

THE TERRA-COTTA FIGURES OF QIN AND
HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS
FROM THE 5TH CENTURY B.C. TO THE 3RD CENTURY A.D.

By

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ABSTRACT

In 1974, an army of over 7,000 life size soldiers and horses sculpted in clay and equipped with actual bronze weapons and chariots was discovered in Lintong, Shaanxi Province, near the mausoleum of the First Emperor of China, Qin Shihuangdi. As a component part of the mausoleum, the army was produced between 246 - 209 B.C. Although made by the thousands, these figures were individually modelled. Great care was taken to depict and define the particulars, especially those of the facial features, hairstyles and armor. On the other hand, little attention was given to the representation of organic structures and anatomical details. The difference in concern for various parts of the body poses an interesting topic for investigation. In particular, the great care devoted to rendering details shown by the Qin figures signifies a new stage in the development of human representation, where human figures represented as independent subject matter were produced in life size and with a concern for realism.

Through stylistic analyses of the Qin figures and human representations from the 5th Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D., one is not only able to define the artistic concerns of the Qin sculptors, but is also able to determine the significance of the Qin figures in the development of human representation. Moreover, through the study of the prevailing artistic trends, the sociological and ideological background of the Eastern Zhou and Qin periods, one discovers that the Qin figures closely relate to the bronze tradition in their method of modelling, concern for surface and clarity in representation; while the Qin sculptors'

attention for exactitude in details and variation within uniformity reflects the ideology of the Qin regime. Nevertheless, anatomical realism was never a primary concern of the Qin artists. The trend for abstraction and the northern and southern attitude towards art can also be traced through the development of human representation. The rising importance of depicting the human figure as an independent subject matter mirrored the rising value of man amidst political turmoil and social changes.

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I. Introduction

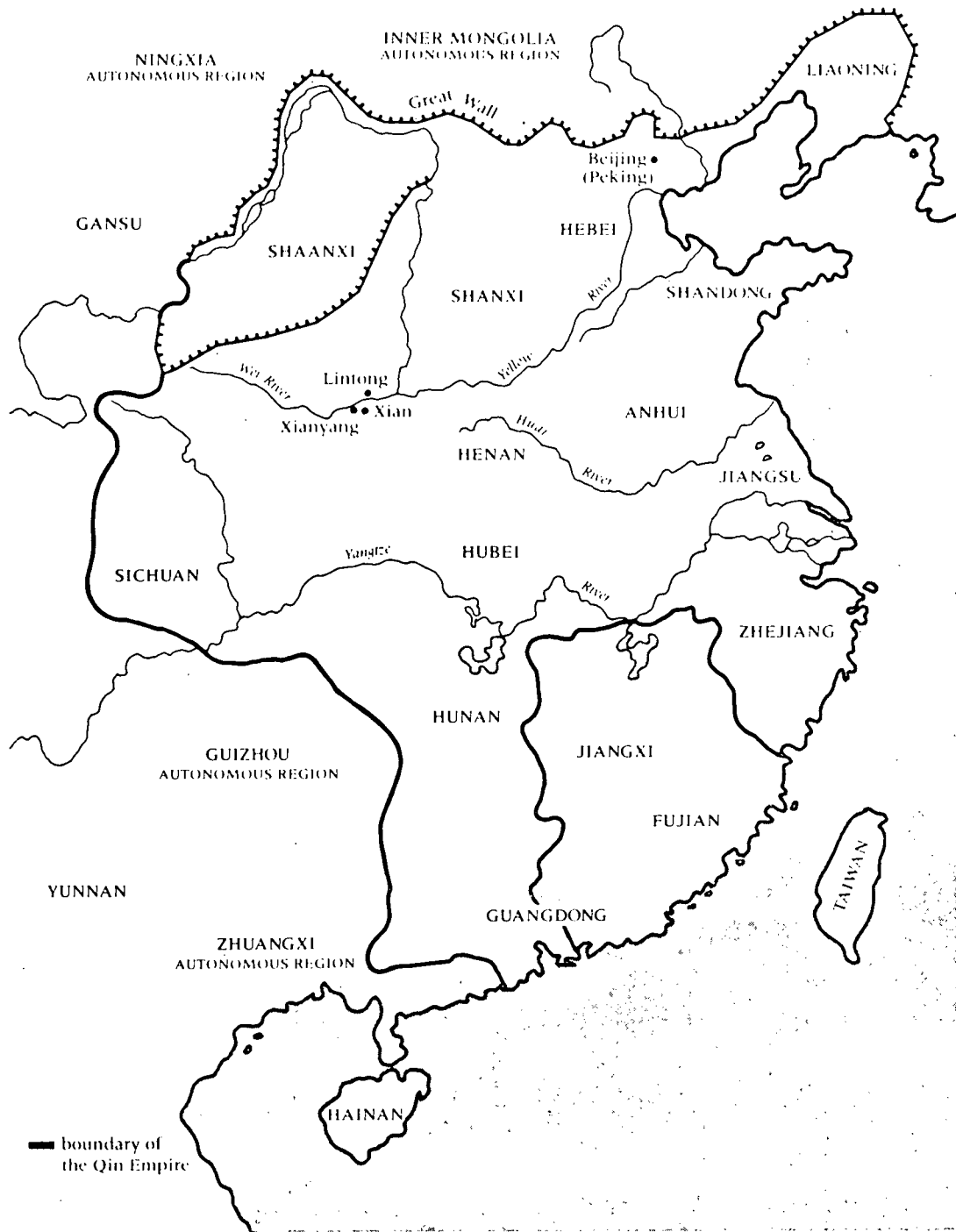
After centuries of warfare, China was finally unified for the first time in history in 221 B.C. The unification was brought about by the Qin, a northwestern state in China, through a combination of warfare, diplomacy and intrigue. Annihilating the last of the six feudal states that formed the Zhou Dynasty (1122 - 256 B.C.) in 221 B.C., King Zheng of Qin proclaimed himself Qin Shi Huangdi, the "First Sovereign Emperor of Qin" (Figure 1). Although the empire crumbled within only fifteen years, the unification had the greatest impact in the history of China. During his reign, the First Emperor not only unified the country politically in order to consolidate the empire, he implemented policies that also unified China socially and culturally. With the aid of his Legalist minister, Li Si, he promulgated a uniform code of law, standardized currency, weights, measures, cart axles, and unified the written language.¹ To strengthen the northern frontiers against the Huns, he ordered the linking up of the sections of wall built by previous kings of Zhao and Yen, forming a continuous rampart that was 1400 miles long, namely the Great Wall.² He also put an end to feudalism by governing through a non-hereditary, centrally administered bureaucracy, laying the foundation for a regime which was to last with comparatively little change until the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912.³

Although of crucial historical significance, the art of Qin and its contribution to the artistic tradition of China has never been fully explored due to the scarcity of available materials.

In 1974, an army of over 7000 life size soldiers and horses sculptured in clay, painted in brilliant colors, and equipped with real chariots and bronze weapons was discovered at the east of the mausoleum of the emperor

THE QIN EMPIRE

with modern provinces



Map of the Qin empire: 221-206 BC.

FIGURE 1

CAPON, QIN SHI HUANG: TERRACOTTA
WARRIORS AND HORSES, P. 9

in Lintong, Shaanxi Province⁴ (Figure 2). Poised to symbolize garrison troops stationed outside the capital city to protect the capital and uphold the authority of the First Emperor in eternity,⁵ the soldiers, horses and chariots are arranged according to a specific military formation prescribed in Qin's contemporary texts on military strategy as the Qin hui yao ding bu and Liu tao: "Long range crossbows in front, halberds behind," "bows are the outer layer, halberds and shields the inner," and "skilled soldiers and strong bows on the flanks"⁶ (Figures 3, 4).

These figures, made by the thousands, were individually modelled. Different parts of the body were modelled separately. Great care was taken to depict particulars, especially those of the facial features, hairstyles and armor. For example, eyelids were shaped to suggest the eyeballs behind. Ears were formed to reveal the upper cartilage and earlobes. Hairstyles were represented to show distinct manners of braiding and of forming topknots (Figures 5, 6). The rendition of the armor was also carried to minute and intricate details, such as armor plates, strips, buckles, ornaments and other accoutrements (Figure 6). In contrast, the attention given to the representation of organic structure and anatomical details of the body was not as intense (Figure 13). There was neither the intention to define relations between different parts of the body, nor the interest to depict details of each bodily part. For example, heads were attached to the torso by an elongated cylindrical neck. Similarly, forearms were telescoped inside rolled-up sleeves; legs were simply columns without suggesting the knees or ankles. The difference in the concern for various parts of the body poses an interesting topic for investigation, especially when the army is deemed

LOCATIONS OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF QIN SHI HUANG & THE TERRACOTTA WARRIORS & HORSES
秦始皇陵与秦俑坑平面位置示意图

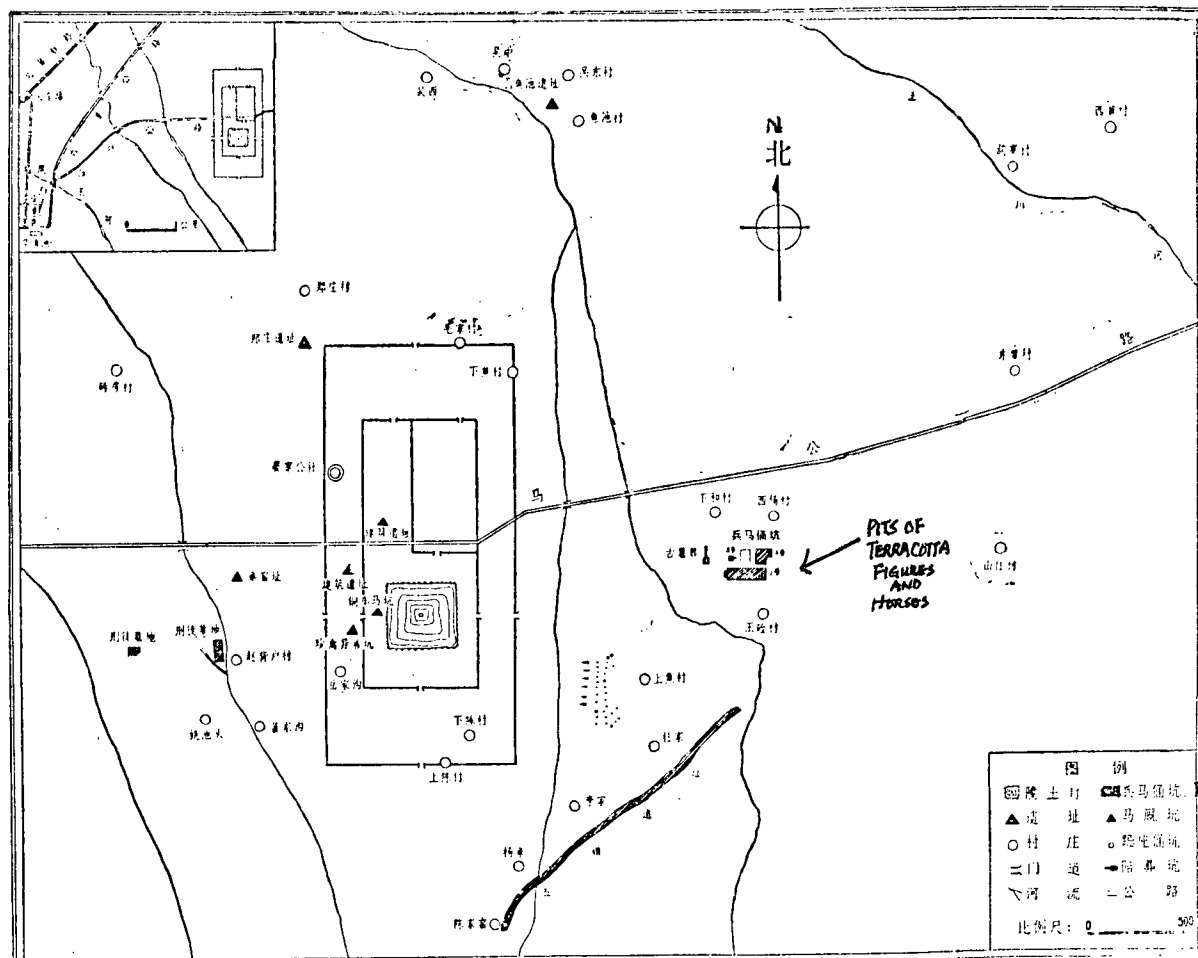


FIGURE 2

YUAN. TERRA-COTTA WARRIORS & HORSES AT THE TOMB OF QIN SHI HUANG, n.p.

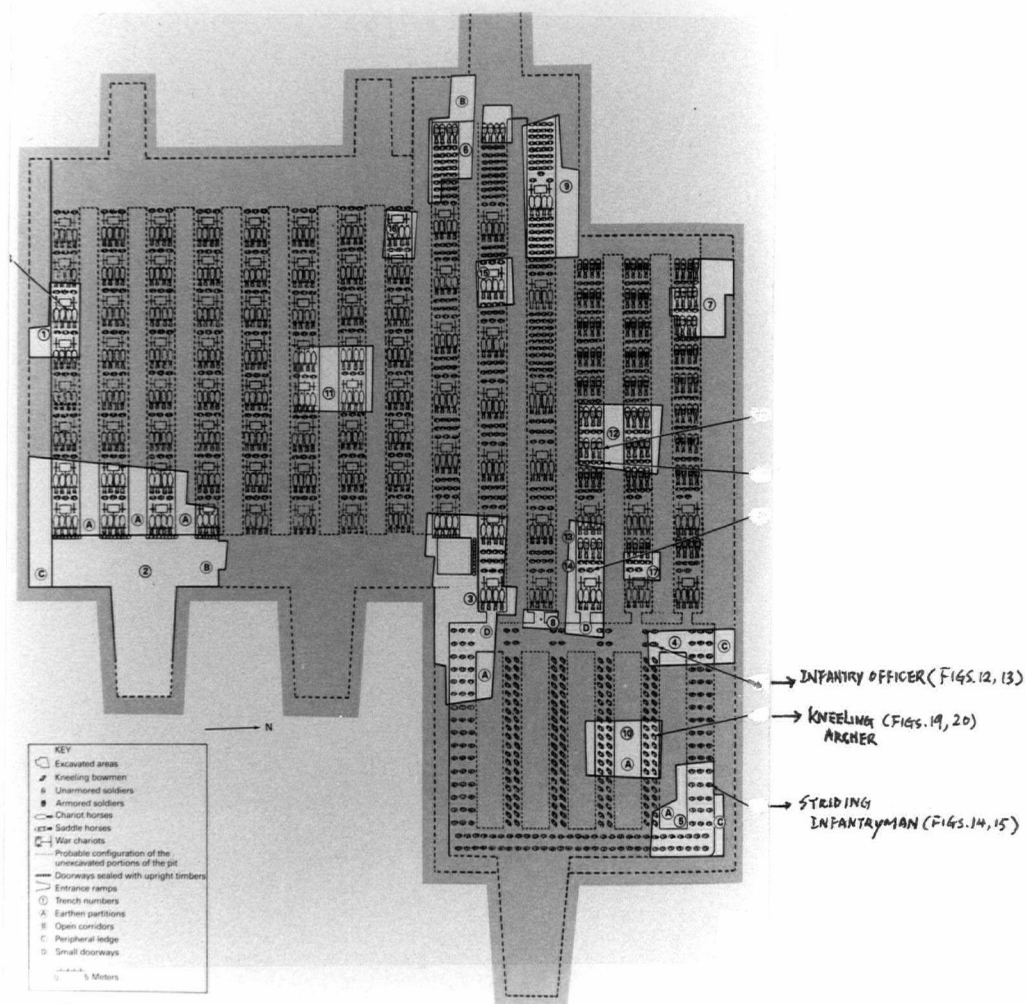


FIGURE 3

TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF TERRACOTTA FIGURES & WOOD CHARLOTS
 HEPAN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA, FIG. 123.



8 俑坑东端前鋒隊列

FIGURE 4

COLUMNS OF VANGUARDS IN MILITARY FORMATION

YUAN. TERRACOTTA WARRIORS AND HORSES AT THE TOMB OF QIN SHI HUANG,
p1.8.

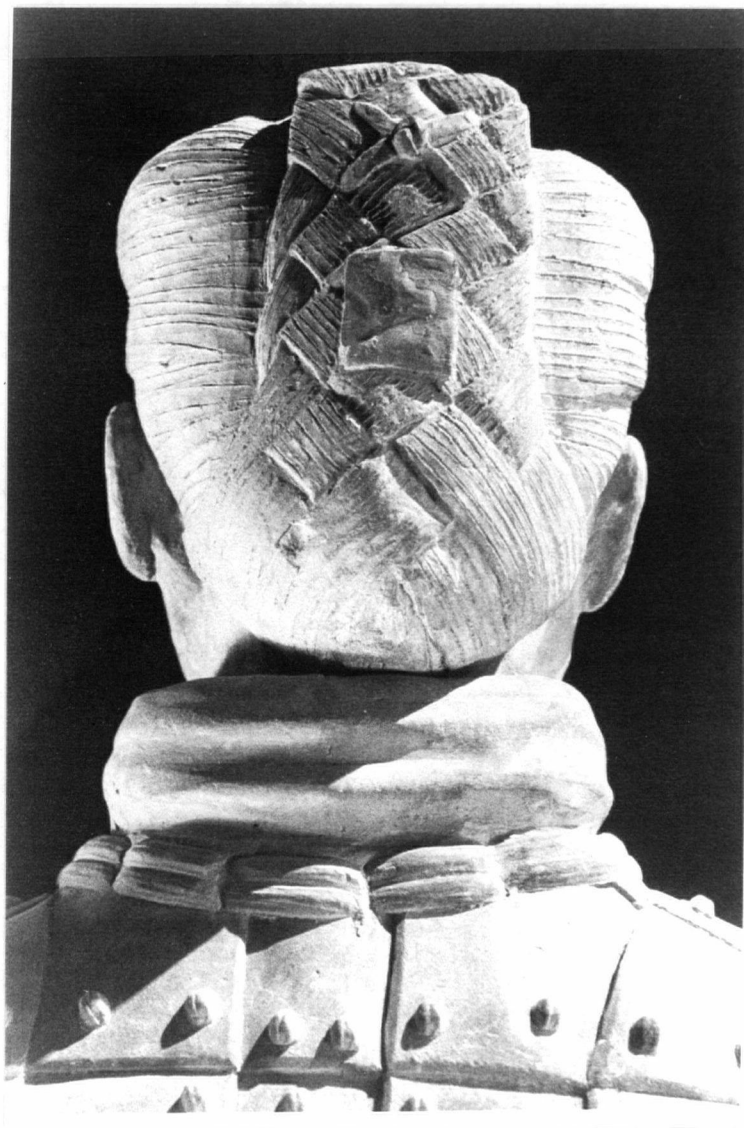


FIGURE 5

DETAIL OF COIFFURE AT BACK OF HEAD.

HEARN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA,
FIG. 130.



FIGURE 6

WARRIORS IN ARMORS

YUAN. TERRACOTTA WARRIORS AND HORSES AT THE TOMB OF
QIN SHI HUANG, p. 74.

not only to be the earliest known large-scale sculptures in China but also the first group of life-size human figures discovered to date. At the same time, the army is also of crucial importance to the study of the development of human representation. Before Qin, human figures had neither been a major subject for artistic endeavour nor represented in life size. If they were rendered, they were there solely to serve a purpose -- for example, as supports, caryatids or candlestick holders.⁷ In most cases, details of costume and facial features were not as descriptive as the Qin figures. The astounding specificity in the representation of the facial features, coiffures and uniforms of the army signifies a new stage in the development of human representation, where human figures represented as independent subject matter were produced in life size and with a concern for realism. Before the discovery, historians believed that the earliest life size sculpture was the stone carving in front of the tomb of the Western Han general, Huo Qubing, who died in 117 B.C.⁸ The stone figure, a carving of a horse standing over a fallen barbarian soldier who attempts to kill the horse with his bow, was also believed to belong to the initial stage of realistic sculpture in China⁹ (Figure 7). With the discovery, it is now known that life size sculptures were produced before Western Han and therefore the trend of realistic concern started much earlier.

Although it is important to study these figures in terms of their prominence in the history of Chinese sculpture and human representation, the most recent literature concerning them are mainly archaeological reports which seldom analyze stylistically or discuss their significance in relation to the development of Chinese human representation.¹⁰

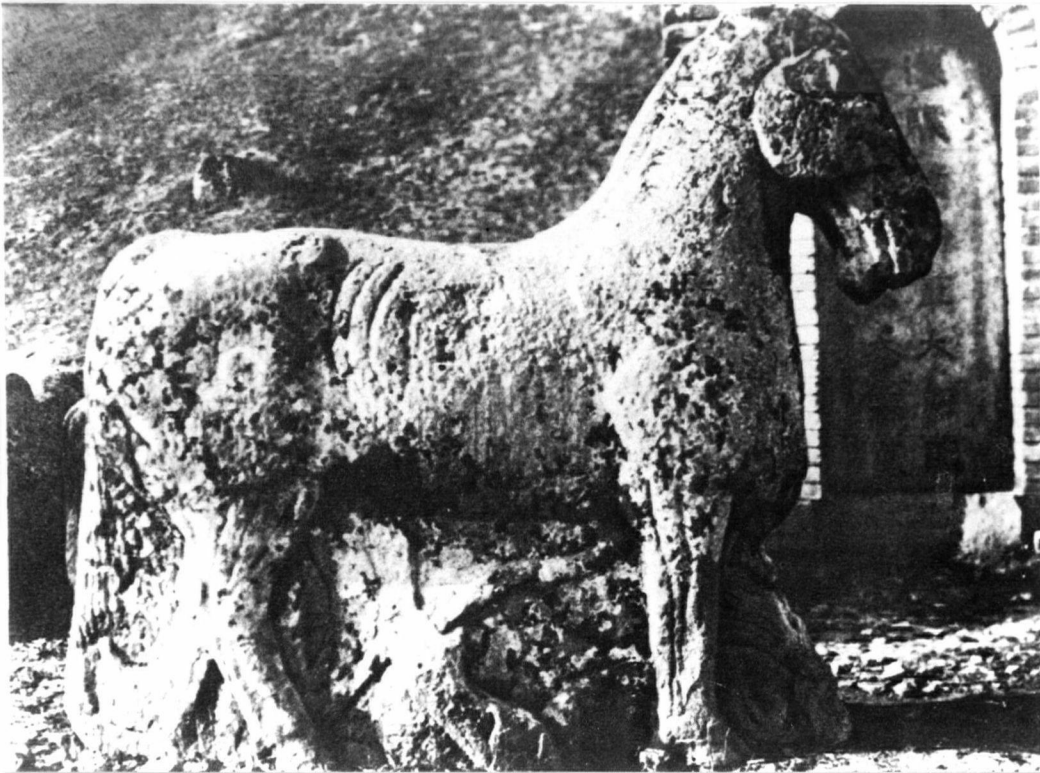


FIGURE 7

STONE SCULPTURE IN FRONT OF THE TOMB OF HUO QUBING, d. 117 B.C.
SHAANXI, WESTERN HAN DYNASTY.

SULLIVAN. ARTS OF CHINA, p. 72.

This paper will examine the figures through stylistic analyses and define the artistic concern of the Qin sculptors in the first section. It will also trace the development of human representation before and after Qin, from the 5th Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D. in the second section. Finally, it will discuss what these figures reflect about the Qin society and its ideology. Before discussing the above, an examination of the dates in which the figures were made will be undertaken, as well as an analysis of their makers.

Dating of the Figures

The actual date these figures were made is not recorded in history. However, as they were made as a component part of the First Emperor's mausoleum, the date must be closely related to the construction date of the tomb. It is recorded in Shi Ji [Historical Records] that:

From the time the First Emperor first took the throne [in 246 B.C.] work was begun [on his mausoleum] at Mount Li. After he had won the empire, more than 700,000 conscripts from all parts of the country labored there [Shi Ji, 6, p. 256].¹¹

One of the Chinese sources which attempts to date the figures believes that construction of the mausoleum began in 246 B.C. when the First Emperor ascended the throne and continued on a large scale after Qin Shi Huang unified the empire and conscripted 700,000 persons to work there.¹² The construction did not halt until one year after the Emperor's death (209 B.C.) when he was buried. Therefore, it concludes that it took 38 years to build the Emperor's mausoleum which is described by Shi Ji to have included palaces, chairs for civil and military officials, rarities

from different places, a ceiling representing heavenly bodies in constellations made of bright pearls, and a physical map of China on the floor with streams of mercury for rivers.¹³

Yuan Zhongyi in Terra-cotta Warriors & Horses at the Tomb of Qin Shi Huang, however, suggests that the terra-cotta warriors were most likely made during the same period as the construction of the tomb, after China became unified, and that a total of 10 years was spent for the entire project.¹¹ Inscriptions on unearthed weapons indicate that "the 3rd year of the reign of Qin Shi Huang" (248 B.C.) is the earliest date inscribed and that "the 19th year" (228 B.C.) is the latest date inscribed.¹⁴ The weapons therefore could not have been buried earlier than the 19th year (228 B.C.). Utilizing the same record in Shi Ji (Historical Records) as the other source, which indicates that 700,000 persons were conscripted into service for the construction of the tomb after the unification (221 B.C.), Yuan deduces that the construction of the terra-cotta warriors likely began around 221 B.C. until it was halted in 209 B.C., involving a total of approximately 10 years.

Both sources utilized the same record in Shi Ji and have concluded that the termination date for the construction of the tomb and the production of the figures was 209 B.C., but each arrived at different commencement dates: 246 - 209 B.C. for one and 221 - 209 B.C. for the other. Yuan seems to have assumed that the weapons were made separately and before the warriors; therefore, he believes that production of the figures began from 221 B.C. However, if the warriors were made at the same time as the weapons, the inscribed dates may prove that production of the figures began during the 3rd year of Qin Shi Huang's reign

(248 B.C.) and continued on in the 19th year (228 B.C.). Since there is no evidence to confirm that the weapons were produced before the figures, it seems reasonable to believe that the figures were made from 246 B.C. to 209 B.C. Moreover, regardless of which date is used, it is evident that the figures were first made during the second half of the 3rd Century B.C.

The creators of these figures were likely to be craftsmen and convicts from different regions of the country. Remains of large sheds which might once have been the living quarters of construction workers were discovered, indicating that a large number of workers were involved.¹⁵ Recent excavation also revealed 17 auxilliary tombs and 70 tombs of prisoners, two metres from the emperor's mausoleum.¹⁶ Among the pottery found in the tombs, 18 pieces are inscribed. They can be divided into the following four groups, according to the content of the inscriptions. (Figures 8a, b):

- (1) inscription with the name of a place and a person's name (6 pieces)
- (2) inscription with the name of a place, an official title and a person's name (2 pieces)
- (3) inscription with a place name, title of a crime and a person's name (1 piece)
- (4) inscription with the name of a place, title of a crime and a person's name (8 pieces).

The first type of inscription would seem to indicate that the person of the inscribed name was a commoner. The second, third and fourth types of inscription, with the characters arranged in a standardized format, indicate that the names belonged to some prisoners, some of whom might

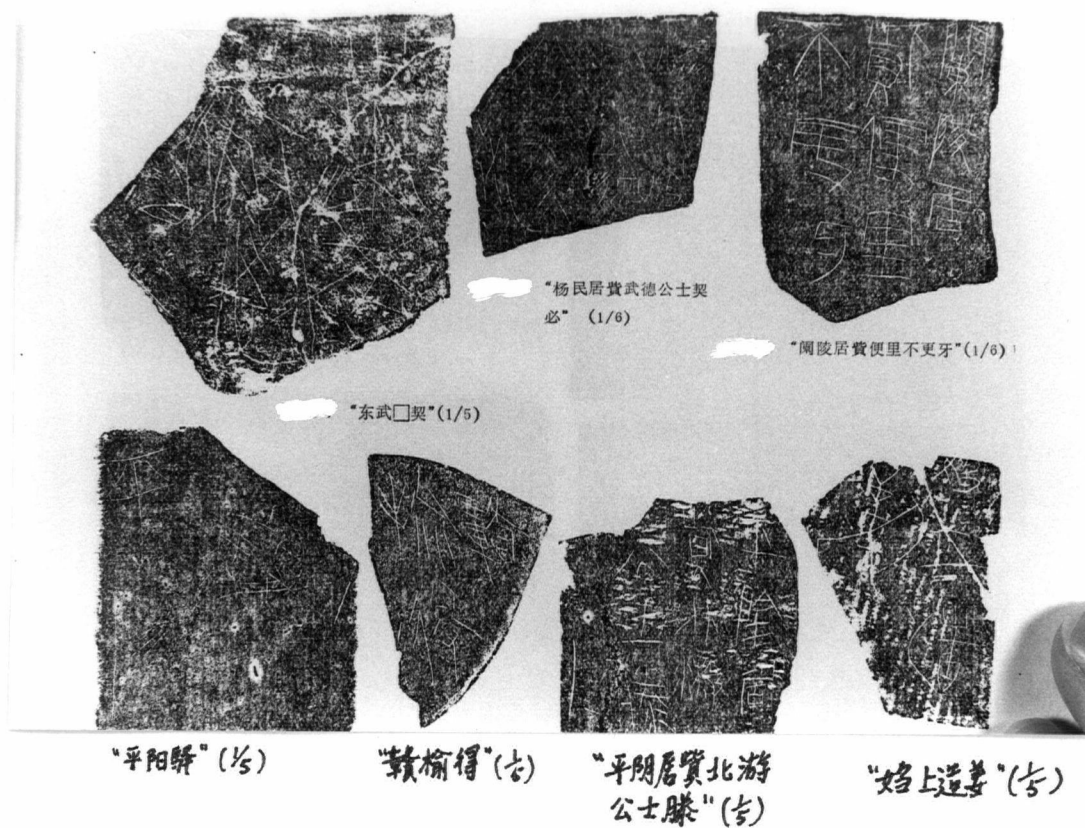


FIGURE 8a

INSCRIPTIONS ON POTTERY PIECES FOUND WEST OF THE TOMB
OF QIN SHIHUANG AT ZHAO BEI HU VILLAGE

WEN WU, 1982/3, p.7.

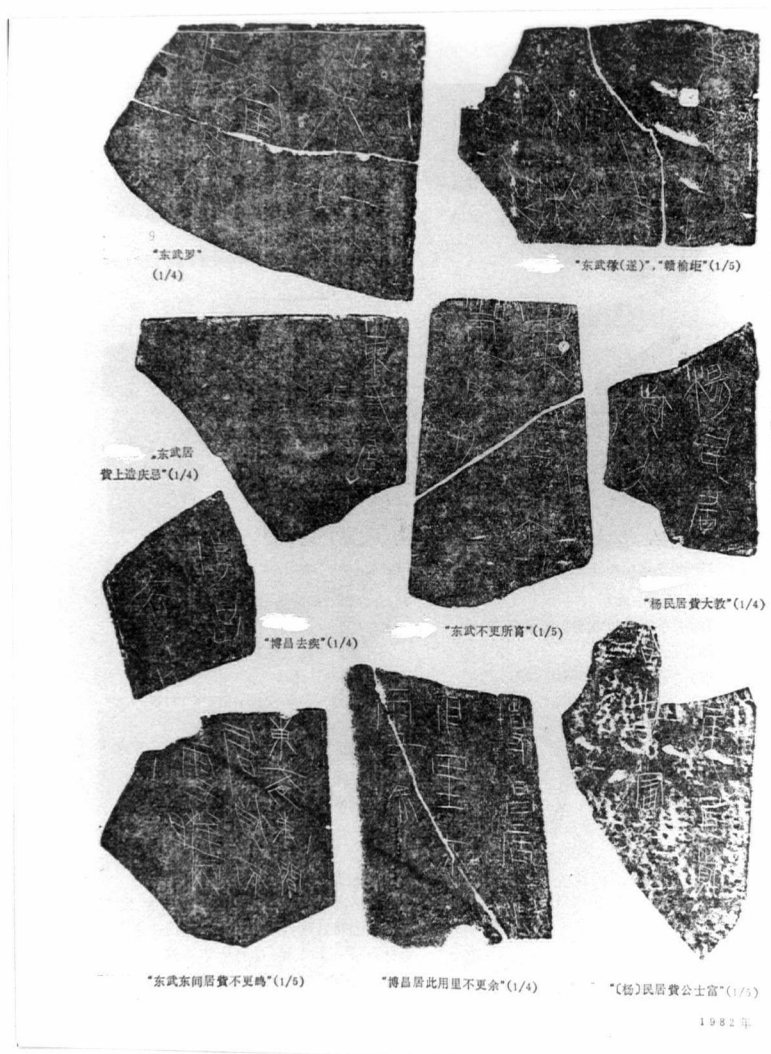


FIGURE 86
 INSCRIPTIONS FOUND ON POTTERY PIECES
 DISCOVERED WEST OF THE TOMB OF QIN
 SHIHWANG AT ZHAO BEI HU VILLAGE.

WEN WU, 1982/3, p.7.

be former government officials.¹⁷ The names of the places involved refer to ten provinces ("县" or "Xian") and four hometowns ("里" or "li").

The provinces (xian) are as follows:

- (1) 东武 Dongwu (presently Wucheng of Shandong province)
- (2) 平阳 Pingyang (Lizhang, Hebei province)
- (3) 平阴 Pingyin (Mengjin, Henan province)
- (4) 博昌 Bócheng (Bóxing, Shandong province)
- (5) 兰陵 Lánling (Lánshan, Shandong province)
- (6) 赣榆 Gányú (Gányú, Jiangsu province)
- (7) 杨民 Yangmin (Ningjin, Hebei province)
- (8) 媯 Zōu (Zouxian, Shandong province)
- (9) 武德 Wudé (Wushē, Henan province)
- (10) 觚 (the piece is too damaged to confirm the exact name)

The four hometowns (li) inscribed are:

- (1) 用里 Yòngli (belongs to Bóchang, presently Boxīng in Shandong province)
- (2) 便里 Bianli (Lanling, Lánshan, Shandong province)
- (3) 东閭 Dongjian (Dongwu, Wuchang, Shandong province)
- (4) 北游 Beiyóu (Pingyin, Mengjin, Henan province)¹⁸

During the Zhou period, Dongwu, Pingyong, Yangmin, Pingyin and Wudé belonged to the kingdom of Jin; Bocheng belonged to the kingdoms of Qi and Lu respectively; while Lanling, Zōu and Gányu belonged to the kingdom of

Chu.¹⁹ Workers and prisoners were therefore brought from different defeated kingdoms to work on the construction of the tomb and the production of the figures. Sima Qian in Shi Ji also recorded that after the emperor had won the empire, more than 700,000 conscripts from all parts of the country laboured at the tomb.²⁰

Inscriptions of sculptors of the figures are found at various places on different figures: on the lower part of the skirt at the back, the arms, the armor pieces on the breast, the hair belt and at other places.²¹ Some inscriptions are purely names of cities (Figure 9), such as "Xianyang" (the capital city of Qin); (Figure 10a); while some are combinations of a name of a city and an individual's name, for example, "Xianyang Kē" "咸陽筈" ("咸陽" or "Xianyang", the city and "筈" or "Kē", a person's name)²² (Figure 10b). The inscription of the maker's name on bricks and other pottery products was a common practice at the time.²³ Lü Shi Chunqiu (呂氏春秋, Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annuals by Lü): "Articles were stamped with names of the craftsmen to indicate their authenticity."²⁴

PART II: The Terracotta Warriors of Qin

a) How were the figures made?

The figures were made from a grey pottery and fired at a high temperature between 800 - 6000 degrees celsius.²⁵ Observation shows that they were not made in molds, but were sculptured one by one. The heads, hands and bodies were made separately and joined together with strips of clay before firing. They are hollow inside, whereas the feet, legs and hands are solid. The procedure of modelling seems to be that feet and legs were



FIGURE 9

RUBBINGS FROM POTTERY FIGURES

YUAN. TERRACOTTA WARRIORS AND HORSES AT THE TOMB OF QIN SHI HUANG,
pl. 162.



刻在陶俑身上的文字：“咸陽”
Inscriptions on Pottery Figure

FIGURE 10a

INSCRIPTION ON POTTERY
FIGURE: "XIANYANG"
“咸陽”



刻在陶俑身上的文字：
“咸陽奇”（“奇”为陶工名）
Inscriptions on Pottery Figure

FIGURE 10b

INSCRIPTION ON POTTERY FIGURE: "XIANYANG KÉ"
“咸陽奇”

YUAN. TERRACOTTA WARRIORS AND HORSES AT THE TOMB OF QIN SHI HUANG, pls.
160, 161.

made first. After they were dry, clay coils of about 2 to 4 cm wide and 2 to 7 cm thick were used to build up the trunk layer by layer. The walls of both the head and trunk were made up of two layers: a thick inner layer which constituted the initial shape of the torso and a thin outer layer which served as a finished surface. The modelling was done by hand with the use of hemp sacks, cords and tools; their marks were left on the inside and outside of the figure. After the trunk was built, arms and shoulders were joined to it. The head, which was made in two melon-shaped parts, and the already made and fired hands were then joined to the body with strips of clay while the clay was still pliant. Details such as mouth, nose, eyes and details of the uniform were sculptured after the second layer was applied. Certain details such as ears, moustaches, nails on armour, etc., were made separately and then stuck to the body. Subsequently, the whole figure was fired at a high temperature and mounted onto a prefired base.²⁶

Each of the figures is therefore an assembly of parts, made by the addition of different parts to the main body. The method of construction differed very little in principle from the procedure of casting bronze vessels.

Bronze vessels of the late Zhou period (Ca. 6-5th C. B.C.) were mostly cast with the piece-mould technique, although some vessels were cast by the lost wax technique.²⁷ In casting a vessel, a clay model of the bronze was first sculptured. Following the necessary divisions, slabs of clay were then pressed onto the surface of the model. They were the piece-moulds. Mortises and tenons were made on the units for joining them. After the piece moulds were dry, they were assembled with extra

features such as knobs and handles, provided by sub-moulds set in carved niches in the main mould. Lastly, appendages such as legs and other accessories which were precast, were added to the mould assembly. Appendages were sometimes joined to the vessel by a patch of high-tin, heat softened bronze.²⁸ In recent excavations, bronze objects found in the tomb of the Marquis of Zeng and the tombs of the Zhongshan kings in Pingshan, Heibei, reveal that many of the vessels were assembled by using high quality welding and riveting.²⁹ Bronze vessels were therefore actually an assembly of piece-mould units and appendages were added on later.

In modelling the figures, legs were made and fired first before joining the body trunk which served as the central core where other units were assembled. The head was formed by two melon-shaped parts, similar to the joining of the piece-moulds of the bronzes. Details such as ears, moustaches, armor nails, etc., were made separately and then added to the body with strips of clay like the joining of the appendages to bronze vessels with patches of heat-softened bronze. The corresponding principle in the two techniques does not appear to be a mere coincidence since the Qin sculptors could have utilized methods other than the assembly technique in representing the figures. Nevertheless, as it was the first time they sculptured life-size human figures, they may have simply adopted the bronze casting technique, which was readily available, common and prominent at the time.

Bronze horses, chariots and charioteers discovered near the mausoleum reveal that parts of the horses and chariots were cast separately and joined by welding,³⁰ indicating that the bronze casting technique of the

Late Zhou was still in use and that the possibility that Qin sculptors applied the principle of such techniques for modelling their figures is high (Figures 11a, b).

Since the production of the warriors was on a large scale and involved many workers, not all workers could possibly have been sculptors. One would expect some master sculptors who produced the more important personages and models of different types of figures and some minor artisans and ordinary workers who manufactured different bodily parts or details and assembled them according to the instructions or models of the master sculptors. Although shortcomings in some parts or at different figures were inevitable, the uniformity in the figures indicates a strict control in the quality of production.

b) Stylistic Analyses

Posed as if for an imperial review, most warriors are shown at attention towards the front. The height of the warriors ranges from 1.75 to 1.86 m for ordinary foot soldiers, 1.90 m for charioteers and 1.96 m for the infantry officer.³¹ Maxwell Hearn suggests that height may be a function of rank or importance rather than verisimilitude. This is certainly true in the Han Dynasty's two dimensional figural representation, where important personages are frequently shown in larger scale than subsidiary characters.³²

(i) Infantry Officer

Perhaps one of the most distinctive figures in the army so far excavated is the infantry officer from Pit No. 2 (Figure 12). He is distinctive not only because he is the tallest in the army, but by his



出土现场。置有铜车马两乘的陪葬坑长七米，深七至八米，四周用仿木垒砌，底铺木板，上盖棚木，形成一个盒状木椁。由于木椁腐朽，坑顶塌陷，车舆破损严重。

FIGURE 11a

EXCAVATION OF BRONZE HORSES AND CHARIOTS WEST OF THE
BURIAL MOUND OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF QIN SHIHUANG.
HORSES CHARIOTS AND CHARIOTEERS ARE HALF OF
LIFE-SIZE

柴志言、袁仲一撰，“秦始皇陵考古又一重大发现”中国，1983年第12期，
第25页。

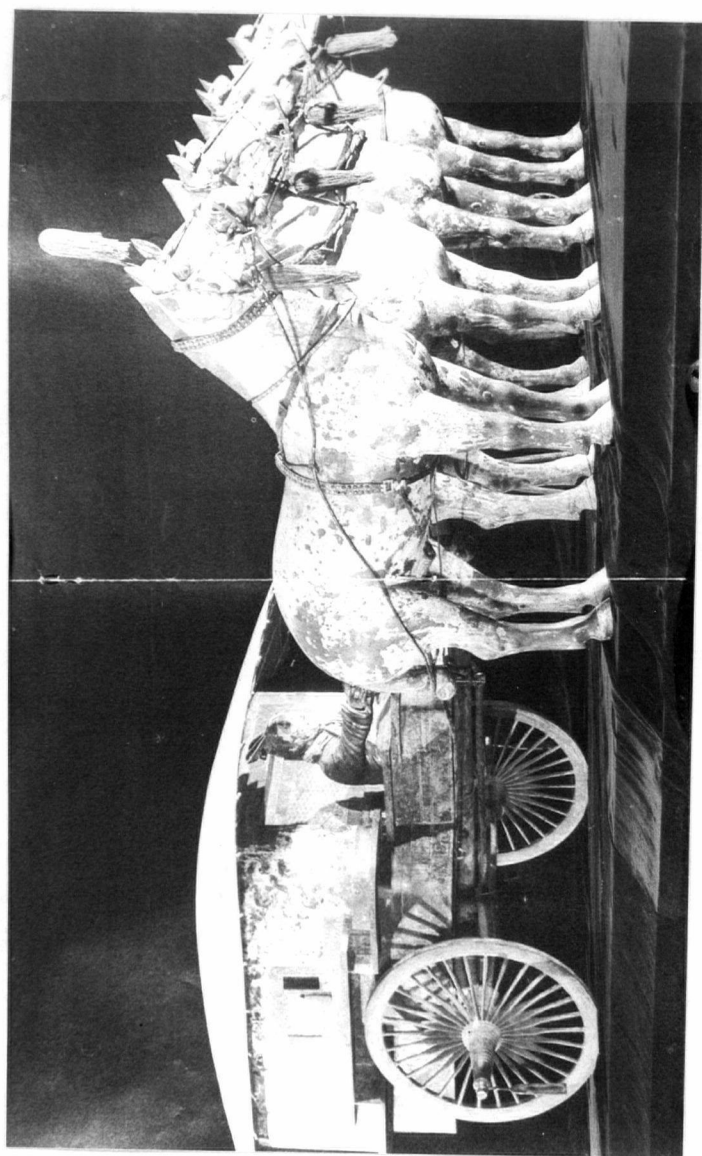


Figure 11b

HORSES AND CHARIOTS AFTER RESTORATION. EXCAVATED FROM A SITE
WEST OF THE BURIAL MOUND OF QIN SHI HUANG.

柴忠言、戴仲一撰，"秦始皇陵考古又一重大發現" 中國，1983年第12期，第25頁。



FIGURE 12

INFANTRY OFFICER. QIN DYNASTY (221-206 B.C.)

HEIGHT 196 cm. (6 ft. 5 in.)

HEARN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA.
pl. 100.

prominence as shown by his facial expression, elaborate hairdress, ornate uniform and authoritative pose.

Face

The figure is standing frontally. Its face is almost square in shape. The long brows, almond-shaped eyes, finely shaped nose, goatee and whiskers are symmetrically arranged or centrally placed, composing a well balanced, frontal face (Figures 12, 13). The brows are fine, incised parallel lines to represent hair. The shape of the brows moreover is accentuated by delineation of incised lines. The eyes are shaped by deliberately extending the corners of the eyes with heavily incised lines. The eyeballs are modelled in relief, protruding slightly from the eye sockets. Representation of the nose is naturalistic, with the ridge of the nose gradually rising and falling to form the tip and wings. Lips are pursed and finely shaped to suggest a faint smile. The side whiskers are made by strips of clay joined to the cheeks. They are incised with a multitude of fine lines, representing hair. However, like the lines representing hair of the brows, these lines are so regularly spaced and parallel that they do not simulate the actual texture of hair when examined closely. The goatee is formed by simply sticking a piece of clay onto the chin and consequently does not appear to be growing out organically from the chin. Nevertheless, the facial features are natural looking in general.

Besides being frontal and well composed, the face is also expressive. The faint smile suggests the figure's confidence and seriousness in commanding his troops. Furrows on his forehead reflect the great responsibilities that he has to bear and his quickened aging due to the burden of



FIGURE 13

DETAIL. INFANTRY OFFICER OF FIGURE 12.

HEARN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE
OF CHINA. pl. 99.

these duties.

The representation is the portrayal of a dignified and dutiful military officer. There is no specific character trait or mark to identify him as any particular individual. The execution of the brows, whiskers and goatee indicates that the sculptor was not so much concerned with making them realistic than merely to depict the general appearance of hair. The facial expression of the figure moreover is impressively realistic.

Coiffure

The coiffure of the officer is flamboyant and detailed, illustrating a distinct manner of braiding and forming topknots. The bonnet is elaborately folded and secured under the chin by cap strings tied in a bow. It is modelled by folding a thin strip of clay into the shape of the bonnet; the clay strip is folded as if it were the actual fabric for making the bonnet (Figure 13). Coils of hair are slabs of clay placed on the head and to the side of the forehead. The clay slabs remain independent on the head and bear no organic relationship with the head, as no attempt seems to have been made to make them look as if they were growing out from the scalp or head. Again, fine parallel lines are incised on the slab to depict strands of hair. The lines follow the direction of where the strand is pulled or combed. The accurate depiction is probably a result of keen observation of details in real life. Compared with the renditions of the brows and whiskers, the effort of the sculptor to portray the coiffure is more emphatic.

The cap strings which secure the bonnet extend downward from the bonnet on top to both sides of the head and are tied under the chin (Figure 13). Looking closer at the side of the head, one discovers that

the ears are placed almost three-quarters back from the face, by the side of the head. The cap strings are located where the ears should actually be. The Qin sculptor chose to neither represent the cap strings as going over the ears and covering them, nor to represent the strings as being under the ears, but rather chose to illustrate both the ears and cap strings side by side on the same plane. With the keen observation that resulted in the accurate depiction of the hair strands, it seems unlikely that the sculptor would have missed the accurate location of the ears, unless he intended to show the two features side by side. The approach reveals a serious concern to illustrate features in clarity, even to the extent of sacrificing the proper positioning of the features. A similar approach is also found in the depiction of motifs on the "pictorial bronzes" of the late Eastern Zhou period and might be the early development of such a principle.

On the late Eastern Zhou "pictorial bronzes," images are rendered without overlapping of component features, showing a "rigorous insistence upon an absolute clarity and full definition of figural elements"³³ (Figure 37).

The rendition of the coiffure demonstrates the keen observation of life objects by the sculptor and his concern for clarity of representation.

Costume

The figure wears a wide-sleeved double robe and an intricate plate-armor tunic. Flamboyant bows decorate its front, back and shoulder. Folds of the bows are represented by stylized, parallel lines of similar lengths (Figures 12, 13). The armor is made up of overlapping rectangular

plates (some 7.5 cm x 8.5 cm, some 10.5 cm x 7.8 cm).³⁴ It is known from the distinct manner of overlapping that the four highest rows overlap downward and the four lowest ones overlap upward. Thus, the fourth row from the bottom is covered at the top and bottom edges. The armor plates are connected by some sort of thong, the number of points of attachment being indicated by the appearance of a knot of the thong as it emerges from the underside and re-enters. Even the smallest thong is sculpted completely with its head, stem and hole. The number of knots in each plate differs according to the position of the plate.³⁵ There appears to be no simplification in the representation of the armor. In fact, the portrayal of the armor may follow the actual making of the armor.³⁶ This meticulous rendition sharply contrasts with the simplified and abstract representation of the two layers of robe shown below the armor which are represented by two flat and smooth sheets of clay slabs. There is no suggestion of folds incurred by the body beneath. The representation of the lower part of the figure's body is so abbreviated that it can basically be described as resembling the shape of a trapezoid. As the figure was originally painted, the surface was therefore left plain and smooth to act as a painting surface.

Crude depressions and creases are made to indicate folds on the rolled-up sleeves and the kerchief around the neck.³⁷

The precise and meticulous rendition of the armor signifies an insistence on the exactitude of details as well as the sculptor's emphasis in the description of the armor. On the other hand, the depiction of the drapery is neither descriptive nor precise. Representing exact

details of the robe and the contour beneath the drapery are not deemed as important. In the rendition of the costume, however, both the concern for descriptive details and the use of simplification or stylization are observed.

Hands and Legs

The figure is standing with hands coupled and legs slightly apart, assuming a balanced and frontal stand (Figure 12). The forearms and hands are exposed from the rolled-up sleeves. They are not modelled with anatomical details. The legs also have comparatively few details compared to the representation of the armor. They are represented by two round columns. Although there is no indication that the figure is wearing any leg accoutrements, the width and bulkiness of the legs suggests that they are wearing trousers or puttees. The feet are represented to be inside a pair of box-like shoes. Ankles, heels and the general shape of the feet are not suggested. From the way the hands and legs are placed, it can be assumed that they formerly clasped a sword.³⁸

The execution of the hand and legs reveals that the sculptor was not interested in describing anatomical details and tended to abbreviate them.

ii) Striding Infantryman

Not all figures are standing in a frontal pose. Some are rendered kneeling or striding, driving a chariot, leading a horse, or poised for a hand-to-hand combat. Their poses, moreover, are intended to correspond to the position and function of the warriors in the army formation.

The striding infantryman has taken a pose for action and assumes the most open form among all other figures. He has his head turned

towards the left; his left leg also bends towards the same direction (Figure 14). The right leg, however, remains frontal and seems to bear the weight of the body. His left arm extends away from the body towards the left, while his right arm is crooked and also points towards the left. He is fully engaged to react immediately to any attack from the left.

Although the figure's posture is recognizable as a contrapposto, understanding of the mechanism which involves other parts of the body does not seem to be fully grasped. This is proven by the fact that as the head and left leg of the figure turn sideways, the hips and shoulders remain frontal. The body of the figure was not treated and modelled as a unified and flexible musculo-skeletal structure whose movement involves all elements of the body. Rather it was treated as a structure composed of autonomous parts. Although it must have been relatively easy and natural for the maker of this figure to model the body in such a way, as it was constructed by the adding on of parts, there appears to be no effort to rectify the situation. It appears, therefore, that the maker neither knew how or cared to portray the proper relationship between the shoulders and arms, as well as the cocked right arm. For example, the left arm is directly joined to the body without modelling a shoulder. The right shoulder, moreover, is unnaturally slanted, while the bending of the arm is awkward and appears to be disproportionately short (Figure 14).

At the place where the right shoulder joins the arm and where the upper arm joins the forearm, are creases made to suggest folds of the garment incurred by the bending of the arm (Figure 15). These creases are crudely executed and are not intended to be realistic. They are

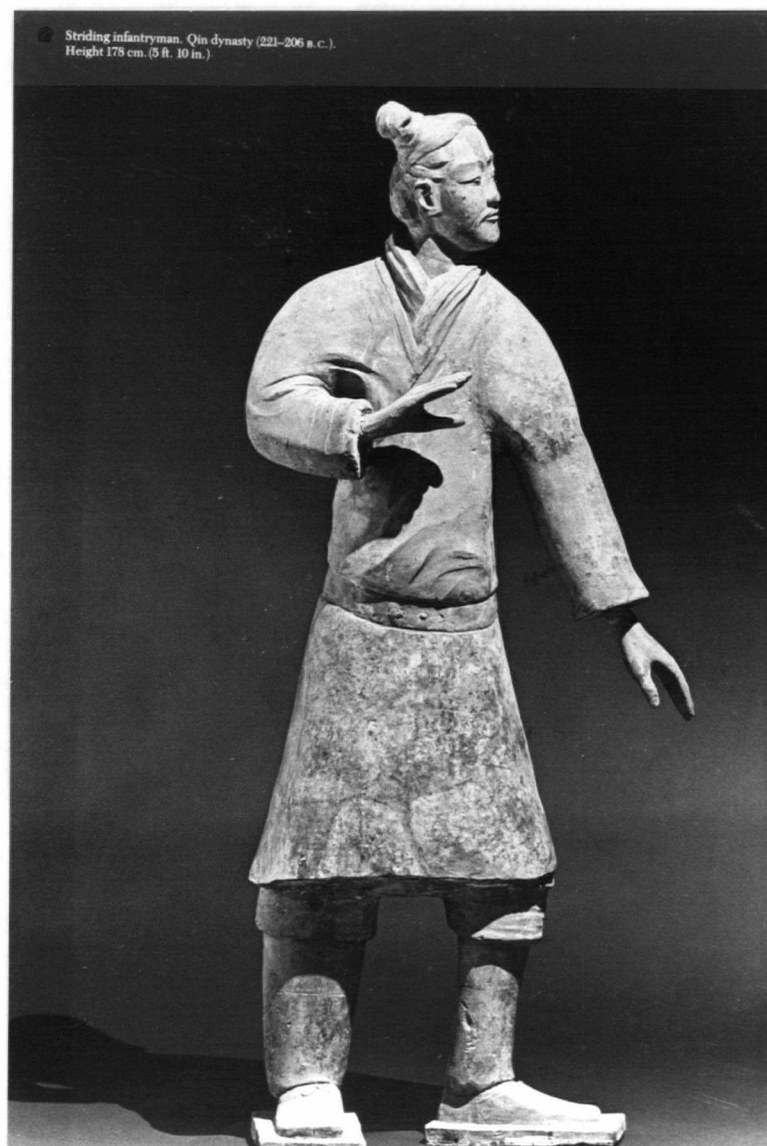


FIGURE 14

STRIDING INFANTRYMAN. QIN DYNASTY (221-206 B.C.)
HEIGHT 178 cm. (5 ft. 10 in.)

HEARN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA.
pl. 98.



FIGURE 15

DETAIL, STRIDING INFANTRYMAN OF FIGURE 14.

HEARN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE OF CHINA. pl. 97.

probably there not to imitate actual folds but rather to indicate the bending of the arm. The primary concern of the maker lies more in expressing the pose of action than to attend to modelling the folds literally. Except for a few lines representing folds, the surface of the robe is otherwise plain and smooth. The representation of the hands is also abbreviated, suggesting only their general shape and devoid of any anatomical detail.

Moreover, the waist and upper part of the legs are unusually long in proportion to the upper half of the body. Such discrepancies do not occur in the case of the commanding officer. Since the officer was a more important personage, perhaps it was executed by a master sculptor, while artisans may have been appointed to produce figures of lower military rank. Yuan Zhongyi, moreover, affirms that with the exception of ten figures, most of the 617 clay figures examined by Chinese scholars are "well and suitably arranged in basically correct proportion."³⁹ The figures that are found to be disproportionately modelled have "either arms being too short or too long, or with one long arm and another arm short, or with feet too small or hands too big."⁴⁰ Yuan suggests that this is due to the different standards in artistic achievement of the makers of the figures.⁴¹ Although the ten figures are not specifically pointed out, it is highly probable that the striding infantryman and two other figures of the same type (having one arm long and one arm short), are three of the ten figures (Figures 16, 17). Inferiority of the artisan's execution might have affected the production of these two figures; at the same time, representation of this type of warrior might actually be a challenge to the Qin sculptors and artisans, since the accurate por-



FIGURE 16

POTTERY FIGURE OF A WARRIOR AT A STANDING
POSITION (DETAIL). INFANTRYMAN II. QIN DYNASTY

YUAN. TERRACOTTA FIGURES & HORSES AT THE TOMB OF QIN SHI HUANG.
p. 47.



FIGURE 17

INFANTRYMAN III. QIN DYNASTY.

YUAN. TERRACOTTA FIGURES & HORSES AT THE TOMB OF QIN SHI HUANG.
Pl. 50.

trayal of the pose involves understanding the coordination of different bodily parts and the use of foreshortening at the right arm. The representation may be an early attempt to model a figure in action. Therefore, the mechanism involved in the action was not fully grasped or successfully rendered. The Mancheng figure of the Western Han period (206 B.C. - 24 A.D.), which will be discussed in Part III, demonstrates that Han artists were able to portray a figure in action confidently (Figure 29).

Details such as the hook and holes on the belt are not overlooked. Creases made by cutting into the unfired clay surface with a spatula or blade are also modelled at the belly to represent folds of drapery overhanging a tightly fastened belt.⁴² (Figure 18).

The unnatural proportioning and awkward pose do not seem to affect the expressiveness of the figure. His alert readiness is shown by the tensed gesture of his hands and arms. With his head slightly tilted, chin thrust, mouth set and eyes wide open and staring fearlessly ahead, the figure illustrates his bravery and readiness to fight off any enemy.

This is the only figure whose pose is not governed by the weapon that he holds. It provided a good opportunity for the Qin sculptors to portray a figure in a dramatic action and in a comparatively more open form.

(iii) Kneeling Archer

In the case of the kneeling archer, his pose is comparatively more natural. Although the head, torso and legs lie in two different planes, the transition from one plane to another is smooth. However, the legs fail to give an impression of the flexed muscles required to maintain



FIGURE 18

DETAIL OF BELT WITH BELT HOOK, STRIDING INFANTRYMAN I.

HEARN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA, fig. 120.

the twisted posture⁴³ (Figures 19, 20).

(iv) Coloring

The pottery figures were originally fully painted. That might be the reason why the surfaces of the robes of the figures remain relatively plain and smooth, with only a few lines to indicate drapery folds. Details of the drapery might have been added by painting. Due to fire and corrosion of water and earth through the centuries, only traces of color now remain. So far it has been discovered that the following colors were used: vermilion, red, purple, pink, deep green, light green, deep purple, blue, pale blue, yellow, orange yellow, black, white, etc.⁴⁴ The use of colors was intended to be of high contrast. The charioteer and his two assistants from Pit No. 1 are good examples. The charioteer wears a green long jacket, on top of which is an armor with bright red plates, white nails and vermilion belt. There is a pair of long, light purple trousers. The puttees are green. Reddish-black shoes are matched with vermilion shoe strings. A white turban with vermilion hair belt can be seen on the head. The face, hands and feet are painted pink. His white eyes are coupled with black pupils. The eyebrows and beard are painted with lines drawn in black ink.⁴⁵

The assistant on the right wears a vermilion long coat, with pale green fringes and short blue trousers. A binding for the shank is reddish purple. The color of the tunic, shoes and turban is the same as that of the charioteer. The assistant on the left, however, wears a long green jacket and pale purple short trousers with puttees that are white on top and deep purple at the bottom. The colors for other parts are much the same as those of the other two.⁴⁶ The armor plates of other figures are

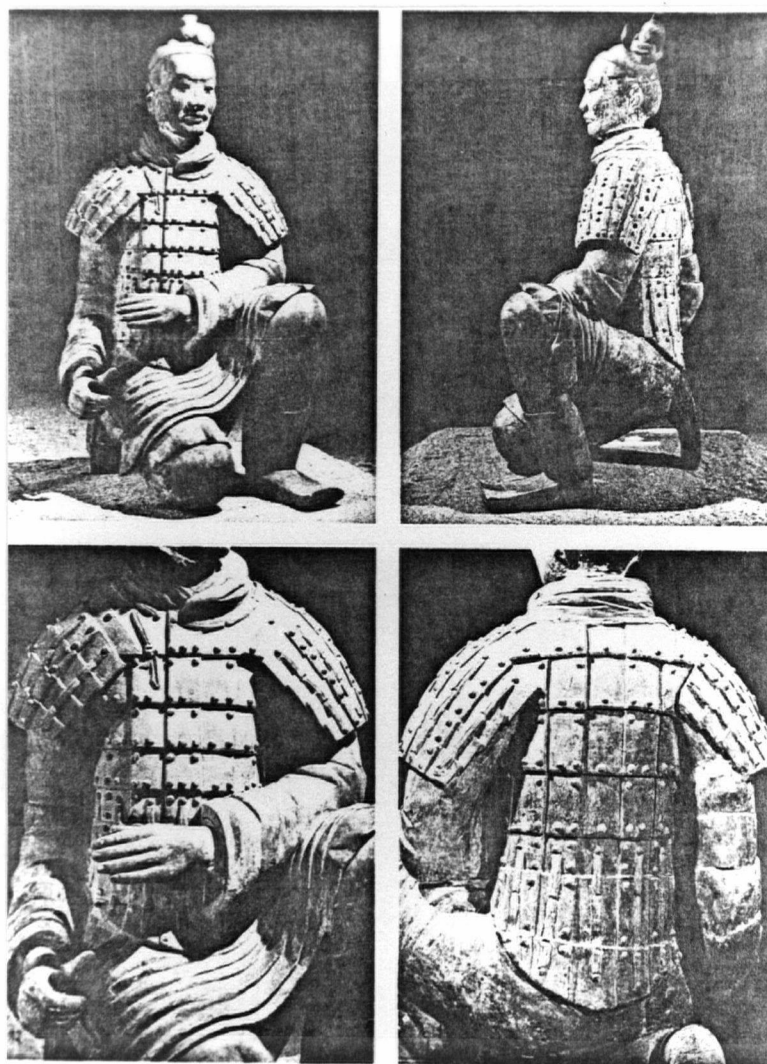


FIGURE 19

KNEELING ARCHER. QIN DYNASTY (221-206 B.C.)

HEIGHT: 122 cm.

CAPON. QIN SHI HUANG TERRACOTTA WARRIORS AND HORSES, P. 59.



FIGURE 20.

KNEELING ARCHER. CLOSE UP. QIN DYNASTY (221-206 B.C.)
 HEIGHT 120 CM (3 FT. 11 IN.)

HEARN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA.
 pl. 99

usually reddish-brown-black and contrast with white or vermilion armor nails and vermilion plate string. The army was actually vibrant with bright colors.

Colors were applied on the plain surface of the figures. It was also discovered that the application of colors did not show darkness or lightness nor changes in light and shade. Concavity and convexity of the figure's body are shown by the three dimensional modelling. Nevertheless, four clay horses in Pit No. 1 were found to be painted dark red on the light side and deep green on the shaded sides, such as the belly, the lower part of the neck and the inside part of the limbs.⁴⁷ Yuan attributes these examples as demonstration of the artists' attempts to achieve light and shade, high and low and changes in gradation by means of coloring. Hence, they have great significance in the history of sculpture. The experimentation, shown only by a few examples, seems to be short-lived, nevertheless the attempt to paint a sculptural surface for sculptural effect was an end by itself. Moreover, the interest to explore the potential of a surface by means of painting continued. In the following centuries, Han artists no longer experimented painting on a sculptural surface. Flat surfaces of silk or wall became their field for adventure and hence began the development of the art of painting.⁴⁸ Paintings on both silk and walls are commonly found in the tombs of the Han dynasty.

The use of bright colors and the intention for strong contrast of colors point towards the concern for visual effect. The same concern for visual appeal is observed in the Late Zhou inlaid bronzes where artists inlaid the surfaces of the bronzes with precious or semi-precious stones

to produce a lavish appearance.

(c) Summary

Although the commanding officer, striding infantryman and kneeling archer represent three types of warriors in different outfits and poses, they consistently spell out the common artistic concerns of the Qin sculptors.

First, the representation of the figures exhibits the Qin sculptor's keen observation of real life.

Second, clarity in representation was emphasized. Exactitude in details was also aimed to illustrate the style of the coiffure and details of the armor. These features, as one can observe, were meant to distinguish the military ranks of the warrior.

Third, comparatively little attention was paid to the depiction of anatomical details, the simulation of actual texture of drapery, and the imitation of drapery folds, as the surface of the drapery was prepared to be a painting surface where more details could be added. The Qin artisan, however, did not concern himself too much with realistically reproducing the body and its parts and was content with merely providing the general characteristics of the features. Even the drapery folds at the belly and armpits were modelled to indicate the action of the figure.

Fourth, simplification and abstraction were used for features which may have been considered minor in importance to the sculptors.

Fifth, although the representation of the figure as an organic unity was not fully successful, sculptors and artisans were aware of the plasticity of the body. Nevertheless, they were more concerned with representing

different poses than with achieving anatomical realism.

Sixth, the representation of facial features was essential as their variation produced different faces. By varying mustaches, hairstyles and facial features, the Qin sculptors created an infinite number of faces which were different in rank, age and character.

Seventh, surfaces of the sculpture caught the special attention of the sculptors. Modelling of certain parts of the figures, such as the drapery, was simplified to provide a better painting surface for coloring. Of interest is the fact that color and incised lines, which are basically two-dimensional devices for depiction, were utilized to delineate features on three-dimensional objects.

Lastly, besides the correspondence in principle between the bronze casting technique and the modelling of the figures, the Qin figures were linked to the tradition of bronzes by sharing the same principle for the clear depiction of the motifs and the concern for surface decoration and visual appeal.

PART III: Development of Human Representation from 5th Century B.C. to 3rd Century A.D.

In order to understand the historical position of the Qin figures in the tradition of human representation, it is important that the development of human representation before and after Qin be studied. This section of the paper will analyse examples from this period in chronological order, although this does not imply that these figures will automatically fall into a linear pattern of stylistic development.

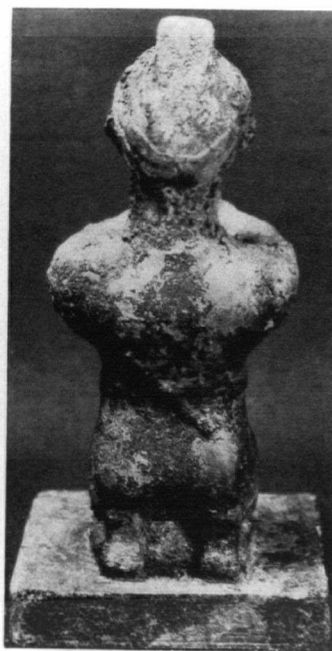
Figures selected for this study are mostly dated because they were excavated together with other artifacts that bear inscribed dates. Figures such as the Bidwell figure and the ROM figure are dated, though with questions remaining.

Before the Qin, human representation was of minor artistic concern. The fact that they were human figures did not give them prominence as subject matter among the other motifs, other than their role as a motif. The majority of the early figures excavated so far are either standing or kneeling figures with outstretched arms to hold a short tube. Their poses and costumes suggest their role as servants. The purpose of their making was purely mortuary: to wait upon the dead,⁴⁹ which was quite unlike the Qin warriors whose function was not only to serve the dead but also to glorify the grandeur and military prowess of the Qin army.

The kneeling figures in the Bidwell Collection and the Royal Ontario Museum are two slightly different examples among many other similar figures that were excavated in the 1930's and were said to have been excavated from the area northeast of Luoyang in Western Henan⁵⁰ (Figures 21a, 22a). These figures, made of bronze, are usually about 11" (27.9 cm) in height and wear the same costume: a cap which would end in a peak were it not bent down and forward by a strap running under the chin, and a tunic ending above the knees, closed on the right and fastened by a belt. The lower parts of the figures are plain; their legs appear to be covered with a skirt.⁵¹ The Bidwell figure's creation is datable to about 550 B.C. since it was found in one of the tombs near Luoyang where a bronze bell bearing a year date of the "22nd year of Ling Wáng of the Zhou Dynasty" was also found.⁵² The date is equivalent to 550 B.C. The figure



FRONT VIEW



BACK VIEW

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., BIDWELL COLLECTION: SERVANT,
BRONZE. SECOND HALF OF SIXTH CENTURY B.C.
C. 550 B.C.

FIGURE 21a.b

BACHHOFFER. "BRONZE FIGURES OF THE LATE CHOU PERIOD," THE ART BULLETIN, ~~XXII~~ 14, 1941, FIGS. 4, 5.



FRONT VIEW



BACK VIEW

TORONTO, ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY:
SERVANT, BRONZE, FIRST HALF OF FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

FIGURE 22a.b

BACHHOFFER. "BRONZE FIGURES OF THE LATE CHOU PERIOD," THE ART BULLETIN, ~~XXII~~ 14, 1941, FIGS. 1, 2.

in the ROM collection is dated to be made in the Eastern Zhou dynasty, Warring States Period, between 480-222 B.C. Bachhofer moreover suggests the production date to be between 500-450 B.C., after comparing the figure with the Bidwell figure, which he dates to have been produced between 550-450 B.C.⁵³ While there is no further evidence to confirm their exact production dates, there is no doubt that they are closely linked in their conception of modelling.

(a) The Bidwell Figure

The figure is executed in a summary fashion. Different parts of the figure flow into one another without distinction of each part. For example, the head is not distinguishable from the neck which flows smoothly down to form the arms without modelling the shoulder. The lower part of the body, represented as covered by the robe, is merely a block with no suggestion of the contour of the legs underneath (Figure 21b). Proportion and distinction of bodily parts are not taken into account in the modelling. The main thrust of representation lies on the head which is disproportionately large and is as broad as the body trunk (Figure 21a). It is represented in detail with drop-like eyes whose shapes are delineated by incised lines. Eyeballs are modelled in low relief. The stubby nose is as wide as the mouth which is rendered as a small groove. The modelling of the figure seems to aim at creating a closed mass with as few obtrusive details as possible. Except for the head and the barely perceivable elevations for the ribbons of the cap, hems of the coat at the neck, the belt and perhaps a knife at the back, there are few interruptions on the surface and mass of the figure. A slab under the figure extends

well beyond the sides and front of the figure to indicate the plane on which the figure kneels. The figure represents the artist's attempt to portray the appearance of a kneeling man.

(b) Figure from the ROM

Although the representation of the ROM figure still obeys the convention of frontality and aims at closed mass for effect, it reveals negligible differences in modelling (Figures 22a, b). Bodily parts no longer flow lazily into one another and there is more modelling of details. The head is now distinctively modelled as a round mass resting on a thin neck and is effectively set off from the square and strong shoulders.⁵⁴ The arms are no longer two stumps emerging from nowhere but appear in their proper places and are also bent at the elbows. The eyeballs now lie in modelled sockets. Cheeks are modelled and the mouth is rendered with the upper and lower lip. Even the groove running from nose to mouth is carefully fashioned. The hems of the collar and the spatula-shaped belt hook are clearly shown in low relief. The figure, like the Bidwell figure, is also represented as kneeling on a slab, however the slab is much smaller. In fact, it is so small that the tips of the figure's crossed feet hang over and touch the edge (Figure 22b). The figure's cap is conceived as an object in its own right. The back of the figure is straighter and flatter and the contour of the body is simpler and more even. The clarity of its form is accentuated by the horizontally outstretched arms and the figure's straight, vertical body. The rendition of this figure shows a more advanced understanding of form and a clearer conception about details of various parts of the body.

(c) The Fifth Century Figure from the Tomb of Marquis Yi, Hubei Province

In 1978, 7000 burial objects including bronze articles, musical instruments, weapons, horse and chariot ornaments, articles of gold and jade, lacquer ware, articles of wood and bamboo, and bamboo strips were excavated in the County of Sui Xian in Hubei Province. An inscription on the bronzes identifies the occupant of the tomb as Marquis Yi of the State of Zeng. A bronze fu-bell given to the Marquis by Prince Hui Wang of Chu in the 56th year of his reign (433 B.C.) indicates that the tomb is of 433 B.C. or somewhat later.⁵⁵ A set of sixty-four bronze bian-bells is found together with the Fu-bell. They are arranged in eight groups according to size and pitch and hung in three rows on a frame. The wooden beams of the frame are supported by six bronze human figures. The overall height of these figures is 46" (1.17 m) and the overall weight is 706 pounds (321 kg) (Figure 23).⁵⁶

The bronze figures have their heads supporting round disks, on top of which are vertical, rectangular shafts that were inserted into the lower side of the horizontal beams upon which hang the bells (Figures 24, 25). Both arms and hands of these figures extend outward and upward. The left arm of the figure shown stretches horizontally outward and bends at the elbow at a right angle, while the forearm extends vertically upward. The upper part of the right arm, however, appears to be composed of two parts: its right shoulder extends farther than its normal length to form the upper part of the upper arm. The second part of the upper arm begins at the turn of the extension of the shoulder and stretches towards the front. At the elbow, the right forearm turns towards the back. Both hands have their palms stretched flatly to support the beam.



FIGURE 23

HUMAN FIGURES SUPPORTING THE FRAME OF THE BELL SET.

C. 433 B.C.

BIAN, CHEN & RU. OUT OF CHINA'S EARTH, P. 55.



FIGURE 24.

DETAIL OF SUPPORTING FIGURE. HEIGHT 1.17m (46 in)

QIAN, CHEN & RU. OUT OF CHINA'S EARTH, p.44.



FRONT VIEW OF SUPPORTING FIGURE

FIGURE 25

HUREI MUSEUM. THE TOMB OF MARQUIS YI OF THE ZENG STATE AT SUXIAN COUNTY. fig. 11.

The bending, turning and stretching of the arms, forearms and hands not only indicates the artist's awareness of the flexibility of arms and hands, but also shows that human figures were molded into shapes and poses to suit the function, i.e. to support a structure. Although represented frontally as were the two formerly discussed figures, this figure has its arms and hands extended away from the body into space and then turned and twisted in different directions within space. This involves a far more intricate conceptualization in design and modelling than the former figures.

The figure has a square-jawed face, slit eyes, squat nose and thin lips that are tightly closed. They are not modelled in detail but in a concise and summary fashion. The groove which runs from nose to mouth is also fashioned.

The figure wears a costume that is similar to the former figure. It has a full length robe that closes on the right and is fastened by a belt. In this figure, however, the belt is clearly indicated to be fastening the robe by a neatly tied knot; its two ends drop from the two sides at the front. The belt is plastically rendered on relief, as well as the sword which hangs on the left side of the figure's waist and projects far into the space in front and behind the figure (Figure 25). The body is modelled in an abbreviated fashion. Both the upper and lower parts of the body taper towards the waist. The upper body is roughly triangular in shape, while the lower body, which is covered by the robe, is reduced into an inverted cone shape. The surface of the lower body is smooth and even, except for slight elevations to indicate fringes of the collar and the end of the half length upper robe. There

is no suggestion of the body contour beneath the robe nor drapery folds.

The resulting figure, in contrast to the closed block effect of the former figures, is characterized by its open and slender form, as well as a sharp and angular contour. Rather than kneeling in a rigid pose, the figure stands up in dignity. The sculptor of this figure appears to be aesthetically confident and technically competent.

The reduction of the body and head into simple, geometric forms and the representation of the costume denote abstraction. Moreover, the depiction of the groove between the nose and lips, and the representation of the belt and sword indicates that interest in showing details of facial features and clothing accessories remains.

(d) Human Representation from the Early Fourth Century from the State of Zhongshan, Hebei Province

In 1977, Chinese archaeologists discovered a city site of the Warring States period (475 - 221 B.C.) in the Pingshan County, Hebei Province. Evidence shows that the city site found is that of Lingshou, capital of Zhongshan after 406 B.C.⁵⁷ The find consists of a great number of gold and silver inlaid bronze works. Among them are inscribed bronze vessels which provide the approximate date of the site and a bronze lamp with a human figure. The 469-character inscription on a bronze cauldron found in a tomb believed to be of King Cuo of Zhongshan, records Zhongshan's victory over the state of Yen in 314 B.C.⁵⁸ The Chinese scholar Luo Fuyi suggests that the admonitive tone of the inscription was addressed to the succeeding kings of Zhongshan warning them of the revival of their enemy, Yen, and was made in 310 B.C., four years after Yen restored her

kingdom.⁵⁹ Moreover, other buried vessels which still look new are believed to have been buried not long after they were cast and used. Luo suggests that they were buried three to four years after they were made, in approximately 308 - 307 B.C.⁶⁰ In addition, the abundance of burial objects found in the tomb shows that the tomb belonged to a king whose kingdom was still in her heyday. Since the state of Zhongshan was annihilated by Zhao in 296 B.C., the vessels and other burial objects must have been made before 296 B.C. and after 310 B.C.⁶¹ Some vessels were possibly made about 308 - 307 B.C.

Among the bronze burial objects, a bronze lamp with a human figure as the central design was also discovered in one of the tombs. The bronze lamp is composed of three parts (Figures 26, 28). The human figure occupied the most prominent and crucial position in the design. Standing as the centre-piece of the lamp, it is the focus of attention as well as the link connecting the other two parts of the lamp and unifying them as a complete design. In this case, the human figure is no longer merely a motif in a design or structure, but exists as the main subject matter. This is a step forward to representing human figures independently in their own right.

The bronze figure's head is made of silver while its eyes are made of black semi-precious stones. It wears a full length outer robe, decorated with a scroll pattern and painted with black and red lacquer. The figure stretches both of his arms to the two sides. Its left forearm extends slightly to the front and grasps the tail of a twisting serpent, whose head turns upward at a right angle to support a round dish. The twisting serpent is in turn supported by another serpent which coils in-

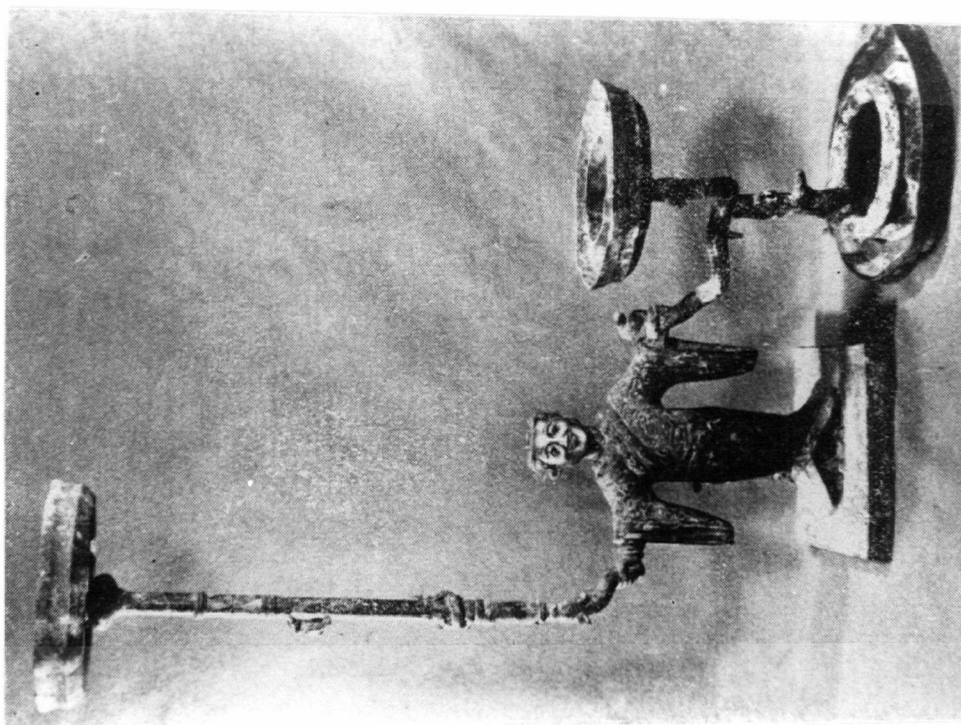


FIGURE 26
 BRONZE LAMP WITH HUMAN REPRESENTATION
 EXCAVATED FROM THE OLD SITE OF THE STATE OF
 ZHONGSHAN, HEBEI PROVINCE. C. 296-310 B.C.
 故宫博物院院刊, 1979年第2期, 图版六

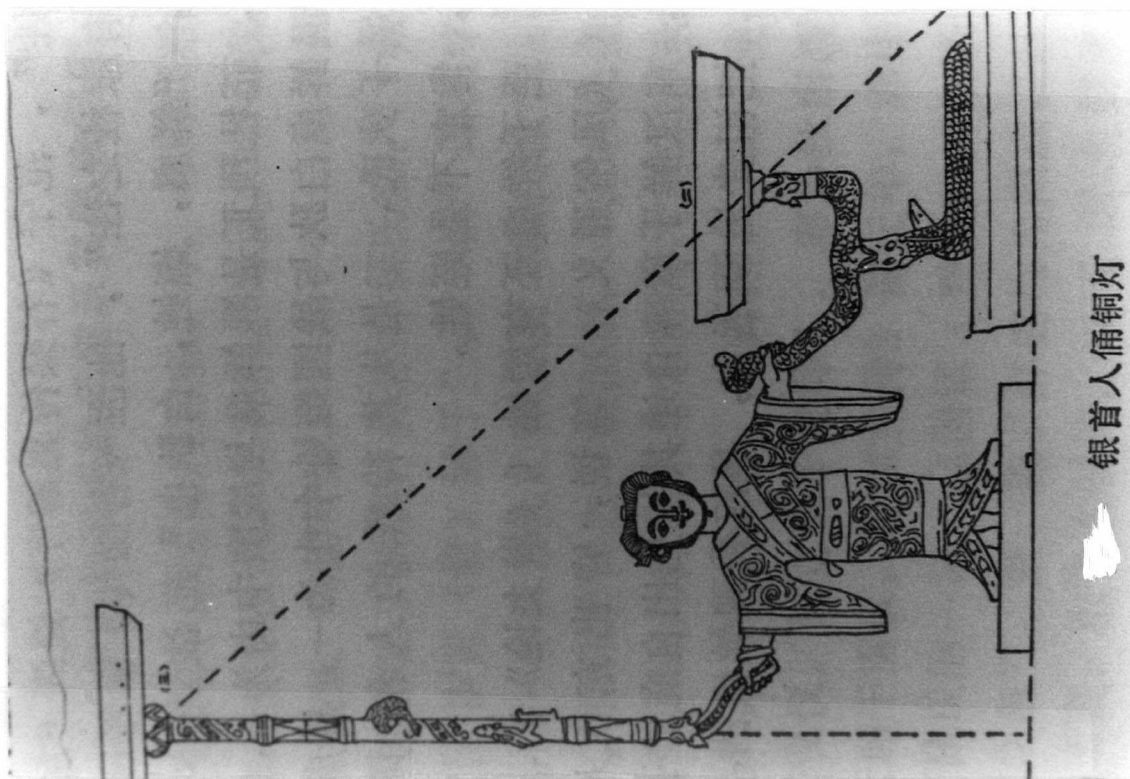


FIGURE 28
 DRAWING OF THE DESIGN OF THE LAMP FROM ZHONGSHAN
 WEN WU, 1979/5, p. 46 of fig. 1.

side and around a round dish at the base. The right arm of the figure stretches horizontally out to the right. Its hand clasps a serpent whose mouth supports a pole. Along the pole coils another serpent which chases after a monkey. The theme of the representation portrays an acrobat displaying his skill in playing with his monkey and serpents.⁶² Human representation is no longer a minor motif but has become a theme for representation.

The figure is rather plastically modelled (Figure 27). Its head is portrayed with a high temple. The almond-shaped eyes inlaid with black semi-precious stones as pupils, are life-like. The nose is flat and triangular, while the mouth, modelled with the upper and lower lips, produces a grin. The muscles of the two cheeks, represented to be pulled back to the two sides, are coordinated with the grin. The figure's hair is bundled up into a knot at the top of the head. The texture of the hair, brows and mustache is rendered as short and straight parallel lines, like that of the Qin figures, and appears added on rather than "growing" out of the flesh (Figure 27). Although the body of the figure is completely covered by the robe, the legs beneath the garment are suggested by the tapering contour below the waist.

The costume of the figure has sleeves with wide openings and consists of three layers. Fringes on the layers are shown at the collar and at the front opening of the outer robe. The fringes at the collar are represented to be distinctive layers apart from the neck. The robe is tied at the waist by a belt with hook; however, no drapery fold is portrayed by the fastening of the belt. Although the figure is made of bronze, the scroll patterns on the costume are painted in detail with



FIGURE 27

BRONZE HUMAN FIGURE. DETAIL. C. 296-310 B.C.

故宫博物院院刊 1979年第2期, 第90页, 图三.

black and red lacquer to produce a colorful effect. The ornate and fanciful patterns of the costume also echo the scaly bodies of the serpents. Attention to the decoration of the surface is obvious. The animated grin of the figure and vivid depiction of the serpents and monkey at play greatly enhance the lamp.

The intensive interest in depicting details of the coiffure, facial features and costume, as well as the awareness of the plasticity of the body and the special interest in surface decoration, resemble the artistic concerns of the Qin sculptors. The adding on of semi-precious stones for the pupils of the eyes also links it with the modelling techniques of the Qin figures. The Zhongshan figure closely connects with the Qin figures in the tradition of representation. However, such concerns were not shared by the fifth century Hubei artist who was more interested in the simplification of form and abstraction of details. Despite such differences, the Hubei figure also exhibits the artist's attention to the treatment of facial features and costume. Interest in the treatment of facial features and costume seems to be shared by artists from different periods and geographical locations.

(e) Human Representation of the Second Century B.C.

The gilt bronze lamp discovered in Lingshan, Mancheng County, Hebei Province, exemplifies human representation in the 2nd Century B.C. (Figure 29). Inscriptions by different owners of the lamp are distributed throughout the surface of the lamp.⁶³ The inscribed characters "Yang Xin Jia" and the date "the seventh year" give hints to the production date of the lamp. "Yang Xin Jia" is believed to be the name of the household of



FIGURE 29

GILT-BRONZE LAMP. WESTERN HAN (first half 2nd c. B.C.)
 HEIGHT 48cm (18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in), WEIGHT 15.85kg (34lb. 14oz.)

50. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA.
 pl. 94.

a royal relative enfeoffed in 179 B.C. and stripped of the title in 151 B.C. when the son was guilty of treason.⁶⁴ The lamp can therefore be dated between 179 and 151 B.C. Moreover, if the date "seventh year" refers to the actual date of manufacture, the lamp would probably date to 173 B.C., since the seventh year of the reign of Han Wen Di (179 - 157 B.C.) is equivalent to 173 B.C.⁶⁵

The lamp is 19" (48 cm) in height and is in the shape of a kneeling young girl. The girl, who was probably a maid, holds a lamp in front of her in her left hand. Her right arm raises above her shoulder to cover the top of the lamp with her full sleeves. The right arm of the girl is hollow, allowing smoke to rise through and thus keeping the room smoke free. The design is both functional and elegant. In this case, the human figure is not only part of a design, the design is based on the shape of the human figure.

The young face of the girl is modelled with sensitivity. It is full and smooth. Her hair is smoothed back into a chignon and tied with a trailing sash. Facial features are defined by slightly raised lines and the depiction is abstract, almost as if rendered by graphic means. The brows are ridges of long, fine lines that extend to the sides of the temple. The slit eyes are not modelled but rather delineated by engraved lines in tear-drop shape. The nose and mouth are reduced into simple shapes executed with care and control, rising only slightly from the surface of the face.

The maid wears a simple wrapped robe with generous flowing sleeves. The left sleeve flows naturally down with weight to cover part of the left knee. Folds at the collar are represented by long, stylized lines. The

fringes of the robe are distinctively rendered to be separate from the neck. Other drapery folds and pleats at the sleeves and end of the robe are represented by slightly raised lines. The rendition of the drapery folds is characterized by its linear quality.

The kneeling pose of the figure is natural with feet represented to be neatly tucked behind her. The contour of different parts of the body is evoked by the plastic modelling at the shoulder, waist, buttocks and legs. The timidity of the girl is expressed by her slightly downcast eyes and her humble pose. Characterization of a figure is never forgotten and is clearer than a similar figure of a kneeling maid of the Qin dynasty found in 1964 near the mausoleum of the first Emperor in Lintong, Shaanxi (Figure 30).

Comparing the two figures, one finds that the Qin girl appears to be stout and rigid in her frontal pose, while the Mancheng figure looks slender and flexible in her slightly turned pose. The Western Han artist not only seemed to have a fuller understanding of the anatomical relationships of different parts of the body but was also able to depict a turning pose with skill and confidence. The rendition of the facial features of the Qin figure is more sculptural than the Mancheng figure. While the Qin sculptor was more concerned with the mass of the body, the contour of the body is hardly suggested under the robe. The lower part of the body is basically a rectangular block. On the other hand, the contour of the body of the Mancheng figure is fully suggested under the drapery. The properties of the form of the body, for example, its roundness at certain parts and pliancy, are taken into account.



FIGURE 30

TERRACOTTA KNEELING FIGURE UNEARTHED NEAR THE OUTER
WALL OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF QIN SHI HUANG.

50. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA. fig. 114.

Moreover, while the two figures wear the same type of robe, the folds of their drapery are rendered with similarities and differences. In both figures, lines are utilized for the depiction of drapery folds. Lines incised on the surface of the robe of the Qin figure are few and are made with consideration to leave the surface of the robe as plain and smooth as possible to allow for an even painting surface. In the Mancheng figure, attention to the surface appearance is also observed. Lines are not distributed throughout the surface, although they are more numerous than on the Qin figure, but rather are restricted mainly to certain areas, such as at the ends of the sleeves and robe. The sculptor also seems to have attempted to retain the surface of the robe with as much smooth and plain areas as possible, so that the gilded and glittering surface can shine with its fullest glory. The concern for the surface is similar in both figures.

Nevertheless, incised lines are deliberately but crudely made at the upper sleeves and at the chest to represent folds incurred by the bending of arms and fringes of the robe at the chest in the Qin figure. Drapery folds at the sleeves are represented by depressions of parallel lines, spaced at regular intervals. Being parallel and at equal distance to one another, they appear to be rigid and monotonous (Figure 30). In the Mancheng figure, however, slightly raised lines are used with fluidity and control. Refined and sinuous, they effectively describe the flowing sleeves and the contour of the body. Although many are parallel lines, they do not appear to be dull, as some are closely spaced, some are widely spaced and still others bend in and out according to the contours of the body (Figure 29).

Conclusively, the representation of the Qin figure is more sculptural and realistic in its appearance but is crude in the execution of lines. It is rigid in form and has no concern for anatomical details. The Mancheng figure demonstrates an understanding of the relationships between different bodily parts. Nevertheless, the artist did not dwell on representing anatomical details, but aimed to capture in his execution the properties of the outlook of a human body. Lines are controlled and refined. Although the representation of the Mancheng figure is more stylized and at the same time more abstract than the Qin figure, it is closely linked with the Qin figure stylistically.

(f) Summary

Thus far, the Zhongshan figure of the 4th Century B.C. (310 - 296 B.C.), the Qin figures of the 3rd Century B.C. (246 - 209 B.C.) and the Mancheng figure of the 2nd Century B.C. (173 - 151 B.C.) are not merely examples in the development of human representation from 4th Century B.C. to 2nd Century B.C., they also indicate a step by step development. Moreover, they are not only stylistically related but are also close in geographical location. Excavated from either the Hebei Province or the Shaanxi Province, the three figures were produced in regions north of the Yellow River (Huang He).

The very stylized figure found in the tomb of Marquis Yi was produced in the middle of the 5th Century B.C. in Hubei Province, south of the Yellow River. The figure, although produced earlier than the three figures mentioned already, exhibits distinct emphases on the simplification of form and abstraction of details. It does not seem to fit as comfort-

ably into the line of stylistic development as portrayed by the three figures produced in the north.

In fact, as the artists of the north were executing their figures, the artists at Changsha in Hunan Province were producing wooden figurines of attendants. During the Eastern Zhou period, Changsha belonged to the State of Chu, a major and dominant force among the other states at the time. Chu was not only a political but also a cultural and ethnic entity.⁶⁶ It flourished during the Eastern Zhou (770 - 256 B.C.) and was finally annihilated by Qin in 223 B.C. At the peak of her power, her territory extended as far north as Central Henan (including Hubei) and south to northern Hunan. Wooden figures were typical products of Chu. They were excavated from tombs in and near Changsha throughout the years beginning from the 1920's⁶⁷ (Figure 31).

These figurines are cylindrical wooden statues of men and women in stiff, erect poses. They show extreme simplification of form. Their heads and bodies are reduced into the simple geometric shape of a triangle and facial features are briefly depicted. The nose is a triangle in relief and is the only feature that is clearly perceivable to be in relief on the nearly flat plane of the face. The straight yet slanting brows are slightly raised from the surface and meet where the ridge of the nose begins. The mouth is small and is as wide as the nose. A shallow groove is incised to part the upper lip from the lower lip. Eyes are not carved but painted on. The collar of the costume is suggested by a ridge of low relief at the neck. The costume is a long robe that flares slightly towards the base and is distinctively cut in



FIGURE 31

WOODEN FIGURINES FROM CH'UI,
CHANGSHA, HUNAN PROVINCE, C.
3rd C.B.C. HEIGHT 57.1 cm (left),
58.3 cm (right)

Fontein. UNEARTHING CHINA'S PAST p73,
pls. 25, 26.



WOODEN FIGURES OF MUSICIANS FROM Mawangdui, HUNAN PROVINCE.
C. 156 B.C.

LIAN, CHENG FU. OUT OF CHINA'S EARTH, p. 246.

FIGURE 32

front below the knee with a semi-circular opening through which the inner layers and folds of the underclothing as well as the square tipped shoes can be seen. More details may have been rendered by paint as the whole figure was originally painted. The treatment of these features is more two-dimensional than three-dimensional. Although serving as a mourner of the dead and standing in a frontal and stiff pose, the figure appears to be casual and even mischievous with its frowning brows and cynical grin, which is quite unlike the solemn and modest attitude expressed by the other figures discussed.

The production of this type of figurine continued well into the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 24 A.D.) as is exemplified by wooden figurines discovered in the Han tombs of Mawangdui, two miles east of the city of Changsha. Inside these tombs, figurines produced before 156 B.C. (almost the same time as the Mancheng figure) representing a wider scope of characters (e.g. dancers, musicians, ladies-in-waiting, etc.) were found.⁶⁸ The forms of the figures remain stylized and abstract. All facial features except the nose are painted on rather than represented by carving or modelling. (Figure 32).

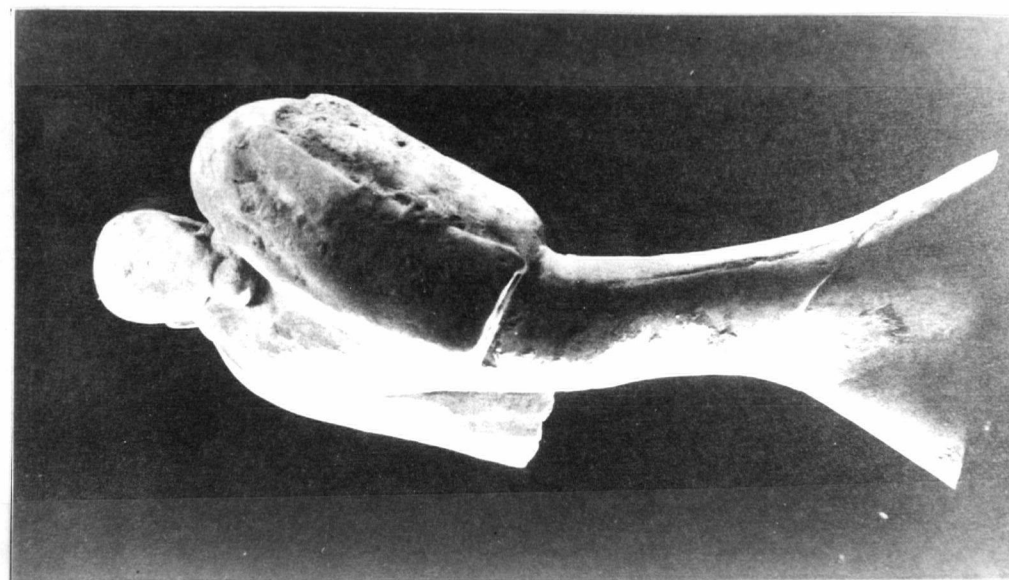
The supporting figure from the tomb of Marquis Yi in Hubei Province (Figure 25) and the Chu figurines together suggest another trend of stylistic development which is characterized by abstraction. During the Eastern Zhou period (770 - 221 B.C.), the location where the tomb of the Marquis was discovered belonged to the State of Sui, a close neighbour of Chu. The Hubei figure and the Hunan Chu figurines represent a stylistic trend typical of the South. It can also be denoted that during the 3rd Century B.C., at least two regional styles in human representation

existed: the 'northern style' and 'southern style'. The northern style is represented by the Zhongshan figure, Qin figures and the Mancheng figure. They are typified by their concern for sculptural quality, descriptive details for the coiffure, facial features and costume. Figures of the northern style appear to be more realistic. The southern style represented by the Hubei figure and Changsha figurines is characterized by the simplification and abstraction of form, stylized, two-dimensional and painted representation of details. Interestingly enough, Wai-Kam Ho also proposes similar distinctions between a northern and southern tradition in figure painting in the late Ming period (16th - 17th Century A.D.) in his article, "Nan-Ch'en Pei-Ts'ui".⁶⁹ The tradition of Nan-Ch'en pei-Ts'ui (Nan-Chen pei-Cui in Pinyin) or the tradition of Chen (Hóng-shou) of the south and Ts'ui or Cui (Zi-Chung) of the north were known in concomitance by their contemporaries. Ho observes that in Chen Hong-shou's painting (1598 - 1652 A.D.), Chen besides being interested in a unified, consistent surface effect had "little concern for the texture and sculptural qualities" of the masses.⁷⁰ For example, the rocks are not textured but depicted by delineation and light ink washes and are rendered "as merely planes of individual shapes and potentialities."⁷¹ On the other hand, Cui Zi-chung (d. 1644 A.D.) organizes his landscape elements as "rolling masses." "By calculated contrasts of both the bright and somber tones and of the lines and ink washes between his figures and landscape,"⁷² he creates a sculptural space to contain his figures and for an event to take place. The concern for pictorial realism is apparent. Hence, the tradition of Nan-Chen pei-Cui is parallel to the northern and southern styles of the 3rd Century B.C.

in that the northern style is concerned more with the sculptural and three-dimensional quality and realism while the southern style has no such concern.

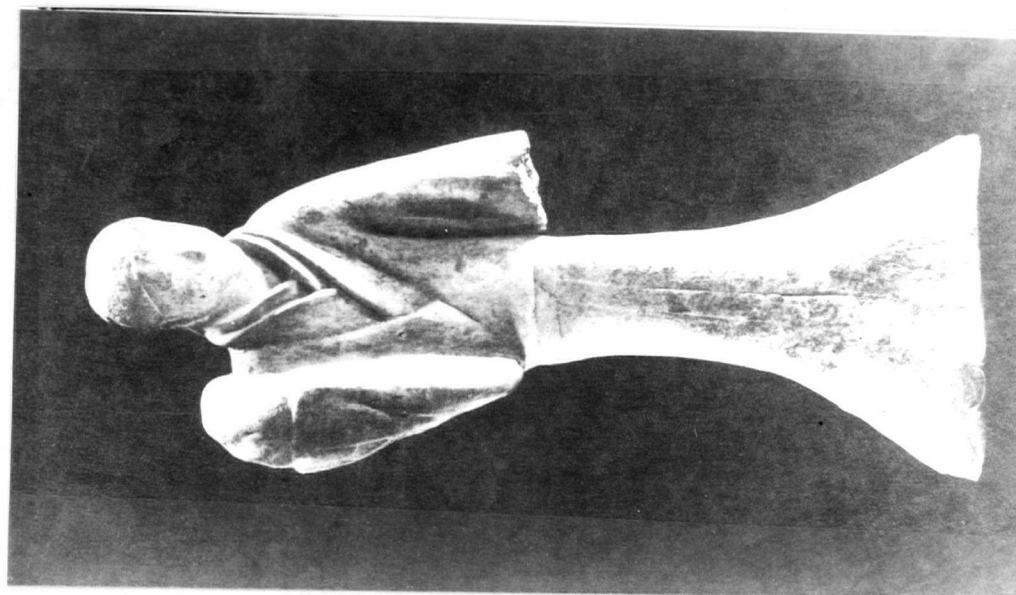
The distinction of the two styles, however, should not be taken as absolute, as their differences began to blur in the Eastern Han period (24 - 220 A.D.). In the depiction of the facial features, drapery and drapery folds of the Mancheng figure, the trend towards simplification and abstraction can already be observed. The female dancer of the Han dynasty (dated 206 - 220 A.D.) excavated in Xi'an, Shaanxi Province further illustrates the development of the trend (Figures 33a, b, c, d).

The body of the dancer is reduced to a narrow tubular shape that flares at the bottom. There is no differentiation of the figure's body and garment by plastic means, if it is not the modelling of the layers of inner garment at the chest. The modelling moreover demonstrates a flatness in the modelling of the face, with the exception of the slightly protruding lips and nose (Figure 33a). Although tubular in form, the contour of the body is not even and the concept of modelling is not simple. It is narrow at the knees and wide at the bottom to represent a costume that is tight fitting at the knees and flaring at the bottom. The figure is in a dancing pose with its upper body and both knees bent forward. The narrowing and widening of the contour at the knees and at the bottom further accentuates the bending pose. The long wide sleeve of the right flips to the back (Figure 33b). The sleeve is as wide as the body and is attention catching. Viewing the figure at various angles, one has a very satisfying visual experience as the dancing pose looks



BACK VIEW FIGURE 33b

HAN DYNASTY DANCER (206-220 A.D.).
FROM SHANNXI PROVINCE, ORIGINALLY PAINTED.



FRONT VIEW FIGURE 33a

HAN DYNASTY DANCER (206-220 A.D.).
FROM SHANNXI PROVINCE, ORIGINALLY PAINTED.

中国汉代陶塑艺术·周敏·著

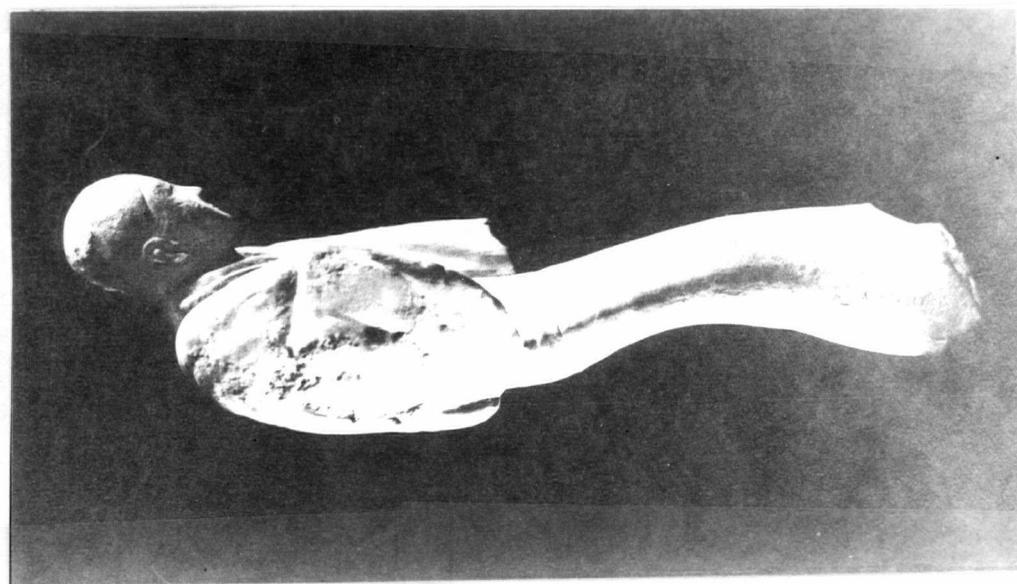


FIGURE 33D

RIGHT VIEW

HAN DYNASTY DANCER (206 - 220 A.D.)

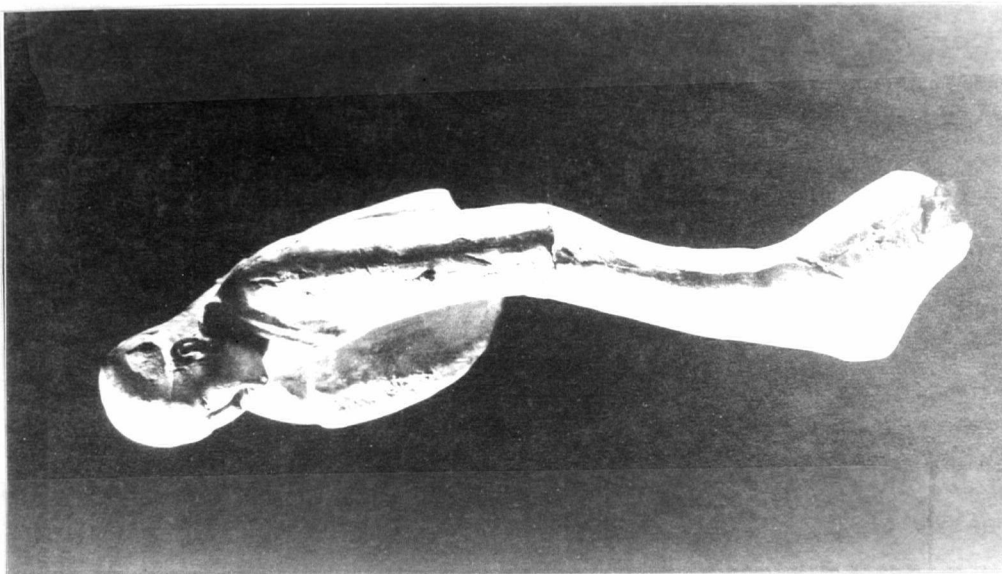


FIGURE 33C

LEFT VIEW

HAN DYNASTY DANCER (206 - 220 A.D.)

中國古代陶塑藝術. 圖版三三.

different at every angle. The modelling of the figure is concentrated in representing the dancing pose (Figures 33a, b, c, d).

In another figure from the Shaanxi area, a dancer of the Eastern Han period (24 - 220 A.D.), abstraction is carried still further (Figure 34). With an almost featureless face, extended arms and lifted legs, the figure no doubt represents a dancing movement. No detail is rendered; however, shallow depressions and slight elevations faintly suggest an outline and folds of drapery of some kind. It is obvious that the purpose of representation is to depict the movement rather than a human figure.

In the representation of the Eastern Han dancing figure from Luoyang, Henan, the use of abstraction is also observed (Figure 35). The body of the figure, reduced into an abstract form, is devoid of any details or suggestion of the distinction between different bodily parts. Two short extensions from the side of the body represent outstretched arms. Facial features are suggested by crude depressions and raising areas. Compared to the Eastern Han dancer from Shaanxi, the Luoyang dancer is more abbreviated and abstract in form. Although the representation of the body of the Shaanxi figure is simplified, the arms, body and legs are distinguishable and the outline of the drapery is also suggested. The Luoyang figure, however, does not have such distinctions of bodily parts and has almost no suggestion of drapery. Thus, in the Eastern Han period, abstraction was the primary mode of expression adopted by artists of the north and south and differences between them decreased as they began to share the same style. Yet, the northern artists were still comparatively more concerned with the representational quality of their work than their southern counterparts.



FIGURE 34

DANCER. GREY CLAY COVERED
WITH REMAINS OF A WHITE PIGMENT AND
RED PIGMENT. EASTERN HAN DYNASTY.
H. $3\frac{1}{2}$ " (8.9 CM)

SCHLOSS. THE ART OF HAN. fig. 26B.



FIGURE 35

DANCE FIGURES. HAN DYNASTY. HEIGHT 14 CM.
EXCAVATED FROM LOYANG, HONAN.

中國古代陶塑藝術圖版三。

Tracing the development of human representation from the 5th Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D., one observes the rising importance of human figures as subject matter for depiction. Beginning as a secondary motif in larger structures, human figures gradually emerged as an integral part of a design and eventually became an independent subject for portrayal. However, through centuries of development, the role of the human figure remained functional: they were either to support a structure or to wait on the dead. By the time of Qin, human figures were portrayed independently as warriors. Although their role was still to wait on the dead, they were also made to glorify the military might of the First Emperor. Early in the development of human representation, Chinese sculptors paid major attention to the depiction of facial features and costumes. The portrayal of these features plays an important part in identifying the role of the figure and the variation of the facial features which individualize a figure. Accurate depiction of anatomy had never been a major concern as they were not interested in a figure's physical realism as much as its functional role and individualistic appearance. In the Eastern Han period, artists no longer merely represented human figures but were preoccupied with representation of the movement of the figure. The development of the interest in portraying action or movement did not actually start in Eastern Han. The trend of such interest seems to begin in Qin, when Qin sculptors attempted to portray the striding infantrymen. The interest continued to develop in Western Han, when the Mancheng figure was depicted in a turning pose.

Moreover, the development of the representation of human figures in sculptural form was also paralleled by the development of human represen-

tation on a two-dimensional format - on the surfaces of the so-called "pictorial bronzes." Human figures began to appear on bronzes in the late 6th Century B.C. (Figure 36). On the Eastern Han "dou" (ca. late 6th - early 5th Century B.C.), human figures are randomly and liberally distributed across the surfaces with many kinds of animals. Man was treated as one of the motifs in a matrix of motifs for the decoration of the surfaces of the bronzes. On the late Eastern Han "hu" (ca. 5th Century B.C.), human figures are depicted in horizontal registers engaging in activities (Figure 37). The subject for representation seems to be the human figures. However, they only act as a decorative pattern on the surface, as they appear not to focus on portraying a specific scene or incidence but rather to array human figures according to their activities in an orderly pattern for visual effect.⁷³ They are merely presented to compose the surface design. It was not until Han that pictorial surfaces, such as the rubbing found in Szechwan, illustrated man and his activities as the major theme and subject for depiction⁷⁴ (Figure 38).

PART IV: The Social, Political and Ideological Atmosphere of the 5th - 3rd Century B.C.

The development of human representation in the 5th - 3rd Century B.C. corresponded to a Golden Age of Chinese thought as well as a period of political turmoil and great social mobility. The correspondence was not simply incidental, for during this time political institutions and ideology influenced one another and social mobility came as a result of political changes.

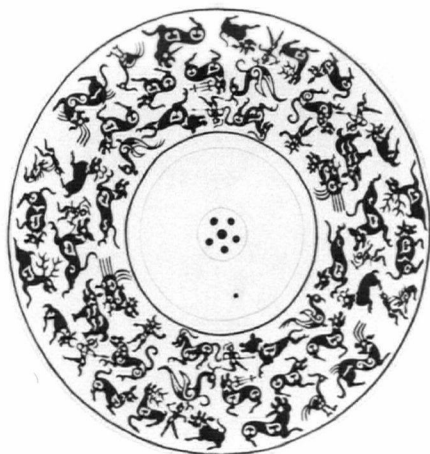


FIGURE 36

DRAWING OF DEITY ON A "DOU"
EASTERN HAN. C. LATE 6th —
EARLY 5th C. B.C.

SO. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART,
THE GREAT BRONZE AGE OF CHINA,
Fig. 97.

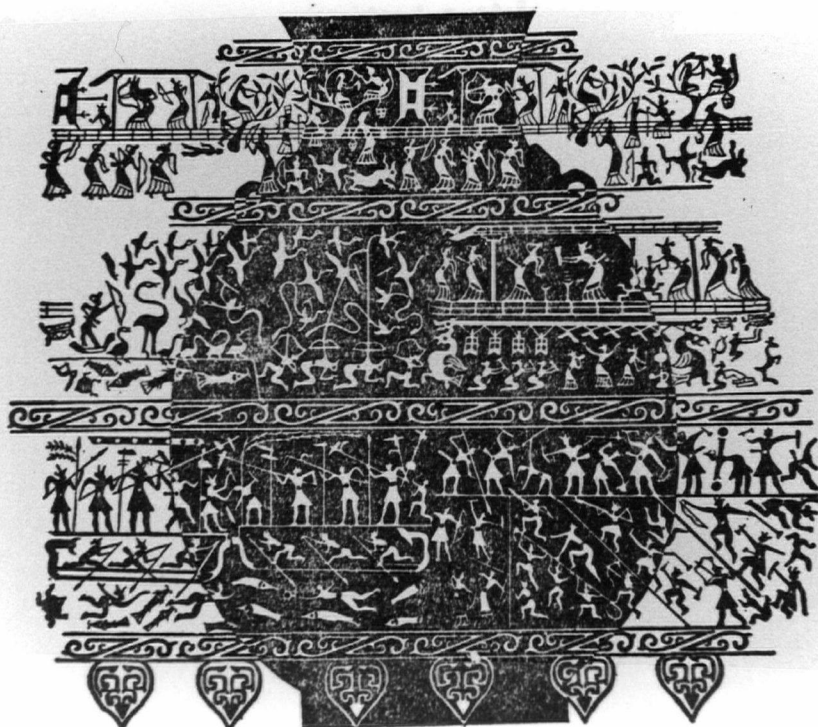


DIAGRAM OF THE DESIGN ON A "HU" BRONZE.
LATE EASTERN ZHOU PERIOD, C. 5th C. B.C.

FIGURE 37

CRAWELL, THE ART OF THE BRONZE AGE OF CHINA, fig. 10.

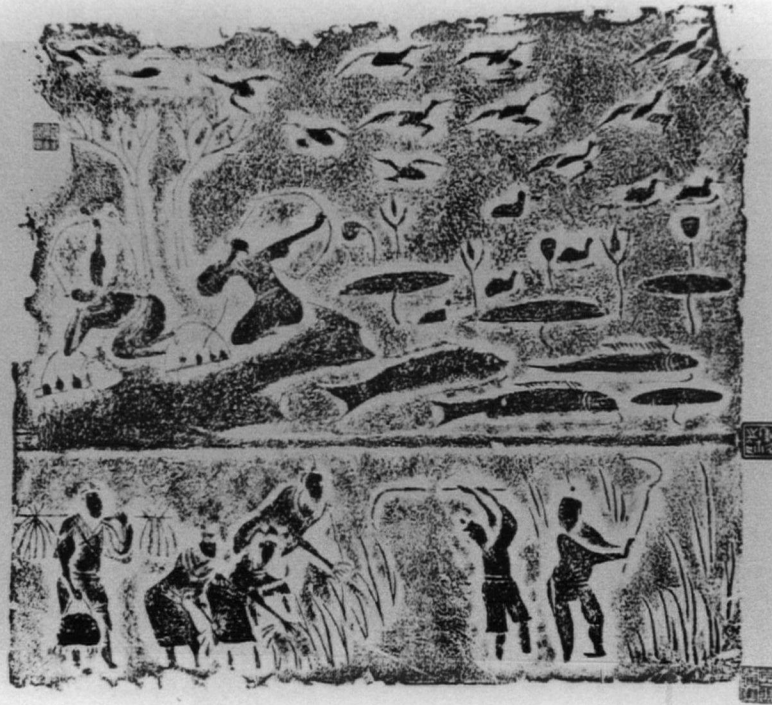


FIGURE 3B

RUBBING OF A POTTERY TOMB TILE FROM SICHUAN. EASTERN HAN PERIOD, A.D. SECOND CENTURY.

CASWELL, THE ART OF THE BRONZE AGE OF CHINA, FIG. 13.

Politically, the central government of Eastern Zhou (770 - 256 B.C.) was on an accelerated decline; the period was also marked by an increase in power of the feudal states and local princes. The gradual failure of the delegated authority led to the formation of independent states. In the first half of the Eastern Zhou period - the Spring and Autumn period (770 - 476 B.C.) - there were more than a hundred of these states.⁷⁵ They competed with each other in an unrelenting struggle for power and wars were continuous. Sociologically, the political turmoil led to great social mobility, marked by the rise of individuals.

In the latter half of the Eastern Zhou period - the Warring States Period (475 - 221 B.C.) - power struggles between the feudal states resulted in a few of the strongest states extinguishing their small, weak neighbours and absorbing them. The feudal states in the former period were gradually extinguished or annexed, leaving only twenty-two states.⁷⁶ Members of the upper strata of the defeated states, such as princes, nobles, ministers and great officers, were summarily dropped to the bottom of the social scale.⁷⁶ Since there were scores of extinguished principalities, nobility was abased on a grand scale.

Elimination by conquest also went on inside the states. There were violent struggles between the nobles and the ruler as well as among noble houses. The consequence of such struggles was either the eventual domination and survival by one or few aristocratic families, or the suppression of some nobilities. The nobles who were defeated in the struggle for power faced complete social abasement, as did all their kinsmen and associates. So it was that the upper classes in the Spring and Autumn period were disintegrated and shrunken by the internecine

warfare of their members.⁷⁷

On the other hand, the rise of individuals from the lower to the upper classes was made possible by these struggles. In order to win the wars, new tactical and strategic concepts of warfare were needed and consequently new types of strategists, field officers, and career soldiers were in demand in the Warring States period. Individuals therefore had comparatively more opportunities than ever before to climb up the social ladder.

Simultaneously, the concept that noble descendants inherited divine superiority as well as status was gradually displaced by the belief that capable and virtuous persons should be selected to carry on government affairs.⁷⁸ The concept came about with an ideological basis which will be discussed later.

In the 5th and 6th Centuries B.C. as well, the wide circulation of money, the specialization of production, progress in technology and transportation facilitated the prosperity of commerce. This brought the rise of a class of rich men in the newly developed cities who wielded political influence with their wealth.⁷⁹ The most famous example is Lü Pu-wei, a rich merchant and commoner who rose to power and became the chief minister of Qin.

Human representations of the 5th to 3rd Centuries B.C. promptly reflect these social changes. Beginning with the representation of the type of characters who were at the bottom of the social scale (slaves or servants) to the portrayal of characters of a higher social rank (acrobats, soldiers and military officers), human representation did not

only encompass a wide spectrum of real life characters, but also mirrored the rise of individuals from the lower to the higher social strata. At the same time, as a person's social status could be identified by his costume and pose, the representation of these features became emphasized.

Moreover, the depiction of a wider spectrum of characters, including characters of higher social rank and the gradual refinement in portrayal, indicates an increasing interest and importance of human representation in Chinese sculptural art. The following discussion will examine the ideological basis for such development.

Ideologically, beginning from about the time of Confucius (b. 551 B.C.) and ending with the Qin conquest in 221 B.C., a great variety of philosophical ideas and views arose, leading to the use of the name "Hundred Schools." These schools were of truly fundamental importance for the shaping of the Chinese civilization. The reasons for their rise could not be explained but by the political and sociological factors. The fact that the country was divided into a number of states created a situation in which a lack of uniformity of thought prevailed and no strong orthodoxy in ideas was dominant. Thus more individuality, variety and vitality of ideas was possible.⁸⁰ The presence of different regional styles in art was therefore not a surprising phenomenon. Nevertheless, the most important cause probably lay in the character of the age. The crisis and decay of the old feudal society led to the questioning of the values of the old system and the urgency to search for answers to deal with the existing problems in the society and especially of man's place in it. The schools of thought developed during this period did not really deal with any problem that could be considered close to

religious themes - cosmological or metaphysical.⁸¹ The principal question posed and the answers given related to the problem of organizing an ideal society. This phenomenon was also partly due to the fact that the philosophers were simultaneously, or strove to be, statesmen and politicians, as well as thinkers. They were, in fact, the prototypes of the later Chinese phenomenon - the scholar-officials.⁸² In the arts, the change of the role of bronze vessels also reflects this social and ideological situation. Beginning with the Western Zhou dynasty, bronze vessels gradually departed from the solemn realm of ritual and became "more political than religious in function" in the Warring States period.⁸³ Contents of inscriptions on the bronze vessels usually commemorated either political events or significant marriages between powerful houses. Similarly, the production of the warriors was also partly, if not totally, political in nature.⁸⁴

Among the many philosophy schools of the time, the greatest schools were Confucianism, Mohism and Taoism. They dominated the intellectual scene from the 5th to at least the 3rd Century B.C.⁸⁵ However, the Legalist doctrine was the only doctrine actually put into practice, as exemplified by its use in Qin. Other famous thinkers were Mencius (371 - 289 B.C.) and Xun Zi (280 - 240 B.C.). Despite their differences in emphasis, their primary focus and concern was nevertheless man's value and his place in society.

It was Confucius who, perhaps while witnessing the abrupt ascents and descents of his contemporaries, became aware of the inequities of his society and began to teach that the most important aspect of man was his moral character. He did not care to talk about spiritual beings

or even life after death. His main concern was a good society based on good government and harmonious human relations. To this end, he advocated a government that rules by virtue and moral example rather than by punishment and force.⁸⁶

More specifically, he believed in the perfectibility of all men, and in this connection he radically changed a traditional concept, that of the Zun Zi (君子), literally "son of ruler", which acquired the meaning of "superior man," on the theory that nobility was a quality determined by status, more particularly a hereditary position. It was used by Confucius, however, to denote a morally superior man. To him, nobility was no longer a matter of blood, but of character.⁸⁷ His ideas were advocated, taught and developed by scholars of his own school, and also by those who were inspired by his thoughts and agreed with him in general but who had various reservations and revisions - Mohist, Legalist and others.

The most serious rival to Confucianism in the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. was the school of Mo Di - Mohism. Although an opponent of Confucianism, the school concerned itself, like that of Confucius, primarily with the problems of achieving an ideal society. Mo Di's aim and vision were the enrichment of the country, the increase of population, the preservation of order and the assurance of the people's welfare.⁸⁸ He condemned aggressive wars waged by the feudal princes, on both utilitarian and moral grounds, by castigating them as wasteful, unbrotherly and murderous.⁸⁹ At the same time, he advocated defensive warfare which served to make aggressive war impossible. His followers were renowned for their skills in the art of defence, especially fortification, and

offered their services to all the states and rulers who needed them.

The principal doctrine of Mo Di's philosophy was that of Universal Love, which, he believed, if extended to all people and states on an equal basis, would eliminate the basic sources of social conflict and war.⁹⁰

While the teachings of Confucius and Mo Zi emphasize social order and an active life, Taoism "concentrates on individual life and tranquility."⁹¹ The ideal life for one individual, the ideal order for society and the ideal type of government are all based and guided by Tao. Tao in Taoism is the One, which is "natural, eternal, spontaneous, nameless and indescribable."⁹² It is at once "the beginning of all things and the way in which all things pursue their course."⁹³ In advocating non-action (wu wei - 無為) or "taking no action that is contrary to Nature"⁹⁴ as the most important aspect of the way of life, the school teaches man to follow Nature and allows Nature to take its own course. Moreover, the book of Lao Zi advocates not only non-action but also practical tactics. As Wing-tsit Chan suggests, the book "is not for the hermit, but for the sage-ruler, who does not desert the world but rules it with non-interference."⁹⁵ "Taoism is therefore not a philosophy of withdrawal. Man is to follow Nature but in doing so he is not eliminated; instead, his nature is fulfilled."⁹⁶ Thus, the Taoist philosophy centralized the concept of Nature which, to Zhuang Zi, is not only spontaneity but "nature in the state of constant flux and incessant transformation."⁹⁷ Moreover, "this is the universal process that binds all things into one, equalizing all things and all things."⁹⁸ In this belief, while the Confucians teach full development of one's nature, fulfillment of

one's destiny, and participation in the creative work of Nature, Zhuang Zi advocates "nourishing nature, returning to destiny, and enjoying Nature. Whereas the Confucianists want people transformed through education, Zhuang Zi leaves transformation to things themselves."⁹⁹

Thus, although the emphases of the three schools of thought (Confucianism, Mohism and Taoism) vary, their ultimate concerns are the principles of an ideal person and an ideal government, the betterment of an individual and the society. All these point to the awareness of the value of man and the unwavering confidence in the potential of man.

The Legalist School or "Fa-Chia" was the only school of philosophy whose doctrines were actually applied in the political system of China. The school rejected the moral standards of the Confucianists and the religious sanction of the Mohists in favor of power.¹⁰⁰ The Confucianists were dedicated to the cultivation of virtue, the development of individual personality, government for the people, social harmony, and the use of moral principles, moral examples and moral persuasion. The Legalists, however, were primarily interested in the subjugation of the individual to the state, uniformity of their thoughts and culmination of power by force.¹⁰¹

The Legalist vision of an ideally organized society was one in which the people, deprived of any education, were not to engage in thinking or discussing affairs but obliged to show blind obedience to a powerful ruler. As they regarded human nature as incorrigibly evil and selfish, they achieved their total control of the state through an intensive set of laws, backed up by generous rewards and severe punish-

ments.¹⁰² At the same time, since their basic aim was to build the strongest possible military state, they viewed the maintenance of strong military forces and the development of agriculture, which was intimately bound up with the first, as important.¹⁰³

Besides the above practical means for achieving their totalitarian goal, the ideology of the Legalists was basically objective and realistic. In denouncing moral platitudes and vain talks, they demanded actual accomplishments and concrete results.¹⁰³ Moreover, they shared the Confucian concept that ranks and duties must be clearly differentiated. The advocacy that laws must be written, uniform, and publicly proclaimed to the people indicates a clear and definitive system of law that could be easily understood by the people. The recent discovery of bamboo slips recording Qin's statutes in the Yunmeng County of the Hubei Province proves that the law of Qin was meticulous, precise and stringent. There were statutes (律, lu) and laws (令, ling) for all walks of life; there were regulations for the field, stable, market, labor, service, money and clothing, punishments for robbery, etc.¹⁰⁴ The statutes were also illustrative. For example, in a section titled "Law in Questions and Answers", statutes were laid out in questions and answers. This section consisted of 167 statutes and contained a majority of statutes on "robbery". Different statutes were prescribed to the stealing of various items: oxen, horses, pigs, sheep, clothing, silk, coins, etc.¹⁰⁵ The Qin law was also harsh in that if a person committed a crime, his parents, brothers and wife were also punished.¹⁰⁶ The keenness for particulars permeated the thoughts of the Legalists and had a direct influence on the people. In the 3rd Century B.C. Legalist work, Han Fei

Zi, where Legalist doctrines are synthesized, the philosopher, Han Fei (d. 233 B.C.) viewed that 'Tao' (the Way) is not an undifferentiated continuum in which all distinctions disappear like other prevailing schools of thought claimed. Tao, as he viewed it, is the very reason why things are specific and determinate.¹⁰⁷

In the representation of the Qin warriors, aspects of the Legalist or Qin's ideology are manifested:

- (1) The exact rendition of the various styles of coiffure and uniform and the orderly arrangement of the warriors signify the concern for the differentiation of ranks within the elaborate bureaucratic structure of Qin.
- (2) The aim for uniformity, as is shown by the control of the overall size and pose of the warriors according to their types, corresponds to the prevailing political concern for standardization and uniformity.
- (3) Variation sought within uniformly represented warriors reflects the existence of varieties within an unified structure -- for example, the existence of various cultures, and people within the newly unified empire.
- (4) The concern for clarity and exactitude for details exhibited by the figures was also the major ideological concern of the time that pervaded Qin's illustrative and precisely defined statutes.
- (5) The portrayal of the Qin warriors is realistic in that, like the Qin's ideology, every feature represented was for a cause. There was no wasted effort.

The Qin figures were produced at an unique time in history. They were made at a time when the society witnessed the rise of the value of man, when China was for the first time unified and when Legalism, the only school of philosophy whose doctrines were put into practice for the first and last time in history. Prompted by the commission of an emperor who wanted to glorify his military success and might, the Qin figures were produced as a challenge to the Qin artists who modelled life-size figures for the first time. In doing so, they had created an art typical of its time.

Similar to the rise of the Qin dynasty, these figures emerged to represent their own time; moreover, like the many establishments that Qin had accomplished, the terra-cotta warriors of Qin Shihuangdi stand forever to symbolize the spirit of the Qin people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Maxwell Hearn, "The Terracotta Army of the First Emperor of Qin (221 - 206 B.C.)," in The Great Bronze Age of China (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), p. 353.
- Wiltold Rodzinski, A History of China, Vol. I (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1979), pp. 50-51.
2. Rodzinski, History, p. 49.
3. Derk Bodde, "The Legalist Concept of History," The First Emperor of China (New York: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1975), p. 311.
4. Yuan Zhongyi, Terra Cotta Warrior & Horses at the Tomb of Qin Shi Huang (Peking: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1983), p. 56 (Chinese), p. 61 (English).

The size of the First Emperor's mausoleum is grand. The height of its mound is 47 m; its girth is 1,410 m. Under the mound, there are the Inner and Outer city. The outer city is 6 km in girth. The inner city is 4 km in girth. So far, 20 wooden chariots, 100 terra-cotta horse drawn chariots and over 10,000 bronze weapons have been excavated from three test pits, namely Pit No. 1, 2 and 3. It is estimated that at least a total of 130 chariots, over 500 clay horses that draw vehicles, 116 saddled horses, and 7,000 men including those guarding the chariots, cavalry and foot soldiers could be buried in the pits.

5. Yuan, Terra Cotta Warriors & Horses, p. 5 (Chinese), p. 6 (English).

The garrison forces of the imperial city of the First Emperor were roughly of three kinds:

- (a) personal guards of the emperor. Their duty was to guard palaces and place gates. When the emperor left the palace, they acted as cavalry to protect the royal carriage.
- (b) guards posted outside palace gates.
- (c) guards of the capital, recruited from the conquered states.

According to Yuan, the first two types of guards have not been discovered hitherto since the excavation is unfinished. But the three pits of terra cotta figures of warriors and horses are assumed to symbolize the capital city.

6. Hearn, p. 363.
7. Max Loehr, Relics of Ancient China from The Collection of Dr. Paul Singer (New York: The Asia Society, Inc., 1965), p. 119.
- James O. Caswell, The Art of China's Bronze Age (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1982), p. 52.

8. Ding Zhang, "Qin Terra-Cotta Figures - Indigenous Chinese Sculpture," in Ancient Chinese Sculptural Works: Terra-Cotta Figures From Qin Shihuang's Tomb (Shaanxi: Shaanxi People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1983), p. 7.
9. Ezekiel Schloss, Art of the Han (New York: China House Gallery/China Institute in America, 1974), p. 13.
10. Most materials emphasize their discussions on the construction of the tomb, arrangement of the warriors, making of the figures, styles of uniform, armor and coiffures of the warriors. A recent publication published by Cultural Relics Publishing House in 1983, written by Yuan Zhongyi and Ancient Chinese Sculptural Works: Terra-Cotta Figures from Qin Shihuang's Tomb by Shaanxi People's Fine Arts Publishing House, contain stylistic analyses on the figures. Maxwell Hearn's chapter, "The Terra Cotta Army of the First Emperor of Qin" covers the figures briefly but a little more specifically. The same is true for Edmund Capon's Qin Shihuang: Terra cotta Warriors and Horses (International Cultural Corporation of Australia Ltd., 1983), Art Gallery of New South Wales.
11. Hearn, pp. 356-7 and also Sima Qian, "Basic Annals of Qin Shihuang," in Shi Ji, 6th Juan (Beijing: Zhongguo Shuju, 1975), pp. 235-6.
12. Tu Pao-jen & Han Han, "Art Treasure-Trove of China," New Archaeological Finds in China (II) (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1978), p. 61.
Edmund Capon in Qin Shihuang, Terracotta Warriors and Horses, p. 30, also believes that the construction of the mausoleum took 38 or 39 years.
13. Yuan, Terra-Cotta Warriors & Horses, p. 4; Sima Qian, Shi Ji, 6th Juan, p. 235.
14. Yuan, Terra-Cotta Warriors & Horses, p. 4.
15. Ibid.
16. The archaeological Team at the Pit of Qin Dynasty Pottery Figures, Tombs of Qin Dynasty Criminals at Zhao Bei Hu Village West of Qin Shi Huang's Mausoleum", Wen Wu, 1982/83, pp. 1-12.
17. Ibid, p. 10.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Hearn, p. 356; Sima Qian, Shi Ji, 6th Juan, p. 236.
21. Museum of Qin Shi Huang Pottery Figures of Warriors and Horses, Qin Shi Huang Pottery Figures of Warriors and Horses: A Corpus of

Data No. 1 (Shaanxi: Museum of Qin Shi Huang Pottery Figures of Warriors and Horses, 1981), p. 14.

22. Yuan, plates 160-62.

23. 林劍鳴, 秦史稿, 上海人民出版社, 1981, 第215頁.

24. Edmund Capon, Qin Shihuang: Terracotta Warriors and Horses, 2nd ed. (Australia - International Cultural Corporation of Australia Ltd., 1983), p. 88.

25. Museum, Qin Shi Huang Pottery Figures, pp. 11-12; Capon, Qin Shihuang, p. 43 and also Hearn, p. 367.

26. Ibid.

27. Cheng yuan Ma, "The Splendor of Ancient Chinese Bronzes," The Great Bronze Age of China (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), p. 16-17.

28. J.A. Pope, R. Gettens, T. Cahill and N. Barnard, The Freer Chinese Bronzes I: Catalogue (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1967).

B.B. Johnson & Jonathon E. Ericson, "Technical Comments on the Lidow Ting," Bulletin of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Vol. XXII, 1976, p. 16.

29. Ma, pp. 16-17.

30. The horses, chariots and charioteers were discovered in December, 1980, 20 metres away from the emperor's mausoleum.

柴忠言, 袁仲一撰, "秦始皇陵考古的又一重大发现," 中國, 1983年第12期, 第24至25頁.

31. Hearn, p. 367.

32. Ibid.

33. Caswell, Art of China's Bronze Age, p. 11.

34. Albert Dien, "A Study of Early Chinese Armor," Artibus Asiae, Vol. XLIII, 1/2, 1982, pp. 7-10.

Museum, Qin Shi Huang Pottery Figures, pp. 17-19.

35. Dien, p. 8.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid. The kerchief was used to prevent abrasion of the armor against the neck.

38. Hearn, p. 370.
39. Yuan, p. 16.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Hearn, p. 369.
43. Hearn, p. 370.
44. Yuan, p. 19.
45. Ibid.
46. Yuan, p. 19.
47. Ibid.
48. Caswell, p. 12.
49. Loehr, Relics of China, p. 119.
50. L. Bachhofer, "Bronze Figures of the Late Zhou Period," The Art Bulletin, XXIII/4 (1941), p. 317.
51. Ibid., p. 317.
52. W.C. White, Tombs of Old Lo-Yang (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1934), p. 2.
53. Bachhofer, pp. 319-22.
54. Bachhofer, p. 318.
55. Qian Hao, Heyi Chen, Suichu Ru, Out of China's Earth (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Beijing: Beijing Pictorial), p. 45.
56. Ibid.
57. Qian, p. 58.
58. 罗福颐, "中山王墓鼎壶铭文小考" 故宫博物院院刊, 1979年第2期, 第81至87页.
59. 罗福颐, 第85页
60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.
62. 步连生, "中山王墓出土遺物考釋三則," 故宫博物院院刊 1979年第2期, 第90頁.
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65. Ibid.
66. Kwang-chih Chang, The Archaeology of Ancient China (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 259.
67. J. Fontein and T. Wu, Unearthing China's Past (New York: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), pp. 72-74.
68. Qian, Chen & Ru, Out of China's Earth, p. 124.
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71. Ibid.
72. Ho, "Nan-Ch'en Pei-Ts'ui," p. 10.
73. Caswell, p. 11.
74. Caswell, p. 12 and p. 28.
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76. Ibid.
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78. Ibid.
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82. Ibid.
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84. Ibid.
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86. Chan, A Source Book, p. 15.
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89. Ibid.
90. Chan, p. 211.
91. Chan, p. 136.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
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95. Chan, p. 137.
96. Ibid.
97. Chan, p. 177.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Chan, p. 251.
101. Ibid.
102. Rodzinski, p. 41.
103. Ibid.
104. 中華書局編輯部編, 云夢秦簡研究, 北京中華書局, 1981年, 第97頁.

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