In his seminal work on European culture in the late medieval period, Johan Huizinga (1872–1945) observed that history has always been more possessed by the problem of origins and development than by those of decline and fall. He writes: “When studying any period, we are always looking for the promise of what the next is to bring.” This observation still holds true if applied to the study of nineteenth-century Chinese art, a burgeoning field in recent years. Thus, in art historical discourse on this period, much attention has been given to the search for the origins of modern Chinese culture. Many works have focused on the artistic productions shaped by new cultural forces, such as Sino-western pictures, popular prints, early photography, and above all paintings of the Shanghai School. The nineteenth century has been treated as if it had been no more than the infancy of modern China. Consequently, the contemporary court cultural production has been largely neglected.

Since the art at the late Qing court has been so poorly studied that reliable dates and attributions have not been established for even the most important artworks commissioned by the Manchu court, I want to postpone the reappraisal of the nature of the Chinese art during the nineteenth century. The present study considers dating and attribution problems of four large battle paintings in Western collections—one painting in the Mrs. Cécile McTaggart Collection, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada (fig. 1), two paintings in the National Gallery, Prague (figs. 2–3), and another in the Royal Collection at Sandringham House, Norfolk, England (fig. 4). This analysis is followed by a second, related study, that assesses a work available in two versions respectively in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, and the National History Museum, Beijing. A crucial technique applied to both studies is the use of the documents in the Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’anguan (Chinese First Historical Archives) in Beijing, in connection with other newly discovered visual and textual materials.

This article grew out of one chapter in my Ph.D. thesis, “Wu Youru’s ‘The Victory over the Taiping’: Painting and Censorship in 1886 China,” (London, University of London, 1999), on the 1885 imperial commission of a series of paintings commemorating the victory over the Taiping. During my research on my doctoral project, Roderick Whitfield has always been the prime source of guidance and encouragement. I also thank Wang Tao, Paul Moss, Fang Yujin, Man-jong Ou, Christopher Lloyd, Barbara Allred, Lucie Borotova, Ladislav Kesner, Cécile McTaggart, and colleagues at the Palace Museum, the Chinese First Historical Archives, the National History Museum, and the National Palace Museum, for their valuable support at various stages of my research. Huang Yin has read an early version of this article and helped to smooth the English. Roderick Whitfield has checked the language of the final version; I am grateful for their generous help.

In 1992, the McTaggart painting was shown in the exhibition, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire 1796–1911*, in the Phoenix Art Museum.\(^2\) Claudia Brown, a curator of the exhibition, identified the subject of the painting as a battle in the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64), based on a study of the cartouches.\(^3\) In a related article she also put forward a hypothesis that the painting may have belonged to a series of military paintings commemorating the dynastic victory over the Taiping Rebellion, commissioned by the late Qing court.\(^4\) She was probably encouraged to offer that hypothesis by the existence of the three paintings in Prague and at Sandringham House, for all of these share a similar imperial style, being executed on the same material and having identical measurements. It is not only these pieces in Western collections that support Brown's speculation, the Palace Museum in Beijing also possesses twelve battle paintings that match the McTaggart painting in both their measurements and general stylistic features (fig. 5). The major differences in the case of the Palace Museum paintings are that each of them is accompanied by a text (fig. 6), indicating the particular battle represented, and recording the government's military campaign against the Muslim Rebellion in Yunnan and Guizhou (1856–74), rather than that against the Taiping. These differences, however, may advance Brown's hypothesis a step further. The disparity of the subject matter may actually indicate that the scope of the imperial commission was larger than Brown has suggested; the commission included, but was not limited to, the campaign against the Taiping Rebellion. The absence of any text on the four paintings in Western collections might have resulted from loss at some later time.\(^5\)

The evidence that supports the hypothesis exists in the Chinese First Historical Archives.\(^6\) Under the heading of the Junjichu dang' an (Archives of the Grand Council) there is a category for visual documents called Yutu (The Maps Depository), which was begun with the standardization of the Grand Council in the late 1730s and contains visual documents presented originally together with memorials by the council to the throne.\(^7\) These visual documents are divided into seven sections: the first includes atlases of administrative divisions, maps of individual regions, and city plans; the second comprises the maps of the Yangzi River and the Yellow River, and of the coastlines; the third concerns the Grand Canal; the fourth records battles and battlefields in major military events of the dynasty; the fifth documents the royal tours and visits; the sixth registers locations and buildings of monasteries

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\(^3\) Ibid., 31. Brown does not specify the battle, the painting is simply titled *Battle Scene from the Taiping Rebellion*.


\(^5\) See note 12.

\(^6\) Beijing, Chinese First Historical Archives (hereafter cited as CFHA), I. Archives of the Qing dynasty, A. The Central Administration Archives, 3. The Grand Council Archives. For the current classification system of the archives, see Qin Guojin, *Zhonghua Ming-Qing Zhengdang Zhinan* (A Guide to the Archives of the Ming and Qing dynasties), [Beijing] Renmin chubanshe, 1994), Appendix 1. "Zhongguo diyi lishi dang' an suocang Ming-Qing dang' an ge quanzong yilan biao" (An Overview of the System for the Ming and Qing Archives in the Chinese First Historical Archives), 243–46.


\(^8\) Qin Guojin (1994), 112.
and temples, and matters relevant to religions; and the seventh details imperial mausolea. Separated from the memorials that accompanied them as they entered the archives, these visual documents form an independent class. Various hands have contributed to the filing of documents over the years and the cross-referencing to the memorials was complex and not always consistent. It is therefore difficult to assess the precise date of some items.

Among the documents in the fourth section of the archives are the cartoons for the four paintings in Western collections, as well as for the twelve paintings in the Palace Museum (fig. 11). The inscriptions on the four cartoons help to identify the particular subject-matter of the six paintings: the McTaggart painting depicts the battle at Tongcheng in Hubei province on December 10, 1857 during the Taiping War; the two paintings in the National Gallery, Prague, represent the scenes in the government campaign against the Nian Rebellion (1851–68): the defeat of the troops of a chief rebel Zhang Minhang in Shandong province in October 1861, and the triumphant procession of the government troops which completed the campaign in August 1868; and the Sandringham painting describes a battle between the government troops under the command of Duo-long-a (1817–64) and the rebels in the region of Wei River in Shaanxi province in August 1863, one of the numerous battles during the campaign against the Muslim Rebellion (1862–78) in Shaanxi, Gansu and Xinjiang provinces.

The four paintings, as well as the twelve in the Palace Museum, form part of a single commission that involved many more paintings, as we learn from the way in which their respective cartoons are grouped in the section. Research on other pieces in the section shows that the sixteen cartoons are part of a group which contains sixty-seven cartoons in total, namely twenty paintings for the Taiping War, eighteen paintings for the Nian Rebellion, twelve paintings for the Muslim Rebellion in Yunnan and Guizhou, and seventeen paintings for another Muslim Rebellion in the Northwest.

These sixty-seven cartoons probably formed the total number of paintings in the commission, for the twelve cartoons of the campaign in Yunnan and Guizhou squarely match the twelve paintings of the same subject in the Palace Museum, Beijing. This suggestion has been confirmed by the discovery of the photographic record of some of the finished paintings. Two photographic albums, which record the paintings for the victory over the Taiping and the Nian Rebellion, exist in the Peking University Library, and they contain exactly the same number of pictures as the cartoons of the two subjects (see Appendix 1).

Like the finished paintings, the cartoons are not dated or signed and give little information about the patronage of the commission. Some of the documents produced during the commission which have

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12 Peking University Library, Special Collection, Pingding Yufei zhantu zhaopian (The Photographs of the Battle Scenes from the Victory over the Taiping Rebellion); Pingding Nianfei zhantu zhaopian (The Photographs of the Battle Scenes from the Victory over the Nian Rebellion). Apart from showing the paintings, both albums also contain photographs of the original texts attached to the paintings (figs. 7–8), which confirm that the texts belonging with the four paintings under discussion have been lost.
been discovered recently in the Grand Council archives are invaluable sources in identifying the nature of this commission: these include four letters to the Grand Council by Yihuan (1840–91), the father of the young Emperor Guangxu (reigned 1875–1908), and various types of the Grand Council records. These documents inform us that the court initiated the painting project to commemorate the government victory over three major rebellions in the mid-nineteenth century — the Taiping Rebellion, the Nian Rebellion, and the Muslim Rebellion in both the northwest and southwest — immediately after the peace agreement between China and France over the Vietnam controversy was signed in June 1885. Due to the large scale of the commission, Yihuan acted as the commissioner. In November 1885, the Grand Council was assigned the task of selecting the subjects. Three clerks in the council, composed of one Senior Secretary (dalami) and two Junior Secretaries (zhangjing), were responsible for each war. Their duties included studying official documents and drafting a list of subjects. The workshop to carry out the execution of the paintings was established under the Shenjiying (Beijing Field Forces), a modern-trained troop of Bannermen guarding the capital. On March 11, 1886, the group of clerks for the Taiping Rebellion discharged their duty and submitted their proposal on the subject-

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13 Peking, CFHA, A, 3: The Grand Council Logbook (Suishoudang), the entries on Guangxu (hereafter cited as GX) 12/2/6 (March 11, 1886); GX12/2/16 (March 21, 1886); Record Book of Imperial Edicts (Shangyudang), undated between two entries on GX12/2/6 (March 11, 1886) and GX12/2/7 (March 12, 1886), the entry on GX12/2/16 (March 21, 1886); Record Book of Lateral Communications (Jiaofadhang), the entry on GX12/2/16 (March 21, 1886); Memorial Packet Copy of Palace Memorials (Lufu zouzhe), undated between two entries on GX12/2/6 (March 11, 1886) and GX12/2/7 (March 12, 1886); and Miscellaneous Documents — Yihuan’s Letters (Zajianlei, Chun qingwang xin), GX11/10/5 (November 11, 1885), GX11/11/26 (December 31, 1885), GX12/8/14 (September 11, 1886), GX12/10/30 (November 25, 1886). The first three letters by Yihuan have been published by Fang Yujin, “Qing Chunqingwang Yihuan xinhan xuan” (Selected Letters by Yihuan Prince Chun), Lishi dang’an, 1982, 4, 33–40.


14 Ibid., Miscellaneous Documents — Yihuan’s Letters, GX11/10/5 (November 11, 1885). In this letter the Sino-French War (1881–85) is also included in the project: “I have seen the list of each war and the names and the ranks of the officials who participated in the campaigns. This project of painting, as far as my humble opinion is concerned, differs from previous ones which only focus on either one campaign or the merits of a few commanders. If our case is not treated with great care, many important events will be omitted. It might be proper therefore to divide the project into four groups: the first group is about the Taiping Rebellion, the second the Nian Rebellion, the third the Muslim Rebellion which also should be divided into two sub-groups: one is about the rebellion in Yunnan province, the other in Hsi, and the last group concerns the Sino-French War in Vietnam.” But this last idea was probably soon abandoned, since some contemporary accounts of the commission mention only the three mid-century rebellions. For example, Jichang, Xingshuzhai (Miscellaneous Notes of the Xingshu Studio), facsimile of 1901 edition (Shanghai: Shanghain shudian, 1984), second half of the volume, 7b. This may explain why there is no single cartoon representing the Sino-French War in the archives.

15 Ibid., GX11/11/26 (December 31, 1885). Yihuan writes: “I suggest that we assign four dalami, each with two zhangjing, to be in charge of the four groups respectively.”

16 Ibid., Record Book of Imperial Edicts, the entry on GX12/2/16 (March 21, 1886): “Deliver to the Beijing Field Forces. The Grand Council presented the twenty edicts issued regarding the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion. Today, the councilors received respectfully the Cixi duanyou kangyi yuzhuangcheng Empress Dowager’s order: deliver the twenty edicts to the Beijing Field Forces and order it to make paintings and present them to the throne.” See also The Grand Council Logbook, the entry on GX12/2/16 (March 21, 1886); Record Book of Lateral Communications, the entry on GX12/2/16 (March 21, 1886).
matter of twenty items (see Appendix 2). Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) approved the subject matter on March 21, and it was immediately handed down to the painting workshop in the Beijing Field Forces. The subject matter for the Nian Rebellion was approved in September and went to the workshop immediately afterwards. When the selection of the subject-matter for the Muslim Rebellion was completed is not documented.

Names of the painters in the workshop are not given in the archives. Yet these painters were almost certainly under the command of Qingkuan (1848–1927). We learn this from a highly reliable colophon by a certain Wang Yu on a landscape painting by Qingkuan (Appendix 3), which notes that it was through Yihuan’s recommendation that Qingkuan was placed in charge of the execution of the project. The colophon gives a detailed treatment of the life of this Bannerman painter which is otherwise little known. According to Wang, Qingkuan was born into the Zhaojia clan and was a member of the Plain Yellow Chinese Banner. It seems that he had been under Yihuan’s patronage since he was very young. As an adult Qingkuan worked as a secretary in several institutions such as The Beijing Field Forces, the Linggong (Imperial Mausoleum Work), the Haijun yamen (Board of Naval Affairs), all of which were under Yihuan’s supervision. At the same time he seemed to have acquired painting skills in various subjects through diligent study. It was probably due to his close connections with Yihuan that his talent in painting was quickly recognized at court. From the 1880s, Qingkuan was appointed director of almost every major imperial art commission. Apart from the commission of the military paintings under discussion, he was in charge of the architectural decoration of the Summer Palace, the painting projects for Guangxu’s wedding ceremony (1889) and Cixi’s sixtieth birthday (1893). At the peak of his official career Qingkuan chaired three institutions of the Neiwufu (Imperial Household): Shangsiyuan (the Palace Stud), Wubeiyuan (Court of Imperial Armaments), and Fengchenyuan (Imperial Parks Administration).

The same colophon also notes that the commission commemorating government victory over three major rebellions was completed by 1890, and that the paintings were made for the Ziguangge (Purple Effulgence Pavilion) in the Sanhai (Sea Palace). We also know that this building had been a spe-
cial place for displaying and storing military paintings since the mid-eighteenth century, and that when these paintings entered the building, the battle scenes commissioned by Qianlong (reigned 1736-96) had been taken off the walls in order to display the new ones. These paintings remained on the walls of the pavilion until they began to be dispersed in the summer of 1900, when the Eight Allied Forces of the Western Powers seized Beijing and were stationed in the Sea Palace during the Boxer Uprising.

For studies of the functions of the pavilion and analysis of the Purple Effulgence Pavilion as the architectural setting of the battle paintings, see Zhang Hongxing, "Wu Youru's 'The Victory over the Taiping': Painting and Censorship in 1886 China," 186–96. See also Walter Fuchs, "Die Schlachtenbilder aus Turkestan von 1765 als historische Quelle," Monuments Serica 4, (1939/40), 116–24; Wu Kong, "Ziguangge he Qianlong de Shiquan wugong" (The Purple Effulgence Pavilion and the Ten Complete Victories in the Qianlong Reign) Beijing Wenbi 1995.1, 17–20.

Beijing, CFHA, C.5: Record of Imperial Parks Administration, New System, GX15/11/v (November 23, 1889).

Di Chuqing, Pingdengge biji (Notebook of the Pingdeng Studio), (Shanghai: Youzheng shuju, n.d.), vol. 1, 3b. Di records his visit to the building in the summer of 1900, describes how the staircases to the upper tier inside the building had been destroyed, and writes of how books were scattered on the floor. He also notes that the paintings depicting the victory over the Nian and Muslim Rebellions in the Northwest were still on the walls of the ground floor.
APPENDIX 1
A Check List of the Battle Scenes from the Commission

PM (Palace Museum, Beijing)
CFHA (Chinese First Historical Archives, Beijing)
BUL (Beijing University Library)
NG (National Gallery, Prague)
McT. (Mrs. Cécile McTaggart Collection, Canada)
Royal Coll. (Royal Collection, Sandringham House, Norfolk)

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<p>|     | <em>The Nian Rebellion</em>                    |         |          |            |
| 1   | Haozhou       | CFHA    |          | BUL        |
| 2   | Qiuhuo &amp; Zhengyang | CFHA |          | BUL        |
| 3   | Lian          | CFHA    |          | BUL        |
| 4   | Changhuai     | CFHA    |          | BUL        |
| 5   | Zhang Minhang | CFHA    | NG       | BUL        |
| 6   | Biantang      | CFHA    |          | BUL        |
| 7   | Pingyu        | CFHA    |          | BUL        |</p>
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*The Muslim Rebellion (Yunnan and Yuzhou)*

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*The Muslim Rebellion (Shaanxi, Gansu and Xinjiang)*

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APPENDIX 2
Twenty Subjects Selected for the Commission Victory over the Taiping Rebellion (Beijing, CFHA, A, 3: Record Book of Imperial Edicts, microfiche no. 331)

Twenty imperial decrees regarding the Pacification of the Yue Bandits received:

- Rescuing of the Huaiqing prefect from siege, the fourth day of the eighth moon of the third year, Xianfeng reign (September 6, 1853).
- Destroying of the Duliu traitors, the thirteenth day of tenth moon of the third year, Xianfeng reign (November 13, 1853).
- Regaining of Linqing city, the twenty-eighth day of the third moon of the fourth year, Xianfeng reign (April 25, 1854).
- Regaining of Yuezhou city, the twenty-second day of the seventh moon of the fourth year, Xianfeng reign (August 15, 1854).
- Destroying of the bandit lairs in Tianjiazhen, the twenty-ninth day of the tenth moon of the fourth year, Xianfeng reign (December 18, 1854).
- Sweeping of the rebels out of the Xun River, the second day of the twelfth moon of the fourth year, Xianfeng reign (January 19, 1855).
- Overcoming of Lianzhen, the twenty-first day of the first moon of the fifth year, Xianfeng reign (March 9, 1855).
- Occupation of Fengguantun, the eighteenth day of the fourth moon of the fifth year, Xianfeng reign (June 2, 1855).
- Occupation of Tongcheng, the twenty-fifth day of the ninth moon of the fifth year, Xianfeng reign (November 4, 1855).
- Vanquishing of Wuchang city, the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh moon of the sixth year, Xianfeng reign (December 25, 1856).
- Overcoming of Ruichou city, the fifth day of the eighth moon of the seventh year, Xianfeng reign (September 22, 1857).
- Destroying of the bandits' lairs at Tongcheng and other places, the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh moon of the tenth year, Xianfeng reign (January 5, 1861).
- Occupation of Anqing city, the twenty-fifth day of the eighth moon of the eleventh year, Xianfeng reign (September 29, 1861).
- Lifting of the siege of Yuhuatai, Jinning, the eighth day of the eleventh moon of the first year, Tongzhi reign (December 28, 1862).
- Overcoming of the Isle of Jiufu and other strategic passes, the fifth day of the sixth moon of the second year, Tongzhi reign (July 20, 1863).
- Capture of the major traitors such as Shi Dakai and others, the twelfth day of the sixth moon of the second year, Tongzhi reign (July 27, 1863).
- Occupation of Suzhou city, the fourth day of the eleventh moon of the second year, Tongzhi reign (December 14, 1863).
- Overcoming of Hangzhou and Yuhang cities, the twelfth day of the third moon of the third year, Tongzhi reign (April 17, 1864).
- Overcoming of Jiangning city, the twenty-ninth day of the sixth moon of the third year, Tongzhi reign (August 1, 1864).
- Capture of Junior traitor Hong Fuzhen, the eleventh day of the tenth moon of the third year, Tongzhi reign (November 9, 1864).

APPENDIX 3

Colophon by Wang Yu, dated in correspondence with 1915, on a landscape by Qingkuan. Handscroll in a private collection, Beijing.

I met Mr. Qing, Xiaoshan, in our late years. But our spiritual communication began thirty years ago. In the tenth year of the Guangxu reign (1884) when I was working for Mr. Zeng Zongxiang, the governor-general of Liangjiang, I learned his name. I was told at that time that he had been entrusted by Prince Chun with the inspection of the newly-established School of Infantry and Navy, and that he had been praised by the prince for his work. In the following year when the renovation work of the Purple Effulgence Pavilion was finished, the court ordered the setting up of a workshop to paint the battle scenes and the portraits of the meritorious servitors from the three campaigns — The Taiping, Moslems, and Nian — for the hall. Upon Prince Chun’s recommendation, Mr. Qing was put in charge of this commission, which was finally finished six years later, with one hundred and several tens of scrolls being made. During this period, in the tenth year (1884), he accompanied Prince Chun, General Shan, and Governor-general of Zhili, Mr. Li Wenzhong, to inspect the navy on the sea, and warship dock and torpedo factory in Lushun. Apart

26 Zeng Guoquan (1824–90), for biographical information see ECCP, 749–51.
27 Yihuan (1840–91), for biographical information see ECCP, 384–86.
28 The commission comprises not just battle paintings, but also portraits of commanders and officers. Several letters by Yihuan have made this clear. See Beijing, CFHA, A, 3: Miscellaneous Documents — Yihuan’s Letters, GX11/10/5 (November 11, 1888), GX11/11/26 (December 31, 1889). We have limited our discussion to the battle paintings in this article, although these portraits are equally important for study.
29 Wang’s date for the naval inspection is incorrect here. The correct date should be 1886, as we know from official documents such as the Veritable Records.
30 Shanqing (died 1889).
31 Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), for biographical information see ECCP, 464–74.
from his inspection duties, he was ordered to be in charge of painting the events of the journey. One day, the sea seemed to have a soul. Suddenly a mirage appeared. He quickly recorded the scene and presented it to the throne. In the fourteenth year (1886) when The Summer Palace renovation work started, the designs of the decorations for all the halls, terraces and pavilions on the site were all made by him. In the fifteenth year (1889), he was commissioned to direct the painting of the complete wedding ceremony of Dezong. A year before the twentieth year (i.e. 1893) he had painted a scroll to celebrate the Empress Dowager’s sixtieth birthday and presented it to the throne; the scene that he painted was magnificent and spectacular. If Mr. Qing did not handle his subjects masterfully, how could such perfection be achieved? Sometimes in the past, it had occurred to me that Mr. Qing perhaps was just an expert on portraiture and of real scenes. But on viewing the present picture that embodies a real understanding of Mr. Dai Wenjie’s ideas, I could not help admiring him. Following my inquiry he told me that at the beginning of his career he studied with Yuan Ruishou from Shandong, concentrating on portraiture. Then he had an opportunity to learn Mr. Dai Wenjie’s most secret methods, so that he employed landscape vividly. Then, he studied with Wang Chengfeng, and subsequently he gradually excelled at every kind of flower, bird, and insect subjects. He is such a diligent person, pursuing art with steady will and devoted mind. The forty-leaf album, The Origins of the Truly Mighty, and the painting, The Mountain at Chonglin, received special imperial rewards. Alas! Mr. Qing is so versatile that he was not only successful in the profession of painting. His name is Kuan. His zi is Youshan. Songyue jushi is his hao. When he became old he began to use Chengwai chunshou as his hao. Yet another later hao of his is Xingshou. He is a Bannerman, coming from the clan of Zhaojia, and belonging to the Plain Yellow Chinese Banner. From his position of assistant director and then director, he was promoted to be the chair of the Three Agencies in The Imperial Household. He had served the Salt Control Circuit as the Surveillance Commissioner in Jiangxi province. Since his childhood, his talent had been recognized by Prince Chun, so he served in The Beijing Field force as a secretary, as the inspector of imperial mausoleum work, and as head of the financial office and the archival office of The

32 This is also recorded in Yihuan’s poems written during the journey. Quoted in Furen, “Yihuan xunyue haifang jingguo” (An Narrative Account of Yihuan’s Naval Inspection), Zijincheng 1990.4, 19.
33 Guangxu. A set of albums of the wedding is in the Palace Museum collection.
34 Dai Xi (1801–60), for biographical information see ECCP, 700–01.
35 It is likely that he had learned from studying Dai’s paintings rather than from Dai Xi personally, for Qingkuan was only eleven years old when Dai Xi died in 1860.
37 The Three Agencies of Imperial Household during the Qing dynasty refer to the Palace Stud, Court of Imperial Armaments, and Imperial Parks Administration. He remained in this position at least until 1905, when he wrote a letter to Hubert D. Ves, a painter from the United States, regarding a portrait of Cixi painted by the latter. See Luke S. K. Kwong, “Cixi xiezhao de xubi: Hubert D. Ves” (Another note about Cixi’s Portrait: Hubert D. Ves), Gugong bowuyuan yuankan 2000.1, 81.
38 For different account of Qinkuan’s official career see, He Gangde, Chunnung Menglu, 1922, repr. 1983 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shudian), 21b–22a; Qinghai Leichao (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 332.
Board of Naval Affairs. His achievements in official affairs are well known to all, and witnessed by the dynastic history, so it is unnecessary for me to relate them in detail. After he served in office outside the capital, he had ceased to paint. In xinhai year (1911) when the government was disbanded, he came back, living in solitude and returning to his old learning for self-enjoyment. But friends and acquaintances seeking for his paintings increased day by day. As an example, Tao, the Beile and the son of Prince Chun, pleaded with Mr. Qing to paint a painting commemorating his balloon-excursion on his trip to Europe. That painting is remarkably true to life, which indicates that Mr. Qing is also an expert in Western technique. The present scroll was made when he was sixty-eight. In the painting the gathering and flowing clouds and mists suggest imminent rain. This effect truly captures the essence of Mr. [Dai] Wenjie's art. I have traced the origin of Qingkuan's art at the end of this scroll so that the viewers of this painting in future are able to add this account to the history of painting. In the mid-winter season of the jiwei year (1919), Wang Yu, Dufu, from the ancient Yanguan, wrote this.

PART TWO

TWO VERSIONS OF TWELVE BATTLE PAINTINGS BY WU YOURU
IN THE NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM, TAIPEI
AND THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM, BEIJING

In the historical archives department of The National Palace Museum, Taipei, there is an album of twelve leaves which depict twelve battles from the Qing government’s campaign against the Taiping Rebellion (figs. 9–20). Each painting is accompanied by a text on the facing page, written in small regular script. In 1961, the National History Museum in Beijing acquired a handscroll from Baoguzhai, an antique shop in Liulichang, Beijing, with identical scenes. Although neither work bears the artist’s signature or date, the condition of the mountings betrays their origin as a pair of paintings by late Qing court artists.

While the Beijing scroll still remains unstudied, the Taipei album has attracted scholarly attention during the last decade. Four of the battle scenes have been published in Jonathan Spence’s biog-
Fig. 1 Qingkuan et al., Victory over the Taiping. 1886–90. Set of twenty paintings. Painting nine: “Regaining of Tongcheng, Hubei.” Ink and color on silk, 135.9 x 307.3 cm. Cécile McTaggart Collection, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. After Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, Transcending Turmoil, Painting at the Close of China’s Empire 1796–1911 (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), pl. 5.

Fig. 2 Qingkuan et al., Victory over the Nian. 1886–90. Set of eighteen paintings. Painting five: “Defeating the Nian Troops under the Command of Zhang Minhang in Shandong.” Ink and color on silk, 137.0 x 310.0 cm. National Gallery, Prague, Czech Republic.
Fig. 3 Qingkuan et al., Victory over the Nian. 1886–90. Set of eighteen paintings.
Painting eighteen: "Triumphal Procession after the Campaign against the Nian."
Ink and color on silk, 137.0 × 310.0 cm.
National Gallery, Prague, Czech Republic.

Fig. 4 Qingkuan et al., Victory over the Muslims (Shaanxi, Gansu and Xinjiang). 1886–90.
Set of seventeen paintings. Painting three: "Battle at the Wei River." Ink and color on silk, 136.0 × 310.0 cm. Sandringham House, Norfolk, United Kingdom.
Fig. 5 Qingkuan et al., Victory over the Muslims (Yunnan and Guizhou). 1886–90. Set of twelve paintings. Painting ten: "Capture of Dali, Yunnan." Ink and color on silk, 136.0 x 310.0 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing, People's Republic of China.

Fig. 6 Qingkuan et al., Victory over the Muslims (Yunnan and Guizhou). 1886–90. Set of twelve paintings. Text for painting ten: "Capture of Dali, Yunnan." Ink on silk. Palace Museum, Beijing, People's Republic of China.
Fig. 7 Anonymous, *Victory over the Taiping*. 1890–1900. Album of twenty photographs. Photograph nine: “Regaining Tongcheng, Hubei.” 35.0 × 80.0 cm. Peking University Library, Beijing, People’s Republic of China.

Fig. 8 Anonymous, *Victory over the Taiping*. 1890–1900. Album of twenty photographs. Photograph nine: “Regaining Tongcheng, Hubei.”

Text. Peking University Library, Beijing, People's Republic of China.
Fig. 9  Wu Yoush, * Victory over the Taiping*. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene one: "Regaining Yuezhou." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 x 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Fig. 10  Wu Yoush, * Victory over the Taiping*. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene two: "Destroying the Bandit Lairs at Tianjaizhen and Regaining Qizhou." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 x 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.
Fig. 11  Wu Yuru, *Victory over the Taiping*. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene three: “Clearing the Xun River.” Ink and color on paper, 50.5 x 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Fig. 12  Wu Yuru, *Victory over the Taiping*. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene four: “Regaining Tongcheng, Hubei.” Ink and color on paper, 50.5 x 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.
Fig. 13 Wu Youru, *Victory over the Taiping*. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene five: "Regaining the Provincial Capital Wuchang." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 x 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Fig. 14 Wu Youru, *Victory over the Taiping*. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene six: "Regaining the Provincial Capital Ruizhou." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 x 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.
Fig. 17 Wu Youru, Victory over the Taiping. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene nine: "Lifting the Siege of the Army near Jinling." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 × 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Fig. 18 Wu Youru, Victory over the Taiping. July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene ten: "Regaining Jiangpu and Pukou, and Overcoming Jiufuzhu and Other Strategic Passes." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 × 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.
Fig. 19 Wu Youru, *Victory over the Taiping*, July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene eleven: "Regaining Jinling." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 × 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Fig. 20 Wu Youru, *Victory over the Taiping*, July-December 1886. Album of twelve leaves. Scene twelve: "Capture of the Junior Traitor Hong Fuzhen." Ink and color on paper, 50.5 × 87.5 cm. The National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.
Fig. 21 Wu Youru, *Victory of the Taiping. Dianshizhai huabao* 23 July 1888–2 July 1889. Sixteen lithographic prints. Scene seven: "Regaining the Prefectural City Ruizhou." Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
raphy of Hong Xiuquan (1813–69), the "Heavenly King" of the Taiping Rebellion. In 1993, the Taipei album was also shown in an exhibition concerning the official life of Zeng Guofan (1811–72), the chief architect of the government's victory over the Taiping Rebellion. In an article written in connection with the exhibition, Feng Mingzhu, the curator of the exhibition, associates the Taipei album with the commission chaired by Qingkuan and thus proposes an authorship and a date for the works. Feng’s proposition is both stimulating and intriguing, and are in accord with the document listing the subjects for the commission (Appendix 2). While the subject-matters of the Taipei and the Beijing works all nicely fit the list, thus suggesting strong connections with it, their total numbers fall short of the court requirement — eight were not painted at all. Furthermore, the Taipei and Beijing works are much smaller in size than the full-size cartoons in the Chinese First Historical Archives or the four surviving paintings in Western collections, and completely different in style. The aim of this study therefore is to reassess the authorship and date of those works and to examine the way in which they were associated with the commission in the original context by drawing on several contemporary sources.

The first source is the set of sixteen photo-lithographic prints in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (hereafter cited as SOAS), London (fig. 21). These prints are inserted and glued on the first pages of sixteen issues of The Dianshizhai Illustrated News (Dianshizhai huabao) published in Shanghai, the first and the most popular newspaper of this kind in the Chinese treaty-ports during the second half of the nineteenth-century. Since the prints are much larger than the newspaper in both dimensions, they were folded twice. Comparison of the Taipei or Beijing works with these lithographs reveals that all twelve paintings in either set have corresponding prints, and the striking similarities between the two groups extend from composition to style, and to almost every detail of the representation. All but one of the prints bear two seals of the artist, which read Wu Jiayou and Youru, names of the major illustrator of The Dianshizhai Illustrated News and one of the best known painters in Shanghai. Therefore, it is almost certain that Wu Youru is also the artist who executed the paintings.

Among art historians who have been interested in Wu Youru's life and works, it has been a widely known fact that Wu was once commissioned by Zeng Guoquan, commander-in-chief in the campaign to suppress the Taiping Rebellion and famous for capturing Nanjing the capital of the rebels in 1864,

46 SOAS Library, Dianshizhai huabao (1884–95), The sixteen issues are mao 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10; cheng 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12; and si 3, 6, 9, 12. Mao, cheng, and si are among the names of the Ten Celestial Stems and the Twelve Earthly Branches, used by the Dianshizhai huabao in the organization of the volumes.
47 I have given a detailed description of these prints, because they are of extremely fine quality in terms of the printing technique, and are rare among book collections. The Shanghai History Museum is the second institution, to my knowledge, which has some of these prints, but this set is incomplete. I am indebted to Bao Lihua for this information.
48 These two seals do not appear on the print Capture of the Junior Traitor, Hong Fuzhen, the Second scene.
49 For a recent study of Wu Youru's life and works, see Zhang Hongxing, “Wu Youru's 'The Victory over the Taiping': Painting and Censorship in 1886 China,” 122–45.
to produce a series of paintings to commemorate the victory over the Taiping.  

It can be argued that this information has been derived mainly from the account given by the artist himself in the advertisement in the second issue of his own recently established *The Feiyingge Illustrated News* (Feiyingge huabao). However, since the advertisement does not provide a precise date for the commission, at least three theories have been proposed. The first theory was proposed by Yang Yi, author of a biographical work on Shanghai artists, published in 1919. In his book Yang suggests that the commission was undertaken soon after Nanjing was captured (i.e. 1864). If Yang did not draw his source directly from the advertisement in *The Feiyingge Illustrated News*, he might have used similar information provided in Tu Wei's 1909 preface, to *Wu Youru huabao* (The Masterpieces of Wu Youru), an ambitious collection of Wu Youru's surviving drawings.

A different proposal, seemingly still current, was made by Zheng Yimei (died 1993), a journalist in Shanghai in the early twentieth century, famous in his later years for assembling anecdotes on the late Qing and early Republican periods. Zheng's familiarity with the period encouraged Shanghai shudian in 1983 to commission him to write an up-to-date account of Wu Youru's life for the new edition of *The Masterpieces of Wu Youru*. Instead of suggesting that Wu Youru made the paintings soon after 1864, Zheng placed the date of Wu Youru's commission at the moment just before May 1884, when *The Dianshizhai Illustrated News* was established. Zheng's proposal is seemingly more convincing than the earlier suggestion. He was probably aware that after Nanjing was captured, Zeng Guoquan immediately left his army and returned to his home in Hunan province on grounds of ill-health, but really to allay the court's anxiety over his growing fame and power. Given the circumstances that prevailed in 1864, it would have been unwise for Zeng Guoquan to launch a project with the possible implication of self-glorification. But Zheng's theory also raises some problems. Zeng Guoquan was appointed governor-general of Liangjiang in February 1884 and he returned to Nanjing.

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50 Gong Canxing, "Wu Youru jianlun" (A Brief Note on Wu Youru), *Maishu yanjiu* 1990.3, 30–38; Pan Yaochang, "Cong Suzhou dao Shanghai, cong Dianshizhai dao Feiyingge: wan Qing huajia xintai guankui" (From Suzhou to Shanghai, from Dianshizhai to Feiyingge: a case study of the mental world of the painters in the late Qing), *Xin maishu* 1994, 65–72; Hiroyuki Takimoto, "Gakka Go Yujo to Seimatsu no jianarizumu tenkai - 'Shinbō' to 'Tensekisai Gabō' no ichi dokumen" (The painter Wu Youru and the development of journalism in the late Qing – a sidelight from Shenshao and Dianshizhai huabao) *Ni Chu geijutsu kenkyū* 34 (August 1996), 67–78.

51 "As Dianshizhai took an initiative to publish the illustrated newspaper, it invited me to contribute pictures. Although connoisseurs judged my pictures as not false, there were only two or three pictures by one out of ten in each issue. Soon afterwards, I was summoned by Mr. Zeng Zhongxiang to paint the meritorious servitors and battle scenes from the pacification of the Yue bandits," *The Feiyingge Illustrated News*, no. 2 (September 1890).

52 Yang Yi, *Haishang molin* (The Ink Forest of Shanghai), 1919, repr. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1989), 78.

53 Tu Wei's preface, in *Wu Youru huabao* (The Masterpieces of Wu Youru), 1909, repr. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1983).

54 In 1981 Zhonghua shuju, one of the most prestigious academic publishers in China, published the first collection of Zheng's anecdotes, *Yilin sanye* (Miscellaneous Notes from the Art Forest). Two years later this book was supplemented by *Yilin sanye xubian* (A Sequel to the Miscellaneous Notes from the Art Forest).

55 Zheng Yimei's preface, in *Wu Youru huabao*.

56 See footnote 26.
in April. Since Zeng remained in that office until his death in 1890, it is reasonable to propose that he had commissioned Wu Youru immediately after his arrival in Nanjing.

The third proposal for the date of the commission, also the most recent, is provided by Pan Yaochang, who argues that it was granted soon after the establishment of *The Dianshizhai Illustrated News* that Wu Youru went to Nanjing to receive Zeng’s commission. Evidence for this proposal derives from a key word in Wu Youru’s advertisement, already mentioned, the value of which has been neglected. In the advertisement, Wu Youru connected his period at *The Dianshizhai Illustrated News* with that spent working on Zeng Guoquan’s commission by using a temporal linking character, *xuan*, literally meaning “soon afterwards.”

Neither Yang Yi, nor Zheng Yimei, nor Pan Yaochang has provided new evidence to support their respective dating. To retrieve new information for dating the commission, the sixteen lithographs in *The Dianshizhai Illustrated News* again prove to be extremely important. The first battle scene appears in the issue published on July 24, 1888. Based on this date, a search through early issues of *Shen Bao*, another newspaper owned by the same entrepreneur as *The Dianshizhai Illustrated News*, reveals an announcement for the publication of the prints. This announcement not only gives dates for the proposed publication corresponding to those of the actual issues in which the prints are inserted, but also makes it clear that Wu Youru went to Nanjing in response to Zeng Guoquan’s summons in the summer of 1886, two years after *The Dianshizhai Illustrated News* was established, and that he returned to Shanghai the following year. Furthermore, it notes that while the paintings were sent to the court in Beijing when they were completed, Wu Youru kept a set of drawings and eventually took them to Shanghai, and it was the publication of these drawings to which *The Dianshizhai Illustrated News* announcement referred.

57 Ibid., 751.
58 Pan Yaochang, “Cong Suzhou dao Shanghai, cong Dianshizhai dao Feiyingge: wen Qing hujia xintai guankan” (From Suzhou to Shanghai, from Dianshizhai to Feiyingge: a case study of the mental world of the painters in the late Qing), *Xin meishu* (1994), 65–66.
59 See footnote 51.
60 *Shen Bao*, July 7, 1888.
61 Ibid., “In the summer of bingxu year (1886) Mr. Zeng, the governor of Liangjiang, summoned Wu Youru, a history painter, to paint the military victories and the meritorious officials of the civil and military services in the Restoration for the purpose of presenting to the throne. It was a truly magnificent achievement. Mr. Wu returned to Shanghai when the execution of the paintings was completed in the next year, and with him he brought back the sketches for the commission, and showed them to us... We earnestly announced that the sketches would be published in the technique of lithography. They will appear on the front page of each issue of the illustrated newspaper from the sixteenth day of the sixth month. The purpose to do so is to inform the wide world of the unprecedented glory of the military strength of our country.” To the best of my knowledge, Zheng Jinwen is the only person who has given a correct date for Wu Youru’s commission. See his entry on Wu Youru in *Qingdai renwu zhuangao*, vol. 5 (Liaoning: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1989), 368. Although Zheng Jinwen does not give the source of his evidence, it is probably Peng Hongnian’s *Ziguangge gongben xiaoxiang bing xiangjun pingding yuexi zhantu* (The portraits of the meritorious servitors and the battle scenes from the Hunan Army’s pacification of the Taiping Rebellion for the Purple Effulgence Pavilion), another lithographic production of Wu’s sixteen drawings, published in 1900, because the name by which he refers to Wu’s commission is the same as the title that Peng gives to his lithographic album. At the end of this album Peng dates the commission to 1886 and includes the two letters from Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guoquan relating to the commission.
The announcement does not associate Wu Youru's paintings with the project in Beijing. For whatever reason, it creates the image of Wu's works as a local project initiated by a high provincial official and the paintings as being related to the court only in the sense that they were to be presented to the throne. Yet the striking affinity of subject-matter between Wu's paintings and those produced under Qingkuan's command, as pointed out at the beginning of this article, strongly suggests that this cannot be a coincidence. Wu Youru's commission may have well been a part of the large commission planned and completed in Beijing in the sense that his twelve paintings, together with some as yet unknown works, functioned as a source of factual information concerning individual battles that enabled Qingkuan and his associates at the court to complete the final versions, especially given that Wu's paintings were much smaller in size and Zeng Guoquan was one of the few commanders of the campaign still alive. Yihuan's letter to the Grand Council on November 11, 1885 also supports this hypothesis. In his letter Yihuan suggests that some distinguished war veterans should be asked to submit "base compositions" (diben) before the court painters worked on final paintings. But it is the correspondence between Zeng Guoquan and Li Hongzhang, the governor-general of Zhili and perhaps the most powerful official in the provinces, published in 1900, that offers hard evidence for proving this hypothesis. Li's letter was written on April 25, 1886, and Zeng replied on May 3. The two letters discuss a number of issues relating to the commission in its early stages, and reveal that both Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guoquan participated in the imperial commission. Soon after receiving Cixi's order on March 21st, Yihuan divided the twenty subjects for the campaign against the Taiping Rebellion into two groups: while five stayed with the Beijing Field Forces, fifteen were sent to Li Hongzhang in Tianjin. Li was ordered to take charge of the composition work for all fifteen. Zeng Guoquan was then brought into the commission. In late April, Li sent to Zeng thirteen out of the fifteen subjects he had received, and asked him to be in charge of them. Li explains that he was doing so because these thirteen are the battles won by the army from Hunan province which was under Zeng's command. Li's letter also directs that on the completion of the commission, Zeng should present the paintings through Li to the throne, and that they should include two versions, one in handscroll, the other in album format. Zeng Guoquan completed his commission by the end of November 1886, as we know from another letter in Zeng's collected works.

62 Yihuan writes: "It is appropriate to ask the veteran generals in the campaign to provide the base compositions, upon which the final paintings are to be executed." Beijing, CFHA, A, 3: Miscellaneous Documents – Yihuan's Letters, GXII10/01 (November 11, 1885).


64 See footnote 16.

65 Li Hongzhang writes: "The Beijing Field Forces are not short of able painters at the moment, but it is difficult for them to paint when they know nothing about the actual people and events. To paint the portraits of the famous generals, it is impossible to attain a likeness if the painters have never seen their faces. Therefore, he (Yihuan) asked me to take charge of this commission, and sent me a list containing fifteen subjects." Peng Hongnian (1900).

66 "After examining the list, I discovered that most of the victories on the list were won by the Hunan army, and that over half of these battles had been fought under the command of you or your brother..."
There is a noticeable discrepancy between actual number of Wu Youm’s paintings and those in the list that Zeng Guoquan received from Li Hongzhang. We now know that Wu’s paintings include twelve battle scenes instead of thirteen as the letter indicates. It is possible that Zeng Guoquan sent the thirteenth composition back to Li Hongzhang for some unknown reason. According to Li Hongzhang’s criterion of dividing the subjects, this unwanted composition could well be Capture of the Major Traitor Shi Dakai and Others, number sixteen on the list of the twenty subjects. Taking account of the nature of these thirteen subjects included in the fifteen sent by Yihuan, it is almost certain that Li’s criterion had already influenced Yihuan’s when he selected them from the original twenty. This being the case, the other two subjects that Li had received are undoubtedly Occupying Suzhou City, and Overcoming Hangzhou and Yuhang Cities, because the former battle was fought by the army from Anhui province under the command of Li himself and the latter was won by another provincial army, whereas the remaining five battles on the list of twenty subjects were undertaken by the Manchu Banner army (see Appendix 4).

The album and the scroll in Taipei and Beijing are arguably two of the most important works by the Shanghai artist Wu Youm. Placed in a broad context, the identification of these previously unidentified compositions is significant. Together with the lithographic prints, contemporary photographs, the solitary surviving full-size painting by Qingkuan, and the associated documentation in the Qing state archives, they throw a remarkable light on a major imperial painting project. Furthermore, they present a fine case in the current art historical discourse whereby the existing concepts of art in the nineteenth century, as represented by that in the treaty ports, and the art in the treaty ports as diametrically opposed to that at the court, have to be reassessed.

jects from the list and sent them to you for your inspection. I hope earnestly that you may start to look for fine draftsmen immediately and ask them to make paintings of two versions for each subject, which should represent the actual progress of the battle and its geographical setting, with yellow cartouches glued on the painting. The two versions may be different in size. One should be mounted as a scroll, and the other as an album. The height of individual figures in the paintings is about five to six inches, but they must capture the likeness of the persons exquisitely. The commission also must be completed without delay. After being mounted with the same care, please send them to my office, where they will be gathered with other paintings and submitted to Prince Chun’s (Yihuan) residence for presenting to the throne.” Ihid.

67 Xiao Rongjue, ed., Zengzhongxiang gong quanji (Complete works of Zeng Guoquan), 60 juan and a chronological biography in 6 juan, 1903 (reproduced in Taipei: Chengwen chuban she, 1969), 5314-17. The letter is addressed to Peng Yulin, a retired general from Hunan. Zeng writes: “The paintings for presenting to the throne were fortunately finished by the mid-eleventh month of last year, and they include two versions of the battle scenes, in a large album and a handscroll.” We know the date of completion also through Li Hongzhang’s letter, acknowledging the receipt of the paintings. See Yu Huiuo, ed., Li Wenzhong gong chida (Letters of Li Hongzhang), vol. 3, 1916, not paginated.

68 A revised version of my doctoral thesis will be published under the title The Empress Dowager’s Victory over the Taiping: Painting and the State in Nineteenth-century China. Through detailed study of this imperial commission, my book re-addresses some of the major problems pertinent to nineteenth-century Chinese art and culture, such as the role of the court in nation-state building, audiences for art, interplay between commercial culture, national identity, and political power, in a global framework.
## APPENDIX 4
A Check List of the Distribution of the Subject-Matter in the Commission for the Campaign against the Taiping Rebellion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>The Beijing Field Forces</th>
<th>Li Hongzhang</th>
<th>Zeng Guoquan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Huaiqing</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulu</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linqing</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuezhou</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjiazheng</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xunjiang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lianzhen</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengguantun</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongcheng</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuchang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruichou</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongcheng</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anqing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuhuatai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiufuzhu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi Dakai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzhou</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangzhou and Yuhang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangning</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Fuzhen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

Akesu 阿克蘇
Anqing 安慶
Baofeng 寶豐
Baoguzhai 寶古齋
Beile 貝勒
Biantang 汀塘
Cangtouzhen 倉頭鎮
Chengjiang 滄江
Chuxiong 楚雄
Cixi 慈禧
Daban 大班
Dai Xi, posthumous hao Dai Wenjie gong 戴熙, 戴文煒公
dalami 達拉密
Dali 大理
Dezong, the nian hao of Guangxu 德宗
Dianzhizhai huabao 點石齋畫報
diben 底本
Didaozhou 狄道州
Duliu 獨流
duo-long-a 多隆阿
Fuyingge huabao 飛影閣畫報
Feng Mingzhu 馮明珠
Fengchenyuan 奉宸院
Fengchenyuan dang’an xinzheng 奉宸院檔案
shenjying 申謹
Fengguanjun 風官屯
Ganyu 赣榆
Gaobao 高寶
Gaojiaobao 高家寶
Guangxu 光緒
Guizhou 貴州
Guyuan 固原
Haijun yamen 海軍衙門
Hangzhou 杭州
Haizhou 號州
Heichengzi 黑城子
Hezhou 河州
Hongzhuzhen 洪福鎮
Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全
Huaqing 懷慶
Huaitong 懷桐
Huqiu 霍邱
Jiangning 江寧
Jiangpu 江浦
Jianxi 監修
Jiaofu dang 交發檔
Jinling 金陵
Jingdong 景東
Jinghe 淇河
Jiufuzhou 九江州
jiwei 己未
Juheji 矢河集
Junjichu 軍機處
Junjichu dang’an 軍機處檔案
Kala 喀喇
Kefu Suzhou shengcheng 克復蘇州省城
Langzhou 郎州
Li Hongzhang, posthumous hao Li Wenzhong gong 李鴻章, 李文忠公
Liangjiang 兩江
Lianzhen 連鎮
Linggong 陵工
Linhuaiguang 臨懷關
Linqing 臨清
Liu’an 六安
Liulichang 琉璃廠
lufu zouche 錄副奏折
Lushun 旅順
Manasinan 瑪納斯南
Mengcheng 蒙城
Neiwufu 專務府
Pan Yachang 潘耀昌
Pingliang 平涼
Pingyu 平峪
Pukou 浦口
Qiangbaizhen 羌白鎮
Qingkuan, zi Xiaoshan, hao Songyue jushi, Chenwai yesou, Xinsou 慶寬, 襄珊, 笑山, 松月居士, 慮外婪叟, 信叟
Qixian 秦縣
Qizhou 新州
Qujing 曲靖
Ruizhou 瑞州
Sanhai 三海
Shaanzhou 陝州
Shaerku 沙爾庫
Shangsiyuan 上駕院
Shangyu dang 上諭檔
Shanqing 晋慶
Shen Bao 申報
Shenjiying 神機營
Shi Dakai 石達開
Shunning 順寧
Suicheng 宿城
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