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Emperor Wen's 'Baling' Mountain Tomb: Innovation in Political Rhetoric and Necropolis Design in Early China

In the early Western Han dynasty, emperor Wen 文 (r. 180–157 BC) constructed a tomb that would have a profound influence on elite tomb architecture across the empire. The style of this tomb, Baling 霸陵, differed considerably from the imperial tombs that had preceded it. From the First Emperor of Qin (d. 210 BC) onward, all early emperors constructed vertical pit graves capped with grandiose, towering mounds of rammed earth (see figures 1, 2). “In constructing Baling,” the *History of the Former Han*, or *Han shu* 漢書, states that emperor Wen “relied on the [natural] mountain and did not raise a mound 因其山, 不起墳.”¹ Baling was the first recorded mountain tomb hollowed out of a natural mountain; it utilized the mountain’s peak as its tumulus (figure 3).²

Baling was not only peculiar in its style but also in its location. It was not constructed in the imperial burial district north of the Wei 渭 River, where emperors Gaozu 高祖 (r. 206–195 BC) and Hui 惠 (r.

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¹ Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962; hereafter *HS*) 4, p. 134.

² Some scholars have argued that the “tomb of the king of Chu” (*Chu wang mu* 楚王墓), allegedly belonging to Liu Jiao 劉交 (r. 201–179 BC), the first king of Chu, predated Baling. A preliminary excavation report from this site has not been published; however, unofficial site descriptions call into question its attribution and proposed an early date. As argued by Liu Tao, the piled-stone walls and vaulted roof-structure indicate that it was most likely constructed in the middle to late Western Han. See Liu Tao 劉濤, “Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu xingzhi de yanbian” 西漢諸侯王陵墓形制的演變, in *Handai kaogu yu Han wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 漢代考古與漢文化國際學術研討會論文集 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2006), p. 190.

For arguments that the aforementioned tomb predated Baling, see: 1. Meng Qiang 孟強 and Qian Guoguang 錢國光, “Xi Han zaoqi Chu wang mu paixu ji muzhu wenti de chubu yan-

195–188 BC), the first two Han emperors, were buried.³ Instead, his tomb lay fifty-seven kilometers southeast of the capital's Weiyang 未央 Palace on the northeastern edge of White Deer Plain (Bailuyuan 白鹿塬).⁴ There, Baling was constructed into a steep mountain peak, overlooking the Ba 灞 River (figure 4).⁵

Although Baling has not been excavated, both archeological and textual evidence support the *Han shu*'s account that it was a mountain tomb. Its location has been estimated based on empress Dou's 竇 (d. 135 BC) tomb, which was positioned 2,400 meters southeast.⁶ An accompanying burial has also been discovered in the nearby vicinity of the tomb.⁷

Regarding the tomb's style, a Ming-era source confirms that stone was used on the interior. It states, "In the autumn of 1291, the waters of the Ba River broke through the outer gate of the Ba Tomb and flushed out more than 500 pieces of stone slabs 至元辛卯秋, 灞水沖開灞陵外羨門, 沖出石板五百余片."⁸ In excavated mountain tombs, stone slabs were employed either to block the tomb entrance or to form the tomb walls.⁹ It is unlikely that the mountain that housed Baling contained

jiu 西漢早期楚王墓排序及墓主問題的初步研究," in Wang Zhongwen 王中文, ed., *Liang Han wenhua yanjiu* 兩漢文化研究 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2004) 2, p. 170; 2. Zhou Xueying 周學鷹, *Xuzhou Han mu jianzhu* 徐州漢墓建築 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2001), pp. 52–61; and 3. Liang Yong 梁勇, "Cong Xi Han Chu wang mu de jianzhu jiegou kan Chu wang mu de pailie shunxu" 從西漢楚王墓的建築結構看楚王墓的排列順序, *WW* 2001.10, pp. 71–84. Additionally, some scholars have also applied early dates to Shizishan 獅子山 and Beidongshan 北洞山. See the appendix of this article for an explanation of why these tombs ought to postdate Baling.

³ Changling 長陵 and Anling 安陵, the tombs of the first two emperors, were positioned in such a way that their names, when read together, equaled the name of the capital city, "Chang'an." Liu Qingzhu 劉慶柱 and Li Minfang 李毓芳, *Xi Han shiyi ling* 西漢十一陵 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987), p. 27.

⁴ Liu and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 35.

⁵ Baling is located in modern-day Mao Yao Yuan 毛窯院 village, Xi'an 西安 city. Xianyang kaogu yanjiu suo 咸陽考古研究所, *Xi Han diling zuantan diaocha baogao* 西漢帝陵鑽探調查報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010), p. 30. At the base of the cliff, eleven Qing steles erected in the Qianlong era can still be viewed; these mark the approximate location of emperor Wen's tomb.

⁶ Xianyang kaogu yanjiusuo, *Xi Han diling*, p. 32. See also Yan Chongdong 閻崇東, *Liang Han diling* 兩漢帝陵 (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2007), p. 131.

⁷ The accompanying tomb was looted in 2001 and yielded a set of unclothed, black pottery figurines without arms similar to those excavated from Yangling. Jiao Nanfeng 焦南峰 et al., "Gongting shenghuo de suyong: Xihan diling zhong de taoyong" 宮廷生活的縮影, 西漢帝陵中的陶俑, *Shoucang* 收藏 2010.6, pp. 93, 95.

⁸ He Jingming 何景明, *Yong daji* 雍大記, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), vol. 11, pp. 184–93.

⁹ Examples of both scenarios can be found in recently excavated rock-cut tomb sites. The Bao'anshan 保安山 M2 tomb in Henan province, for example, was sealed with more than three

EMPEROR WEN'S MOUNTAIN TOMB



*Figure 1. West Side of
Han Gaozu's Tumulus at
Changling*

*After photograph in Xi Han
Diling zuantan diaocha
baogao (cited n. 5), color plate
1.2.*



*Figure 2. Emperor Hui's
Tumulus at Anling*

Photograph by Ma Yongying.



*Figure 3. Mountain Peak Where Emperor Wen's Baling Is Purportedly Located
A discussion of the location is in n. 5, above. Photograph by the author, 2012.*

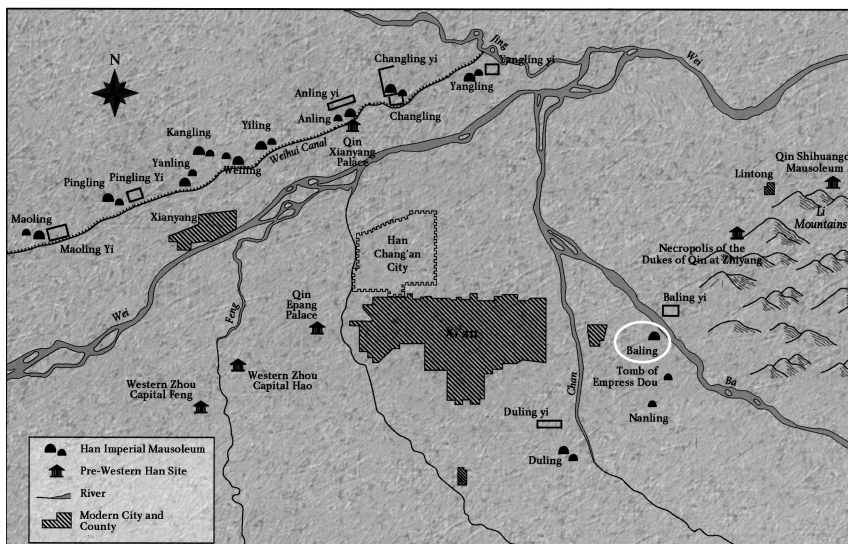


Figure 4. Baling in Relation to Changling, Anling, and the Chang'an Capital
 After map in Yang Xiaoneng, *New Perspectives on China's Past : Chinese Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2004) 2, p. 237. Baling's location is indicated by the added white cartouche.

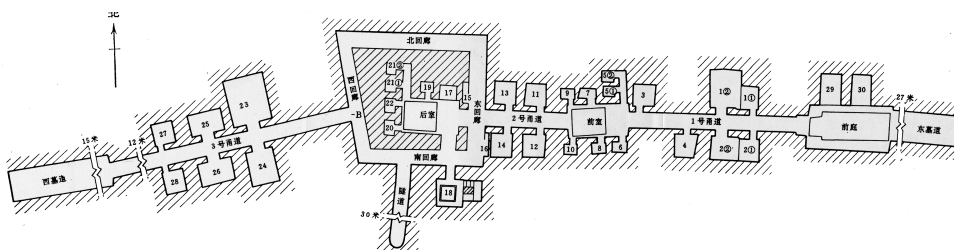


Figure 5. Plan of Bao'anshan M2, near Yongcheng, Henan

After Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所, ed.,
 Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan 永城西漢梁國王陵與寢園
 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996), fig. 64, pp. 93-94.

a sufficient amount of stone to hollow out a chamber tomb, so Baling may have been lined with stone blocks.¹⁰

Baling's importance in the history of tomb architecture lies in the numerous elite tombs that imitated its style. Of king-level tombs, more than forty rock-cut mountain tombs have been discovered in recent years.¹¹ These appeared beginning in the period immediately following emperor Wen's death and are considered some of the most elaborate tombs of the Western Han period (see appended table).¹² By comparison, none of the three tombs of kings who died prior to Wen's reign has been found to be rock-cut. All are vertical-pit tombs covered by earthen mounds.¹³

The scale of the rock-cut tomb sites testifies to their magnificence. The Bao'an Shan 保安山 tomb M2 (see figure 5), for example, near Yongcheng 永城, Henan province, measures roughly 1,600 square me-

thousand limestone blocks. Henan sheng Shangqiu shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 河南省商丘市文物管理委員會, Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所, and Henan sheng Yongcheng shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 河南省永城市文物管理委員會, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi* 芒碭山西漢梁王墓地, ed. Yan Genqi 閻根齊 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), p. 42. Alternately, the Beidongshan 北洞山 tomb in Xuzhou used stone blocks to form the walls of an auxiliary chamber. Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館 and Nanjing daxue lishixi kaogu zhuanke 南京大學歷史學系考古專業, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xihan Chuwang mu* 徐州北洞山西漢楚王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), pp. 20–29.

¹⁰ Liu and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 36.

¹¹ For a full list of these sites, see Allison R. Miller, "Patronage, Politics, and the Emergence of Rock-Cut Tombs in Han China," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 2011), pp. 302–3. See also Liu Rui 劉瑞 and Liu Tao 劉濤, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu* 西漢諸侯王陵墓制度研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010).

¹² Recent English-language works that discuss Western Han rock-cut mountain tombs include: James C. S. Lin, ed., *The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2012); Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 2010), pp. 20–34; Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, "Death and the Dead: Practices and Images in the Qin and Han," in John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC–AD 220)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 949–1026; Susan N. Erickson, "Han Dynasty Tomb Structures and Contents," in Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe, eds., *China's Early Empires: A Re-Appraisal* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2010), pp. 13–81; Jessica Rawson, "The Eternal Palaces of the Western Han: A New View of the Universe," *Artibus Asiae* 59.1–2 (1999), pp. 5–58; Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1995), pp. 130–35; Robert L. Thorp, "Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits: Preparations for Eternity in the Western Han," in George Kuwayama, ed., *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China: Papers on Chinese Ceramic Funerary Sculptures* (Los Angeles: Far Eastern Art Council, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 26–39.

¹³ To date, three tombs have been attributed to kings who died prior to the end of emperor Wen's reign: 1. Zhang Er 張耳, king of Zhao's 趙 (r. 203–202 BC) tomb: Shijiazhuang shi tushuguan wenwu kaogu xiaozu 石家莊市圖書館文物考古小組, "Hebei Shijiazhuang shi beijiao Xi Han mu fajue jianbao" 河北石家莊市北郊西漢墓發掘簡報, *KG* 1980.1, pp. 52–55; 2. Luozhuang 洛莊 Han tomb, attributed to either Lü Tai 呂台, king of Lü 呂 (d. 187 BC) or Liu Fei 劉肥, king Daohui 悼惠 of Qi 齊 (r. 201–189): Jinan shi kaogu yanjiusuo 濟南市考古研究所 et al., "Shandong Zhangqiu shi Luozhuang Han mu peizangkeng de qingli" 山東章丘市洛莊漢墓陪葬坑的清理, *KG* 2004.8, pp. 3–16. Thirty-six accompanying pits have been excavated; the

ters and contains thirty-four side rooms extending off the main corridor.¹⁴ Shizishan 獅子山, one of the earliest excavated rock-cut tombs to date is estimated to have taken at least fourteen years to construct.¹⁵ These sites have yielded many masterpieces of Han art, and some interiors are ornamented with self-standing architectural edifices fashioned from wood or stone and/or ornate wall paintings (figure 6).¹⁶

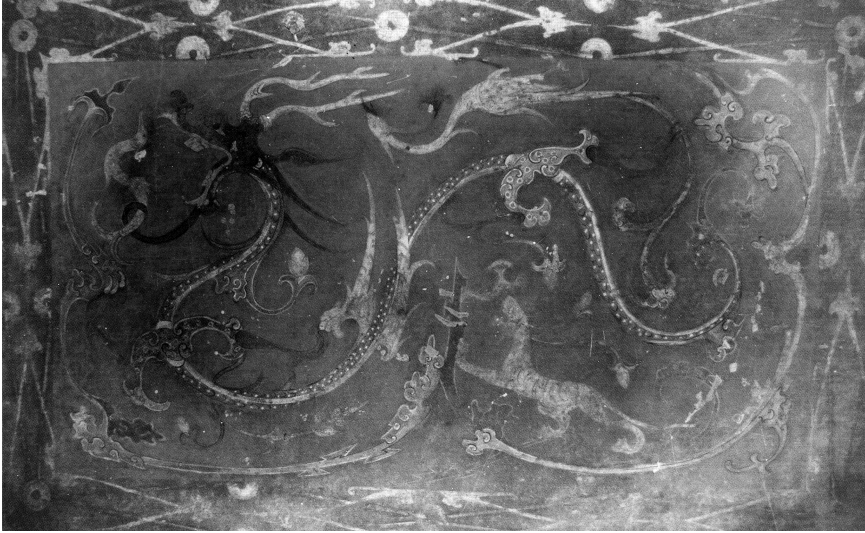


Figure 6. Painting on Ceiling of Shi Yuan 柿園 Tomb

After Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi (cited n. 9), color illustration 1, p. 363.

main tomb has yet to be excavated; 3. tomb of an early Qi king, possibly Liu Fei, king Daohui or Liu Xiang 劉襄, king Ai 哀 (r. 188–179 BC): Shandong sheng Zibo shi bowuguan 山東省淄博市博物館, “Xi Han Qi wang mu suizangqi wukeng 西漢齊王墓隨葬器物坑, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 1985.2, pp. 223–66. Five accompanying pits were excavated from 1978–1980; the main tomb has yet to be excavated.

In addition to these, some scholars have applied an early date to two other wooden tombs excavated in Changsha, Hunan that most likely belonged to royalty: Xiangbizui 象鼻嘴 M1 and the Wang Chengpo 望城坡 “Yu Yang 漁陽” tomb. See Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館, “Changsha Xiangbizui yihao Xi Han mu” 長沙象鼻嘴一號西漢墓, *Kaogu xuebao* 1981.1, pp. 111–30. Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 長沙市文物考古研究所 and Changsha jian-du bowuguan 長沙簡牘博物館, “Hunan Changsha Wangchengpo Xi Han Yu Yang mu fajue jianbao” 湖南長沙望城坡西漢漁陽墓發掘簡報, *WW* 2010.4, pp. 4–35.

¹⁴ *Mangdang shan Xi Han* (cited n. 9, above), p. 40.

¹⁵ Wang Yundu 王雲度, “Shixi panwang Liu Wu heyi neng anzang zai Shizishan Chu wang mu” 試析叛王劉戊何以能安葬在獅子山楚王墓, in Wang, ed., *Liang Han wenhua yanjiu* 2, p. 205.

¹⁶ Wall paintings have been discovered on the wall and ceiling of the Shi Yuan 柿園 tomb. *Mangdang shan Xi Han* (cited n. 9, above), pp. 115–20. Wooden and stone architectural structures were constructed inside of the Mancheng tomb. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo

Baling's striking influence on Han elite mortuary architecture prompts several questions. First, how can the unusual style and location of Baling be explained? Second, why did the style of the tomb break so abruptly with past tradition? Finally, why was the mountain tomb style so influential among Han kings?

In the past, several theories have explained the design and location of emperor Wen's tomb. Concerning Baling's location, scholars have argued that the imperial house purportedly adhered to a system of burial called the *zhaomu* 昭穆 system.¹⁷ According to these scholars, emperor Gaozu designated the area north of the Wei River as the traditional ruler's cemetery (*gongmu* 公墓) and all of the Western Han emperors except the last, emperor Ping 平 (r. 1 BC–6 AD), positioned their burials in an alternating pattern along the river line. In their view, emperor Wen could not have been rightfully buried in this region because he was the brother of the former emperor and not his heir. He therefore chose to be buried apart from the other emperors, south of the river.

Numerous scholars have written articles arguing against this proposition. Of these, Yang Kuan has convincingly argued that the *zhaomu* system could only account for three tombs at best – Changling 長陵, Anling 安陵, and Yangling 陽陵.¹⁸ Furthermore, textual evidence for the system consists of a single passage in *Han Shu* in which chancellor Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (d. 36 BC) presented it to emperor Yuan 元 (r. 48–33 BC).¹⁹ If this particular concept had been used to organize imperial burials since the early Han, a minister would not have had to introduce the concept to his emperor in the late Western Han.

Baling's mountain style has commonly been explained as resulting from emperor Wen's frugality. The late-Western Han scholar Yi

中國社會科學院考古研究所 and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu 河北省文物管理處, *Mancheng Hanmu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), pp. 21–22.

¹⁷ For the arguments that the Han emperors followed the *zhaomu* system to arrange their burials, see: Du Baoren 杜葆仁, “Xi Han zhuling weizhi kao” 西漢諸陵位置考, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1980.1, pp. 29–33; Liu and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 147–49; Li Yufang 李毓芳, “Xi Han diling fenbu de kaocha: jiantan Xi Han diling de zhaomu zhidu” 西漢帝陵分布的考察, 兼談西漢帝陵的昭穆制度, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1989.3, pp. 28–35; Lei Baijing 雷百景 and Li Wen 李雯, “Xi Han diling zhaomu shidu zai tantao” 西漢帝陵昭穆制度再探討, *Wenbo* 文博 2008.2, pp. 48–51.

¹⁸ Yang Kuan 楊寬, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidu shi yanjiu* 中國古代陵寢制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), p. 201. See also: Ye Wenxian 葉文憲, “Xi Han diling de chaoxiang ji qi xiangguan wenti” 西漢帝陵的朝向及其相關問題, *Wenbo* 1988.4, pp. 41–42; Lei Yiqun 雷依群, “Lun Xi Han diling zhidu de jige wenti” 論西漢帝陵制度的幾個問題, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1998.6, pp. 49, 63–65; and Jiao Nanfeng 焦南峰 and Ma Yongying 馬永贏, “Xi Han diling wu zhaomu zhidu lun” 西漢帝陵無昭穆制度論, *Wenbo* 1999.5, pp. 51–58.

¹⁹ *HS* 73, p. 3118.

Feng 翼奉 explained Baling this way in a conversation with emperor Yuan:

I have heard that the Han reached the zenith of imperial benevolence when emperor Wen personally enacted moderation and frugality... He also transmitted a final edict, [stating that] he would not build a mountain-like mound. For this reason, at that time the empire had great peace, the hundred surnames lived in harmony and contentment, and his benevolence was transmitted to later generations. 竊聞漢德隆盛，在於孝文皇帝躬行節儉... 又下遺詔，不起山墳。故其時天下大和，百姓洽足，德流後嗣。²⁰

Emperor Wen had decided on a moundless tomb, Yi argued, out of a desire for moderation. His deep sense of frugality made him a benevolent ruler and a paragon of virtue. Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BC), Yi Feng's contemporary, similarly used emperor Wen as an example to convince emperor Cheng 成 (r. 33–7 BC) to be content with an initial tomb that he had begun at Yanling 延陵 after the expenses associated with a new site, Changling 昌陵, had become too great.²¹

Baling's fame increased in the Eastern Han after it escaped desecration by the Red Eyebrows.²² Guangwu 光武 (r. 25–57 AD), the first emperor of the Eastern Han, instructed his chief architect to use Baling as a model for his own tomb, saying, "Even when the empire was overturned, Baling alone remained intact and received its sacrifices! Is this not praiseworthy? 遭天下反覆，而霸陵獨完受其福，豈不美哉."²³ Looters did not disturb emperor Wen's tomb, he implied, because other tombs north of the Wei River were more opulent. The histories, after all, record that for the ornamentation of his tomb, emperor Wen used only ceramic items and not gold, silver, copper, or tin.²⁴

Despite the its reputation for frugality, later records indicate that Baling may not have been as inexpensive as often assumed. The standard history of the Jin dynasty (266–420 AD), titled *Jin shu* 晉書, records a conversation between emperor Min 愍帝 (r. 313–316) and his general regarding the plundering of Baling:

During that time, men of the Three Qin region such as Yin Heng and Jie Wu along with several thousands of households opened and

²⁰ *HS* 75, p. 3175.

²¹ *HS* 36, p. 1957.

²² *HS* 99, p. 4193. See also Wang Fu's 王符 (ca. 76–ca. 157) remarks: Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445), *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964) 49, pp. 1635–36.

²³ *Ibid.* 1, pp. 77–78.

²⁴ Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–ca. 86 BC), *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959; hereafter *SJ*) 10, p. 433; *HS* 4, p. 134.

robbed the two tombs of Baling and Duling, plundering many of the precious objects. The emperor asked Suo Lin, "Why are there so many goods in the Han tombs?" Lin replied, "When a Han emperor had been in power one year, he would build his tomb. The taxes and tribute of the empire were divided into three parts. One-third supported the imperial temples, one-third was given for entertaining guests, and the other third filled the mountain-like mounds. Because emperor Wu of the Han was in power so many years, when he died Maoling could not contain any more objects. The trees were already so large that one could wrap one's arms around them! When the Red Eyebrows took objects from the tomb they did not even reduce the number of objects by one half. To this day, there are still rotting silks in piles, and the pearls and jades have not been exhausted. These two tombs are the 'frugal' ones! Let this be a warning to one hundred generations!" 時三秦人尹桓, 解武等數千家, 盜發漢霸, 杜二陵, 多獲珍寶。帝問綝曰: "漢陵中物何乃多邪?" 綝對曰: "漢天子即位一年而為陵, 天下貢賦三分之, 一供宗廟, 一供賓客, 一充山陵。漢武帝饗年久長, 比崩而茂陵不復容物, 其樹皆已可拱。赤眉取陵中物不能減半, 於今猶有朽帛委積, 珠玉未盡。此二陵是儉者耳, 亦百世之誠也。"²⁵

Jin shu was based on many previous historical writings, but it was compiled anew in the 640s and presented to the Tang court in 648 AD. Thus, the above conversation first became widely read more than three hundred years after the tomb was reportedly looted. If accurate, however, it indicates that by the Six Dynasties' period, the goods found in emperor Wen's tomb were considered quite extravagant by the standards of the day. The passage is consistent with kings' tombs built in the mountain style; they were some of the most sumptuous tombs of the Western Han period.

The Red Eyebrows' failure to loot the site may have had little to do with the richness (or frugality) of the goods buried within the tomb. Instead, Baling may not have been looted because like emperor Xuan's tomb, which was also not looted, it was located outside of the capital city, making it too inconvenient for groups like the Red Eyebrows to plunder.

Whether or not the Six Dynasties' record may prove accurate, a desire for frugality and security cannot fully account for the style or location of emperor Wen's Baling. For example, if he had aimed at fru-

²⁵ Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648), *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 60, p. 1651.

gality, why did he choose to construct his tomb in a mountain south of the capital city? Mountain tombs may have required less people at one time to construct, but they were still a very expensive choice. A truly frugal tomb would have been a simple, mound-less tomb in a location without any type of identifiable landmark. This explanation also does not account for the enormous popularity of the mountain tomb style among the Liu family kings of the Han.

Finally, Wu Hung and Jessica Rawson have posited that mountain tombs emerged due to outside stylistic influences. Wu argues that they imitated Indian rock-cut temples and Rawson hypothesized that they emerged when the Chinese “heard stories about tombs in Siberia, Iran, and even further west.”²⁶ No concrete evidence, however, has surfaced, linking the rock-cut tomb sites with any of the places listed above.²⁷

Instead, I will argue that the emergence of mountain tombs in the Western Han can be connected with the specific political context of emperor Wen’s reign. Emperor Wen took power during a critical period of Han history when the future of the Han administration was uncertain and disunity marked relations among ruling family members. In the tradition of the First Emperor of Qin, emperor Wen designed his tomb early in his reign and used his tomb to promulgate his identity as a benevolent emperor who had been appointed by the spirits to rule. As a foil of previous tombs, Baling was designed to generate support for his administration from the population and from the kings. The adoption of this tomb type as a family sign presented the family as a unified ruling body before the empire and bolstered the authority of the kings within their local kingdoms.

EMPEROR WEN: THE REFORMER

To understand the political function of Baling in the Han, it is necessary to first address the political circumstances faced by emperor Wen when he took the throne. At the onset of his reign, he inherited the momentous task of reforming the empire, which was teetering on the brink of collapse. The principal issue at this point was administrative. The Han, unlike the Qin, had been established with a mixed govern-

²⁶ Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1995), p. 133; Rawson, “Eternal Palaces of the Western Han,” p. 24.

²⁷ As Robert Bagley has pointed out, “the earliest rock-cut sanctuaries anywhere in India, among them the one Wu illustrates are little if any earlier than the time of Emperor Wendi.” Robert Bagley, review of *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, by Wu Hung, *HJAS* 88.1 (1998), p. 243.

ment organization and contained both commanderies and kingdoms. The kingdoms comprised the empire's most valuable territory in terms of population, and the earliest kings were eight of emperor Gaozu's top generals, who were presented with territory prior to his winning the empire to keep them loyal in his struggle against Xiang Yu 項羽.²⁸

The commandary-kingdom system, however, was not well-administered. It was instituted by the Han founder, Gaozu, as a short-term solution to address the fact that when he assumed the throne, the kings had too much power for him to rule as a solitary emperor like the First Emperor. The kings would only acknowledge his sovereignty as emperor if he retained their positions and kingdoms.²⁹ Emperor Gaozu, however, was not content to rule with the kings, and he devoted the entirety of his reign to eliminating them. One by one, he accused each king of plotting revolt and demoted them.³⁰

When Gaozu had removed most of the kings from power, his officials warned that he still did not have sufficient power to rule on his own. Large kingdoms such as Qi 齊, the Qin of the East, they maintained, could easily be lost if he attempted to manage them from his distant seat at the capital.³¹ Gaozu therefore reluctantly agreed to re-install new kings from his own family. The histories indicate that he still viewed their enfeoffment as a temporary measure, however, and hoped to rescind their territories once his power had become more secure. For example, he presented the empire's worst plots to his clan's

²⁸ Gaozu confirmed the positions of eight kings when he was declared emperor. *SJ* 8, p. 379. Of these eight, only one king, Wuzhu 無諸, might be considered a new enfeoffment. Wu Zhu, a descendant of the former king of Yue, was not made a king by Xiang Yu. He supported emperor Gaozu during his struggle for the emperorship, and Gaozu rewarded him with the title of king of Minyue 閩越. *SJ* 114, p. 2979; *HS* 95, p. 3859.

²⁹ Liu Bang was given the emperorship when the allied kings joined together and declared, "You, great king, arose from obscurity, punished the violent and cruel, pacified and secured the four seas. For those with military merit you accordingly divided your territory and enfeoffed them as kings and marquises. If you, great king, do not assume the highest title, all will doubt and not believe [our ranks.] We, your subjects, will hold this request to our deaths" 大王起微細, 誅暴逆, 平定四海, 有功者輒裂地而封爲王侯。大王不尊號, 皆疑不信。臣等以死守之. *SJ* 8, p. 379.

³⁰ Only one king, the king of Changsha 長沙, escaped demotion. The king of Chu 楚, Han Xin 韓信, was accused first and became like a "hunting dog boiled after all the wild animals have been captured 野獸已盡而獵狗烹," as had been predicted. *SJ* 92, p. 2625. Following his defeat, accusations were launched against the king of Hann 韓, Xin 信 (*SJ* 93, p. 2633; *HS* 33, pp. 1853-54); the king of Zhao, Zhang Er (*SJ* 89, p. 2585; *HS* 32, pp. 1839-42); the king of Liang 梁, Peng Yue 彭越 (*SJ* 90, p. 2594); the king of Huainan 淮南, Qing Bu 黥布 (*SJ* 91, pp. 2603-6; *HS* 34, pp. 1887-88); and the king of Yan 燕, Lu Wan 盧綰 (*SJ* 93, pp. 2638-39). Only one non-Liu king, the first king of Yan 燕, Zang Tu 臧荼, revolted on his own accord. His loyalty was more tenuous than the others since he only pledged allegiance to emperor Gaozu after Xiang Yu's defeat. *SJ* 95, p. 2666; *HS* 41, p. 2071.

³¹ *SJ* 8, pp. 382-83; *HS* 1, p. 59.

most senior and accomplished members.³² He also did little to cultivate their loyalty; he even removed his elder brother Xi 喜 from the kingship after he failed to repel the Xiongnu from his territory.³³ His treatment of his relatives resulted in acrimonious relations between the imperial court and the kings that worsened over time.

After his death, the bitter family relations set in place by Gaozu followed their natural course until they reached a critical point after empress Lü's death. Then, two groups – a faction led by the king of Qi and another by Lü's relatives – both plotted to take the throne.³⁴ After both revolts had been quelled, military generals then invited emperor Wen to assume the emperorship.³⁵

The circumstances in which he came to power meant that emperor Wen faced two critical challenges during his reign. First, he needed to establish his own legitimacy and authority as emperor since he was not the rightful heir to the throne and had played no role in quelling the revolts that occurred following empress Lü's death. His appointment was so undeserved that his minister Zhang Wu 張武 even suspected that it might be a set-up and encouraged him to decline the position.³⁶ Secondly, he also needed to strengthen his family's unity as corulers in the empire. Unlike most aristocratic families, the Liu clan did not have a long, distinguished history. They were commoners, and the disunity that had marked their family up to that point had called into question their suitability for rule.

The necessity of strengthening the Liu clan was communicated to emperor Wen from the moment he was invited to assume the emperorship. Song Chang 宋昌, another minister, declared, for example, that he ought to accept the position of emperor on account of the clan:

³² He positioned his son, Fei 肥, and his younger brother, Jiao 交, in the most desirable territories, Qi 齊 and Chu 楚. He presented the lesser territory of Dai 代 to his older brother Xi 喜, and the kingdom of Jing 荆 to Jia 賈, the only member of his clan who had fought and supported him in the wars against Xiang Yu. *SJ* 8, p. 384; 51, p. 1994; *HS* 1, pp. 60–61; 35, p. 1900.

³³ *HS* 1, p. 63. Bad relations also ensued between the king of Huainan and the imperial court after the king of Huainan's mother was bound and imprisoned by Gaozu because of her connection with the revolt against the throne in Zhao. *HS* 44, p. 2135.

³⁴ For the king of Qi's revolt, see *SJ* 9, p. 407; *HS* 38, pp. 1992–94. For Lü Chan's 呂產 revolt, see *SJ* 9, p. 410.

³⁵ *SJ* 10, pp. 413–16; *HS* 4, pp. 105–8.

³⁶ He argued, “Now they have already extinguished the Lü clan, and fresh blood flows through the capital. They invite you [to become emperor] only as a pretense; in reality, they cannot be trusted. I hope that you will declare yourself ill and not go so that you may observe their treachery” 今已誅諸呂，新喋血京師，以迎大王爲名，實不可信。願稱疾無往，以觀其變。 *SJ* 10, p. 413; *HS* 4, p. 105.

When the Qin lost their ability to rule, the feudal lords and powerful men together rose up. Those that believed they themselves had obtained the [the right to rule] numbered in the ten thousands, but in the end, he who attained the position of Son of Heaven was of the Liu clan... This is the first point. Emperor Gaozu enfeoffed his sons and brothers as kings and their territories are joined and restrict each other like the teeth of a dog. This is what is called a rock-solid clan. This is point two. When the Han arose, they abolished the harsh government of the Qin, simplified the laws, and extended kindness to the empire.³⁷ All of the people are at peace and it is difficult to shake them up. This is point three. When the grand commandant with one tally entered the northern army, he gave one shout and the *shi* all bared their left arms for the Liu clan and revolted against the Lü clan, in the end defeating them. This is given by heaven, it is not based on men's strength. Now even if the great ministers wish to start a rebellion, the common people will not allow it. How could they possibly unite their party under a single goal? 夫秦失其政, 諸侯豪桀並起, 人人自以爲得之者以萬數, 然卒踐天子之位者, 劉氏也... 一矣. 高帝封王子弟, 地犬牙相制, 此所謂盤石之宗也, 天下服其疆, 二矣. 漢興, 除秦苛政, 約法令, 施德惠, 人人自安, 難動搖, 三矣. 然而太尉以一節入北軍, 一呼士皆左袒, 爲劉氏, 叛諸呂, 卒以滅之. 此乃天授, 非人力也. 今大臣雖欲爲變, 百姓弗爲使, 其黨寧能專一邪?³⁸

Throughout this speech, Song Chang emphasizes that the emperor ought to take the throne courageously because Heaven had granted the authority to rule to the Liu clan. Not only heaven, but the people had supported Liu-family rule based on the kindness they had shown to the empire. Although the clan at that point was not “rock-solid,” as Song claimed it was, he may have hoped to inspire the emperor to make this assertion a reality and to capitalize on the support he had already received from heaven and the people.

³⁷ As a reader has pointed out, the assertion that the Han “abolished the harsh government of the Qin” and “simplified the laws” calls into question the authenticity of Song Chang's speech. The Zhangjiashan 張家山 legal statutes have revealed that the Han retained most of the Qin laws and emperor Wen did not abolish mutilating punishments until 167 BCE. Nevertheless, even if this speech represents propaganda from later in Wen's reign (or from the reign of a succeeding emperor), it still indicates that during his reign, there was a focus on restoring unity to the Liu family. For information about the Zhangjiashan statutes, see Michael Loewe, “The Laws of 186 BCE,” in Loewe and Nylan, eds., *China's Early Empires*, p. 255.

³⁸ *SJ* 10, pp. 413–14.

Restoring the Liu clan also became a dominant theme during emperor Wen's inauguration. At the coronation ceremony, great care was taken to invite all of the Liu clan members residing in the capital to attend the event.³⁹ These clan members joined with Gaozu's former generals and ministers to affirm Wen as Gaozu's eldest son and "rightful" (*yi* 宜) heir.⁴⁰ Shaodi 少帝, the last emperor positioned by empress Lü, was removed from the palace and told, "You are not of the Liu clan and ought not be in power 足下非劉氏, 不當立."⁴¹

As he took the throne, Wen presented himself as completing the great work of Gaozu by reforming the empire's administration under the clan. For example, he named his temple Contemplating Success Temple (*guancheng miao* 觀成廟), which Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–168 BC) describes as follows:

[The *Rites* states], "The founding ancestor has (military) achievement (*gong* 功), while the clan leader has benevolent power (*de* 德)." The first to capture all-under-heaven has (military) achievement, while the first to order all under-the-heavens has benevolent power. Accordingly, if the temple of Contemplating Success is for the great clan leader who receives the empire from the great founding ancestor, then the Han will be long-lasting, without end. "祖有功, 宗有德," 始取天下爲功, 始治天下爲德, 因觀成之廟, 爲天下太宗, 承天下太祖, 與漢長無極耳⁴²

Here, Jia Yi likens the reigns of Gaozu and Wen to the Zhou founders – kings Wen and Wu, who famously excelled in applying culture and force, respectively. Whereas Gaozu excelled militarily, emperor Wen would carry to fruition the seeds of the founder's great enterprise by reforming the empire's administration and unifying the clan. It would thereby be known that while emperor Gaozu had won the empire, emperor Wen would order its civil institutions.

TWO REFORM STRATEGIES

Emperor Wen assumed two major strategies to bolster the status of the Liu family and augment his own authority in the empire. First, he assumed a new attitude towards the emperorship. In contrast to the First Emperor, who argued that the people owed him their allegiance

³⁹ Ibid., p. 415.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 416.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 411.

⁴² Yan Zhenyi 閻振益 and Zhong Xia 鍾夏, eds., *Xin shu jiao zhu* 新書校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000; hereafter *XS*), 1, p. 30.

based on his great deeds, Han emperor Wen contended that his fitness for rule hinged not on his own accomplishments, but rather on his having been selected by the spirits for power. For example, in the following edict, issued in his thirteenth year, he pronounced,

I have held the throne for thirteen years now and have relied on the spirits of the clan temples and the fortunes of the altars of the grain and soil. All within the realm are at peace and the people are without hardship. The grain comes up each year, even though I am not benevolent. Why am I as fortunate as this? It is all the gift of the High God and all of the spirits. 朕即位十三年于今，賴宗廟之靈，社稷之福，方內艾安，民人靡疾。閒者比年登，朕之不德，何以饗此？皆上帝諸神之賜也。⁴³

In these lines, emperor Wen commemorates achievements similar to those celebrated by the First Emperor in his steles – a bountiful harvest and a population at peace.⁴⁴ However, he contended that these successes can be attributed to the spirits' blessings rather than his own actions.

If emperor Wen's statement is compared with statements made by the First Emperor throughout his reign, the contrast between the two rulers is evident. For example, in characterizing his reign after he conquered the empire, the First Emperor stated, "I, my insignificant self, have raised troops in order to punish violence and disorder, relying on the spirits of the ancestral temples. The six kings all admitted their guilt and all under-the-heaven came to a great rest 寡人以眇眇之身，興兵誅暴亂，賴宗廟之靈。六王咸伏其辜，天下大定。"⁴⁵ The First Emperor always emphasized his own actions in uniting the empire, arguing that *he* harnessed the spirits' support and that *he* punished the six kings and brought peace. Any self-deflating rhetoric that he employed was only used to emphasize the way that *he* took the correct position in relation to his ancestors to achieve his goal.

Emperor Wen not only took a fresh stance in relation to the spirits and the populace, but he also differed substantially from earlier Han rulers in his attitude towards his family. The histories, in fact, record that Wen adopted several policies to improve relations with his rela-

⁴³ SJ 28, p. 1381.

⁴⁴ For example, in the Langya terrace stele inscription erected by the First Emperor to memorialize his reign, he stated, "[The First Emperor's] military achievements overshadow the Five Emperors. His benevolence extends even to the livestock. There is no one who upon whom his benevolence is not bestowed. Each is at peace in his domain 功蓋五帝，澤及牛馬。莫不受德，各安其宇。" SJ 6, p. 245.

⁴⁵ SJ 6, p. 236.

tives. First, immediately after he assumed the emperorship, he restored Liu-family kingdoms in territories previously taken over by Lü-family kings, formally righting the wrongs committed against the clan (and also turning down the opportunity to turn these kingdoms into centrally managed commanderies).⁴⁶ He also initially suggested that his successor might be appointed from amongst the kings as an incentive for good behavior; this proposal, however, was universally rejected by his ministers.⁴⁷ Finally, throughout his reign, emperor Wen turned a blind eye to the kings' offenses, offering them grace and amnesty from the death penalty, even when they launched revolts against the throne.⁴⁸

To improve the clan leadership, emperor Wen also began to compile the first official list of all of the clan members in the empire.⁴⁹ He then used this list to bestow the tax income of a 2,000-household city on the sons and daughters of all of the kings.⁵⁰ In his second (178 BC) and sixteenth (164 BC) years on the throne, he also divided some of the empire's larger kingdoms into smaller tracts. These policies were enacted to improve relations between the kings and the imperial court in accordance with Jia Yi's ideas, which were summarized in the phrase, "a huge tail cannot wag; a large end will certainly break off 尾大不掉, 末大必折."⁵¹ In Jia Yi's opinion, the kings played an important role in the imperial administration as protectors of the Liu clan's claim to the throne.⁵² However, he argued, there ought to be a limit on the power and territory allotted to each king since too much power had the potential to transform any king from a protector into a competitor.⁵³

The pattern of emperor Wen's enfeoffments indicates that he was influenced by Jia Yi's ideas, but did not follow them exactly. For example, in his memorial "Five Advantages" (*Wu mei* 五美), Jia suggests

⁴⁶ Liu clan kings were positioned in four states: Zhao, Yan, Qi, and Chu. *HS* 4, p. 110.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁴⁸ He repeatedly refused to punish his brother, the king of Huainan. *HS* 38, p. 2137.

⁴⁹ *HS* 4, p. 120.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 123.

⁵¹ *XS* 1, p. 43.

⁵² Royal relatives were one of the four types of government servants that Jia Yi argued must be maintained. He stated, "Therefore, his servants who are uncles and brothers will loyally die for the ancestral temple. His servants who are in charge of standards and laws will loyally die for the altars of the soil. His servants who are his ministers will loyally die for their lord, the sovereign. His ministers who guard and defend against enemies will loyally die for the city walls and the conquered territory. Therefore, it is said, 'the sage has a metal-walled city' 故父兄之臣, 誠死宗廟; 法度之臣, 誠死社稷; 輔翼之臣, 誠死君上; 守衛捍敵之臣, 誠死城郭封境. 故曰 '聖人有金城' 者." *XS* 2, p. 82.

⁵³ Jia Yi gave the example of the king of Changsha to prove this point. He argued that the king of Changsha did not revolt because his strength was insufficient to enact revolt. The other non-Liu kings, in contrast, were enfeoffed with too much land and all revolted. *XS* 1, p. 39.

that the emperor divide the kingdoms of Qi, Zhao, Chu, Yan, Wu, and Huainan by universally appointing all of the kings' sons to kingship positions.⁵⁴ Wen, however, did not divide these kingdoms immediately but waited until the death of a king to make changes. His actions in relation to the kings, therefore, do not indicate a desire to eliminate them, but rather to maintain good relations with them and to strengthen the unity of the clan in the empire.

EMPEROR WEN'S TOMB: AN UNEXPECTED MODEL

Since emperor Wen was devising policies specifically to reform the empire, it might seem odd that his tomb would play a role, by promoting both his identity and his reforms. After all, most studies of imperial tombs paint them as sites constructed for the afterlife eternity of the emperors interred within them. The histories, however, indicate that beginning with the First Emperor of Qin, emperors often used their tombs to serve contemporary political ends. The following section presents an overview of the practical role played by the First Emperor's tomb during his reign. I will argue that the site served both as a programmed site of self-display and as a defensive site. The First Emperor's tomb would serve as a powerful precedent for emperor Wen in the design of Baling.

One of the most critical shifts in the history of Chinese tombs occurred when the First Emperor – for the first time in Chinese history – constructed his tomb during his reign.⁵⁵ Construction began as soon as he assumed the emperorship, and this allowed him to use his tomb for his own political purposes.⁵⁶ Throughout his reign, the First Emperor worked to convince the population that he was the “First August High God” (*shi huang di* 始皇帝); he was not simply one of the gods but the “warp” (*jing* 經) through which all of nature and mankind were aligned.⁵⁷ Accordingly, his temple was entitled the Apex Temple (*ji*

⁵⁴ *XS* 2, p. 67.

⁵⁵ Earlier rulers, as evidenced by a bronze architectural plan excavated from the mausoleum of king Cuo (r. late-4th c. BC) of Zhongshan 中山, may have preplanned their mausoleum for their descendants. However, there is no evidence that a Warring States' ruler began construction on his tomb before he died. For king Cuo's tomb, see Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所, *Cuo mu: Zhanguo Zhongshan guo guowang zhi mu* 罾墓, 戰國中山國國王之墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995).

⁵⁶ *SJ* 6, p. 265.

⁵⁷ *SJ* 6, p. 236, 241. For an excellent analysis of the First Emperor's claim to having aligned the cosmos, see Michael J. Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China* (Stanford U.P., 2001), p. 225–42.

miao 極), highlighting his belief that he was the one god in the universe upon which everything else in the universe hinged.⁵⁸

As Kesner's work has shown, the First Emperor's mausoleum project can be broadly referred to as an act of portraiture, "a metaphor for the person of the First Emperor himself."⁵⁹ His identity as a god was first and foremost conveyed through the name of his tomb. Earlier rulers had referred to their burials as "*ling* 陵" or hills, but the First Emperor called his tomb a mountain (*shan* 山).⁶⁰ He positioned his tomb near Mt. Li 酈, the central mountain in the region of the Wei 渭 River valley where the previous five Qin kings had positioned their graves.⁶¹ By calling his tumulus, "Mt. Li," therefore, he stole the mountain's name for his own tomb, expressing his control over both the natural and the spirit worlds. This act is comparable to the subjugation of the natural world on his inspection tours, during which, by planting steles on the empire's famous peaks he asserted that all of the empire's spirits bowed to his majesty.⁶² Similarly, in building the Afang 阿房 Palace, he carved an inscription on the summit of the southern mountains marking it as the front gate.⁶³

Below the mound, the First Emperor's Mt. Li tomb conveyed the major themes of his reign. It contained a representation of all of the territory under his control including the land, rivers, and heavenly bodies.⁶⁴ Auxiliary pits, such as the four pits containing the famed terracotta warriors, commemorated his military achievements, his robust bureaucracy, and the vast lands that he had conquered.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ *SJ* 6, p. 241.

⁵⁹ Ladislav Kesner, "Likeness of No One: (Re)presenting the First Emperor's Army," *The Art Bulletin* 77.1 (1995), pp. 115–32.

⁶⁰ Yang Kuan, "Qin Shi Huang lingyuan buju jigou de tantao" 秦始皇陵園布局結構的探討, *Wenbo* 1984.3, pp. 10–16. See also Jie Shi, "Incorporating All for One: The First Emperor's Tomb Mound," *EC* 37.1 (2014), p. 379.

⁶¹ The tombs of the five Qin kings that preceded the First Emperor were positioned at the western foot of Mt. Li at Zhiyang 芷陽. See Xu Weimin 徐卫民, *Qin gongdi wangling* 秦公帝王陵 (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2002), pp. 73–91. See also, Lishan xuehui 驪山學會, "Qin dongling tancha chuyi" 秦東陵探查初議, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1987.4, p. 86; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 and Lintongxian wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 臨潼縣文物管理委員會, "Qin dongling dierhao lingyuan diaocha zuantan jianbao" 秦東陵第二號陵園調查鑽探簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1990.4, pp. 38, 86–89.

⁶² For an analysis of these steles, see Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2000).

⁶³ *SJ* 6, p. 256.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ For more information about the First Emperor's tomb, see: Liu Yang, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, *China's Terracotta Warriors: The First Emperor's Legacy* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2012); Jane Portal and

The tomb's location ensured that word of the site would spread throughout the empire. It was not positioned near the capital city, Xianyang 咸陽, but to the east of the capital in front of Container Valley Pass (Hangu guan 函谷關), the sole entrance into the capital from the eastern states.⁶⁶ The tomb's position at this location would have made it more publicly accessible than it would have been had it been constructed near the capital. A tomb city, built near the tomb, housed 30,000 relocated families.⁶⁷ Travellers would have passed through it as they entered and left the capital region.

Additionally, the histories record that the First Emperor summoned 700,000 laborers to work on both his Mt. Li tomb and Afang Palace.⁶⁸ When this rotating population of laborers, including famous figures such as Liu Bang, the founder of the Han, returned to their native regions, they would have almost certainly spread news about the tomb to their families and friends.⁶⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that even in mid-Han, when the *Records of the Grand Historian*, or *Shi ji* 史記, was written, the layout and contents of the First Emperor's tomb could still be precisely described.⁷⁰

The First Emperor's tomb not only publicized his achievements and god-like identity in the empire but also enabled him to build a defensive city near the principal route into the capital region – the Eastern Pass. Of the four passes that provided admission into Guanzhong 關中, or the “Land within the Passes,” the Eastern Pass had always been the most challenging to defend.⁷¹ His decision to use the tomb for this purpose built upon Qin tradition. Earlier, the Qin kings had constructed their royal necropolis at Zhiyang 芷陽 in front of the Southern Pass after an attempt to establish the capital city at Yueyang 岳陽 (383–350

Hiromi Kinoshita, *The First Emperor: China's Terracotta Army* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 2007); Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2000).

⁶⁶ The tomb is located twenty-two miles east of present-day Xi'an. Liu et al., *China's Terracotta Warriors*, p. 181. Li Feng notes that the name, Container Valley, referred to the experience of wandering through a deep rift where “travellers could barely see the sky.” Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge U.P., 2006), pp. 60–61.

⁶⁷ *SJ* 6, p. 256.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Liu Bang lead convicts to the capital to work on the First Emperor's tomb. See *SJ* 8, p. 347; *HS* 1, p. 7.

⁷⁰ For Sima Qian's description of the First Emperor's tomb, see *SJ* 6, p. 265. See also Jia Shan's description, *HS* 51, p. 2328.

⁷¹ Xu Guang 徐光 (353–425) records that there were four principal passes into the capital: the Hangu Pass to the east, the Wu 武 Pass to the south, the San 散 Pass to the west, and the Xiao 蕭 Pass to the north. *SJ* 7, p. 315, note 1.

BC) near the Eastern Pass had failed.⁷² The tomb city at Zhiyang 芷陽 enabled them to plant a defensive outpost near the Southern Pass to protect the capital city. The First Emperor's Mt. Li tomb in front of the Eastern Pass, likewise, enabled him to station a force of men that could, by default, serve as a large standing army without having to refer to them as such. During the decline of the dynasty, rebel forces led by Chen She penetrated the Eastern Pass and caught the Second Emperor by surprise. Immediately, the laborers remaining in Mt. Li tomb-city were presented with weapons to defend the capital region from attack.⁷³ Although not officially military personnel, the large numbers of men gathered in the capital to construct the First Emperor's tomb functioned as a group that could easily be reappropriated for defense purposes. By not employing a standing army, the First Emperor reinforced his claim to having established a stable era of peace after years of war.

The Mt. Li tomb, therefore, served a range of functions from the spreading of ideology to defense. It became a sign of the First Emperor's identity, provided corvée and criminal labor, and anchored a new defensive city near the Eastern Pass. The success of the First Emperor's tomb both as a monument and as a defensive site was not forgotten in the Han. The tombs of emperors Gaozu and Hui were topped with pounded earth mounds, and residential cities were founded near each site (figures 1, 2).⁷⁴ Gaozu also made sure to reclaim Mt. Li tomb-city despite his general cautiousness about constructing new palaces most likely because of its usefulness as a defensive site.⁷⁵ He renamed the city New Feng (Xin Feng 新豐) after his hometown.⁷⁶

The histories record that while planning his tomb in the early Han, emperor Wen considered the First Emperor's tomb as a model. One day, as he was sitting on the northern peak of Baling with his retinue, the emperor turned and said,

“Alas, if you use stones from the northern mountains to make my outer chamber, use ramie and silk floss to stuff the fissures and seal it all with lacquer, how could someone break into that?” “An

⁷² See n. 61, above. For a thorough discussion of the former Qin capitals, see Gideon Shelach and Yuri Pines, “Secondary State Formation and the Development of Local Identity: Chang and Continuity in the State of Qin (770–221 B.C.),” in Miriam T. Stark, ed., *Archaeology of Asia* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 207–8.

⁷³ *SJ* 6, p. 270; *SJ* 48, p. 1954; *HS* 31, p. 1790.

⁷⁴ Liu and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 3–33.

⁷⁵ Emperor Gaozu scolded his prime minister, Xiao He, for constructing too lavish of a palace for him while he was away fighting battles. He feared losing the people's support. *SJ* 8, p. 385.

⁷⁶ *SJ* 8, p. 387; *HS* 28, p. 1543.

excellent idea!” exclaimed the emperor’s attendants. But [Zhang] Shizhi stepped forward and said: “If there are things in the tomb that men covet, then, although you were to seal up the whole of those southern mountains with iron, the thieves would still find some crack to enter by. But if you do not place such things inside the tomb, then even without a stone outer chamber, what is there to worry about?” “嗟乎! 以北山石爲椁, 用紵絮斷陳, 葵漆其間, 豈可動哉!” 左右皆曰: “善.” 釋之前進曰: “使其中有可欲者, 雖錮南山猶有郤(隙)⁷⁷; 使其中無可欲者, 雖無石椁, 又何戚焉!”⁷⁸

According to the *Shi ji*, the First Emperor had “fashioned an outer chamber out of stone from the northern mountains 發北山石椁.”⁷⁹ Thus, emperor Wen’s request for this type of outer chamber was a request for a tomb in the same style as the First Emperor’s.

EMPEROR WEN'S LAST WORDS

The formal, recorded statements by emperor Wen about his tomb were preserved in his final edict (*yizhao* 遺詔) and circulated throughout the empire upon his death. This document, preserved both in *Han shu* and *Shi ji*, illustrates the degree to which Wen’s Baling tomb can be understood as a site designed to publicize his radical political identity, ensuring its immortality after his passing.⁸⁰ The following section argues that the emperor’s *yizhao* was designed to cultivate the people’s support for the Han administration in two ways. First, the edict allowed him to exercise control over how the population interpreted his burial and funeral. He clearly explained why he did not demand the type of burial to which he was entitled and clarified the meaning underlying the design of his mountain tomb. Secondly, the *yizhao* enabled him to establish rules to be observed during the mourning period to ensure that his funeral would accord with his intentions.

The issuing of an *yizhao* prior to one’s death was not a longstanding practice for emperors up to this point. Previously, the First Emperor referred to the entire body of his laws as *yizhao* in his stone inscriptions

⁷⁷ The *HS* gives the character 隙 instead of 郤.

⁷⁸ *SJ* 102, p. 2753; *HS* 50, pp. 2309–10. Translation adapted from William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe’s Records, Volume 8: The Memoirs of Han China, Part 1* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 2008), pp. 360–61; and Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1993), p. 469.

⁷⁹ *SJ* 6, p. 256.

⁸⁰ *SJ* 10, p. 434; *HS* 4, pp. 131–2. For a study of the rhetorical strategies of emperor Wen’s final edict, see Meow Hui Goh, “Becoming Wen: The Rhetoric in the ‘Final Edicts’ of Han Emperor Wen and Wei Emperor Wen,” *Early Medieval China* 19 (2013), pp. 58–79.

in order to convey the hope they would be transmitted endlessly to future generations.⁸¹ However, he did not refer to the document that named his successor as an *yizhao*. Instead, Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 BC) applied this term to the forged document he produced to place Hu Hai 胡亥 (r. 210 BC–207 BC), the Second Emperor, on the Qin throne instead of the crown prince.⁸²

Han Empress Lü also circulated an *yizhao* following her death that extended a general pardon to the empire and presented financial gifts to all of the empire's ranked aristocrats in hopes that they would continue to maintain her family's power. She also used the *yizhao* to make posthumous appointments; for example, she appointed her relative Lü Chan 呂產 as prime minister and the daughter of Lü Lu 呂祿 as the young emperor's empress.⁸³ Compared to these, emperor Wen's final edict was unique in that it presented his basic ideas in regards to his impending death, his funeral, and his burial. I divide the edict into three sections: the emperor's position on extravagant burial; his summation of his reign; and finally his proscriptions for the mourning period and explanation of the design of his tomb.

Emperor Wen opened his final edict with a statement of his own philosophy regarding "generous burials." He declared that his burial would *not* be extravagant out of concern for the people:

I have heard it said that all things born into this world must die. Death is a principle of heaven and earth, the nature of things. How can it be so grievous?⁸⁴ In this current age, all love life and hate death. Generous burials destroy livelihoods, long mourning periods harm the living.⁸⁵ I cannot accept this. I have not been benevolent and have not supported the common people. Now that I am dead, if I then force people into extended mourning and long wailings with successive summers and winters away... it will impoverish their food and drink and cut off their sacrifices to the

⁸¹ *SJ* 6, p. 243.

⁸² *SJ* 6, p. 264.

⁸³ *SJ* 9, p. 406; *HS* 3, p. 100.

⁸⁴ The first lines of emperor Wen's final edict bear a striking similarity to the following lines from *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, chap. "Jiesang" 節喪: "As for all living things born between heaven and earth, they all must die. It is unavoidable 凡生於天地之間, 其必有死, 所不免也." Xu Weiyu 許維通, *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), p. 220.

⁸⁵ I have translated *houzang* 厚葬 as "generous burials" to retain the historical associations related to the term. Prior to the reign of the First Emperor, burials were described as "generous" because they were hosted by the deceased's family and friends. After the reign of the First Emperor, emperors planned their own burials. However, the work on the site was performed by the people, as acknowledged by emperor Wen in his final edict.

spirits, only compounding my lack of benevolence. What could I say to all-under-heaven? 朕聞蓋天下萬物之萌生，靡不有死。死者天地之理，物之自然者，奚可甚哀。當今之時，世咸嘉生而惡死，厚葬以破業，重服以傷生，吾甚不取。且朕既不德，無以佐百姓；今崩，又使重服久臨，以離寒暑之數... 損其飲食，絕鬼神之祭祀，以重吾不德也，謂天下何。⁸⁶

The final edict, issued after his death, was uniquely phrased to imply that the deceased emperor was actively speaking to the empire regarding the manner of his burial. In the opening lines he makes explicit that he considered his funeral to be a public projection of his identity. He would not enact a “generous burial” (*houzang* 厚葬) because it would damage his public image. His use of the words “generous burial” invoked longstanding debates about appropriate burial expenditure that appear in sources as early as the *Analects*.⁸⁷ The edict differs from earlier works in that it addresses the labor involved in creating the emperor's *own* burial rather than expenditure on the tomb of a family member or friend. An overly “generous burial,” in his opinion, had nothing to do with the cost of the goods inside the tomb nor the possibility of looting. Instead, a “generous burial” was a tomb that inappropriately demanded the forced labor of the common people. By arguing this way, emperor Wen painted himself as an emperor who selflessly considered the people's needs above his own. At the same time, the rhetoric of these lines, by defining expenditure only in terms of labor, directed his audience's attention away from other costs associated with his tomb, such as the furnishings and the hiring of artisans for construction.

After establishing himself as benevolent, emperor Wen then summarized the successes of his reign, emphasizing the source of his power – the spirits. He explained:

I have won the opportunity to guard the ancestral temples. My insignificant self has been entrusted with a position above all of the lords and kings under the heavens. For more than twenty years, I

⁸⁶ *SJ* 10, pp. 433–34; see also *HS* 4, pp. 131–32.

⁸⁷ Earlier thinkers disagreed on what constituted an overly “generous burial.” The *Analects*, for example, defined a “generous burial,” as one where the level of expenditure did not accord with the wealth or status of the host. See discussion of Yan Hui's funeral, *Lunyu zhuzi suoyin* 論語逐字索引, ed. D.C. Lau, Ho Che Wah and Chen Fong Ching, ICS series (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995), chap. 20, p. 11, ll. 8 and 11. See also the discussion of preparations for Confucius' own death, chap. 16, p. 9, l. 12.

Mozi 墨子 (Mo Di 墨翟 480–390 BC) alternatively argued that a “generous burial” was any burial that went beyond provisioning the basic needs of the dead. He defined the dead's essential needs as: a “three *cun* thick coffin,” a burial shaft that did not break the water table, and a burial mound “sufficient to make the place (of burial) recognizable.” Ian Johnston, trans., *The Mozi: A Complete Translation* (New York: Columbia U.P., 2010), pp. 228–29.

Finally, in *Lüshi Chunqiu* it is argued that “generous burials” were burials that invited loot-

have relied on the spirits of heaven and earth, the blessings of the agricultural altars. All within the realm are peaceful and content, without warfare. Since I am not clever, I constantly am afraid of making mistakes that would disgrace the benevolent power of the former emperors. As my years increased, I feared not ending well. Now I have had the fortune of a full life and being able to repeatedly offer sacrifices in Gaozu's temple. For an unenlightened man such as myself to join in bringing honor to him, what is grievous or sad in this? 朕獲保宗廟，以眇眇之身託于天下君王之上，二十有餘年矣。賴天地之靈，社稷之福，方內安寧，靡有兵革。朕既不敏，常畏過行，以羞先帝之遺德；維年之久長，懼于不終。今乃幸以天年，得復供養于高廟。朕之不明與嘉之，其奚哀悲之有！⁸⁸

Similar to statements that he made when offering sacrifices, in the above, emperor Wen does not take personal credit for the successes achieved during his reign. He attributes his accomplishments, instead, to the blessings of the spirits of heaven, earth, and the agricultural altars. His attributing of his success to the spirits enabled him to avoid implying that his power was based on the people's support. He had sought the latter's loyalty, perhaps more than any of the earlier emperors; however, it is now the spirits that provide a more stable source of authority upon which to stake his rule.

In the third section of his final edict, emperor Wen's tone dramatically shifts. With a commanding air, he presents an exhaustive list of rules for the mourning period:

By this order, all the officials and people in the empire, when this order reaches them, shall mourn for three days and then remove their mourning dress. There will be no prohibition on taking a wife, marrying a daughter, offering sacrifices, drinking wine, or eating meat. Those preparing the burial and supervising the mourning should not wear traditional unhemmed robes, and their headbands and sashes should not exceed three *cun* in width. Do not make a public show of chariots and weapons. Do not send out common men and women to wail and mourn outside the palaces. The wailers within the palace should raise their voices fifteen times in the morning and at night. After the ceremony, they should cease. Other than during these morning and night wailings, it is prohibited to cry

ers with their high (easily identifiable) mounds and expensive array of goods within. To "love" the dead, the text contended, was to prepare a tomb that would not be reopened by hiding it in the landscape and not filling it with expensive objects. See John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 2000), pp. 227–33.

⁸⁸ *SJ* 10, p. 434.

without authorization. When this is complete, wear “Deep Mourning” for fifteen days and “Light Mourning” for fourteen days, and “Thin Hemp” for seven days, and then take off your mourning garments. Anything that is not in this order ought to be determined based on its accordance with the order. Proclaim this throughout the empire! Ensure that all clearly understand my intentions! As for Baling, the mountains and rivers have been left in their original state, nothing has been altered. Allow the imperial consorts from Lady to Junior Maid to return home. 其令天下吏民, 令到出臨三日, 皆釋服。毋禁取婦嫁女祠祀飲酒食肉者。自當給喪事服臨者, 皆無踐。經帶無過三寸, 毋布車及兵器, 毋發民男女哭臨宮殿。宮殿中當臨者, 皆以旦夕各十五舉聲, 禮畢罷。非旦夕臨時, 禁毋得擅哭。已下, 服大紅十五日, 小紅十四日, 織七日, 釋服。佗不在令中者, 皆以此令比率從事。布告天下, 使明知朕意。霸陵山川因其故, 毋有所改。歸夫人以下至少使。⁸⁹

The purpose of the edict, emperor Wen claimed, was that the populace “understand his intentions.” For them to read his intentions correctly, the mourning period had to be carried out according to his wishes. His prohibitions were strict. He not only went far as to specify the number of cries that people ought to let out at which moments and the clothing that commoners ought to wear on which days, but he even prohibited the population from offering mourning on their own accord.

The final edict, therefore, laid out the basic identity by which the emperor wanted to be remembered and then presented rules to ensure that his funeral and burial would support this reputation. No prior emperor had previously attempted to control the period of mourning following his death to such a great degree. However, his prescriptions do not read as onerous because he convincingly argued that these regulations were enacted with the well-being of the populace in mind.

Against the backdrop of the final edict, the design of the Baling tomb can be understood as a physical symbol to the empire of emperor Wen's benevolent identity. In contrast to prior tombs, the design of Baling set it apart because, as the edict states, “the mountains and rivers have been left in their original state, nothing has been altered.” In the same way that the emperor's funeral communicated his great care for the people by not requiring long periods of mourning, the construction of his tomb did not alter the natural landscape in order to create a monument to his memory.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Translation adapted from Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 2: The Basic Annals of Han China* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 2002), p. 181; and Watson, *Records I*, pp. 307–8.

Baling, therefore, functioned as a foil of earlier tombs like that of the First Emperor, which featured mounds that indexed the emperor's ability to control human labor and shape the physical geography of the natural world. Using parallelism, emperor Wen presented the interests of humans and the environment as the same: both would flourish under a rightful ruler who governed in peaceful concord with the world around him. This philosophy of rule, he claimed, also benefited the spirits, since it enabled the people maintain their sacrifices.⁹⁰ An unchanged mountain landscape crowning his tomb, therefore, symbolized his claim to having achieved a rule that operated harmoniously with the people, the spirits, and the natural world.

PRESENTING A UNIFIED FRONT: BALING AND THE HAN KINGS

The style of emperor Wen's Baling not only communicated his identity and authority to the empire but also addressed the problem of unity among the Liu clan. As mentioned previously, following Wen's reign, a radical change in the tomb architecture of the tombs of invested kings occurred across the empire. All of the tombs of invested kings who died in the years immediately following Wen's death have been found to have been constructed in the mountain style (see appended table). This information from recent archeology presents strong evidence that the mountain tomb became an imperially-regulated symbol of Liu clan rulership under emperor Wen. Jia Yi had previously recommended to the emperor a rigid sumptuary system governing a wide array of material and symbolic expressions of rank including burial.⁹¹ Mountain tombs were likely introduced during his reign as a new sumptuary sign restricted to ruling members of the Liu family and their households.

The mountain tomb's becoming a powerful symbol for the Liu clan may be explained in several ways. First, it directly symbolized the kings' possession of the natural, economic resources within their territories, such as minerals, rock, and timber. In prior eras such as the Zhou, local kings did not have control over the mountains within their kingdoms. The Han emperors were the first to invest the kings with the moun-

⁹⁰ The visual strategy of emperor Wen's Baling bears some similarity to ideas expressed in the "Huang-Lao Bo Shu" 黃老帛書. The text entitled "Constancy of Laws" ("Jing Fa" 經法), for example, also links the alteration of the natural environment with the exhaustion of the people. It states, "One who exhausts the land will lose it. One who coerces people into excessive corvée labor will lose people 土敝者亡地, 人孰者失民." Leo S. Chang and Yü Feng. *The Four Political Treatises of the Yellow Emperor: Original Mawangdui Texts with Complete English Translations and an Introduction* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1998), p. 108.

⁹¹ *XS* 1, p. 53.

mountains within their kingdoms, enabling them to take advantage of them as sources of state wealth. Sima Qian viewed this negatively, remarking, "Therefore, in antiquity, the land of the collected nobles did not surpass one hundred *li* and they were not enfeoffed with mountains or seas 故古者諸侯地不過百里, 山海不以封."⁹² *Shi ji* states that "the income from taxes stemming from the mountains and the waters, parks and lakes, and the markets 山川園池市井租稅之入" was also the means by which the kings privately supported themselves.⁹³ The king of Wu, for example, had a copper mountain in his territory that he utilized for the minting of coins. The kingdom profited to such a degree from this and his salt-making business that he did not levy taxes on the people.⁹⁴

The kings' possession of the mountains also made them responsible for maintaining sacrifices to the mountains within their kingdoms. Sacrificial practice became a clan-wide effort; emperor Wen conducted sacrifices in the mountains near the capital, and the kings were responsible for conducting sacrifices in the mountains in their territory. The emperor placed a particular emphasis on ensuring that each of the empire's mountains received its sacrifices. Whenever the throne in any of the kingdoms was vacant, a grand supplicator (*taizhu* 太祝) was sent to conduct sacrifices at the local mountains within that kingdom.⁹⁵

The mountain-tomb style also gave literal expression to the clan's claim to be a "rock-solid clan." The emergence of rock-cut tombs as a family sign has a contemporaneity with ideas presented by the statesman Jia Yi to his emperor. Jia argued that emperor Wen needed to establish a sumptuary system to distinguish the burial, clothing, and material goods of the various ranks in the empire. Jia contended that if external signs were enforced, a natural shift in feeling would follow.⁹⁶ The mountain-tomb style became a sign to distinguish the Liu family kings from the rest of the population and to cultivate their loyalty.⁹⁷

⁹² *SJ* 106, p. 2836. *SJ* 28, pp. 1380–81.

⁹³ Nienhauser, ed. *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 9: The Memoirs of Han China, Part 2* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 2011), p. 95.

⁹⁴ *SJ* 106, p. 2822.

⁹⁵ *SJ* 28, p. 1380.

⁹⁶ *XS* 1, p. 47. For a discussion of Jia Yi's proposals for a system of sumptuary law, see Alison R. Miller, "Jade, Imperial Identity, and Sumptuary Reform in Jia Yi's *Xin Shu*," forthcoming in *Dao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy*. See also Miller, "Patronage, Politics, and the Emergence of Rock-Cut Tombs in Han China," pp. 181–229.

⁹⁷ The only person known to have constructed a mountain tomb who was not a member of the Liu family was the king of Nanyue 南越, who ruled a kingdom on the periphery of the Han empire. His tomb was designed to imitate the tombs of the Han ruling elite. Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 廣州市文物管理委員會, *Zhongguo Shehui kexue yuan kaogu suo*

The mountain tomb, therefore, was an attempt by the imperial house to present a unified face to the people. The kings' utilization of this symbol, however, did not necessarily indicate friendly family relations with the throne. Instead, it points to the fact that the sign itself and the authority it granted to local ruling elites had sufficient social and political utility that the kings would be willing to adopt it.

BALING: PRACTICAL FUNCTIONS

Emperor Wen's Baling, like the First Emperor of Qin's tomb, not only served political purposes in the Han but defensive purposes as well. Baling tomb-city was built on the former Qin mausoleum town of Zhiyang.⁹⁸ By reclaiming this former city for his tomb city, Wen successfully planted a defensive city near the Southern Pass.

Records from the funeral of emperor Wen suggest that the security of the capital was a major consideration after his death. We read that 31,000 corvée laborers were summoned from the vicinity of the capital to carry out the burial.⁹⁹ This is a surprising number for an emperor whose final edict forbade any show of chariots and weapons. Emperor Wen also did not allow his heir to oversee his funeral but appointed his minister and general, Zhang Wu, instead, which was an unprecedented act in the Han.¹⁰⁰

These surprising facts can be explained by considering the circumstances surrounding emperor Wen's death. During his reign, the capital city was less secure than in the early Han because he had to disband the northern and southern armies to provide more troops to repel the Xiongnu from the empire's borders.¹⁰¹ As a result, each time defense was required in the capital, an emergency garrison force had to be pulled together by summoning deployed troops to meet the attack.¹⁰² Kings who had previously mounted revolts against the throne

中國社會科學院考古研究所, and Guangdong sheng bowuguan 廣東省博物館, *Xihan Nanyue wang mu* 西漢南越王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991).

⁹⁸ The *Han Shu*'s "Treatise on Administrative Geography" states, "Baling is the former Zhiyang. Emperor Wen changed the name 霸陵, 故芷陽, 文帝更名." *HS* 28, p. 1544. Archeologists have found Han remains in the former Qin city at Zhiyang suggesting that this account may be correct. Lishan xuehui, "Qin dongling tancha chuyi," p. 87.

⁹⁹ *SJ* 10, p. 434; *HS* 4, p. 134.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *SJ* 10, p. 422; *HS* 4, p. 116.

¹⁰² Emperor Wen raised temporary armies to protect the capital in three major battles against the Xiongnu. These battles occurred in his third year (*SJ* 10, pp. 425–26; *HS* 4, p. 119), fourteenth year (*SJ* 10, p. 428; *HS* 4, p. 125), and one year prior to his death (*SJ* 10, p. 432; *HS* 4, p. 131).

would generally wait to attack until a large army was sent from the capital to fight the Xiongnu, so that the administration would have to defend itself on two fronts.¹⁰³

Given these circumstances, Baling tomb-city's location near the Southern Pass would have greatly benefited the imperial house both during and after the funeral. Should a revolt occur immediately after emperor Wen's death, troops would already be prepared at one of the principal entrances into the capital region. After Wen's passing, a defensive city would remain at the site to prevent against future incursions.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As we conclude this discussion of emperor Wen's tomb, we might return to the questions posed at the beginning of the article: how can the unusual style and location of Baling be explained? Why did so many kings adopt the mountain tomb style for their tombs?

The case of Baling demonstrates the way that tomb architecture was revived during Wen's reign as a means of transmitting imperial identity and organizing the land within the passes for the purpose of defense. The enterprise begun by the First Emperor of Qin was to transform the capital region into a place that articulated imperial ideology to the broader empire. Emperor Wen restored this tradition in the Han and used his tomb to convey a new message – that he had achieved a harmonious relationship with the spirits, the land, and the populace.

Tomb architecture, when compared with other methods of broadcasting identity, such as making public appearances and investing in extravagant palaces, had several advantages. First, the location of the imperial tombs outside of the capital city enabled rulers to create a grand spectacle without increasing the density of the capital city itself. At tomb sites, rulers could employ thousands of workers to construct their tombs, who in turn, would spread word of these monuments throughout the empire. Emperor Wen's final edict publicized the meaning of his tomb to the population in the absence of laborers at the site.

The architectural form of each tomb supported the political structure of each emperor's administration. The First Emperor's tomb, with its artificial mound and dominating central peak, demonstrated his au-

¹⁰³ This was the strategy assumed by the king of Jibei 濟北. He mounted a revolt during a time when emperor Wen had left the capital to accompany troops to fight the Xiongnu. *SJ* 10, p. 425–26; *HS* 4, p. 120.

thoritarian control over the empire. Emperor Wen's Baling, in contrast, presented him as a frugal, benevolent emperor who ruled collectively with the kings.¹⁰⁴ The mountain-tomb style also supported the concept of the Liu house as a rock-solid clan and legitimated the system of shared power in the empire. Later, when the power of the kings was reduced, mountain tombs also declined, culminating in their near disappearance by the late-Western Han.

The case of Baling also reveals the degree to which the meaning of adjectives such as "frugal" and "extravagant" varied by the age. In the early Han, an extravagant burial was defined by the number of laborers involved in the construction of one's tomb. Emperor Wen, therefore, could argue that he did not enact a generous burial simply because he did not involve the common people in his tomb's construction. By the Six Dynasties' period, however, Baling may have seemed overindulgent; the definition of what was meant by an extravagant burial had shifted.

In conclusion, in reflecting on emperor Wen's reign, it is nearly impossible to separate the historical emperor from the persona generated by his administration. Through sacrificial practice and tomb architecture, his administration carefully controlled his image before the populace. His tomb became a model for later imperial tombs not only because he did not tax the common people in its construction, but also because its design successfully communicated to the empire that his administration had achieved a human order so natural that it operated in perfect coherence with the spirits, the land, and the people themselves.

¹⁰⁴ The tradition of emperors building their tombs to convey their identity to the empire continued following the reign of emperor Wen. Emperor Jing 景 (157–141 BC), for example, did not build a mountain tomb but returned to the imperial mausoleum district north of the Wei River to construct a mounded tomb surrounded by eighty-six pits of terracotta figurines. He built a burial park next to his own mausoleum to honor his ministers. This style of burial accords with the policies of his administration. Emperor Jing emphasized centralization and rule through a strong bureaucracy. He had an oppositional relationship with the kings and enacted policies to weaken and eliminate them, inciting the Seven Kingdoms Rebellion in 154 BC. For a summary of Jingdi's Yangling, see Xianyang kaogu yanjiusuo, *Xi Han diling*, pp. 34–43.

EMPEROR WEN'S MOUNTAIN TOMB

Table: Tombs of Liu-family Kings Interred during Emperor Jing's Reign (157-141 BC)

KINGDOM	TOMB NAME	LOCATION	TOMB OCCUPANT	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
Chu 楚	Shizishan 獅子山 ¹	Xuzhou, Jiangsu	King Yi 夷, Liu Yingke 劉郢客 (r. 178-175 BC); king Liu Wu 劉戊 (r. 174-154 BC); or king An 安, Liu Dao 劉道 (r. 150-129 BC) ²	Rock-cut tomb carved into so. slope of Lion Mt.
Chu 楚	Beidongshan 北洞山 ³	Xuzhou, Jiangsu	King Yuan 元, Liu Jiao 交 (r. 201-179 BC); king Yi, Liu Yingke; king Wen 文, Liu Li 劉禮 (r. 153-151 BC); or king An, Liu Dao ⁴	Rock-cut tomb carved into so. slope of Beidong Mt. A stone-walled auxiliary chamber was constructed off main tomb ramp.
Jinan 濟南	Weishan 危山 ⁵	Zhangqiu, Shandong	King Liu Biguang 劉辟光 (d. 154 BC)	Vertical Pit, rock-shaft tomb with a single ramp, positioned on top of Wei Mt. Principal burial unexcavated.
Liang 梁	Bao'anshan 保安山 M1 ⁶	Yongcheng, Henan	King Xiao 孝, Liu Wu 劉武 (r. 168-144 BC)	Rock-cut tomb carved into so. slope of Bao'an Mt.
Liang 梁	Shi Yuan 柿園 ⁷	Yongcheng, Henan	Possibly king Xiao's first queen, his concubine, or king Gong 共, Liu Mai 劉買 (r. 144-136 BC) ⁸	Rock-cut tomb carved into top of a peak in far southeast section of Bao'an Mt.
Zichuan 甯川	Xiangshan 香山 ⁹	Qingzhou, Shandong	King, Liu Xian 劉賢 (r. 164-154 BC)	Vertical pit, earthen tomb with single ramp, positioned on northwest foot of Xiang Mt. Principal burial unexcavated.

Table Notes

1 Shizishan Chu wang ling kaogu fajue dui 獅子山楚王陵考古發掘隊, "Xuzhou Shizishan Xi Han Chu wang ling fajue jianbao" 徐州獅子山漢楚王陵發掘簡報, *WW* 1998.8, pp. 4-33; Wei Zheng 韋正, Li Huren 李虎仁, and Zou Houben 鄒厚本, "Jiangsu Xuzhou shi Shizishan Xi Han mu de fajue yu shouhuo" 江蘇徐州市獅子山漢墓的發掘與收穫, *KG* 1998.8, pp. 1-20; Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu 徐州漢文化風景園林管理處 and Xuzhou Chuwangling bingmayong bowuguan 徐州楚王陵漢兵馬俑博物館, *Shizishan Chuwangling* 獅子山楚王陵 (Nanjing: Nanjing Chubanshe, 2011).

2 See appendix for information about Shizishan's attribution.

3 Xuzhou bowuguan and Nanjing daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuan, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu*.

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4 See appendix for information about Beidongshan's attribution.

5 Wang Shougong 王守功, "Weishan Hanmu" 危山漢墓, *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地 2004.2, pp. 58–65; Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 241–45.

6 *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi* (cited above, n. 9).

7 Ibid.

8 For information about this tomb's attribution, see Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 560–576.

9 Liu Huaguo 劉華國, "Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Hanmu peizangkeng chutu dapi jingmei wenwu" 山東青州香山漢墓陪葬坑出土大批精美文物, *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報, September 13, 2006, p. 117; Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 260–61.

*Appendix: Dating Shizishan and Beidongshan**Shizishan*

Scholars have generally agreed that Shizishan ought to be attributed to one of four early Chu kings based on coinage excavated from the tomb and the fact that architecturally the tomb appears to predate the Guishan 龜山 tomb. Guishan is the only royal tomb in Xuzhou from which a gold seal has been excavated, a fact that indicates that it belonged to the sixth Chu king, Liu Zhu 劉注 (r. 128–117).¹⁰⁵ The preliminary report attributed Shizishan to either the second king, Liu Yingke 劉郢客 (king Yi 夷; r. 178–175 BCE), or to the third king, Liu Wu 劉戊 (r. 174–154 BC).¹⁰⁶ Since that report, the majority of scholars have attributed the tomb to one of these two kings; but one scholar has argued that the tomb belonged to the fifth king, Liu Dao 劉道 (r. 150–129 BC).¹⁰⁷ Scholars generally believe that the tomb is too large to have belonged to the fourth king, Liu Li 劉禮 (r. 153–151), who reigned for only three years.¹⁰⁸

Three factors indicate that Shizishan ought to be attributed to Liu Wu and that the site, therefore, postdates Baling. First, Shizishan is a cross between earlier vertical shaft tombs and later rock-cut tombs built on a horizontal axis. The builders first carved a large, open air, vertical shaft pit and then extended a lateral tunnel to the south for the tomb ramp and to the north to create a double-loaded corridor.

Secondly, Shizishan featured an army pit area near the tomb containing an estimated 5,000 warrior and cavalry figures divided among six pits.¹⁰⁹ An estimated 100 to 140 additional sacrificial pits have been discovered in the eastern area of the mausoleum park.¹¹⁰ Miniature terracotta armies were similarly found in the vicinity of the tombs of other kings who participated in the Seven Kingdoms Rebellion – for example, the Xiangshan and Weishan tombs.¹¹¹ Excavated

¹⁰⁵ Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 551.

¹⁰⁶ Shizishan Chuwangling kaogu fajue dui, p. 31.

¹⁰⁷ For Liu Yingke, see: Geng Jianjun 耿建軍, “Shixi Xuzhou Xi Han Chuwangmu chutu guanyin ji fengni de xingzhi” 試析徐州西漢楚王墓出土官印及封泥的性質, *KG* 2000.9, pp. 79–85; Li Zhaojian 劉照建 and Zhang Haolin 張浩林, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chumu muzhu kao-lue” 徐州獅子山漢墓墓主考略, *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 2001.7, pp. 26–30; Meng Qiang 孟強, “Cong muzang jiegou tan Shizishan Xi Hanmu de jige wenti” 從墓葬結構談獅子山西漢墓的幾個問題, *Dongnan wenhua* 2002.3, pp. 51–54; Liang Yong 梁勇, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwangmu chutu yinzhang yu muzhu wentide zairenshi” 徐州獅子山楚王墓出土印章與墓主問題再認識, *KG* 2006.9, pp. 78–82; Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 552–60.

For Liu Wu, see Wei, Li, and Zou, “Jiangsu Xuzhou shi Shizishan” (cited in table, n. 1) pp. 1–20; Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, “Dui Shizishan Chuwangling suo chu yinzhang dui fengni de zai renshi” 對獅子山楚王陵所出印章封泥的再認識, *WW* 1999.1, pp. 52–55; Song Zhimin 宋治民, “Shizishan Xi Han Chu wangling de liangge wenti” 獅子山西漢楚王陵的兩個問題, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2000.1, pp. 22–28; Wang Yundu, “Shixi panwang Liu Wu,” pp. 204–15. For Liu Dao, see Huang Shengzhang 黃盛璋, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwangmu muzhu yu chutu yinzhang wenti” 徐州獅子山楚王墓墓主與出土印章問題, *KG* 2000.9, pp. 69–78.

¹⁰⁸ Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 550.

¹⁰⁹ “Xuzhou Shizishan Xi Han Chu wang ling fajue jianbao” (cited in table, n. 1), p. 142.

¹¹⁰ The majority of these pits have not been excavated to date. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹¹¹ For Xiangshan, see Liu, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Hanmu peizangkeng chutu dapi jingmei wenwu” (cited in table, n. 9), p. 117; Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 260–61.

kings' tombs that date to the period following the Seven Kingdoms Rebellion of 154 BC no longer feature army pits in their surrounds. The style of the ceramic figures placed in these pits is similar to that of other ceramic figurines produced in the Wen-Jing period.¹¹²

Finally, Shizishan has an unfinished quality indicating that the tomb occupant died unexpectedly; this accords well with Liu Wu's recorded suicide following the Seven Kingdoms Rebellion.¹¹³ A side chamber (E3) was so shallow that the burial goods were simply stacked in the corridor outside of the room.¹¹⁴ The tomb ramp was also unfinished and the tomb walls appear to have only been roughly smoothed.¹¹⁵ The army pits were also not completed; the figures were scattered unevenly in trenches backfilled with dirt.¹¹⁶

Those who argue against Liu Wu as the tomb occupant have posited that a rebel king would not have been permitted to be buried like a king – with a jade suit.¹¹⁷ However, Liu Wu's brother, Liu Yi 執, marquis of Wanqu 宛胸, was buried like a marquis in a sumptuous tomb with a gold seal, despite having also participated in the revolt and having received the punishment whereby his name was expunged from the family register.¹¹⁸

Other scholars have argued that the tomb could not belong to Liu Wu because it contained seals representing counties that no longer belonged to Chu after its reduction in size prior to the Seven Kingdoms Rebellion.¹¹⁹ However, as Sophia-Karin Psarras has pointed out, not all of the seals in the tomb belonged to counties that were once a part of Chu. Some seals “never belonged to Chu, even at its greatest geographic extent.”¹²⁰ As a result, she convincingly argues that the seals may have represented marks of respect from officials in the area rather than markers of fealty.¹²¹

For Weishan, see Wang Shougong, “Weishan Hanmu” (cited in table, n. 5), pp. 58–65; Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 241–45.

¹¹² Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館, “Xuzhou Shizishan bingmayong keng diyici fajue jianbao 徐州獅子山兵馬俑坑第一次發掘簡報,” *WW* 1986.12, p. 10.

¹¹³ *SJ* 106, p. 2834; *HS* 35, p. 1916.

¹¹⁴ Li Chunlei 李春雷 and Li Hong 李紅, “Xuzhou Shizishan Han mu muzhu ji qi xiangguan wenti yanjiu” 徐州獅子山漢墓墓主及其相關問題研究, *Xuzhou gongcheng xueyuan xuebao* 徐州工程學院學報 22.5 (2007), p. 29.

¹¹⁵ Meng, “Cong muzang jiegou tan,” p. 52.

¹¹⁶ Li and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 31.

¹¹⁷ Huang, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwangmu muzhu yu chutu yinzhang wenti,” p. 70.

¹¹⁸ *HS* 5, p. 143. See Xuzhou Bowuguan 徐州博物館, “Xuzhou Xi Han Wanqu Hou Liu Yi mu” 徐州西漢宛胸侯劉執墓, *WW* 1997.2, p. 20. Liu Rui has also argued that Liu Wu could not have been buried in a jade suit and a jade coffin as a rebel king. However, there is no evidence from the histories that a king would have been punished in this way for participating in the rebellion. A jade suit was not found in Liu Yi's tomb; however, it was looted. See Liu and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 556–57.

¹¹⁹ Geng, “Shixi Xuzhou Xi Han Chuwangmu chutu guanyin,” p. 84. For Chu's reduction in size, see *SJ* 50, p. 1988; *HS* 106, p. 2825.

¹²⁰ See Sophia-Karin Psarras, *Han Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2015), p. 129.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

Because the tomb appears to be of an early date, some scholars have also argued that it housed Liu Yingke. However, this seems improbable because Liu Yingke ruled for only four years, an insufficient amount of time to have planned and excavated the 5,139 cubic meters of rock required to build the Shizishan tomb, particularly without prior models.¹²² Wang Yundu has estimated that it would have taken 14 years to build the Shizishan tomb.¹²³ Since Liu Wu ruled for 21 years, this makes him a much more likely candidate.

Additionally, Li Chunlei and Li Hong have convincingly argued that the tomb could not have belonged to Liu Yingke based on the *sizhu banliang* 四銖半兩 coins excavated from the tomb. They explain that scholars have overlooked the fact that in the early Han, the tenth month was the first month of the calendar year. Thus, when the third king of Chu, Liu Wu, took the throne in the tenth month of the fifth year of emperor Wen's reign, it was actually the first month of that year. *Sizhu banliang* coins, minted in the sixth month, then appeared nine months after the Liu Wu, the third Chu king, took the throne, considerably after Liu Yingke had died.¹²⁴

Finally, Huang Shengzhang has claimed that Shizishan should be attributed to the fifth king, Liu Dao, based on a seal inscribed with "Invoker of Chu" (*Chu cisi* 楚祠祀) that was found in the tomb. Citing *Han Shu*, Huang argues that because this position was referred to as grand supplicator (*taizhu* 太祝) until emperor Jing changed the title to "invocator" in 144 BC, the Shizishan tomb could not date earlier than 144 BC.¹²⁵ Liu and Liu, however, have shown based on recently excavated Qin seals and manuscripts, that the position of invocator most likely existed alongside the position of Grand Supplicator in the Qin and early Han.¹²⁶

Beidongshan

Like Shizishan, Beidongshan has also been attributed to one of the first five kings of Chu. The excavation report attributed the tomb to Liu Dao, the fifth king.¹²⁷ However, other scholars have attributed the tomb to Liu Jiao, the first

¹²² Quantity of rock, quoted from Wei Zheng, Li Huren, and Zou Houben, "Xuzhou Shizishan Xi Han mu fajue jiyao" 徐州獅子山西漢墓發掘紀要, *Dongnan wenhua* 1998.3, p. 32.

¹²³ Wang Yundu, "Shixi panwang Liu Wu," p. 205.

¹²⁴ Li and Li, "Xuzhou Shizishan Han mu muzhu," p. 29.

¹²⁵ Huang, "Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwangmu muzhu yu chutu yinzhang wenti," p. 70. See also Psarras, *Han Material Culture*, p. 129.

¹²⁶ See Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 552–55. Psarras makes a similar argument regarding the Grand Usher (*daxing* 大行) seal, which also appears in the tomb. Psarras argues that if the final character *ling* 令 was omitted from the Grand Usher seal as it presumably was in the Grand Supplicator (*taizhu*) seal, then the seal would read, Prefect Grand Usher (*daxing ling* 大行令). Since *daxing ling*, according to the *Han Shu*, was not used until 104 BC, she argues that the tomb ought to be attributed to the eighth Chu king, Liu Yanshou 劉延壽 (r. 100–69 BC). Psarras, *Han Material Culture*, pp. 129, 313 (n. 7). However, since the seal does not contain a "ling" and since the title, Grand Usher, is recorded as having been in use during the second year of emperor Jing's reign (156 BC), there is not sufficient evidence to ascribe a later date to the tomb. *SJ* 11, p. 446; and *HS* 5, p. 145.

¹²⁷ Xuzhou bowuguan and Nanjing daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuan, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu*, p. 180.

king; Liu Yingke, the second king; or Liu Li, the fourth king.¹²⁸ Evidence from the site, however, clearly indicates that Beidongshan should postdate Baling. The tomb should be attributed to either Liu Li or Liu Dao.

Scholars arguing for Liu Jiao or Liu Yingke dispute the archeological report's dating of the *sizhu banliang* coins in the tomb, arguing that the coins were not of the type that were minted during the reign of emperor Wen or emperor Wu.¹²⁹ They also argue that because two-thirds of the coins date to the pre-Qin period, the tomb ought to have an earlier dating.¹³⁰ I agree that it is difficult, based on the heterogeneous nature of the fifty-five coins analyzed in the report, to definitively classify a portion of the *sizhu banliang* coins as produced during the reigns of emperors Wen or Wu. After all, the sample size is small, and as Liu points out, many of the coins appear to have been locally minted. It seems more prudent, in this case, therefore, not to rely on *banliang* coinage to date the tomb.

These scholars also argue that if the tomb is attributed to a king after Liu Yingke, eight bronze seals would not have been found belonging to officials from counties that no longer belonged to Chu after the reduction of the kingdom by emperor Jing in 155.¹³¹ However, as in the case of Shizishan, I agree with Psarras that the seals cannot necessarily be used to date the tomb because they may not have indicated fealty; they may have been presented as a sign of respect or loyalty.

The main reason that Beidongshan most likely did not belong to either Liu Jiao or Liu Yingke is stylistic. Architecturally, the tomb should postdate Shizishan, which has been attributed to the second or third king. As previously argued, Shizishan represents a cross between earlier vertical pit tombs and later rock-cut chamber tombs. It also featured a large number of accompanying pits in its surrounds. Beidongshan, in contrast, was a full-blown rock-cut tomb on a horizontal axis without accompanying pits of terracotta figurines buried in the surrounds. The ceramic figures excavated from the niches placed before the tomb door are consistent with the general trend after the Seven State Revolt in which ceramic figurines were moved inside the tomb.

In terms of plan, Beidongshan also appears later than Shizishan. Shizishan had a shallow back chamber that was greater in width than in depth.¹³² Beidongshan more closely resembles Tuolanshan in that it featured a deep back chamber extending from the main tomb corridor. It also featured a level ramp and side rooms with pillars, which were both later developments in Xuzhou tombs.¹³³

Some have argued that Beidongshan's auxiliary chamber represents a transi-

¹²⁸ For Liu Jiao, see Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, pp. 537–50. For Liu Yingke, see Ge Mingyu 葛明宇 and Sun Fengjuan 孫鳳娟, “Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwangmu muzhu ying wei Yiwang Liu Yingke” 徐州北洞山西漢楚王墓主應為夷王劉郢客, *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報, November 19, 2004. For Liu Li, see Geng, “Shixi Xuzhou Xi Han Chuwangmu chutu guanyin,” p. 84; Huang, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwangmu muzhu yu chutu yinzhang wenti,” p. 76; Zhao, “Dui Shizishan Chuwangling suo chu yinzhang dui fengni de zai renshi,” p. 54; and Li and Zhang, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chumu muzhu kaolüe,” p. 27.

¹²⁹ Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 540.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 537–47.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 544.

¹³² Meng, “Cong muzang jieyou tan,” p. 52.

¹³³ Li and Zhang, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chumu muzhu kaolüe,” p. 27.

tional form indicating an early date.¹³⁴ However, this chamber has no parallel in any other excavated tomb. The fact that it was connected to the tomb ramp before the tomb door indicates that it possibly was used as a sacrificial chamber after the tomb itself had been sealed.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>HS</i>	Ban Gu 班固, <i>Han shu</i> 漢書
<i>SJ</i>	Sima Qian 司馬遷, <i>Shi ji</i> 史記
<i>XS</i>	Yan Zhenyi 閻振益 and Zhong Xia 鍾夏, eds., <i>Xin shu jiao zhu</i> 新書校注

¹³⁴ Liu and Liu, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, p. 548.