

Palace Wallpaper *Complete Map of Taiwan* from the Qianlong Period and the Creation of Political Space in Wucheng Hall

The Detachment of the Qianlong Period Complete Map of Taiwan and the Construction of Political Space in Wucheng Hall

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Abstract:

A large-scale hanging scroll currently housed at the Ethnological Museum in Hamburg, Germany, and associated with the Qianlong-era Taiwanese campaigns, comprises eleven battle scenes from the album "Illustrations of the Campaign to Subjugate Taiwan." It is highly probable that this scroll once served as a hanging scroll for the "Complete Map of Taiwan" displayed in the Wucheng Hall. This scroll represents the earliest known and most complete surviving example of a battle-themed hanging scroll composed of multiple battle scenes. The National Museum of China holds a line drawing draft exhibiting striking formal and thematic parallels with this hanging scroll, likely serving as the preparatory sketch for its creation. By analyzing this sketch alongside the album housed in the Palace Museum in terms of its registration, production process, content structure, and intended display location, this article reveals how the scroll accentuated the Qing dynasty's military prowess and imperial authority while catering to the emperor's aesthetic and psychological demands regarding military campaigns. The Wucheng Hall, where the scroll was housed, served as a political space embodying the mystique and authority of imperial power. By examining the relationship between the scroll and the hall, alongside other furnishings within, it can be inferred that the scroll would also have been displayed during imperial audiences with princes, ministers, and foreign envoys to demonstrate imperial authority, showcase martial prowess, and exert a certain deterrent effect.

Keywords:

Qianlong Complete Map of Taiwan Production Intent Wucheng Hall Political Space

Abstract: A large-scale wallpaper depicting battles from the Taiwanese campaigns during the Qianlong era is housed at the Museum of Ethnology in Hamburg, Germany. Comprising eleven battle scenes from the album *Victory in the Pacification of Taiwan*, it is likely the palace wallpaper that once adorned the *Complete Map of Taiwan* displayed in the Wucheng Hall. This wallpaper represents the earliest known and most complete extant example of a multi-scene battle-themed wall decoration. A line drawing at the National Museum of China bearing striking formal and thematic resemblance to this wallpaper is likely its preparatory sketch draft. By integrating this line drawing with the album, this study examines the wallpaper's production process, content structure, and intended display location. It argues that the wallpaper served to emphasise the Qing dynasty's military prowess and the majesty of imperial authority, aligning with the emperor's aesthetic and psychological requirements. By analysing the wallpaper's display within Wucheng Hall alongside other furnishings, it can be inferred that the wallpaper served to demonstrate imperial authority, showcase Qing military prowess, and exert a deterrent effect during the emperor's audiences with princes, ministers, and foreign envoys.

Key Words: Qianlong; *Complete Map of Taiwan*; production intention; Wucheng Hall; political space

Following the conclusion of major military campaigns in Taiwan, Gurkha, and Annam during the Qianlong reign, the Imperial Workshops not only produced illustrated battle albums and copperplate engravings but also compiled all battle scenes from the albums into large-scale wall hangings. These were recorded as the "Complete Map of Taiwan" () and the "Illustrated Campaign for the Pacification of Annam" (平定安南战图), among others. These collages were of immense scale and, upon completion, were displayed in the Hall of Martial Succession. For evidence, the collages will be referred to here as the Complete Map of Taiwan, Complete Map of Annam, and Complete Map of Gurkha. The earliest known scholar to engage with these wall hangings was the German sinologist Walter Fuchs, who visited China in the first half of the twentieth century. Drawing upon his firsthand observation of large wall hanging drafts related to the Annam Campaign in the central hall of the Palace of Heavenly Purity, he linked them to the Annam Complete Map displayed in the Hall of Military Success. Fuchs analysed the exhibition space of the wall hangings and the pictorial transformation between large paintings and album leaves^[1]. Subsequently, the independent German scholar Niklas Leverenz noted the existence of fragmentary collage panels depicting the Gurkha Campaign in German collections. He observed their relationship with collage panels related to the Taiwan Campaign held by the Ethnological Museum in Hamburg, Germany, and with the Annam Campaign collage panels mentioned by Fuchs. Leverenz speculated that these collage panels were housed in the Hall of Military Achievement and discussed the related issue of insufficient exhibition space for collage panels^[2]. The placards held by Hamburg's Ethnological Museum depict scenes from eleven battles featured in the Pingding Taiwan Zhan Tu (Illustrated Account of the Pacification of Taiwan) album. These bear imperial poems inscribed by Dong Gao, along with imperial seals, and may well constitute the final draft of the Taiwan Quan Tu (Complete Map of Taiwan) referenced in the Imperial Workshops archives. The author intends to centre research on the Complete Map of Taiwan, examining how the tapestries were adapted from the battle album. By considering the functional role of the Complete Map of Taiwan when displayed in the Ziguang Pavilion and Wucheng Hall, this study will explore the viewing experience facilitated by the tapestries, aiming to supplement research on Qing dynasty battle map tapestries.

— Basic Information on the Collage of the Complete Map of Taiwan and the National Palace Museum Manuscript

The Taiwan Complete Map collage, now housed at Hamburg's Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK), was acquired alongside fragments of the Hulman Dai No. 2 collage in 1904. These were purchased by the Hamburg-based Asian art dealer Justus Beyer and subsequently sold to MARKK. The museum currently attributes the work to the artist known as "Bai'er" (拜尔). The museum currently posits that this work was looted from the Wucheng Hall in Zhongnanhai during the Boxer Rebellion and subsequently entered German hands^[3].

This inference is supported by the fact that during the period from 1900 to 1901, the headquarters of the Allied Forces Commander-in-Chief, German Field Marshal Waldersee, was situated within the Zhongnanhai compound.

It cannot be ruled out that during this period the scroll was looted from the palace and found its way to Germany. Measuring 4.69 metres in height and 4.04 metres in width, this monumental silk scroll painting depicts a grand battle scene with undulating terrain, masterfully blending dynamic action with tranquil stillness. It bears inscriptions by Dong Gao, transcribing Emperor Qianlong's imperial edicts: "Imperial Account of the Suppression of Rebels in Taiwan and the Capture of Lin Shuangwen" and "Imperial Account of Fukuan'an's Report on the Capture of Zhuang Datian". Given the dimensions of the Wucheng Hall—five bays wide, approximately 8 metres long, and 19 metres wide—one can imagine that had the Complete Map of Taiwan been mounted on the northern wall, it would have nearly covered an entire bay, presenting a truly spectacular sight.

A line drawing manuscript of the Taiwan campaign, now housed in the National Museum of China, bears a close resemblance in composition to the original mural. The museum also holds a line drawing manuscript concerning the Annam campaign. The acquisition records for these two line drawings are documented in the Purchase Catalogue of the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica:

Two drawings acquired from an old Beijing family for a total of two hundred yuan, depicting authentic scenes of the campaigns to subjugate Annam and Taiwan during the Qianlong era of the Qing dynasty. Ink on paper, measuring twelve feet eight inches in length and twelve feet six inches in width. One sketch bears a yellow label noting "One battle sketch depicting the pacification of Annam. Housed within the eastern hall of the Wucheng Palace, on the north wall behind the screen. Dimensions: twelve feet eight inches high by twelve feet six inches wide. Mounted on silk with a nanmu wood frame three inches thick. **Drafted** by Yao Wenhan, Jia Quan, and Yilan Tai. The Hall of Martial Achievement, situated within the main chamber of the Purple Light Pavilion in the Western Gardens, served as the Qing dynasty's repository for hanging portraits depicting the military exploits of meritorious officials. Yao Wenhan and his contemporaries were renowned painters of the Qianlong era. This painting is not only historically significant but also constitutes a rare artistic treasure. It is surmised that the battle paintings from the Purple Light Pavilion were stored together with some suggesting they were looted by the Anglo-French allied forces. The pieces acquired by this museum remain unmounted, appearing to be original drafts. Such renowned paintings of monumental scale were not obtained through cheap acquisition; scholars both Chinese and foreign alike rejoice in this museum's good fortune^[4]

These two preliminary sketches share the same provenance. One draft bears a label indicating it was sketched by Yao Wenhan, Jia

Quan, and Yilan Tai,

and subsequently entered the Wucheng Hall collection. This aligns with the records of the Imperial Workshops, confirming it as the sketch

for the Complete Map of Annam. The other piece is likely the sketch commissioned by Yao Wen

The pasted-over draft copy of the Complete Map of Taiwan. Therefore, the pasted-over copy held by the Ethnological Museum in Hamburg, Germany, is highly likely to be the final version of the Complete Map of Taiwan.

How then should we interpret the differences between the Taiwan Complete Map collage and the Pacifying Taiwan Campaign Album in terms of production process, content, form, function, and the functional intent behind these distinctions? Having already commissioned single-scene battle collages depicting the Western Regions and Jinchuan campaigns for display in the Hall of Imperial Light, why did Emperor Qianlong then commission the large-scale collage "Complete Map of Taiwan" combining multiple battle scenes for display in the Hall of Martial Achievement? Why was this approach subsequently applied to the production of the "Complete Map of Gurkha" and "Complete Map of Annam"?

II The Artist and Production Process of the Collage and the National Museum of China's Line Draft

Who painted the Taiwan Complete Map wall hanging? What was the painting process? On the 25th day of the 11th month in the 53rd year of Qianlong's reign

(22 December 1788), the Imperial Workshops archives recorded that a "Complete Map of Taiwan" was already present within the Hall of Martial Achievement. It stated: "Received a sealed edict from Director Fu Qing, which contained an imperial decree transmitted by Superintendent Lü Jinzhong on the 17th day of the 10th month (14th November): 'A complete map of Taiwan is to be affixed to the north wall within the eastern chamber of the Wucheng Hall behind the Ziguang Pavilion, while a large-scale calligraphic scroll is to be affixed within the western chamber. Yao Wenhan is hereby commanded to prepare the draft for the complete map of Taiwan. So ordered.' [7] This material, the sketch for the Complete Map of Taiwan housed in the National Palace Museum was commissioned by Emperor Qianlong and drafted by Yao Wenhan, approximately on the 17th day of the 10th month in the 53rd year of Qianlong's reign. The archives record Yao Wenhan as the draftsman for the sketch, though the artist of the final map appears unrecorded; it may have been produced under Yao Wenhan's supervision.

According to records from the Imperial Workshops, Emperor Qianlong's commissioning of Yao Wenhan to draft the Taiwan Complete Map may have been influenced by his outstanding execution of the "Crossing the Sea in Triumph" section within the Pacifying Taiwan War Album. This album was collaboratively produced by multiple court painters, Yao Wenhan as draftsman for the "Crossing the Sea in Triumph" on the 21st day of the 10th month in the 53rd year of Qianlong's reign (18 November 1788). Shu Qing, an imperial clerk, delivered a sealed document from the Imperial Workshop. It contained a report dated the 17th day of the 8th month (16 September) regarding the presentation of the Taiwan War Map by Fu Kang'an, the Co-Minister of the Grand Secretariat... Miao Bingtai was instructed to produce one banquet scene sketch according to the dimensions, while Yao Wenhan was tasked with creating one 'Crossing the Sea in Triumphant Return' sketch. The original ten paintings were also to be recreated to scale, resulting in twelve sketches in total. The mountainous terrain and battle scenes were to mirror those in Fu Kang'an's submitted paintings. [6] Qianlong entrusted Miao Bingtai and Yao Wenhan with drafting the illustrations. Yao Wenhan's "Crossing the Sea in Triumph" was completed first, taking just over a month from the 17th day of the eighth month to the 20th day of the ninth month of the 53rd year of Qianlong's reign [7]. On the 20th day of the ninth month, after reviewing Yao Wenhan's draft of Crossing the Sea in Triumph, the Emperor directly commissioned Yang Dazhang, Jia Quan, Xie Sui, Zhuang Yude, and Li Ming to execute this album series, indicating his considerable appreciation for the draft [8]. On the 1st day of the 10th month (2nd November) Qianlong further requested Yao Wenhan and others to apply colour to the album pages [9], evidently satisfied with both the speed and quality of Yao's preliminary work. On the 17th day of the tenth month, the Emperor promptly commissioned him to draft the Complete Map of Taiwan. By this time, Yao Wenhan should have completed the colouring of the album pages [10]. Although Yao Wenhan's painting speed and quality were outstanding, the production of the album pages involved division of labour. When the task of pasting was assigned, the others might not yet have finished their corresponding album page work.

The sketch depicting the course of the Annam campaign, preserved in the archives of the Imperial Workshops, is titled The Illustrations of the Campaign to Subdue Annam. Its production process mirrored that of The Complete Map of Taiwan; however, while the album pages for The Illustrations of the Campaign to Subdue Annam remained unfinished, the task of drafting the sketch outlines had already been commissioned. According to a report dated the 24th day of the 10th month in the 54th year of the Qianlong reign (10 December 1789), six draft sheets for the "Illustrated Account of the Campaign to Subjugate Annam" had been completed by the 16th day of the 9th month (3 November) [11]. On the third day of the eleventh month of the fifty-fourth year of Qianlong (19 December 1789) the Imperial Workshop reported an imperial decree issued on the nineteenth day of the tenth month (5 December): the six sections of the "Album of the Campaign to Subdue Annam" were to be entrusted to Yao Wenhan, Yang Dazhang, Jia Quan, Zhuang Yude, Li Ming, and Yilan Tai to each paint one panel on new Xuan paper. Each panel was to measure one chi seven cun two fen five li (approximately 57.5 cm) in height and two chi eight cun three fen five li (approximately 94.5 cm) in width [12]. Concurrently, a silk painting titled "The Campaign to Subjugate Annam" was to be executed in the Wucheng Hall, measuring twelve feet eight inches in height (approximately 426.7 cm) and twelve feet six inches in width (approximately 420 cm). Three artists responsible for the album pages—Yao Wenhan, Jia Quan, and Yilan Tai—were tasked with preparing drafts for imperial review [12].

The production process for the detached map of the Gurkhas in the 58th year of the Qianlong reign (1793) followed a similar procedure, drawing upon the corresponding album

The imperial edict stated: 'Zhuang Yude, Feng Ning, Yilan Tai, and Qing Zhu shall first draft seven battle diagrams and one comprehensive map. Prepare preliminary sketches for imperial review, then proceed with enlarged versions. Imperial decree: 'Instruct Zhuang Yude, Feng Ning, Yilantai, and Qingzhu of the Ruyi Studio to paint one complete diagram based on the seven battle diagrams. First produce a small draft for imperial review, then proceed with enlarging the draft. Paint one large painting matching the dimensions of the west chamber's north wall in the rear hall of the Ziguang Pavilion; One calligraphic scroll shall be affixed to the north wall of the east chamber. All dimensions shall be one zhang and two cun in height (approximately 340 cm) and one zhang and two feet five cun in width (approximately 416.7 cm). Furthermore,

the seven Battle Diagrams, add one painting of the Banquet at the Ziguang Pavilion. The Ruyi Pavilion shall prepare a draft copy, which shall be submitted to the engraving workshop for detailed review. Upon approval, the Ruyi Pavilion shall proceed with colouring and painting. The copper plates to be engraved shall be delivered to the engraving workshop, which shall paint and engrave them according to the dimensions of the copper plates. So ordered.'^[13]

From the three pasted-in drafts and archival records above, the following conclusions may be drawn: Firstly, the drafts for the battle albums were generally drawn first, followed by the creation of the pasted-in line drawings. Each scene's participants, location, or battle name was annotated on the draft manuscript with ㊦ labels. After approval by the Qianlong Emperor, the final coloured versions were produced. Secondly, the increasing number of individuals involved in the pasting-in process seems to suggest the Qianlong Emperor's desire to complete the work as swiftly as possible. During the initial drafting of the Complete Map of Taiwan, Yao Wenhan worked alone. By the drafting stage of the Complete Map of Annam, three artists—Yao Wenhan, Jia Quan, and Yilan Tai—were involved. For the Complete Map of Gurkha, four artists—Zhuang Yude, Feng Ning, Yilan Tai, and Qing Zhu—collaborated. All these artists first contributed to the battle map albums before participating in the comprehensive maps. Thirdly, among the artists, one invariably participated in the previous mounting process. For instance, Yao Wenhan alone drafted the Complete Map of Taiwan and later contributed to the draft of the Complete Map of Annam. Similarly, Yilan Tai drafted the Complete Map of Annam and participated in the Complete Map of Gurkha. They likely imparted their painting experience and techniques to subsequent artists, thereby enhancing the efficiency of the mounting process.

III Evolution of Content: War Album Pages → Collage Line Drawings → Final Collage Works

The smaller, multi-panel battle scenes within the Palace Museum's album of The Campaign to Subdue Taiwan likely served as the basis for the National Palace Museum's line drawings. Given the close similarity in subject matter and composition between the National Palace Museum's and the German collection's finished collage works, it is probable that the collages were first produced as line-drawn powder-colour sketches before being finalised (hereafter referred to as

"album pages,"
"collage line drawings," 图稿)

Comparing the partial scene of "Crossing the Sea in Triumph"

(Figure 1) the album leaf, final composition, and line sketch all depict soldiers crossing the sea on their return journey. The overall compositions of the three are highly similar, with the vessels and depiction of waves also bearing close resemblance. The ocean surface is rendered in meticulous detail, with the crests of the waves left blank to indicate the sunlit side. However,

the moss-covered rocks in the album leaf and the pasted final draft

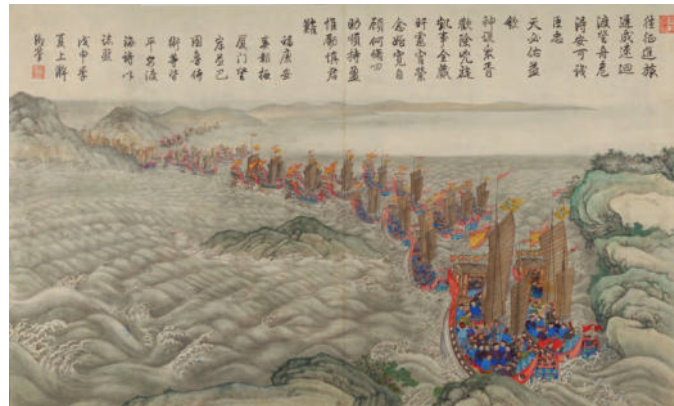
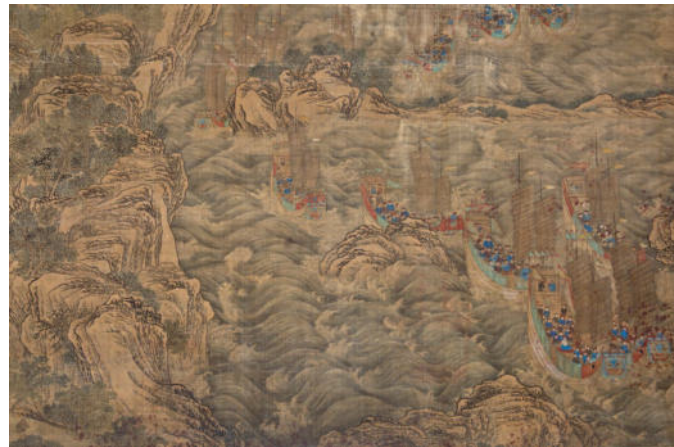




Figure 2. Schematic diagram of the complete map of Taiwan
 1. Relief of Zhuluo (also known as "Chiayi County City") 2. Dapu Forest 3. Douliu Gate 4. Daliyi 5. Jiji Plain (partial) 6. Xiaobantian 7. Laozhuqi (capture of Lin Shuangwen) 8. Dawulong 9. Fangjiao 10. Langqiao (Capture of Zhuang Datian) 11. Triumphant Return Across the Sea

Unlike others, it employs malachite green for moss and dotted grasses. The pasted draft and final versions feature cruder linework and stippling. The draft omits or merely outlines tree forms, with rocks showing almost no texture. Rectangular labels ■ are affixed throughout the draft, not only indicating persons and locations but also noting the names of battles fought in Taiwan – akin to thematic entries for each campaign in a war atlas. The final version lacks these labels. The content of the Complete Map of Taiwan (Figure 2) closely parallels the first eleven folios of the Album of Maps Documenting the Pacification of Taiwan. Presented chronologically, these include: the Relief of Chulou, the Battle of Dapu Forest, the Battle of Douliu Gate, the Battle of Daliyi, the Battle of Xiaobantian, the Battle of Fangjiao, the Battle of Laozhuqi (capturing rebel leader Lin Shuangwen alive) the Battle of Jiji Field, the Battle of Dawulong, the Battle of Langqiao (capturing Zhuang Datian alive) and Fu Kang'an's return to Xiamen (triumphant crossing of the sea). As the album pages predate the pasted insert, it is reasonable to conclude the insert reproduces scenes from the album. The scenes depicted on the collage of the Complete Map of Taiwan are largely independent of one another, with the sole exception of the omission of the **"Triumphal Banquet"** section. This omission likely stems from the fact that the **"Triumphal Banquet"** took place at the Summer Palace, commemorating Emperor Qianlong's banquet for the troops, honouring meritorious ministers, and viewing auspicious theatrical performances. Such a scene would be incongruous within a painting predominantly focused on military campaigns.

The final collage and its line drawing share a broadly consistent overall composition, though 局部 modifications occurred. For instance, in the scene (Fig. 3), the final version adds musketeers engaged in firefight on the left. The officers bearing rifles above them are now depicted crossing a bridge. The mounted officers advancing have increased from one to two, while the cavalry entering from the lower right corner has been reduced in size and number.

In the preliminary sketch for the "Battle of Dapu Forest" scene, the northern hilltop bears the label **"Capture of Dapu Forest"**, the lower left corner features the label **"Fukang'an leading troops in supervision"**, and the centre-right position displays the label **"Puji Bao and others advancing along this route"**. According to records, Hengrui and Puji Bao



Figure 3: "Breaking the Siege of Zhuluo" in the final draft



Figure 4: "The Battle of Dapu Forest" in the final draft of the wall hanging

During the assault on Dapu Forest, E Hui and Yuan Guohuang attacked Dapuwei, while Hailancha led **the** **''** Baturu Guards Commanders" and others to attack Zhonglin ^[14]. As the composition of the sketch and final draft are nearly identical, the label indicates that in the completed version, Fu Kang'an leads musketeers and cavalry from the lower left, while Pu Jibao and other commanders lead cavalry and musketeers attacking Dapu Forest from the right (Fig. 4). In the sketch depicting the Battle of Douliumen, the northern city wall bears the inscription: "Fukang'an commanded all troops in pursuit to Chai City." To the south, heads = **''** Fukang'an and Hailancha discovered (7) the rebel stronghold at Angukeng and captured it. **''** The sketch depicted infantry bearing flags, but the final version changed this to cavalry carrying banners. Additionally, a commander directing troops on horseback was added to the upper-right embankment of this scene (Fig. 5)

From sketch to final version, the scenes depicting "Lao Kuqi (Capture of Lin Shuangwen)" and "The Battle of Langqiao (Capture of Zhuang Datian)" underwent **in** alterations.



Figure 5: "The Battle of Douliu Gate" in the final draft of the scroll

. One page depicts only Lin Shuangwen being captured, whereas ~~the~~ On the fourth day, at Laoquzhi, the rebel leader Lin Shuangwen and his lieutenant He Youzhi were captured together.⁽¹⁵⁾ The preliminary sketch and final version revised this scene to depict both men captured simultaneously, aligning more closely with historical records. Additionally, both versions altered the six officers surrounding Lin Shuangwen in the battle album to four, and modified the depiction of officers seemingly bending to interrogate Lin. However, the preliminary sketch and final version

differ in several details. In the sketch, the foremost captive, Lin Shuangwen, stands with legs tightly together, hands bound behind his back. Three officers flank him on the right, while one officer bends to follow behind him on the left. The captive to Lin Shuangwen's right rear is likely He Youzhi, restrained by two officers flanking him. In the final composition, all captives wear blue headscarves. Lin Shuangwen now stands with legs apart, his left arm held by an officer on the left; He Youzhi, previously flanked by two officers, is now surrounded by five; Two mounted commanders adorned with feathered plumes were added behind the crowd. To the right rear, beyond a large boulder, another commander directing the battle was depicted (Figure 6)

Compared to the battle album, the line art and final draft of "The Battle of Langjia (Capture of Zhuang Datian)" depict kneeling rather than standing, likely to convey a more submissive posture. In the sketch, the attire of the figures is less discernible. Zhuang Datian appears to be captured by three soldiers at the forefront, kneeling with his hands bound and raised forward. Behind them, five others captured alongside him are kneeling prostrate on the ground. In the final artwork (Figure 7), Zhuang Datian

is depicted kneeling at the moment of capture, his hands



Figure 6:

bound behind him, alongside his

Three of his members were captured, with one soldier kneeling among Zhuang Datian and others; Zhuang Datian wore a blue turban, his attire differing slightly from the other captives; the two commanders before Zhuang Datian were also altered to look directly at him. Another discrepancy lies in the presence of a label reading "Mu Keden: Liang Chaogui and Zhang Chaolong advance from the mountain ridge to the coast" on the far right of the line drawing. However, in the final composition, soldiers participating from this flank may have been omitted due to mounting or cropping. Consequently, the officers and soldiers positioned below the village settlement, who were originally depicted in pursuit, were altered to appear as if walking towards an encircling position.

The remaining battles depicted – "Dali", "Jijipu", "Xiaobantian", "Dawulong", "Crossing the River"

Sea Victory Return Six Place Field Scene, though Line

The draft was not coloured, making the figures difficult to distinguish, but the composition of the line drawing and the final draft are very similar.

Overall, the pasted final draft standardises the attire, weapon styles, and colours of different social groups within the album pages, clearly depicting the battlefield situation while emphasising ceremonial aspects, though this introduces stylisation issues. Firstly, the Qing troops and ethnic minority figures in the pasted version exhibit uniformity in clothing, accessories, and weaponry; the ethnic minorities almost uniformly wear blue headscarves and identical attire. Secondly, the final composition uniformly altered all depictions of infantry bearing flags in the line drawing to cavalry holding them (Fig. 8) Furthermore, all banners in the final composition are depicted fluttering uniformly to the right without any creases, and while many flag-bearing troops gallop rapidly to the right, the military flags they carry still fly to the right

, which may be interpreted as an artistic choice to achieve visual uniformity.

for artistic effect.



Figure 7: Scene depicting Zhuang Datian's capture in (top) and (bottom)



Figure 8: The meticulously designed composition in the final draft depicting "The Capture of Lin Shuangwen at Laoquzhi" (upper panel) and "The Battle of Langqiao"

(Capturing Zhuang Datian)" (lower section)



Figure 9: Detail of the "Battle of Xiaobantian" from the final draft of the scroll (top) and the album leaf (bottom)



Figure 10: Detail of "Triumphant Return Across the Sea" in the scroll (top) and album leaf (bottom) showing a more submissive posture.

Compared to the album leaves, the wall hanging places greater emphasis on depicting cavalry and musketeers in battle scenes, amplifying their role in combat. This may suggest that the Qing court perceived such content as reflecting advanced technology and formidable military prowess, better representing military achievements and showcasing imperial authority. Simultaneously, it omits numerous depictions of Taiwanese indigenous peoples, Green Standard Army infantry, naval forces participating in the battle, and the enemy's rout. Another characteristic of the collage is its emphasis on individual figures within the collective scene. The Qing commander, clad in a mandarin jacket and directing the battlefield with his whip, is strikingly prominent (Figures 9 to 11). Conversely, figures such as the captured rebel leaders Lin Shuangwen and Zhuang Datian were downplayed: a single capture was altered to multiple captures; Lin Shuangwen's upright posture was changed to being dragged forward; and Zhuang Datian, originally depicted with his neck being pulled forward, was instead shown kneeling.



: Detail of "Daliyi" from the completed scroll (top) and album leaf (bottom)

IV The Compositional Transition from Battle Album Leaves to Multi-Scene Large-Scale Collages

In evolving from single-leaf album format to mounted panels, was this merely the artist's whimsical collage, or did some inherent logic govern it? What modifications or additions were required for each scene and their junctures within the mounted panels?

Firstly, the arrangement of scenes within the collage does not strictly follow the sequence of the album leaves, meaning it is not entirely organised according to chronological logic. Secondly, the scenes are not laid out according to Taiwan Island's natural geographical spatial positioning. While the sequence from Zhuluo to Daliyi broadly corresponds to a south-to-north geographical progression, the Xiaobantian area (and the surrounding Beishi Creek) is situated entirely south of Daliyi, yet it is positioned at the northernmost point of the composition; Langqiao to Dawulong follows a south-to-north orientation, yet appears north-to-south in the collage. While Langqiao and Fangliao border the East China Sea, Dawulong lies in Taiwan's southern mountainous region. The Dawulong album page contains no coastal scenes, yet the collage depicts seascapes there. Thirdly, comparison with the extant Qing Army Encirclement of Lin Shuangwen painting housed in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, further rules out the possibility that the pasted-in section was designed according to the spatial or geographical layout of the tactical diagrams (such as the Encirclement Diagram) attached to wartime military memorials (Figures 1 and 2)

Thus, it is more probable that the artist made unified adjustments to accommodate both the chronology of the conflict and aesthetic considerations. Chronologically, it is notable that all scenes in both the final and line drawings are, on the whole, unified according to the sequence of events.



Fig. 12 "Qing Army Pursuing Lin Shuangwen," National Palace Museum, Taipei (reproduced from Lin Jiafeng, "Pictorial and Historical Corroboration: The Museum's Qing Army Pursuing Lin Shuangwen" and "Langqiao Campaign Against Lin Shuangwen," National Palace Museum Quarterly, vol. 26, No. 3, 2009)

The composition spans the left and right sides of the painting. Formally, the artist chose to connect scenes depicting mountainous terrain, uplands, or flatland battles—which lend themselves more readily to juxtaposition—while linking scenes featuring maritime elements. This approach also facilitated a simpler and more efficient unification of formal elements. **The Battle of Xiaobantian** () scene within the album pages demonstrates a significant topographical disparity: the left side depicts rugged, layered peaks with the battlefield situated atop the summit, while the right side shows the flat, meandering Beishi Stream. The towering peaks were difficult to connect directly with the seascape, plains, and mountainous landscapes. To avoid compromising the overall compositional effect, they were therefore positioned separately in the upper left corner of the composition.

Having established the layout, how were the equally sized album leaves assembled into the mounted panels? Considering the aspect ratios of both the panels and the album leaves, as well as the final presentation, the artist opted not to simply join the leaves together. Instead, he made alterations and distortions, which were completed in the panel line drawings. The line drawings and the final finished works required almost no significant adjustments. Below are three examples of how the album leaves were adapted for the mounted panels:

The scene depicting the "Battle of Dapu Forest" remains virtually identical in both the final collage and the preliminary sketch. While elongating the composition vertically compared to the album leaf, numerous battle details were added. The album leaf appears to feature a "crossroads," with the primary offensive route running diagonally from the lower left to the upper right. This allows observation of the attacks on the three villages: Zhonglin, Dapu Forest, and Dapuwei. The mounted version's line drawing and final composition, however, depict two villages under attack: one above and one below. Qing forces attack the enemy along three routes—south, centre, and north. Enemy troops on the northern route suffer heavy casualties from musketeers and cavalry on the left flank, while the right flank is primarily targeted by musketeers. Enemy forces in the centre are mostly killed by arrows. Troops on the southern route face artillery fire, die from arrows, or engage in combat with infantry. Tie Luo omitted the officers and soldiers (including bamboo shield bearers) entering the battlefield from the central route on the eastern side of the album page, and also reduced the number of bamboo shield bearers in the southern route (Fig. 13) Line Art and Final Draft The "Battle of Jijipu" scene underwent substantial alterations, with content from both sides of the original album page extensively removed and the central composition compressed. The river crossing and artillery bombardment by rear troops were restructured into a vertical composition, whereas the album page originally depicted these actions on separate left and right panels. The entire right-hand side of the album page depicting the rebels fleeing and falling into the river was removed. Similarly, the left-hand side scenes featuring infantry, musketeers, and what may have been local militia waiting behind the cavalry, along with the central group of infantry crossing the river alongside the cavalry, were all omitted. Only the scenes of cavalry crossing the river in pursuit and musketeers concentrating their fire were retained (Fig. 14) In the line drawings and final composition depicting the Battle of Xiaobantian, the mountain peaks were reimagined as towering and fantastically shaped, with the ascent rendered exceedingly narrow and precipitous. This accentuated the perilous terrain and the soldiers' fearless bravery. Conversely, the Beishi Stream was elongated horizontally, its proportions drastically altered to become a broad lake wider than the adjacent mountains (Fig. 15)

To integrate scenes featuring disparate geography, topography, and events, the junctions between scenes required careful treatment. The technique of filling transitional areas with rocks, trees, and other elements drew heavily from traditional Chinese battle painting conventions, exemplified in works such as the Ming Anonymously's "Victory over the Barbarians Scroll," the Ming Anonymously's "Resisting the Japanese Invasion Scroll," and the Qing Anonymously's "General of the Frontier's Western Campaign Scroll" and Qian Weicheng's "Subjugation of the Junggar Scroll" (all housed in the National Museum of China). However, such battle paintings predominantly adopt the scroll format, where vertical seams between sections are conventionally filled with cloud formations, rocks, and streams. Experience in addressing horizontal seams is comparatively scarce, particularly when streams span scenes vertically. Consequently, when albums were adapted into large-scale mounted panels, while lateral scene transitions could draw upon techniques from scroll-based battle paintings, vertical scene junctions frequently exhibited problems of excessively wide or narrow transitions. Moreover, painters had seldom encountered the need to assemble existing independent compositions of mountains, streams, and seas into a single large-scale painting. Although all scenes featuring oceans in the album pages were uniformly placed on the far right, the spatial relationships between streams and seas within each scene became chaotic and inconsistent with actual geographical realities. The uneven width of the seams between scenes—sometimes wide, sometimes narrow—further complicated the connection of streams spanning multiple scenes. Moreover, a primary reason for the splicing issues in the Complete Map of Taiwan was the necessity to modify and refine content when merging multiple scenes into a single composition. The artist's primary objective was to depict the Qing army's cavalry-centric victory in battle. Consequently, unlike the album leaves where each scene was of uniform size, emphasis was placed on select elements with omissions and alterations. Form issues such as uneven filling at junctions were prioritised less than achieving thematic coherence.



Figure 13 The Battle of Tai Po in the mounted final draft (top) and album leaf (bottom)



Figure 14: The Battle of Jiji Field in the mounted final draft (top) and album leaf (bottom)

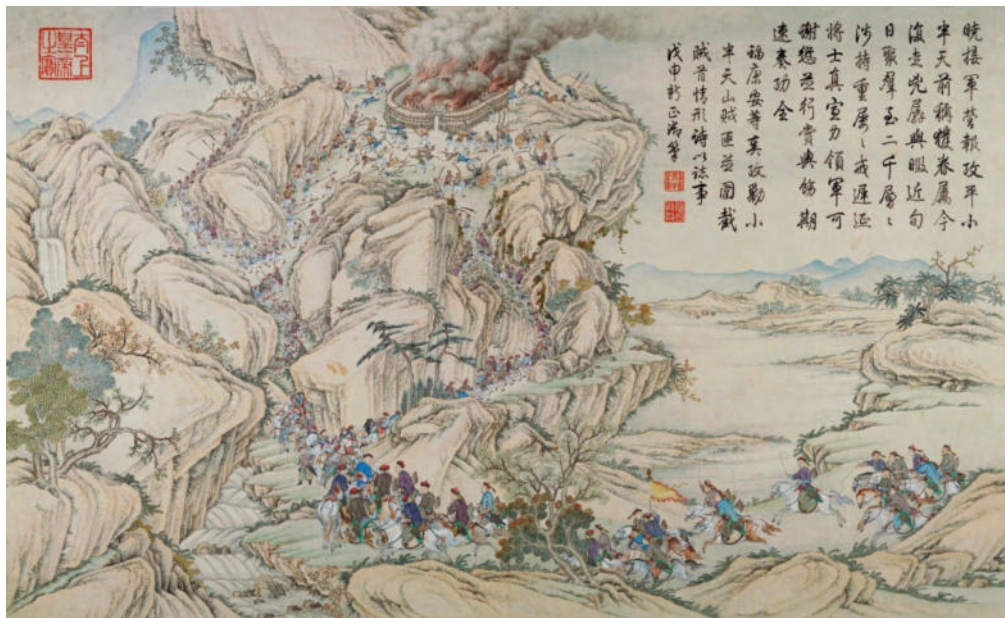


Figure 15: The Battle of Xiaobantian in the Final Draft of the Collage (top) and Album Leaf (bottom)

The collage format represents a novel approach to battle composition, its emergence signalling new conventions and standards in the adaptation of battle scenes. Each album page undergoes editing and distortion to transform scenes, while the juxtaposition of different battle sequences must balance aesthetic form with historical accuracy. Transitional elements exhibit a relatively consistent painting technique.

Five The Pasting-Down Technique and the Construction of Political Space in the Hall of Military Success


Prior to creating the collage for the Complete Map of Taiwan, Qianlong had already begun using war-themed collages to decorate Qing palace architecture. Early Qianlong period decals depicted grand military reviews and hunting expeditions, such as Banquet in the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees and Equestrian Arts. Later themes highlighted specific generals or battles, including Victory Camp of General Aiyushi and Battle of Huliman.

Subsequently, large-scale tapestries combining multiple battle scenes emerged, such as the Complete Map of Taiwan, Complete Map of Annam, and Complete Map of Gurkha. As tapestries evolved from depicting single battles to composing multiple battle scenes, what were the historical context and artistic intent behind the creation of the Complete Map of Taiwan tapestry?

The emergence of these large-scale wall hangings may have been influenced by spatial constraints around the Ziguang Pavilion and Wucheng Hall. Both structures are situated on the western shore of the Middle Lake, oriented north-south, with Wucheng Hall serving as the rear hall to Ziguang Pavilion. Ziguang Pavilion underwent two expansions in the 25th (1760) and 39th (1774) years of the Qianlong reign. Wucheng Hall was constructed in the 25th year, completed in the 26th year (1761), serving as a newly built auxiliary hall behind Ziguang Pavilion. It also featured added corridors on both sides. However, during the subsequent second expansion of Ziguang Pavilion, Wucheng Hall was not enlarged ⁽¹⁷⁾. When campaigns in Taiwan and subsequent battles were recorded, the architectural space was not further expanded (The Taiwan Complete Map scrolls are affixed to the northern wall of Wucheng Hall and subsequent scrolls also required placement within the hall ⁽¹⁸⁾, suggesting their dimensions were likely constrained by the building's walls) The Wucheng Hall measured five bays in width, approximately 8 metres in length, and approximately 19 metres in width, with each bay spanning about 4 metres. The height of the northern wall should exceed the vertical dimension of the Complete Map of Taiwan

vertical height of 4.7 metres. Additionally, the German-held Complete Map of Taiwan measures approximately 4.69 metres in length and 4.04 metres in width, while the Fox version The Annam Complete Map introduced here measures approximately 4.10 metres in height and 4.03 metres in width, suggesting these mounted paintings essentially covered the full height of the wall and the width of a single bay, creating a truly spectacular visual effect.

Secondly, the placement of the mounted paintings reflects Emperor Qianlong's meticulous design of the hanging locations, modelled on the architectural specifications of the Ziguang Pavilion and the Wucheng Hall. The Imperial Record of Ten Perfect Achievements states: "The ten accomplishments comprise: pacifying the Galdan twice, subduing the Muslim tribes once, conquering Golog twice, pacifying Taiwan once, and ~~the~~ Burma and Annam once each. This is followed by the two subsequent surrenders of the Gurkhas, making ten in total." ⁽¹⁹⁾ The Hall of Purple Light is a two-storey structure with five bays at the front and seven at the rear, featuring a hip-and-gable roof topped with green glazed tiles. The Hall of Martial Achievement, meanwhile, comprises five bays with a single-eave hipped-and-gabled roof also finished in green glazed tiles. According to the Imperially Authorised Examination of Ancient Matters Under the Sun, the walls and surrounding corridors of the Ziguang Pavilion during the Qianlong reign were adorned with battle maps and imperial poems concerning the Muslim regions and Jinchuan. "On the south-facing walls to the left and right, the imperial stele inscriptions commemorating the pacification of Ili and the Muslim regions were respectfully displayed. The left wall featured a complete map of Ili, while the right wall displayed a complete map of the Muslim regions. The east and west corridor walls respectfully displayed imperial inscriptions commemorating the pacification of the two Jinchuan regions, along with complete maps of both regions and ten imperial victory odes. The pavilion housed sacred banners of conquest and captured military armaments. The central panel depicted a banquet celebrating the pacification of the western frontier, the left wall showed tribute offerings from the western regions, and the right wall illustrated services rendered in subjugating the Muslim regions." ⁽²⁰⁾ Described in the Imperially Authorised Examination of Old News from the Capital still corresponds to the northern wall hanging recorded in the 1874 Catalogue of Wall Hangings in the Halls of the Middle Sea. The Banquet at Ziguang Pavilion, The Suburban Labour, and The Capture at the Meridian Gate correspond exactly, indicating no alterations were made ⁽²¹⁾. Battle scenes from the Western Regions and Jinchuan campaigns adorned Ziguang Pavilion, its flanking wings, and surrounding corridors. The Complete Map of Taiwan, however, was displayed within Wucheng Hall. Though constrained by the hall's limited wall space, consolidating multiple battle narratives into a single hanging panel saved exhibition space and facilitated a more comprehensive appreciation of the Taiwanese campaign.

The scrolls displayed within the Hall of Achievement signified the emperor's triumphant conclusion of military campaigns and divine endorsement. Officials of the Jiaqing era noted that Qianlong "had battle maps of successive campaigns painted and hung upon the walls of the Hall of Martial Achievement behind the Pavilion. Thereafter, whenever great military victories were achieved, the practice of creating portrait scrolls was followed" ⁽²⁾ These panels, bearing extensive war narratives, were displayed within the Hall of Martial Achievement to proclaim the emperor's "great martial triumphs". In the 54th year of Qianlong's reign, the emperor composed the *Pan Gongpan* at the imperial banquet for foreign litigants in the Hall of Purple Light "in which he wrote: Though my virtue is thin, I am ashamed to have received heaven's bounty so often; having won two victories, I seek to add to the tally. (In the past year, great achievements were made in Taiwan and Annam; both were ordered to be supplemented with battle paintings in the Pavilion to manifest the Heavenly Mandate)" ⁽³⁾  "Complete Map of Taiwan" and "Complete Map of Annam" within the Hall of Martial Achievement ⁽²⁴⁾, while "to manifest Heaven's favour" signifies that these maps were produced to demonstrate Qianlong's military triumphs to the heavens, implicitly suggesting imperial divine mandate.

Displaying such scrolls within the inner palace also served as a means for emperors to remind themselves. The Ming Emperor Taizong, Zhu Yuanzhang, had artists depict historical narratives of founding dynasties for a similar purpose: "He commanded paintings of ancient filial deeds and the hardships endured in his own rise to power and military campaigns, to be shown to his descendants. He further declared to his attendants: 'Wealth and honour breed arrogance; hardship is easily forgotten; the distant past fades from memory. Future generations, raised within the palace walls, witness only wealth and luxury, becoming accustomed to extravagance and unaware of the hardships endured by their ancestors. Therefore, I display these for them to view daily, hoping they may be reminded...' " ⁽²⁵⁾ Length of the scrolls appeared in the Taiwan Complete Map scrolls while viewing the battle scrolls displayed in the Purple Light Pavilion, Qianlong spoke of vigilance in warfare and maintaining preparedness even in times of peace: "On the walls of the Purple Light Pavilion are affixed



Figure 16: Qing Dynasty, Yao Wenhan, "Scroll Depicting the Banquet at the Purple Light Pavilion" (detail) (Collection of the Palace Museum)

The Western Expedition's triumphant campaign charted within five years subdued two great tribes. This was no mere trifling feat. Yet that insignificant rebel state of Burma, relying on its remoteness and rugged terrain, further delayed our advance for over a year due to the malaria-ridden seasons of spring, summer, and autumn. Thus, the campaign remains unfinished. This chart of the campaign only deepens my sense of shame and regret. [26] The battle diagram is a poetic chronicle honours virtuous ministers. Reflecting on how peace arose from peril, how could one delight in ease while forgetting past woes [27]. Thus, the creation of the Taiwan Battle Diagram may also reflect imperial self-reflection on warfare and the principle of maintaining vigilance in times of peace.

It is also possible that Emperor Qianlong utilised events held at the Ziguang Pavilion to invite princes, ministers, and foreign guests, employing the practice of posting notices to publicise his military achievements in subjugating Taiwan. The layout of the Hall of Martial Achievement was relatively enclosed, flanked by two corridors and accessible only through the Ziguang Pavilion and a side gallery (Figure 16). This restriction not only emphasised its status as imperial sanctuary and private domain, lending the hall an air of mystery and solemnity, but also enabled the emperor to control visitors and safeguard its contents through spatial segregation. During the Qianlong reign, the Hall of Martial Achievement housed not only the battle-scene scrolls but also the following categories of commemorative artefacts related to military campaigns:

1. Items used in military operations: such as the red signal flags used during the pacification of Jinchuan, the victory spirit banners [28] employed by generals like A-gui and his troops during the pacification of the Two Jinchuan regions; two third-grade muskets and two waist swords under Fude's name [29]; leather chain mail, silver powder flasks, swords, waist swords, and other items used by soldiers [30].
2. Portraits of meritorious officers following victorious campaigns: including certain "oil paintings of distinguished servicemen," such as those depicting eighteen officers from the Zunghar tribe and later-subjugated Torghut leader Wobaxi [31].
3. Tribute items presented by local regions post-war: such as bows, arrows, and quivers from Jinchuan [32], and muskets [33]; additionally, curved swords and forks from Gurkha [34], four muskets of third and fourth grades [35], one new sandalwood bowl, one peacock feather fan, and one ivory bowl [36].
4. Artefacts crafted from Qianlong's commemorative campaign poetry and prose: such as one copy of the Ten Perfections Commemorative Jade Seal Album, one copy of the Imperial Composition: Album of Triumphant Songs for the Subjugation of the Two Jinchuan Regions, the Imperial Composition: Monumental Inscription for the Imperial Academy Celebrating the Conquest of the Muslim Tribes, and the Imperial Composition: Preface to the Portraits and Praises of Meritorious Officials in the Subjugation of Taiwan [37].

The hall also houses numerous tribute items sourced from local battlefields. These objects, packaged in boxes and pouches according to the Emperor's preference, are displayed within the hall in a manner not conducive to simultaneous viewing by multiple individuals. The Complete Map of Taiwan, however, both simplifies the narrative for viewers to swiftly grasp the campaign's progression and, with its immense scale and majestic grandeur, carries greater commemorative and symbolic significance.

VI Conclusion

The Complete Map of Taiwan in the Hall of Martial Achievement was drafted by Yao Wenhan, who reconfigured eleven scenes from the album of battle maps entitled *The Campaign to Subdue Taiwan*. This constituted an innovation in both form and content among the mounted battle maps. The emergence of the 'Complete Map of Taiwan' hanging was constrained by the architectural scale of the Hall of Purple Light and the Hall of Martial Achievement. It also arose from the concurrent occurrence of the Taiwan and Gurkha campaigns, necessitating consideration of display space requirements for different campaign hangings. Furthermore, it was influenced by the Qianlong Emperor's distinctions regarding architectural hierarchy and the classification of campaign importance. Compared to the Complete Map of Taiwan, it does not attempt to realistically depict battlefield conditions. Instead, it simplifies and embellishes the narrative of the victorious campaign, better aligning with imperial visual aesthetics, psychological preferences, and political objectives. The large-scale panels immediately reveal the perilous mountain

and turbulent waves underscore the terrain's complexity and peril. The uniform attire and accessories of the figures emphasise the perilous terrain serves as a stark backdrop to the Qing forces' valiant conquest, bringing joy to the imperial court while other viewers would feel both awe and dread.

The Hall of Martial Achievement served as both a private repository for the sovereign's collections and a military memorial. The annual banquets hosted by Emperor Qianlong at the Ziguang Pavilion for Mongolian allies and foreign envoys presented the contained within boxes, making simultaneous viewing by multiple individuals impractical. In contrast, the expansive Complete Map of political functions. This multi-scene, large-scale collage represented a new developmental direction for war map painting, later yielding works such as the Complete Map of Annam and the Complete Map of Gurkha. Qianlong's profound comprehension and application of diverse not only documented the imperial vision of victorious warfare but may also have served to propagate martial achievements. The surviving descriptions of the content depicted on the battle scenes are exceedingly limited. The primary purpose of these or solely for the emperor's enjoyment of its creation and personal viewing? This may be an intriguing question, one that warrants research.

Note:

- [1] The discussion primarily concerns the Battle Map series, specifically the Conquest of Annam Victory Map Min Publishing House, 2005, p. 615.
and the large-scale collage depicting the Annam Campaign. See [14] The Palace Museum, ed, *Imperial Authorised Account of the Pacification of Taiwan*, Hainan Publishing House, 2000, pp. 244-245. , 2000, pp. 244-245. SGHLACHTENKUPFER DER KIENLUNG- [15] *Ibid.*, p. 320.
UND TAOKUANG-ZEIT. MIT REPRODUKTIONEN DER 10 TAOKUANG-KUPFER UND DER VORLAGE FÜR DIE ANNAM-Hamburg Ethnological Museum, a small fragment from a private German collection, and a fragment from a French conservation workshop. A small fragment in a German private collection, and the French cultural heritage restoration
- [2] Leverenz, Niklas, "A Set of Eight Gurkha Cam- Another small fragment from Camille Schmitt's collection. From Niklas Leverenz, "From Painting to Print: *Ibid.* 1 (2019): 185-96. Battle of Qurman from 1760," *Orientations*, No. 1
- [3] With thanks to the Department of East and Southeast Asian Art, Ethnological Museum, Hamburg, Germany 2010, pp. 48-53; "The Battle of Qurman: A Third Fragment of the 1760 Qianlong Imperial Painting," Fragment of the 1760 Qianlong Imperial Painting, " *Orientations*, May 2015, pp. 76-80.
- [4] Ouyang Zhesheng, ed., *The Complete Works of Fu Sinian*, vol. 6, Hunan [17] Compiled by the First Historical Archives of China, Archives of Zhongnanhai during the Qing Dynasty, Education Press, 2003, pp. 245, 261-262. Volume 27, Xiyuan Publishing House, 2004, pp. 27-28,
- [5] National Archives of China, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Museum pp. 36, 256.
Jointly compiled, *General Compilation of Archives of the Imperial Household Department's Bureau of Imperial Workshops*, Vol. 51, Renmin [18] Archives from the 13th year of the Tongzhi reign indicate that battle maps were displayed on the north wall of the Wucheng Hall Min Publishing House, 2005, pp. 25-26. Five had fallen off, while one stele inscription from the Daoxue (Imperial Academy) depicting battles during the Daoguang period remained.
- [6][7][8] China First Historical Archives, Chinese University of Hong Kong Library See *Compilation of Qing Dynasty Zhongnanhai Archives by the First Historical Archives of China*, Volume 23, Xiyuan Publishing House, 2004, p. 177. People's Publishing House, 2005, p. 659. [19] *Veritable Records of the Pure Emperor Qianlong*, Volume 1414, Qianlong 57th Year
- [9] *Ibid.*, pp. 659-660. The third day of the tenth month.
- [10] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. [20] Yu Minzhong et al. (eds.), *Research on the Old Tales Beneath the Sun* Beijing: Ancient Books Publishing House.
- [11] *Ibid.* [5], p. 512. Publishing House, 1985, p. 327.
- [12] *Ibid.*, p. 552. [21] *Ibid.* [17], vol. 23, pp. 175-176.
- [13] First Historical Archives of China, Museum of Chinese University of Hong Kong [22] (Qing dynasty) Wu Zhenxu Yangjizhai Conglu Beijing: Guji Publishing House , 1983, p. 186.

- [23] Ibid., vol. 26, pp. 145–146. [31] Wang Youmin Qing Dynasty Zunghar Mongolian Tribal Oil Paintings of Tribal Leaders Journal of the Palace Museum, No. 1, 2019.
- [24] See [20], p. 354.
- [25] (Ming) Yu Jideng Records of Historical Anecdotes, Vol. 2, Zhonghua Book Company, 1997, p. 24. [32] Ibid. [28], vol. 40, p. 352. [33] Ibid. [32], p. 354.
- [26] Ibid. [17], vol. 25, p. 382. [34] Ibid. [13], pp. 197–198.
- [27] Ibid., p. 106. [35] Ibid., p. 200.
- [28] First Historical Archives of China, Museum of Chinese University of Hong Kong Publishing House, 2005, [36] Ibid. [28], Vol. 54, People's Publishing House, 2005, pp. 301–302. Compiled Collection of Archives of the Imperial Household Department's Bureau of Imperial Workshops, Volume 39, pp. 292–293. People's Publishing House, 2005, pp. 292–293. [37] Ibid., pp. 7–13.
- [29] Ibid., p. 237.
- [30] Ibid., p. 295. (Editor: Jia Hao)

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