

Culture of War – High and Popular

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The term "culture of war" describes the relationship between war, society, and thought, as military institutions and theories are shaped not only by political factors but also by intellectual, civilian, and literary developments. The framework of military culture may include a mission statement that defines the purpose of an army and legitimises its existence, an internal structure of the military that embodies norms and assumptions for this institution, and resources to ensure the military's survival and functioning (Wilson 2008: 17; Di Cosmo 2009: 4). Studies on the culture of war also consider how the dynamics of war have produced new cultural products in literature and art, the memorialisation of the dead, the intellectual traditions of commanders, the experiences and reactions of soldiers, or the specific memory products related to combat (Lee 2017; Leonhard 2008). Although not all of these aspects can be addressed in the present chapter, a balanced description of the most important elements may be possible.

Undoubtedly, technological development contributed to the overseas expansion of some Western powers. Europeans benefited from a military culture that differed from that of their adversaries, characterised by post-feudal, non-personalised military command systems and philosophies, particularly through the application of 'reason' and science to address challenges (Black 1999: 208). From a global perspective, it is thus certainly worthwhile to compare certain aspects of the culture of war with those existing in the largest and most populous state of that era, the Qing empire (1644–1912) in China.

War and World View

Europe

The concept of "military humanism" emerged as early as the Renaissance (Pichichero 2017: 7) but truly flourished during the Age of Enlightenment. Men were not merely seen as elements in a clash between princes or sovereign states but also as agents in their own right. Thinkers began to recognise *sensibilité*—the care for others—and an expression of *noblesse de cœur* as crucial for the cohesion of armies. Soldiers of all ranks were encouraged to cultivate piety, familiarity, camaraderie, community, and respect. In this manner, the ethics of courage and honour were somewhat "democratised" during this period (Pichichero 2017: 16).

The physician Julien Offray de la Mettrie (1709–1751) shattered the Cartesian worldview in his book *L'homme machine* (1747), which posited that mind and body operated separately. In La Mettrie's interpretation, soldiers were seen as machines of flesh and blood, with their bravery and cowardice reduced to mere bodily reactions ("matter can think and feel"). However, in practice, military handbooks advised officers to drill and discipline their troops, instructing them to 'switch off' any reasoning in their minds. Maurice de Saxe (1696–1750) and Frederick the Great (r. 1740–1786) were renowned for transforming their ordinary soldiers into pure automatons, obedient to the "single rational mind of the captain" (Harari 2008: 115, 133, 160).

The reasonableness of war in general was similarly disputed. While some members of the French aristocracy viewed warfare as a regular aspect of human existence, others regarded it as an aberrant occurrence in human life (Bell 2013). The novel *Aventures de Télémaque* (1699) by the archbishop and royal tutor François Fénelon (1651–1715) condemned war—even when deemed necessary at times—as the "shame of the human race" (Durant & Durant 1963: 83). The shift of the conduct of war to a group of specialists embraced humanitarian ideas that increasingly eclipsed Thomas Hobbes' (1588–1679) notion of a "war of all against all."

Human rights have evolved into an important topic in contemporary discourse. Intense debates on the abandonment of corporal punishment for deserters resulted in the decision for officers to make individual assessments, and many chose to dispense with the death penalty. In several instances, public sensitivity to the unjust treatment of soldiers by officers sparked outcries (Harari 2008: 188). Gazettes not only celebrated the Duke of Marlborough's (1650–1722) victory at Blenheim/Höchstädt (1704) but also condemned the destruction of villages in Bavaria. The political accountability established by the Bill of Rights (1689) inspired protests against corruption and brutality within the military ranks. Prior to the Battle of Dettingen in 1743, France and the Pragmatic Army reached an agreement on the treatment of wounded and captured soldiers—a precursor to the Geneva Convention (Pichichero 2017: 112). This was imperative, as the casualty rate from regular battle increased due to both technological advancements and changes in combat techniques.

Commanders became concerned about troop health. Medical care, physical hygiene, and prophylactic measures lowered not only long-term costs but also expressed a commander's care for his troops. Establishing hospitals ensured better treatment of the wounded and fostered the fighting spirit of those on the battlefield (Lincoln 2011: 457).

Some military leaders of the time believed that rather than relying on harsh command, a form of paternalism was more beneficial, along with a willingness to explain the reasons behind certain decisions—a concept acknowledging that a soldier could think rationally. Marlborough was portrayed as a kind-hearted, sensitive family man who cared for his troops and steered clear of

cruelty on the battlefield. Benevolence and concern from superiors became standard principles for officers during the later Age of Enlightenment, to the extent that diseases ravaging military camps were interpreted as a sign of poor leadership (Charters 2009: 940). Even leaders such as Peter the Great (r. 1682–1721) and Leopold I from Anhalt-Dessau (the "Old Dessauer", 1676–1747) adhered to paternalism towards their officers and troops. Vice Admiral René Duguay-Trouin (1673–1736) was regarded as a "paradigm of humility and humanity", always considering the wellbeing of his troops (Pichichero 2017: 166).

Maria Theresia's (1717–1780) *Militär-Knaben Stiftung* (1772) was a particular institution of care, which arranged for the welfare of orphan children of killed soldiers.

In New England, the brutality of superiors barely contributed to desertion; however, the widespread abuse of alcohol might have played a decisive role in soldiers leaving their units (Agostini 2007: 974). Officers were well aware of this and opted for the charge of drunkenness instead of intentional desertion when they wished to avoid punishing their own troops harshly, fearing total desertion or mutiny.

China

The Qing dynasty in China inherited the empire previously controlled by the Ming (1368–1644) and adopted their administrative practices. However, the dynasty's origins among the 'steppe peoples' led to a distinct approach to governance. The Qing focused on the Central Asian peripheries of China, home to potential rivals and ethnic groups challenging the suzerainty of China and the unity of the empire. Military vigilance was a constant feature of the Qing state, alongside a universal reign that embraced multiple peoples with diverse cultural traditions under a single authority (Perdue 2005: 507). The "simultaneity" of Qing emperorship required "separate grammars" (Crossley 1999: 12), with which the Qing emperors had to engage their various subjects, including different ethnicities, civilian and military officials, merchant associations, peasants, Mongol nobles, Tibetan lamas, and the Chinese gentry. Nonetheless, all were expected to participate in the "great enterprise" of imperial order (Wakeman 1985). This enterprise encompassed not only the pacification of China proper but also the expansion of the empire's territory deep into Central Asia to control the Western Mongols and their subjects, secure the allegiance of the Mongols' religious allies in Tibet, and ensure the submission of 'tribute peoples'. In terms of religious support, the Manchus established military control over Lhasa and created a Tibetan settlement in their summer residence at Jehol/Chengde north of Beijing, to secure the backing of Tibetan Buddhism.

In taking over the Ming empire, the Qing formally adopted the traditional distinction between the realm of military (*wu* 武) and that of the civilian world (*wen* 文). Despite being viewed as critically distinct and opposed to each other, they were complementary and integral to human life, much like

the two 'forces' of Yin and Yang (Waley-Cohen 2009: 292). Soldiers, even high-ranking officers, were traditionally regarded as 'uncultivated' and 'undiscriminating'; however, evidence indicates that members of the hereditary military officialdom under the Ming actively engaged in writing poetry and collecting or creating works of art, while literati collected swords and read military treatises (Ryor 2009: 242). This tendency did not fundamentally change following the take-over by the Qing in 1644. The Qing emperors, leaders of the 'martial' conquering Manchus, viewed themselves as patrons of the arts, influencing the officialdom. The career patterns within the Qing state permitted Manchus, as 'genuinely' military individuals, to assume civilian roles in the administration and to transition back to military positions during their promotions. Cross-appointments throughout individual careers blurred the distinctions between civilian and military within the bureaucracy (Dai 2017).

The Manchus were a federation of various Tungusic-speaking tribes in northwestern China. Their leader, Nurhaci (r. 1616–1626), adopted the Mongolian title of khan. Thus, he not only gained the support of many Ming-critical Chinese but also that of most eastern Mongol tribes, integrating many of them into the system of the Eight Banners (*jakūn gūsa* in Manchu, *baqi* 八旗 in Chinese, *naiman qosiyu* in Mongolian). By 1644, the Manchus commanded eight "Manchu Banners", along with eight much smaller "Mongol" and eight "Chinese Banners". In fact, only between a quarter and half of the Manchu Banner forces were ethnically Manchu (Naquin & Rawski 1987: 117; Elliott 2001: 117). Although the number of Banners (eight) resulted from historical developments, it corresponded to cosmological thinking. The Eight Trigrams, symbols comprised of three solid or broken lines, were believed to represent all aspects of human life and the surrounding world.

The Banner system transformed all families of the alliance into components of military units, at least in theory. Men were expected to serve during wartime and honed their martial skills in times of peace. They took on the roles of common soldiers or officers and received a state salary, functioning as a kind of "iron rice bowl", which also included various subsidies, such as money for weddings or funerals (*hongbaiyin* 紅白銀; Elliot 2001: 195). In wartime, the state disbursed equipment subsidies (*xingzhuangyin* 行裝銀), salt-and-vegetable pay (*yancaiyin* 鹽菜銀), and generous material rewards, primarily in brocade (*shangbao* 賞號). The paternalistic state also arranged for the transportation of deceased soldiers back to their home districts, financed funerals, offered compensation for wounded soldiers, and ensured orphans a place within the army (Theobald 2013: 47-59). As the number of military positions remained fixed over time, only the eldest son of a soldier was entitled or obliged to perform military service. If unable or unwilling to serve, a younger brother or another individual could assume the position—however, only this person would be entitled to a salary, provisions, and allowances.

The Banner troops comprised only a smaller segment of the Qing military. The majority consisted of the Green Standard units (*lijing* 綠營), which were composed of Chinese troops (Moll-Murata & Theobald 2013). They resided in garrisons across the provinces and maintained families. Both the Banner troops and the Green Standards were hereditary units, meaning that sons or younger brothers were permitted, after serving as cadets, to assume the position of a retired individual. Due to the fixed number of positions in military units, surplus offspring had to seek alternative vocations.

The hereditary system of professions largely curbed desertion; however, desertion was not unheard of. The standardisation of laws in the 18th century resulted in a "militarisation of legal culture", which provided officers with a means to court-martial deserters without the emperor's consent (Gregory 2015).

Access to military service in the Green-Standard troops was possible for outsiders, though uncommon, as society was generally structured along the lines of professional groups, at least to a degree (Naquin & Rawski 1987: 117). Biographies of higher officials indicate that Banner officers could occasionally be assigned to Green-Standard posts and vice versa.

During the 18th century, Manchu society experienced an increasing stratification. While some leaders became rich—like the notorious minion Hešen (1750–1799) or Prince Fuk'anggan (1753–1796)—ordinary Banner troops became impoverished or indebted and unemployed. The Qing court launched programs to help Bannermen regain their lives by granting them extra subsidies, cancelling debts, allowing them to return to Manchuria, or joining the Green Standards (Naquin & Rawski 1987: 141).

Some of the Beijing Banner troops, such as the Scouting Brigade and the Vanguard Brigade, along with allies from the northeastern tribes of the Soluns and Daghurs, were considered elite forces and were assigned significant tasks throughout the 18th century. While official regulations precisely defined the number of cavalry and infantry troops, musketeers, gunners, supporting soldiers, and even craftsmen in Banner garrisons, the distinction between infantry and cavalry in Green-Standard units was usually made on a case-by-case basis rather than as a standard provision. Horses were also part of the standard endowment of Green-Standard garrisons; however, over time, most animals were sold illegally, and the funds intended to purchase horses were misappropriated (Luo 1984: 407). Artillery served merely as a supplementary tool for various military units until the mid-19th century and was not organised into own structures, except for the Beijing Firearms Brigade. The Qing naval forces were few and relatively small.

Since 700 CE, officers were assessed through military examinations. During the Qing dynasty, the military examination (*wuke* 武科) was refined and modelled on the civilian examination, which

facilitated a career as a civil servant. The military examination tested skills in mounted archery, foot shooting, and some theoretical knowledge (Zi 1896).

Archery played a predominant role in combat, even though matchlock muskets were prevalent. It was, as an integral part of the "old Manchu Way" (*Manjusa-i fe doru*), the primary style of fighting preferred by Banner troops, while Green-Standard troops utilised swords, sabres, clubs, and polearms. It is significant to note that no technical advancements occurred during this period, so Chinese troops employed the same types of weapons in 1840 as they had in 1644. The war chronicles of the 18th century provide evidence of the practical and widespread use of the bow and arrow but also highlight the substantial amounts of lead, saltpetre, and nitre required for muskets and artillery. In practice, the use of the musket was comparable to that of the bow, at least in the latter half of the century.

Figure 1. Portrait of Manchu Bannerman Janggimboo, 1st-class guardsman (188.6 × 95.1 cm, private collection). The inscriptions, written in Manchu and Chinese, elucidate the reason for his receipt of the honourific title of "hero" and a peacock feather as decoration, affixed to his hat. The officer dons a sword along with a bow and arrow, the traditional weapons of the Manchu elite. Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/49249>, Dec 2018).

Mastering the bow required extensive and consistent training, and the production and maintenance of bows were more expensive than that of muskets (Dekker 2007, 2017). Collective drills were conducted several times a year to ensure troops could also hit a target while riding a galloping horse. Hunting served as an important way to train martial skills, prompting the court to organise regular large-scale hunting campaigns in the northeast. The Qing emperors even invited leaders of Mongolian tribes to participate in battues as a practical and ceremonial joint exercise (Elliott 2001: 184).

The self-concept of the Qing conquest dynasty as a martial enterprise led to the constant (and from the 1740s onwards, intensified) propagation of martial values on several levels, allowing for the observation of a "militarization of culture" (Waley-Cohen 2009: 278). While most Bannermen had the opportunity to participate in actual campaigning during the early 18th century, their chances diminished over the following decades, particularly for troops in the coastal regions. Many of them sold their equipment and slaughtered their horses. To prevent such unfortunate occurrences, military reviews assessed the completeness of equipment and weaponry (Elliott 2001: 117, 178, 337). Martial prowess was thought to be inspired by appealing to the martial 'Manchu tradition'.

At the turn of the century, this top-down tendency coincided with a bottom-up militarisation of society caused by a general decline of the local executive powers and the need to defend communities against banditti and insurgents (Kuhn 1970). Local defence and security were part of the regular portfolio of Green-Standard troops, so most of them were more of a police force than

actual soldiers. Moreover, some Green-Standard troops had the duty to protect the tribute rice transports along the Grand Canal from southeast China to Beijing in the North.

War and Society

Europe

Only in the 1770s did soldiers in Europe live in barracks. Before that, they were quartered in private houses. In Prussia, many houses had a special room reserved for troops (Duffy 1987: 93). Military life was thus closely integrated into garrison towns, and the burghers were accustomed to the military presence.

The troops of the Royal French Guard in Paris resided in private quarters throughout the city. After 1700, the number of married soldiers increased significantly, and many troops frequently requested leave to support their families in the provinces (Corvisier 1982: 352, 356). The dispersed living arrangements of Parisian troops hindered the formation of military fraternities but bonded soldiers with the local populace to the extent that, in their leisure time, soldiers undertook civilian jobs to earn additional income. This was a common characteristic of all European *ancien régime* armies. Officers of bourgeois background, for their part, were much more inclined to share the lives of their bourgeois families-in-law rather than those of their fellow officers. The eventual result of this situation was that the *bourgeois militaires* did not defend the dynasty but aligned themselves with the revolutionary masses in the summer of 1789 (Corvisier 1982: 344, 366).

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) serve as prime examples of conflicts fought by a “people’s army”. Military service by “excess offspring” was notably widespread in New England, with some years seeing up to one-twelfth of eligible men serving (Anderson 1983: 525). In terms of the hardships of life, there was little difference from the settlers of the borderlands, leading to recruits, who represented the colony’s society at large, becoming tough fighters and earning the respect of their officers—contrary to the prevailing image of the common soldiery in Europe during that era.

Volunteers enlisted for various reasons, whether for money, adventure, or—in the case of criminals—escape from punishment. In the worst scenarios, recruitment bands forcibly conscripted young men into the army. Unsurprisingly, Campbell Dalrymple (1725–1767) articulated his famous assertion in his *Military Essay* (1761) that ordinary soldiers were “the scum of every country, the refuse of mankind”. Even long after the Thirty Years’ War, soldiers were regarded as rapacious hordes—poor, ignorant, and crude beings, perpetually inclined to disobey, deceive, desert, mutiny, loot, and drink; viewed as uneducated, uneducable, and fundamentally dangerous to the womenfolk (Conway 2006: 117). Thus, soldiers were subjected to drills to quell

the "innate monster", which may not have been real, but rather a manifestation of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Harari 2008: 161).

France initiated the practice of conscription in 1688 with the *milice* (the provincial militia was introduced in 1726). Russia followed suit in 1705, followed by Prussia in 1732 with the canton system, and Austria introduced it as late as 1770. Dalrymple's statement should not be taken too literally; it primarily reflects the class prejudices of many bourgeois and noble officers and writers rather than a social reality. Statistics indicate that as much as 20 per cent of privates hailed from learned professions. In comparison, only 66 per cent were countrymen—particularly useful for cavalry units due to their familiarity with handling horses (Duffy 1987: 67–68, 70). The presence of private soldiers from respectable professions mitigated the effects of demobilisation in France after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), as many soldiers were able to transition into trades or become merchants, schoolteachers, postmasters, or functionaries (Duffy 1987: 231

Among the New England troops, distinctions of birth and rank were hardly recognised. Nevertheless, in general, the "citizen-soldiers" in the colonies did not differ significantly from the soldier stock in Europe, including those from the fringes of society (Duffy 1987: 210, 235; Starkey 2003: 137).

The education of a private soldier took up to 3 years for infantry and 6 years for troopers (Duffy 1987: 70; Harari 2008: 180), which means that the armies of the Old Regime were expensive compared with the 'cannon fodder' of later days. Therefore, a basic rule was to wage war only when necessary and so effectively and efficiently that martial objectives could be achieved by sparing costs, particularly manpower.

Marriage was permitted for private soldiers to ensure that women in the garrison could wash the laundry, mend clothes, and tend the sick. However, on the whole, no more than about 16 per cent of commoners were married in France, partly because women were generally reluctant to marry a soldier (Duffy 1987: 94) and because the memoranda from officers frequently denounced women as threats to discipline (Seriu 2007). The Prussian army aimed to limit the number of married soldiers but was unique among European armies in granting legal status to the girlfriends of soldiers. These women were not deemed dishonoured due to their sexual relationships with soldiers and were entitled to a limited amount of material assistance from the regiment.

The officer corps was composed of members of the nobility who "knew no other way of life, nor any profession other than that of arms" (Duffy 1987: 26). Consequently, 85 per cent of officers in France came from the nobility. Young men from the powerful *noblesse de court* could reasonably expect to become officers. A brief interlude between 1750 and 1758 facilitated the rise of a *noblesse militaire*, comprising deserving bourgeois officers. During that period, as much as a third of the officer corps had a middle-class background (Duffy 1987: 32). These developments were ultimately

curtailed in France by the royal edict of 1781, stipulating that an officer's position was to be filled only by a person with a pedigree of at least four generations of full and unimpeachable nobility. A similar purge of the officer corps was executed in Prussia following the Seven Years' War (Duffy 1987: 223). Austria was arguably the most egalitarian among the European states.

The motivation of the officer corps was not always at its highest level, as service in the army was more or less compulsory for many younger sons of noble families. Some served merely to earn a livelihood, while others viewed military service as a remedy for boredom. The assignment of noble sons to one of two possible occupations, namely the church or the army, resulted in various mismatches. Nonetheless, military life provided young cadets with a sense of serving in an honourable profession that would not have been achievable if they had opted for a civilian occupation. Following the military profession involuntarily, many officers took with them to the field a considerable amount of household belongings, not only to impress their comrades but also to maintain their comfortable civilian lifestyle (Duffy 1987: 63). Tipping and gambling were prevalent among officers, and privately, quite a few remained bachelors throughout their lives.

Particularly in France, but also in many other countries—with the notable exception of Prussia—the sale of military offices at fixed prices or through bidding was common and widespread (Doyle 1996). The result was an "over-officering" of numerous armies of the Old Regime (Duffy 1987: 46). Another malaise of the age was the presence of volunteer officers, high-spirited young gentlemen, or foreign princes seeking adventure. These *schlachtenbummlers* ("battle tourists") often occupied accommodation that would otherwise have been available for the wounded, and frequently got themselves killed for no particular reason, much to the chagrin of the regular officers (Duffy 1987: 54).

The positions of lower officers were typically filled by the sons of the *noblesse d'épée* in France, the private gentry in England, or *junkers* in Prussia. They were accustomed to the hardships of rural living and often scarcely distinguishable from the peasantry. Most bourgeois officers were much better educated than those from the nobility, and it was said that they "showed greater decorum in conduct" than their higher-class counterparts. A parallel to this observation can be seen in the behaviour of infantry officers, who were "more dignified" than those of the cavalry (Duffy 1987: 33, 59).

During the reigns of William III (r. 1689–1702) and Queen Anne (r. 1702–1707), a paradigm shift occurred in the professionalisation of the army and navy, distancing these forces from the direct involvement of most members of the nobility. Not every young man from a noble family was sent to arms; instead, those who were, became soldiers by profession rather than merely by virtue of their social status. Yet, as warfare became increasingly professionalised, it paradoxically penetrated deeper into civilian culture (Lincoln 2011: 456). More civilians became involved in the

affairs of the army and navy, and the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694 fostered a class of investors who profited from war. London emerged as the financial hub sustaining the war machine, much like Paris, which served as the centre for military logistics during the tumultuous decades of Louis XIV's (r. 1643–1715) reign. These capital cities became venues for "military entrepreneurs" and senior officers to engage with their civilian suppliers and broader society (Torres-Sánchez et al. 2018).

China

After conquering the Ming capital Beijing, the Manchu leaders designated the city as their principal residence. 'Their people', organised into military units, settled around the Imperial City, thereby safeguarding the imperial house from all sides (Elliott 2001: 103)—a compound known to Western observers as the Tartar City, which gave Beijing the overall appearance of a large military garrison. Other Manchu Banner units were stationed in key cities throughout the provinces. Immediately following the conquest period, Bannermen were allocated lands to live off, but many soon sold this property (Elliott 2001: 193). Banner families resided with the troops in walled compounds separated from the Chinese population. However, this does not mean they did not have contact with the Chinese population. As time went by and the wounds of the conquest period healed, Manchu soldiers and their families were increasingly integrated into local societies and left the Banner garrisons. They were also forced to do so because the Banner 'ghettos' were overcrowded. Yet the Manchus never totally lost their identity in the Chinese cultural environment, even if mastery of the Manchu tongue critically declined (Elliott 2001: 29).

Qing propaganda incorporated the chastity of Manchu women into the ideological spectrum to emphasise their significance for the proper conduct of troops in the remote outpost colonies of Xinjiang/Turkestan in the far West. Furthermore, the relocation of soldier families to distant areas served as an indicator of successful colonisation (Waley-Cohen 2009: 293).

Scholars discuss the *Pax Manjurica*, which brought, after decades of intense warfare, an enduring period of peace to most parts of the Qing empire beginning at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. One consequence was that the personal contact of China's population with military campaigns was relatively rare during the 18th century, as most conflicts were fought in the border regions and beyond the territory of China proper. Few individuals were dislocated or uprooted due to wars unless they resided in the war zones or along the routes where troops and transporters travelled. Furthermore, the Qing—following the paradigm of the benevolent Confucian state—did not impose extraordinary war levies on the general populace but conducted warfare within the ordinary budget. This approach was enacted in an imperial edict in 1712, which proclaimed "never to increase the field tax". Instead, merchant associations in the salt trade were relied upon to foot the bill. This method was quite successfully implemented during the latter half of the 18th century but

was increasingly supplanted by fundraising through sales of offices in the course of the following century (Theobald 2013: 150).

During military campaigns, the civilian administration was integrated into the transport system for military equipment and supplies to the theatre of war. Local logistics bureaus were endowed with funds and instructed to recruit workers from the local population. Occasionally, civil servants were dispatched to the front to organise the supply on-site (Dai 2017).

The mobilisation and supply of large armies necessitated cooperation with the local population, who assisted in transporting food and equipment, caring for horses and mules, producing foodstuffs, repairing items, or selling various goods and services to the ordinary troops and their officers in the camps. Gambling, smoking, and drinking were widespread, and opera troupes entertained the army. Senior officers resided in comfortable yurts and led a lavish lifestyle.

As the population increased during the 18th century, military campaigns and paramilitary activities, such as hunting and imperial inspection tours, allowed many to earn some money, while military consumption stimulated local markets in certain areas. Conversely, the cessation of large campaigns after 1792 released part of the workforce, eventually transforming them into bandits and rebels. This was particularly true for the provinces near the theatres of war in the west, such as Yunnan and Sichuan (Dai 2009: 177).

War and the Arts

Europe

The "Communications Revolution" of printed media in the 17th century provided the French state with a means to influence public opinion—not as a tool for falsification, but as one of enlightenment, as Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) remarked (Klaits 1976: 10). Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1665–1746) oversaw the publication of books, pamphlets, and serial publications to glorify the king's martial exploits. However, the press also served as a vehicle for internal criticism against the incessant wars of the time.

The "war propaganda" of Louis XIV (Burke 1992) targeted not only the court but also the more remote circles of local and national elites, as well as representatives of foreign powers (Ziegler 2015: 25). It included commissioned *Te Deums* to glorify God as the numinous supporter of France, victory processions, the erection of triumphal arches (such as the Porte Saint-Denis in 1672 and the Porte Saint-Martin in 1674) and bronze monuments (for instance, the King's statue in the Place des Victoires, 1686) in Roman or Renaissance style, along with the issuing of commemoration medals (Jones 1982–1983; Meier 2015). During that period, the church supported the Sun King and endeavoured to engage the wider public in prayer ceremonies to express their allegiance to the sovereign (Klaits 1976: 18).

The French victory at Fontenoy in 1745 was commemorated with a Te Deum, and the king ordered salutes, fireworks or bonfires (*feux de joie*), displays, banquets, toasts, and a public account of the battle in the *Gazette de France*. The philosopher Voltaire (1694–1778) wrote the lengthy *Poème de Fontenoy* in traditional alexandrine verses. The popular introduction (*Marche en rondeau*) of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's (1643–1704) Te Deum is performed with 'warlike' timpani and trombones. This sacred work celebrated the French victory at Steinkirk in 1692 (Sarcos 2008).

Although the war propaganda of the Sun King was often mocked in England, King Charles II (r. 1660–1685) similarly commissioned paintings and tapestries (labelled *L'art de la guerre*, created by Jérôme le Clerc, Josse de Vos, or Jacques van der Borcht, most of which reproduced works by Lambert de Hondt, c. 1620–1665) to commemorate his country's military achievements. He also sought the backing of the Anglican Church and patronised poets to compose panegyrics celebrating his campaigns. Sometimes, the state mandated public mourning or granted state funerals to deceased generals. With the gradual emergence of her overseas empire, national pride became increasingly fashionable in Great Britain, expressed, for example, in the famous song *Rule, Britannia!* (1740, lyrics by James Thomson, music by Thomas Augustine Arne), encapsulating a rhetoric of both militarism and liberty (Keymer 2014: 124). The victory of the Pragmatic Army over the French at the battle of Dettingen was commemorated by a Te Deum composed by George Frideric Handel (1685–1759).

In England, the number of publications dedicated to warfare issues drastically increased after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Guides, books on technical matters, economics, and social implications flourished, making war a more scientific and mundane endeavour. The Seven Years' War provided a major context for artistic production in Britain and eventually led to the establishment of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce (1754), the Society of Artists (1761), the Free Society of Artists (1765), and the Royal Academy of Arts (1768) (Fordham 2010).

The public reception and interpretation of the Battle of Blenheim can be viewed as a media event. In the victorious countries, particularly Great Britain, it was celebrated publicly through ephemeral productions, festivities, thanksgiving services, paintings, tapestries, medals, engravings, sculptures, architecture, and gardening (such as the splendid Blenheim Palace). Printed media comprised pamphlets, reports (including Marlborough's *Blenheim Letter* and accounts from eyewitnesses), poetry, essays, plays, anthologies, eloquent competitions, and panegyrics for the commanders Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736), as well as satirical verses mocking the defeated, alongside illustrations of the battle—often recycled prints of earlier battles with only the headlines changed. Literature drew inspiration from heroic epics of antiquity, biblical themes, and significant historical battles such as Agincourt (1415) (Weißbrich 2015).

Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705) appears in his own propaganda as a counterpoint to the Sun King, not only because he was a military opponent of Louis XIV but also because official pamphlets depicted him as an “emperor of peace” humbly devoted to God (Schumann 2003: 179, 302). Yet, official propaganda seems to have been less potent than commonly believed, as it focused only on a handful of ‘marketing instruments’ such as court sermons, medals, theatrical plays, festivities, pamphlets, or launched newspaper announcements, all with low frequency and narrow impact. Several propaganda instruments praising the Emperor can be traced back to private initiative, perhaps intending to reinforce or multiply an existing public opinion that had expectations of its own. This included, for instance, a positive, paternal image of the sovereign or the desire to learn more about current events.

Poets in Russia presented themselves as loyal subjects to Catherine II (r. 1762–1796) by congratulating her on her victories. These authors fostered a veritable “cult of the empress” (Klein 2018) by translating military facts into solemn language that transcended time and ensured eternal glory. Beyond this ‘personal cult’, Russian war lyrics in the 18th century conveyed images of patriotism in various forms. Gavriil R. Deržavin (1743–1816) composed the earliest Russian “national hymn” *Grom pobedy, razdavajsja* (1791), lauding Catherine’s victories over the Tatars and Ottomans.

The reception of war and victory in various media across all European countries signifies the rise of nationalism. Historiography in the era of mature nationalism referred to the period from 1670 to 1740 as the “age of heroes”. Among these was Prince Eugene, whose victory at Belgrade in 1717 was celebrated with a well-known folksong *Prinč Eugen, der edle Ritter* (Šegvić 2013: 211). Individual heroes of that time were also honoured by private individuals, such as Marshal Gideon von Laudon (1717–1790), to whom Joseph Haydn’s Symphony in C Major Hob.I:69 (1784) was dedicated, as well as Mozart’s Adagio and Allegro in F minor KV 594 (1790).

Several instruments of commemoration and praise had Renaissance origins, and it is no wonder that some contemporaries felt the use of antique forms and images did not align with modern methods of warfare and the realistic, detailed portrayal of battles that were common around 1700. A more pragmatic image of Marlborough, for instance, would have depicted him directing battlefield operations from among his staff, at a distance from the combat, and in a ‘rational and calm manner’. Yet such a reality fundamentally contradicted the traditional image of a hero who actively engaged in the bloody slaughter on the battlefield (Richardson 2005).

The image of the benevolent officer was promoted in paintings by artists such as Francis Hayman (1708–1776), Benjamin West (1738–1820), and Edward Penny (1714–1791). Prints of Penny’s works achieved higher circulation than West’s famous *Death of General Wolfe* from 1770, which depicted the dying general in an unusual contemporary setting, rather than the traditional

Roman context. The hero is surrounded by his commanders and allies, including a native chieftain, in a quasi-religious scene (Paret 1997: 46). A simple transposition of this arrangement was realised in *Mort du Marquis de Montcalm* by Jacques François Joseph Swebach-Desfontaines/Jean-Baptiste Morret from 1789.

General culture became far more sympathetic toward ordinary troops and camp followers, as can be seen in Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's (1622–1676) *Die Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche* ("Mother Courage", 1669) or in the novel *Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, commonly called Mother Ross* (1740), compiled by Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), which is based on the memories of a female who disguised as a soldier and participated in several campaigns.

Authors began to directly criticise the conventional emphasis on general heroes rather than on the common soldiers. The traditional noble warriors were thought to embody a "selfish, cruel, and arbitrary heroism", which was more a matter of luck than the result of personal bravery or moral conviction. Voltaire's *Fontenoy* was attacked by the poet Claude Godard d'Aucour (1716–1795), who argued for valuing the courage of individual soldiers more than that of the leaders (Iverson 1999; De Bruyn 2014; Pichichero 2017: 157–158, 161). *Héros subalternes* is thus the subtitle of Godard d'Aucour's novel *L'académie militaire* from 1745, as well as the title of an anonymous tragedy from 1766.

Figure 2. A page from Godard d'Aucour's L'académie militaire ou les héros subalternes, where a common soldier laments that the "proud goddess Glory" is only gentle towards officers and not the privates. Source: McGill University Library, Montreal, PQ1985 G65 A63 1745, pages 18-19 (<https://archive.org/details/McGillLibrary-124449-2583/page/n27>, Dec 2018).

The spirit of the soldier was extolled in many literary works of the time, such as Johann Wilhelm Gleim's (1719–1803) *Grenadierlieder* (1757/1758; Schumacher 2007). Michel-Jean Sedaine (1719–1797) penned the opéra-comique *Le déserteur* (1769), which conveys compassion for the private sorrows of a soldier. He deserts to see his bride, is captured, and awaits execution but ultimately receives a pardon from the king. A theatre play with the same title, yet a tragic plot, was written by Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740–1814) a year later. The opera gained popularity in Germany, where additional "soldier plays" (*Soldatenstücke*) were composed, the most renowned of which is Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's (1729–1781) comedy *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767), which explores the themes of initial sorrow, moral humility, and gentleness, followed by the eventual fortune of a dishonourably but unjustly discharged officer.

Figure 3. The first of Gleim's Prussian War Songs. The brief text states: "War is my song! As the entire world yearns for war, there shall be war! Berlin is Sparta [victor in the Peloponnesian War]! Prussia's hero crowned with glory and victory!" Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, P.o.germ. 478 d, fol. 1r (<http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsb:12-bsb10108880-7>, Dec 2018).

Deserters were a common motif in 18th-century plays, illustrating widespread evasion of military service and reflecting the public's desire for more realistic themes on stage (Lehmann 2018). This comprehensive mode of "democratization" (Pichichero 2017: 157) in theatre is particularly evident in Pierre-Laurent de Belloy's (1727–1775) historical 'blockbuster' play *Le siège de Calais* from 1765, which not only brings the heroes of that time (1347) to the stage but also features many representatives of the *tiers état*, including women, foreigners, and ethnic 'others'. The play's popularity can be attributed to the strong sense of patriotism among the townsmen, which encompasses not just the city of Calais but also the King of France himself, portraying him as 'one of us'.

The extent to which the military and the civilian world were interconnected is highlighted in Mercier's *Déserteur*, where the author argues that being a better warrior also meant being a better husband and father (Pichichero 2017: 168). The scenes in this play draw upon real-life experiences that reflect what people observed in their neighbourhoods and the sentiments expressed by soldiers in their letters home. The close relationship between citizens and soldiers is similarly evident in Louis Anseaume's (1721–1784) comedy *Le milicien* (1762), as well as in Philidor's opéra-comique *Le soldat magicien* (1760).

The public benefited greatly from the surge of newspapers and other periodicals, exhibiting a "voracious appetite for war news". Printed media were, on the one hand, utilised by advocates of military culture who sought to uphold military virtues in an increasingly non-military environment and, on the other hand, by those who cautioned against the decay of morals during wartime. In several instances, a "terrible delight" can be observed in how poets, often unacquainted with military matters, enthusiastically documented the heaps of the slain on the battlefield. Their literary techniques, particularly their "ekphrastic techniques", evoke the battle paintings with which the contemporary elite adorned their homes. Some freelance writers decried the tendency of publishers to exaggerate war reports to boost sales or satisfy the public's appetite for violence (William 2015).

This negative reception inspired poets to seek other modes of expression after the early decades of the century, such as novellas like *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748) by Tobias Smollett (1721–1771) and *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759) by Laurence Sterne (1713–1768). The protagonists in both works hypothesise, satirise, and even ridicule their memories of war. These narrative devices not only contributed to the sales of both books but also assisted in coming to terms with the physical and psychological wounds of those who experienced war or military life and its atrocities.

Daniel Defoe wrote two novels related to war: *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (1720) and *Colonel Jack* (1722). The former conveys the fear and uncertainty experienced by an ordinary soldier, along with the psychological distress regarding his cruel behaviour as a fighter (Richardson 2014). The latter

examines the protagonist's failure to engage effectively in the war against the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, rendering him a non-hero. Most notable in its negative portrayal of war is James Macpherson's (1736–1796) melancholic epic poem *Ossian*, which mourns the killed, wounded, and bereaved instead of glorifying victory on the battlefield (Keymer 2014: 132).

The ambivalent potency of many aspects of military culture is also evident in 18th-century paintings, such as those by Thomas Davies (c. 1737–1812), whose depictions of military events in North America during the Seven Years' War convey a romantic impulse that highlights the disasters of war while also promoting the merits of peace (Bennett 2012). This combination can already be seen in the paintings of Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), whose studies of soldiers reflect the arduousness of war, the pain of the sentry, and the joy of resting in the shade of trees after a long march (Johnson 2016). Arlette Farge (1996, 1998) interprets Watteau's paintings as "anti-militarist", particularly in his illustrations of deserters or recalcitrant soldiers. He avoids the heroic point and instead depicts lassitude, exhaustion, and fatigue—in one word, the "breakdown" of war. While Watteau's sujets are individual soldiers and their miseries, William Hogarth (1697–1764), famous for his moralistic engravings and satirical paintings, shows in his *March to Finchley* crowds of guard troops in disarray, some of them misbehaving.

Figure 4. Engraving based on a painting by A. Watteau, "Les fatigues de la guerre" [25.1 × 34 cm, print distributed by Edme-François Gersaint and Louis Surugue]. Source: Louvre, Réserve Edmond de Rothschild, Portefeuille 492 (© bpk-Bildagentur).

The importance of patriotic feeling was brought to the stage in Joseph Marie Servan de Gerbey's (1741–1808) comedy *Le soldat citoyen* (1780), in which the author advocated universal conscription to bind the army and the civilian population closely together.

As literacy rates rose, common people began to publish reports and write letters detailing their experiences in the military and during wartime. One of the most notable figures is Ulrich Bräker (1735–1798), who enlisted in the Prussian army but deserted shortly thereafter. His report, *Lebensgeschichte und Natürliche Ebenteuer*, offers insight into the life of a common infantryman in the 18th century, particularly emphasising the *esprit de corps* within his unit—Regiment Itzenplitz, where the Zander Cousins also served, and whose military experiences are recorded in their letters (Zander 2015). These and other surviving letters from soldiers who served during the Seven Years' War (Hoppe 1793; Großer Generalstab 1901; Liebe 1912) reflect a deep-seated sense of honour and faith. The memory of the Seven Years' War continued to resonate in everyday conversation throughout the 1770s (Duffy 1987: 230).

China

In China, the Qianlong Emperor's (r. 1735–1795) focus on the minutiae of military affairs and the broader image of the Qing empire reflected a commitment to military achievements that exceeded

their practical role in the imperial expansion (Waley-Cohen 2009: 295). Even though the most significant steps in the expansion and consolidation of the Qing empire were taken under his predecessors, Qianlong crafted a genuine ideology from his military successes, styling himself "Old Man of the Ten Complete [Victories]" (*shiqian laoren* 十全老人), which refers to the achievements in the two campaigns against the Dzungghars or Western Mongols (1755–1759), the Muslim city states in Turkestan (1757–1759), the repeated conquest of Jinchuan in Eastern Tibet (1747–1749, 1771–1776), interventions in Burma (1765–1769) and Annam (1788–1789), the pacification of a rebellion in Taiwan (1786–1788), and the double expulsion of the Nepalese Gurkha from Tibet (1788–1793).

To commemorate these victories, the emperor commissioned and lent his name to hundreds of odes and essays, some inscribed on commemorative steles erected near the battlefields. He celebrated the returning troops in lavish triumphal ceremonies, during which he was presented with captured enemy leaders. He decorated the brave and "heroes" (*baturu*, an honourific title) with peacock feathers (the equivalent of Western decorations). He presented them with items from the imperial household, such as snuff bottles and embroidered pouches. Some generals were ennobled and granted the extraordinary privilege of riding inside the Imperial City. He also created individual portraits of fifty outstanding 'heroes' after each extensive campaign, totalling nearly 300. The scrolls were displayed in the Hall of Purple Brilliance (*Ziguangge*) in the Imperial City.

Figure 5. Battle of Oroï-Jalatu (1758), where the Manchu general Jaohui conducted a night raid on a Dzungghar camp. This copper plate engraving (57.2 x 94.6 cm) was produced by Jacques Philippe Le Bas (1707–1783) and Charles Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790) in Paris after a painting by Giuseppe Castiglione completed in Beijing around 1770. Source: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, East Asia Department, shelf number: Libri sin. 1603-3 (<https://themen.crossasia.org/schlachten-bilder/index/imgview/img/IIIF0051>, Dec 2018).

The Emperor also ordered the production of several series of copper engravings depicting battle scenes and inscribed with brief informational texts (Pirazzoli-T'Serstevens 1969; Takata 2012; Leverenz 2013). These were distributed to public buildings across the country and presented to visitors. Qianlong thus employed a technique unfamiliar to Chinese artists, with some of the series being drawn and printed by French artists in France using European styles and techniques. Due to this production process, Europeans would gain insight into the Qing empire's glory. Moreover, Jesuit missionaries had served at the Chinese court for over a century. Their letters home facilitated the dissemination of news about China, including the Qing victory over the Dzungghars and the border settlements with Russia (Perdue 2005: 167). Individual portraits were also created with assistance from European artists, such as the court painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), who resided at the Qing court for many decades. His paintings showcase a blend of Chinese and European techniques and perspectives (Waley-Cohen 2006: 44).

Paintings showing horses, hounds, hunting scenes, the emperor in full armour, or other art objects alluding to war, like a pair of lacquered boxes inscribed with a poem on the Jinchuan wars, extend the military's realm to virtually every part of elite life.

The court established a novel institution for military historiography, which maintained its own archive and produced a previously unknown historiographical genre, namely the military annals (*fanglüe*). These 'sourcebooks' typically comprised selected odes from the Emperor ("Heavenly stanzas", *tianzhang* 天章), a brief introduction, and carefully curated yet detailed imperial edicts that reported on the progression of events, including the punishment of ineffective generals and the recognition of those who achieved victories. Directly quoting the Qianlong Emperor, they effectively served the purpose of 'collecting victories' and enhancing Qianlong's image as a fair but resolute leader of a diverse and multicultural empire and officialdom. The most significant examples of military annals include the extensive account of the Dzungar wars (*Pingding Zhunga'er fanglüe* 平定準噶爾方略, 1770) and those pertaining to the two Jinchuan wars (*Pingding Jinchuan fanglüe* 平定金川方略 from 1749, *Pingding Liang Jinchuan fanglüe* 平定兩金川方略 from 1779).

In addition to upholding esteemed 'Manchu virtues' such as proficiency with the bow and bravery in battle, the Qianlong Emperor solidified the legend of the Manchus' martial origins by commissioning an official history of their empire, *Huang-Qing kaiguo fanglüe* 皇清開國方略 (1786), along with genealogies of the Banner elite and Mongolian nobility. He also revised the history of the preceding dynasty by emphasising the virtue of loyalty. Consequently, Ming loyalists, once vilified for their refusal to serve the Qing conquerors, were redefined as paragons of dynastic loyalty.

Private memories also played a significant role in China despite the substantially lower number of publications compared to the West. Many examples of this type of "wild" or unofficial historiography (*yeshi* 野史) originate from the cataclysmic period of the Ming-Qing transition when China was shaken by peasant rebellions, the establishment of counter-dynasties, the threat posed by pirates along the coastal shores, and the Manchu invasion. Wu Weiye's 吳偉業 (1609–1672) *Suikou jilue* 綏寇紀略 provides an account of the numerous peasant rebellions in the mid-17th century. The philosopher Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) authored a biography of the Ming loyalist Coxinga (*Zheng Chenggong zhuan* 鄭成功傳), who defended Taiwan against the Manchus. Several books detail the atrocities committed by Manchu conquest troops during a ten-day massacre in 1645 in the city of Yangzhou, Jiangsu, such as Wang Xiuchu's 王秀楚 (dates unknown) *Yangzhou shiri ji* 揚州十日記, which was uncovered two centuries later, as the Qing dynasty faced increasing criticism from anti-Manchu revolutionaries.

The most important private Manchu document is a diary written by a capital Banner adjutant officer named Dzengšeo in the 1680s. It provides many details on the campaign against the Three Feudatories (1673–1681), including matters of supply, leadership, defence construction, and the organisation of the night watch (Di Cosmo 2006).

For nearly all military campaigns of the Qing, short private reports exist—often no longer than a few pages. They detail the destruction of the last throne pretenders of the Ming, the struggle against the powerful Three Feudatories, the prolonged war against the Dzungars (1687–1757), and the ten “successful” wars of the Qianlong Emperor. Some of these reports were abridged versions of official court historiography. In contrast, others reflected the memories of participating officers and became ‘common knowledge’ regarding conflicts fought in territories far from the provinces of China proper. Yet others take the form of diaries, such as Wang Chang’s 王昶 (1725–1806) *Shujiao jiven* 蜀徼紀聞, which provides a detailed account of the troop movements from Yunnan to Sichuan and further into the mountains of Eastern Tibet. Widespread brief accounts of the “Successful Wars of the August Dynasty” (*Huangchao wugong jisheng* 皇朝武功紀盛) were compiled by Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727–1814).

Although only a limited number of sources on the popular reception of contemporary war in China have survived, the remnants of private communication and debate indicate that the themes of war and imperial expansion significantly influenced the lives of many individuals in 18th-century China (Waley-Cohen 2009: 290). Furthermore, the celebration of victories, along with the hardships endured by troops to attain these victories, transcended mere official propaganda. Months-long marches, enduring heat and frost, suffering hunger and pain, the perceived ‘viciousness’ of the enemy, and the emperor’s clemency in granting tax reductions in the affected regions are vividly depicted in private accounts as well. Conversely, the behaviour of ordinary soldiers is rarely scrutinised (if not viewed positively), unlike that of their leaders, whose failures and successes undergo close critical analysis. As state officials, leaders were required to face an official evaluation every three years. Private writings also served as a platform to question the rationale behind the conquest of inhospitable and uninhabited territories despite the tremendous efforts involved.

As many war theatres were in foreign regions, readers took an interest in local customs. They read Li Xinheng’s 李心衡 (fl. 1784) *Jinchuan suoji* 金川瑣記, as well as Fu Xian’s 傅顯 (dates unknown) *Miandian suoji* 緬甸瑣記, which are both ethnographic descriptions of Eastern Tibet and Burma, respectively. Similar reports concerning China’s foes can be found regarding the “Black Mongols,” the Dzungars, the Kazakhs, the Muslim communities in Western China, and the native tribes in Southwest China (whose habitats and autonomous governments were systematically

'normalised', i.e., destroyed, during the 1720-30s), as well as Burma, Annam, the hideouts of pirates in the East China Sea, and the island of Taiwan. The connection between private war reports, travel diaries, and ethnography is clearly evident. This genre also includes illustrated studies of foreign tribes, such as the renowned "Illustrations of the tribute peoples" *Huang-Qing zhibigong tu* 皇清職貢圖 (1761) and the albums on the Miao tribes in Guizhou (Hostetler 2005, 2016).

Descriptions of foreign peoples have a long history in China and are—apart from the occasional exaggeration, misconception, or misinformation—generally quite reliable and neutral. In the context of military affairs, they provide information about the reasons for the Qing's intervention in local matters. This typically occurred when locals created "disorder" (*luan* 亂), mostly involving the disruption of traffic, rightful resistance against the (illegal) immigration of Chinese, challenging China's legal system with their own rules, or endangering regional peace through tribal feuds. Military conquest was not viewed as an end but as part of a grand strategy to establish law and order.

Conclusions

Even though the general conditions were fundamentally different in China and Europe, many similar elements exist in the culture of war, such as the roles of propaganda and religion, the intertwining of the military with society, and the lifestyle of officers, who often felt weighed down by their 'obligatory commitment' to serve in the army. Additionally, the importance of family life for moral conditions is noteworthy. The most significant difference between China and the West lies in the status of the common soldier, particularly noticeable in the issue of deserters. The standing of the private soldier rose dramatically during the Age of Enlightenment, whereas it remained low in China. Another difference is the emergence of a critical public in Europe 200 years earlier than in China, greatly aided by the development and dissemination of printed media.

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