

A close-up, vertical view of a terracotta warrior statue. The statue's face is the central focus, showing a serene expression with closed eyes and a slight smile. It has a mustache and a small goatee. The head is adorned with a tall, ornate headdress. The statue is positioned on the left side of the frame, with its right shoulder and arm visible at the bottom. The background is a dark, textured blue.

TERRACOTTA
WARRIORS
GUARDIANS OF
IMMORTALITY

Contributors

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TERRACOTTA WARRIORS GUARDIANS OF IMMORTALITY

WAYNE CROTHERS, TONIA ECKFELD & ZHANG WEIXING

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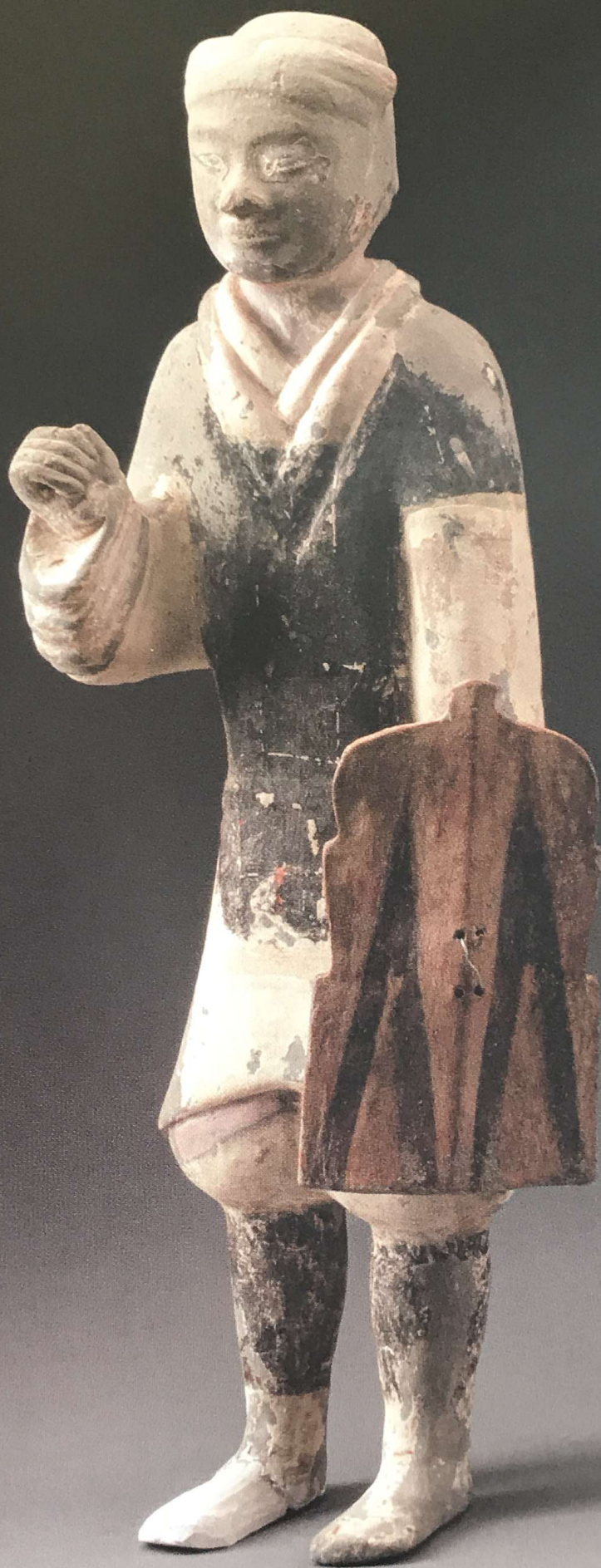
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THE QIN AND HAN DYNASTIES: CREATING AN EMPIRE

TONIA ECKFELD



The Han dynasty (207 BCE – 220 CE) was born from the rebellion that overturned Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE) despotism. Where the Qin was China's shortest dynasty, lasting only fifteen years, the Han period lasted for more than four centuries to become China's longest dynasty and its great classical age. The success of China's first emperor Qin Shihuang (259–210 BCE) was also his failure. He had forged his Qin empire through the conquest and annexation of neighbouring kingdoms, then ruled in peacetime using his wartime strategy of domination by military force, applying 'firm repression' to a divided population according to his will.¹ Within ten months of Qin Shihuang's death, a failed succession plan combined with residual factional divisions opened the way for the peasant uprisings and military rebellions that ultimately put an end to the Qin dynasty.²

The militaristic and domineering character of Qin Shihuang is most profoundly and dramatically evoked in the life-sized statuary discovered from 1974 in the storage pits of his mausoleum at Lintong in Shaanxi province. Construction of the tomb and manufacture of its artefacts began when Qin Shihuang, aged thirteen, succeeded to the Qin throne as a king in 246 BCE. The more than 6000 sculpted terracotta army figures are no boy's toy soldiers, however. Individually crafted, they embody the martial spirit, force and vitality of the troops at the Qin emperor's command.

秦汉王朝：帝国崛起

托尼亚·阿克菲尔德

汉朝（公元前207–220年）的开端得益于一场叛乱，它推翻了秦朝（公元前221–207年）的专制统治。秦朝是中国最短命的王朝，只持续了十五年，而汉朝持续了四个多世纪，成为中国历史上持续时间最长的王朝，同时也是—个辉煌的古典时代。中国第一位皇帝秦始皇（公元前259–210年）取得成功的同时也暗藏了失败。他通过征服和吞并邻近的王国建立了秦国，虽然一统天下，但他仍在和平时期不改其武力统治之策略，对本来就有内部矛盾的人民予以“坚决镇压”。¹ 秦始皇去世后仅十个月，王位继承的失败加上残余派系的分裂，导致了最后的农民起义和军事叛乱，最终使秦朝走向灭亡。²

秦始皇生性黷武、性格霸道，1974年人们在陕西临潼其陵墓的贮藏坑中发现的真人大小的雕像，最能深刻形象地反映这一点。公元前246年，秦始皇仅13岁便即王位，从那时他就开始了陵墓的修建和文物的制作。然而，6000多尊兵马俑并不是小男孩的玩具士兵。每一座雕像都是单独打造，体现了秦始皇统领下的秦军是多么的气势磅礴、充满力量和生机。无论从数量多少、体型大小还是表情细腻程度上来说，兵马俑都令人叹服，他们按照战斗时的秩序等级组织排列，还配备了战马、战车和真正的武器。人们发现有大约40,000件青铜制品，包括真正的剑、长矛、弓箭和弩，统统都采用了最好的冶炼手法，也展



Awe-inspiring in number, stature and expression, they are organised in hierarchies of battle order and equipped with warhorses, chariots and real weapons. There are around 40,000 bronze artefacts, including real swords, spears, arrows and crossbows of the finest metallurgic composition and highest manufacturing quality. The colossal scale of the tomb and the production methods used are testimony to the engineering and technological excellence of the period. Objects of extreme luxury, beauty and cost, reserved for the emperor, were also found in the tomb. Examples include the forty-six life-size bronze birds (six cranes, twenty swans and twenty geese) found in a pit at the tomb recreating a freshwater stream. The complexity of their artistry, metallurgic

ingredients, fabrication methods and technical execution was without precedent in China.

The Han rulers learnt from the first Qin emperor's errors and held to new aims of compassion for the people, frugality and long-lasting peace. The ruler to emerge from the chaos at the fall of Qin was Liu Bang (256–195 BCE); born a peasant of the conquered Chu state, he became a rebel army leader in the anti-Qin uprising. Liu Bang used political alliances and military strategies to quash rivals and gain supremacy, declaring himself 'Emperor Gaozu', first emperor of the Han dynasty and ascending to the throne in 202 BCE. In contrast to Qin Shihuang, who was recorded by historians to have afflicted the people with

(above)
Mythical creature
 石兽
 Eastern Han dynasty 25–220 CE
 stone

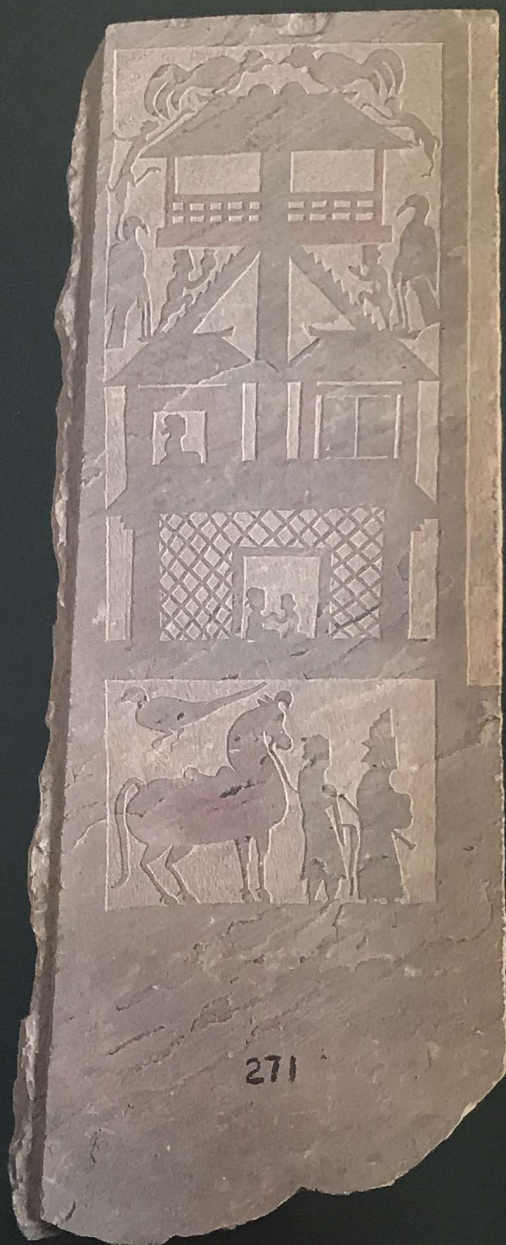
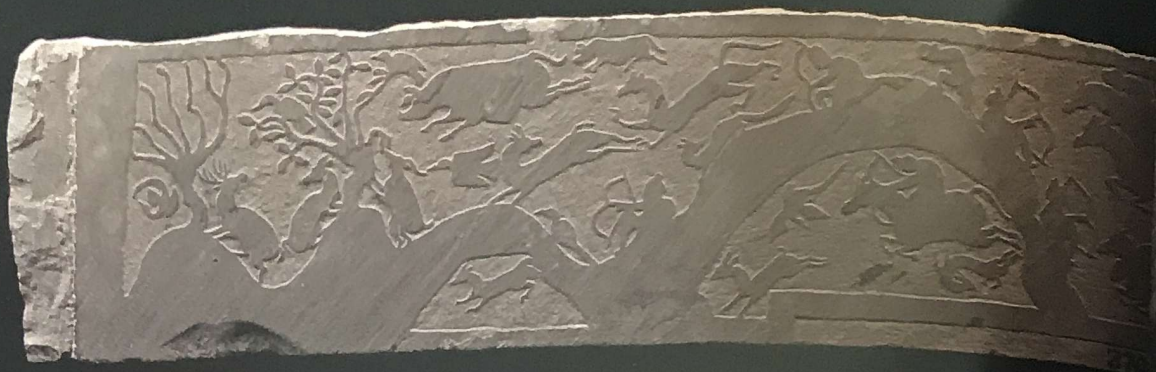
(opposite)
Mythical creature
 石兽
 Eastern Han dynasty 25–220 CE
 stone



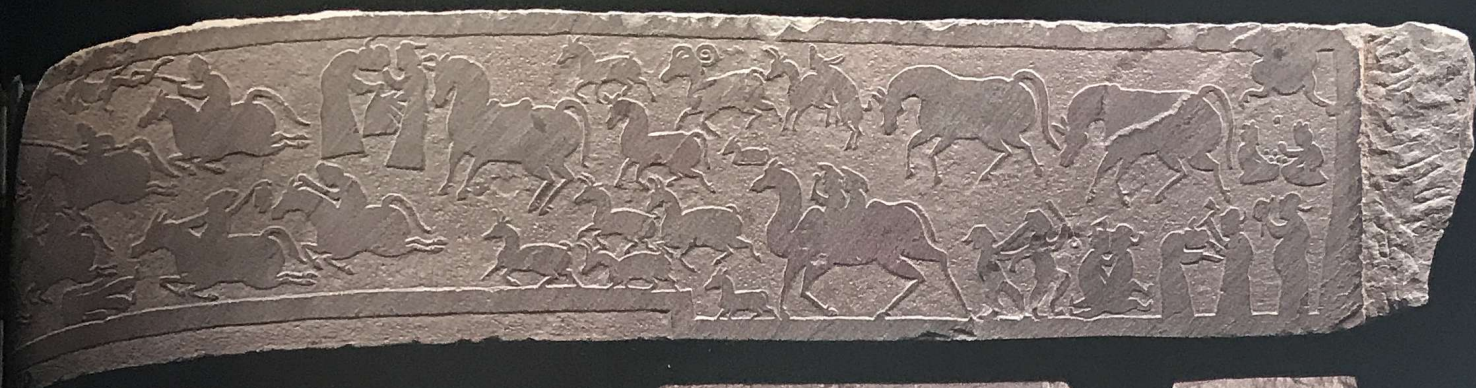
现了最高的制作工艺。陵墓的巨大规模，以及所采取的制作和建造方法，都可以显示出那个时期他们在工程和技术上的优势。人们在陵墓中还发现了为皇帝保留的极其奢华、美丽和贵重的物件。例如，在墓穴中还发现了46只栩栩如生的铜鸟（6只仙鹤、20只天鹅和20只鸿雁），出土位置是在墓里建造的溪流旁边。铜鸟的艺术性、制作材料、制造方法和技术操作的复杂性在当时的中国是史无前例的。

汉朝皇帝从秦始皇的失败中吸取了教训，一直坚持体恤民情、勤俭节约、长治久安的政策目标。刘邦（公元前256—195年）是生在楚国的农民，而当时的楚国已经被秦国征服，刘邦于秦朝陷落之乱世中逐渐崛起为反秦起

义军领袖。刘邦通过政治联盟和军事策略来镇压对手，获取霸权，并自称为“高祖皇帝”，他是汉代第一位皇帝，并于公元前202年登基。据历史学家记载，秦始皇在位期间社会管制严酷、劳役繁重、滥施刑罚，与此形成对照的是，汉高祖被当时的官员评价为“起微细，诛暴逆，平定四海”，他被称为是“平定天下”的皇帝。³ 汉高祖在秦朝的基础上，去其糟粕，取其精华，进一步发展创新，且巩固了前朝的成果。高祖的远见卓识通过汉朝这么长时间的统治便能体现出来。历史学家将汉代分为两个时代：西汉时期（公元前207年至公元9年），由十一位皇帝和一位太后统治，随后是东汉时期（公元25—220年），由十四位皇帝统治，值得一提的是，西汉和东汉之间经历过17年的中断，不过最终东汉还是与西汉血脉相承。



Tomb gate
画像石
Eastern Han dynasty 25-220 CE
stone, pigments



Tomb gate (part) depicting Nüwa

画像石-东王公(女娲)

Eastern Han dynasty 25-220 CE

stone, pigments

(opposite)

Tomb gate (part) depicting Fuxi

画像石-东王公(伏羲)

Eastern Han dynasty 25-220 CE

stone, pigments

the hardships of excessively severe control, relentless forced labour and cruel punishments, Han Gaozu was eulogised by officials at the time as having risen from 'the humblest beginnings to correct a discordant age and turn it back to right'. They said 'he brought peace and order to the world'.³ Gaozu set about correcting the failings of Qin dynasty processes while making durable its useful innovations and consolidating the empire the Qin had founded. Gaozu's vision endured through a long line of Han imperial succession. Historians have divided the Han into two eras: the Western Han period (207 BCE – 9 CE), ruled by eleven emperors and one empress dowager, followed by the Eastern Han period (25–220 CE), which restored the Han lineage after an interval of seventeen years and was ruled by fourteen emperors.

Visual art and material culture in the Han dynasty was a potent means for rulers to express the distinct character and ethos of their age, which emphasised simplicity, elegance, modesty and a sense of peaceful power. This is most clearly demonstrated at the Han emperors' tombs, where storage pits were filled with downsized terracotta and wooden sculpted armies, and numerous but humbly produced models of everyday items and domesticated farm animals.

The emperor and government

The Qin system of government was fully centralised, with a sovereign emperor as supreme autocratic head, and three central government dignitaries to issue imperial orders to civil and military administrators throughout the empire. The Qin emperor was a single ruler of one state ruling over conquered states. By contrast, Gaozu, of peasant origins, did not claim divinity, but invoked celestial support in establishing a Han government of

shared success. This inclusive administration saw senior roles delegated for imperial family members, talented aristocrats engaged from all of the former Warring States (a group of approximately seven states that feuded between 475 BCE and 221 BCE) serving as officials, and a merit-based professional bureaucracy gathered from around the empire.⁴

Confucian principles were used to reinforce a hierarchical system of authority, with the Han emperor at the head of the government and advised by three counselors.⁵ Below them, chamberlains held responsibility for particular departments (such as revenue and granaries, law enforcement, palace buildings and imperial horse studs), with a large number of officials and eunuchs as functionaries at the imperial court. Government administration extended throughout the empire following this





top-down structure, with designated regions divided into commanderies (districts under the control of a commander), each controlled by a governor or general, then districts which were semi-feudal princedoms or marquisates (territories ruled by noblemen). Locally, there were city wards, townships and villages (responsible for overseeing households, education, taxation, justice and public security). Appointed officials – mostly aristocrats – at all levels of government administration were required to study a standard curriculum and pass examinations. In 124 BCE, this official education system was strengthened with the establishment of the Grand Academy, a national university. Starting with just fifty students, it grew to a student cohort of 30,000, with its curriculum covering the Chinese classics, history, literature, technological innovation and philosophy.⁶

汉代的视觉艺术和物质文化是统治者表达其时代风貌和气质的有力手段，这些艺术和文化无一不强调朴素、典雅、谦逊以及平和的权力感。这在汉代皇帝的陵墓中表现得最为明显，那里的储藏坑里堆满了缩小版的陶土和木雕军队，除此之外，还包括数不胜数的日常用品和家畜家禽之模型，这些物件的制造都非常的朴素。

皇帝与政体

秦朝的政体是完全中央集权的，皇帝担任最高治国元首，三位中央政府高官则向整个帝国的民事和军事行政人员发布朝廷之命。如果说秦始皇作为秦国的统治者，唯其一人之权柄而治天下。相比之下，农民出身的高祖并没有宣称自己的神圣不可替代，而是在建立汉朝时与天下同利而求天下归之。汉朝兼容并包不计前嫌，不仅为前朝皇室成员安排做了高官，还任用所有有才能的前战国（公元前475至公元前221年之间的约七个封建国家）贵族担任官员，并建立了全国范围的专业官僚机构，功绩为选拔任用之标准。⁴

汉朝皇帝利用儒家思想来加强封建等级秩序，皇帝担任政府首脑，由三位顾问提供建议。⁵ 在他们之下，还有具体的朝廷大臣负责不同的部门（如税役和粮草、刑狱、宫廷建筑及宫廷车马），除此之外还有大量官员和太监于宫中差事。按照这一自上而下的结构，中央政府的管理扩展到全国范围，全国一些指定地区被划分为郡（处于某位长官控制下的领土），每个郡都由一个郡守把持，然后还有的就是分封给王侯将相的地区（贵族统治的领土）。在地方，还有县城、乡镇和村里（主要负责监管户籍、教育、税赋、刑狱和公共治安）。各级政府任命的官员（主要是贵族）必须学习统一的课程并通过考试。公元前124年，随着国立大学“太学”的建立，这一官方教育系统得到了加强。从一开始只有50名学生开始，后来发展到3万名学生，课程内容涵盖了中国古典文学、历史、文学、技术创新和哲学。⁶



Winged spirit, escort of souls of the dead
 铜羽人
 Eastern Han dynasty 25–220 CE
 bronze

(opposite)
Door ring holder in the form of a mythological beast, Pushou
 四神兽纹玉铺首
 Han dynasty 207 BCE – 220 CE
 jade

During the oppressive years of Qin rule and chaos before the founding of the Han dynasty, the people suffered terribly and three-quarters of city dwellers fled to the countryside. Citizens lacked the resources for basic existence and the treasuries were depleted, thus there were no reserves to provide relief. The Han rulers learnt from the errors of the Qin and committed to improving the empire through wise rule and just systems. On his ascent to the throne, Gaozu implemented a Daoist-like policy of 'non-action' with rule by fair laws and reduced taxes to allow people to recover in an orderly society. Subsequent emperors gradually introduced light taxes until conditions improved. By the middle of the Western Han period, with people well fed, clothed and the granaries filled to overflowing, a heavier tax burden was imposed under the sixth Han ruler, Emperor Wu (r. 141 – 87 BCE). This, along with state control of iron smelting, salt production and the minting of currency, made the Han state very prosperous.

Capital cities

The fate of the Qin dynasty and the destiny of the Han dynasty were reflected in their respective capital cities. The Qin capital at Xianyang was looted and laid to waste to the point of oblivion during the years of warfare that followed that dynasty's collapse. At the start of his reign, Emperor Gaozu established a new capital and, significantly, named it Chang'an, or 'long peace', to express his aspiration for the Han dynasty.

Built to the south of the Wei River just south-east of Xianyang (near present-day Xi'an in Shaanxi province), Chang'an's geographical location was politically important, strategically suited to military defence and economically productive for agriculture, manufacture and trade. Its position adjacent to the Wei River provided it with a constant water supply and reliable boat transport links. Chang'an was a colossal city expanded in four successive stages by Emperor Gaozu and three subsequent Western Han



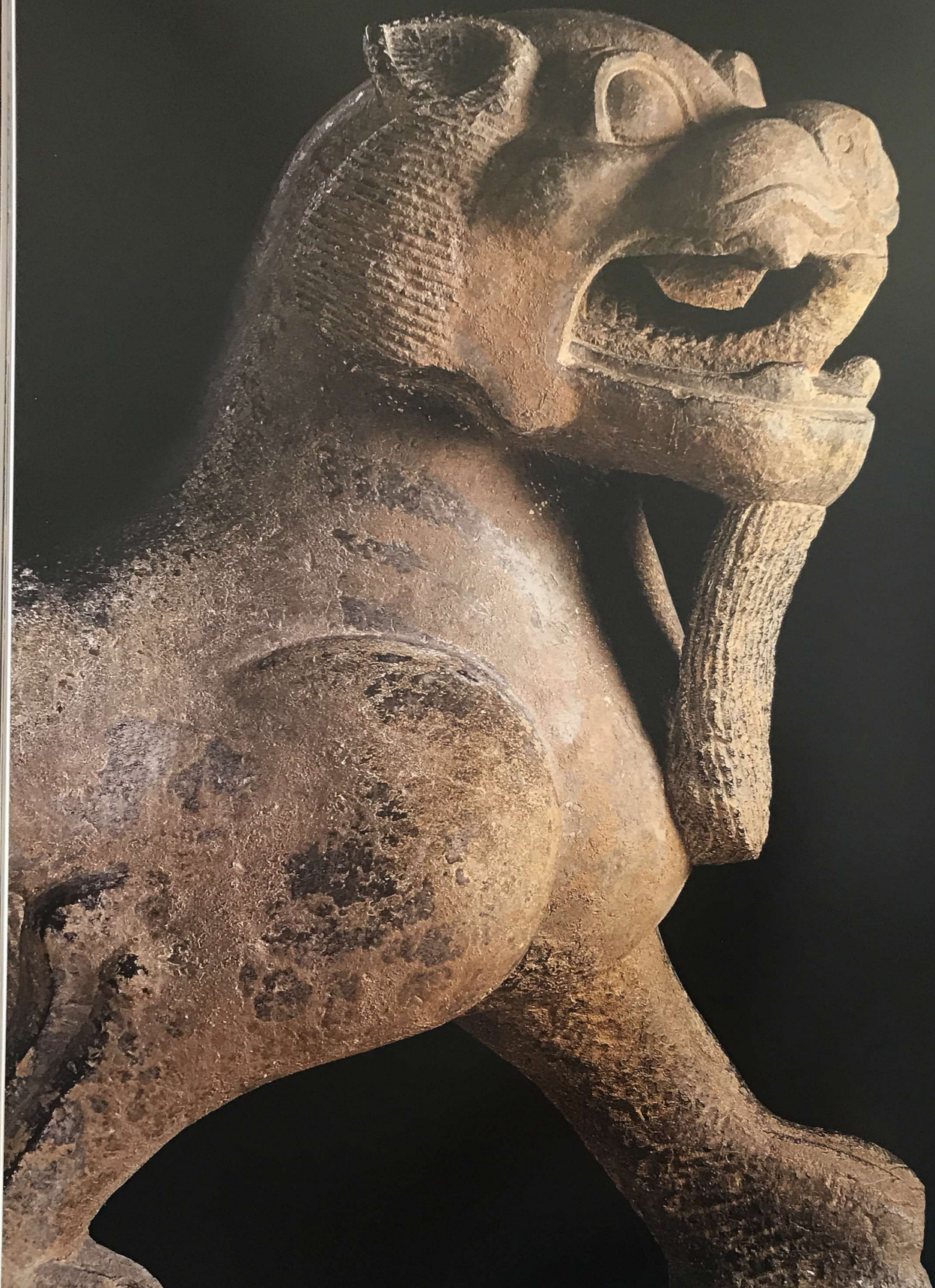
emperors, and it proved to be durable, serving the Western Han dynasty as its capital for more than two centuries. The city covered a vast area of around forty square kilometres and was surrounded by a thick, 26 kilometre-long rammed-earth defence wall, twelve metres high, with a deep wide moat. Han histories record that Chang'an city was home to around 250,000 people in 80,000 households. This would have made it the largest city in the world at that time. Modern scholars have calculated that the Western Han empire would have had a total population of 60 million.⁷

Chang'an was sophisticated and orderly, with twelve impressive outer wall gates opening into long, broad city boulevards, some forty-five metres in width and divided into three lanes (the centre lane was for imperial use and the other two for ordinary one-way traffic). City roads were flanked by drainage trenches and lined with avenues of pine, cypress, elm and scholar trees. There were imperial palaces in the city's south, and in the north 160 walled

在秦朝统治的压迫年代和汉代建立以前的混乱时期,百姓处于水深火热之中。四分之三的城市居民逃往农村,百姓缺乏基本生存的资源,国库被消耗殆尽,因此也没有足够的储备来提供救济。汉朝统治者从秦朝的错误中吸取教训,致力于通过英明的统治和公正的制度来重整旗鼓。汉高祖在登基时实行了“无为而治”的道家政策,明法善行,减轻税赋,使人民能够在充满秩序的社会中恢复元气。后来的帝王在情况好转前,也一直沿袭了轻徭薄赋的传统。西汉中期,百姓衣食无忧,粮仓满溢,于是第六代汉朝统治者武帝(公元前141 – 87年)期间提高了税赋。此外,再加上国家对炼铁、制盐和铸币的控制,使汉朝变得非常繁荣。

秦汉之都城

秦朝和汉朝的命运于其各自的都城里可见一斑。秦都咸阳在其灭亡后被洗劫一空,淡出了人们的视线。而汉高祖在即位之初,便新建了一个首都——取名“长安”,意味着“长治久安”,代表着高祖对汉朝的殷切期望。



wards set out in grids containing residential blocks, with high-class multistorey mansions covered in pottery roof tiles, as well as single-storey residences. There were nine markets with hundreds of shops in rows by type selling all kinds of goods, including precious wares from afar. There were handcraft workshops, government offices and libraries. Chang'an had a complete water-supply network and drainage system, arsenals, storehouses, ritual altars and temples, and expansive parks.⁸ Aristocrats, merchants and artisans alike were free to move about the city on foot or horse, or in cart or carriage, to enjoy the commerce, social interaction, culture and entertainment Chang'an had to offer. Descriptions in Han dynasty poetry record Chang'an as a place of endless pleasure and gaiety, where the people were rich and ordinary people dressed lavishly, like the nobility.⁹

Chang'an had three vast palaces and three smaller ones, where the emperor and his family lived and aristocrats, court officials, eunuchs and attendants worked. These palaces occupied two-thirds of the city's area. The Weiyang Palace in Chang'an's south-west overlooked the city. Square in plan and covering an area of 4.8 square kilometres, it was the seat of Western Han power and served emperors throughout the dynasty.¹⁰ It was where enthronements, imperial birthday celebrations, imperial funeral rites and other state ceremonies of the Western Han were held.¹¹ Today only its foundations remain; these suggest a complex of lavish halls connected by elevated corridors.

While no Han dynasty imperial buildings exist today, archaeological remains, relief stone carvings on tomb doorframes and pottery models interred in tombs (as can be viewed in the NGV exhibition), as well as literary poems and essays of the period, indicate the architectural vernacular.¹² Within the Western Han palace complexes, buildings

长安地处渭河以南，位于咸阳东南（今陕西省西安附近），地理位置重要，战略上适于军事防御，经济上有利于农业、制造业和贸易业。其毗邻渭河为其提供了源源不断的供水，也令其成为可靠的船运枢纽。长安是高祖和西汉三位皇帝连续四个阶段扩建的巨型城市，经久不衰，为西汉王朝服务了两个多世纪。这座城市占地面积约40平方公里，四周由一道厚12米、26公里长的夯土城墙保卫，墙外还有一条又深又宽的护城河。据汉史记载，在西汉六千万人口中，长安城有八万户共计二十五万人；长安是当时世界上最大的城市。⁷

长安城精致而整齐，它有12道气势磅礴的城门，均通往宽阔的内城大道，大道宽约45米，分为三条车道（中央车道供皇家使用，另外两条则用于平常人等的单向通行）。道路两旁有排水渠，同时两侧还建得有林荫道，有松树、柏树、榆树和槐树等。长安城南是皇宫，城北则是160个闾里，鳞次栉比，皆为围墙内的平民住宅区，其中有铺着陶制瓦片的高层楼阁，也有单层平房。城内设有九个市场，店铺林立、琳琅满目、包罗万象，其中不乏异域他乡的奇珍异宝。此外，还有各类手工作坊、办公衙署的和图书馆。长安有完整的供水网络和排水系统、武器库、仓库、祭坛和庙宇，还有广阔的公园。⁸ 贵族、商人和工匠之类的人都可以自由地选择步行或骑马，或是乘坐马车，享受长安提供的商业、社会交往、文化和娱乐。汉代诗歌中有人将长安比作一个充满无尽欢乐之地，那里生活富足，即使庶民也锦衣华服，形同贵族。⁹

长安城有三座大殿和三座小殿，这些宫殿占据了长安三分之二的面积，皇帝和其他皇族居住于此，贵族、大臣、太监和侍从也都在里面工作。未央宫位处西南，于长安的制高点俯瞰全城。未央宫整体呈方形，面积4.8平方公里，是西汉王朝最高权力的所在地，整个西汉期间都作为皇帝的居所。¹⁰ 西汉的登基大典、皇家寿庆及丧葬和其他国家仪式都在这里举行。¹¹ 今天，这里只残留下它的地



Door ring in the form of a mythical beast, Pushou
 铺首
 Han dynasty 207 BCE – 220 CE
 bronze, gilt

would have been constructed using large octagonal stone columns capped by blocks and curve-armed bracket sets. Huge timber posts and beams would have created high multistorey buildings and balconies. Trusses supported gabled, hip and pyramid-shaped roofs covered in pottery tiles and decorative end tiles bearing stylised designs of clouds and other objects. Timbers were probably painted bright red or with scenes of women, heroes or immortals and spirits among the clouds, and there was intricately patterned fretwork in the windows. Pottery bricks covering the rammed-earth floors are extant and were impressed with decorative patterns, including the four directional animals (dragon on the building's east, tiger on the west, phoenix on the south and composite snake-tortoise on the north). Elaborate fixtures on the enormous bossed doors made in the form of mythical horned beasts were

intended to ward off evil. Palace buildings would have housed many treasures offered as tributes to the court by foreign countries and vassal states, or altars with bronze sculptures. There were high multistorey observation towers, lakes, pools, rockeries, stone sculptures and landscaped gardens, charming bridges over waterways, and rare birds and exotic animals.

After a mid-dynasty upheaval from which emerged the Eastern Han period, the primary Han capital was moved to Luoyang (literally 'north of the Luo River', in present-day Henan province), with Chang'an continuing as an important secondary urban centre. Despite being only one-third the area of Chang'an, Luoyang maintained a population of 500,000 in the first century (with a total Eastern Han population of 57.7 million by census). Although historical records describing Han Luoyang are limited, it is known that while



in some ways grand, it was more austere in character and frugal in design than Chang'an. It was also a walled city, with a symmetrical grid plan, high defensive walls, large gateways and avenues, two sumptuous palaces, government offices, libraries, residences, markets, an armoury, a granary, lakes, and gardens.¹³ An impressive processional road reserved for the emperor led from the main south gate northwards through the city; it had two large bronze camels at its starting point, officials could use its two side lanes and guards were posted all along its length.¹⁴ Large altar buildings provided the setting for elaborate imperial rituals for ancestor worship, offerings for the soil and grain, and sacrifices to heaven and earth. Luoyang's most outstanding building was the Northern Palace's Deyang Hall ('hall of virtue'), where the emperor met his court officials and foreign emissaries, and held banquets with food, wine, and

基; 但依稀还可以看出当年的它是多么的豪华和复杂, 宫中各处皆为抬高的廊道所连通。

虽然没有现存的汉代皇家建筑, 但从考古遗迹、墓门门框上的浮雕石刻和墓葬中的陶器模型 (正如维多利亚州国立美术馆展览中所见), 以及那个时期的文学诗歌和散文, 都能一窥汉朝之建筑风格。¹² 就拿西汉宫殿群的建筑来说, 它们应该都是用大型八角形石柱建造的, 石柱之上架着石块和弯梁。巨大的木柱和横梁将建筑隔为数层, 其中还包括了阳台。其山墙靠桁架结构支撑, 墙体中部和人字形的屋顶, 则盖满瓷砖和装饰用的花砖, 上面有云彩和其他装饰设计, 姿态万千。木头梁柱也可能被涂成朱红色, 或是绘上在云层中的仙女、英雄和神灵, 窗户上也有错综复杂的花纹。古陶砖覆盖的夯土地板保存下来, 并留下了装饰图案, 包括了分别朝向四面的动物 (东为龙, 西为虎, 南为凤凰, 北为玄武)。

acrobatic and musical performances. Nearly 1400 square metres in area and built on a high rammed-earth platform, Deyang Hall could hold 10,000 people. Han histories record that it had magnificent ceilings painted with scenes, red painted beams, gold-plated columns, steps of jade, and fretwork screens depicting palace beauties.¹⁵

Infrastructure

The Han dynasty inherited the Qin dynasty's standardised systems and engineering infrastructure, transforming these from instruments of control to those of cohesion. To the Qin's empire-wide reforms of standardised written script (transcending different spoken languages), weights and measures, axle widths and currency, the Han added papermaking from hemp. Maintaining these unifying measures meant that communications, transportation, trade and the economy were effective and streamlined. Qin Shihuang had used advanced engineering capability to implement massive infrastructure projects – great walls, superhighways, vast canal systems, docks, dams, colossal bridges and fortified cities with grand palaces. This important engineering network was maintained and expanded in the Han period, forming a platform for peace and prosperity.

The empire was connected across its width by two 'imperial chariot roads' built all the way from the capital to the seaboard in the east and far inland to the west, with other roads to the south and a grand canal to connect the southern river systems. The greatest and perhaps most strategically important of all was a vast superhighway more than 700 kilometres long and six lanes wide, with checkpoints stretching from Ganquan Palace ('Sweet Fountain Palace', eighty-five kilometres to the north of Chang'an) all the way to the Great Wall at the empire's northern border

巨大浮雕门上精巧的设计，其灵感来自于神话中的有角野兽，目的是趋吉避凶。宫殿里还有许多外国和诸侯国向宫廷供奉的珍宝，此外还有青铜祭坛。殿里有高高的亭台、湖水、池塘、假山、石雕和园林，此外还有小桥流水和奇鸟异兽。

经过汉朝中期的剧变，新立的东汉将汉初的都城迁往洛阳（今河南省的“洛河以北”），长安则继续是重要的第二城市中心。洛阳虽然只有长安的三分之一大小，但在第一世纪仍然拥有50万人口（据统计，东汉当时人口总数为5770万）。虽然记载汉洛阳的史料有限，但据了解，除了某些方面还是比较豪华，整体来讲它比长安更加朴素节俭。洛阳也由高高的城墙环绕，城内呈对称化网格状分布，城墙上巨大的城门，通向城内宽阔的大道，还有两个豪华的宫殿，有办公衙署、图书馆、民居、市场，以及一个军械库、一个粮仓、多个湖泊和花园。¹³ 城内由南到北建有一条雄伟的大道，专门用于皇帝的出行，在它的起点有两头青铜大骆驼，官员们能使用大道两旁的侧道，而整条大道都布满了侍卫。¹⁴ 城里的大型祭坛是为皇家举行隆重的祭祖仪式所用，同时也用来供奉谷物和献祭牲品，祈祷风调雨顺、降福免灾。北宫的德阳殿（“德之殿”）是洛阳最雄伟高大的建筑，皇帝在那里会见宫廷官员和外国使节，设宴款待，并安排杂技和音乐表演。德阳楼占地近1400平方米，建在一个高大的夯土平台上，可容纳1万人。汉史记载，殿内宏伟宽阔、画屋朱梁、金柱玉阶，还有描绘宫廷美景的浮雕屏风。¹⁵

基础设施

汉代继承了秦朝的标准化体系和工程基础设施，秦代利用它们来控制国家，而汉代利用它们来团结发展。秦朝在全国范围内实行标准化文字（打破不同方言间的障碍）、统一度量衡、车轴宽度和货币，而汉人在此基础上发明了大麻造纸。这些统一措施使得通讯、运输、贸易和经济更为有效和精简。秦始皇利用先进的工程技术，





(near present-day Inner Mongolia). Recently excavated by the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, this highway, known as the Zhidao ("Straight Way"), made ingenious use of the existing terrain. Visible in satellite photographs on Google Earth, it is positioned at high elevation, running along mountain ridges and bridging river valleys at optimal points; parts are still in use today.¹⁶ This infrastructure made possible the fast movement of troops, grain for famine relief, other goods and long-distance communications. Postal relay stations all along the route enabled high-speed couriers on horseback to carry messages between the capital and remote regions.¹⁷

Archaeologists recently discovered impressive examples of bridge building and have excavated seven major bridges leading across the Wei and Jun rivers adjacent to the Han Chang'an city site. The Chu-gate Bridge over the Wei River demonstrates the scale and complexity of Qin-Han engineering construction projects. Constructed of seven different types of wood on stone piers, Chu-Gate Bridge measures 880 metres long and fifteen metres wide and rises to nearly nine metres high above the riverbed; it even had a dock for the transfer of people and goods. The durability of its construction is demonstrated by the fact the bridge remained in use throughout the centuries until the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), when the course of the Wei River changed.¹⁸

Ease of mobility and supply routes by road and water secured the Han empire both militarily and economically. Internally, peace brought food security and surplus by enabling more land to be placed under agricultural cultivation, and there was redistribution of reserves where needed. When possible, external threats from foreign neighbours were faced with negotiations rather than conflict, leading to a period of international diplomacy. Trade expanded,

建造了长城、直道驰道、大运河、码头、水坝、大桥以及牢固的城池和其中的宏伟宫殿等大型基础设施项目。这些重要的工程设施在汉代得以延续和扩大。这也为汉代实现和平与繁荣打下基础。

两条“官家车马道”将国家东西相连。一条向东一直延伸到海岸线，另一条向西直通内陆，两者均经都城相连。另外还有一些接往南部的道路，以及一条用以连接南方水系的大运河。这些道路里最伟大最重要的当属一条700多公里长、6车道宽的巨大高速公路了，它从甘泉宫（位于长安以北85公里处，意为“充满甘甜泉水之宫”）一直延伸到帝国北部边界（今天的内蒙古附近）的长城，战略上十分关键。这条被陕西省考古研究所发掘出来的公路，被称为“直道”，它的铺设巧妙地利用了现有的地形。从谷歌地球上的卫星照片上可以看到，它位于高海拔地区，沿山脊而建，在最佳地点架桥跨越河谷；其部分设施今天仍在被使用。¹⁶ 这种基础设施使军队、饥荒救济粮、其他物资和远程信件得以快速流动。沿途的邮政驿站使骑在马背上的高速信使能够在首都和偏远地区之间传递信息。¹⁷

考古学家最近发现了一些桥梁建造实例，令人印象深刻。他们掘出了七座跨江大桥遗址。这些桥梁曾经负责连通汉都长安毗邻的泾渭之水。渭河之上的厨城门大桥显示了秦汉建设工程项目的规模和复杂性。厨城门大桥桥身高出河床近9米，由七种不同类型的木材制作，建于石墩之上，长880米，宽15米；它还配有一个运送人员和货物的码头。厨城门大桥一直沿用到清朝（1644 - 1911），直到渭河改道，这也证明了它的经久耐用。¹⁸

汉代的王朝之所以稳固，无论从军事还是经济方面来说，都离不开便利的交通和水陆两条补给线路的畅通无阻。从国内角度看，和平的环境让更多的土地得以耕种，从而能够保证粮食充足并有盈余。这样一来就能在必要时按







with secure land and sea routes beyond China's borders through Central Asia to the West, and to Korea and Japan. Diplomatic missions to Central Asia in the second century BCE carried silks and other Chinese goods, and returned to China with superior horse stock, new varieties of trees, plants and crops (including walnut, grape, lucerne, broad bean and pomegranate), crafts such as woven woollen carpets, and music and musical instruments.

The military

The professional military and conscripted citizen military were crucial to maintaining power and security throughout the Han empire. At the highest level, the emperor and imperial family members received the protection of select military personal bodyguards, with designated palace armies stationed to protect the court and palace buildings. Imperial soldiers marched the streets and gathered in command posts and guard stations where arsenals of swords, halberds, shields, crossbows and other weapons were ready for use. The professional armies were supplemented by citizen-soldier militiamen, as by law, every adult male was required to dedicate one month each year to either military duty or *corvée* labour (manual labour that was usually unpaid). The soldiers were both warriors and peacekeepers, stationed across the Han regions, and were able to march thirty kilometres a day and be deployed to areas of particular military need. Although the Han armies were at times defenders and at others aggressors in battle, the Han preference was to use the military for peacekeeping. Colonies of soldier-farmer settlers played a strategic role in conquering lands previously contested by nomads of the steppes. They maintained a permanent presence to occupy, settle, stabilise and make productive the fringes of empire.

需分配。当受到邻国威胁时，尽可能地选择谈判而不是爆发冲突，这样可以促成国与国间建立外交关系。对外贸易中汉朝有安全的陆路和海路通道，可以和平地穿越中国边境，穿越中亚直通西方，或者到韩国和日本，就这样汉朝的贸易越做越大。公元前2世纪，前往中亚的外交使团带去了丝绸和其他中国商品，又带回来了优良的骏马、新品树木、植物和作物（包括核桃、葡萄、紫花苜蓿、蚕豆和石榴）、编织毛毯等工艺品以及音乐和乐器。

军事

职业军人和应征入伍的民兵是维护整个汉帝国权力和安全的关键。在最高层级，皇帝和皇室成员由精心选拔的私人军事护卫保护，并指定有禁卫军驻守保护宫廷。帝国士兵会上街巡逻，闲时则驻扎在营地和哨站，那里的武器库中有剑、戟、盾牌、十字弓和其他武器供士兵使用。职业军队由民兵补充，根据当时的法律，每个成年男性每年都要服一个月的兵役或劳役（通常是无偿的体力劳动）。这些士兵既是战士，又是维和人员，遍布大汉天下，每天能够行军30公里，也可以部署到有特殊军事需要的地区。虽然汉朝军队有时候是去侵略别国，有时候是为了抵御外敌，但汉朝更倾向于用军队来维持和平。兵民两用的政策即让戍边之军闲时成为农民从事生产，这种政策在把草原游牧民族赶走方面发挥了重大战略作用。他们占领了土地后便从事生产，定居下来，使帝国的边疆得以稳固。

汉代帝王陵中大量的陪葬兵马俑证明了军队的重要性。其中大多数是男性，还有一些女性和太监，这些活灵活的雕像代表着步兵和骑兵部队。或站或行，或骑马，一些人穿着盔甲，另一些人拿着盾牌；所有人都背对着坟墓，以保护去到的另一个世界的皇帝。汉兵马俑高约60厘米，约为秦朝兵马俑的1/3大小，因此显得比秦朝兵马俑更谦逊、低调、不那么凶猛。遗迹显示，汉代兵马俑最初是用布做的，有的兵马俑佩戴着缩小版的武器

The thousands of terracotta warriors interred in pits at the Han emperors' tombs are evidence of the military's importance. Mostly men, with some women and eunuchs, these lively-faced figures represented foot soldiers and cavalry forces. Standing, walking or riding on horseback, some wear armour and others hold shields; all were positioned with their backs to the tomb to protect the emperor in his afterlife. At around sixty centimetres high, the Han terracotta warriors are around one-third the size of their Qin precursors, thereby appearing more modest, understated and less fierce than the Qin. Remnants reveal that the Han imperial terracotta warriors were originally painted and clothed in fabric uniforms, with some carrying scaled-down weapons and shields or wearing leather armour, the shadows of which can, in some cases, still be detected on some of the figures from the Han Yangling tomb. (In tombs of high status, but below those of the emperors, figures of soldiers or servants wore clothing that was modelled as part of the clay body and painted – usually three layers of clothing, which would be all an ordinary soldier or servant would own and could serve him or her in every season; this can be observed in the Xiangyang figures.) Originally, the Han warrior figures had wooden arms that could rotate in the shoulder socket, adding to their lifelike quality.

Emperors' tombs

The mausoleums of the Han emperors are the boldest monuments to Han imperial authority and dynastic longevity. The tombs of emperors, empresses and high civil and military officials provide the richest material records of the period. There were twenty-three tomb complexes built for the Han emperors – eleven in the Western Han, near Chang'an, most just to its north across the Zhengguo Canal, and thirteen for the Eastern Han emperors, most

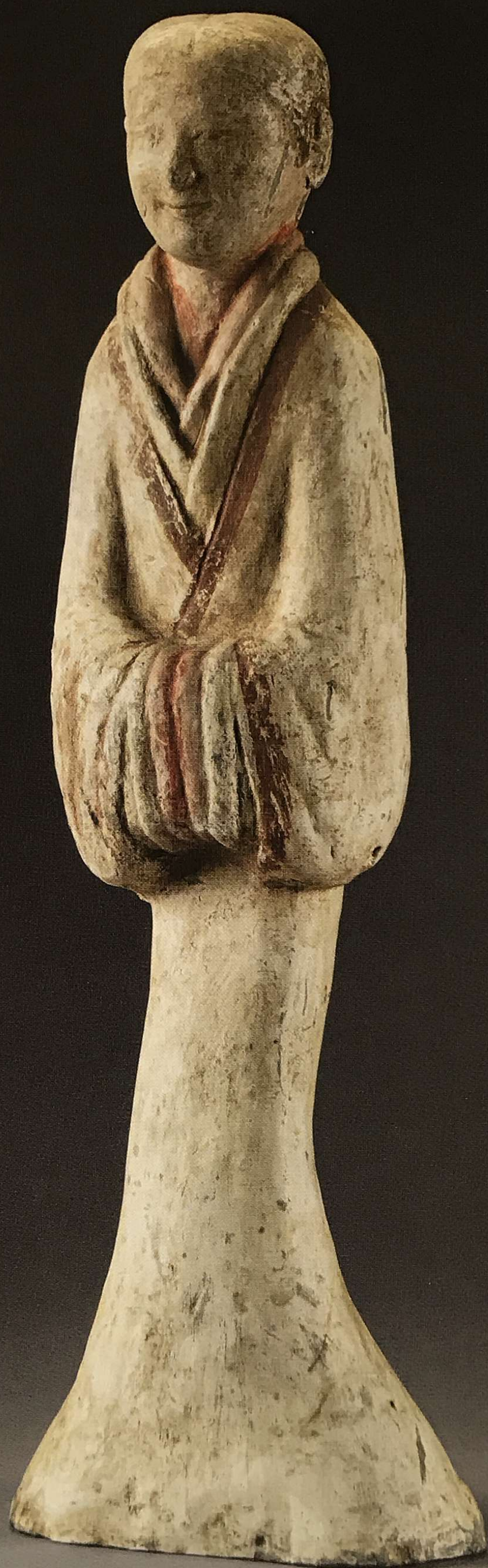
和盾牌,有的穿着皮制盔甲,某些情况下,在汉阳陵墓的一些人像上还能检测到这些兵马俑的影子。(在比皇帝陵地位低但是总体地位较高的陵墓里,士兵或仆人的塑像所穿的衣服也是黏土身体的一部分,只不过是彩绘的罢了,一般一个普通的士兵或仆人的全部衣物就只有三件,还得供四季使用,这一点可以在出土的襄阳人物残骸上得到证明。)最初,汉代士兵雕像的木臂在肩部是可以旋转的,是多么栩栩如生。

帝王陵墓

汉代帝王陵墓是汉代皇权和其长时间存续的最有力象征。皇帝、皇后和高级文武官员陵墓中的物件都大量记载着汉朝生活百态。有二十三座汉代皇帝陵墓——西汉的十一座,靠近长安,其北面正是郑国渠;东汉的十三座帝陵,大部分在洛阳附近。通常,这些陵墓中,一大块儿是作为皇帝的墓地,邻近的较小部分单独作为皇后墓,另外还有部分专供受人尊敬的亲属、官员及其家人使用。

西安附近的第四个汉代皇帝景的阳陵墓被发掘出来,使人们对汉代陵墓的布局和内容有了清晰的了解。在一个有四个巨大大门的围墙建筑群中,阳陵的标志是一个巨大的平顶方形塔丘,其由夯土制成,底部面积170平方米,顶部50平方米,高31米。当时这里定是大树遍植以保护皇陵。

在土墩下面的地底,有一座几层深的宏伟宫殿,皇帝打算死后长眠于此,延续生前之荣华富贵。虽然这座陵墓的核心尚未问世,但可以猜到,景帝应是穿着玉衣、嘴含玉蝉安葬的,手中和孔洞里应皆有玉器,因为人们相信它们能在人死后护其平安。每边一个坡道,总计四个,每一个坡道都足够四辆六匹马的马车并行,一直通往地下洞室的入口处。围绕着土丘有81个深坑,里面有各种陪葬品——总共大约10万件物品。这些陪葬品中有实物和食品,也有模型等替代物,它们还原了皇帝在宫中的日常生活,也还原



Cicada funerary amulet

玉蝉

Han dynasty 207 BCE – 220 CE

jade

(opposite)

Pig funerary amulet

玉猪

Han dynasty 207 BCE – 220 CE

jade

near Luoyang. Typically, these consisted of a large compound for the tomb of the emperor, a separate smaller adjacent tomb for his empress, and a cemetery area for esteemed relatives, officials and their families.

The Yangling tomb of the fourth Han emperor, Jing, near Xi'an, has been excavated and provides a clear understanding of the layout and contents of a Han emperor's tomb. In a walled complex with four colossal gateways, Yangling is marked by a colossal, flat-topped, square pyramidal mound made of rammed earth and measuring 170 square metres at the base and fifty square metres at the top, and which is thirty-one metres high. This would have been covered with a plantation of large trees for protection.

Underground, below the mound, lies a grand palace several storeys deep, intended as a final resting place where the emperor's soul could dwell in luxury for all eternity. While this central core of the tomb has not been opened, it can be speculated that Emperor Jing was laid to rest wearing a jade suit with a jade cicada in his mouth and jade objects in his hands and orifices for their believed protective properties in the afterlife. Four ramps, one on each side, are wide enough for four six-horse carriages to drive down to the entrance of the underground chambers. Surrounding the mound are eighty-one deep pits containing multiple layers of grave goods – approximately 100,000 items in total. These are a combination of real objects and foods, and substitute items in replica or model form that reveal much about the daily life of the emperor at court as well as the lives of the many ordinary people who served him. Service to the emperor continued after his death, with each imperial mausoleum complex accompanied by a special village. The emperor's personal staff and high officials, as well as guards, maids, servants, gardeners, cleaners and maintenance crews all lived there and were



responsible for serving the deceased daily as prescribed, conducting rituals and ensuring the upkeep of the tomb and its surrounds.¹⁹

Farming

The relatively comfortable situation of ordinary people is revealed in art and artefacts portraying agricultural life, as well as a rare archaeological example of a Han farming settlement. Farmers were productive throughout the empire, with the lands surrounding Chang'an having the benefit of high agricultural fertility due to the river systems and defences (natural, man-made and military).²⁰ The agricultural labour force was made up of individual peasants who enjoyed personal freedom and could engage in production under the private economy while they worked



as part of the feudal system for landlords (imperial family members, aristocrats, powerful families or merchants) or farmed their own land. This was in contrast to the situation in the Qin era, when it was declared that all land belonged to the emperor. Organised as households (there were around ten million households), they could be self-sufficient, producing their own food and clothing, and benefited from new agricultural technologies and methods.

Tangible evidence of Han dynasty farm life exists in the unique first century CE archaeological site at Sanyang-zhuang in Henan Province, where a river valley farming settlement was catastrophically buried by a massive inundation of silt during a Yellow River flood. At the site, the Henan Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology has excavated fourteen agricultural compounds with all

了许多服侍皇帝的普通人的生活。皇帝去世后，对他的服侍仍未停止，每个陵墓都配有一个专门的村庄。皇帝的随身侍从和大臣，以及侍卫、宫女、仆人、园丁、清洁工和维修人员都住在那里，负责按规定每天为先帝服务，举行仪式，并负责保养维护陵墓及其四周。¹⁹

农业

我们从一个罕见的汉族农耕聚居地的考古实例中可以看出，当时的普通百姓处于一种相对舒适的生存环境，而且这一点也可以从当时描绘农业生活的艺术和手工艺品中得到证明。整个帝国的农民都是高产的，长安周围的土地肥沃，这得益于河流的充分灌溉和良好的防御工事（包括自然形成的、人工修建的和军事力量）。²⁰ 农业劳动力由享有人身自由的个体农民组成，他们可以在私营经济下从事生产，也可以作为封建地主制度的一部分（皇



Miniature granary
彩绘陶仓

Warring States period 475-221 BCE
earthenware, pigments

(opposite, top)

Miniature stove
黄釉陶灶

Han dynasty 207 BCE - 220 CE
glazed earthenware

(opposite, bottom)

Pigsty
灰陶猪圈

Han dynasty 207 BCE - 220 CE
glazed earthenware

their contents.²¹ These actual remains – real and model objects interred in tombs, together with scenes of people's daily activities painted on tomb bricks – provide a vivid sense of farm life. Farmers engaged with satisfaction in agriculture (ploughing, sowing seeds, harvesting, husking rice), animal raising, spinning and weaving, hunting, brewing, selling wine and drinking, cooking and banqueting, playing games, musical performance and dancing, and listening to teachers or storytellers. Their homes were equipped with wells, stoves, storehouses, fishponds and pigsties, and areas for raising oxen, cattle, sheep, goats, dogs and chickens domesticated for meat, milk, eggs, fur and leather.

New technological innovations made farming more productive and the farmers' lives easier. These improvements included the iron plough and powerful new broad ploughs pulled by oxen, and the seed plough, which combined furrowing, sowing and covering with earth,

室成员、贵族、有权势的家庭或商人），为地主而耕作，或者也可以耕种自己的土地。这与秦代的情况截然相反，秦朝时所有的土地都属于皇帝。汉朝农民以户为单位（大约有1000万户）耕作，能够自给自足，自己生产食物和衣服，并受益于新的农业技术和方法。

河南省三杨庄是一个独特的公元一世纪考古遗址，在那里出土了很多能够证实汉代农耕生活的有形证据，那里以前是一个河谷农业聚居地，在黄河发洪水期间被大量淤泥所掩埋。在此遗址上，河南省文物考古研究所出土了十四处保存完整的农家大院。²¹ 这些埋葬在墓葬中的物件，无论实物或模型，加上墓砖上描绘的人们日常活动的场景，给人一种生动的农家生活的感觉。农民怡然自得地从事着农业生产（犁地、播种、收割、剥稻壳），饲养动物、纺织、狩猎、酿造、出售酒水、烹饪和宴请、玩游戏、表演音乐和跳舞、上课或听故事。他们的家中配备了水井、炉子、仓库、鱼塘和猪圈，养得有牛、羊、狗和鸡，这些牲畜为他们提供了肉类、牛奶、鸡蛋、和毛皮。



hydraulic water-lifting devices, water-powered mills, and iron tools. Farming methods (such as alternating furrows), water conservation, animal husbandry, irrigation and the transportation of produce also improved during the Han period.²²

Productivity in agriculture was the foundation of the empire. Not only did it mean that farmers could live well and meet their commitments to the Han state for grain tax, poll tax, corvée labour and military service, but abundant grain supply meant that an offensive or defensive war could be fought with success. Consequently, grave goods representing agricultural subjects, considered auspicious, were routinely interred in tombs, including those of the emperors. Examples include miniature pottery replicas of granaries, pigsties and cooking stoves with pots, as well as chickens, dogs, pigs, goats, sheep and cattle.

By the early third century CE, Han rule became unstable, with two weak emperors and power rivalries between eunuch officials and the dowager families. Generals of the commanderies rose up and laid waste to Luoyang city, so that all residents were forced to leave. Starvation followed. Everything – palaces, temples, government offices and residential houses – was burnt to the ground and tombs were looted. This marked the beginning of a period of contesting leaders known as the Three Kingdoms (220–280 CE). The legacy of the Han dynasty remained, however, and can duly be described as China's great classical age.

新的技术进步使农业更有生产力，农民的生活更轻松。这些改进包括由牛牵引的直辕犁和功能强大的新型宽犁，以及将开沟、播种和翻土结合在一起的耒车、水排、水磨和铁器。汉代在其他许多方面都有进步，包括耕作方式（如代田法）、水利、畜牧、灌溉和农产品运输等。²²

农业生产是帝国的基础。这不仅意味着农民可以生活得很好，可以缴纳粮税、人口税，履行劳役和兵役，而且丰富的粮食供应意味着不论是攻是守，打仗都有成功的保障。因此，人们认为陪葬品中存在代表农业的物件是吉祥的，这些物件通常都会出现在坟墓里，包括皇帝的坟墓。举例来说，这些陪葬品包括谷仓的微型陶器复制品、猪舍和炉灶，以及鸡、狗、猪、羊和牛。

到了三世纪初，由于两个皇帝性格软弱，又有宦官与皇后争权，汉代统治开始不稳。将领们起身造反，把洛阳夷为废墟，所有的百姓被迫离开。饥饿接踵而至。宫殿、庙宇、衙署和住宅，一切都被烧毁，坟墓被洗劫一空。这标志着一个新时期的开始，群雄逐鹿，人称三国（220–280年）。然而，汉代留下的遗产仍然存在，而且将其称为中国历史上伟大的古典时代也毫不为过。

(top to bottom)

Wild male dog

陶狼犬 (公)

Western Han dynasty 207 BCE – 9 CE
earthenware

Domestic female dog

陶家犬 (母)

Western Han dynasty 207 BCE – 9 CE
earthenware





