Visualizing Power

Studies of how information of imperial power in Qing China was communicated in the eighteenth century, through visual representation of printed processions

Shimeng Zhou

M.Phil. Art History

University of Dublin, Trinity College

Supervisor: Dr. Peter Cherry

Submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College
August 2017
Declaration

I hereby declare that this is entirely my own work and that it hasn’t been submitted as an exercise for the award of a degree at this or any other University. I agree that the library may lend or copy this dissertation on request.

__________________________
Shimeng Zhou       31/08/2017
Acknowledgements

While attending the M.Phil. module on “Religious Art in Ireland” with Dr. Peter Cherry in the first academic year at Trinity College Dublin, I did not know what the dissertation topic would be. It was Dr. Cherry’s suggestion to look at Asian materials from the Fagel Collection that helped me discover a passion for the multicultural eighteenth century between China and Europe. The essay for the module “China Illustrata – Athanasius Kircher’s Writing on the Jesuits’ Mission to the Far East” provided the catalyst for this dissertation. Dr. Cherry continually offered advice and mentorship throughout the writing of this dissertation, during which period he profoundly taught me how to think as an art historian and how to critically look at paintings and prints. I owe him a debt of profound gratitude.

Dr. Angela Griffith provided an intellectual role model for investigating printed materials from her module “The Art and Agency of the Printed Image in Ireland from the 1800s”, which helped me in studying and analyzing early modern publications on China for the second chapter. The first M.Phil. module I took with Dr. Philip MacEvansoneya on “Ireland and France 1800 – 2000” greatly expanded my interest in cross-cultural studies, in particular the artistic influences between nations. It enabled me to dig into the historical context for the artistic exchanges between east and west in the eighteenth-century Qing China. The module “Medieval Manuscript” delivered by Dr. Laura Clever facilitated direct access to the medieval manuscripts from the Trinity collection, which inspired me profoundly to look closely into materials and conduct visual analysis with the approach of an art historian. Dr. Rachel Moss and Dr. Christine Casey generously spent quality time with me during the academic year and offered mentorship in all areas. I am especially grateful to all the staff from the Art History Department for their patience and expertise. Last but not least, this dissertation has been possible with the generous love and support given by my family and friends, who carried me along the way. My friend Todd Harvey helped me a lot with my English. My dearest Dong and Shinyee, you are my spiritual shelter.
Abstract

This dissertation examines in particular how information of imperial power in Qing China (1662-1911) was communicated visually, through the medium of print in the eighteenth century, from both the early modern European publications on China and the imperially commissioned print suites produced in High Qing court (1662-1795). It starts with a historical discussion of the Sino-European contact from the late sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, during which period the Jesuit missionaries played important roles as the conduits of visual communication between China and Europe.

It argues that, drawing either from the European traditions of the Roman triumphs, or the Chinese history of the Imperial processions, visual representation of the processional scenes, appearing both in early modern publications and the eighteenth century Qing court art, provided visual documentaries for the celebration of imperial power in Qing China.

Research purposes of this dissertation derive naturally from two independent directions. It examines on one part the eighteenth century European publications on China, in the form of the Jesuits’ specialized treatise and travelogue from the Fagel Collection of Trinity Old Library, and tries to argue that visual representation of the processional scenes, from the early modern illustrated publications, follow a highly Europeanized form of representation; Another part of this dissertation focuses on the printed processional scenes produced in the eighteenth century Qing court, of the East Turkestan Campaign (1770–1776), a set of sixteen copperplate engravings that record the Qianlong emperor’s military victory in central Asia by the Jesuit artists in Qing court. It aims to imply a hybrid form of representations applied to those processional scenes, with the subject mixed in motifs and organizational system that derived both from Chinese and European representational systems.
# Table of Contents

**Notes to Readers**  
Page 1

**Chronology of Chinese Dynasties and Political Periods**  
Page 2

**Introduction**  
Page 3

**Chapter One  Sino European Contact from the Late Sixteenth to the Mid-Eighteenth Century**  
Page 8

I The Start of the Mission  
Page 8

II Jesuits in Qing Court  
Page 11

III Imperially Commissioned Print Suites  
Page 13

IV The End of the Mission  
Page 16

V Early Modern Publications on Qing China  
Page 18

   Jesuits’ Reports  
Page 19

   Travelogues  
Page 21

**Chapter two  Visualizing Power, Processions on Paper**  
Page 24

I A Mandarin’s Procession  
Page 26

II An Emperor’s Procession  
Page 31

III An Ambassador’s Procession  
Page 32

**Chapter Three  Staging Power, Hybrid Processions of the Imperially Commissioned Print Suites**  
Page 35

I “Imperial Procession” in Qing era  
Page 37

II Staging the Procession  
Page 40

III Artistic Influences between the East and the West  
Page 44

**Conclusion**  
Page 49

**Bibliography**  
Page 51

**Illustrations**  
Page 55
Notes to Readers

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own and all Chinese Romanization is given in pinyin system. Chinese names are given in Chinese order, with surname first (e.g. Xu Yang). Emperors are called by their Chinese reign names (as opposed to their temple names, given names, etc.). I have also followed Chinese placement of the word “emperor” following the reign name (i.e. Qianlong emperor, not Emperor Qianlong as in the Western Tradition). Qing Dynasty is pronounced “Ch’ing” dynasty, and Qianlong is pronounced “Chee-en-lung”, the initial q pronounced not with the hard k sound as in English but rather as if it were a ch, as in “China”. Kangxi is pronounced “Kang-si”; Xu Yang is pronounced “Shee-u-Yang”. 
Chronology of Chinese Dynasties and Political Periods

Xia dynasty, c. 2100 – 1600 BCE
Shang dynasty c. 1600 – 1100 BCE
Zhou dynasty,
  Western Zhou, c. 1100 – 771 BCE
  Eastern Zhou, c. 770 – 256 BCE
  Spring and Autumn period, 770 – 467 BCE
  Warring States period, 476 – 221 BCE
Qin dynasty, 221 – 206 BCE
Han dynasty, 206 BCE – 220 CE
Three Kingdoms, 220 – 265
Six Dynasties
  Western Jin, 265 – 317
  Eastern Jin, 317 – 420
  Southern and Northern dynasties 420 – 589
Sui dynasty, 581 – 618
Tang dynasty, 618 – 907
Five Dynasties / Ten Kingdoms, 907 – 960
Song dynasty
  Northern Song, 960 – 1127
  Southern Song, 1127 – 1279
Jin dynasty, 1115 – 1234
Yuan dynasty, 1271 – 1368
Ming dynasty, 1368 – 1644
**Qing dynasty, 1644 – 1911**
Republic, 1912 – 49
People’s Republic, 1949 – Present
Introduction

Illustrated publications on China and the imperial commissioned print suites discussed in this dissertation covers the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, which marks reigns of the most prestigious three emperors in Qing history: Kangxi (r. 1662 - 1722), Yongzheng (r. 1722 - 1735) and Qianlong (r. 1735 - 1795). Reigns of the three high Qing emperors marked the peak of the Qing dynasty which ruled China from 1662 until 1911. High Qing China (1662 - 1795) saw a flourish in economic, political and cultural achievements, which provided a solid grounding for the advancement of political, cultural and artistic exchanges between China and the West.¹

The Jesuit missionaries, who embarked their journey to China with the Catholic mission since the late sixteenth century, and found their way to be installed in the imperial court in Beijing, became the most active contributors to the Sino-European contact from the late-sixteenth to the eighteenth century. This dissertation looks at an important role the Jesuits played in promoting worldly circulation of information, in particular the visual communication between Qing China and the West during the eighteenth century. This role has been interpreted by the writer from two perspectives: On one hand, the Jesuits provided to the European audience the most perceptive as well as numerous reports on China since the late sixteenth century, from their eye-witnesses in the imperial court and the compilation of information from secondary sources. Texts and images of those illustrated books published in Europe thus became the primary source for an image of China available to the European audience. On the other hand, those Jesuits who served for the three high Qing emperors, from the mid-seventeenth century throughout the eighteenth century, got actively engaged in the Qing court life. They were appointed director of the Qing Bureau of Astronomy, supervised foundries that produce astronomical instruments, instructing the

Qing emperors in the use of a telescope, clocks and other devices that controlled mechanisms. More importantly for us, they brought the canon of western representational systems into Qing court art, and contributed to a hybrid form of representation manifested through various court paintings and imperial print projects, mostly mixed with European and Chinese visual techniques, which become a key factor in defining Qing court art style.

This dissertation examines in particular how information of imperial power in Qing China was communicated visually, through the medium of print in the eighteenth century, from both early modern publications on China, and the imperially commissioned print suites produced in High Qing court (1662 - 1795). It argues that, drawing either from the European traditions of the Roman triumphs, or the Chinese history of Imperial procession, visual representation of the processional scenes provide visual documentaries for the celebration of imperial power in Qing China. To study those printed processional scenes thus become the key in finding out how the information of Qing power had been communicated and interpreted accordingly.

The first chapter aims to trace the historical path of the Sino-European contact, in particular the contact between the Roman Catholic Churches and Late Ming court and Qing court, through the Jesuits' mission in China that ranged from late sixteenth century to its apogee during the mid-seventeenth, mostly covering the political reign of the Manchu Kangxi emperor (r. 1661 - 1722), and finally to the Rite Controversy (1721) that brought an end to the Jesuits mission in China. Rather than digging into the historical arguments of whether the Society of Jesus or the imperial court in Beijing had put more strains on the failed destiny of the Jesuits' mission in China, which becomes a major argument for contemporary historians, this chapter tries to look at the enormous influence of the Jesuits as the conduits of visual communication between China and Europe during the eighteenth century, through both the illustrated books on China produced for the European audience, and the imperially commissioned prints produced for the Manchu Qing emperors.

---

Three questions are sought to be answered from this chapter: how did the Sino-European contact help to install the talented Jesuits in court from the late Ming dynasty to the Qing court? How did they achieve to produce continuously in the Qing dynasty a bulk of information on China for the European audience? And how did they contribute to bringing the canon of Western pictorial devices, in particular the techniques of copperplate engraving into Qing court art?

The second chapter examines in depth how the power of Qing China was visualized, through the medium of print, from early modern publications on China. It looks closely at the printed processions on paper, represented from the eighteenth century illustrated books on China, mostly in the forms of Jesuits’ specialized study and travelogue. Studied publications on China chosen for this dissertation form a part of the primary Asian materials from the Fagel Collection, the enormous number of printed books acquired by Trinity College Dublin from Hendrik Fagel the Younger (1765 – 1838) in 1802. Academic researches of this collection kept discrete for years until the very recent publication of Frozen in Time – The Fagel Collection in the Library of Trinity College Dublin (2016), edited by Timothy R. Jackson. This publication shed incredible new light on the understanding of the Fagel Collection, of how the Fagel family documented themselves as men of worldly knowledge, of how the collection came from the Hague to Dublin, and of the primary material from the collection. However, of all the information concerning the primary materials of the Fagel Collection investigated from Frozen in Time, its Asia materials, in particular the early modern travel literature to Asia, still kept unrevealed to contemporary scholarship, which became the primary interest for the writer of this dissertation. After a close study of the catalogue for the intended auction of the Fagel Library in 1802, four publications on China from “Hist. Geographia ac Itineraria Sinesia” were chosen, with illustrations that provided to early modern European audience an image of China on a variety of aspects.³ This dissertation

discusses how information of the imperial Qing power was communicated visually through the printed processions on paper.

Printed processional scenes studied in the second chapter includes a Mandarin’s procession in public (fig.2.3), represented by the French Jesuit (Jean-Baptiste) Du Halde’s compiled treatise on China, Description de la Chine (1735). Another printed procession (fig.2.7) that shows the Kangxi emperor appearing in public, comes from the fourth volume of the travelogue A Collection of Voyages and Travels (1704), published by the London bookseller Awnsham Churchill (d.1728). The third illustrated procession (fig.2.9) represents the Russian ambassador Evert Ysbrands Ides being introduced into the palace hall in Qing court, published from his travelogue Driejaarige reiz naar China, te lande gedaan door den Moscovischen afgezant (1704), which describes from his own account the ambassador’s 1692–95 journey overland from Moscow to Beijing. Visual analysis of these processions on paper shows that printed processional scenes of the eighteenth century illustrated books on China, follow a highly Europeanized form of representation, by either privileging the viewer with multiple perspectives simultaneously, through a compression (or expansion) of time and space within its pictorial space, or inviting the viewer to proceed sequentially, almost as a participant into the printed procession with perspectival composition.

The third chapter looks at the processional scenes of the imperially commissioned print suites, The East Turkestan Campaign (1776), which record through the medium of European copperplate engraving the Qianlong emperor’s military victory in Central Asia. Contemporary scholarship for this print suites focus on its printed battle scenes, as has been extensively studied by Ya-Chen Ma from her War and Empire, Images of Battle during the

---

4 Its full title, Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulières de ces pays, de la carte générale et des cartes particulières du Thibet, & de la Corée; & ornée d’un grand nombre de figures & de vignettes gravées en tailldouce. More about this publication, see chapter two.
Marcia Reed studies the *East Turkestan Campaign* in a historical context of the print projects in Qing era, and Niklas Leverenz gives a detailed analysis on the artistic production of this print suites from *Drawing, Proof and Prints from the Qianlong Emperor’s East Turkestan Copperplate Engravings*. This dissertation, however, looks in particular at the two processional scenes of this print suites, *Victory Banquet for Meritorious Officers and Soldiers* (fig.3.4) and *Prisoners Taken During the Pacification of the Muslim Tribes* (fig.3.8), which were highly overlooked in the realm of study towards this print suites. It argues that two printed processions of this print suites have to be understood in the context of a more coherent artist genre in Qing court art that represents contemporary events and figures, both in the forms of court paintings and imperial print projects, in the purpose of transmitting social and political messages for the Qing rulers. Closer visual analysis of these printed processions show a hybrid form of representations applied to present the festive moments. Pictorial spaces of these studied processions are politically, architecturally and culturally mixed in their subjects, while their visual strategies are mixed in organizational system of perspective and framing.

---

5 Ya-Chen Ma, “War and Empire, Images of Battle during the Qianlong Reign”, Edited by Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu, and Ning Ding, *Qing Encounters – Artistic Exchanges between China and The West*. Pp, 158 – 172.

Chapter One: Sino-European Contact from the Late Sixteenth Century to the Mid-Eighteenth Century

I The Start of the Mission in China

A profound interest and a degree of mutual understanding of one another’s cultures between China and Europe were planted and nurtured by Jesuit missionaries who traveled to China beginning in the late sixteenth century, however, the Jesuits were not the first group of westerners who tried to proselytize the eastern empire. Earlier sources of The Nestorian Stele in Xian, a limestone erected by Nestorian missionaries in 781, documents the presence of Christians in China from 635, during the Tang dynasty (618 - 906). Father Athanasius Kircher conducted, in 1667, a close linguistic study of the Syrian and Chinese inscriptions of the Nestorian Stone from his compilation *China Illustrata* (fig.1.1), offering a solid trace of the Christian history in China, yet Kircher’s historical proof of the monument remains problematic to successive and contemporary scholars. The western efforts to evangelize in the eastern empire became more apparent from the Yuan dynasty (r. 1271 - 1368), when diplomatic contact between the Roman Catholic Church and China began to be developed. In the year 1294, the papal envoy Giovanni da Montecorvino (1246 - 1328) reached Beijing and translated Christian texts into Chinese and was named bishop of Beijing by Boniface VIII Caetani (Reigned 1294 - 1303). However, The Jesuits’ hope to proselytize the empire grew from Francis Xavier’s dying wish (fig.3), when the apostle hoped for a splendid entry into China. His ambitious plan failed when Xavier tried to make his way into China and was left and subsequently died on a small island.

---

9 Christopher M.S.John, P. 17.
off the coast of southern inroads into the Ming Empire (r. 1368 - 1644). The fate of the society of Jesus in China was greatly changed when Michele Ruggieri (1543 - 1607), the able Italian Jesuit sent by Alessandro Valignano (1539 - 1606), set his foot in Canton in 1579, opening the southern entry of the Ming empire. Ruggieri’s maturity and his talented ability in learning Chinese soon gained him a reputation among mandarins and elite groups in Canton. In 1582, Ruggieri acquired residence at Zhaoqing, the capital of Guangdong Province, and successfully secured permission for two companions to enter China, one of whom was Matteo Ricci (1552 - 1610), the first Jesuit to be accepted in the Ming court, in the pursuit of converting China from the top down.

While the Jesuits’ strategic methods of evangelization in China remain problematic to contemporary scholars from simply being concluded “from the top down”, Ricci’s successful settlement in the Ming court in 1601 won the society of Jesus solid political protection for its future development in China. In spite of the religious ambition driven behind Ricci’s and all the other Jesuits’ approaching in the court, it was their knowledge of western science and technology that won the Beijing Jesuits their greatest renown among the late Ming literati. While neither Ricci nor his successors at the court were “scientists” in the modern sense, their education in European Jesuit colleges had equipped them with basic understandings of astronomy, mathematics and natural philosophy, which became their biggest asset to win admiration from the imperial court in Beijing. The Geographical map of the world drawn by Ricci stunned the Chinese literati in Beijing, and in one of the most well-known cases, Ricci cooperated with the high-ranking Ming literati Xu Guangqi (徐光启) on a series of mathematical treatises, including translating Euclid’s *Elements of Geometry* into Chinese, which was called Ji He Yuan Ben (几何原本). This publication shed new light on the Qing rulers’ understanding of modern science. Xu Guang Qi was also one of the most

---


important Christian converts in the late Ming court, and had taken a Christian name Paulus (保禄) and made tremendous endeavors to support the Jesuits’ mission in China. Kircher mentioned from *China Illustrata* that the converted Xu Guangqi had been zealously working on proving Christianity’s peaceful motives in China, through authoritative publications, and had helped to save those tortured fathers and converts from prison.\(^\text{12}\) An illustration (fig. 1.3) from *China Illustrata* depicts Xu standing with Fr. Matteo Ricci in front of an altar table. The two men are seen dressed in traditional Chinese costume, which came from a traditional rite that had been followed by Ricci since his preach in China. A painting of the Madonna and Child is seen hung on the wall, representing the Christian faith that Xu converted to. This image was used by Kircher to prove the successful evangelization in Ming court.

The fortuitous development of the Jesuit’s Mission in late Ming China led to a rash of publications appearing in Europe from the start of the seventeenth century. Niccolo Longobardo’s *Breve relatione del regno della Cina*, first published in 1601, was an important text on China that had soon been translated into French, German and Latin and circulated around Europe. Fernao Guerreiro’s *Relacam annal* (1615) figured China prominently in five volumes and the content was based on a large collection of Jesuits’ letters.\(^\text{13}\) Long comprehensive descriptions of China appeared in both Nicolas Trigault’s *De Christina expeditione apud Sinas* (1615), and Alvarez Semedo’s *Imperio de l China* (1642), which provided European readers with better organized information on China divided into topical sections.\(^\text{14}\) The image of China projected through both the ethnohistories and the Jesuit letters became progressively more adulatory from the seventeenth century publications, which engendered European readers with growing knowledge of China and Chinese history.

---


II Jesuits in Qing Court

The collapse of the Ming dynasty and the Manchu Conquest (starting in 1618) during the early seventeenth century put the Jesuits’ mission in jeopardy. However, soon after the establishment of the Manchu Qing empire (1644), the Manchu rulers realized the important role the Jesuits had been playing in promoting science and technology, which met their interest of reinforcing the authority through acquiring universal knowledge. The best Jesuits from the Roman Catholic Churches thus gained their acceptance from the Qing court.

Centered on a universal ruler, the Manchu Qing Empire was an explicitly multiethnic polity that embraced a dynamic society, with its conquered Han Chinese population and non-Han communities in the South. The Qing dynasty’s essential interactions with the Inner Asian populations also brought in Tibetan Buddhism and the culture of nomadic life. Such a multiethnic regime thus forced the Manchu Qing rulers to seek out comprehensive knowledge to rule their land and people, which led to a wide arrangement of imperial sponsorships in astronomic, cartographic and ethnographic projects in Qing court. The Qing rulers also displayed intensive interest in new information introduced by Europeans and other foreigners. A court painting of 1761 by anonymous court artists (fig.1.4), now held in the Palace museum, depicts envoys from vassal states and foreign countries presenting tributes to the emperor in the Qing court. Tribunal gifts such as elephants, wools and vessels are depicted in great detail, and the envoys and public audience are seen dressed in various types of costume, gathering in the palace in Beijing. High Qing Court (1662 – 1795) was undoubtedly the world center for diplomatic contact and knowledge transformation, which provided a solid

16 The rulers of the Qing were a northeast Asian people, the Jurchen, who had ruled north China from 1115 to 1234 as the Jin Dynasty. They were historically, culturally and linguistically separated from the majority of the Chinese speakers, the Han population in southern China.
grounding for the flourish of the political, cultural and artistic exchanges between China and the West.

During the Reign of the Manchu Shunzhi Emperor (r. 1643 - 1661), the first officially established emperor after the Manchu Conquest over the Ming dynasty, he developed a close friendship with Father Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591 - 1666), a German Jesuit who spent most of his life in Qing court as an advisor to the Emperor. Johann Adam Schall had been appointed director of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy in Qing court, and he had been summoned regularly for conferences on religion and politics. As the Shunzhi emperor was so close with the sixty-year-old father, he even called Scall von Bell “Grandpa” (mafa), which gave Bell a highly favored status in the imperial court. After the death of the Shunzhi Emperor in 1661, Bell became the tutor to the Young Kangxi Emperor, who had been an ardent student and received scientific training from Schall on a daily basis. A print portrait of Bell from China Illustrata (fig.1.5) shows the priest standing in a domestic environment, with a large world map and various scientific instruments hung on the wall. Schall von Bell is seen dressed in a Chinese robe, with an embroidered rank badge displaying a bird on his chest, a sign of imperial favor. This image represents the honeymoon period of the Sino-European contact in early Qing dynasty, when the Jesuits received a highly favored status in court.

The Jesuit missionaries became most influential during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1661 - 1722), one of the most remarkable figures among China’s long lines of rulers (Fig.1.6). As an emperor who had been on the throne since the age of seven and effectively in control from the age of fifteen, Kangxi went about the task of shaping his immense territory by acquiring a clear understanding of every subject that mattered. In seeking scientific knowledge to rule his enormous empire, Kangxi admired the Jesuits in court,

18 Jonathan D. Spence. P.43.
19 Christopher M.S. Johns. P.25.
21 Regina Krahl. P. 210
and they had been placed in charge of the astronomy bureau, engaged in matters of cartography and engineering and allowed to practice their religion in Beijing and other provinces.\(^{22}\) For Kangxi, the propagation of Catholicism was permitted as long as the Church did not challenge the emperor’s status, and the most talented Jesuits among them could be summoned for court service.

### III IMPERIALLY COMMISSIONED PRINT SUITES

Jesuits who served in Qing court also took active initiative to introduce the canon of European pictorial devices into court art, among them, techniques of copperplate engraving played a key role in the transmission of visual culture during the Sino-European encounters in Qing China. European printing techniques were firstly applied to produce maps for the Kangxi emperor, initiated by the Italian missionary Matteo Ripa (1682 - 1746). *The Map of the Entire Territories of the Qing Empire* （《皇舆全览图》）, made by Matteo Ripa, is considered the first engraved map of China with longitude and latitude lines.\(^{23}\)

In 1711, upon the completion of Bishu Shanzhuang, The Mountain Villa to Escape the Heat, an imperial palace in Chengdu, Heibei Province, the Kangxi emperor chose and named thirty-six views of these places to be the subject of poems composed for each one. He further commissioned a set of paintings of the thirty-six views as illustrations for his poems from the leading court painter Shen Yu 沈嘯 (d. 1727).\(^{24}\) These views were later ordered to be engraved on copper by Father Matteo Ripa, with thirty six engraved views of the imperial palace ‘The Mountain Villa to Escape the Heat’ (Bishu Shanzhuang 避暑山庄), known as *Views of Jehol*. An album of thirty six engraved mounted views of the China palace, bound in eighteenth century

---

\(^{22}\) Jonathan D. Spence, Pp, 68 - 69.

\(^{23}\) See the preface text of the *The Facsimile of the Copperplate Engravings of The Eastern Turkestan Campaign Prints*, known as 《清代銅版印刷》, from Chester Beatty Library.

morocco red, were brought to Europe in the eighteenth century and became part of the collection of the celebrated Earl of Burlington (1697 - 1754), now at the British Museum. A reproduced print by Ripa (fig. 1.7) represents the Western Mountains at Dawn (Xiling Chengxia 西岭晨霞), one of the garden pavilions of the summer palace. The river and sky in this print are filled in by hatchings, clouds and an image of the sun in Ripa’s engraving, which is a result of Ripa’s effort to adapt the Chinese landscape scene to European taste and conventions. Yue Zhuang further points out from her extensive discussion on this print, Hatchings In The Void, that rather than suggesting a sense of movement of the waves of water and the flotation of the clouds in the sky, Ripa’s hatchings in Xiling Chengxia were used to articulate the space and to lend a sense of perspective depth to the landscapes, which had conjured for Ripa a Christian vision of an ideal universe, filled with rays of light from heaven.

Techniques of copperplate engraving were most effectively applied during the reign of the Qianlong emperor, who commissioned at least eight suites of prints for various imperial projects, from which the medium of print played far more significant roles in conveying social and political message that met Qianlong’s political needs of reinforcing Qing power. Among the print projects produced for Qianlong in court, the most well-known print suites is the East Turkestan Campaign, recording in sixteen prints the emperor’s successful military victories in East Turkestan. This imperial print suites, initiated by the Jesuits in Qing court and produced by the best engravers in Europe, reflects in its medium the highest standard of eighteenth century printmaking in Europe, while transmitted through its subject the celebration of Qing power for the Manchu emperors.

26 Yue Zhuang. P.143.
28 For a historical study of the imperial prints for the Qianglong emperor, see, Marcia Reed, “Imperial Impressions, The Qianlong Emperor's Print Suites”, Edited by Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ning Ding, Qing Encounters - Artistic Exchanges Between China and The West. Pp. 124- 139.
29 Marcia Reed. P.124
In 1760, The Qianlong emperor ordered sixteen large-scale inked paintings (each approximately 4x8 meters) produced at court that recorded the imperial consolidation in East Turkestan. They were the collaborative work of Chinese court artists and four Jesuit court artists, Giuseppe Castiglione (郎世宁, 1688 - 1766), Jean-Denis Attiret (王志诚, 1702 - 68), Ignatius Sichelbart (艾启蒙, 1708 - 80), and Giovanni Damasceno Salusti (安德意, d. 1781). These paintings were later ordered to be reproduced into sixteen smaller-scale model drawings in 1764 and were sent to Paris to be engraved and printed into an extraordinary set of Chinese/French copperplate engravings titled Les conquetes de l'empereur de la Chine (‘The conquests of the emperor of China’), or more commonly known in English as the East Turkestan Campaign.30 Two hundred prints reproducing each drawing were made and sent back to China, along with the copper plates from which they were printed. Another set of woodblock-printed sheets of poems composed by the emperor relating to the images and his officials’ colophons were made to be bound together with the engraving. In the year 1777, the Qianlong Emperor was able to hold the complete “dragon set” of the copperplate engravings in his hand. This set, bound as an imperial album with borders of silk damask with designs of gold embroidered dragons, is now kept in the First Historical Archive in Beijing.31 The original drawings for the prints are believed to be lost, and the Chester Beatty Library holds a complete set of sixteen engravings with four proof copper plates.32 However, further study needs to be conducted regarding how Chester Beatty acquired this print suites from China in the nineteenth century, and how they came to Dublin from London eventually. The third chapter of this dissertation will look closely at the printed processions (fig. 3.4 & 3.7) of The East Turkestan Campaign, and discuss how the power of Qing China was conveyed through presenting those festive movements.

30 For the relevant historical source of the imperial order, see Nilaz Leverenz, “Drawings, Proofs and Prints from the Qianlong Emperor’s East Turkestan Copperplate Engravings”, Arts Asiatiques. Pp, 39 – 60.
IV The End of the Mission

In 1691, an unusual persecution of Christians began in Hangzhou endangering the lives of the local Jesuits. In a moment of desperation the local Jesuit Prospero Intercetta (1626 - 1696) wrote to the Beijing Jesuits begging for help. As a reward for the Jesuits’ service in the court, the Kangxi emperor forbade the execution of Christians throughout the empire by issuing an edict granting toleration of the Christian religion in China. This ‘Edict of Toleration’ could only be understood as a statement of “positive neutrality” from Kangxi’s perspective, as has been accurately characterized by the historian Liam Matthew Brockey. However, it was in reality misinterpreted by the Roman Catholic Church as a signal of China being ripe for conversion.

The edict of toleration greatly empowered the influence of Christianity in China. For instance, from 1690 to the end of the active evangelization, the Jesuits administered three establishments in Beijing. However, in the meantime, the mission began to be seriously imperiled by the Chinese Rites Controversy. Kangxi had clearly insisted from the “Edict of Toleration” that the tolerance of Christianity in China should only be accepted if the practice of Christianity remained inoffensive to the Confucian orthodoxy of the Qing state. As a minor ethnic group (Manchu 滿族) that ruled the multi-ethnic empire composed mainly of Han (汉族) Chinese population, the Manchu ruler had clearly realized, from the establishment of the regime, that the Qing court should carefully present itself in Confucian terms and affirm the value of the Han Chinese culture. Therefore it was necessarily plausible for the Kangxi emperor to insist that all the religious orders in China, whether Buddhism or Catholicism, obeyed the court policy of promoting Confucianism.

From the Jesuits perspective, since the late Ming dynasty, Matteo Ricci had dressed himself in Chinese court attire to adjust to the educated class in Chinese society, so as to gain acceptance in the imperial court, which provided

33 Christopher M. S. John. P.29.
34 Christopher M. S. John. P.30.
solid political protection for the Jesuits’ mission in China. Therefore, when Christian converts in China practiced the religious rituals with the traditional rites of ancestral worship derived from Confucianism, many of the Jesuits found nothing controversial in it. They had seen it nothing more than a strategic transitional serving for their ultimate goal of converting China. However, it also raised profound disagreement among Franciscans and Dominicans in China, who had accused the Kangxi emperor of claiming paramountcy in matters of church doctrine, and the Jesuits of fatally weakening the integrity of Christian faith. The ongoing conflicts within the different orders of the Roman Catholic Church also raised concerns for the Kangxi emperor who began to be suspicious of the Jesuits motives behind the mission.

To rectify this situation, Pope Clement XI dispatched an emissary, Maillard de Tournon, to investigate. In a series of meetings between legate and the emperor held in Beijing from 1705 to 1706, it became clear that neither the Pope nor the emperor would compromise in their view on how Chinese Christians should respect their orthodoxy. The Kangxi emperor issued a decree in 1706, declaring that all missionaries in China had to obtain a license, or piao, if they wished to remain in the empire. This precondition of taking the piao forced the Europeans to accept the Chinese rites. On the other hand, in ignorance of the Jesuits’ warning of the “total ruin of the mission”, Tournon released his own version of the brief prohibiting the rites, published in 1707. Gaining no recognition from the King of Portugal, the bishops in Asia or the Viceroy of the Estado da India, Tournon was arrested in the Portuguese colony when he left for Europe from Macau, and died in 1710. In 1720, Kangxi published a decree concerning his disappointment over the rites controversy, declaring that the foreigners’ impact on the mission was catastrophic. The emperor’s real views of Christianity were revealed in the statement of the decree: “The Church you propagate is neither good nor bad

36 Liam Matthew Brockey. P. 188.
37 Liam Matthew Brockey. P. 189.
for China, and whether you remain or leave will make no difference”. 38 This decree finally put an end to the Jesuits’ mission throughout China. In 1724, another edict issued by the succeeding Yongzheng emperor ordered the closing of all churches in the provinces and the expulsion of their resident Jesuits, marking the ultimate death of the Catholic mission in China.

V Early Modern Publications on Qing China

The seventeenth century saw an occupational differentiation in the production of books, with the publisher rather than the printer acting as the controller and organizer of the trade. 39 This led to continuous increase in the production of books, usually with lower prices and handier sizes. The Thirty Years’ War finally brought about the transition of the center for book production in Europe from German cities to the Netherlands. More books, pamphlets and newsletters were printed in the Netherlands than in all of the rest of Europe, as Amsterdam became the continent’s greatest book market before the end of the century. 40 In France, printing and publishing went into state service, with the establishment in Paris of a Royal Chamber of Booksellers, Printers, and Binders that monopolized the entire book trade. 41 In the early years of the century, The English East India Company encouraged the publication of a series of travelogues that announced the successful voyages to the east. With regard to Europe’s store of information about China, it is the Jesuits who successfully installed themselves in Qing court by the turn of the seventeenth century that brought about dynamic diplomatic and cultural contact between China and the West. They continued to provide the most perceptive as well as numerous reports on China throughout the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, in the form of letterbooks, ethno-histories and travelogues.

38 Christopher M. S. Johns. P. 31.
40 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, P. 303.
Jesuits’ Publications on China

Jesuits’ publications on Qing China, ranging from the second half of the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century, greatly increased the volume of information available to European readers. The new literature was more dynamic and current than the Late Ming publications, however, these later publications focused more and more on the defense of the Jesuits’ position in the Rites Controversy, as is concluded from *Asia in the Making of Europe*.  

A great number of post-conquest publications on China contain illustrations that represent people, customs and religions in China, and transmitted a reasonably accurate image of China to the European audience. The German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher compiled from a variety of sources and published a specialized study on China, *China Illustrata* (1667), which became an influential publication in the second half of the seventeenth century. This book provides lavishly illustrated descriptions of China and its history, especially its religious history. An illustrated page of *China Illustrata* (fig.1.8) represents the Great Dalai Lama being worshiped with divine honors in Potala palace in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet. He is seen sitting in his royal palace, accompanied by a statue of the dead king of Tanguth. This printed image provided for the first time a European interpretation of the rituals and worships of Tibetan Buddhism.

The French Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Du Halde’s compiled treaties of the *Description* (1735), which forms a part of the publications on *History, Geography, and Travel of China* from the Fagel Collection of Trinity Old Library, has long been acknowledged as a landmark of European knowledge on China. Consisting of 2400 pages in four volumes, this original edition was ambitious in scope as well as size: *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l’empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulières de ces pays, de la carte*.

---

générale et des cartes particulieres du Thibet, & de la Corée; & ornée d’un grand nombre de figures & de vignettes gravées en taillé douce. The encyclopedic “description” of the distant Qing empire was compiled in Paris by Du Halde based on materials supplied to him by his French Jesuits in China.

Earlier analysis of this compiled treaty was encouraged due to the scale and authorial complexity of its text. However, a recent study by Isabelle Landry-Deron of La preuve par la Chine - La “Description” de J.-B. Du Halde, jésuite 1735 gives a comprehensive re-examination of Du Halde’s work. Landry-Deron argues directly that the Description must be understood in the context of the Rites Controversy, which forms an important part of the contemporary debate among scholars East and West of Catholic missionaries in China between the late sixteenth and late eighteenth century. Apart from the heavily weighted rites issues in Du Halde’s work, Landry-Deron also attempts to understand from La preuve par la Chine how the Description was put together, drew on a large variety of source materials, and shows how the Description grew out of two separate projects, one to provide geographical knowledge and a set of maps, and another to publish Jesuits translations from Chinese sources.

Illustrations of the Description include visual depictions of China from a variety of viewpoints. For instance, the first volume contains illustrated maps for each one of China’s thirty-two provinces. The processing of silk making is represented in detail in another image (fig. 1.9) of the second volume. An illustrated scene of a Chinese mandarin’s procession in public (fig. 2.3), appearing in the second volume of the Description, follows a highly Europeanized form of representation, which will be the theme of discussion in the second chapter.

---

46 Susan Naquin, P.436.
Travelogues

Throughout most of the seventeenth century, the Netherlands served as Europe’s primary center for information on Asia, due to the rising interest in Asia trade and the rapid growth of printing and publishing in Holland after the war with Spain (1568 - 1648).\textsuperscript{47} Dutch and Flemish publishers and printers reprinted older works on Asia and quickly translated most of the important contemporary works into various European languages. Many of these publications appeared in editions richly illustrated with maps and engravings of Asian places, peoples and plants. Among them, two accounts of Evert Ysbrands Ides’ 1692 - 95 journey overland from Moscow to Beijing appeared around the turn of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{48} One was written by Adam Brand and published in 1699, another one was Ides’ own account of his journey, \textit{Driejaarige reize naar China, te lande gedaan door den Moscovischen afgezant}, first appeared in 1704. Its English translation was published in 1706 and German translation in 1707.\textsuperscript{49} The Fagel collection holds a copy of its reproduced publication of 1710.

Entering the Tsar’s service in 1691, Ides served as the ambassador to China from 1692 to 1695. His description of the places and people he saw along the way are unusually good, with detailed descriptions of several tribes in eastern Siberia and Mongolia.\textsuperscript{50} He also wrote vivid descriptions of the Great Wall of China (fig. 1.10), with an extended fold-out illustration fifty centimeters long and twenty three centimeters wide, representing the ambassador's arrival at Jiayu Guan (嘉峪关), the first pass at the west end of the Great Wall of China.\textsuperscript{51} Text accompanying the illustration describes “the Great Wall extends


\textsuperscript{48} Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, P. 503.

\textsuperscript{49} Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, P. 503.

\textsuperscript{50} Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, P. 504.

across the valley up the extraordinary high rocks, and about 500 fathom distant from the other, hath on the rocks on each side of it a tower built on it.”52 Ides also devoted a large share of space in Naar China describing his introduction to Beijing, the banquets and entertainments he attended, the imperial palace and the Kangxi Emperor himself. A printed image that represents the ambassador being introduced into the Palace Hall (fig. 2.9) in Beijing, will be discussed in the upcoming chapter. Leaving aside the cultural aspects of its content, considerable space in Naar China is also devoted to the history of Christianity in China, with an extensive description of the Kangxi Emperor and expressions of optimism regarding his and China’s conversion to Christianity, which strongly implies the Jesuit influence on the writer. 53

The last two decades of the seventeenth century saw the appearance of some important English contributions to Europe’s store of knowledge about Asia, among them, a concerted effort was made at the century’s end to provide “an account of the progress of navigation and to publish hitherto unprinted voyages English translations of foreign relations”.54 The London bookseller Awnsham Churchill (d.1728), encouraged to some degree by John Locke, the philosopher, published four volumes in 1704 called A Collection of Voyages and Travels.55 In 1732, Churchill’s original four volumes were reissued with two additional volumes, which assembled in English version many of the best seventeenth-century writings on Asia. The Archbishop Marsh’s Library in Dublin holds five volumes of the Collection, with the first four volumes published in 1704, and the fifth volume in 1732. Volume I of the Collection includes the English translation of Domingo Navarrete’s work on China, Volume II contains the English version of Johann Nieuhof’s travels along with reproduction of his engravings. Volume III includes an English version of Baldaeus’ work on south India and Ceylon. 56 The fourth volume contains

52 E. Ysbrandts Ides, P. 61.
53 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, P. 504.
55 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, P. 587.
Carrier's around-the-world voyage and Hamel’s account of Korea. Dr John Francis Gemelli Careri was an Italian doctor of civil law, who became a great traveller and completed a solo tour of the world using public transportation. Gemelli gave marvelous descriptions of China from the fourth volume of the Collection, including its natural scenery and monuments like the Great Wall. Gemelli also used other writers’ accounts in the case of describing the emperor’s procession in public (fig. 2.7), which will be discussed in the second chapter.

57 Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, P. 587.
Chapter Two: Visualizing Power, Processions on Paper from Early Modern Publications on China

European literature on China of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provided voluminous and reasonably accurate information on Chinese government, most of which originated from the reports by Jesuit missionaries who had lived in China for long periods of time. The Manchu Conquest (ac. 1618 - 1644) brought about a new political regime of the Manchu Qing empire that ruled China from the mid-seventeenth century throughout to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Long periods of political stability led to a century of economic prosperity and sustained population growth, which made the Qing court a rational and well-administered government described in early modern European literature. A large share of space of the European publications on Qing China was contributed to its government and administration. Establishment of the Qing dynasty, as a non-Han community that conquered the majority of the Han Chinese population, greatly affected China’s government more than any other aspect of life. Those Jesuits who observed the dynastic changes in the mid-seventeenth century and served successfully in Qing court, were thus eager to present to the European audience a more rational and better-administered government than its preceding Ming regime. On the other hand, the European observers’ interest of the singly centered power of imperial China never changed.

Descriptions of the Qing emperors appeared frequently in seventeenth and eighteenth century literature on China. As described by Europeans, the first emperors of the Qing dynasty were indeed virtuous and exemplary. The Manchu Shunzhi Emperor (r. 1644 - 61) and the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1661 -

61 The Qing rulers came from a minor ethnic group called Manchu, while the dominant Chinese population is from the ethnic Han group.
1723) appeared much more vigorous than the Ming emperors. They appeared in public, held frequent audiences, received tribute missions, traveled outside the Forbidden city, and conversed on an almost familiar terms with the Jesuits. Visual depictions of the Qing emperors in domestic spaces or in public, mostly rendered in European manner, appear constantly in early modern publications on China. The Manchu Shunzhi Emperor appears in an illustrated portrait (fig 2.1) in the chapter that discusses “The Latest Introduction of Christian Faith into China”, from China Illustrata (1677), a specialized study on China in the mid-seventeenth century, compiled by the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher. The emperor appears in a domestic surrounding decorated with European architectural motifs, including marble tiles, ionic columns and curtained background. He is dressed in an imperial Dragon Robe, and his face appears highly Europeanized. Another illustrated portrait (fig.2.2) from the catalogue of the library and cabinet of curiosities of Leopold I in Vienna, Catalogus, sive recensio specialis omnium codicum manuscriptorum... Augustissima Bibliotheca Casarea Vindobonensis (1690), edited by Daniel de Nessel (1644 - 99), presents The Manchu Shunzhi Emperor again in his imperial dragon robe. The emperor appears similarly in front of a curtained background, and his imperial robe is depicted in exquisite detail. The Chinese caption “顺治” (Shun Zhi) is displayed beside him, which is the Chinese era name that represents his period of reign. This engraving is reproduced by De Nessel from a set of paintings in the Chinese style from the “imperial collection” of Leopold I.

Of all the visual representation that intends to reinforce the power and hierarchy of the monarchy through the medium of print, it is those processional scenes that depict the Chinese emperor’s (or Mandarin’s) procession in public, or the diplomatic procession highlighting the Sino-European contact in Qing court that brought about a powerful visual

---

66 Muriel McCartly, Ann Simmons and Sue Hemmens, P. 87.
manifestation of the emperor’s unbeatable power and its political hierarchy. This chapter examines how the information on China’s imperial power was communicated to the eighteenth century Europe, through the printed ceremonial and imperial processions from early modern literature on China. Rather than focusing on the historiographical aspects of the early modern literature on China, or analyzing in more depth the Jesuits’ influence on Europe’s store of information on China, This chapter concentrates on three chosen illustrations that represents ceremonial or imperial processions during the eighteenth century Qing China, from where the power of the Manchu Qing rulers was visualized through the medium of print. These processions on paper follow a highly Europeanized form of representation: they either privilege the viewer with multiple perspectives simultaneously, through a compression ( or expansion ) of time and space within its pictorial space, or invite the viewer to proceed sequentially, almost as a participant into the printed procession with perspectival composition. How were the moving spectacles captured in copperplate engravings? How were the political messages served for the Jesuits’ mission in China, or for the Manchu Qing rulers’ political strategies being transmitted into the printed texts and images?

I A Mandarin’s Procession

An illustration from the second volume of the French Jesuit Du Halde’s Description (1735) represents a Mandarin’s procession of the Tchi Fu (知府) in Qing dynasty ( fig 2.3 ). Tchi fu is a stately Mandarin of the fifth order ranked in the governmental hierarchy since the Ming dynasty. This illustration comes from the chapter in which Du Halde examines in detail the political government of China, Of the Chinese Form of Government, the Different Tribunals, Mandarins, the Honours that are paid them, their Power, and their Offices, from volume II of the Description. Du Halde accurately compared the governmental hierarchy of Qing China to the “duty of parents to their Children”: The emperor is the father of the empire, the viceroy is the father of the province he presides over and the mandarin the father of
the city he governs. The absolute obedience that people presented to their governors, was represented both from its text and image in the discussion of the Mandarin’s procession in public.

Illustrated within a large fold-out page (54cm x 40.3cm), the long stream of procession are seen marching along a serpentine sequence within landscape episodes. Four rows snaking back and forth across the width of this print show the riders in the procession in profile, each group identified by their roles and attributions. Details of the Mandarin’s march represented in the image have been extensively described from its text, and they work to present to the European viewer a well-organized procession with clearly identifiable groups:

“First Appear two Kettle-Drummers who beat upon Copper-Basons to give Notice of the March; then come eight Ensign-bearers, on whose Flags are written, in large characters, the Title of Honour of the Viceroy; then fourteen Standards, whereon appear the proper Symbols of his Office, such as the dragon, Tiger, Phoenix, Flying-Tortoise, and other winged Animals, fix Officers bearing a board in the Shape of a large Shovel raised high, whereon are written, in large golden Characters, the particular Qualities of this Mandarin; two others bear, the one a large Umbrella of yellow Silk, three Heights above one another, and the other Case written the Umbrella is kept; two Arches on Horseback at the large Hooks adorn’d with Silk Fringe, in four Rows one above another; two other Files of armed Men, Maces in the Form of a Hand or Serpent, and others armed with large Hammers and long Hatchests, and some armed with Scythes as straight as the former; Soldiers carrying three-edg’d Halberds, or Axes; two Porters loaded with a kind of handsome Kettle-Drummers, who give notice of the Mandarin’s Approach; two Officers armed with Canes, to keep the crowd at a distance; after them two Mace-bearers with gilt Maces in the Shape of Dragons, and a great number of officers of Justice, some armed with Whips or flat Staves to give the Bastinado, others armed

---

with Chains, Whips, Cutlasses, and Hangers, two Standard bearers, and the Captain that commands this Company: All this Equipage prerounded with Pages and Footmen, having near his Person an Officer that carries a large Fan in the Shape of a Screen; he is followed with several Guards, some armed with maces, and others with long-hand-cornets, with a great number of Domesticks on Horseback, every one bearing some necessary thing belonging to the Mandarin, as a second Cap inclosed in a Cafe, if the Weather should oblige him to change it."

Visual strategies applied in this Mandarin's procession strictly followed the tradition of representing the *processio* in printed texts and images in early modern Europe. As is clearly defined by Lisa Pon from her *Mobile in Print: The Procession on Paper*, designers of a printed procession faced two moving targets in capturing a festive procession - one was the mobile groups of individuals arranged in specific orders and march *en masse*, the other was the setting for the moving march, the entire route through the landscape, each point along it changing in time as the procession starts, proceeds and arrives. Various visual strategies were applied to demonstrate the dynamic aspects of the experience of a procession. Here in this printed procession of the *Description*, a mixed visual strategy was applied to represent the festive moment when the Chinese mandarin appeared in public. On one hand, it captures the moving march through a compression of time and space, by compressing the sequence of the procession within a fixed location at a single moment, expressing the sense of organized motion through one fully defined space. On the other hand, it strategically expands the dimension of time in order to highlight the syntagmatic nature of a procession, by depicting the

---

68 Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, “Of the Chinese form of Government, the different Tribunals, the Mandarins, the Honours that are paid them, their Power, and their Offices”, *The General History of China. Containing a geographical, chronological, political and physical description of the empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet...adorn’d with curious maps and ... copper-plates*. London, Printed by and for John Watts, 1736, Trinity Old Library. Pp. 46 - 49.

procession in a serpentine sequence, with each person’s specific place and role being emphasized.

Such a visual strategy has been similarly presented in an etching by Giovanni Battista Falda depicting Innocent XI’s 1676 possessio (fig. 2.4). Similar to the mandarin's procession, the papal possessio merges the serpentine sequence of the procession with landscape episodes, reinforcing the urban landscape of Rome which ritualized the new pope’s formal progress. The papal possessio begins in the lower left of the image at Saint Peter’s, depicting from a high vantage point offering a clear view of the oval arms of Bernini’s colonnade. As the procession moves on, it snakes across the print in three more rows before reaching the foot of the Campidoglio. When compared with the Mandarin’s procession, of which different groups of individuals have been carefully portrayed and identified from its text, figures from the Innocent XI procession are much more compressed within the squeezed rows of the march, leaving less space for figurative details. Unlike the architectural elements in the Mandarin’s Procession that marks off a geographical boundary for the moving procession, the four monuments featured in the Innocent XI procession - Saint Peter's Square, the Campidoglio, the Colosseum, and Saint John in the Lateran - are illustrated in miniaturized vignettes, unable to accommodate the riders in the procession. This discrepancy in scale between the printed places and the procession prevents the whole print from being an internally coherent image, instead, the urban landscape intrudes in discrete episodes into the serpentine representation of the whole procession.

The monumental structure (fig.2.5) depicted in the Mandarin’s procession of The Description, in the shape of triumphal arches, from where the Mandarin’s march passes through the first line of the sequence of the march, at the bottom of the pictorial space, follows a highly Europeanized tradition of depicting the triumphal procession, derived originally from the civil ceremony and religious rites of ancient Rome. The Roman Triumph identifies the famous parades through the city of Rome that celebrates Rome’s greatest victory against its enemies, which highlights a victory ceremony awarded to

---

70 Lisa Pon, P. 172.
the most outstanding Roman general. As is accurately pointed out by Mary Beard, Roman triumphs provided a model for marking the military success for centuries. The impact of the triumph left a vivid mark on European literature, art and architecture. Apart from the ancient poems written to celebrate the climax of Roman achievements, or the architectural monuments built to depict or commemorate triumphs, Roman triumph would undoubtedly draw continuous impact on modern writing and history study, from the scholarly world of Byzantium, through rediscovery of classical antiquity in the Renaissance. The illustrated scene of a Roman triumph (fig. 2.6) depicted from the Italian humanist Onofrio Pavinio’s study of the triumph *Fastorum Libri V* (1550), brought to life on paper a festive moment of the Roman triumph, of which the victory march passes through the triumphal arch, with moving horses, chariots and regalia of the defeated kings. The use of a classical pictorial language in the visual representation of the Mandarin’s procession, allowed the strangeness of China to be assimilated by an European audience.

Leaving aside the stylistic differences between the two processions, both prints engage the viewer into the printed experience of the procession, by gradually reducing the size of the figures from the bottom toward the top of the sheet, giving the illusion of receding from the viewer. The only difference is that the Mandarin’s procession is marching towards the viewer from the back of the plaza to its foreground, whereas the Innocent XI’s procession is moving into the image, with all the figures facing backwards to the viewer. These pictorial strategies prompt the viewer to see the sequence of the whole procession occupying a coherent space that stretches from the vigorous groups of people at the bottom of the image, to the far-away landscape tranquilly seated at the top. Instead of observing from a distance, the viewer becomes a participant of the experience of the procession.

---

72 Mary Beard, P.2.
73 More discussion about the impact of the Roman Triumph, see, Mary Beard, Chapter II “The Impact of the Triumph”, *The Roman Triumph*. Pp, 43 - 71.
II An Emperor’s Procession

When the participants become the single most important focus of a printed procession, a different visual strategy will then be applied to expand the time facet in order to highlight the syntagmatic nature of a procession. Here “syntagmatic” defines the parallel sequence of a procession from where each person’s specific place in the whole procession is emphasized. This visual strategy became extremely useful when the European printmaker tried to capture the imperial moment of the Manchu Kangxi emperor appearing in public. A large size (41.3 cm X 55 cm) copperplate engraving of the fourth volume of A Collection of Voyages and Travels (1704), illustrates the Kangxi emperor’s procession in public (fig. 2.7), depicted in the chapter that talks about How the Emperor of China appears in Publics. Again, printed image and text of this processional scene work together to invite the viewer into the act of imperial power in Qing China. Based on the account of this chapter, the Kangxi Emperor’s procession began when Dr John Francis Gemelli Careri, a great traveller served in the Qing court, had been called up from the palace to go to fix the clock from the suburban imperial palace, Yong-Chun-Yuan (永春园), to which the Kangxi emperor was soon going to visit and appear in public.

Similar to the mandarin’s procession of Description, pictorial space of the imperial procession is planned out from the bottom of the image, with a serpentine line of kettle drummers, horsemen stretching back into two rows, filling most of the pictorial space. Sense of geographical space has been deeply compressed in this procession, with only the lightly engraved mountains at the top of the image giving a vague idea of the geographical boundary of the procession. More visual focus was laid upon individual depictions of the figure groups. Each group of figures is precisely labeled with descriptive text beside

---

75 Awnsham and John Churchill, P. 324.
the plate, giving a detailed introduction of their titles and roles.76 The Kangxi emperor is seen carried in a delicately decorated open chair from the middle of the march, supported and surrounded by servants. He was described from its text as “Clad in a Garment of Gold Colour, embroidered with dragons all over, but more particularly on the breast, where two very large ones”. 77 Followed behind the emperor are the princes of the blood and learned military Mandarins on horseback. An inclusion of two stately chariots appears at the end of the procession, carried by two elephants.78

An extreme manifestation of such a representational strategy originates from an anonymous print made in the last decades of the sixteenth century that shows the possesso when “a new pope takes possession of Saint John in the Lateran” (fig. 2.8). 79 In this print almost half a meter wide, a serpentine line of horsemen fills the entire sheet with nine rows of figures, each one of which had been carefully labeled above and divided by caption forms. Festive urban landscape has been completely suppressed from this print in order to give way to a unobtainable representation of the procession itself, with various depicted participants following along the sequence. Visual strategy applied to both engravings of the imperial procession and the Italian possesso, offers a privileged look at the procession in its entirety, from the first riders to the last, encapsulated by print on the sheets, which could be held and closely examined by a single viewer.

**III An Ambassador’s Procession**

Apart from the discussed visual strategies that privileged the viewer with multiple perspectives simultaneously in experiencing a printed procession, in other cases, single-point perspectives could also be applied to present a more complex and evocative visualization of a procession. The printed procession of *Driejaarige Reize Naar China* (fig. 2.9), which represents the Ambassador’s procession in the imperial palace, uses single-point

76 For detailed descriptions, see Awnsham and John Churchill, P.326.
77 Awnsham and John Churchill, P.325.
78 The number of the Mandarin is given, only in text but not in the illustration.
79 Lisa Pon. P.170.
perspectives to depict one identifiable architectural motif, within which the fluid acts of a procession are conducted with ritual performance. It reflects the Sino-European encounter in eighteenth century China, designed to convey all the necessary information by itself, and emphasizes to its viewer one identifiable place of China, through which a strictly formalized procession passed, as well as the identity and sequence of individual participants.

On 14th March, 1692, Evert Ybrandts Ides set out from Moscow as Russian ambassador to travel through Great Ustica, Siriania, Persia, Sibira, Daour, Tartary and finally to Beijing in 1694. As is described from its text, this printed procession represents the ambassador being introduced into the audience hall in the imperial palace and received by the Kangxi emperor:

“After a response of three days, I expected to be informed when I would please the Emperor to admit me to Audience: And according to the custom of this country, that day, the emperor’s order came for me to appear above, and receive a welcoming table or meal. Upon which I prepared myself, and several great Mandarins were appointed to conduct me up into the Castle, where the viceroy, Sungut Doriamba, uncle to the emperor, and four of the greatest lords of the empire received and welcomed me.”

The illustration shows one instant in the procession progress, of which the ambassador is marching towards the palace hall, accompanied by two great mandarins on both sides, followed with an orderly ranked group of military figures and welcomed on each side of the procession by two converging rows of ritual performance. Composition of the procession is strictly perspectival in its representation. The vast facade of the imperial palace stretches across the print, while side buildings are carefully placed in orthogonals that create a coherent perspectival space, through which the orderly ranked sequence of

---

81 E. Ybrandts Ides, “The Author’s Progress and Entry into Peking, his Reception, the Ceremony of his Entertainment by the Emperor, etc.”, Three Years Travel from Moscow over-land to China, London, 1706, P. 68.
the procession travels. Architectural motifs of the imperial palace in this image constantly reminds the reader of the authority of the Qing power.

The perspectival framework of the piazza in the foreground is jointed with detailed depictions of individuals from the procession and the ritual performance, whose figures have been proportionately reduced in size as the procession marches from the foreground towards the palace hall at the end. Chariots carried by elephants appear on the left side of the foreground, reinforcing the Manchu emperor’s centered power as the universal ruler.\textsuperscript{82} By using perspectival composition, this printed procession, thus has invited the viewer into an open space before a well-defined Chinese monument, through which a sequence of procession is passing, with figural motifs designed in Chinese costumes and Chinese rituals. It brings together in its text and image a powerful visualization of one processional scene in China, from which the early modern European audience could join in the visual imagination of the “exotic” land and its people in the far East.

\textsuperscript{82} Elephants appeared constantly in the 18th century Qing court art, for they had been presented to the Manchu Qing emperors by envoys from vassal states and foreign countries as tribute gift, thus asserting the role of the Qing power as “universal rulers".
Chapter Three: Staging Power, Hybrid Processions of the Imperially Commissioned Print Suites

Artistic practices in the imperial Qing court usually define groups of artists who were officially organized into an academy and employed by court to record events, decorate palaces and the temples commissioned by the emperors. Such an imperial patronage of art was most effectively applied during the reigns of the Yongzheng and the Qianlong emperors, when Qing power was at its zenith. Apart from The Imperial Painting Academy (Huayuan Chu) that produced numerous court paintings at this time, another artistic institution, the Ruyi Guan (As-You-Wish Studio), was also established in 1736 under the edict issued by the Qianlong emperor, that housed painters, jade-carvers, mount-makers and other artisans. Artistic productions made in Qing court placed great emphasis on recording important contemporary events and individuals, both in the form of paintings and independent print suites, for the purpose of reinforcing the authorities of Qing power.

The appearance of European painters in Qing Court, most notably the Jesuit artists of the Roman Catholic Church, greatly expanded representational mediums for Chinese subjects. They introduced the canon of European pictorial devices, and incorporated European perspectival and portrait modeling techniques into Chinese subjects. In reverse, European painters in the Qing court also learned to master Chinese ink-and-brush techniques and produced a large quantity of paintings with Chinese media. Such artists not only painted at Qing court, but also taught European painting techniques to the Chinese. The essential woodblock printed treatise that discussed the western representational system during Qing China, The study of Vision (Shixue, 視學, fig. 3.1), was published in 1735 by the high-ranking court official Nian Xiyao (1671 - 1738). This publication expanded upon Nian’s

84 Nie ChongZheng. P.79.
85 Nie ChongZheng. P.80.
initial investigation into the subject, *The Essence of the Study of Vision* (Shixue Jingyun 视学精蘊 1729), a Chinese language adaptation of Andrea Pozzo’s *Perspectiva Pictorum et architectorum* (1693 - 98), a treatise on the techniques of perspective. *The Study of Vision* introduced an extensive study on western representational forms and techniques, and taught with its illustrated images and diagrams how to distinguish between representation and visual perception that was required to produce illusionistic paintings. Kristina Kleutghen precisely indicates that differences between Western and Chinese painting, concluded from *The Study of Vision* by Nian, lies not on the inherent biological or cultural difference in human vision, but the different visual results produced from the practical techniques of pictorial representation.

The resulting hybrid forms of representations shown in the artistic productions of the Qing Palaces, greatly shaped its artistic style as *zhong xi he bi* 中西合璧, a Chinese phrase that means “a combination of Chinese and Western techniques”. This combined form of representational systems between China and the West became a key factor in defining the style of Qing court art. This chapter examines how the information of imperial power was communicated through the pictorial representations of the processional scenes in the eighteenth century Qing court. It looks closely into the printed processions selected from the Qianlong emperor’s commissioned *East Turkestan Campaign* print suites, produced between 1762 and 1777 by the Jesuit artists at Qing court, Giuseppe Castiglione (Ch. Lang Shining 郎世宁 1688 - 1766), Jean-Denis Attiret (Ch. Wang Zhicheng 王致诚 1702 - 1768), Ignatius Sichelbarth (Ch. Ai Qimeng 艾启蒙, 1708 - 1780) and Giovanni Damasceno Salusti (Ch. An Deyi 安德意, 1727 - 1781). A full set of its sixteen reproduced prints, with four proved plates are now held in the Chester Beatty Library.

---

86 For an extensive study on *The Study of Vision*, see Kristina Kleutghen, “The Study of Vision”, *Imperial Illusions, Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces*, Pp 59 - 100
Unlike other contemporary studies of *The East Turkestan Campaign*, which laid more focuses on the study of its printed battle scenes, or considered its historical significance in the context of the imperial print projects in Qing China, this chapter focuses on those procession scenes represented by the *East Turkestan Campaign*, which were highly overlooked in contemporary realms of study of the print suites. It aims to argue that a hybrid form of representations, mixed with both Chinese and European techniques, were applied to present festive movements. Pictorial spaces of those studied ceremonial processions are politically, architecturally and culturally mixed in their subjects, while their visual strategies are mixed in their organizational system of perspective and framing. Visual representations of those processional scenes, manifested through the medium of European copperplate engraving, have to be understood in the context of a more coherent artist genre in Qing court that represents contemporary events and figures, both in the form of court paintings and imperial print projects, as visual means to transform social and political messages for the Qing rulers.

I “Imperial Procession” in the Qing era

The tradition of imperial procession in China existed long before the reign of the Qing dynasty. The term “imperial procession” originally defined the event when the emperor left his palace and traveled to other regions as a personal investigation of his land and people. In ancient China, imperial procession was normally associated with rituals of ancestor worships and sacrificial ceremony. The seventh century (from the Tang dynasty) saw a gradual decline in the religious role of the imperial procession, with the political purpose taking precedence in the event. The southern part of China, especially around the geographical area known as “Jiangnan” (江南) which refers to the lands immediately to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, became an important destination for the imperial procession. Its economic prosperity made this area the most developed region in ancient China for

---

88 For the history of imperial procession in China, see, Lianda Xu, 《帝国宫廷的深处 - 中国古代帝王制度解读》 (*In the Depth of the Imperial Court - Interpretation of Ancient Imperial Traditions in China*), 2012. Pp, 166 - 168. 
89 Lianda Xu. P.167.
centuries. The imperial procession led to the Jiangnan area thus bore with it important political purpose of consolidating the imperial power in southern China. As early as the seventh century, the Yang emperor (r. 604 - 618) of the Sui dynasty (581 - 691) made multiple visits to southern China as a political gesture to consolidate his imperial power. The emperor enjoyed thoroughly the journey to the south, and wrote about Jiangnan in his poem, “I dream of the beloved Jiangnan area, for I had such an unexpected encounter with her”. The Zhengde Emperor (r. 1505 - 1521) of the Ming dynasty (1368 - 1644) was also known for his numerous visits to southern China for imperial entertainment.  

During the Qing China, the term “procession” has to be understood from different aspects, given the manifold nature of its political purposes behind the imperial event. From one perspective, it still defined the imperial visits made by the Qing emperors to southern China, as a part of political consolidations in outlying regions of reign far from the capital Beijing. Distinctively, the Qing court art began to include in its subject visual representation of those imperial processions made to south China. It became a principal genre in the Qing court art that represented contemporary events and figures. The *Qianlong Emperor’s Southern Inspection Tour* (1770), commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor and produced by the Qing court artist Xu Yang, depicts in twelve monumental handscrolls the emperor’s historic 1751 tour of south China. It’s sixth scroll, which depicts *The Emperor Entering Suzhou along the Grand Canal* (fig. 3.2 & 3.3), is now in the Metropolitan Museum. Details of the handscroll show the emperor riding on his horse and entering the entrance hall of the city Suzhou with his accompanying military troops, followed by the awaiting mandarins and local residents on both sides of the road. Careful attention to details in this scroll offers a rare opportunity to observe the daily life and activities of an eighteenth-century Chinese city. People, residences, shops, famous temples, and renowned scenic gardens and sites reflect the artist’s intimate knowledge and love of his hometown. The influence of Western art on Qing court taste is

---

90 Lianda Xu. P. 168
91 Nie Chongzheng. P. 78.
also evident in this handscroll, with the use of perspective and foreshortening in architectural details.

“Contemporary events and figures” became the common subject in Qing court painting, which differentiated the Qing court art from that during the preceding Ming dynasty, of which subjects for court painting were more commonly associated with historical figures rather than contemporary ones.\(^{92}\)

As a part of their political strategies for the Manchu rulers, who came originally from a minor ethnic group in northern China, and seized power from the Ming dynasty to rule the majority Han people, the Qing emperors had always endeavored to establish their own subject matter in court art so as to play a major role on the stage of Chinese history. A greater emphasis in the choice of artistic subjects were thus placed on contemporary events and figures, which offered documentary and imaginary scenes of visual encounter in Qing court, presenting the Qing power as a multicultural, multi-ethnic and “universal” reign.

Apart from the emperor’s inspection to southern China, another form of “procession” that appears constantly in the Qing court art is the diplomatic and ceremonial processions conducted in Qing palaces. Pictorial spaces of these processional scenes, most commonly depicted with an orderly ranked procession conducted within a well-defined monument in the Qing palaces, represent and embody the manifold nature of spaces of cultural and artistic encounter in the long Qing era. These processional scenes, manifested through the mediums of painting and imperially commissioned independent print suites, were almost all produced in collaboration between the Jesuit artists and Chinese court artists. Pictorial spaces of these processional scenes are often politically, architecturally and culturally mixed in their subjects. More importantly, their visual strategies highlight a hybrid form of representation, combining Chinese and Western representational techniques, which become the focus of this chapter. How did the European and Chinese techniques work together to introduce on prints and paintings the dynamic temporal and spatial aspects of a procession? How did those processional

\(^{92}\) Nie Chongzheng, P. 79.
scenes in the Qing court represented distinctively and coherently from the Qing court painting and the imperially commissioned print suites? To what extent had the European representational form influenced on the Chinese subject?

II Staging the Procession

The processional scene in the last plate of the sixteen engravings represents the *Victory Banquet for Meritorious Officers and Soldiers* (fig.3.4), one of the ritual celebrations that marks the Qianlong emperor’s successful consolidation of west China. This imperial procession is conducted within the forbidden city, where the diplomatic activities between the Qing court and the vassal states and foreign countries were most vibrant. It thus embodies the manifold nature of artistic and cultural encounters.

The printed procession is notably theatrical in its representation, with the emperor and his entourage entering stage right before an audience arrayed in orderly ranks, through a ceremonial space marked off by a cloth curtain fence, outside of which a well-defined monument within the forbidden city, the Hall of Purple Splendor (Zi Guang Ge, 紫光阁) is presented with surrounding landscape episodes rendered in Chinese manner. The setting for the upcoming act of ceremonies awaits in the entire left half of the print, where the future route of the procession is measured out by two pairs of converging rows of officials and an encompassing perspectival framework extends from the foreground to the large yurt, where the banquet is to be staged. This print is modeled after the painting (fig. 3.5) comprising a set of sixteen large-scale inked paintings (each approximately 4 x 8 meters) created in 1760 for the Hall of The Purple Splendor (紫光阁), which appears in the image. The model painting shows almost an identical composition as the print, except

---

93 For a catalogue of this engraving, see *The Printed Image in China: From 8th to 20th century*. 2010, British Museum. P.123
that its landscape scene depicted around the ceremonial procession is more clearly represented, with visual vignettes rendered in Chinese manner.

The composition of the *Victory Banquet* follows simple and clear principles of geometry to arrange sequences of figures and objects from near to far in order to enhance the clarity of the processional order. Such a visual effect was partly achieved by the use of linear perspectives so as to demonstrate the viewer’s sequential experience of viewing the procession, his or her ability to imagine the festive movement of the imperial procession, from the victory march in the foreground, towards the perspectival route with arranged audience in the middle, and finally to its arrival at the large yurt in the background. However, Castiglione and his colleagues clearly did not fully adhere to the European model of perspective. As Ya-Chen Ma points it out, the Qianlong emperor himself did not necessarily want the prints to look exactly European. 95 Apart from the composition that shows a gradual diminishing in scale from the foreground to the background which creates compression of space that traditional Chinese images could not achieve, the landscape episodes in the far end of the image is reminiscent of traditional Chinese landscape painting, which expresses an atmosphere space with misty hills and vistas of village and rivers receding into infinity. 96

Such a visual strategy for representing a ceremonial procession bore close resemblance to another imperially commissioned painting of *Imperial Banquet in the Park of Ten Thousand Trees* (1755) (fig. 3.6), produced in collaboration among the same group of Jesuit artists in the Qing court. The occasion depicted in the painting represents a ritual banquet of 1754 that celebrated the allegiance to the Qing of Dorbot Mongol princes and their followers. 97 Marching along a similar route through arrayed ritual performances and awaiting audiences, the imperial procession conducted in

95 Ya-Chen Ma, “War and Empire, Images of Battle during the Qianlong Reign”, Edited by Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ning Ding, *Qing Encounters - Artistic Exchanges between China and The West*. P. 161.

96 For a discussion of the style of the Qing court landscape painting, see, Yue Zhuang, “Hatchings In The Void, Ritual and Order in Bishu Shanzhuang Shi and Matteo Ripa’s Views of Jehol”, Edited by Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Ning Ding, *Qing Encounters - Artistic Exchanges between China and The West*. Pp, 143 – 149.

97 Richard Vinograd. P.12.
the park of ten thousand trees is reaching a similar Manchu yurt within the right half of the pictorial space, from where the ceremonial procession is to be staged. Outside the cloth curtain fence that marks off the geographical boundary of the imperial procession, more landscape elements rendered in Chinese manner were painted by anonymous Chinese court artists which evokes the impression of the Chinese traditional landscape painting.

Both the Victory Banquet and the Imperial Banquet applied a stage-set perspectives in their visual representations, with the depicted square curtain fence and the semi-circular yurt functioning as theatrical backdrops to their imperial processions, together relying on linear perspective to create meaning for the viewer. The viewing experience for a scenic illusion painting (or print) comprises four phases: the initial deception by the pictorial illusion, his recognition of the reality of the image as mere paintings or prints, his identification of the significance of its subject matter, and finally his simultaneous appreciation of both the illusion and the image as a single meaningful entity. The large yurt in both images becomes the stage, from where the viewer follows the sequence of the imperial procession within the pictorial space, performing the climactic action of progressing slowly through the ranked audience on both sides of its perspectival route, and finally to the “stage” with the realization of the print (or painting) as merely scenic illusion.

Such an arrangement of stage scenery recalls the design of European indoor theaters, which is described by Andrea Pozzo’s *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (fig.3.7), with the text accompanying Pozzo’s diagram that explains “the overlapping sets on the stage (the area marked A-H) as facing the audience in the semicircular galleries (I and K)”. From Kleutghen’s research, this visual strategy was adapted into two separate diagrams in its Chinese publication of *The Study of Vision* (1735) by Nian Xiyao, as a part of

---

98 Kristina Kleutghen, “Theatricality in Cross-Cultural Perspective” from Chapter five “Stageing Europe”, *Imperial Illusions, Crossing Pictorial Boundaries in the Qing Palaces*. Pp 209 - 220. Discussion of theatrical representation in this paper is indebted to the Chapter Five of this book.

99 Kristina Kleutghen. P. 211.
its illustrations teaching the spatial recession. Kleutghen also points it out that Nian misunderstood the square stage and the semicircular galleries that constituted the form of a European theater from Pozzo’s diagram as the design of a circular room. 100 Scenographic and theatrical qualities extended to many hybrid productions at the Qing court, including a series of imperially commissioned sites, such as Perspective Hill ( Xianfashan 线法山 ) and Perspective Paintings (Xianfahua 线法画), east of the lake, at the imperial Garden of Perfect Clarity ( Yuanmingyuan 圆明园) that commingled the physical space of an elevated prospect with illusionistic perspectival renderings of a Western townscape, achieved in part by hanging the paintings over a series of receding walls that were staggered like stage flats. The paintings had long been lost, however, Kleutghen analyzed for Staging Europe a series of surviving Chinese copperplate engravings of these paintings, which provides visual evidence for the Qianlong emperor’s psychological experience of recognizing and enjoying the deception.

Apart from the discussed visual strategies, both processional scenes of the Victory Banquet and the Imperial Banquet also receive constant reminder in their visual depictions of the emperor’s magnificent role as the Son of Heaven. 101 Such political messages were visualized through reserving the privileged position in their compositions for the Qianlong emperor, who consistently occupied the single position at the center of the processions, ceremonies and structures. The theatrical sequence of the imperial procession from both images, with their awaited ritual performances and the surrounding landscape episodes, are designed to confirm the emperor's privileged center location at all times. The presence of linear perspective in both the print and the painting amplify that principle, emphasizing the sequence of the procession, namely the imperial power with its surrounding visual vignettes.

101 Ancient Chinese ritual establishes the emperor as the single intermediary between Heaven and Earth.
III Artistic Influences between the East and the West

Another printed procession (the fourteenth plate) from the *East Turkestan Campaign* represents the *Prisoners Taken During the Pacification of the Muslim Tribes* (fig. 3.8), which depicts the occasion when the head of a Muslim prisoner is taken to the Meridian Gate (Wu Men 午门) in the Forbidden City, announcing the victory of Qianlong Emperor’s military consolidation in East Turkestan. A high bird’s-eye view offers an overall representation of the victory procession, with the distinctive facade of the east end of the Meridian Gate carefully constructed in orthogonals. Architectural elements closes off the pictorial space for the procession, of which four constructed lines of military figures encompass the foreground piazza in front of the palace hall. Orderly ranked figures are consistently lit from a light source originating somewhere behind the viewer’s left, giving an illusionistic sense of natural light shed on the pictorial space. The Qianlong emperor is seen standing at the top tower of the Meridian Gate, surrounded by mandarins and servants, receiving the leader of the military troops who is kneeled in front of the Meridian Gate, accompanied by two mandarins, and holding the head of one prisoner in his hand.

The models for the copperplate engravings of the *East Turkestan Campaign* were a set of sixteen large-scale paintings (each approximately 4 x 8 meters) that were created in 1760 for the Hall of The Purple Splendor (紫光阁), a building located in the imperial gardens just to the west of the Forbidden City (紫禁城). They were the collaborative work of the Jesuit artists Giuseppe Castiglione (Ch. Lang Shining 郎世宁 1688 - 1766), Jean-Denis Attiret (Ch. Wang Zhicheng 王致诚 1702 - 1768), Ignatius Sichelbarth (Ch. Ai Qimeng 艾启蒙, 1708 - 1780) and Giovanni Damasceno Salusti (or Alutti, Ch. An Deyi 安德意, 1727 - 1781).102 The four Jesuit artists were also responsible for the sixteenth model drawings for the copperplate engravings that were sent to

Paris in 1764, which are now believed lost. The model painting (fig. 3.9) for the printed Prisoners, produced with ink and color the same subject on paper, represents an almost exact composition of the architectural elements and figures as the print. In 1764, the Qianlong emperor ordered with an imperial decree that the accompanied drawings for the *East Turkestan Campaign* would be “sent to Europe, where the copperplate artists will be chosen to render accurately all aspects of each of these prints on copper plates.” Giuseppe Castiglione added instructions not only reiterated the decree’s demand but also specified that the artists in charge of the print project should conform exactly to the originals. The striking similarities in terms of composition between the painted and the printed Prisoners, together with its surviving records, proves that these European techniques and the resulting visual effects, were a result of the work of Castiglione and his colleagues, requested by the Qianlong emperor, rather than the work of French engravers.

An almost identical depiction of the processional subject in front of the Meridian Gate could be seen in another court painting, *The Xianfu Ceremony* (fig. 3.10), produced in 1760 by the Chinese court artist Xu Yang (徐扬), now in the Palace Museum. Painted with ink and color on paper, this painting depicts the same subject, Xianfu (献俘), which means “prisoners taken and presented to the emperor”. It represents the same ceremony that took place in front of the Meridian Gate for the emperor’s military victory in Central Asia. The entire route of the ceremonial procession bore a strikingly close resemblance with the composition of the Prisoners, of which the orderly ranked figures are similarly marked off by the distinctive walls of the Meridian Gate constructed in orthogonal. The delicate cloud elements in this painting are, however, rendered impressionistically in Chinese manner, reinforcing the hybrid nature of its visual strategies. The only difference is that, unlike the Prisoners, which closes off only two sides of its pictorial space by using architectural elements that extend from the left to the background of the composition; *The Xianfu Ceremony*, however, encompasses visual depictions

103 A close analysis of the imperial decree could be seen from Ya-Chen Ma. Pp, 159 – 160.
of both the west and the east ends of the facade of the Meridian Gate, which makes the architectural elements occupy almost two thirds of its composition, thus squeezing the processional scene into the lower left of its pictorial space. Given the fact that The Xianfu Ceremony was produced four years earlier than the Prisoners, and they were both produced to represent the same subject, did Castiglione and his colleagues draw on any inspiration from Xu Yang’s work while they were working on the paintings of the Prisoners? And how did the Chinese court artist Xu Yang learn from the Jesuits the western representational techniques in the Qing court and produce on paper as well as in scrolls those hybrid scenes that recorded contemporary events in the Qing palaces?

Xu Yang, a native of Suzhou, was commissioned by the Qianlong emperor to work for the court in 1751 during the imperial inspection to southern China. Little is known about his life, however, his was most active in producing court art for various imperial projects from 1750 to 1776. One of his most important masterpieces, The Qianlong Emperor’s Inspection to Southern China (fig.3.2 & 3.3), produced by the artist in the Imperial Academy over a period of six years, between 1764 - 1770, reveals on its twelve monumental handscrolls the lavish pageantry of the emperor’s travel to southern China. It also marks the peak of the Xu’s artistic career in Qing court. Based on James Cahill, Xu Yang’s visual documentaries recall from the images the emperor’s experience of the places he visited, therefore it includes a wealth of details of street scenes and urban activities.105 The complete twelve handscrolls are now dispersed among a number of collections. Apart from its longest sixth scroll that provides an encyclopedic catalogue of daily life in eighteenth century China, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and its twelfth scroll, which depicts the emperor’s return to the palace, now displayed in the Palace Museum in Beijing, very little contemporary scholarship is dedicated to the study of Xu Yang and his court art.106 James Cahill is believed to be among the first western scholars to study high Qing court art and give a reasonably clear

discussion of some of Xu Yang’s court paintings that recorded scenes of urban life in eighteenth century China.  

107 The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin also included in its 1989 publication an illustrated catalogue of the fourth scroll of The Qianlong Emperor’s Inspection to Southern China, recognizing from its visual strategies the impact of Western art on Qing court taste. However, no discussion has been found regarding Xu Yang’s artistic training at the Imperial Academy. It thus provides little for this dissertation to trace the artistic exchanges between Xu Yang and the Jesuit Artists in the High Qing Court, or how the artist developed progressively from his paintings a uniquely hybrid form of representation.

Leaving aside the ambiguities about Xu Yang, a closer look at the Qing court art development might provide us clues on how the Qing court artists worked and collaborated on different imperial projects. During the Reign of the Yongzheng (r. 1722 - 1735 ) and Qianlong ( r. 1735 - 1795 ) , Qing power reached its zenith with prosperous economic development. It was in these circumstances that the Qing court painting reached its peak, reflected in a number of developments. 108 The number of painters increased considerably over this period, including the most well-known Chinese court artists, like Jin Kun, Zhang Dai and Ding Guanpeng, who had been employed during the Yongzheng emperor’s time, and continued to serve the court during the reign of the Qianlong emperor. 109 In addition to the Chinese Painters, a number of European artists, most notably the Jesuit painters, also enjoyed good standing in the Qing court, and collaborated with the Chinese painters in the Imperial Painting Academy ( Also known as Huayuan Chu ) and held official positions. Such a controlled artistic environment made us believe that the Jesuit artists and the Chinese artists in the Qing court had easy access to view each other’s work, especially when they worked on similar subjects for the imperial projects. When Castiglione and his colleagues were working on the model painting of the Prisoners in 1764, they would have had great chances to see Xu Yang’s The Xianfu Ceremony (1760) , which depicted the same subject.

107 James Cahill. Pp, 138 - 142,  
108 Evelyn S. Rawski and Jessica Rawson. P. 79.  
109 Evelyn S. Rawski and Jessica Rawson, P. 80.
Composition of *The Xianfu Ceremony* greatly empowered visual representation of Qing reign, by presenting a “xianfu” ceremony within a well-defined monument that marks the authority of Qing power. It’s local significance might even made the European painters to be ordered to acknowledge *The Xianfu Ceremony* as an authoritative image when they presented a similar ceremonal procession in Qing palaces. Interestingly enough, the European painters made a more powerful move by improving from Xu’s composition and removing the unnecessary west end of the facade of the Meridian Gate, which presented to the viewer a much grander processional scene, with choreographed entrances, presentations and exits that reinforced Qing power.
Conclusion

Information about imperial power in Qing China was communicated through a number of visual strategies in the depiction of processions in China, manifested through the medium of print, from both the eighteenth century illustrated publications and the imperially commissioned print suites in High Qing Court. While printed images of the discussed illustrated books on China were mostly produced in Europe, with comparatively lower price and lesser quality, the imperially commissioned print suites, *The East Turkestan Campaign* (1770 – 1776), however, were initiated as an independent print project by the talented Jesuit artists in Qing court, and engraved by the best engravers in France, which thus represented the highest standard of European printmaking in the eighteenth century. Studied prints of this dissertation functioned politically and diplomatically as a pictorial document of precedent affiliation of Sino-European contact in Qing China, and visually as a device representing imperial power of Qing China displayed advanced western representational technology.

The prints under discussion of the early modern publications on China follow a highly Europeanized form of representation, which highlights the peak of Sino-European contact in the early eighteenth century, when the Catholic mission to China was fortuitous, and the Manchu Qing rulers were eager to gain scientific knowledge from the Jesuits serving in court, further meeting the purpose of their political strategy of reinforcing Qing power. These processions on paper visualized the power of Qing China, by either privileging the viewer with multiple perspectives simultaneously, through a serpentine sequence of the procession, or inviting the viewer to proceed sequentially, almost as a participant into the pictorial space of a procession with perspectival composition. Together with the personal relationships developed between the Jesuits and the Manchu Qing emperors in court, the Europeanized articulation of the procession, manifested through the illustrated books, provided to eighteenth century readers an illusionistic image of a Christian vision of an ideal universe, with well-administrated land
and people who were ripe for conversion. The land of China, previously beyond the knowledge of western Europeans, became a familiar place in these illustrated images, with well-governed power that was ready to serve for Christianity.

However religious these printed processions were meant to be from early modern illustrated books on China, the other part of processional scenes discussed in this dissertation, of the imperially commissioned print suites, *The East Turkestan Campaign*, however, conveyed no Christian meaning in their visual representations. These printed processions, initiated by the Jesuit artists in Qing court and presented with a hybrid form of visual strategies combing Chinese and European techniques, provided visual documentaries for recording the Qianlong emperor’s military victories in Central Asia. Commissioned in the late half of the eighteenth century, when Christianity had been officially banned in China, production of these print suites were thus conducted in a highly controlled artistic environment. They had to be understood in the context of a more coherent artistic genre in Qing court art, in the form of both paintings and prints that recorded contemporary events and figures that transmitted social and political messages for Qing rulers. They functioned to reinforce the authority of the Manchu Qing power, by representing two orderly ranked ceremonial processions displayed with advanced western representational technology, conducted within the well-defined monument of the imperial palaces that marked the authority of Qing reign.
Bibliography


Illustrations
Fig. 1.1, Syrian and Chinese inscription of the Nestorian Stele, Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata*, 1667, Fagel Collection, fol. B

Fig. 1.2, Giovanni Battista Gaulli, *Death of Saint Francis Xavier*, oil on canvas, 1675. Rome, Church of Sant’ Andrea al Quirinale, from Christopher M. S. Johns, *China and Church*, (Image 7)
Fig. 1.3, Image of Matteo Ricci and the Convert Ming Literati Xu Guangqi, Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata*, 1667, Fagel Collection, fol. Cc

Fig. 1.4, Anonymous Court Artist, *Envoys from Vassal States and Foreign Countries, Presenting Tribute to the Emperor*, 1761, Hanging scroll, The Palace Museum, Beijing, Gu6274
Fig. 1.5, Anonymous, Portrait of John Schall von Bell, Copperplate engraving, from Athanasius Kircher, China Illustrata, 1667, Fagel Collection, fol. Bb

Fig. 1.6, Anonymous court painter (attributed to Giovannni Gherardini, Italian, 1655 - ca. 1723) Portrait of Kangxi Reading, ca. 1700 - 1722, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 137 x 106 cm, Beijing, The Palace Museum
Matteo Ripa (Italian, 1682 - 1745), after Shen Yu (Chinese, 1649 - after 1728)

*Xìlíng Chéngxià* (Cloud over the Western Mountains at Dawn), 1711 - 13, engraving on very thin China paper sheet, 31.9 cm x 34.8 cm, From *Thirty Six Views of Jehol*. London, British Museum.

Fig. 1.7

XIX, The likeness of the Great Lama or eternal father, XX, Han the Dead King of Tanguth, are worshiped with divine honors.


Fig.1.8,
Fig. 1.9,
An early description of *The Processing of Silk*, from Jean Baptiste, Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, 1735, Fagel Collection, fol. 222

Fig. 1.10,
*The Ambassador’s Arrival at Jia Yu Guan*, from Evert Ysbrands Ides, *Driejaarige reize naar China, te lande gedaan door den Moscovischen afgezant*, copperplate engraving, 50cm x 23.5 cm, Fagel Collection, fol. 80
Fig. 2.1, Illustrated Portrait of The Manchu Shun Zhi (Shun-Chi) Emperor, Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata*, Copperplate Engraving, 95mm x 150mm, Fagel Collection, fol. Aa

Fig. 2.2, Illustrated Portrait of The Manchu Shun Zhi (Shun-Chi) Emperor, Daniel de Nessel, *Catalogus* (Vienna 1690), Archbishop Marsh's Library, Fol. D
Fig. 2.3, Procession of Viceroy through his Palace, Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, Description de la Chine, 1735, Copperplate Engraving, 540mm x 403 mm. Fagel Collection, fol, 30.

Fig. 2.4, Giovanni Battista, Possesso of Innocent XI, 1676, Etching, 325mm x 466mm, Ann.S.K. Military Collection, Brown University Library
Fig. 2.5, Details of Procession of Viceroy through his Palace, Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, Description de la Chine, 1735, Copperplate Engraving, 54 cm x 40.3 cm, fol. 30.

Fig 2.6, A Renaissance view of the Roman Triumph. From Onofrio Panvinio study of the triumph in his Fastorum Libri V, first published in 1550.
Fig. 2.7, 
Fig 2.8, Italian, *Posesso of A New Pope*, Late Sixteenth Century, Engraving, 38cm x 52cm, Anne S.K Military Collection, Brown University Library
Fig. 2.9, 
Ambassador’s Arrival at The Audience Hall in The Forbidden City, Evert Ysbrandt Ides, Driejaarige Reize Naar China, 1704, Copperplate Engraving, 24.5cm x 27.5cm, Fagel Collection, fol. 90.
Fig. 3.1
Fig 3.2 & 3.3,

Details of *The Qianlong Emperor Entering Suzhou along The Grand Canal*, from Xu Yang, *The Qianlong Emperor’s Southern Inspection Tour*, scroll six, 1770, ink and color on silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Fig. 3.4, Giuseppe Castiglione, Jean-Denis Attiret, Ignatius Sichelbart and Chinese Artists, Victory Banquet for Meritorious Soldiers and Officers, Copperplate Engraving, 55.4 cm x 90.8 cm, 1776, Chester Beatty Library.

Fig. 3.5, Anonymous Court Artist. Victory Banquet for Meritorious Soldiers and Officers, 1764, ink and color on paper, 55.4 cm x 90.8 cm, Beijing, The Palace Museum.
Fig. 3.6
Jean-Denis Attiret, Giuseppe Castiglione, Ignatius Sichelbart and Chinese Artists, *Imperial Banquet in the Part of Ten Thousand Trees*, 1755, hanging scroll paste-up picture, gilding and mineral pigments on silk, 2.21m x 4.20m, The Palace Museum

Fig. 3.7
“Scenes for the Stage”
Fig.3.8, Giuseppe Castiglione, Jean-Denis Attiret, Ignatius Sichelbart and Chinese Artists, *Prisoners Taken During The Pacification of The Muslim Tribes*, 1776, Copperplate Engraving, 50.4cm x 90.8cm, Chester Beatty Library

Fig.3.9, Anonymous Court Artist. *Prisoners Taken During The Pacification of The Muslim Tribes*, 1764, ink and color on paper, 55.4 cm x 90.8 cm, Beijing, The Palace Museum.
Fig. 3.10, Xu Yang (1750 - after 1766), *The Xianfu Ceremony*, 1760, Ink and Colour on Paper, The Museum Palace, Beijing.