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PORTRAITS OF VIRTUE: HENRI-LÉONARD BERTIN, JOSEPH AMIOT AND THE 'GREAT MAN' OF CHINA*

Lecture given by Kee Il Choi Jr on Tuesday 13th October 2015

The art historian Jennifer Milam has recently suggested that the Enlightenment was not so much a style or movement but rather a process of inquiry—one whereby diverse, often competing actors contributed to a broad sense of what it meant to have judgment with respect to matters concerning art.¹ In other words, academics, critics and other sociable elites became *lumières* or attained a sense of personal enlightenment through the scientific study of a particular type of art or artist. For over twenty years, Henri-Léonard Bertin (1720–92), a minister of state to kings Louis XV (r. 1715–74) and Louis XVI (r. 1774–92), and Father Joseph Amiot (1718–93), a French Jesuit missionary at the Qing court, exchanged copious letters and myriad works of art and objects between China and France. What ensued from their wide-ranging, global discourse of the Enlightenment was not a narrative in which one culture dominated—as from the centre to the periphery—but rather a narrative in which elites based in centres of knowledge and power, albeit geographically distant, adopted similar historiographical forms and employed similar artistic practices toward the advancement of remarkably similar political and cultural objectives.²

Elsewhere I have documented one of the earliest cultural exchanges between Joseph Amiot and Henri Bertin—that of a group of imperial porcelain cups, the first of which was sent by the missionary from China to the minister in 1766.³ The cups were inscribed with an imperially composed poem on tea that evoked purity and by extension reflected the Qianlong emperor's (r. 1735–96) commitment to virtue, especially with respect to the service of his loyal courtiers. In 1770, in Paris, Amiot published the tea poem and *Ode to Moukden*, a longer verse

nostalgically evoking the ancestral homeland of the Manchu.⁴ Together, they conveyed a contrasting vision of Qianlong as both a Manchu warrior/hunter and a Han literatus poet and connoisseur. The exchange of the porcelain cups between Amiot and Bertin established a fruitful pattern of transmission and reception that they repeated for other groups of objects. In this paper I will focus on two recently recovered collections of illustrated biographies that celebrated the 'Great Men' of Chinese history, one of which was compiled by Joseph Amiot and based upon the authority of the second, earlier collection. Together, they furnished a historicist context for a portrait of the Qianlong emperor, a copy of which Amiot also sent

* This essay is derived from the two-part paper presented in October 2015 to the Oriental Ceramic Society. My analysis of the illustrations of Chinese vases sent to Henri Bertin will comprise a separate, dedicated publication. I am grateful to Jan Stuart of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Michael Yonan of the University of Missouri, and Ronit Milano of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev for reading the penultimate draft and offering useful criticisms. I alone am responsible for any mistakes or omissions.

¹ See Milam 2015.

² See Thomas 2009 for an especially thoughtful and eloquent manifesto of this efficacious post-Saidian attitude.

³ See Choi 2015. The fact of Bertin's ownership of two of these cups was publicly confirmed in a review of Amiot's recently published transcriptions and translations into French of 'Ode to Moukden' as well as the tea poem that appeared in the July 1770 issue of *Mercure de France*, p. 84. I am indebted to Tamara Préaud for unearthing this reference.

⁴ See Ho & Bronson p. 32, and Elliott 2009, pp. 58–60, for *Ode to Moukden* (*Shengjing fu*) composed by the Qianlong emperor in 1743, and Monnet 2004 pp. 188–192 for a description and history of the imperial edition (*Yuzhi Shengjing fu*) of the rhapsodic poem sent by Joseph Amiot to France in 1771.

to Henri Bertin who in turn had it translated into three works by French artists. Lastly, I will propose how a process of artistic transmutation from two to three dimensions resulted in a global portrait of the Qianlong emperor as a responsible and virtuous ruler—effectively the ‘Great Man’ of China.

Henri-Léonard Jean-Baptiste Bertin and Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot were nearly exact contemporaries and initially drawn together by a passion for China. But what bound the one to the other was both a shared view of history as well as an abiding commitment to the monarchy. For Bertin his life path was ordained by the very fact that he was born to a family of the *noblesse de robe* from the Périgord.⁵ Like his father before him, as well as many of his aristocratic contemporaries, Bertin advanced in his career directly through his loyal service to the Bourbon monarchy. Originally educated by the Jesuits and trained in the law, he rose rapidly to become *contrôleur général des finances* in 1759, and *secrétaire d'état* from 1763-80. In this capacity, Bertin was not only responsible for the personal finances of Louis XV, but also for an influential, if diverse, portfolio of departments, including the *Compagnie des Indes*, canals, roads, mines, veterinary medicine and agriculture. In 1767 he was appointed *commissaire du roi* of the royal porcelain manufactory at Sèvres, a position he held until 1780.⁶

From an early age, Joseph Amiot was also committed to a life of service, but his first allegiance was to the Catholic Church.⁷ Born in Toulon, he was educated thoroughly in theology and the classics and ordained a priest of the Society of Jesus in the winter of 1746. Three years later, Amiot departed for China as a missionary, arriving in Canton in July of 1750. The Qianlong emperor immediately commanded him to attend the court at Peking, where he quickly established himself. He studied all aspects of Chinese culture, mastering both Mandarin and Manchu, the emperor's native tongue, a requisite for service within the Qing court. He eventually became the Qianlong emperor's official translator of documents in European languages. Throughout a long career at the Qing court that lasted four decades, he made extensive contributions to the European understanding of Chinese civilization. Notably, he authored the first Manchu-French dictionary in 1789. But most of his scholarly work appeared in the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* (hereafter cited as *Mémoires*), an encyclopedia of Chinese civilization published serially in fifteen volumes from 1776-91, under the auspices of Henri Bertin.⁸

Straightforwardly entitled '*Portraits des principaux d'entre les Chinois, qui se sont rendus célèbres dans le*

gouvernement, les lettres et les armes,' Joseph Amiot's signature scholarly project was a collection of 110 portraits of Chinese men of the past—emperors, generals, savants and scholar-officials—ranging from the earliest dynastic times up to the 17th century, and the reign of Nurhaci (r. 1616-26), the founder of the Qing dynasty.⁹ It was sent to Henri Bertin between 1771-78, in the form of a uniformly sized series of eleven *cahiers* or notebooks. They contained bust-length portraits rendered in ink and colours on paper by unidentified Chinese artists, as well as scholarly biographies in French of each personage, compiled and handwritten by Amiot himself. He also provided romanized transliterations of the names of each personage in the opposite corner from the Chinese characters. In its entirety, the collection would eventually comprise a chronological narrative of Chinese history as seen mostly through the lives of illustrious men.¹⁰ The first notebook containing the first thirty-two portraits was sent together with an enclosed, introductory letter addressed to Henri Bertin dated 30 September 1771.¹¹ A second letter, more or less a verbatim copy of the first, was sent slightly later on 5 October 1771.¹² Amiot's collection mirrored closely the format and artistic style of an earlier collection of illustrated biographies attributed by him to the Qing historian Bo Jie (勃碣) or, by his court name Changxiu (常

⁵ Silvestre de Sacy 1970 is the standard biography of the life and multi-faceted career of Henri Bertin.

⁶ Unlike his predecessor as *commissaire du roi* the marquis de Courteille (1696-1767; see Savill 1988, pp. 974-5, for a biographical note), or his successor the comte d'Angiviller, an otherwise much proclaimed figure in French art history (see below), Henri Bertin's administration of the factory is in need of a comprehensive appraisal, especially in terms of the position of the Sèvres factory within the larger visual culture of pre-revolutionary France.

⁷ See Lenoir & Standaert 2005, pp. 11-75, for an exceptionally nuanced, comprehensive biography of Joseph Amiot assembled by Jesuit historian Michel Hermans.

⁸ Lee 2002 seminally encapsulated the Enlightenment collaboration of Bertin and Amiot, especially as exemplified by their monumental contribution to the Republic of Letters, the full title of which was, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, &c. des Chinois*. Lee 2016 (which appeared as this paper was submitted) rightly expands upon the essential historicist architecture of the *Mémoires*, through which other episodes of cultural exchange between France and China can be efficaciously explored.

⁹ See Amiot 1771-8.

¹⁰ Lee 2016, pp. 73-81 and p. 93, through a parallel reading of some of the key portraits, but solely as published in the *Mémoires*, similarly invokes the theme of *les hommes illustres*.

¹¹ See Amiot 1771-8, NAF 4421 (notebook 1), folios 2 recto to 5 verso.

¹² See Amiot-Bertin 1771.

岫), and dated 1685.¹³ I recently examined both collections simultaneously. So close is the visual correspondence from personage to personage, I can state for the first time that the painted portraits commissioned by Amiot were based upon those compiled by Bo Jie.¹⁴ His accompanying texts were generally greater in length suggesting that Amiot consulted other more comprehensive sources. Amiot supplied an *avertissement* dated 30 August 1771 to the three-volume Bo Jie collection and dispatched it to France as a gift to the *Bibliothèque du roi*, two months in advance of his own collection. He may have shipped them separately in part to impress upon Henri Bertin that his collection of the 1770s was authoritative precisely because it had been derived in every respect from an authentic, ancient tradition of Chinese historiography.

While both collections have previously been published, albeit piecemeal, the crucial visual correlation between them has not been studied before now.¹⁵ Just as with the 1770 publication of the tea poem and the 'Ode to Moukden,' Amiot intended to publish his collection of portraits in Europe. The first fifty-two *portraits des Chinois célèbres* appeared 1778 in volume III of the *Mémoires*.¹⁶ To better contextualize the project as a whole for his French audience, Amiot furnished an *avertissement* in the first notebook of 1771 that was in fact a duplicate of the one he had added to the title page of Bo Jie's collection.¹⁷ This was subsequently printed more or less verbatim in the *Mémoires*.¹⁸ In it, by inference, Amiot linked his collected biographies to the earlier collection compiled by Bo Jie. In effect, Amiot proclaimed Bo Jie as his authority. He quoted him as stating that the original collection of 1685 had been based upon yet an earlier collection 'dont on conserve les originaux, dans le temple où on apprécie sans partialité le mérite de ceux qui ont pratiqué la vertu' (the originals of which are preserved in the temple where one appreciates without partiality the merit of those who practiced virtue). Here Bo Jie, and by extension Joseph Amiot, invoked the image of a pantheon enshrining the illustrious men of the past. Bo Jie further characterized his project as 'un ouvrage que je n'ai entrepris que pour la satisfaction & l'instruction de la postérité' (a work I have undertaken solely for the satisfaction and instruction of posterity).

This encyclopedic, didactic tradition, to which Amiot aspired and of which Bo Jie was clearly an exponent, had much earlier antecedents. Annotated woodblock compendia of 'portraits of the ancients' were made as early as the Ming period.¹⁹ The portrait of the Song dynasty scholar-official Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086; fig. 1) illustrates the continuity of this tradition.²⁰ Amiot's 1777

watercolour, though rectangular and thus vertical in format, is nevertheless an accurate copy of Bo Jie's c.1685 watercolour of the Song historian (fig. 2). Both are ultimately derived from a Ming woodblock print, such as one illustrated in *Li Dai Gu Ren Xiang Zan* (历代古人像赞 1498; fig. 3). Among the 110 biographies that Amiot researched and compiled, that of Sima Guang which appeared in volume VIII (1782) of the *Mémoires*, stands out if only for its exceptional length (165 pages). But Sima Guang, then and now, is best known for recording a comprehensive history of China from the beginning of the Warring States Period (475–221 BC) up until the beginning of his own time - the Song dynasty (959 AD). He codified Chinese history as an inevitable progression leading from the earliest dynastic times up to and including his own epoch. Such an historicist narrative, weighted by the authority of the past, lent legitimacy to the then living emperor. By dedicating his erudition and service to his own Song Shenzong emperor (r. 1068–85), Sima Guang established a virtuous model for all subsequent scholar-officials. Joseph Amiot may well have identified with the Song historian. His multi-year project to promote the

¹³ See Bo Jie 1685.

¹⁴ I am deeply grateful to John Finlay for helping me to confirm the obvious relationship between Amiot 1771-8 and Bo Jie 1685 at the Site Richelieu in July and October 2015.

¹⁵ See Berlin 1985, p. 312, catalogue no. 10/38 where Dr. Wen-I Yang focused upon the portrait of the Song scholar-official Sima Guang (see below) as a means of first heralding Amiot's achievement in compiling a collection of portraits of 'celebrated Chinese' between 1771–8. Similarly, Nathalie Monnet published in Versailles 2014, p. 147, catalogue no. 49, the portrait of Cang Jie, legendary founder of Chinese characters, and thereby first shed light upon Bo Jie, about whom little seems to be known apart from his collection of 1685. Standaert 2016, p. 288, notes 237 and 238 (which appeared as this article was submitted) has primarily emphasized the literary (as opposed to the visual) connection between the two collections.

¹⁶ Batteux & de Bréquigny 1776–91, vol. III (1778), pp. 5–386. The project was continued in volumes V (1780), VIII (1782) and X (1784), but never completed. Amiot's original notebooks (*cahiers*) were concluded with the Qing dynasty, but the *Mémoires* only carried the project through to the Song. Only a handful—eight—of the 110 portraits amassed by Amiot were engraved and published in the *Mémoires*, perhaps in part due to the costs of reproduction.

¹⁷ See Amiot 1771-8, NAF 4421 (notebook 1) folios 6 recto to 8 recto for the original text.

¹⁸ See Batteux & de Bréquigny 1776-91, vol. III (1778), pp 5–6.

¹⁹ See Jing Li 2005. I am grateful to both François Louis of the Bard Graduate Center, and Luxuan Liu of the Thomas J. Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for their assistance with Chinese texts.

²⁰ Again as first underscored by Wen-I Yang in 1985, see note 15.



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

Fig. 1. *Portrait of "See-ma-Koang"* (Sima Guang, 1019–1086)

In NAF 4421–4431: "Portraits des principaux d'entre les Chinois qui se sont rendus célèbres dans le gouvernement, les lettres, et les armes".

Ink and colors on paper

0.164 x 0.106 m

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, NAF 4429 folio 1v.

Fig. 2. *Portrait of "See-ma-Kouang"* (Sima Guang, 1019–1086)

In Chinois 1236–1238: "107 portraits de Chinois célèbres. Peintures avec notices sur chaque personnage: elles ont été copiées en 1685 sur les originaux de la bonzerie Xingde, à Pékin, par Bu Jie, qui a rédigé les notices. Elles sont disposées dans l'ordre européen de gauche à droite et précédées d'une note du P. Amiot (1771)".

Ink and colors on paper

0.280 x 0.268m

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Chinois 1238 folio 87.

Fig. 3. *Sima Guang* (1019–1086)

Woodblock, 1498

Li Dai Gu Ren Xiang Zan, xia juan 4.

'Great Men' of China in Europe—as consciously disseminated through the *Mémoires*—must be viewed as a continuation of the ancient historicist model first established by Sima Guang. Moreover, I would further suggest that Amiot intended to present the genealogy of his work within a venerable lineage of illustrious writers, historians and savants—thereby styling himself as an illustrious man, whose memory must likewise be preserved for posterity.

Like Sima Guang who effectively constructed history in part as a reflection of the emperor he served, Joseph Amiot viewed his project of *portraits des Chinois célèbres* as a brilliant setting for an exceptional jewel—a portrait of the Qianlong emperor whom he served. His undated introductory letter to the fourth notebook sent in 1773, was a near verbatim copy of a second hitherto unpublished letter also addressed to Henri Bertin dated 7 October 1773.²¹ Both texts introduced the timely addition of ten portraits of the founders and officials of the Tang dynasty to those the minister had already received. But the second letter also featured an addition to the common text, the main purpose of which was to introduce to Henri Bertin: *'le Portrait véritable, non pas d'un des célèbres des Siècles passés, mais d'un très grand Prince du Siècle présent et actuellement sur le trône: c'est celui de l'Empereur Kien-long'* (the true portrait, not of one of the celebrated from centuries past, but of a very great Prince of the present century and currently on the throne; it is that of the Emperor Qianlong).²² Amiot ascribed the portrait to Italian Jesuit painter Giuseppe Panzi (1733—circa 1812) and further stipulated that he was sending only a copy of it *'en miniature'*, made by the painter himself, and not the original (both now lost). In yet another letter, Father Michel Benoit (1715–74) described in greater detail the three portrait sittings granted to Panzi by the Qianlong emperor in late January and early February of 1773.²³ Henri Bertin must have received the copy of the portrait together with the fourth notebook late in 1774.

Henri Bertin's receipt of Giuseppe Panzi's portrait of the Qianlong emperor has long been recognized. We also know that by the end of 1776, the minister had the copy translated into three distinct works by French artists: an engraving by François Nicolas Martinet (1731–1804; fig. 4); a freestanding figure in Sèvres biscuit porcelain traditionally attributed to Josse-François Joseph Leriche (1741–1812; fig. 5); and a porcelain plaque, also of Sèvres hard-paste porcelain, painted in brilliant enamels by Charles-Éloi Asselin (1743–1804; fig. 6).²⁴ But Father Joseph Amiot's fundamental role in the transmission of the

portrait within the framework of his larger project to promote the 'Great Men' of China—which I will examine below - has not been discussed before. Nor has the artistic and commemorative context of the Qing court from which it emerged been explored. Moreover, the Martinet print has been largely undervalued in any critical appraisal of the two Sèvres porcelains, especially with respect to the conceptualization of the biscuit figure.

The Martinet print and the Asselin plaque (figs 4 & 6) are more or less mirror images of one another, so if we strip the former of its titles (the addition of which I will explain below), and the latter of its gilt border, we get a clear sense of what Giuseppe Panzi's portrait of the Qianlong emperor must have looked like. As evidenced by the Martinet print, the original was derived from a portrait type that began to emerge at the Qing court in the early 1750s in response to the Qianlong emperor's desire to commemorate his military campaigns against the peoples of Central Asia.²⁵ Qianlong commissioned European and Chinese artists to paint grand battle scenes as well as portraits of his meritorious officers,

²¹ Amiot 1771–8, notebook 5, folios B recto to H recto; and Amiot-Bertin 1773, folios 18 verso to 22 verso.

²² Amiot-Bertin 1773, folios 20 verso—21 verso for the complete text of Amiot's introduction of Giuseppe Panzi and his portrait of the Qianlong emperor.

²³ See *Lettres Édifiantes* 1781, pp. 280–328, for Father Michel Benoit's letter to M. XXX of 4 November 1773.

²⁴ The most comprehensive documentary summary of these three works of art as drawn from the archives of the Sèvres factory remains Préaud 1989, pp. 43 and 51, notes 37 and 39. Georges Brunel published the original terracotta for the biscuit figure in Paris 2007, p. 132, catalogue no. 10. Of the twelve examples of this model made during Bertin's administration of the factory, only two are recorded today: one in the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris (see Versailles 2014, p. 175, catalogue no. 63), and another at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see Morley-Fletcher 1993, pp. 76–7; and here, fig. 6). Of the three original plaques painted by Asselin, only the first ordered in 1776 by Henri Bertin for Louis XVI is preserved. In a sense, a comprehensive analysis of the three related objects has been hampered by the fact that Louis XVI's plaque—listed in a 1791 inventory with two other Sèvres porcelain plaques as located in the *cabinet d'angle du roi* at Versailles—was removed from the palace after the French Revolution. Beginning in the late 18th century, it languished in total obscurity, latterly in the Department of Graphic Arts at the Musée du Louvre until 2002, when it was restored to its historic site (see Baulez 1991 and Baulez 2002).

²⁵ See Berlin 1985, pp. 144–55, and 327–30, where Veronika Veit examined the role of Jean-Denis Attiret in codifying the artistic practice peculiar to this type of Qing imperial portraiture to which Giuseppe Panzi was compelled to adapt. See Berlin 2003, Bügener 2005, and especially Bügener 2015, for more recent, comprehensive studies.

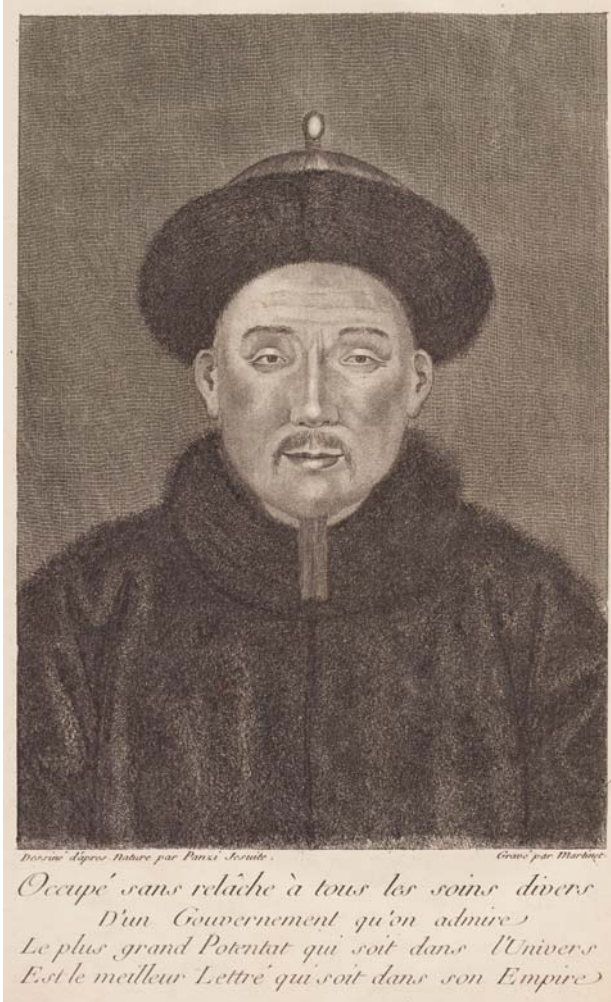


fig. 4

Fig. 4. François Nicholas Martinet (1731–1804) after Giuseppe Panzi (Pan Tingzhang; 1734–1812)
The Emperor of China
Engraving, printed opposite the frontispiece of *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, vol. 1 (1776)
20 x 12cm (portrait and verse); 17.5 x 12cm (portrait only)
Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, B899.63 M512.

Fig. 5. *The Emperor of China*
France, Sèvres Manufactory, 1775
Possibly modeled by Josse-François-Joseph Leriche (1741–1812)
Under the supervision of Louis-Simon Boizot (1743–1809)
Hard-paste, bisque porcelain
Height 40.6cm (16in)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Kiyi and Edward M. Pflueger Collection. Bequest of Edward M. Pflueger and Gift of Kiyi Powers Pflueger, and John H. and Ernestine A. Payne Fund, 2003.119.



fig. 5



fig. 6

Fig. 6. Charles-Éloi-Asselin (1743–1804)
after Giuseppe Panzi (Pan Tingzhang; 1734–1812)
The Emperor of China
Sèvres Factory, 1776
Hard-paste porcelain and gilt wood
23.7 x 17.4cm
Provenance: Louis XVI
Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Inv.
RF 35760
©RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY (Photo: Michèle Bellot).



fig. 7

Fig. 7. Anonymous Court Painter
Portrait of Mingliyang (1735–1822)
Qing dynasty, 1775
Oil on Korean paper
72.2 x 55.3cm
Private Collection
©2016 Sotheby's Hong Kong.

many of which were exhibited in the *Ziguangge* 紫光閣 or Pavilion of Purple Splendor located near the Forbidden City.²⁶ Typically the officers posed for their portraits, often near the battlefield, while the emperor himself interviewed them as to their exploits. The specific artistic practice—first

initiated by one of Panzi's predecessors at the Qing court, Jean Denis Attiret (1702–68)—called for an initial likeness to be taken in charcoal that was later worked up into a finished, bust-length, *en face* oil sketch rendered on *papier de corée* (fig. 7).²⁷ As a class of painting, these sketches are broadly characterized compositionally by a strict adherence to the iconic, forward-facing pose—a persistent feature of the Qing ancestor portrait tradition—and stylistically by a distinct interest in verisimilitude in the rendering of the face.²⁸ Once finished, they were presented to the emperor,

²⁶ See Cologne 2012, p. 75 for a leaf from a contemporary Chinese album illustrating a view of the *Ziguangge* or Pavilion of Purple Splendor.

²⁷ See *Lettres Édifiantes* 1781, p. 287, where Michel Benoit described in detail this essential two-step sequence in the artistic practice that Panzi observed when generating a sketch of an imperial page, a *morceau de réception* commanded by the emperor in January 1773; and pp. 317–7, for the use of *papier de corée* as the preferred support. According to Schmitt 2011, pp. 52–3, *papier de corée*, or *gaoli zhi*, was a heavily sized mulberry paper suitable for oil painting. The imperial oil sketch of *Mingliyang* (fig. 7) was lot 142, Sotheby's 2012, pp. 32–7.

²⁸ Fundamental to our understanding of this dichotomy is Stuart & Rawski 2001, pp. 75–91, chapter 3, 'Realism and the Iconic Pose'.



fig. 8

who, if satisfied, ordered that the faces be superimposed upon full-length bodies appropriately clothed in parade or battle armour (fig. 8).²⁹ In effect, the sketches represented a preparatory stage in the making of full-length hanging scrolls. The emperor would then compose panegyric verse celebrating the officer's valorous service. These eulogies were inscribed in both Manchu and Chinese at the head of the scrolls, an act linking the emperor's words of praise with dynamic images of his loyal soldiers.³⁰ In total, 280 such commemorative scrolls were executed at the Qing imperial painting studios and subsequently exhibited *en masse* in the Pavilion of Purple Splendor, the empire's pantheon of martial virtue.



fig. 9

Fig. 8. Anonymous Court Painter
Portrait of General Mingliyang (1735–1822)
Qing dynasty, inscribed with the date 1776
Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. 180 x 91.5cm
Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst (MOK), Köln, A 93,15
Purchased with funds established by the Friends of the MOK
©RBA, S. Walz.

Fig. 9. Giuseppe Panzi (Pan Tingzhang; 1734–1812)
Jean Joseph-Marie Amiot (Qian Deming; 1718–1793), 1789
Oil on Korean paper. 63 x 47cm
Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Département des estampes et photographies, N-4 (AMIOT, JOSEPH-MARIE)
©BnF, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

²⁹ See Berlin 2003, pp. 40–1, and Bügener 2015, pp. 409–13 for the hanging scroll of *Mingliyang* (fig. 8) in Cologne. Annette Bügener has confirmed that of all the known, published examples of the imperial officer type, that of the *Mingliyang* represents the sole extant pairing of an original sketch together with a finished hanging scroll and a variant of the full-length portrait rendered within a handscroll illustrating other similar imperial officer portraits. This exceptional survival underscores the preparatory (i.e., ephemeral) role of the original bust-length sketches within the specific Qing imperial artistic practice that resulted ultimately in full-length, hanging scrolls.

³⁰ See Sotheby's 2012, p. 34, for an English translation of the panegyric verse heading the hanging scroll of *Mingliyang* (fig. 8) in Cologne.



fig. 10

Fig. 10. Workshop of Giuseppe Panzi (Pan Tingzhang; 1734–1812) and Ignatius Sichelbart (Ai Qimeng; 1708–1780)

Portrait of Corgiyamzan, 1775

Oil on Korean paper

72.7 x 55cm

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, Inv.-Nr.: I D 22155.

Little is known about Giuseppe Panzi before he arrived in China in 1771, and only a handful of works can be attributed to him from his long, seemingly unremarkable career as a painter at the Qing court.³¹ But what is clear is that his original portrait of the Qianlong emperor was a bust-length oil sketch, rendered on *papier de corée*, of the imperial officer type.³² Another key but long obscured work is a portrait of *Father Joseph Amiot* (fig. 9) datable to c. 1789.³³ But for an engaging turn of the head - a European affect - Panzi's likeness of his fellow missionary and close friend is in every respect a Qing imperial portrait of the officer type. A bust-length sketch rendered in oil paints on *papier de corée*, it both compares and contrasts with Panzi's original portrait of the Qianlong emperor of 1773 as evidenced by Martinet's print of 1776 (fig. 4). The perfunctory combination of a bust-length format and a

rigid *en face* composition as seen in the print suggest that Panzi's original portrait of the emperor was as lifeless and remote as his later portrait of Amiot was sympathetic and engaging. An instructive comparison of both of these autograph works to an oil sketch of the imperial officer *Corgiyamzan* (fig. 10) illustrates just how comprehensively Giuseppe Panzi came to adopt the Qing imperial formula, notably in the stylized rendering of the garment folds at the shoulders.³⁴

Irrespective of the relative quality of Panzi's portrait of the Qianlong emperor, I would argue that Joseph Amiot recommended it to Bertin as an example of a special type of commemorative portraiture unique to the Qing court and as a natural extension of his ongoing historicist project to celebrate the 'Great Men' of China. For the Jesuit, the Qianlong emperor may well have embodied the culmination of that ancient notion of historiography to which he clearly aspired in his own work. Whether the personages were drawn from the *Ziguangge* or from Amiot's collected biographies, they were heralded for their virtuous service to the empire. Furthermore, far from being

³¹ Cordier 1913 remains the essential study of Panzi's life and career, but only as evidenced in documents, largely letters exchanged between Bertin and Panzi, as well as other missionaries. See also Walravens & Steinicke 2014.

³² See Berlin 1985, p. 328, catalogue no. 12/6 (fig. 143), for the *Portrait of Dawa*, an especially apposite comparison to Giuseppe Panzi's portrait of the Qianlong emperor.

³³ See Berlin 1985, p. 356, catalogue no. 13/25 (fig. 350), where Christoph Müller-Hofstede first identified this work as Giuseppe Panzi's original portrait of Joseph Amiot sent to Henri Bertin in 1789, a fact documented by Cordier 1913, p. 442. In addition, Müller-Hofstede correctly ascribed to the painter, as a general matter, other portraits of Qianlong's officers who had distinguished themselves during the Jinchuan campaign of 1771-5, a period corresponding to Panzi's earliest years working at the Qing court. Notwithstanding Müller-Hofstede's seminal contributions in this respect, the subsequent apprehension of Panzi's portrait, one of only a handful of known autograph works, has unfortunately been obscured in the art historical literature. The source of this confusion, first perpetrated in Beurdeley 1997, p. 186, is a later watercolour rendered on a sheet of wove paper bearing a Whatman watermark and the date 1820 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Ms. 1515, folio III); Panzi died in 1812. We are indebted to John Finlay for discovering the telltale watermark. This dissonant work is incontrovertibly a copy of the engraving by Isidore-Stanislas Helman (1743–1806) made after Panzi's original and published opposite the frontispiece in volume XV of the *Mémoires* in 1791. This misattribution has been chronically repeated (see Lenoir & Standaert 2005, p. 274, note 292; Versailles 2014, p. 145, fig. 3; Walravens & Steinicke 2014, p. 59, fig. 2; Bügener 2015, p. 187, and fig. 149; and Lee 2016, p. 153, fig. 11).

³⁴ See Berlin 2003, pp. 50–1 for this sketch to which I am here attributing the hand of Giuseppe Panzi.



fig. 11

Fig. 11. *Louis XV as a Roman emperor*

France, Sèvres factory 1770–1773

Soft-paste, biscuit (unglazed) porcelain. Height 24.6cm

A reduced model supplied to Sèvres by the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–85), after his large-scale bronze formerly in the Place Royale, Bordeaux.

British Museum, 1992.0106.1

©Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

only an accurate reproduction of Panzi's original portrait, the Martinet print was strategically positioned opposite the frontispiece in volume I of the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, as if to dedicate the ensuing volumes of Henri Bertin's grand Enlightenment investigation of Chinese civilization to the Qianlong emperor himself.³⁵ The first of the three editions to be made of Asselin's painted plaque—again a reproduction of Panzi's original but in full colour—was ordered by the minister for Louis XVI's account in 1776, and displayed in the king's private office at Versailles until the French Revolution.³⁶ Of the three French works of art derived from Panzi's portrait, the freestanding sculpture in biscuit porcelain represents a far more

complex story of cross-cultural transmutation. I propose that his portrait of the Qianlong emperor, as evidenced by the Martinet print, should be viewed as a preparatory stage in the fashioning of the full-length biscuit figure at Sèvres, in much the same way that any sketch of the imperial officer type was intended to form the basis of a full-length hanging scroll at the Qing imperial painting studio. The task was the same: to attach a suitable body to the facial likeness. In the Qing imperial studio, assistants readily added the formulaic body or costume. At Sèvres, having received a model only for the bust, the sculptor Josse-François-Joseph Leriche had to invent one for the rest of the figure.³⁷ But the greater challenge confronting Henri Bertin and the artisans at the Sèvres factory was how to commemorate the Qianlong emperor visually in terms that contemporary Europeans would readily comprehend.

How does one portray the emperor of China? Does one pose and garb him *à l'antique*, like the king of France, as if to invoke a universal notion of an heroic, glorious past (fig. 11)?³⁸ Or does one aim to invent a more authentic,

³⁵ See Berlin 1985, p. 354, catalogue no. 13/18 (fig. 151).

³⁶ See note 24.

³⁷ With the notable exception of Préaud 1989, p. 43, Joseph Leriche has been the received attribution for the biscuit figure of the Qianlong emperor in the literature of Sèvres, notably in Savill 1988, p. 984, Paris 2007, pp. 116 and 132, catalogue no. 10, and most recently Versailles 2014, p. 175, catalogue no. 63, even though no documentary proof has been uncovered to confirm it. In Sèvres 2015–16, p. 242, catalogue no. 206, Marie-Laure de Rochebrune departed sharply from this orthodoxy by stating only that the recently cleaned terracotta for the biscuit figure was made 'under the direction of Boizot'. Louis-Simon Boizot (1743–1809; see Savill 1988, p. 967–8) became head of the department of sculpture at the Sèvres factory in 1773, and thereby succeeded Étienne Maurice Falconet (1716–91; Savill 1988, pp. 981–2) who had resigned from the post in 1766. Falconet brought Joseph Leriche to the factory expressly to work on biscuit models. Both Falconet and Boizot were royal academicians and through their submissions to the biennial salons were more influential in the larger artistic culture than a figure like Leriche, whose work was largely confined to Sèvres. Thus, notwithstanding the many revelations as to the impact of various artists, especially Falconet, upon the artistic practice of the factory as revealed in Sèvres 2015–16, I have maintained the unsettled attribution of this figure to Leriche precisely because I view the commission for it as relatively complex, one requiring the skills, if not also the sensibility or inventiveness of a competent and trusted journeyman. I contend that Leriche, or the maker of this figure, had to be attentive to the pertinent iconographic instructions as conveyed by his client as well as receptive to the diverse sculptural milieu of pre-revolutionary France.

³⁸ See Roth 2000, pp. 356–60, catalogue no. 177, fig. 11, for an extensive discussion of the Sèvres model in biscuit of Louis XV as a Roman emperor made after the monumental bronze (1765) by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–85).



fig. 12

Fig. 12. *Surcoat*

In Chinois 2289-2304: "Modèles des instruments rituels de la dynastie régnante" (*Huang chao li qi tu shi*). Section on official vestments – Chapter 4.

Published in Peking by the imperial press at Wuyingdian

An imperial preface dated 1759, with the seals in red of the Qianlong emperor added in 1766.

Woodblock, 0.202 x 0.163m

Provenance: Henri-Léonard Bertin

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Chinois 2292, folio 3v.

contemporary idiom of imperial authority? As no received model then existed in European art for the emperor of China, Leriche was wholly guided by iconographic instructions furnished by Joseph Amiot in the same letter of 7 October 1773, where he informed Henri Bertin that '*Je me suis emancipé à faire quatre vers, pour être mis au bas*' (I have been emancipated to compose four lines of verse, to be placed below).³⁹ And as stipulated here, the four lines of Amiot's specially composed verse were printed below Martinet's print in the *Mémoires* (fig. 4):

*Occupé sans relâche à tous les soins divers
D'un gouvernement qu'on admire;
Le Plus grand Potentat qui soit dans l'Univers
Est le meilleur Lettré qui soit dans son Empire.*

*(Tirelessly engaged in all cares diverse
Of a government that we admire
The greatest Potentate in the Universe
Who is the most learned scholar in his Empire).*⁴⁰

Echoing the symbolic duality of the two imperial poems published in 1770, the image of the Qianlong emperor conveyed in this quatrain is less that of the emperor as an heroic figure—one imbued with the martial spirit of his Manchu ancestry—and more that of him as a conscientious leader and an erudite man of letters.⁴¹ In addition, from the evidence of the Asselin plaque, and from Father Benoit's letter, it is clear that the emperor at the time of the sittings was portrayed wearing a luxurious brown sable coat and a sable-trimmed hat surmounted by a large pearl.⁴² Leriche was further aided by schematic woodblock prints illustrating both the coat (fig. 12) and hat taken from an imperial album published in 1759. From these sources Leriche derived an authentic idea as to the overall shape and texture of the garments, especially of the heavy coat.⁴³ A comparison of the bust portion of his finished figure with Martinet's print reveals the extent to which Leriche correctly discerned just how heavy the garment must have been and thus how it needed to be sculpted, especially at the shoulders. Consequently, Leriche elected to drape an underlying *contrapposto* figure within a cascade of heavy drapery.

Earlier European visual culture abounded in imagery of the dignified, heavily robed Chinese emperor or scholar,

³⁹ Amiot-Bertin 1773, folio 21 recto.

⁴⁰ See Batteux & de Bréquigny 1776–91, opposite the frontispiece. As intended, Amiot's quatrain appears below Martinet's engraving.

⁴¹ A clearly drawn distinction further underscored in the *avertissement* of volume I of the *Mémoires* (See Batteux & de Bréquigny 1776–91, vol. I, page 10).

⁴² See *Lettres Édifiantes* 1781, pp. 302–3, for Michel Benoit's detailed description of an enormous pearl ('14 lignes' or 3.6 cm) set atop the emperor's hat of black sable. As evidenced by Asselin's plaque, the fact that Panzi also captured Qianlong wearing the heavy sable coat accords with Benoit's general description of the three portrait sittings that occurred as Qianlong moved peripatetically about the snow-covered grounds of the Forbidden City during the New Year's observances of late January and early February 1773.

⁴³ See Versailles 2014, p. 174, catalogue no. 62, where Nathalie Monnet illustrates a woodblock print (fig. 12) of the emperor's exclusive sable coat taken from the section of official vestments of the imperial inventory printed in 1766, the *Huangchao Liqi Tushi* (*Illustrations of Ritual Objects from the Imperial Court*; see also Paris 1989, pp. 256–8), that was sent to Henri Bertin and entered the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1796. Monnet further suggests that both Asselin's plaque and Leriche's biscuit figure were in part based on an 'authentic image'.



fig. 13

Fig. 13. Claus de Werve (Netherlandish, 1380–1439)
Mourner from the Tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1364–1404),
 1404–10
 Vizille alabaster, 41.70 x 16.60 x 11.70cm (16–3/8 x 6–1/2 x 4–9/16in)
 The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund
 1940.128.

but often depicted him with his hands concealed within capacious sleeves.⁴⁴ The exposed, clasped hands differentiate Leriche's solution for the Qianlong figure. In responding to Amiot's characterization of the Qianlong emperor as a humane, scholarly presence, as well as to the specifications of the sable coat as illustrated in the imperial woodblock image, Leriche adopted the model of the heavily robed, Christian monk⁴⁵ (fig. 13). Eschewing the Neo-Baroque exuberance of Étienne-Maurice Falconet (1716–91) or the transparent classicism of Augustin Pajou (1730–1809), he appropriated the opaque monumentality coupled with a suppliant attitude or gesture often

associated with freestanding, late medieval, ecclesiastical sculpture - replicating the conceit right down to the barely visible splayed feet.⁴⁶ Hence, like the Burgundian mourners of the early 15th century, Leriche's figure of the Qianlong emperor presents with what one might call a *fermeté tranquille* (quiet firmness). The overall effect is further enhanced by a slight turn of the head and a sympathetic facial expression, something notably lacking in Panzi's wooden likeness, but otherwise fully consistent with the humanizing conventions of French royal portraiture under the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI.⁴⁷

Employing the artistic means available to him at Sèvres, Henri Bertin embraced the medium of sculpture for

⁴⁴ This trope appears to span the 17th century. For example, see Logan 2005, pp. 219–25, catalogue no. 73, for Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) *Portrait of Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, dated 17 January 1617; and Berlin 1985, p. 352, catalogue no. 13/13 (fig. 344), for Pierre Giffart's (b. 1648) engraving (*Empereur Chinois en habit de Ceremonie à la Chinoise*) of the Kangxi emperor, one of several images said to have been based upon originals from China presented to Louis XIV by the missionary Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730) and published in Paris in 1697.

⁴⁵ For the mourners attributed to the Netherlandish sculptor Claus de Werve (1380–1439) exhibiting the open, suppliant gesture of clasped hands, one of which is illustrated here as fig. 13, see Dijon & Cleveland 2004–5, p. 233.

⁴⁶ See Draper & Scherf 1998, pp. 100–2, catalogue no. 39, and pp. 181–6, catalogue no. 68. Nothing better illustrates the eclectic influences available to the resourceful Leriche than Pajou's divergent submissions to the Salon of 1765—a terracotta model of *Saint Francis de Sales*, very much in the high Neo-Baroque manner of Falconet, and one of *Ceres* bounded by a highly restrained classicism. Leriche, by contrast, was made to focus on the emperor's heavy coat and how to conceptualize it as a standing figure. His solution conveyed a monumental, lithic stasis. In this connection, he would most certainly have known of Jean-Antoine Houdon's (1741–1828) small-scale version in plaster, exhibited in the Salon of 1769, of his large-scale marble of *Saint Bruno* (Rome, Santa Maria degli Angeli). Poulet 2003, p. 77, stated that this figure was conceived as a 'stylistic alternative' to the Neo-Baroque manner of Houdon's teacher Michel-Ange Slodtz (1705–64) and noted that: 'Contemporary critics praised the figure for embodying the humility, faith and vow of silence of the Carthusian order.' In Frankfurt am Main & Montpellier 2009–10, pp. 98–106, Maraike Bückling argued persuasively for the influence of expressive, late Medieval sculpture in the manner of Claus Sluter (d. 1406) and Claus de Werve upon Houdon's work, notably his figure of *Winter* (called *La Frileuse*). Leriche's analogous sourcing of the trope of the studious medieval monk seems entirely appropriate for a figure of a sagacious, receptive Qianlong emperor.

⁴⁷ See Milano 2015, pp. 154–182, especially p. 162, fig. 53, for the 'democratization' of the French royal face starting with the marble bust of Louis XV by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704–78), exhibited in the Salon of 1757 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.100.244).

his commemorative portrait of the Qianlong emperor. As a translation of Panzi's two-dimensional model into a three-dimensional, full-length sculpture in biscuit porcelain, Leriche's solution represents the fullest expression of Amiot's iconographic instructions and, albeit unwittingly, mirrored the Qing imperial painting practice that began with a bust-length sketch and concluded with a full-length portrait. And the linking, moreover, of Amiot's celebratory quatrain to Leriche's figure makes it analogous to the hanging scrolls of Qing imperial officers, for which the emperor had composed eulogistic colophons. And as we shall see, the integration of laudatory texts and portraiture was also fundamental to commemorative traditions in France under the *ancien régime*.

Amiot's commemorative impulse—one in which the past is both a setting for and a mirror of the present—has echoes both literary and artistic in France under the Bourbon dynasty. The publication in the *Mémoires* of Amiot's 'Great Men' of China accords with the literary fashion for collected biographies of *les hommes illustres* of French history that began in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁸ But Amiot's collected biographies reverberated more closely with commemorative projects in which eulogizing texts were the inspiration for large-scale sculpture intended to instruct the public about men of virtue. Indeed, Évrard Titon du Tillet (1677–1762) intended that his *Le Parnasse François* (The French Parnassus) celebrate creative genius as a reflection of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715)—who, in the guise of Apollo, is perched atop Mount Parnassus surrounded by heroic figures of Racine, Voltaire, Molière and Corneille.⁴⁹ It has survived both as a model in bronze for a proposed public monument as well as a literary work published in 1727.⁵⁰ More directly apposite is the project of the 'Great Men' of France promulgated in December of 1774, on behalf of Louis XVI, by Charles Claude de Flahaut, comte d'Angiviller (1730–1809), director general of royal buildings.⁵¹ Known by the title *batiments du roi* (the king's buildings), D'Angiviller informed the Royal Academy of Paintings and Sculpture of the king's earnest intention to '*ranimer la vertu et les sentiments patriotiques*' (to revive virtue and patriotic sentiments). He planned to reveal this commemorative vision over time through a series of moralizing paintings drawn from ancient and French history, as well as four statues of the 'Great Men' of France, to be commissioned every other year and exhibited at the academy's biennial salon held in the Grand Gallery of the Louvre. His didactic objective was both to revive patriotic sentiment and to encourage the fine arts by restoring historical sculpture to

a place of prominence in contemporary art. D'Angiviller linked his choice of subjects for the sculptures to the 'academic eulogies' composed by the *philosophes* precisely to commemorate the great men of French history drawn from all the estates—the church, the military, the political sphere, and the savants. These panegyrics, as vetted by the French academy, fostered the principle that greatness in a man was the result of both merit and virtue.⁵²

Notwithstanding the obvious differences of scale, Bertin's full-length sculpture of the Qianlong emperor—as imbued with Amiot's commemorative vision—is directly analogous to d'Angiviller's sculptures of the Great Men of France, especially in the conscious selection of the medium. In keeping with European art theory from classical antiquity by way of the Renaissance, sculpture—with its connotation of permanence and gravitas—was valued for its memorializing capacity, its overarching purpose, the transmission of 'Great Men' to posterity. By this ideologically conservative choice, both Bertin and d'Angiviller thrust themselves, to paraphrase Jennifer Milam, "into the very heart of the academic discourse as to where authority resided—with the ancients or with the moderns—if only to situate standards for judgment in the visual arts."⁵³ Yet, interestingly, d'Angiviller furnished strict instructions as to how the Great Men were to be depicted. In stark contrast to the rigid classicism of Titon's Parnassus, he stipulated that the sculptors be faithful to the costume of the subject's time. Similarly, guided by Amiot's instructions and by the imperial woodblock prints, Bertin too adhered in his commission for the figure of the Qianlong emperor to what he believed to be authentic sources. And like Bertin with his sculpture of Qianlong, d'Angiviller intended the Great Men to signify specific civic values of virtue and service. The comparison of Leriche's *Qianlong* (fig. 5) to Étienne Gois' portrait of *Michel de l'Hôpital* (fig. 14) is instructive if only for the similar

⁴⁸ See Bell 2001, pp. 107–39, Chapter 4, 'National Memory and the Canon of Great Frenchman'.

⁴⁹ See Colton 1979, the standard work.

⁵⁰ For the model in bronze at Versailles, see Paris, New York & Los Angeles 2008–9, pp. 350–9, catalogue no. 98.

⁵¹ The literature on d'Angiviller's project for the 'Great Men' is vast. Guilhem Scherf has recently furnished an extremely useful summary of the entire project, especially with respect to the order placed by the *batiments du roi* in 1782 for biscuit reductions of the large-scale marble sculptures of the 'Great Men', see Sèvres 2015–16, pp. 250–65. For how contemporaries differentiated between *les hommes illustres* and *les grand hommes*, see Gaetghens 2009.

⁵² Persuasively articulated by McClellan 1990.

⁵³ See Milam 2015, pp. 126–7.



fig. 14

Fig. 14. Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois (1731–1823)
Michel de l'Hôpital, chancelier de France (1506–1573)
Salon of 1777
Marble, 195 x 92 x 73cm
Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Inv.
#MV8447
©RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.



fig. 15

Fig. 15. Augustin Pajou (1730–1809)
Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne (1611–1675)
Salon of 1783
Marble, 209 x 107 x 74cm
Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Inv.
#MV2836
©RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

treatment of what Guilhelm Scherf has characterized as the *'l'ampleur majestueuse'* (the majestic fullness) of their heavy robes.⁵⁴ Both works employ a sense of classical repose to convey stature and character. Similarly, both Augustin Pajou's *vicomte de Turenne* (fig. 15), a military hero under Louis XIV, and the imperial officer *Mingliyang* (fig. 8) crucially exemplify the universal concept that a soldier should be depicted with dynamism, either captured at the 'significant' moment of his fame like the *Turenne*, or as with the *Mingliyang*, forever poised to defend the empire.⁵⁵

The transmission and reception of the *portraits des Chinois célèbres* was intended to diffuse in Europe a specific concept of Chinese history as a continuum of the lives of Great Men; the living embodiment of that notion was the Qianlong emperor whose portrait by Giuseppe Panzi the minister also received. This project was rooted not only in Chinese historiography but also resonated with the tradition of collected biographies and eulogies that celebrated the lives of the Great Men of French history. And just as Joseph Amiot viewed himself in a long line of scholar-officials who had employed their erudition in the service of the Chinese emperor, both Henri Bertin and the comte d'Angiviller had assumed their places in a continuum of French nobles whose actions and policies were dedicated ultimately to the preservation of the Bourbon monarchy. For these men, projects like the *portraits des Chinois célèbres* or the *Grands Hommes de la France* would have served as brilliant mirrors of their

current political worth as well as of their legacy to future generations. Bertin's full-length sculpture in biscuit porcelain of the Qianlong emperor exemplifies both projects, and thus epitomizes the common, universal role of the 'Great Men' in the creation and perpetuation of national narratives (fig. 5). It emanated from Chinese commemorative traditions and presaged the comte d'Angiviller's portraits of virtue. And like the scrolls of Qianlong's officers celebrated in the *Ziguangge* or the sculptures of the 'Great Men' of France exhibited in the Grand Gallery of the Louvre, it was designed to transmit to posterity the image of Qianlong as a responsible, virtuous and erudite ruler, who was *'occupé sans relâche à tous les soins divers'* (tirelessly engaged in all cares diverse). So conceived, so embodied, Henri Bertin and Joseph Amiot embraced the Qianlong emperor as the 'Great Man' of China and forever enshrined him in the palace of memory. In so doing, they established their own position as illustrious men—as a part of a genealogy of Enlightenment.

⁵⁴ Sèvres 2015–16, p. 254.

⁵⁵ Qianlong's officers, as exemplified here by the stolid *Mingliyang* (fig. 8) were intended to be seen as loyal, stalwart sentinels, whereas French heroes such as the *vicomte de Turenne* (fig. 15; see Draper & Scherf 1998, pp. 316–18) were captured instead at the 'significant moment' of their fame when their loyalty to the monarch came into direct conflict with their martial instincts (see Dowley 1957).

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