IMAGES, OBJECTS AND IMPERIAL POWER IN THE ROMAN AND QIN-HAN EMPIRES

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
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Submitted Michaelmas 2014 | Passed Trinity 2015 | Deposited Michaelmas 2016

Abstract

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How and why was imperial power made visually and physically manifest in two similar, contemporaneous megastates – the Roman Principate and Qin-Han China? Framing the Chinese and Roman material within such a question breaks it free from the web of expectations and assumptions in which conventional scholarship almost always situates it. It also builds upon the limited but promising work recently undertaken to study these two empires together in a comparative context. The purpose of this thesis is not to discover similarities and differences for their own sake; but, by discovering similarities and differences, to learn about the nature of imperial authority and prestige in each state. The comparative method compels us to appreciate the contingent – and sometimes frankly curious – nature of visual and artefactual phenomena that have traditionally been taken for granted; and both challenges and empowers us to access higher tier explanations and narratives.

Roman expressions of power in visual terms are more public, more historical-biographical, and more political, while Qin-Han images and objects related to imperial authority are generally more private, generic and ritual in their nature. The Roman material emphasizes the notional complicity of large groups of people – the imperial subjects who viewed, crafted and often commissioned these works – in maintaining and defining the emperor's power. If the Han emperor's power was the product of complicity, it was the complicity of a small group of family members and courtiers – and of Heaven. These contrasting sets of power relationships connect to a concerted thematic focus, in the case of Rome, on the individual of the *princeps*; that is, the individual personage and particular achievements – especially military achievements – of the emperor. This focus is almost always taken for granted in Roman studies, but contrasts profoundly with the thematic disposition of Han artefacts of power: these reflect a concentrated disinterest in imperial personality altogether, emphasizing instead the imperial position; that is, both the office of emperor and a cosmic centrality.

While this thesis reveals some arresting contrasts, it also harnesses the dichotomous orientations of Roman and Chinese archaeology to reveal that the conventional understanding of much of this material can be misleading or problematic. Many of the differences in the ways such images are usually interpreted have as much to do with the idiosyncrasies and path dependency of two fields – in short as much to do with the modern viewer – as they do with the images themselves and the traditions that produced them.

Acknowledgments

The privilege of working with not one but two intellectual titans – Dame Jessica Rawson and R.R.R. Smith – has been profound (and a little daunting). But as formidable as their reputations might be, I cannot imagine kinder, more patient supervisors (and, dare I say, friends). Both have gone far beyond the call of duty to support and enhance this admittedly unusual thesis. I can only hope to have done them some justice.

In the course of writing, I received invaluable guidance and suggestions from Chris Gosden, John Baines and Peter Stewart. The thoughtfulness of their advice and the generosity with which they shared their time were moving. Peter Stewart in particular has gone out of his way to provide me with opportunities and revelations I should not otherwise have had.

I am tremendously indebted to Josiah Osgood, who supervised my first comparative work and in whose voice I often (try to) find myself thinking. His lucidity and mastery of material are ideals to which I can only aspire.

I am blessed to have been supervised or taught in various capacities by a number of exceptional individuals. These include Nicholas Purcell, Donna Kurtz, James O'Donnell, Catherine Keesling, Charles McNelis, Jessica Nitschke, Peter Hommel, Philip Kafalas, Catherine Yu, Ling Qin, Robert Edbrooke, Yinong Yang, Clive Cheesman, Hannah Friedman, Clive Foss, Andrew Wilson, Victor Cha and John Glavin.

Walter Scheidel, James Lin, Paul Zanker, Tonio Hölscher, Samuel Lieu, Lukas Nickel, Susan Erickson, Jane Portal and Barend ter Haar – though they have not taught me in any formal capacity – are not only sources of inspiration but were also polite enough to let me impose on their goodwill in correspondence and conversation; their insights have been vital.

My colleagues in the Chinese archaeology group at Oxford have not only been a constant source of fellowship and moral support, but have also supported and aided my research very directly – usually by helping me navigate the confusing world of Chinese academia. Li Chen – a gentleman with seemingly infinite stores of patience and kindness – has provided crucial assistance in navigating these murky waters and is a dear friend. I am indebted to Chin-yin Tseng, Liu Yan, Ray Liu, Alice Cheng, Cao Qin, Rebecca O'Sullivan, Zoe Saunders, Yegor Grebnev, Chen Xuan and the rest of the students alongside whom I've had the honor to work in the so-called "JR Group" for all the help (and diversion) they provided.

Needless to say, I take full responsibility for all errata and nonsense that remain in this thesis. These acknowledgments – and perhaps my references, too – may seem long-winded; even so, I am highly conscious that given the scope of this project I shall (borrowing J.E. Lendon's turn of phrase, appropriately enough) "inevitably fall short of

paying off in full [my] intellectual debts."[1] I am deeply thankful to scholars past and present who have made the fields of Roman and Chinese archaeology so rich.

I have been funded by the Clarendon Scholarship (Oxford University Press); the Allbritton Scholarship (Joseph L. Allbritton and family, through Georgetown University); and the Senior Hulme Scholarship (Brasenose College). I am deeply thankful to the selection committees for these scholarships, and to the generous individuals and institutions who established these funds.

Last but certainly not least, I am grateful for the love and support I have received from my family and friends.

[1] Lendon 1997: vii.
[2] Hornblower et al. 2012.
[3] Lester 2010: 56.

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Abbreviations

Because of the cross-cultural nature of this thesis, and in order to make it accessible to the reader who might be intimately familiar with only one (or neither) of the two formidable sets of scholarship on which this thesis builds, references to secondary sources and scholarly journals are not abbreviated; neither are references to Chinese primary sources.

As the abbreviations found in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* for Greek and Latin primary sources are so clear, accessible and standardized,[2] these abbreviations are used for such sources where appropriate.

[2] Hornblower et al. 2012.

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Preface

"Perception is reality."
- Lee Atwater[3]

Fig. P.1. Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Nuovo, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

The image of the emperor was virtually ubiquitous in the Roman world.[4] This is probably not new information, even for the layperson (in Europe and North America, at least). After all, our museums are full of these images (Fig. P.1) – statues, busts, reliefs, cameo gems; and the legacy of this tradition is pervasive in 21st century Europe and America – from Diamond Jubilee tea towels bearing portraits of the Queen to the iconic, idealized red-and-blue posters of Barack Obama designed by "guerrilla marketer"

[3] Lester 2010: 56.
[4] Fittschen (2010: 221) estimates that portraits of Roman emperors produced under the Roman Principate may have numbered in the millions. Pfanner 1989: 178-9 estimates that Augustus, for example, had 25,000-50,000 sculptural portraits, averaging approximately 500-1000 for each year of his reign. See discussion: Stewart 2008: 88. Fronto *Ad M. Caesar* 4.12.6 also attests to the ubiquity of the imperial image.

Fig. P.2. Obama Hope *by Shepard Fairey. Screenprint on paper, 2008 (photograph taken in Bernal Heights, San Francisco by Thomas Hawk).*

Shepard Fairey (Fig. P.2).[5] And just as the ubiquity of the emperor's portrait in the Roman world does not seem bizarre or curious to most Westerners, neither do the types of monuments the Romans built: the columns, the tombs, the triumphal arches. Nor the coins they produced, which, of course, also featured the imperial image (Fig. P.3). The slogans and personified virtues on these coins and elsewhere seem quite natural too: VICTORIA (victory), SECURITAS (security), AEQUITAS (justice, equality), LIBERTAS (freedom) and SPES (hope). Even the gruesome depictions, so pervasive in the Roman sphere, of abject captives and violent conquest (Figs. P.4, P.5) raise few eyebrows among those scholars who are accustomed to looking, almost exclusively, at material from the ancient Mediterranean and take such images to be standard fare in ancient empires. They

[5] Posters: Fairey and Gross 2009; Lee et al. 2009; Thomas 2009; Carlson 2010.

even evoke little wonder among non-specialists and the general population– a population accustomed to seeing graphic war films and images of imprisoned combatants at Guantánamo Bay and Abu Ghraib (1.6, 1.7).[6] In fact, many of the visual and material means by which Roman imperial power was represented *seem* familiar. Of course, to the many experts who study Roman civilization, they really are familiar; and there is no dearth of scholarship on many aspects of Roman visual culture. But what I mean is a deeper sense of familiarity: a sense that, basically, we understand these artefacts and their principal themes well enough not to have to ask rudimentary questions about why they are as they are and what purposes they were intended to serve.[7] In short, these images and objects – their forms, emphases and distribution – are, at some fundamental level, taken for granted.[8]

Fig. P.3. Hadrianic aureus *featuring Spes (Hope)*; ca. *AD 134-138. (*RIC *II Hadrian 274).*

[6] Cf. Mattingly 2011: 33-4, 115-17.
[7] On "defamiliarizing the deceptively familiar:" Scheidel 2015b: 3. Cf. Stewart 2008: 4: "many books on Roman art do little to explain what some important works were actually *for*: who made them, for whom and why." While Stewart has taken an interdisciplinary approach (using the field of sociology to identify and address these difficult questions), this thesis adopts a comparative approach which also transcends traditional academic divisions.
[8] Cf. Ando 2000: 1-4; Noreña 2011: 2 on the under-appreciation of Rome's achievements; Arnason 2011a: 2 on the "failure to give Rome its due;" id. 2011b.

Fig. P.4. Trophy and captives. Detail of frieze from the Temple of Apollo in circo *(Sosianus). 34-25 BC. Height: 0.86 m. (Musei Capitolini (Centrale Montemartini), Rome, inv. 2776).*

Fig. P.5. Claudius and Britannia. Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. First century AD. Height 165 cm. (Aphrodisias excavations inv. 80-137; Smith 2013: C 10).

Fig. P.6. Detainees at U.S. Naval Base Guantanamo Bay, Cuba on 11 January, 2002.

Fig. P.7. Prisoner and guard. Anonymous photograph from Abu Ghraib prison, ca. *2003.*

But some eight thousand kilometers from Italy, across snow-capped mountains and vast tracts of desert, another empire flourished while Rome's fortunes waxed and waned. This empire's territory was approximately the same size as the Roman Empire at its height and encompassed the same number of people.[9] Like Rome, this empire was divided into administrative units and ruled from a central court by semi-divine emperors.[10] Modern museums, however, are not filled with ancient portraits of them. In fact, there are no contemporary portraits of these emperors in any museum, because no such images have been found. The rulers of the Qin-Han 秦-汉 Empire (221 BC – AD 220), their courts, and their subjects did, however, promulgate other artefactual manifestations of imperial authority: model armies; seals, jade suits, and other sumptuary objects and "regalia;" inscribed steles; microcosms of the known world in the form of tombs and planned parks; exotic treasures and domestically-made replicas of exotic treasures; coin types designed to evoke a mythical past; and reliefs and sculptures of soldiers and "barbarians," among others.

These ideologically charged images and objects, and their Roman counterparts – including victory monuments; dynastic temples and tombs; spoils and "trophies;" coins and gems (the miniature vehicles of big, imperial ideas); public spaces rich with images of trampled enemies and auspicious divinities; and of course the omnipresent likeness of the emperor himself – form the subject of this study.

[9] Size: Taagepera 1979: 118, 125, 128; Hopkins 2002: 198, 201-2; Loewe 2005: 62-3. See also Osgood 2011: 1.
[10] On administrative divisions, see Edwards 2009; Eich 2015; Noreña 2015b; Zhao 2015.

It is clear that there is no straightforward formula for the nature, appearance and deployment of these material "symbolics of power."[11] Yet certain images and objects are often taken to be politically useful and even indispensible in the Qin-Han and Roman worlds. Liu Bang 劉邦 was a gregarious local official who helped to overthrow the short-lived Qin dynasty and became the first Han emperor in 202 BC. Early in his reign, while his position was precarious and the threats from rivals and local rulers were grave, his Prime Minister, Xiao He 蕭何, insisted on constructing an ornate and sprawling palace complex at Chang'an 长安, nearly seven times the size of the present-day Forbidden City in Beijing 北京 and with a perimeter of nearly nine kilometers (Figs. P.8, P.9):[12] the Weiyang Palace 未央宮 (which translates literally as "The Palace Without End"). It was so grand that Liu Bang chastised his Prime Minister:

> 天下匈匈苦戰數歲,成敗未可知,是何治宮室過度也?
>
> The empire is still in great turmoil, and though we have toiled in battle these several years, we cannot tell yet whether we will achieve final success. What do you mean by constructing palaces like this on such an extravagant scale?

Xiao He replied:

> 天下方未定,故可因遂就宮室。且夫天子四海為家,非壯麗無以重威…
>
> It is precisely because the fate of the empire is still uncertain that we must build such palaces and halls. A true Son of Heaven takes the whole world within the four seas to be his family. If he does not dwell in magnificence and beauty, he will have no way to manifest his authority…[13]

---

[11] "Symbolics of power" is Clifford Geertz's famous phrase (Geertz 1983: 121).

[12] Although, like most ancient Chinese structures, the palace was built of materials which have not survived to the present, the foundations and footprint are extant. The excavation report for this site is *Han Changan cheng Weiyang gong* 漢長安城未央宮 1996. Size of the complex: ibid.: 326-7. Cf. Qin Shi Huandi's palace-building program (Lu 陆青松 2010). See also Lewis 2015.

[13] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 8.67 (trans. Watson 1993: 79). On this story and its relevance for discussions of "legitimacy" in the ancient world, see Bronson 2000: 120-23.

Fig. P.8. Foundation excavations of Jiaofang Hall (椒房殿), one of many major structures within the Weiyang Palace complex, ca. *200 BC. Southward view; north dimension of excavated area, approx. 100 m.*

Fig. P.9. Decorated earthen tile from the northern gate of the Weiyang Palace complex, ca. *200 BC. Approx. 16 cm diameter. (Weiyang 6:T1(3):22).*

Far more recently, archaeologist Paul Zanker suggested that the very same concerns, and with the same sense of exigency, can be ascribed to the construction of Roman imperial residences: the design and erection of the so-called *Domus Tiberiana*, Zanker writes, "no doubt reflected an *urgent* need, and one that had less to do with domestic considerations than with an inexorable transformation in the requirements of imperial self-

representation."[14] Xiao He was a clever Prime Minister, but the idea of "manifesting authority" was not, of course, uniquely his. And palaces are powerful forms of self-presentation, but the Han emperor's power and position, and those of his Roman counterpart, were also formulated visually and tangibly with far more complex, nuanced projects also deemed to be somehow essential for the regime's preservation.

This thesis aims to understand why certain visual forms of imperial presentation were pursued in ancient Rome and China (and whether they were as "urgent" and necessary as they are made to seem) by escaping the parochial numbness which inevitably takes hold when one considers only one of these civilizations at a time.[15] It is clear, on the one hand, that scholarship on both empires could benefit from a more distanced perspective; on the other hand, highly advanced concepts and narratives have developed independently on both sides. Traditional accounts of images of warfare and conquest in the Roman world, for example, are second-tier explanations; this much is evident in the language of the accounts themselves. "Every new victory becomes automatically a justification of the ruler" and an "enormous effort was therefore made" by means of monuments and images in Rome to "transform military victory and conquest

[14] Zanker 2002: 105. Italics added for emphasis.
[15] Cf. Lloyd and Sivin 2002: 8, who state that the "chief prize" of comparative study "is a way out of parochialism." As Bang and Bayly (2011b: 6) have written, "[m]uch of our conceptual baggage has been coined within a tradition heavily informed by the Greco-Roman experience. Encounters between these different fields serve, so to speak, to denaturalize the individual historiographical traditions and make their practitioners more aware of the implicit assumptions shaping their enquiries." Cf. also Walter Scheidel's advice to classicists: "Don't read another fifty books on [Roman history]. Buy your first book on a related subject that you don't know much about" (Scheidel 2011).

into political power and lasting rule."[16] This narrative is not incorrect, necessarily, but rather incomplete, untested. It is what might be called a "local narrative of explanation."[17] We might ask why, if military monuments and depictions of specific battles and victories are "automatically" fungible into prestige and authority, did the Han court seem to make such little use of this fact? And why have existing studies emphasized such different functionalities for martial images in the Han Empire? A comparative perspective is not only able to reinvigorate and transform discussions of both Roman and Han images of power by harnessing the rich ideas and divergent scholarly priorities of two detached archaeologies; it is necessary, I believe, for deconstructing "taken-for-granted conceptions of representation," [18] for unraveling perpetuated assumptions,[19] and for achieving a richer understanding of not only how certain images and objects were powerful, but why.

I am keenly aware that the subject of "power" and its relationship with visual media in imperial Rome has been treated to what might forgivably be mistaken for the point of exhaustion. Moreover, longstanding authorities – the Zankers, Hölschers, Alföldis, Millars and Veynes of the world – have been supplemented by a cadre of many other brilliant scholars who have written compellingly about these issues in recent years: Olivier Hekster, Carlos Noreña, Peter Stewart, Birgit Bergmann, Matthew Canepa, J.E.

[16] Zanker 1990: 185; Hölscher 2003: 36-7. Id.: 12-13 also remarks that the "internal benefit" (i.e. the domestic political and legitimizing effects of war) has "more often than external conflict…been the primary motivation…for beginning a war."
[17] Scheidel 2015b: 4.
[18] Kesner 1995: 115.
[19] Cf. Rueschemeyer 2003: 332 (also quoted by Scheidel 2015b: 4):

> Analyses that are confined to single cases… cannot deal effectively with factors that are largely or completely held constant within the boundaries of the case (or are simply less visible in that structural or cultural context).

Lendon, Josiah Osgood, Ernst Emanuel Mayer, Clifford Ando, Marianne Bergmann, Andrew Bell and Lukas De Blois, to name just a few. To attempt to make, or to claim that one is making, a significant, original contribution on this subject *per se* by using only the Roman evidence would, therefore, take some serious nerve. My task, happily, does not require such bravado. I do believe, however, that cross-cultural study has the rare capacity to advance the debate and discussion on this much-discussed topic, and to build meaningfully upon the prolific body of work produced by the aforementioned scholars and others. If there is a sense of audacity about this thesis, it comes with the fact that, unlike most new works on Roman representation (and, indeed, unlike most doctoral theses), it zooms *out* rather than *in*; so far out, in fact, that its scope encompasses a contemporary empire at the opposite end of Eurasia.

In the case of Qin-Han China, the relationship between images and political power is far less crowded academic territory, a few important works notwithstanding;[20] and on this front, it seems to me, comparison with Rome does not so much progress an ongoing debate built on a rich bibliography as it will, I hope, help to initiate *new* discussions and approaches in Han Studies. I am in full agreement, therefore, with Dietrich Rueschemeyer on the two benefits of comparative research: on the one hand, it "can put into question seemingly well-established causal accounts;" on the other, it "generate[s] new problems and insights."[21]

[20] E.g., Powers 1991; Wu 巫鸿 1995; Zheng 郑岩 1998; Rawson 2002; Paludan 2006; Zheng 郑岩 2013; Sanft 2014. Cf. Sanft 2014: 8.
[21] Rueschemeyer 2003: 332.

Part I

一

Manifesting authority: power and image in the Roman and Qin-Han empires

"All Roman art – all art indeed – has something to do with power."
- Peter Stewart [22]

"The empire emerged with an accepted use of statuary based on a belief in the power of images to exert influence. Surviving poetical texts record…the splendor of the First Emperor's capital city…. The emperor consciously used sculpture, like architecture, as a means of demonstrating central power not only in this world but in the larger cosmos."
- Ann Paludan[23] on Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝

[22] Stewart 2008: 108.
[23] Paludan 2006: 75.

Chapter 1

Introduction

"In a sense, the union of men can only by symbolized; it has no palpable shape or substance. The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived."

- Michael Walzer [24]

Although the most unusual thing about this thesis is its central, sustained comparison between the Roman and Qin-Han Empires, this is not a thesis *about* comparison. This is a thesis about images and artefacts: specifically, the material and visual manifestations of imperial power in each of these two polities. Such images and objects were not only the reflections or results of certain political ideologies or beliefs, but they helped to *create* ideas about political power and prestige. By definition, these images are power made visually or physically present. In scholarship related to the these two contemporaneous empires at opposite ends of Eurasia, images and objects related to power have almost always been treated only in their own terms, with much left unquestioned or unproven, about the purposes of such artefacts and on the big questions of how they functioned and why they were created and promulgated. This thesis harnesses the comparative method in order to enhance our understanding of Roman and Qin-Han ideas about power, and of the images and artefacts themselves.

Here, in Part I, I present my guiding questions and principal arguments (Chapter 1), and I review the relevant literature and define the thesis' scope, key concepts and theoretical framework (Chapter 2).

[24] Walzer 1967: 194.

Questions

What kind of visual and material expressions of power do pre-modern, autocratic megastates require and produce? And why? Do they need certain expressions of power in material terms? Truly universal models may prove elusive; but framing the Qin-Han and Roman material within such questions breaks it free from the web of expectations and assumptions in which conventional scholarship almost always situates it. The comparative lens is a "defamiliarizer:"[25] It keeps us from getting carried away, from understating or overstating. It helps us to appreciate the contingent – and sometimes frankly curious – nature of visual and artefactual phenomena that have traditionally been taken for granted;[26] and challenges us to access and understand higher tier explanations and narratives. We otherwise miss "factors that are largely or completely held constant within the boundaries of [a single civilization] (or are simply less visible in that structural or cultural context)."[27]

More specifically, then, this thesis asks about two empires in particular. How and why was the empire's power – and the emperor's power – materialized and envisioned in the Roman Principate and Qin-Han China? This is not a search for similarities and differences as such; but by discovering similarities and differences, we can learn about the nature of imperial authority and prestige in each state. We might think we know about these matters already; but apt comparison provides a sense of objective measure, a sense of perspective, for this task. As an archaeological exploration of the fundaments of

[25] Scheidel 2015b: 3.
[26] Cf. Trigger 2003: x. Curious: see Lendon 2006 on the "many genuinely puzzling phenomena that surround Roman imperial government."
[27] Rueschemeyer 2003: 332.

political and social power, and the very nature of "empire," in these two seats of civilization, this line of questioning is surely relevant to the larger, ongoing project of imperial studies;[28] moreover, it transcends the divisions between "humanist and social scientific understandings" of the past and between processual archaeology's penchant for cross-cultural "nomothetic laws" and interpretive archaeology's critique of comparative study.[29] Comparison also inevitably raises certain corollary and historiographical questions:[30] in what ways must we re-evaluate the conventional categorization of "Roman," "Western," or "Chinese" traditions and phenomena? And what does the comparison reveal about the different agendas and idiosyncrasies of Roman studies and Chinese archaeology?[31]

Argument

I work from the understanding that inasmuch as images and objects have the capacity to make intangible, invisible power relationships tangible and visible,[32] the content, themes, context and audience of such images are significant for understanding the nature of those relationships. A prominent shared theme, for instance, is universality: comparison

[28] See Burton 2003 on "the imperial turn" in the humanities and social sciences. Among the vast proliferation of recent works on empires and "empire" (far too many to list here), Alcock et al. 2001, Hurlet 2008, Morris and Scheidel 2009, Bang and Bayly 2011a, and Bang and Kołodziejczyk 2012a are the peaks in this ever-growing body of literature: these volumes are particularly relevant for their emphasis on ancient empires and for their conceptual, scholarly orientations (in opposition to the statistical, pseudo-scientific, or polemical preoccupations of some works on "empire"). Burbank and Cooper 2011 is less scholarly, but more ambitious in scope and more "accessible." Mutschler & Mittag 2008b: xiii-xviii provides a concise overview of earlier scholarly projects. See also Runciman 2011.

[29] Brumfiel 2000: 132; Van Buren and Richards 2000: 3 on bridging "the dichotomy between humanist and social scientific understandings…by using the same conceptual categories to simultaneously examine both the distinctive and common features of ancient civilizations."

[30] See Bayly and Bang 2003: 170-73 on this "no less valuable aspect" of the comparative study of ancient empires.

[31] Cf. Elsner and Wu 2012: 5-7.

[32] Cf. Wolf 1999; Cannadine 1987: 1; Eich 2003: 84.

suggests that there was a sense in both empires that the emperor's power was conceived to be far-reaching in space and time; and that imperial rule was tantamount to power over the *ecumene* (οἰκουμένη). Naturally, leaders, officials and probably significant groups of the populace within each empire understood that their realms were not literally infinite. But, as far as this comparison goes, the idea of universality was normatively positive, and the dogma of world dominion was an important part of the apologetics and ideology of empire.[33]

More provocative, however, are the points on which these sets of images diverge and what those divergences suggest about the nature of imperial rulership in Rome and Qin-Han China. At Rome, I argue, the physical and visual manifestations of order emphasize the notional complicity of large swathes of people – the imperial subjects who viewed, crafted and often commissioned these works – in creating, maintaining and defining the emperor's power.[34] If the Han emperor's power was the product of complicity, it was the complicity of a small group of family members and courtiers – and of Heaven.[35] These contrasting sets of power relationships connect to a concerted thematic focus, in the case of Roman images and objects of power, on the individual of the *princeps*; that is, the individual personage and particular achievements – especially military achievements – of the emperor. This focus is almost always taken for granted in

[33] This theme is ripe for further research with respect to similar polities, a project already underway with the work of Bang and Kołodziejczyk 2012a.
[34] Cf. Syme 1939: 523.
[35] Shaughnessy 2013 provides a clear, concise explanation of the concept of "Heaven's Mandate" (天命 *tianming*) the first known written reference to which appears on the Vase of He 何尊 (*ca.* 1042-1021 BC); the concept goes hand-in-hand with the primordial sense of unity and the pre-existing predilection for monarchy that characterizes the Chinese empire in contrast to the Roman. Cf. Pines 2013: 238.

Roman studies, but contrasts profoundly with the thematic disposition of Han artefacts of power: these generally reflect a concentrated disinterest in imperial personality altogether, emphasizing instead the imperial position; meaning both the office of emperor and a cosmic centrality. I elaborate on these points below.

The Roman material was more public in its orientation and more historical-biographical in its content, while the Chinese material was more private and generic. It is in vogue to downplay the Roman emperor's role in creating and disseminating these images or the ideas they communicate,[36] and fashionable to point out that the term "propaganda" is anachronistic and inappropriate when applied to the Roman imperial period.[37] But the thoroughly commendable distaste for this fraught term (and a less prevalent but equally creditable dismissal of the term "legitimacy," at least in the Weberian sense) with regard to the Roman world has sometimes had the unfortunate side effect of neutering such representations of their political agency altogether.[38] The contrast with Han China, however, indicates in a concrete, demonstrable way that such a profusion of highly visible, martial and biographical images is not merely the inevitable symptom of imperial rulership.

The disparity and differences between the Principate and the Han Empire in terms of imperial presentation (and self-presentation), then, suggest that the Roman emperor's

[36] E.g, Zanker 1990: 3; Lendon 2006; Fejfer 2008: 389; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 30; Mayer 2010.
[37] See, e.g., Veyne 1990: 381; id. 1991: 311-34; Eich 2003; Weber and Zimmerman 2003b; Hekster 2005b; Lendon 2006; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 34-5.
[38] It is Lendon 2006 who disclaims Weberian legitimacy; he also denies in the most vociferous manner any and all political purpose for images and objects traditionally associated with imperial power ("Something, after all, had to go on the reverse of the coins;" ibid: 61).

position was largely a factor of recognition. That is, the emperor was only emperor insofar as he was recognized as such.[39] In this understanding, I build on Egon Flaig's general hypothesis (which also harnesses – if only briefly – cross-cultural comparison) regarding the "acceptance" on which Roman *principes* rely; by this term Flaig means "that the relevant sectors of a political community support the rule of a specific person by their explicit or implicit consent."[40] My focus and vocabulary, however, are more closely related to mechanisms and means of "acceptance," and my use of comparison is, of course, more central and sustained.

When the origins of an autocratic monarch's power rest on shaky ground in all of the intangible senses, material and visual means will be marshaled and deployed to manifest his or her power.[41] In some ways – unintuitively perhaps – this is an inverse relationship.[42] Their purpose in such cases is to promote recognition: recognition not of monarchic rule itself, but recognition of a certain individual as monarch. These manifestations therefore focus on the individual rather than the office or position; as such, they often emphasize the specific qualities, accomplishments and ideals of the monarch

[39] Stewart 2006: 247 uses similar language; it is unfortunate that more has not been made of this articulate characterization.

[40] Flaig 2011: quotation is from p. 278. This builds on his 1992 work.

[41] One need only look at the "rebels, pretenders and impostors" of history to grasp this (Cheesman and Williams 2000). This discussion may well bring to mind Weberian categories (rational-legal, traditional, charismatic; Weber 1964: 324-43). But whereas Weber refers to the systematic "legitimacy" of ideal regime types, my discussion centers on the basis for a particular individual's claim on paramount authority. I therefore avoid the terminology of "legitimacy" where possible. In the case of Rome at least, it is a red herring, as Lendon 2006 and Flaig 2011 recently argued – and as Mommsen (1887: 2.844) apprehended long ago: "Es hat wohl nie ein Regiment gegeben, dem der Begriff der Legitimität so völlig abhanden gekommen wäre wie dem augusteischen Prinzipat."

[42] Cf. Elsner 1998: 53. A quotation from Buruma 2000: 166 also captures the spirit of this idea:

> Power, miracle, power, power! One cannot escape it: these are the expressions of a country that is either superbly confident or racked by anxiety. Whenever one assumes it to be the former, evidence of the latter tends to break through.

(or would-be monarch). They must be highly visible and public in their orientation, creating what Michael Chwe calls "common knowledge."[43] By their existence, therefore, they admit a dependence on the complicity of these subjects and can empower them to help shape and define the nature of imperial rulership.

The origins of any given Roman emperor's power *always* rested on shaky ground:[44] not principally because of some deep-seated aversion to monarchy (the question was rarely *whether* a monarchic government would continue or be replaced by a truly Republican regime, but rather *who* would be emperor next[45]); but rather because the uneasy fiction of a Republic was maintained: because there was no established formula for succession, nor a set path to preeminent power above and beyond the magistracies one held (the emperor's *auctoritas* as it has often been rendered by modern scholars).[46] Indeed, the highly unusual non-hereditary, often violent nature of Roman imperial succession has been one of the great "discoveries" of cross-cultural work involving Rome in recent years.[47]

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[43] That is, not only recognition, but recognition of widespread recognition. Chwe 2001: esp. 3-4.

[44] The *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, while providing some legal basis for an emperor's power, cannot account for the question of succession, nor could it confer *auctoritas* (Ando 2000: 156 *n.* 115).

[45] The short-lived revolt of Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus (Joseph., *A.J.* 12.2) is exceptional.

[46] Rowe 2013 makes a strong but unconventional argument that *auctoritas* as a word has been largely abused in scholarship. Regardless, the idea that the emperor possessed power above and beyond those ascribed to him by his elected offices is not debated. The starting point for many discussions of *auctoritas* is Augustus, *Res Gestae* 34.3: POST ID TEM[PUS A]UCTORITATE [OMNIBUS PRAESTITI, POTEST]ATIS AU[TEM N]IHILO AMPLIU[S HABU]I QUAM CET[ERI QUI M]IHI QUOQUE IN MA[GIS]TRA[T]U CONLEGAE F[UERUNT]; "After that time, I surpassed everyone in *auctoritas*, although I had no more *potestas* than my colleagues in each magistracy." The classic treatment of *auctoritas* is Mommsen 1888: 3.1032-4; see also Heinze 1925; Syme 1939: 523; Galinsky 1996; Derow 2003; and bibliography in Scheid 2007: 91-2.

[47] Hsing 1980 (a valuable, but sadly unpublished, doctoral thesis); Osgood 2011: 2, 6-7, 22; Flaig 2006; Scheidel 2011. Regarding violent succession and the utility of images: it is, no doubt, true that inscriptions, architecture, monuments and "imagery" in general "would have been useless

Han China makes for an apt foil, and comparison allows us to see what has not been sufficiently appreciated previously: that the Han emperors seem *not* to have needed these visual and artefactual manifestations of power – at least not with the same high level of visibility and the same interest in the individual personage of the emperor (the hallmarks of the Roman material). They relied not on recognition – affected by the public transmission of their individual achievements, characteristics and military qualifications by means of allegedly "specific" and "historical" images and monuments – but instead on the validity of their office and the use of private, courtly or talismanic images and artefacts.[48] In some ways, images and objects related to Han imperial power can be said to have served ritual rather than political ends.[49] The indefinable, invisible power relationship they usually sought to make manifest was not the relationship between a man and a populace, or between a man and state (a *res publica*), but between an office and Heaven.[50] The earthly audience was, in many cases, beside the point.

There are exceptions, of course. But it is no surprise that the Qin-Han emperors whose courts made greater use of relatively public or well-circulated artefactual manifestations of power (and, in one case, visual and architectural narratives of conquest and power) are generally those whose succession was *not* hereditary: the first emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝,[51] and, to a lesser extent, the founder of the Han Dynasty, Han Gaozu 汉高祖, and the "usurper" Wang Mang 王莽. The principle of hereditary

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without…legions," as Zanker has stated (1990: 3). But conversely, as Gibbon recognized, "the empire, although acquired…through force, had not been sustained by it" (paraphrased by Ando 2000: 3).

[48] Lewis 2015 arrives at a similar understanding in a valuable if brief chapter.

[49] Cf. Rawson 2014.

[50] Mandate of Heaven: Shaughnessy 2013.

[51] Sanft 2014; Lewis 2015.

succession – a deeply different principle from succession that is at least notionally dependent upon the accumulation of *auctoritas* – by which all other Han emperors (excepting Guangwudi 光武帝, who restored the Han dynasty after Wang Mang's reign) came to power – seems to be a crucial difference. That is not to say that Han imperial succession was not without its share of intrigue. But it is the sort of intrigue in which private people, external councils and the army at large played no role and had no say.

Comparison indicates, moreover, that the character of imperial rulership placed a far greater emphasis on military achievement in the Roman empire than in Han China. The proliferation of historical narrative images related to conquest and subjugation was not, as many seem to assume, a *condition requise* for the success and maintenance of an empire of Rome's size, endurance and era, but was idiosyncratic and contingent. The tenuous Roman imperial "office," comparison compels us to appreciate anew, was a fundamentally military position; recognition by the army (a key complicit constituent) was crucial,[52] and the Roman emperor expressed his standing by the visual vocabulary of military leadership and victory. While Qin Shi Huangdi, China's First Emperor, made use of (remarkably) similar themes and media to his Roman counterparts, his successors did not. Here, comparison also reasserts the importance of certain underappreciated historical circumstances: the fact that elite fighting was not privileged in pre-imperial China the way it was in the ancient Mediterranean;[53] the shared linguistic and cultural

[52] Osgood 2011: 22. Cf. Ando 2000: 229-30.

[53] Rawson 2014. Early China's most fundamental text on warfare, Sunzi's *Art of Warfare* 孫子兵法, does not wax poetic on the glory and honor of combat; indeed, it is about trickery, deceipt, and how to avoid combat whenever possible: 兵者，詭道也; "warfare is deception" (孫子兵法

heritage of the Han Empire, and a semi-mythical primordial unity and monarchical ideology, which mitigated the extent to which rulers needed to (or could) justify their power by proclaiming their military might;[54] and the imitation and exaltation of Augustus by his successors, in contrast to the eschewal and vilification of China's First Emperor and the visual-monumental vocabulary associated with him.

Images of warfare and conquest in Rome and Qin-Han China therefore reflect the same contrasts that might be seen in the bigger picture: historical versus generic in terms of content; public versus private in terms of presentation; political versus ritual in significance. But, I argue, these categories are actually far more blurred than we realize. While this thesis reveals some arresting contrasts, it also harnesses the dichotomous orientations of Roman and Chinese archaeology to reveal that the conventional categorizations of much of this material can be misleading or problematic. Many of the differences in the ways such images are usually interpreted have as much to do with the idiosyncrasies and path dependency of two fields – in short as much to do with the modern viewer – as they do with the images themselves and the traditions that produced them.

Some of these claims are newer or more contentious than others. In any case, they cannot be made in such a clear and testable way, other than by this kind of comparison. But comparison not only helps us to understand and put in perspective the

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1.18); 不戰而屈人之兵，善之善者也; "to subdue the enemy without fighting at all: that is supreme excellence" (孫子兵法 3.2).

[54] Cf. Chris Gosden's distinction between "colonialism within a shared cultural milieu" and "middle-ground colonialism" (2004: 24-33); Mattingly 2011: 30-35; Pines 2013: 238.

vast class of material and images related to imperial rulership; its significance reverberates in the present day inasmuch as Rome and Han China laid the foundations for much of traditional "Western" and "Chinese" culture.[55] The contrasts explored in this thesis might even be traced forward to the state pageantry, campaign art, and ruler-themed artefacts of the modern West; and the party leadership's opacity and relative disengagement from the *populus* in the People's Republic of China.[56] This project also, of course, supplements a rich and growing literature, summarized briefly in the following chapter, on the comparative study of ancient empires; the power of images; legitimacy in the ancient world; the nature of political power; and the relationship between power and objects, rituals and symbols.

Structure

This thesis is structured by comparable types of evidence,[57] beginning with a specific case study of sorts in Part II: a comparison of the funerary sites of the Qin-Han and Roman emperors, and the different ideas about empire and imperial power which these sites reveal. In both traditions, the funerary sites indicate, the emperor's power was conceived to extend to distant times and places.[58] At Rome, however, the imperial funerary sites were true *monuments*; that is, they were public in their presentation, and their thematic content was historical, biographical and specific. This content placed a

[55] Cf. Potts 2012: 3-4.
[56] See also Novak 1974; Fairey and Gross 2009; Lee et al. 2009; Thomas 2009; Carlson 2010; Holden 2012; Oleson 2014; Rawson 2014.
[57] Lukas De Blois and Olivier Hekster (2003: x) offer sound advice in encouraging "representation" to be considered "in the widest possible terms," while cautioning that the "width of the subject [of images of imperial power] makes it impossible for one person to incorporate all aspects of such a complex phenomenon."
[58] On universal empire, see Bang and Bayly 2011b: 1, 6-7; Bang and Kołodziejczyk 2012a.

particular emphasis on the emperor's military achievements. Qin-Han imperial tombs, on the other hand, were primarily designed for the future of the deceased in the afterlife. They were neither historical-biographical in their thematic orientation nor commemorative in their agency. Instead, they put a premium on honoring the deceased emperor's centrality in the universe and providing him with resources and assets commensurate with his office.

Part III considers images of conquest and of the expanse of empire. The two first emperors – Caesar Augustus and Qin Shi Huangdi – pursued similar monumental and epigraphic programs in the urban space and across the imperial domain. These programs both emphasized the military prowess of the emperor; peace through war; and the concept of world empire. The similarities encourage a rethinking of what even Sinologists refer to as "monuments…on the Western model."[59] Subsequent Roman emperors largely replicated Augustus' precedent, while the denigration of Qin Shi Huangdi during the Western Han meant that few of his successors pursued similar programs. Instead images and objects related to military conquest produced during the Han were often generic, private and even apolitical. But this requires some nuance: martial images never "automatically" transform into political power;[60] nor are distinctions – between public and private; historical and generic; political and ritual – ever hard and fast.

[59] Waldron 1996: 977.
[60] On this supposed "automatic" transformation: Zanker 1990: 185; Hölscher 2006: 36-7.

Part IV takes a harder look at matters of presentation and visibility. Is it true that "[v]isibility lies at the heart of power?"[61] Or that, contrarily, in China it is "the absence or invisibility of the monarch which is a defining feature of his relations with his subjects?"[62] Roman imperial portraits were thought to wield a special agency, to act as the emperor himself. Although Qin-Han China had no tradition of portraiture, similar concepts of "presencing" existed. But it was principally because the position of "emperor" was the product of dialogue between the emperor and manifold complicit constituents (and was – notionally, anyway – *earned* not inherited) that the Roman emperor was made ubiquitous. Roman emperors were omnipresent in proxy, but this process was not automatic or self-explanatory. The massive scale of this operation (the comparative method helps us appreciate just how massive it really was) and the involvement of both the imperial court and diverse, independent agents reflect the notions of recognition and complicity described above. The importance of these principles at Rome and the more cosmic orientation of Han imperial power also shaped ideas about imperial residences, coinage and artefacts bearing the emperor's name.

But here again, there are shades of gray. Qin-Han material is not totally devoid of claims to authority with an historical-biographical basis; and Roman objects, like their Han counterparts, may have been more concerned with ritual than we usually suppose.[63] These apprehensions simultaneously are illuminated by and challenge the asymmetrical orientations of the study of Roman and Qin-Han "images of power;" the former favors secular political goals to the detriment of other possible discourses, while the latter

[61] Hekster and Fowler 2005: 9.
[62] Ibid. 14.
[63] Cf. Elsner 2007: 38.

privileges eschatological questions (the archaeology of early China is largely the archaeology of elite tombs) and marginalizes socio-political concerns.

Chapter 2

Approaches and foundations

"Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet…"
- Rudyard Kipling, "The Ballad of East and West"

"Distances, and boundaries, are not what they used to be."
- Ulf Hannerz[64]

In this chapter, I define the scope and theoretical foundations of the thesis. I also review the significant literature related to images and objects of power and to cross-cultural comparison, and explore how this thesis' line of inquiry fits into and develops the existing scholarship.

Physical and visual manifestations of power

This thesis' concentration on the physical and visual manifestations of imperial power is a natural one within the comparative study of two great, contemporaneous, but disconnected, ancient empires inasmuch as it relates to the basic structures and conceptions of imperial power and legitimacy.[65] As C.A. Bayly and P.F. Bang have described:

> Roman social and political historians have drawn increasingly on visual material…. Several studies of the 'image' of the Roman emperor and imperial government have appeared recently. This trend has only lately surfaced in Ottoman, Mughal and Chinese history…. Yet, the issue of visual and verbal

[64] Hannerz 1996: 3.
[65] Cf. De Blois and Hekster 2003: viii: "analysis of the representation and perception of the emperor, and indeed of the 'new' imperial structure and ideology as a whole, become obvious topics for attention. Representation and perception of 'Empire' is a multifaceted area of research, which greatly helps our understanding of Roman society;" *Empires of Faith* 2012: "Key project objectives include [putting] the study of objects and images at the heart of academic debate." See also Hall 2012: 304-5.

> claims to authority on the part of ruling elites is central to any analysis of power and politics. [66]

The importance of images and objects of power – the "grand architectural settings, rich visual and sartorial experiences [which translated] grand claims into tangible reality"[67] – has long been recognized and discussed using a variety of terminologies and drawing on a range of disciplines.[68] As a "sustained analysis of the origin, character and maintenance of the symbolic aspects of power," this thesis also complements the current round of scholarly projects related to "propaganda" at large.[69]

The wide range of things considered in this category ("art," "artefacts," and "architecture" by some classifications) need not cause alarm. Many of the representations considered in this paper have often been referred to as "art," but the term is best avoided in general for its association with "art for art's sake," whether or not this association is entirely fair.[70] As R.R.R. Smith declared, "it is not a good idea to try to separate out ancient images from the wider visual and material history of antiquity."[71] Given that the principal concerns of this thesis revolve around questions of agency,

[66] Bayly and Bang 2003: 173-4.
[67] Canepa 2010b: 127.
[68] The principal works on the Roman imperial *Bildprogramm*, including Zanker 1990, Elsner 1995, Ando 2000, Hölscher 2004 and many others, are reviewed in De Blois and Hekster 2003: ix. The relevant literature more broadly – and more recent work on this topic – is surveyed in this chapter.
[69] Hall 2012; 304. Cf. *Empires of Faith* 2012: "what were the particular properties of images and objects…that made them especially significant in constructing, embodying and mediating new forms of political and religious authority?" The British Museum, the British Library and the Field Museum all hosted major exhibitions on "propaganda" in 2013-14; their catalogues are Bachrach and Luckert 2009; Ginsberg 2013; Welch 2013. Meanwhile Weber and Zimmerman 2003a (especially Eich 2003; Weber and Zimmerman 2003b) is the most critical look to date at this term and its application to the Roman world. See also Hekster 2005b.
[70] Gombrich 1999: 7. See also Clunas 1997: 9; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 34.
[71] Smith 2002: 67.

purpose and power, it would be especially unwise, then, to take "art" as a loose synonym for "images" and "representations."

Kenneth Walton has defined visual representations by their ability to create fictional worlds: for him, "dolls and toy trucks" are as relevant as paintings and sculptures.[72] Stated another way by Murray Edelman (who accords "art" a broader meaning), "works of art do not represent 'reality,' 'the real world'…. Rather art *creates* realities and worlds."[73] This apprehension is crucial. One could take, for example, the reliefs of Trajan's Column or the figures of Qin Shi Huangdi's famous terracotta army as mines of information about ancient military tactics, organization and equipment – and many have.[74] The purpose of this thesis, however, in considering these images, is to investigate what kinds of "realities" they created and why.[75]

Paul Zanker, in his influential *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, defines his realm "as not only 'works of art,' buildings and poetic imagery, but also religious ritual, clothing, state ceremony, the emperor's conduct and forms of social intercourse."[76] This is a good starting point, but the parameters of this thesis are slightly different. The primary interest of this paper is visual representation: the assortment of images and objects which were conceived and experienced visually. Here it is must be noted that while "images and objects" are the subject of this thesis, images, of course, are objects,

[72] Walton 1990: 39-42, 51, 273.
[73] Edelman 1995: 7.
[74] E.g., Column of Trajan: Rossi 1971; Antonescu 2009; Richter 2010; Coulston 1990 provides further examples. Terracotta army: Yates 2007b; Martinón-Torres et al. 2014.
[75] Powers 1991: 58 asks a similar question about Han dynasty friezes.
[76] Zanker 1990: 3.

and objects are images: both the visual and the experiential, physical-material qualities of these things are important.[77] Our "images" are structured physical creations which portray events, people, objects but whose relationship with reality is far from straightforward.

The line is not difficult to draw and defend: by Zanker's logic, "visual imagery" provides unique "insight into people's values and imagination;" Robert Hopkins, from a broader and more philosophical perspective, similarly concludes that "pictures offer satisfactions which other representations cannot."[78] And the ways in which the creators and commissioners of Trajan's Column and the terracotta army created and re-created their own realities, were very different from the methodologies employed in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, Sima Qian's 司马迁 *Histories* (*Shi ji* 史记) and Han dynasty *fu* 府 poetry. It is clear, also, that visual representation must be defined not only by consumption but also through conception and creation. Images created for a celestial or divine audience, or whose audience is ambiguous – like the highest spirals on Trajan's Column frieze – would lie outside of Zanker's sphere ("the totality of images that a contemporary would have experienced"[79]), although they are considered in this thesis.

But all of these things, whether we call them artworks or objects, functioned rhetorically and metaphorically. These artefacts are the "symbolic forms" discussed generally and theoretically by Clifford Geertz:

[77] Stewart 2008: 3.
[78] Hopkins 1998: 2.
[79] Zanker 1990: 3.

> [the] collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances that… have either [been] inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented. It is these – crowns and coronations, limousines and conferences – that mark the center as center and give what goes on there its aura of being not merely important but in some odd fashion connected with the way the world is built. [80]

Geertz's work on the self-image of communities and leaders has emphasized that artefacts and rituals related to political prestige are not the byproducts of power, but actively create it.[81] The concept has been influential in archaeology and in related studies of pomp and "spectacular power" undertaken by Andrew Bell, David Cannadine, Simon Price and others.[82] Brian Hayden has notably written about "prestige technologies" in archaeology – objects, designed to impress, into which significant labor and resources have been poured – and, like Geertz, has emphasized the "*key active role*" objects can play in helping their producers or transmitters acquire or attain power.[83] That is, the objects and images considered in this thesis are more than the "trappings" of imperial, national, or personal authority:[84] they construct, (re)imagine, broadcast, institutionalize, and adapt narratives about power. This may be especially true in large-scale, ancient empires, where the population was often largely illiterate (and therefore more likely both to deploy and to receive visual and material expressions than verbal ones),[85] and also geographically, socially and perhaps ethnically disparate. Moreover, in such empires, the court itself may need physical and visual representations and symbols to get to grips with the scale and organization of the empire and cosmos it claims to control.[86] Objects and

[80] Geertz 1983: 124.
[81] Ibid. Cf. Cannadine 1987: 3; Eich 2003; Bell 2004: 12.
[82] Cannadine and Price 1987; Bell 2004.
[83] Hayden 1998: 14. Definitions of "power" discussed below.
[84] This construction is Canepa's (2009: 19). Cf. Miller 2005: 32.
[85] Illiteracy: Lendon 1997: 60.
[86] Cf. Hayden 1998: 11 on "having [prestige objects] only for [one's] own gratification or self esteem without using them for display." See also Hall 2012: 305 on "sustained analysis of the

"artworks" may be the props and the set created for specific performances, but they are also "active" participants in the realities they help to determine.[87]

The "power of images" and "images of power" are topics of great current interest in both Roman and Chinese archaeology, and references to the "agency" and "power" of artefacts and visual media are frequent in both fields.[88] These latter terms were made famous respectively by Alfred Gell and by David Freedberg and Paul Zanker;[89] but the wide-ranging works which employ these terms, from various cultures and corners of academia, confirm that visual representations wield an indeterminate, plural, multifarious power.[90] Even recent treatments, however, have readily accepted and perpetuated rather

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origin, character and maintenance of the symbolic aspects of power…. The very lack of the resources and capacities which the modern world takes for granted made the performative aspects of power vitally important."

[87] Active participants: Hayden 1998: 14-19; Canepa 2009: 113; Rawson 2010c: 55. Cf. Bayly and Bang 2003: 174. On "props" see Walton 1990: 11, 51; Ando 2000: 210-11.

[88] On China, see also: Wu 1995; Rawson 1999a; Bronson 2000: 120-27; Kern 2000; Yates 2001: 362-7; Rawson 2002; Paludan 2006: 61-76; Kern 2007; Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 2008; Rawson 2009; Kern 2009; Si 2010a; Harrist 2011; Sanft 2014; on Rome: Ando 2000; Cheesman and Williams 2000: 21-9; Bowman et al. 2002; Hölscher 2002; Zanker 2002; Hekster 2003, esp. 25; De Blois et al. 2003; Weber and Zimmerman 2003a; Edwards 2004: 45; Hekster and Fowler 2005: 9-10; Rehak 2006; Golvin and Salles 2008; Schneider 2008; Canepa 2009; Hekster 2009; Eck 2010; Ewald and Noreña 2010; Levick 2010; Rawson 2010c; Noreña 2011; Osgood 2011; Pollini 2012; von Rummel 2012.

[89] Freedberg 1989; Zanker 1990; Gell 1998.

[90] On the multifarious power of images, see, e.g., Peterson 1982: 80-82; Freedberg 1989; Zanker 1990; Kesner 1995; Clunas 1997: 102-4; Gell 1998; Rawson 2002; Maniura and Shepherd 2006a; Rawson 2008: esp. 99, 107, 111. Of particular interest, perhaps, is the Chinese notion of *xiang* 像 ("images," "analogues" or "figures"), as described by Rawson 2002 (cf. Peterson 1982: 80-81; Loewe 1994: 142-59; Clunas 1997: 102-4; Bai 1999: 66-7; Rawson 2008, especially 99, 107, 111); in early China, images were often taken as fully functional equivalents of their subjects. The power of images, in this view, depends on verisimilitude, and manifests itself in the "direct agency" of the subject: clay models of a rain-bringing dragon were also thought to bring rain, for example; depictions of spirits on clothing or on wall hangings were supposed to bring auspiciousness; In short, such images were seen not as mimetic or imitational.

crude understandings of some of the most famous Roman material.[91] The word "propaganda" is dying a drawn-out and dramatic death in Roman studies, but few offer dramatically different interpretations; and for those who cling to the idea – if not the terminology, few question why or how images could translate as fluidly as they propose into an otherwise unexplained imperial "legitimacy."[92] Surely a look at comparable images from a comparable civilization – and the rich scholarly paradigms and explanations which have blossomed separately on these images – might supplement conventional interpretations, and vice-versa. Indeed, by way of contrast, while Roman artefacts and images related specifically to imperial power have long been an obsession of classical archaeologists, Sinologists have noted that some Qin-Han artefacts "are habitually put aside" by scholars because "they are *just*…propaganda."[93]

[91] Even the most careful commentators raise more questions than answers by characterizing the phenomenon in terms of a "far-reaching…cultural program" deftly and tirelessly waged by the imperial court (an "enormous effort of transmission"); or, on the other hand, a bounty of "psychological reward:" (Zanker 1990: 2-3; Elsner 1998: 53, 76; Isaac 2004: 19, 576; Hölscher 2006: 36-7; Lendon 2006: 58, 61; Welch 2006: 10).

[92] See, e.g., Hekster 2003; Hölscher 2006: 35, 45; Welch 2006: 10-12; Johnson 2009: 22; Levick 2010: 10-11, 115, 217; Raaflaub 2011: 51. See Hekster 2003: 20-22 on coins, and J.E. Lendon's criticism (2006: 53-63) of such conventional interpretations for earlier references. On "propaganda:" Weber and Zimmerman 2003a (especially Weber and Zimmerman 2003b and Eich 2003) provide the most careful discussion on this word in relation to the Roman empire to date, deciding, in the end, that we are better off without it. Many see the problem as purely semantic (e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 87; Pirson 1996: 174 *n.* 94. See also Hekster 2005b; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 33). Some find it convenient to discuss such images in terms of "spin," "ideology" and "persuasion" (Smith 2002: 96; Hekster 2005b; Stewart 2008: 119; Levick 2010: 10-11, 115). Others provide a brief etymology of the offending word and distance themselves from 20th century connotations before referring unabashedly to Roman images and representations as "propaganda" (Metcalf 1993; Taylor 2003, 44; Stewart 2008: 108-17, 123. See also Ewald and Noreña 2010: 33-4). Whether one eschews the term or not, it remains conventional to presuppose that many Roman images were fungible into political "legitimacy" (See, e.g., Fishwick 1993: 116-17; Clarke 2003: 3; Hölscher 2003: 17; id. 2006: 36-7; see also Mayer 2010: 111 and Ewald and Noreña 2010: 35-6 on the enduring prominence of such views in scholarship today). Veyne (1990: 378ff and 1991: 311ff), as usual, has a different take.

[93] Kern 2000: 8. Emphasis is mine.

This thesis also draws on the notion that images and objects related to political prestige not only wielded power or agency, but in fact *were* power made materially manifest. Matthew Canepa describes that the "rich visual experiences" cultivated by Roman and "Chinese courts…translated their grand claims into tangible reality," [94] while many others have made reference to power in "concrete," "material" and "physical" form.[95] Similar ideas have been applied in scholarship further afield also: a recent book by Kathleen Nolan studies the ways in which queens and princesses in Capetian France crafted "a visual imagery for their queenship" to "give tangible form to their reginal identity;" (not unlike ancient Chinese rulers, these medieval queens deployed "personal seals" and ornate tombs as "chief vehicles for their self representation").[96] David Cannadine's *Ornamentalism*, meanwhile, explores the semiotic constructs by which empire and "hierarchy [were] made visible, imminent and actual."[97]

The material reality is, for Daniel Miller, the whole reality. In his work on materiality, he writes, "We assume that to study texture and cloth is by default to study symbols, representations, and surfaces of society and subjects[. But] if you strip away the clothing, you find no such 'thing'…lurking inside."[98] And like "society," a political union, as Michael Walzer has written, "can only be symbolized; it has no palpable shape or substance…. [I]t must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can

[94] Eich 2003: 84; Canepa 2010b: 127.
[95] Clark 1986; DeMarrais et al. 1996; Ando 2000: 8; Brumfiel 2000: 131-9; Van Buren and Richards 2000: 2-4; Walker and Lucero 2000.
[96] Nolan 2009: 1-15. Other notable works from further afield on the visual expression of imperial power include Helms 1979; id. 1993; Landau and Kaspin 2002; Nolan 2002; Nouvel-Kammerer 2007; Keay 2008; Jackson and Tomkins 2011; Rapelli 2011.
[97] Cannadine 2001: 122.
[98] Miller 2005: 32.

be loved, imagined before it can be conceived."[99] While the pioneer of "imagined communities," Benedict Anderson, has consigned the relevance of such images only to the modern world,[100] Clifford Ando, more recently, has largely credited rhetorical imagery with "sustaining" the Roman empire and regime, even if, in such large and highly complex unions of people and places as empires, the material manifestations of power were subject to subversion, mis- and re-interpretation.[101]

By means of the Rome-China comparison, this thesis argues that different concepts of power lead to different material expressions of that power. While this proposal seems straightforward, the "tangible" articulations of Roman and Han imperial identity, and the contingencies that shaped them, are generally unappreciated. The portraits, coins and arches to which Romanists are so accustomed; the jades, reliefs and seals which Chinese archaeologists see so often; these "artefactual embodiments" are dependent *not* simply on visual or artistic traditions, but, more importantly, on the underlying notions of political authority to which they are analogues. [102]

One other influential piece of scholarship related to power in material form is Bruce Trigger's article on the "thermodynamic explanation of symbolic" and monumental "behavior."[103] Trigger describes that monumental architecture, luxury goods, intricate artworks and other energy-intensive projects undertaken by royal or imperial courts projected power in that they signified control of the human resources

[99] Walzer 1967: 194.
[100] Anderson 2006: 13-14.
[101] Ando 2000: xi, 8, 41, 210-11; Edwards 2004: 45.
[102] Bronson 2000: 127.
[103] Trigger 1990.

(thermodynamic energy) required to create such grand constructions. He adds, however, that "in each early civilization, [grand projects] had highly idiosyncratic meanings, which were either read into, or determined, such features as their shape, orientation, decoration, colour, and the materials out of which they were constructed." Trigger's general observations are important vis-à-vis questions of audience for Roman and Han images of power; principally, however, this thesis investigates the specific "features" he describes and the particular ideologies that determined them.

Power in the ancient world

This thesis is situated within a broader scholarly dialogue about legitimacy and the nature of power in the ancient world, spearheaded by Janet Richards, Mary Van Buren, Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Jaime Castillo, and Timothy Earle, John Baines and Norman Yoffee.[104] Much of this research has indeed emphasized "the maintenance and manipulation of central cultural symbols" and "objects…, icons [and] paraphernalia" of power in general terms; but there is neither a rule for the form and projection of these objects, nor a seamless fungibility of such materials into "legitimate" authority. As a cross-cultural study of visual culture, this thesis is able to contribute in particular to the ongoing debate on the nature of Roman imperial power.[105] It is significant for the discordant hypotheses of Clifford Ando and J.E. Lendon on the extent to which the emperor relied on images and objects for his power,[106] and bears on work further afield related to the *auctoritas* and corresponding "public life" of the Roman emperor.[107]

[104] DeMarrais et al. 1996; Baines and Yoffee 2000; Van Buren and Richards 2000.
[105] Cf. Canepa 2009; id. 2010a; id. 2010b on the Roman and Sasanian empires.
[106] Ando 2001; Lendon 2006. Lendon (2006: 58) has attacked the frequent but imprudent invocation of Weberian legitimacy or "strategies of legitimation" as a "one-size-fits-all

Imperial discourses

The modern world is enthralled and mystified by ancient empires. The innumerable monuments to Roman power across Europe, Asia Minor and northern Africa – simultaneously eerie and impressive for modern viewers – are magnets for visitors and models for imitation. And the scale of Rome's dominion, both in geographic and chronological terms, confounds and excites us, as does the authority wielded over vast tracts of territory by the colorful cast of characters known as the Roman emperors (even as most of us fail nevertheless to appreciate fully the magnitude of Rome's achievement).[108] We consciously and subconsciously channel Rome (or what we understand to be Rome) in myriad aspects of modern life, seeking answers not only about the ancient world, but also about our own world.[109] Many – however misguided, and with whatever balance of delight and distaste – have found it useful to discuss the 21st century United States as a *nova Roma*, either rising or falling, and in terms of "empire" more generally.[110] The burgeoning subject of "imperial studies" – which concerns itself

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explanation for many genuinely puzzling phenomena that surround Roman imperial government [(]imperial coin types, imperial art, imperial buildings, imperial inscriptions[)]."

[107] See Agamben 2005: 74-84. Cf. Mommsen 1888: 3.1032-4; Kantorowicz 1957; Grant 1969: 425.

[108] The scale of Roman achievement: Ando 2000: 1-4. Modern entrancement by Rome: Bayly and Bang 2003: 169-70. Cf. Goldstone and Haldon 2009: 3 on empires generally; and Miller 2005: 15 on Egypt: "our continued fascination…rests in no small measure upon its monumentality."

[109] Jones 2008 and Mount 2010 draw their readers' attention to many parallels, but much of Rome's legacy in the modern world is so ubiquitous and deeply ingrained as to defy summary or even coherent discussion in a single volume.

[110] Naturally the United States is only the most recent of many regimes throughout modern, medieval and ancient history to be clothed in a mantle of Roman-ness, either by its critics or by itself: from the Carolingian court and the Holy Roman Empire to the British Empire, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and nearly every ambitious senatorial, monarchical, autocratic or imperial government in between. On the United States as a new Rome, see, most notably, Bender 2003; Zelikow 2003; Ferguson 2005; Joshel et al. 2005; James 2006; Maier 2006; Murphy 2007;

with empires' ideologies and administration, their persistence and size, their arcs of ascendancy and decline – in both popular and scholarly spheres, is surely a reflection of current global developments.[111]

At the same time, the People's Republic of China has been identified more and more closely with the Qin-Han Empire. Present-day China has, of course, always been able to trace a direct link with the first unified "Chinese" empire: the amalgamation of the previously warring states under the Qin-Han.[112] But as the Qin terracotta warriors become an international symbol of China (captivating foreign audiences in unparalleled numbers in recent years, both *in situ* and abroad);[113] as the First Emperor's story (popularized first in the recent imagination by widespread parallels with Mao Zedong's rule, then by the discovery of the terracotta army, and now by such films as Chen Kaige's 陈凯歌 *The Emperor and the Assassin* and Zhang Yimou's 张艺谋 *Hero*) becomes either a patriotic myth or a convenient metaphor to be deployed by critics of the P.R.C.'s heavy-handed administration;[114] and as officials and academics invoke the Han period in claims

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Madden 2008; Malamud 2009; Carlson 2010; Kagan 2012; *contra*: Smil 2010. Ferguson 2005 gathers the earlier literature. For the breadth of contexts in which such comparisons occur, see, e.g., Cooper 2002; Chandrasekaran 2007; O'Donnell 2009: ix-x; *Ancient Rome & America* exhibition 2010; Beattie 2011; Vachon 2011; Kirsch 2012.

[111] See note 28. Cf. also Mann 2003; Calhoun et al. 2006; Hoock 2010; Mattingly 2011: xvii; *Empires of Faith* 2012.

[112] Loewe 2013. Western sources are often eager to point out the legacies of Han and Qin in the name of China's majority ethnicity and the western name for the country, respectively: see, e.g., Becker 2000: 5; Burbank and Cooper 2011: 42; Lieu 2012.

[113] Higgins 2008; Low 2008: the exhibition of the terracotta warriors and other Qin artefacts at the British Museum in 2008 was the most successful in the museum's history. Cf. Khayutina 2013b; Nickel 2013: 413-14; Pines 2013c: 234-5.

[114] Derbyshire 2004; Hunter 2004; Stecher 2013. See also Wood 2007: 141-59; Pines 2012; Khayutina 2013b.

related to Chinese sovereignty in Xinjiang 新疆 and other frontier regions,[115] connections between 21st century China and the Qin-Han Empire have a new gravity.[116] It was, moreover, in the Han period that "a paradigm of strong and successful leadership" was created "that all later dynasties would seek to emulate."[117] The Han period, long subordinated to the Ming and Qing periods by Chinese art historians, is also enjoying a renaissance in those circles as new material is discovered; as Qin-Han artefacts are exhibited and discussed more frequently in the West;[118] and as the People's Republic

[115] Wong 2008; "Mei mei jingyong 'Loulan mei nü' zhiyi wo zai Xinjiang zhuquan" "美媒竟用《楼兰美女》 置疑我在新疆主权" 2008; Rawski 2012: 237.

[116] Although Qin and Han are conventionally recognized as individual dynasties, the brevity of the Qin Dynasty and the relatively seamless institutional and territorial continuity of the Han Dynasty (in spite of Han rhetoric emphasizing differences from the Qin) make it possible to talk about a "Qin-Han Empire." Barbieri-Low 2007: 29-30 writes, "It is logical and defensible to treat the Qin and Han dynasties as one period for study. The Han government adopted many of the legal, fiscal, and administrative policies of the Qin, with very minor modifications." See also, e.g., Fairbank 1992; Lloyd 1996; Lewis 2007; Scheidel 2009a; Zhongguo Guojia Wenwu Ju 中国国家文物局 2009. It should be noted that this term is generally intended to refer to the political union as a whole, from the founding of the Qin Dynasty in 221 BC to the abdication of Emperor Xian 献 in AD 220, including the short-lived Xin 新 Dynasty (otherwise known as the Wang Mang 王莽 interregnum). In this thesis, "Han Empire" is used interchangeably with "Qin-Han Empire" or "Qin-Han" to refer to this political unit as a whole, in comparison or contrast with "Rome" or the "Roman Empire." "China" and "Chinese" are also used to refer to the Qin-Han Empire rather than to the modern nation-state unless otherwise noted. Where "Han" is used to refer to the Han Dynasty, in contrast to the Qin or Xin Dynasties, and where Rome is intended to refer to the city rather than the empire, additional care is taken to make those intentions clear.

[117] Potts 2012: 3.

[118] A dazzling exhibition of Han objects at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (*The Search for Immortality* 2012; catalogue: Lin 2012) and its associated conference (*Life and Afterlife in Han China* 2012) are especially noteworthy, in addition to the *First Emperor* exhibition at the British Museum (catalogue: Portal 2007a) and the terracotta army exhibitions in locations across Europe and North America, the major catalogues for which are Ledderose and Schlombs 1990; Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2006; Thote and Falkenhausen 2008; Göransson, K. and J. Rawson 2010; Liu 2012; Khayutina 2013a. Other relevant conferences, not listed in the bibliography, include *The Birth of Empire: The State of Qin Revisited* (Institute for Advanced Study, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008); *Before Empire: An International Conference on the Early History and Archaeology of Qin* (Columbia University, 2012); *Thoughts and Things in China* (British Museum, 2013); *Empire, Ethics, and Tradition: An International Conference on the Han Dynasty* (University of Pittsburgh, 2014); and . See also Chang 2007a; id. 2007b. Khayutina 2013a; Nickel 2013; Pines et al. 2013a; Sanft 2014; Lewis 2015 ; and Liu 2015 constitute a significant body of new Western work on the Qin Dynasty.

seeks to promote an ancient cultural heritage as rich and imposing as the ancient Mediterranean's.

Just as the current round of scholarly fascination with empires and the idea of empire may owe its genesis to the global political and financial landscape of today, likewise recent grand-scale East-West comparative studies, rooted in the ancient and classical past, and the significant – if far more modest – emergence of specific Rome-China (Roman empire – Han empire) studies in the past four years is surely a result of the (perceived) shift to a bipolar world, with the United States and the People's Republic of China as the turn-of-the-millennium superpowers – whether the academics and curators involved in such studies are conscious of this influence or not.[119] Some of the most recent and most widely circulated works on East-West comparison have emphasized dichotomy; they are steeped in the language of competition, if not antagonism, and embedded in evaluative and normative modes of discourse: Ian Morris' *Why the West Rules – For Now*, for example, and Niall Ferguson's *Civilization: the West and the Rest*.[120] Comparative analysis has much to offer, and Rome and Han Dynasty China are

[119] Rome-China comparative scholarship discussed in depth below. The perceived (re)emergence of China helps to inspire such work in two ways: first, the bipolarity of the United States and China is seen in some way to parallel an age when Rome and the Han were the dominant world powers; secondly, the conception of ancient China as comparable to the Roman Empire (which was all but unimaginable among American and European authors in earlier periods) now, perhaps, seems plausible to Western scholars. Cf. Lieberman 1999: 23: "East Asia's spectacular economic success [has weakened] the self-confidence, the sensibilities, the psychological assumptions of Eurocentric historiography. Not unlike those sixteenth-century genealogists who furnished upwardly mobile English commoners with aristocratic ancestries, now we may be tempted to reward the latest success stories by emphasizing the early evidence of their achievement." See also Detienne 2000; Morrison 2001: 2; Bujard 吕敏 and Kalinowski 马克 2009; and Nylan and Vankeerberghen 2015 (subtitle: *an Augustan age in China*).

[120] Morris 2010; Ferguson 2011. Ibid: 12, e.g., discusses "civilization" in terms of "killer apps."

apt units for comparison. But this thesis adopts a rather different approach to the comparative method from these popular works.

While this thesis may indeed be considered part of a general blossoming of research on empire and on East-West comparatives, its goals are neither to discover general models, laws and structures of "empires"[121] throughout time and space (an aim descended from Marxist and processual ruminations on a single course of development charted by all civilizations);[122] nor to deconstruct two political and technological traditions in evaluative terms (and it certainly makes no claim to bear so closely on the present as to work out whether China or "the West" is or was on top and why[123]). Instead, this thesis looks specifically and deeply at imperial Rome and Qin-Han period China, operating under the principle that apposite comparatives may illuminate our understanding about *each* of the units involved in the comparison.[124]

This study does not claim to create an all-encompassing and complete comparison of ancient Rome and ancient China. Previous Rome-China comparisons have given the illusion that they are able not only to create a finished narrative of comparative history, but to operate in such a broad scope, to produce valuable knowledge on such diverse aspects of the two empires, that the comparison needs no further qualification: hence the

[121] "Empire" is itself a nebulous and subjectively applied term, discussed further below.
[122] Comparative studies of empire have long revolved around such goals: see, e.g., Eisenstadt 1963; Kautsky 1982; Doyle 1986; Mann 1986; Tainter 1988; Kennedy 1989; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Detienne 2000; Pagden 2002; Maier 2006; Morris and Scheidel 2009; Scheidel 2009e; Burbank and Cooper 2011. On early processual works related to the comparative study of ancient civilizations, see Trigger 1993: 1-3.
[123] Cf. Pomeranz 2000.
[124] See the following section for a review of some relevant comparative literature.

title and subtitle, respectively, of the first two principal published books on the subject, *Rome and China* and, with the perfect participle, *China and Rome Compared*.[125] This impression is surely not hubris by the authors and editors of these works but rather is typical of first works on novel or ostensibly esoteric subjects.

But several years after these first forays into Rome-China comparative studies, it seems that the subject is neither finished nor esoteric. This thesis is deliberately limited in its concern to the objects and images by which imperial power was reflected and projected in the Roman Principate and in Qin-Han China. For inasmuch as the achievements of ancient empires captivate and confound the modern imagination, we wonder how the leaders and inhabitants of these empires themselves perceived, imagined, and visualized the *ordo saeclorum* they fashioned and governed;[126] and how the emperors managed to wield authority and cultivate loyalty over great masses of the globe. Indeed, these questions – and few certain answers – have been at the heart of much recent scholarly enquiry.[127] As David Mattingly wrote,[128]

> [I am reminded] forcefully that the study of the Roman Empire is a very large academic subject, with a huge bibliographic backlist. Yet it seems…that there are

[125] Respectively, Scheidel 2009a and Mutschler & Mittag 2008a.
[126] On "imagining" communities, see Walzer 1967: 194; Cannadine 2001: 122; and especially Anderson 2006: 6. Although Anderson's primary subject is the nation-state, he writes: the nation "is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them…. In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact…are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (italics *sic*).
[127] See widely varying proposals on questions of Roman self-conception in material terms, and the political usefulness (or uselessness) of objects and images to the imperial court in, e.g., Ando 2000: xi, 1-4, 277-8, *passim*.; Woolf 2001: 313, 320-22; De Blois et al. 2003 (an important volume dedicated to *the representation and perception of Roman imperial power*); Edwards and Woolf 2004a; Lendon 2006: 57-61; Canepa 2009: 1-8; Goldstone and Haldon 2009: 11-13; Hopkins 2009: 181, 187-8; Canepa 2010b: 127; Flaig 2011: 76-7; Burbank and Cooper 2011: 23; Gruen 2011: 1-2; Simon 2011.
[128] Mattingly 2011: 41.

> still many basic issues about the nature of Roman imperialism…that remain poorly understood or, simply, little explored. Developments in archaeology [and] comparative history…offer a range of avenues that ancient historians, classicists, and specialists in Roman material culture should give further consideration to in the years ahead.

The face of Mount Lu

The Song dynasty poet Su Shi 苏轼 (AD 1037-1101) wrote about perspective and understanding in his poem, "Inscription on the Wall of the West Forest Temple" 题西林壁:[129]

横看成岭侧成峰
远近高低各不同
不识庐山真面目
只缘身在此山中

Viewed horizontally, a range; viewed from another angle, a peak.
It all seems different as we move far, near, high, low.
We do not know the true face of Mount Lu,
Because we are standing on this very mountain.

His metaphor is a salutary reminder of what we miss when we look at something only within its own categories and history.[130] Comparative study has a unique power that traditional analysis will always miss: the view from another horizon not only broadens our perspective, but also compels us to question what we have taken for granted. Especially today, when long-standing differences and distances have all but vanished, and every boundary is porous, we must be able to bring knowledge of East and West to bear upon each other beyond superficial or misleading assumptions and stereotypes.[131]

[129] Translation adapted from Zhang 2010: 58.
[130] Cf. 14th century Arab scholar Ibn Khaldūn on the necessity of comparative perspectives in historical research (Ibn Khaldūn 1968: 11).
[131] Cf. Hannerz 1996: 3; Lieberman 1999: 23.

The study of the ancient world has long suffered from the lack of a comparative perspective. As Johann Arnason and Kurt Raaflaub's recent volume (*The Roman Empire in Context: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*) notes, José Ortega y Gasset recognized the vast potential for comparative studies involving ancient Rome as early as 1940: "The history of Rome, by virtue of its content and of the comprehensiveness of our knowledge of it, may well be called a model history."[132] But Arnason decries "the present failure to give Rome its due:" "specific themes to be explored must be cleared of assumptions and connotations that have blocked broader perspectives," writes Arnason, for "the Roman experience is one of the relatively neglected areas of comparative history."[133] East is east and west is west, but the twain are beginning to meet more regularly in scholarship, and not only in the popularizing works of Morris and Ferguson discussed above.[134] A dawning recognition of cross-cultural studies' potential benefits has recently brought Rome and China side-by-side with a number of other civilizations, and sometimes with each other, in the several notable volumes on "empires,"[135] and in a few significant works by Bruce Trigger, Matthew Canepa, Kurt Raaflaub and others.[136]

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[132] Ortega y Gasset 1946; Arnason 2011a: 1. Cf. Woolf 2001: 312: "Rome was more than simply a typical early empire: in some senses it was an archetypal one;" Arnason 2011b.
[133] Arnason 2011a: 2. Cf. Settis 2006: 1-14 on the classical world as a whole.
[134] Morris 2010; Ferguson 2011.
[135] *Supra* notes 28 and 111. Amazingly, even some of these recent works leave China out of the picture. Cline and Graham 2011 (entitled *Ancient Empires*), for example, mentions China only five times in nearly four hundred pages.
[136] Van Buren and Richards 2000; Trigger 2003 (though this study does not include China): x: "I sought therefore to determine empirically what aspects of human behaviour and beliefs were shaped by factors that were common to all human beings and what aspects were shaped by idiosyncratic features of cultural systems" (cf. Trigger 1993); Hekster and Fowler 2005: 11: "engaging with parallels from many different cultures is an effective way of unpacking the structures and beliefs of the ancient Persian, Hellenistic and Roman worlds;" Allsen 2006; Raaflaub 2007; Spawforth 2007; Canepa 2009; id. 2010a: 7: "scholarship on the visual cultures of ancient and early medieval Eurasia has recently benefited from art history's renewed interest in questions that transcend political and cultural boundaries;" id. 2010b; Arnason and Raaflaub 2011. Major scholarly projects at the British Museum (*Empires of Faith* 2012); McGill

It should be noted that comparisons between ancient Rome and China are actually nothing new, if one counts very brief encounters: in scholarship on each of these empires, there is a longstanding tradition of fleeting (if not merely implicit) references to the other one. Sometimes, for obvious reasons, it is the size and structure of either the military or the civil bureaucracy which forms the basis for the short-lived comparison.[137] In other cases, these references have to do with language and terminology: the discussion of the Han empire in terms of *cives* or *patria*, or of Rome as a "middle kingdom."[138] But scholarship which grapples with "big questions" has flirted with Rome-China comparisons more generally too. Robert Bagley, in a damning review of Wu Hung's book on Chinese *Monumentality*, raised the tantalizing, but unconsummated, suggestion:[139]

> For an author writing about Han Chang'an – whether viewed as a symbol reshaped by the building projects of successive emperors or as a potent image in the minds of later generations – Rome, the Eternal City, would surely have offered illuminating comparisons (and a stimulating scholarly literature).

Keith Hopkins ranked Rome's "integration and preservation…with the Chinese empire[']s], as one of the greatest political achievements of mankind,"[140] while Peter Brown described the Roman empire as "one of the very few great states in the ancient world – along with China – that had so much as attempted to create an oasis of peaceful

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University (the Global Antiquities project) and Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, where a graduate school is devoted to such comparative work (Distant Worlds: Munich Graduate School for Ancient Studies) and a project led by Maria Dettenhofer is entitled "Interkultureller Strukturvergleich zwischen europäischer und chinesischer Antike", are also notable.

[137] De Crespigny 2009: 93; Hopkins 2009: 184 (Hopkins actually compares 2nd century Rome to 12th century China); Osgood 2011: 5

[138] "*Patria*:" Waldron 1996: 947; "*cives*:" Loewe 2005: 135; id. 2006: 171; "middle kingdom:" Brown 1971: 22, 139.

[139] Bagley 1998: 255.

[140] Hopkins 1978: 1.

government among societies that had always lived by war."[141] Herrlee Creel remarked rather cryptically that "when we examine the Chinese [military] attitude…in light of the Roman, the difference is striking,"[142] while J.K. Fairbank wrote that while "warfare in Rome became a major industry, China consistently put less stress on the glory of fighting."[143] And Arthur Waldron has mused that China lacked "a Western-style tradition of epic celebration of martial virtue."[144] Anthony Barbieri-Low and Martin Powers make passing reference to Roman art in discussions on Han artisans and "classicizing" reliefs in the Han period, respectively.[145] Bennet Bronson uses the more familiar (for Western readers) example of Roman religion to describe Han ritual and belief by analogy,[146] while Josiah Osgood's recent book on Claudius alludes to the Han Empire's political ideology.[147] Michael Nylan and Griet Vankeerberghen's new volume, *Chang'an 26 BCE* is even subtitled *an Augustan age in China*.[148] Others have even contrasted and compared, briefly, the relationship between power and the emperor's visibility and appearance in Rome and China.[149]

These references are thought-provoking, but in every case too brief to be much more. Their abundance is telling, however. The Roman and Han Empires (Figs. 2.1, 2.2) have much to offer each other (beyond the Chinese silk and Roman glass that once made their way across Eurasia). Though comparative studies have, in the past, aimed either at

[141] Brown 1971: 22, 139.
[142] Creel 1970: 247.
[143] Fairbank 1974: 7. Cf. *supra* note 53.
[144] Waldron 1996: 956.
[145] Powers 1991: 11, 156-7; Barbieri-Low 2007: 39.
[146] Bronson 2000: 125.
[147] Osgood 2011: 5-7.
[148] Nylan and Vankeerberghen 2015.
[149] Woolf 2001: 321; Hekster 2005a: 160-61. See also Wallace-Hadrill 2003: 191.

proving a periodization of societies (as, for example, the work of Arnold Toynbee) or exploring common, if distant, cultural origins,[150] more recent efforts have emphasized their ability to illuminate our understanding of the individual societies involved.[151] But, as Marshall Hodgson has emphasized, "it is essential to compare the right sort of units; that they be on a single scale."[152] By this measure, these two empires are surely apt material for comparison. While Rome's population was approximately 60,000,000 in the first century AD,[153] a Han census taken in AD 2 records a population of 59,594,978;[154] Rome's territory measured approximately 5.0 Mm^2 at its height, while the Han Empire's measured between 5.0 and 5.5 Mm^2.[155] Furthermore, the two empires were contemporary, each flowering in the post-*achsenzeit* period: the Qin-Han in China from 221 BC to AD 220 and Rome from 241 BC (the end of the First Punic War; Rome's debut as "empire"[156]) to *ca.* AD 235 (the beginning of Third Century crisis). This paper will primarily draw its Roman material from the period within this window known as the Principate, Rome as autocratic "Empire," 27 BC to *ca.* AD 235, for it is the Principate which serves as the most apt political parallel to the Qin-Han state.[157] The structural and broad ideological similarities between these two empires, born of war, with large scale, agrarian economies,[158] and each ruled by a single, semi-divine monarch,[159] are already evident.

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[150] Toynbee 1987: I.1-6; Trigger 2003: 16-28. Skocpol and Somers 1980 emphasize similar goals. See also Schaberg 1999: 153, on the "traditional mean" of comparative literature.
[151] Hodgson 1993: 268; Poo 2005:13-14; Scheidel 2009b: 6.
[152] Hodgson 1993: 268-9.
[153] Hopkins 2002: 198, 201-2.
[154] Loewe 2005: 62-3.
[155] Taagepera 1979: 118, 125, 128. See also Osgood 2011: 1.
[156] Godfrey 1998: 418; Lazenby 2004: 225, 240.
[157] Cf. Nylan and Vankeerberghen 2015 (*Chang'an 26 BCE: an Augustan age in China*).
[158] Bang 2009: 114.

Yet existing in-depth comparative work of any depth on these two empires has been "extremely rare."[160] Departmental and linguistic barriers, which show little sign of falling, have ensured that knowledge is, in effect, segregated by the way scholars must currently process and produce it.[161] Research with a connective – rather than comparative – focus is more common: the "Silk Road" has enjoyed an excess of scholarly attention in recent years.[162] Corey Brennan and Hsing I-tien bridge the gap between comparative and connective scholarship by way of alternative history in their piece "The Eternal City and the City of Eternal Peace,"[163] but earlier connective studies even looked for the direct effects of one empire on the other: most notable are Frederick Teggart's *Rome and China*, which proposes that war in the Roman sphere may be traced through the steppe to actions undertaken by the Han Empire;[164] and Homer Dubs' controversial corpus on such topics as *A Roman City in Ancient China* and a "Roman influence on Chinese painting."[165] While Anthony Barbieri-Low recently referred to these theories as "unconvincing…inference and imagination,"[166] traces of such thinking still penetrate present-day investigations.[167] Serious comparative work on these two empires, however,

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[159] For a longer list of such similarities: Scheidel 2009c: 11.
[160] Id. 2009b: 7. Scheidel's own prolific lecturing and writing is, of course, the exception (id. 2005; 2007; 2008; 2009d; 2009f; 2010; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; 2015b; 2015c).
[161] Ibid.: 5. Cf. Schaberg 1999: 153.
[162] See Scheidel 2009b: 5 for a withering reference to "Silk Road Studies." On references to Rome in Han Chinese sources and to Han China in Roman sources, see Hirth 1975; Leslie and Gardiner 1996; Pulleyblank; and Coedès 2010.
[163] Brennan and Hsing 2010.
[164] Teggart 1939.
[165] Dubs 1940; id. 1941; id. 1943; id. 1957.
[166] Barbieri-Low 2007: 299 *n.* 55.
[167] "Could [Qin Shi Huangdi] have heard," Jessica Rawson (2007: 129) asks, "news of the massive sculptures at the courts of the kings in…the Mediterranean area?" while Lukas Nickel (2009: 4) speculates about "einen hellenistischen Einfluss auf die berühmten Plastiken des Ersten Kaisers." Barnhart 2004 must be credited with reviving these theories. See also Christopoulos 2012; Nickel 2013.

actually takes the fact that they developed so independently of each other as an advantage insofar as it makes for a cleaner comparison.[168]

Comparative assessments of ancient Greece and China are prevalent, usually revolving around questions of philosophy or scientific traditions,[169] though also covering art; travel; state-sponsored physical education; music; ethnicity, and other specific topics.[170] Other significant comparisons have been made between ancient China and the ancient Near East and Egypt;[171] ancient China and early modern Europe;[172] Rome and all of "Dynastic China" (to AD 1911);[173] Rome and Angkor;[174] among others.[175] Although some of these authors confirm that "the most obvious Western analogue to the Han combination of unprecedented political power and classicism is Rome under the principate,"[176] surprisingly few have actually sought to take on that comparison.

That is beginning to change, however. Max Weber and Karl Wittfogel's earlier calls for such a comparison garnered little attention,[177] but the growing interest in imperial studies, described above, "global" and comparative histories, and in

[168] Scheidel 2015b: 5.
[169] See, e.g., Lloyd 1996; Hall and Ames 1998; the articles in Shankman and Durrant 2000; Lloyd and Sivin 2002; Lloyd 2005. Tanner 2009: 89-109 is the most comprehensive survey of these works. Kim 2009: 3-4 provides another recent bibliography.
[170] Schaberg 1999; Puett 2002; Paik and Bell 2004; Wang Y. 2004; Zhou 2005; Kim 2009; King and Schilling 2011; Tanner 2012a; id. 2012b.; id. 2013a; id. 2013b. See also Martin 2010, and references in Tanner 2009: 89 *n.*6.
[171] Poo 2005.
[172] Hui 2005.
[173] Moore 2001. See also Edwards 2009.
[174] Quaritch Wales 1965. See Blakely 2006 for another surprising cross-cultural comparison involving the ancient world.
[175] See, e.g., MacCormack 2001.
[176] Schaberg 1999: 154; Bujard and Kalinowski 吕敏, 马克 2009.
[177] Scheidel 2009b: 7.

"contextualizing" each of these civilizations has given Rome-Han comparative studies some traction.[178] S.A.M. Adshead's efforts to situate *China in World History* (from 200 BC to the present) included the observation that while "[o]ther comparisons could be made…none…offers so close a parallel with Han China as does the Roman empire."[179] Arnason and Raaflaub's *Roman Empire in Context* includes numerous references to the Qin-Han Empire and one chapter on the subject.[180] The past several years have witnessed a number of projects devoted solely to Rome-Han comparative research which build on earlier, limited or largely ignored comparative work by Adshead, Hsing I-tien, Samuel Lieu and Christian Gizewski.[181]

Walter Scheidel is responsible for the "Ancient Chinese and Mediterranean Empires Comparative History Project" at Stanford University; a 2008 conference on "state power and social control in ancient China and Rome;"[182] *Rome and China* (2009), a volume of essays on facets of imperial structure and development;[183] and *State Power in Ancient China & Rome* (2015), a further volume of papers from the 2008 conference.[184] The first book is a praiseworthy, bold step. If there is a legitimate quibble, it is that it is relatively short on scholarship from the Chinese side, most of the contributors seeming to rely primarily on the work of Scheidel's Stanford colleague Mark Edward Lewis (prolific as he is) and Victoria Hui (whose own work is comparative), and

[178] Cf. *Empires of Faith* 2012 on the need to "train a new generation of scholars to think globally and diachronically about the significance of their cultural specialisms."
[179] Adshead 2000: 4. See also Paul Ropp's book of the same name, which makes several broad comparisons between the Roman and Han empires (Ropp 2010: 36).
[180] Arnason 2011a: 13-14, 28; Loewe 2011.
[181] Adshead 1961; Hsing 1980; Lieu 1985; Gizewski 1994.
[182] Scheidel 2008.
[183] Id. 2009a.
[184] Id. 2015a.

with only one of the seven chapters written by a scholar of ancient China (again, Lewis[185]). Scheidel's 2015 volume strikes a better balance, and Lewis' chapter therein on "public space" is particularly relevant for this thesis.[186] As a whole, however, both of these volumes are devoted far more to how things *were* than to how things were *represented*; a treatment of images, representations and imperial power in the two empires is notably absent, leaving ample room for my contribution but providing a lucid, well-researched scholarly foundation (for which I am very grateful) for Rome-China comparison in general.

More relevant to issues of representation and image, perhaps, is Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag's *Conceiving the Empire: Rome and China Compared* (2008):[187] two chapters deal with "the power of images: imperial order and imperial aura," although each discusses only one of the two empires and so the actual comparison is up to the reader. A conference held in 2009 on "The Sarcophagus East and West" was attended by scholars of both Roman and Chinese civilizations (although there was "little direct comparison" undertaken there[188]), and more recent conferences have taken explicitly comparative approaches to the ancient Mediterranean and ancient China.[189]

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[185] Lewis 2009.
[186] Id. 2015.
[187] Mutschler and Mittag 2008a.
[188] Elsner 2009. The conference was held at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University and was organized by Wu Hung and Jaś Elsner with the goal of pursuing "new ways to think about the development of art and visual culture in a broadly defined ancient world, where the art historical materials available are subject to comparable methodological constraints both from archaeological excavation and from known literary and historical contexts." Some of the papers from the conference have appeared in Wu and Elsner 2012.
[189] E.g., *Family and Family Relationships in Antiquity (2nd International Conference in Ancient Mediterranean and Oriental Languages and Cultures)*, University of Wrocław, June 2014; *Citizens and Commoners in Ancient Greece, Rome, and China*, McGill University, October 2014.

Meanwhile recent exhibitions – "Qin-Han and Roman Civilizations" (秦汉罗马文明展; Beijing World Art Museum, 2009) and *I Due Imperi: l'aquila e il dragone* (Palazzo Reale, Milan, 2010; Roman Forum, 2010-2011) – have brought together objects from the two civilizations (a missed opportunity, perhaps, during the British Museum's successive "Hadrian" and "First Emperor" exhibitions).[190] A number of other books and projects – perhaps emboldened or inspired by the work of Mutschler, Mittag and Scheidel – have also been initiated in recent years: a volume of Sinologie Française 法国汉学 entitled *Rome-Han: comparer l'incomparable.* 古罗马和秦汉中国：风马牛不相及乎 (which contains valuable contributions by Marianne Bujard, Marc Kalinowski, John Scheid and Hsing I-tien, but which, like *Conceiving the Empire*, principally features chapters about one or the other empire);[191] the work of Maria Dettenhofer, including the *Interkultureller Strukturvergleich zwischen europäischer und chinesischer Antike* project at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München;[192] the British Museum's *Empires of Faiths* research project; the Global Antiquities project directed by Hans Beck and Griet Vankeerberghen at McGill University; and a number of ongoing articles and theses.[193] They are good signs that it is time for this comparison to become more than just a good idea.

Challenges

There are certainly difficulties involved in undertaking this type of comparison. An imbalance in the "state of the field" is irrefutable: Scheidel has contrasted the million-

[190] Catalogues: Zhongguo Guojia Wenwu Ju 中国国家文物局 2009; De Caro and Scarpari 2010.
[191] Bujard, M. and M. Kalinowski 吕敏, 马克 2009; Kalinowski, Deng and Bujard, eds. 马克, 邓文宽, 吕敏主编 2009; Hsing 邢義田 2009; Scheid 沙义德 2009.
[192] See also Dettenhofer 2009.
[193] E.g., Peck 2009; Ford 2010; id. forthcoming; Robinson forthcoming.

plus published titles on Greco-Roman civilization with the six hundred monographs and 13,000 articles on the Qin and Han dynasties (most of which are in Japanese and Chinese).[194] There is also an imbalance in the nature and volume of extant primary material. Most notable, perhaps, is Rome's pervasive use of stone architecture and monuments,[195] a tradition unmatched in Qin-Han China (where wooden and rammed-earth architecture, and wall-paintings on plaster and wood have largely not survived the past two millennia[196]). Direct parallels, where they are possible, are useful; but other evidence (Roman portraits; Chinese model chariots) should also be brought to bear on our understanding of the ways in which images were conceived and deployed.

This challenge itself points to another hazard of comparative work: one must remain vigilant against normative statements, explicit or implicit, lest historical comparison become evaluative comparison: it would not be surprising, for example, if some took offense to Waldron's question: Why does China lack a martial epic?[197]

Undoubtedly, some will object to the selection of examples – in many ways an arbitrary, heuristic slice of the vast corpus of images related to imperial power from the Roman Principate and the Qin-Han Empire – or even to the selection of civilizations; or, indeed, to the comparative approach entirely. For its examples, this thesis focuses principally on what Olivier Hekster refers to as "central" (as opposed to "peripheral")

[194] Scheidel 2009b: 5 *n.* 5. Cf. Noreña 2015b: 182.
[195] Bang 2009: 111.
[196] Clunas 2009: 34-5. Cf. Settis 2006: 77-9.
[197] Waldron 1996: 956.

media and draws on a "familiar pool" of works.[198] Even this brief side-by-side investigation may open our eyes to new ways of seeing and understanding the same images,[199] transcending the realm of perpetuated assumptions and second-tier explanations. The generalizing orientation of much existing comparative work is also problematic. But rather than aiming to discover "rules" for how empires worked in many different places and periods, this thesis aims instead to advance our understanding of *each* of these two particular civilizations, by using two corpora of ancient images and two scholarly traditions to cast a more critical eye on accepted narratives and paradigms. There is also the risk that broad comparatives can make the states involved seem static or monolithic. But with two similar units and a specific line of inquiry, the comparative method can actually bring dominant paradigms and sweeping assumptions into question rather than reinforcing them.

[198] Hekster 2013. As Stewart 2008: 8 notes, even conventional Roman archaeology draws again and again on a small fraction of the surviving works; we "tend continually to abstract examples, and perhaps ideas, from a familiar pool." Many of the objects discussed in this thesis come from that familiar pool; but hopefully it casts many of these famous monuments in a new light.
[199] Elsner and Wu 2012: 5.

Fig 2.1. The Roman Empire, ca. *AD 117*

Fig. 2.2. The Han Empire, ca. *AD 2.*

Part II

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Imperial power and the imperial tombs of Rome and Qin-Han China

"χωρήσεις ἄνδρα ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη οὐκ ἐχώρησεν."

"Thou shalt hold a man that the world could not hold."

- Septimius Severus to his cinerary urn[200]

[200] Cass. Dio 77.15.4 (Cary 1927 trans.).

Chapter 3

"A monument for the world:" imperial tombs and universal rulership[201]

上具天文，下具地理
"Above were representations of all the heavenly bodies, below, the features of the world."
- Sima Qian 司马迁, describing Qin Shi Huangdi's tomb[202]

Part II looks at imperial funerary sites as case study, a distinct category of incontrovertibly comparable *exempla* – and carefully crafted physical and visual manifestations of the complex ways in which imperial power was imagined and perceived – within which some initial comparisons and contrasts might be drawn. This chapter focuses on the idea of universal empire which both sets of tombs seem to engender.

Introduction: tombs as loci for imperial power narratives

In AD 117, the Roman emperor Trajan led an unsuccessful assault on the city of Hatra in the desert of northern Iraq. Disease plagued his army, and the emperor narrowly escaped death by an enemy arrow only to suffer a stroke. Partially paralyzed and swollen with edema, he sought to return to Italy but died on the journey home. His cremated remains were brought to Rome and placed in the base of his recently completed column (Fig. B.3): a 44 m tall monument with a helical frieze dedicated to a more memorable chapter in the emperor's military career – the Dacian campaigns.[203] Trajan's Column, located in his Forum next to the Basilica Ulpia, illustrates the Dacian wars in thorough and sometimes gory detail; it gives a visual blow-by-blow account of battle, engineering

[201] "A monument for the world:" Favro 2005: 245.
[202] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6. Translation adapted from Watson 1993.
[203] Aur. Vict. *Ep*. 13; Cass. Dio 68.31-3; 69.2; Eutrop. 8.5; Davies 1997: 41; id. 2000: 27.

feats, tactical formations, encampments, negotiations, torture, decapitation and victory. Detailed depictions of warfare wound their way up the column, and also featured prominently in the monument's environs. A Roman citizen visiting or passing through this setting (one of the city's "most frequented areas"[204]) would have been inundated with images of soldiery.[205] China's most famous imperial funerary site – the Lishan 驪山 mausoleum of Qin Shi Huangdi (constructed 246-210 BC; Fig. B.6) — also, of course, featured what might be described as a grand, skillfully crafted (no doubt highly labor-intensive), and in many ways realistic, visual representation of an imperial army: the terracotta warriors. In some aspects, however, the two sites could not be more different. What specific narratives and themes related to power did these sites, and the funerary sites and monuments of the other Roman and Qin-Han emperors, present? And what might these grand projects and their associated artefacts be able to tell us about differences in the ways Roman and Chinese political power was conceived?

In an important article in *World Archaeology*, Bruce Trigger applied Thorstein Veblen's concept of "conspicuous consumption" to the construction of lavish elite tombs in ancient civilizations, arguing that extravagant burials "testify to the ability of powerful individuals or the state to deploy skilled craftsmen, material resources, and massive amounts of labour." As a "non-utilitarian" expenditure of thermodynamic (human) energy, a grand tomb "makes power visible and hence becomes power rather than merely

[204] Davies 1997: 59; Coarelli 2000: 24; Clarke 2003: 31.
[205] We may alternatively imagine how a visitor or immigrant from the Danube, or indeed a slave, might have reacted to this imagery, as Clarke 2003: 41.

a symbol of it."[206] Paul Rehak has recently stated that the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome (completed *ca*. 28 BC; Fig. B.2) "securely fits the 'thermodynamic' model:" because of its massive scale and the "huge workforce" it surely required, the tomb of the *princeps* was a persuasive expression of political power.[207] The same could be said of the funerary park of China's first emperor, an even larger project for which, Sima Qian records, 天下徒送诣七十余万人 "700,000 laborers from all over the empire were transported to the site."[208] In both Rome and Qin-Han China – as in so many places and periods – rulers commissioned grand, expensive tombs and funerary monuments; and often the project of constructing an emperor's resting place was undertaken long before the emperor's death.[209] But the tombs of Augustus, Qin Shi Huangdi, and of their respective imperial successors, were not *merely* lavish. Although modern understanding of both Roman and Qin-Han eschatological beliefs remains hazy,[210] it is clear that imperial tombs are inextricably connected to power and become, inevitably, loci for

[206] Trigger 1990: 119-24; Veblen 2009: 53. See also Cf. Demarrais et al. 1996: 18-19. Trigger also relates his argument to G.K. Zipf's "principle of least effort" in early civilizations, to which Trigger states sumptuous burials and other monumental projects are a clear exception (Zipf 1949; Trigger 1990: 124).

[207] Trigger 1990: 125; Rehak 2007: 53-4.

[208] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6. For estimates by modern archaeologists on the labor required to construct various components of the burial site, see Martinón-Torres et al. 2011; Blänsdorf and Zachmann 2013; Martinón-Torres et al. 2014.

[209] It was conventional in the Western Han for the construction of an emperor's tomb to begin in the second year of the emperor's reign (Thorp 1987: 22; Loewe 1999: 87); Augustus commissioned the construction of his tomb long before his death and as one of his first projects after victory at Actium (Davies 2000: 49).

[210] Brashier (1996: 158) and Rawson (2002: 137) propose that the people of Han themselves did not seem to have a clear or consistent set of ideas about life after death (see also Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 2009), while Davies (2000: 3, 120) emphasizes both the uncertainty Romans seem to have felt about their own beliefs, and the ambiguity and opacity modern scholars face in attempting to reconstruct these beliefs. In the Han case, there is much confusion and disagreement about the early Chinese belief in two separate souls – *hun* 魂 (the soul which left the body for the spirit world after death) and *po* 魄 (the corporeal soul) – and their relevance to the construction of tombs and burials (James 1988-89: 69; Brashier 1996; Wu 1997: 151; id. 2010a: 32). Miller 2011: 1-4 provides the best recent summary of the state of Han studies vis-à-vis these unresolved questions.

claims and narratives about imperial power.[211] This power cannot, however, be measured only in apparent thermodynamic or economic expenditure. Imperial tombs form part of what Matthew Canepa calls "the wordless self-descriptive language of art and ritual" by which one might "gain access to the regimes'…very real understandings of their cosmological place."[212] Every aspect of Roman and Qin-Han imperial funerary sites is a carefully crafted rhetorical statement, a physical manifestation of the complex ways in which imperial power was imagined and perceived in the Roman and early Chinese empires. The burials, then, both reflected and helped to generate *particular ideologies* of rulership and authority.[213]

Burials are uniquely personal projects. It is often noted in contemporary scholarship about honorific Roman imperial monuments that they were officially commissioned not by the emperor but by the senate and people;[214] the imperial tomb, however, was a different matter.[215] Although, traditionally, burial in the Campus Martius was permitted only by posthumous senatorial decree, Augustus waited for no such decree

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[211] On Han tombs and "power" see, e.g.: Rawson 1997: 22; id. 1999a: 29-30, 35; id. 2002 on "the power of images" in the first emperor's tomb and elsewhere); Paludan 2006: 76. On Roman tombs: Davies 2000: 160-61 on the "legitimizing power" of Hadrian's tomb; Rehak 2007: 4, 53, 136. Veyne 1991: 334 takes a nuanced approach, discussed later: "[La colonne Trajane] rappelle par sa seule présence qu'un empereur est au pouvoir et qu'il faut lui obéir parce qu'il faut lui obéir."

[212] Canepa 2009: 1-2.

[213] On the dual role of images, monuments and objects in both manifesting and generating notions of power, see: Hayden 1998: 14-18; Brumfiel 2000: 138; Bayly and Bang 2003: 174; Miller 2005: 32; Canepa 2009: 19, 113; Nolan 2009: 1-15; Canepa 2010b: 127; von Rummel 2012.

[214] Beckmann 2003: 24-5; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 9; Mayer 2010; Osgood 2011: 26.

[215] Davies 2000: 3-4:

> [The] imperial funerary monument was not just a burial mark but an accession monument as well, and it is hard to imagine that the emperor, the incumbent, and other members of the imperial family did not take an active role in the design of such a critical work. Since several of the monuments were private commissions funded by the emperor and sometimes built on imperial land, the Senate as a body presumably did not have the final say over blueprints.

before beginning construction with private funding in the 30s BC (leading some to claim that technically the *Mausoleum Augusti* was situated north of the Campus).[216] Hadrian avoided this question altogether by building his tomb (Fig. B.4) across the Tiber on the private land of the imperial family and creating a "private extension," of sorts, to the Campus Martius.[217] In the Qin-Han Empire, emperors certainly helped to plan their own burials, and the Han histories even record conversations between emperors and their ministers about the plans and provisions for imperial tombs.[218] In addition to being particularly apt sets of comparable evidence then, the imperial funerary sites lend themselves to this comparison in that they offer relatively unfiltered insights into the imperial courts' notions about authority and ideology.

Other traditional research on funerary art and architecture, even that which cuts across time and space (as the work of Howard Colvin, for example), has often been limited to Western traditions;[219] in addition to using imperial tombs to gain insights into two conceptions of power, then, Part II of this thesis seeks to expand the rich cross-cultural scholarship on elite tombs by bringing Han Chinese examples into direct contact with Roman ones.[220]

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[216] Davies 2000: 3-4, 50. See also Zanker 1990: 72-3.
[217] Ibid.: 158-9.
[218] Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 4.131-2; 50: 2309-10; Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 10; 102. See also Miller 2011, especially 198-217.
[219] Colvin 1991. One notable exception is Tanner 2013a, which compares the use of sculpture at Qin Shi Huangdi's tomb and at the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.
[220] The contributions of Maia Peck (2009) to this subject must also be acknowledged, as her unpublished undergraduate thesis is, perhaps, the only existing comparative study focused specifically on Roman and Chinese imperial tombs: but given its concentration solely on the tombs of Augustus and Qin Shi Huangdi and, more importantly, the open-ended nature of its findings and several significant omissions, there is ample scope for further such research.

Argument

Part II of this thesis looks at the imperial funerary sites of the Roman emperors and the Qin and Western Han Chinese emperors. The burial sites reveal broad differences in notions of imperial power. In both traditions, I contend in the current chapter, the funerary sites indicate that the emperor's power was conceived to extend to distant times and places.[221] In Chapter 4, I look at differences in the agency and orientation of the funerary sites, arguing that at Rome, the imperial mausolea were true monuments: they were commemorative and sought to maximize their audience; their visual content was historical, focusing on biographical and military themes relating to the emperors for whom they were built. Qin-Han imperial tombs, on the other hand, were not vehicles for appeal and competition. They were more private, "polycentric"[222] and primarily designed for the future of the deceased in the afterlife.

This chapter argues that inasmuch as the funerary sites of the Roman and Qin-Han emperors reflect and help generate particular ideologies of rulership, both traditions of imperial burial promote the conception that imperial authority extended across vast, unfathomable tracts of both space and time. This program is particularly evident in the burials of the first emperors – Qin Shi Huangdi and Augustus, whose positions were without precedent and whose extraordinary claims correlated to the extraordinary evidence at their burial sites. They and their successors grappled with and confronted the unprecedented, unimaginable concentration of so much power in the hands of a single man; and the unprecedented, unimaginable scale of the polity over which that power was

[221] On universal empire, see Bang and Kołodziejczyk 2012a; id. 2012b.
[222] Wu 2010a: 35.

wielded. The paradox of attempting to express indescribable power was addressed by conflating the empire with the civilized world, the known world and even the cosmos; and by a relentless onslaught of material substantiation, either re-appropriated from distant places or re-created in analogue.

The concept of universal rule as an integral aspect of Roman or Qin-Han imperial ideology is not a new revelation, of course:[223] the trope of *imperium sine fine* and the blurring of *urbs* (Rome) and *orbis* (the whole [Roman] world) loom large in both the literature and the material evidence of the age of Augustus and beyond;[224] *tianxia* 天下, "all under heaven," plays a similar role alongside such terms as *siji* 四極, "the four extremities" (i.e., the world, extending out in all four cardinal directions) and *yu* 宇, "the universe" or "the cosmos," in the rhetoric of empire formation under Qin Shi Huangdi.[225] But what is remarkable is that in spite of major differences in each regime's understanding of the nature and sources of its power which the imperial burials themselves bring to light, and in spite of the different themes and audiences these burials aimed to address, they shared this principle, which may have been a crucial ideological attribute not only of Rome or of Han China, but of a certain type of megastate. Burials in

[223] Literature on this topic is so extensive as to defy summary here, but see, e.g., Nicolet 1991; Rawson 1999b: 31; Lewis 2006: 245-305, esp. 303; Clarke 2008 and bibliography; Bang and Bayly 2011b; Bang and Kołodziejczyk 2012a; id. 2012b; Schneider 2012.

[224] Verg., *Aen.* 1.278; Augustus, *Res Gestae* superscript.; Ov., *Fast*. 2.130, 2.684; id. *Ars Am.* 1.174. See also Nicolet 1991: 114; Edwards and Woolf 2004a; id. 2004b; Favro 2005: 234-5.

[225] See, e.g., Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Mt. Tai 泰山 stele 5; id., Mt. Yi 嶧山 stele 5; id., Mt. Zhifu 之罘 stele 32; id., Mt. Zhifu eastern vista stele 20. Although Scheidel 2009c: 11 takes *tianxia* 天下 as a ready equivalent to the Romans' *orbis terrarum*, it is in this context perhaps taken best as a parallel to οἰκουμένη (see the *Hanyu Da Cidian* 汉语大词典 for a fuller explanation of the term's possible meanings). See also Lewis 2007: 128 and Rawson 2007: 115 on Qin Shi Huangdi and "universal rulership" and "world empire."

both traditions aimed to dazzle with images and artefacts from faraway places and times; to establish a material expression, fixed in space at the eternal resting place of the ruler, of power on an otherwise inconceivable scale; and to conflate the unparalleled with the infinite.

The funerary sites

Comprehensive and accurate reports exist for all of the Roman imperial tomb sites discussed herein, and the Chinese exempla are also well documented; there is, therefore, no need to reiterate their descriptions in great detail in the body of this chapter. As this is a comparative work, however, and therefore one which operates in spheres of knowledge which the academy generally keeps apart, a gazetteer of these sites with more detailed descriptions is included as an appendix (Appendix B).

Strictly speaking, the projects of interest in this chapter encompass more than the imperial tombs, as emperors both in Rome and in Qin-Han China sited their tombs within much larger spaces, which were constructed, groomed or manipulated for ritual activity, subsidiary burials and funerary deposits, or for public reflection and veneration. For the burials of Qin and Western Han (221 BC – AD 9) emperors, each of these "burial sites" comprised a funerary park (*lingyuan* 陵园), a rectangular walled enclosure which conventionally surrounded an emperor's tumulus. These sites also incorporated rich and varied subsidiary deposits and burials around the tomb, including nearby tombs of consorts and officials, and, for example, the terracotta army of Qin Shi Huangdi (buried over 1,200 meters east of the first emperor's tumulus); and "funerary settlements" (*lingyi*

陵邑) created by the forced or incentivized migration of people to the area surrounded the funerary park and must also be considered part of the funerary site.[226] Roman imperial mausolea were also erected in carefully crafted environments, which helped to shape and communicate ideas about imperial power; Augustus' tomb, most notably, was located in a "funerary park" of sorts in the *Campus Martius*, surrounded by other monuments commissioned during Augustus' principate which would have interacted spatially and thematically with the mausoleum itself.[227]

The principal sites which form the basis of this comparison, on the Roman side, are the three very different imperial funerary sites at which the remains of Roman emperors are known to have been officially interred:[228] the funerary park (and its monuments: the *ustrinum*, the Ara Pacis and the meridian instrument of Augustus[229]) and Mausoleum of Augustus in the northern *Campus Martius*, where the ashes of emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius (probably), Nerva, and possibly Vespasian were deposited along with the ashes of many other imperial family members;[230] the Column of Trajan (AD 113), the base of which held Trajan's ashes, transported to Rome from Asia Minor,

[226] On *lingyi*: Thorp 1987: 22-5; Wu 1995: 155-64; Lewis 2015: 215.
[227] Favro 1996: 128 refers to the northern Campus Martius as Augustus' "funerary park." On the northern *Campus Martius* as a park (and on Augustus' Mausoleum, colossal solar meridian, *ustrinum* and *Ara Pacis* as a unified monumental space), see also Strab. 5.3.8; Zanker 1990: 74; Nicolet 1991: 16; Elsner 1996: 38; Rehak 2006.
[228] This list leaves out, notably, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* (*ca.* AD 81-96), where the remains of Vespasian and Titus may have been interred. The notion that their ashes were placed there, however, is speculative, and Vespasian's may also have been placed in the Mausoleum of Augustus (Davies 2000: 19, 24). Suetonius (*Dom.* 1) relates that Domitian's ashes ended up in the Temple: after Domitian's death and the ensuing *damnatio memoriae*, the deceased emperor's nurse, Phyllis, collected his ashes and secretly mixed them with the ashes of his sister, Julia, who was interred there in AD 91. The anecdote is certainly not grounds, however, to consider the Temple an "official" imperial tomb.
[229] On the meridian instrument (the so-called *horolgium Augusti*), see Heslin 2007.
[230] Davies 2000: 19.

and the ashes of his wife, Plotina;[231] and the Mausoleum of Hadrian (*ca.* AD 125-139), where, in addition to Hadrian, the other Antonine and Severan emperors and many of their relatives were interred at least up to Caracalla (d. AD 217).[232]

The Qin-Han counterparts are the burial sites of Qin Shi Huangdi and the eleven Western Han emperors, each of whom had his own funerary site.[233] These generally took the same general format: a *tumulus* surrounded by subsidiary deposits of precious objects and terracotta models; satellite tumuli and other burials for empresses, concubines, officials, generals and family members; ritual buildings; and funerary settlement towns. See Appendix B for more detailed information about all of these sites.

While the burial sites are the principal subject of Part II, I also consider other sites related to the veneration of the deceased emperor: the temples and monuments related to the cults of the *divi* in the Roman empire. And because the burial chambers of the Qin and Western Han emperors have not been excavated (only subsidiary pits and satellite burials at some of their funerary parks have been excavated), I also take into account

[231] Davies 2000: 30-34 summarizes the debate on whether or not Trajan's Column was intended to serve as his tomb. While there is no certain evidence that Trajan's remains were not placed in the column's base *ad hoc*, the existence of a chamber in the base suggests a premeditated functional contrast with the non-funerary Column of Marcus Aurelius. Proposals that *spolia* or the scrolls of the *Dacica* were intended to be placed in this chamber have trouble accounting for the bench and bracket which held Trajan's crematory urn and are otherwise unconvincing and unsupported. Moreover, the same marble was used for both the pedestal in the chamber and the cinerary urn itself (Johnson 2009: 28). Zanker (1970: 530-39) and Davies (2000: 30-34) have also argued that the iconographic program of the Forum also hinted at the Column's funerary function. See also: Settis 1988: 55-6; Davies 1997: 45-8; Packer 1997: 117-18; Coarelli 2000: 4; Davies 2000: 72; *contra*: Claridge 1993: 11.

[232] *CIL* 6.984-95; Herod. 4.1.4; Cass. Dio 76.15.4, 78.19.1, 78.24.3; *Hist. Aug.* Sev. 19.3, 24.3; Carac. 9.12; Opel. Macrin. 5.2. See also Scheithauer 2000: 169 *n.*118.

[233] There is no archaeological evidence for the Eastern Han imperial tombs, and so they are not considered here except for their general siting and location as described in contemporary texts.

evidence from the tombs of some Han princes– regional kings and scions of the imperial household – which have been better investigated archaeologically and which shed some light on the structures and burial goods associated with the imperial burial chambers themselves.

Fig. 3.1. The Mausoleum of Augustus (current state), Rome, ca. *28 BC.*

Fig. 3.2. Tumuli at the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, seventh to second centuries BC.

Fig. 3.3. Reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome, ca. *28 BC by H. von Hesberg.*

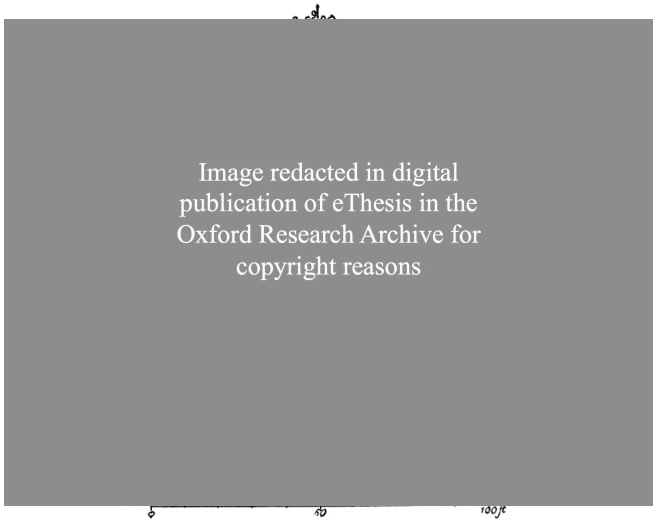


Fig. 3.4. A.D.F. Hamlin's reconstruction of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, Caria, ca. *350* BC.

Form and universality

Both of the two first emperors' tombs took their very forms from an amalgam of models located across the new imperial realm and beyond. Maia Peck, in her comparative thesis on these two tombs, concluded that while Augustus channeled "multiple sources" for the form of his tomb, Qin Shi Huangdi simply followed "Qin mortuary traditions."[234] In fact, the format of both burial sites made simultaneous reference to existing local traditions while explicitly incorporating inspiration from much farther afield. Augustus surely drew inspiration for his tomb from the "tumulus" of another recent, successful general buried

[234] Peck 2009: 75. Cf. Falkenhausen and Schelach 2013.

in the Campus Martius: Sulla.[235] But he also drew on funerary monuments from across the Roman world – a world over which he gained unprecedented, concentrated mastery. The Mausoleum of Augustus famously echoed Etruscan tumuli still extant on the Tyrrhenian coast and throughout Tuscany (Figs. 3.1. 3.2),[236] but more important precedents may have been far from Italy. It is noteworthy that the tomb is often referred to as a *mausoleum* in ancient sources, suggesting, perhaps, a notional association with the marble-faced, multistory Tomb of Mausolus at Halikarnassos (Figs. 3.3, 3.4).[237] As the Aeneas myth found an integral part to play in Augustus' sculptural and literary program (including in the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*), and as Augustus' and other late republican generals' fascination with Alexander and the Hellenistic east grew,[238] it seems likely that the circular drum-and-earth design of Augustus' mausoleum – unusual in its time, but often imitated after its construction[239] – may also have drawn on the burials of Hellenistic rulers and the tumuli of Trojan princes.[240] Suetonius and Cassius Dio record that Augustus visited the Sema, the tomb of Alexander (built *ca.* 215 BC in Alexandria by Ptolemy IV Philopator), and viewed his body;[241] it is possible that this tomb played a role in influencing the format of the *Mausoleum Augusti,* although there is no archaeological evidence for the Sema and so the proposal advanced by Claude Nicolet, Filippo Coarelli,

[235] Lucan 2.222 refers to Sulla's tomb as a *tumulus*, although it is unclear whether this refers specifically to a tomb mound. This question is discussed briefly by Colvin 1991: 42.
[236] Reeder 1992: 271; Favro 1996: 117; Davies 2000: 51-2; Rehak 2006: 43.
[237] Zanker 1990: 73-4; Davies 2000: 51-2; Cooley 2009: 4-5. *Contra*: Coarelli and Thébert 1988: 792.
[238] The influence of Alexander's legacy at Rome is, in the words of Reeder 1992: 274, "a well-enough-known phenomenon not to need repeating;" see, e.g., Spencer 2002; Stewart 2003: 55-7.
[239] Similar cylindrical tombs in the city, like the famous tomb of Caecilia Metella, have not been shown to predate the mausoleum of Augustus, and recent estimates have tended to date them after the mausoleum's construction: Colvin 1991: 66*n*; Gerding 2002: Table III.1; Rehak 2006: 45.
[240] Hellenistic: Reeder 1992: 271; Favro 1996: 117; Trojan: Colvin 1991: 42, 47; Cooley 2009: 405.
[241] Suet., *Aug*. 18.1; Cass. Dio 51.16.5. On the form of the Sema (for which there is no archaeological evidence): Coarelli and Thébert 1988: 792.

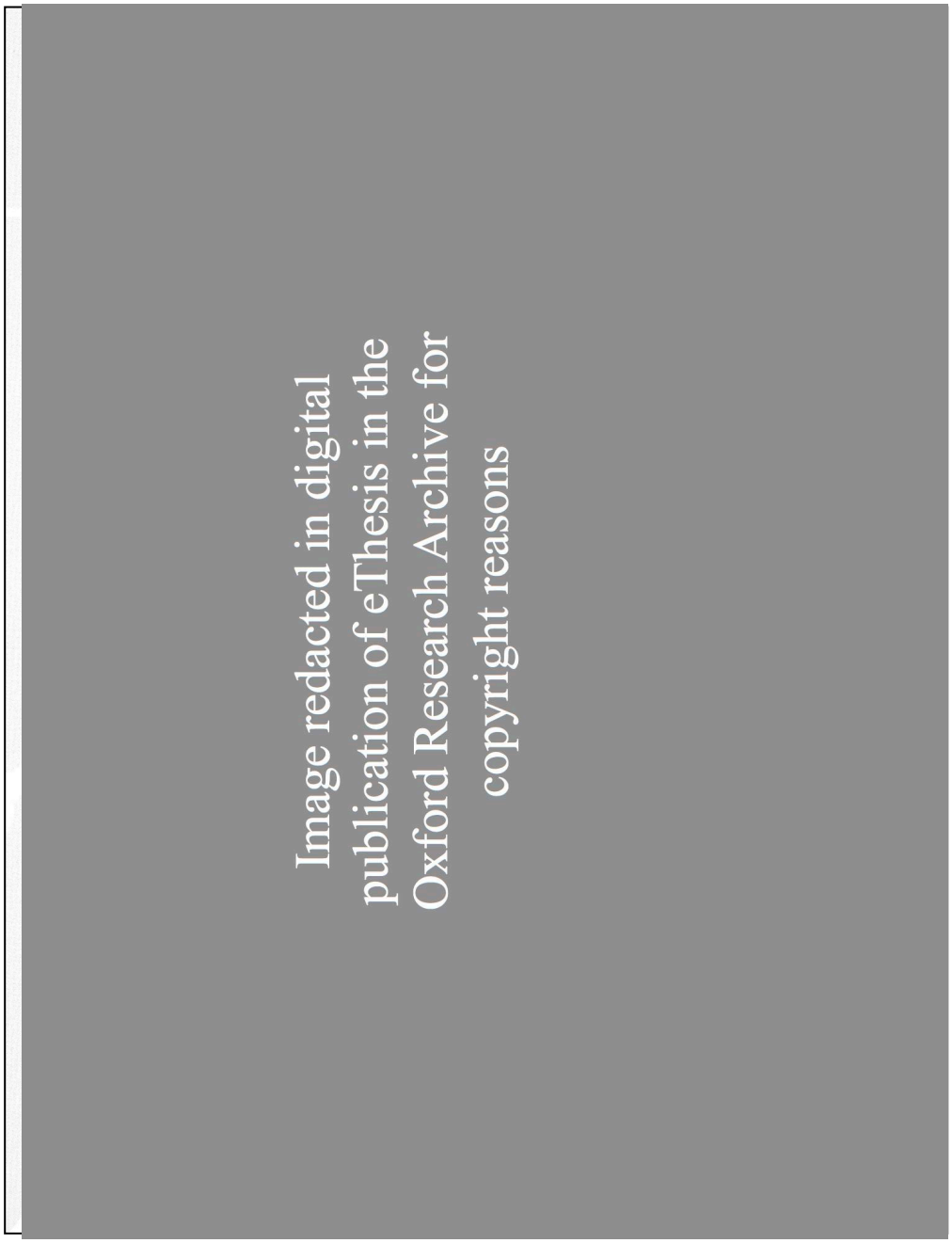


Fig. 3.5. Plan of the funerary park and mortuary deposits of the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, constructed 246-210 BC.

Yvon Thébert and others to this effect are highly speculative.[242] Lydian tumuli, the Arsinoeion of Samothrace, Numidian burials, and Greek tholoi may also have been among the models for the *princeps'* tomb;[243] in short, it was a confection of wide-ranging geographic prototypes, a combination of influences from near and far which merged to create a new sort of monument, fit for a world-ruler. [244]

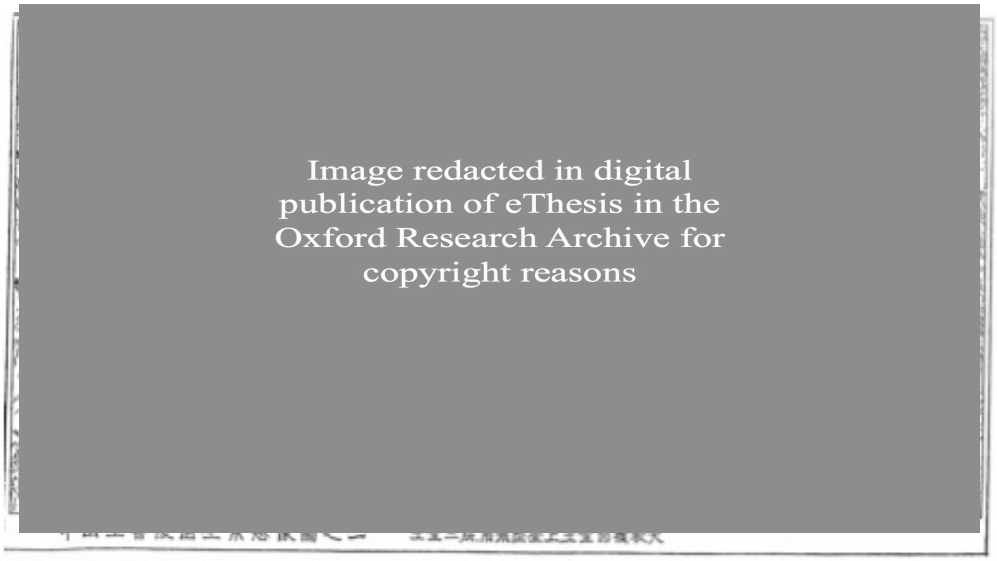
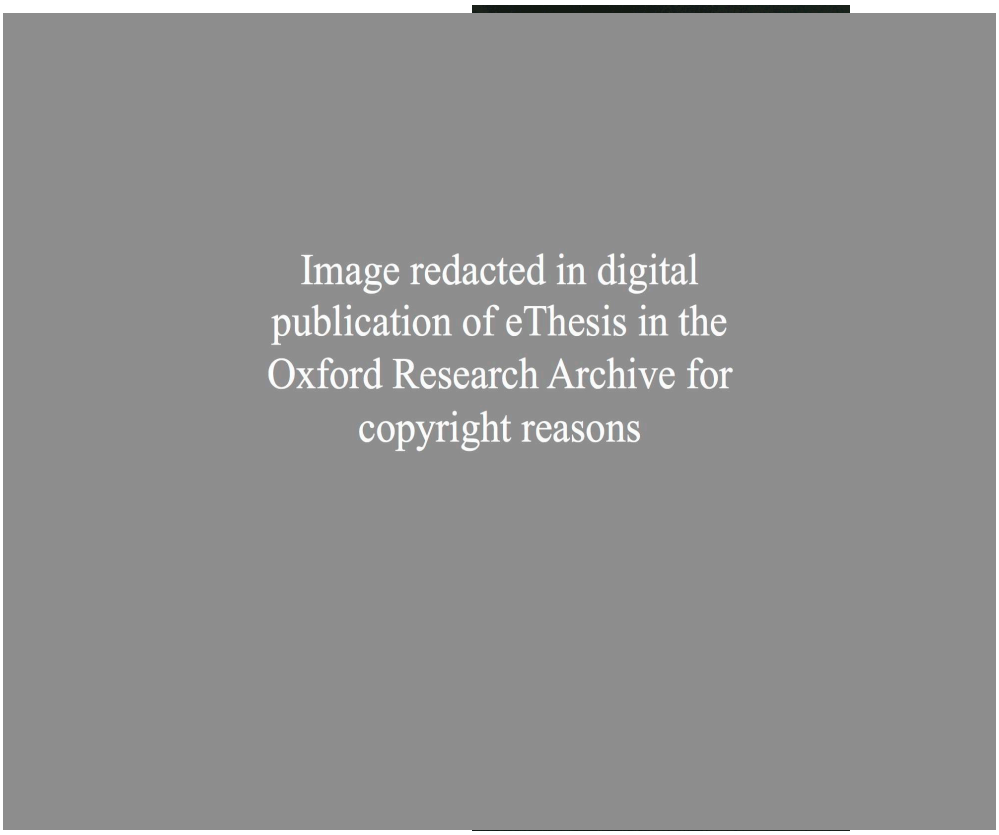


Fig. 3.6. Reconstruction of the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan 中山王譽, based on the plan of the site engraved on a bronze plaque found in the king's tomb; Pingshan, Hebei, 323-309 BC.

The tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi is not as obvious a departure from existing, pre-imperial local prototypes: like the tombs of the first emperor's predecessors – the kings of the Qin state – at the Zhiyang 芷阳 necropolis (after 325 BC), the first emperor's tomb was constructed near Lintong 临潼 and the Lishan Mountain 郦山; it was surmounted by an earthen tumulus; and it seems to have a cruciform burial chamber.[245] It also shared

[242] Coarelli and Thébert 1988: esp. 783-94; Colvin 1991: 42-7; Nicolet 1991: 16, 194; Reeder 1992: 274; Favro 1996: 117; Davies 2000: 51-2; Rehak 2006: 50; Cooley 2009: 4-5; Peck 2009: 62.
[243] Zanker 1990: 74-7; Reeder 1992: 274-300; Favro 1996: 117.
[244] Cf. Favro 2005: 245.
[245] Falkenhausen 2004: 109-39 provides a summary of pre-imperial Qin tombs and a bibliography of the original site reports.

with its local antecedents an emphasis on scale: while the first emperor's tomb was the largest Chinese imperial tomb of any dynasty (221 BC – AD 1911), the Qin tombs at Zhiyang were the largest of the Warring States era (475-221 BC), measuring up to 278 m in length and 3,107 sq. m in area). The cemetery of earlier Qin princes at Nanzhihui 南指挥 (6th – 4th centuries BC) was also characterized by an obsession with scale and includes the largest known tomb of the early Eastern Zhou 周 period (771-221 BC); Nanzhihui 1, 300 m in length and 5334 sq. m in area).[246]



(a) *(b)*

Fig. 3.7. (a) Terracotta cavalryman from Warriors Pit 2, Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC. Height: 184 cm. (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuangdi, Lintong, inv. 002763).

(b) Terracotta official from Pit K0006, Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC. Height: 183 cm. (Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Xi'an, inv. 006479).

[246] Qin pre-imperial tomb sites: Falkenhausen 2004: 109-39; Thote 2013.

(a) *(b)*

Fig. 3.8. (a) Wooden warrior (?) tomb figure, Chu楚 state, (Hubei湖北), ca. *4th century BC. No dimensions given. (John Hadley Cox Archaeological Study Collection, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Gift of John Hadley Cox, 1991).*

(b) Wooden tomb figures from Tomb 6 at Yidi, Jiangling江陵; Chu楚 state (Hubei湖北), 4th-3rd century BC. Height: 52.5 cm (left), 56.6 cm (right). (Jingzhou District Museum, Jiangling).

Conceptually, however, the format of the first emperor's burial drew on a range of regional models from the new Qin sphere.[247] Specifically, the profusion of subsidiary burials and deposits around the main tomb site counts among its predecessors the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan 中山王譽 (323-309 BC), some 600 km from Lintong, which featured a walled enclosure, secondary tumuli for the King's queens and consorts, and peripheral pits for animals, vehicles and other goods (Figs. 3.5, 3.6).[248] Insofar as the first emperor's tomb seems to have been divided into functional living spaces (e.g., a

[247] Falkenhausen 2004: 123.
[248] Fu 傅 1980; Wu 1995: 112-15; Falkenhausen 2006: 309-21; Rawson 2010b: 35.

stable; a hunting park; an armory), it adopted a tradition best exemplified by the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng 曾侯乙 (*ca.* 433 BC) at Suizhou 随州, some 500 km from the Lishan tomb.[249] And the extensive use of model men and animals was a trademark of elite Chu 楚 state burials dating as far back as the sixth century BC (Figs. 3.7, 3.8).[250] As Lothar von Falkenhausen summarized, the Lishan funerary park "combines elements from various regional traditions" to create a tomb "*sui generis*;"[251] a project, like Augustus', "for the world, not a city."[252]

Microcosms and models

Beyond the question of format, the Roman and Qin-Han imperial funerary sites incorporated analogues and images of the distant worlds and peoples under imperial control, taking the power to construct and deploy these proxies as a sign of power over the real world; and using creative, artistic and intellectual energies to assert, affirm and materialize the scope of imperial power at the burial site. Sima Qian's portrayal of the burial chamber of Qin Shi Huangdi, describes an entire microcosm of the "known world:"

> 始皇初即位，穿治郦山，及并天下，天下徒送诣七十余万人，穿三泉，下铜而致椁，宫观百官奇器珍怪徙臧满之。… 以水银为百川江河大海，机相灌输，上具天文，下具地理。以人鱼膏为烛，度不灭者久之。
>
> When the emperor first came to the throne he began digging and shaping Mount Li. Later, when he unified the empire, he had over 700,000 men from all over the

[249] On this comparison, see, e.g., Kesner 1995: 116; Ledderose 2000: 66.
[250] Rawson 1999a: 32; Ledderose 2000: 65-6; Tanner 2013a: 67. Tanner notes, rightly, that the functional distinction sometimes drawn in secondary literature (e.g., Nickel 2009; cf. Barnhart 2004) "between the 'sculptures' (*Plastiken*) of the Terracotta Army and the figures from the earlier Chu and Qin tombs, mere 'dolls' (*Puppen*)" is false.
[251] Falkenhausen 2004: 123.
[252] Favro 2005: 245 on the tomb of Augustus. Cf. Wood 2007: 130.

> empire transported to the spot. They dug down to the third layer of underground springs and poured in bronze to make the outer coffin. Replicas of palaces, scenic towers, and the hundred officials, as well as rare utensils and wonderful objects, were brought to fill the tomb…. Mercury was used to fashion imitations of the hundred rivers, the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers and the seas, constructed in such a way that they seemed to flow. Above were representations of all the heavenly bodies, below, the features of the world. Whale oil was used for the lamps, which were calculated to burn for a long time without going out. [253]

Although the tomb chamber has not been excavated, the richness of the subsidiary burial pits, and the inclusion of, for example, exotic animals therein,[254] lends credibility to Sima Qian's words. More convincingly, tests carried out on the soil of the tomb mound have revealed unusually high levels of mercury concentrated in a clear pattern within the tumulus (Fig. 3.9).[255]

In Suetonius' description of Nero's "Golden House," the *Domus Aurea*, he writes:

> *…item stagnum maris instar, circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum.*
>
> And there was a pool as an image of the sea, surrounded by buildings to represent cities; there were, moreover, various types of landscape – fields, vineyards, pastures and forests, along with a great number of both domestic and wild animals. [256]

Like Sima Qian, Suetonius is a hostile source writing after the death of the relevant emperor. But this passage shows that the idea of this sort of microcosm was not unfamiliar to the Romans.

---

[253] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6. Translation adapted from Watson 1993; "known world:" Rawson 1999a: 6; Schmidt-Glintzer 2008: 180.
[254] Kesner 1995: 125; Wu 2006: 54; Rawson 2007: 140.
[255] Mercury testing: Duan 2007b.
[256] Suet., *Ner.* 31.1. On the reconstruction of this pool and other components of the microcosm, see Segala and Sciortino 1999: 12; Davies 2000: 88-9.

Fig. 3.9. Detected distribution of mercury in the soil of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC) in 1981

While this kind of remarkable parallel to the Qin microcosm was not deployed in a Roman imperial tomb, the tombs themselves made ample use of models and microsms to suggest world and even cosmic power. The construction "land and sea," *terra marique*, was used to convey universal peace and empire, and found both visual and verbal articulation at the funerary park of Augustus: the phrase occurred repeatedly in the inscription outside Augustus' tomb,[257] and personifications of land and sea in the form of *aurei* also appeared flanking Peace herself on the southern exterior relief on the east side

[257] Augustus, *Res Gestae* 3: [B]ELLA TERRA ET MARI C[IVILIA EX]TERNAQUE TOTO IN ORBE TERRARUM; 4: TERRA MA[RI]QUE; 13: [P]ER TOTUM I[MPERIUM PO]PULI ROMA[NI TERRA MARIQUE ES]SET PARTA VICTORIIS PAX. As Elsner (1996:34) has pointed out, the first line of the preface, which states that Augustus ORBEM TERRARUM ÍMPERIO POPULI ROM. SUBIECIT was written in large letters on the *Mon. Anc*., on Mussolini's version at the Ara Pacis in Rome, and – quite possibly – on the original bronze plaques. On this construction elsewhere (e.g. App., *Bell Civ*. 5.130; Livy 1.19.3) and its visual expression see Momigliano 1942; Nicolet 1991: 36; Rich 2003: 331.

of the *Ara Pacis* (Fig. 3.10).[258] As Mario Torelli and many others have pointed out, this panel also stood for *orbis* (the world) – complementing Roma (*urbs*, the city), the other panel on this side of the altar.[259] To complement the theme of world empire, Augustus' grand meridian device, between the *Ara Pacis* and the mausoleum itself, attested to the emperor's mastery of time on a cosmic scale.[260] This instrument, often (erroneously, as Peter Heslin has shown[261]) referred to as a *horologium*, was in fact a monumental solar meridian, which used the shadow of an imported Egyptian obelisk (about which more below) to track the astrological calendar (Fig. 3.11). The monumental landscape surrounding Augustus' tomb then was a clear projection of expansive spatial and cosmic scope of the emperor's authority.

Fig. 3.10. Pax relief, south segment of the east face of the Ara Pacis*, Rome,* ca. *9 BC. Height: 1.6 m.*

[258] Augustus, *Res Gestae* 13. The following agree that the central figure in this relief could be Pax: Torelli 1982: 42-3 (posits an admixture among which Pax features); de Grummond 1990; Zanker 1990, 314. *Contra*: Toynbee 1953: 81; Hannestad 1988: 72. A near twin to this relief from Carthage confirms that the central figure is Pax and, more specifically, *Pax terra marique* with the flanking figures (Torelli 1982: 38; Zanker 1990: 314-15).
[259] Torelli 1982: 38-43.
[260] Davies 2000: 93-4.
[261] Heslin 2007 corrects the once widely accepted views of E. Buchner (1976) on this subject. The device was not – and could not have been – a *horologium* or full sundial. It was a solar meridian calendar, but surely no less important in its significance for projecting a monumental mastery of time.

Fig. 3.11. Excavated section of the Meridian Line, Rome; probably a Domitianic restoration of the Augustan monument (Heslin 2007: 6-9).

The idea of the microcosm may have played an important role elsewhere in the Roman imperial tombs. The globe, an important visual device in Roman political imagery since the Republic, was the graphic formulation of the *orbis terrarum* which Augustus claimed to have conquered in the *Res Gestae* inscription outside his tomb.[262] And this image was also incorporated into the funerary site of Augustus: a bronze globe surmounted the obelisk of the colossal meridian instrument immediately south of the Mausoleum.[263] Globes may also have appeared in the hands of or at the foot of the colossal statue of Augustus which surmounted his Mausoleum and in the hands of the

[262] Augustus, *Res Gestae* pr., 3.
[263] Rehak 2006: 92.

colossus of Trajan which topped his column.[264] Hadrian's tomb has been poorly preserved, and so research on its program and meaning is uncommon; while Penelope Davies has suggested that the entire site was an "architectural metaphor," like Hadrian's Pantheon temple, an "image of the cosmos, "[265] this proposition is difficult to argue given the lack of archaeological information. But the world and cosmos were (re)created at the other tombs with relative clarity and precision.

Fig. 3.12. Fragments from the small nationes *frieze,* Ara Pacis*, Rome,* ca. *9. BC.*

In both Rome and China, models of "barbarians" and people from far-off lands at the emperor's funerary site were a crucial component of projecting an "ecumenical view of the Empire" and of the emperor's power.[266] At the funerals of Augustus and Pertinax, Dio describes, likenesses of all the subject *ethne*, each bearing some "native attribute,"

[264] Augustus: Rehak 2006: 42, 92; cf. Zanker 1990: 41. Trajan: Packer 1994: 167-8 *n.*15; Maffei 1995: 358. For a general discussion on "l'image du globe dans le monde romain," see Arnaud 1984. See also Nicolet 1991: 35, 41 on the globe as an image of power in Augustan and late Republican Rome.
[265] Davies 2000: 82-90.
[266] Hannestad 1988: 197 on the Hadrianeum reliefs. Cf. Nicolet 1991: 15-16.

were included in the funeral procession;[267] but more permanent versions of such images were also created at the imperial funerary sites. The impulse to catalogue the constituent parts of empire and thereby not only describe or represent the empire, but to give the illusion of totality and completion – is discernable in the inscription erected outside of Augustus tumulus, the *Res Gestae*; as Claude Nicolet has described, there are no fewer than fifty-five place names from far and wide included in the inscription, but the "importance lies less in the number of victories or countries listed…than in the global, and geographically significant, character of the facts and names listed."[268] Such was the pretense of global dominion that even India was included amongst the lands to which Roman influence reached (thanks to Augustus).[269]

Within the *Ara Pacis*, at the altar itself, a frieze depicted personifications of the various nations and ethnicities of the empire (Fig. 3.12), *simulacra omnium gentium*[270] of the type known to have occurred elsewhere in Roman imperial visual projects.[271] While

[267] Cass. Dio 56.34.3, 75.4.5.
[268] Nicolet 1991: 20-24. As Nicolet (1991: 21-3) writes, the multitude of toponyms in the *Res Gestae* would have been mind-boggling, some appearing in Latin for the first time in the Augustan period and some, to our knowledge, only appearing elsewhere in Strabo, Pliny and (later) in Ptolemy.
[269] Augustus, *Res Gestae* 31. While this passage does not, of course, claim India's formal inclusion in the empire, the inclusion of India and other exotic regions – especially in subordinate roles – is what is significant. On epigraphic catalogues of tribes and peoples, cf. Ferris 2000: 143 on the Alpine trophy of Augustus at Saint-Bernard-de Comminges.
[270] This phrase is from Serv., *Ad. Aen.* 8.721.
[271] The loci for other such serial *gentes* images include Augustus' *Porticus ad Nationes*, to which Servius refers; the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias; the Hadrianeum; and the coin series of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (see Smith 1988: 50 and bibliography; id. 2013). It should be noted that many of the tropes and programmatic details noted here at the funerary sites of Roman and Chinese emperors occurred elsewhere, sometimes in profusion, at other sites in their respective empires. This chapter, however, concentrates on the direct and stable comparison of imperial tomb sites, using information from those sites to glean valuable insights about the nature of imperial power more generally. If the themes discussed herein are present elsewhere in the Roman and Chinese worlds, so much the better; some of these examples are discussed in later chapters.

the fragmentary state of this relief prevents identification of specific regions or *nationes* with individual figures (of which there were at least eight and probably more), their form – individual, draped female "barbarian" figures – connects them to these other projects and suggests that they too surely had specific referents.[272] One of those projects was a larger-scale set of reliefs from another project related to the veneration of the deceased emperor: the Hadrianeum or Temple of Hadrian (Fig. 3.13).[273] In the twenty-two reliefs – far better preserved than their counterparts at the *Ara Pacis* – personifications of the Roman provinces differ from one another in their dress and attributes, as well as in subtle physiognomic features. These personifications were just under life size and may originally have featured painted labels naming the provinces they represented (though this is by no means certain).[274] Indeed, the identification of individual figures has long puzzled scholars and may have been unclear to ancient viewers also; the emphasis, however, primarily lay in the "group aesthetic" of "studied diversity."[275] For the goal of these visual inventories of territories was the condensation of *imperium sine fine* into a clear and comprehensible structure at the funerary site. Like the microcosm of Qin Shi Huangdi's tomb, they succinctly express the principle of world empire and associate that concept intimately and eternally with the person of the emperor himself. As Niels Hannestad wrote of the Hadrianeum reliefs, they allowed Hadrian to "take his provinces with him to the hereafter."[276]

[272] Smith 1988: 72-3. See also La Rocca 1983: 52.
[273] On these reliefs, see Lucas 1900: 1-42; Bieńkowski 1900: 60-86; Toynbee 1934: 152-9; Smith 1988; Claridge 1999; Presicce 1999; Sapelli 1999b; id. 1999c; Hughes 2009.
[274] Hannestad 1988: 198; Hughes 2009: 8 argues that they did not feature labels.
[275] Hughes 2009: 14.
[276] Hannestad 1988: 198.

Fig. 3.13. Provincial reliefs from the Hadrianeum (found in the Piazza di Pietra): Hispania?, Gallia?, Achaia?, Mauretania?, Thracia?, Aigyptos?, Moesia?, Dacia?*, Rome,* ca. *AD 145. Figure heights 1.48 – 1.54 m. (a-d, g, h from the Capitoline Museums, Rome; e, f from the National Museum, Rome; Hughes 2009).*

The imperial Chinese tombs, of course, also made extensive use of models, the most famous of which are the terracotta warriors at the Lishan funerary park (Fig. 3.14). It seems likely that these model armies and other figures were intended to be ethnically diverse, incorporating people from across the ecumene. The first emperor's army in particular featured detailed physiognomic qualities including:[277]

> the individual facial characteristic[s] of the different parts of China, so that one can easily recognize, for instance, the high cheekbones so prevalent in the southern and western part of China, still evident today. Beards and moustaches indicate that others were individuals from the northern orders of the Chinese-speaking world.

[277] Michaelson 2010: 38.

Fig. 3.14. Physiognomically diverse heads of officers, charioteers and infantrymen Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC.

In fact, the sculptures were created from modular body parts – including eight head shapes and facial types further modified with a layer of clay slip to create a diverse group of seven thousand "individuals" from across Qin Shi Huangdi's sphere;[278] like the Hadrianeum reliefs, they formed an image of "studied diversity."[279] Anthropomorphic models were frequent in elite burials, and several other terracotta armies are known from the tomb of Jingdi 景帝 at Yangling 阳陵 (Fig. B.10), and from imperial satellite tombs and princely tombs (Yangjiawan 杨家湾, Shizishan 狮子山, and Weishan 危山).[280]

[278] Modularity; diversity: Kesner 1995: 118, 128 *n.* 70; Ledderose 2000: 72; Nickel 2007: 170; Rawson 2007: fig. 152; Michaelson 2011: 52-5.
[279] Hughes 2009: 14.
[280] Shaanxi sheng wen guanhui 陕西省文管会 et al. 1977; Zhan and Zhou 展力, 周世曲 1977; Xuzhou Bowuguan 徐州博物馆 1986; Wang 1990; Jiao 焦南峰, Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西

Fig. 3.15. Earthenware northern cavalryman from the tomb of the King of Chu 楚 (either Liu Yingke 刘郢客 or Liu Wu 刘戊) at Shizishan 狮子山, 179-154 BC. Height: 59 cm. (Xuzhou Museum, Jiangsu Province).

Although these do not exhibit the same detailed physiognomic diversity that the first emperor's model army did, in some cases the figures' intended exotic origins are clear. This is true, for example, in the case of an earthenware model of a cavalryman of northern, perhaps Xiongnu 匈奴, origins at the tomb of a prince of the imperial household, the regional King of Chu 楚 (either Liu Yingke 刘郢客 or Liu Wu 刘戊) at Shizishan (179-154 BC; Fig. 3.15).[281] While these Chinese images are not usually taken as personifications or understood in this way, their presence in the tomb represents their place of origin by synecdoche as powerfully as the more formal Roman personifications.

省考古研究所 2001; Wang 王守功 2004; Beningson 2005d; Paludan 2006: 61-82; Si 2010a; id. 2010b.

[281] Lin 2012 cat. no. 1; Xu 2012: 89.

As at Rome, a thorough awareness of other peoples, including such details as physiognomic features – and the ability to recreate those details and to deploy that knowledge – made for stronger substantiation of global empire.

(a)

(b)

Fig. 3.16. (a) Slab 5 of the so-called Great Trajanic Frieze, now in the passageway (west pylon) of the Arch of Constantine, Rome; originally, perhaps, in the Forum of Trajan, Rome; ca. *AD 110-120. (Leander Touati 1987: 90, 111; Packer 1997: 113, 445). Ca. AD 110-120. (Kleiner 1992: Fig. 185).*

(b) Fallen Dacian, trampled beneath the feet of Roman soldiers; scene 71; spiral 11a; drum 8-9; Column of Trajan, Rome; ca. *AD 113.*

At Trajan's burial site, the model "barbarians" were even more prevalent than they were at other Roman imperial funerary sites. Realistic, life-size sculptures of Dacian captives, some serving as architectural *telamones*, formed a dominant part of the setting for Trajan's Column;[282] the spiral relief on the column itself, of course, was a vehicle for the representation of approximately 2,500 figures, many of whom are also exotic Dacians;[283] and of specific locales and topographies as far away as the distant Danube. Trajan's funerary site transported these people and places back to the capital permanently (just as the Roman triumph transported living people and actual artefacts to the *urbs* on a transient basis) and (re)created them in an artificially manufactured sliver of the city as a map and model of Rome's – and Trajan's own – power. As in the Qin-Han tombs, there seems to have been a premium on creating intricate, lifelike "representations"[284] in Trajan's Forum; possible eschatological reasons for this (in the Chinese case, at least) are discussed in later chapters, but these images also, of course, reflected a detailed, accurate universal knowledge and dominance. The brutalized, trampled and dying "barbarians" (Fig. 3.16) depicted on Trajan's Column and on the so-called Great Trajanic Frieze (which may also have been located in the Forum[285]) also have a parallel at one of the satellite tumuli at the Maoling 茂陵 funerary site of Emperor Wudi 武帝 (Fig, B.11). The tumulus of General Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140-117 BC) features a number of above-ground stone statues, including one statue of a bow-wielding

[282] See Packer 1997: cat. nos. 184-8. Cat. no. 188 includes the original head, which is flat on top.
[283] 2,500: Hamberg 1945: 104-5.
[284] See Kesner 1995 on why it is problematic to refer to the terracotta warriors as representations, given their probable function as a self-complete army of a different order rather than a depiction of the emperor's earthly army.
[285] On the "Great Trajanic Frieze," see Leander Touati 1987; that the frieze was probably in Trajan's Forum: ibid.: 90; Packer 1997: 113.

"barbarian" trampled beneath a horse (Fig. 3.17).[286] These violent images reflect world power not only by worldly knowledge, but by immediate, tangible domination.

Fig. 3.17. Statue of a horse crushing a bow-wielding Xiongnu 匈奴 warrior, tomb of General Huo Qubing 霍去病, satellite tomb of Maoling 茂陵 funerary site of Emperor Wudi 武帝; 140-117 BC. Height: 1.68 m. (Maoling Museum, Xingping).

In other contexts, both Roman and Chinese, these outsiders were rendered as subject and servile. The tomb of prince Liu Sheng 刘胜 (died *ca.* 113 BC) – the son of Emperor Jingdi and half-brother of Emperor Wudi and whose well-preserved, excavated tomb chamber may offer insights on the imperial burial chambers – featured an array of lavish objects which incorporated smaller-scale "barbarian" images.[287] Subtler than the over-life-size sculptures and large-scale armies from other funerary contexts (just as the *nationes* frieze of the *Ara Pacis* was relatively understated compared to the "barbarian" imagery of Trajan's Forum), their relationship with perceptions of imperial power – and

[286] On this statue: Zheng 1998: 57-9; Yates 2002: 18-20; Paludan 2006: 109-13; He 賀西林 2009; Shen 沈琍. 2010.

[287] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Hebei sheng wenwu guanli ban 中国社会科学院考古研究所，河北省文物管理办 1980: 72; 256-7.

the vast reach of the imperial house's power – is nevertheless significant.[288] Not unlike the *telamones* in Trajan's Forum, some of these less monumental depictions of outsiders served as supports or miniature *telamones* for vessels (Figs. 3.18, 3.19). These "supports" are not merely decorative: they craft specific and powerful political narratives. As representatives from distant landscapes assume a subordinate role in the artefacts that represent them, they stand unequivocally for expansive and ever-expanding authority (although such meanings are seldom if ever discussed in the case of the Chinese material). The force such images – ostensibly just "part of the furniture" – actually wielded in the ancient world should not be underestimated – as a similar (far more recent) artefact featuring a captive "foreigner" support makes jarringly clear (Fig. 3.20).

Fig. 3.18. Restored elevation featuring Dacian telamones *of the east colonnade (west façade) of the Forum of Trajan, Rome,* ca. *AD 112*.

[288] A comparable vessel at the funerary park of Jingdi was decorated with "barbarian" heads: Jiao 焦南峰, Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 2001: 75.

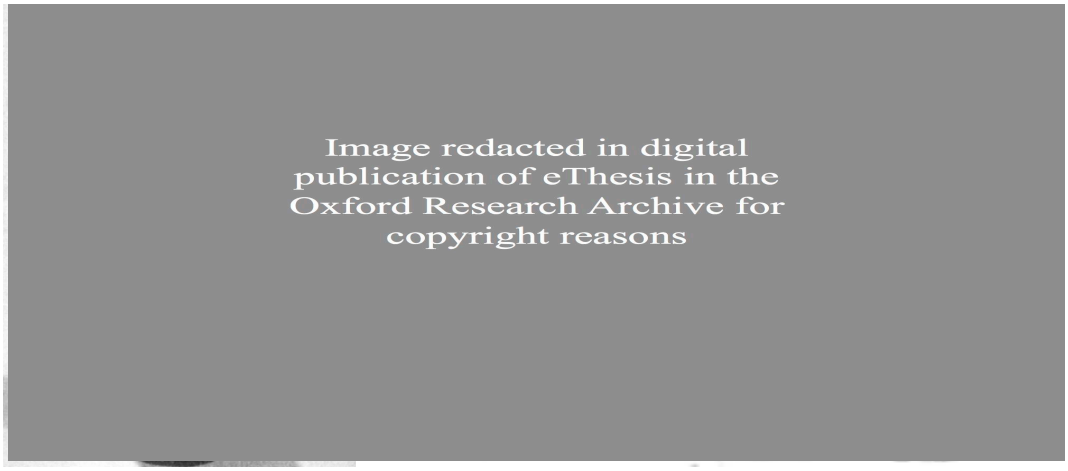


Fig. 3.19. Bronze lamp or vessel from the tomb of Liu Sheng 刘胜 (son of Emperor Jingdi 景帝), Mancheng 满城, Hebei 河北; ca. *113 BC. (Mancheng object no. 1:4112).*

Fig. 3.20. The Abu Ghraib Coffee Table by Philip Toledano, AD 2008. Moulded resin and plexiglass.

Exotic zoomorphic models are also frequent in these ambitious microcosms as yet another materialization of the concept of ecumenical power:[289] bronze peacocks, and perhaps other exotic birds as well, adorned the precinct fence at Hadrian's tomb (Fig. 3.21),[290] while similar sculptures of exotic birds inhabited an eternal imperial pleasure

[289] On exotic animals as signifiers of worldly power, see Belozersakya 2006.
[290] Opper 2008: cat. nos. 162-3. See Colvin 1991: 45-50; Opper 2008: 213. These birds may have had divine and other associations, but must also be understood within Rome's tradition of importing and representing strange and exotic animals.

garden in the satellite pits north of Qin Shi Huangdi's tumulus (Fig. 3.22),[291] and the remains of exotic animals, perhaps particular, especially prized specimens, were buried in a model zoo or hunting park west of the tumulus.[292] Similar images of zoological curosities were almost certainly incorporated into the burial sites of subsequent Chinese emperors; again, the well-preserved set of burial goods from the Mancheng tomb provides ample *exempla*, including images of camels, monkey and leopards (Fig. 3.23).[293] Stone statues of elephants and other extraordinary animals may also have adorned the tomb of Huo Qubing and one of the Eastern Han imperial tombs outside of Luoyang 洛阳.[294]

Fig. 3.21. Gilded bronze peacock from the precinct fence at Hadrian's Mausoleum, Rome, ca. *AD 117-140. Height: 115 cm. (Musei Vaticani, Rome).*

[291] Broschat et al. 2007; Duan 2007a; Mei 2013;
[292] Rawson 2007: 140.
[293] See, e.g., Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Hebei sheng wenwu guanli ban 中国社会科学院考古研究所，河北省文物管理办 1980: 79, 96, 256-7, 263-8.
[294] Paludan 1991: 40-45; id. 2006: 109-13.

Fig. 3.22. Bronze bird with painted feathers from Pit K0007, Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC. Height: 75 cm. (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. DM: 012).

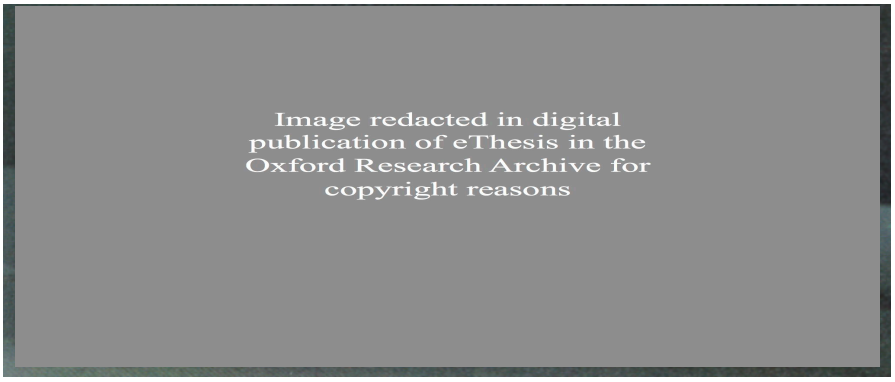


Fig. 3.23. Decorated bronze leopards with gold, silver and agate inlay from the tomb of Dou Wan 竇綰 (wife of Liu Sheng 刘胜), Mancheng 满城, Hebei 河北; ca. *113 BC. Height:* ca. *3.5 cm. (Mancheng object nos. 2:3056-7).*

Spoils and exotica

While forms adopted from diverse and distant places, and images and analogues – of landscapes and waterscapes, animals and people – helped to create a fixed material manifestation of world empire and to situate and associate that power with the person of the emperor, in some cases the real artefacts and people from distant places and times

were imported to the burial site to create an even more convincing, more powerful microcosm. So while replicas of ancient Egyptian obelisks in red granite flanked the entrance to Augustus' tomb,[295] a genuinely ancient obelisk (ancient even in Augustus' time) was also incorporated prominently into the funerary park's scheme (Fig. 3.24). Originally commissioned by the pharaoh Psamtik II (r. 595-589 BC) and erected at Heliopolis, the obelisk – in its new location on the Campus Martius – not only reconstructed Egypt in Rome and proved the claim to power annunciated in the Augustan inscription at the object's base (AEGVPTO IN POTESTAM POPULI ROMANI REDACTA[296]), but it also symbolically transferred the authority and rulership of a past era to Augustus' regime.[297]

Special artefacts from earlier eras or distant places found in Qin-Han imperial tombs might be considered to serve the same function.[298] These artefacts include a massive bronze tripod vessel (鼎 *ding*; 61 cm tall, 71 cm in diameter at the mouth) deposited in one of the subsidiary pits at the first emperor's funerary park and discovered in 1999 (Fig. 3.25).[299] The *ding* was almost certainly manufactured in the Jin 晋 state in the 5th century BC, probably at Xintian 新田, where the interlaced decorative pattern on the vessel's exterior was famously produced, and was presumably taken from a temple

[295] There is some disagreement about whether these obelisks were Augustan or were erected later in the imperial period. See Buchner 1996; Davies 2000: 14-15; Rehak 2006: 39, 52.
[296] *CIL* 6.702. See also Heslin 2007: 6.
[297] Zanker 1990: 144-5. On the Egyptian obelisks in Rome generally, see Sorek 2010.
[298] On exotica in Han tombs generally, see: Rawson 1999a: 27-30.
[299] Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. DM: 009; Qin ling kaogu dui 秦陵考古队. 2001: 65-7; Yuan 袁仲一 2002: 501-4; Portal 2007a: cat. no. 19; Yates 2007b: Fig. 38.

there when Jin was defeated and incorporated into the Qin empire.[300] But what does it mean that a large, centuries-old ritual vessel produced by a once-great power ended up at the site of this tomb? What does it mean that it was deemed important for this object to be included in the burial deposits? The redeployment of the vessel by Jin's conqueror at the tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi centuries after its manufacture and in the *novus ordo* of empire was as politically and conceptually significant as the display of the obelisk of Psamtik at Augustus' burial site. Chinese archaeology, however, has engaged far less with the idea of spoils and in theoretical discussions about the reappropriation of objects captured in war than Roman studies have;[301] and while the distant and ancient origins of the vessel are usually noted in scholarship, it has not received nearly the same level of treatment that, for example, the obelisk of Psamtik has.

Other artefacts made reference to even more distant peoples and traditions. Members of the imperial house seem to have had a penchant for including ostentatious gold steppe- and Xiongnu-style belt plaques in their burials.[302] In the Yellow River Basin, the tradition was to fasten belts using belt hooks, rather than plaques. But the imperial family were routinely buried with what were either authentic or local facsimiles skillfully made (perhaps by migrant or captured Xiongnu craftsmen) of glittering

[300] Yates 2007b: 48. Jessica Rawson, in personal communication, has suggested that this may be an archaizing vessel manufactured around the time of the Qin conquest (see Rawson 2010d and Wu 2010b on earlier archaizing vessels generally and archaism, 仿古 *fanggu*, in Chinese visual culture), but Shen Maosheng 申茂盛 has shown in several papers that this is not a Qin vessel, but a far older artefact (Shen 申茂盛 1999; id. 2001).
[301] Wu 1995: 109 is a brief – but notable – exception; he does not discuss the *ding*.
[302] Rawson 2010c: 81; Li 2012a; id. 2012b.

Fig. 3.24. The obelisk of Psamtik II, built in Egypt ca. *595-589 BC; dedicated in the* Campus Martius*, Rome, in 10 BC; currently in the Piazza Montecitorio, Rome. Height:* ca. *34 m including base*.

Xiongnu animal belt plaques.[303] One well preserved example of a set of two plaques from the tomb of the King of Chu depicts a bear and a wolf attacking an antlered quadruped (Fig. 3.26);[304] more than a dozen plaques of the same design have been found across the steppe region, including one as far afield as Kazakhstan.[305] Although the production sites for these plaques is unknown (and indeed, the question of whether they were produced primarily for nomads or primarily for Chinese with exotic tastes remains debated), their exotic and distant connotations are clear.

[303] On belt plaques and other northern "exotica" deployed by Han royalty and elites, see Rawson 2012. See also Bunker 1995; Jäger and Kansteiner 2011: 24; Chien 2012: 188; Kost 2012: 147-8.
[304] Xuzhou Museum, Jiangsu Province; Lin 2012: cat. no. 82.
[305] Yablonsky 1994: Fig. 81.13. See also Bunker 1995: 144; So and Bunker 1995: cat. no. 4; Chien 2012: 188.

Fig. 3.25. Bronze ding 鼎 vessel with interlaced decoration; probably created in Xintian 新田, Jin state, Shanxi 山西, 5th century BC,; deposited at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西 (pit K9901) ca. *246-210 BC. Height: 61 cm; diameter (mouth): 71 cm. (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. DM: 009).*

Perhaps the largest-scale relocation of original foreign "goods" to the imperial Han tomb site, however, was the creation of funerary settlements, *lingyi* 陵邑, to which members of the wealthiest and most prominent families from around the empire were brought to form living microcosms of the imperial world (Fig. 3.27).[306] Those at the tomb settlements of Gaozu and Huidi 惠帝, for example, included members of the ruling "Tian [田] clan from the former kingdom of Qi [齐] in Shandong 山东, and…the Yuan [爰], Ji [籍], Hong [闳], and Ban [班] clans from the former state of Chu [楚] in the Yangzi River region."[307] It is not known whether these peoples were compelled to

[306] On these sites see Yoshinami 好並隆司 1978: 191-262.
[307] Wu 1995: 162-63.

migrate by the offer of incentives, the threat of force, or by some combination of both. But like the foreign leaders who were brought to Rome for triumphal processions, these elites were living substantiation of the emperor's expansive authority.[308] The comparative perspective here encourages us to question just how unique the impulses and ideas motivating the *triumphus* (a "characteristically Roman" institution, we are told[309]) really were; it also allows us to understand the funerary villages to which these Chinese clans were resettled as material and archaeological manifestations of that authority on a grand scale.

Fig. 3.26. Gold belt plaque depicting a bear and a wolf attacking a quadruped whose antlers arecomposed of birds' heads; from the tomb of the King of Chu 楚 (either Liu Yingke 刘郢客 or Liu Wu 刘戊) at Shizishan 狮子山, ca. *179-154 BC. Length: 13.3 cm. (Xuzhou Museum, Jiangsu Province).*

Both the Roman and Qin-Han funerary sites (re)created vast exotic worlds to suggest or support the concept of a notionally universal empire. Moreover, they took broadly similar approaches to do so: the amalgamation of forms at the first emperors' tombs; the creation of microcosms and the use of models; and the deployment of spoils

[308] Cf. Lewis 2015; Noreña 2015b. Noreña discusses these "artificial cities" in a Rome-China comparative context, but rather puzzlingly compares them to Roman army camps. From an ideological-conceptual perspective, the importation to Rome of elites from defeated nations (i.e. in triumphal processions) seems to be the most fitting parallel.
[309] Beard 2007: 313

and exotica. This apprehension is far from trivial, for, as the following chapters contend, the tombs reflected great fundamental differences in Roman and early imperial Chinese ideologies of rulership and power. In conjunction with revelations about key differences, the comparison also allows for the identification of independently functioning strands within the imperial ideologies of the two empires: that universalism may not have necessitated or relied upon the public projection of such images or an emphasis on biographical or military themes in the visual manifestations of power.

The similarity does suggest that universalism was not unique to Rome, nor indeed to the visual and material power narratives crafted by either court. In particular, this comparison helps us access new understandings of the Chinese objects and funerary sites, which in conventional scholarship are rarely discussed in terms of their ideological or political significance.[310]

Fig. 3.27. Plan of the Yangling 阳陵 funerary site of Jingdi 景帝, including the accompanying yi *邑 settlement (in green); Shaanxi 陕西,* ca. *156-141 BC.*

[310] Cf. Miller 2011: 1-4 on the lack of socio-political perspectives in scholarship on Han tombs.

Chapter 4

Roman and Qin-Han imperial tombs: orientation and agency

...altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur...
"…and in the second scroll [he included] an index of the deeds he had accomplished, which he wished to be inscribed upon the bronze plaques that had been erected in front of his Mausoleum..."
- Suetonius[311]

"…like a memorial stele or a history painting…"
- Wang Renbo on the Terracotta Army[312]

Introduction: "monuments" and their meanings

While both sets of funerary sites reflect and engender the notion of universal empire, there are vast differences between Roman and Qin-Han imperial tombs in terms of orientation and agency. According to Trigger's thermodynamic definition, discussed in the previous chapter, monuments are defined by their capacity to "testify to the ability of powerful individuals or the state to deploy skilled craftsmen, material resources, and massive amounts of labour."[313] All of the Qin-Han and all of the Roman imperial tombs fit this description, as would (for example) the Great Pyramid of Giza and indeed other, less complex tombs and other "monuments" in other civilizations. But other definitions are slightly more demanding. In her book, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Françoise Choay states that:

> the original meaning of the word is that of the latin [*sic*] *monumentum*, itself derived from *monere* (to warn, to recall), which calls upon the faculty of memory. The affective nature of its purpose is essential; it is not simply a question of informing, of calling to mind a neutral bit of information, but rather of stirring up, through the emotions, a living memory…. [O]ne would term a monument any

[311] Suet. *Aug.* 101.4.
[312] Wang 1987: 47.
[313] Trigger 1990: 122. Cf. Demarrais et al. 1996: 18-19.

> artifact erected… to commemorate or to recall… individuals, events, sacrifices, practices or beliefs. [314]

This definition emphasizes both orientation and agency. Monuments, according to this definition, must be historical in their orientation. They must be based on, and principally concerned with, things that have happened. They are not generic deployments of tremendous resources (as the minimum requirements for Trigger's definition would allow). Nor do they merely make statements about the world or reflect existing worldviews (as the Roman and Qin-Han imperial tombs would if they were notable *solely* for indicating a universal conception of empire). As representations, their content centers on actions that have transpired: deeds that individuals have accomplished; rites or traditions that a community has practiced; battles won (or lost); sacrifices borne; struggles undertaken; lives lived.

In terms of agency, Choay's monuments are intended to evoke specific, emotional responses in their viewers; their purpose is "affective." They are *active* visual commemorators and necessarily, therefore, public in their presentation. As in Alfred Gell's famous formulae for the agency of "art,"[315] we might draw a line from the "prototype" (the historical content the monument commemorates) to the "patient" or audience (whose memories and emotions the monument stirs); between the two are the creator – in this case, more relevantly, the person or group that has commissioned or caused the monument to be created[316] – and the "index" (the monument itself).

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[314] Choay 2001: 6.
[315] Gell 1998: 51.
[316] It is not necessary for our purposes to complicate matters by seeking to incorporate the "patron," "artist" and their complex relationship into this formula, although Gell 1998: 47-8 touches on these matters.

[[[Prototype (Agent)] → Creator (Agent)] → Index (Agent)] → Recipient (Patient)

[[[Historical content (A)] → Commissioner (A)] → Monument (A)] → Audience (P)

Inasmuch as the agency of a monument, according to Choay, is specific in its nature (the monument *commemorates*; it does not merely state, reflect, exist, impress, or – to use Gell's term – "enchant"), its commemorative agency is dependent on its historical orientation.

I argue that while the Qin-Han imperial tombs easily fit Trigger's definition, they do not fit Choay's.[317] They lack both ends of the traditional Gellian algebra: the historical prototype to be re-presented,[318] and the recipient audience.[319] The Roman emperors' tombs, on the other hand, match both the former and the latter. The capacity to impress by virtue of sheer scale and the conspicuous expenditure of resources, as Janet DeLaine has discussed in her article on "exceptional construction," was important to the Romans who funded grand building projects.[320] But the Roman sites in question were – and are – political, dynastic *monuments* which made the case for an emperor's (and his chosen successors') position by appealing to past events and achievements.[321] They promote and manifest *recognition.* Their orientation is biographical, documentary and

[317] See Bagley 1998 (especially 221) on the famous debate between Bagley and Wu Hung related to the "monumentality" of various Chinese sites and artefacts, including tombs.
[318] According to Ladislav Kesner 1995: especially 115, such images as the terracotta soldiers of the First Emperor were not "representations," as we traditionally understand that term, at all. This idea is discussed below.
[319] Cf. other attempts to apply Gellograms to Chinese artefacts: Rawson 2008: especially 99, 111; Tanner 2013a.
[320] DeLaine 2002.
[321] Cf. Rehak 2006: 5: in the Greco-Roman tradition, "tombs are the premier example of commemorative buildings because they perpetuate the presence of the individual even after death. It is not coincidental that the Greek term for tomb monument, *mnemeion*, is a cognate of the verb 'remember.'"

historical (with a particular emphasis on martial themes), and they broadcast outward to vast, contemporary, complicit urban audiences. In this way, they developed from the competitive, biographical-familial monumental tombs of late Republican elites and *imperatores*.[322] The Qin-Han tombs were no less grand, and although they encapsulated political realities and ideological principles (as we have seen in the previous chapter), their concerns were more eschatological and ritual than they were promotional;[323] their content more generic than biographical; and their themes more varied and "complete," and not so focused on military endeavors. While the Roman tombs drew their content from the past and present, the Chinese tombs' focus was the provision for the deceased in the afterlife.

These contrasts, of course, fit into the larger argument of the thesis well: they suggest that Roman emperors derived their authority from what they did, eliciting recognition, "consent and support" by appealing to their particular achievements and unique careers;[324] the power of the Qin-Han emperors (who, Loewe notes, were rarely men of "compelling personality" and often only young boys when they acceded) was a consequence of the office they occupied.[325] The visual and material structures of the funerary sites may provide concrete *exempla* of these differences in the archaeological record.

[322] On these tombs see Eisner 1986; von Hesberg 1992. On this sense of competition, *konkurrenz*, in the late Republican and early Augustan periods, see especially von Hesberg 1992: 26-37.
[323] Cf. Rawson 2010d.
[324] "Consent and support:" Osgood 2011: 22;
[325] See Yates 2001: 351-3 and Loewe 2012: 13 on Qin-Han authority and succession.

At the funerals of Augustus (AD 14), Pertinax (AD 193) and Septimius Severus (AD 211), Dio and Herodian record,[326] a wax figure of the emperor was displayed and treated as a living person before it was burnt on the pyre. This practice – the so-called *funus imaginarium* –famously inspired Ernst Kantorowicz's theory of the ruler's "two bodies"[327] (re-applied to Rome by Javier Arce[328]), which may also be understood in light of the inherence of *auctoritas* in the person – rather than an office – of the emperor.[329] But the permanent structures, images and artefacts related to the emperor's death and burial also reflect the situation of Roman imperial power in the individual person of the emperor by publicly "commemorating" biographical information and achievements.

Such distinctions did not exist in Qin-Han China, and the imperial tombs there were neither historical-biographical in their orientation nor commemorative in their agency. Instead, they put a premium on honoring the deceased emperor's centrality in the universe and providing him with the resources and assets due to an emperor. They created complete afterlife environments, and the burial objects and images therein wielded quite a different, apotropaic sort of agency. They were not intended to be representational, to be indices of prototypes. They were intended instead to serve the dead. Nevertheless, even influential works on China's imperial tombs discuss them in terms that emphasize self-presentation and commemorative monumentality. In this regard, the comparative method lends some much-needed perspective.

[326] Cass. Dio 56.34.1, 75.4.3; Herodian 4.2.
[327] Kantorowicz 1957.
[328] Arce 1988: 49, 155.
[329] Agamben 2005: 83.

Fig. 4.1. Latin inscription of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Monumentum Ancyranum, *Ankara, Turkey. First century AD.*

Roman imperial tombs and biographical narratives: indices of things achieved

Gell's term "index" – here understood as the monument itself – is apt; for the same word was used by Suetonius – *index rerum gestarum* – to describe the (auto)biographical list of achievements which Augustus ordered to be inscribed posthumously on bronze plaques in front of his mausoleum.[330] Many complex Gellograms could undoubtedly be imagined to account for the first-person and text-as-image qualities of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, but Gell's formulae are probably not so useful here. What is notable is that the *Res Gestae* help to make the Mausoleum a monument. That is, the *Res Gestae* contributed

[330] Suet. *Aug.* 101.4.

fundamentally to the biographical and historical orientation of the *Mausoleum Augusti* and to the site's engagement with the urban public.

While the *Res Gestae* have been much studied – traditionally more as a text than as inscriptions[331] – and its claims and formulations have been picked apart, there has been relatively little interest in the fact that the emperor requested an elaborate, public autobiography to be installed at his burial site in the first place. The logic behind setting up such an inscription is not, as comparison with the Qin-Han sites reveals, to be taken as a given. The Roman imperial burial sites share a preoccupation with biographical content and narratives, which their Chinese counterparts do not. The *Res Gestae*, and this contrast more generally, bring the nebulous nature of the imperial position at Rome and the personal, biographical basis for the emperor's prestige into focus.

Although the inscribed plaques which displayed the text of the *Res Gestae* in front of Augustus' mausoleum have not survived and their exact placement is unknown, four fragmentary copies of the inscription have been found including the bilingual (Latin and Greek) *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Fig. 4.1).[332] And while the text may have been distributed widely (the distribution of the surviving fragments is rather limited: Ankara, Pisidian Antioch, Pisidian Apollonia, and Sardis),[333] there is no question that it was crafted specifically for its original location at the tomb site in Rome: the Ankara copy

[331] Elsner 1996: 35.
[332] Bang 2003: 190.
[333] On the possible reproduction of the inscription elsewhere in the empire, see Shipley 1924: 332-3; Osgood 2007; Scheid 2007: xvii. Sardis fragment: Thonemann 2012. Thonemann's recent revelation that the Sardis fragment is a Greek translation of the *Res Gestae* is significant for theories about the distribution of this inscription, because this is the only known fragment of the text from outside the province Galatia (Sardis having been in the neighboring province, Asia).

declares as much in the preface.[334] The *Res Gestae*, therefore, is not simply a text (or a text in a "monumental context"[335]), but an integral component of the funerary monument as a whole.

Fig. 4.2. Reconstructed marble block with inscribed titulature of Tiberius, Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome; ca. *AD 37. 132 cm x 207.5 cm x 85 cm. (*In situ; *inv. MA 14).*

But it was not only Augustus whose biography was reviewed in an inscription at the Mausoleum. Fragments of the *res gestae* of Agrippa, Drusus, Lucius, Gaius, and Germanicus have been found,[336] and these inscriptions would have accompanied the *elogia* of emperors Tiberius, Vespasian and Nerva and others, which summarized the titles and offices of the Republic which they held, and the number of times they held them (Fig. 4.2) – that is, their unique careers.[337] Such inscriptions were one aspect of

[334] *...incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae….* See Güven 1998: 30, 41 *n.*5.
[335] Elsner 1996: 35; Güven 1998: 30.
[336] *CIL* 6.40358-60, 40363, 40367.
[337] *CIL* 6.885, 887; Panciera 1994 XIV-XV, XIX-XX. See, e.g., Panciera 1994 XV:

TI. CAESAR DIVI
AUG(usti) F(ilius) AUGUSTUS,
PONTIF(ex) MAXIMU(s)
TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) $\overline{\text{XXXIIX}}$
IMP(erator) $\overline{\text{VIII}}$, CO(n)S(ul) $\overline{\text{V}}$

continuity with the past and with the competitive tomb-monuments commissioned by high-achieving political and military families in the late Republic and early Principate.[338] This biographical emphasis on elections won, consulates held, acclamations of success in military command reminds us that it was, for the Roman emperors, and especially the early emperors, never a simple matter of writing "emperor," and that there was no formal, straightforward institution for the passage of the imperial position from one person to the next. These inscriptions also affirm that these were not simply the tombs of Roman emperors. They were, very clearly, the tombs of individuals. The same, as we shall see, cannot be said for the Han emperors and their funerary sites.

Fig. 4.3. Marble cornice featuring atef *crown with feathers and* uraei *and lotus flower, Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome;* ca. *AD 37. 48 cm x 38 cm x 16.5 cm. (*In situ*).*

[338] Competitive tomb-monuments: Eisner 1986; von Hesberg 1992, especially 26-37.

This biographical orientation also found expression in visual form and in the structures and components of the tombs themselves. (Indeed, as Jaś Elsner has described, the *Res Gestae* was, in some ways, a set of instructions for how to read and understand the monuments which surrounded the inscription). The visual depiction of the *clupeus virtutis*[339] – an honor Augustus received in 27 BC – recalled one of the important awards he was given from the Senate and people, just as the tombs of Atatürk, Stalin, Ferdinand Marcos, and other modern autocrats prominently display the medals and orders of knighthood ostensibly granted to them by others. Meanwhile, the Psamtik obelisk and the obelisks flanking the tomb's entrance evoked the *princeps'* victory at Actium.[340] The few extant fragments of the Mausoleum's own decorative motives share this Egyptian theme, including a marble cornice fragment which – as Mariette De Vos has discerned – depicts the *atef* crown of pharaonic Egypt, complete with *uraei,* and a lotus (Fig. 4.3).[341] As we shall see, this content is remarkably specific, and closely related to the deceased's biography and achievements – in contrast with the tombs of Han emperors.

While Trajan's tomb does not feature a textual *res gestae*, the episodes depicted on the helical frieze largely came to fulfill the same function. Although many recent authors have found it useful to refer to these reliefs as a "visual *res gestae*,"[342] the helical frieze concentrates solely on depicting the Dacian war in detailed narrative, and is

[339] On the *clupeus virtutis* representation at the Mausoleum, see Cooley 2009: 5, 34.2*n*.; inscription at *CIL* 6.40365.
[340] Zanker 1990: 76.
[341] De Vos and De Vos 1988: 74; see also Rehak 2006: 39.
[342] Huet 1996: 22; Davies 2000: 128.

therefore far more limited in its content than the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti.* Nevertheless, as Per Gustaf Hamberg wrote:[343]

> The mode of representation used on the Column of Trajan is by its nature limited to reality and without allegory. It is entirely concerned with the description of *res gestae*, and concrete events in a historical context. Naturally this does not mean that didactic…points of view are entirely excluded. On the contrary, for the whole story may be characterized as a tribute or homage to all the outstanding qualities of which the Emperor himself and his troops had given proof.

Based, perhaps, on a written commentary on the Dacian Wars, the column presents events of Trajan's campaigns in episodic form and in documentary – even mundane – detail,[344] down to the tiny rings of chainmail worn by the *auxilia* and the inset metal weapons.[345] Indeed, some have understood Trajan's Column as an "uncomplicated window" on the war's events.[346] The emperor himself is depicted prominently no fewer than fifty-nine times on the column – not to mention the sculptural portraits of the emperor that were ubiquitous in Trajan's Forum.[347] The column created a quintessentially biographical, historical narrative, even if its version of events was distorted or misleadingly rosy for the Roman side.[348] For prestige and power at Rome was bound to the representation of an emperor's "real-life" achievements and endeavors. As Peter Stewart has stated, the most powerful sort of Roman political imagery "presents

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[343] Hamberg 1945: 116.
[344] See Coarelli 2000: 28 and Stewart 2008: 117-18 on what seems to be a surprisingly "faithful reflection of reality" (including the more tedious aspects of a military campaign); Hölscher 2003: 3 on the frieze's "character of immediate realism." On the column's hypothetical relationship to written *commentarii* on the Dacian wars, see Davies 1997: 43; Coarelli 2000: 11-14.
[345] Mail: Rossi 1971: 102; Coulston 1990: 305-6. Weapons: Beckmann 2003: 194.
[346] E.g., Rossi 1971; Antonescu 2009; Richter 2010. Coulston 1990 provides further examples. "Uncomplicated windows:" Smith 2002: 79.
[347] Clarke 2003: 32.
[348] See Pirson 1996: 154-8 and Welch 2006: 11-12 on the "impassive" faces of Roman soldiers (in physiognomic contrast with panicked and heavily-modeled enemy faces) and lack of dead Romans in the world of the victory columns.

'facts' and tells stories…. [I]t purports *not* to be selective…. This is how things were – it seems to declare – take it or leave it!"[349]

Like the Column of Trajan and the Tomb of Augustus,[350] the Mausoleum of Hadrian also featured a portrait of the emperor as its *epithema*; in this case, as John of Antioch has described, a gilded image of Hadrian in a *quadriga*.[351] An additional, extant portrait may have come from within the mauseoleum,[352] just as it seems that statues of the emperors interred in Augustus' tomb may have stood in niches inside the tomb.[353] The other colossal statuary which once adorned the exterior of Hadrian's mausoleum is not, for the most part, extant (Procopius relates that many of these sculptures were broken into rocks and hurled as weapons from the fortified Mausoleum onto the besieging Ostrogoths in AD 537[354]). But we can be sure – given the programs of Augustus' and Trajan's tomb monuments – that they related, at least in part, to the particular events of Hadrian's lifetime, just as the provincial reliefs at the Hadrianeum (Fig. 3.13) recalled Hadrian's famous tour of his provinces.[355]

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[349] Stewart 2008: 109-17.
[350] Augustus: Strabo, *Geog*. 5.3.8. Trajan: Davies 1997: 43; Lancaster 1999: 419.
[351] Opper 2008: 244 *n.*22 attributes this description to John Malalas, based on the citation of Jordan and Hülsen 1906: 665 *n.*113. In fact, Jordan and Hülsen refer to the 7th century Chronicle of John of Antioch (not John Malalas), preserved by Salmasius in the Codex Parisinus (Cramer 1839: 396).
[352] Johnson 2009: 34. Extant statuary generally: Opper 2008: 212-15, Figs. 199-205.
[353] Johnson 2009: 19.
[354] Procop. *Goth.* 5.22. Procopius relates that these were statues of men and horses; the 12th century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* records that the program included gilded bronze horses and a bronze bull (Opper 2008: 215).
[355] Hughes 2009: 4-5.

The programs and priorities of the Roman imperial tombs are taken up by the tombs of many modern political leaders, and one might be forgiven for assuming that the deployment of historical narratives at these sites is unremarkable: like Napoleon's tomb at Les Invalides, for example, where narrative reliefs depict scenes from the emperor's life, and inscriptions and sculptured personifications represent the particular territories that Napoleon conquered,[356] the Roman funerary sites are explicitly biographical and documentary. (Unlike Napoleon's tomb, they were built, or at least initiated, during the lives of their honorands). As we shall see by way of comparison, however, the ideological and political significance of this thematic concentration on the public lives and achievements of the deceased (bound inextricably to the "monumentality" of these tombs) must not be taken for granted or underestimated.

Fig. 4.4. Pedestal of the Column of Trajan, depicting congeries armorum. *Column of Trajan, Rome;* ca. *AD 113.* Ca. *6.2 m wide.*

[356] Driskel 1993: 213-14.

Martial themes and Roman imperial trophy tombs

The biographical content of the Roman imperial tombs largely related to the military achievements of the emperor, and the martial orientation of the imperial funerary site is confirmed by the army's important role at the emperor's funeral itself, when soldiers would have been responsible for placing the *dona militaria* and insignia on the pyre.[357] The visual imagery of the Roman imperial funerary sites, from the spoils and microcosms of the conquered world mentioned earlier to the detailed narrative representation of the Dacian Wars on Trajan's Column, was focused thematically on military victory.

Fig. 4.5. Reverse of a Trajanic aureus, depicting the Column of Trajan. (British Museum CM BMC Trajan 449).

We might add to these images the large-scale depiction on the pedestal of Trajan's column of a *congeries armorum*, in which captured Dacian and Roxolanic shields, weapons and equipment (approximately six hundred items in total) were portrayed with great accuracy and detail (Fig. 4.4).[358] Other highly detailed friezes of captured arms and armor appeared at the Hadrianeum, alongside the provincial

[357] Arce 1988: 53.
[358] Polito 1998: 192-6; Coarelli 2000: 21. On the accuracy of the depiction of this equipment, see: Coulston 1990: 294; Schmitz 2011: 3, 18.

personifications.[359] And we might add, also, the imperial statues that crowned all of the Roman imperial tomb monuments and probably portrayed the emperors in triumphal modes. While these are not preserved, numismatic depictions of Augustus after Actium, provide several likely models (including Augustus holding a ship's sternpost or a spear, and Augustus with his foot on a globe) for his statue, all of which relate explicitly to military victory.[360] The *epithema* of Trajan's Column is depicted on several Trajanic coins (Fig. 4.5),[361] and what is probably the head of the statue was discovered at the base of the column by Pope Paul III's excavators in the 16th century (and subsequently lost);[362] here too, according to the coinage, the emperor was represented in martial guise, wearing a cuirass and *paludamentum*, holding a spear in his left hand and a globe – surmounted by a Victory, perhaps – in his right.[363] The statue of Hadrian, we know, depicted the emperor in a triumphal *quadriga*.[364]

Augustus' and Hadrian's mausolea also made reference to the emperor's military achievements by evoking military trophy monuments in their overall form (Fig. 4.6). Arce and Zanker have both commented on structural similarities between the Mausoleum of Augustus and the *Tropaeum Alpium* constructed at La Turbie to commemorate

[359] See Sapelli 1999c: cat. nos. 2, 4, 11, 14, 16, 18, 30-32.
[360] Zanker 1990: 41, Fig. 31a. See also *RIC* 1 Augustus 251, 253, 256.
[361] Coins which depict Trajan's column include *RIC* 2 Trajan 235, 238-9, 292, 307, 313, 356, 379, 579-80, 600-603, 677-80, 683. On these coins, see Florescu 1969: 57-69; Tameanko 1999: 115.
[362] Head: Packer 1994: 167-8 *n.*15; id. 1997: 120; 448-9.
[363] Stucchi 1989: 260-61; Packer 1994: 167-8 *n.*15; id. 1997: 120; 448-9. Id. 1997: 120 *n.*21 gives further bibliography.
[364] See previous section.

(a)

(c)

(b)

(d)

Fig. 4.6. (a) Von Hesberg and Panciera's reconstructed elevation of the Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome, ca. *28 BC.* Ca. *45 m in height, not including statue).*

(b) J. Formigé's 1:20 scale model of the Tropaeum Augusti (Tropaeum Alpium), La Turbie, ca. *7-6 BC. Original* ca. *50 m in height.*

(c) Life-size model of the Tropaeum Traiani, Adamklisi; original, ca. *AD 109.* Ca. *40 m in height.*

(d) Mariano Borgatti's reconstructed elevation of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, Rome, ca. *AD 123-140.* Ca. *50 m in height.*

Augustus' victory over the Gallic tribes.[365] The similarities extend also to Hadrian's tomb and to the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklisi, a monument that commemorated Trajan's Dacian victories.[366] All four structures were approximately 50 m in height and composed of multi-storey cylindrical and conical elements; and they all, of course, comprised visual statements related explicitly to military victory. The trophy monuments

[365] Arce 1988: 69; Zanker 1990: 76; Davies 2000: 63-4. On the Tropaeum Alpium, see: Casimir 1932; Formigé 1949; Hartshorn 2006.
[366] On the Tropaeum Traiani, see: Florescu 1961; Rădulescu 1988.

wielded a specifically commemorative agency, referring to particular military campaigns and even erected on the sites of particular victories. By redeploying the format of these monuments in an urban, funerary context, the imperial courts also appropriated the commemorative agency of such monuments. These were public, triumphal monuments as much as they were tombs.

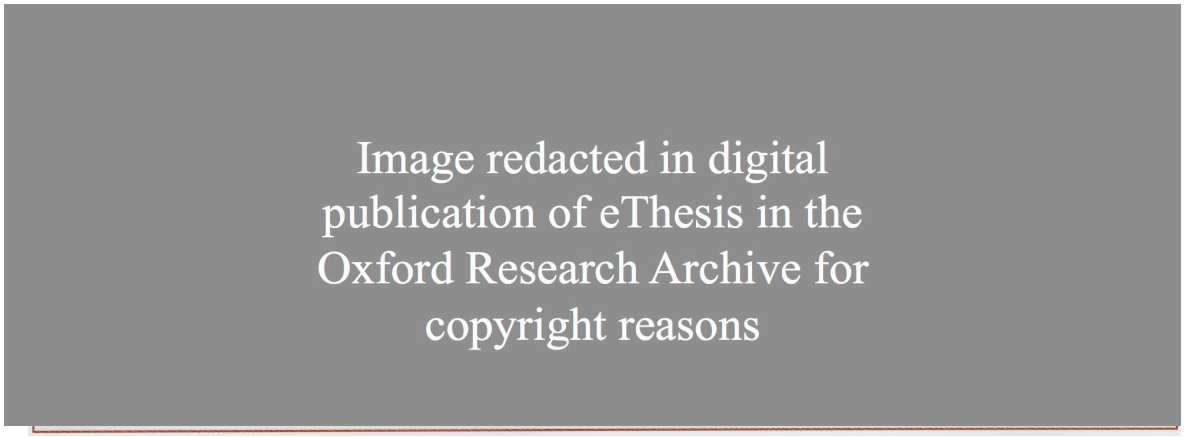

Fig. 4.7. Line drawing of the "officials pit" (pit K0006) at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC.*

Qin-Han imperial tombs: complete environments

Although the most famous artefacts from Qin-Han imperial tombs are the terracotta warriors, and, as we have seen, the Qin-Han imperial funerary sites also incorporated exotica and other material and visual statements about the emperor's power, they are very different from their Roman counterparts in terms of orientation and agency. In fact, their themes were far less focused on military achievement and biographical-historical narratives than their Roman counterparts. Their purpose was not – like the Roman monument-tombs – the public projection and commemoration of real-life deeds (and especially victories) of the emperor. Instead, the Qin-Han imperial tombs sought to

create complete, residential, afterlife environments for the deceased emperor:[367] environments in which the emperor maintained his imperial position and received all of the provisions due to an emperor. These environments were private, buried beneath the tumulus and in subterranean pits around the tomb mound, and bore little relevance to the notable achievements of particular emperors.

The terracotta army of the first emperor is a good starting point for discussing these differences, as it might be – and often is – taken to be biographical and historical; documentary and representational; and triumphal and commemorative. Lothar Ledderose writes of the terracotta soldiers:[368]

> Many other efforts preceded, accompanied, legitimized, and glorified [the unification of China]. Building the imperial tomb was one of them. The political context explains the grand scale of the project and the unusual efforts lavished on the terra-cotta army…. [T]he terra-cotta army is a monument glorifying Qin's superiority in military organization.

Archaeologist Wang Renbo and art historian Wu Hung have, similarly, compared the army's function to that of "a memorial stele or a history painting as it captures the glorious image of the thousands of chariots…and millions of armored soldiers with whom the First Emperor subdued…the six kingdoms."[369] These views are also in harmony with the assertion that the emperor's "status" depended on his "ability to deploy various modes of representation," including the terracotta sculptures.[370] All of these statements suggest that Qin Shi Huangdi's tomb was not unlike the tomb of a Roman emperor. They insinuate that the terracotta army was the central component of the tomb

[367] Cf. Wu 2010a: 53 on the Chinese tomb as a "happy home."
[368] Ledderose 2000: 61-4.
[369] Quoted here is Wang 1987: 47. See also Wu 2006: 67.
[370] Kesner 1995: 131.

and propose that, like the army depicted on the Column of Trajan, the "realistic" warriors of the first emperor's Lishan mausoleum formed a representation of the real army commanded by the emperor; that, like the list of successful campaigns presented on the *Res Gestae* plaques in front of Augustus' tomb or the triumphal *quadriga* statue that surmounted Hadrian's tomb, the model army was intended to commemorate and "glorify;" that the emperor's "status" and even "legitimacy" notionally rested on the public, monumental presentation of the emperor's victories at the funerary site he commissioned in his lifetime.

Fig. 4.8. Terracotta horsegroom from a "stable pit" at Shangjiaocun, east of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. Height: 68 cm (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. 002541).*

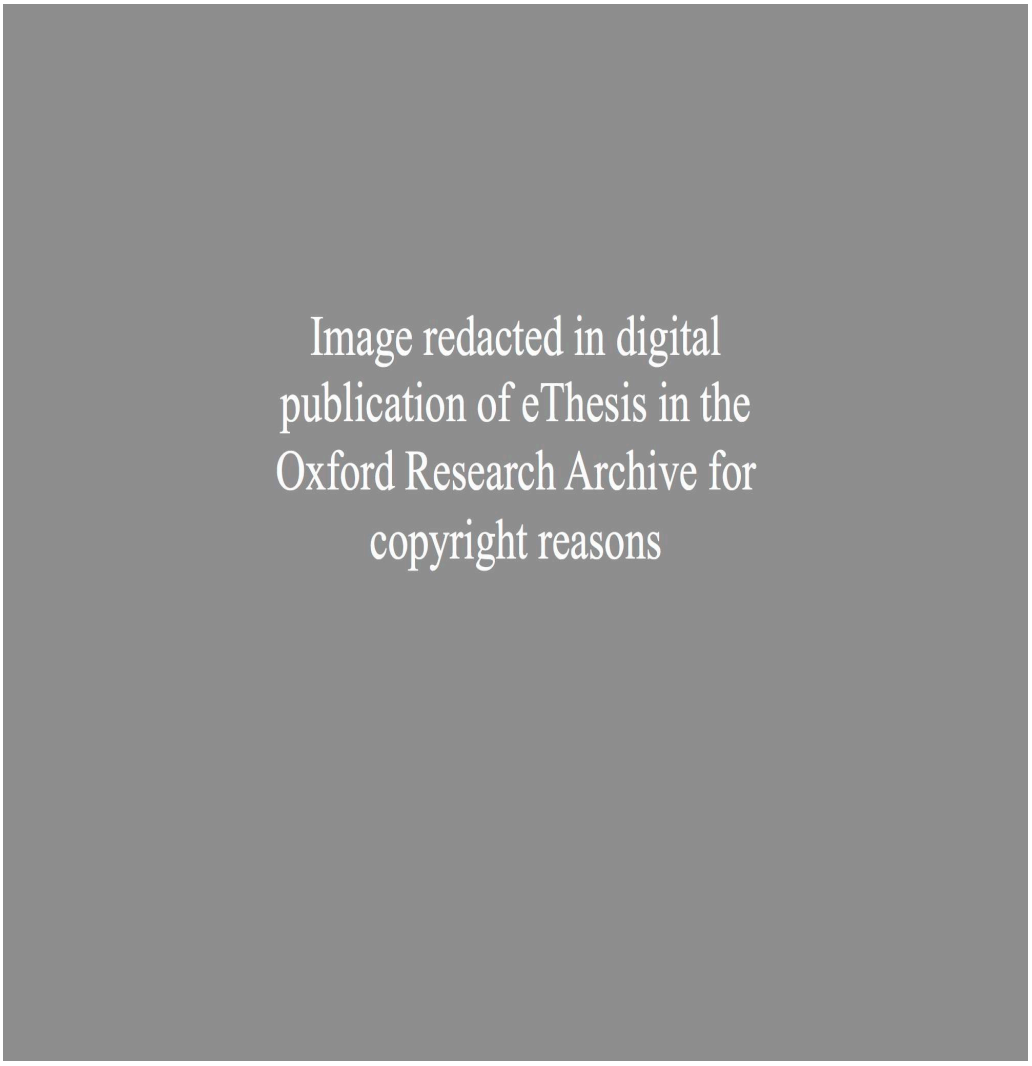

Fig. 4.9. Terracotta "acrobat" from Pit K9901 at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. Height: 178 cm (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. DM: 002).*

But comparison here can help us to discern important differences and to challenge these scholarly (mis)apprehensions. Far from being a monumental celebration of the emperor's campaigns and victories, the first emperor's mausoleum, like those of his Han successors, was designed to create – as realistically as possible – an imperial court in all of its aspects to be ruled by the deceased emperor. For the terracotta army was but one component of this much larger recreation (Fig. 3.5). The funerary park, like some royal tombs in the Warring States era, featured two rectangular walled-off precincts, one within

the other, which conceptually paralleled the inner and outer courts of Qin Shi Huangdi's palace.[371] Within the inner precinct, to the west of the tumulus, a pit representing the imperial mews contained two half-life-size bronze sculptures of chariots, complete with horses and drivers.[372] To the south of the tumulus, also within the inner wall, a subterranean multi-room wooden "building" contained twelve terracotta sculptures of bureaucrats and administrative officials, wearing civilian clothing and with writing implements hung from their belts (Fig. 3.7b, 4.7). Northeast of the tumulus, the emperor's sonless consorts, whom Sima Qian relates were interred with the emperor,[373] may have been buried also. West of the tumulus, between the two walls, a deposit contained the remains of exotic birds and animals along with clay models of animals and people: this pit represented an imperial hunting ground, or perhaps a zoo with terracotta zookeepers. Other western deposits held the remains of real horses with the organic remnants of hay, and in other pits, east of the outer wall, horse skeletons were deposited with terracotta model horsegrooms (Fig. 4.8); ceramic inscriptions found in these pits confirm that they represent "palace stables."[374] To the southeast of the tumulus, between the two walls, an "armory" contained eighty-nine suits of armor, forty-three helmets and a suit of horse armor, all made of stone.[375] Another southeastern pit between the walls contained terracotta figures of acrobats and dancers in animated attitudes (Fig. 4.9). Outside of the walls were pits containing mass burials; in the west these included the craftsmen and convict laborers who built the mausoleum (interred with pottery sherds

[371] Rawson 2007: 138.
[372] Reconstruction of the tomb deposits described in this paragraph based on: Kesner 1995: 125; Wu 2006: 54-7; Lin 2007: 181; Rawson 2007: 138-40.
[373] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6.
[374] Kesner 1995.
[375] Stone armor: Lin 2007: 181.

recording their names, birthplaces, and criminal sentences), and in the east, high-ranking noblemen.[376] Farther afield to the northeast was a pit containing bronze birds and clay musicians: an imperial pleasure garden.[377] And, of course, over a kilometer east of the tumulus, there was the terracotta army, arranged by unit: Pit 1 contained a regular army unit; Pit 2 contained an armored cavalry unit and a company of archers; Pit 3 was the command headquarters, staffed by general officers; and a fourth pit was not completed (Fig. 4.10).[378]

My aim is not to describe every detail of the tomb deposits, but rather to set out the scheme of Qin Shi Huangdi's mausoleum and its deposits as a whole – without focusing so intensely on the famous terracotta warriors – so that the thematic focus and overall goals of the funerary project might be contrasted with the Roman imperial tombs. While some have suggested that the first emperor's tomb was (like its Roman counterparts) designed to be a "monument" to military victory, this was a very different sort of funerary site. Like some ruler tombs of the Zhou period (*ca.* 1045-221 BC), the complex was divided structurally into the functional spaces of a court or palace.[379] It was intended to create a complete palatial world for the emperor, including the imperial army, but also including imperial concubines, advisors, jesters, musicians, mews, stables, hunting park, armory, pleasure garden, slaves, courtiers.

[376] Rawson 2007: 132-3; id. 2010b: 33.
[377] Duan 2007a: 192-201.
[378] Wu 2006: 59; Nickel 2007: 160-64.
[379] Kesner 1995: 126; Ledderose 2000: 67; Thote 2004: 90-94.

Fig. 4.10. Plan of the warrior pits (top: Pit 1; bottom left: Pit 2; bottom right: Pit 3) east of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. Pit 1: 14,260 sq. m.; Pit 2: 6000 sq. m.; Pit 3: 520 sq. m. (Illustration not to scale).*

While excavation has only been undertaken on a very limited scale at the funerary parks of the first emperor's Han successors,[380] the evidence we do have suggests that the Han imperial tombs aimed to fulfill the same purposes. At Yangling, the funerary park of Emperor Jingdi, the tumulus is surrounded by 86 radial pits, eleven of which have been excavated. One of these pits contained an army of approximately 40,000 one-third life-size painted terracotta horses and warriors (each warrior measuring 57-60.5 cm in height;

[380] Loewe 2010: 213.

Fig. 4.11).[381] But these warriors (which now appear armless and nude but which originally featured garments and wooden, movable arms) are only one component of a larger scheme: another of the burial pits contained 509 model pigs, 458 model dogs, 235 model goats and 189 model sheep (Fig. 4.12).[382] Others contained model carriages; horse skeletons; the seals of government officials; and pottery vessels holding grains and bird remains, while the site also incorporated the tombs of approximately 5,000 officials and relatives.[383] Like the tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi, Yangling is a tomb "fit for an emperor," although it provides little or no information about the particular emperor it accommodates. Devoid of specific or narrative content, the tomb is replete with all of the lavish provisions due to any emperor, to sustain his lifestyle and maintain his status in the afterlife.

Fig. 4.11. Terracotta warriors, originally dressed in hempen clothes and fitted with moveable arms, from pits south of the tumulus of Jingdi 景帝 at Yangling 阳陵, Shaanxi 陕西. ca. *156-141 BC. Height: 57-60.5 cm (Han Yangling Museum, Xianyang).*

[381] Si 2010a: 100.
[382] Jiao 焦南峰, Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 2001: 4; Loewe 2010: 220-22; Si 2010a: 92-3.
[383] Jiao 焦南峰, Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 2001: 2-5; Loewe 2010: 217; Si 2010a: 92-5; Miller 2011: 298.

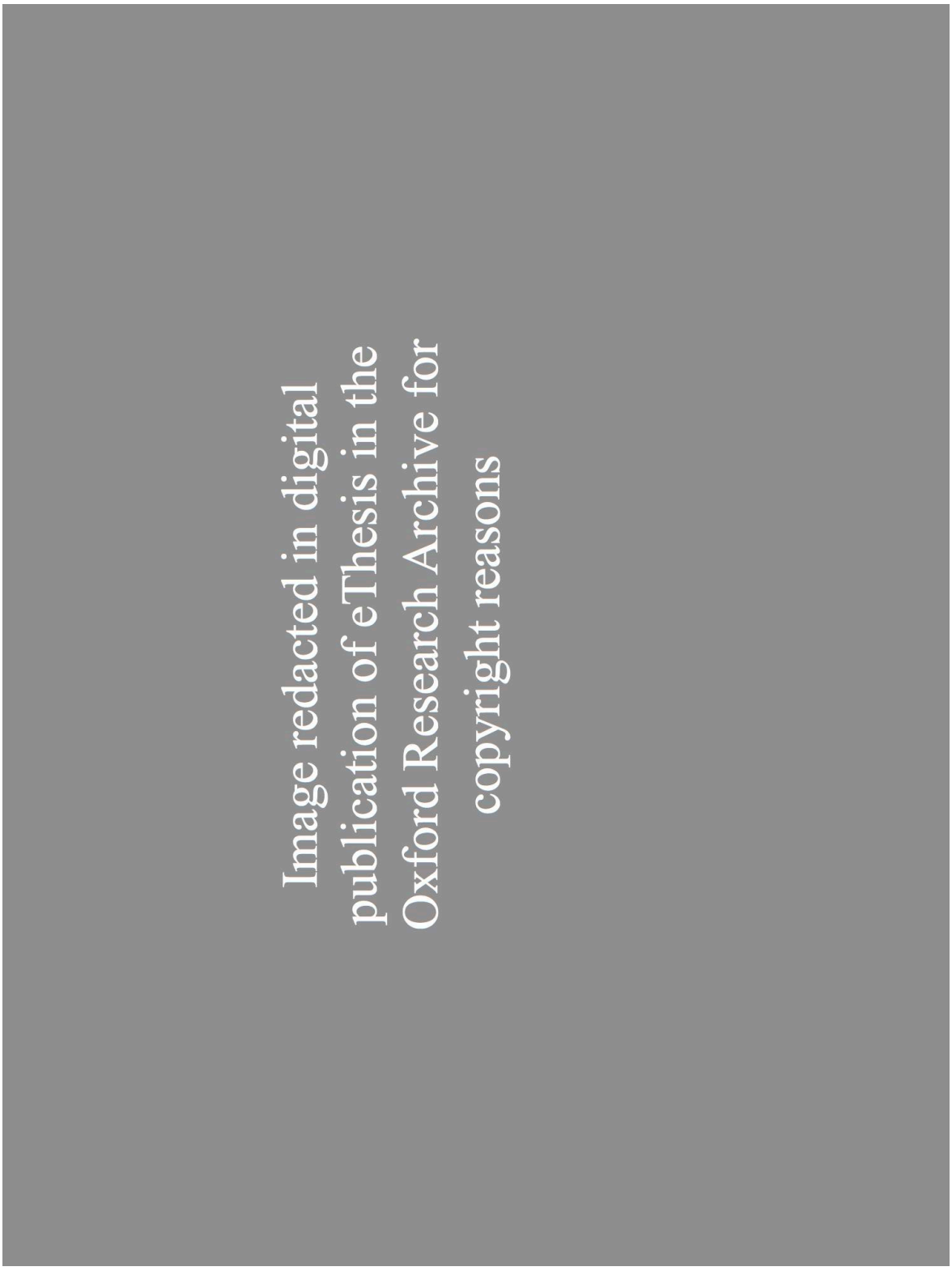

Fig. 4.12. Excavation of model animals in Pit DK13, east of the tumulus of Jingdi 景帝 at Yangling 阳陵, Shaanxi 陕西. ca. *156-141 BC.*

The reliefs of laurel branches which framed the door to Augustus' mausoleum may have been intended to parallel the laurel branches which framed the entrance to his house.[384] But generally speaking, the Roman imperial tombs were not concerned with the living environment, day-to-day existence or private court life of the Roman emperor. Nor do they include provisions for the emperor or formal symbols of the emperor's wealth and office. They concentrate on the high points of imperial biographies and military careers, and thereby help to promote the prestige of their honorands. The Qin and Han tombs, however, are virtually bereft of such concerns, instead creating complete worlds for the deceased emperors to inhabit.

Agency, re-presentation and the Qin-Han imperial tombs

The broader context of such features as terracotta warriors already suggests that the Qin-Han imperial tombs were not the commemorative, triumphal, "legitimizing" monuments that many have suggested they were. But there is another crucial difference between these tombs and those of the Roman emperors; another reason to doubt the assertion that the terracotta army of the first emperor was like "a memorial stele or a history painting as it captures the glorious image of the thousands of chariots…and millions of armored soldiers with whom the First Emperor subdued…the six kingdoms."[385] The warrior sculptures that have been excavated at the funerary sites of emperors Qin Shi Huangdi and Han Jingdi are not depictions of any real armies; nor do they refer to any real, historical events. They are designed not to re-present the emperor's army, but rather to be a "functional," apotropaic army, to serve as the emperor's soldiers in the afterlife. The

[384] Von Hesberg and Panciera 1994: 113-18.
[385] Wang 1987: 47.

terracotta warriors lack the index-prototype relationship and historical-biographical orientation that defined much of the visual contents of the Roman imperial tombs.[386] The apprehension of this fact actually explains the size and scale of the terracotta army: a single symbolic soldier, or small number of soldiers, will not suffice, precisely because it is not symbolic or illustrative. While the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Column of Trajan, and the Mausoleum of Hadrian looked to the past and to the worldly achievements of the deceased in life, the Qin-Han imperial tombs looked toward the future of the deceased in the afterlife.

Fig. 4.13. Drawing of two funerary figurines with movable arms and braids of real hair from Tomb 2 at Baoshan 包山, Hubei 湖北, fourth century BC.

[386] Tanner 2013a: 68 discusses the terracotta army as blurring "the boundary between index and prototype." In fact, as I describe below, it is difficult to describe the terracotta warriors in such terms at all. They are indices of nothing, or as Kesner has put it, likenesses of no-one (Kesner 1995).

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Fig. 4.14. Terracotta thumbs from the warrior deposits at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC, Xianyang, China.*

Although the Chinese funerary warriors are, in some ways, "realistic" – in terms of scale, form, specificity and plausible variety – their verisimilitude is connected intimately to the agency they possessed as a "spirit army," able to fight, attack and defend in the hereafter.[387] Ladislav Kesner, Jessica Rawson and Jeremy Tanner have written in depth about this agency; it is not necessary to repeat their arguments in detail here, but it is clear that the more "realistic" these tomb figures were, it was believed, the better they fulfilled their functions in the afterlife.[388] They followed the tradition of earlier tomb figures, which were created with stuck-on hair and articulated limbs (Fig. 4.13).[389] Indeed, while the model warriors at Emperor Jingdi's burial site lack the verisimilitude in scale and variation that Qin Shi Huangdi's terracotta army possesses, they featured movable arms and other "realistic" features, including textile clothing (not preserved) and even genitalia beneath this clothing (Fig. 4.12). They are also connected to traditional

[387] "Spirit army:" Rawson 1999b: 125. On functionality, cf. Gombrich 1999: 7: "the function an image is expected to serve… has been somewhat obscured by the critical creed of 'art for art's sake' that has dominated the art of our time."
[388] Kesner 1995; Rawson 1997; id. 1999a; id. 1999b; id. 2007; Tanner 2013a.
[389] Comparison to these earlier tomb figures: Rawson 2002: 26-30; Wu 2005a; Tanner 2013a: 66-7.

Chinese ideas about images more generally. As Rawson has described, *xiang* 像 ("images," "analogues" or "figures"), are, according to Chinese concepts of correlative philosophy, taken as fully functional equivalents of their subjects: clay models of a rain-bringing dragon were also thought to bring rain, for example. The power of images, in this view, depended not on mimesis or imitation,[390] but instead manifested itself in the "direct agency" of the subject.[391]

Fig. 4.15. Terracotta hands from the warrior deposits at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC.*

[390] Cf. Freedberg 1989: 27-8; Elsner 2000; id. 2007: 1-26. See Kesner 1995: 129-31 on the persistence of non-mimetic imaging through the Qin-Han period. Significantly, Kesner cites the lack of imperial portraiture as evidence that early Chinese "art" did not seek to imitate real subjects. This topic is taken up in Part IV of this thesis.

[391] Rawson 2002; id. 2008. On the concept of *xiang*: Peterson 1982: 80-81 and discussions in Clunas 1997: 102-4 and Rawson 2008, especially 99, 107, 111. The "efficacy" clay dragons: Loewe 1994: 142-59.

Fig. 4.16. Sculpted belthooks on the model soldiers from warrior Pit 1 at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC.*

There was, then, a ritual and functional requirement for the unprecedented "realism" of the first emperor's terracotta army.[392] The model soldiers of the first emperor's tomb are so realistically varied, that archaeologists formerly believed each warrior to be an individual portrait.[393] They are not portraits, of course, but rather pseudo-portraits:[394] that is, they gave the impression of being portraits by expressive,

[392] Unprecedented level of realism: Yang 2004: Vol. 2, 225. Cf. Clunas 2009: 30-1: The verisimilitude which delights today was sought in the interests of effectiveness of the figures' basic function…. The 'realism' which has been so admired in Qin period art was marshaled in a practical and religious, not an artistic, cause."
[393] Von Erdberg 1990; Kesner 1995: 123; Paludan 2006: 69.
[394] See Kesner 1995: 120-24; Paludan 2006: 69; Nickel 2007: 170.

Fig. 4.17. Some of the shield blazons featured on the Column of Trajan reliefs, as depicted by Rossi 1971: 112.

detailed and particular physiognomic features. As discussed in Chapter 3, they were made by combining mass-produced modular parts in different compositions, although "[e]very precaution was taken to make each figure look different."[395] The achievement of this goal was no small task: their eight different, modular head shapes and hand-finished clay slip surfaces have already been mentioned (Fig. 3.14).[396] Other body parts were similarly individualized: even an array of thumb types (Fig. 4.14) could be attached differently to set hand types (Fig. 4.15) in order to create seemingly individual appendages. Heterogeneous clothing details, including belt-hooks, were also finished by hand (Fig. 4.16). Such differences and details are not unlike some of the features of the army depicted on Trajan's Column: the variety of shield blazons (Fig. 4.17); the *lorica*

[395] Nickel 2007: 170.
[396] Ledderose 2000: 72; Nickel 2007: 170.

hamata mail armor worn by auxiliaries (and rigorously textured, like the shoe soles of the terracotta warriors; Figs. 4.18, 4.19); and the "realistic" faces of the soldiers (some modern archaeologists have even wondered whether or not real soldiers sat for the artists of the Column as "studio models").[397] But while Trajan's Column purports to represent the army that fought the Dacian campaigns,[398] the First Emperor's terracotta army was intended not to re-present the army that conquered the warring states, but, in the conceptual framework of the tomb, to *be* an army unto itself.[399]

Fig. 4.18. Lorica hamata *(chain mail) detail from Scene 145, Column of Trajan, Rome;* ca. *AD 113.*

[397] Coulston 1990: 294.
[398] See Stewart 2008: 109-17.
[399] Just as the individual terracotta soldiers were once thought to be portraits (Von Erdberg 1990), the army as a whole has often been thought to represent the emperor's real army. Such ideas, as Kesner (1995: 115-16) has stated, rest "on largely unexamined assumptions [or] on some taken-for-granted conceptions of representation."

Fig. 4.19. Shoe-sole of an archer from the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC.*

As we have seen, some components of Qin Shi Huangdi's afterlife court were literally present: real horses, real birds, real people (concubines and certain high officials), and even real hay. The tens of thousands of bronze weapons borne by the terracotta soldiers, including crossbow triggers, were real, functional life-size weapons also (Fig. 4.20).[400] Other features in the tomb, including the soldiers themselves, the bronze birds, the terracotta horsegrooms and scribes, and the half-size (but fully functioning) chariots were made present by means of realistic models.[401] Some have

[400] On the functional bronze weapons of the terracotta army: Li 2011; Li et al. 2011; Martinón-Torres et al. 2011; Martinón-Torres et al. 2014.
[401] Kesner 1995: 126; Ledderose 2000: 67.

taken the warrior figures as "substitutes" for the burial of real soldiers,[402] but this account does not explain why models are side by side with real people and objects in the tomb. The emperor's actual advisors, concubines, prize horses and perhaps other special animal specimens were buried with the emperor where "specific individuals" were required,[403] while entertainers, soldiers and stable grooms were present as functional, idealized analogues. Like the rain-bringing dragon images described by Jessica Rawson, the terracotta warriors were self-sustained equivalents. They were "realistic" (to the extent that they were) – ethnically and physiognomically diverse, armed with real weapons, taller than real Qin soldiers,[404] more numerous than any real Qin regiment – not in order to represent or recall any events, people, armies or accomplishments, but in order to serve as a "magical" army for the emperor in the afterlife.

Fig. 4.20. (a) Bronze trigger from the warrior pits at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC, and (b) detail of grinding marks and inscription.*

[402] Ledderose 2000: 65-7; Ciarla 2005: 52. *Contra*: Falkenhausen 1990: 46-7. Even Kesner's careful treatment concludes ultimately that the terracotta warriors formed the "composite portrait of an army" (1995: 129).
[403] Rawson 1997, 28; id. 2007: 140.
[404] Paludan 2006: 66.

And so, although they may *seem* to be triumphal or commemorative, or to refer to real-life events and accomplishments (just like many of the visual and sculptural features of the Roman imperial tombs), these model warriors possessed a completely different sort of agency and engendered a very different conception of imperial power: an idea of power based not on the celebration and advertisement of the emperor's particular (military) achievements, but on the emperor's immutable status in an unchallengeable, eternal world order that was projected into the afterlife.[405] The tomb provided the emperor with an effective army (and many other important people, animals and things) commensurate with the emperor's paramount position in that world order,[406] and literally placed him in the center of the universe it created. Indeed, while the Roman imperial tombs featured portraits and images of the emperors, their Chinese counterparts (as many have observed) featured no such images, but only empty spaces (*wei* 位) "left for the emperor to be able to step into them,"[407] and the corpse of the emperor himself in the middle of concentric walled spaces and at the very center of his spirit court.[408]

Public orientation and appeal

In recent times, sculptures and other objects from the tombs of early Chinese rulers and princes – most notably, the warrior sculptures from Qin Shi Huangdi's funerary site – have toured the world. A British Museum exhibition focused on the warriors in 2008 attracted more visitors than any exhibition at the museum in three and a half decades

[405] Rawson 1999: 6.
[406] Kesner 1995: 151-2 on the projection of the "world order" into the future.
[407] Tanner 2013a: 79-80. See also Wu 2005a: 25-8; id. 2010: 64-8.
[408] On the Chinese view of the world as a "system of inscribed squares" centered on the emperor, see Di Cosmo 2002: 94.

(Fig. 4.21).[409] And the terracotta army *in situ* is an attraction for millions of visitors each year. Their popularity as a tourist spectacle even contributed to the construction of Xianyang International Airport in 1991,[410] and they have inspired fashionable modern artworks which have captivated and dazzled their own audiences (Fig. 4.22).[411] On the surface, moreover, the terracotta army seems both to confirm and to promulgate widespread perceptions of the first emperor as a military despot; if this is the case, the vast model army correlates, at first glance, with the violent picture of the first emperor painted by Sima Qian, Jia Yi 贾谊 and more recent authors.[412] The soldiers would not be an inappropriate symbol for the man who conquered China's warring states, and that is what they have become: one can hardly find a recent book about the emperor or his dynasty that does not have a picture of the figures on the cover.[413] And archaeologists and art historians have often discussed the soldiers as if they were made to be viewed by the first emperor's contemporaries and subjects.[414] But, unlike the tombs of Roman

[409] Higgins 2008. The last exhibition to bring in as many visitors was the Tutankhamen exhibition in 1972.
[410] Ledderose 2000: 51-2
[411] Khayutina 2013b.
[412] Jia Yi 贾谊 was an advisor and tutor in the early Han imperial court, early 2nd century BC. His criticisms of Qin's military ethos are quoted in Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6.
[413] The exception that quite literally proves the rule is a new book entitled *Beyond the First Emperor's Mausoleum* (Liu 2015).
[414] See, e.g., Rawson 1999b: 124-5: "The very physical presence of rows upon rows of clay figures would have impressed by their overwhelming ordered physical mass. Anyone seeing this impressive sight would have been in no doubt of the weight of the Emperor's might…. The careful display of armour and weapons, by both the human and the spirit army, indicated the degree of the Emperor's control…" Cf. Wang 1987: 47; Kesner 1995: 131; Ledderose 2000: 61-4; Wu 2006: 67. The case of scholarly interpretations of the soldiers adds a further consideration to the postprocessual discussion of a dialogue between the past and the present (Shanks and Hodder 1998; Hodder 1999: 14). As archaeology becomes increasingly preoccupied with the ways in which modern people "experience" sites and monuments, we must become more aware of the impact which these experiences can have on scholarly interpretations.

emperors, the terracotta warriors were neither designed to be inspected nor intended to dazzle. Rather, they were buried underground, effectively invisible to the human eye.

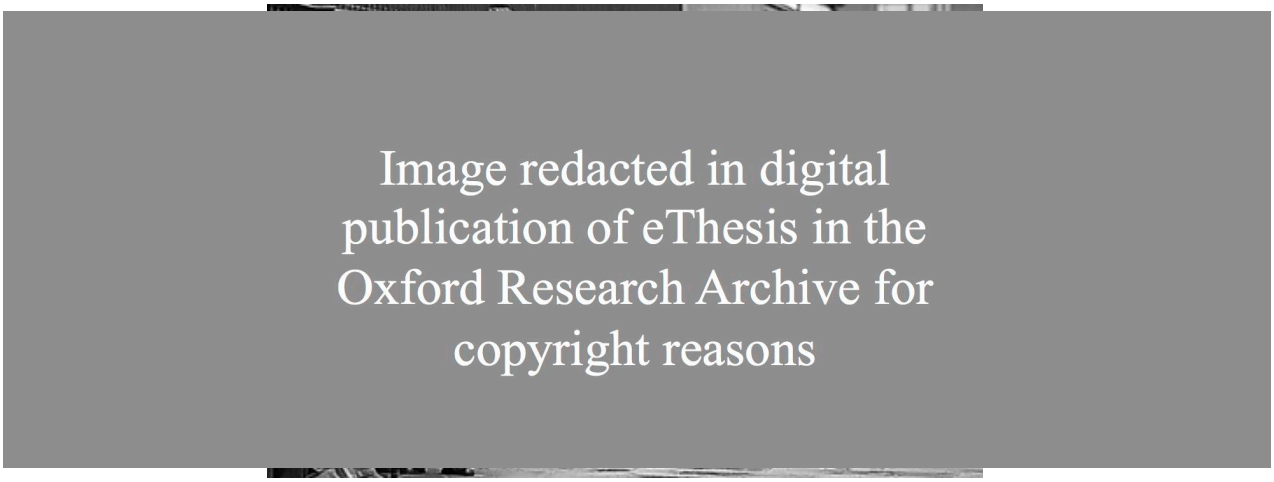

Fig. 4.21. Thousands waiting to see the terracotta soldiers at the British Museum, London, in 2008.

Fig. 4.22. "Heritage." Sculpture group by Marian Heyerdahl. Fired clay and metal, 2007.

If there was a principal audience for the Qin and Han tombs, it was a Heavenly or supernatural – rather than a public – one. We are told that it was conventional for a Western Han emperor to begin constructing his tomb in the second year of his reign and to devote one-third of the imperial treasury to its construction.[415] Even if this astounding figure is an exaggeration, the archaeological evidence from the Lishan and Yangling

[415] *Jin shu* 晋书 60; Thorp 1987: 22; Miller 2011: 189. Generally dates are not provided for Han imperial tombs in this thesis as they can be estimated by this principle.

funerary sites, from satellite burials around Maoling and other imperial funerary sites, and from the tombs of regional princes confirm – as the original Marxist archaeological reports reproachfully observe[416] – that vast resources were devoted to building them.[417] Recent research projects have begun to give a sense of the manpower investment they required.[418] According to Trigger's definition, these are "monuments" of the first order by virtue of their tremendous expenditure of wealth and labor.[419] But for this huge investment, there was very little return in terms of viewership – let alone the public projection of any particular themes or stories. While the tomb mounds and associated structures would have been visible and above-ground, the rich furnishings, sculptures and other objects buried at the imperial funerary sites were not; and it was surely on these subterranean contents that the greater part of the resources devoted to the site's construction were lavished.

The tomb mounds were impressive structures, but they were not sited to maximize their audience; in fact the siting of Qin and Han tombs also suggests that visibility and audience were not priorities. While pre-imperial royal Chinese tombs were often located within or around city walls,[420] the Qin-Han imperial tombs were spread far and wide outside of the urban center, up to 40 km from the capital (Fig. B.5).[421] Many

[416] See, e.g., Hunan sheng bowuguan, Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省博物馆中国科学院考古研究所 1973: 9; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Hebei sheng wenwu guanli ban 中国社会科学院考古研究所，河北省文物管理办 1980: 451.
[417] See also Paludan 2006: 82 on expense.
[418] Martinón-Torres et al. 2011; Blänsdorf and Zachmann 2013; Martinón-Torres et al. 2014.
[419] Trigger 1990: 122. Cf. Demarrais et al. 1996: 18-19.
[420] Thorp 1983: 73.
[421] While there is no archaeological evidence for the Eastern Han tombs, their locations, as given in Fan Ye 范晔, *Hou Han Shu* 后汉书 6.4149-51, ranged from 6.2 km to 17 km outside of the capital. On these tombs, see Loewe 1999: 100-102; id. 2010: 224.

have argued that the Western Han imperial tombs were sited according to some version of a ritual ordering known as the *zhaomu* 昭穆 system, in which the tombs of successive generations were erected east and west of a central axis on an alternating basis.[422] This hypothesis has been challenged recently,[423] and the sites themselves certainly do not follow this system strictly. This is not the place to weigh the relative merits of these arguments, but what is clear is that the locations of the Qin-Han tombs probably derived from some considerations related to ritual and auspiciousness,[424] and that certainly some explanations *other* than visibility and self-presentation must account for them.

Fig. 4.23. Plan of the Campus Martius*, Rome, showing the Mausoleum of Augustus,* Via Flaminia, *Tiber River*, Ara Pacis*, obelisk, ustrinum (speculated location) and a reconstruction of the so-called Horologium Augusti.*

[422] Miller 2011: 194 *n.*26 provides bibliography for the principal proponents of the *zhaomu* 昭穆 system hypothesis. See also Lei and Li 雷百景, 李雯秦 2008: 48-51.
[423] Miller 2011: 195 *n.*28 provides the bibliography for arguments against the *zhaomu* 昭穆 system hypothesis.
[424] See Thorp 1983: 74-5; Sahara 佐原康夫 2002.

Fig. 4.24. Reconstruction of Trajan's Forum, Rome, ca. AD 112-113, by Gilbert Gorski.

On this point, the Roman imperial tombs could not be more different: their role as vehicles for appeal, presentation and promotion depended on the outward orientation of their visual content and on locations which maximized visibility for a large, urban audience.[425] Like other urban monuments of imperial Rome, the tombs have been likened to "billboards" and referred to as vehicles for "propaganda" with some frequency.[426] As discussed in Part I, the latter term at least – given its many anachronistic connotations – is more trouble than it is worth. And while I would not want to compare such complex monuments to "billboard" advertisements, it is true that they were ideally sited to be seen, not unlike the roadside tombs of senatorial elites during the Augustan period.[427] Augustus' mausoleum was located outside of the *pomerium* – the city's sacred border, within which burial was not traditionally permitted

[425] Cf. Davies 2000: 137.
[426] See, e.g., Coulston 1990: 293; Packer 1994: 168; Favro 1996: 128; Davies 2000: 8, 173; Cooley 2009: 3; Johnson 2009: 22. Cf. Stewart 2008: 111.
[427] Eisner 1986; von Hesberg 1992: 26-37.

– but due north of the Pantheon, between the Tiber River and the principal north-south approach to the city, the *Via Flaminia* (Fig. 4.23). There, it would have dominated the skyline, for its scale and height were unprecedented and unsurpassed in the Campus Martius.[428] And with its associated monuments and public gardens, the funerary site created an "island of order" in the urban landscape,[429] where the structures and their visual contents could be absorbed by a significant and captivated public audience. Trajan's Column, of course, was in an even higher-traffic area of the metropolis, the Forum of Trajan (Fig. 4.24).[430] Although Hadrian's tomb was built on private land across the Tiber, its location on the riverbank and in a relatively undeveloped area of the ancient city would have helped to make the Mausoleum one of the most prominent structures in Antonine Rome.[431] The *Pons Aelius*, a bridge over the Tiber connecting Hadrian's tomb to the Campus Martius, was built as a corollary project and would have further enhanced the Mausoleum's conspicuousness and accessibility. Moreover – like the tomb of Augustus – the towering mausoleum would have been ideally sited to be seen from the most frequented points of entry to the city, including the *Pons Neronianus*, the jetty east of the *Pons Aelius*, and the rest of the Tiber embankment. (Fig. 4.25).[432]

Conclusion

To return, then, to the beginning of this chapter: the Roman imperial tombs were not only publically oriented, with a substantial, willing and attentive audience (the "patient," in

[428] Reeder 1992: 269; Cooley 2009: 3; Johnson 2009: 17.
[429] "Island of order:" Favro 1996: 128.
[430] High traffic: Davies 1997: 59; Coarelli 2000: 24; Clarke 2003: 31.
[431] Boatwright 1987: 161; Davies 2000: 160-61; Opper 2008: 212; Claridge 2010: 410.
[432] Davies 2000: 158-61 discusses the visibility and conspicuousness of this monument in some depth.

Gell's formula), but they projected historical and biographical visual content in order – as Choay puts it – to stir the emotions of this viewership. This counted for something at Rome, where, Cicero tells us, "the populace despise[d] private luxury but love[d] public splendor."[433]

Fig. 4.25. Map showing the viewpoints of Hadrian's Mausoleum from the Pons Neronianus and a major shipping jetty on the Tiber.

The biographical orientation, commemorative agency, format and siting of the Roman imperial tombs – with their *elogia*, their highly visible locations, and their cylindrical structures – also provided a form of visual continuity with the practices and institutions of Republican *imperatores* and important senatorial families, who commissioned similar, roadside tombs as late as the Augustan period. While the Qin-

[433] Cic., *Mur.* 76: *odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam,publicam magnificentiam diligit.*

Han tombs revolved around the emperor's special status and supreme office, the Roman tombs actually placed the emperor, conceptually, amongst the generals and statesmen of the late Republic. Like the tombs of this senatorial elite, the Roman imperial funerary sites were designed to promote recognition; they were persuasive monuments, which presented and "made a case" for the particular emperors they commemorated – publicly, unashamedly, and by appealing in large part to military achievement.

The Qin-Han imperial burial sites, in contrast, encapsulated and reflected certain ideological and political "realities:" in particular, they were images of a world order in which the emperor occupied an unassailable, eternal, central position. And these images were private and generic: they were not directed at (or even visible to) any living audience, nor did they make claims about the specific achievements of particular emperors. Even in the early days of imperial rule, a greater emphasis was placed on the monarch's office or position in the Qin-Han Empire, where there was no uneasy Republican legacy to be managed. In short, the incalculable efforts lavished on the Chinese imperial tombs did not pursue goals of recognition, presentation or persuasion.

The contrasts between these two sets of tombs in terms of agency and orientation evoke divergent ideas about political prestige and authority: ideas which were manifest in the material and visual record but which might be immeasurable or untested except by cross-cultural comparison. In the following chapters, the contrasts brought to light by the imperial burial sites will be considered, nuanced and developed against a broader range of evidence.

Part III

三

Imperial power and images of war

"Why war? Why art?"
- Tonio Hölscher [434]

In foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto…
atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem
Nilum ac nauali surgentis aere columnas.
addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten
fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis;
et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea
bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentis.
Stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa…

"On the temple doors I have sculptured in solid gold and ivory…the Nile in flood and billowing with war, and lofty columns clad with the bronze prows of hostile fleets. I will add Asia's vanquished cities, the routed Niphates, and the Parthian relying on flight and arrows launched behind him; two trophies snatched by force from far-sundered foes, and the two nations that yielded a double triumph from Ocean's either shore. Here in Parian marble shall stand statues breathing life…"
- Vergil [435]

[434] Hölscher 2003: 1.
[435] Verg., *G.* 3.26-34, trans. Fairclough 1978.

Chapter 5

The first emperors and images of conquest

"Peace through conquest. That was the king of Qin's reasoning and it was all the other big bad ones' as well…"

- Stephen Hunter, *Washington Post* review of Zhang Yimou's 张艺谋 film *Hero* 英雄 [436]

"One does not have to look very far, in the *Res Gestae*…to get the impression that the Romans thought conquest was a good and glorious thing."

- Susan Mattern [437]

Part III of this thesis is concerned with the images of warfare, militaria, conquest and victory with which the Roman Principate and, to a lesser extent, Qin-Han China were suffused. Chapter 5 looks, in particular, at the artistic, architectural and artefactual representations of conquest produced and promulgated for and by the two first emperors: Qin Shi Huangdi and Augustus.

Introduction: martial images

Images of war and warriors have been created around the world from antiquity to the present. Examples from relatively recent times – to take just a few examples – include televised images from Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq;[438] *Top Gun* and other war films;[439] recruiting advertisements; the military reliefs on Beijing's Monument to the People's Heroes (a colossal, 37.4 m tall stele built on Mao Zedong's 毛泽东 orders in Tiananmen 天安门 Square; Fig. 5.1);[440] and George W. Bush's photo-opportunity on the aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln* with row after row of uniformed sailors (some 5,000 in all)

[436] Hunter 2004: C01.
[437] Mattern 1999: 164.
[438] On such images as projections and representations, see Taylor 2003: 11-12.
[439] O'Shaughnessy 2004: 28 notably categorizes *Top Gun* as Reagan-era "propaganda."
[440] Wu 1991: 94, 99; id. 2005: 24, 32.

at-attention around him (Fig. 5.2). Martial images fulfill a legion of objectives: journalism; historical record; entertainment (many of the world's most popular stories, true and fictional, are war stories); and religious or ritual functions (as, for example, in the case of medieval church monuments, where depictions of soldiers in armor and bearing weaponry were intended to elicit intercession and, ultimately, the deceased's release from purgatory[441]). When such representations are commissioned or circulated by a ruler or government, they may recognize and honor soldiers; aim to attract new recruits;[442] emphasize the protection and security a government provides; deter potential assailants from without; discourage would-be rebels from within; bolster a leader's prestige or reputation as a brave or brilliant leader; or give those involved in the creation of such a representation some personal psychological satisfaction.[443]

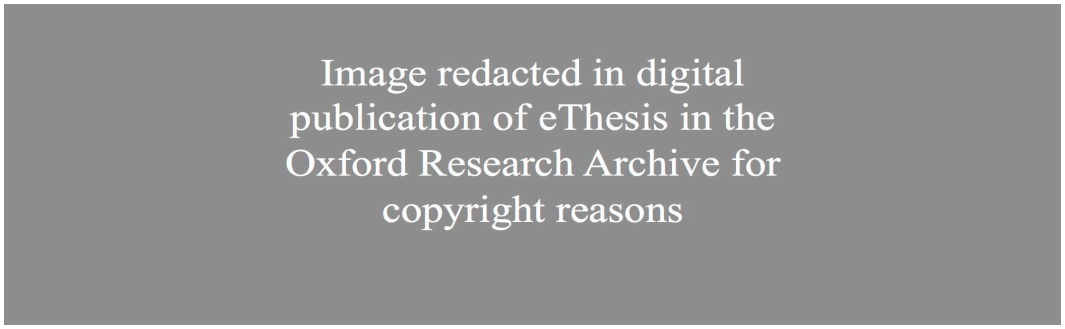

Fig. 5.1. Crossing the Yangzi; one of ten reliefs on the Monument to the People's Heroes, Tiananment Square, Beijing. Sculpted by Liu Kaiqu; completed 1958.

Inasmuch as war – as Carl von Clausewitz would remind us[444] – is a fundamentally political affair, images related to war are political by their nature. War,

[441] Badham and Stuchfield 2009: 37-8; Saul 2009: 33.
[442] Taylor 2003: 12-13.
[443] On Roman emperors and the psychological rewards of victory images: Lendon 2006: 61.
[444] Clausewitz 1991: 1.24: "So sehen wir also, daß der Krieg nicht bloß ein politischer Akt, sondern ein wahres politisches Instrument ist, eine Fortsetzung des politischen Verkehrs, ein Durchführen desselben mit anderen Mitteln."

moreover, is the state action that most deeply stirs the emotions. And images of war, like all representations (and perhaps more so than most), are subject to manipulation, exploitation and contested interpretations. Photographs of President Bush on the *USS Abraham Lincoln* in his flightsuit and among the troops, for example, were the result of careful staging with great concern for image and political ramifications. And yet these photographs also proved powerful ammunition for the President's critics, because the image (a flight-suit-wearing President and a triumphal "Mission Accomplished" theme) rang false.[445]

Fig. 5.2. White House photographs of President George W. Bush landing and addressing sailors on the USS Abraham Lincoln, 1 May, 2003; the now infamous "Mission Accomplished" speech. (Official White House photos by Paul Mose and Susan Sterner).

Roman and Qin-Han representations related to war have long been the object of much research and fascination, and this vast class of images is highly relevant to this thesis' larger questions about the relationship between images and political power and

[445] O'Shaughnessy 2004: 21; Palermo 2008.

prestige.[446] What were the myriad representations of the military and militaria in these two civilizations intended to achieve?[447] What do they reveal about rulership and imperial power? The following chapter (Chapter 6) explores some crucial differences between the Roman and Qin-Han worlds in terms of martial images, but the current chapter focuses on the remarkably similar programs pursued by Octavian Augustus and Qin Shi Huangdi and their supporters.

Argument: parallel programs

Octavian defeated the forces of Antony and Cleopatra in 31 BC, effectively ending the long period of turmoil and civil war during which warring factions had torn the Roman Republic apart. Octavian – known by his new titles, *Augustus* and *Princeps*, from 27 BC onward – brought about a *renovatio*: a making-new of the state. Ying Zheng 嬴政, as China's first emperor was known before he created a new, supreme title and office for himself (*Shi Huangdi* 皇帝, usually translated as "First August Thearch"[448]), also won his authority on the battlefield: when he defeated his last remaining rival, Jian of Qi 齊王建, in 221 BC, he brought the period known as "the Warring States" to a close and, under his monarchical authority, achieved a feat anticipated by philosophers and literati for generations: the unification of China (the "middle states" 中国 *zhongguo*). It is

[446] The definitive-sounding *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* (Dillon and Welch 2006) brings together a wide variety of images and objects in this category: as Susan Mattern (1999: 168) has stated, the theme of military victory was so prevalent in Roman "art" as almost to "defy coherent discussion."
[447] Such a question is in harmony with what Wu Hung (2010a: 12-14) recently described as a "change" in Chinese "art historical scholarship [,] first articulated in the studies of Western art," in which research is shifted away "from works of art per se to their production, perception and consumption in specific historical circumstances."
[448] Kern 2000: 1; id. 2007: 105; Portal 2007b: 21; Rawson 2007: 115; Pines 2012: 54; id. 2013d.

surprising, perhaps, that a comprehensive comparison of these two earth-shaking persons has not been undertaken (particularly given the veiled or subconscious parallels to Augustus drawn in the standard translation for Shi Huangdi).[449] The subject of this chapter, however, is not so much the military exploits of these two emperors, but rather the visible and tangible expressions of their new imperial authority – what Michael Loewe (writing about Qin Shi Huangdi) refers to as "the adoption of formulae… that would enhance the dignity of [the] regime."[450]

For Qin Shi Huangdi and Augustus, these expressions of power took remarkably similar form. The reigns of the two first emperors, I argue, represent a point of convergence in terms of the use of images and objects to represent imperial authority.[451] In both cases, this program of images centered on the theme of military victory, and made use of spoils and trophies; images of enemies; the recreation of *orbis in urbe*; and the monumentalization of the written word. These vehicles promoted the conquest theme with specific, identifiable foci: peace through conquest; the universality of the new empire; and the personal military prowess of the emperor.

The monumental and architectural promulgation of the conquest theme is not a given; indeed, as comparison in the following chapters demonstrates, the character of

[449] Alexander Yakobson's chapter, "The First Emperors: Image and Memory" (2013), in *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited* is, surprisingly, perhaps, almost entirely about Augustus and has very little to say about Qin Shi Huangdi (or indeed about comparison). For the most part, the chapter seems to serve the purpose of providing a rather whirlwind summary of Augustus' career for China specialists. See also Peck 2009; Pines 2013c: 237.
[450] Loewe 2007: 70.
[451] There is, of course, a chronological dissonance, so this is not a "convergence" in any sort of connective sense.

imperial rulership generally placed a far greater emphasis on military achievement in the Roman empire than in Han China. And while the tenuous Roman imperial office was a fundamentally military position, expressed by the visual vocabulary of military leadership and victory, in Qin-Han China, it generally was not. In the case of Qin Shi Huangdi, however, the Chinese imperial court *did* project highly ideological images related to warfare and conquest not at all unlike those created and disseminated for his Roman counterpart. The subsequent idolization of Augustus in the Roman Empire, and the vilification of Qin Shi Huangdi in the Han, meant that these images and narratives were replicated, exaggerated and embellished (according to the anxieties and strategic realities of the times) in Rome, but were largely discarded in the Han. The convergence (which forms the subject of this chapter) and subsequent divergence (discussed in the following chapter) point to the crucial role which these accidents of history and the discontinuity between Qin Shi Huangdi and Han Gaozu might have played in in shaping the visual vocabulary of imperial power in China and Rome.[452]

On the one hand then, the comparison suggests that the proliferation of war images was not (as some have suggested) just "distinctively," "characteristically" or "uniquely" Roman;[453] on the other, neither was it a universal requirement for the long-term integrity of an empire like Rome's. There seems to be a glaring exception, at least in the Qin period, to Roger Ames' statement that in ancient China, "warfare is neither celebrated nor glorified,"[454] and the comparison also encourages us to rethink what even

[452] See previous note. "Divergence:" cf. Lewis 2015: 212.
[453] See, e.g., Smith 1988: 50; Hölscher 2006: 36-7; Stewart 2008: 109.
[454] Ames 1993: 20.

China scholars refer to as "monuments…on the Western model."[455] Moreover, the comparative perspective illuminates the incongruity of traditional scholarship on these two emperors: Qin "unification" is not so different from Roman "conquest," and Augustus' "new visual language"[456] may seem very conservative indeed next to the visual and artefactual expressions of power promulgated by and for the first Chinese emperor. The most recent round of Western scholarship undertaken on China's First Emperor – led by Yuri Pines – has grappled with the question of Qin Shi Huangdi's exceptionalism, using the terms "messianic" rulership and "gigantomania" to characterize his public image; (according to Pines, Qin Shi Huangdi is "China's first and only quasi-Messianic ruler (prior to Mao Zedong, of course)").[457] Comparison with Rome – which offers alternative vocabularies and a rich set of stimulating scholarship on the public, visual conquest narratives – may prove helpful for this line of inquiry.

This chapter is structured by the major projects undertaken by China's First Emperor to consolidate, or at least articulate, his authority; commemorate his conquests; and promote the notion that he was both a commander *par excellence* and the originator of global peace. Each of these projects has close parallels among the projects undertaken by and in honor of the first Roman emperor: parallels in terms of both thematic and conceptual priorities and even in terms of form and format. These parallels are not trivial, for Qin Shi Huangdi's Han successors largely did not pursue the same types of projects (often seeking peace without conquest); while at Rome the idea of conquest

[455] Waldron 1996: 977.
[456] Zanker 1990: 3.
[457] Quotation is Pines 2013d: 269. See also Falkenhausen and Shelach 2013; Pines 2013a; id. 2013c: 236; Pines et al. 2013a; id. 2013b.

became, if anything, more central in the visual constructions of imperial power over time. By bringing the First Emperor's projects side-by-side with those of Augustus, we are also able to bring two different archaeological and historiographical traditions to bear on one another, and to understand these images and artefacts – especially the Chinese examples – in new ways.[458] The first of these projects to be considered here is the set of mountaintop steles erected by Qin Shi Huangdi.

Fig. 5.3. Fragment from the Greek inscription of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti *at Pisidian Apollonia (Sozopolis), Turkey. First century AD.*

Text and trophy: peace by conquest

Just as Augustus monumentalized the written word[459] - his own words – in the inscribed versions of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Figs. 4.1, 5.3), Qin Shi Huangdi also ensured

[458] Cf. Bang and Bayly 2011b: 6.
[459] Güven 1998: 30, 40.

Fig. 5.4. The Yishan stele, originally erected ca. *219 BC, Yishan, Shandong. Image is a rubbing of a Song Dynasty copy (ca. AD 993), now in the Stele Forest, Xi'An, Shaanxi.*

that his own self-asserted catalogue of achievements was immortalized in physical inscriptions and circulated throughout his new domain. The seven known steles of Qin Shi Huangdi (Figs. 5.4, 5.5) were erected on mountaintops and correlated to sacrifices the First Emperor performed on these sites as he toured his new empire.[460] As imperial commissions, these artefacts therefore also served as lasting symptoms of the emperor's itinerant presence. The Mount Yi 嶧山, Mount Tai 泰山 and Mount Langye 琅玡 steles were erected in 219 BC; the Mount Zhifu 之罘 and Mount Zhifu "eastern vista" 之罘东观

[460] Martin Kern is the authority on these steles: Kern 2000; id. 2007; id. 2008. See also Rong 容庚 1935; Shi 施蛰存 1987: 267-74, 289-94, 350-51, 430-32; Yuan 袁维春 1990: 30-53. Fragments of these stone inscriptions survive from the Langye stele, which stood until 1900 before it was largely destroyed in a storm (these fragments are preserved in the Museum of Chinese History 中国历史博物馆, Beijing; see Rong 容 1935: 128-9, 140-1), and from the Mount Tai stele (in the Tai Temple 岱庙, Tai'an 泰安). Otherwise what are preserved are rubbings of copies and copies of rubbings, each with its own provenance and history (see Kern 2000: 1-9; Harrist 2008: 222-5). Tradition has sometimes attributed these texts and the calligraphy of the inscriptions to the First Emperor's Prime Minister, Li Si 李斯, but there is no evidence for this idea, which seems to have originated in the 5th century AD (Harrist 2008: 223).

steles in 218 BC; the stele at the Jieshi gate 碣石门 in 215 BC; and the Mount Kuaiji 会稽 stele in 211-210 BC.[461] Unlike the inscriptions of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, the exact textual structure of Qin Shi Huangdi's stele inscriptions varied with relative freedom; but they were were virtually identical to one another in terms of their diction, themes, content and verbal constructions.

Before discussing these steles, it is worth looking at a selection of text from one of them, the Mount Yi 峄山 stele; followed by a selection from the *Res Gestae*:

皇帝立国…
讨伐乱逆，
威动四极，
武义直方。
戎臣奉诏，
经时不久，
灭六暴强…
兵不复起。
灾害灭除，
黔首康定，
利泽长久。

The August Thearch has established the state…
He launched punitive attacks against the rebellious and recalicitrant
His might shook the four extremities [the whole world];
Martial order and rightness stood upright and straight.
The military officers received the imperial orders,
Through a passage of time not long,
They exterminated the six cruel and violent ones…
Warfare will not rise again!
Disaster and harm are exterminated and erased;
The black-haired people live in peace and stability,
Benefits and blessings are lasting and enduring.[462]

[461] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6.
[462] Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Yishan 峄山 stele 1-32; trans. Kern 2000: 10-14. Note that the original Classical Chinese could be translated in the first person, although a third person translation is more conventional.

> EXERCITUM PRIVATO CONSILIO ET PRIVATA IMPENSA COMPARAVI, PER QUEM REM PUBLICAM A DOMINATIONE FACTIONIS OPPRESSAM IN LIBERTATEM VINDICAVI…. BELLA TERRA ET MARI CIVILIA EXTERNAQUE TOTO IN ORBE TERRARUM SAEPE GESSI, VICTORQUE OMNIBUS VENIAM PETENTIBUS CIVIBUS PEPERCI… [IANUM] QUIRIN[UM, QUEM CL]AUSSUM ESS[E MAIORES NOSTRI VOLUER]UNT, CUM [P]ER TOTUM I[MPERIUM PO]PULI ROMA[NI TERRA MARIQUE ES]SET PARTA VICTORIIS PAX, CUM PR[IUS QUAM] NASCERER, A CO[NDITA] U[RB]E BIS OMNINO CLAUSUM [F]UISSE PRODATUR M[EMORI]AE, TER ME PRINCI[PE SENAT]US CLAUDENDUM ESSE CENSUI[T].
>
> In my nineteenth year, at my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army with which I successfully freed the state, when it was oppressed by the domination of a faction…. I waged many wars, civil and foreign, on land and sea, across the whole world, and as victor I spared all the citizens who asked to be spared…. Our ancestors wished for the doors of Temple of Janus Quirinus to be closed when peace through victories was achieved on land and sea throughout the whole empire. Although this was only achieved twice in all recorded memory from the founding of the city until my birth, during my principate the Senate thrice ordered them to be closed. [463]

Romanists will be surprised to hear that the steles "of the 'First August Thearch' are habitually put aside [by scholars] …due to the predominant view that they are *just*…propaganda:"[464] the construction and articulation of authority – by means of visual, verbal, and tangible media – is, of course, a subject of significant interest within Roman studies. Their extraordinary similarity in both format and content to the *Res Gestae* has not gone unnoticed, however.[465] While neither the steles nor the *Res Gestae* inscriptions were "images" on the same order as figurative sculptures and other visual media, they surely share and make explicit the priorities of images, and serve (beyond the ability of mere text) as physical, artefactual representations of these priorities themselves.[466]

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[463] Augustus, *Res Gestae* 1, 3, 13.
[464] Kern 2000: 8. Emphasis added.
[465] Part II.D of Mutschler and Mittag 2008a features one essay on each of these texts. See also Yakobson 2013: 283.
[466] Cf. Elsner 1996. As Martin Kern (2008: 224-5) emphasizes in discussing Qin Shi Huangdi's monuments, "[w]hat counted was the sheer existence of the artifact. In such contexts, writing

Both sets of textual monuments – those of Qin Shi Huangdi and those of Augustus – emphasize the concept of peace by victory. In the *Res Gestae*, the very phrase "peace through victories," *pax victoriis*, appears as part of Augustus' claim that such "peace," traditionally celebrated by closing the doors of the Temple of Janus Quirinus, was achieved three times during his Principate – more than had ever been achieved from the founding of the city until the beginning of his Principate.[467] Elsewhere in the inscription, pacification is used as a synonym for conquest: *Gallias et Hispanias provincias et Germaniam…pacavi* , "I 'pacified' the Gallic and Spanish provinces and Germany."[468] War undertaken by Augustus is framed as a righteous, merciful force for peace and prosperity. Likewise, Qin Shi Huangdi's steles used constructions which emphasized the peace-bringing nature of the emperor's martial achievements: 害灭除黔首康定, "disaster and harm are exterminated and erased; the black-haired people live in peace and stability."[469] And like the first Roman emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi drew a contrast between the turbulent times that preceded his rule – in the Chinese case, the Warring States era (*ca.* 475-221 BC) – and the peace he claimed to have created: 追念亂世分土建邦以開 爭理功戰日作流血於野, "recall and contemplate the times of chaos: when they apportioned the land, established discrete states, and thus unfolded the impetus

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transcended its functions of storing and circulating knowledge;" and Güven (1998: 30) on the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*: the "potency of the content stems precisely from monumental context."

[467] Augustus, *Res Gestae* 13: [IANUM] QUIRIN[UM, QUEM CL]AUSSUM ESS[E MAIORES NOSTRI VOLUER]UNT, CUM [P]ER TOTUM I[MPERIUM PO]PULI ROMA[NI TERRA MARIQUE ES]SET PARTA VICTORIIS PAX, CUM PR[IUS QUAM] NASCERER, A CO[NDITA] U[RB]E BIS OMNINO CLAUSUM [F]UISSE PRODATUR M[EMORI]AE, TER ME PRINCI]PE SENAT]US CLAUDENDUM ESSE CENSUI[T].

[468] Ibid. 26.

[469] Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Yishan 峄山 stele 30-33 (trans. Kern 2000). The term "black-haired people" simply refers to "the common people" (Kern 2000: 14 *n*.14).

for struggle. Attacks and campaigns were daily waged; blood was shed in the open countryside."[470]

The inscriptions also recall the monument described by Appian to commemorate Octavian's victory over Sextus Pompeius in 36 BC: a column surrounded by the beaks of captured ships and bearing the inscription, τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, "peace, long disturbed, he re-established on land and sea."[471] Indeed, the steles of Qin Shi Huangdi might be fruitfully compared to several other Augustan projects which made manifest the ideology of *pax victoriis*,[472] especially given that the "semiotic logic" of the steles lay as much in their role as tangible, visible symbols of the emperor's action as in their status as texts.[473] Like the steles, which declared that the First Emperor 奋扬武德 "vigorously displayed his martial character" that he might 既平天下 "make peaceful all under heaven" (the world),[474] Augustus' famous altar to Peace in the Campus Martius, juxtaposed references to domination and war (Dea Roma, seated on a pile of enemy arms) with the celebration of universal peace (Pax, flanked by *aurai* that represented land and sea: *pax terra marique parta*, as the *Res Gestae* declares; Fig. 3.10).[475]

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[470] Ibid. 19-22.
[471] This is the inscription as Appian (*Bell. Civ.* 5.130) relates it.
[472] On the ideology of Augustan peace, see Nicolet 1991: 29-30; Ando 2000: 283 ("The claim to have brought peace to Rome, moreover, was itself implicitly a claim to martial prowess. Romans understood peace to be a condition created through military action"); Rich 2003: 333.
[473] Harrist 2008: 225.
[474] Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Mount Zhifu 之罘 stele 21; id., Mt. Tai 泰山 stele 2.
[475] Some have taken this latter figure as Tellus or Italia, but the construction in *RGDA* 13 strongly suggests she is Pax. See also de Grummond 1990; Zanker 1990: 175. On Roma and the piled equipment: Rehak 2006: 112-13. *Terra marique*: see Momigliano 1942; Nicolet 1991: 36; Rich 2003: 331.

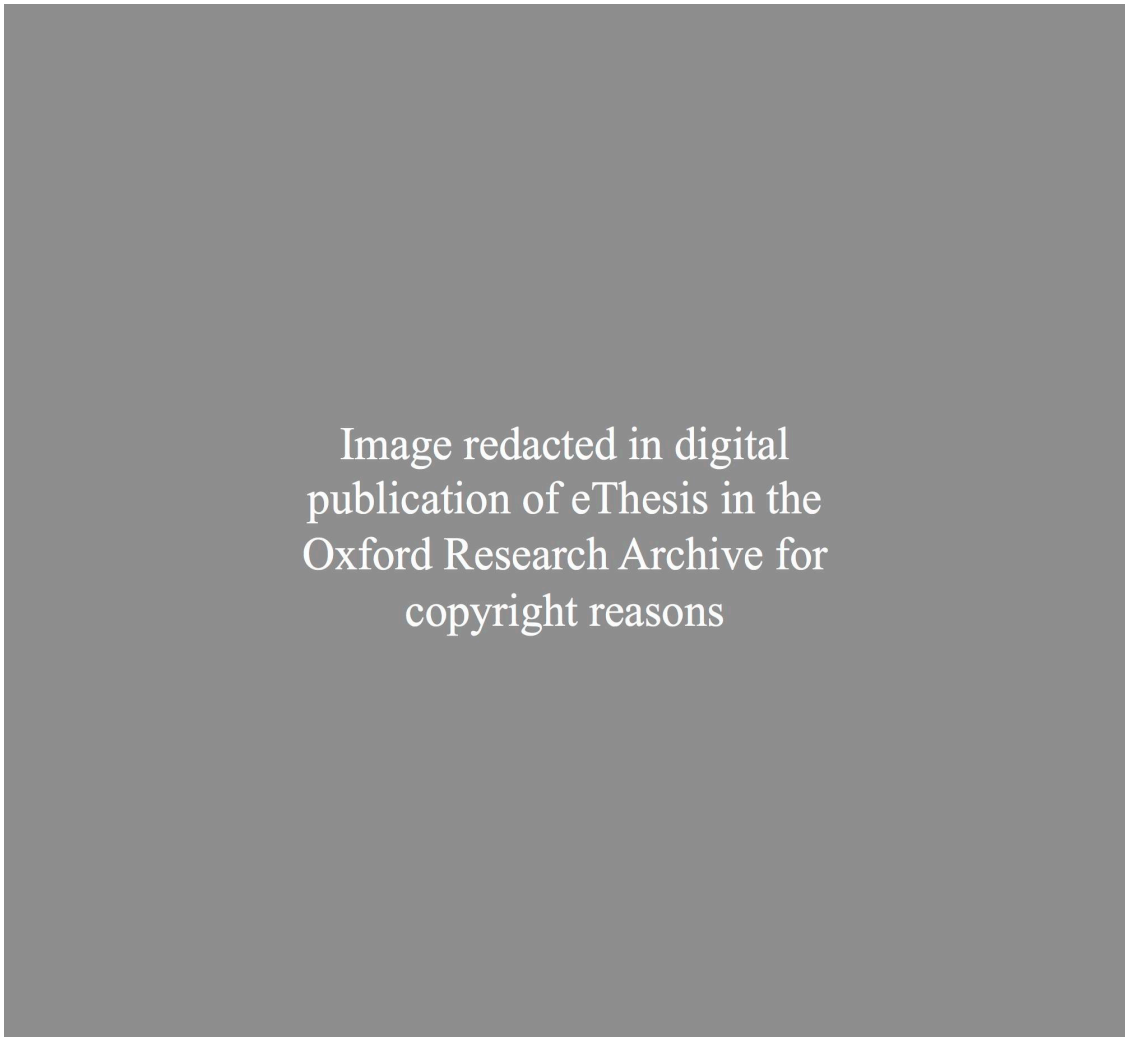

Fig. 5.5. Map of Qin Shi Huangdi's sacrifices, including the sites of his inscribed steles.

But the Qin steles' importance lies not only in the messages they communicate, but in their spatial signification. The mountain steles functioned as permanent evidence for the emperor's movements through space, and, crucially, also denoted former frontiers and signaled dominance in once contested territory. In this way, they were not unlike the trophy monuments erected, for example, at Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, *ca.* 25-12 BC; Figs. 5.6, 5.7) and at La Turbie (*ca.* 7-6 BC; Figs. 4.6b, 5.8) to

commemorate Augustan victories.[476] Like the steles of Qin Shi Huangdi, these mountain monuments – erected amongst the towering peaks of the Pyrénées and of the Alps respectively – marked hard-fought victories in the past and indisputable imperial authority extending interminably into the future at those sites. And like the steles, the *Tropaeum Alpium* at La Turbie featured a prominent triumphal inscription describing the conquered: in this case, the names of the forty-six tribes subdued by Augustus' campaigns.[477] In this way, they formed an "allegorical geography," of sorts, of pacified territories and peoples – a theme explored below in other visual and monumental media promulgated in Qin China and Augustan Rome.

Fig. 5.6. Fragmentary sculptures of the Augustan trophy, bound male captive, and standing female captive (or personification of Gallia) from Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France. White marble; female figure ca. *131 cm in height.* Ca. *25-12 BC. (Musée archéologique Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges inv. 84.0004).*

[476] Tropaeum Alpium: Casimir 1932; Formigé 1949; Hartshorn 2006; Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Musée archéologique Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges inv. 84.0004; Boube 1996; Cleary 2008: 31-4.

[477] *CIL* 5.7817; this inscription was transcribed by Pliny the Elder in *N.H.* 3.136-7. The Qin steles refer to the conquered states at Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Mt. Yi 嶧山 stele 9; id., Mt. Zhifu 之罘 stele 16; id., Mt. Zhifu "eastern vista" 之罘东观 stele 15; id., Mt. Kuaiji 会稽 stele 19-32.

Fig. 5.7. E. Boube and E. Dambes' reconstruction of the trophy monument from Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France, ca. *25-12 BC. (Musée archéologique Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges inv. 84.0004).*

The Augustan trophies, however, also included large-scale visual depictions of captured enemies and enemy weaponry (motifs which also dominated the sculptural program of the Augustan arches erected in the region during this period[478]). The *Tropaeum Alpium*, towering *ca.* 50 m in height over one of the principal Alpine routes of the day, features partially-preserved reliefs of bound captives and traditional Roman trophies formed of captured enemy arms; commissioned by the Senate and people, it also may have included a portrait statue of Augustus with subdued captives at his feet.[479] The trophy monument at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges is partially preserved, although its original placement and the details of its creation are less clear. Simon Esmonde Cleary has suggested that given its quality, the monument may have been commissioned by the *princeps* himself. This is not known, but the sculpture group, which can be

[478] Such arches are known to have been built at "Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Toulouse, Béziers, Narbonne, Nîmes, Avignon, Orange, Carpentras, Saint Rémy, Arles, Marseille, Fréjus, Vienne, Aosta, Susa" (Woolf 1998: 75 *n.*107). On these arches, see especially Rolland 1977 (Glanum/ Saint Rémy,); Gualandi 1979; Turcan 1984 (Carpentras); Walter 1993 (images of captive enemies); Küpper-Böhm 1996; Roehmer 1997; Fornasier 2003 (fragments of arches no longer *in situ*). Küpper-Böhm 1996 and Roehmer 1997 have further bibliography related to each arch. See also Schoppa 1957; Picard 1960; Silberberg-Peirce 1986; Woolf 1998: 75-6; Hunter 2009; Ferris 2011: 190-92.
[479] Rich 2003: 312-14.

reconstructed, was composed largely of bound captives, personifications of Gallia and Hispania, and trophies of enemy arms.[480] As visual and structural articulations of the *princeps*' power, then, these monuments not only advertised Augustus' victories, but also sought to lend visual assurance or substantiation to their claims of disarmament and peace. In this same vein, within the detailed and forceful verbal claims of pacification in the steles of Qin Shi Huangdi were also specific references to the once active – now neutralized – "shields and weapons" 数动甲兵 of the enemy. These constructions, also, are explored in greater depth below; for in both Qin Shi Huangdi's visual media and Augustus', the idea of global mastery and pacification often manifested itself in the depiction of enemies themselves and of captured or surrendered enemy weapons.

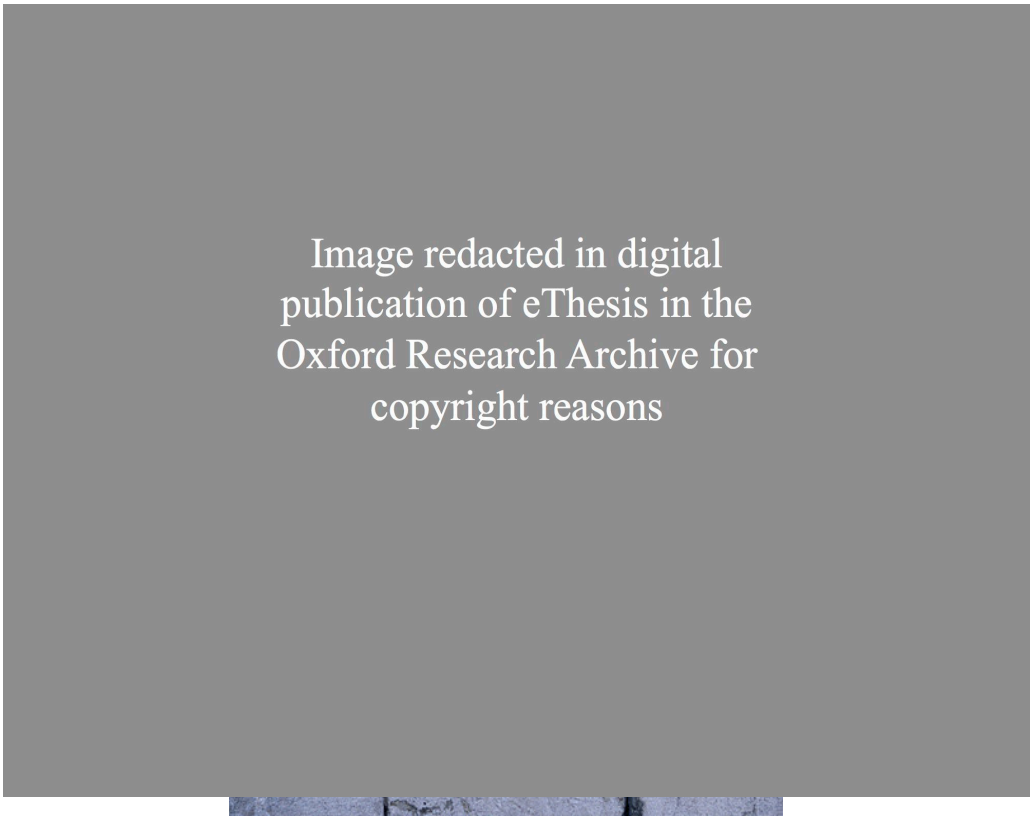

Fig. 5.8. Restored trophy relief from Tropaeum Augusti (Tropaeum Alpium), La Turbie, ca. *7-6 BC.*

[480] Cleary 2008: 31-4.

Inasmuch as the Augustan trophy monuments not only listed and depicted the conquered, but were, rather ambiguously, directed *at* populations in conquered territories, the trophies also represent another dimension of the peace and victory narrative: they serve not simply as celebratory, triumphal monuments, but, along with the arch monuments of Augustan Gaul – also as "striking visual reminders…of ancestral defeat and humiliation and of cultural heritage curtailed by conquest."[481] The Qin steles should be understood with the same considerations in mind. There is – and was – no single correct response to these objects, and so their meanings were constructed by each of the individuals who saw, heard or read about them. As Martin Kern has noted, the steles could be interpreted as "subtly menacing."[482] Both sets of monuments may have been conceived to serve as veiled threats or as reminders of the regime's military prowess. As such, their plausibility relied on the reality of their claims (for as Paul Zanker has written, inscriptions, architecture, monuments and "imagery" in general "would have been useless without…legions"[483]). Here, however, the comparison can also lend some perspective. For insofar as the Qin steles were "subtly menacing," they were very subtle indeed: with their thematic focus on peace and unity, they were a far cry from imagery of Roman trophy monuments, which depicted wretched captives in Augustus' time and, in later periods, even the graphic slaughter of "natives" (as on the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamklisi; Fig. 5.9).[484]

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[481] Ferris 2011: 190-92; cf. Silberberg-Peirce 1986: 312-14; Woolf 1998 on the complexities of "becoming Roman."
[482] Kern 2000: 107.
[483] Zanker 1990: 3. Cf. Gibbon's observation, on the other hand, that "the empire, although acquired…through force, had not been sustained by it" (paraphrased by Ando 2000: 3).
[484] *Tropaeum Traiani*: Florescu 1961; Barnea et al. 1979-84; Rădulescu 1988; Ferris 2003. Cf. Ferris 2011: 196.

Fig. 5.9. Metope 35, Tropaeum Traiani*, Adamklisi. AD 109. (Adamklisi Museum, Metope 35).*

Pacified peoples

While the Qin steles did not feature such images, another of Qin Shi Huangdi's great projects did center on the figural and allegorical depiction of his conquered territories. The 十二金人 *shi er jin ren* "twelve bronze men" were colossal bronze statues erected at Xianyang, each standing – according to Han sources – approximately 12 m in height, on a pedestal of 4.5-7 m and weighing between 12 metric tons (or possibly much more); most importantly, they were made from the melted "weapons of the world."[485] Ten of the

[485] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6: 收天下兵聚之咸阳销以为钟鐻金人十二重各千石. The colossi are also mentioned in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Major 2010: 502); the *Han shu* 汉书 of Ban Gu 班固; and the *Sanfu jiushi* 三輔舊事 (preserved in the *Shi ji* 史记 commentary); see Nickel 2013 for all references. For detailed (textual) studies of these figures, see Wang 王双怀 1996. On size and weight, see Nickel 2013: 438, esp. *n.* 56. See also Harada 原田淑人 1936. On their presentation, Nickel 2013: 437: "they were, without question, publicly presented."

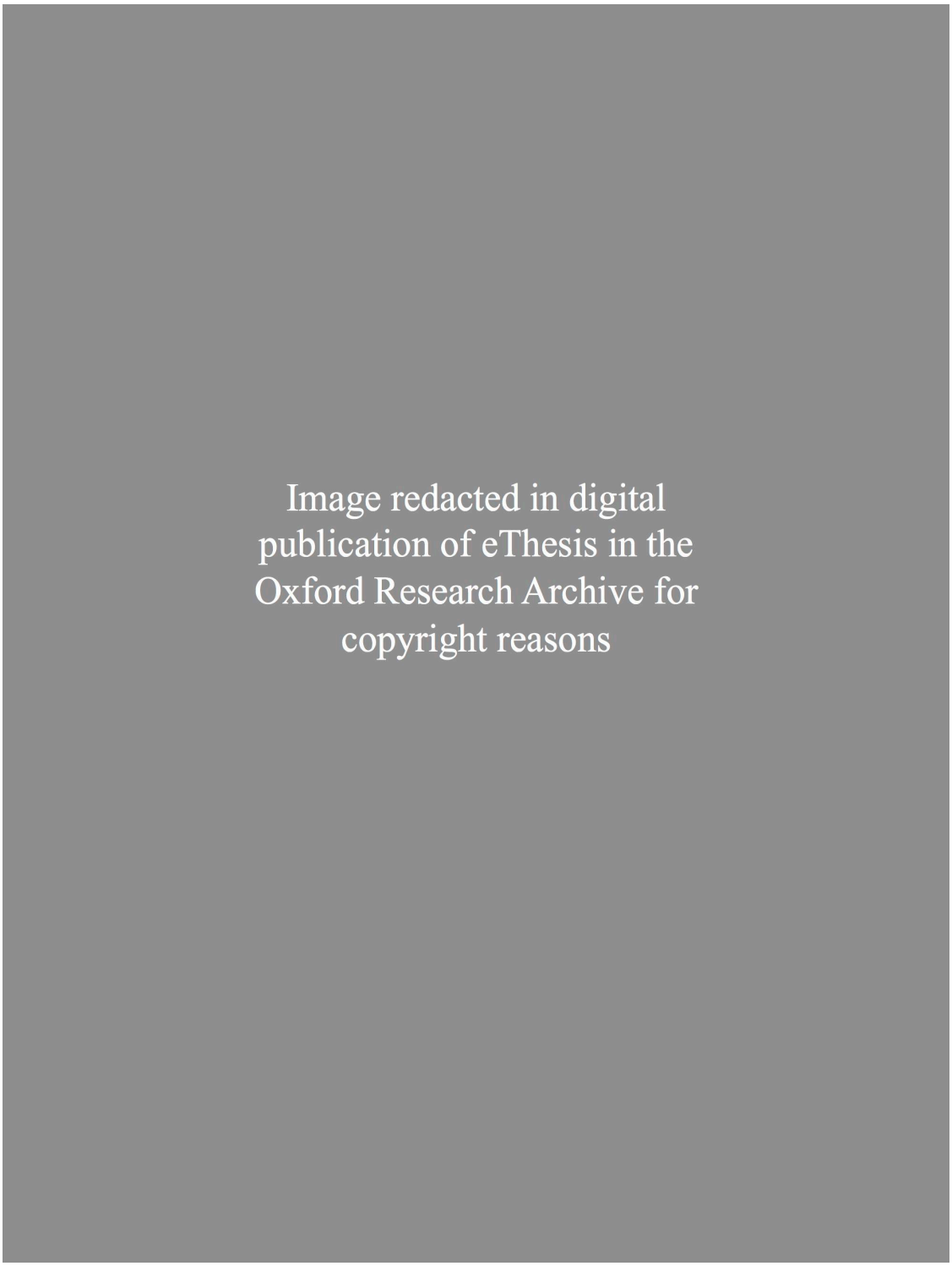

*Fig. 5.10. Bronze head, excavated from the eastern suburbs of Xianyang. H: 10.2 cm. Ca. 221-206 BC. (*Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004: 198; no. 82XYCLJC7: 96; *Xianyang Municipal Museum inv. 5-1166).*

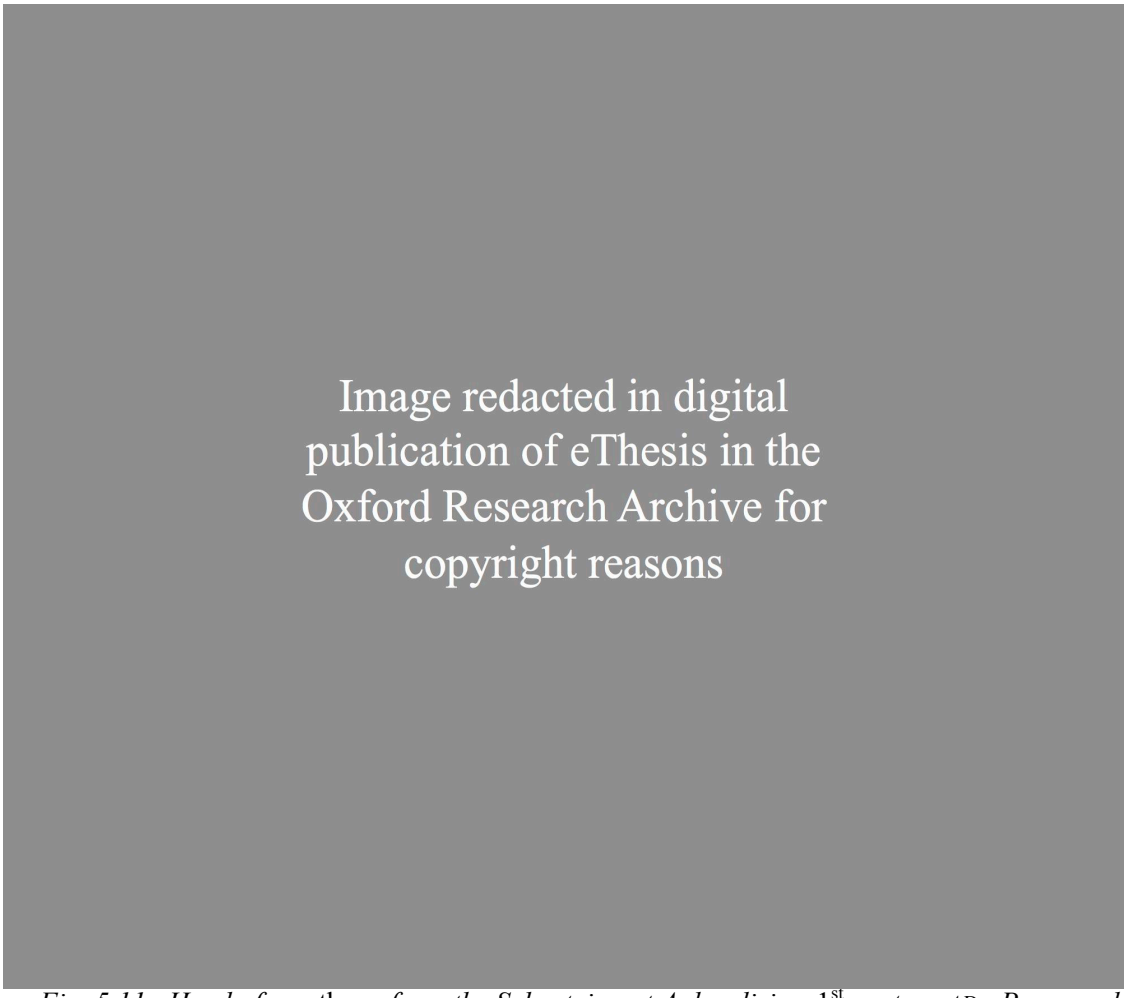

Fig. 5.11. Head of an ethnos *from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,* 1st *century* AD. *Preserved height: 31 cm. (Smith 1988: no. 6).*

"twelve golden men" were infamously melted by the rogue official Dong Zhuo 董卓 (*ca.* in the Qin capital for over half of a millennium before they were destroyed by King Fu Jian 苻堅 (r. AD 357-385) in the fourth century;[486] although they are not extant and their appearance is therefore unknown, a remarkable Qin period bronze head excavated in 1982 (and finally published in 2004[487]) is exceptional in terms of its quality and the "realism" of its features relative to all other early imperial Chinese works except the tomb

[486] Song 2006: 1; Nickel 2013: 436-8.
[487] Xianyang Municipal Museum inv. 5-1166; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004: 198; no. 82XYCLJC7: 96.

figures of Qin Shi Huangdi (Fig. 5.10).[488] Unlike the terracotta warriors, however, this head features fleshy, rounded cheeks (a foreign facial structure, perhaps) and an elaborate decorated headdress that is without parallel in other known Qin-Han visual culture. The object for which the head was originally made is likely to have been an imperial commission, and it is not difficult to imagine that it may even have come from a smaller-scale model of the *shi er jin ren* or another sculptural group representing the conquered territories allegorically, or the kings of the defeated states. Virtually none of the scholarship related to the "golden men" focuses on their conceptual and ideological meanings, while current thinking about similar images created in the Roman world benefits from a long and comparatively rich scholarly tradition with interests in the ways power was constructed and expressed visually.[489] A look at some of the images of conquered peoples and enemy armaments in Augustus' empire – and their meanings – may therefore be useful for our understanding of the Qin sculptures.

Many Augustan depictions of defeated enemies and conquered peoples have been mentioned already, including the *nationes* frieze in the *Ara Pacis* (Fig. 3.12). This image had many parallels in the Roman world, and such compositions would have had the effect of creating "allegorical geographies" of the conquered world.[490] Pompey the Great (106 – 48 BC), a late Republican *imperator*, set the precedent for the creation of such representations in the Augustan age: at the grand theater complex he commissioned,[491]

[488] Xianyang Municipal Museum inv. 5-1166; Rawson 2007: cat. no. 98.
[489] Cf. Bang and Bayly 2011b: 6.
[490] "Allegorical geography:" Nicolet 1991: 47.
[491] For the current excavation status of this site, see Gagliardo and Packer 2006; Packer et al. 2007; Packer 2010.

Pompey had fourteen statues crafted by the sculptor Coponius to represent the territories he had conquered.[492]

These images captured the imaginations of their respective viewerships. This is clear in the Roman case from a passage of Suetonius': in the passage, he describes a nightmare Nero allegedly had in which the statues of *nationes* in Pompey's forum come to life and surround him; *modo a simulacris gentium ad Pompei theatrum dedicatarum circumiri*.[493] The episode has a remarkable parallel in Han historiography: the emperor Wang Mang (who was eventually overthrown) was tortured in his dreams by visions of the colossi coming to life; "he hated this," the text relates, "considering that the bronze men had inscriptions: 'The [First] Emperor first unified all-under-heaven;'" 莽夢長樂宮銅人五枚起立，莽惡之，念銅人銘有「皇帝初兼天下」之文.[494]

It is worth noting that, as far as we know, the fourteen statues commissioned by Pompey were the first composition of this type in the Roman world;[495] but they were far from the last. Like Pompey's conquests (and like those of Qin Shi Huangdi), the territories captured by Augustus were recreated in anthropomorphized and sculptural form, as a coherent collection and metaphorical map of the conqueror's power. We know that many such compositions were created to honor Augustus, including those:[496]

[492] Plin., *N.H*. 36.41; Suet., *Nero* 46.
[493] Suet. *Nero* 46.
[494] Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 汉书 99. See also Nickel 2013: 438.
[495] Smith 1988: 72.
[496] Smith 1988: 71-2 discusses and provides the sources for most of these.

- At the *porticus ad nationes*, in which, Servius tells us, were placed *simulacra omnium gentium*, "images of all the peoples"[497]
- In the Temple to Augustus in Lugdunum, where the names of sixty Gallic tribes were displayed at the altar, along with "images," εἰκόνες, of the tribes, "one from each tribe"[498]
- At the *Ara Pacis*, discussed in Chapter 3 (Fig. 3.12)
- In the Forum of Augustus, where *tituli* (and perhaps images) of the conquered *gentes* were displayed[499]

Groups of bronze likenesses of conquered peoples were also included in Augustus' funerary procession (and in those of later emperors).[500] The most well-known surviving monuments of this type are from later periods: the *ethne* reliefs of the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion in Aphrodisias;[501] the Hadrianeum reliefs (Fig. 3.13);[502] and the *provinciae* coin types of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, but they provide a good sense of how the Augustan allegorical geographies might have looked (Fig. 5.11).

R.R.R. Smith refers to these "series of provinces and peoples" as "something new in Roman art. They were," he writes, "a distinctively Roman way of representing their empire visually, and reflect a distinctively Roman and imperial mode of thought."[503] Meanwhile, Jessica Rawson and other China archaeologists have wondered, given the

[497] Serv., *Aen.* 8.721; Plin., *N.H.* 36.39.
[498] Strabo 4.3.2: ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἀξιόλογος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑξήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ εἰκόνες τούτων ἑκάστου μία καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδριὰς μέγας. Cf. *CIL* 8 pp. 227-30.
[499] Velleius 2.39.2; see also Nicolet 1991: 42; Rich 2003: 330.
[500] Cass. Dio 56.34.3, 75.4.5.
[501] Smith 1987; id. 1988; id. 2013.
[502] Lucas 1900: 1-42; Bieńkowski 1900: 60-86; Toynbee 1934: 152-9; Claridge 1999; Nista 1999; Presicce 1999; Sapelli 1999b; id. 1999c; Hughes 2009.
[503] Smith 1988: 50.

novelty and singularity of Qin Shi Huangdi's sculptures among early Chinese images, whether the first Chinese emperor might have "heard, as if in a distant echo, news of the massive sculptures at the courts of the kings…in the Mediterranean area."[504] I do not seek to answer that question, but I propose that the parallels between the Qin and Augustan projects should compel us to reassess conventional ideas about "Roman" and "Chinese" modes of representation.

*Fig. 5.12. Augustan denarius (*RIC *1 Augustus 514), 19 BC. Obverse: Augustus bare head right,* AUGUST; *reverse: tiara on left, quiver with arrows and bowcase with bow on right,* ARMENIA *above,* CAPTA *below*.

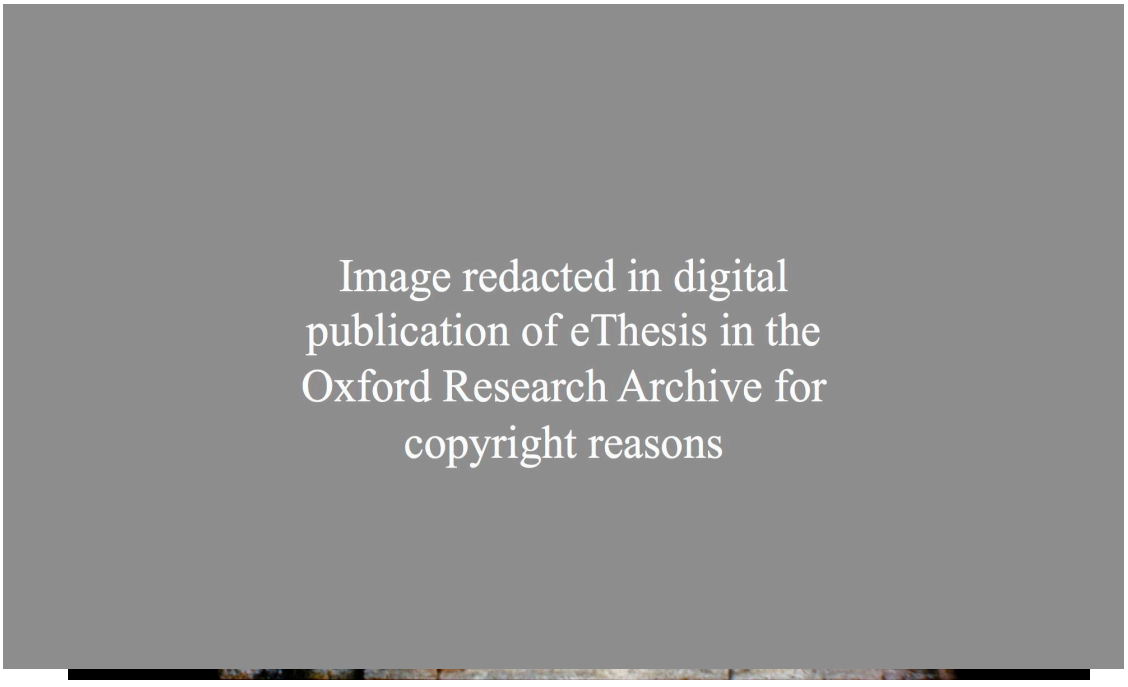

Fig. 5.13. Relief from the east face of the Arch of Augustus at Carpentras. Augustan period.

[504] Rawson 2007: 129. See also Barnhart 2004; Nickel 2009; id. 2013.

The recreation of foreigners in Augustan images was frequent, of course, and did not always take the form of these allegorical geographies. Elsewhere on the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*, for example, children (and perhaps women) with foreign physiognomies and resigned expressions mingle harmlessly and meekly with the Rome's leaders, confirming and assuring security, peace and order by visual mediation.[505] The idea of defused threat and the successful end to hostilities with one people or another was omnipresent in the visual program of Augustus' empire and often manifested itself in the depiction of enemy soldiers themselves and of captured or surrendered enemy weapons.[506] Many of these images, objects and monuments are well known: captive combatants and enemy arms appear on the coinage of Augustus, often with such legends as ARMENIA CAPTA and variations (Fig. 5.12).[507] Aside from the prominent images of subdued enemies and enemy weapons at the trophy monuments of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges and La Turbie, captive foreigners and their captured arms also appeared consistently and prominently on the Augustan arches in Gallia Narbonensis and the surrounding regions.[508] Hélène Walter and Fraser Hunter have written about these images – too copious to be discussed in depth here – in detail (Fig. 5.13).[509] Disarmed (Gaulish?) enemies and their captured weaponry and armor also appeared in more private, portable

[505] On these figures, see: Rose 1990; Bartman 2011: 229-30.
[506] Few examples of *congeries armorum* reliefs survive from the Augustan period, although there is evidence for their existence, for which see Polito 1998: 144; as discussed in this section, however, there are numerous other examples of the visual depiction of enemy arms and armor in prominent visual media from this period. On the frequency of bound captives in the art of the Principate, see Bradley 2004.
[507] *RIC* 1 Augustus 290-92, 515-20.
[508] Arches: Picard 1960; Rolland 1977; Gualandi 1979; Turcan 1984; Silberberg-Peirce 1986; Küpper-Böhm 1996; Roehmer 1997; Woolf 1998: 75-6; Fornasier 2003 Hunter 2009; Ferris 2011: 190-92.
[509] Walter 1993; Hunter 2009.

media like the *Gemma Augustea* cameo gem (Fig. 5.14),[510] which depicts Romans erecting a traditional trophy: a post hung with enemy arms, armor, shield and helmet.[511]

Fig. 5.14. Gemma Augustea *(lower register): captive enemies; soldiers raising a trophy made from enemy arms. Double-layered onyx cameo gem, early first century AD. Overall width:* ca. *23 cm. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. AS IXa 79).*

Parthian soldiers and arms were also prevalent in both public and private Augustan images (although it was a diplomatic, rather than military, "victory" that Augustus scored against the Parthians), in some instances in gloomy, vanquished modes, and in other cases as "retreating archers" or tamed "contributors to peace."[512] They too appeared on Augustus' coinage;[513] on Augustus' Parthian arch in Rome;[514] and, along

[510] Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. AS IXa 79.
[511] While the gem is a courtly, luxury artefact with limited viewership (Stewart 2008: 121-3), it is easy to imagine that the types of images depicted on such artefacts as cameo gems probably also appeared in more public or widely-circulated media. (Ando 2000: 287). The gem may commemorate Tiberius' triumph late in Augustus' principate (AD 12) and may even be a Tiberian artefact; in any case, the visual constructions it employs and the ideology it embodies are quintessentially Augustan (cf. Nicolet 1991: 45).
[512] Zanker 1995: 187-9. "Contributors to peace:" Rose 2005: 28. As Rich (2003: 337) states, it was "with little justification" that Parthians were often shown as suppliants or defeated combatants. See Rose 2005 generally on Parthian images in Augustan Rome.
[513] See, e.g., *RIC* 1 Augustus 287-9, 304-305, 314-15.

with abject personifications of other territories, perhaps Gallia and Hispania, on the breastplate of the well-known marble statue of the *princeps* from Livia's Villa at Prima Porta (the back of which featured an image of a trophy).[515] According to Ovid, the "weapons of the conquered" were exhibited on the doors of the Temple to Mars Ultor in Augustus' Forum (where the standards recovered from the Parthians were kept), although these are not extant; Ovid is unclear, but the context of the passage suggests that these were probably images of weapons, rather than actual weapons.[516] Large-scale statues of Parthians (2.3-2.4 m in height) were also created to serve as *atlantes* in the *Basilica Paulli* (completed *ca.* 14 BC), which was paid for in part by Augustus.[517] Over eighteen of these figures survive in fragmentary state.[518] Like the *shi er jin ren* of Qin Shi Huangdi, these sculptures were made of an exotic material that would have enhanced their ability to testify to the emperor's worldly power; the Parthians were made of polychrome marble, including Phrygian (pavonazzetto); Numidian (giallo antico); and white marble.[519] As Rolf Michael Schneider has written, these "polychrome Asians represented spoils never before seen in Rome."[520] Pliny the Elder took note of the

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[514] The arch is known from coin images, and its foundations still remain (de Maria 1988: 266-75; Rose 2005: 29). On this arch, see Simpson 1992; Nedergaard 1993; Rich 1998; Scott 2000. For further bibliography, see Rose 2005: 28 *n.*41.

[515] This statue was, perhaps, a copy of a public statue erected *ca.* 19 BC (Rose 2005: 27).

[516] Ov., *Fast*. 5.545, 561: *prospicit in foribus diversae telae figurae armaque terrarium milite vica suo*. For more on this, see Nicolet 1991: 43.

[517] Scale: Schneider 2012: 112-16; completion by Augustus: ibid.: 119. Schneider also notes that although they "are shown in a pose of architectural support…they cannot hold actual weight." *Basilica Paulli* (often called the "*Basilica Aemilia*" in modern times): Rose 2005: 27-8.

[518] Surviving fragments: Hülsen 1905: 53-62; Schneider 1986: 115-17, 200; Bauer 1988: 210; Schneider 1998: 114-15; id. 2002: 85, 86, 91; Rose 2005: 62; Schneider 2012: 112-16. According to Rose 2005: 62 *n.*241, "There are unpublished photos of the Parthian heads in the Archivio Fotografico of the Forum Soprintendenza di Archeologia di Roma: nos. 78 and 79."

[519] Rose 2005: 62. See Schneider 2002 on the use of exotic polychrome marble and concepts of imperial power.

[520] Schneider 2012: 120.

statues,[521] and Vitruvius, the (now-) famous architect of Augustus' time, wrote in his *De Architectura* about the logic of displaying such statues:

> *Ibique captivorum simulacra barbarico vestis ornatu…sustinentia tectum conlocaverunt, uti et hostes horrescerent, timore eorum fortitudinis effectus, et cives id exemplum virtutis aspicientes gloria erecti ad defendendam libertatem essent parati.*
>
> And there, to support the roof, they placed statues of their captives in barbaric dress…that their enemies might quake, fearing the workings of such bravery, and their fellow-citizens looking upon a pattern of manhood might by such glory be roused and prepared for the defense of freedom. [522]

The deployment of all of these images of subjugated foreigners, wretched captives, and seized enemy arms not only advertised Augustus' victories, but also – as visual and structural articulations of the *princeps'* power – sought to lend visual assurance or substantiation to their claims of disarmament and pacification.

This was, however, even more literally true in Qin Shi Huangdi's China, where the emperor also sought to manifest visually the peace and security which he hoped his campaigns had won. For his colossal bronze statues were at once the actual spoils of war and representations of peoples freshly incorporated into the empire. In Augustan Rome, the imaged enemy became a forceful symbol of the emperor's authority in works commissioned by the senate, the imperial court and others to honor the emperor's peace-bringing campaigns: such representations *suggested* certain facts about the world order and Augustus' positive contributions to that order in terms of *pax victoriis*. But the "twelve golden men" were, perhaps, even more powerful expressions of the emperor's success in creating peace through conquest: as actual products of enemy arms, they did

[521] Plin., *N.H.* 36.120.
[522] Vitr., *De arch.* 1.1.6. Translation adapted from Granger 2002.

more than *suggest* what the outcomes and fruits of the emperor's campaigns were. At Rome, the image of a Gaul or of a Parthian (or of enemy arms) signified, by both mimesis and metonymy, that distant lands and frontiers had been reduced by the emperor's agency to a state of peace. The pacification and subjection of these people to Roman force of arms resulted in their status as the subjects of Roman creative, artistic and intellectual power (the power involved in conceiving and crafting these images and monuments). The power to create (depictions of enemy soldiers and enemy arms) was made corollary to the power to destroy and neutralize. As in Rome, the reproduction of foreigners in visual media at Xianyang corresponded directly to pacification; the former is both a result of and vehicle for expressing the latter. But in visual and physical mythmaking power, Qin Shi Huangdi's statues not only "stood for" subjugated territories but – by their very material biographies – aimed to *prove* that the enemy had laid down his arms.[523]

This is a new way of thinking about the statues, and it is a product of the comparative method; few (if any) have understood the *shi er jin ren* in these terms previously. In commissioning them, Qin Shi Huangdi used what might be called "Roman" ideas about constructing power from and embedding power in material artefacts. Augustus could boast that he built the temple of Mars the Avenger with funds *ex manubiis*, "out of the spoils of war," but China's First August Emperor literally constructed these statues *out of* the spoils – and the instruments – of war.

[523] Scholarship related to "material biographies" and the biographies of things is abundant; see most importantly Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Schiffer and Miller 1999; Meskell 2004.

If the Qin statues featured the same formal realism that characterizes the bronze head excavated in 1982 (Fig. 5.10) – and given our knowledge of the other figural sculptures commissioned by the First Emperor this seems probable – then their form would have complemented the authenticity of the weaponry from which they were made. Like the colorful Parthian statues that adorned one of Augustus' grand building projects, or the many *simulacra gentium* monuments crafted to give the impression of informed accuracy and carefully recreated diversity,[524] their efficacy – part "magical" and part political – would have resided in their ability to make the pacified enemy present.

The comparison of these images is also a compelling reminder that while Qin Shi Huangdi's deployment of mountain steles and colossal figural sculptures to represent conquered lands *ex manubiis* was revolutionary, Augustus' much-discussed "new visual language"[525] might not be so revolutionary by comparison. For while depictions of enemy arms and captive enemies became closely associated with the first *princeps'* peace-bringing activities in the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD, these and the other monuments and images mobilized to advertise and honor his campaigns were largely adapted from the Republic's well developed visual vocabulary for martial success. And the *shi er jin ren* – aside from being revolutionary – were singular in early China. While *simulacra gentium* was a visual trope that was repeated with some frequency under Augustus' successors, it was not until AD 720 that a truly similar monument – the iron scultural group at Pujin 蒲津 commissioned by Emperor Xuanzong

[524] Bartman 2011: 229.
[525] Zanker 1990: 3; Burke 1994: 197.

玄宗, featuring a Han, a Tibetan, a Mongolian and a Weiwuer 维吾尔 man each accompanied by an ox – was constructed in China (Fig. 5.15).[526]

Fig. 5.15. Iron sculptural group at Pujin 蒲津, Shanxi 山西; AD 720.

Mapping conquest

One of Qin Shi Huangdi's most famous building projects – a rammed earth "Great Wall" (*chang cheng* 长城) – survives in large sections and is the subject of a growing body of archaeological research (Fig. 5.16).[527] Its construction is also mentioned in Sima Qian's

[526] This monument has received surprisingly little scholarly attention and might also be fruitfully compared to "Western" sculptural projects. Paludan 1994 is the exception. The sculptures remain *in situ* and are attested at: *Jiu Tang shu* 旧唐书 43; *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 39; *Song shi* 宋史 92.

[527] Archaeological survey: Xiao 萧景全 2000. See also Shen 沈长云 1990; Waldron 1990: 13-29; He 何钰 et al. 2000; Zhang and Deng 张海斌, 邓宏伟 2000; Xin 辛德勇 2005; Jia 贾衣肯 2006.

histories and in the First Emperor's stele inscriptions.[528] The wall, which has obvious Roman parallels, not least the frontier walls built in Roman Britain under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, was the physical manifestation of Qin authority – and the limits of that authority – mapped onto the landscape. The wall – along with the advertisement of its construction on Qin Shi Huangdi's steles – embodies an unresolved tension between claims that Qin rule was universal and a preoccupation with "mapping" (literally or allegorically) the actual extent of empire.[529] The wall was, of course, a functional defensive fortification (and not principally a symbolic object). But this preoccupation and this tension were prominent features of other visual and physical expressions of Qin power; these fraught efforts to "map" the imperial world are another common feature of Qin and Augustan programs.

Fig. 5.16. Section of the pounded earth "Great Wall" at Guyang 固阳, Inner Mongolia 内蒙古. Qin 秦 period.

[528] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 88, 110; Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Mt. Tai 泰山 31: 昭隔内外…化及无穷, "He distinctly demarcated the inner and outer spheres….His transforming influence reaches without limit."
[529] Cf. Schneider 2012: 76.

Fig. 5.17. Reconstruction of the south elevation, Palace Number 1.

Just as the sculptures erected to represent conquered peoples or territories created "allegorical geographies," other projects undertaken by the two first emperors mapped their domains and their victories in visual, physical formats.[530] Qin Shi Huangdi imaged his new territories at the capital by transplanting his rivals' literal "halls of power" to the Qin capital, Xianyang, with each triumph he achieved. As Sima Qian records:

> 秦每破诸侯写放其宫室作之咸阳北坂上南临渭自雍门以东至泾渭殿屋复道周阁相属所得诸侯美人钟鼓以充入之.
>
> Whenever Qin conquered one of its rivals, he would commission replicas of its palaces and halls and reconstruct them on the slope north of Xianyang, facing south over the Wei river. From Yongmen all the way to the Jing and Wei rivers, there were replica palaces, passages, and walled pavilions, all filled with women, bells, and drums that Qin had taken from them. [531]

These foreign women might be compared to the foreign women and children of the *Ara Pacis* and also to the real people Augustus transplanted to Rome;[532] but the palaces themselves are even more interesting vis-à-vis Rome. The extensive excavation of Qin Xianyang, and the publication of its results, has provided a far clearer picture of the First

[530] On "mapping" and imperial power, see Edney 1990; Day 2008.
[531] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6. According to Kinoshita (2007) 84, these palaces may have numbered in the hundreds. See also Lu Q. 陆青松 2010.
[532] Augustus boasts about the royal captives he brought to Rome (*RGDA* 4: *in triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi novem*) we know that less regal captives composed much of Roman triumphal processions.

Emperor's capital in recent years than we have possessed in the past.[533] The results of these excavations, published piecemeal and incompletely (and often inaccessibly) in the past are presented cohesively in 陕西省考古研究所編著 Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 2004; they have so far revealed a "palace city" compound within Xianyang, incorporating seven individual palatial buildings within this compound, four of which have been excavated (Figs. 5.17, 5.18).[534] A further nineteen buildings of similar scale have been identified at the capital outside of the "palace city," and the sites of so-called suburban palaces (which served, perhaps, as hunting retreats) have also been identified approximately 3.5 km east and 9 km north of the metropolis. Because the palaces themselves were built of far less durable materials than most Roman state buildings, much of the archaeological remnants of these structures consist of the building foundations, ceramic objects and architectural accessories, and luxury objects from within the palaces, although they have also revealed, for example, fragments of elaborately painted interior walls.[535] This remarkable number of palaces is believed by the archaeologists involved in excavating Qin Xianyang to correspond to Sima Qian's claim.[536] As a metaphor "map" of conquered territories, this scheme fits into a larger allegory, recently described in compelling terms by David Pankenier,[537] in which the landscape of the emperor's new capital served as a terrestrial analogue for cosmos as a whole.

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[533] Han 韩保全 1996; *Han Changan cheng Weiyang gong* 汉长安城未央宫 1996; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004; Kinoshita 2007.
[534] Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004: 795-7, 801. Cf. Lewis 2006: 171; Kinoshita 2007: 84; Lu Q 陆青松. 2010; Sanft 2013.
[535] Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004: 795-7, 801.
[536] Ibid.: 801.
[537] Pankenier 2015: 45-57.

Ovid wrote that when Augustus staged a mock naval battle at Rome in 2 BC, so many spectators came and from such far-flung places, that the "world was in the city," *orbis in urbe*.[538] Such playful literary use of the words *urbs* and *orbis* was frequent in Augustan writing, often in more politically charged contexts (e.g., *Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem*),[539] and Rome's claim to world domination is well known in other contemporary literary references.[540] The *orbis* was also projected onto the urban fabric of Rome in more permanent, physical ways, and the concept of recreating the *orbis in urbe* was, like *pax victoriis*, one of the primary guises in which the Augustan victory narrative appeared in the contemporary monumental and visual program.

Fig. 5.18. Reconstruction and perspective drawing, Palace Number 1.

[538] Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.174.
[539] Id., *Fast.* 2.684. On the use of this trope in Propertius and Pliny, see Nicolet 1991: 110-11.
[540] Among the more famous are Hor., *Carm.* 1.12.49-52, 4.15.17; Verg., *Aen.* 1.282, 6.847-53; Suet., *Aug.* 40. On the concept of Roman "world domination," see Ando 2000: 286; Woolf 2001: 317-19; Edwards and Woolf 2004; Bang and Kołodziejczyk 2012b: 20, 30-32; Schneider 2012: 76.

As we have seen already, this project of mapping the world onto the city was manifest in the depictions of foreigners broadcast at Augustan Rome and at Qin Shi Huangdi's capital;[541] and in the deployment of exotica at the imperial funerary sites and elsewhere. During the principate of Augustus, as under his successors, many of these images were crafted and manipulated to give the impression that the *princeps* had expanded the empire and the limits of the known world.[542] A more explicit depiction of the *orbis* created in Augustan Rome was the so-called Map of Agrippa at the *Porticus Vipsania*. The porticus was initiated by Agrippa's sister, Vipsania Polla, and completed under the auspices of Augustus.[543] The "map" (if it was, indeed, a map) is most famously described by Pliny, who also juxtaposes *urbs* and *orbis*: *orbem terrarum urbi spectandum.* The nature of this "map" is much debated; it is generally believed to be something more than the myriad depictions of globes or personifications of *oikumene* in Augustan images[544] – though those too are relevant as recreations, of a sort, of the world in the city.[545] The latest thinking understands the monument not exactly as a world map, but as a gallery of cartographic images of some kind, perhaps derived from the types of images displayed during triumphal processions.[546]

[541] "Allegorical geography:" Nicolet 1991: 47.
[542] Cf. Nicolet 1991: 24: "never before me, never as far."
[543] Cass. Dio 55.8.3-4; Nicolet 1991: 7.
[544] *Contra*: Brodersen 1995: 277-8.
[545] See Nicolet 1991: 35-41, 45 on these sorts of images.
[546] Nicolet 1991; Simon 2011. On the nature of "maps" in the Roman world: Salway 2012. Triumph images described by Appian, *B. Civ.* 21; id., *De Bell. Mith.* 116-17; Cass. Dio 55.10.6-8; Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 7.5.5-7; Ov., *Ars Am.* 1.215-28; Plin. (E.), *H.N.* 35.6; Tac., *Ann.* 2.41. See also Coarelli 2000: 11-12; Holliday 1997 for other primary sources. Cf. Hamberg 1945: Hölscher 2006: 40; 126-8; Holliday 1997: 138-40; La Rocca 2008.

The world was mapped onto the city of Rome in other ways as well: as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf have described, Augustan Rome became in itself an image of the world: the "physical fabric of the city gives plausibility –

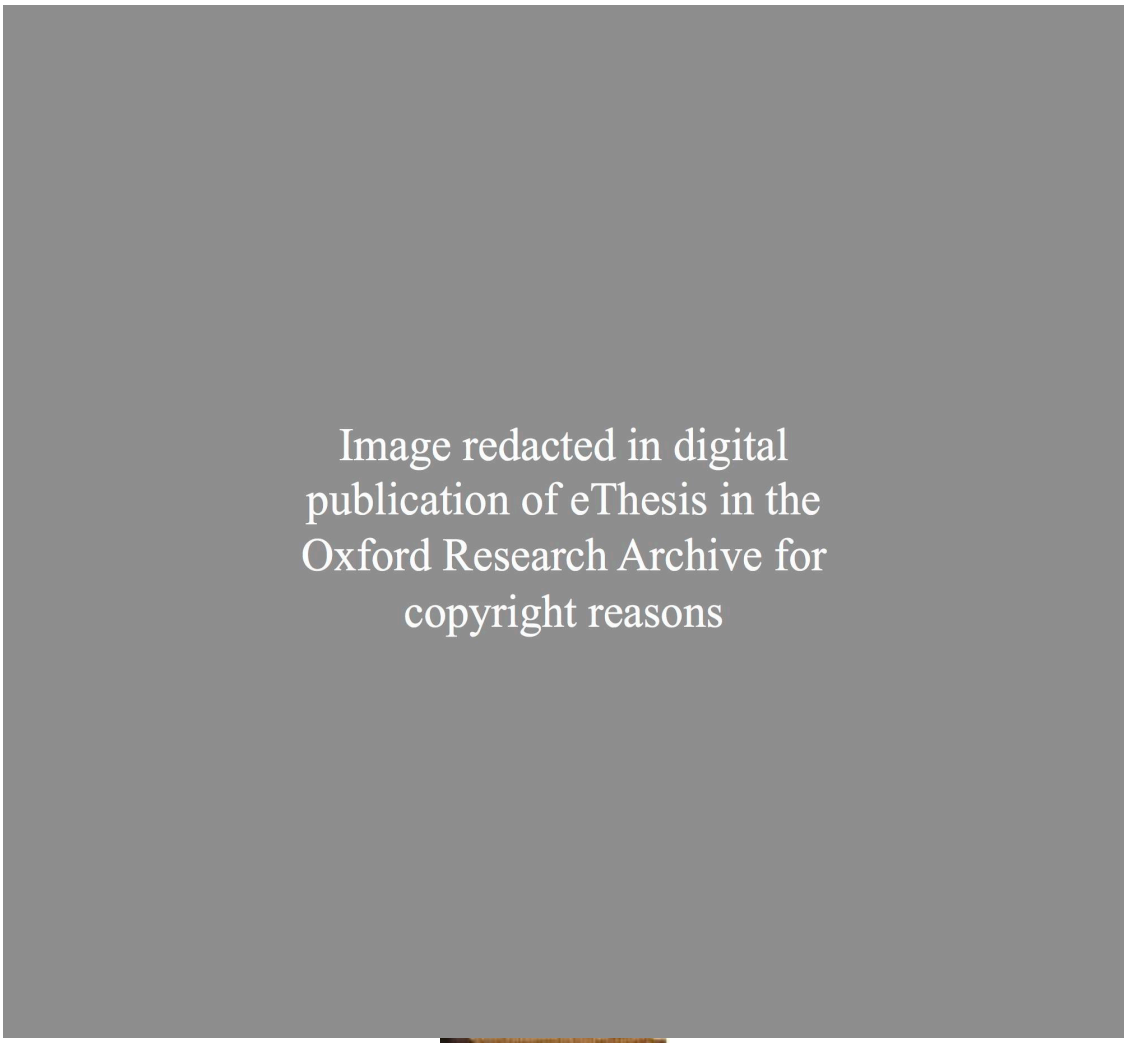

Fig. 5.19. The so-called Flaminian obelisk, first erected ca. *1300 BC at Heliopolis; erected on the* spina *of the Circus Maximus, Rome,* ca. *10 bc. Height: 23.2 m.*

authority even – to Rome's claim to rule the world. The greatness of the city at the same time serves to render comprehensible the extent of its vast empire."[547] Contemporary sources, such as Vitruvius, and those writing in the following decades, described Rome

[547] Edwards and Woolf 2004: 4. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2003. On the notion of "city as image," see Carl et al. 2000;

and her buildings as a microcosm.[548] When Augustus, as Suetonius famously wrote, left Rome a city of marble,[549] he also – we should remember – left it a city composed of luminous materials quarried in distant places and transported at great expense to the capital.[550] Under both Augustus and Qin Shi Huangdi, the *orbis* was actively and consciously recreated *in urbe*. The concept is nothing new for students of imperial Rome, although, as with the *shi er jin ren*, little consideration has been given to the First Chinese Emperor's palatial program in these terms.

While the geographic monument at the *Porticus Vipsania* and the depictions of globes and the like would surely have been understood with regard to the *princeps* and his martial prowess, the palaces of Qin Shi Huangdi were more explicitly linked to the emperor's conquests. In terms of their agency as signifiers and their direct causal relationship with victory on the battlefield,[551] they were like the spoils brought to Rome by Augustus, and his Republican predecessors and imperial successors. The range of examples and scholarship related to the subject of spoils in the Roman world is vast, but let us just consider briefly some of Augustus' Egyptian imports – either *bona fide* or by proxy – to the city of Rome in analogous terms to the Qin project. The most notable of these were the obelisks, which, like the "halls of power" recreated by Qin Shi Huangdi at Xianyang, dotted the landscape of the imperial capital and derived a special power from their status as captive, purpose-built symbols of authority from a different space and

[548] Vitr., *de Arch* 1. pr. 2; Plin., *N.H.* 36.101; Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 7.5.7.
[549] Suet., *Aug.* 28.
[550] Edwards and Woolf 2004: 2. See also Zanker 1990: 101-66.
[551] Signification: cf. Harrist 2008: 225: "a knock on a door signifies that someone is outside; a footprint indicates that someone has walked on a beach; strokes written with a brush record the movements of a writer's hand and arm…"

time.[552] One of these obelisks – the one resurrected near the *Ara Pacis* and the *Mausoleum Augusti* – was considered in Chapter 3; another was imported simultaneously and erected in the Circus Maximus in *ca.* 10 BC with the same inscription of conquest (Fig. 5.19); [553] Other references to Egypt in the urban construction projects of Augustan Rome were, like the Qin palaces, representations (rather than, like the obelisks, presentations of the genuine article). Anne Roullet and Penelope Davies have written about these visual references – and their close functional, conceptual and ideological alignment with true spoils – in great detail.[554] Many, like the Pyramid tomb of Gaius Cestius (constructed *ca.* 12 BC; Fig. 5.120), were private commissions which played on the *zeitgeist* and "buttressed" the official program.[555]

Fig. 5.20. Tomb of Gaius Cestius, Via Ostiensis, Rome. Ca. *15-12 BC. Height: 37 m.*

[552] Obelisks: Iversen 1968; Batta 1986; D'Onforio 1992; Ciampini 2004; Sorek 2010.
[553] Iversen 1968: 65; Ciampani 2004: 89. The obelisk was originally commissioned by Seti I before his death in *ca.* 1304 BC, and erected by Ramesses II shortly thereafter. Inscription is *CIL* 6.701, identical with *CIL* 6.702.
[554] Roullet 1972; Davies 2011
[555] Vout 2004: 177-81 ;Davies 2011: 357

Just as (re)presentations of the conquered world were created at Rome, either in proxy (as Cestius' pyramid) or in original (as the obelisks), the first Chinese emperor's projects seem to have followed the same logic (some two hundred years earlier). These projects emphasized the emperor's military qualifications; his warfare as a peace-bringing enterprise; his conquest as universal. They also emphasized the emperor as an individual, with a unique career; and they emphasized the complicity of the people who viewed and heard and wrote about these projects. This, as we shall see, was not true for Qin Shi Huangdi's successors.

Wu Hung, one of the few archaeologists to produce serious Western scholarship on the First August Thearch's monumental building program, actually benefits from a relatively uncluttered academic and historical vantage point in describing their agency (while Roman scholars, by contrast, readily admit that representations related to warfare were so prevalent as almost to "defy coherent discussion"[556]). He articulates the underlying logic of this program with a precision rarely found in Roman studies:

> The most significant aspect of this architectural project was its *timing* and *duration*: whenever a rival state was defeated and its capital razed, its palace was 'transplanted' or 'relocated' to Xianyang…. Here we find a fascinating example of monuments that symbolize both the constructive and destructive aspects of a military conquest. First, the monumentality of the duplicated palaces differed radically from that of their models: instead of demonstrating the political power and authority of their original owners, the duplicated palaces became evidence of their fall. Second, the construction of the duplicated palaces echoed the destruction of their models and therefore documented the Qin campaign[s].[557]

Wu goes on to distinguish "negative monuments" – the recreated palaces, and the statues made from the melted weapons of conquered states – from "positive monuments" – Qin

[556] Mattern 1999: 168.
[557] Wu 1995: 109.

Shi Huangdi's tomb and symbols of his own supremacy.[558] Even Polybius and Livy were puzzled by the appropriation of "other peoples' treasures" when the spoils of Syracuse were brought to Rome,[559] and could have profited from such an account. They are reminders to those of us who have studied and are accustomed to such things as spoils and the other visual evidences of victory, that the fundamental meanings and implications of such artefacts are not always straightforward.

[558] Ibid.: 110.
[559] Polyb. 9.10; Livy 25.40.1.

Chapter 6

Representation and reality: images of war in the post-Augustan Principate and the Han Dynasty

"…such charisma as flowed from military achievement to the office that Augustus had endowed…remained there for his successors to bank or lose."
- Clifford Ando[560]

为天下笑者何也仁义不施而攻守之势异也
"Qin became the laughing stock of the world. Why? Because it failed to rule with humanity and righteousness, and did not realize that the power to attack, and the power to retain what one has thereby won, are not the same."
- Jia Yi 贾谊 [561]

The previous chapter argued that the martial images and monuments promulgated to promote the prestige and authority of China's first emperor and Rome's first *princeps* were remarkably similar in terms of form and theme, promoting recognition for the individual personage of the emperor and his peace-bringing, "world"-conquering success. This chapter now looks at the images related to war and conquest created during the reigns of their successors: the Han emperors and Roman *principes*.

From convergence to divergence

Succession following the first emperor was – unsurprisingly, perhaps – a complex proposition in both the Roman and Chinese empires. Qin Shi Huangdi died on September 10, 210 BC, in Shaqiu 沙丘 in modern-day Hebei 河北 province, some 650 km from his capital. According to Sima Qian,[562] the emperor's death was kept secret by one of his senior advisors, Zhao Gao 趙高; Prime Minister Li Si 李斯; Prince Huhai 胡亥 (a younger son of the emperor); and a small number of attendants and eunuchs. The

[560] Ando 2000: 278.
[561] Preserved in Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6.
[562] The account in this paragraph is based on Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6.

emperor's corpse was concealed in the closed imperial carriage, to which the emperor's closest attendants continued to deliver meals and documents as the retinue made its way back to the capital; Zhao Gao and Li Si ordered that each carriage be loaded with a picul of dried fish to disguise the smell of the emperor's rotting flesh. Meanwhile, the story goes, Zhao Gao and Li Si forged edicts ordering General Meng Tian 蒙恬 (the successful commander of Qin's campaigns against the Xiongnu) and Prince Fusu 扶, the emperor's eldest son, to commit suicide; another forged edict named the twenty-one-year-old Huhai as the emperor's heir. Intrigue and corruption dominated the inept Huhai's three-year reign, during which time he served as Zhao Gao's puppet, if we believe Sima Qian's account, and ordered the execution of the court's most loyal civil and military officials. As other officials and warlords began to rebel, Huhai committed suicide. The tumult that followed was, perhaps, not unlike the struggle for power that followed Nero's suicide. One of the warlords vying for power, Liu Bang, emerged victorious in the ensuing power struggle, declaring himself emperor of China and founder of the Han Dynasty.

This sequence of events was exceptional in the history of this period. For four hundred years after Liu Bang's seizure of power, there was only one other occasion on which succession to the Chinese imperial office was not hereditary (the reign of the "usurper" Wang Mang, AD 9-23). While in reality the Han court maintained virtually all of the fundamental structures of government developed under Qin Shi Huangdi, in public image it sought to distance itself from – and even define itself against – him and his perceived militarism.[563] As we shall see in this chapter, images of war produced in the

[563] Lewis 2007: 60-61, 72.

Han dynasty were almost all private commissions and bore little relation to the person of the emperor.

The post-Augustan succession was far from straightforward but transpired more smoothly than the events that followed Qin Shi Huangdi's death. With the untimely (and, Tacitus suggests, suspicious) deaths of Augustus' heirs apparent, his grandchildren and adopted sons Lucius and Gaius, in AD 2 and 4,[564] the *princeps* adopted his other grandson, Agrippa Postumus, and his stepson, Tiberius Nero, as new heirs.[565] Possibly because of the machinations of Tiberius' mother – Augustus' wife Livia – but in any case for reasons that are unclear, Agrippa Postumus was subsequently banished to Planasia (modern Pianosa) and murdered by one of his guards at the time of Augustus' death.[566] Tiberius, as emperor, oversaw Augustus' extensive posthumous honors and his apotheosis;[567] the themes and vehicles employed to celebrate the emperor's military achievements far and wide remained largely unchanged under the reigns of subsequent successors, becoming in fact more exaggerated as time passed, and especially as all pretense of hereditary succession eroded; for indeed, intrigue and violence became far more usual in Roman imperial succession over the following decades.

Argument

There is a sense among Romanists that the relationship between imperial power and images and objects relating to conquest and warfare is direct and automatic; that it

[564] Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.
[565] Suet. *Aug.* 65.1.
[566] See Scharf 2001 on Agrippa Postumus and his controversial history.
[567] Suet., *Aug.* 100.3; Cass. Dio 56.41.9.

requires no further explanation. Even the greatest minds in the field of Roman art history are able to state in an offhand sort of way that monuments and images "transform military victory and conquest into political power and lasting rule"[568] and that "[e]very new victory becomes automatically a justification of the ruler."[569] Comparison and contrast suggest that there was indeed an important relationship between such objects and images and imperial power in the Roman world, but that far from being an "automatic" process or straightforward general rule, this relationship was complex, dependent on cultural context and historical contingencies, and not to be taken for granted.

This chapter begins by arguing that the respective aftermaths of Shi Huangdi's and Augustus' demises were rather crucial accidents of history in terms of the visual expressions of imperial power promulgated under their successors. The precedent established during the Republic, corroborated by Hellenistic influences, and crystalized under Augustus – that depictions of conquest and military victory could help to promote the emperor's esteem and authority – was followed and indeed taken to ever greater extremes in the Roman world.[570] Martial images – especially those in the capital – became more explicit, more gruesome, violent and desperate, and often more closely linked to the emperor and the ideology of empire over time during the Roman Principate.

[568] Hölscher 2003: 36-7. Id. 2003: 12-13 also remarks that the "internal benefit" (i.e. the domestic political and legitimizing effects of war) has "more often than external conflict…been the primary motivation…for beginning a war." Other Roman archaeologists and art historians suggest, as if it were a general rule, that martial images produce "legitimacy" (to use a much-misunderstood word); see Lendon 2006 for examples. Lendon 2006: 58 has attacked the frequent but imprudent invocation of Weberian legitimacy or "strategies of legitimation" as a "one-size-fits-all explanation for many genuinely puzzling phenomena that surround Roman imperial government [()imperial coin types, imperial art, imperial buildings, imperial inscriptions[])]."
[569] Zanker 1990: 185.
[570] Cf. Ando 2000: 278.

They also became more hyperbolic: while such depictions were notionally "historical," "documentary" or "commemorative," representation often bore little resemblance to reality.

In China, on the other hand, Qin Shi Huangdi's reign was exceptional. Under the Han emperors, we see few of the innovative material and visual celebrations of conquest propagated under Qin Shi Huangdi:[571] indeed, images related to warfare became more limited in type and number, and – ostensibly – related neither to real events and achievements nor to political ideology. While victory-themed objects and images produced in the Roman Principate are so prevalent "as almost to defy coherent discussion,"[572] extant martial visual artefacts from the Han consist almost entirely of the following categories: the model funerary armies and warriors, some of which we have already seen; the sculpture of a horse trampling an enemy archer at Maoling (an artefact *sui generis* among extant Qin-Han objects; Fig. 3.17); and – surely the most predominant class of Han martial images – the Eastern Han stone battle reliefs, principally from private family shrines and tombs of mid-level officials and literati.

This chapter then explores a different dissonance between reality and representation with regard to these images of war and soldiery, focusing on this most prevalent class of Han martial images and their Roman comparanda. The Eastern Han battle reliefs (and indeed many of their Roman counterparts), I argue, possessed a far more complex relationship with real events and with political ideology than conventional,

[571] Lewis 2015: 212, 228.
[572] Mattern 1999: 168.

non-comparative scholarship appreciates. By comparing these two sets of images, and also by using the two independent sets of scholarship – each with its own hang-ups, strengths and preoccupations – to inform each other, I contend that the Han scenes are not pure genre, as many have claimed, and that they were crafted to reflect and engender certain politically-charged ideas, though this fact has seldom been recognized; and that, likewise, many martial images from the Roman world were not as strictly historical and political in their orientations as they have often been made to seem.

Martial emperors: political prestige and the art of war

Qin Shi Huangdi's Han successors and their court scholars and literati publicly denigrated the first emperor and the celebration of military might he cultivated, even as they quietly embraced and perpetuated the structures of government he introduced.[573] Liu Bang, or Han Gaozu 汉高祖 as the first Han emperor became known, intentionally promoted a very different image of himself, although he also won his power on the field of battle. The *Han Shu* 汉书 records that Gaozu himself stated:

> 夫運籌帷幄之中決勝千里之外吾不如子 房填國家…吾不如蕭何.
>
> In weaving plans in the tent and in making a victory certain at a distance of ten thousand *li*, I am not as good as Zi Fang. In subjugating an [enemy] state…I am not as good as Xiao He. [574]

The story may be apocryphal, and Gaozu's modesty may be feigned; but it correlates well with a more general "devaluation of military command"[575] in China's imperial ideology

[573] In Mark Edward Lewis' words, they made "a monster of a man who had provided the very model of imperial rule" (Lewis 2007: 72); see also id. 2015: 212 228.
[574] Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 汉书, Gaozu Ji Xia 高帝紀下.
[575] Rosenstein 2009: 42.

and the rejection of Qin Shi Huangdi's military ethos. Jia Yi 贾谊, an advisor and tutor in the early Han imperial court, wrote:

> 為天下笑者…夫并兼者高诈力…秦离战国而王天下其道不易其政不改是其所以取之守 之者〔无〕异也.
>
> Qin became the laughing stock of the world…. One who conquers the lands of others places emphasis on deceit and force…. Qin separated from the Warring States period and became ruler of the whole world, but it did not change its ways or alter its government. Thus, there was no difference in the means by which they conquered and the means by which they tried to hold it. [576]

It is notable that China scholars in the present day have often restated these reasons for Qin's fall without comment and as if they were objectively true; as if it were perfectly obvious that expansion, conquest, and the construction of grand, labor-intensive monuments commemorating these events are missteps of the first order under any circumstance, inexorably bound to be poorly received and effectively dooming the leader foolish or perverse enough to undertake such endeavors:

> Qin engaged in an orgy of expansion and building that had little logic except employing Warring States institutions that had been rendered obsolete by their own success. Armies were launched on massive, pointless expeditions to the south, north, and northeast. Colossal [building] projects…were initiated…. A state created for warfare and expansion, Qin wasted its strength – and alienated its newly conquered people – by fighting and expanding when there were no useful worlds left to conquer. [577]

These views are especially ironic in light of the contrasting narratives advanced in Roman studies: "[S]uch charisma as flowed from military achievement," writes Clifford Ando, for instance, "to the office that Augustus had endowed…remained there for his successors to bank or lose."[578] The comparative approach suggests that neither of these

[576] Jia Yi 贾谊 in Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6.
[577] Lewis 2007: 71. Gideon Shelach (2013: 114) agrees: "explanations put forward by Jia Yi and reiterated by generations of historians ever since are valid."
[578] Ando 2000: 278.

paths should be taken for granted. As the previous chapter argued, the two first emperors were strikingly similar with regard to artistic, architectural and artefactual representations of conquest during their reigns. The very different sequences of events following the death of each of these men meant that one was demonized and the other revered – with dramatic consequences for the use of martial images under their successors. At the same time, the use of war and victory images for political advantage was historically entrenched in the Roman Mediterranean, while Han China possessed a predilection for monarchy and a true imperial office.

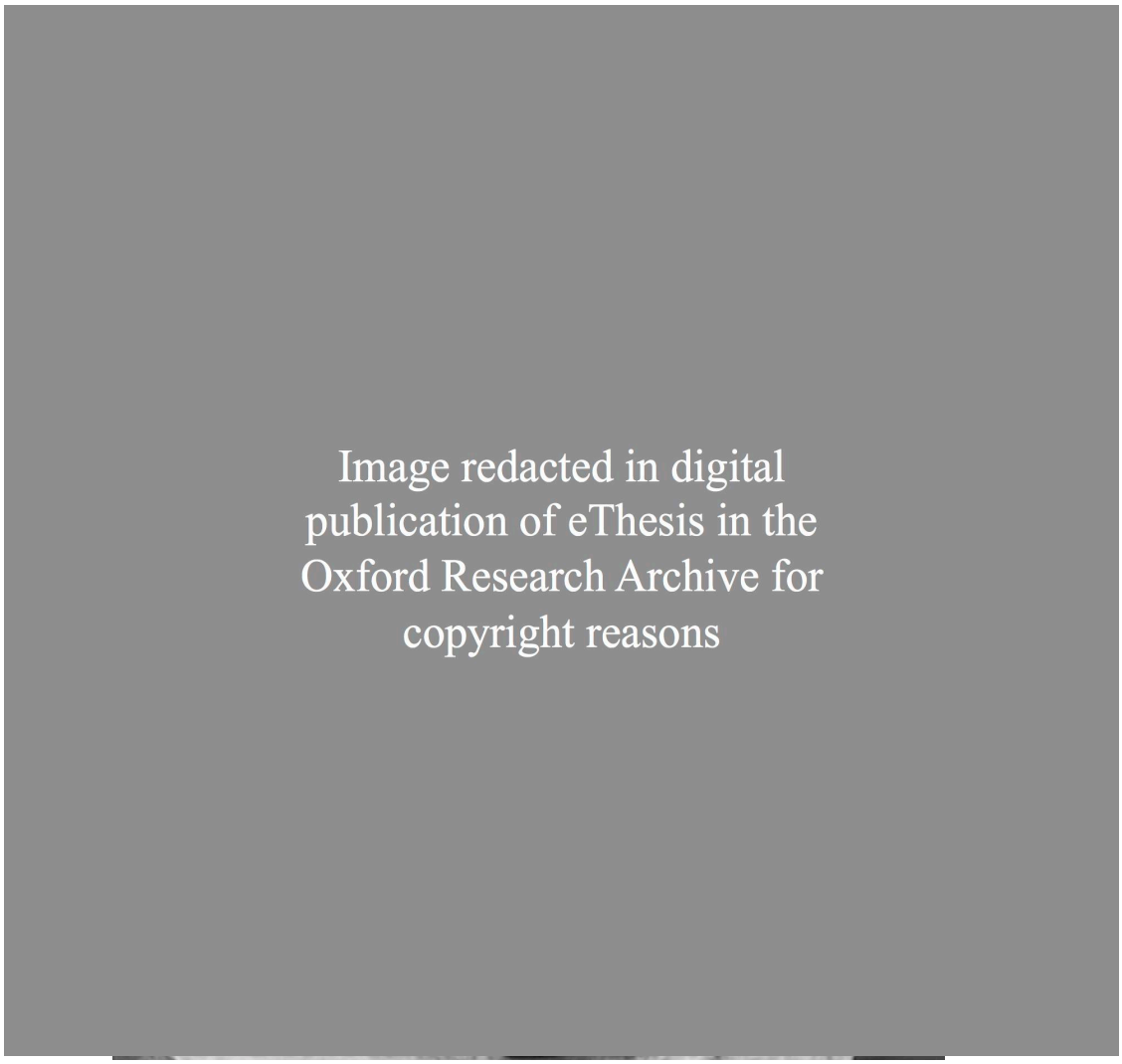

Fig. 6.1. Nero and Armenia. Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. First century AD. Aphrodisias excavations inv. 80-141; Smith 2013: C 8. Height: 160 cm.

Indeed, without a systematic rule for succession, martial skill and "true" military achievement became golden measures against which Roman emperors were judged.[579] During the post-Augustan Principate, public images of conquest that were explicitly linked with the emperor became ever more prevalent, didactic and hyperbolic. The personal role of the emperor in warfare was inflated, while wretched, subdued and dying enemies were increasingly fetishized; and foreign conquest and expansion were celebrated and commemorated in increasingly shrill terms, even when the actuality of such successes on the field of battle was in doubt. Here, then, is one disparity of sorts between representation and reality.

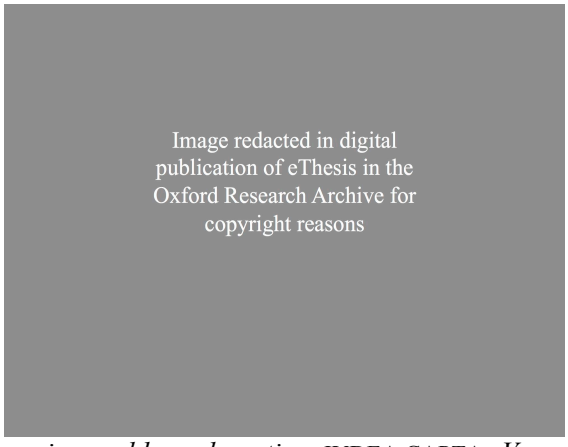

Fig. 6.2. Judaea in mourning and bound captive; IVDEA CAPTA*; Vespasianic sestertius RIC II: Vespasian 159.*

Post-Augustan emperors were depicted in modes not seen under the first *princeps*. In the provincial art of the Julio-Claudians, the emperor began to be depicted killing and subduing the enemy himself. The relief panels from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (first century AD; Figs. 1.5, 6.1) – although they are certainly different from the more "orthodox" depictions of Julio-Claudian emperors one might find in the capital – are

[579] See, e.g., Suet., *Tib*. 21; *Claud*. 17; *Tit.* 3-4; *Dom*. 1-2; Mart. 2.2.1-4; Stat. *Theb.* 1.18-20; Stat. *Achil.* 1.14-19; Plin. (Y) *Pan.* 9.2.

representative of the didactic, even blunt, violent visual shorthand for imperial conquest to which the Roman world became so accustomed. The Flavians and their supporters deployed images of abject enemies and spoils on a grand scale, celebrating (for reasons of political expediency, surely) their suppression of the civil uprising in Judaea as a full-fledged empire-expanding victory over a foreign foe[580] – on coinage (Fig. 6.2), in the Templum Pacis (dedicated AD 75), on Titus' Arch (*ca.* AD 82); even the Flavian Amphitheater (*ca.* AD 80) was billed as a monument to their Judaean victory, bearing as it did the inscription EX MANUBIIS, "from the spoils of war."[581] Domitian was the first emperor to adopt the *nomen ex gente victa* when he took the title *Germanicus* in AD 83;[582] (his successors followed suit with dubious but much-publicized victory titles in greater quantities). But Domitian was not the first to be accused of receiving sham victory honors and exaggerating his military credentials; imperial victory claimed, vaunted and celebrated (for political benefit) in spectacle, monument and art – but not earned – is a famous Roman literary trope.[583] In the Trajanic age, gory images of the emperor as an all-conquering hero (accompanied by images of wretched, and now also dead or dying, enemies) – not unlike the Sebasteion reliefs – appeared not only in provincial visual media, but also on coinage and in the capital itself. The Great Trajanic Frieze (*ca.* AD

[580] As Fergus Millar (2005: 102) has pointed out, this was "the only triumph ever held to celebrate victory over a provincial population." Cf. Yavetz 1975: 432 *n.*70, which refers to the campaign as a "police action."
[581] Alföldy 1995: 208-15. See Millar 2005 on "monuments to the Jewish War in Rome" generally.
[582] Buttrey 1980: 56. Gibson 2006: 116 (5.1.105*n*), summarizes the scholarship on the title's adoption date; see also Ramage 1989: 703; Jones 1992: 128-31, 224 *n.*9.
[583] The Germans, Tacitus famously remarked, were "triumphed over more than actually defeated," *triumphati magis quam victi sunt* (Tac., *Ger*. 37.6). Cf. Tac., *Agr*. 39.1 and, with reference to earlier emperors, Suet., *Gaius* 47.1; Ov., *Am.* 1.14.

Fig. 6.3. Statue of Hadrian crushing a barbarian underfoot; Hieraptyna, ca. *AD 120. Height 262 cm. (Cast from the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome, inv. 395).*

110-120; Fig. 3.16) depicts the emperor himself trampling enemy warriors,[584] while the spiral relief of Trajan's Column depicts the emperor at war and a victorious Roman campaign in sometimes gruesome detail. These sorts of representations are far more explicit versions of the martial monuments and images created during Augustus' principate, which focused principally on the peaceful and glorious outcomes of war rather than the fighting itself. As Paul Zanker writes:

> [W]ar itself is not a subject of Augustan art, as it would be later under the empire…. Later Tacitus (*Annals* 1.9.5; 10.4) would remark with sarcasm on the contrast between the official imagery and reality: *pacem sine dubio…verum cruentam*. Peace there was, without question, but a bloody one. [585]

[584] On this monument and its possible context, see Leander Touati 1987; Packer 1997: 113.
[585] Zanker 1990: 187.

Fig. 6.4. Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. AD *176. The statue originally included a Sarmatian warrior crouching beneath the hoof. Height: 4.24 m. (Museo Capitolino, Rome, inv. MC3247).*

Hadrian is depicted crushing an infant-sized barbarian not under a horse's hoof, but under his own left foot in a portrait type that Richard Gergel has argued "might represent an approved type, sanctioned by Rome, for dissemination"[586] (Fig. 6.3). The Column of Marcus Aurelius (*ca.* AD 176) adopted the format and themes of Trajan's Column, but with yet gorier scenes of enemy bloodshed, suffering and death; with fewer of the intervening, non-battle episodes; and with greater priority given to the emperor's visibility.[587] The equestrian statue of Marcus (*ca.* AD 176; Fig. 6.4), meanwhile, which surely draws on earlier examples,[588] depicted a vanquished Sarmatian warrior cowering beneath the hoof of the (merciful) *princeps*' horse.[589]

[586] Gergel 2004: 386.
[587] Hannestad 1988: 263-64; Ferris 2009: 45. See also Coarelli 2008. On modern responses and (mis)readings of the goriest images on this column, see: Pirson 1996: 140, 167; Smith 2002: 82.
[588] Cf. the extant equestrian statue of Domitian from the Sacellum of the Augustales Miseno (Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei nel Castello di Baia, inv. 155743; Muscettola 2000: no.

Fig. 6.5. Statue of a horse crushing a bow-wielding Xiongnu 匈奴 warrior, tomb of General Huo Qubing 霍去病, satellite tomb of Maoling 茂陵 funerary site of Emperor Wudi 武帝; 140-117 BC. Height: 1.68 m. (Maoling Museum, Xingping).

While Roman martial images became more prolific during the post-Augustan Principate, there are relatively few extant visual artefacts related to war produced under Qin Shi Huangdi's Han successors. The closest Han parallel to these images – the "didactic, blunt, violent visual shorthands for imperial conquest" as I refer to them above – is a rough-hewn stone statue of a horse crushing a bow wielding person – presumably a Xiongnu enemy. The sculpture (*ca.* 117 BC; Fig. 6.5), which stands near a tumulus attributed to the Han general Huo Qubing 霍去病 – itself a satellite tomb of Maoling, the burial site of Emperor Han Wudi – is the only known example of its kind;[590] indeed, it is

1., pp. 29-34; for the most comprehensive treatment, see Pozzi 1987), and the similar equestrian statue of Domitian described by Statius in *Silv*. 1.1 (see Thomas 2004 on this latter statue).

[589] The cowering Sarmatian warrior is attested by the 12th century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*: see Grant 1994: 137; Kinney 2002; Stewart 2012: 266.

[590] See Shen Li 沈琍 2010 for a recent review of research on this sculpture; He Xilin 賀西林. 2009 reconsiders its association with Huo Qubing.

one of the earliest examples of Chinese stone sculpture. Like the Roman images, it seems to be a powerful figurative statement about imperial military strength; and like the Roman images, it represents a somewhat distorted picture of real events (for these campaigns met with what might be termed "mixed results" at best). But the horse of Huo Qubing is far from a perfect analogue for the Roman images discussed above. It features no rider, and certainly no portrait statue of emperor Han Wudi atop the horse; (this is not surprising, for there is no portrait of any Qin-Han emperor anywhere in any medium). And its location was extra-urban. But even if we do decide to associate this image closely with the emperor Han Wudi (it was, after all, near his burial site), and even if, in spite of its location, we decide that there would have been some significant living audience for this statue (it was, after all, above-ground, unlike the terracotta army), it was nevertheless a one-off, created during the reign of the emperor posthumously known as Han Wudi – which translates as "The Martial Emperor." His military expansionism was exceptional during the Han, attracting the censure of his erudite advisors and even continuing to draw criticism from modern scholars.[591] In Rome – comparison compels us to understand – every emperor was, or at least had to appear to be, a martial emperor.

Uncomplicated windows

Having established that Han China and the post-Augustan Roman Principate followed dramatically divergent trajectories in terms of the relationship between martial images and the emperor's prestige and power following the deaths of their respective founder-emperors, this chapter will now turn in something of a different direction to look at privately commissioned Eastern Han battle reliefs and Roman comparanda.

[591] See, e.g., Waldron 1990: 42; McCurley 2005: 87.

Aside from the Huo Qubing statue and the model warriors deposited in elite and imperial tombs (discussed in Part II), there is only one other major category of Han war images: Eastern Han battle reliefs. As private commissions that make no explicit reference to the emperor himself, these reliefs are fundamentally different in purpose from the honorific Roman images reviewed above and cannot be considered as true functional parallels to them. That said, the Han reliefs comprised an element of ideological "spin" and – like many Roman battle reliefs, both private and public – occupied a gray area between the generic and the historical. These facts have been wholly unappreciated in conventional (non-comparative) scholarship.

These Han representations of warfare have long been a source of unease and antagonism within the community of Chinese archaeologists.[592] "Historical" readings have tended to connect such representations to specific, often obscure and chronologically distant events recorded in texts; they have even been tied to the proposal that such Han images must have been inspired directly by Romans (survivors from Crassus' defeated army)![593] The alternative to this approach is the generic reading, now more generally favored, which takes Han battle reliefs to be mere "stock" scenes: wholly disconnected from real events in the life of the empire and the earthly existence of their patrons, honorands and viewers, they represent the journey of the soul or universal, non-martial rituals according to this view.[594]

[592] See Bulling 1969 for some of the most grating invective.
[593] Dubs 1940; 1941; 1943; 1957.
[594] Berger 1980; James 1988-89; Wu 1989: 60-4; id. 1992; Thompson 1998; Wu 1998; Kim 金秉骏 2007; Wallace 2010.

A look at Roman historical reliefs related to war – and their scholarship – side-by-side with their Chinese counterparts suggests, however, that images of warfare may occupy a gray area between the generic and the historical, the ritual and the political. As "imagined realities," their relationship to these categories is not clear-cut. The false dilemma of particularism and pure genre has distracted from a richer understanding of these depictions. Existing theories about the spiritual and religious significance of the Han images need not be rejected; in fact, they are compatible with ideological and specific historical associations. At the same time, the comparative approach puts a healthy pressure on the conventional categorization of many Roman images as "historical" and the use of such images as documentary historical sources. My aim is not to deny that the Han motifs are "stock" or representative of a spiritual journey or to claim them as "simply silent memorials."[595] Rather, I conclude that conventional approaches on each side have something to offer the other, but on their own are too rigid: readings which discount entirely a historical basis or ideological charge for many of the battle scenes in Han shrines and tombs do so, it seems, on false criteria.

An integral part of the vocabulary of modern scholarship on Roman images – so integral, in fact, that the terminology is rarely questioned or criticized[596] – is "historical relief" and "historical narrative."[597] Fundamentally, the "historical" label might be taken

[595] Rawson 2002: 126.
[596] Torelli 1982: 1: "the concept of 'historical reliefs' as such has not changed very much since the days of Wickhoff and continues to be accepted without any criticism by archaeologists, art historians, and scholars of antiquity." Torelli's statement is surely almost as true today as it was when he wrote it. Here might also be mentioned the term "biographical" as it is used in relation to, e.g., sarcophagus reliefs (Kampen 1981).
[597] Torelli 1982: 1; Stewart 2008: 117. Zanker 2011 refers instead to "so-called 'historical reliefs.'"

simply to mean "non-mythological" and thereby divide the content of Roman representation into two neat categories. No such division exists in current thinking about Han images. But "historical" is not a purely negative definition: it is a perceived concentration "on the 'real' and the specific," "an apparently documentary interest in specific events" in Roman images, that gives rise to the term.[598]

The question of historicity of content is, of course, inextricably linked to questions of ideology, power and purpose: alleged historicity correlates to the public, political purposes of Roman images of warfare. As Peter Stewart describes:

> Such art does not make statements.... It could be argued that political imagery is more effective when presented this way. After all, ideology resides, to use Roland Barthes's phrase, in 'the decorative display of *what-goes-without-saying*'. Representational art serves this purpose especially well as…it appears to present things as they appear.[599]

It is not surprising then, that "it remains difficult for modern viewers not to look at such images and pictures as uncomplicated windows on the ancient world, unproblematic reflections of what it was like."[600] The relationship, or at least the purported relationship, between content and fact is far from trivial for our understanding of images' aims and functions and their relevance for imperial power; so is the way in which this relationship has been studied.

Roman triumphal paintings – depictions of battles and conquered peoples and lands – have been described by Appian, Dio, Josephus, Livy, Ovid, Pliny, Tacitus and

[598] Stewart 2008: 109-17.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Smith 2002: 79.

others.[601] Paraded through the city and ultimately displayed in temples and, perhaps, other public spaces, these paintings came in two varieties: Hellenistic continuous narratives, or topographical "bird's eye" views.[602] Just as the Romans learned from these paintings about events they could not witness themselves, modern scholars have used more permanent (stone) monuments (likely to have been inspired by the format and genre of triumphal painting) as sources on the Roman army's exploits.

The Column of Trajan and the Column of Marcus Aurelius (commissioned *ca.* AD 176[603]) are among those images taken most often as "windows" on historical events. Even if Conrad Cichorius' thesis that the friezes represented a complete and accurate portrayal has long been rejected,[604] they are still seen as "historical:"[605] even the most recently released monographs on Trajan's Column follow in the footsteps of Lino Rossi and aim specifically to use the monument as a resource for information on the real Dacian campaigns.[606] Rossi not only attempted "to tell a coherent story of the Dacian Wars by means of…pictures of the marble scroll taken on the spot all round [Trajan's] Column, and of detailed photographs, either from the casts or from the original reliefs" but he even referred to the frieze as if it *were* a series of photographs:

> The scroll begins with a sequence of pictures which are taken by an observer travelling up the Danube on a barge coming from the harbours of the Black Sea.

[601] Appian, *B. Civ.* 21; id., *De Bell. Mith.* 116-17; Cass. Dio 55.10.6-8; Joseph., *Bell. Iud.* 7.5.5-7; Ov., *Ars Am.* 1.215-28; Plin. (E.), *H.N.* 35.6; Tac., *Ann.* 2.41. See also Coarelli 2000: 11-12; Holliday 1997 for other sources.
[602] Hamberg 1945: Hölscher 2006: 40; 126-8; Holliday 1997: 138-40.
[603] Beckmann 2003: 20.
[604] Cichorius: 1896-1900. On Cichorius, see also Wheeler 2010: 1192.
[605] See, e.g., Kleiner 1992: 219; Coarelli 2000: 27-8.
[606] Antonescu 2009; Richter 2010.

> He is facing, on the right bank of the river, the plains of the Roman province of Moesia Inferior. It is March in the year AD 101...[607]

Among Rossi's more ambitious arguments was the correlation of individual shield blazons with specific army units (Fig. 4.17).[608] While more recent commentators have taken issue with some of his interpretations, fewer have found fault with the "History in Pictures" method more generally.[609] In fact, archaeological texts continue to mimic Rossi's objectives[610] and style ("The second Dacian War came about because Decebalus violated…the treaty. Trajan declares war and departs for Dacia…. Upon arrival at his destination, he offers a sacrifice against the backdrop of the bridge designed by Apollodorus…"[611]), while recent reevaluations of the Column have actually concluded that, if anything, the repetitive nature of the content actually makes it historically "more realistic."[612] The same applies to scholarly treatments of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, an instrument of "our desire to construct a linear narrative of the German campaigns."[613]

But the realm of martial imagery considered "historical" in Roman studies is wide-ranging,[614] and also includes, for example, the so-called "battle sarcophagi" of the Antonine age (AD 138-192). The "most famous" of these, perhaps, is the "Portonaccio

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[607] Rossi 1971: 130. Richmond 1982 (first published 1935) is one of the principal sources on the "authenticity" of the content of Trajan's Column reliefs and suggested that the images were likely based on "sketches made in the field" (see Hamberg 1945: 105).
[608] Rossi 1971: 108-20; see also Coulston 1990: 293.
[609] Rossi 1971: 130; see also Coulston 1990. It is Lehmann-Hartleben (1926: 1) who doubted this approach long ago.
[610] Antonescu 2009; Richter 2010.
[611] Kleiner 1992: 219.
[612] Coarelli 2000: 27-8.
[613] Beard 2000: 267 especially *n.* 12 complains about this tendency, citing Kleiner 1992: 295-301: "Afterward…Next…Next…then….Next….Next…The next scenes…The emperor continues…etc."
[614] Torelli 1982: 1 noted that "such a class of monuments is very heterogenous."

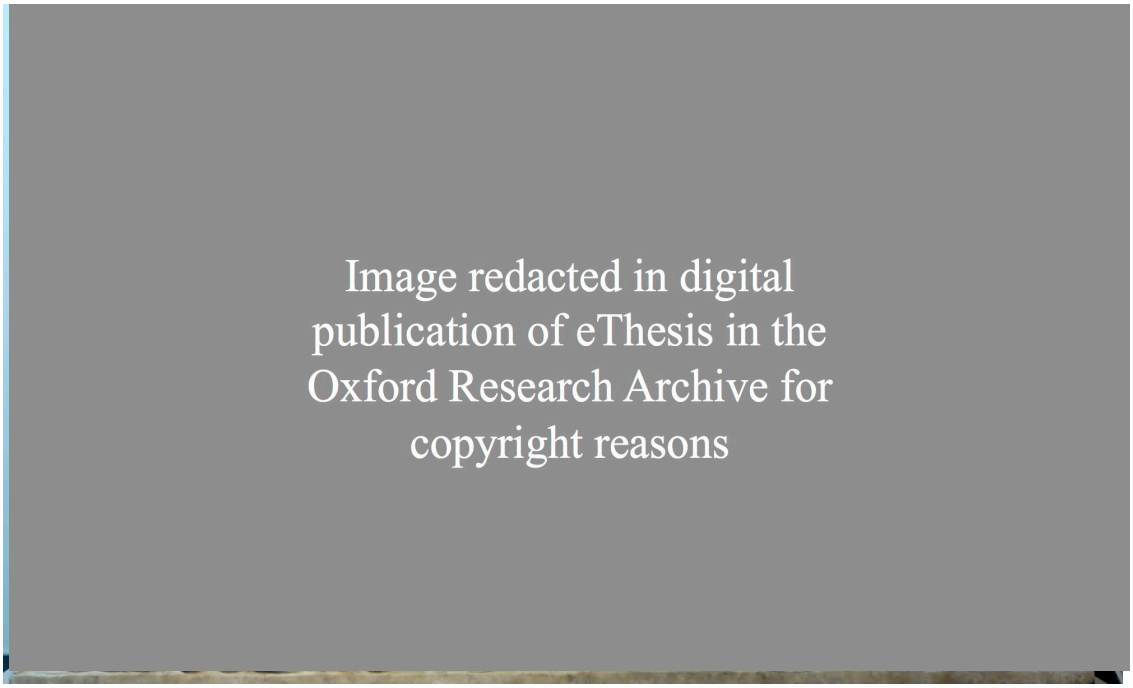

Fig. 6.6. The Portonaccio Sarcophagus. Ca. *AD 180. Found near the Via Tiburtina, Portonaccio, Rome. Height: 150 cm. (Rome: Museo Nazionale, inv. 112327).*

Sarcophagus" (*ca.* AD 180; Fig. 6.6), found near the Via delle Cave di Pietralata in Rome.[615] The mêlée, in which the dominant Romans form a central axis in a sea of "barbarians," is flanked by trophies and prisoners, while fallen enemies spread across the scene's lower edge: it is taken to be a moment from a "deceased general's life and work, and the central, mounted Roman (with either damaged or – much more probably – unfinished facial features) is taken to be the deceased himself.[616] While the identity of this person is unknown, some have attempted to use details of the relief (including the standards) to connect the sarcophagus to specific people, legions and battles.[617] The scenes on the small, upper frieze and on the sides (including submission and prisoner scenes) are also taken to be historical events, rendered, supposedly, with "extreme

[615] Museo Nazionale, Rome, inv. 112327.
[616] McCann 1978: 110-13.
[617] Hamberg 1945, 176.

Fig. 6.7. Wilma Fairbank's reconstruction of the stone Wu 武 family shrines, Shandong 山东. AD 147-170. Interior measurement of each shrine ca. *155-170 cm in height.*

Fig. 6.8. Bridge battle scene. Front shrine, Wu 武 family shrines, Shandong 山东. AD 147-170. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone.

documentary exactitude" in both detail (e.g., Suebian hair-knots) and overall conception (the organization of the German *levis armaturae pedites*).[618] Although we know, of course, that none of these images are "photographic," the temptation to read their content as fundamentally historical has proven powerful, and – given the scene's composition

[618] Ibid.: 176-7.

and the differences between the Romans' depiction and that of their enemies – its bearing on the politics of empire are obvious.

Generic battles?

These traditional approaches to the Roman material are very different from the methods of Chinese archaeologists in dealing with martial images; this difference has as much to do with scholarly conventions as it does with the images themselves (which often have much in common with their Roman counterparts).

In AD 147-170,[619] (between the construction of Trajan's Column and the creation of the "Portonaccio Sarcophagus"), a group of shrines was built in Shandong 山东, in Northeast China, dedicated to members of the Wu 武 family (Fig. 6.7). Wu Liang 武梁 (d. 151); his brother, Wu Kaiming 武开明 (d. 148);[620] and Wu Kaiming's sons, Wu Ban 武班 (d. 145) and Wu Rong 武荣 (d. 167) were mid-level civil and military officials in the Eastern Han. From epigraphic sources, we know that Wu Kaiming was a regional official ("assistant to the prefect of Wu Commandery") while his son Wu Ban died young as Deputy Commandant of Dunhuang 敦煌 on the extreme western frontier of the Han Empire; Wu Kaiming's other son, Wu Rong, was lieutenant commander of the "exterior palace guard."[621] It is not known with which of the family members these three stone shrines (traditionally labeled, confusingly, "Front Shrine," "Left Shrine," and "Shrine of

[619] James 1988-89; Clunas 2009: 33-5. For more thorough discussions of issues of dating, see: Wu 1989; Liu 2005; Nylan 2005.
[620] The personal name of "Wu Kaiming" is unknown, but "Kaiming" was his courtesy name. To avoid confusion, he is called by both his family name and courtesy name in this thesis. See Nylan 2005: 524 on this matter. On such shrines generally, see James 1998-99.
[621] Soper 1974, 251; Wu 1989: 25-7.

Wu Liang") were associated.[622] Each shrine was decorated in bas-relief with divine images and also with narrative scenes, to which Roman reliefs might be compared and contrasted.

Fig. 6.9. Bridge battle scene. Left shrine, Wu 武 family shrines, Shandong 山东. AD 147-170. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone.

Two of these scenes, one in the "Front Shrine" and one in the "Left Shrine," depict a battle on a bridge (Figs. 6.8, 6.9). While Roman battle reliefs (including those on funerary monuments) are generally taken to be "documentary" or "historical," the depictions in question at the Wu shrines are, according to the prevailing view, "generic" images, mere "stock motifs."[623] For similar images existed elsewhere, including in private burial chambers at Yinan 沂南 (Figs. 6.10, 6.11)[624] and Cangshan 苍山 (Fig. 6.12)[625] in Shandong and in a tomb at Xinye 新野, Henan 河南 province (all first and second century AD).[626] The excavation report for the Yinan tomb, published in 1956, did, in fact, speculate that the scene portrayed a "glorious" event from "the tomb occupant's

[622] Wu 1989: 28-9.
[623] "Stock" and "generic" in reference to funerary reliefs with martial themes: Zheng 1998: 57-9; Barbieri-Low 2007: 176-7.
[624] The principal report for this site is Ceng, Jiang and Li 曾昭燏, 蒋宝庚, 黎忠义 1956.
[625] On this tomb see Wu 1994.
[626] Rudolph 1965: 8-9; James 1982: 165-7; Zheng 1998: 57-9.

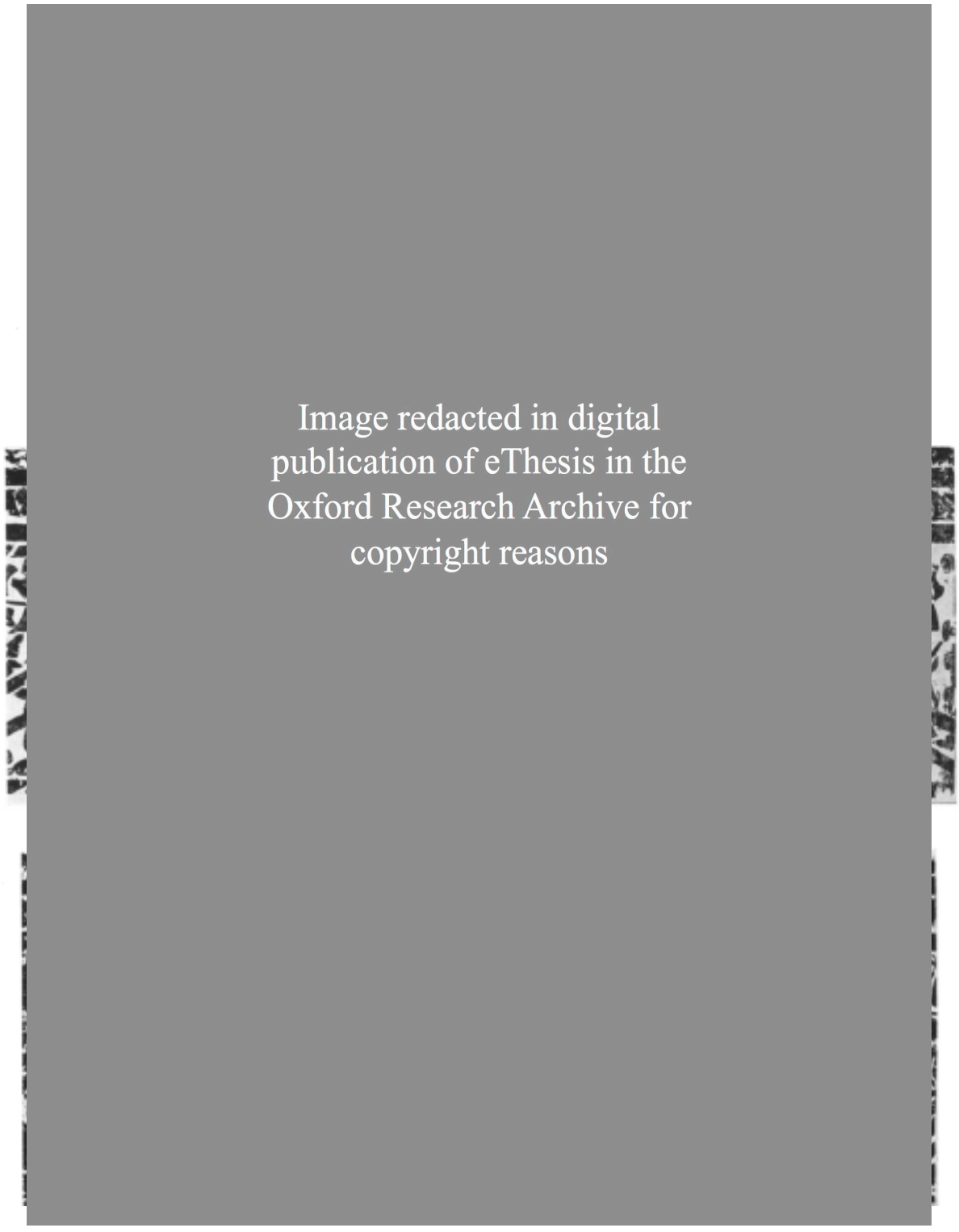

Fig. 6.10. Tomb lintel frieze. Beizhai 北寨 village, Yinan 沂南, Shandong 山东. Late second century AD. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone.

Fig. 6.11. Stone tomb lintel frieze. Beizhai 北寨 village, Yinan 沂南, Shandong 山东. Late second century AD.

life; that is, his leading the army in vanquishing the foreigners."[627] But this idea has now been almost universally rejected, in part simply because of the prevalence of similar motifs:[628] "the similarity of features and composition," Annaliese Bulling writes, "in the battle on the bridge scenes in other tombs and offering shrines contradict any assumption that they were meant to represent individual battles or single historical events."[629] Indeed, as early as 1912, "these stones" (as Berthold Laufer referred to Eastern Han battle friezes) were deemed unlikely "to arouse any particular interest; the representations exhibited on them present nothing new in principle, but merely well-known subjects and designs."[630] Far more recently, the details of these images have been dismissed as "quite uniform," and the images themselves deemed to be "as flat and unemotional as a puppet show…and without…unique artistry or emotional eloquence."[631]

[627] Ceng, Jiang and Li 曾昭燏, 蒋宝庚, 黎忠义 1956, quoted in Zheng 1998: 57-9.
[628] Zheng 1998: 57-9.
[629] Bulling 1966-67: 36.
[630] Laufer 1912: 107.
[631] Zheng 1998: 57-9.

Fig. 6.12. Bridge battle scene. Cangshan 苍山, Shandong 山东. Ca. AD 151. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone.

Some 150 km north of the Wu family shrines was another shrine, to an unknown honorand,[632] dated *ca.* AD 76-120, at Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 (Fig. 6.13).[633] A relief on the west wall of this shrine (Fig. 6.14) depicts a battle between Han Chinese cavalry and "barbarians" (*hu* 胡).[634] Even this image, which does not feature a bridge and which is very different in content and arrangement from the Yinan, Cangshan and Wu family reliefs, is often grouped with these other images as simply another example of the "stock" battle motif.[635]

Historical readings which connect the images to tomb occupants or shrine honorands have also been abandoned based on perceived physical impossibilities, anachronisms and anomolies (the battle is "oddly staged" and the chariots and attire

[632] For some suggestions, see Berger 1980: 53-4; James 1988-89: 40.
[633] James 1988-89: 40; Barbieri-Low 2007: fig. 5.8.
[634] An inscription identifies the seated figure in the lower right as the "barbarian king" (*huwang* 胡王).
[635] Berger 1976: 5; James 1988-89: 40; Zheng 1998: 57-9; Barbieri-Low 2007: 176. Barbieri-Low 2007: 177 proposes that this scene may represent the campaign of Chen Tang 陈汤 against Zhizhi Shanyu 郅支單于 in 36 BC.

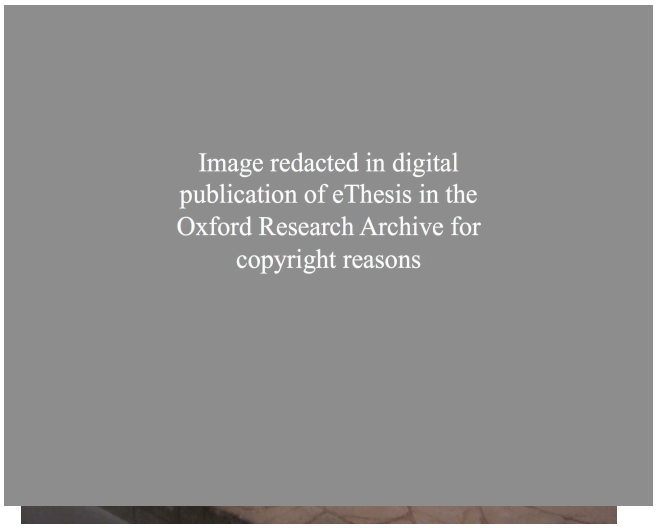

Fig. 6.13. Reconstruction of the Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 Shrine. Shandong Provincial Museum 山东博物馆, Jinan 济南. Original constructed AD 76-120. Height: 264 cm.

would have been "long out of use in the Han period"[636]) and on what some regard as "strange," unrealistic details and formatting ("weird sights such as a large head apparently floating in the air"[637]). Instead of showing a "real battle" with "real soldiers," then, these images are generally now perceived to show an event related to funerary ritual or beliefs about the afterlife.[638] Kim Byung-joon's 金秉骏 recent treatment of the bridge motif concludes that the bridge represents a path for the deceased to get to "the other world," while the battle represents the "adversity" and "hardship" of the process.[639] The escalating orthodoxy of this view is evidenced in the changing views of Jean James – on whose work Kim builds – who originally asserted that Han funerary battle images were "related to the careers of the deceased,"[640] but in a later article decided that they show "spirit armies" guiding the soul to a mythological paradise.[641] In the same vein, Annaliese Bulling, drawing on nineteenth and twentieth century ethnographic

[636] Soper 1954: 56; Bulling 1966-67: 36-8.
[637] Bulling 1966-67: 34-5.
[638] See Wu 1989: 60-4 for an overview of this idea's development.
[639] Kim 金秉骏 2007: 225-34. See also Thompson 1998.
[640] James 1982: 165.
[641] Ibid. 1988-89: 69-70. Cf. Rawson 2002.

analogies,[642] has actually contended that the scene shows no battle at all, but a dramatic performance staged at the funeral of the deceased to represent a perilous journey of the soul,[643] and Patricia Berger, in an influential doctoral dissertation, argued that "bridge battle" images depict an exorcism ritual.[644]

Fig. 6.14. West wall of the Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 shrine, Shandong 山东. AD 76-120. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone and line drawing.

[642] Bulling 1966-67; id. 1969. Berger 1980: 60-61 criticizes these analogies.
[643] See Wu 1989: 60-61.
[644] Berger 1980.

Bulling confesses that "nothing has survived of the literature of the Han period containing any precise information of speculations current at the time as to the metamorphosis of the soul."[645] Generic and afterlife-related readings are largely based on the content of the images themselves (including anachronisms and "strange" details) and on the mass "duplication" of these motifs.[646] The "hidden meanings" postulated by Bulling, Berger, James and Kim are, however, problematic in themselves: Berger's reading of the Wu shrine scenes as an exorcism, for example, concludes with the statement that "[n]one of this helps us" understand why there are very obvious "barbarian" types in the Yinan and Cangshan friezes, "unless the assistants of the exorcist sometimes wore barbarian garb."[647]

These problems, and the lack of literary evidence, have led to what is sometimes a fierce debate.[648] Alexander Soper concluded that the martial images in the Wu shrines were neither stock, ritual motifs, nor scenes from the life of the deceased (Wu Ban's participation in campaigns against northern "barbarians" on the Dunhuang frontier, for example) but instead showed the legendary King Wu Ding 武丁 (*ca.* 1200 BC) of the much earlier Shang dynasty fighting southern "barbarian demons;" by displaying this image on their shrines, Soper argues, the Wu family tried to associate themselves with a

[645] Bulling 1966-67: 26.
[646] Ibid.: 29-30
[647] Berger 1980: 77. This suggestion seems like a stretch, especially given the inscription at the Cangshan tomb: "…here appear official chariots and horsemen…. Together with them are the Chief of a Commune, the Assistant Commandant of Cavalry, and a barbarian drawing a cross-bow…" (trans. by Wu 1994: 93).
[648] James 1982: 165 politely referred to the "lively controversy." See especially Soper 1969 and Bulling 1969 for some of the most grating invective ("The only forceful evidence that Dr. Bulling can bring to bear in support of her hypothesis…;" "Dr. Soper's attack on my work in general and my last article in particular does not come as a surprise"). See also Soper 1968.

ruler of the same name.[649] This very specific reading is, of course, also problematic, given that the Yinan tomb's occupant was not, presumably, also trying to associate himself with Wu Ding.[650] Some have seen in the images other, specific and obscure events recorded in historical texts – such as the rebellion of Mother Lü 呂母 during the reign of Wang Mang 王莽.[651] Ironically, in light of arguments against historical interpretations based on the uniformity of details and "the similarity of features and composition,"[652] Hsio-yen Shih has also argued that "efforts to identify such scenes with any [one] historical event must be discarded, citing the "differences in content" of "the many representations" of such battle scenes.[653] The state of the field, then, pits highly specific, text-based readings against a conflicted argument that the images are generalized and unrelated to real events.

Gray areas

The Han battle reliefs need not mystify and divide modern viewers and scholars. Their Roman counterparts – and interpretations thereof – suggest that the caustic debate on whether the Han images are "generic" or historically particular may present a false dilemma. Scholarship on comparable Roman artefacts concentrates, somewhat paradoxically, on the historical and ideological qualities of these images, simultaneously mining the images for detailed historical information while noting that they are steeped in "spin" and ideological biases (Romans, disciplined and "impassive" in expression,

[649] Soper 1954.
[650] Wu 1989: 58-60.
[651] Soper 1974: 250.
[652] Bulling 1966-67: 36; Zheng 1998: 57-9.
[653] Shih 1959: 292.

consistently destroy "uncultured or 'effeminate' barbarians" with virtually no casualties to themselves and as if by manifest destiny[654]). The alleged historicity of content gives credibility to these ideas. But few, if any, have reflected on the ways in which the Han battle reliefs might manifest concepts of imperial power and ideology, drawing on both real events and on more general ideas about the imperial world order.

The modularity and "stock" nature of many Han dynasty shrine and tomb reliefs do not, in themselves, support an ahistorical perspective. The Han reliefs may have been created primarily from pattern sheets.[655] Workshops may even have created finished or near-finished reliefs without specific patrons or sites in mind. But Roman sarcophagi were also produced according to a definable set of motifs that were well known in workshops (if not "on spec," to be customized locally with an inscription or portrait of the deceased). In fact, this probably explains the unworked face of the central figure on the "Portonaccio Sarcophagus" (Fig. 6.6),[656] whose honorand was, we presume nevertheless, linked in some significant way to wars against Germanic enemies.

The idea that the profusion of bridge-battle scenes is mutually exclusive with their relationship to historical events seems similarly misguided. The recurrence of the motif does, of course, make the bridge battle a "stock" scene of sorts, but it need not be a "mere" stock scene. Like Roman designers and craftsmen, Han artisans worked from "a

[654] Welch 2006: 10. Isaac 2004: 19, 576 even refers to this ideology as a "pathology of racism." Cf. also Balsdon 1979: 25. No casualties: cf. the inscription on Claudius' Britannic victory arch proclaiming victory SINE VLLA IACTVURA (Barrett 1991: 10-12); "manifest destiny:" cf. Jones 2000: 480, 486.
[655] Laufer 1912: 107; Bulling 1966-67: 29-30; Berger 1976: 6-7; Powers 1991: 122-38; Barbieri-Low 2005: 492-5; id. 2007: 176.
[656] Brilliant 1984: 104; Kleiner 1992: 301; Ramage and Ramage 2005: 61.

set repertoire of forms and themes."[657] "Set forms" can, however, be employed to represent specific, historical events. This fact is well recognized on the Roman side, where, for example, a set of eleven relief panels originally designed, perhaps, for an arch erected in *ca.* AD 176 (eight of which were re-used in the attic of Constantine's Arch, and three of which are now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome[658]) are understood as both "stock scenes…repeated in almost stereotypical form [to represent a] whole campaign" from earlier images, and also as representations of the First Marcommanic War.[659]

Even the highly detailed continuous "epic" narratives of the triumphal columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius are formed, to some degree, from six "stock scenes, or *topoi*:"[660] journeys, building projects, sacrifice, *adlocutio*, battle, and enemy envoys and prisoners. These "types" are, of course, carefully varied, detailed and elaborated so as not to appear as truly repetitious. At the same time, the "stock" nature of the images actually promotes a "faithful reflection of reality" insofar as we take "reality" to refer to the *sorts* of exploits in which (real, specific) soldiers would have been engaged.[661] The battles themselves "provide typical representations *in genere* of the great pitched battles" but were surely intended to refer to real events in recent history,[662] while recent studies have shown that even individual figures were "stock" types (Fig. 6.15).[663] Moreover, the

[657] Leander Touati 1987: 122; Barbieri-Low 2007: 176. Laufer's comment that "[t]hese stones are not apt to arouse any particular interest" was followed by a remark on the "secondary interest" in the fact that "Han sculptors worked after…typical scenes and figures of a limited range of variability" (1912: 107).
[658] Inv. MC0807; MC0808; MC0809. On these panels, see Ryberg 1967.
[659] Hölscher 2006: 43.
[660] Clarke 2003: 34.
[661] Coarelli 2000: 27-8.
[662] Hamberg 1945: 163.
[663] Pirson 1996: 160-61; Beckmann 2003: 59-62.

whole of the Column of Marcus Aurelius is, in one way, a generic monument: the "stock" scenes of Trajan's Column were imitated on Marcus' (although with less emphasis on building projects), while several very specific components were copied almost exactly – including "the army's march across a pontoon bridge at the beginning of the frieze; the figure of Victory writing on a shield halfway up [and] the legionaries' assault on a barbarian gate in the *testudo* formation."[664] We do not conclude that bridge-crossing or the *testudo* formation only happened once in history, or that the whole frieze is an invented fairy-tale disconnected from reality entirely. We understand that these are visual memes, used both to record historical events and also to reinforce ideas about Roman dominance; in the same way, we might – indeed, we should – take the bridge to be a standard part of the visual vocabulary of Han narrative reliefs, a recognizable trope that encapsulates ideas of Han superiority and invincibility, imperial expansion and enrichment, and enhanced security in border regions. The same may be said of the stylized hills in which enemy soldiers usually hide in Han reliefs. When the Han friezes are viewed in this light – through the comparative lens, that is – we are able to appreciate just how rigid the usual interpretations and debates related to them really are.

Remarkably similar issues of structure, theme and detail in the Roman and Han images have been addressed in very different ways. The categorization of the Han reliefs as "generic," ahistorical, "uniform," uninteresting,[665] "flat and unemotional"[666] is surely due in part to the fact that they are traditionally studied from rather unclear, two-dimensional ink rubbings, or old photographs and prints of such rubbings. One major

[664] Clarke 2003: 46-7.
[665] Laufer 1912: 107.
[666] Zheng 1998: 57-9.

recent work even refers to these works as "Chinese shadows."[667] The less plastic, less realistic style of the Han reliefs in question, in comparison with the Roman battle reliefs, may also go some way to explaining the differences in treatment, even if we should like to think it would not.

Fig. 6.15. Standardized types on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. AD 176.

[667] Ruitenbeek 2002.

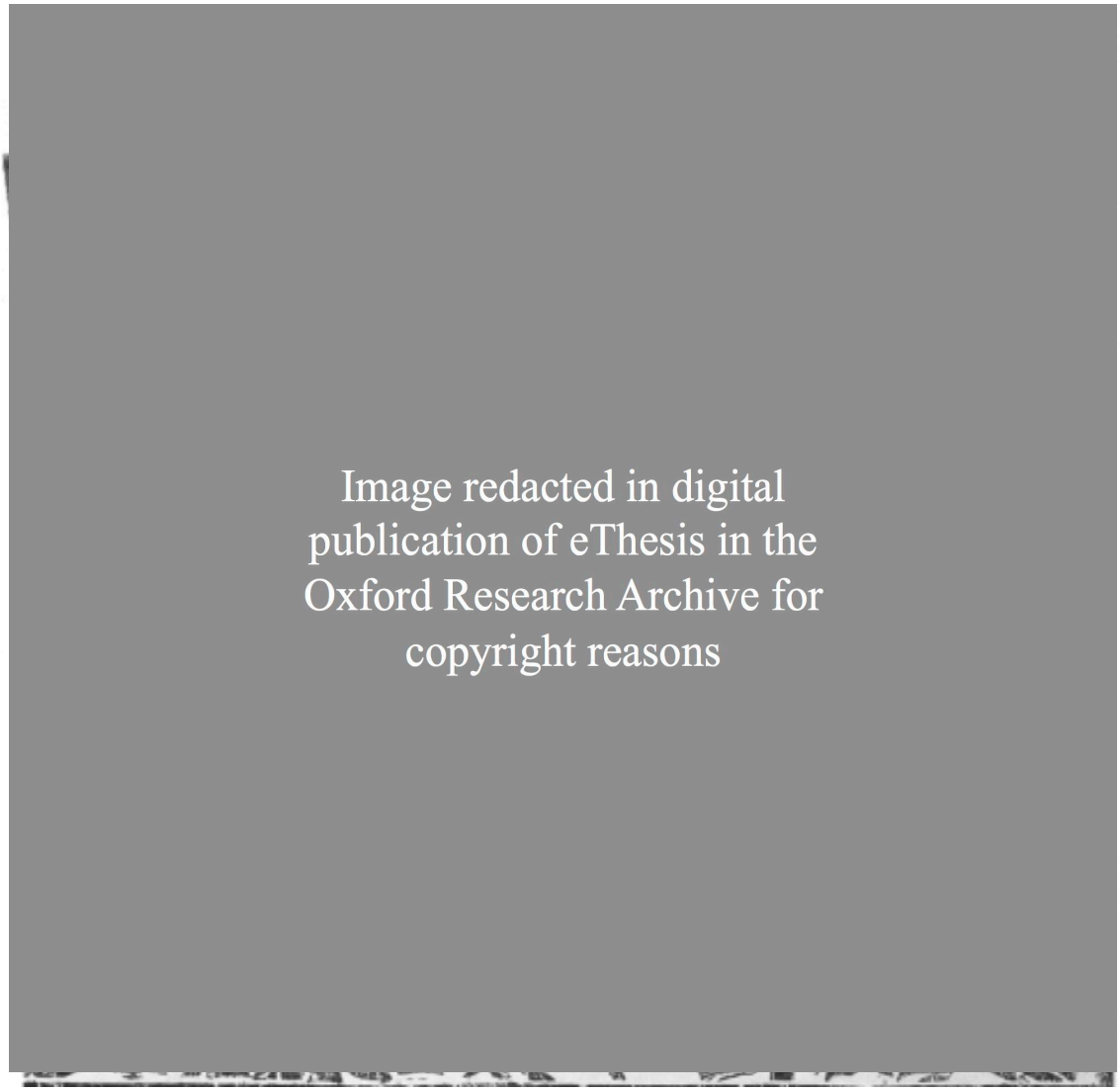

Fig. 6.16. Roman soldiers crossing a pontoon bridge in Trajan's first Dacian campaign. Scenes 4 and 5, Column of Trajan, Rome. Ca. AD 113. (Fig. 6.10 repeated below).

"With about thirty figures the artist has succeeded in depicting how an army of at least two legions and divided into two columns, each headed by its *legatus*, crosses the river on two pontoon-bridges," Per Gustaf Hamberg wrote of Scene 4 on Trajan's Column (Fig. 6.16).[668] And although similar images are repeated elsewhere, including several times on the Column of Marcus (Fig. 6.17), this particular image is surely intended to portray an event related to the Dacian Wars. While it only shows about thirty

[668] Hamberg 1945: 109.

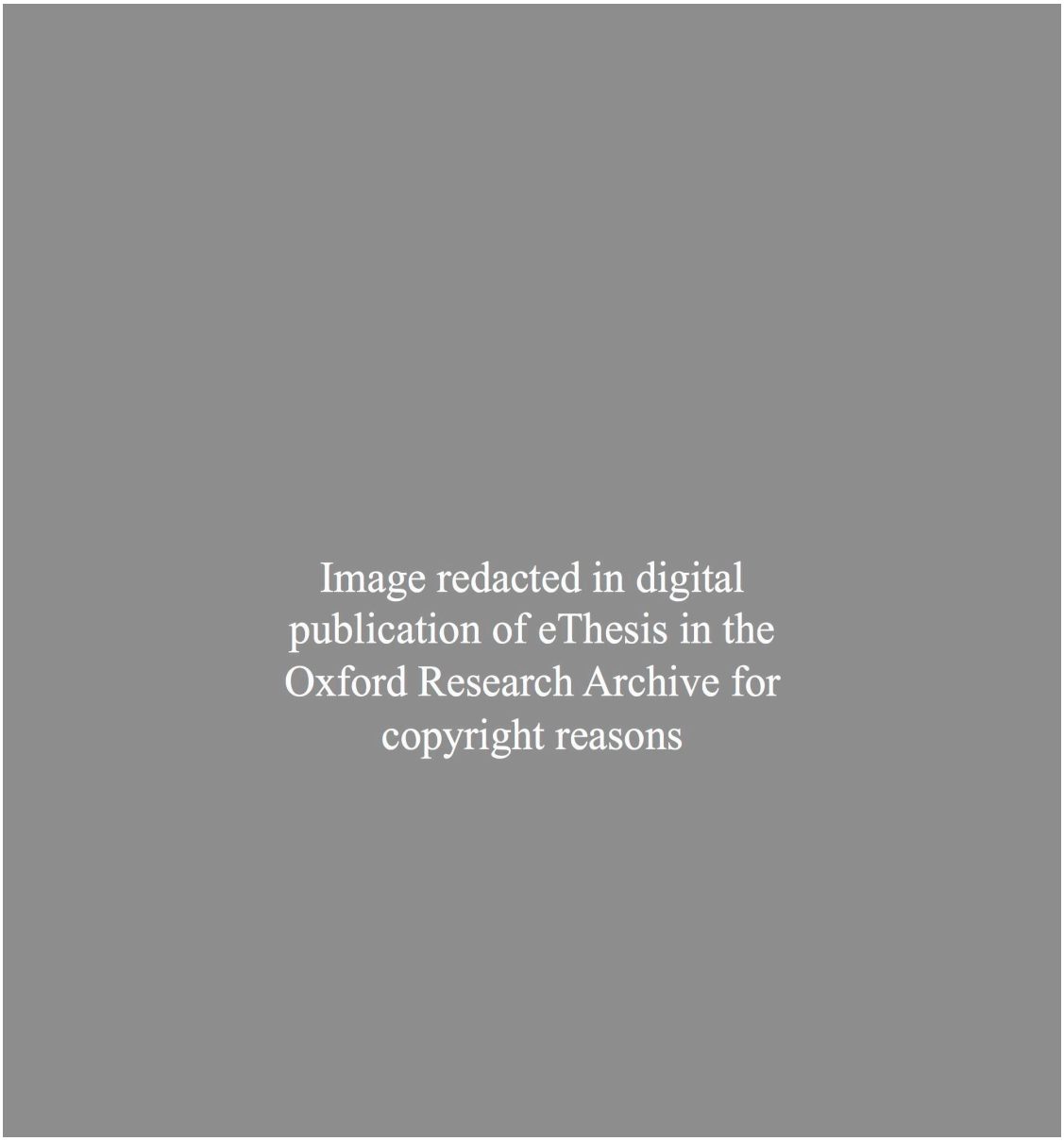

Fig. 6.17. Bridge-crossing scenes (Scenes 3, 78, 83, 107). Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. AD 176.

men, many more than thirty are understood to have participated in the real event (as Hamberg has so easily apprehended). This kind of reading has been denigrated when applied to Han reliefs, however. Annaliese Bulling mockingly describes the

interpretation of the Yinan "bridge battle" (Fig. 6.10) advanced by the authors of the original excavation report on the Yinan tomb:[669]

> They further argue that it would have been impossible to depict a real battle with activities spreading over a considerable area. The artist solved the problem [, they say,] by centering the battle on a bridge, leaving it to the imagination of the beholder to visualize large armies following on both sides.[670]

Referring to such views as "unfortunate," Bulling takes the image at face value, as it were, concluding that the "battle" depicted must actually be a play performed at funerals. Her conclusion and other ahistorical readings have largely been accepted:

> The bridges in all these pictures are rather flimsy structures hardly usable for daily traffic of chariots and riders. [They] are not supported by piers…. In fact, it is more reasonable to expect them to have been built solely for a play, especially as other features confirm that the pictures portray performances. The rivers are shallow and dry…[671]

Of course, Roman archaeologists and art historians have not taken the Milvian Bridge battle scene on Constantine's Arch (*ca.* AD 312-316) as a non-historical play, though the "bridge" there is even less convincing, the water even shallower (Fig. 6.18).

Fig. 6.18. "Battle of the Milvian Bridge." Relief from the southern face of the Arch of Constantine, Rome. Ca. AD 312-316.

A further source of confusion, which seems to lead to a strictly ahistorical reading of the Han battle scenes, is the structure of the scenes. If the protagonists are just coming face-to-face with the *hu* barbarians on the Xiaotangshan relief, how can they

[669] Ceng, Jiang and Li 曾昭燏, 蒋宝庚, 黎忠义 1956.
[670] Bulling 1966-67: 35-6.
[671] Ibid.: 35-7.

simultaneously present prisoners and enemy heads to their leaders (Fig. 6.19)? Similarly, how are the Han troops of the Yinan bridge relief able to bind and execute captives on the bridge, even as they are threatened by cross-bow-wielding enemies right before them? Why do some objects seem to be "floating" or "flying?" And where are most of the figures on the Wu family bridge scenes (those without a groundline) meant to be standing? On the bridge? Does the same figure appear several times in the same scene?[672]

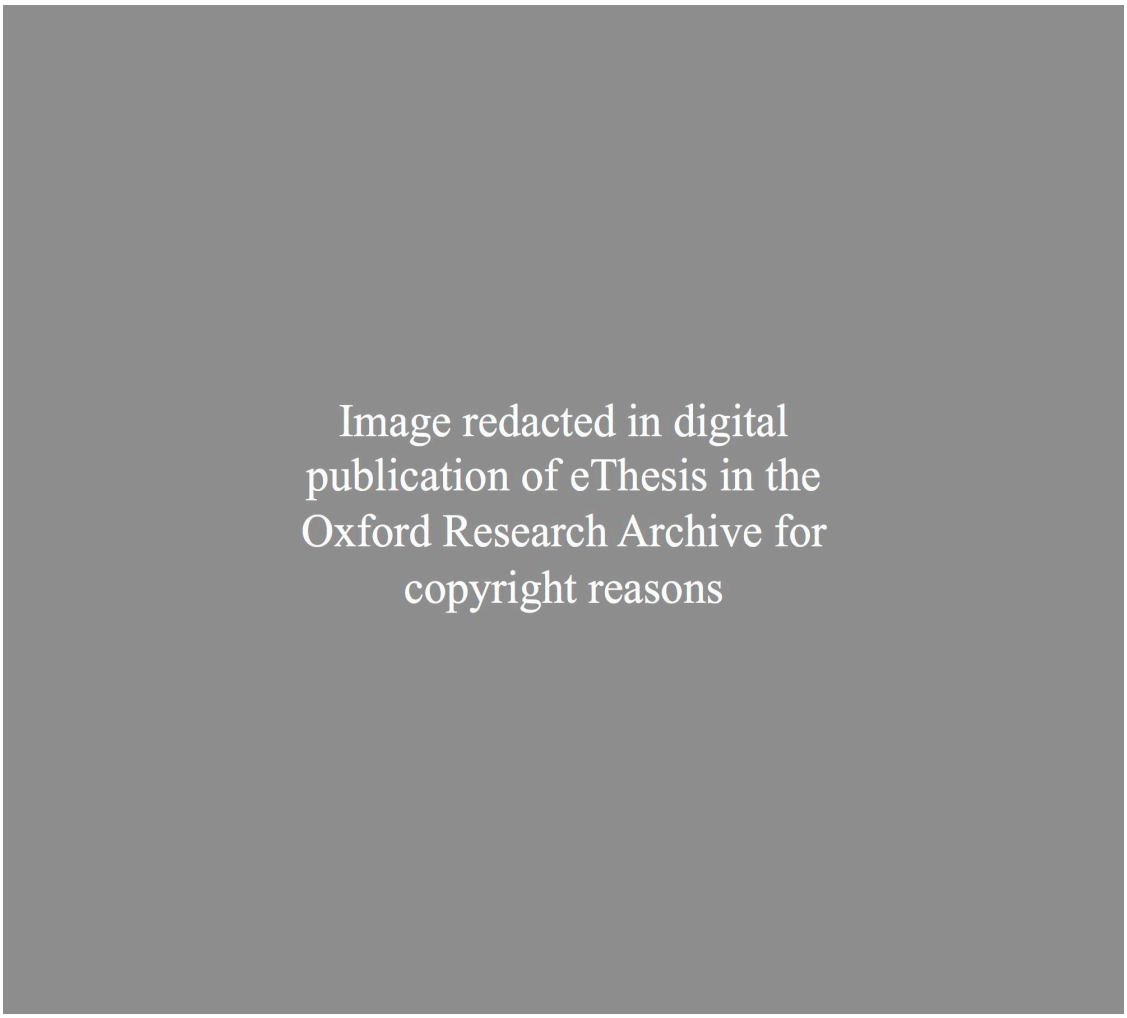

Fig. 6.19. At left: three captives kneel; two enemy heads hang on a rack with axes; center and right: Han cavalry rides to face the enemy, approaching from the hills; lower right: an enemy corpse. (Detail of Fig. 6.14).

[672] Soper 1954: 56; Bulling 1966-67: 35-8; James 1982: 165-7.

In fact, the contrived and compressed format of these images can be found also in the visual structure of the Great Trajanic Frieze (Fig. 3.16) and of scenes on the Columns of Marcus and Trajan. As on the "topographical" triumphal paintings, the "placing of all actors…on a single ground-line" was "abandoned on Trajan's Column."[673] The seemingly chaotic, "unrealistic" arrangement which has led some to believe that the Han battle reliefs must in fact depict (only) a dramatic performance or a cosmic scene from the afterlife, has been read to promote the clarity of historical themes and events in the case of these columns. Scene 20 of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, for example, is notoriously complex: it seems that the Roman forces simultaneously storm a village, set fire to its houses, "break the last resistance," and behead captives in the emperor's audience.[674] The scheme, like many others on the column, is simply a striking prolepsis, eliding attack into domination. In the case of Scene 50 (Fig. 6.20), Felix Pirson writes:

> Considering that only the uppermost of them has an opponent who rams his spear into his back, one might ask who has killed the others, since the Roman cavalry is just approaching. However, as we have seen…, narrative coherence can be neglected in favour of representing an unambiguous message of unopposed Roman superiority.[675]

Pirson's theory is, typically for Roman studies, ideological. Most notable, however, are the ways in which battle images create idealized versions of real events: they are simultaneously "stock," historically particular, unnatural and "real." Archaeologists of early China have been uncomfortable with this tension, while Roman archaeologists project an historical logic onto even the most confusing scenes.

[673] Pirson 1996: 147-8.
[674] Ibid.: 142.
[675] Ibid.: 150-51.

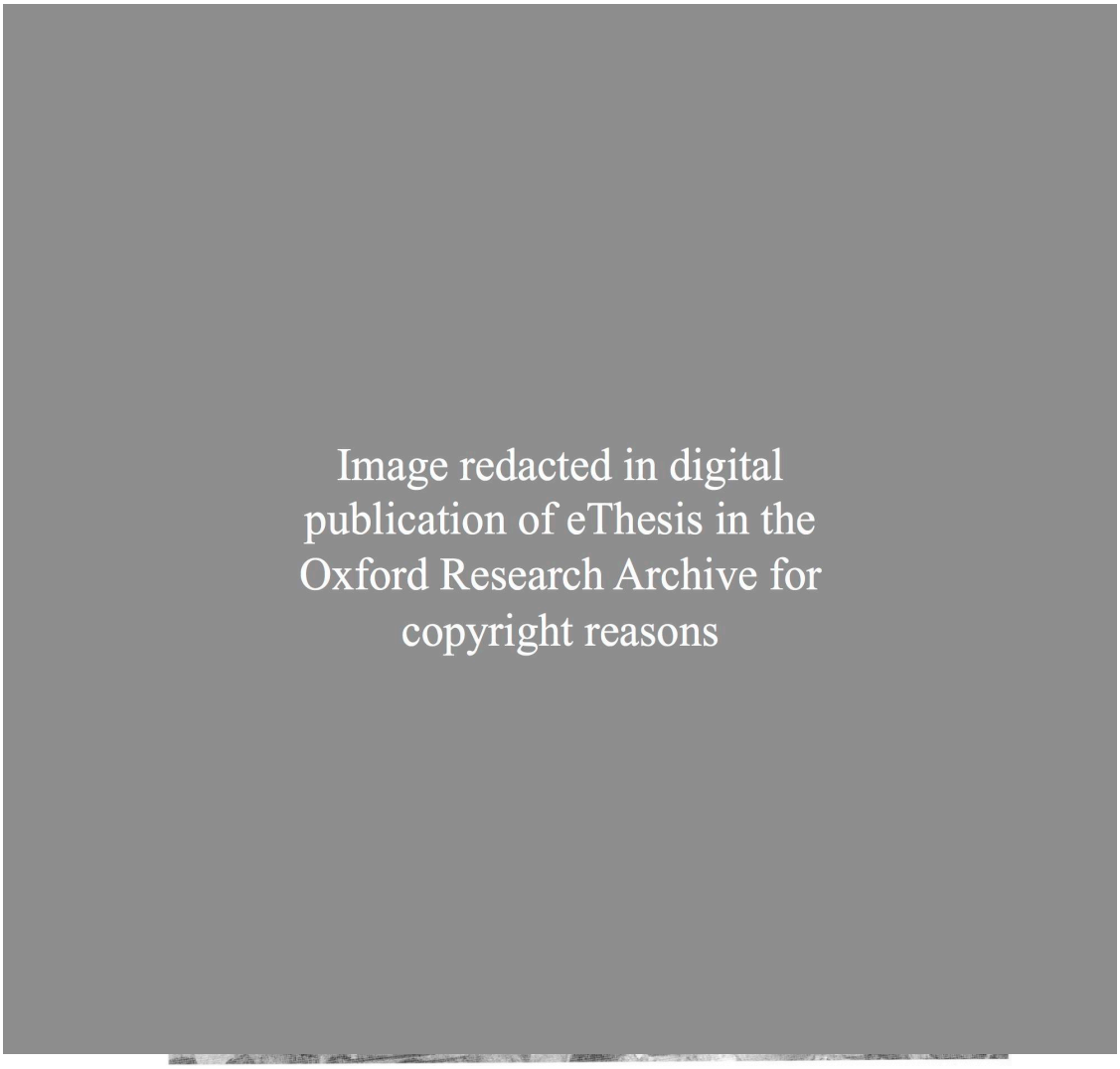

Fig. 6.20. Fallen enemies as the Roman army advances. Scene 50, Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. AD 176.

On the Yinan tomb frieze, it seems perfectly acceptable, then, that the figures below the bridge seem uninterested in the activities above the bridge; that some figures appear to "float;"[676] that the execution of prisoners blends seamlessly with frontline battle (Fig. 6.21): the Han soldiers simultaneously execute enemy "barbarians" even as they clash with the enemy vanguard. Several enemy heads have already been lopped off, including one behind enemy lines (to the left of the bridgepost). The recurrence of the

[676] This composition cf., e.g., the pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius (Kleiner 1992: fig. 254).

principal figures (at the far left, at the central chariot, and below the bridge) of the Wu shrines, almost certainly intended, on some level, to be the honorands, need not cause distress. And in the Xiaotangshan scene, the presence of fallen enemies and enemy heads near the Han camp even as "the [Han army] is just approaching" (Fig. 6.14) might also be understood to be proleptic, just as similar constructions on the Roman columns are: they are both simplified images of an historical battle and "reassuring images" of Han dominance.[677]

Fig. 6.21. Han soldiers execute "barbarian" enemies even as they come face-to-face with the enemy troops. A number of heads have been lopped off already, including one sitting on the bridge and one behind enemy lines (to the left of the bridgepost). (Detail of Fig. 6.10).

Other anxieties of Chinese archaeology might be assuaged by a look at Roman images and Roman studies: the appearance of strange, divine or cosmic figures within a battle scene does not disconnect it entirely from historical events. The battle scene from the Wu family's Left Shrine (Fig. 6.9) seems to feature a flying spirit near the top-center. Below the Yinan lintel (Fig. 6.11), armed demons seem to be portrayed on the pillars

[677] Cf. Pirson 1996: 150-51; 74.

(Fig. 6.22):[678] some have sought to connect them to the bridge scene on the lintel, claiming that they represent the fate of souls which fell in the river while crossing into the afterlife.[679] And the Queen Mother of the West (*Xiwangmu* 西王母) sits serenely above the Xiaotangshan battle (Fig. 6.23).[680] Equally, however, Danuvius (Fig. 6.24), Victoria, Jupiter *tonans*, a personified "rain miracle," and other allegories and deities appear on the idealized versions of history shown on Trajan's and Marcus' columns.[681]

Fig. 6.22. "Minatory crossbowman." Central pillar detail. Yinan 沂南 tomb, Beizhai 北寨 village, Yinan 沂南, Shandong 山东. (Rubbing of detail from Fig. 17). Late second century AD.

Fig. 6.23. Queen Mother of the West. (Detail of Fig. 6.14).

[678] One one of the principal figures on the central pillar, see Rudolph 1965.
[679] See Soper 1974: 264-5; Zheng 1998: 57-9.
[680] Ruitenbeek 2002: 71-4. On the Queen Mother of the West, see Francasso 1988; Rawson 2010b: 141-2.
[681] Hamberg 1945: 110.

Fig. 6.24. Personification of the Danube. Scene 3, Column of Trajan, Rome. Ca. AD 113.

Fig. 6.25. The so-called "Ammendola Sarcophagus," which shows a battle of Greeks and Gauls, a type from which the "historical" battle sarcophagus developed. Second century AD. (Museo Capitolino, Rome, inv. 213).

Anachronistic or "historically impossible" equipment and attire have, like mythological or cosmic content, also been invoked to argue that the Han friezes are strictly disconnected from contemporary or recent events and from imperial power narratives: these include observations that the chariots and clothing would have been

"long out of use in the Han period."[682] But this fact may simply reflect that an archaic visual vocabulary was employed to express a recent event: the deeds of the honorand could be given a "timeless," idealized quality by means of these features. Roman historical battle sarcophagi – surely apt comparanda – combined features of generic ("Romans and Barbarians"), antiquated ("Greeks and Gauls") and mythological (amazonomachies) content with the historical and the specific (Fig. 6.25).[683] A marble sarcophagus fragment in the British Museum,[684] for example, depicts a figure in a "helmet with a moulded brim, decorated with a crest and with two ram's horns carved in low relief." As Susan Walker notes in her catalogue of Roman sarcophagi in the museum, neither this nor many of the other helmet types that apparently Roman soldiers wear on Antonine battle sarcophagi seem to correspond to "surviving archaeological finds. In dress as in their disposition," Walker writes, "the figures on battle sarcophagi are drawn from the Hellenistic artistic repertory." [685] Earlier and more public representations also drew on this repertory. The Great Trajanic Frieze, ostensibly an image of the Dacian campaigns, for example (Fig. 6.26), depicts legionaries with "a bushy panache" on their helmets, and "mounted troops" with "a crest consisting of a rose between two colossal plumes."[686]

The Xiaotangshan and Wu family shrines might also be compared to a Roman cenotaph in Glanum in Gallia Narbonensis dated *ca.* 30-20 BC (Figs. 6.27, 6.28). The

[682] Soper 1954: 56; Bulling 1966-67: 36-8.
[683] Hamberg 1945: 172-81; McCann 1978: 110.
[684] British Museum GR 1772.3-1.23. Walker 1990: no. 3.
[685] Ibid.
[686] Hamberg 1945: 170; Hölscher 2003: 8. In some contexts, "Attic helmets" even appeared among enemy equipment in depictions of trophies (Coulston 1990: 294).

Fig. 6.26. Slabs 7-8 of the so-called Great Trajanic Frieze, now in the attic (east) of the Arch of Constantine, Rome; originally, perhaps, in the Forum of Trajan, Rome; ca. *AD 110-120. (Leander Touati 1987: 90, 111; Packer 1997: 113, 445). Ca. AD 117. Height: 298 cm.*

Glanum monument was dedicated by private individuals Sextus, Lucius and Marcus Julius to relatives of theirs who may have been military clients of Julius Caesar and at least one of whom was surely a veteran of Caesar's campaigns.[687] On the eastern relief of this monument, the honorands (togate, at the left of the scene; Fig. 6.28) have been inserted into what would otherwise seem to be a generic and even partially mythological scene. Archaeologists have concluded that the Julii probably achieved citizenship for their deeds on the field of battle.[688] The center of the relief features an amazonomachy; and a captive in the lower right, surely more appropriate in a depiction of the battle's aftermath, actually ties the whole scene together by its chronological link with the other

[687] Rolland 1969: 65-9; Kleiner 1977: 663-4; Gros 1986, 67; Heyn 2006, 193.
[688] Kleiner 1971: 233; Gros 1981: 167-9; id. 1986, 74; Smith 1993: 65.

Figure 6.27. Monument of the Julii, northwest view. Glanum, Gallia Narbonensis (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, France). Ca. 30-20 BC. Height: 17 m.

Figure 6.28. East relief, Monument of the Julii. Glanum, Gallia Narbonensis (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, France). Ca. 30-20 BC. Grant of civitas at left; amazonomachy at right.

post-battle scene on the panel's lefthand portion (the granting of citizenship).[689] In the Xiaotangshan cenotaph scene – an unchronological battle-and-aftermath mélange, at the top of which men from the mythical "Country of Pierced Chests" (mentioned in contemporary fictional texts) are carried on sedan-poles (Fig. 6.29)[690] – there too we find a mixture of generic, mythological, archaizing and biographical-historical content.

Fig. 6.29. Men from the "Country of Pierced Chests." (Detail of Fig. 6.14).

For all of the conceptual, contextual, and substantive characteristics the Eastern Han battle reliefs share with many well-known Roman works (Roman works which have principally been studied from historical and ideological angles), the Han examples have been underappreciated both in general and in particular as expressions – initated organically, "from below," as it were – of Han identity and power.[691] In a way, the conventional views of all these images correlate with the contrasts we perceived in Chapter 4: politically-charged, historical-biographical Roman content contrasts with what are taken to be more generic, non-mimetic Han images. But Roman images from a set

[689] Kleiner 1971: 234; Gros 1981: 167-9.
[690] Ruitenbeek 2002: 71-4.
[691] "From below:" cf. Smith 1996: 34.

repertory of motifs could not (and were not designed to) replicate real events perfectly. And those who created, commissioned, purchased and viewed the Han depictions were surely not only inspired by and reminded of the unremitting contact and clashes between the empire and the Xiongnu 匈奴, Qiang 羌 and Xianbei 鮮卑 "barbarians" that characterized the Han period,[692] but they also put their own positive, self-affirming spin on these events. This revised understanding of the Han battle reliefs is made possible not only by the comparative method itself, but also by comparing the biases and strengths of two different sets of scholarship.

An appreciation of the Han battle images in these terms should encourage us to question the broad statements about Han imperial identity and superficial contrasts with Rome that even the most rigorous Western scholars of ancient China are wont to make. These include the Latin-laden assertions that the Han lacked the "concept of *patria*"[693] and that:

> [it] would be inappropriate or even incorrect to apply the term 'citizen' to the men and women of the Qin and Han empires…They did not pride themselves on being identified as members of a great community, as did the *cives* of the Republic or Empire of Rome, enjoying certain definable rights for which their ancestors had fought.[694]

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[692] These frequent conflicts are well documented in primary texts; for references and summaries, see: Barfield 1981; de Crespigny 1984; Di Cosmo 2002: especially 206-52; Yü 2006: especially 424, 432. They include major western campaigns against the Xiongnu and the Qiang in the late first and second centuries AD, as well, of course, as contemporary wars in the northeast against the Xianbei; the earlier, expansive wars of Emperor Wu 汉武帝 (r. 141-87 BC); and the many skirmishes of the Former Han (206-9 BC). The later campaigns would have been contemporary with many of the battle reliefs and with Wu Ban's tour of duty in Dunhuang on the western edge of Han's territory (Yü 2006: 424). Evidence for martial *spectacula* and battle re-enactments in the Han (including the *juedixi* 角抵戏; McCurley 2005), and also for other historical-political content in tomb and shrine reliefs (Powers 1991), all suggests it was not unthinkable that the content of early Chinese battle images may have been more "real" than is usually thought.

[693] Waldron 1996: 947.

[694] Loewe 2005: 135.

There is a nuance here, however. Let us remember the beginning of this chapter: their unrecognized ideological qualities and shared formal characteristics with many Roman reliefs notwithstanding, the Han reliefs were not functional parallels for the highly political, highly visible honorific Roman depictions of contemporary military campaigns and the emperor at war – which not only give the impression of Roman success and invincibility, but associate that success with, and credit it directly to, the emperor.

Part IV

四

A more complex picture: questions of presentation and power

"Visibility lies at the heart of power."
- Olivier Hekster and Richard Fowler [695]

[695] Hekster and Fowler 2005: 9.

Chapter 7

To see and be seen: presence, recognition and the imperial image

Νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλικὸς, οὐκ οἶδα μὲν εἰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρ᾽ ὅσοις τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ τῶν λίαν σπουδαζομένων εἰκόσι δημοσίαις τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς βασιλεύοντας

"It is customary that the ruler be honored with public portraits; whether this is the practice among all peoples ruled by kings I know not, but certainly it is keenly observed by the Romans."
- Gregory of Nanzianzus [696]

Parts II and III briefly considered questions of audience; the former contrasting the public orientation of the Roman mausolea with the relative "invisibility" and private, ritual orientation of the Qin-Han imperial burials' visual contents, and the latter noting that the Eastern Han military reliefs (which compose the most significant category of extant war-themed images from the Han) are no equivalents for the highly visible proliferation of martial images erected in public, urban contexts in the Roman world. Part IV explores questions of visibility and presentation in greater depth.[697] Chapter 7 focuses on the visual and architectural means by which the emperor was (or was not) "made present" to people beyond those who actually saw the physical person of the emperor. Chapter 8 draws out conclusions from the thesis as a whole, while casting a more critical eye over issues of visibility and purpose vis-à-vis the artefacts it treats.

Introduction: the imperial presence

A chapter on "Western lands" 西域傳 from the *Book of the Later Han Dynasty* (*Hou Han Shu* 后汉书) contains a curious account of a vast empire far to China's west. This

[696] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.80.
[697] See Ewald and Noreña 2010: 35-6 on the prominence of "visibility" and related questions in recent scholarship.

impressive megastate, which the account refers to as *Da Qin* 大秦, "Great China" or "Great Qin" – using the same Chinese character that was used for the First Chinese Emperor's short-lived dynasty – is presented in the text as a sort of parallel to China's own empire. Like China, its territory stretches across thousands of miles and encompasses hundreds of cities. And its people, like China's, are tall and conscientious; "hence," as the text puts it, "the name *Da Qin*:" 其人民皆长大平正，有类中国，故谓之大秦. But the *Hou Han Shu* also notes a few key differences between *Da Qin* and China: *Da Qin* made extensive use of stone architecture, for example, and its people shaved their heads; its ruler takes his mandate not from Heaven, but from a council of thirty-six electors (置三十六将，皆会议国事。其王无有常人，皆简立贤者). Perhaps most surprisingly (for the report's Chinese readership), the ruler, when he travels, is followed at all times by a special porter; it is his task to carry a suggestion-bag of sorts, into which common people may place questions and concerns addressed directly to the ruler. The ruler, moreover, examines the bag's contents each day and duly responds (常使一人持囊随王车，人有言事者，即以书投囊中，王至宫发省，理其枉直).[698] *Da Qin*, of course, is generally taken to refer to the Roman Empire.[699] And while aspects of the report would, no doubt, have seemed fanciful to the Roman citizen (just as they surely do to the modern scholar of Roman government or culture), it evokes a very real contrast

[698] Fan Ye 范晔, *Hou Han Shu* 后汉书 88.2918. See translation and commentary by Hill 2003. Although the *Hou Han Shu* was compiled in the fifth century AD, this chapter, our compiler (Fan Ye) relates, is based largely on a report about the Western regions submitted by General Ban Yong 班勇 to Emperor An 安帝 in *ca.* AD 125. It is likely that Ban Yong's report, in turn, drew on the records of his father's envoy, Gan Ying 甘英, who famously travelled as far west as the Parthian Empire in *ca.* AD 100 (Leslie and Gardiner 1996: 47-52; Wood 2002: 46-7; Hill 2009; Brennan and Hsing 2010). Cf. Yu Huan 鱼豢, *Weilue* 魏略 (Hill 2004).

[699] See Leslie and Gardiner 1996: especially 232; Pulleyblank 1999; Brennan and Hsing 2010: 189.

in terms of the practice of rulership in the Han and Roman worlds. For the Chinese readership of this passage would have found it entirely unthinkable that the emperor should travel regularly amongst the common people, seeing and being seen – let alone engaging and involving himself directly in their individual affairs.

It is well attested in both written and visual records (Fig. 7.1), that the Roman *princeps* was indeed regularly gazed upon, in person, by vast multitudes of people– not only while traveling, but also at games, festivals, triumphal processions and a host of other occasions conceived, at least in part, for the express purpose of showcasing the emperor's physical presence;[700] just as it is well attested that he involved himself in their affairs, dispensing justice and *beneficia* in person[701] and replying to written *libelli* –

[700] The result is not just recognition, but what Michael Chwe calls "common knowledge" (Chwe 2001: esp. 3-4). The primary sources are too numerous to list, although some are worth mentioning; not least the letter from Fronto to Marcus Aurelius stating that the key duties of the emperor include "addressing the people on very many matters in public meetings" (*populum de plerisque negotiis in concione appellare*) and "sending letters to all parts of the globe" (*per orbem terrae litteras missitare*; Fronto, *Ad M. Antoninum de eloquentia* 1.5). Suet., *Tib.* 42.1 suggests that an emperor who sought to avoid public visibility was subject to suspicions of the worst sort; cf. Tac. Ann. 15.53. Stewart 2006 refers to striking turns of phrase in the *Panegyrici Latini* (VIII(4).19; V(8).9) which describe Constantius' "modest blush" as he speaks and Constantine's tearful expression as he hears appeals and supplications. See also Veyne 1990: 398-403; Millar 1992: chs. 2, 3, 5-8; Parker 1999: 167; Bell 2004: 240-1; Hekster 2005; Hekster and Fowler 2005: 9-14; Stewart 2006: 49-50; Fejfer 2008: 375; Lewis 2009: 133.

[701] Millar 1992. Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrH* 90 F. 127.12 (trans. adapted from Millar 1992: 466-7) provides a wonderful description of this sort of scene:

> ἦκε δ' οὖν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα Καῖσαρ, ὡς τοῖς χρήιζουσιν ἐντευξόμενος. πολλοὶ δὲ συνεληλύθεσαν, οἱ μὲν δικαιοδοσίας χάριν, περὶ ὧν εἶχον ἀμφιβόλων πρός τινας, οἱ δὲ οἰκονομίας πολιτικῆς, οἱ δ' ὅπως ἂν τὰ ἆθλα τῶν ἠνδραγαθημένων λάβοιεν… ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὶ συνέρρεον προστασίας δεόμενοι, οἷς πλείστου ἄξιος γενόμενος τῶν μὲν διέλυε τὰ ἐγκλήματα, οἷς δ' ἠιτεῖτο δωρεάς, οὓς δ' εἰς ἀρχὰς προῆγεν·
>
> Caesar came to Carthago to make himself available to those who needed something . A large number had gathered: some to get justice, some about disputes which they had against someone, others about the arrangement of the affairs of their cities, others to gain the rewards of valour…. [Many] people flocked to [Octavian] for patronage, and for most of them he was able to perform services, freeing them of charges, procuring gifts or getting promotion for them.

which the emperor sometimes received directly into his hands – from people of all classes and origins with his own written *subscriptiones*.[702]

Fig. 7.1. The emperor addresses the populus. *Roman Forum, Curia. Trajanic or Hadrianic. Height:* ca. *168 cm.*

It was certainly not a given, however, that an inhabitant of the Roman empire would have seen the *princeps* in person at some time or another, especially if one lived outside of Italy – even if the emperor was a "man of action," whose travels, speeches, legal hearings, gift-granting, entertainments, religious rites and military command ensured the preeminent visibility of the his person.[703] But the Roman emperor was also made virtually "present" in many places simultaneously by an incalculable number of visual and material proxies [704] – the most literal of which were life-size or over-life-size

[702] Millar 1992 is the most thorough source for these types of interactions. See, especially, ibid.: 203-72; 465-549. One example of an extant *libellus*, for example, was written by a lowly retired athlete in Egypt (*PSI* 1422; ibid.: 537-8).
[703] Stewart 2006: 250.
[704] On the notion of "presence," see Freedberg 1989: ch. 2; Maniura and Shepherd 2006b: 5.

portrait statues (sometimes painted in lifelike colors or fitted with glass pupils and calcite irises; Fig. 7.2),[705] but which also included a wide range of other means of presentation.

Fig. 7.2. Bronze portrait head of Augustus excavated at Meroë. Ca. *27-25 BC. Height: 46.2 cm. (British Museum, London, inv. 1911,0901.1).*

The Han Empire did not have a similar surfeit of imperial portraits. Far from it: as far as we know, from both archaeological and literary evidence, it had none at all. We should not underestimate the significance of this difference. The contrast is astounding, and compels us to consider both empires in a new light. What does it tell us about the nature of imperial power in Rome and Han China? Were there *other* visual and

[705] Stewart 2006: 243. On the distribution and appearance of these images, the fundamental works are: Niemeyer 1968; Alföldi 1971; Zanker 1983; Pekáry 1985; Pfanner 1989; Smith 1996; Ando 2000: 215-60; Stewart 2004: 87-161; 2006; Fittschen 2010. Glass pupils and calcite irises: e.g., the bronze portrait head of Augustus excavated at Meroë (British Museum, London, inv. 1911,0901.1).

artefactual means by which the Han emperors were presented to their subjects, just as there were in Rome? If so, what were they, and how do they compare with the Roman case? As ever, the comparative method provides a transformative sense of perspective and of objective measure.

Argument

While it is largely recognized now (and in vogue to emphasize) that most portraits of Roman emperors were honorific commissions – that is, that they were commissioned not by the emperor himself nor by some anachronistic "ministry of propaganda" acting on his behalf, but instead by the Senate and People or other individuals, communities and organizations seeking to honor the *princeps*[706] – there remains in scholarship a general sense of confusion about what it signifies, exactly, about the nature of the emperor's power that his image was so ubiquitous – if it signifies anything at all. On the one hand, apprehension of the role played by the Senate, People and other independent actors in affecting the *princeps*' virtual omnipresence is often presented as if it closes the conversation on this phenomenon and its purpose altogether.[707] On the other hand, the implicit – and often explicit – understanding that the emperor derived some sort of significant political benefit from this ubiquity pervades.[708] Even those who are most keen to downplay the emperor's involvement find themselves not only taking this assumption for granted, but also ascribing to the emperor some crucial agency in crafting or

[706] Zanker 1990: 3; Smith 1996: 34; Højte 2005; Lendon 2006; Fejfer 2008: 389; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 30; Mayer 2010. See also Ando 2000: 229-30 *n.* 109.
[707] Lendon 2006: e.g., 61 ("They were not really trying to inform or persuade…. Something, after all, had to go on the reverse of the coins."); Mayer 2010.
[708] Lendon 1997: 112-15; Ando 2000: 215-58; Zanker 2002: 105-6; Hekster 2003; Hekster and Fowler 2005; Stewart 2004: 244, 247; Fejfer 2008: 373, 375, 414-15 ("just how important an aspect of Trajan's policy the bust was").

circulating his image after all.[709] And all of this, in any case, says nothing of the numerous other means and forms of media by which the emperor made himself (or was made) widely accessible, visible and known.

Meanwhile, Chinese archaeology – understandably – thinks very little about the *lack* of imperial portraiture in the Qin-Han Empire. But there is something to be gained, and to be learned about the nature of imperial power – beyond the vaguely Orientalist idea advanced in some recent scholarship that it was highly "visible invisibility" that mattered most to "Chinese emperors in the Forbidden City [and] Ottoman sultans in the Topkapı Palace"[710] – by apprehending this difference and by thinking about how the Chinese emperor interfaced (or was made to interface) with imperial subjects through material and visual means.

Ultimately images and objects related to presence and recognition make power networks manifest; they reveal the crucial relationships from which power is constructed. I argue that the sharp contrasts revealed by the comparative method affirm the broader argument of this thesis: that the Roman *princeps*' power was the product of dialogue between the emperor and manifold complicit constituents; and was – notionally, anyway – power *earned* not inherited. As such it was connected to the individual personage and

[709] Smith 1988 ("[Augustus] stressed…youthfulness…. First, therefore, he revised Caesar's image"); Fejfer 2008: 407 ("Vespasian chose…"); Mayer 2010 ("he tailored his message"). See also Fittschen 1971; Bergmann 1978: 13 ("die auf direkte Anweisung der Kaiser hergestellt worden sind"); Zanker 1983: 44; Kuhoff 1993: 19.
[710] Hekster and Fowler 2005: 14. See also Veyne 1990: 408 on the "sultanism" of Chinese emperors; Parker 1999: 167; Hekster 2005a. Cf. Lewis 2006: 114, 155-6.

individual identity of the emperor.[711] This is why, at Rome, mass "visibility [lay] at the heart of power."[712] But this is not universally true. The Han emperor's power was – again, notionally – Heaven-granted.[713] It was connected to centrality and position in both a spatial and a hierarchical sense. Of course, there were earthly power relationships involving the emperor that were materialized and visualized in Qin-Han China; but these involved a far smaller pool of people and might more readily be considered in terms of court ceremony and familial or diplomatic gift-giving. There are exceptional cases, however, in which the imperial court undertook costly and systematic campaigns to promote widespread recognition; these exceptions were Chinese emperors who did not succeed on a hereditary basis.

Recognizing the emperor

It was unthinkable in the Han Empire that an "average" imperial resident (or even, for that matter, an urban resident; a wealthy landowner; or a commissioned military officer) would believe that he could "recognize" the emperor by his facial features. It was unthinkable in the Roman Principate that he would not. Setting the phenomenon in these terms is fundamentally transformational in itself.

There are approximately 5,000 extant portraits of the Roman *principes* (from Augustus to the Tetrarchs), not including the countless imperial portraits that appeared on

[711] Cf. Lendon 2006: 57 (one "more easily saw the holder than the office").
[712] Hekster and Fowler 2005: 9.
[713] Loewe 1994: 85-8 (and id. 2006: 14) gathers literary evidence for those few awkward moments when a courtly advisor would raise the question of how the House of Liu attained its power in the first place – only to have the conversation abruptly closed by the emperor (as in the case of Yuan Gu 轅固; Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 121; Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 88).

coins. Klaus Fittschen's recent study estimates the original number to have been in the hundreds of thousands or even the millions,[714] while a separate study by Michael Pfanner suggests that there were 25,000-50,000 contemporary sculptural portraits of Augustus alone.[715] This would mean a significantly higher number of imperial portraits existed in the Roman empire than living, breathing civil servants.[716] Anecdotal evidence confirms the omnipresence of the imperial image, including a much-quoted line from a letter to the emperor Marcus Aurelius from his tutor, Marcus Cornelius Fronto:

> *Scis ut in omnibus argentariis mensulis pergulis tabernis protectis vestibulis fenestris usquequaque ubique imagines vestrae sint volgo propositae, male illae quidem pictae pleraeque et crassa, lutea immo, Minerva fictae sculptaeve; quom interim numquam tua imago tam dissimilis ad oculos meos in itinere accidit, ut non ex ore meo excusserit rictum osculi et somn<i>um*
>
> You know how in all money-exchanger's bureaus, booths, bookstalls, eaves, porches, windows, anywhere and everywhere there are likenesses of you exposed to view, badly enough painted most of them to be sure, and modeled or carved in a plain, not to say sorry, style of art, yet at the same time your likeness, however much a caricature, never when I go out meets my eyes without making me part my lips for a smile and dream of you.[717]

And a number of recent studies – primarily concerned with epigraphic evidence from imperial and private statue bases – suggest also that the imperial portrait was *uniquely* omnipresent; that is, that the emperor's image had a virtual monopoly on ubiquity, especially in the capital.[718] This is a mind-boggling phenomenon, but one which has impressed students of Roman art and archaeology far too little.

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[714] Fittschen 2010: 221.
[715] Pfanner 1989: 178-9.
[716] Lendon 1997: 2-3.
[717] Fronto, *Ad M. Caesarem* 4.12. Trans. Haines 1919.
[718] Lahusen 1984; Pekáry 1985; Bauer 1996; Alföldy 2001; Stewart 2003: 87; Fejfer 2008: 384-5; Eck 2010. Cf. imperial "monopoly" on military honor and monumental building in the city (Lendon 1997: 112). See also literary references, including Tac., *Ann*. 1.74, in which a Marcus Granius Marcellus, governor of Bithynia, is charged with treason for displaying his own statue more prominently than the emperor's (and acquitted with the support of Tiberius); and Claudius'

(a) *(b)*

Fig. 7.3. (a) "Two officials." Detail from tomb lintel; Balitai 八里臺 near Luoyang 洛阳, Henan 河南. Ca. *100 BC – AD 50. Painted hollow ceramic tile; total 73.8 x 204.7 cm.. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 25.10: Denman Waldo Ross Collection; Seckel 1993: fig. 7).*

(b) Detail from painted, woven bamboo box. Lelang 乐浪 (present-day Anak, North Korea). First to second century AD. Whole container: ca. *22 cm high. (National Museum, Seoul; Seckel 1993: fig. 8).*

In contrast to these hundreds of thousands or millions of images of the emperor in the Roman world, we know of not a single contemporary likeness or visual depiction of any Qin-Han emperor. We know of depictions of Qin Shi Huangdi – produced centuries after his reign – in narrative reliefs depicting his attempted assassination by Jing Ke 荆轲 at Eastern Han private shrines and tombs, but there the record both begins and ends. This discrepancy cannot be ascribed purely – or even principally – to some deficiency in technology or skill in the Qin-Han world. Such a judgment flies in the face of the rich and growing record related to early imperial China's exceptional capacity for mass production – presented convincingly in Lother Ledderose's important book *Ten*

order that many statues of private citizens should be removed from the city and that construction of such statues should be forbidden in future except by special dispensation from the Senate (Cass. Dio 60.25.2-3).

Thousand Things; [719] the ability of the central court, anyway, to manufacture sculpture with lifelike, physiognomically individualized features (evidenced most famously by the terracotta army of Qin Shi Huangdi; Fig. 3.14) on a grand scale;[720] extant paintings of lively, expressive – if not convincingly "realistic" – individualizing caricatures (Fig. 7.3); and the creation of portrait images of persons other than the emperor. This last category must include (admittedly crude) extant depictions of Bin Wang 邠王 (and his wife and friends) and of Xin Zhui 辛追 from their respective burial sites,[721] as well as literary testimony for mural paintings of exemplary officials in palace halls and a famous story regarding portrait paintings of imperial concubines commissioned by Emperor Yuandi 元帝.[722] Yet there is no record, written or visual, of any contemporary depiction or likeness of a Qin-Han emperor in any medium. If this serious difference cannot be accounted for by wholly technological explanations, it does, of course, nevertheless reflect very real differences in historical background, most notably a deep tradition of ruler images in the Mediterranean world that long predated Rome. What is in question here, however, is not the respective historical backgrounds of these two extreme phenomena, but rather what these two divergent visual practices meant for the nature of imperial power.

Just as previous chapters have shown, vis-à-vis the comparative study of imperial tombs and war images, that visual and material manifestations of power at Rome

[719] Ledderose 2000.
[720] Von Erdberg 1990; Kesner 1995.
[721] Reports on these sites are, respectively: Greiff and Yin 2002; Hunan sheng bowuguan, Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省博物馆中国科学院考古研究所. 1973. See also Seckel 1993; Kern 2003; Barbieri-Low 2007: 151.
[722] Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 54.2468; Fan Ye 范晔, *Hou Han Shu* 后汉书 44.1511. See also Bielenstein 1976; Seckel 1993: 12-13; Barbieri-Low 2007: 55; 156-60. For references regarding the Yuandi story and scholarly debate relating to this anecdote, see Barbieri-Low 2007: 272 *n.* 71.

promoted recognition far and wide – in a more or less abstract sense – of a particular individual as emperor by making reference to their specific careers, biographies and military achievements, the myriad imperial portraits promoted recognition of their subjects in a literal sense.

Although we cannot know the extent to which the Roman imperial portraits were *true* likenesses – how accurately, that is, they depicted their referents – they were, in any case, remarkably consistent, sufficiently – even didactically – distinctive, and therefore eminently recognizable. These distinctive features included such characteristics as the arrangement of locks of hair – a shorthand visual code and foolproof key to ensure recognition.[723] It is telling – though again taken for granted – that school-age children in the present day can, with mnemonic devices (the "crab-claw locks" of Augustus; Fig. 7.4) and a little instruction (but with far, far less exposure to these portraits than Roman *cives* would have had in their daily round), "recognize" the different Roman emperors.[724] These images allowed common people to come "face to face" with the emperor; to get to know what he looks like; and, in a way, to get to know *him*. In an age that predates the printmaking – not to mention television and the internet – this fact is not trivial.[725] How many people would a member of the urban *plebs* or a common soldier have known by sight? Probably very few (relative to people in the modern developed world) in total, and very few indeed outside of family, friends and colleagues.

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[723] Hair: Fejfer 2008: 383; Trimble 2014: 132. See also Boschung 1993; Smith 1996; Boschung 2002: 185-7.

[724] "Crab claw locks:" Trimble 2014: 132

[725] Lendon 2006: 60, conversely, has pointed to Rome's lack of modern means of mass communication to argue that these images *lacked* political import. At the same time, the existence of these innovations in the modern world makes Lendon's withering comparison to the political or persuasive power of "pictures on [U.S. postage] stamps" incongruous (ibid: 61).

(a) *(b)* *(c)* *(d)*

Fig. 7.4 (a) Bronze portrait head of Augustus excavated at Meroë. Ca. *27-25 BC. Height: 46.2 cm. (British Museum, London, inv. 1911,0901.11).*

(b) Head of a statue of Augustus from Livia's Villa ad Gallinas Albas, Prima Porta. After 20 BC. Statue height: 2.04 m. (Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo inv. 2290; Oxford cast).

(c) Head of a statue of Augustus from Via Labicana, Rome. After 12 BC. Statue height: ca. *2.05 m. (Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 56230).*

(d) Head of a colossal acrolithic statue of Augustus from Lepcis Magna. After AD 23. Height: 120 cm. (Archaeological Museum, Tripoli).

The same is true of Qin-Han China, of course: without mass media, the number of people a common person would have "known" on sight – or, indeed, at all – was probably very small. The difference is that this small number certainly did not, for the Chinese, include the emperor as it did in Rome.

As much as they promoted recognition of an individual, it is also worth briefly mentioning – as it is also part of the broader argument of this thesis – that these likenesses promoted recognition of the individual as a military commander in an increasingly explicit way over the course of the Principate. Michael Koortbojian has recently shown that no known *statua loricata* (cuirassed portrait statue) was erected in

the capital before Julius Caesar's;[726] while other research has demonstrated the growing frequency first of the *paludamentum* (a military campaign cloak; probably painted brilliant scarlet on many statues originally[727]) in late Julio-Claudian period and then of the cuirassed type ("the full military parade costume of a triumphant general") in imperial portraiture.[728] And the *corona civica* – a high military honor awarded for saving a citizen's life in battle – became, as Birgid Bergmann's recent monograph convincingly argues, a *de facto* symbol of the *princeps* in visual depictions.[729] The corpus of imperial portraits affirms the trend, observed in the previous chapter, that the martial nature of the Roman emperorship was enhanced over time (in contrast to Qin-Han China, where visual and monumental victory narratives were largely abandoned after the reign of Qin Shi Huangdi); they also, by their nature, confirm a thematic emphasis on the individual personage of the emperor, effecting not simply recognition for the *princeps* but also recognition for his credentials as a military commander.

That the myriad portraits of Roman emperors made many of their viewers "feel" in one way or another that they were somehow in the presence of the emperor himself is clear from literary testimony and legal texts. These numerous references, well documented by Thomas Pekáry and others, show that imperial portraits, like their honorands, offered asylum and protection;[730] witnessed sacrifices, offerings and

[726] Koortbojian 2010: 250-60. Cf. Fejfer 2008: 402.
[727] Vermeule 1959: 43; Gergel 1994: 191.
[728] Fejfer 2008: 373-4; quotation is Gergel 1994: 191.
[729] Bergmann 2010: 185-206. Cf. Fejfer 2008: 374.
[730] See, e.g. Tac., *Ann.* 3.36. For other references, see Pekáry 1985: 130-31 and Stewart 2006: 245, whose legal references bear repeating: *Codex Theodosianus* 9.44.4; *Digests* 1.6.2; 1.12.1.1; 21.1.17.12; 21.1.19.1.

diplomatic agreements;[731] and even received appeals (just like the living emperor, as described earlier in this chapter).[732]

Panopticism, power and palaces

Two recent, influential works about image and imperial power in the Roman world discuss the Roman emperor's power – and his virtual omnipresence – as "a form of 'panopticism,'"[733] emphasizing the emperor's ability to capture all in his "invasive gaze" – either in reality or by proxy.[734] But in Bentham's Panopticon – and in the theoretical concept of panopticism developed by Michel Foucault – the principle is one of invisible "anonymous power," while the *objects* of that power are ever visible.[735] Panopticism is not at all, therefore, what the phenomenon of the *princeps'* ubiquity really signified. But this concept may help draw out some useful contrasts between Rome and China, where its application may be more apt, and the comparison in turn may help us see why this analogy – even employed with reservations – is so unsuitable for Rome.

In Rome, the emperor's omnipresent likenesses served not as totems of surveillance, but – as the previous section emphasizes – as instruments of recognition. They were not menacing, but, in a way, empowering for the many who viewed them. Indeed, it is fundamental to the theory of panopticism that seeing and knowing – in short

[731] Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto* 2.8.1-6, 55-76; 3.1.161-4 4.9.105-22; Pliny *Ep.* 10.96. See also Niemeyer 1968: 20-22; Alföldi 1970; Pekáry 1985: 116-29; Stewart 2006: 246 (for whose references I am again grateful); Vout 2007: 27-31.
[732] See, e.g., the "spontaneous" appeal left at the feet of a statue of Decius, described by Stewart 2006: 246 (Wessely 1895, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* 1.20).
[733] Ewald and Noreña 2010: 26; see also Hekster 2005: 161-7.
[734] "Invasive gaze" of the emperor: Bartsch 2006: 7; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 26. On Roman "gaze" in a different context, see Frederick 2002; Elsner 2007: especially xi-xvii; 6; 67-109.
[735] Foucault 1977.

recognizing – is empowering. This ubiquity was all the more empowering (for those who viewed such images) given that this recognizability was brought about by a collaborative effort involving both the emperor and independent actors.[736] The role of the imperial court in effecting this the emperor's mass recognition was in the prohibition on public statuary of private citizens in the capital and in making available and distributing a prototype.[737] The role of the independent actors – the independent citizens, local governments, private organizations and, of course, the catch-all *Senatus Populusque Romanus* – was in commissioning each singular "impression."[738] These objects, then, give tangible, visual structure to crucial bidirectional power relationships;[739] they reveal where those relationships lie.[740]

The nonexistence of these artefacts in the Han world speaks to the nonexistence of those relationships. The power relationship made visually, artefactually manifest in Qin-Han China was not between a man and a populace, or between a man and state (a *res publica*), but between an office and Heaven.[741] It was not fitting for the Son of Heaven to be omnipresent. Nor did he require recognition. His role, his honor, his *power* was – at least in the apologetics of Han empire – Heaven-granted; indeed, there are several episodes preserved in the Han histories in which an imperial advisor raised the question

[736] Pekáry 1985: 4-12.
[737] Prohibition: Cass. Dio 60.25.2-3. Making available a prototype: Fittschen 1971; Bergmann 1978: 13; Zanker 1983: 44; Pfanner 1989; Kuhoff 1993: 19; Smith 1996: 34; Stewart 2003: 161; Fejfer 2008: 410; Mayer 2010: 112-13. *Contra*: Ewald and Noreña 2010: 30. See also Ando 2000: 229-30 *n.* 109 for references which, contrarily, take the "private art trade" to account for the dissemination of imperial portrait prototypes.
[738] Smith 1996: 34; Højte 2005; Lendon 2006; Fejfer 2008: 389, 421-2; Ewald and Noreña 2010: 30; Mayer 2010.
[739] Cf. Zanker 1990: 3 on "interplay."
[740] Cf. Cannadine 1987: 1.
[741] Mandate of Heaven: Shaughnessy 2013.

of how the Han Dynasty came to power in the first place – only to have the conversation abruptly closed by the emperor.[742]

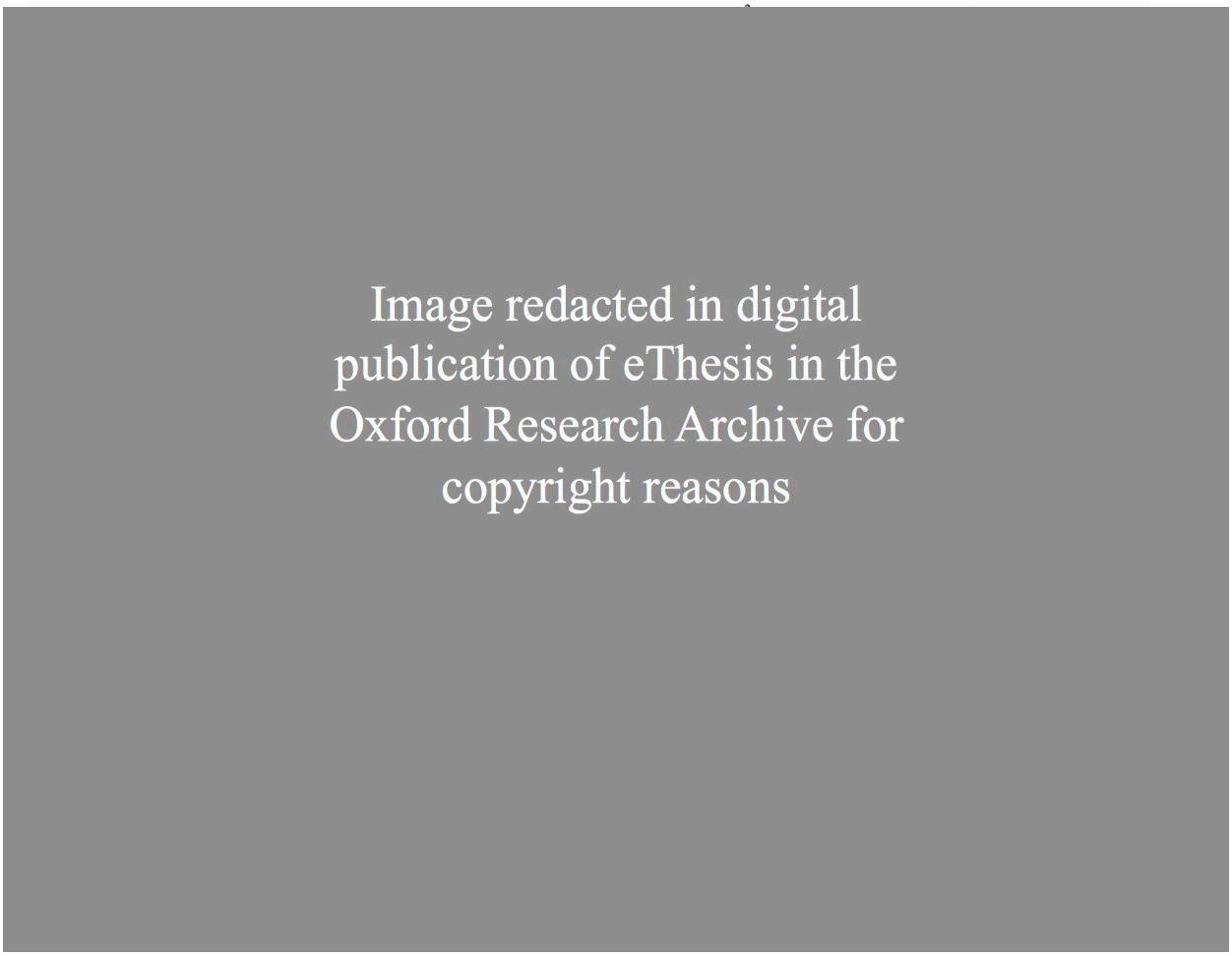

Fig. 7.5. Chang'an 长安 (capital of the Former Han) plan drawn by Anthony Barbieri-Low. Wall layout, after 190 BC; palaces after 101 BC.

In China, the presence of the emperor, far from being "felt" and recognized far and wide, was – in practice and also conceptually – highly privileged.[743] The Qin-Han palaces were connected by walled walkways,[744] and the emperor rarely left his

[742] E.g., Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 121; Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 88. See Loewe 1994: 85-8; id. 2006: 14.
[743] Cf. Lewis 2015: 211.
[744] Id. 2006: 156, 171.

compound;[745] when he did, he risked censure from his advisors.[746] As Mark Edward Lewis has recently argued, the Han capitals – in glaring contrast with Rome, a city defined by public spaces and public presentation[747] – were designed "on a principle of exclusion…. The only places where private individuals could freely assemble were the markets, and this area was rigorously policed and restricted in its hours of opening."[748] The markets – a tiny corner of the city of Chang'an 长安 – were observed from Bentham-esque watch towers, while imperial palaces dominated the rest of the urban fabric (Fig. 7.5). As Lewis describes, "outer zones and open spaces were by definition lowly, and one ascended in power, status, and sacrality by moving inward."[749] The layout of the imperial palaces themselves was patterned on celestial bodies, with "a new emphasis on… verticality:" artificially high earthen foundation and high watchtowers which simultaneously reached to "the celestial spirits and natural powers" and evoke – far more compellingly than Roman expressions of rulership – "Foucault's celebrated meditations on Bentham's panopticon."[750]

It is a flawed (and, perhaps, peculiarly Western) assumption to think that if the Chinese rulers were not working to make themselves widely visible, then they must have intentionally been making themselves invisible in the most *visible* manner possible.[751] Complex visual, material dialogue between the imperial court and a larger populace (of

[745] As Lewis writes, the emperor spent most of his time "effectively in hiding" (ibid: 156).
[746] E.g., Fan Ye 范晔, *Hou Han Shu* 后汉书 54. See Loewe 2006: 14-16 for other references.
[747] Cf. Cic., *Mur.* 76: *odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam,publicam magnificentiam diligit.*
[748] Barbieri-Low 2007: 118-31; Lewis 2015: 210-11. Noreña 2015a: 75-82 problematically downplays these differences.
[749] Lewis 2015: 210-11.
[750] Wu 1995: 152-4; Lu 陆青松 2010. Quotation is Lewis 2015: 163.
[751] Veyne 1990: 408; Parker 1999: 167; Hekster 2005a; Hekster and Fowler 2005: 14; Lewis 2006: 114, 155-6.

the type that led to the widespread distribution of Roman imperial portraiture) simply did not exist in Han China. In the Han, the emperor really *did* control the visual and architectural landscape of the capital; he also held the rights and means to produce certain artefacts related to power and status (including the official seals and jade burial suits he granted to regional elites; discussed in the following chapter); and he had in his service a vast civil administration – capable of involving itself far more actively (and often punitively) in the lives of common people to a far greater extent than the Roman government – composed of some 120,000 men acting as the emperor's eyes and ears;[752] a collective "invasive gaze."[753]

Walls and towers have no face; no name; no personality. But Roman imperial residences, as Paul Zanker has shown most clearly, always emphasized accessibility and public orientation to a greater or lesser extent.[754] (Even so, while Han emperors might be upbraided by their advisors for leaving the palace, Roman emperors drew criticism if they were perceived to be shut-ins or if they escaped to private villas.)[755] These imperial residences included the modest *Domus Augusti*, which adjoined a publicly accessible temple dedicated to Apollo.[756] But they also included the infamous *Domus Aurea* of Nero – "oriented to the Forum" – and the so-called *Domus Tiberiana* of Domitian. While one façade of this last compound gives the impression of "inaccessibility" and calculated

[752] Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 19A; Loewe 1986: 466; Zhao 2015: 56. We might contrast this figure with the 12,000-30,000 in the Roman civil administration, which, as J.E. Lendon states, "did not bulk very large in the consciousness of a majority of its subjects, who had, from week to week and month to month, few, if any, dealings with it at all." (Lendon 1997: 2)
[753] Cf. Ewald and Noreña 2010: 26.
[754] Again, Noreña 2015a: 75-82 rather too slickly elides these differences in a book aimed at describing Chang'an as "Augustan" (Nylan and Vankeerberghen 2015).
[755] E.g., Suet., *Tib*. 42.1. See also Fejfer 2008: 375.
[756] Zanker 2002: 105-6. Cf. Beck 2009: 378-9.

"royal aloofness," it nevertheless opened on its other façade to the Circus Maximus in a demonstration of transparency and "closeness" with the *plebs*.[757]

Fig. 7.6. Silver denarius of Marcus Aurelius. Inscription reads M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX. *AD 166. (*RIC *3: Marcus Aurelius 163).*

Coins, names and mobiliary

One of the principal means by which the Roman emperor surely gained widespread recognition – the countless coins emblazoned with their likenesses, names, titles, and with representations of either the emperor's accomplishments or "the specific imperial ideals that defined the emperor as an ethical and beneficent ruler" (Fig. 7.6) – has not yet been mentioned. [758]

Without wading into the ongoing debates about the emperor's personal involvement in selecting images for coins, or the extent to which the images and "messages" that appeared on coins were "targeted" to select geographical or social

[757] Zanker 2002: 105-9.
[758] Noreña 2011: 1.

groups, one can safely say in any case that Roman coins were widely distributed material objects that promoted and reaffirmed recognition of the individual emperor portrayed and of his ideals and achievements.[759]

J.E. Lendon recently derided the notion that the images on Roman coins could have any sort of political import, quipping, "Something, after all, had to go on the reverse of the coins."[760] But nothing – aside from a simple, unchanging inscription of the coin's monetary value – appeared on the reverse (and obverse) of virtually all Qin-Han coins. Were there, then, analogous objects in the contemporary Chinese world? There were, but they were promulgated only during the reigns of two Chinese emperors with the most tenuous claims to power: Qin Shi Huangdi, the first emperor; and Wang Mang 王莽, the regent-turned-usurper who attempted to initiate his own dynasty, the Xin Dynasty 新朝. Like the Roman emperors, their power was not achieved on a strictly hereditary basis.

The analogous artefacts circulated during Qin Shi Huangdi's reign are the subject of Charles Sanft's recently published habilitation thesis. They are pottery, cast iron weights, bronze measuring vessels, scales, ladels and plaques, all inscribed (usually by seal impression) with the same text:

> 廿六年皇帝尽并兼天下诸侯,黔首大安,立号为皇帝,乃诏丞相狀绾,灋度量则不壹歉疑者，皆明壹之.
>
> In the twenty-sixth year of his reign, the emperor unified the lords of the realm; the common people had great peace, and he established the title of 'August Thearch.'

[759] Debates: Hannestad 1988; Howgego 1995: 70-73; Hekster 2003; Lendon 2006: 61; Fejfer 2008: 373. Ancient literary evidence, as Ando (2000: 216) points out, ascribes selection to the emperors (Suet. *Aug.* 94.12; Id. *Nero* 25.2; Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 2.47.2, 4.15.1-2).
[760] Lendon 2006: 61.

> Now he commands chancellors Wei Zhuang and Wang Wan: 'As for the laws and units of measure that are disparate or doubtful, in all cases clarify and unify them.'[761]

The abundance of extant objects with this inscription, and the wide geographic area over which they have been discovered, suggest that this phenomenon was indeed "an attempt at… true mass communication" and to create "awareness of and commitment to" the emperor.[762] Wang Mang's artefacts, on the other hand, *were* coins. He marked the commencement of a new era for the empire by minting new, archaizing coins in the shapes of knives and spades (like those produced in the pre-Han Zhou 周 period); he sought thereby to promote a higher-level recognition of himself and of the changes afoot at the court and also to cast his regime as a new golden age.[763] Alas, these innovations were short lived in both cases, and each of these two emperors was viewed by subsequent generations as an aberration. For Han emperors, visibility – at least mass visibility – was not supposed to lie at the heart of power.

[761] Sanft 2014: 59 (trans. Sanft).
[762] Ibid: 2, 72-5; Lewis 2015: 214-15.
[763] Thomsen 1988: 89, 115-22; Cheesman 2000: 13.

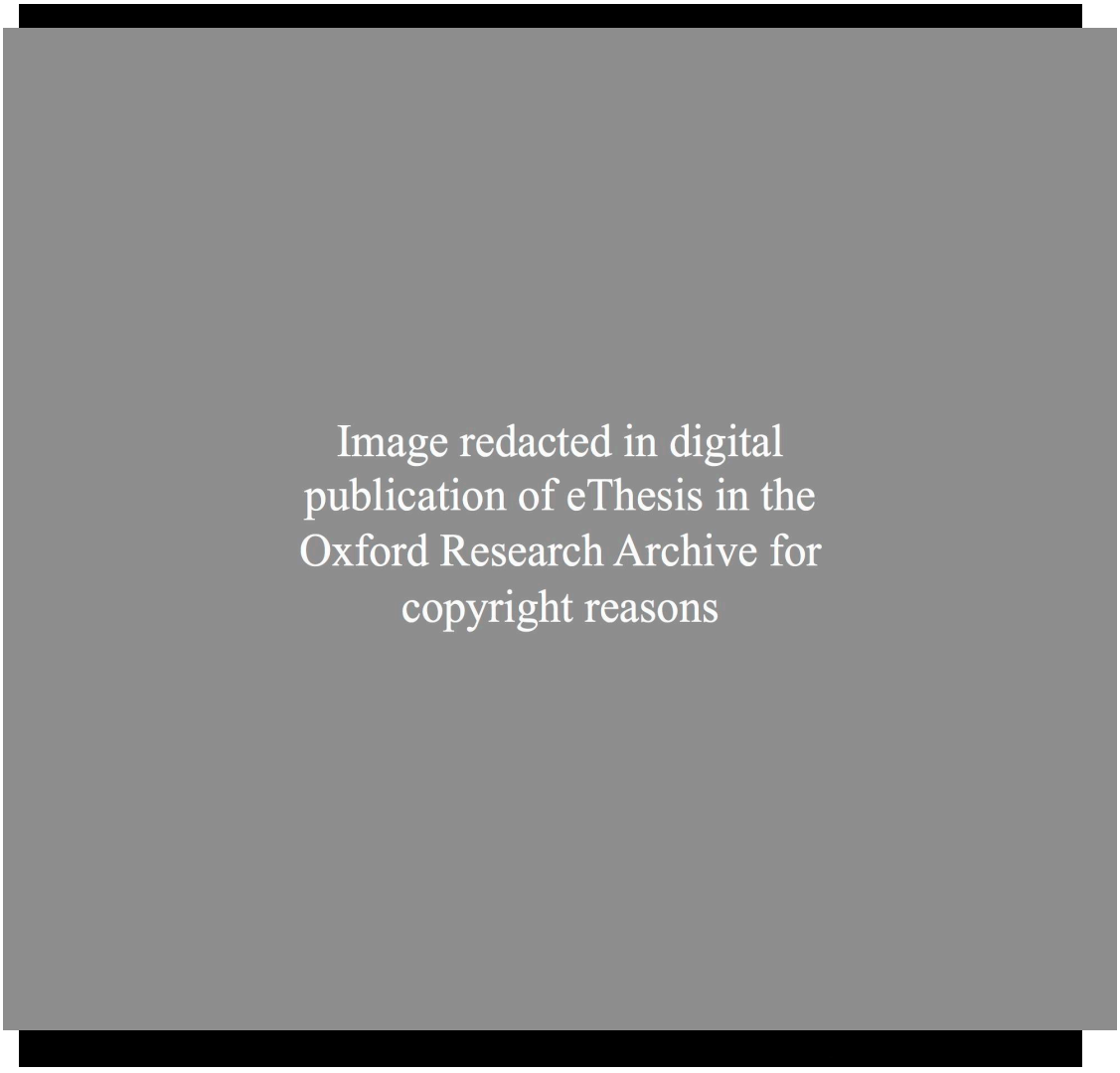

Fig. 7.7. Bronze knife coin with inlaid gold. Inscription reads 一刀平五千 yi dao ping wu qian *("one knife worth five thousand"). AD 7. Length: 76 mm. (British Museum, London, inv. CM 1939-3-17-11).*

Chapter 8

Conclusion: reflections on audience, ambiguity and import

"…seuls les aigles…"
- Paul Veyne [764]

始皇初即位穿治郦山及并天下天下徒送诣七十余万人
- 司马迁
"When the emperor first came to the throne he began digging and shaping Mt. Li. Later, when he unified the empire, he had over 700,000 men from all over the empire transported to the spot."
- Sima Qian [765]

In this final chapter, I briefly recapitulate the principal argument of this thesis and the ways in which the evidence presented and the thematic comparisons undertaken in the thesis support and refine that argument. I then use the comparative method to cast a critical eye over some of the sites and artefacts discussed in this thesis with regard to questions of viewership and purpose. In doing so, my intention is to provide an additional degree of nuance and subtlety to the overall argument of the thesis. The comparison in this final chapter focuses more on comparing two very different scholarly traditions; it therefore reasserts – in a slightly different way from previous chapters – the usefulness of the comparative method with regard to these two empires. The nuances drawn out here also show that there is ample room for further comparative work on these two empires and on questions related to images and power in particular; indeed, one of the principal motivations for comparative work generally is an understanding that there are always more questions, and that no model, path, or conclusion is final or comprehensive.

[764] Veyne 1991: 321.
[765] *Shi ji* 6; trans. Watson 1993.

Reflections and revelations

Bringing these two empires into direct contact – an achievement never fully realized by the ancients themselves[766] – allows us to see even some of the most studied images and artefacts from each with fresh eyes. The process truly exposes, in Rueschemeyer's words, "factors that are largely or completely held constant within the boundaries of [a single civilization] (or are simply less visible in that structural or cultural context)."[767]

In this case, comparison compels us to understand the Roman emperor's position as a rather nebulous construct and one which the sundry imperial subjects were notionally empowered to play a role in determining and manipulating; it was defined, conceptually, by the unique qualities and specific careers and achievements of its incumbent; and it was a fundamentally military role. These apprehensions challenge some influential current thinking about the nature of Roman imperial power,[768] and challenge us to appreciate important facets of the Roman imperial regime that are otherwise unseen or taken for granted. As the last vestiges of the "propaganda" narrative and terminology for Roman imperial images disappear, this understanding reaffirms the importance of artefacts related to imperial power in the Roman world – an importance vociferously denied by some of late[769] – with a new narrative.

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[766] A singular ancient report of an embassy from *Andun* 安敦 (perhaps Marcus Aurelius *Anton*inus or *Anton*inus Pius), King of *Da Qin* 大秦 (Rome), to the Han imperial court in 166 AD notwithstanding (Fan Ye 范晔, *Hou Han Shu* 后汉书 88).
[767] Rueschemeyer 2003: 332.
[768] See, e.g., Lendon 2006: especially 63. Cf. Veyne 2005: 379-418.
[769] Lendon 2006: 63: "For whatever reason, the imperial regime [did] *not* [need] them."

On the Chinese side, the revelation of this comparison is that the Han emperors seem *not* to have needed these visual and artefactual manifestations of power – at least not with the same high level of visibility and the same interest in the individual personage of the emperor (the hallmarks of the Roman material). They relied not on recognition – affected by the public transmission of their individual achievements, characteristics and military qualifications by means of allegedly "specific" and "historical" images and monuments – but instead on the validity of their office and the use of private, courtly or talismanic images and artefacts. The relationships these artefacts made manifest were not those between a man and a populace, or between a man and state (a *res publica*), but between an office and Heaven.[770] These characteristics are not easily perceived in conventional scholarship, because each set of scholarship treats its own unique, contingent situation as the norm.

A question of audience

One of the distinctions the preceding chapters have drawn between Roman and Qin-Han images themselves has to do with visibility and audience: the public, highly visible (or well circulated) nature of the relevant Roman artefacts in contrast to private, courtly or eschatological qualities of the Qin-Han objects. These distinctions might be made in even starker terms: while many visual and monumental expressions of Roman imperial power maximized viewership – adorning public buildings and thoroughfares (where they could even be said to be "in the way"[771]) and such ubiquitous portable objects as coins, many of the most compelling visual and material manifestations of imperial power in

[770] Mandate of Heaven: Shaughnessy 2013.
[771] Stewart 2003: ch. 4.

Qin-Han China existed in essentially invisible contexts: at the tops of mountains, in the case of Qin Shi Huangdi's steles (Mount Tai 泰山 is some 1,500 m tall); in private palaces and hunting-grounds, as in the case of Emperor Wudi's microcosm of the universe – complete with a sculptured whale in a mock ocean – at the Shangling imperial hunting park;[772] and deep in underground tombs, in the case of sculptural armies, retinues and provisions. (That the terracotta army was not intended to be "symbolic" but rather to perform a ritual or talismanic function is connected, as I have argued, to the vast number of sculptured soldiers – rather "than a symbolic *one*").[773]

Centrally issued status symbols and sumptuary grants to regional elites – which also, of course, constitute artefactual expressions of the emperor's power – are also known principally from private funerary contexts. These include, most notably, precious seals (bearing the relevant person's title and position within the cosmic, imperial hierarchy) and extravagant jade bodysuits for the deceased – constructed on the permission of (and quite possibly constructed by) the central court – that were also thought to wield a talismanic agency (Fig. 8.1).[774] Even privately commissioned images

[772] Lewis 2006: 177-9; the whale, nearly 5 m in length, has been excavated and is discussed at: Hei 黑光 1975; Liu 刘庆柱 2003: 138; Zheng 郑岩 2013: 18-54.
[773] Rawson 2014. Cf. Kesner 1995.
[774] The standardized nature of the complex and opulent jade burial suits throughout the Han Empire, together with the rigorous limitation of the suits to Liu princely tombs, suggests that the court oversaw both distribution and production (Rawson 1999a: 5; id. 1999b: 126). One famous example – the suit of Liu Sheng – consisted of 2,498 jade pieces and 1,100 grams of gold wire 0.14 millimeters in diameter (Yang H. 2004: 345; principal report is Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Hebei sheng wenwu guanli ban 中国社会科学院考古研究所，河北省文物管理办 1980); surely neither the raw materials nor the packages of skills required to create such an object were common. And of the twenty-four known Western Han jade suits with identifiable owners, twenty-one belonged to Liu princes and their consorts (thirty-two out of thirty- eight including both Western and Eastern Han); the others belonged, for example, to the King of Nanyue南越王, who considered himself equal to the Han Emperor and consciously imitated the

of war – which, I argue, may be much more ideologically and politically-charged than traditionally recognized – existed in remote family shrines and tombs.

Comparison gives some measure and perspective to these questions of audience, with which archaeologists on both sides have grappled in their own idiosyncratic ways for a long time. Scholarly misapprehensions about the First Emperor's terracotta army as a "symbol"[775] – resulting, perhaps, (on a subconscious level) from their high profile and mass viewership in the present day – have been mentioned already in Chapter 4. But students of the Roman world face similar challenges and, to an even greater extent than their Chinese counterparts, are prone to similar delusions. Here, the disciplines of Roman and Chinese archaeology may be able to inform each other.

One of the most obvious examples is the case of the triumphal columns. By using photographs, plaster casts, and binoculars, modern archaeologists have been able to see the reliefs in far greater detail than the Roman public would have.[776] Still, the reliefs are often analyzed as if they had had a significant impact on the city of Rome's population:

Liu princes, and to the family of Cao Teng 曹騰, who was posthumously named "emperor" in the era of political division at the end of the Eastern Han (Lin 2003: 26-8). See Thorp 1991: 34-6 on the talismanic significance of these suits and for ancient textual references regarding their sumptuary nature (including distinctions among gold, silver and bronze thread to denote discrete ranks within the highest social and political echelon).

[775] Wang 1987: 47; Ledderose 2000: 61-4; Wu 2006: 67. Cf. Rawson 1999b: 124-5: "The very physical presence of rows upon rows of clay figures would have impressed by their overwhelming ordered physical mass. Anyone seeing this impressive sight would have been in no doubt of the weight of the Emperor's might…. The careful display of armour and weapons, by both the human and the spirit army, indicated the degree of the Emperor's control…"

[776] Veyne 1991: 321. It is telling that the most widely circulated and republished (see, e.g., Lepper and Frere 1988) photographs are *still* Cichorius' (first published 1896-1900); these images themselves were photographs of casts, made from molds commissioned by Napoleon III in 1861-62 (see Wheeler 2010: 1192). Their long life is a result, no doubt, of the difficulty involved in accessing the higher spirals of the column.

even recent works focused on "images" in the Roman world refer unabashedly to "the viewers of Trajan's Column" and its reliefs.[777] Other images of dubious public visibility, including, for example, the cuirassed statue of Augustus (and the Parthian surrender shown on the breastplate) from the empress Livia's villa at Prima Porta (after 20 BC; Fig. 8.2), have similarly been discussed in terms of public viewership and ideology: "In one

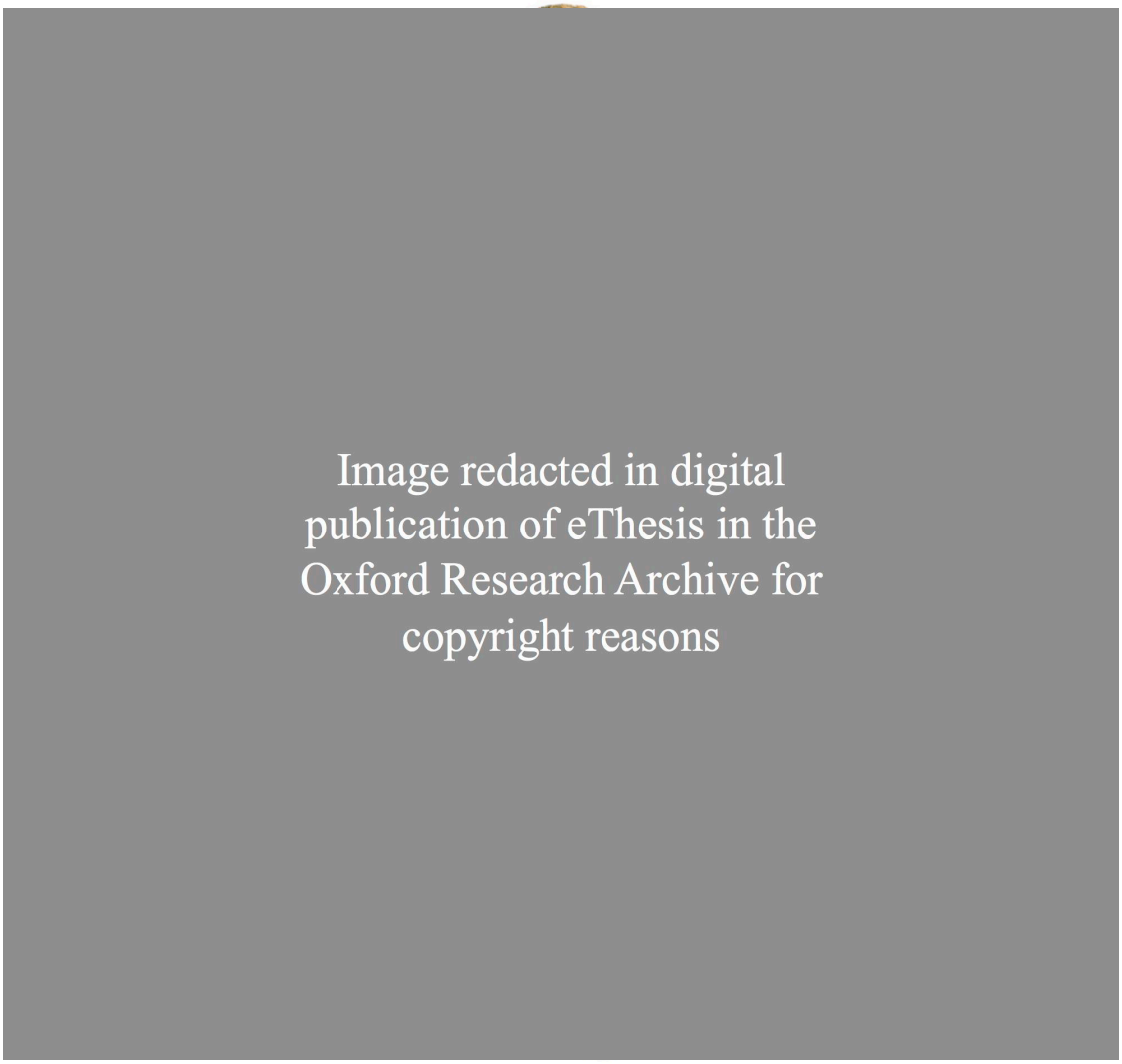

*Fig. 8.1. Jade burial suit (sewn with gold thread) and headrest of Dou Wan 竇綰 from Tomb 2 at Mancheng 满城, Hebei 河北 (*ca. *113-100 BC); 1.72m long. (Hebei Provincial Museum).*

[777] Clarke 2003: 31; Hölscher 2003: 3.

Fig. 8.2. Cuirassed statue of Augustus from Livia's Villa ad Gallinas Albas, Prima Porta. After 20 BC. Height: 2.04 m. (Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo inv. 2290).

sense the beholder is confronted with a political image. It relates to specific political events…. The viewer is addressed in the present[;] he or she is contextualized into the ideology of the Augustan Principate."[778] Some conveniently take this statue to be a copy of a more public portrait, although this is hardly knowable.[779] Whether or not such

[778] Elsner 1995: 167-8.
[779] Rose 2005: 24 *n.*23 gathers the literature.

assumptions about audience are so clearly stated, they buttress political and legitimizing interpretations wherever they are found. In the same way, we might wonder if non-extant copies of the terracotta warriors were displayed in more public contexts in Qin-Han China (though such a hypothesis contradicts entirely the arguments I have made regarding their non-mimetic, non-representational agency).[780]

Confronting problems of visibility

Of course, many have, in one way or another, recognized the problem of visibility (Fig. 8.3). These concerns are generally taken more seriously by those who study ancient China, while Romanists are more apt to look for ways around the problem (and in turn to hold to the conventional narrative which sees Roman images related to imperial power as historical-public-political).

The terracotta army is seen, more usually, nowadays not as a "history painting" or "memorial stele,"[781] but as a "magical" army for the afterlife.[782] In other words, their invisibility (discussed critically below) has been largely accepted, and their presumed invisibility has profoundly affected their presumed function.[783] "The aim was not purely aesthetic," Craig Clunas writes, "as these figures were never intended for contemplation

[780] Cf. Powers 1991: 105; Barbieri-Low 2007; Clunas 2009: 33-5 176-7 on funerary and above-ground architecture. Thank you to Nicholas Purcell for pursuing this question with me most stubbornly.
[781] Wang 1987: 47; Wu 2006: 67.
[782] Ledderose 2000: 68.
[783] This affect may be seen in one of Rawson's initial questions (2002: 124): "So, if the figures were intended for burial underground, what was their purpose there?" It should be noted that Rawson's treatment of the figures in "The Power of Images" (2002) was somewhat different from the more conventional symbolic role ascribed to them in Rawson 1999a: especially 124-5.

by any living eye."[784] And Kesner's assertion that the audience was the deceased emperor's soul is surely correct – that the project of the army's creation was, therefore, designed "to project [a certain world order] into eternity for the needs of the emperor after his death."[785]

Fig. 8.3. A newspaper cartoon about the Column of Trajan and visibility, adapted from a cartoon in Il Messaggero*, 7 October, 1959.*

Roman archaeologists have confronted such issues (when they confront them at all) in very different (and far more stubborn) ways: as Paul Veyne wrote, "Peu d'archéologues ont pensé à s'interroger sur le curieux problème de la non-visibilité des

[784] Clunas 2009: 30.
[785] Kesner 1995: 119, 131-2.

reliefs de la colonne et ceux qui l'ont fait trahissent quelque embarras."[786] Trajan's Column, they have argued, actually was designed to be seen, to be comprehended, to communicate and to persuade (if only we could explain how!). Today the first two spirals are visible from the ground, but the remaining twenty-one spirals are indecipherable to such a viewer (Fig. 1).[787] Karl Lehmann-Hartleben's comment – perhaps made in jest – that the ancient Romans must have had better eyesight,[788] has been replaced by other contrived arguments.[789] Some have said that the column was designed to be viewable from the upper stories of the libraries that surrounded the column, or from terraces on top of other surrounding buildings and the Basilica Ulpia.[790] This explanation is problematic, of course, because the viewer would not be able to follow the narrative around the spiral; even if, as has also been proposed (and against the chosen format of the monument), the column could be read vertically, these viewing points would also have been too close to the column to "allow the viewer [a] coherent perspective of the whole."[791] Penelope Davies has, on the other hand, contended that the viewer would have had to view the narrative "in the round."[792] For Richard Brilliant,

[786] Veyne 1991: 322.
[787] Ibid., 321. Even if the figures were painted (a hopeful proposal with which even the most recent works persist; De Angelis 2014: 92), they would hardly have been discernable beyond the first several cycles (Brilliant 1984: 92); in any case, only two tiny, inconclusive traces of red and orange pigment have been found on the column (Del Monte et al. 1998), and there is no evidence for painting on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (Beckmann 2003: 194 *n.*8).
[788] Lehmann-Hartleben 1926: 1: "…die Deutlichkeit der Einzelheiten für das an sich vielleicht schon schärfer sehende antike Auge erhöhten."
[789] The best summary of these arguments is Veyne 1991: 322.
[790] Farinella 1981: 2-9; Brilliant 1984: 82, 107; Davies 1997: 44; De Angelis 2014.
[791] Gauer 1977: 45-8 and Farinella 1981 on "vertikale Korrespondenzen" and "lettura verticale." Brilliant 1984: 92, 103 proposes that the helix has "sides" and "corners" and could therefore be read vertically (though not from elevated viewing points). See also Settis 1988: 202-19.
[792] Davies 1997, especially 56.

"repetition compensates for poor visibility;"[793] after cataloguing the difficulties involved in viewing the column, he concludes that the "designer of the reliefs must," after all, "be seen as a historian in stone," "rearrang[ing] his narrative in order to enhance its validity and persuasiveness [and] to make the truth accessible to the viewer"![794] In short, Roman archaeologists have seen this problem of visibility as one more to be resolved than to be taken into consideration.[795] Instead of thinking about other types of function and agency the column might possess, they have tried to *make* it visible.

While most Chinese archaeologists, as stated above, now take "invisibility" on board in their consideration of such artefacts as sculptured funerary armies, Paul Veyne's is something of a *vox clamantis in deserto* in Roman studies.[796] For Veyne has rejected the historical-public-political narrative: many of the images usually deemed to be politically "effective" Veyne claims would have been indiscernible and, accordingly, "recognizes in them [instead] a ritualized form of 'expression.'"[797] Victory monuments and other martial images were raised "in the face of heaven," he writes, "to proclaim [the emperor's] glory even if nobody is listening."[798] The orthodoxy of the narrative Veyne disputes is evident in the fact that his work has not "resonated as strongly with

[793] Brilliant 1984: 103. Beckmann 2003: 198, *contra*., on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, proposes that repetition had at least as much to do with "ease of execution" as "ease of visibility."
[794] Brilliant 1984: 100.
[795] The latest example is De Angelis 2014.
[796] De Angelis 2014.
[797] Veyne 1990: 378-82; id. 1991: 311-37, especially 321-2: "moins pour convaincre les lecteurs que pour exprimer ce dont leur coeur déborde - et aussi pour manifester leur existence." He says of Trajan's Column that, as with the Behistun relief, "seuls les aigles ou des alpinistes suspendus au bout de leur corde auraient pu la lire." See also Ewald and Noreña 2010: 34-5.
[798] Veyne 1990: 380.

archaeologists as one might expect, given the fundamental character of his argument."[799] His hypothesis has even met with outright hostility: the rejection of attempts to explain that the reliefs of Trajan's Column actually *were* legible[800] has been maligned as "einen Frontalangriff auf die anspruchsvollen Untersuchungskriterien der Archäologen."[801] While I disagree with Veyne's overall hypothesis – and in fact I believe that the contrasts drawn out in this thesis emphasize how public and widespread images connected with imperial power really were in the Roman sphere – his argument regarding the Column of Trajan is instructive, and a familiarity with the Qin-Han, where incalculable resources were lavished on imperial projects with no viewership but Heaven, surely makes one more sympathetic to his case.

The problem of visibility is not limited to these iconic examples, of course. Roman and Chinese archaeology face many of the same questions and ambiguities related to audience. The private funerary depictions of warfare (including sarcophagus and tomb reliefs) discussed in Chapter 6 raise many challenging questions about viewership – and therefore about purpose. As I argued in that chapter, comparative study might help us understand that these images are not as generic and as inconsequential for imperial ideology and current events as they are traditionally understood to be. (This is not to say, of course, that they were at all functional equivalents to the myriad imperial victory monuments erected to honor the emperor in the Roman world). The soldiers depicted in relief in Chinese tombs and funerary shrines have, as we have seen, usually been considered "spirit arm[ies]," just as the model

[799] Ewald and Noreña 2010: 34-5.
[800] See examples in the previous paragraph.
[801] Hölscher 2002: 140 *n.*7; cf. De Angelis 2014.

terracotta armies have;[802] the conclusion that they were ritual and generic surely conditions and is conditioned by assumptions that they enjoyed little or no public audience. These interpretations contrast starkly with many conventional understandings of private Roman battle sarcophagi, which are taken to be vehicles for display and glorification.[803] In fact, however, the evidence is ambiguous, and in some cases indicates that there was a significant body of addressees for these representations; this evidence has not, however, impacted mainstream understandings of the reliefs. This case is a reversal of sorts of the case of Trajan's Column. Although Jean James (*inter alia*) has argued that the reliefs of Han funerary shrines (which were not underground; e.g., Figs. 6.7, 6.13) would have been structurally difficult for a visitor to see,[804] there was, it seems, a significant number who made the effort. Indeed, theories developed relatively recently suggest that during the Han period, "the focus of worship…shifted from ancestral temples…to the tomb itself...or…nearby shrines [where] sacrifices were held;" and, moreover, that "these shrines were conceived as public sites, open to visitors."[805] Graffiti inscriptions at the Xiaotangshan shrine support this notion:

> Gao Lingming from Taishan [about 50km east of Xiaotangshan] wrote this during his respectful visit to see [the shrine] on the twenty-first day of the tenth month of the first year of the Yongkang Period [AD 167].[806]

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[802] James 1988-89: 70.
[803] Francis 2000: 335-6 and Kleiner 2003: 316-18.
[804] James 1998-99: 27-8: "Anyone wishing to view the interiors of these small Shandong shrines would have had to get down on all fours and peer inside while holding a lamp."
[805] Clunas 2009: 33-5. Cf. Wu 2010: 30-32: "during this period, the main site of ancestral worship shifted form the temples of elite lineages to tombs of individuals and nuclear families…. During the Eastern Han, not only were many ancestral rites conducted in a cemetery, but the enlarged grave chamber also enabled mourners to bid farewell to the departed soul underground."
[806] Ruitenbeck 2002: 84.

This inscription on the west wall is just one of many graffiti at the shrine, dating, it seems, as early as AD 129.[807] Interpretations of the content and purpose must be reassessed to incorporate this evidence.

Even the terracotta army of Shi Huangdi may not have been the entirely private creation as which it is usually presented. Sima Qian's *Shi ji* recounts that 700,000 were involved in the construction of the emperor's funerary deposits;[808] these drafted laborers – also subjects of the emperor, and in no small number – must not be discounted in questions of audience.[809] The sprawling *lingyi* tomb settlements created by either forced or incentivized migration may likewise have provided ample viewership for the contents of the imperial tomb if it inhabitants were settled on site before deposition.[810] Martin Powers has speculated that the particulars of Han tombs might have been widely known through "gossip and hearsay;"[811] this was at least as true of Shi Huangdi's colossal project. Although Sima Qian does not refer specifically to the warriors (just as, indeed, no extant Roman text refers to the content of the victory column reliefs[812]), he does provide a detailed account (much of which now appears to be accurate) of the first emperor's funerary deposits, indicating that contemporaries and those living shortly after

[807] Ibid.
[808] Sima Qian 6: 天下徒送诣七十余万人。
[809] Although Rawson 2002 plays down the potential impact of the warriors on the living audience that made them, Rawson 1999a: 124 adopts, briefly, "the perspective of the officals and workers who toiled in [the model army's] production."
[810] On *lingyi* see Sahara 佐原康夫 2002; Lewis 2015: 215.
[811] Powers 1991: 97-8.
[812] This fact makes De Angelis 2014 (nominally on written sources and the Column's viewership) all the more surpising. The columns themselves are mentioned, however: see Appendix B and Beckmann 2002.

the emperor's reign may have known about the representations.[813] The subsequent imitations of the army by Han emperors, princes and generals also suggest that the figures were known, at least in some circles.

Han reliefs installed within tombs may also have had an audience. Wu Hung has recently explained the large grave chambers of the Eastern Han as enabling "mourners to bid farewell to the departed soul underground"[814] through rituals within the tomb itself. One recently published inscription on a tomb wall in Xunyi 旬邑, Shaanxi 陕西, asks "those who want to observe" to "remove their shoes before entering," leading some to speculate that rituals may have been held within the tomb even after interment.[815]

Susan Beningson has commented that much of this "new evidence raises more questions than answers;"[816] in fact, Roman archaeology faces many of the same questions even if they have traditionally been taken in stride. The most recent volume on Roman sarcophagi[817] has, however, confronted the matter of context and visibility directly and come up with a similarly ambiguous response:

> [W]e know enough in general to say that the majority of second and early third century sarcophagi were placed in mausolea, that many of these were…carefully laid out…. The question of when such tombs were available to visitors or to display is also an open one – and it may be no more often than on the anniversary

[813] Sima Qian 6. Wu 2010: 10 notes that ancient Chinese "writers uniformly avoided talking about underground graves, and as a result, these spaces were 'hidden' both in reality and in literature." But Qin Shi Huangdi's burial, at least, is an exception. The actual tumulus of the first emperor, which, it seems, is what Sima Qian describes, has not been excavated. But part of his description refers to "rivers of mercury" in the tomb, and scientific analyses have found unusually high levels of mercury in the area of the mound (Duan 2007).
[814] Wu 2010: 30-32.
[815] Beningson 2005d: 11-16.
[816] Ibid.
[817] Elsner and Huskinson 2011.

> of the deceased or when a new burial was added; likewise, the issue of to whom such display was made possible (just family? chosen visitors? slaves and freedmen? long-standing clients?) is unresolved and likely never to be soluble.[818]

In all cases, there probably was, at some point, a living audience for funerary representations of militaria in both Rome and in the Qin-Han. But how specific or narrow that audience was, and how great their opportunity for viewing, we do not know. It seems reasonable, then, to conclude that these (often intricate) images – in *both* the Roman and Chinese cases – were created with consideration for their potential impact on a living audience [819] but also to serve some purpose beyond simply bolstering public prestige or commemorating real-life events (as some have assumed in the case of Roman battle sarcophagi[820]).

Ritual-political crossover

With the "spirit armies" of Qin-Han funerary sites in mind,[821] Roman archaeologists in the mainstream might place a greater emphasis on spiritual and "magical" aspects of martial depictions.[822] Penelope Davies ascribes a "magic" purpose to the Dacian war frieze of Trajan's Column (it perpetuates Trajan's victories *in aeternum* and compels viewers to perform an auspicious ritual of circumambulation), but these theories have received little support.[823] And although Roman sarcophagus and tombstone reliefs are

[818] Elsner 2011: 6.
[819] Cf. Kesner 1995:119 *n.*22.
[820] See, e.g., Francis 2000: 335-6 and Kleiner 2003: 316-18 on the battle sarcophagus as a form of display, glorification and senatorial "status" symbol.
[821] James 1988-89: 70; Kesner 1995: 117, 131; Thompson 1998.
[822] Cf. Elsner 2007: 38: "the ritual appreciation of an image may be seen as a kind of alternative (not necessarily an exclusive one) to what we would regard as a more straightforwardly art historical response."
[823] Davies 1997. Davies' article is not even cited in the most recent major monograph on the column (Richter 2010).

rarely, if ever, considered in the same terms as funerary images of Han soldiers, it does seem that the battle reliefs and related grave steles were created with spiritual significance and even "magic efficacy"[824] in mind. Many tombstones of auxiliary cavalrymen in the Principate depict a cavalryman (surely the deceased) riding down a barbarian foe, as in the typical example of one Reburrus' gravestone in Bonn (*ca.* 54-68 AD; Fig. 8.4).[825] These steles have – in accordance with conventional explanations for Roman war motifs – been seen as a "method" (a word which in itself emphasizes the persuasive orientation of the conventional narrative) for displaying "military identity, status, personal success, and also a sense of difference, or perceived superiority to others."[826] In short, they are taken to be highly political and ideological; they are privately commissioned artefacts dealing with Roman imperial power and success and therefore with the apologetics of empire.

It seems just as likely, however, that this type of gravestone (usually erected in peacetime for soldiers who died not on the battlefield, but in camp) had some "eschatological significance" or manifested "the conception of death as a victory, or as a journey that will end in victory."[827] Moreover, by depicting, and thereby making manifest, this death-clash, the monument may have ensured an eternal personal "victory" for the deceased. This sort of functionality is, of course, not unlike the proposals put forward by Chinese archaeologists in which battle and military images represent the perilous journey of the soul and assure martial "supremacy in the afterlife" (see Chapter

[824] The term is Kesner's (1995).
[825] Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Inv. 58, 1045. Bauchhenß 1978: no. 17. On these steles in general, see Hope 2003.
[826] Hope 2003: 85.
[827] Richmond 1950: 22-3; McCann 1978: 114.

5).[828] Although this sort of thinking is seldom applied in today's mainstream scholarship on Roman images, it does not seem unreasonable, with little except the images themselves as a guide for how such artefacts "worked," that both the tombstones of *ala* troopers and also the later battle sarcophagi were constructed, in part, with consideration for these goals.

These images do not concern the emperor directly; nor does this proposal impact the broader argument of this thesis regarding the nature of the emperor's power vis-à-vis images and artefacts in Rome and Qin-Han China. But I hope it suggests that there is more to the story – and more to the comparison between these two disconnected by highly comparable sets of evidence and scholarship – than I have covered here. Let this be not an end, but a beginning for fruitful comparative research on images, objects and imperial power in Rome and China.

[828] See, e.g., James 1988-89: 69; Paludan 2006: 61. Further discussion in Chapter 5, above.

Fig. 8.4. Auxiliary cavalryman riding down an enemy. Tombstone of Reburrus, Bonn. Ca. *54-68 AD. Height: 103 cm. (Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. 58, 1045).*

APPENDIX A: Qin-Han and Roman emperors

I. Chinese emperors of the Qin-Han period and their dates of rule[829]

Qin Dynasty 秦	**221 – 207 BC**
Shi Huangdi 始皇帝	221-210 BC
Ershi Huangdi 二世皇帝	210-207 BC
Western Han Dynasty 西汉	**207 BC – AD 8**
Gaozu 高祖	207-196 BC
Huidi 惠帝	196-188 BC
Empress Dowager Lü 吕太后	188-180 BC
Wendi 文帝	180-157 BC
Jingdi 景帝	157-141 BC
Wudi 武帝	141-87 BC
Zhaodi 昭帝	86-74 BC
Xuandi 宣帝	73-49 BC
Yuandi 元帝	48-33 BC
Chengdi 成帝	32-7 BC
Aidi 哀帝	6-1 BC
Pingdi 平帝	AD 1-5
Ruzi Ying 孺子嬰	AD 6-8
Xin Dynasty 新	**AD 9 – 23**
Wang Mang 王莽	AD 9-23
Eastern Han Dynasty 东汉	**AD 25 – 220**
Guangwudi 光武帝	AD 25-57
Mingdi 明帝	AD 58-75
Zhangdi 章帝	AD 76-88
Hedi 和帝	AD 89-105
Shangdi 殤帝	AD 106
Andi 安帝	AD 107-125
Shaodi 少帝	AD 126
Shundi 順帝	AD 126-144
Chongdi 沖帝	AD 145
Zhidi 質帝	AD 146
Huandi 桓帝	AD 147-167
Lingdi 靈帝	AD 168-188
Shaodi 少帝	AD 189
Xiandi 獻帝	AD 190-220

[829] Adapted from Tseng 2011: xxii.

II. Roman emperors up to the Third Century Crisis and their dates of rule[830]

Julio-Claudians	**27 BC – AD 68**
Augustus	27 BC-AD 14
Tiberius	AD 14-37
Gaius (Caligula)	AD 37-41
Claudius	AD 41-54
Nero	AD 54-68
Year of the Four Emperors and Flavians	**AD 69 – 96**
Galba	AD 68-69
Otho	AD 69
Vitellius	AD 69
Vespasian	AD 69-79
Titus	AD 79-81
Domitian	AD 81-96
Adoptive emperors and Antonines	**AD 96 – 192**
Nerva	AD 96-98
Trajan	AD 98-117
Hadrian	AD 117-138
Antoninus Pius	AD 138-161
Lucius Verus (co-emperor)	AD 161-169
Marcus Aurelius (co-emperor 161-169; 177-180)	AD 161-180
Commodus (co-emperor to 180)	AD 177-192
Year of the Five Emperors and Severans	**AD 193 – 235**
Pertinax	AD 193
Didius Julianus	AD 193
Pescennius Niger	AD 193
Clodius Albinus	AD 193
Septimius Severus (co-emperor from 198)	AD 193-211
Caracalla (co-emperor to 211)	AD 198-217
Geta (co-emperor)	AD 209-217
Macrinus	AD 217-218
Elagabalus	AD 218-222
Severus Alexander	AD 222-235

[830] Adapted from Grant 1993: 401-7. It should be noted that lists of this type – and the conventional periodization and dynastic categorizations in particular – are a sort of modern construct.

APPENDIX B

Gazetteer of Roman and Qin-Han imperial burial sites

As these sites are generally well-known and well-documented, this gazetteer aims primarily to provide a brief introduction for the non-specialist to the archaeology, bibliography and primary textual evidence related to each site, drawing particular attention to those aspects which are relevant to the subject of this thesis: the visual and material incarnations of imperial power. The gazetteer, therefore, makes significant use of continuous prose. For the Han sites, which are almost all of the same format (and where less excavation work has been completed), a description of the tombs' general format is provided.

Fig. B.1. Imperial Roman burial sites. Map by G. Lugli, 1939.

I. Roman imperial burial sites

Fig. B.2. The Mausoleum of Augustus (current state), Rome, ca. *28 BC.*

1. Mausoleum of Augustus

Date: *ca.* 31-28 BC
Location: Campus Martius, Rome (41° 54′ 21″ N, 12° 28′ 35" E)
Related structures: the *Ara Pacis Augustae*; the *ustrinum Augusti*; the meridian instrument of Augustus
Interred: Augustus (d. AD 14), Tiberius (d. AD 37), Claudius (?; d. AD 54), Vespasian (?; d. AD 79), Nerva (d. AD 98), and other imperial family members[831]
Selected bibliography: Kraft 1967; Arce 1988: 61-78; Coarelli and Thébert 1988; Colvin 1991: 42-7; Reeder 1992; von Hesberg and Panciera 1994; Güven 1998; Davies 2000; Rehak 2006; Cooley 2009: 3-6; Johnson 2009: 17-22.

Description:

Either in the prelude to the Battle of Actium (31 BC) or immediately after Augustus' victory there over Antony and Cleopatra, construction began on Augustus'

[831] Occupants: Arce 1988: 73-8; Panciera 1994: 72-87; Johnson 2009: 199-200.

funerary site. The Mausoleum of Augustus was an elaborate variation on the circular tumulus. Strabo described the tomb as it appeared shortly after its construction:

> ἀξιολογώτατον δὲ τὸ Μαυσώλειον καλούμενον, ἐπὶ κρηπῖδος ὑψηλῆς λευκολίθου πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ χῶμα μέγα, ἄχρι κορυφῆς τοῖς ἀειθαλέσι τῶν δένδρων συνηρεφές: ἐπ᾽ ἄκρῳ μὲν οὖν εἰκών ἐστι χαλκῆ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ χώματι θῆκαί εἰσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων…
>
> The most noteworthy [tomb in the *Campus Martius*] is what is called the Mausoleum, a great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-green trees to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of Augustus himself and his kinsmen and intimates…[832]

Approximately 89 meters (300 Roman feet) in diameter, the Mausoleum's plan involved five concentric circular walls around a 45 meter tall travertine pillar; Augustus' cinerary urn may have been placed in a chamber hewn into the base of this pillar. The outermost wall, faced with white travertine, would have appeared as a base, above which the earthen tumulus rose surmounted by further architectonic elaboration. A door in the outermost wall led to the annular corridors between the three innermost walls, where the cinerary urns of the imperial family and several subsequent emperors may have been placed in niches. Around this outer wall on the exterior were inscribed *elogia* of the imperial family members interred within. The *clipeus virtutis*, an honorary shield presented to Augustus by the Senate, was also depicted on the exterior of the Mausoleum, and on either side of the entrance there may have been images of laurel branches. For other components, we rely on literary sources, which describe two pillars, erected after Augustus' death in accordance with his will, flanking the entrance and inscribed with a catalogue of Augustus' accomplishments (the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*).[833] Although

[832] Strabo 5.3.8. Translation adapted from Jones 1969.
[833] This reconstruction follows: Colvin 1991: 42-7; Nicolet 1991: 17; Reeder 1992: 269-70; von Hesberg and Panciera 1994; Favro 1996: 117; Güven 1998; Davies 2000: 14-15; Rehak 2006: 38-

there is no surviving archaeological evidence for an *epithema,* Strabo also mentions that a bronze statue of Augustus surmounted the whole mausoleum.[834]

The other principal components of this funerary park were the *Ara Pacis Augustae*; a colossal meridian instrument (the so-called "*Horologium Augusti*"); and the *ustrinum*. The *Ara Pacis Augustae* is a much-studied monumental altar erected in the *Campus Martius* southeast of the Mausoleum on the *Via Flaminia*; its reliefs feature mythological images related to Rome's founders; allegories and vegetal friezes related to the peace, abundance and piety of the Augustan age; and processional scenes of Augustus, Agrippa, priests and the imperial family.[835] South of the Mausoleum (on an axis which ran parallel to the *Via Flaminia*) and west of the *Ara Pacis* (on an axis perpendicular to the *Via Flaminia*) stood an obelisk imported by Augustus from Heliopolis in Egypt. The obelisk was long thought to have served as the *gnomon* for a colossal sundial, the so-called "*Horologium Augusti*;"[836] Peter Heslin has recently shown that this was a colossal but less expansive astrological-calendrical instrument, which used the length of the shadow cast by the obelisk at noon each day along a paved meridian line to track the time of year and the length of the days.[837] The exact location of the site of Augustus' funeral pyre, the *ustrinum* of Augustus, is unknown and no archaeological remnants for the structure have yet been found; Strabo, however, records that it was an

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42. *Clipeus virtutis*: von Hesberg and Panciera 1994: 113-18; Cooley 2009: 5, 34.2*n*. On the *elogia* inscriptions: Panciera 1994. On the *Res Gestae*: Suet. *Aug.* 101.4; Cass. Dio, 56.33.1.

[834] Strabo, *Geog*. 5.3.8.

[835] "[O]ne of the most studied monuments surviving from ancient Rome:" see Billows 1993: 80, 92. On the content of these reliefs, see: Toynbee 1953: 72-81; Torelli 1982: 37-55; Hannestad 1988: 71-4; Castriota 1995; Conlin 1997; Holliday 1990; Rose 1990; Kleiner 2005: 217-25.

[836] The idea was introduced by Edmund Buchner in Buchner 1976. Heslin 2007 reviews the iterations and variations of this theory.

[837] Heslin 2007; his reading agrees with Pliny the Elder's description at Plin., *N.H.* 36.72-3.

enclosure in the vicinity of the Mausoleum consisting of a low marble wall surrounded by a circular iron fence to commemorate the place of Augustus' cremation.[838]

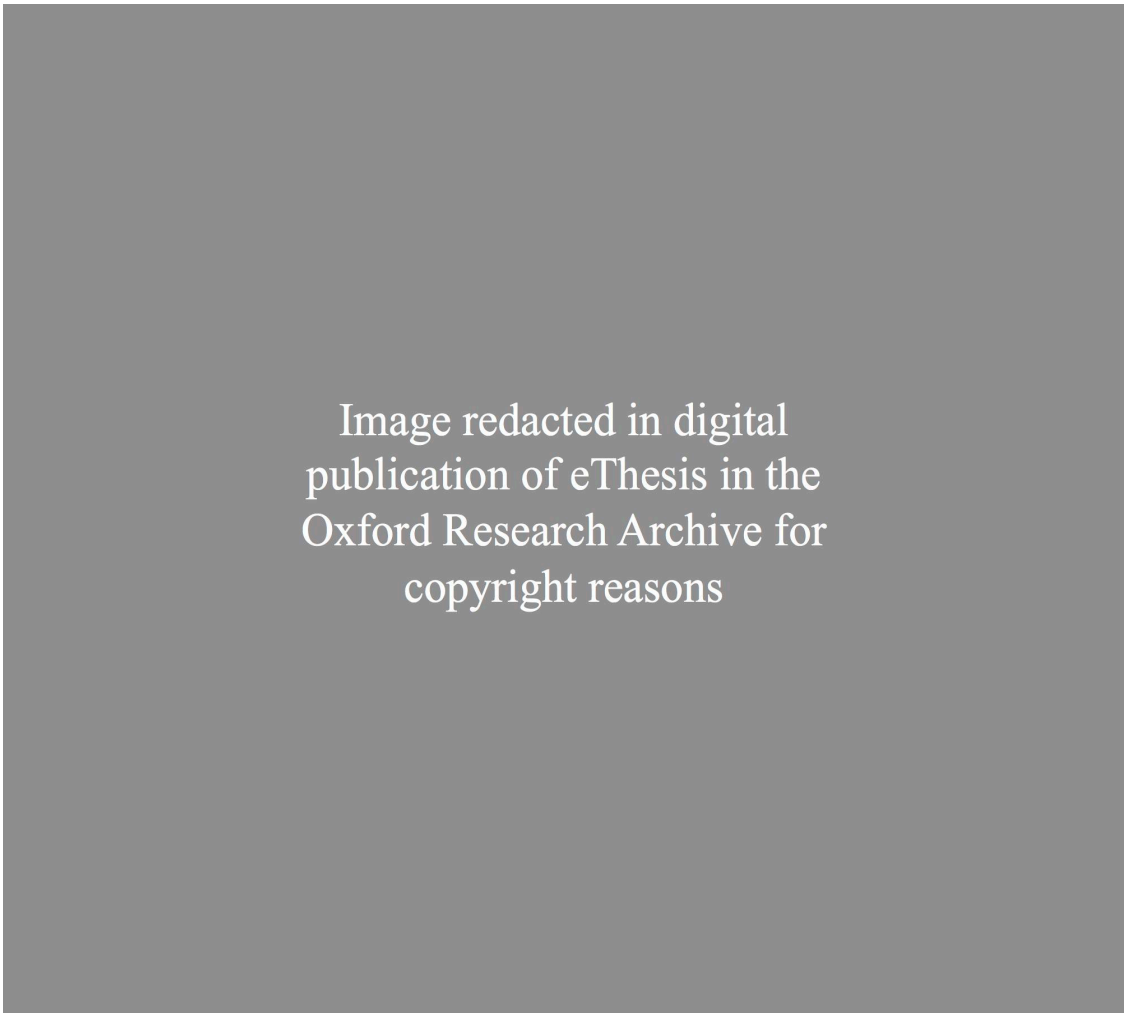

Fig. B.3. Trajan's Column, Rome, ca. *AD 113, crowned by a 16th century statue of St. Peter, amid the ruins of the Basilica Ulpia (lower right).*

2. The Column of Trajan

Date: *ca.* AD 113
Location: Forum of Trajan, Rome (41° 53′ 45″ N, 12° 29′ 4″ E)
Related structures: the *Basilica Ulpia*; the Temple of Trajan; the *Bibliotecha Ulpia*; the Forum of Trajan
Interred: Trajan (d. AD 117), Plotina (d. *ca.* AD 122)

[838] Strabo, *Geog*. 5.3.8.

Selected bibliography: Lehmann-Hartleben 1926; Zanker 1970; Rossi 1971; Gauer 1977; Farinella 1981; Richmond 1982; Arce 1988: 83-5; Lepper and Frere 1988; Settis 1988; Coulston 1990; Veyne 1990: 378-82; id. 1991: 311-37; Claridge 1993; Packer 1994; Huet 1996; Davies 1997; Packer 1997; Del Monte et al. 1998; Lancaster 1999; Coarelli 2000; Davies 2000; Zanker 2000; Beckmann 2002; Johnson 2009: 26-8; Richter 2010.

Description:

In AD 117, the Roman emperor Trajan narrowly escaped death by an enemy arrow at Hatra, in northern Iraq, only to suffer a stroke and die on his journey back to Italy.[839] His cremated remains were returned to Rome and placed in the base of his eponymous column: a 44 m tall monument which had been constructed four years earlier, decorated with a helical frieze dedicated to a more memorable chapter in the emperor's military career – the Dacian campaigns.[840] The 23 levels of spiraling reliefs illustrated the Dacian wars in thorough and gory detail with episodes of engineering feats, tactical formations, encampments, negotiations, torture, decapitated enemies and spoils.[841] Large questions remain, however, about how (and whether) the upper spirals of the small-scale, intricate column frieze were intended to viewed.[842] The pedestal is decorated with a large-scale image of a *congeries armorum*, in which captured Dacian and Roxolanic shields, weapons and other equipment (approximately six hundred pieces of equipment in total)

[839] Aur. Vict. *Ep*. 13; Cass. Dio 68.31-3, 69.2; Eutrop. 8.5; Davies 1997: 41; id. 2000: 27. On whether the Column was an *ad hoc* sepulcher or, more likely, a planned burial site, see above.
[840] Extensive metabibliography for Trajan's Column at Packer 1997: 115 *n*.5.
[841] See Coarelli 2000: 28 and Stewart 2008: 117-18 on what seems to be a surprisingly "faithful reflection of reality" (including the more tedious aspects of a military campaign); Hölscher 2003: 3 on the frieze's "character of immediate realism." On the column's hypothetical relationship to written *commentarii* on the Dacian Wars (authored by Trajan himself, in the mode of Caesar's Gallic commentaries), see Davies 1997: 43; Coarelli 2000: 11-14.
[842] While the first two spirals are visible from the ground, today, the remaining twenty-one seem indecipherable from such a perspective. On the question of the frieze's (in)discernability, see Lehmann-Hartleben 1926: 1; Gauer 1977; Farinella 1981: 2-9; Brilliant 1984: 92; Settis 1988: 202-19; Veyne 1991: 322; Davies 1997: 44; Del Monte et al. 1998; Hölscher 2002: 140 *n*.7.

were portrayed accurately and in detail.[843] The inscription at the column's pedestal (*CIL* 6.960) states that the Senate and People of Rome dedicate the column to Trajan AD DECLARANDUM QUANTAE ALTITUDINIS MONS ET LOCUS TANT(s ope)RIBUS SIT EGESTUS, although it is likely that the column's funerary function was intended all along.[844] Originally, a gilded statue of Trajan surmounted the column.[845] A set of doors in the base led to an entry chamber; off of the entry chamber, to the left, was the sepulchral chamber containing the ashes of Trajan and his wife Plotina, and to the right, a spiral staircase leading to the top of the column. The column's setting (Trajan's "burial park," as it were) was one of the most bustling areas of the Roman city center and an environment pregnant with martial images (bronze equestrian statues; military reliefs; and stone figures of captive Dacian enemies): the Forum of Trajan, commissioned (as inscriptions in the Forum declared) EX MANUBIIS, "from the spoils of war,"[846] where the column-tomb interacted spatially with the Greek and Latin libraries that flanked it (the *Bibliotecha Ulpia*), the law courts and public offices of the *Basilica Ulpia*, and the Temple of Divine Trajan.[847]

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[843] Coarelli 2000: 21. See Coulston 1990: 294 on the accuracy of the depiction of this equipment.

[844] Davies 2000: 30-34 summarizes the debate on whether or not Trajan's Column was intended to serve as his tomb. While there is no certain evidence that Trajan's remains were not placed in the column's base *ad hoc*, the existence of a chamber in the base suggests a premeditated functional contrast with the non-funerary Column of Marcus Aurelius. Proposals that *spolia* or the scrolls of the *Dacica* were intended to be placed in this chamber have trouble accounting for the bench and bracket which held Trajan's crematory urn (and are otherwise unconvincing and unsupported). Moreover, the same marble was used for both the pedestal in the chamber and the cinerary urn itself (Johnson 2009: 28). Zanker (1970: 530-39) and Davies (2000: 30-34) have also argued that the iconographic program of the Forum also hinted at the Column's funerary function. See also: Settis 1988: 55-6; Davies 1997: 45-8; Packer 1997: 117-18; Coarelli 2000: 4; Davies 2000: 72; *contra*: Claridge 1993: 11.

[845] The statue is not extant. On the statue, see Davies 1997: 43; Lancaster 1999: 419.

[846] Aul. Gell. 13.25.1.

[847] Reconstruction of the Forum based on Leander Touati 1987 and Packer 1997, with ancient testimony from Aul. Gell. 13.25.1. Although the temple was not dedicated until the 130s, it formed part of the original plan for the site (Packer 1997: 131).

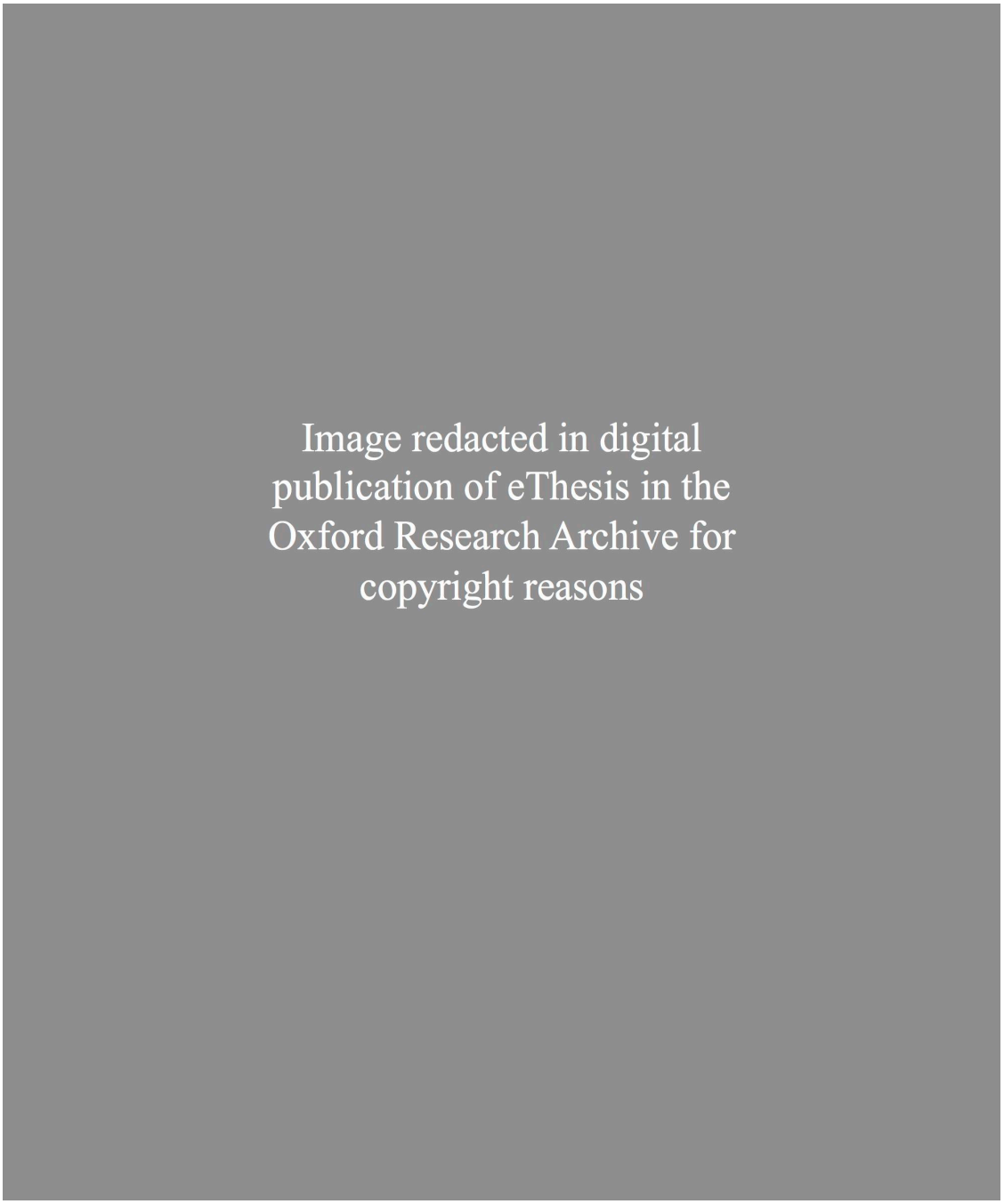

Fig. B.4. Castel Sant'Angelo, originally the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and the Ponte Sant'Angelo, originally the Pons Aelius, Rome, ca. *AD 123-140.*

3. The Mausoleum of Hadrian

Date: *ca.* AD 123-140
Location: *Ager Vaticanus*, Rome (41° 54′ 11″ N, 12° 27′ 59″ E)
Related structures: the *Pons Aelius*
Interred: Hadrian (d. AD 138), Antoninus Pius (d. AD 161), Lucius Verus (d. AD 169),

Marcus Aurelius (d. AD 180), Commodus (d. AD 192) Pertinax (?; d. AD 193), Septimius Severus (d. AD 211), Geta (d. AD 209), Caracalla (d. AD 217) and other imperial family members[848]

Selected bibliography: Borgatti 1931; Colvin 1991: 49-50; Davies 2000: 35-40, 82-9, 158-61; Opper 2008: 212-15; Johnson 2009: 31-40; Claridge 2010: 410-15.

Hadrian commissioned his Mausoleum, a towering architectonic tumulus in the style of Augustus' Mausoleum, to be built across the Tiber in the imperial family's private gardens, the *Horti Domitiae* in the *Ager Vaticanus*, in AD 123.[849] Although the tomb was built on private land, its location on the riverbank and in a relatively undeveloped area of the ancient city would have helped to make the Mausoleum one of the most prominent structures in Antonine Rome.[850] The *Pons Aelius*, a bridge over the Tiber connecting Hadrian's tomb to the Campus Martius, was built as a corollary project and would have further enhanced the Mausoleum's conspicuousness. A fence of metal grille and travertine pillars, decorated with gilt bronze peacocks, created a square precinct of approximately 115 m on each side within which the Mausoleum stood.[851] Just as the diameter of Augustus' Mausoleum measured 300 Roman feet, the marble-faced square base of Hadrian's tomb was also 300 Roman feet (89 m) on each side. Above the base, a circular drum, faced in travertine and tufa, measured 68 m in diameter and rose to at least 31 m in height. A second, smaller drum above this probably supported a bronze statue of Hadrian, perhaps in a *quadriga*, looming over the city from across the Tiber at the apex of the monument over 50 m high.[852]

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[848] *CIL* 6.984-95; Herod. 4.1.4; Cass. Dio 76.15.4, 78.19.1, 78.24.3; *Hist. Aug.* Sev. 19.3, 24.3; Carac. 9.12; Opel. Macrin. 5.2. See also Scheithauer 2000: 169 *n.*118; Johnson 2009: 199-200.
[849] Davies 2000: 37-40. This date is based on brickstamps.
[850] Boatwright 1987: 161; Davies 2000: 160-61; Opper 2008: 212; Claridge 2010: 410.
[851] Opper 2008: 213.
[852] Davies 2000: 36; Claridge 2010: 410.

Although much of the original edifice has not survived, and much was altered or added during the tomb's long service as a bridgehead, fortress and papal castle (the Castel Sant'Angelo, only decommissioned in 1901), it seems that the exterior originally featured elaborate Corinthian pilasters, epitaphs of the deceased, and a frieze of *bucrania*, shields and garlands.[853] It is possible that the tumulus was planted with trees, like the Mausoleum of Augustus, and likely that the exterior of the Mausoleum was decorated with extensive bronze and stone statuary of a colossal scale, like the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos; we do not know exactly what these statues represented, as only fragments survive: Procopius relates that many of them were broken into rocks and hurled as weapons from the fortified Mausoleum onto the besieging Ostrogoths in AD 537.[854] Further statuary, including a portrait of Hadrian himself, may have been placed inside the tomb.[855] A bronze door in the base opened onto an entry corridor, off of which a rising, counterclockwise annular corridor led to the second storey; it was on this second level that the burial chamber held the cinerary urns of Hadrian, his family, and subsequent emperors. Further stairs led to "rooms of uncertain purpose" at higher levels and onto the tomb's summit.[856] The Mausoleum was still incomplete at Hadrian's death in 138. Antoninus Pius quickly finished the project and moved Hadrian's remains, first buried at Puteoli, to the tomb in 140.[857]

[853] *CIL* 6.984-95; Claridge 2010: 413-15; Opper 2008: figs. 201-204.
[854] Procop. *Goth.* 5.22. Procopius relates that these were statues of men and horses; the 12th century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* records gilded bronze horses and a bronze bull (Opper 2008: 215).
[855] Extant statuary: Opper 2008: 212-15, figs. 199-205.
[856] Davies 2000: 37-40.
[857] Ibid.: 35.

II. Qin-Han imperial burial sites

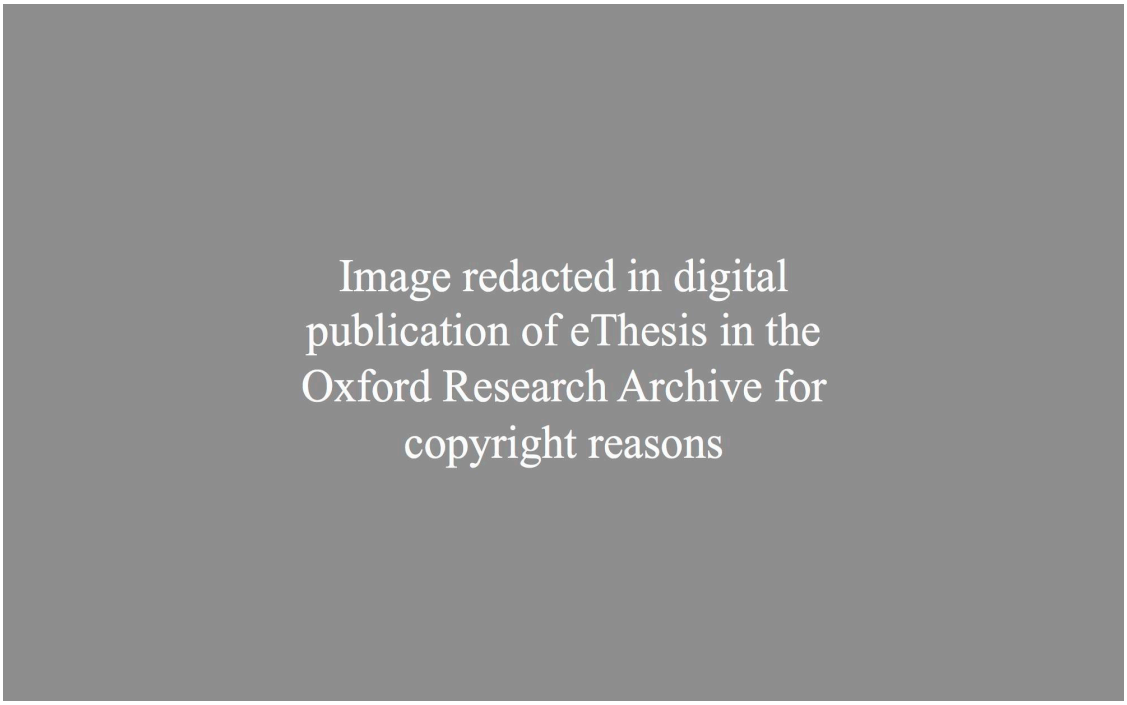

Fig. B.5. Map of Qin and Han imperial tombs, Shaanxi 陕西. Note that post-Han sites and structures are shown on this map also, including the Weihui Canal and the cities of Xi'an, Xianyang and Lintong.

1. Lishan Qin Shi Huang Ling 郦山秦始皇陵

Date: *ca.* 246-210 BC
Location: Lishan 郦山, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 22′ 55″ N, 109° 15′ 14″ E)
Interred: Shi Huangdi 始皇帝(d. 210 BC), concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Shihuangling qinyongkeng kaogu fajuedi 始皇陵秦俑坑考古发掘地 1975; id. 1978; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo; Shi huang ling Qin yongkeng kaogu fajue dui 陕西省考古研究所, 始皇陵秦俑坑考古发掘队 1988; Ledderose and Schlombs 1990; Kesner 1995; Rawson 1997; Shen 申茂盛 1999; Ledderose 2000: 51-68; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo; Qin shi huang bingmayong bowuguan 陕西省考古研究所; 秦始皇兵馬俑博物館 2000; Shihuangling kaogudi 始皇陵考古队 2001; Qin ling kaogu dui 秦陵考古队 2001; Rawson 2002; Yuan 袁仲一 2001; Martinón-Torres et al. 2001; Shen 申茂盛 2001; Wu et al. 2001; Yuan 袁仲一 2002; Komlos 2003; Ciarla 2005; Blansdörf and Xia 2006; Paludan 2006: 61-76; Wu 2006: 54-7; Duan 2007; Nickel 2007; Rawson 2007; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo; Qin shi huang bingmayong bowuguan 陕西省考古研究所; 秦始皇兵馬俑博物館 2007; Wu 2007; Thote and Falkenhausen 2008; Nickel 2009; Michaelson 2010; Rawson 2010a; Li 2011; Li et al. 2011; Blänsdorf and Zachmann 2013; Cao 2013; Khayutina 2013a; Mei 梅 建軍 2013; Selbitschka 2013a; id. 2013b; Martinón-Torres et al. 2014.

Fig. B.6. Aerial view of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (current state; its height has reduced over time), Shaanxi 陕西, constructed 246-210 BC.

Some 40 km east of the Qin capital, Xianyang, the first emperor's tumulus at Lintong 临潼 was enclosed by two rectangular walls, the outer measuring approximately 2,165 m north-south by 580 m east-west; with its subsidiary pits and burials, the burial complex sprawled across an area of approximately 56 square kilometers.[858] The tomb mound itself measured approximately 350 m on each side at its base. Today it rises approximately 76 m,[859] but its original height is estimated to have been as high as 115 m.[860] Although the tumulus has not been excavated, many of the subsidiary burial pits

[858] Rawson 2007: 125; id. 2010: 32.
[859] Ledderose 2000: 53; current data on the tumulus' height varies, however, from 55 to 87 m (Rawson 2007: 124).
[860] Ledderose 2000: 53; cf. Selbitschka 2013a: 144.

have, including, most famously, those containing the terracotta army. The construction of the tomb is described by Sima Qian:

> 始皇初即位，穿治郦山，及并天下，天下徒送诣七十余万人，穿三泉，下铜而致椁，宫观百官奇器珍怪徙臧满之。… 以水银为百川江河大海，机相灌输，上具天文，下具地理。以人鱼膏为烛，度不灭者久之。二世曰：「先帝后宫非有子者，出焉不宜。」皆令从死，死者甚众。葬既已下，或言工匠为机，臧皆知之，臧重即泄。大事毕，已臧，闭中羡，下外羡门，尽闭工匠臧者，无复出者。树草木以象山。
>
> When the emperor first came to the throne he began digging and shaping Mount Li. Later, when he unified the empire, he had over 700,000 men from all over the empire transported to the spot. They dug down to the third layer of underground springs and poured in bronze to make the outer coffin. Replicas of palaces, scenic towers, and the hundred officials, as well as rare utensils and wonderful objects, were brought to fill the tomb…. Mercury was used to fashion imitations of the hundred rivers, the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers and the seas, constructed in such a way that they seemed to flow. Above were representations of all the heavenly bodies, below, the features of the world. Whale oil was used for the lamps, which were calculated to burn for a long time without going out. The second emperor decreed: 'It would not be right for those consorts of my father's who had no sons to be sent elsewhere.' Accordingly all these were ordered to accompany the first emperor. After the interment someone pointed out that the artisans who had made the mechanical contrivances might disclose all the treasure that was in the tomb; therefore after the burial and sealing up of the treasures, the inner gate was shut and the outer gate so that all the artisans and laborers were shut in the tomb and were unable to escape. Trees and grass were planted over the mausoleum to give it the appearance of a mountain. [861]

While there is no certainty about whether or not Sima Qian's account of the burial chamber is completely accurate (or if, instead, it was influenced by the conventions of his own time, a century later[862]), recent tests on the tomb mound have detected unusually high levels of mercury,[863] and the contents of subsidiary deposits do confirm the spectacular nature of the site.

[861] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 6. Translation adapted from Watson 1993.
[862] Rawson 1999a: 8.
[863] On these tests, see Duan 2007b.

Just to the west of the tumulus, within the inner wall, was a pit containing two half-life-size bronze chariots, complete with model horses and drivers.[864] Buried south of the tumulus, still within the inner wall, were twelve slightly over-life-size terracotta sculptures of government bureaucrats or palace officials.[865] Between the walls, to the west, were pits containing horse skeletons, hay and terracotta horsegrooms; and another deposit filled with the remains of birds and animals as well as other terracotta figures.[866] To the southeast, an underground "armory" contained eighty-nine suits of armor, forty-three helmets and a suit of horse armor, all made of stone.[867] Another southeastern deposit between the walls held terracotta figures of acrobats and dancers in animated attitudes buried with a large cooking vessel.[868]

Outside of the walls were pits containing associated burials; these included, 1.5 km west of the tumulus, a mass grave of workers and convicts, and in the east, the burials of high-ranking officials.[869] Some of these had identity markers: in the mass burials, clay tablets with indications of origin and, in some cases, the crimes for which labor at the tomb site was the deceased's punishment; and for the officials, sumptuary goods and seals.[870]

[864] Wu 2006: 51-4; Rawson 2007: 138.
[865] Portal 2007a: cat. no. 107. On the identification of these figures as officials: Ciarla 2005: 162; Rawson 2007: 138.
[866] Kesner 1995: 125; Wu 2006: 54; Rawson 2007: 140.
[867] Rawson 2007: 140; Lin 2007: 181.
[868] Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. DM: 009; Qin ling kaogu dui 秦陵考古队. 2001: 65-7; Yuan 袁仲一 2002: 501-4; Wu 2006: 55; Portal 2007a: cat. no. 19; Rawson 2007, 140; Yates 2007b: Fig. 38.
[869] Wu 2006: 55-7; Rawson 2007: 138.
[870] Ledderose 2000: 57; Wu 2006: 54-7.

1.2 km east of the funerary park were four pits for the terracotta army (one of which was incomplete and empty). In all, the army comprised approximately seven thousand warriors, 150 cavalry horses, and 130 chariots with 520 chariot horses.[871] The over-life-size warriors measured 180 to 197 cm in height and were originally richly painted;[872] they stood in formation facing eastward and were armed with real bronze weapons.[873] There are several types of warrior figures (infantrymen, charioteers, archers, officers, generals), and such great variation among the individual figures that they were thought to be portraits of individual soldiers when they were first discovered.[874] It is now clear that through the use of modular body-part construction and the freehand completion of physiognomic features and other details, the terracotta warriors give the impression of individuality without being actual portraits.[875]

Western Han tombs: general notes

Of the Western Han imperial tombs, nine were built across the river from the Western Han capital of Chang'an 长安 on the north side of the Wei River 渭河; the other two, Wendi's 文帝 (r.180-57 BC) tomb at Baling 霸陵 and Xuandi's 宣帝 (r. 74-49 BC) funerary park at Duling 杜陵, were southeast of the capital (Fig. B.5). Han literary

[871] Michaelson 2010: 46.
[872] Although Komlos 2003 actually uses the heights of the terracotta warriors to estimate the physical size of people in the Qin-Han era, most have recognized that at heights of up to 197 cm and given the strict relationship between the figures' rank, the warriors are slightly over-life-size (Paludan 2006: 66; Wu 2006: 59; Michaelson 2010: 38; Li 2011: 13-15). Painted: Wu et al. 2001; Yuan 袁仲一 2001; Blansdörf and Xia 2006; Michaelson 2010: 46.
[873] For recent scientific studies of these weapons, see Li 2011; Li et al. 2011; Martinón-Torres et al. 2001; Martinón-Torres et al. 2014.
[874] Von Erdberg 1990; Kesner 1995: 123; Paludan 2006: 69.
[875] See, most importantly, Kesner 1995 on the problems with describing the army as a set of "portraits" or as a "representation," "likeness," or "replica" of the first emperor's army.

sources relate that a Western Han emperor generally began constructing his tomb in the second year of his reign and devoted one-third of the imperial treasury to the project.[876] The format of these Western Han funerary parks was an adaptation of Qin Shi Huangdi's (the principal exception being Baling; see below). The Han tumuli, however, were on a decidedly smaller scale than the first emperor's, the largest being Wudi's 武帝 Maoling 茂陵 tomb mound with a base of 230 m per side and a current estimated height of 46 m.[877] The excavations that have so far been undertaken and published have not found Han mortuary deposits to rival the First Emperor's in size and workmanship. Yangling 阳陵, the tomb of Jingdi 景帝 and perhaps the most thoroughly investigated of the Han imperial tomb sites, has, however, revealed a vast quantity of smaller-scale terracotta animals and human figures, including a terracotta army (see below).

The Western Han emperors' tomb mounds were typically situated in a single, square enclosure (instead of Qin's double-rectangular enclosure). A smaller tumulus for the emperor's consort was usually constructed just east of each Western Han imperial tomb, and in some cases many other associated tumuli were constructed around the emperor's tomb for favorites, generals, ministers and family members.[878] In other cases, the subsidiary burials of high-ranking officials were plentiful but not marked by tomb

[876] *Jin shu* 晋书 60; Thorp 1987: 22; Miller 2011: 189. Generally dates are not provided herein for Han tombs as they can be estimated by this principle.
[877] Loewe 2010: 229.
[878] The tombs of Western Han empresses: Thorp 1987: 22; Loewe 2010: 214-15. Empress Wang 王 (d. AD 13), the consort of Yuandi 元帝 (d. 33 BC), was buried northwest of his Weiling 渭陵 tomb.

mounds; taken together with the mass graves of convict laborers, some Han imperial tombs were surrounded by over 10,000 associated burials.[879]

The construction of funerary settlements (*lingyi* 陵邑) around the tumuli was another important development in the Western Han: wealthy, powerful clans from across the empire were compelled or incentivized to migrate from their pre-imperial family seats to these new tomb-centered suburbs outside the Han capital, some of which rivaled the capital proper in population size.[880]

At each of the Qin and Western Han imperial funerary parks, a number of buildings surrounded the imperial tumulus: the *miao* 庙 shrine, the "Chamber of Rest" (*qin* 寝) and the "Chamber of Ease" (*bian dian* 便殿).[881] The former two structures were the locations of memorial rituals and offerings. The *miao* contained memorial tablets, while *qin* contained furnishings, musical instruments, and the ceremonial dress of the deceased emperor, which was carried to the *miao* in a monthly ceremony. The *bian dian* probably served as a storage space for sacrificial provisions and as offices and

[879] Jiao 焦南峰 and Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 2001: 4-5; Loewe 2010: 217; Si 2010a: 93-5; Miller 2011: 294.
[880] Thorp 1987: 25; Wu 1995: 162-4; Loewe 1999: 88. According to a census of AD 2, there were approximately 275,000 people in the funerary settlement around Wudi's Maoling tomb, 180,000 in the settlement at Gaozu's Changling funerary park, and 250,000 in Chang'an itself (Thorp 1987: 25; Wu 1995: 164). The creation of new funerary settlements was discontinued during the reign of Yuandi (49-33 BC).
[881] The former two are described by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (AD 133-192) at *Du duan* 独断 B.5a. Traces of the foundations of these structures may have been found at several tomb sites, although they are clearest at the Duling site of Xuandi (see Loewe 2010: 218-19, 223-4). See also Thorp 1987: 22; Falkenhausen 2004: 122.

accommodation for the administrators and attendants who maintained the funerary park and ritual buildings.[882]

2. Changling 长陵

Fig. B.7. Changling 长陵 tumulus of Gaozu 高祖, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *195 BC.*

Date: *ca.* 206-196 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 26' 4" N, 108° 52' 49" E)
Interred: Gaozu 高祖 (d. 196 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers. Notable: general Zhou Bo 周勃 and/or Zhou Yafu 周亚夫 (?); Xiao He 萧何; others (see Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 11)
Selected bibliography: Shi, Ma and Sun 石兴邦, 马建熙, 孙德润 1984; Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 3-24; Sun 孙德润 1987; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 6-19.

See the general notes on Western Han tombs, above. Like the other Han imperial tombs, the tumulus itself at Gaozu's Changling funerary site has not been excavated. As

[882] Loewe 1999: 90-91; id. 2010: 218-24.

was typical, the site featured an *yi* 邑 settlement; in this case, the northern wall of the tumulus enclosure doubled as the southern wall of the settlement.

The site featured 63 known satellite tumuli, many of which were impressive in their own right and featured elaborate subsidiary pits of their own.[883] Some of these subsidiary pits seem to have been robbed in modern times.[884] One of these satellite tumuli at Yangjiawan 杨家湾, probably the tomb of general Zhou Bo 周勃 and/or his son general Zhou Yafu 周亚夫, nevertheless was found to contain more than 2,500 remarkably detailed, polychrome painted terracotta horses and warriors (each warrior 47-49.5 cm in height) arranged in eleven pits in tactical formation (one pit containing chariots; four pits of foot soldiers; and six containing mounted cavalry).[885]

3. Anling 安陵

Fig. B.8. Anling 安陵 tumuli of Huidi 惠帝 and Empress Zhang 长, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *188 BC, 163 BC.*

[883] Thorp 1987: 22; Wu 1995: 162; Loewe 2010: 218. See also Miller 2011: 298.
[884] Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 7.
[885] Shaanxi sheng wen guanhui, bowuguan; Xianyang shi bowuguan; Yangjiawan Han mu fajue xiaozu. 陕西省文管会、陕西省博物馆、咸阳市博物馆杨家湾汉墓发掘小组 1977; Zhan 展 and Zhou 周 1977; Yang 2004: 242; Si 2010b.

Date: *ca.* 195-188 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 25' 23" N, 108° 50' 29" E)
Interred: Huidi 惠帝 (d. 188 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers[886]
Selected bibliography: Xianyang shi bowuguan 咸阳市博物馆 1981; Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 25-33; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 19-29.

See the general notes above. The tumulus has not been excavated, and Anling has received relatively little attention compared to some of the other Han imperial funerary sites. As at Changling, the northern wall of the tumulus enclosure at Anling also served as the southern wall of the *yi* settlement village associated with the tomb. Deposits of burial goods have been discovered within the tumulus enclosure, northeast of the tomb mound.

4. Baling 霸陵

Date: *ca.* 187-157 BC
Location: Southeast of Changan 长安, west of the Ba 霸 River (34° 15' 23" N, 109° 6' 41" E)
Interred: Wendi 文帝 (d. 157 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 34-9; Thorp 1987: 22-4; Loewe 1992: 302; Wu 1995: 165-6; Rawson 1999a: 8; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 30-34; Miller 2011.

The greatest exception to the standard arrangement of Western Han imperial tombs (described above) is Baling, the tomb of Wendi. Unlike his predecessors, who were buried north of the capital, across the Wei River, Wendi was interred 57 km southeast of the metropolis. Moreover, Wendi was not buried in a vertical shaft tomb and

[886] See Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 24 for notable satellite burials attested in literary sources.

tumulus, but instead was interred in a rock-cut chamber carved horizontally into an existing slope far south of the city and his predecessors' tombs.[887]

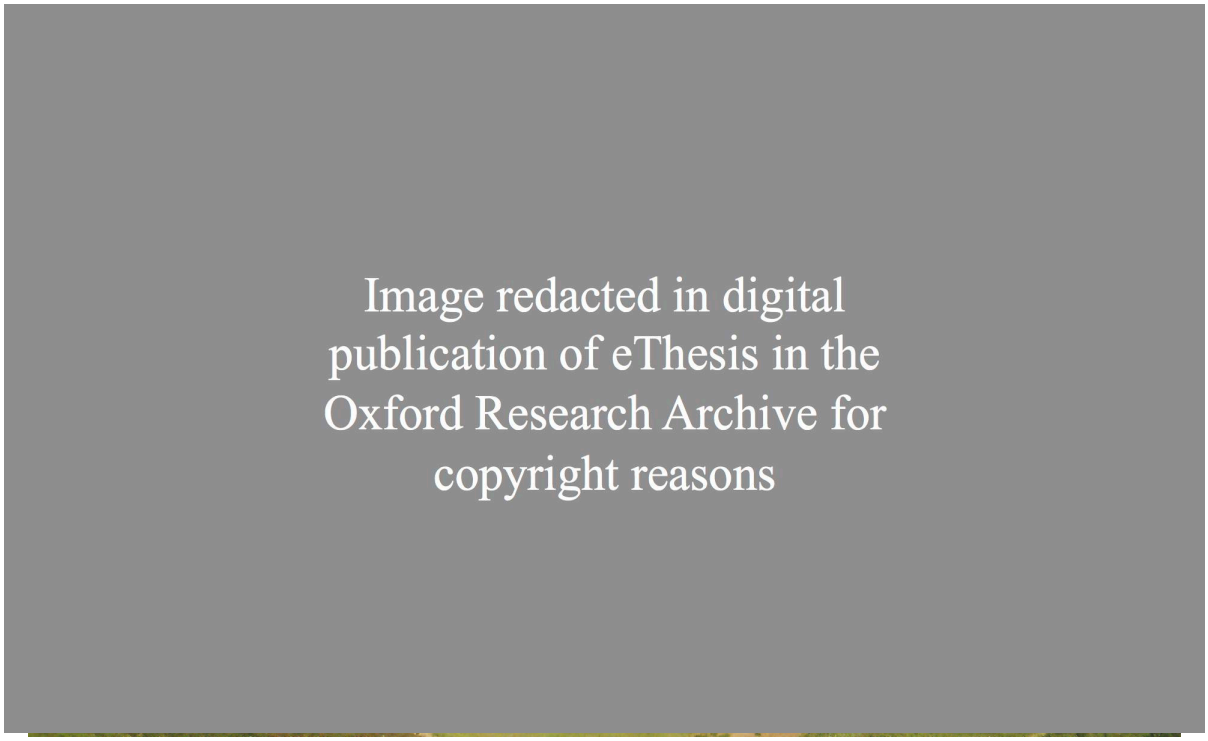

Fig. B.9. Baling 霸陵 mountain site, burial place of Wendi 文帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *157 BC.*

The emperor was much loved by Han historians and essayists, who relate that he emphasized frugality in all things, including his tomb, where we are told that he was buried with ceramic grave goods instead of jades and precious metal objects.[888] His *yizhao* 遗诏 (funerary edict) decries extravagant burials and states that for his tomb, the

[887] Archaeologists have identified the site of the Baling at Maoxi 毛西, but it has not been excavated (Yan 阎崇东 2007: 131). See Miller 2011 for a good recent discussion of the tomb; see also Thorp 1987: 22-4; Loewe 1992: 302; Wu 1995: 165-6; Rawson 1999a: 8. Literary testimony may be found at Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 汉书 4.131-2; 36: 1957; 75: 3175; 99: 4193; Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 10; 102. The same type of horizontal rock-cut tomb was used for the tombs of regional kings of the imperial Liu 刘 family within the Han empire and for the tomb of the King of Nan Yue (*Nan Yue Wang* 南越王, d. *ca.* 122 BC; an independent ruler who considered himself an equal of the Han emperor).

[888] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 10.433; Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 4.134; Thorp 1987: 22; Loewe 1992: 302.

natural landscape has been left intact.[889] Although the Baling funerary site did not require the construction of a tumulus for the emperor's burial, the construction of the rock-cut tomb was nevertheless labor-intensive: we are told that over 30,000 laborers were required.[890]

5. Yangling 阳陵

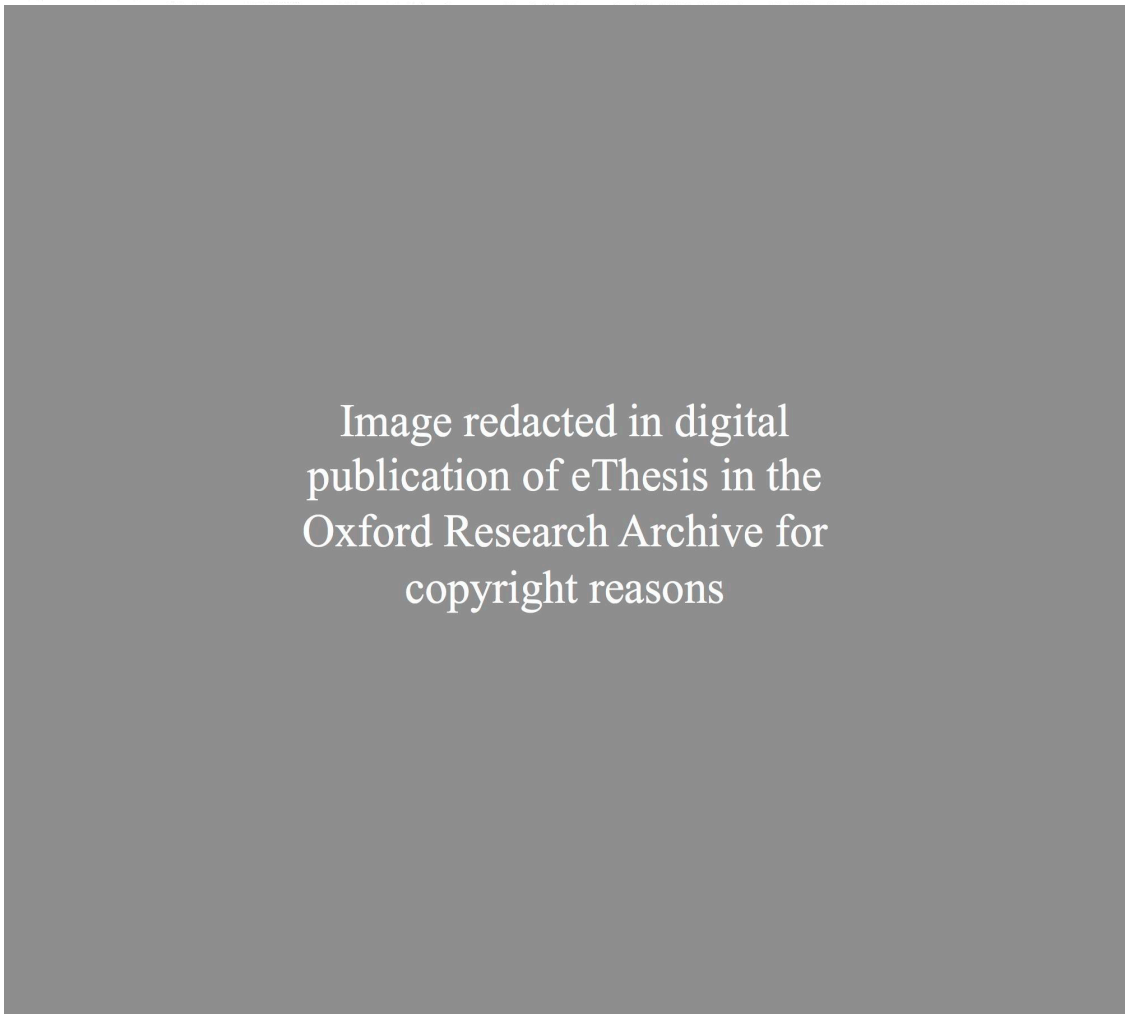

Fig. B.10. Plan of the tumulus of Jingdi 景帝 and surrounding walls at Yangling 阳陵, Shaanxi 陕西. ca. *156-141 BC. 418 sq. m.*

[889] Sima Qian 司马迁 *Shi ji* 史记 10.434; Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* 汉书 4.131-2; Miller 2011: 216-17.
[890] Loewe 2010: 217.

Date: *ca.* 156-141 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 26' 38" N, 108° 56' 28" E)
Interred: Jingdi 景帝 (d. 141 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Qin 秦中行 1972; Wang, Zhang and Sun 王丕忠、张子波、孙德润 1980; Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 40-46; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo Han ling dui 陕西省考古研究所汉陵考古队 1992; id. 1994; Jiao, Wang, Ma and Li 焦南峰, 王保平, 马永赢, 李岗 1999; Jiao 焦南峰 and Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 2001; Wang 王学理 2003; Wang and Liang 王学理, 梁云 2004; Jiao 焦南峰 2006; Wang 王保平 2007; Si 2010a; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 34-43.

See the general notes above. Yangling, the tomb of Jingdi is perhaps the best preserved and also the most thoroughly investigated of the Han imperial tomb sites.[891] Unlike previous Western Han imperial burials, at Yangling there two separate square, walled enclosures: one for the emperor's tumulus, and one for the empress'. These walls featured gates on each side; the enclosure around the emperor's tomb mound measures approximately 418 m on each side. A mass grave of about 10,000, probably for the convict laborers who built the tomb, was located west of the emperor's tomb, while tombs of approximately 5,000 officials and relatives were located immediately east of these tumuli and their subsidiary pits.[892] Farther east, between the Wei and Jing 泾 rivers, was the tomb's *yi* settlement.

Excavations around the emperor's tomb have revealed a vast quantity of smaller-scale terracotta animals and human figures. Eighty-six radial pits abutted the emperor's tumulus at right angles; one of the eleven selected for trial excavation contained 509

[891] Si 2010a: 91-2.
[892] Loewe 2010: 217; Si 2010a: 95.

model pigs, 458 model dogs, 235 model goats and 189 model sheep.[893] Others contained yet more painted pottery animals and figures; pottery vessels holding grains and bird remains; model carriages; horse skeletons; and the seals of government officials.[894] In pits northwest and southeast of the tumulus was an army of approximately 40,000 one-third life-size terracotta horses and warriors (each warrior measuring 57-60.5 cm in height).[895] These painted model warriors, which now appear naked and armless, originally featured moving arms and textile clothing.[896]

6. Maoling 茂陵

Fig. B.11. Maoling 茂陵 tumulus of Wudi 武帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *87 BC.*

Date: *ca.* 140-87 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 20' 18" N, 108° 34' 10" E)
Interred: Wudi 武帝 (d. 87 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers; notable: general Huo Qubing 霍去病; concubine Li Furen 李夫人
Selected bibliography: Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanliweiyuanhui 陕西省文物管理委员

[893] Jiao 焦南峰, Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 2001: 4; Loewe 2010: 220-2; Si 2010a: 92-3.
[894] Jiao 焦南峰, Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所 2001: 2-5; Si 2010a: 92-5; Miller 2011: 298.
[895] Si 2010a: 100.
[896] Paludan 2006: 81.

1964; Wang and Zhu 王志杰, 朱捷元 1976; Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 47-68; He 賀西林 2009; Shen 沈琍 2010; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 43-72.

See the general notes above. Wudi's Maoling tumulus is the largest of the Western Han imperial tombs (at least in current state), spanning 230 m square at its base and rising 46 m (and originally almost certainly taller). It also has the most "taut profile" of any of the tumuli.[897] The tomb was surrounded by at least 72 smaller tumuli for favorites, generals, ministers and family members; around five thousand other burials for lesser servants or attendants in the imperial household; and a sprawling *yi* settlement which would have been made up of over a quarter-million people.[898]

The most famous of these satellite tumuli is that of Huo Qubing 霍去病. A celebrated general in the time of Han Wudi who won the Hexi 河西 Corridor for the Han and opened the empire to westward expansion, Huo Qubing was honored with unusual above-ground sculptures at the site of his burial. These included statues of exotic animals; monster reliefs; and – most notably – a stone sculpture of a horse trampling a bow-wielding enemy.[899]

7. Pingling 平陵

Date: *ca.* 86-74 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 21' 48" N, 108° 37' 51" E)
Interred: Zhaodi 昭帝 (d. 74 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Xianyang shi bowuguan 咸阳市博物馆 1982; Liu and Li 刘庆柱,

[897] Thorp 1987: 21.
[898] Ibid.: 25.
[899] Paludan 1991: 17-27; Baptiste 1995: 21; Yates 2002: 18-20; Paludan 2006: 109-113; He 賀西林 2009; Shen 沈琍 2010.

李毓芳 1987: 69-77; Han Pingling kaogu dui 汉平陵考古队 2002; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 73-91.

See the general notes above. This was largely a typical site, although it was in a tumulus to the west, rather than the east, of the emperor's tomb that Zhaodi's empress Shangguan 上官 was interred.

Fig. B.12. Pingling 平陵 tumulus of Zhaodi 昭帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *74 BC.*

8. Duling 杜陵

Fig. B.13. Duling 杜陵 tumulus of Xuandi 宣帝 and the foundations of the tomb's Chamber of Ease (biandian 便殿), Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *49 BC.*

Date: *ca.* 73-49 BC
Location: Southeast of Changan 长安, west of the Chan 浐 River (34° 10' 50" N, 109° 1' 23" E)
Interred: Xuandi 宣帝 (d. 49 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Duling gongzuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所杜陵工作队 1984; Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓李 1987: 78-103; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Duling gongzuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所杜陵工作队 1991; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所编著 1993; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 92-101.

See the general notes above. Duling is a typical Han imperial funerary site. The tumulus was surrounded by a square enclosure (approximately 430 m each side, with a central gate on each wall), while the empress' tomb was situated east of the emperor's and was surrounded by its own enclosure (335 m each side). An *yi* settlement was located several kilometers north of the tumulus; at least 62 satellite burials accompanied the tomb, and pits containing terracotta figures have been discovered adjacent to the emperor's tomb mound.[900] But the site is most notable because the foundations of the ritual structures are more apparent at Duling than at other Western Han imperial funerary sites. These above-ground structures, the Chamber of Rest and the Chamber of Ease, occupied a footprint of approximately 174 x 120 m southeast of the emperor's tumulus enclosure and abutting the south wall. A similar compound was situated southwest of the empress' tomb, abutting the south wall of her tomb's enclosure wall.[901]

9. Weiling 渭陵

Date: *ca.* 48-33 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 23' 26" N, 108° 44' 21" E)

[900] Thorp 1987: 25; Yang 2004: 240-2.
[901] Thorp 1987: 25; Loewe 2010: 218-19; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 92-101.

Interred: Yuandi 元帝 (d. 33 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Xianyang shi bowuguan 咸阳市博物馆 1980; Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 104-113; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 101-115.

Fig. B.14. Weiling 渭陵 tumulus of Yuandi 元帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *33 BC.*

See the general notes above. Empress Wang's 王 tomb enclosure was located northwest of Yuandi's tomb, but northeast of the emperor's tomb are the remnants of Consort Fu Zhaoyi's tomb (destroyed by the usurper Wang Mang 王莽 as part of a broader campaign to "punish" his political enemies).[902] 500 m northeast of the emperor's tumulus enclosure was a larger enclosure known as "the 28 lodges" (*ershiba su* 二十八宿) where officials and family members were buried. The reign of Yuandi marked the end of the creation of *yi* settlements.

10. Yanling 延陵

Date: *ca.* 32-7 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 22' 30" N, 108° 41' 53" E)
Interred: Chengdi 成帝 (d. 7 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 114-19; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 115-30.

[902] See Loewe 2010: 214-15, esp. *n.*8.

Fig. B.15. Yanling 延陵 tumulus of Chengdi 成帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *7 BC.*

See the general notes above. West of the emperor's tumulus enclosure were at least eleven prominent satellite tumuli within a rectangular enclosure; other small associated tumuli were distributed around the tomb, within a radius of approximately two kilometers and primarily to the south.

11. Yiling 义陵

Fig. B.16. Yiling 义陵 tumulus of Aidi 哀帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *1 BC.*

Date: *ca.* 6-1 BC
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陕西 (34° 24' 3" N, 108° 45' 53" E)
Interred: Aidi 哀帝 (d. 1 BC), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 120-23; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 130-36.

See the general notes, above. Little research has been conducted related to the Yiling funerary site. At least nineteen satellite tumuli surrounded the Yiling tomb mound, although some of these may not have been built as part as the Yiling funerary park.[903]

12. Kangling 康陵

Fig. B.17. Kangling 康陵 tumulus of Pingdi 平帝, Shaanxi 陝西, completed ca. *AD 6.*

Date: *ca.* AD 1-6
Location: North of the Wei 渭 River, Shaanxi 陝西(34° 23' 52" N, 108° 42' 44" E)
Interred: Pingdi 平帝 (d. AD 6), empress, concubines, officials, laborers
Selected bibliography: Liu and Li 刘庆柱, 李毓芳 1987: 124-5; Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 137-9.

See the general notes, above. The Kangling funerary site has received little scholarly attention. There are few known associated pits or satellite tombs, except for the tumulus, assumed to be Empress Wang's 王, to the southeast of Pingdi's tomb mound.

[903] Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: 134.

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Fig. P.6. Detainees at U.S. Naval Base Guantanamo Bay, Cuba on 11 January, 2002. U.S. Department of Defense photograph by Petty Officer 1st class Shane McCoy, U.S. Navy. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Camp_x-ray_detainees.jpg).

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Fig. P.8. Foundation excavations of Jiaofang Hall (椒房殿), one of many major structures within the Weiyang Palace complex, ca. *200 BC. Southward view; north dimension of excavated area, approx. 100 m. (*Han Changan cheng Weiyang gong 漢長安城未央宮 *1996: color plate III).*

Fig. P.9. Decorated earthen tile from the northern gate of the Weiyang Palace complex, ca. *200 BC. Approx. 16 cm diameter. Weiyang* 6:T1(3):22. *(*Han Changan cheng Weiyang gong 漢長安城未央宮 *1996: plate III fig. 3).*

Fig 2.1. The Roman Empire, ca. *AD 117. (Scheidel 2009a: Map 1).*

Fig. 2.2. The Han Empire, ca. *AD 2. (Scheidel 2009a: Map 2).*

Fig. 3.1. The Mausoleum of Augustus (current state), Rome, ca. *28 BC. (ARTStor: http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX 3oscVNzcic%3D).*

Fig. 3.2. Tumuli at the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, seventh to second centuries BC. (Bryn Mawr College: http://www.brynmawr.edu/cities/Cities/wld/00413/00413am.jpg).

Fig. 3.3. Reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome, ca. *28 BC by H. von Hesberg. (von Hesberg and Panciera 1994: Fig. 49).*

Fig. 3.4. A.D.F. Hamlin's reconstruction of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, Caria, ca. *350. (Hamlin 2010: Fig. 41).*

Fig. 3.5. Plan of the funerary park and mortuary deposits of the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, constructed 246-210 BC. (Adapted from Rawson 2007: Fig. 128).

Fig. 3.6. Reconstruction of the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan 中山王譽, based on the plan of the site engraved on a bronze plaque found in the king's tomb; Pingshan, Hebei, 323-309 BC. (Wu 1995: Fig. 2.29; originally from Fu 傅 1980: 110).

Fig. 3.7. (a) Terracotta cavalryman from Warriors Pit 2, Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC. Height: 184 cm. (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuangdi, Lintong, inv. no. 002763; Portal 2007: Fig. 35; cat. no. 17).

(b) Terracotta official from Pit K0006, Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC. Height: 183 cm. (Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Xi'an, inv. no. 006479; Portal 2007: Fig. 142; cat. no. 107).

Fig. 3.8. (a) Wooden warrior (?) tomb figure, Chu楚 state, (Hubei湖北), ca. *4th century BC. No dimensions given. (John Hadley Cox Archaeological Study Collection, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Gift of John Hadley Cox, 1991. Photographer: John Hadley Cox, 11.1; Image from Tanner 2013: Fig. 3.5.b).*

(b) Wooden tomb figures from Tomb 6 at Yidi, Jiangling 江陵; Chu 楚 state (Hubei 湖北), 4th-3rd century BC. Height: 52.5 cm (left), 56.6 cm (right). (Jingzhou District Museum, Jiangling; Wu 2006: Fig. 1.24).

Fig. 3.9. Detected distribution of mercury in the soil of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC) in 1981. (Duan 2007b: 204).

Fig. 3.10. Pax relief, south segment of the east face of the Ara Pacis*, Rome,* ca. *9 BC. Height: 1.6 m. (Alinari / de Grummond 1990: Fig. 1).*

Fig. 3.11. Excavated section of the Meridian Line, Rome; probably a Domitianic restoration of the Augustan monument (Heslin 2007: 6-9). (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom-InstNegNr 82.3636; Davies 2000: 61).

Fig. 3.12. Fragments from the small nationes *frieze,* Ara Pacis*, Rome,* ca. *9. BC. (de Angelis Bertolotti, R. 1985: tav. 95).*

Fig. 3.13. Provincial reliefs from the Hadrianeum (found in the Piazza di Pietra): Hispania?, Gallia?, Achaia?, Mauretania?, Thracia?, Aigyptos?, Moesia?, Dacia?*, Rome,* ca. *AD 145. Figure heights 1.48 – 1.54 m. (a-d, g, h from the Capitoline Museums, Rome; e, f from the National Museum, Rome; Hughes 2009: Figs. 1-8; photographs by K. Anger; D-DAI-Rom 1999.1433-38, 1444-45; Sapelli 1999b: cat. nos. 19, 17, 13, 21, 9, 10, 12, 15).*

Fig. 3.14. Physiognomically diverse heads of officers, charioteers and infantrymen Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC. (Kesner 1995: Figs. 7-8).

Fig. 3.15. Earthenware northern cavalryman from the tomb of the King of Chu 楚 (either Liu Yingke 刘郢客 or Liu Wu 刘戊) at Shizishan 狮子山, 179-154 BC. Height: 59 cm. (Xuzhou Museum, Jiangsu Province; Lin 2012 cat. no. 1; Xu 2012: 89).

Fig. 3.16. (a) Slab 5 of the so-called Great Trajanic Frieze, now in the passageway (west pylon) of the Arch of Constantine, Rome; originally, perhaps, in the Forum of Trajan, Rome; ca. *AD 110-120. (Leander Touati 1987: 90, 111; Packer 1997: 113, 445). Ca. AD 110-120. (Kleiner 1992: Fig. 185).*

(b) Fallen Dacian, trampled beneath the feet of Roman soldiers; scene 71; spiral 11a; drum 8-9; Column of Trajan, Rome; ca. *AD 113. (The McMaster Trajan Project record 290; http://cheiron.mcmaster.ca/~trajan/buildtrajanpage.cgi?290).*

Fig. 3.17. Statue of a horse crushing a bow-wielding Xiongnu 匈奴 warrior, tomb of General Huo Qubing 霍去病, satellite tomb of Maoling 茂陵 funerary site of Emperor Wudi 武帝; 140-117 BC. Height: 1.68 m. (Maoling Museum, Xingping; ARTstor: http://www.artstor.org/artstor/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3gqfFl).

Fig. 3.18. Restored elevation featuring Dacian telamones *of the east colonnade (west façade) of the Forum of Trajan, Rome,* ca. *AD 112.* (*Drawing: Studio Groma; Packer 1997: Fig. 61).*

Fig. 3.19. Copper lamp or vessel from the tomb of Liu Sheng 刘胜 (son of Emperor Jingdi 景帝), Mancheng 满城, Hebei 河北; ca. *113 BC. (Mancheng object no. 1:4112; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Hebei sheng wenwu guanli ban 中国社会科学院考古研究所，河北省文物管理办 1980 II: Pl. 35, Fig. 2; Id. I: 72, Fig. 2).*

Fig. 3.20. The Abu Ghraib Coffee Table by Philip Toledano, AD 2008. Moulded resin and plexiglass. (http://www.americathegiftshop.com/#/2).

Fig. 3.21. Gilded bronze peacock from the precinct fence at Hadrian's Mausoleum, Rome, ca. *AD 117-140. Height: 115 cm. (Musei Vaticani, Rome; Opper 2008: cat. nos. 162-63; photograph: Musei Vaticani / Alessandro Bracchetti: http://www.studio-international.co.uk/studio-images/hadrian/56556_b.asp).*

Fig. 3.22. Bronze bird with painted feathers from Pit K0007, Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西; constructed 246-210 BC. Height: 75 cm. (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. no. DM: 012; Portal 2007: cat. no. 113; Duan 2007a: Fig. 201).

Fig. 3.23. Decorated bronze leopards with gold, silver and agate inlay from the tomb of Dou Wan 竇綰 (wife of Liu Sheng 刘胜), Mancheng 满城, Hebei 河北; ca. *113 BC. Height:* ca. *3.5 cm. (Mancheng object nos. 2:3056-57; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu*

yanjiusuo, Hebei sheng wenwu guanli ban 中国社会科学院考古研究所，河北省文物管理办 1980 II: Pl. 26).

Fig. 3.24. The obelisk of Psamtik II, built in Egypt ca. *595-589 BC; dedicated in the* Campus Martius*, Rome, in 10 BC; currently in the Piazza Montecitorio, Rome. Height:* ca. *34 m including base. (Wikimedia Commons: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Obelisk_of_montecitorio_arp.jpg).*

Fig. 3.25. Bronze ding 鼎 vessel with interlaced decoration; probably created in Xintian 新田, Jin state, Shanxi 山西, 5th century BC,; deposited at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西 (pit K9901) ca. *246-210 BC. Height: 61 cm; diameter (mouth): 71 cm. (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. no. DM: 009; Portal 2007: cat. no. 19; Yates 2007: Fig. 38).*

Fig. 3.26. Gold belt plaque depicting a bear and a wolf attacking a quadruped with bird motif; from the tomb of the King of Chu 楚 (either Liu Yingke 刘郢客 or Liu Wu 刘戊) at Shizishan 狮子山, ca. *179-154 BC. Length: 13.3 cm. (Xuzhou Museum, Jiangsu Province; Lin 2012: cat. no. 82).*

Fig. 3.27. Plan of the Yangling 阳陵 funerary site of Jingdi 景帝, including the accompanying yi *邑 settlement (in green); Shaanxi 陕西,* ca. *156-141 BC. (Si 2010a: 92).*

Fig. 4.1. Latin inscription of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Monumentum Ancyranum, *Ankara, Turkey. First century AD. (Cooley 2009: Fig. 4).*

Fig. 4.2. Reconstructed marble block with inscribed titulature of Tiberius, Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome; ca. *AD 37. 132 cm x 207.5 cm x 85 cm. (*In situ; *Inv. MA 14; Panciera 1994 XV, Pl. 8d).*

Fig. 4.3. Marble cornice featuring atef *crown with feathers and* uraei *and lotus flower, Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome;* ca. *AD 37. 48 cm x 38 cm x 16.5 cm. (*In situ; *De Vos and De Vos 1988: 74; frontispiece).*

Fig. 4.4. Pedestal of the Column of Trajan, depicting congeries armorum*. Column of Trajan, Rome;* ca*. AD 113.* Ca. *6.2 m wide. (Photograph by Steven Zucker: http://www.flickr.com/photos/82032880@N00/4630958882).*

Fig. 4.5. Reverse of a Trajanic aureus, depicting the Column of Trajan. (British Museum CM BMC Trajan 449; http://www.britishmuseum.org/images/k146897_l.jpg).

Fig. 4.6. (a) Reconstructed elevation of the Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome, ca*. 28 BC.* Ca. *45 m in height, not including statue. (By H. von Hesberg. von Hesberg and Panciera 1994: Fig. 49).*

(b) 1:20 scale model of the Tropaeum Augusti (Tropaeum Alpium), La Turbie, ca. *7-6 BC. Original* ca. *50 m in height. (Arch. J. Formigé; Museo della Civiltà Romana: http://www.museociviltaromana.it/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/sezioni_storiche/sala_ix_augusto/plastico_ricostruttivo_del_trofeo_delle_alpi_tropaeum_alpium_o_tropaeum_augusti).*

(c) Life-size model of the Tropaeum Traiani, Adamklisi; original, ca. *AD 109.* Ca. *40 m in height (Universitatea din București: http://topub.unibuc.ro/studentii-facultatii-de-istorie-in-practica-la-sapaturile-arheologice-de-la-tropaeum-traiani-adamclisi/).*

(d) Reconstructed elevation of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, Rome, ca. *AD 123-140.* Ca. *50 m in height. (As restored by Borgatti 1931; image from Colvin 1991: Fig. 40a).*

Fig. 4.7. Line drawing of the "officials pit" (pit K0006) at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. (Rawson 2007: Fig. 143).*

Fig. 4.8. Terracotta horsegroom from a "stable pit" at Shangjiaocun, east of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. Height: 68 cm (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. no. 002541; Portal 2007: cat. no. 108; Wu 2007: Fig. 157).*

Fig. 4.9. Terracotta "acrobat" from Pit K9901 at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. Height: 178 cm (Museum of the Terracotta Warriors and Horses of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Lintong, inv. no. DM: 002; Portal 2007: cat. no. 111; Rawson 2007: Fig. 148).*

Fig. 4.10. Plan of the warrior pits (top: Pit 1; bottom left: Pit 2; bottom right: Pit 3) east of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. Pit 1: 14,260 sq. m.; Pit 2: 6000 sq. m.; Pit 3: 520 sq. m. (Illustration not to scale, by Attila Toth; Michaelson 2010: 40).*

Fig. 4.11. Terracotta warriors, originally dressed in hempen clothes and fitted with moveable arms, from pits south of the tumulus of Jingdi 景帝 at Yangling 阳陵, Shaanxi 陕西. ca. *156-141 BC. Height: 57-60.5 cm (Han Yangling Museum, Xianyang; Göransson and Rawson 2010 cat. no. 34).*

Fig. 4.12. Excavation of model animals in Pit DK13, east of the tumulus of Jingdi 景帝 at Yangling 阳陵, Shaanxi 陕西. ca. *156-141 BC. (Photograph by Wang Bao Ping; Si 2010a: 93).*

Fig. 4.13. Drawing of two funerary figurines with movable arms and braids of real hair from Tomb 2 at Baoshan 包山, Hubei 湖北, fourth century BC. (Hubei sheng jing sha tielu kaogu dui 湖北省荆沙鐵路考古隊 1991: Vol. 1. Fig. 170; Wu 1999: Fig. 10.38c; Id. 2005a: Fig. 1.12; Tanner 2013: Fig. 3.5c).

Fig. 4.14. Terracotta thumbs from the warrior deposits at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC, Xianyang, China. (Ledderose 2000:Fig. 3.31).*

Fig. 4.15. Terracotta hands from the warrior deposits at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. (Ledderose 2000:Fig. 3.32).*

Fig. 4.16. Sculpted belthooks on the model soldiers from warrior Pit 1 at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. (Shaanxi*

sheng kaogu yanjiusuo; Shi huang ling Qin yongkeng kaogu fajue dui 陕西省考古研究所, 始皇陵秦俑坑考古发掘队 1988: Vol. 1, Fig. 51; Kesner 1995: Fig. 2).

Fig. 4.17. Some of the shield blazons featured on the Column of Trajan reliefs, as depicted by Rossi 1971: 112.

Fig. 4.18. Lorica hamata *(chain mail) detail from Scene 145, Column of Trajan, Rome;* ca. *AD 113. (Coulston 1990: Fig. 2).*

Fig. 4.19. Shoe-sole of an archer from the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC. (Rawson 2007: Fig. 151).*

Fig. 4.20. (a) Bronze trigger from the warrior pits at the Lishan 郦山 funerary site of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝, Shaanxi 陕西, ca. *246-210 BC, and (b) detail of grinding marks and inscription. (Li et al. 2011: Fig. 7).*

Fig. 4.21. Thousands waiting to see the terracotta soldiers at the British Museum, London, in 2008. (Low 2008).

Fig. 4.22. "Heritage." Sculpture group by Marian Heyerdahl. Fired clay and metal, 2007. (Khayutina 2013b: Fig. 96).

Fig. 4.23. Plan of the Campus Martius*, Rome, showing the Mausoleum of Augustus,* Via Flaminia, *Tiber River*, Ara Pacis*, obelisk, ustrinum (speculated location) and a reconstruction of the so-called Horologium Augusti. (Davies 2000: Fig. 93).*

Fig. 4.24. Reconstruction of Trajan's Forum, Rome, ca. AD 112-3, by Gilbert Gorski. (Packer 1997: frontispiece).

Fig. 4.25. Map showing the viewpoints of Hadrian's Mausoleum from the Pons Neronianus and a major shipping jetty on the Tiber. (Davies 2000: Fig. 108).

Fig. 5.1. Crossing the Yangzi; one of ten reliefs on the Monument to the People's Heroes, Tiananment Square, Beijing. Sculpted by Liu Kaiqu; completed 1958. (Wikimedia Commons. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jinianbei.jpg)

Fig. 5.2. White House photographs of President George W. Bush landing and addressing sailors on the USS Abraham Lincoln, 1 May, 2003; the now infamous "Mission Accomplished" speech. (Official White House photos by Paul Mose and Susan Sterner).

Fig. 5.3. Fragment from the Greek inscription of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti *at Pisidian Apollonia (Sozopolis), Turkey. First century AD. (Engramma 2007.58: http://www.engramma.it/engramma_revolution/58/058_gallerie_fonti.html).*

Fig. 5.4. The Yishan stele, originally erected ca. *219 BC, Yishan, Shandong. Image is a rubbing of a Song Dynasty copy (ca. AD 993), now in the Stele Forest, Xi'An, Shaanxi. (British Museum image 2007.3002.1; Kern 2007: Fig. 113).*

Fig. 5.5. Map of Qin Shi Huangdi's sacrifices, including the sites of his inscribed steles. (Kern 2008: Fig. 9).

Fig. 5.6. Fragmentary sculptures of the Augustan trophy, bound male captive, and standing female captive (or personification of Gallia) from Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France. White marble; female figure ca. *131 cm in height.* Ca. *25-12 BC. (Musée archéologique Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges inv. nos. 84.0004; photograph by Kitterie Schenck-David copyright C2RA; Cleary 2008: Fig. 2.3).*

Fig. 5.7. E. Boube and E. Dambes' reconstruction of the trophy monument from Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France, ca. *25-12 BC. (Musée archéologique Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges inv. nos. 84.0004; image by E. Boube and E. Dambes; Boube 1996: p. 25).*

Fig. 5.8. Restored trophy relief from Tropaeum Augusti (Tropaeum Alpium), La Turbie, ca. *7-6 BC. (Photograph by Tyler Bell: http://www.flickr.com/photos/tylerbell/2685957711/ in/set-72157622668960009).*

Fig. 5.9. Metope 35, Tropaeum Traiani*, Adamklisi. AD 109. (Adamklisi Museum, Metope 35; Florescu 1961: Fig. 214; Wikimedia Commons: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki /File:AdamclisiMetope14.jpg).*

*Fig. 5.10. Bronze head, excavated from the eastern suburbs of Xianyang. H: 10.2 cm. Ca. 221-206 BC. (*Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004: 198; no. 82XYCLJC7: 96; *Xianyang Municipal Museum inv. 5-1166; Rawson 2007: Fig. 130).*

Fig. 5.11. Head of an ethnos *from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,* 1st *century AD. Preserved height: 31 cm. (Smith 1988: no. 6; Pl. 6; photograph by M. Ali Döğenci.).*

*Fig. 5.12. Augustan denarius (*RIC *1 Augustus 514), 19 BC. Obverse: Augustus bare head right,* AUGUST; *reverse: tiara on left, quiver with arrows and bowcase with bow on right,* ARMENIA *above,* CAPTA *below. (Joe Geraino: http://www.flickr.com/photos/julio-claudians/2127653369/).*

Fig. 5.13. Relief from the east face of the Arch of Augustus at Carpentras. Augustan period. (The Roman Society Centenary Image Bank: Image 1003; http://www.romansociety.org/fileadmin/images/imago/1003.jpg)

Fig. 5.14. Gemma Augustea *(lower register): captive enemies; soldiers raising a trophy made from enemy arms. Double-layered onyx cameo gem, early first century AD. Overall width:* ca. *23 cm,. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. AS IXa 79; image: http://ancientrome.ru/art/artwork/glyptics/cameos/c0246.jpg).*

*Fig. 5.15. Iron sculptural group at Pujin 蒲津, Shanxi 山西; AD 720. (*In situ*; image: http://www.hkctp.com.hk/images/upload/Image/1(1).jpg).*

Fig. 5.16. Section of the pounded earth "Great Wall" at Guyang 固阳, Inner Mongolia 内蒙古. Qin 秦 period. (Yates 2007: Fig. 44).

Fig. 5.17. Reconstruction of the south elevation, Palace Number 1 (Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004: p. 765).

Fig. 5.18. Reconstruction and perspective drawing, Palace Number 1 (Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所編著 2004: p. 775).

Fig. 5.19. The so-called Flaminian obelisk, first erected ca. *1300 BC at Heliopolis; erected on the* spina *of the Circus Maximus, Rome,* ca. *10 bc. Height: 23.2 m. (University of Washington: http://depts.washington.edu/hrome/Authors/joeplumb/PiazzaandPortaDel Popolo/243/244/Vasi21f2.jpg/pub_image_view.html).*

Fig. 5.20. Tomb of Gaius Cestius, Via Ostiensis, Rome. Ca. *15-12 BC. Height: 37 m. (Image: © 2006, Scala, Florence / Art Resource, New York).*

Fig. 6.1. Nero and Armenia. Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. First century AD. Aphrodisias excavations inv. 80-141; Smith 2013: C 8. Height: 160 cm. (Thommen 2012: fig. 4).

Fig. 6.2. Judaea in mourning and bound captive; IVDEA CAPTA*; Vespasianic sestertius RIC II: Vespasian 159. (Wildwinds: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s2325.html#RIC_ 0159).*

Fig. 6.3. Statue of Hadrian crushing a barbarian underfoot; Hieraptyna, ca. *AD 120. Height 262 cm. (Cast from the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome, inv. 395; J. Lendering: http://www.livius.org/a/greece/hierapytna/hierapytna_hadrian_mncr.JPG).*

Fig. 6.4. Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. *AD 176. The statue originally included a Sarmatian warrior crouching beneath the hoof. Height: 4.24 m. (Museo Capitolino, Rome, inv. MC3247; image from Bluffton University: http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/italy/rome/marcusaurelius/marcusaurelius.html).*

Fig. 6.5. Statue of a horse crushing a bow-wielding Xiongnu 匈奴 warrior, tomb of General Huo Qubing 霍去病, satellite tomb of Maoling 茂陵 funerary site of Emperor Wudi 武帝; 140-117 BC. Height: 1.68 m. (Maoling Museum, Xingping; Dalum Hjallese Debatklub: http://www.dandebat.dk/images/22p.jpg)

Fig. 6.6. The Portonaccio Sarcophagus. Ca. *AD 180. Found near the Via Tiburtina, Portonaccio, Rome. Height: 150 cm. (Rome: Museo Nazionale, inv. 112327; Image: Wikimedia Commons. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Sarcophagus_Portonaccio_ Massimo.jpg).*

Fig. 6.7. Wilma Fairbank's reconstruction of the stone Wu 武 family shrines, Shandong 山东. AD 147-170. Interior measurement of each shrine ca. *155-170 cm in height. (Fairbank 1941: fig. 3).*

Fig. 6.8. Bridge battle scene. Front shrine, Wu 武 family shrines, Shandong 山东. AD 147-170. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone. (Chavannes 1909: no. 109).

Fig. 6.9. Bridge battle scene. Left shrine, Wu 武 family shrines, Shandong 山东. AD 147-170. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone. (Chavannes 1909: no. 137).

Fig. 6.10. Tomb lintel frieze. Beizhai 北寨 village, Yinan 沂南, Shandong 山东. Late second century AD. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone. (Ceng et al. 1956: pl. 24).

Fig. 6.11. Stone tomb lintel frieze. Beizhai 北寨 village, Yinan 沂南, Shandong 山东. Late second century AD. (Soper 1974: fig. 6).

Fig. 6.12. Bridge battle scene. Cangshan 苍山, Shandong 山东. Ca. AD 151. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone. (Shandong sheng bowuguan et al. 1982: fig. 418).

Fig. 6.13. Reconstruction of the Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 Shrine. Shandong Provincial Museum 山东博物馆, Jinan 济南. Original constructed AD 76-120. Height: 264 cm. (Photograph courtesy of Li Chen).

Fig. 6.14. West wall of the Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 shrine, Shandong 山东. AD 76-120. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone and line drawing. (Ruitenbeek 2002: 71-4. Line drawing: Xin 信 2000: fig. 71).

Fig. 6.15. Standardized types on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. AD 176. (Pirson 1996: 160-61; figs. 15-18).

Fig. 6.16. Roman soldiers crossing a pontoon bridge in Trajan's first Dacian campaign. Scenes 4 and 5, Column of Trajan, Rome. Ca. AD 113. (Fig. 6.10 repeated below). (Lepper and Frere 1988: pl. 7. Fig. 6.10 repeated below).

Fig. 6.17. Bridge-crossing scenes (Scenes 3, 78, 83, 107). Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. AD 176. (Coarelli 2008: 3, 78, 83, 107).

Fig. 6.18. "Battle of the Milvian Bridge." Relief from the southern face of the Arch of Constantine, Rome. Ca. AD 312-316. (Image: Alinari Archives, Florence).

Fig. 6.19. At left: three captives kneel; two enemy heads hang on a rack with axes; center and right: Han cavalry rides to face the enemy, approaching from the hills; lower right: an enemy corpse. (Detail of Fig. 6.14).

Fig. 6.20. Fallen enemies as the Roman army advances. Scene 50, Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Ca. AD 176. (Coarelli 2008: 50).

Fig. 6.21. Han soldiers execute "barbarian" enemies even as they come face-to-face with the enemy troops. A number of heads have been lopped off already, including one sitting on the bridge and one behind enemy lines (to the left of the bridgepost). (Detail of Fig. 6.10).

Fig. 6.22. "Minatory crossbowman." Central pillar detail. Yinan 沂南 tomb, Beizhai 北寨 village, Yinan 沂南, Shandong 山东. (Rubbing of detail from Fig. 17). Late second century AD. Ink rubbing of a bas relief on stone. (Rudolph 1965: Fig. 3).

Fig. 6.23. Queen Mother of the West. (Detail of Fig. 6.14).

Fig. 6.24. Personification of the Danube. Scene 3, Column of Trajan, Rome. Ca. AD 113. (University of Minnesota: http://www.arthist.umn.edu/aict/html/ancient/ROM/rom052 .html).

Fig. 6.25. The so-called "Ammendola Sarcophagus," which shows a battle of Greeks and Gauls, a type from which the "historical" battle sarcophagus developed. Second century AD. (Museo Capitolino, Rome, inv. 213; Hamberg 1945: pl. 38).

Fig. 6.26. Slabs 7-8 of the so-called Great Trajanic Frieze, now in the attic (east) of the Arch of Constantine, Rome; originally, perhaps, in the Forum of Trajan, Rome; ca. *AD 110-120. (Leander Touati 1987: 90, 111; Packer 1997: 113, 445). Ca. AD 117. Height: 298 cm. (Image: B. Storage and L. Maish: http://www.rome101.com/Topics/ArchConstantine/).*

Figure 6.27. Monument of the Julii, northwest view. Glanum, Gallia Narbonensis (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, France). Ca. 30-20 BC. Height: 17 m. (Rolland 1969, Fig. 38).

Figure 6.28. East relief, Monument of the Julii. Glanum, Gallia Narbonensis (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, France). Ca. 30-20 BC. Grant of civitas at left; amazonomachy at right. (Rolland 1969: fig. 42).

Fig. 6.29. Men from the "Country of Pierced Chests." (Detail of Fig. 6.14).

*Fig. 7.1. The emperor addresses the populus. Roman Forum, Curia. Trajanic or Hadrianic. Height: ca. 168 cm. (*In situ*; Hannestad 1988: Fig. 120. On the contents of this relief see: Torelli 1982: 90; Smith 1983: 227-8).*

Fig. 7.2. Bronze portrait head of Augustus excavated at Meroë. Ca. *27-25 BC. Height: 46.2 cm. (British Museum, London, inv. 1911,0901.1; British Museum image: http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00548/AN00548030_001_l.jpg).*

Fig. 7.3. (a) "Two officials." Detail from tomb lintel; near Luoyang 洛阳, Henan 河南. Ca. *100 BC – AD 50. Painted hollow ceramic tile; total 73.8 x 204.7 cm.. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 25.10: Denman Waldo Ross Collection; Seckel 1993: fig. 7).*

(b) Detail from painted, woven bamboo box. Lelang 乐浪 (present-day Anak, North Korea). First to second century AD. Whole container: ca. *22 cm high. (National Museum, Seoul; Seckel 1993: fig. 8).*

Fig. 7.4 (a) Bronze portrait head of Augustus excavated at Meroë. Ca. 27-25 bc. Height: 46.2 cm. (British Museum, London, inv. 1911,0901.1; Smith 1996: fig. 1).

(b) Head of a statue of Augustus from Livia's Villa ad Gallinas Albas, Prima Porta. After 20 bc. Statue height: 2.04 m. (Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo inv. 2290; Oxford cast; Smith 1996: fig. 2).

(c) Head of a statue of Augustus from Via Labicana, Rome. After 12 bc. Statue height: ca. 2.05 m. (Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 56230; Smith 1996: fig. 3; DAI Rome Neg. 57.1180).

(d) Head of a colossal acrolithic statue of Augustus from Lepcis Magna. After ad 23. Height: 120 cm. (Archaeological Museum, Tripoli; Smith 1996: fig. 5).

Fig. 7.5. Chang'an (capital of the Former Han) plan drawn by Anthony Barbieri-Low. Wall layout, after 190 BC; palaces after 101 BC. (Barbieri-Low 2007: fig. 4.1).

Fig. 7.6. Silver denarius of Marcus Aurelius. Inscription reads M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX. *AD 166. (*RIC *3: Marcus Aurelius 163; Wildwinds: http://web.archive.org/web/20030118073632/wildwinds.com/coins/ric/marcus_aurelius/RIC_0163.jpg).*

Fig. 7.7. Bronze knife coin with inlaid gold. Inscription reads 一刀平五千 yi dao ping wu qian *("one knife worth five thousand"). AD 7. Length: 76 mm. (British Museum, London, inv. CM 1939-3-17-11; British Museum image: http://www.britishmuseum.org/images/k137522_l.jpg).*

*Fig. 8.1. Jade burial suit (sewn with gold thread) and headrest of Dou Wan 竇綰 from Tomb 2 at Mancheng 满城, Hebei 河北 (*ca. *113-100 BC); 1.72m long. (Hebei Provincial Museum; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Hebei sheng wenwu guanli ban 中国社会科学院考古研究所，河北省文物管理 1980 vol. 1: figs. 4, 144.).*

Fig. 8.2. Cuirassed statue of Augustus from Livia's Villa ad Gallinas Albas, Prima Porta. After 20 BC. Height: 2.04 m. (Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo inv. 2290; Wikimedia Commons: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/0f/Statue-Augustus_white_background.jpg/682px-Statue-Augustus_white_background.jpg).

Fig. 8.3. A comic about the Column of Trajan and visibility. (Brilliant 1986: fig. 3.2; adapted from a cartoon in Il Messaggero*, 7 October, 1959).*

Fig. 8.4. Tombstone of Reburrus, Bonn. Ca. 54-68 AD. Height: 103 cm. (Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. 58, 1045. Bauchhenß 1978: no. 17).

Fig. B.1. Imperial Roman burial sites. Map by G. Lugli, 1939. (Frutaz 1962: Pl. 57/Tab. 117).

Fig. B.2. The Mausoleum of Augustus (current state), Rome, ca. *28 BC. (ARTStor: http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczI9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3oscVNzcic%3D).*

Fig. B.3. Trajan's Column, Rome, ca. *AD 113, crowned by a 16th century statue of St. Peter, amid the ruins of the Basilica Ulpia (lower right). (University of California San Diego/ARTstor).*

Fig. B.4. Castel Sant'Angelo, originally the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and the Ponte Sant'Angelo, originally the Pons Aelius, Rome, ca. *AD 123-140. (Copyright SCALA, Florence / Art Resource, N.Y. 2006. ARTstor: http://library.artstor.org/library/secure/ViewImages?id=4iFCeTg4NCciJy8laCt2KngqXXgjcVl7fyA%3D).*

Fig. B.5. Map of Qin and Han imperial tombs, Shaanxi 陕西. (Yang 2004: Vol. 2, Fig. 79a). Note that post-Han sites and structures are shown on this map also, including the Weihui Canal and the cities of Xi'an, Xianyang and Lintong.

Fig. B.6. Aerial view of the Lishan 郦山 tumulus of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (current state; its height has reduced over time), Shaanxi 陕西, constructed 246-210 BC. (Rawson 2007: Fig. 127).

Fig. B.7. Changling 长陵 tumulus of Gaozu 高祖, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *195 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 2 Fig. 1).*

Fig. B.8. Anling 安陵 tumuli of Huidi 惠帝 and Empress Zhang 长, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *188 BC, 163 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 10 Fig. 1).*

Fig. B.9. Baling 霸陵 mountain site, burial place of Wendi 文帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *157 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 16 Fig. 2).*

Fig. B.10. Plan of the tumulus of Jingdi 景帝 and surrounding walls at Yangling 阳陵, Shaanxi 陕西. ca. *156-141 BC. 418 sq. m. (Loewe 2010: Fig. 7.4).*

Fig. B.11. Maoling 茂陵 tumulus of Wudi 武帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *87 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 20 Fig. 1).*

Fig. B.12. Pingling 平陵 tumulus of Zhaodi 昭帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *74 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 33 Fig. 1).*

Fig. B.13. Duling 杜陵 tumulus of Xuandi 宣帝 and the foundations of the tomb's Chamber of Ease (biandian 便殿), Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *49 BC. (Loewe 2010: Fig. 7.9).*

Fig. B.14. Weiling 渭陵 tumulus of Yuandi 元帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *33 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 36 Fig. 2).*

Fig. B.15. Yanling 延陵 tumulus of Chengdi 成帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *7 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 44 Fig. 1).*

Fig. B.16. Yiling 义陵 tumulus of Aidi 哀帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *1 BC. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 49 Fig. 1).*

Fig. B.17. Kangling 康陵 tumulus of Pingdi 平帝, Shaanxi 陕西, completed ca. *AD 6. (Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所 2010: Pl. 53 Fig. 2).*

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