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Art and Material Culture of Qing Dynasty and Its Transmission to Joseon through Diplomatic Channels in the Late Reign of King Jeongjo*

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I. Preface

The act of exchanging gifts is a universal human activity as social beings, playing a significant role not only in the economic aspect of goods exchange but also in cultural exchange and the formation of personal relationships. In diplomacy between nations, the presentation of gifts or the accompanying diplomatic rituals carry diverse political and cultural implications. They have been regarded as important symbolic acts of communication, capable of sustaining friendly relations between states or fostering conflict.¹ The goods exchanged through diplomatic relations encompass not only costly precious metals, intricate crafts, and works of art, but also diverse commodities such as textiles, silk, paper products, and regional specialities. Despite the significant role and function of gifts or tributes in diplomatic relations, the vast majority of these items no longer exist. Their approximate nature can only be inferred through replicas or records. Consequently, most research to date has been dominated by historical studies based on diplomatic documents between Joseon and the Ming or Qing dynasties. The materiality of the items actually exchanged, or their value as visual sources, has only recently begun to attract attention.²

In pre-modern East Asian international relations, particularly in Joseon's diplomatic relations with the Qing, Joseon offered tribute in the form of silk, paper, ramie, horses, tiger and leopard skins, blue squirrel skins, otter skins, badger skins, green skins, tiger fur, yellow sulphur, dragon-patterned mat, multicoloured square mat, ginseng, and other local products. During tribute missions, they also presented gold, silver, rice, and other offerings to the Qing court.³ In return for these tributes, the Chinese emperor

1 Regarding theoretical approaches to the function and role of gifts in diplomatic relations, see Leah Clark and Nancy Um, "Introduction: The Art of Embassy: Situating Objects and Images in the Early Modern Diplomatic Encounter," *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 20 (2016), pp. 1-16; Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen, Giorgio Riello, "Introduction: Global Gifts and the Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia," in Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen, Giorgio Riello eds., *Global Gifts: the Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 1-33.

2 Representative studies include: Jeon Hae-jong, *A Study of Korean-Chinese Relations* (Ilchaegak, 1970), pp. 26-70; *Ibid.*, "A Study of Korean-Chinese Tribute Relations," *Journal of Oriental History* 1 (1966), pp. 10-41; *Ibid.*, "A Comprehensive Study of Tribute Relations between Korea and China during the Qing Dynasty," *Journal of Korean Studies* 29:30 (1966), pp. 435-480; *Ibid.*,

"A Study on the Tribute System of the Han Dynasty," *『Studies in East Asian History』* (1973), pp. 1-15; Park Won-ho, "Perspectives and Issues in the History of Pre-Modern Sino-Korean Relations," *『Lectures on Korean History for Citizens』* 40(2007), pp. 40-58; Kim Gyeong-rok, "Perceptions of Joseon's Relations with Qing and the Diplomatic System: Focusing on the Organisation of Late Joseon Diplomatic Documents," *Ihwa Historical Studies* 37 (2008), pp. 139-181; Same author, "The Transmission System and Evolutionary Process of Diplomatic Correspondence (Zwén) in the Joseon Dynasty," *Journal of Historical Documents Research* 46 (2015), pp. 21-53; Hong Seon-i, "Characteristics of Joseon-Qing Relations as Seen through Annual Tribute and Regional Products," *The Bulletin of Korean History* 55 (2014), pp. 257-295; Baek Ok-gyeong, "Research on Joseon Dynasty History and Foreign Relations Materials,"

Journal of Joseon Dynasty History 79 (2016), pp. 153-185.

3 『Chronicles of the Office of Correspondence』 Volume 3, 「Chapter on Serving the Great Power, Part One」 contains various regulations concerning diplomacy with the Great Qing, including diplomatic missions to the capital, the selection of horses for the journey, documents to be carried during the journey, as well as diplomatic document formats, budgets and expenses, lists of tribute goods, ceremonial procedures, banquets, trade, and regulations and conventions concerning the opening of the Junggang and Hoeryong trade routes. Among these, the lists of tribute goods provide detailed records of the specific items exchanged between the two nations during diplomatic missions and their evolution, serving as valuable reference material. For the historical value of the Tongmun Gwanji and the types and value of tribute goods, gifts, and the Emperor's return gifts recorded therein, see Lee Yeong-chun, "The Compilation of the Tongmun Gwanji and the Nature of Late Joseon-Korea-China Relations," *History and Practical Learning* 33 (2007), pp. 121-161.

To the envoys of Joseon, saddles, brocades, silverware, horses, and furs such as sable or fox were bestowed according to their rank.

⁴Diplomatic gifts typically comprised local products, items of rare value, or those with monetary worth. In the case of Joseon, tribute items presented to the Qing throughout the period consisted mainly of textiles, leather goods, mats, and paper products. Beyond their status as tribute goods, no distinctive features were observed. In contrast, the Qing court exhibited significant changes in the diplomatic gifts bestowed upon foreign missions around the Qianlong Emperor's reign. This study focuses on these evolving patterns, examining the role of 'gifts' in diplomatic relations, particularly through the lens of the ceremonial objects presented to Joseon as diplomatic gifts from China during the latter part of King Jeongjo's reign. It further explores the selection and preparation processes of diplomatic gifts, and the symbolic significance of the rituals and ceremonies surrounding their presentation. This analysis will be conducted within the context of traditional tributary relations in East Asia and the evolving dynamics of foreign relations during the 18th century, particularly concerning the Qing and its neighbouring states.⁵

During this period, it was common for the highest-grade jade ware, stationery, lacquerware, and porcelain produced by the Imperial Workshop (造辦處) for palace use to be presented as special imperial gifts to Joseon envoys. This practice reveals how the splendid material culture of the Qing dynasty's zenith, the Kangxi-Qianlong Golden Age, was transmitted to Joseon. This study examines the diplomatic protocols through which such gifts were bestowed upon Joseon envoys and seeks to reconstruct the historical context. While few actual examples of recorded gifts survive, the forms of gifts received by Joseon envoys can be inferred from works produced by the Imperial Workshop during the Qianlong period and used within the imperial court. Specifically, this paper focuses on two European-style copperplate engravings, the 《Conquest of the Western Regions》 and the 《Conquest of the Two Jinchuan》, which were among the diplomatic gifts bestowed by Emperor Qianlong during official diplomatic events and ceremonies. These were received by the delegation led by Yi Seong-won (李性源), dispatched on the 1789 Dongjisa mission. The paper examines the purpose of their production, their distribution, and their transmission into Joseon, examining their political function as diplomatic gifts. Furthermore, it briefly discusses the impact on Joseon intellectuals of the material cultures of the Qing and the West, as experienced through diplomatic activities surrounding the gift-giving and their experiences in Beijing and Yehu.

⁴ Jeong Seong-hwan, "East Asian Diplomacy and the Exchange of Gifts," in *The World of Diplomatic Gifts and Luxury Goods in History*, ed. National Institute of Korean History (Doosan Dong-A, 2007), pp. 23–29.

⁵ Representative prior research analysing the patterns of cultural exchange between Korea and China from an art-historical perspective includes Han Jeong-hee, "Public Engagement with Painting during the Reign of King Jeongjo", *Lectures on Art History* 8 (1996), pp. 59-71. Other notable works include Jung Eun-ju, *Records of Diplomatic Missions to China during the Joseon Dynasty* (Social Criticism, 2012); the same author, "A Study on Cases of Seeking and Acquiring Chinese Calligraphy and Painting during Diplomatic Missions to China," *Art History Studies* 26 (2012), pp. 329-362; and the same author, "The Routes of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Influx During the Envoy Missions," *Ming-Qing History Research* 38 (2012), pp. 319-352, among numerous other papers and monographs. Meanwhile, various studies analysing the *Yanxing Records* have been published within the fields of history and Korean literature. Key works referenced in this paper include: Shin Ilk-cheol, "Aspects of Sino-Korean Cultural Exchange as Seen through 18th-Century Yanxing Records," *Proceedings of the Korea-China Humanities Forum* 10:1 (2015), pp. 90-102; by the same author, "Encounters between 18th-Century Envoys to China and Western Missionaries," *Korean Journal of Chinese Literature* 51 (2013), pp. 445-486; *ibid.*, *Compilation of Articles from 18th-Century Travel Accounts to China* (The Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2014); *ibid.*, *Travel Envoys and the Beijing Catholic Church* (2013, Bogosa).

II. Paintings and artworks transmitted as diplomatic gifts during the Joseon Dynasty

In the diplomatic relations between Joseon and China during the 18th century beyond the customary tribute goods or annual tribute exchanged between the two states notable items included the Emperor's calligraphy or calligraphic plaques, imperial poems, ancient books published by the Qing court, and writing brushes and ink, which were bestowed upon Joseon's chief envoys and deputy envoys attending banquets.⁷ For instance, when Yangpyeonggun Yi Jang travelled to China as an envoy of gratitude in September 1743, Emperor Qianlong personally bestowed upon him the inscription 'Dongban Seongmi' (東藩繩美), along with a red bow, red arrows, and a white horse with a gold saddle.⁸ In August 1778, when Yi Eun travelled to Shenyang as an envoy to pay respects, he was bestowed with an imperial calligraphy plaque inscribed with the words 'Dongban Seungmi' (東藩繩美) on yellow silk.⁹ In September 1783, when Yi Won-bok travelled to Shenyang as an envoy, the Emperor bestowed upon the King of Joseon one imperial poem, one scroll inscribed with 'Virtue as Symbol, Heart as Ruler', and one jade ruyi. The Qianlong Emperor's imperial poem was a seven-character four-line verse written on deep yellow painted dragon paper, bearing beneath the date the imperial seals 'Treasure of the Heavenly Son at Seventy' and 'Diligent Day by Day'. The Deokbu Simgu scroll contained the 'Nine Odes for the Seventieth Birthday' composed by the scholar (學士) Peng Yuanrui (彭元瑞). Above it was the Emperor's imperial composition 'Discourse on Reaching Seventy' (御製古稀說), and below it was the colophon by the Minister of Revenue (戶部尚書) Liang Guozhi (梁國治). Both were rubbing copies. The jade ruyi scepter was crafted from fragrant jade, inlaid with three pieces of carved jade.¹⁰ In 1785, when Prince Anchun, Yi Yong, travelled to Qing as an envoy, Qianlong presented him with twelve volumes of the Complete Works of the Five Classics, modelled after the Song edition in the Imperial Library, along with one inkstone, two volumes of flower-patterned paper, four boxes of Huimok ink, four boxes of Hu brushes, one jade-inlaid ruyi scepter, four bamboo-patterned boxes, four glassware items, four porcelain items, four rolls of feather-textured silk, four rolls of Chengxiang silk, 4 bolts of red silk Ningzhu fabric, red brocade,

6 Tribute refers to the offerings presented by feudal lords to the Son of Heaven within the 'tribute-investiture system' centred on pre-modern China and East Asia. Also known as regional products (fangwu), these typically comprised local specialities. The emperor bestowed imperial gifts in return for these offerings. Whereas tribute originated within Han Chinese dynasties based on Confucian ritual governance, tribute taxes (se-pye) emerged from northern nomadic states. Imposed by powerful nations upon weaker ones in unequal international relations, they served primarily economic gain through coercive collection. Consequently, tribute was limited to local produce, whereas tribute taxes included non-local goods such as currency, silk, and gold and silver, and unlike tribute, they carried no reciprocal obligation. The distinction between the two was also starkly evident in the process and form of exchange: tribute was conveyed on special occasions such as festivals or celebrations, accompanied by congratulatory or gratitude messages, and delivered with diplomatic documents like memorials, or memorials. Conversely, tribute was exclusively presented to the Emperor and accompanied by routine administrative documents like the Qinben, emphasising its utilitarian purpose. For the significance of tribute and tribute offerings in Joseon-Qing relations, and the scale and types of tribute and tribute offerings borne by Joseon in its diplomatic relations with the Qing, see Hong Seon-i, preceding article, pp. 257-295.

7 This paper analyses the gifts bestowed by the Qing imperial court upon Joseon envoys, focusing primarily on the accounts recorded in the Chinese official historical source, the Draft History of the Qing, specifically the section on Joseon. The source cited in this paper is the Draft History of the Qing, 'Joseon Biographies', referenced from the 'Chinese Official History of Joseon' provided by the Korean History Database.

Analysis of the compilation and content of the Qing History Draft, along with its articles concerning Joseon, is examined in Jeong Hyejung, 'The Qing History Draft (清史稿) Biographies of Vassal States' (屬國傳) Articles Concerning Joseon (朝鮮) Relations (關係)'. For analysis of the compilation and content of the Draft History of the Qing, and its articles concerning Joseon, see Jeong Hyejung, 'Analysis of Articles Concerning Joseon in the Draft History of the Qing' (清史稿) 'Biographies of Vassal States' (屬國傳)', Chinese Historical Research 51 (2007), pp. 295-323.

8 『Draft History of the Qing』, 'Biographies of Joseon', September of the 8th year of the Qianlong reign (1743).

- 9 『Draft History of the Qing』, "Biographies of Joseon", Qianlong 43rd year (1778), 『Veritable Records of King Jeongjo』, Vol. 6, 11th day of the 9th month, Jeongjo 2nd year (1778).
- 10 『Draft History of the Qing』, 『Biographies of the Joseon Dynasty』, Qianlong 48th year (1783).

(11) Subsequently, in 1796, the delegation led by Kim Samok, sent to congratulate the Qing Emperor Jiaqing on his accession and present tribute, also presented four pieces of silk brocade and writing implements to the members of the imperial entourage.¹¹ Subsequently, in 1796, the diplomatic mission led by Kim Samok, sent to congratulate the Qing Emperor Jiaqing on his accession and present tribute, attended the Thousand Elders Banquet held at Yeongsu Palace and received the 'Imperially Composed Poem for the Thousand Elders Banquet'.¹² In 1805, they received a plaque inscribed with the words 'Blessed Teaching, Pacifying the Frontier' (福教綏藩).¹³ In November 1807, in recognition of King Sunjo's commendable achievement in punishing those engaged in private smuggling at the border and severely reprimanding local officials, he was bestowed with four bolts of fine silk brocade, four glassware items, four lacquerware items, and four bottles of tea leaves as a reward.¹⁴ Additionally, in 1818 during King Sunjo's reign, he received an imperial edict and the character '福' (blessing), and in 1822, he was granted one volume of the 『Corrected Comprehensive Records of Historical Documents』.¹⁵ The imperial plaques received from the Emperor largely centred on formal, laudatory rhetoric praising Joseon's exemplary attitude of conforming to the East Asian international order through tribute. Their content was based on China's traditional worldview, distinguishing between tributary states and vassal states, and aimed at upholding the international order through the tributary system. Alongside imperial edicts and seals, they were bestowed with exquisitely woven silks, lacquerware, glass vessels, and jade artefacts. These items, produced by the imperial workshops of the Qing dynasty for the emperor's personal use, showcased the splendour of Qing material culture and its advanced craftsmanship.¹⁶ Moreover, through the finest goods procured from various regions of China, such as Gangjin incense and Huimuk ink, as well as Huo brushes, Joseon envoys could directly experience the continent's abundant resources.¹⁷

The tribute gifts and offerings prepared by Joseon were received upon arrival in Beijing and deposited in the imperial treasury within the Qing court under the supervision of the Bureau of Receiving Tribute. When the Chinese emperor bestowed return gifts in the form of gifts or banquets, it was customary for these to be delivered through officials such as the Bureau of Ceremonies, the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, or eunuchs, typically after the conclusion of audiences or banquets.¹⁸ During the Qing dynasty, Joseon envoys attended only the New Year's tribute and banquet ceremonies. Official business was conducted by the royal relatives

11 『Draft History of the Qing』, 『Biographies of Joseon』, Qianlong 50th year (1785).

12 『Draft History of the Qing』, 『Biographies of the Joseon Dynasty』, Jiaqing 1st year (1796).

13 『Draft History of the Qing』, 『Biographies of Joseon』, 10th year of the Jiaqing era (1815).

14 『Draft History of the Qing』, 『Biographies of Joseon』, November, 12th year of the Jiaqing era (1807).

15 『Draft History of the Qing』, 『Biographies of Joseon』, Jiaqing 23rd year (1818); Daoguang 2nd year (1822).

16 The Imperial Workshop served as a kind of imperial workshop under the supervision of the Imperial Workshop Inspectorate within the Qing Dynasty's Ministry of Internal Affairs, responsible for producing various items required by the Qing imperial court. It encompassed not only the manufacture of glass, ivory, enamel, silk, and textiles, but also the Ruyi Pavilion, which handled painting. The Archives of the Imperial Workshop contain detailed records of the production methods, items used, and manpower involved in creating artworks, providing invaluable insight into aspects of Qing court culture. Many items produced and actually used during that period are now housed in the National Palace Museum. Given that the majority of the gifts received by Joseon envoys from the Qing imperial court have been lost and are now known only through written records, the works for imperial use preserved in the National Palace Museums in Taiwan and Beijing hold considerable value as reference points for comparison. A comprehensive catalogue of the 『Jopanchedang'an』 can be found in the 『Comprehensive Archives of the Imperial Household Department's Bureau of Manufactures and Repairs』 (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2005), published by the Chinese University Museum in Hong Kong and the First Historical Archives of China.

- 17 Gangjinhyang is a high-grade incense made from fragrant wood sourced from regions such as Yugu, Thailand, and China. Huimuk refers to ink produced in Huizhou Prefecture, Anhui Province, China, renowned for its superior quality. Houpil denotes fine ink originating from Huzhou.
(徽州府) in China's Anhui Province (安徽省), renowned for its superior quality. Houpil refers to fine ink produced in Huzhou (湖州).
- 18 Kim Mun-sik, "Characteristics of Diplomatic Ceremonial in the Joseon Dynasty," *Dongyanghak* 62 (2016), pp. 87-90.

Only in such cases were they permitted to enter the Hall of Supreme Harmony and gain the opportunity to see the Emperor at close quarters. However, in the 18th century

Even before this period, it was customary to hold the New Year's Day ceremony but omit the banquet at the Hall of Supreme Harmony. Thus, during the Yongzheng reign, the New Year's Day ceremony and banquet were held together only once, in 1726. However, Emperor Qianlong personally hosted numerous banquets, inviting envoys from Joseon and other nations to witness performances and poetry recitals. Compared to previous reigns, Joseon envoys gained greater opportunities to attend events presided over by the Emperor himself. Particularly during the Emperor's two longevity celebrations in 1780 and 1790, Joseon envoys were invited to attend the Emperor's personally presided banquets held in various locations in Beijing and Rehe. They participated in various seasonal festivities and performances, receiving the Emperor's special favours. At meetings with the Emperor, they exchanged poetry, received imperial calligraphy plaques, or were granted imperial seals or rare books from the Qing Palace Library. Moreover, when the Emperor proceeded on processions outside the palace or returned to the palace, they would don ceremonial robes to greet him.¹⁹

Such examples are depicted in the Qianlong Eightieth Birthday Celebration Painting (*Qianlong Baysun Mansu Gyeongjeondo*)^{Fig 1}, created to celebrate the Emperor Qianlong's eightieth birthday on the thirteenth day of the eighth lunar month in 1790. Against a backdrop of grand stages, artificial waterfalls, streets lavishly decorated with colossal structures, artificial hills, bizarre rock formations, meticulously tended gardens, and opulent architecture, scenes of revelry unfolding in various locations heighten the festive atmosphere to its peak.



Fig. 1 Detail from <Qianlong's Eighty-Year Birthday Celebration Ceremony Painting>, 1797, horizontal scroll, colour on silk, 45.0×6,347.5cm, Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 1-1

19 Koo Beom-jin, "Changes in the Reception of Joseon Envoys by the Qing Dynasty in the 1780s," *Ming-Qing History Research* 48 (2017), pp. 535-564.

It is being woven. Two horizontal scrolls, each over 60 metres long, were produced in 1797 at the Suzhou Weaving Bureau, displaying splendid

A major work in the court painting style, Volume 2 depicts the procession of the Emperor and Empress returning to the palace from the Yuanmingyuan. The Emperor rides in a splendidly decorated imperial palanquin, escorted by imperial guards and high officials. Along the roadside, foreign envoys and representatives from various nations kneel in homage. Most notably positioned behind the imperial palanquin are envoys from Mongolia, a significant foreign vassal of the Qing, alongside those from important tributary states: Annam (Vietnam), Mien-tien (Burma), and Nam-chang (Laos), alongside the Joseon envoy (Fig. 1-1) are depicted prominently, drawing attention.²⁰

III. Late Jeongjo Period Diplomatic Relations with the Qing Dynasty and the Dispatch of Tribute Missions

The late 18th century, the subject of discussion in this paper, was a period marked by distinct external changes surrounding Joseon and Qing, transformations within Joseon and Qing society, and shifts in mutual perceptions. As this period commenced, the Qing entered a period of stability, adopting a comparatively lenient stance towards Joseon. Furthermore, witnessing the Qing's economic prosperity and cultural growth, Joseon developed a more proactive interest in Qing culture and the Western cultural artefacts entering through the Qing.²¹ This trend is evident not only in the accounts of the diplomatic missions dispatched during King Jeongjo's reign, such as those by Yi Deok-mu, Bak Ji-won, Hong Yang-ho, Seo Hosu, and Yu Deok-gong, but also in the exceptional hospitality shown by the Qing towards the Joseon envoys. Until the 1780s, Joseon envoys staying in Beijing had scarcely any opportunity to participate in ceremonies attended by the Qing Emperor, save for the New Year's tribute on the first day of the first lunar month. However, the case of the delegation led by Yi Seong-won, dispatched in October 1789 for the presentation of tribute and thanksgiving and the celebration of the three seasonal rites, and the delegation led by Hwang In-jeom as chief envoy in May 1790 for the presentation of tribute and thanksgiving to celebrate the Emperor's birthday,

20 The figure at the very front, wearing a robe of crimson with splendid patterns and a headdress, is presumed to be the Annam envoy. The figure behind him, clad in a red court robe and wearing a samogwandae headdress, appears to be the Joseon envoy. According to the description of the Annam envoys' attire provided by Yu Deok-gong in his 'Notes on the Annam Envoys' Journey' under the entry 'King of Annam': "The attire worn by the three (Annam envoys) had changed markedly from what had been seen before. Their hats and gold-trimmed robes were both red and blue, adorned with patterns of dragons and phoenixes. However, the corners of the robes were excessively high, so that when bowing, they protruded over the shoulders, appearing distinctly like twin horns. Their headbands were fastened with cords, but the mesh was too flimsy to bind securely, merely draped loosely. Upon closer inspection, it became clear these were borrowed from actors." The interpretation of the original text is from Kim Yeong-juk, "The 1790 Annam Envoys' Mission to China and Its Significance", *Daedong Munhwa Yeon-gu* 78 (2012), p. 86. Behind the Annamese and Joseon envoys stood a stele inscribed with the following: "The King of Annam, Nguyen Quang Binh, and the Mongolian Princes, along with the envoys from Joseon, Burma, and Nanchang, respectfully offer congratulations on the Emperor's longevity and come to the capital to pay homage here."

21 Regarding these changes, see Jeong Jae-hoon, 'The Envoy Missions and King Jeongjo in the 18th Century', *Dongguk Sahak* 53 (2012), pp. 83-126; Kim Seong-geun, 'A Brief Study on the Envoys' Perceptions of the Qing Dynasty in the Envoy Missions Records and the Joseon Envoys' Records:

Focusing on Selected Envoy Missions Records', *Gangwon Sahak* 21 (2006), pp. 69-90; Park Su-mil, "East Asian Cultural Exchange and Korean Han Literature: Late Joseon Dynasty Perceptions of the Qing Dynasty and the Logic of Cultural Assimilation," *Korean Han Literature Research* 47 (2011), pp. 139-172.

Marking the extraordinary occasion of the Qianlong Emperor's eightieth birthday, visits were made to various locations in Beijing and Yixing, and on the day of the Manju Festival, Since attending the ceremony, they found themselves attending an unprecedented number of imperial ceremonies in person, spending their official schedule in this manner.²² This change not only profoundly influenced the experiences and knowledge gained by the Joseon envoys residing in Beijing, but also facilitated direct cultural exchange with the Qing imperial court.

The three-stage diplomatic mission at the end of 1789 also served as an imperial tribute mission celebrating Emperor Qianlong's eightieth birthday. This involved dispatching a delegation combining tribute with birthday congratulations to express sincerity in honouring the Emperor's eightieth birthday. Furthermore, in May of the following year, a tribute mission of heightened ceremonial status was dispatched to celebrate the special birthday festival known as the Eightieth Birthday Festival of Longevity. At this time, Huang Yinjian served as chief envoy and Xu Haoxiu as deputy envoy, travelling directly to Yehu. They subsequently proceeded to Beijing to attend the Eighty-Year Birthday Celebration. Records detailing what Hwang In-jeom saw and heard whilst travelling the route between Yehu and Beijing and participating in the Manseoljeol festivities are preserved in his *Seungsarok* (乘槎錄), as well as in Yoo Deok-gong's *Yeolhagiheongsju* (熱河紀行詩註) and Seo Ho-su's *Yeolha Giyu* (Record of Travels in Yeolha) (Yeonhaenggi). These provide valuable reference material for this study. In keeping with the grand scale of the tribute offerings presented at the imperial court, the preparations for the birthday celebration were particularly extensive. To arrive at the summer retreat in Yeolha in time for the birthday celebration on the 13th day of the eighth lunar month, an unprecedented route was chosen, travelling via Yeolha to Beijing.²³ According to Seo Hosoo's records, the tribute items prepared by the 1790 Imperial Birthday Mission included: 10 bolts of yellow silk brocade, 20 bolts of white silk brocade, 30 bolts of yellow silk satin, 20 bolts of purple silk satin, 20 bolts of white silk satin, 2 pieces of dragon-patterned salt-glazed stoneware, 20 pieces of yellow-painted stone, 20 pieces of painted cushions, 20 pieces of assorted painted stone, 20 otter pelts, 1,400 volumes of white paper, and 10 sets of thick oil paper (粘六張厚油紙). These were primarily local products centred on textiles and cushions.²⁴ After attending the banquet, the Emperor presented silk, a pouch, a snuff bottle, a lacquered bowl, a porcelain jar, a tea cup, a porcelain bowl, a porcelain tray, an ivory tea tray, Tibetan incense, jade hairpins, jade cups, ink, brushes, and inkstones.

Hwang In-jeom and his party, together with envoys from Ryukyu, Nanzhang, Sima La, and Mianqian in Yeolha and Beijing, received the Emperor's special favour. They participated in ice skating at the ice rink, attended the lantern festival at the Treasure Pavilion, witnessed the New Year's Day ceremony at the Hall of Supreme Harmony, and attended the New Year's Eve banquet at the Hall of Eternal Spring. They also observed the lantern festival at the Pavilion of High Mountains and Long Rivers in the Old Summer Palace.

²² Koo Beom-jin (2017), *op. cit.*, pp. 545-557.

²³ Kim Il-hwan, "The 1790 Yeolha Diplomatic Mission and Hwang In-jeom's Hangeul Mission Record, *Seungsarok*," *Onji Ronsong 60* (2019), pp. 9-44.

²⁴ Additionally, tribute gifts in gratitude for the 'Fukujin Han' (福字宸翰) personally inscribed by the Qianlong Emperor in 1789 were also presented at this time. The list is as follows: 30 bolts of yellow silk brocade, 30 bolts of white silk brocade, 20 bolts of yellow silk satin, 20 bolts of gold-threaded satin, 30 bolts of white gold-threaded satin, 2 pieces of dragon-patterned embroidered stone, 15 pieces of yellow-patterned stone, 15 pieces of flower-patterned stone, 14 pieces of assorted-patterned stone, 2,000 volumes of white silk paper. Seo Ho-su, 『Travelogue』 Volume 1, From Jinjiang City to Rehe [起鎮江城至熱河], June of the Gyeongseol year (1790, 14th year of King Jeongjo's

reign).

- 25 Seo Hosoo, 『Travelogue』 Volume 2, From Rehe to the Yuanmingyuan [起熱河至圓明園], 17th day of the 7th month, 19th day of the 7th month, Gyeongseol year (1790, 14th year of King Jeongjo); 『Travelogue』 Volume 3, From the Old Summer Palace to Yanjing [起圓明園至燕京], 4th, 5th, 6th, 10th, 14th, 18th, and 20th of the 8th month, Gyeongseol Year (1790, 14th year of King Jeongjo).

They attended various imperial seasonal ceremonies, including the Lamha.²⁶ Furthermore, the Joseon envoys participated in ceremonies greeting the Emperor upon his return from sacrificial rites at the Imperial Ancestral Temple or seeing him off to the Yuanmingyuan. This represented a significant departure from the Kangxi era custom where foreign princes, Beile, and Taiji escorted the Emperor outside the Outer Gate.²⁷ The Qing dynasty's altered reception of Joseon envoys reflected not only a thaw in Sino-Korean diplomatic relations but also served as a reciprocal gesture to King Jeongjo's extraordinary displays of 'sincerity'. Beyond the regular annual dispatch of envoys for the Winter Solstice ceremony, Jeongjo demonstrated unprecedented voluntary 'courtesy' towards the Qing court – such as dispatching special envoys bearing tribute and congratulatory messages for Emperor Qianlong's 70th birthday and the 50th anniversary of his accession. This demonstrated a voluntary 'sincerity' towards the Qing court unseen since the reign of his predecessor, King Yeongjo. In return for this preferential treatment the Qing accorded the Joseon delegation unprecedented, exceptional honours

The altered treatment of Joseon envoys by Qing China and the resulting increase in the Joseon delegation's experience and understanding of Qing court culture were also reflected in the paintings produced by envoys and court painters who accompanied missions to the capital in the late 18th century. A prime example is the work of the chief envoy, Yi Hwi-ji (李徽之, 1715–1785), who travelled to China from October 1784 to February 1785 as part of the delegation bearing congratulatory and gratitude offerings and winter solstice greetings.

(李徽之, 1715–1785), the deputy envoy Kang Se-hwang (姜世晃, 1713–1791), and the works depicted in the 《Yeongdae Gwanjeop》(瀛臺奇觀帖) and 《SaroSangjeop》(瑤台三奇帖), albums of poetry and paintings jointly created by the envoy, the deputy envoy, and the secretary,

Yeonhaengdocheop (燕行圖帖) held by the Sungsil University Museum of Korean Christianity. These works depict in detail the various itineraries in Yanjing and Chinese customs. *Yeongdaeg*

Ice Dance at Yeongdae, Namhae, featured in the 《Gwanjeop》



Figure 2 Kang Se-hwang, Yeongdae Gwanjeop (奇觀帖), 4 panels, Yeongdae Byeonghido (永觀圖)

Figure), 1784, ink on paper, 23.3×54.8cm, National Museum of Korea

26 The itinerary of Huang Yinzen and Xie Houshu's party in Yeolha and Yanjing is detailed in Xie Houshu's *Yeolha Giyu*. For instance, the account of the banquet at the Summer Resort from the 16th to the 19th of the seventh lunar month and the first day of participation in Emperor Qianlong's eightieth birthday celebration can be found in Seo Hosoo's *Yeolha Giyu*, translated and annotated by Lee Chang-sook (Akarnet, 2017), pp. 145-157. The banquet at the Old Summer Palace commencing on the 1st day of the 8th lunar month is detailed in the same volume, pp. 248-267. The account of attending the Emperor Qianlong's birthday banquet at the Hall of Great Harmony on the 13th day of the 8th lunar month is found in the same volume, pp. 278-285, pp. 300-314. Additionally, the following events are recorded: the Emperor's journey to the Yuanmingyuan on the 16th day of the eighth lunar month, with the envoys from Annam, Namjang, and Mianqian accompanying him to attend the banquet the previous day; the viewing of a performance at the Xidi Pavilion in the

Dongluo Garden of the Yuanmingyuan on the 19th; and the banquet held on the 20th at the Zhengda Guangming Hall of the Yuanmingyuan, attended by the envoys from Annam, Namjang, and Mianqian, along with the Mongolian princes and chieftains, the King of Annam, and envoys from Annam, Namjang, and Myeonjeon. These events are documented in the aforementioned book,

pp. 324–331 are cited.

27 Koo Beom-jin (2017), *op. cit.*, pp. 547–548.

28 Koo Beom-jin, 'Joseon's Congratulatory Missions to the Qing Emperor on His Birthday and the Qianlong Emperor's 70th Birthday: "Diplomacy of Tribute"', *Korean Culture* 68 (2014), pp. 215–248.

Kang Se-hwang's *Ice Games at the Yingtai Pavilion* (Fig. 2) depicts the ice games held by the Qianlong Emperor at the Yingtai Pavilion on 21 December 1784. It portrays the unusual spectacle of Eight Banners soldiers skating while demonstrating archery skills.²⁹ In 1784, the delegation was dispatched as the 'Envoy for Offering Congratulations, Gratitude, and the Annual Tribute for the Three Festivals' (進賀謝恩兼三節年貢使) to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Emperor Qianlong's accession and to present tribute. Departing from Hanyang on 12 October, earlier than the previous year, they completed their schedule in Beijing. They participated in three activities not seen in the two preceding missions. First, they attended the regular court assembly held at the Hall of Supreme Harmony on the 15th day of the 12th month. Second, they participated in the Ice Festival at the Hall of Supreme Harmony on the 21st day of the 12th month. Third, they attended the Banquet of Heavenly Blessings held at the Hall of Supreme Purity on the 6th day of the 1st month.³⁰ Among these the Ice Festival appears to have been a particularly unfamiliar and wondrous spectacle for the Joseon envoys. Upon their return, the Three Secretaries vividly described the day's events in their memorial to King Jeongjo.³¹ Kang Se-hwang's painting depicts the palanquin and dragon carriage in which the Emperor arrived, the red-painted gates and red-painted centre pole erected upon the ice, and soldiers of the Eight Banners skating while shooting arrows, rendered with a simple, sweeping brushstroke. According to the 『Annals of the Qing Dynasty』, the day's proceedings included twelve Baike (伯克) from the Xinjiang Huibu, two envoys from Joseon, four envoys from Shumala, and thirty-one local chieftains from Jinchuan paying homage to the Emperor at the Xihua Gate before following him into the courtyard. This indicates the event was conducted as an official diplomatic ceremony, attended by envoys from the Qing's outer provinces and tributary states as part of the tribute mission's activities.³²

The *Yeonhaengdojeop*, produced after 1784, depicts the entire journey of the diplomatic mission across fourteen panels.



Fig. 3-1 Yanxing Tuchie (燕行圖帖), 7-panel scroll, "Chaoyang Gate (朝陽門)", after 1784, on paper
Colour on paper, 34.9×44.8 cm, Soongsil University Museum of Korean Christianity

panels 7 to 9 depict the official activities of the Joseon envoys during their stay in Beijing. Painting 7, *Chaoyang Gate* (Fig. 3-1), depicts a bird's-eye view of the bustling city streets centred on Chaoyang Gate, the eastern gate of the Forbidden City. It shows the Joseon envoys walking along Chaoyang Gate Avenue. Four figures, presumed to be the chief envoy and deputy envoys, wearing black hats and long robes, are depicted leading horses.

Depicting servants and others. The eight-panel

29 Detailed research on the *Yeongdae Gwanjeoncheop* and *Sarosamgicheop*, poetry-and-painting albums created in connection with the 1784 diplomatic mission, can be found in Jeong Eun-ju, "Kang Se-hwang's Activities and Paintings during the Diplomatic Mission to China: Focusing on the Gapsin Diplomatic Mission Poetry and Painting Album," *Art History Research* 259 (2008), pp. 41-78; National Museum of Korea, ed., *Painters Who Travelled to China on Diplomatic Missions* (National

Museum of Korea, 2011), pp. 25-35.

30 Koo Beom-jin (2017), *op. cit.*, pp. 552-553.

31 『The Veritable Records of King Jeongjo』, Vol. 19, 14th day of the 2nd month, 9th year of King Jeongjo's reign.

32 『Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty』, 21st day of the 12th month, 49th year of the Qianlong reign, Koo Beom-jin (2017), *op. cit.*, p. 553, reprinted.

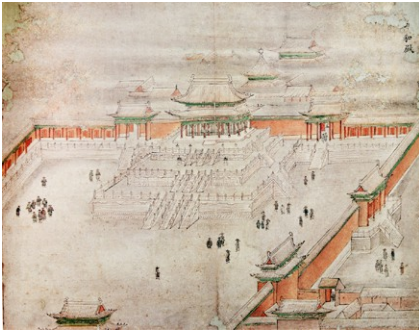


Fig. 3-2 <Album of the Imperial Tour to Yan>, 8 panels <Hall of Supreme Harmony>



Fig. 3-3 <Album of the Imperial Tour>, 9th panel <Tribute Mission>

The Hall of Supreme Harmony (Tahejeon) ^{Fig. 3-2} is the main hall of the Forbidden City, where the New Year's Day ceremony was held annually, attended by foreign envoys and foreign missions from the Qing dynasty. Within the Hall of Supreme Harmony, five Joseon envoys wearing hats and robes and eleven members of the Joseon delegation in military uniforms are depicted. As the Hall of Supreme Harmony was a space where access by outsiders was strictly restricted except for audiences with the Emperor, it is questionable whether Joseon envoys could freely enter and exit. However, records by Seo Ho-su indicate that on the 20th day of the eighth lunar month in 1790, tribute goods from Jinha were presented at the imperial gate in front of the Hall of Supreme Harmony. This suggests the depiction may reflect similar circumstances at the time.³³ The nine-panel scroll <Tribute Mission> ^{Fig. 3-3} is presumed to depict the Joseon delegation greeting the Emperor's procession upon his return. The late 18th-century custom of Joseon envoys escorting the Emperor's procession in Beijing occurred during the Emperor's visits to the Imperial Ancestral Temple, Yuanmingyuan, Jagwanggak, Cheondan, or his return to the palace in the first lunar month. At the forefront, Qing mounted guards bearing ceremonial banners and escort cavalry are visible, followed by depictions of the Emperor and his palanquin. The Joseon envoys depicted below include three figures in mourning attire with ceremonial sashes, wearing winter hats (li'an) over their samogwangs; eleven figures wearing osamo hats and official robes; and twenty-three figures in military uniforms with jeonrip headgear over their dongdali hats.³⁴

Seo Yun-pyeong / Art and Material Culture from China and the West Transmitted as Diplomatic Gifts in Late Joseon: Focusing on Late Diplomatic Missions during the Reign of King Jeongjo

IV The Map of the Western Regions of the Pacific Ocean and the Map of the Pacific Ocean and the Yangtze River European-style copperplate engravings presented as diplomatic gifts

While lacquerware, porcelain, silk, and writing implements had previously been bestowed by the Emperor upon Joseon envoys, among the diplomatic gifts conferred by Emperor Qianlong, those presented to the delegation led by Yi Seong-won dispatched in June 1789 as part of the Dongjisa mission included

- 33 Seo Ho-su, 『Record of the Diplomatic Mission』 Volume 3, From Yuanmingyuan to Yanjing [起圓明園至燕京], 20th day of the 8th month, Gyeongseol year (1730, 14th year of King Jeongjo) (Korean Classical Text Translation Institute DB).
- 34 Jung, Eun-ju (2012), *op. cit.*, pp. 288–293.

The maps of the Western Regions and the Yanggeumcheon region presented as gifts are noteworthy for their exceptional nature.³⁵ On the first day of the first month of 1790, the Joseon envoys attended the court assembly at Taehwajeon and the New Year's banquet at Jagwanggak on the sixth day. On the eleventh day, they were also invited to the lantern festival at the Sanggosing Hall in the Yuanmingyuan. They accompanied the Emperor on several occasions during events where he personally attended, met him at close quarters, exchanged questions and answers, and received various gifts. Among the gifts received at that time were: one scroll bearing the character '福' (blessing) written in the Emperor's own hand; one jade scepter; jade vessels; glassware, porcelain, silk paper, brushes, ink, inkstones, lacquerware, and two sets of sixteen scrolls depicting the Emperor's victories over the Ili region, the Hui tribes, and the Great and Small Jinchuans.³⁶

The two scrolls of military campaigns received by Lee Seong-won depict the Qing Emperor Qianlong's 'Ten Perfect Military Achievements' – the ten major foreign expeditions during his reign. These campaigns encompassed the regions corresponding to present-day Xinjiang, Tibet, Qinghai, and other regions. They commemorate the pacification of the Junggar Steppe region north of the Tianshan Mountains and the Uyghur and Eastern Turkic Tan regions south of it within the Central Asian interior. The 16-panel 《Map of the Pacifying Western Regions》 commemorates this campaign. The 16-panel 《Map of the Pacifying Yangjin River Campaign》 commemorates the suppression of the Tosa rebellion in the Jinchuan region, the Tibetan settlement area along the upper reaches of the Yangtze River in western Sichuan Province.³⁷ This military expedition epitomised the Qing Empire's territorial expansion, which from around 1750 sought to demonstrate imperial might by expanding into Central Eurasia and Southeast Asia.

35 《Map of the Western Regions Conquered by Pjeongsong》 includes 《Map of the Conquered Regions Transmitted by Hwebu》, 《Map of the Conquered Regions Transmitted by Pjeongsong Jurbu》, 《Map of the Conquered Regions Transmitted by Hwebu Yangju》, 《The Conquest of the Western Regions and the Return of the Tribes has been referred to by various names, including The Conquest of the Southern Tribes and the Return of the Tribes, The Conquest of the Western Regions and the Return of the Tribes, The Conquest of the Eastern Tribes and the Return of the Tribes, The Conquest of the Eastern Tribes and the Return of the Tribes, and The Conquest of the Western Regions and the Return of the Tribes.》

Similarly, the 《Pingzheng Yangjinchuan De Sheng Map》 and 《Pingzheng Yangjinchuan De Sheng Map》. However, this study adopts the names commonly used in academia: 《Pingzheng Xiyu Zhan Tu》 and 《Pingzheng Yangjinchuan Map》. The titles and sequence of each scene also follow the classification established in the prior research cited below. Representative prior research on this work includes Nie Chongzheng's 「Qing Dynasty Court Copperplate Engraving <Qianlong's Campaigns Against the Junggar and Muslim Rebellions>」, published in 『Journal of the Palace Museum』 4(198), which explains the production background and the theme of the work.

pp. 55-64; Nie Chongzheng, "The Qianlong Campaigns Against the Junggar and Muslim Tribes and Copperplate Engravings in the Qing Dynasty," *Wenwu* (1980, 4), pp. 61-64; and a paper tracing the production process and status of various editions Takada Tokio, " (Explanation) Conquest of the Western Regions War Map 'Qianlong Victory Map: Conquest of the Western Regions War Map (Kyoto: Rincho Shoten, 2009), pp. 1-18; Niklas Leverenz, "Drawings, Proofs and Prints from the Qianlong Emperor's East Turkestan Copperplate Engravings," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 68 (2013), pp. 39-60; Marcia Reed, "The Qianlong Emperor's Copperplate Engravings," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Spring, 2017), pp. 1-24; Park Hyeon, "The Codex of the Qing Dynasty Copperplate Engraving *Pingding Xiyu Zhan tu* and *Pingding Yangjinchuan Zhan tu*," *Journal of the Seogwi University Museum of Korean Christian Art* 5(2009), pp. 106-114, and Son Hyo-ji, "A Study of Court Paintings Reflecting Qing Dynasty's Zongfan Thought" (Master's Thesis, Department of Art History, Hongik University, 2014), pp. 27-51.

36 『The Veritable Records of King Jeongjo』, Volume 29, 20th day of the 2nd month, 14th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1790).

37 The Qing dynasty finally completed the territorial scope of its vast empire around 1760 through military confrontation with the Junggars over hegemony in the Mongol-Tibetan region. In 1792, Emperor Qianlong composed the Imperial Tenfold Perfection Record, boasting that the territorial expansion and conquests achieved during his reign constituted the Tenfold Perfection of Military Merit, and styled himself the 'Tenfold Perfection Elder'. The Ten Perfect Victories of the Qianlong Emperor are as follows: (1) The Campaigns of Greater and Lesser Jinchuan (1747-1749, subjugation of the Tusi chieftains in Sichuan), (2) The First Junggar Campaign (1755, pacification of the Dawaqi tribe in Junggar, Xinjiang), (3) The Second Junggar Campaign (1755-1757, subduing Amursana of the Junggar), (4) The Great and Small Hoja Campaigns in Southern Xinjiang (1758, subduing the Muslim tribes in southwestern Xinjiang), (5) The Burmese Campaign (1765-1769, subjugation of Myanmar), (6) The Second Campaign against the Great and Small Jinchuan (1771-1776, subjugation of the Tusi chieftains in Sichuan), (7) Suppression of the Lin Shuangwen Rebellion (1786-1788, subjugation of Taiwan).

(8) The Annam Campaign (1788-1789, pacification of Vietnam), (9)-(10) Two campaigns against the Gurkhas (1788-1789, conquest of Nepal). For the culture of the Junggar and East Turkestan regions during the Qing Dynasty and the Qing's methods of governance, see Joseph Fleischer, 'The Qing Empire in Inner Asia (c.1800)', Dennis Tweedace and John K. Fairbank, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 10 (Part 1), translated by Kim Han-sik et al. (Saemulgeul Publishing, 2007), pp. 115-160.

This illustrates the Qianlong Emperor's conquests; to commemorate them, he later had each expedition depicted in sixteen scrolls.

It was produced as a set of copperplate prints.

Among these, the 《Map of the Western Regions during the Qing Dynasty》 serves as the model for later commemorative copperplate engravings produced during the Qing period. Its significance is immense as it set the precedent for subsequent commemorative copperplate engravings in terms of production methods, iconography, and style. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the circumstances of its creation in detail.³⁸ The original artwork was created by three painters active in the Qing court: the Italian Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世寧, 1688–1766), a Jesuit convert; the Frenchman Jean-Denis Attiret (王致誠, 1702–1768); and the Czech Ignatius Sichelbarth (艾啓蒙, 1708–1780), a member of the Augustinian Order. Czech-born Ignatius Sichelbarth (艾啓蒙, 1708–1780), and Italian Augustinian Giovanni Damasceno Salusti (安德義, 1727–1781) in 1760.³⁹ The Hall of Illuminating Virtue is a pavilion situated west of the Forbidden City, on the western side of the Central Lake. During the reign of Emperor Wuzong of the Ming dynasty, it was called the Platform and served as a place where the emperor practised archery on horseback. In the Qing dynasty, it was used as a space for testing the marksmanship of warriors, competing in martial arts, and honouring the military achievements of officials.⁴⁰ Following the pacification of the Western Regions, Emperor Qianlong undertook a comprehensive reconstruction of the Hall of Illuminated Virtue in 1761. He commissioned large-scale paintings depicting portraits of one hundred meritorious officials from the Junggar and Xinjiang campaigns, alongside sixteen major battle scenes, which were displayed here. He then hosted banquets for envoys from the outer vassal states and foreign nations.⁴¹ Considering that the banquets for foreign vassals, held to strengthen relations with the vassal states following the conquests of Mongolia, Qinghai, Xinjiang, and Tibet, were conducted at the Hall of Illuminating Grace from 1761 onwards, and given the symbolic nature of the Hall, the banquets for foreign vassals

38 The Map of the Conquest of the Western Regions depicts the Qing dynasty's foreign expeditions, specifically the first campaign in 1755 to subjugate the Dawaqi tribe of the Junggar in Xinjiang, and the subsequent campaign from 1757-

The Pingjing Yangjin River Map was produced to commemorate the military achievements of the Qianlong Emperor: the second expedition in 1757 that subdued Amursana of the Junggar, and the suppression of the rebellion by the Great and Small Hozhoks in the Uyghur region of southwestern Xinjiang in 1758. The "Illustrated Record of the Conquest of the Western Regions" depicts the victories of A-gui Qinbao and the Qing army during the second expedition (1771–1776), dispatched to suppress the armed rebellion of the local ruling faction, the Tusi. The sixteen panels of the "Illustrated Record of the Conquest of the Western Regions" are as follows: Panel 1: <平定伊犁受降> (Pacifying Ili and Accepting Surrender), Panel 2: <格登鄂爾斯營> (Raiding the Garrison of Gedengola), Panel 3: <鄂爾斯拉圖之戰> (The Battle of Oruzhalatu), Panel 4: <Victory at Helaohuo>, Panel 5: <The Battle of Kulungui>, Panel 6: <The Chieftain of Ush Surrenders the City> (The Chieftain of Ushi Surrenders the City), Seventh Panel <The Battle of Tongguzhulu>, Eighth Panel <Breaking the Siege at Black Water>, Ninth Panel <The Great Victory at Huerman>, Panel 10: <The Battle of Archur>, Panel 11: <The Battle of Ysierkumur>, Panel 12: <The Battle of Hoskuluk>, Panel 13: <The Khan of Badakhshan Surrenders>, Panel 14 <Subjugation of the Muslim Tribes and Presentation of Prisoners>, Panel 15 <Commendation of Generals for Meritorious Service in the Muslim Campaign>, Panel 16 <Victory Banquet Honouring Generals for Military Achievements>.

39 For the activities of Jesuit painters in the Qing court, see Lee Joo-hyun, 'The Qianlong Emperor's Perception of Western Painting and the Formation of Lang Shining's Style: Focusing on the Tribute Horse Painting', *Art History Research* 23 (2009), pp. 81–114.

40 Park Ji-won, *Ryeokho Diary*, "A Brief Account of the Yellow Map," *Ziguan*.

41 Following the pacification of the Junggar and Huibu in the 25th year of Qianlong (1755), portraits of 100 meritorious subjects, including Grand Secretary and Loyal and Valiant Prince Fu Heng and General of the Frontier Zhao Hui, were enshrined within the Ziguan Pavilion. After the expedition to the Greater and Lesser Golden Rivers in the 41st year of Qianlong (1776), portraits of 100 meritorious subjects, including Grand Secretary and General of the Great and Small Golden Rivers in the 41st year of Qianlong (1776), portraits of 100 meritorious subjects, including Grand Secretary and General of the Western Frontier, A-gui, and General of the Right, Feng Sheng'e, were painted and hung within the hall. For details on the production and artistic characteristics of the portraits of meritorious subjects in the Hall of Brilliant Light, see Nie Chongzheng,

See 「On the Qing Dynasty's Portraits of Meritorious Officials in the Purple Light Pavilion」, *Cultural Relics* (1990.1), pp. 65–69.



Fig. 4 Yao Wenhan, "Banquet at the Purple Light Pavilion" (紫光閣賜宴圖), 1761 or later, colour on silk, 45.8×486.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

The New Year's banquet attended by foreign envoys was evidently planned with the political intent of showcasing the Qing Empire's martial might.⁴² Yao Wenhan's 〈Purple Light Pavilion Banquet Scene〉 (Fig. 4) is presumed to depict a banquet held in the newly reconstructed Purple Light Pavilion. Within the pavilion, Emperor Qianlong is centralised, with Mongol and Huifu princes and nobles, alongside Manchu and Han Chinese officials, positioned at the upper and lower sections of the composition.



Fig. 5 Detail from the 8-panel Western Regions Pacifying Campaign, Victory at Huerman, coloured on silk, 130×120cm, private collection

The officials sit in rows.⁴³ From the time Hwang In-jeom, the envoy to the Qing court, and his party attended the New Year's banquet on the 9th day of the first month in 1782,

From that time forth, envoys from tributary states also participated in the banquets at the Hall of Brilliant Light, and thereafter, whenever they came to Beijing, they invariably attended the New Year's banquet.⁴⁴ Jo Hwan, who visited the Jagwanggak as an envoy in 1788, and Park Sa-ho in 1828, both recorded having seen the 《Yanggeumcheon Victory Map》 and the 《Pinguizi Kingdom Battle Records》 displayed on the east and west walls respectively.

and the "Map of the Battlefield of Pinguizi Kingdom" (平回子國戰蹟) that had been hung on the east and west walls.⁴⁵ A work (Fig. 5) presumed to be a fragment of the large original map that hung in Jagwanggak is now preserved in a private collection,⁴⁶ and it is said to be a draft version of this work.

42 For the changes in the annual banquets for foreign vassals during the late Qianlong reign and the political significance of the New Year banquet at the Ziguang Pavilion, see Koo Beom-jin, "Changes in the Banquet Ceremonies for Foreign Vassals during the Qianlong Reign and Qianlong's "Golden Age", *Historical and Cultural Studies* 68 (2018), pp. 162–186.

43 Lin Jiawei, "A Study of the Qing Dynasty Qianlong Period Ziguang Pavilion Banquet Painting," *Palace Museum Journal* 4 (2015), p. 70.

44 The 1782 New Year banquet saw participation from envoys of Ryukyu, Siam, and Nanzhang, alongside Joseon. Conversely, in 1787, Joseon envoys were exceptionally unable to attend the New Year banquet in the first lunar month due to mourning following the death of Crown Prince Munhyo.

45 Cho Hwan, *Yonhaengirok*, 9 January 1788, *Baek Saho, Simjeong-gu, Vol. 2, "Yugwan Jalok," Jagwanggakgi*.

46 Three sections of the original scroll (left centre, centre, and lower right) from the eighth panel, 〈Black Water Enclosure〉, of the 《Pyeongjeong

Seoyakdo》, produced in 1760 and hung in Jagwanggak, have recently been introduced, prompting active research. During the Boxer Rebellion period in 1900, Jagwanggak was damaged, and

The three panels, believed to be from the fourth panel depicting Korgos's victory, Lee, Battle of Tongguzuruk (9 panels), Battle of Archul (11 panels) Fig. 6 Held in the Tenri University Library, Japan.⁴⁷ Summarising the sequence of events, the 1760 restoration of the Jaguanggak involved adorning the hall lavishly with large murals and portraits of meritorious officials, followed by a banquet hosting the Prince of Bun, the defeated general, and envoys from various states.



Fig. 6 Att. Jean-Denis Attiret, Western Regions Campaign, 4 panels, Victory at Korgos, c. 1760, ink on paper, 38.1×61.8cm, Tenri University Library

This can be seen as stemming from the Qianlong Emperor's desire to demonstrate the Qing Empire's status through visual media.

Emperor Qianlong went a step further, planning to reduce this large-scale painting and produce it as an engraving. In 1764, he ordered Castiglione to create the original artwork for the engraving. Accordingly, the painting drafts produced by three missionary painters, including Castiglione who had worked in the Qing court, were sequentially transported to Paris (in batches of 2, 11, 1, and 8 panels) under the custody of the French East India Company stationed in Guangdong. They were entrusted to Henri Bertin, Minister of State, and the Marquis de Marigny, President of the Royal Academy.⁴⁸



Fig. 7 Ding Guanpeng, Jin Tingbiao, Yao Wenhan, Western Regions Pacified, 4 panels, The Victory at Korgos, c. 1765

c. 1765, colour on paper, 55.4×90.8cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Through the mediation of de Marigny, the engraving was executed by the then highly renowned engraver Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790) and his pupils.⁴⁸ In 1765, just before the four completed scrolls were dispatched to Paris in 1766, court painters Ding Guanpeng (丁觀鵬), Jin Tingbiao (金廷標), and Yao Wenhan were commissioned to create the scrolls

This work

The paintings preserved within have been almost entirely lost. The right section of the original has long been known to reside in the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology, but two additional panels have recently been discovered. For a detailed introduction, see <http://www.battle-of-qurman.com.cn/index.htm> (accessed 15 October 2019); Shi-ye Lee, "Emperor Qianlong's East Turkestan Campaign Pictures: The Catalytic Role of the Documentation of Louis XIV's Conquests," *Arts of Asia*, vol. 47 (March–April, 2017), pp. 82–85.

47 Leverenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–44.

48 For the production process of the 《Pyeongjeongseoyakjeondo》, the various editions produced in France, and its current status, see Takada Tokio, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–18; Leverenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–60.

This is currently preserved at the Palace Museum in Beijing ^{fig. 7}. According to an imperial edict of 1765, Emperor Qianlong demanded that, alongside a perfect copy of the complete map, one hundred copies be printed and, after printing, returned along with the copper plates.⁴⁹ Four scrolls arrived in Paris in 1766, the remaining twelve in 1767. The first ^{three} copper plates were completed in 1769, each printing over 200 copies which were sent to Beijing. The complete set of twelve copper plates and two hundred printed copies of each plate were finally dispatched from Paris in December 1774, arriving in China in 1777. It was on 20 September 1777 that the imperial court in Beijing finally received the complete set: sixteen original paintings, sixteen copper plates, and 200 copies of each engraving, totalling over 3,200 sheets.⁵⁰ This arduous undertaking spanned seven long years, involving the Qing court painters, Jesuit missionaries, France's foremost engravers, and the French East India Company. The Chinese side paid the French 204,000 livres, equivalent to 29,000 taels, for the production of the copperplate engravings.⁵¹ It appears printing was also undertaken in China using these copper plates. Recent acquisition by the Kyoto National Museum of a set of nineteen copperplate prints for maps, printed on xuan paper rather than Western paper, has led to speculation that they may have been printed in China.⁵²

After the copperplate engravings arrived at the palace, Qianlong added inscriptions to them, or elaborated upon them in various forms such as albums or scrolls, distributing them to the kings of vassal states, imperial family members, and officials, or presenting them as diplomatic gifts to envoys from various countries. Presently, the albums are distinguished into two types: one comprising 34 leaves and another comprising 18 leaves. The former consists of 34 leaves in total, each containing a separate sheet featuring Qianlong's imperial calligraphic preface, prefaces by ministers such as Fu Xiang, the copperplate engravings themselves, and the imperial poems. The latter comprises 18 leaves in total, with Qianlong's poems inscribed above each illustration. Recently, the Beijing Palace Museum revealed a new format comprising sixteen volumes, each containing a scroll with both the painting and accompanying imperial poem bound together. This format has attracted considerable scholarly attention. As this copy was produced as a lavishly bound edition, it is presumed to have been kept within the palace for the Emperor Qianlong's personal viewing.⁵³ Subsequent maps of the imperial procession followed the format of adding an imperial poem above the illustration, a style also evident in the 《Pingjing Yangjin River Procession Map》.

The 《Pingjing Yangjin River Map》 ^{平定回疆} is a copperplate engraving produced to commemorate the successful second expedition to the Jinquan region in 1776, led by General of the West, A-gui, who had been dispatched to suppress the rebellion of the local ruling force, the Tusi, in the Da-Xiao Jinquan area of northwestern Sichuan Province during the Qianlong era.⁵⁴ 《The Campaign to Subdue the Western Regions

49 Zhou Weiqiang, 'Copperplate Chronicles: The Commissioned Production of the Imperially Authorised Engravings of the Campaign to Subdue the Junggar Muslim Rebellion', *Palace Museum Monthly* 393 (December 2015), pp. 4-5.

50 For the quantity and transportation of the copper plates produced in France, see the above article, pp. 9-17.

51 Takada Tokio, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

53 The above text, pp. 14-15.

54 The sequence of the Pingzheng Yangjin River Campaign Map held by the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, is as follows: Panel 1: 《Recapture of Xiao Jin River》, Panel 2: 《Capture of Lamu and Rize Pass》, Painting 3: 《Capturing the Luobowa Mountain Fortress》, Painting 4: 《Capturing the Yixi Daltu Mountain Range》, Painting 5: 《Capturing the Ripang Area》,

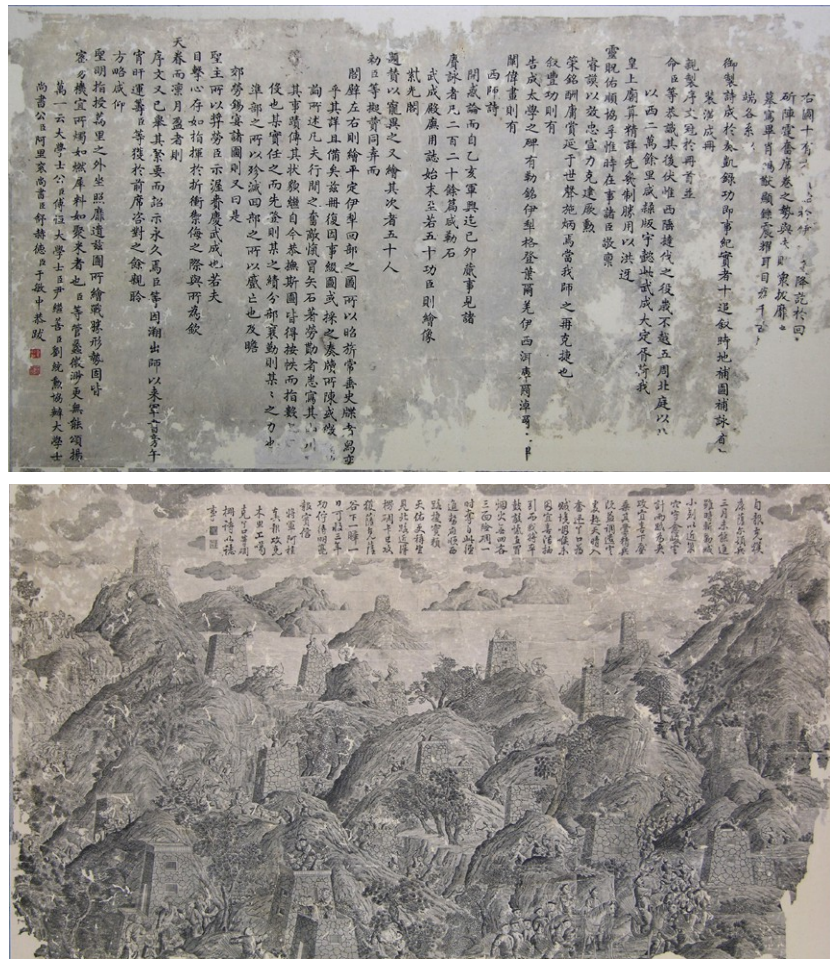


Figure 8: Inscriptions by Bu Hang and others on the Pingchuan Western Route Map (upper section) and the seven-panel Pingchuan Yangjin River Map, <Conquest of the Fortress at the Entrance to Musigong (Report by A-gui)> (Lower), Framed, Ink on paper, Each 87.4×48.9cm, 87.4×50.8cm, Soongsil University Museum of Korean Christianity

Based on the experience gained from producing the 《Pingzheng Yangjinchuan Zhen Tu》, the Chinese were able to accumulate a certain level of knowledge regarding the techniques of copperplate engraving. Building upon this foundation, they progressed to independently producing large-scale war commemorative paintings and copperplate engravings that meticulously and exquisitely depicted the splendour of palaces.⁵⁵ The 《Pingzheng Yangjinchuan Zhen Tu》 was woodblock printed.

Panel 6 (Capture of Kangsaer Mountain Ridge), Panel 7 (Capture of Muwigonggake Pass), Panel 8 (Capture of Fortifications at Yijiaoosuo and Other Locations), Panel 9 (Capture of Shizhen'ga Fortress), Panel 10 (Capture of Kunser Mountain Ridge in Zai Zhe Da Hai, Lagula Lama Temple and Other Locations), Panel 11: (Capture of the Luezi Nest) (Capture of Luezi), Panel 12: (Capture of the Fortresses at Kebuqu, Suolenggu Mountain Ridge, and Other Locations) (Capture of the fortresses at Kebuqu, Suolenggu Mountain Ridge, and other locations), Panel 13: (Capture of Gela'ai and Reporting Victory) (Capture of Gela'ai), Panel 14: (Welcoming General Agui's Triumphant Return at the Suburban Platform), Panel 15: (The Emperor Receives the Prisoners at the Golden Gate), Panel 16: (Banquet Honouring the Victorious Generals and Soldiers at the Purple Light Pavilion).

55 Among the commemorative war engravings produced in the Qing court, besides the sixteen-panel 《Map of the Campaign to Subdue the Yanggeum River》 (1771-76), the 《Map of the Campaign to Subdue Taiwan》 (Taiwan,

Having been produced by Chinese artists familiar with the subject matter, it differs from the "Conquest of the Western Regions" in its use of European perspective.

or realistic depiction techniques like cross-hatching. For instance, the pictorial rendering of trees, the depiction of rocks reminiscent of calligraphic strokes, the awkward perspective, and the grid-like cross-hatching technique are closer to woodblock print styles than to engraving techniques. The 《Illustrated Record of the Conquest of the Western Regions》 features imperial edicts printed in woodblock at the top of each page, effectively conveying the majesty of the Emperor and the Qing army through both image and text simultaneously.

An intriguing aspect concerning this research is that four days after Lee Seong-won and his party attended the Secho Yeon banquet at Jagwanggak in 1789, they received these two scrolls along with an imperial edict from the Qing court officials. The circumstances of that time are recorded with almost identical content in the 『Annals of King Jeongjo』 and the 『Ilseongnok (Daily Reflections)』, which serve as valuable references. The description of the painting recorded in the 『Annals of the Joseon Dynasty』 is as follows.

The scroll comprises sixteen paintings and sixteen poems; each painting is accompanied by a poem inscribed above it. Emperor Huang, since the year of the Wood Horse, subdued the regions of Yili, the Huizi, and the Da-Jin River and the Daegimcheon and Sogimcheon rivers. These depicted the course of the battles and the scenes of surrender, with accompanying poems, listing his military achievements.⁵⁶

The Ilseongrok contains thirty-two poems inscribed on each work and the preface to the Pyeongjeong Seoyakjeondo.⁵⁷ However, as the prefaces by the ministers, such as Bu Hang, are not recorded, it seems likely that the granted scrolls did not bear such prefaces. The former consists of sixteen paintings and sixteen poems bound separately as a scroll.

This is thought to refer to the 《Pingjing Xiyu Zhen Tu》, while the latter appears to be the 《Pingjing Yang Jinchuan Zhen Tu》, which has a poem inscribed on the painting. Most extant copies of the 《Pingjing Xiyu Zhen Tu》 in Japan, China, Russia, and the West exist in the form of a scroll. Those bound as albums are extremely rare, with the exception of the copy held by the Palace Museum in Beijing.⁵⁸ Lee Seong-won and his party, submitting a report upon departing from Yanjing on 20 February 1790, stated that they had copied the entire poem and reproduced one panel each from the sixteen paintings, sending these ahead to prepare for inspection.⁵⁹ At that time, Kim Hong-do (金弘道, 1745–after 1806) served as a military officer, while Lee Myeong-gi (李明基)

(1787–88) 12 panels, 《Illustrated Account of the Campaign to Subdue Annam》 (Vietnam, 1788–89) 6 panels, 《Illustrated Account of the Campaign to Subdue the Gurkhas》 (Nepal, 1792–93) 8 panels, 《Illustrated Account of the Campaign to Subdue the Miao Region》 (Hunan, 1795) 6 panels, and 《Illustrated Account of the Campaign to Subdue the Miao in Yunnan》 (Yunnan, 1795) 4 panels.

⁵⁶ 『Veritable Records of King Jeongjo』, Volume 29, 20th day of the 2nd month, 14th year of King Jeongjo (1790).

⁵⁷ 『Daily Records』, 20th day of the 2nd month, 14th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1790).

⁵⁸ Approximately seventy complete sets of the sixteen-panel Battle of the Western Regions are known to exist today. For a detailed list, see Leverenz, *op. cit.*, Annex 3, pp. 58–59.

⁵⁹ 『Daily Reflections』, 20th day of the 2nd month, 14th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1790).

Considering that Myeonggi was additionally appointed to accompany the diplomatic mission alongside the regular envoy, it is worth recalling that this work was presented to the Qing court and Western nations as a diplomatic gift during the late Joseon period, focusing on the diplomatic missions of the late Jeongjo era.

It is highly probable that these individuals were involved in the matter.⁶⁰ Furthermore, considering the Western-style perspective, chiaroscuro treatment, and realistic depictions evident in their works, it is thought that this piece may have influenced the subsequent formation of the painting styles of Kim Hong-do and Yi Myeong-gi.⁶¹

Currently, at the Christian Museum of Soongsil University, the colophon of the 《Map of the Western Regions after Pacification》 and one piece of the seven-panel 《Gonggeok Muksa Gonggeok Yogyochaek (攻克木工工克了口柵)》 from the 《Map of the Western Regions after Pacification and Yanggeumcheon》 are mounted together within a frame. ^{Fig. 8}. This work was part of the collection of the late Professor Kim Yang-seon and was donated to the museum in 1967.⁶² The colophon of the 《Pingjing Xiyu Zhen Tu》 measures 87.4 cm in width and 48.9 cm in height. The copperplate engraving of the 《Pingjing Yangjinchuan Map》 measures 87.4 cm in width and 50.8 cm in height. This is slightly smaller than the 95×58 cm size of the 《Pingjing Xiyu Map》 held by the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, and is almost identical to the 88.5×51 cm size of the 《Pingjing Yangjinchuan Map》. The colophon of the 《Pingjing Xiyu Zhen Tu》 was composed by Grand Secretary Fu Heng, Grand Secretary Yun Jixian, Liu Tongxun, Assistant Grand Secretary of the Secretariat, Prince Ali Gong, Minister of the Secretariat Shu Hede, and Yu Minzhong. It details the painting's content and the military campaign, praising the Emperor's achievements. It further notes the first expedition in 1755 to subdue the Dawaqi tribe, commemorating this with poetry inscribed on steles, depicting fifty meritorious subjects in the Hall of Brilliant Light, and painting scenes of the subjugation of the Junggar and Hui tribes on the hall's walls. It was stated that by preserving this in paintings for future contemplation, all merits, labours, and personal histories were clearly depicted so that one could discern whose achievements had accomplished what tasks. This ensured the imperial grace bestowed in recognition of their toil would always be remembered. From this, it is evident that the purpose of this work was to demonstrate the Qing dynasty's military might both domestically and internationally, to extol the brilliant achievements of meritorious officials, and to showcase the sovereign's benevolence towards his subjects. It was thus produced and distributed to the court officials. This preface appears to have been printed from a woodblock. 《Gong Gyeokmussa Gong Gyeok Yoguchak》 depicts the seventh scene of General Agye conquering the Muisong Fortress at Ipgu. Printed with both text and illustrations, it is presumed to be a relatively early Qing imperial edition.⁶³ As noted earlier, this work incorporates a considerable amount of Chinese elements, overwhelmingly...

60 For details on Kim Hong-do and Yi Myeong-gi's participation in the 1789 Dongji diplomatic mission, see the Ilseongnok, Jeongjo 13th year (1789), 14th day of the 8th month, and the Seungeongwon Ilgi, Jeongjo 13th year (1789), 14th day of the 8th month.

61 The possibility that the Pyeongjeong Seoyakjeondo and Pyeongjeong Yanggeumcheonjeondo influenced the formation of the Western painting styles of the two artists, Kim Hong-do and Yi Myeong-gi, through their participation in the 1789 Dongjisa expedition, is also mentioned in Jeong Eun-ju (2012), op. cit., p. 338, and Park Hyo-eun, "Kim Hong-do's Record Painting? 行事圖? 實景畫?", 『한국기독교박물관 소장 燕行圖』 (Sungshil University Museum of Korean Christianity, 2009), pp. 69-70.

62 For commentary and interpretation of the full preface and introduction to this work, see Park Hyo-eun (2009a), preceding text, pp. 106-114.

63 Professor Lai Yu-zhi of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan, who conducted the physical examination of the work alongside me, offered the insightful suggestion that the original of this piece was likely produced as a copperplate alongside the painting and printed within the Qing imperial court. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Ki

The composition, rendered in the form of a landscape, is typical of Chinese landscape painting.

The decorative, repetitively patterned tree reminiscent of an illustrated magazine Fig. 8-1, the flat composition, simplified figure depiction, and disregard for perspective in the figures' scale Fig. 8-2, the use of multiple viewpoints, and restrained shadow rendering are all characteristic of a typical eclectic Chinese-Western style.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the immature cross-hatching technique and coarse brushwork visible in the work Fig. 8-3 can be attributed to a lack of understanding of copperplate engraving techniques, alongside the technical limitations of China at the time, which involved printing copperplate engravings using traditional woodblock printing methods rather than importing etching press machinery.

This battle scene painting serves as a visual monument to impress upon the Qing dynasty's military prowess and imperial image, effectively demonstrating the image policy Emperor Qianlong had been steadily constructing.⁶⁵ In producing the Victory Map, Qianlong presented a new vision through the medium of Western copperplate engraving, rather than relying on traditional Chinese battle paintings. Commencing with scenes of officials in ceremonial attire receiving imperial commands, it functions as a type of official career map (宦蹟圖), reflecting his identity as a scholar-official.

Unlike Ming dynasty battle paintings, which depicted military achievements as their subject matter, Qing dynasty battle paintings focused on meticulously detailing various combat troops and weapons, and vividly portraying actual battle scenes.⁶⁶



Fig. 8-1 Detail of Fig. 8



Fig. 8-2 Detail of Fig. 8



Fig. 8-3 Detail of Fig. 8

We extend our gratitude to Han Myeong-geun, Curator at the Christian Museum, and to Jung Eun-ju, Senior Researcher at the Academy of Korean Studies, for sharing valuable insights on the work.

64 For the stylistic characteristics evident throughout this work, see Marcia Reed, "Imperial Impressions: The Qianlong Emperor's Print Suites," in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Ning Ding and Lidy Jane Chu (eds.), *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2015), pp. 133–136.

65 For the Qianlong Emperor's formation of imperial imagery and his visual image policy, see Jeong Seok-beom, "The Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong Periods' "Great Unification" Policy and Visual Imagery," *Art History Studies* 23(20), pp. 744; see also Yoo Jaebin, "Qianlong Portrait Painting: The Formation of Imperial Imagery—Focusing on the Qianlong Washing Elephants and Qianlong Viewing Paintings," *Chinese Historical Studies* 42 (2009), pp.

113-141.

66 For characteristics of Ming dynasty battle paintings, see Ma Yachen, "Military Merit and Official Records: War-Related Images and the Visual Culture of Officials in the Ming Dynasty," *Ming Studies* 17 (2011).

The Qing army, with its well-organised camp and array of weapons, moved with perfect coordination according to tactics and orders.

This depiction represents the ideal image of the empire as envisioned by the Qianlong Emperor, serving as the Qing dynasty's grand external image intended to be proclaimed to the foreign states and the empire itself. Furthermore, it constitutes a display of the Qing's formidable power to the foreign states, including Joseon, and the surrounding tributary states, while simultaneously conveying a message of warning to any forces that might challenge the Qing's authority. The majesty of the Qing Empire, rendered on a grand scale, was proclaimed to the princes and nobles of the tributary states and to the envoys of various nations through the banquet at the Hall of Eternal Splendour. This was made all the more evident through the European technique of copperplate engraving, which enabled perspective, clear composition, and detailed expression. Its influence and impact were replicated and reproduced.⁶⁷ The Western mode of representation embodied in the copperplate engraving must have delivered a fresh visual shock to the Joseon people, making them aware of the Qing's advanced level of knowledge concerning Europe.

V. Conclusion

During the 18th century, the Qing and Joseon dynasties maintained peaceful foreign relations without significant issues, allowing envoys to travel relatively freely and encounter new cultures. Examining travelogues and contemporary accounts reveals that Joseon envoys could observe firsthand the diverse foreign tributes presented to Emperor Qianlong during the Man Shu Festival, as well as visiting envoys from other states. Throughout Seo Ho-su's Travelogue, one finds accounts of envoys from Annam and Silla, and the offerings presented at the Manju Festival. These included a crane and a qilin made of pure gold, a rhinoceros and an elephant, a white deer, a decorative vase adorned with coral and peacock feathers, and a twelve-storey golden pagoda housing a mechanically operated golden Buddha. The sheer number of wondrous offerings and animals, including rare items never before seen, was so vast it was impossible to record them all.⁶⁸

In the case of Hwang In-jeom, who travelled to Yeolha in 1793 as an envoy to pay respects and express gratitude, he describes the British envoy George Macartney whom he met in Yeolha and the tribute gifts they brought as follows.

12), pp. 49–89.

67 Ya-chen Ma, "War and Empire: Images of Battle during the Qianlong Reign," in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Ning Ding and Lidy Jane Chu eds., *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2015), pp. 162–170.

68 Such records appear throughout the travel accounts of Lake West, notably in Volume 2 of the Travel Journal, from Rehe to the Yuanmingyuan [起熱河至圓明園], 16th day of the 7th month, Gyeongseol year (1790, 14th year of King Jeongjo); Volume 3, From the Yuanmingyuan to Yanjing [起圓明園至燕京], 2nd day of the 8th month, Gyeongseol year (1790, 14th year of King Jeongjo); 5th day of the 8th month, etc. Beyond Lake Xihu, accounts recording the rarity of tribute goods from foreign lands appear in travel diaries such as Lee Geun's *Notes on the Journey to Yan* (1777), Lee Deok-mo's *Record of Entering Yan* (1778), Park Ji-won's *Diary of Rehe* (1781), and Kim Jeong-jung's *Record of the Journey to Yan* (1791).

Last summer, eight nations from the southernmost regions came again to pay tribute, among them the Kingdom of Gili (唭哩國). The tribute presented comprised various instruments for measuring the weather, cool and warm carriages, and vessels made of copper, totalling over ten items. These were of the utmost refinement, surpassing anything the Western nations could produce. Furthermore, the Kingdom of Gili, commonly known as the Red-Haired Kingdom, lies thousands of li by sea to the south of Guangdong. Having had no contact with China for decades, they first arrived last year to pay tribute. Their people had yellow, curly hair and appeared ugly and fierce. When paying court to the Emperor they showed no knowledge of etiquette

The British envoy to Emperor Qianlong, Lord Macartney Fig. 9, arrived in Rehe to celebrate the Emperor's eightieth birthday. His large delegation, numbering over 700, brought with them an immense quantity of rare goods and treasures requiring 40 carriages, 200 horses, 600 trunks, and 3,000 porters. Yet, unfamiliar with the protocols for audience with the Emperor and the diplomatic etiquette of East Asia, they were perceived as arrogant and discourteous.



〈The Macartney Embassy Arriving at the Summer Palace〉, 1793, Tapestry, 121.5×160cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

They were perceived as such, and the gifts they brought failed to impress the Emperor deeply.⁷⁰ When the McCartney party presented themselves before the Emperor, in return for their gifts, the Emperor bestowed a jade robe^{Fig. 10} McCartney received a



Fig. 10 Jade robe presented by the Qianlong Emperor to George Staunton (1737–1801), Deputy Head of the British Mission, c. 1790, jade, 35.5 cm (H), Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 11: Presumed to be the telescope presented by Macartney to Emperor Qianlong (Fraser & Son, London), gold, enamel, pearls, glass, 17.7 cm (H), 3.5 cm (D), National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, UK (NAV 1579)

⁶⁹ 『The Veritable Records of King Jeongjo』, Volume 39, 10th day of the 3rd month, 18th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1794).

⁷⁰ Heo Gyeong-jin, "A Comparative Analysis of Perspectives on the Diplomatic Mission Celebrating the Birthday of Emperor Qianlong as Recorded by Joseon and British Envoys," *Dong-A Humanities* 38 (2017), pp. 189–220.

He presented a telescope (Fig. 11). Regarding this encounter, the Emperor critically remarked that European objects were "merely strange and useless", concluding that China possessed all things under heaven in abundance and thus saw no need to permit Europeans trade at ports other than Guangzhou.⁷¹ Ultimately, even the splendid and costly European machinery and jewels could only arouse Emperor Qianlong's momentary curiosity; they did not function beyond the ceremonial mechanisms of the Fourfold Respect and Five Rites diplomatic protocol. In this sense, diplomatic gifts possess a cultural and symbolic significance and complexity.

The gifts bestowed through diplomatic activities and experiences in Beijing and Yixing influenced the dissemination of Qing and Western material culture and the influx of new information into Joseon. Particularly during the latter part of King Jeongjo's reign, Joseon envoys dispatched to the Qing increasingly participated in Qing imperial banquets, directly experiencing the Qing's abundant wealth, culture, and formidable military might. The gifts they received served as tangible reminders of these experiences. The Qianlong Emperor's personally inscribed imperial poems and stationery items reinforced his image as an emperor of scholarly erudition, while exquisitely crafted jade ware, porcelain, embroidery, and silk became indicators showcasing the pinnacle of Qing court material culture and craftsmanship. Moreover, the grandeur of the Qing army and the display of formidable military might, as seen in the "Map of the Western Regions" and the "Map of the Yangtze River Basin," functioned as political propaganda directly showcasing the Qing's imperial achievements. Simultaneously, they served as a device to present the Qing's advanced image to the outside world, having mastered even the latest Western technologies. Ultimately, the diplomatic gifts received in the late 18th century became a kind of symbol flaunting the era of universal peace under Qing rule. The emergence of positive discourse on 'pro-Qing sentiment' and 'Northern Learning' in Joseon around 1780 can also be seen as one facet of the influence this material culture exerted on Joseon society.⁷² Furthermore from an art-historical perspective, the 1789 mission to the Qing was accompanied by Kim Hong-do and Yi Myeong-gi, the foremost painters of their era. The fact that this diplomatic delegation received the European-style copperplate engravings of the 《Pingjing Xiyu Zhen Tu》 from the Qianlong Emperor and copied them on the return journey to prepare for the Yeolam exhibition suggests that the European-style copperplate engravings of the 《Pingjing Yangjin Chuan Tu》 and the *Pyongjeong Yanggeumcheonjeondo* (Map of the Western Regions of Pyongjeong and Yanggeumcheon), and that they copied these on their return journey to prepare for the royal examination. This suggests that Joseon court painters were exploring multiple avenues to master Western painting styles at the time. Finally, although not discussed in this paper, the Qing imperial enamel porcelain, as an imperial porcelain, was also transmitted to Joseon in the form of diplomatic gifts. This can be said to have exerted a significant influence on the production of coloured porcelain and ceramic culture in late Joseon.⁷³

71 James L. Hevia, "Diplomatic Encounters: Europe and East Asia," in Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (eds.), *Encounters: the Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800* (London: V & A Publications, 2004), pp. 95-96.

72 Koo Beom-jin (2018), *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.

73 For a detailed discussion on this, see Kim Eun-kyung, 'Research on Qing Dynasty Enamel Porcelain Imported into Joseon in the 18th Century', *Art History Research* 233 (2017), pp.

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Korean Abstract

Diplomatic gifts typically comprised local products, items of rare value, or those possessing monetary worth. In the case of Joseon, tribute items presented to the Qing throughout the period consisted primarily of textiles, leather goods, mats, and paper products. Beyond their status as tribute goods, no distinctive features were observed. In contrast, the Qing court exhibited significant changes in the diplomatic gifts bestowed upon foreign missions around the reign of the Qianlong Emperor. This study focuses on these changing patterns, examining the political role of 'gifts' in diplomatic relations, particularly centred on the presents received by Joseon from China during the latter part of King Jeongjo's reign. It explores the selection and preparation processes of diplomatic gifts, and the symbolic significance of the rituals and ceremonies surrounding their presentation. This analysis will be conducted within the context of traditional tributary relations in East Asia and the evolving foreign relations of the 18th century, particularly the shifting dynamics between the Qing and its neighbouring states.

This study examines the diplomatic ceremonial context under which gifts were bestowed upon Joseon envoys at the time, and seeks to reconstruct the historical circumstances. Although few concrete examples of the bestowed items appear in the records, the form of the gifts received by Joseon envoys can be inferred through examples of works produced by the Imperial Workshop during the Qianlong Emperor's reign and used by the imperial household. Specifically, this paper focuses on two European-style copperplate engravings, the 《Map of the Western Regions Conquered》 and the 《Map of the Yangtze River Conquered》, which were among the diplomatic gifts bestowed by Emperor Qianlong during official diplomatic events and ceremonies. These were received by the delegation led by Yi Seong-won, dispatched on the June 1789 mission to the East. The paper examines the purpose of their production, their distribution, and their transmission into Joseon, examining their function as political propaganda tools within the diplomatic gift-giving framework. Furthermore, it explores the diplomatic activities surrounding the presentation of these gifts and discusses the impact that the material cultures of the Qing and the West, experienced firsthand in Beijing and Yelha, had on Joseon's intellectuals.

Abstract

Art and Material Culture of Qing Dynasty and Its Transmission to Joseon through Diplomatic Channels in the King Jeongjo's Reign

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Diplomatic gifts within the traditional East Asian tributary system were relatively generic, consisting mostly of local goods. Joseon envoys' tributary items to the Qing court included various kinds of fine cloth and paper, mats, silk, silver knives, bows, leopard, otter, deer, and black squirrel skins, tea, pepper, fans, sappanwood, rice, and silver. The goods are sometimes physically fragile, sometimes more resistant to convey symbolic meanings, and thus function simply as a local product connecting indigenous nature and people, and are therefore much less individualised.

This study examines gifts sent to Joseon via diplomatic channels between Korea and China in the late eighteenth century. While introducing the presents typically prepared for such encounters in the early modern period, this paper focuses on products of the Qing imperial workshops and Sino-European artefacts given to Joseon envoys by Emperor Qianlong. These included jade ruyi sceptres, lacquerware, ceramics, silk, textiles, imperial endorsed books, the emperor's calligraphic works and poems, as well as engravings in the European style. The Joseon envoys dispatched in the late 1780s

The following questions will be thoroughly explored: how "Western" objects served as diplomatic gifts in the Sino-Korean relationship and in East-West encounters, what sorts of objects were selected as presents, and for what occasions, who was involved, and the examination of two sets of prints commemorating the *Conquest of the Western Regions* and the *Conquests of the Great Jinchuan and the Lesser Jinchuan*. The following questions will be further investigated: how "Western" objects served as diplomatic gifts in Sino-Korean relations and in East-West encounters; what types of objects were selected as presents and for what occasions; who was involved in the gift exchange process; and how these objects were appreciated and integrated into the recipient's society.

This paper seeks to explore the productive ways in which visual, material, and textual sources intersect, and how they can equally contribute to reconstructing the practice of gift exchange and material culture in diplomatic settings from cross-cultural perspectives. Thus, this study sheds light on alternative readings of the nuanced meanings of gifts, the networking built upon the gift-exchange process, and the political and economic values of gifts within a historically and geographically specific context.

Keywords

Diplomatic gifts, <Conquest of the Western Regions Map>, <Conquest of the Two Jinchuan Regions Map>, Qianlong, Jeongjo, Kim Hong-do

Keywords

Diplomatic gift, Conquest of Western Regions, the Conquests of the Great Jinchuan and the Lesser Jinchuan, Emperor Qianlong, King Jeongjo, Kim Hongdo

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