

"LES CONQUÊTES DE L'EMPEREUR DE LA CHINE"

By CH'EN SHOU-YI

University of Hawaii

Among the recent acquisitions of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, an item of peculiar interest is a series of sixteen large copper engravings¹ measuring 20½ inches by 35 inches, generally referred to in the Occident as "Les Conquêtes de L'Empereur de la Chine".² Although judged by the accepted standards of appreciation, these engravings can lay no claim to being masterpieces, yet in the history of art, the series is undeniably a unique monument of international contacts and influences. The subject matter is the subjugation of certain West Mongol tribes in Ili by the Manchu Emperor Kao-Tsung, better known to Western readers as Emperor K'ien Lung, (Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1795) of the Ch'ing Dynasty; the sketches were prepared at the Emperor's command by European missionaries who had been appointed court painters. The style was a conscious attempt to assimilate the technique of traditional Chinese painting. After some deliberation, the sketches were sent to France, where the Minister of State entrusted their execution to a number of engravers of established repute. The results proved so satisfactory to the Emperor that he assigned court painters to study and imitate the imported art and various sets of engravings were executed subsequently in the Forbidden City.

Although these French engravings have been rare ever since their execution in the eighteenth century, they have been fairly well known to connoisseurs and Orientalists. Their rarity, coupled with their curious international significance, has elicited numerous learned articles as well as cursory comments from the pens of both Occidental and Oriental scholars.³ It is curious to note, however, that despite the amount of information now available in European and Oriental languages, there is as yet no extensive treatment of the subject in English. On account of the limited space at the present writer's disposal, his desire to fill the said lacuna must be deferred to a later occasion.

This present paper will therefore be limited to a presentation of only a few of the cogent facts needed for an intelligent perusal of the accompanying figures. These figures, thanks to the authorities of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, represent the first recent attempt in our knowledge to reproduce the series in full.⁴

II

The one who was chiefly responsible for the conception of the commemorative plates in their present guise was Guiseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), an Italian Jesuit whose Chinese name was Lang Shih-Ning. Arriving in China in 1715, when the missionary activities of the Jesuits had already been subjected to various difficulties and impediments, Castiglione served three Manchu Emperors in succession as a court painter. Though essentially a pious soul, whose evangelical zeal was never dampened by official proscriptions or by popular persecutions of the Christian religion,⁵ his natural talents as a painter were by no means negligible. Before his arrival in China, he had acquired considerable training and attainments in portraiture and historical paintings in oil. According to M. Fauillet de Conche, "having acquired the expansive and vigorous manner of the great masters, he would have occupied a distinguished place among the painters of his own country."⁶

Besides continuing the tradition of his predecessors who had utilized the European arts for the service of evangelism in China,⁷ Castiglione devoted himself to painting also for the love of it. As a member of the Imperial Academy of Painters, he enjoyed especial advantages in having ready access to the remarkable Imperial collection of Chinese paintings. Moreover, he counted among his colleagues in the said Academy some of the most talented Chinese painters of the age, notably T'ang Tai and Shên Yuan, with whom he often

collaborated and was on the most friendly terms. Despite these advantages, however, he was neither able to express himself freely as to medium or subject matter, on one hand, nor given a fair chance to assimilate Chinese traditions and technique according to his own standards, on the other. During his five decades of continued residence in China, it is true, his artistic output was by no means small. His bequest to posterity consists of more than a hundred⁸ watercolor paintings on Chinese paper or silk of such subjects as trees, flowers, fruits, birds and animals, besides a few portraits and a few paintings in oil. Despite his prolific productions, however, these paintings of his do not measure up to his potential abilities as regards either conception or execution. Laboring under great difficulties, his long cherished ambition of evolving a new style by blending the technique of East and West had to be tragically curbed if not entirely frustrated.

Emperor K'ien Lung, during whose reign Castiglione and his fellow European painters did most of their work, entertained no mean opinion of himself as an art critic, although objectively speaking, his tastes and power of understanding were often questionable. The monarch was so much interested in Castiglione's work that he would often have the latter paint in his presence and would give the latter directions as to what to do and avoid, even in such details as the treatment of leaves in a foliage or of the form and positions of clouds and rockery. Moreover, advisers and critics were often appointed by the Emperor to supervise the work of the European artists and these were often mere artisans and clerks from the Board of Works. In addition, the court painters had to follow a rigid working schedule. Their working day was usually long and imperial assignments had to be promptly executed. Once a painting was approved by the Emperor, alterations and even improvements were strictly forbidden.⁹ On top of all these trials, Castiglione was occasionally tortured by news of persecutions of his co-religionists in other parts of the Chinese empire.

Under these circumstances, it is probable that Castiglione himself had realized the limited possibilities of his attainments as a painter in China. Ever ready to win the favor of K'ien Lung, and ever prayerful that the latter might yet turn out to be the Constantine of China, he began to interest the Manchu monarch in the European art of copper engraving. This art had been introduced into China before Castiglione's time by Father Matteo Ripa in 1711,¹⁰ but although his results had pleased Emperor K'ang Hsi, this Italian missionary of the Holy Propaganda was such a novice in copper engraving that his work was soon discontinued

and was little known outside of the City of Jehol where his little press had been set up. For practical purposes, then, we may give Castiglione the credit of being the first one to propagate the art of European copper engraving in China.

Meanwhile Castiglione had only to wait for the opportune moment to exert his powers of persuasion. This finally came in 1760. Emperor K'ien Lung had scored his first and most significant military victory in his long reign and was unusually elated and jubilant. The Eleuths, a branch of the Western Mongols, who had been basically unruly in Ili for almost a hundred years, and who had broken out in open defiance of Ch'ing sovereignty in 1755 under the leadership of Amursana, had been completely subdued in 1757. By 1759, all the Moslem tribes in the Tarim Basin had been pacified.¹¹ In commemoration of these victories imperial decrees had been issued to renew and redecorate two palace buildings, the Tzū-Kuang Ko and the Wu-Ch'êng Tien. The two hundred twenty-odd poems which the Emperor had written on the various campaigns and battles had been inscribed on stone tablets in the corridors of the Wu-Ch'êng Tien. Huge paintings of representative scenes of the combats and victories had been completed to decorate the central hall of the Tzū-Kuang Ko. A hundred portraits divided into two sets had been painted of the meritorious officers of the Imperial forces and each of these portraits had been autographed personally by the Emperor with laudatory remarks.¹² Finally, this whole series of commemorative events was climaxed with a grandiose ceremony. On the second day of the twenty-sixth year of K'ien Lung (February 6, 1761) one hundred and seven state dignitaries and meritorious commanders were banqueted in the newly completed Tzū-Kuang Ko and generously rewarded with imperial bounty.¹³

III

The large paintings in Tzū-Kuang Ko, proud of them as the Emperor was, were inaccessible to the empire at large and Emperor K'ien Lung desired to supplement these with an illustrated record of his victories which would admit a wider circulation. In due course he was fascinated by the accounts of European copper engraving given him by Castiglione and he decided to try the European process in preference to both wood block engraving and stone tablet inscription.

All the European painters at the Imperial Court were set to work. These were, besides Castiglione: (A) Jean-Denis Attiret (Chinese name Wang Chih-Ch'êng; also Pa Tê-Ni, 1702-1768) a French Jesuit who had received considerable training in painting and sculpture before his arrival in China

in 1768.¹⁴ (B) Ignatius Sickelpart (Chinese name Ngai Ch'i-Mêng, 1708-1780), also a member of the Jesuit mission and a Czech in nationality, who had arrived in China in 1745.¹⁵ (C) Jean Damascène de la Conception, an Italian missionary of the Holy Propaganda (Chinese name An Tê-Yi, 1781). (D) Giuseppe Panzi (Chinese name P'an Jo-shê or P'an T'ing-Chang, 1812), a French Jesuit appointed by the Emperor as Sickelpart's assistant.¹⁶

The Emperor had ordered the preparation of sixteen sketches for the set of engravings, and when these were completed, an imperial decree was issued under date of the twenty-sixth day of the fifth moon, (July 13, 1765) to the viceroy of the two Kuang Provinces who was stationed in Canton, instructing the latter that sixteen sketches were soon to be sent to Europe to be engraved by the most celebrated artists. The selection of a particular country in Europe where the engraving was to be executed was left entirely to the discretion of the viceroy. Neither the Emperor himself nor his European painters had indicated any specifications. The English East India Company was eager to secure the order, and made overtures to the viceroy; but Father Louis Joseph Le Fevre, Superior of the French mission of the Jesuits, succeeded in swaying the opinion of the viceroy in favor of his own country by informing the latter through a mandarin friend, that the arts were better and more highly developed in France than elsewhere, and that in the art of engraving in particular, French attainments were positively unrivalled.

The order was soon placed with the French Compagnie des Indes, through the senior Co-hong merchant P'an T'ung-Wên and a contract in Chinese was drawn up to "Le Président des Beaux Arts" which was signed between P'an himself representing the viceroy and two Frenchmen representing the Compagnie, Kan-Chih-Li and Wu-Kia-Lang who have been identified by Professor Pelliot as de La Gannerie and Vauquelin.¹⁷ When the negotiations were completed toward the end of the year, four sketches which had been finished, a letter written by Castiglione and addressed to "M. le Président des Beaux Arts," a Latin and an Italian translation of the decree of July 13, 1765 were dispatched with the original decree in Chinese wrapped in golden brocade. Of these documents, the four sketches are of special interest to us. As specified in the agreement in Chinese, they were:

1—Original drawing by Lang Shih-Ning (Castiglione), of which the subject is "The Camp Captured by Strategem". (See Figure 2 of this paper.)

2—Original drawing by Wang Chih-Ch'êng (Attiret), of which the subject is "The Combat of A-Erh-Chu-Erh". (Figure 11).

3—Original drawing by Ngai Ch'i-Mêng (Sickelpart), of which the subject is "The People of Ili Surrendering Themselves". (Figure 1).

4—Original drawing by An Tê-Yi (Damascène), of which the subject is "The Combat of Ku-Erh-Man". (Figure 8).

It should be pointed out that these provisional titles for the first four sketches as mentioned in the agreement were not adhered to at the time of the final redaction in Peking in 1776. This should be clear by comparison of these titles with the definitive titles affixed to the illustrative figures of this article.

Some of the interesting provisions in the agreement were: that the Compagnie was to entrust the order and its execution to the French Minister of State; that after the completion of the engraved plates, two hundred copies were to be made from each plate on good, enduring paper; that these eight hundred prints together with the copper plates were to be divided into two equal lots and to be sent to China on two separate vessels; that each vessel was to carry two copper plates and one hundred prints of each of the four engravings, or a total of four hundred prints; and that the four original drawings together with the prints and plates were to be remitted to the authorities in Canton in 1768. The agreement also provided for the advance payment of 5000 taels of silver in piastres by the Chinese Co-hong merchants on behalf of the government as well as for the payment of whatever additional expenses were necessary to complete the job. In case of accidents on the high seas, the Co-hong merchants were to assume financial responsibility for the freight and the cost of the plates and prints.

In brief, the experiment was undertaken with all seriousness, not only by the Academy of Painters, but also by the provincial authorities in Canton.

IV

The order was received with no less seriousness by the Frenchmen. Leaving China at the beginning of 1766, the documents and sketches arrived at their destination in the autumn of that year. Minister of State Bertin and his subordinates, after a perusal of the documents, came to the conclusion that since the Chinese Emperor had entrusted the execution of the order to the French "Ministres d'Etat", the Compagnie des Indes should remain only a transmitting agent, and that the actual execution of the engraving should come under the supervision of the Marquis de Marigny,

Director-General of Royal Constructions and Manufactures.

Consequently, the original drawings from China were delivered by the Directors of the Compagnie to the Marquis on December 31, 1766. That the officials of the French Ministry of State wanted to do all in their power to impress the Chinese Emperor is evident. They memorialized the French throne, suggesting that besides the regular engravings, the four sketches from China should be executed in miniature on four large well-shaped vases of royal porcelain of Sèvres, and likewise on royal Gobelins tapestry. This, according to the author of the memorial, was to give the whole Chinese Empire a good impression "of the superiority of our artists, of our manufactures, and of our nation", so that "the French should no longer be confused, as they are at present in China, with other nations under the name of Europeans." Although we do not know whether this suggestion was carried out, the significant fact remains that there was such a proposal.

Marquis de Marigny on his part also acted promptly. He appointed Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790) then Secretary-Historiographer of the Academy of Painting, to take general charge of the work and to select four engravers from a recommended list to work under the direction of Cochin: namely, Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1707-1783), Augustin de Saint-Aubin (1736-1807), B. L. Prevost (1735-1804) and Jacques Aliamet (1729-1788),¹⁸ who were assigned to work on the sketches by Castiglione, Damascène, Sickelpart and Attiret, respectively. On April 19, 1767, Marigny wrote to Cochin, instructing the latter to make all necessary arrangements for the execution of the engravings and to estimate the cost for each plate. Cochin suggested 10,000 livres for each plate, and an additional grant of 1,000 livres to the artist assigned to the plate with the most detail, meaning Prevost.

Before work was started, the engravers were confronted with practical difficulties. The original sketches, which won the admiration of such laymen as Bertin and Marigny, looked defective to the expert eyes of Cochin, both as individual pieces and as a set. They seemed to lack general correctness, purity of design, expression in the figures and the verisimilitude in treatment of the drapery. Furthermore, the transition from one sketch to another seemed to lack smoothness, thus rendering the series as a whole defective in unity. Consequently, Cochin made his own copies of each original in order to be able to make necessary alterations and yet to obviate the difficulty of departing too apparently from the Emperor's command. It was this spirit of compromise which had prevented

a thorough-going revision, especially with reference to defects in perspective, in degradation of distance and in the treatment of water and rockery. Of the four originals, the one by Damascène was found to be the most defective and was therefore given the greatest number of alterations.

Another practical difficulty was the limited time at the engravers' disposal. The Chinese Emperor had indicated the keenest desire to have the prints of the first four engravings sent to China in September of 1768. From the very beginning Cochin saw no possibility in fulfilling this part of the demand. The first shipment was not ready even in 1769, and the first prints were not delivered in Peking until December, 1772.

Meanwhile, soon after work was begun on the first four plates, the remaining twelve sketches in the set had arrived in France (July 1767). Three additional engravers were appointed by Marigny: Louis-Joseph Masquelier (1741-1811), Denis Née (1732-1818) and Pierre-Philippe Choffard (1730-1809). All the intelligence of the eight experts, however, failed to solve a new riddle. Although the original sketches bore short titles, they were not fully described. Hence Cochin and his associates were at a total loss as to the proper order in which the plates were to be arranged. Information was sought from all possible sources, including the Chinese students Ko and Yang who had been brought to France by the Jesuits and had become guests of the state. Ko and Yang furnished Bertin with some "historic notes" on the series and the Compagnie succeeded in forwarding a "mémoire" but despite this, the question of the proper sequence of the pieces did not seem to have been solved in Europe at that time.

No efforts were spared by the French engravers to secure the best materials for plates and prints. The copper plates were ordered from England. The prints were made on paper especially prepared by the famous stationer Prudhomme, paper known as Grand Louvois measuring three feet four and one half inches by two feet six and one half inches. The printing was done by Beauvais, who, like Prudhomme, was specially recommended by Cochin.¹⁹

It is this great care with which the engraving and printing had been handled that had delayed the complete delivery of the plates, prints and proofs in Peking until well toward the middle of the year 1775. The Emperor was well pleased, but both Castiglione and Attiret were no longer living to share the Emperor's joy.

V

The European engravings attracted the attention of the Chinese Emperor immediately. K'ien

Lung assigned a number of his painters to study the new art of copperplate engraving and to utilize all the information they could gather from the Europeans at the imperial court. The long suspense in which the Emperor had been kept by the delay in the delivery had apparently enhanced his enthusiasm. As was his wont, he would not consider an artistic attempt completed without his own finishing touches—namely, his poetry and calligraphy. While the plates were being engraved in France, he had already busied himself with the selection of sixteen poems to be superimposed on the sixteen plates. Ten of these poems he had already written in commemoration of his victories as they had been reported. Six poems were therefore especially written for the engravings. In addition, he had written a prologue in prose and had asked one of his Grand Secretaries, Duke Fu Hêng, to submit a postface for the album.²⁰

Thanks to the French engravers, there were not sufficient spaces left on the plates for the Emperor's verses. Consequently eighteen additional plates had to be engraved in Peking to immortalize the sixteen poems and the prologue by the Emperor as well as Fu Hêng's postface. The numbering of the plates, which had been, and was to be, unsettled in Europe, was now definitely arranged. The set, according to this Peking "edition," consisted of thirty-four plates. Plate I bore the prologue, and Plate XXXIV the postface. In between were the plates for pictures and poems arranged alternately in pairs, Plate III bearing the poem for the picture on Plate II, etc. This then, is the authorized "edition" of the album, which as we shall see, should guide us in numbering the prints. We do not know exactly when the eighteen additional plates were finished, but certainly not later than 1779.²¹

The Emperor was so much delighted with the results of copperplate engraving that he commemorated all his subsequent major victories with similar albums, of which the plates were all engraved by Chinese artists. A brief enumeration of these albums follows:

1—*P'ing-Ting Liang Chin-Ch'uan Tê-Sheng Chan-T'u*. Sixteen plates commemorating the subjugation of the Big Chin-Ch'uan and Little Chin-Ch'uan regions in Szechuen. Campaigns concluded in 1775; plates engraved in 1776. (Library of Congress has a complete set).

2—*P'ing-Ting T'ai-Wan Chan-T'u*. Twelve plates commemorating the subjugation of Formosa. Campaign took place in 1786; plates engraved in 1790.

3—*P'ing-Ting K'uo-Erh-K'a Chan-T'u*. Eight plates commemorating the subjugation of Gorka

(Nepalese Tribes). Campaign took place in 1792; plates engraved about 1795 (?).

4—*P'ing-Ting An-Nan Chan-T'u*. Six plates commemorating the subjugation of Indo-China. Expedition launched and withdrawn on Indo-China's surrender in 1789; plates engraved in 1790.

5—*P'ing-Ting Miao-Chiang Chan-T'u*. Sixteen plates commemorating the subjugation of Miao Tribes in Kuei-Chou and Hunan Provinces. Campaign took place in 1795; plates engraved in 1796. Not mentioned by Pelliot in his article, "Conquêtes de l'Empereur, etc."

Figure 17 in our present article is Plate IV of this series. The title is "The Siege of Sung-T'ao Lifted". Sung-T'ao is a strategic town in Kuei-Chou where the Imperial forces were once surrounded by the Red Miao Tribes. The Emperor's poem was dated 1795; but it does not follow that the plates were necessarily engraved in that year.

6—*P'ing-Ting Chung-Miao Chan-T'u*. Four plates commemorating the subjugation of the Chung-Miao tribes in Kuei-Chou Province. Campaign took place in 1795; year of engraving uncertain.

These sixty-two plates, all engraved in China by Chinese artists, have several features in common. 1—Each plate contains a poem autographed by K'ien Lung, superimposed on the corner or on the margin of the plate. 2—The provision of space for this poem intrinsically affected the composition of the sketch. 3—The provision of space for the poem necessitated an increase of about two and one-half inches in the length (height) of the plate, whereas the width of the French plates was maintained throughout. In other words these sixty-two plates measure twenty-two inches by thirty-five inches. 4—They all betray more basic traits of traditional Chinese painting, ostensibly the prominence of lines and the treatment of foliage, rockery and clouds.²²

The imported art, however, was utilized not merely to commemorate military victories. In fact, one of the first sets of copperplates engraved in Peking after the completion of the additional plates for the original "Conquêtes" series was devoted to the delineation of European buildings in the Imperial Summer Garden, Yuan-Ming Yuan. A set of the twenty prints was sent by the French Jesuits in Peking to Father Delatour in France in 1785.²³ Another application of the new art was the preparation of an engraved map of the Chinese Empire in thirteen bands. This map, which has been reprinted recently by the National Peiping Palace Museum, was based on the map of 1718 prepared by the French Jesuits for Emperor K'ang Hsi, and is still highly valued by geographers.

VI

Before we conclude this paper, we should say a word or two on the rarity of the Franco-Chinese prints as well as on the confusion in numbering the plates.

The French "edition" of sixteen plates was certainly very small, though we have no data on its exact size. Only a few sets of prints were made for the French King and his ministers. Even Attiret's own elder brother seemed to have failed to secure prints of the sketches by the younger brother, despite repeated petitions to Marigny and to d'Angiviller, who succeeded Marigny in 1775. Even Bertin himself, who did secure a set of the prints, had to exert himself considerably.

The Chinese edition of thirty-four plates was certainly larger, but we have absolutely no information on its distribution. Fan Mou-Chu of Ning-Po, owner of the famous T'ien-Yi-Ko Library, was given a set by K'ien Lung in 1779. Sir John Bowring, one of the early Governors of Hong-kong, claimed to have seen it at the Fan family library in the early 1850's.²⁴ Other sets were probably given to the families of those who had participated in the Ili campaigns, but of these we have no record.

Hence, the prints soon became a rarity in either edition; and as there was still considerable interest in Europe in those prints, Isodore Stanislas Helman, engraver of Duke de Chartres and pupil of Le Bas, undertook in 1785 to reproduce the Cochin prints in reduced format, forty-one by twenty-four centimeters. To these Helman added other plates on Chinese themes, bringing the total number of prints to twenty-four. For each of the sixteen reproductions he added a title and a number. This new feature certainly made the prints more intelligible to European readers, but at the same time it gave rise to great confusion as to how the plates should be numbered. The order proposed by Helman was certainly erroneous but it has misled both Cordier and Hänisch. Pelliot and Ishida both independently succeeded almost twenty years ago in reestablishing the proper sequence of the prints on the basis of bound sets they had seen and on the strength of the catalogue of the Fan family library. With the publication of the *Ch'ing Kung Shih Hsü-Pien* by the Palace Museum in 1932, the authorized numbering of the plates can now be restituted without any ado or uncertainty, thus settling for good the confusion caused by Helman. The Helman prints, it is to be noted, although less valuable than the originals, have also become quite rare.

In the nineteenth century there were three or four reissues of the plates in varying formats and of varying qualities, an indication that the interest

in the curious prints was not entirely transitory. The artistic interchange between East and West which was inaugurated in the reign of K'ien Lung, however, was terminated with the abdication of the Emperor in full splendor in 1796. The spirit of the times had changed in both East and West. France, in fact the whole of Europe, had been upset by the Revolution, and China had already passed the climax of her political stability and economic prosperity. All through the nineteenth century, the Imperial Academy of Painters was a moribund institution, existing as a mere shadow of its past glories. Moreover, the Society of Jesus, which had been so powerful and earnest in bringing East and West together, had been suppressed by Papal Bull in 1773 and a new proscription against missionary activities had been proclaimed by imperial decree in China eleven years later. It was destined that the renewal of happy cultural interchanges had to wait for a more auspicious day.

APPENDIX

Shortly after the arrival of the sketches in France, as we have pointed out in the main text of this paper, there were various searches for an explanation of the subject matter. The Chinese Jesuits Ko and Yang prepared a "notice historique" at Bertin's request and the Compagnie des Indes supplied a "mémoire". According to Henry Cordier (*Bibliotheca Sinica*, 641), there was, besides these two pieces, another brochure in 4°, entitled "Précis historique de la guerre dont les principaux événements sont représentés dans les 16 estampes gravées à Paris pour l'empereur de la Chine sur les dessins que ce prince a fait à Pékin."

This "Précis", possibly based on the "notice" and the "mémoire", and probably printed in Paris in 1791, has not been found and may not be any longer extant in printed form.

In the library of the Château de Coppet in Switzerland, however, there is a manuscript copy of the "Précis", bearing exactly the same title as described by Cordier. The authorship of the piece is unknown and its full text has been printed in a recent number of the *Monumenta Serica* (IV 1939-40, 85-115). For Occidentals who are not familiar with Chinese life and pictorial art, the "Précis" is of special interest and help. As a literal translation of the French text would by far outrun the limit of the present paper, we beg to take liberty in summarizing certain passages which are pertinent to a perusal of the prints. As the plates are not properly numbered in the "Précis", the notes are rearranged to conform with the numbering adopted for this paper. Some errors have been corrected.

Figure 1. Emperor K'ien Lung leads General Chao Hui (on the Emperor's right) in triumphant return to Peking. The procession is led by twelve officers of the Imperial Guards on horseback, all clad in long robes and carrying quivers over their shoulders. Immediately following them are the Emperor and the General, who wear no distinctive insignia except a plume among the arrows in their quivers. The procession ends with three companies of cavalry with their flags, riding by twos.

The cavalcade passes between two group-formations. The first of these consists of the ambassadors and tributary princes accredited at the Imperial Court, and high officials of the Empire. The ambassadors are presenting

arms horizontally. They are followed by their tributes to the Emperor—many horses, camels, cows, and sheep. The second formation is composed of various people kneeling, carrying flasks and presenting baskets filled with fruits and refreshments. Others mingle their voices with the noise of the instruments to extol their Emperor and General.

In the distance, are the cavalry returning from the campaign, followed by their baggage transported on boats pulled by swimming horses.

The procession took place in 1755, when Ili, under the Chieftainship of Amursana, had surrendered for the first time to the Ch'ing Empire.

Figure 2. Amursana, who had subdued his rival and usurper Dawači with the powerful military support of K'ien Lung, had turned his army against his benefactor. Irritated by this perfidy, the Emperor sent against the rebel a formidable army commanded by Chao Hui.

The Chinese cavalry attacks and defeats the troops of Amursana, who defend themselves in general with artillery and lances. Their camp is strewn with the dead and dying. A great number are seeking safety in the mountain gorges. The Chinese cavalry is seen in the distance in reserve and ready for action.

It is unusual that in this print, as in all the others in which battle scenes are depicted, no Chinese is represented as having been killed. On being asked, Father Lefevre said that the artists had taken special pains to avoid such a scene, lest the Emperor would be displeased and cancel the drawing.

Ayüsi, an Eastern Mongol himself in the service of the Emperor, was the hero of the occasion, which took place at Mount Gädän, about 100 li (36 miles) southwest of Kuldja.

Figure 3. Not signed by sketcher but attributed to Attiret.

The enemy camp surrenders, as has the city of Uče.

The General, surrounded by his lieutenants and in the midst of guards, is going out of his tent, around which is a palisade of woven trees, sharpened at the tip like a line of bayonets. Prisoners, animals and other war spoils are kept inside. Those who take refuge under the tents have to pass at the edge of a sword. An old man, a father, a mother, and two infants in a cradle, all naked and defenseless, are pursued with burning torches and seem to be begging for their lives in vain.

Figure 4. A vigorous combat between the Chinese cavalry and the enemy who is decamping and fleeing. Despite their own weapons, the enemy cannot withstand the deluge of Chinese arrows. The enemy abandons the camp.

Figure 5. When the partisans of Amursana were defeated in Khargos (Figure 4), they wanted to cross through Ili, but the Chinese pursued them. They then went to Khurungui, north of the Ili River, when Chao Hui and his lieutenants attacked them on several sides during the night.

The general on a hillock, wearing his helmet as he always does and surrounded by his lieutenants, gives orders to inundate the land. This puts the enemy to rout. The horses, camels, and other animals, frightened, run here and there and take refuge beside the conquerors. During this disorder, other troops fall upon the enemy. Some plunge in the water to swim, others take flight, while still others stay in the battle field and perish, weapons in hand.

Figure 6. General Chao Hui, having suspended military operations so as to restore governmental order in the districts of his conquest, receives at his camp under the city wall of Ier-Kien the homage of Beg Hojis, Chieftain

of the Uš-Turfan, who has surrendered with the city in 1758.

The general is seated between two people. In each of the two galleries, one on the right and the other on the left of his pavilion, are five people. The Tartars, kneeling, offer him presents, one of them haranguing the general. These are followed by people leading flocks of sheep, cows and saddled horses.

Figure 7. The second battle between the Chinese army, and that of Dawači on the banks of the Ili River, where Dawači, who has attacked the Imperial Army, is defeated and taken prisoner in 1755.

The Chinese general in helmet is defeating the enemy. Two pieces of artillery force them to flee in the valley. Lying down in the foreground are three camels, each carrying a wooden baggage saddle. In the distance, where the tents are pitched, are the headquarters and rear guards in battle formation protecting a bridge which is being constructed over the river for the return of the cavalry.

Figure 8. The Eleuth (Western Mongol) usurper Dawači is put to flight with his army by the cavalry and infantry of the Chinese. This took place in 1754 at the foot of the mountains of Badakšan near the Russian Frontiers.

We see a corps of Chinese cavalry followed by a corps of infantry, the former armed with bows and arrows and the latter with arrows and guns. In front of these two corps are five camels carrying a cannon. At the right of the camel is a cannon mounted on a carriage drawn by two horses. The Chinese cavalymen fall on those of Dawači and make them flee into the valleys. We recognize the enemy by their lances, by their cone-shaped hats with broad brims in front and behind decorated with furs, by their long robes, and by their swords attached to their belts. The Chinese cavalry wear small caps decorated also with fur. The hats of the high officers are ornamented with a peacock feather or a sable tail. The Chinese troops are dressed in jackets buttoned in front. Their boots are without spurs and their quivers carry nine to twelve arrows.

Figure 9. The sketch is attributed to Attiret.

The city of Uče, capital of the Eleuths, is given up to pillage by order of Chao Hui in 1756.

The general, accompanied by his aides-de-camp and placed in the center of this city, has ordered the soldiers to attack and burn the whole city. They destroy the fortifications and the crenelated walls surrounding the city, as well as the bastions outside. They throw everything into the flames which comes their way, sparing nothing. There are some people who are pursued with torches and who leap into the flames. In the foreground at the left is a prisoner of note, with his hands tied behind and led by a rope around the neck. Other victims who have climbed up a tree serve as playthings to the soldiers who make them fall with arrow shots.

Figure 10. The sketch is attributed to Attiret.

General Chao Hui has pursued the enemy into the gorges. Some are captured and others are cut to pieces. In the foreground is the general, accompanied by his lieutenants, to whom he gives the order to attack the enemy troops. Further back, preceded by a standard bearer, the general gives the order to fire.

The mountain pass is about 180 miles west of Kashgar.

Figure 11. This is the Battle of the Pulokol mountains fought on September 1, 1759, against the two Hochoms, on which occasion the grand Hochom was killed.

Chao Hui, having received reinforcements and resumed the course of his conquests, pursues the two Hochoms. He is at the head of his cavalry, wearing a robe and a helmet.

He is attacking his enemies in their retrenchment, and we see them fleeing into the valleys and climbing up the mountains.

Three squadrons are ranged in battle formation on horseback. The middle one is supported by eight camels carrying a small cannon mounted on a pivot like a telescope. On the top of a mountain some infantrymen are firing on the enemies who are trying to get to the summit to save themselves.

A rather peculiar thing seen in this print is that the quivers of the Chinese cavalrymen bear the imprint of the fleur-de-lis very distinctly.

Figure 12. This is the battle fought near Lake Yesil-Kol (or Yesil-Kol-nor) in 1759 between the Chinese army and the two Hochoms.

On the bank of a river, General Chao Hui, leading the main body of the cavalry, orders a charge against the enemy, who is defending himself with muskets on the other side of the river. Though separated by the river, the two armies attack and defend vigorously. Some have passed from one camp to the other, but a major detachment of the Chinese cavalry which has crossed the river is attacking and routing the enemy.

Figure 13. A carousal given in honor of the general by the victorious army in an enceinte surrounded by tents as well as by companies distinguished by their respective standards.

The four entrances to the enceinte are guarded by soldiers, hands on sword hilts. In the middle of the enceinte and under a pavilion, the general is seated on a cushion, with four of his lieutenants sitting beside him. There he receives the compliments of the representatives. Two galleries, one at the right and the other at the left of his pavilion, are filled with the ranking officers of the army, while lancers, bowmen, gladiators, and wrestlers enliven this military fête.

Figure 14. The Moslem prisoners are presented to the Emperor by Chao Hui on his triumphant return. The Emperor is seated on a throne in a magnificent pavilion amidst officials of the Empire, waiting for the general. Chao Hui prostrates himself as soon as he sees the Emperor extend his arms and he offers the spoils he has brought back, taking them from a square box placed in front of him. He is attended by two squires.

Behind him are two groups of people. One group consists of four Tartar prisoners accompanied by two Chinese, and the other of seven Chinese. This procession, noble and simple, is composed of officers and palace guards carrying swords and with hands at the left on scabbards. The imperial musicians are neatly ranged in two lines extending to the entrance to the pavilion. On each side there is a sentry box. The general is to go up to the foot of the throne by the middle door. The architecture of the pavilion shows ten columns in front and as many on the periphery. These columns are without bases or capitals.

Figure 15. The Emperor, riding on horseback and followed by officers of the Imperial Guards, is going to the bastion where seven standards of the Imperial Army are erected, in order to receive his general. The Emperor is mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, going forth between lines of grand officials of the Empire, and followed by his parasol bearer. He is clad in a magnificent imperial robe, topped by a sort of tunic on which are embroidered on the breast, the back and the shoulders the imperial insignia. He approaches the bastion to the music of military instruments on both sides. Other officials and another parasol bearer wait on the emperor at the foot of a flight of steps leading him on up the bastion where he may be seen by the whole court. Behind a tent in the foreground refresh-

ments are being prepared for the Emperor. The roads are guarded by sentinels placed at regular intervals from one end to the other with swords drawn and grouped in files.

Figure 16. The Emperor gives a grand banquet of victory to dignitaries of the state, distinguished officers of the Chinese army and tributary princes and ambassadors at the newly completed Tzu-Kuang Ko. The Emperor is seated in a sedan chair carried by sixteen officers and surrounded by his entire court. He is followed by a parasol bearer. The procession is led by another parasol bearer followed by twelve grand officers marching in two lines. They are advancing toward a dome-shaped tent, on the two sides of which are the banquet tables sumptuously decorated. Behind these are the cuisines and offices. Numerous sentinels are posted in the distance to keep off the common people. Farther off is a pavilion of two storeys which looks on a grand stone bridge with nine arches. Beyond that we see a wonderful pagoda—the white Pagoda or Pai T'a of Peking—above which is a column on the opposite side where a village is seen.

FOOTNOTES

¹ For the past ten years the writer of this paper has made a search for a set of the "Conquêtes de L'Empereur de la Chine" prints. Between 1931 and 1936 he had the good fortune of acquiring in North China fourteen of the sixty-two prints described in Section V of this paper, (all from broken sets), although he could not secure any of the French prints of the "Conquêtes" series. With the fall of Canton in 1938, all the fourteen prints, together with numerous notes on them and every item in his fair-sized collection of books, were looted. Disheartened by these sad losses, he decided in 1939, when a set of the rare "Conquêtes" prints was on sale in England, that such a rarity should belong to a public institution. Consequently he brought it to the attention of the authorities of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, who graciously acted on his advice and secured the prints for the Academy.

² "Les Conquêtes de L'Empereur de la Chine" is really not the proper title for the series. In fact the series bears no official title in any of the European languages. In describing the prints in his *Bibliotheca Sinica* (first edition, column 265-66; second edition, column 641), Henri Cordier has referred to them as "Suites des Seize Estampes représentant les Conquêtes de L'Empereur de la Chine, avec leur Explication." Berthold Laufer, in his "Christian Art in China" (p. 17) calls them "The Victories of the Emperor K'ien-Lung," while Cordier and Professor Paul Pelliot have adopted the French caption in their learned articles in the *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, (1913) and in the *T'oung Pao* (1921) respectively. In Chinese, the engravings are described in the *T'ien-Yi-Ko-Shu-Mu* (catalogue of the library of the Fan family of Ningpo, pp. 14-16) as *P'ing-Ting Hui-Pu Tê-Shêng T'u*, i.e., engravings commemorating the conquest and pacification of the Moslem tribes. The standard official title of the set, however, is given in the *Ch'ing Kung Shih Hsi Pien* (History of the Manchu Court, ch. 96, p. 4b) as *Yü-T'i Ping-Ting Ili Hui-Pu Ch'uan-T'u*, i.e., the complete set of engravings commemorating the pacification and subjugation of the Moslem tribes of Ili, with poems by the Emperor.

³ The following titles are extensive discussions of the engravings in question:

Jean Monval, "Les Conquêtes de la Chine. Une Commande de L'Empereur de Chine en France au XVIII^e siècle," in *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, XVIII (1905), 147-160.

Henri Cordier, "Les Conquêtes de L'Empereur de la Chine" in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, I (1913), 1-18.

Erich Hähnisch, "Der Chinesische Feldzug in Ili im Jahre 1755," in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, VII, (1918), 57-86.

Ishida Mikinosuke, "Pari kaicho kenryū nenkan jurkai ryōbu heitei tokushō-zu ni tsuite" in *Tōyōgaku-hō*, IX, (1919), 396-448.

Paul Pelliot, "Les Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine" in *T'oung Pao*, Series II, XX (1921), 183-274.

Hsiang Ta, "Ming Ch'ing Chih Chi Chung-kuo Mei-Shu Shou Hsi-Yang Chih Ying-Hsiang" (Western Influence on Chinese Art during the Period of the Ming-Ch'ing Dynastic Change) in *Eastern Miscellany*, XXVII (1922).

J. van den Brandt, "Un Manuscrit inédit des Conquêtes de K'ien-Lung" in *Monumenta Serica*, IV (1939), 85-115.

Walter Fuchs, "Die Schlachtenbilder aus Turkestan von 1765 als historische Quelle, nebst Bemerkungen zu einigen späteren Serien" in *Monumenta Serica*, IV (1939), 116-124.

Brief mention of the engravings is to be found in many books and articles, some of which are the following:

Henri Cordier, *La Chine en France au dix-huitième siècle*. (Paris, 1883), pp. 14 ff.

Berthold Laufer, "Christian Art in China" in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* XIII (1910), 100-118.

Adolf Reichwein, *China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic Contact in the Eighteenth Century*. (English translation by J. C. Powell, N. Y., 1925), pp. 54 ff.

Henri Hymans, "Une phase de l'histoire de l'art en Chine," in *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale d'archéologie de Belgique*, 5 série, I (1898), 55-72.

Lady Dilke, *French Engravers and Draughtsmen of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1902), p. 95.

The articles by Cordier, Laufer and Hänisch, and the book by Reichwein, as described in note 3, are each accompanied by two reproductions from the set.

E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland have used as illustrations for their book *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking* (London, 1914), the reproductions of two engravings from this set. Facing pp. 376 and 392; James Orange has included three reproductions of these engravings in *The Chater Collection, Pictures relating to China, Hongkong, Macao, 1655-1860*. (London, 1924). See pp. 468-469.

Only one plate was reproduced by Henri Hymans in 1898 for his article. (See note 3.)

For a brief biography of Castiglione, see Louis Pfister, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine* (Shanghai, 1934), pp. 635-639.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 636.

⁷ Important articles on early modern Christian Art in China are: Paul Pelliot, "La peinture et la gravure européenne, en Chine au temps de Matthieu Ricci," in *T'oung Pao*, Series II, XX (1920-21), 1-18.

Laufer, "Christian Art in China" (see note 2); Ibid., "A Chinese Madonna" in *The Open Court* (1912).

The Rev. Father Paschal M. d'Elia, S. J., Professor of Missiology at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome has recently informed the writer that his book entitled *Le origini dell' arte cristiana-cinese* has been published. Owing to interruptions in communication, the writer has not yet succeeded in securing a copy of that treatise.

⁸ There is as yet no exhaustive list of Castiglione paintings and attributions. In the Palace Museum Collection alone, there are more than a hundred such items.

⁹ The working conditions of the European painters are fully

described by Brother Attiret in his letter to d'Assaut, dated November 1, 1743. See *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Lyon, 1819), XII 387-412. Pp. 405 ff are especially interesting. There are various editions of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.

¹⁰ Matteo Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China* (London, 1844) pp. 66, 70-72.

¹¹ The details of these campaigns as related to the engravings are fully retold by Professor Hänisch in his article.

¹² *Ch'ing Kung Shih Hsü-Pien*, ch. 96, pp. 5b-6b. Also *T'ien-Yi-Ko Shu Mu* (Yangchou, 1806), pp. 15a-16b.

¹³ *Kao-Tsung Ch'un-Huang-Ti Shih Lu*. (National Peiping Library MS Copy.) K'ien Lung XXVI Year, 1st Moon, Jen-yin Day.

¹⁴ *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques*, pp. 787-793.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 830-933.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 971-975.

T'oung Pao, Series II, XX (1921), 197, Note 4.

¹⁷ This agreement was published in full in French translation by Henri Cordier in his article "Les Marchands Hannistes de Canton" in *T'oung Pao*, Series II, IV (1902), 281-315. The agreement appears on pp. 304-306.

¹⁸ Miss Marion Morse of the Honolulu Academy of Arts has informed me that all the engravings of these plates are found in the Thieme-Becker *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*.

¹⁹ These facts are summarized from Pelliot and Cordier.

²⁰ *Ch'ing Kung Shih Hsü-Pien*, ch. 97, pp. 8a-9b.

²¹ A complete set was given by the Emperor to Fan Mou-Chu of Ningpo in that year. See *T'ien-Yi-Ko Shu-Mu*, I, 14a.

²² All of these sets are fully described and listed in *Ch'ing Kung Shih Hsü-Pien*, ch. 98, pp. 1a-16b.

²³ See Pelliot's reproduction of letters between Father Bourgeois and Father Delatour in *T'oung Pao*, Series II, XX (1921), 234-235.

²⁴ Daniel Jerome MacGowan (1814-1893), an American medical missionary in Ningpo from Boston, recorded the event vividly as told him by Bowring in his article "Chinese Bibliography" in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, II (1859), 171.



FIGURE 1 RECEPTION OF THE SURRENDER OF ILI AFTER THE SUBJUGATION
Sickelpart (1765); Cochlin; Prevost (1760)
Peking II Helman VIII

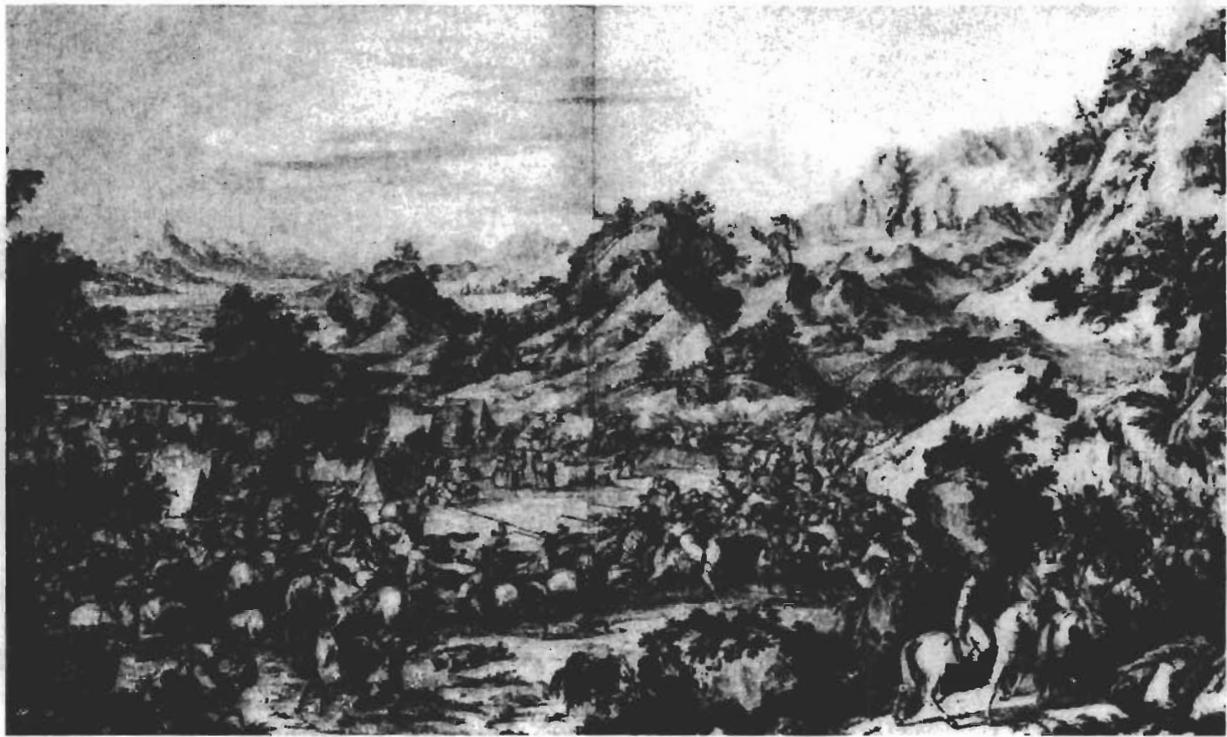


FIGURE 2 **CRASHING THE ENEMY'S CAMP AT GĀDĀN-ŌLA**
Castiglione (1765); Cochin; Le Bas (1769)
Peking IV Helman V



FIGURE 3 **THE BATTLE OF OROY-JALATU**
.....; *Cochin; Le Bas (1770)*
Peking VI Helman IX

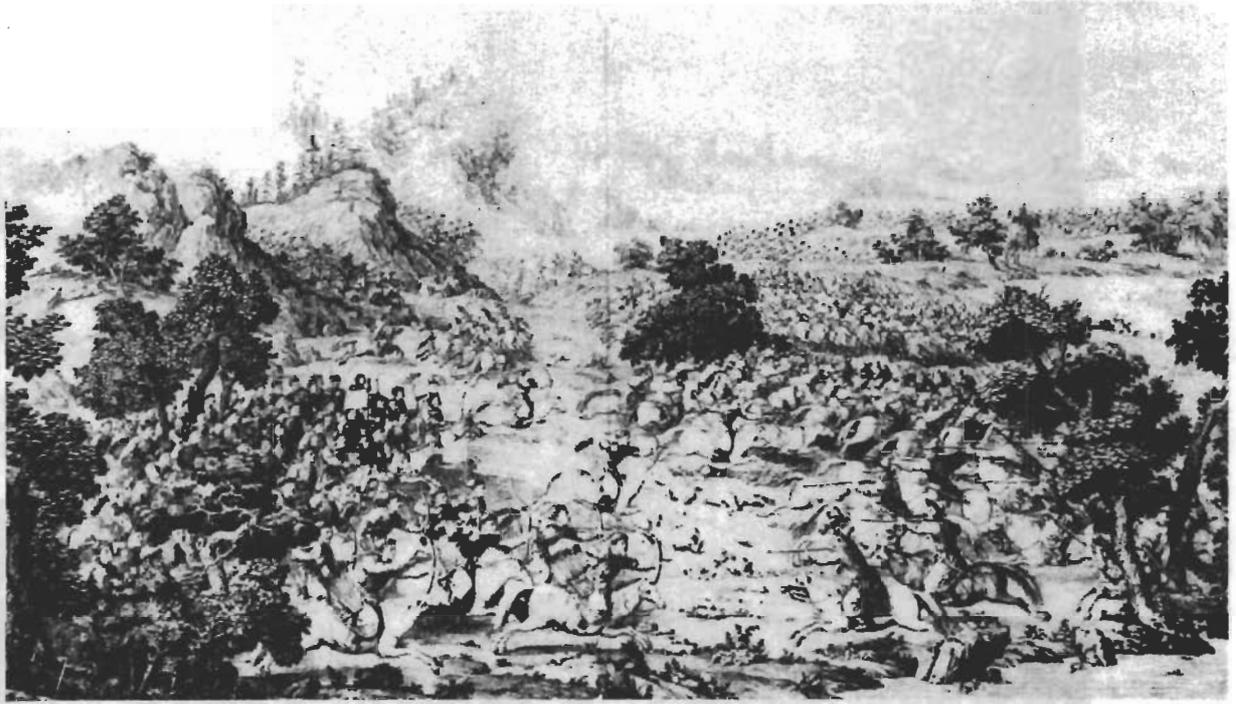


FIGURE 4 THE VICTORY OF KHORGOS
Attiret (1766); Cochin; Le Bas (1774)
Peking VIII Helman XIV

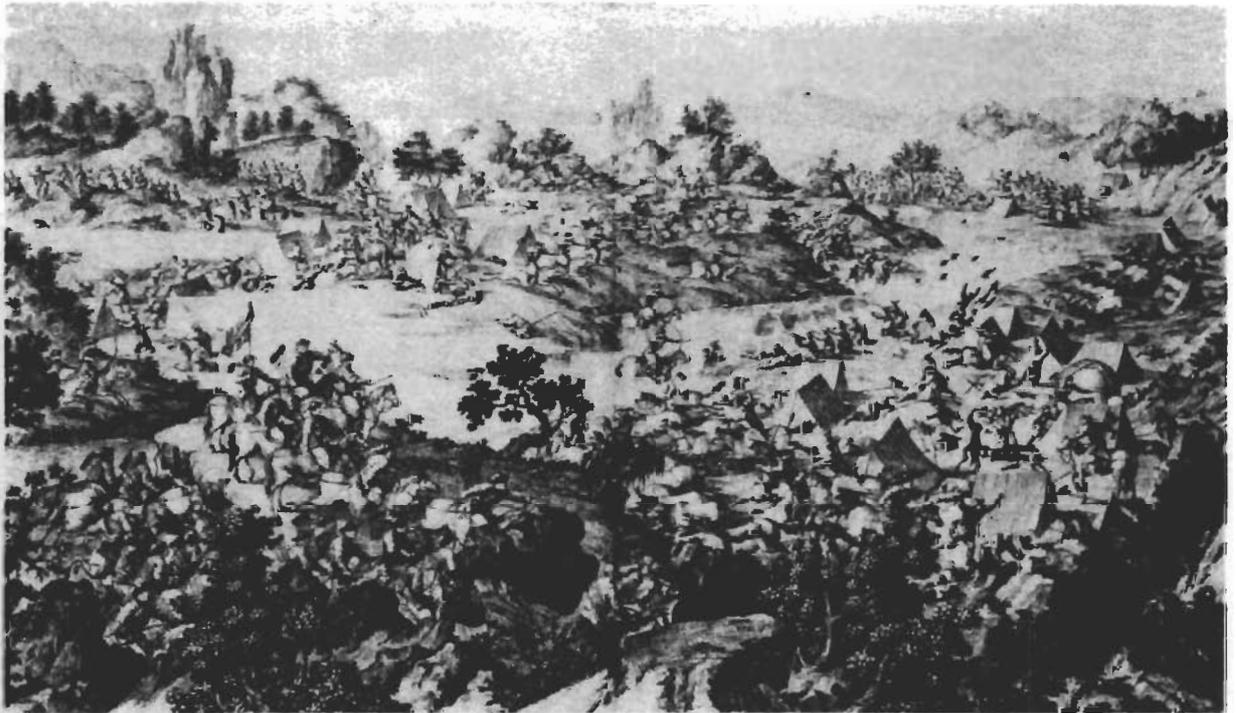


FIGURE 5 THE BATTLE OF KHURUNGUI
Damascene; Cochin; Aliamet
Peking X Helman II

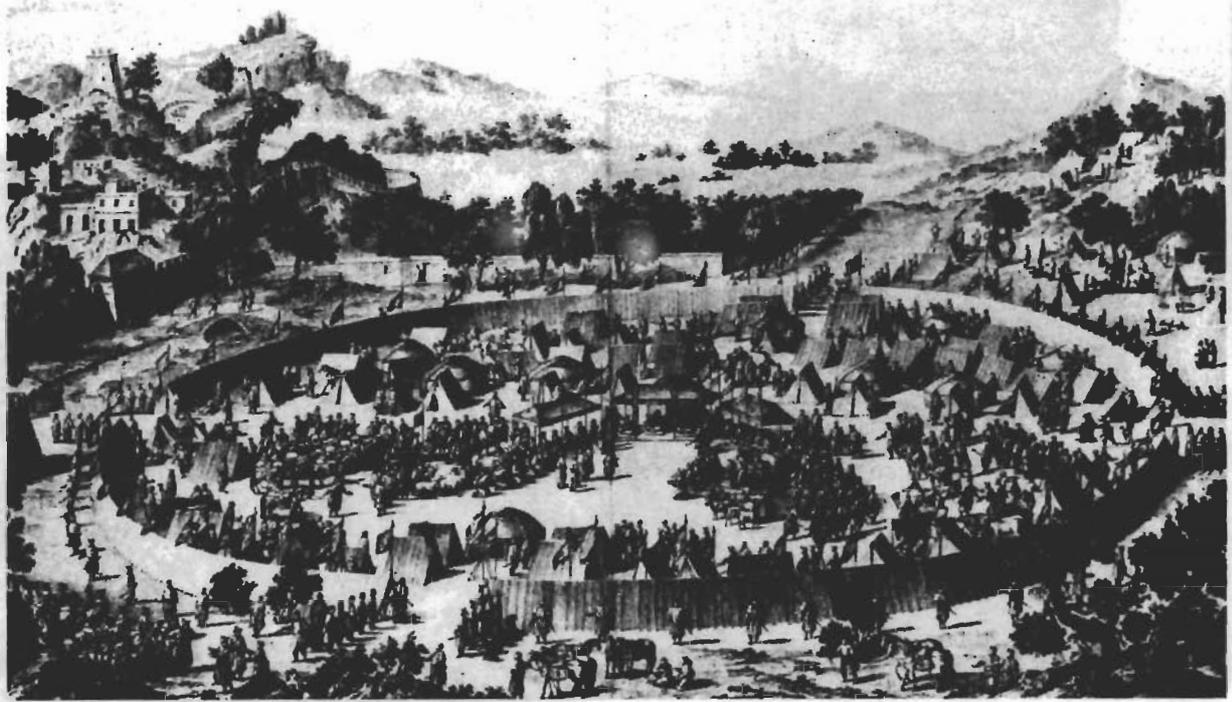


FIGURE 6 THE SURRENDER OF THE US CHIEFTAIN WITH HIS CITY
Damascène; Cochin; Choffard (1774)
Peking XII Helman XIII

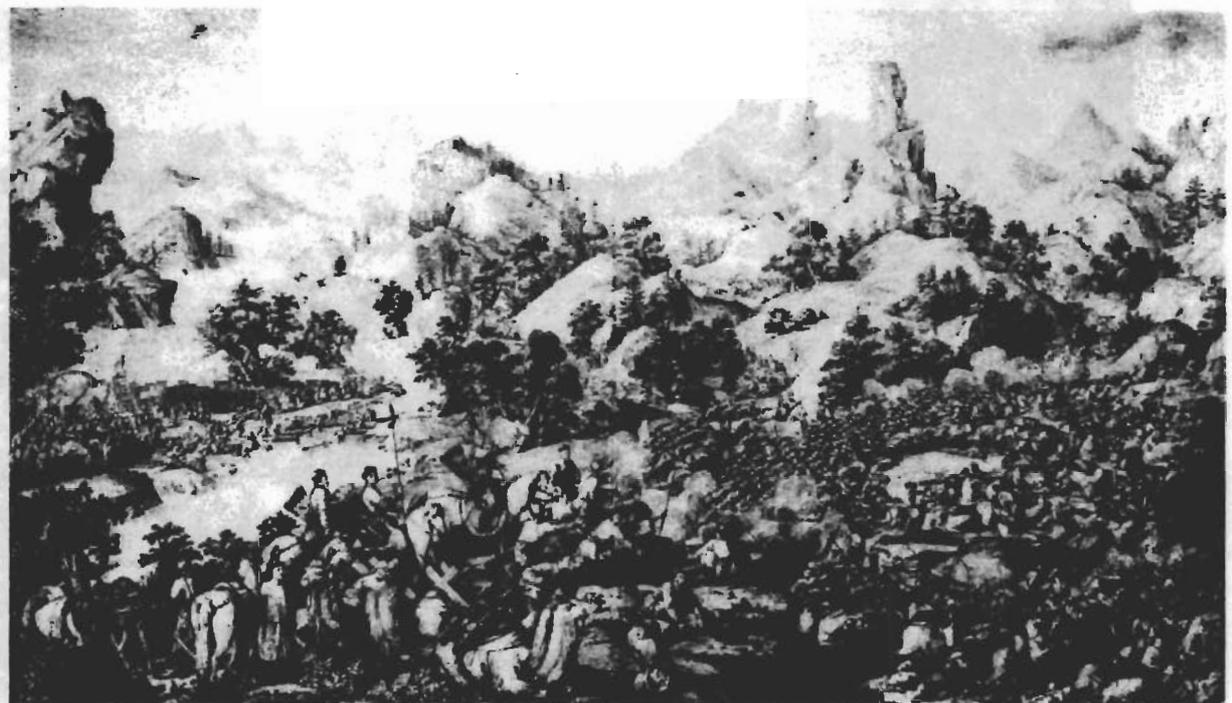


FIGURE 7 LIFTING OF THE SIEGE OF BLACK RIVER
Castiglione (1765); Cochin; Le Bas (1771)
Peking XIV Helman III

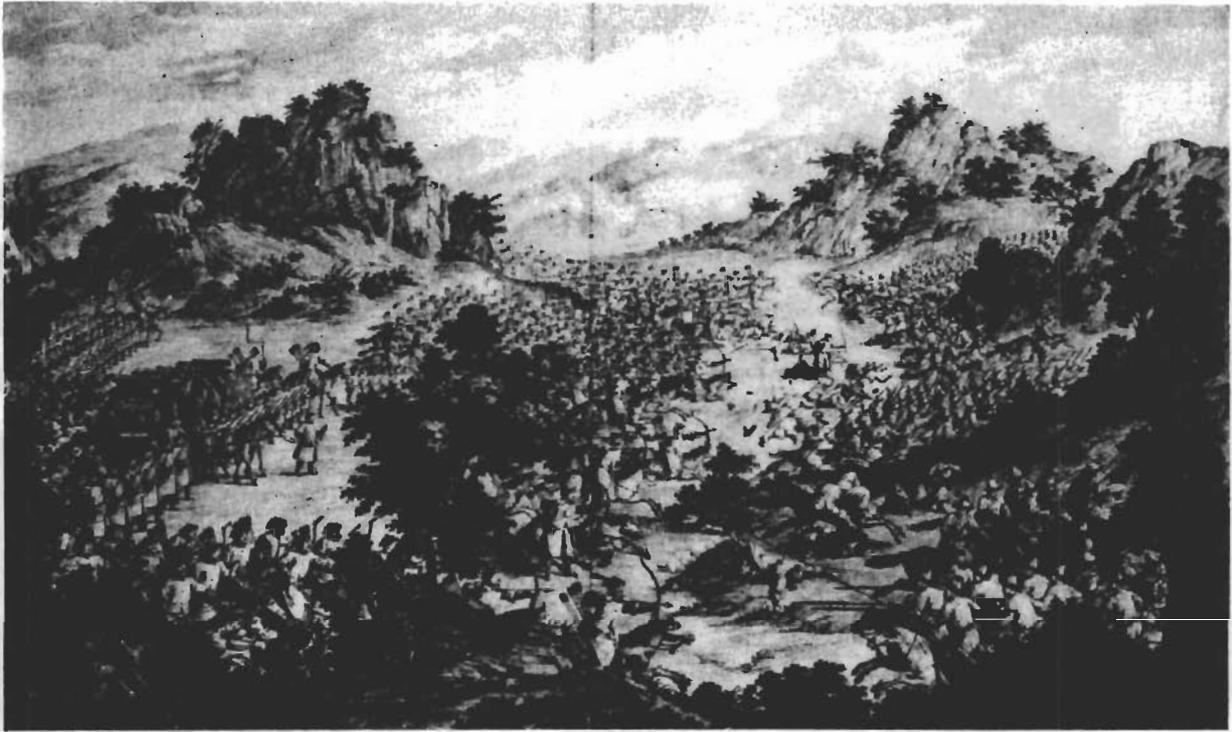


FIGURE 8 THE GRAND VICTORY OF QURMAN
Damascène (1765); Cochîn; St. Aubin (1770 (?))
Peking XVI Helman VII



FIGURE 9 THE BATTLE OF TONGUZLUQ
.....; *Cochîn; St. Aubin (1773)*
Peking XVIII Helman IV

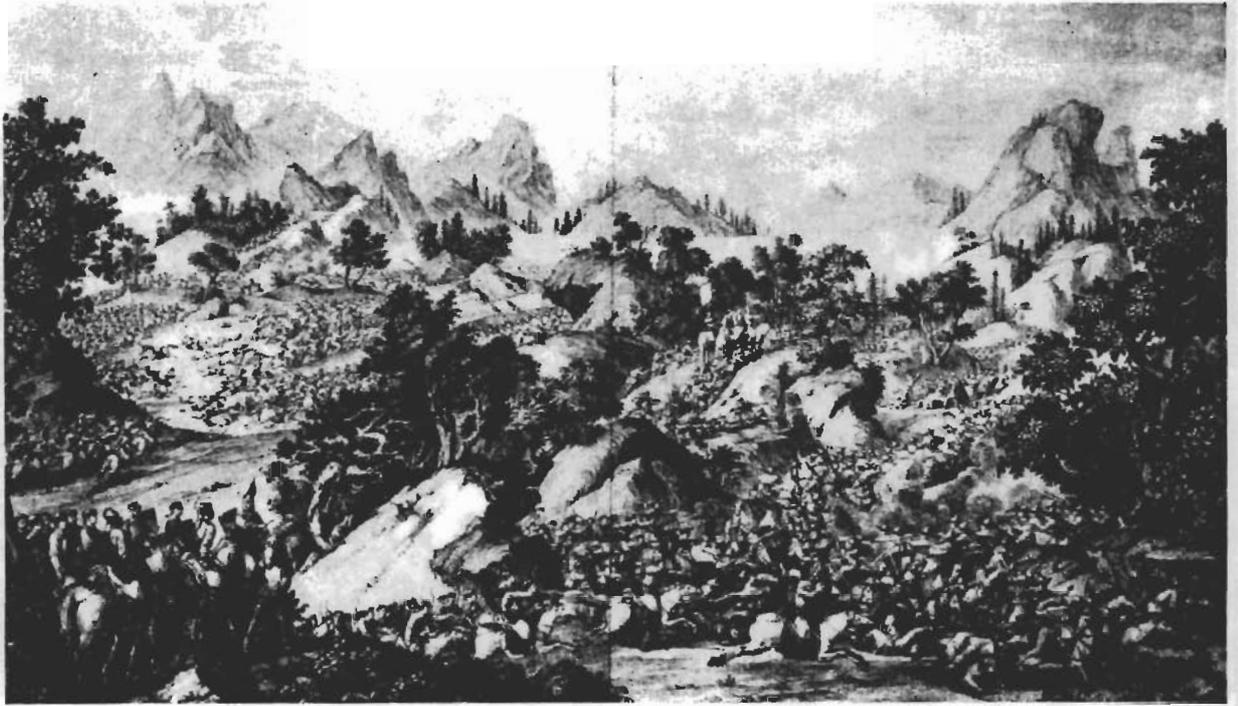


FIGURE 10 THE BATTLE OF QOŠ-QULAQ
.....; Cochin; Prevost (1744)
Peking XX Helman X

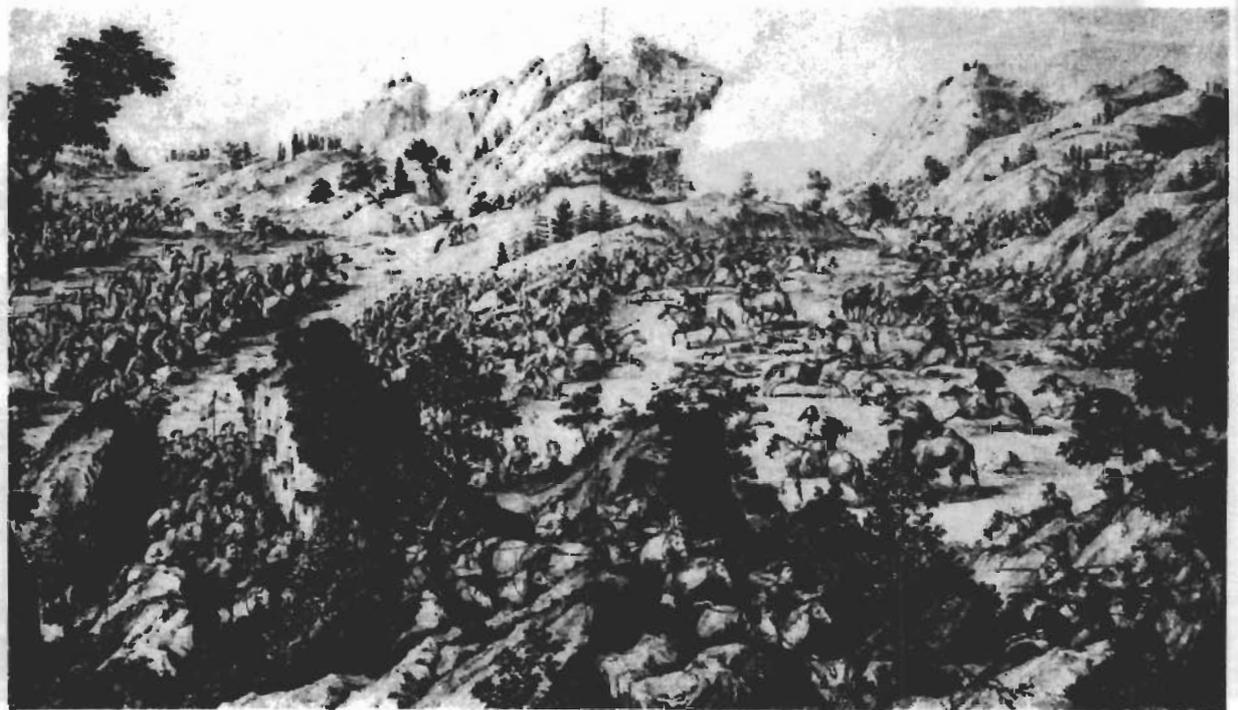


FIGURE 11 THE BATTLE OF ARCUL
Attiret (1765); Cochin; Aliamet
Peking XXII Helman XI



FIGURE 12 THE BATTLE OF YEŞIL-KÖI-NÖR
Damascène; Cochin; Launay (1772)
Peking XXIV Helman XII

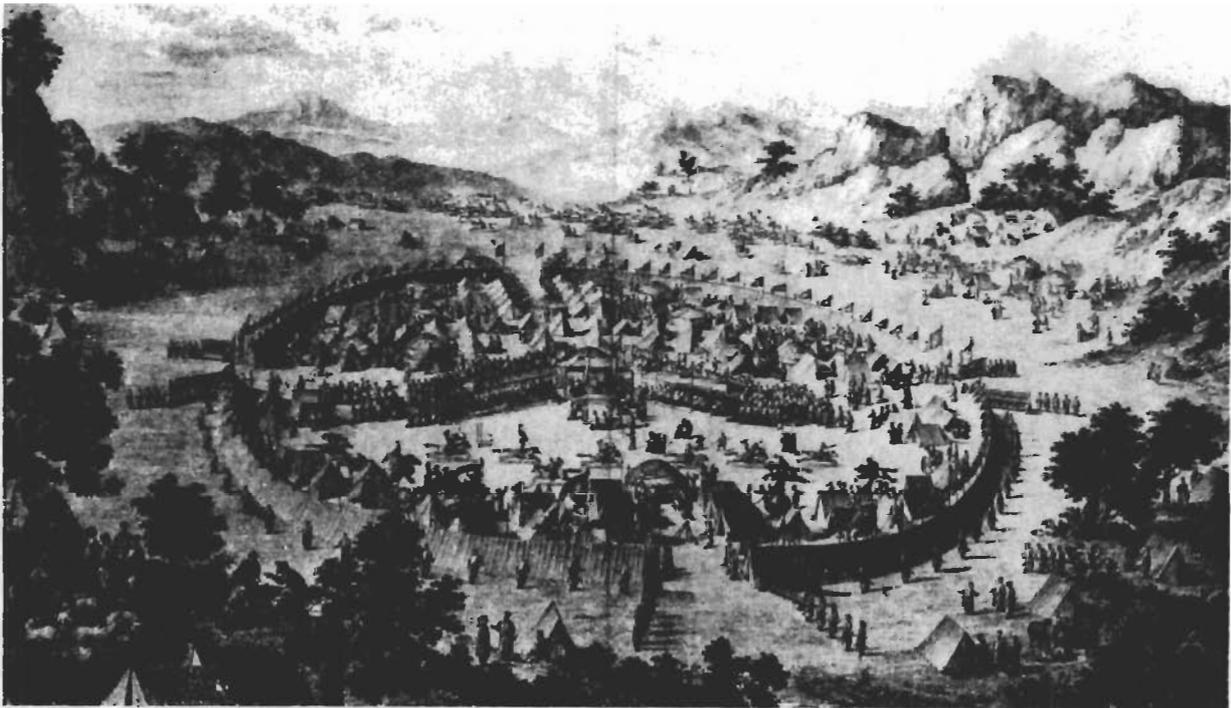


FIGURE 13 THE VOLUNTARY SUBMISSION OF THE KHAN OF BADAĶSAN
Damascène; Cochin; Choffard (1772)
Peking XXVI Helman XI

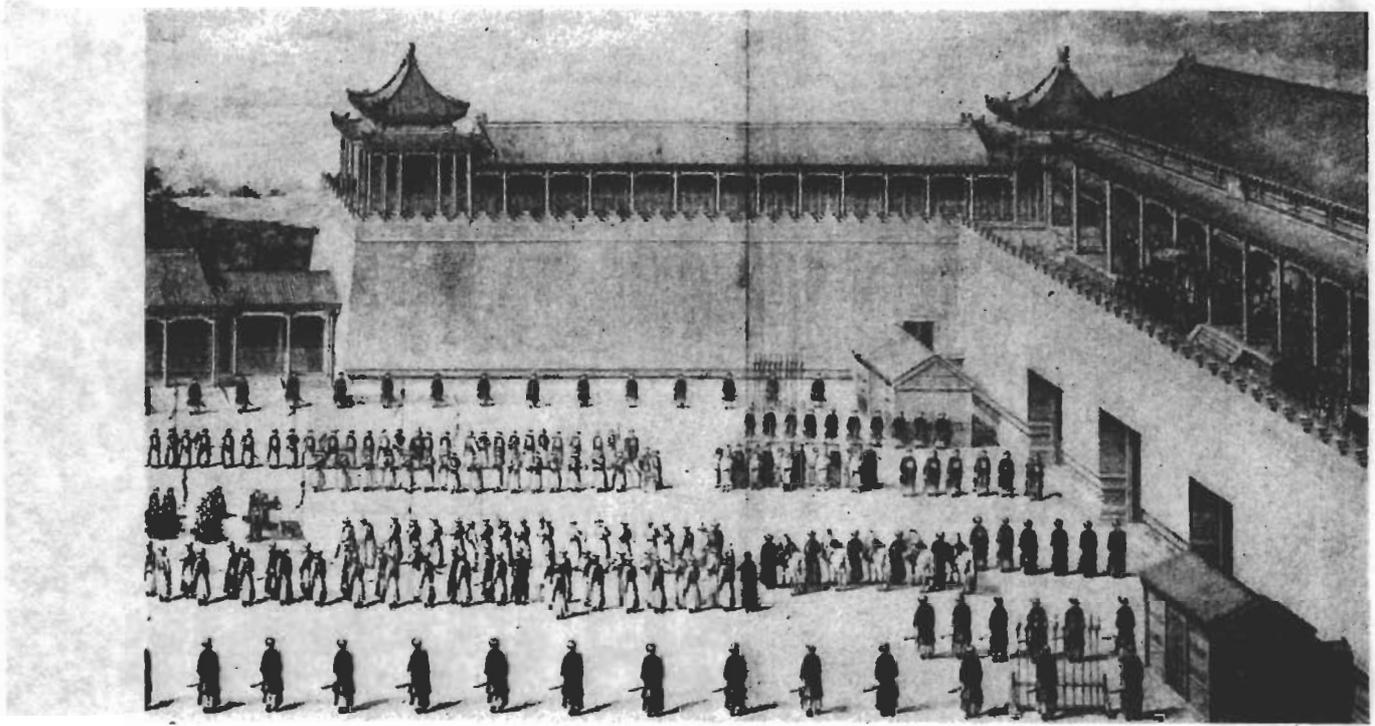


FIGURE 14 OFFERING TO THE EMPEROR K'EN LUNG, PRISONERS TAKEN IN SUBJUGATION OF THE MOSLEM TRIBES

Attiret; Cochin; Masquier

Peking XXVIII Helman I

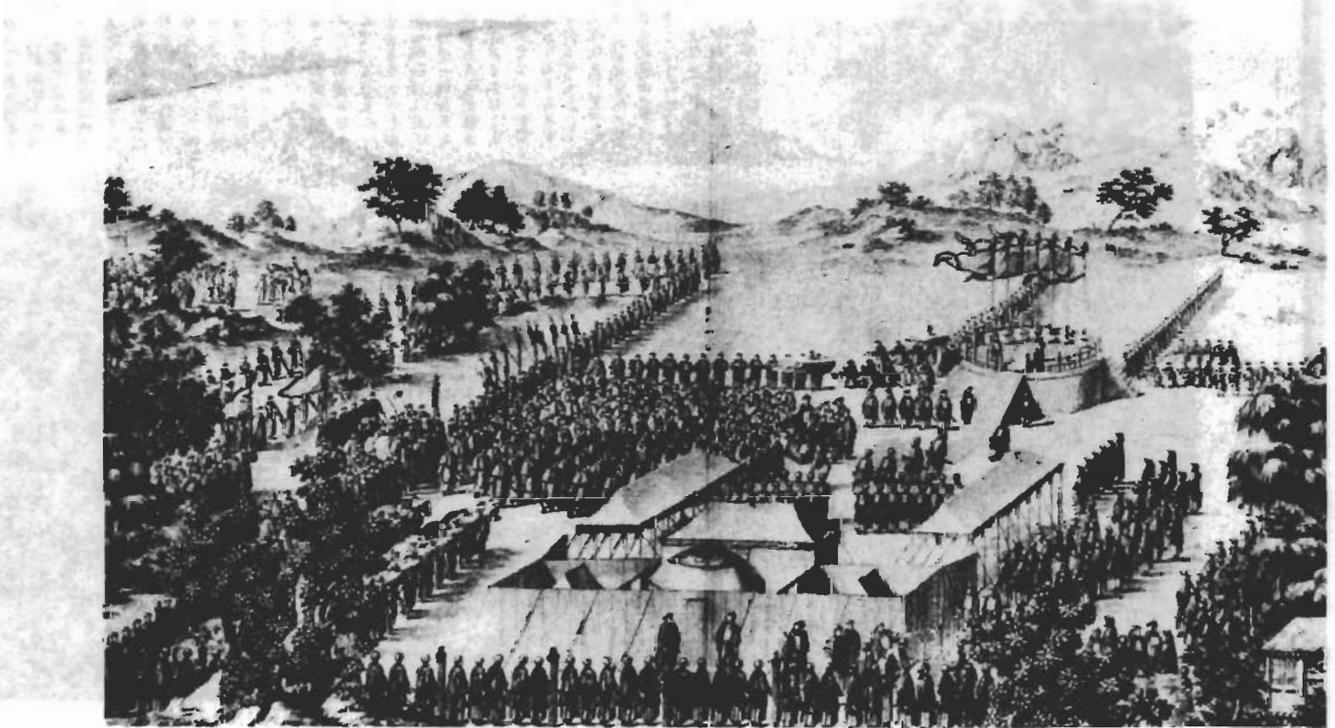


FIGURE 15 THE EMPEROR GREETS AT THE SUBURB THE TRIUMPHANT RETURN OF OFFICERS AND MEN FROM THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE MOSLEM TRIBES

Damascène; Cochin; Née (1772)

Peking XXX Helman VI

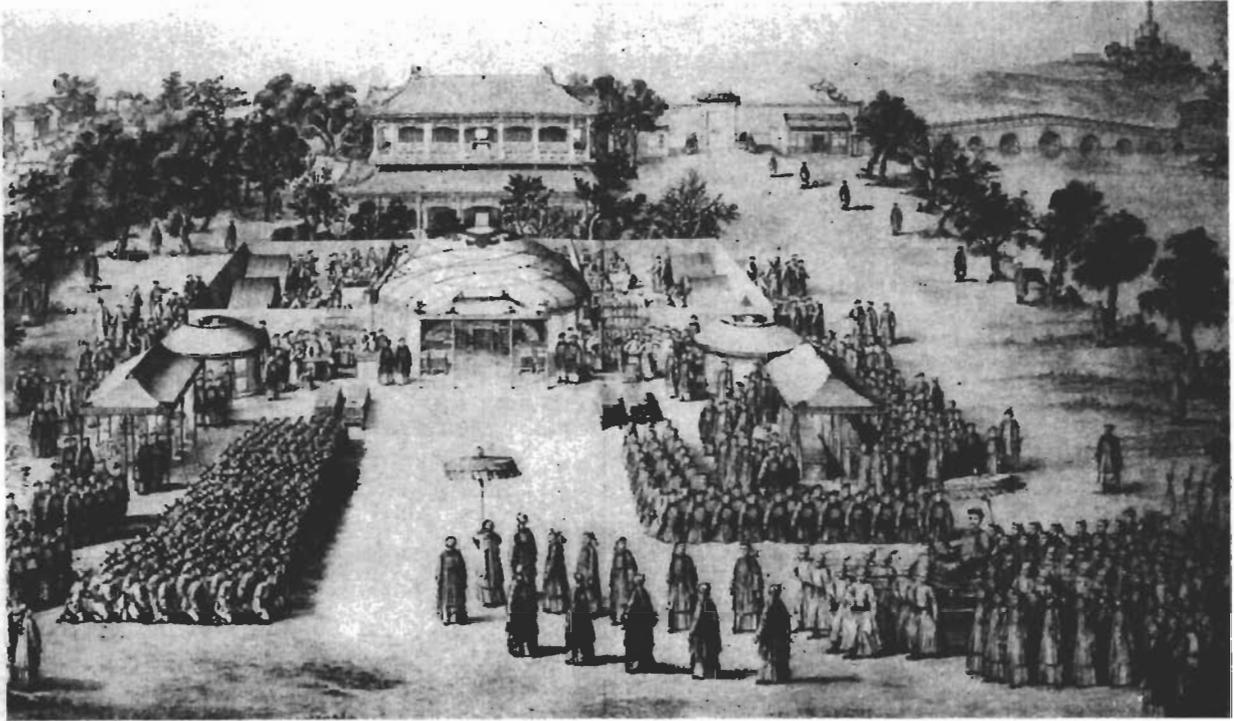


FIGURE 16 THE BANQUET OF VICTORY
; Cochin; Le Bas (1770)
Peking XXXII Helman XVI



FIGURE 17 THE SIEGE OF SUNG-T'AO LIFTED
 (Engraved in China, and bearing poem written by the Emperor K'ien Lung. The plate is the fourth of another series of sixteen commemorating the victories of General Fuk'anggan over the aboriginal Miao tribes in the southwestern part of China proper.)

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