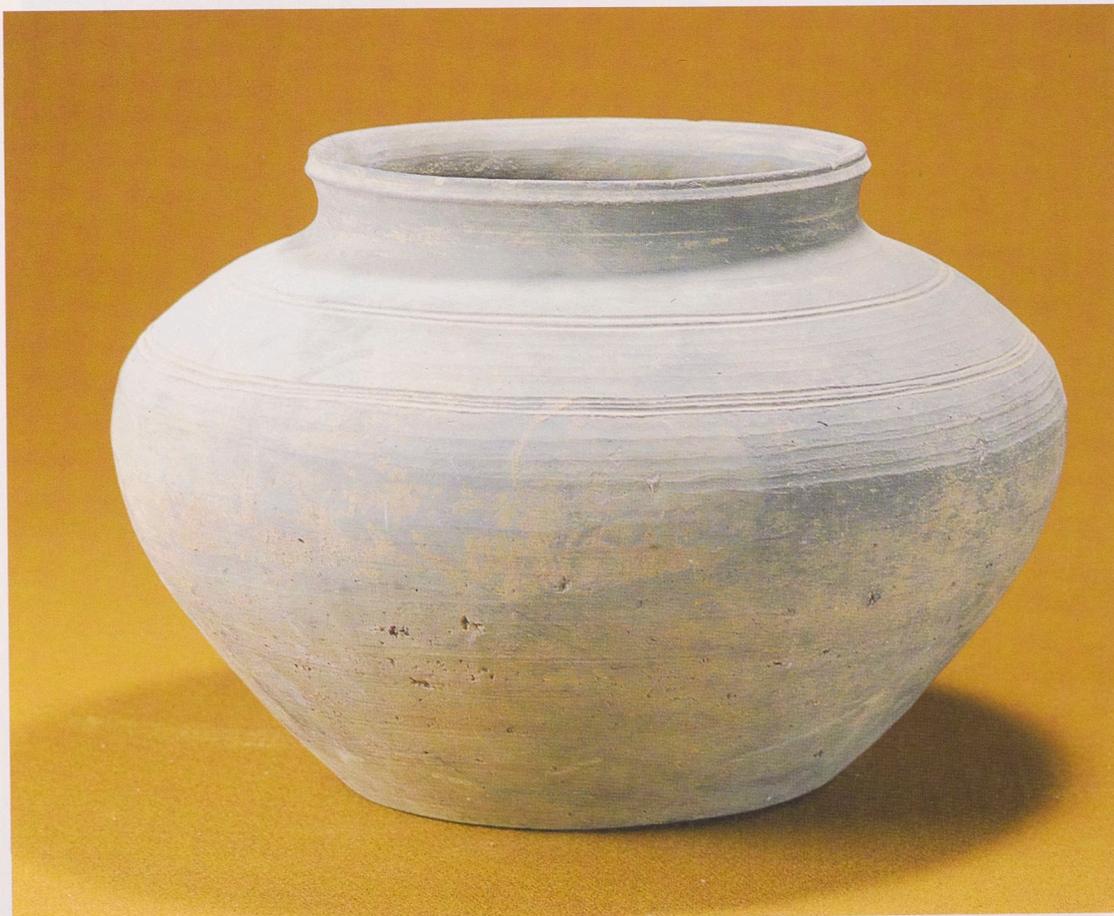
height 21.5 cm
diameter at the mouth 18 cm
excavated in 1976 in the village of Yuchi,
north of the First Emperor's tomb

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

A round vessel with short neck and marked shoulders. It is decorated with circular grooves. The character *ge* is inscribed twice between neck and shoulder.

The pot is made on a potter's wheel and is fired. Such pots were probably mass produced during this period. Many kilns from the Qin era have been found at Xianyang, varying in shape from round to horseshoe. They are relatively small; 1 metre long and 2.2 metres wide.

The same type of kiln was used for the production of bricks. It is thought the potteries were mainly a domestic industry, as many terracotta objects have been found bearing inscriptions showing they were made privately as well as for the government.



31 IRON AXE

height 16.7 cm

width 11.6 cm

excavated in 1982 from the horse pit
in Shangjiao village, east of the First Emperor's tomb

Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This axe belonged to one of the terracotta stableboys (cat. no. 10) and was buried,
together with a short-necked pot and a lantern, in one of the horse pits.

Three different types of cast-iron axes were found in the pit. They were not meant to
have handles and are flat. Iron was used in the manufacture of agricultural tools before
being utilized for weapons. Consequently by the end of the Warring States Period and
during the Qin dynasty nearly all bronze axes had been replaced by iron ones.



32 IRON SPADE OR HATCHET

height 7.5 cm
width 14 cm
excavated in 1981 from the site of Chengou,
north-west of the First Emperor's tomb
Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

33 IRON AXE

height 6.24 cm
width 5.72 cm
excavated in 1981 from the site of Chengou,
north-west of the First Emperor's tomb
Shaanxi Museum of the Qin Dynasty
Terracotta Warriors and Horses, Lintong

This is the blade for a small axe used for woodwork. In this example the blade is of even thickness, although as a rule the blade was narrower at one end.

