

## On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving 'Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar and Hui Tribes'

Han Pu Jing

From the 20th to the 25th year of the Qianlong reign (1755–1760), Emperor Qianlong employed various media to commemorate the victories of the Qing army over the Junggar and Hui tribes in what is now the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. These included imperial poems, eulogies to meritorious officials, the compilation of local military strategies, and the erection of commemorative monuments and artistic works throughout the region. Particularly noteworthy are the sixteen silk scroll paintings executed by the four artists Lang Shining, Wang Zhicheng, Ai Qimeng, and An Deyi, the portraits of meritorious officials painted by court artists, and the copperplate engravings produced based on these silk scrolls. These can be regarded as propaganda art commissioned by Emperor Qianlong. This paper focuses specifically on the victory engravings among these diverse artistic works.

Before delving into the main discussion, let us briefly examine the production of Victory Paintings within Chinese history. It goes without saying that the production of Victory Paintings did not begin in the Qing dynasty. Notably, the National Museum of China holds several Ming dynasty victory paintings, including the Qiyang Family's artefact, the Ping Fan De Sheng Tu Juan (Scroll Depicting the Suppression of the Rebellion and Victory), depicting the suppression of the Eighteen Fan Rebellion in Tao Prefecture, Gansu (1515) by Prince Qiyang Li Wenzhong, and the Kang Wei Tu Juan (Scroll Depicting Resistance Against the Japanese Pirates) from the Jiajing era. Moreover, numerous works commissioned by private individuals rather than the imperial court also emerged during the Qing Dynasty itself. Examples include the "Portrait of Dodo's Victory" depicting Dorgon and Dodo suppressing the rebellions of Li Zicheng and Wu Sangui, the "Scroll Depicting the Meritorious Deeds of Dong Weiguo" painted by Huang Bi in 1677, depicting Dong Weiguo's suppression of the Three Pans Rebellion in Jiangxi, the "Scroll Depicting Cai Yurong's Southern Campaign", and the "Album Depicting the Northern Campaign and Transport Supervision", of which nineteen of the twenty-four original leaves survive,<sup>(2)</sup> representative examples. Production continued after the Qianlong Emperor, with the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835

–1906) commissioned works depicting the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion, the Nian Rebellion, and the Tongzhi Hui Rebellion

(2)

As mentioned earlier, it is certain that the production intent of these works was to commemorate military victories. However, what clearly distinguishes these copperplate engravings from other examples of victory illustrations is their mode of expression. While most examples are coloured on silk or paper, only the works from the Qianlong era are copperplate engravings. Creating copperplate engravings required various materials such as copper plates, printing paper, and ink, as well as the skilled craftsmanship of artisans. It should be noted, however, that copperplate engraving was an entirely unfamiliar technique to the Qing people of the time. Consequently, Emperor Qianlong turned his gaze abroad for its production, focusing on France. Considering not only the geographical distance between the Qing and France, but also the scale of the work, the production period, and the costs involved, this copperplate engraving commissioned by Emperor Qianlong is, I believe, worthy of being called a 'major project of the Qing dynasty'.

This paper explores the circumstances surrounding the creation of these copperplate engravings. It begins with a brief explanation of their production, examining the individuals responsible for the exchanges between the Qing and France, those who undertook the actual production, and the current status of the works themselves.

, before surveying the circumstances of its storage and display at the time. As discussed later, Emperor Qianlong, having introduced this new medium of copperplate engraving, leveraged its advantages by distributing copies to multiple individuals and locations. These imperial gifts were not confined to Beijing and its environs, but were transported to the Jiangnan region far from the capital, and even beyond the borders of the Qing Empire. What might Emperor Qianlong have hoped to achieve through bestowing these works upon various individuals? Finally, we shall consider the production costs. Given that this copperplate engraving was commissioned based on the Emperor's initiative, it is reasonable to assume both its quality and expense were exceptionally high. In this case, can we definitively state that the Emperor, having commissioned the work, also bore the production costs? By clarifying the various stages of production outlined above, might we discern new production intentions beyond Emperor Qianlong's stated purpose of commemorating military victories?

## I Production of the 'Illustration of the Victory over the Junggar and Hui Tribes' and the Copperplate Engraving

Regardless of the facts, the Qianlong Emperor, who in his later years styled himself the "Ten-Perfect Old Man", highly praised his own (the Qing army's) victories over frontier regions such as present-day Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Sichuan, Tibet, and Vietnam<sup>3</sup>. These were major campaigns directly linked to the expansion of Qing territory rather than merely securing local security, and it could be said that through them, the borders of the present-day People's Republic of China were largely established. Particularly significant were the campaigns against Turkestan and the Muslim tribes in the 1750s, regarded as the Emperor Qianlong's first major victories. As noted at the outset, various methods were employed to commemorate these triumphs.

Among these, the sixteen silk scroll paintings (estimated size: 8 × 4 metres) commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor from four artists, including Lang Shining, are noteworthy as the preparatory sketches for the copperplate engravings discussed in this paper (Figures 1 and 2). These are respectively: 'The Submission at Heilongjiang', 'The Attack on Golanji Camp', 'The Battle of Fuzak', 'The Victory at Heichuosi', 'The Battle of Kulongui', 'The Surrender of the Chief of the Red Shirt Tribe', 'The Capture of Lema', 'The Battle of Gualik', 'The Battle of Louli', 'The Battle of Hui', 'The Battle of Yiwukunuo', 'The Conquest of Buda Shan Khan', 'The Pacifying of the Muslim Tribes and Presentation of Prisoners', 'The Success of the Military Campaign Against the Muslim Tribes and the Generals and Soldiers', 'The Triumphal Banquet Celebrating the Success of the Generals and Soldiers'<sup>4</sup>. It is said that upon completion, ~~only three fragments from one of these scrolls survive~~<sup>(6)</sup>. Judging from the current state, this "Great Victory at Huerman" scroll, thought to depict the encirclement at Heishui, shows motifs such as mounted troops, archers, and artillery on camels, alongside inscriptions of names. These names are inscribed within the quivers of key figures, rendered in both Manchu script and Chinese characters. Crucially, they are not written in ink but in gold leaf. While their size is not immediately apparent at first glance, the inclusion of the names of meritorious officials within the painting itself is thought to relate to the method and location of displaying this silk scroll.

The reason for commissioning this silk painting to be reproduced as an engraving remains unknown<sup>7</sup>. It is well known that around this time, Emperor Qianlong was greatly impressed upon viewing copperplate engravings by the German painter Philipp Georg Rugendas (d. , Austria)<sup>(8)</sup>. Takada Tokio and Strassberg suggest this appreciation<sup>8</sup> the production of the copperplate engravings<sup>(9)</sup>. However, during the reign of Emperor Kangxi, copperplate engravings by Matteo Ripa, "Thirty-Six Views of the Imperial Summer Resort"

On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving  
"Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar  
and Hui Tribes"



Figure 1: Copperplate engraving of "The Surrender at Ili Following Pacification", photographed by the author



Fig. 2: Battle of Eluzala, copperplate engraving, photograph by the author

and the copperplate editions of the Imperial Atlas. It is therefore difficult to assert definitively that this influence was solely his<sup>10</sup>. It is more likely that Emperor Qianlong, who adopted a flexible and inclusive stance towards Western culture, simply wished to experiment with new artistic techniques.

Here, for the sake of future discussion, let us examine the production process of copperplate engravings. Previous research on these engravings has been accumulated since early times by scholars in China, Europe, and America. Moreover, historical materials<sup>(11)</sup>. Particularly noteworthy among Chinese sources are the 'Compilation of Secret Archives on the Qianlong Western Regions Campaign Maps' and 'Divine Brushwork in Vermilion and Blue', which respectively compile imperial edicts, memorials, and archives concerning copperplate engraving production' held by the First Historical Archives of China and the National Palace Museum in Taipei<sup>(12)</sup>. Furthermore, the 'Compilation of Historical Materials from the Qing Imperial Household Archives' is a valuable reference' gathering materials concerning publishing and printing undertakings by the Qing Imperial Household Department<sup>(13)</sup>. French-side materials include the producer's report and letters to the responsible officials<sup>(14)</sup>, as well as the French East India Company's report dated 25 April 1775<sup>(15)</sup> articles from November and December 1783 in Volume III of the Journal Encyclo-pédique ou Universel, and the 1791 publication Précis historique de la guerre, among others, remain extant<sup>(16)</sup>. This paper primarily references the aforementioned historical materials alongside relevant entries from the Archives of the Imperial Workshop.

Following the completion of the silk paintings and copperplate engraving sketches by the aforementioned four Western artists in Italy in 1764, an imperial decree issued by Lang Shining, who painted the sixteen Victory Scenes, shall also produce the sketches for these. Upon completion, they shall be presented for imperial viewing. Subsequently, consultation with the Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs Office shall be undertaken to dispatch them to Europe for engraving in accordance with the sketches." This edict from the Qianlong Emperor was conveyed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs<sup>(17)</sup>. Of these sixteen preparatory sketches, four were dispatched to the Guangzhou Customs the following year<sup>(18)</sup>. This time, alongside the sketches, the imperial edict dated 26th May of the same year, a letter written by Lang Shining addressed to the local officials, and Italian and Latin translations of the edict were enclosed<sup>(19)</sup>. The full text of the imperial edict reads as follows:

Sixteen victory paintings depicting the pacification of the Junggar and Hui regions, etc., are to be sent to the West with the original sketches by Lang Shining and others. Select skilled artisans to engrave extremely fine copper plates based on these sketches; these plates must not be worn down. All labour and materials required may be reported, and the full amount shall be provided. We now dispatch one sketch by Lang Shining depicting the surrender of the Aiyuza camp, one by Wang Zhicheng depicting the surrender of the Alchur camp, one by Ai Qimeng depicting the surrender of the Ili populace, and one by An Deyi depicting the surrender of the Kuergan camp. These shall be engraved without delay. Upon receipt, each plate shall be printed on quality paper for an initial run of one hundred copies, to be delivered together with the copperplate. The remaining twelve copies shall be dispatched in three successive instalments.

Command

By Imperial

This imperial decree establishes four points: Firstly, production costs shall be paid according to the proposed figures. Secondly, the initial shipment comprised four drafts: Lang Shining's "Illustration of the Deception at Aiyu Camp", Wang Zhicheng's "Illustration of Alchur", Ai Qimeng's "Illustration of the Surrender of the People of Ili", and An Deyi's "Illustration of Kuergan". Thirdly, each copperplate was to be printed one hundred times. Fourthly, the remaining twelve sketches were to be dispatched in three separate consignments. At this stage, the Qing court apparently considered Italy, Lang Shining's homeland, as the destination; the subsequent change to France was due to the prevailing situation in Guangdong.

Upon receiving the imperial edict from Beijing, Yang Tingzhang, the then Viceroy of Liangguang, and Fang Taiyu, the Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs, began consultations with Guangzhou merchants and decided to change the destination from Italy to France. They conveyed this decision through the Guangdong branch of the French East India Company and concluded the following contract: First, the four copperplate engravings for this project must be completed and delivered to Guangdong by the 33rd year of the Qianlong reign (1769). Second, an advance payment of five thousand liang shall be made, but

## On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving

### "Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar

#### and Hui Tribes"

Should any funds be insufficient, the balance shall be paid upon the copper plates' arrival in Guangdong. Should any maritime accident occur, we shall bear the compensation and transport costs. Thirdly, it was stipulated that each copperplate would be printed two hundred times, and that upon completion of the work in France, the sketches, copperplates, and copperplate prints would not be retained in France but returned in their entirety to the Qing state<sup>21</sup>. What is interesting here is that while the aforementioned imperial edict of the 30th year of Qianlong specified printing one hundred copperplate prints per sketch, the actual contract changed this to two hundred prints. To the best of my knowledge, no historical records explaining this cause have been found. However, as will be discussed in detail later, considering that these copperplate prints were tribute items presented to the Emperor by the Viceroy of Liangguang and the Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs, it can be surmised that officials may have sought to curry favour with the Emperor by offering more tribute items, even if this did not align with his intentions. On the French side, the Marquis de Vandières (later de Marigny) Royal Superintendent of Buildings and President of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, served as chief supervisor. The renowned engraver Nicolas Cochin was the principal engraver, with approximately eight others involved in the copperplate engraving process, including Le Saint-Aubin, and Prévost.

Although the transport of sketches from the Qing court to France continued thereafter, various problems prevented the project from proceeding as contracted. During this period, the intentions of the Qing court, conveyed to France via the Viceroy of Liangguang and Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs and the French East India Company, are largely preserved in records, allowing their details to be discerned. Notably, several letters from Emperor Qianlong inquiring about the progress and reasons for delays were sent. Examining Cochin's reply, which reached Beijing on 5 August 1770, reveals excuses such as the unsuitability of Chinese paper for copperplate printing necessitating the search for French paper, the lengthy maturation required for printing ink ingredients, and the exceptionally fine detail of the sketches causing engraving work to take longer than anticipated<sup>22</sup>.

Ultimately, the final French vessel laden with copper plates and engravings arrived in Guangdong in September 1777. The transportation of the copperplate engravings for the Victory Diagrams spanned a full twelve years and involved ten separate shipments. During this period, the Qing court was not entirely idle, merely awaiting the French engravings. For instance, in May 1773, the Qianlong Emperor issued an edict instructing that printing be attempted using the seven copperplates received up to that point<sup>(23)</sup>. Although the quality achieved in France was not attained in all the works at that time, the Qianlong Emperor ordered that ten prints be made from each copperplate going forward. The copperplates and prints produced on this occasion were then stored in the Imperial Map Office<sup>24</sup>.

It is also worth noting the situation in France. According to the contract with the Qing state, France was required to return all copper plates and printed copperplate engravings to the Qing state. However, contemporary French records indicate this clause was not strictly adhered to. According to Mr Boudet's research, Louis XV and Louis XVI admired these engravings, and the engravings held by the French royal collection were sold to a citizen through auctions during the French Revolution<sup>25</sup>. Furthermore, exhibition catalogues from the Royal Academy in 1769 and 1771 reveal that engravings by Le Bar were exhibited<sup>26</sup>. Furthermore, the 19th-century publication 'Les Gravures Françaises du XVIIIe Siècle ou Catalogue Raisonné' also contains engravings by Saint-Ubain and Moreau le Jeune<sup>27</sup>.

These sixteen copperplate engravings were reprinted not only for the French royal household but also for commercial distribution to the public, spreading throughout Europe from the late 1780s onwards. The individual who first realised this was Isidore-Stanislas Helman. He produced a portfolio of twenty-one plates, adding five copperplate engravings to the *De Triumphis Imperatoris Sinensis* (Triumphs of the Emperor of China) prints, which he printed at about half the size of the originals. He titled this collection *Suite des Conquêtes de l'Empereur de Chine* (Suite of Illustrations of the Conquests of the Emperor of China). Judging by the titles of these five images, they appear to depict the work and appearance of Qing dynasty emperors. However, examining the motifs within the scenes reveals elements suggesting a degree of fictionality: an emperor wearing what appears to be a Ming dynasty bird-patterned folded cap or a *jiaofotou* headdress rather than a Qing imperial court cap; figures bearing spears clad in Western-style armour and breastplates; and exotic buildings without ceilings. In essence, this work exemplifies how the characteristics of woodblock printing enabled mass reproduction while simultaneously reflecting contemporary European fascination with China and its emperors. For people of that era, this interest likely stemmed not from curiosity about a specific emperor like Qianlong, but rather from wonder at China as an unknown land.

Let us now consider the current status of the works examined thus far. Three principal types of work depict Emperor Qianlong's victory in the Xinjiang region during the 1750s. First, there are the large silk paintings executed by four Western painters, including Lang Shining, shortly after the victory. These include preparatory sketches for engravings, the copper plates themselves, and the printed engravings. Additionally, there are smaller copperplate engravings by Mr. Erman and the albums containing them. Among these, as already noted, only three fragments of the silk paintings survive. Furthermore, three sketches, thought to be preparatory studies for the copperplate engravings, are held at the Tenri University Library. Examining these ink-on-paper works reveals names written in Manchurian script on yellow paper affixed beside the figures within the compositions. Additionally, the frequent occurrence of albums containing sixteen prints by Mr. Erman alongside textual materials, as well as single-sheet prints, suggests that a very large number of prints were transported. Moreover, not only the form of the works but also their locations of collection are dispersed worldwide. They can be seen not only at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, but also at the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin-Brandenburg, private collectors in Germany, the Guimet Museum, the British Museum and the British Library, the Tenri University Library, and the Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts.

## I The Collection and Circulation of the 'Illustrations of the Victory in the Campaigns Against the Jung and Hui Tribes'

The final copperplate engravings arrived in the Qing Empire from France in the 42nd year of the Qianlong reign (1777). While it is certain that all sixteen copperplates commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor were delivered at that time, it remains unclear whether the full set of three thousand two hundred prints—two hundred copies of each engraving—was also complete. Regardless, a significant number of copperplate prints undoubtedly arrived. Emperor Qianlong had these prints, along with his own imperial poems and colophons, mounted and mounted for viewing. Thus, the copperplate prints housed in the Qing imperial palace's collection were not the individual sheets sent from France, but rather albums bound together with the accompanying poetry and prose. Where were these mounted albums stored?

Typically, imperial art collections were housed in the Forbidden City's Qianqing Palace, Yangxin Hall, Ningshou Palace, or Chonghua Palace. However, these were intended for the Emperor's private viewing, and records concerning the storage of hundreds of such albums are scarcely to be found.

## On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving

### "Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar

#### and Hui Tribes"

Here, examining an entry from the Qianlong 44th year (1779) April in the 'Archives of the Imperial Workshop'<sup>(28)</sup>, we find that on the 13th day of the 2nd month of that year, one hundred and seventy sheets of Victory Illustrations and accompanying colophons were printed. These were then bound into albums, twenty sheets combined per volume. Furthermore, on the 22nd of the same month, and again on the 5th and 17th of the following month, a total of 149 volumes were produced. Ten volumes were stored in the Ziguang Pavilion, ten in the Maogin Hall, and ten in the Imperial Workshop's Yutu Room. However, it is noteworthy that this dispersed storage did not remain confined to the city of Beijing but extended to the provinces. The relevant records indicate that the copperplate-printed volumes were distributed through the Military Affairs Office to eight provincial governors, four provincial administrators, five military commanders, one minister and commander-in-chief, twelve imperial retreats, totalling thirty-one locations. Considering the Qianlong Emperor's system of eighteen provinces, eight governors-general, and fifteen provincial governors, it is no exaggeration to say these were distributed almost nationwide. Moreover, it is highly intriguing that the recipients included not only the Qing Dynasty's traditional territories but also newly incorporated regions of Xinjiang, such as Ushu and Ürümqi.

Let us now return to the situation within the Beijing city walls. The reason why the Ziguang Pavilion, the Maogin Hall, and the Yutu Room were selected from among the numerous halls and pavilions within the Forbidden City remains unclear at present. However, it is known that the Qing army displayed the spoils of war obtained from the battles against Turkestan and the Hui region, which were the subject of these Victory Maps – including weapons and Amursana's personal belongings – in the Wucheng Hall behind the Ziguang Pavilion<sup>(29)</sup>. Màoqín Hall had served as the emperor's study since the Kangxi Emperor's reign and also housed imperial calligraphy and paintings, while Yǔtú Fǎng was a repository for maps of great utility to the Qing dynasty. It is therefore reasonable to assume Emperor Qianlong selected these specific locations for some reason. Examining the circumstances of the Victory Painting in Ziguangge may shed further light on the rationale behind this selection.

Ziguangge is a two-storey pavilion situated on the western side of the Forbidden City, a structure of considerable size measuring five bays by three. Emperor Kangxi expanded a Ming-dynasty building to use it as a viewing platform for mounted archery. Furthermore, the military examinations held on the platform before Ziguangge were not only personally observed by the emperor but also saw his own participation. Consequently, it appears to have been a place of great importance for the Qing dynasty, serving as a venue to display martial prowess. The Qianlong Emperor undertook several reconstructions of Ziguangge. During the first reconstruction in the 26th year of his reign (1761), it was expanded into a double-storey pavilion. Behind it, the Wucheng Hall was erected, and various imperial thrones were installed within Ziguangge itself<sup>30</sup>.

As previously noted, the album of victory paintings was housed within the Ziguang Pavilion. Crucially it<sup>where</sup> that these works were displayed not only to the Emperor but also to the wider public. Here, one should recall that the Victory Paintings on silk scrolls, executed by Lang Shining and three others as mentioned at the outset of the previous chapter, were also displayed in the Purple Light Pavilion. This underscores that the Purple Light Pavilion served not merely as a stage for displaying martial achievements, but also as a venue for imperial banquets. From 1761, Emperor Qianlong changed the venue for the annual New Year banquet from Fengze Garden to this location. The Veritable Records of the Qianlong Emperor and the Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty contain scattered accounts of the Emperor holding banquets at the Ziguang Pavilion for Mongol princes and nobles, Taiyi, Hui princes, and foreign envoys. Works depicting these banquets also survive. It was also at the Ziguang Pavilion that the British envoy Lord Macartney and his party were received by the Qianlong Emperor. The presence of the Victory Painting in this building, akin to a modern state guesthouse, meant it could be viewed by all visitors—not only Qing officials and princes, but also envoys of lesser rank. For instance, in 1787, Zhao Huan, who visited Beijing as deputy envoy of the Korean winter solstice and

Zhao Huan, who visited Beijing as deputy envoy of the Korean tribute mission for the winter solstice and gratitude ceremony in 1787,

recounted his experience in his 'Record of the Journey to Yan'. Zhao Huan arrived in the capital with the chief envoy on 9 January 1788. He recorded the various halls and pavilions within the Forbidden City, including the Purple Light Pavilion. He noted that the east and west walls were hung with imperial calligraphy and paintings, filling the entire surface, and that these were the Two Golden Rivers Victory Scenes. It is certain, however, that the Victory Paintings Zhao Huan saw were not the copperplate engravings discussed in this paper, nor were they the original works. Nevertheless, considering that the "display and appreciation of Victory Paintings" at the Ziguang Pavilion had been practised since the works' creation, and that even if they were later replaced by other pieces, this practice continued into the 20th century, it is possible that records from envoys who entered the Beijing city walls before 1787 may have been lost.

Another intriguing aspect of appreciating the Victory Map is that it could be viewed beyond the borders of the Qing Empire and in lands other than its place of production, France. The entry for 22nd September, Qianlong 54th year in the 'Archives of the Imperial Workshop' records that on 7th January, Qianlong 55th year, ten copies each of the Hui Region Map and the Jinchuan Map were printed. One copy each was distributed to Joseon, Siam, Ryukyu, and Annam, while the remaining six copies were stored in the Mouguindian Hall<sup>32</sup>. This is also evident from Korean historical records. A February 1790 (the 14th year of King Jeongjo's reign) Korean document states that on 10 January of that year, the envoy to the Qing court went to the Qianqing Gate and received one imperial edict and two scrolls of war maps from the Minister of Military Affairs. These war maps comprised sixteen paintings and sixteen poems, with the Emperor's poems inscribed on the upper section<sup>33</sup>. The subsequent provenance of these battle maps brought to Joseon at that time is entirely unknown; whether they were passed down as royal collection items or leaked outside the palace remains unclear. However, the Christian Museum of Korea, affiliated with Sungshin University in Seoul, currently holds the "Colophon to the Maps of the Pacifying Western Regions" and the "Maps of the Pacifying the Two Ginseng Rivers"<sup>34</sup>. It is possible that this work may be the copperplate engraving requested by the Envoy to Yan.

As we have seen thus far, for Emperor Qianlong, the production of victory illustrations did not end with their commissioning. Rather, it could be said that it began from there. By hanging the silk paintings on palace walls, replicating them as hundreds of copperplate prints, and distributing them widely, he ensured they could be seen by many more people. Was this not the Qianlong Emperor's intention to present his victories as clearer facts than the rumours circulating among the populace? In other words, rather than merely commemorating his triumphs, he sought to demonstrate his own greatness and the might of the Qing Empire to as many people as possible.

## I Regarding the Funding for the Production of the Copperplate Engravings of the 'Illustrations of the Victories in the Campaigns Against the Junggar and Hui Tribes'

As discussed in previous chapters, the production and publication of the copperplate engravings for the Victory Illustrations were entirely initiated by the Emperor. Indeed, from procuring materials to the extensive correspondence and transportation of works across the vast distance between China and France, and the wages paid to the French artisans, the delivery of the completed copperplate prints to the Qianlong Emperor must have required enormous sums and numerous exchanges between the various parties involved. Here, the author wishes to focus on the expenses incurred in their production, particularly the amount and the source of the funds, to clarify the nature of these copperplate prints.

Records concerning these funds are contained within the Qing and French materials introduced in Chapter One. Additionally, the accounting records of the French East India Company from that period constitute another crucial source<sup>35</sup>. However, despite the survival of these materials

## On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving

### "Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar

#### and Hui Tribes"

, it remains extremely difficult to determine the source of the funds. One reason appears to be the nature of the Imperial Household Department, which handled the Emperor's personal affairs. According to the Qinding Daqing Huidian Shili (Imperial Regulations of the Great Qing), Volume 21, the number of ministers in the Imperial Household Department was not fixed, and officials were appointed from the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies<sup>36</sup>. Furthermore, as Techan Chang's research indicates, the Imperial Household Department, said to have originated from the Eight Banners and Bannered People system, was staffed exclusively by Manchus until the 19th century. While efforts to appoint Han Chinese were not entirely absent, it remains unclear whether such appointments were ever realised<sup>37</sup>. While it cannot be definitively asserted that it was precisely because they were Manchu that they concealed the Emperor's extravagance and its details, it can at least be suggested that there was a connection between the exclusive recruitment of Manchus and the opacity surrounding the Imperial Household Department's finances.

Let us begin, then, by clarifying the amount of funds used for the production of the copperplate engravings, citing the relevant historical records. On this matter, Mr. Périot previously<sup>38</sup> based on French-side records. In this paper, I wish to advance the discussion by citing other records in addition to Mr. Périot's study.

We have already mentioned the 5,000 ryō paid as an advance and the remaining balance stipulated in the 1765 contract between the Qing court and the French East India Company for the engravings. According to a memorial written that same year by the Viceroy of Liangguang and the Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs, the relevant Grand Commissioner received and brought back the drafts and two letters in Italian, processing them as written. It is further noted that the initial payment of 1,000 liang for labour costs was received and utilised for this project<sup>39</sup>. For some time thereafter, no further mention of the funds appears in Qing dynasty historical records. Details finally emerge in the 38th year of the Qianlong reign (1773). A memorial submitted in March of that year by Li Shiyao, Governor-General of Liangguang, and De Kui, Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs and concurrently Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, stated: "In accordance with the imperial decree of the first month of Qianlong 38, henceforth, the cost of labour for producing the copper plates previously delivered shall be covered, excluding the 1,000 taels already provided." Furthermore, for the twelve design sheets, based on the agreement reached in the 31st year between the foreign merchants and the chief merchant of that country, the cost for sixteen copper plates is 3,200 taels, and the printing of the engravings is 800 taels. However, as this price corresponds to 1,600 sheets, it should be doubled to 1,600 taels. This totals 4,800 ryō in labour costs. Although 4,000 ryō has already been paid in two instalments, nine copper plates and 1,693 copperplate prints remain undelivered. The relevant supervisor<sup>40</sup> clarify matters concerning the additional payment before submitting a memorial. However, no subsequent Qing dynasty historical records mention wages or production costs, nor is there any evidence indicating how these 4,800 liang were actually handled or who bore the expense.

From what we have seen thus far, the sum paid by the Qing court totals 10,800 taels: comprising an advance payment of 5,000 taels, the previously paid labour costs of 1,000 taels, and the 4,800 taels for the remaining twelve pieces. This sum represents the labour costs agreed for the French artisans through negotiations between the Guangdong trading houses and the Daban, constituting only a fraction of the total expenses. Numerous other costs remain entirely unaccounted for. For instance, there is no mention whatsoever of the transportation costs for goods travelling between China and France, various labour expenses, or the costs for purchasing materials such as copper, paper, and ink. Furthermore, considering that the Guangdong Customs duties, which had surged dramatically since the 1750s, reached approximately 560,000 taels by the 1770s, and that the tribute silver for Guangdong Customs, initiated in the third year of Qianlong (1738), amounted to 55,000 taels annually, it can be inferred that this sum of 10,800 taels was by no means excessive. However, when copper plates for the imperial maps were produced in the 32nd year of Qianlong (1767), approximately

4,585 liang for the production of plates for the imperial, it is difficult to conclude this was necessarily the case. Precisely because it was an imperial work intended to extol the emperor's virtues, one might assume meticulous record-keeping and substantial expenditure, yet the actual circumstances were not so straightforward. As concluded earlier, the source of funding and cost estimation remain unclear. Let us now examine the situation locally in France.

In the early 1900s, Messrs Montval and Cordier recorded that the Emperor provided 16,000 ryō, equivalent to 112,800 livres, for the expenses (with one ryō valued at 7 livres 10 sous, or 7.5 livres) though they did not specify the source of these funds<sup>42</sup>. Mr. Périot similarly stated that "the Emperor issued 16,000 liang to employees of the French East India Company," while pointing out that their exchange rate was incorrect, being 7.05 livres rather than 7.5 livres. Furthermore, as evidence for his argument, he cited a 1766 record written by Henri Léonard Bertin (Bertin), former French Minister of Finance, estimating the total cost at 24,000 livres<sup>43</sup>.

Furthermore, a progress report dated 2 April 1767, sent by the production manager, Kochan, to the overall supervisor, the Marquis de Marigny, contained an item concerning various expenses, the details of which are as follows.

1. Six thousand livres for two copperplate sketches
2. After etching, one initial test print; after corrections, four further test prints. 2,000 livres for the four test prints
3. After the first set of corrections is completed, a second set of corrections and tests will be performed. For these: 800 livres
4. Finally, should a third set of corrections be necessary, the cost for all four sets combined: 400 livres

Total: 9,200 livres

This represents the share for the sole person responsible for this work, which I demand for all concerned. Therefore, excluding bonuses, the craftsmen's demands amount to 41,000 livres. If you would kindly send 50,000 livres, I will be satisfied.

However, it remains unclear whether the sum requested by Cossean ever reached him. This tendency is frequently observed not only in French sources but also in Qing dynasty historical records; while petitions concerning actual expenses are occasionally found, the actual handling of such matters appears to be entirely undocumented.

Subsequently, examination of the accounting report sent by the French East India Company to its Canton Committee in Paris in September 1772 reveals an entry under liabilities stating: "The guarantee deposit of 20,000 liang, equivalent to 27,855.125 piastres<sup>(44)</sup>." Furthermore, under assets for the 1773 fiscal year, it states: "6,000 piastres sent by the Cohang as payment for the engraving commissioned by the Company for the Chinese Emperor, produced in Paris at the Company's request"<sup>(47)</sup>. Furthermore, an entry dated 22 January 1779 records: "Cohang received approximately 10,000 piastres from the King's funds towards the outstanding payment for engravings depicting the Chinese Emperor's victory. An advance payment

## On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving

### "Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar

#### and Hui Tribes"

and received 18,800 livres in cash. Finally, it states, "The Chinese deposit as security for the engraving work exceeds 10,800 livres." Although some discrepancies are apparent, the general amounts can be discerned. Moreover, despite the various processes concerning the copperplate engravings having been completed in the Qing court the accounts dated 30 December 1780 contain an almost identical entry: "Con-hang receives approximately 10,000 piastres from the King's funds as security for the outstanding payment for the engravings depicting the Emperor's victory. He receives the advance deposit guarantee in two instalments totalling approximately 5,000 piastres. The total is 27,000 livres."<sup>(49)</sup>

As we have seen, detailed records concerning the various production costs are lacking, and consequently many aspects remain unclear. While it cannot be ascertained whether such records were never created or have been lost, the names recorded at the beginning of the actual contract are those of merchants from the Guangdong Trading House and representatives of the French East India Company rather than the Viceroy of Liangguang and the Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs<sup>(50)</sup>. Considering their involvement as the actual parties responsible, alongside the illegal demands made by officials upon merchants at the time and the tacit convention that 'officials do not pay merchants', it is conceivable that the copperplate engravings were presented as a 'compulsory tribute' to the Emperor<sup>(51)</sup>. ~~As noted by He Xinzuo, the Qing official who researched the tribute system, the Emperor's tributes were not to be paid by the officials but by the merchants, and pay the sums on their behalf<sup>(52)</sup>, indicating that merchants acting as proxy for tribute offerings was by no means impossible.~~ Furthermore, He Xinzuo, who researched the tribute system during the Qing dynasty, pointed out that while regular tributes on occasions such as New Year's Day, the Dragon Boat Festival, and the Emperor's birthday were standard practice, non-regular tributes under various pretexts were also frequently offered<sup>(53)</sup>. He noted<sup>(54)</sup> that the expenses for these were primarily sourced from the 'integrity silver' (養廉銀), public funds, or the capital of local merchants<sup>(55)</sup>. The aforementioned tribute reserve silver was a form of public funds allocated for preparing tribute goods. In the case of the Guangzhou Customs, the surplus tax revenue—far exceeding the fixed tax amount—served as the source for this tribute reserve silver. However, despite the Qing court granting 55,000 liang annually as 'official' tribute silver, various historical records indicate that a shortfall had already arisen from around the 30th year of the Qianlong reign<sup>(56)</sup>. Furthermore, an appraisal by Zhao Yu, a member of the imperial household at the time, concerning Li Shiyao, the Liangguang Governor-General during the production of the copperplate engravings, ~~in~~ Li Shiyao was renowned for presenting rare curiosities to the Emperor. His tributes and the resulting imperial favours thus ~~led to~~ other provincial governors and military commanders<sup>(55)</sup>. Although Li Shiyao's own records detailing the use of tribute silver remain extant, most of these entries appear largely formalistic, leaving the actual source of the funds unclear. However, within the merchant-official-emperor (imperial court) structure, it is conceivable that the lowest-ranking merchants bore the actual costs for the copperplate engravings – the aforementioned 'compulsory tribute' – while Qing officials in positions capable of transmitting information or reporting recent developments to the capital, such as governors or supervisors, merely appropriated the nominal credit.

In the 1790s, towards the end of his reign, Emperor Qianlong also commissioned similar copperplate engravings to commemorate victories in Taiwan. On this occasion, however, alongside paintings and copperplate engravings, he also had produced lacquer paintings on wooden panels of almost identical size to the engravings, indicating the introduction of a new medium.

The Qianlong Emperor's image strategy, bordering on paranoia, can be discerned from numerous works. This paper has thus focused on propaganda during the early Qing period—specifically, the emperor's creation of an imperial image and his promotional strategy. Viewed from this perspective, the copperplate engraving project discussed here serves as an illustrative example of how the ruling class employed images, or art, to flaunt their empire both domestically and abroad. However, it was inevitable that various problems arose before the commissioned works reached the emperor, and that plans could not always be executed as intended. Furthermore, regarding the various production costs, this paper attempted to clarify the sources of funding by examining diverse materials related to the 'Illustrations of Victories in the Campaigns against the Junggar and Hui Rebels'. Yet, the absence of detailed records meant only possibilities could be suggested, leaving many unresolved issues. Further research is needed.

#### Notes

- (1) Research Series on Cultural Artefacts in the Collection of the National Museum of China: Painting Volume, Historical Painting. National Museum of China, 2006. Hidataka Otsuka, "On the Birth of 'Battle News Prints,'" Bulletin of the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Saitama University, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2012. Ma Yazhen, "Military Merit and Official Records: War Imagery and the Visual Culture of Officials in the Ming Dynasty," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, University of Tokyo, No. 23, 2013.
- (2) Hongxing Zhang, Studies in Late Qing Dynasty Battle Paintings, *Artibus Asiae*, vol.60, no.2, 2000, pp.265–270
- (3) The Ten Meritorious Acts: pacifying the Galdan as two, subduing the Muslim tribes as one, clearing Jinchuan as two, pacifying Taiwan as one, subduing Burma and Annam each as one. This includes the two subsequent surrenders of the Gurkhas, totalling ten. The three rebellions within the interior by the Yao and Mo tribes are not counted. 'Ten Complete Records'
- (4) Shiqu Baoji Xubian, Volume 15, stored in the Qianqing Palace. However, the entry in Shiqu Baoji Xubian describes a work on paper rather than silk, and of extremely small dimensions. It is likely that this refers to a work commissioned to be redrawn based on the silk painting. Evidence for this replication is found in the 'Archives of the Imperial Household Department's Bureau of Manufactures' (hereafter 'Bureau Archives'), under the Ruyi Pavilion entry dated 19th day of the 5th month, Qianlong 30th year. Furthermore, entries concerning victory paintings beyond the sixteen battle scenes also appear in this work. For instance, Volume 14 contains "Qian Weicheng's Painting of the Subjugation of the Junggar," Volume 6 contains "Lang Shining's Painting of Ayushi Holding a Spear and Repelling Bandits" and "Lang Shining's Painting of Matan Chopping Through the Enemy Ranks". Specifically, regarding Lang Shining's Painting of Matan Chopping Through the Enemy Ranks, a record of its hanging in the Ziguang Pavilion is found in the Ruoyi Pavilion section of the Zhaobanchu Archives, under the entry for 17th March, Qianlong 25th year.
- (5) "Upon Completing the Collection of Portraits of Meritorious Subjects and Various Battle Scenes for Display in the Ziguang Pavilion, a Banquet was Held; Thereupon I Composed Six Verses and Added Four Chapters"; "Poem on the Banquet at the Ziguang Pavilion for Foreign Tribes and the Muslim Regions to Commemorate the Event"; "Supplementary Verses on the Battle Scenes", collected in the Qinding Huangyu Xiyu Tuzhi, Volume 3
- (6) Niklas Leverenz, The Battle of Qurman: A Third Fragment of the 1760 Qianlong Imperial Painting, *Orientalia*, vol.46, no.4, 2015. Niklas Leverenz, On three different sets of East Turkestan Paintings, *Orientalia*, vol.42, no.8, 2011. Camille Schmitt, The Battle of Qurman: Restoration and Remounting of a Qing Imperial Wall Painting, *Orientalia*, vol.41, no.4, 2010. Niklas Leverenz, From Painting to Print: The Battle of Qurman from 1760, *Orientalia*, vol.41, no.4, 2010.
- (7) The titles of the copperplate engravings based on sixteen silk paintings are not standardised, appearing as The Conquest of the Muslim Regions, The Victory over the Muslim Tribes, or The Conquest of the Muslim Tribes in li. Contemporary historical records also employ various designations such as The Victory in li and Other Regions or The Victory over the Junggar and Muslim Tribes in Various Regions. Though commonly known as the "Qianlong Western Regions Battle Series", this paper refers to it as the "Series of Victory in the Pacifying of the Junggar and Muslim Regions". "Memorandum to the Military Affairs Department Concerning the Submission of Victory Series Copper Plates and Paintings, and the Settlement of Artistic Fees in Silver Tael" by Li Zhiying, Governor of Guangdong, et al." on 20th September, Qianlong 42nd Year. Compiled by the First Historical Archives of China.  
Qianlong Western Regions Battle Pictures Secret Archives Collection, Beijing Publishing House, 2007, p.167
- (8) Emperor Qianlong's admiration for Rugendas' copperplate engravings can be seen in a letter from Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein, who was the Director of the Imperial Observatory at the time. The letter is included in György Pray ed. *Imposturae CCXVIII in dissertatione* r.p. Benedicti Cetto, Clerici Regularis e Scholis Piis de Sinensium imposturis detectae et convulsae. *Accedunt Epistolae anecdotae* r.p. Augustini e comitibus Hallerstein ex China scriptae, Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1781

## On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving

### 'Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar

#### and Hui Tribes'

- . This paper re-quotes from Herbert Bütz et al. eds., *Bilder für die "Halle des Purpurglanzes": Chinesische Offiziersporträts und Schlachtenkupfer der Ära Qianlong (1736-1795)*, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, 2003, p.54.
- (9) Richard E. Strassberg, *War and Peace: Four Intercultural Landscapes, China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Getty Research Institute, 2007, p.97. Takada Tokio, [Commentary] *The Conquest of the Western Regions War Map, The Qianlong Western Regions War Map, Rinsensha*, 2009, p.8
- (10) Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705-1724)*, Tesco critic, note e appendice documentaria di Michele Fatica. vol. II, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996, pp. 41, 135–136. Basil Gray, *Lord Burlington and Father Ripa's Chinese Engraving*, *The British Museum Quarterly*, vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 40–43.
- (11) Given the abundance of prior research, readers are advised to consult the following in addition to the footnotes in this paper: [www.battle-of-qurman.com.cn](http://www.battle-of-qurman.com.cn).
- (12) ~~See~~ Secret Archives of the Qianlong Emperor's Western Regions Campaign, *Divine Brushwork: The Art of Lang Shining – 300th Anniversary of His Arrival in China Special Exhibition*, National Palace Museum, 2015.
- (13) Weng Lianxi, ed., *Compilation of Historical Materials from the Qing Imperial Archives on Engraved Books*, Guangling Publishing House, 2007
- (14) Held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. In citations within this paper, the reference number is indicated.
- (15) Harvard University, Houghton Library collection (MS-Typ-607). An English translation appears in Nicholas Leverenz, *Drawings, Proofs and Prints from the Qianlong Emperor's East Turkestan Copperplate*, *Arts Asiatiques*, Tomb 68, 2013, pp.53–57.
- (16) Nicholas Leverenz, *op.cit.*(15), pp. 44–46
- (17) Zao Ban Chu Archives, Ruyi Workshop, entry for 5th day of the 11th month, Qianlong 29th year
- (18) Archives of the Imperial Workshop, Ruyi Pavilion, entry dated 19th day of the 6th month, Qianlong 30th year
- (19) According to Mr. Ishida Kanjusuke, aside from this design sketch and handwritten letter, 16,000 liang of silver (approximately 112,800 livres) were also procured; however, no evidence for this claim has been found. Ishida Kanjusuke, "On the Paris Engraving of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar Region during the Qianlong Era," *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1919, p.93
- (20) This imperial edict is not found in the Qianlong Imperial Edicts Archives, but was repeatedly cited in subsequent memorials. This paper refers to its citation in the memorial submitted by Yang Tingzhang, Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, and Fang Tiyu, Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs, dated 1 August Qianlong 30.
- (21) "Public Agreement of Pan Tongwen et al. of the Guangdong Foreign Trade Office" Bibliothèque nationale de France, chinois 9199 (original number: nouv.fonds chinois 5231). The French translation of this document appears in Pascal Torres, *Les Batailles de L'Empereur de Chine: La gloire de Qianlong célébrée par Louis XV, une commande royale d'estampes*, Musée du Louvre, 2009, pp.30–33
- (22) The original appears to have been in French but no longer survives. Translations by Jiang Youren and Qian Deming are extant. "Letter from Copperplate Engraver Ke Sheng to the Capital" National Palace Museum, Taipei, Guji 013260
- (23) Entry in the 'Archives of the Imperial Workshop', 3rd day of the 5th month, Qianlong 38th year. Furthermore, the entry for the 3rd day of the 2nd month, Qianlong 38th year, in the 'Temporary Records from Qianlong 34th to 41st Years' of the Map Room contains details regarding the materials and funds used on this occasion.
- (24) ~~See~~ (23) above. Furthermore, according to the 'Initial Catalogue of the Imperial Workshop Office Cartography Division, Qing Internal Revenue Department', there existed "Sixteen Poems and Five Copies of the Imperial Brushwork Map of the Conquest of the Western Regions". Although the date of the original print is not specified, it is recorded as having been painted in the Qianlong Bingxu year (31st year, 1766).
- (25) Michel Meurdeley, *Peintres Jésuites en Chine au XVIIe siècle*, Anthese, 1997, p.115
- (26) *Explanation of the Paintings, Sculptures and Engravings by Gentlemen of the Royal Academy*, 1769, p.39. *Ibid.*, 1771, pp.50–51
- (27) Emmanuel Bocher, *Les Gravures Françaises du XVIIIe Siècle ou Catalogue Raisonné des estampes, vignettes, eaux-fortes, pieces en couleur au bistre et au lavis, de 1700 a 1800, Cinquième Fascicule*, 1879, p.24. *Ibid.*, 1882, pp.575–576
- (28) 『Zao Ban Chu Archives』 Ruyi Pavilion, entry for 11th day of the 4th month, Qianlong 44th year. A similar entry, "Record of the Imperial Household Department's Zao Ban Chu Office distributing copies of the Victory Print to the provincial governors' offices and the various garrisons of the generals and commanders," also survives in a historical archive in Taipei.
- (29) Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty*,

Tauris, 2006, p.44

- (30) For Ziguangge, see Zhang Xiaorui, "The Reconstruction and Furnishings of Ziguangge," *Proceedings of the Chinese Forbidden City Society*, Vol. 5, Part 2, 2007; and Li Guorong, "The Qianlong Emperor and Ziguangge," *The Forbidden City*, No. 133, 2005.
- (31) For details of the circumstances at that time, see Volume 64 of Yu Minzhong's 'Sequel to the History of the Imperial Court' and Volume 24 of 'Research into Old Tales of the Capital'. Furthermore, Mr Fuchs published a plan of the Ziguangge murals based on this record. Walter Fuchs, *Die Entwürfe der Schlachtenkupfer der Kienlung- and Taokuang-zeit*, *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies of Catholic University of Peking*, vol. 9, 1941, pp.103–108
- (32) Entry in the 'Archives of the Imperial Workshop', 22nd day of the 9th month, Qianlong 54th year. However, the entry for the same day in the 'Veritable Records of the Qianlong Emperor' merely states that imperial edicts of longevity and grace were issued to Joseon, Annam, Ryukyu, and Siam. 'Veritable Records of the Qianlong Emperor', vol. 1346, entry for the Xinmao day of the 1st month, Qianlong 55th year.
- (33) 『Annals of King Jeongjo』, Volume 29, entry for the 2nd month, Xinwei day, 14th year of King Jeongjo's reign
- (34) For this collection item, see Park Hyo-eun, "The Colophon of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving 'Illustrations of the Campaign to Subjugate the Western Regions' and 'Illustrations of the Campaign to Subjugate the Two Jinchuan Regions,'" *Journal of the Sungkyunkwan University Museum of Korean Christianity*, No. 5, 2009.
- (35) Henri Cordier, *La France en Chine au Dix-Huitième Siècle: Documents Inédits Publiés sur les Manuscrits Conservés au Dépôt des Affaires Étrangères avec une Introduction et des Notes*, Tome Premier, Ernest Leroux, 1883
- (36) Ministry of Internal Affairs. Minister of the General Administration of Internal Affairs: no fixed number. Appointed from among Manchu civil and military ministers, or from among princes and nobles, specially selected (Omitted) Manchu: seventy-five persons; Mongol: twenty-three persons; Han Army: seventy-three persons. 'Imperially Sanctioned Code of the Great Qing Dynasty', Volume 21, Official System Section
- (37) Chang Te-Ch'ang, 'The Economic Role of the Imperial Household in the Ch'ing Dynasty', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.31, no.2, 1972, p.243
- (38) Paul Pelliot, *Les Conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine*, *T'oung pao*, vol. XX, 1921, pp. 210–214. For the most recent research, see Laura Newby, *Copper Plates for the Qianlong Emperor: from Paris to Peking via Canton*, *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 16, 2012.
- (39) "Memorandum by Yang Tingzhang, Governor-General of Liangguang, and Fang Tiyu, Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs, dated 1 August Qianlong 30" (卷31 p.120.
- (40) Not (12) above Shenbi Danqing, p. 165. A memorial of nearly identical content exists from March of the same year, but the April version is more detailed. This paper therefore cites the latter. This memorial was also referenced in a memorial submitted by Li Zhiying, Governor of Guangdong, in September Qianlong 42.
- (41) Archives of the Imperial Workshop, Cartography Office, entry dated 16th day of the 7th month, Qianlong 32nd year
- (42) Henri Cordier, *Les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, tome I, 1913, p.6; Jean Monval, *Les conquêtes de la Chine: une commande de l'empereur de Chine en France au XVIIIe siècle*, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, tome XVIII, 1905, p.150
- (43) Paul Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp.211–214
- (44) Pascal Torres, *op. cit.*, pp.53–54
- (45) The piastre is the French designation for the Spanish silver coin, the real de a ocho (real de a ocho, or real de a ocho). Spanish silver coins served as a base currency, much like the dollar does today. Particularly after the 16th century, with the massive influx of silver from Spain's American colonies, especially Peru and Mexico, the minting of silver coins surged dramatically, leading to their widespread use as an international means of payment.
- (46) Henri Cordier, *op. cit.*, 1883, p.14
- (47) *Ibid.*, p.31
- (48) 18,800 livres is likely a typographical error for 10,800 livres. *Ibid.*, pp.94–95
- (49) *Ibid.*, p.107
- (50) The names of all the Guangdong merchants involved are listed at the end of the contract. (卷1) b
- (51) For the relationship between the Hong merchants and officials, see Weng Eang Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade*, Curzon, 1997.

**On the Production of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving**

**"Illustration of the Victory in the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar**

**and Hui Tribes"**

- (52) Previously, the Governor of Guangdong and the Supervisor of the Yuehai Customs Office annually presented tribute goods, all of which were procured by foreign merchants, who were required to cover the costs. This established practice became entrenched, causing merchants considerable hardship. Yuehai Customs Records, Volume 25, Merchant Traders section
- (53) He Zuoxue, *A Study of the Tribute System in the Qing Dynasty*, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2012, pp. 130–136.
- (54) This surplus tax was remitted to the Imperial Household Department from the Yongzheng era onwards. Furthermore, the tribute silver of the Yuehai Customs was divided from the seventh year of Qianlong: of the 55,000 taels, 25,000 taels were allocated to the Imperial Household Department's Bureau of Manufactures, while 30,000 taels were used locally for procuring tribute goods. Dai He "A Discussion on the Tax Revenue of the Yuehai Customs in the Qing Dynasty," *Studies in Chinese Social and Economic History*, No. 1, 1988. Lai Hui-min, "Customs and Imperial Finances in the Qianlong Reign of the Qing Dynasty," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, No. 46, 2004. Lai Hui-min, *The Emperor Qianlong's Purse*, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2014
- (55) *Shouting Pavilion Miscellaneous Records*, Volume 4, entry on Minister Li Zhaoxin

Bulletin  
of the  
**Graduate Division of Letters, Arts and Sciences**  
of  
Waseda University

62

2016

早稲田大学大学院

# 文学研究科紀要

第 62 輯

哲学	フランス語フランス文学	東洋史学
東洋哲学	ドイツ語ドイツ文学	西洋史学
心理学	ロシア語ロシア文化	考古学
社会学	中国語中国文学	文化人類学
教育学	演劇映像学	アジア地域文化学
日本語日本文学	美術史学	表象・メディア論
英文学	日本史学	現代文芸

2016年度

## CONTENTS

### 〈Philosophy〉

The <i>Energeia</i> of Intellect: Aristotle's Theory of Intellect and the Concept of Separate Form .....	Keiichi IWATA	11
„Meine Blüten sind Früchte“:		
Die Mariologie bei dem Gedanken Eckharts .....	Teruhisa TAJIMA	(13)984
Virtue Ethics and its Present .....	Akira MURAMATSU	27
Das Verständnis des Intellekts bei Meister Eckhart .....	Koichiro WAKAMATSU	(31)966
How Does the Actual World Change in Perfection? — From a Biological Point of View in Leibniz — .....	Masahiko TERASHIMA	45
Summary of Master's Theses .....		(45)952

### 〈Asian Philosophy〉

Wang Dao's Expression in “Shi shou xin yu” .....	Yoshihiro WATANABE	(53)944
Thought of Yang Xiong's <i>Mystery</i> .....	Yumie TAMURA	(67)930
Seishisai Aizawa's View of “Kokugaku”		
— Concentrating on the Thought Structure when He Criticized Norinaga — .....	Jianwei JIANG	(83)914
A Foreign Monk in the Early Tang Dynasty:		
Changer Sancang and His Thought .....	Yui SAKURAI	(99)898
Summary of Master's Theses .....		(113)884

### 〈Psychology〉

Summary of Master's Theses .....	57/(121)876
----------------------------------	-------------

### 〈Sociology〉

The Return Relief Policy and the Process of Japanese War Orphans in China Returning to Japan		
— A Focus on the Motivations for Return — .....	Longlong ZHANG	67
Summary of Master's Theses .....		83/(125)872

### 〈Education〉

Verbal Communication and Education .....	Hiroshi UMEMOTO	(129)868
2015 A-level Examination Reform in the UK .....	Kiyotake OKI	87
The Function of Social Welfare in the Education System:		
The Focus on School Social Worker's Role .....	Akito TAKAISHI	(145)852
Research on Private Nursing School in Japanese University		
— Findings and Limitations of Private Nursing School Increase Factor Analysis Focused on MEXT Policy — .....	Yousuke UEHATA	99

The Time Series Analysis of Student Migration — Focusing on Geographic Factor —	· Takeshi ENDO	113
What is the Nature of ESD?: A Focus on “Pandemic Model of the Development”	· Eita YAMADA	129
〈Japanese Studies〉		
Masaoka Shiki’s Critics of Literature and Painting in Chinese Poems	· Ichiro IKEZAWA	(217)780
Uta-awase and the Inner Palace of the Murakami Court	· Kanako TABARU	(231)766
Masaoka Shiki’s New Style Poetry: Between Haiku and Prose	· Tomoki TABE	(245)752
Summary of Master’s Theses		(261)736
〈English Studies〉		
Minor and Major Narratives: Building a Living Monument to the Vietnam War	· Kazuha SAITO	145
Summary of Master’s Theses		(161)836/155
〈French Studies〉		
Qu’est-ce qu’« un cygne d’autrefois » ? — exégèse des poésies de jeunesse de Stéphane Mallarmé (6)	· Takeo KAWASE	159
<i>Reticentia</i> de Giraut de Borneil, “maestre dels trobadors” (PC 242, 45)	· Naohiko SETO	171
Mutilation corporelle et monnaie: le thème du corps-fortune chez Gide (1)	· Ryo MORII	191
Les impressionnistes et Mallarmé: l’art de regarder la danse dans les années 1870	· Yumi MURAKAMI	203
L’enfant du soleil Anatole « Un Tombeau d’Anatole » comme mythe solaire	· Youhei UMAKOSHI	215
The Acceptance of <i>Gaspard de la Nuit</i> in Japan — The Translation by Bin Ueda —	· Akane MIYAZAKI	231
Summary of Master’s Theses		245/(169)828
〈German Studies〉		
Kaspar Hauser als Diskurstopos und Körperfiguration	· Arne KLAWITTER	253
Summary of Master’s Theses		(173)824
〈Russian Studies〉		
Змеборство Св.Георгия в болгарском фольклоре (II)	· Ichiro ITO	271
Наследник русского авангарда в советском неофициальном искусстве: Леонид Ламмиего раннее творчество	· Rieko KAMIOKA	277
Выражение тела: Роль Порфирия Петровича в романе « Преступление и наказание »	· Saki TANAKA	287
Summary of Master’s Theses		(177)820

〈Chinese Studies〉

- Fu Zengxiang's Ancient Jade Study:  
On Foreword to Zunguzhai's Ancient Jade Catalog ..... Koichiro INAHATA (185)812
- The Unit of Chinese Language and the Significance  
of Setting the Four Hanzi Scales ..... Akiko FUJINO 299
- Nomura Koen's 'Ya Ci' and the Literary World of the Qing Dynasty:  
With the Clue of Eibutsu Poems ..... Chu Hui CHEN (203)794
- Summary of Master's Theses ..... 313

〈Theatre and Film Arts〉

- Summary of Master's Theses ..... 317

〈Art History〉

- Some Unknown Facts of Kakutei, Obaku-zen Painter ..... Katsushi NARUSAWA (273)724
- Iconographical Program of the Diakonikon  
in the Church of Panagia Peribleptos, Ohrid ..... Tomoyuki MASUDA 321
- On the Dormition of the Virgin in the Byzantine Churches of Crete ..... Kazufumi TAKEDA 335
- A Making Process of Copperplate Prints 《*Pingding Zhunhui liangbu desheng tu*》  
in the Qing Dynasty ..... Bo-Kyung HAN 357
- The Painting Career of the "Northern Ch'i Painter" Ts'ao Chung-ta ..... Xia HUANG (285)712
- A Study on the Image of Thunder God (Lei Gong) in Chinese Shadowplay ..... Ling LUO (305)692
- On the Cosmological Buddha in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco:  
A Study of the Reliefs Carved on the Petals of the Lotus Throne ..... Dan Yun YI 373

〈Japanese History〉

- Cenotaphs Erected for the Repose of Animals' Soul  
during Japanese Colonial Era ..... Masayuki MANABE (347)650
- Personnel Structures and Action Policies of Engineering Societies  
in Japan before World War II: Focusing on "Kosei-Kai" ..... Kosuke SATAKE 419
- Summary of Master's Theses ..... (375)622

〈Asian History〉

- The DAITOKUJI 500 LUOHANS and SHI-HAO's Policy  
Toward Jin Dynasty ..... Kazunari KONDO (383)614
- Summary of Master's Theses ..... (399)598/435

〈Western History〉

- Notes on Sumerian Expression of "Humility" in Royal Inscriptions,  
and on the Calculations of Days in Administrative Texts ..... Tohru MAEDA 439

The Perceptions to “Western Church” of Byzantine Churchman in the Ninth Century .....	Natsumi KISHIDA	453
Summary of Master’s Theses .....		(403)594
〈Archaeology〉		
The Report of Senbutsu Excavated from Shimofusa Ryukakuji Temple .....	Masayoshi JOKURA, Junko FURIHATA, Yama NAWABI, Yuto FUKUOKA	469
Archaeological Investigation at the YAMAGATA Site .....	Junichi NAGASAKI, Keita TAKENOUCI, Rei WATANABE, Yuto SATO	485
The Archaeological Study about the Location of the Buddhist Temples in the Gandhara Using GIS: Focusing on Hadda and Taxila .....	Yama NAWABI	509
Summary of Master’s Theses .....		(407)590
〈Cultural Anthropology〉		
Ancient Pyu City, Sri Ksetra, in Myanmar: Memory, Oral Tradition, Heritage, and Village Communities .....	Keiko MIURA	527
A Study on the Invention of Tradition from the Festival that Relies on the Close Interaction between Community Residents and the Media — From the Case of <i>Goranshiki</i> at Ienaka Area in Tochigi City — .....	Takahiro SAKAI	549
The Position of the State of California, USA, in the Studies on Hula that is an Indigenous Native Hawaiian Traditional Dance .....	Noriko KARUBE	567
Summary of Master’s Theses .....		(411)586
〈Studies of Media, Body and Image〉		
A Study on the Representations of Women in Plight in Contemporary Irish Theatre .....	Futoshi SAKAUCHI	389
The Problem of “Vision” in the Philosophy of Nishida Kitarō .....	Kazuisa FUJIMOTO	(323)674
Image of Orient by Francis Frith’s Travel Photography .....	Kasumi KUGO	399
Summary of Master’s Theses .....		417
〈Creative Writing and Criticism〉		
Summary of Master’s Theses .....		(339)658
[Bulletin of the Graduate Division of Letters, Arts and Sciences of Waseda University]		
Submission Rules .....		994