

A Re-examination of Manchurian Martial Culture – The Kangxi Dynasty's Strategy of Development

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Fangliu was a new official history book created during the Kangxi dynasty of the Qing dynasty, and was compiled from the Qianlong dynasty down to the Guangxu dynasty, and is often cited by modern historians as a source of historical information. Recently, scholars have gradually moved away from the traditional view of the Fangliu as a historical source, recognising on the one hand the special nature of the Fangliu as an official history book and the selective editing of official documents therein, and on the other hand the martial culture of the Qing Empire as a reason for the creation of this unique official history book by the Qing court. However, when these two aspects are considered together, the specific relationship between the creation of this particular form of official history and the promotion of a military culture at the Qing court remains to be explained. Although scholars have pointed out that the Qing dynasty's strategies were probably influenced by the chronological editions of the Ming dynasty's zhen-jian journals on specific warfare events, the connections and meanings remain to be clarified. In fact, from the Ming to the Kangxi dynasties war-related zhen-jian journals were prevalent, not only as records of individual officials or of particular battles, but also as an important medium of self-representation among officials, and influenced changes in the positioning of such texts. This article first examines the development of personal war-related zhengjian collections during the Ming dynasty, then discusses the changes in war-related zhengjian collections of officials during the Kangxi period, and finally discusses the relationship between the first two and the compilation of the Kangxi court strategy, with the remainder of the paper illustrating the changes and positioning of the strategy during the Qianlong dynasty. It is hoped that through retrospection and comparison, the meaning and development of the newly created strategies of imperial power in the Kangxi period will be re-understood, as well as the relationship between the collection of personal war-related zhen-jian and the culture of officials in the Ming dynasty, and the characteristics of Manchurian martial culture will be re-examined in this light.

Key words: strategy, zao, Kangxi, imperial power, Shangwu culture

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I. Preface - Diverse Issues Related to Strategy

In the past, due to the Qing palace's repeated claims of horsemanship as the foundation of Manchuria, coupled with the production of a large number of battle monuments, strategies and battle maps, much mention has been made of Manchurian martial culture, which is considered to be related to the Manchu tradition.¹ Recent research has traced the tradition of personal war paintings from the Ming dynasty and found that war maps, which scholars had previously taken for granted as representing the military culture of the Qing dynasty, were in fact closely related to the transformation of the visual culture of the Ming scholars, giving us a different understanding of Manchurian martial culture.² also reminds us that the Qing historical materials previously taken for granted may have been explored from different perspectives, revealing previously unknown historical contexts. In this paper, we take the example of the Kangxi dynasty (1622-1722) in creating a strategy to rethink the Manchurian martial culture.

They were compiled in chronological order for specific wars, and were often cited by modern historians as a source of historical information when discussing war or border affairs in the Qing dynasty. Recently, however, scholars have been moving away from the traditional view of the Qing dynasty as a historical source, and have found that, in terms of their style, the selection and editing of documents during the compilation process, and as part of the military culture of the Qing dynasty, a significant number of these strategies are not taken for granted as primary documents, and must be re-examined. In terms of the style of Fangliu, Yao Ji-rong believes that Fangliu can be described as a 'new form of chronicle-based history'.

¹ There are many related studies, but a book on the military culture of the Qing dynasty is an example Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006).

² For a reflection on the Manchurian martial culture, see Ma Yazhen, "Carving the War Honours - The Imperial Martial Power of the Qing Dynasty Cultural Constructions (Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2016); Ma Ya-chen, "War and Empire: Images of Battle during the Qianlong Reign," in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, edited by Petra Chu and Ding Ning, 258-272 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015).

In contrast to Yuan Shu's (1131-1205) *The Chronicle of the Southern Song Dynasty*, most of the subsequent works were adaptations of existing histories, but rather were 'historical books of a compiled nature'; and unlike the traditional chronicle of the Qing dynasty, which was mainly written privately, the Qing dynasty's Fangliu was an official 'one book at a time'.³ In terms of the compilation of historical material for the Fangliu, Peter C. Perdue and Beatrice S. Bartlett found that the Qing dynasty's Fangliu was sometimes heavily edited for archival purposes and that the Military Academy of the Qing dynasty would suppress the archives. Peter C. Perdue and Beatrice S. Bartlett found that the Qing dynasty's Fangliu sometimes heavily redacted archives and that the Military and Military Affairs Department's Fangliu Museum would suppress

The publication of some of the most secret passages of correspondence.⁴ In terms of the military culture of the Qing dynasty, Joanna Wei Zhou'an

Waley-Cohen) argues that Fangliu was part of the Qing court's culture of commemorating the war, and that it was similar to the Qing court's culture of commemorating the war through military rituals, the

These reflections on the Qing dynasty Fangliu are, on the one hand, conscious of its specificity as an official history book and the selective editing of official documents therein; on the other hand, they also touch upon the reasons why the Qing court created this unique official history book.⁵ These reflections on the Qing dynasty's Fangliu are, on the one hand, aware of the special nature of Fangliu as an official history book and the selective editing of official documents therein, and, on the other hand, touch on the question of why the Qing court created this unique official history book. However, when these two aspects are considered together, the specific relationship between the Qing court's creation of this particular form of official history and the Qing dynasty's promotion of a martial culture remains to be explained, and its particular form must be further examined.

³ Yao Jirong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu* (Beijing: Xiyuan Publishing House, 2006), p. 4.

⁴ Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 463- 494; Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 225-228.

⁵ Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China*, 45. Also, the war produced by the Qing dynasty. Most of the relevant inscriptions are inscribed with the title of the pacification of a certain area and the completion of a taiji, which is not exactly the same as the common record of war and merit inscriptions of the past; in addition to the record of war and merit, there are also many records of the merit of water conservation, such as "The inscriptions include the 'Sui Lianggong Weir Monument', the Ming 'Wu Songjiang Monument' and the 'Xuyi Monument', so this article refers to the war-related monuments erected by the Qing court in general. Chen Si, *The Collection of Treasure*

Carvings (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Chuan Shu*, vol. 682, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the National Palace Museum collection), vol. 5, pp. 249-271; Zhang Nei Yun, A Study of the Water of San Wu (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Chuan Shu*, vol. 577, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the National Palace Museum collection), vol. 16, p. 249-271; Zhang Nei Yun, A Study of the Water of San Wu (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Chuan Shu*, vol. 577, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the National Palace Museum collection), vol. 16, p. 249-271. (in the National Palace Museum collection), vol. 16, pp. 576-615; Dong Yu, *Dong Sikou wenji* (in *四庫未收書輯刊* (The Four Treasury of Uncollected Books), no. 5, vol. 22, Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 2000, based on a photocopy of the book *Shaobo Gong Quanji* engraved by Chenhan Ge in the thirteenth year of the Yongzheng reign of the Qing dynasty), vol. 3, pp. 560-578.

It is only by clarifying the origins of the example, clarifying the context in which it emerged, and analysing the effects it had that we can summarise the significance of the strategy's creation by Kangxi and its transmission to subsequent Qing emperors such as Qianlong. In other words, the issues related to the strategy are in fact far more diverse than previously understood.⁶ The most noteworthy sources and positions are briefly described below as an introduction to the discussion that follows.

Although the Kangxi-era 'Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts' has its own statement on the origins of the Qing dynasty's formulae, a closer examination of it raises doubts. Han Miscanthus (1637-1704) mentioned in his 'Preface to the Three Rebellions' that

I have been told that there are books that record the achievements and martyrdom of all the dynasties. The most important of these books is the one on the history of the Tang dynasty, the one on the history of the Qing dynasty, the one on the history of the Qing dynasty, and the one on the history of the Huai dynasty.

⁶ In addition to the strategies for pacifying the war effort discussed in this article, the Qing court also compiled the River Management Strategy on several occasions. It was only in the third year of the Yongzheng reign (1725) that there is a clear record of a vice-president of the river strategy, and when it was completed and submitted, the Yongzheng emperor ordered that three parts be written and issued to the river officials. Later, in the Jiaqing reign (1796-1820), a new edition was compiled. Only the Qianlong and Jiaqing engravings exist, and more research is needed on the reason for the Qing court's compilation of the River Management Strategy. On the other hand, there have been many 'river management strategies' throughout the ages, such as the Yuan dynasty's 'River Management Tuluo', which was accompanied by a 'River Management Strategy'. Although the past 'River Management Strategy' was not entirely a record, but more of a recommendation, it had its origins in the Kangxi dynasty, when the Kangxi dynasty created a strategy for pacifying the war effort. Therefore, the relationship between the River Management Strategy edited by the Qing dynasty and the Kangxi dynasty's strategy for pacifying the war effort is not quite the same, and more research is needed to clarify the relationship. Zhang Tingyu, *Chenghuiyuan Wencun* (in *Modern Chinese History Series*, 52nd ed., Taipei: Wenhai Publishing House, 1969), vol. 5, 'The First Sparrow on Compliance with the Regulations', pp. 353-360; Zhao Ersun et al, *The Manuscript of Qing History*, vol. 2 (Beijing: China Book Bureau, 1977), 'The Second Book of the Holy Patriarch', pp. 209-258; Wang Xianqian, 'The Records of Donghua' (in *The Four Books of the Four Treasuries*, vol. 371, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1996, based on a photocopy of Wang's engraving in Changsha in the tenth year of the Qing Guangxu period), Yongzheng XV, p. 37b; Wang Xianqian, *The Continuing Records of Donghua* (in *The Four Books of the Four Treasuries*, vol. 375, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1996, based on a photocopy of Wang's engraving in Changsha in the tenth year of the Qing Guangxu

period), Jiaqing XXXIV, p. 15b. Yongruang et al, The Four Treasury Books (Beijing: China Book Bureau, 1965, photocopied from the external collection of Ruan Yuan's grindstone collection in the second year of the Daoguang period), vol. 69, History 25, pp. 611-612. Xu Fuling, 'The Formula for River Management', China Water Resources, 1987: 4 (Beijing, 1987.4), p. 42.

In the Song dynasty, there is a dragon and a dragon's fly; in the Tianxi dynasty, there is a record of the Holy Government; and in the Xining dynasty, there is a brief history of the Jingwu dynasty; in the Ming dynasty, the Hongwu dynasty levied a calendar of conquests and expeditions and stored it in the Jinshu.⁷

Although all the books listed are historical accounts of past battles, most of these texts have not survived by the Qing dynasty, and it is difficult to identify them. Yao Ji-rong mentions that, in addition to the books cited by Le Dehong, there are also Pei Ju's (Sui) Kaiye Ping Chen (547-627) from the Tang dynasty, Shi Jie's (1005-1045) Three Dynasties' Holy Dynasty Records from the Northern Song dynasty, Guo Juren's Shujian from the Southern Song dynasty, and Wang Oi's (1190-1273) Shengwu's Record of his own expedition from the Yuan dynasty. In the Ming dynasty, there were even more such books. Song Lian's (1310-1381) The Records of Hongwu's Personal Expedition, Li Hualong's (1554-1611) The Complete Book of Pingbao, Guo Zizhang's (1543-1618) The Beginning and End of Pingbao in Qianzhong, Yang Yinqiu's The Records of Pingbao, Ma Wensheng's (1426-1510) The Records of the Western Expedition to Shicheng and the Records of the Fuyang Dongyi, Qiu Jun's (1418-1495) The Records of the Pingding of Jiaonan, and Wang Shi's (1439-1539) The Records of the Pingding of Jiaonan. 王軾(1439-1506)的《平蠻錄》、曹履泰的《靖海紀略》以及高岱的《鴻猷錄》。⁸

Many of the books from the Yuan and Ming dynasties, such as Wang Yuyi's Record of the Sacred Military Conquests, Li Hualong's The Complete Book of Pingbao, and Ma Wensheng's record in Yuan 藝 (1495-1573) The Collection of Golden Sounds and Jade Zhen, are listed in the Siku Quanshu (The Four Books),⁹. They should not have been unknown and circulated during the Kangxi period, but why did Le Dehong only ancestrally recount anonymous texts? If we consider that the books he mentions were either compiled by the emperor's imperial decree, or were records of his campaigns, they are all works related to the emperor, and are indeed closer to the compilation of The Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts, which will be discussed later. It is likely that this is the reason why Lederhun only listed the above-mentioned anonymous books. However, if we look at the body of books listed by Yao Ji-rong for the Ming dynasty, we see that they are mainly collections of individual officials' advice on specific war matters edited in chronological order, as opposed to the Qing dynasty, where the advice was given in chronological order.

⁷ Le Dehong et al, "Ping Ding San Rebellion" (in Taiwan Documentary History Series, 6, no. 104 vols. (Taipei: Chase Publishing House, 1987), vol. 1, p. 3.

⁸ Yao Jirong, Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu, p. 195.

⁹ By Yongruong et al, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 52, 54, pp. 474, 485, 477.

It can be argued that the emphasis on the use of "primary sources/archives" is very similar to the way in which they are compiled.

/ Yao Ji-rong also suggests that the Qing dynasty's prescriptions may have been influenced by such books from the Ming dynasty.¹⁰ Other similarities between the two in terms of the inclusion of historical treatises, commentaries, and the type of codification centred on individuals (officials or emperors) are discussed below.¹¹ If this is the case, then Lederhoun's claim is particularly interesting. He does not select the then-visible but supposedly distinct genre of the Qing dynasty's Fangliu, such as the Yuan dynasty's Shengwu pro-quest, but instead traces it back to then-unknown books relating to the emperors; he does not mention the Qing dynasty's Fangliu at all, despite the fact that it is in fact more closely related to the above-mentioned collection of individual officials' zazhi on specific war matters. In contrast, one cannot help but speculate whether there is a mystery here. That is to say, by deliberately referring to a book that no longer existed at the time and which related to the warfare of the emperors, rather than the Yuan dynasty's Records of the Sacred Warriors, which has survived to the present day, Lederhoun's failure to verify this would not give the impression that the style of the strategy was different from that of the compilations of the emperors' participation in the warfare of the past (such as the Yuan dynasty's Records of the Sacred Warriors), but on the contrary would have the effect of obscuring or concealing the fact that the style of the strategy was in fact similar to that of the personal warfare-related collections. The other side of the coin is that it has the effect of blurring or obscuring the fact that the strategy is in fact similar to that of a collection of personal war-related instructions.

The above-mentioned officials of the Ming dynasty, who were close to the Qing dynasty in their approach to warfare, were

Although the collection is a chronological collection of individual zhengji, the title of the book does not contain the words 'zhengji' or 'zhenshu', but is specifically named after the pacification of a war, which is different from the previous collections of zhengji named after individuals or official positions, such as Lu Jie (754-805)'s 'Zhengji' or Fan Zhongyan's (989-1052)'Zhengji'.¹² Unlike such titles, which emphasize

¹⁰ Yao Jirong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu*, p. 195.

¹¹ There are, of course, differences between the Qing dynasty's recipes and the individual collections of war-related zao, and these will be discussed later in the text in relation to their compilation. However, the anonymous reviewer also reminds us that the historical context of the Qing dynasty is different from that of the Ming dynasty, in terms of the confidentiality of the zhenshu, the scale of the battles recorded, and the way in which the decision makers deliberated on politics, which gave the Qing dynasty zhenshu its distinctive character.

- ¹² The origins of the Qing dynasty's formulae are obscure, apart from the fact that they are derived from an unfamiliar and long-established text type, such as the collection of personal war-related zhen-jiao, the origin of their name is also unclear. "In the past, the 'strategy for the pacification of the Zhaoxing' was often found in the context of submissions by officials to their superiors or to the emperor, for example, in the Song dynasty in the fifth year of the Yuanfeng reign (1082), in which the 'Caochun of Guangxi

Similarly, there are other collections of war-related memorials that retain the name of the person and the word 'memorial', but include the war or border area, such as Tian Shiwei's 'Pingruan Shuan',¹³ , or Shi Maohua's (1522-1583) 'Yi'an Zhanxi Zao'.¹⁴ There is no standard name for these war-related collections in the Ming and Qing dynasties, so to facilitate discussion, this article refers to them as collections of war-related submissions by officials or individuals.

The following discussion will reveal that there were a large number of such texts in the Ming dynasty, which served not only as a record of one's official duties or of particular battles, but also as an important medium for the recognition of ancestors by one's descendants, and even for self-expression among officials. It is particularly worth considering in contrast to the claims of Lederhoun. In the case of Li Hualong's Pingbao Quanshu (The Complete Book of Pingbao), Guo Zizhang's Qianzhong Pingbao zhiyi (The Beginning and End of Pingbao in Qianzhong) and Yang Yinqiu's (1547-1603) Pingbao zhuan (Record of Pingbao), which Yao Jirong mentions, it is clear that the officials involved in the same event expressed themselves through their respective collections of zhangs. In the Siku Quanshu (Head of the Four Books), it is said that Guo Zizhang 'retired to his home in his later years and heard that one or two military officials were making pingbao, taking sides with Hualong and decorating his achievements, which were not true. The book was written in accordance with the rules of the Chronicle of Events, with a slight interpretation of the zhengfu, in order to identify the falsehoods'.¹⁵ In the Kangxi dynasty there were also writers such as Yang Jie (1617-

Ma Mo on the strategy for the pacification of the barbarians, thinking that victory did not lie with the army" or Yang Bo's "Reply to Zhang Wunjiao, Secretary of the Guanglu Temple, on the strategy for the pacification of the Japanese" are very different from the Qing dynasty compilations of the formulae used to refer to the collection of the emperor's edicts, etc. Wang Yinglin.

Yuhai, vol. 25, p. 35b; Yang Bo, "Benbing Shuan" (in Seixiu Siqu Quanshu, Shi Shi, vol. 477, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1995, photocopy of Shi Zhen Tang engraving of the 14th year of Ming Wanli), vol. 3, pp. 30-31.

¹³ Zhu Mu 擧, Wanshi tang shu mu (in Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing shu mu tang qing shu mu tiao jian, Ming dynasty volume, vol. 1, Beijing: Zhonghua Shu bao, 2006, reprinted from a copy of the book by Ye Guangu tang shu mu jian in Changsha in the twenty-ninth year of the Qing dynasty), vol. 2, p. 5b; Wang Daoming, Kasazetang shu mu (in Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing shu mu tiao jian, Ming dynasty volume, vol. 2, Beijing: Zhonghua Shu bao, 2006, reprinted from a copy in the library of Shandong University), pp. 36a-38a. Zhongguo Shuji, 2006, based on a copy in the library of Shandong University), pp. 36a-38a.

¹⁴ Shi Maohua, 'The Zhanxi Zao of Governor Yi'an' (in Jiang Yasha, Jing Li, and Chen Zhanqi, eds, The Rare Book of Chinese Documents, Beijing: National Library Documentary Microfilm Reproduction Centre, 2009, based on the Ming Wanli engraving).

¹⁵ However, the phrase "left-sided dragon" should be "left-sided dragon", cf. Liao Kebin,

Manchurian Shangwu

"The Book Formation and Ideological Tendencies of the Legend of Zhanbao Zhanjie",
in

The book is a collection of personal war-related recommendations, including 1690 (Pingmin ji), ¹⁶Ehai (?-1725), and 17 Shi Lang (1621-1696). ¹⁷Shi Lang's (1621-1696) The Chronicle of Jinghai (1621-1696), and many other collections of personal war-related zhengji were published.

¹⁸Although Qian Mu's (1895-1990) Outline of National History does apply to the Qianlong dynasty in its observation that 'even the ministers did not dare to engrave their own zhengzhi for fear of being offended',¹⁹, it was not only popular for Kangxi officials to engrave collections of zhengzhi, but it is also evident that, for example, Shi Lang's The Records of the Sea of Tranquillity is praised for its 'appendix of the original comments of the eight Mien gentlemen' after each zhengzhi,²⁰, compared to the previously cited Ming dynasty's Guo Zizhang's 'slight interpretation of the zhengzhi to identify falsehoods'.²¹ Shi Lang's unique approach to the 'Chronicle of Jinghai' is a positive demonstration of the recognition of the local elite. Shi Lang's example is not exceptional, as discussed further below, but it does show that the uniqueness of the publication of war-related zhengjian in the Kangxi dynasty cannot be explained until the development of individual war-related zhengjian collections since the Ming dynasty is fully understood, let alone why it disappeared in the Qianlong dynasty, and why Le Dehong, in the context of the continued popularity of war-related zhengjian in the Kangxi dynasty, does not discuss the relationship between Fangliu and such texts at all.

The prevalence of collections of individual officials' war-related zoans from the Ming to the Kangxi dynasties also influenced this type of writing

This is a change in the positioning of the text. If one searches the Siku Quanshu (Four Treasury Books), one will find that most of these texts, which do not have a title such as 'Zhangyan', do not belong to the 'imperial edicts and zhangyan' category, but are included in the 'miscellaneous histories' category.

Academic Heritage, 1 (Beijing, 2015), pp. 114-117.

¹⁶ "This is a compilation of his memorials, revelations, advice, cards, diagrams, and notices from his suppression of Zheng Chenggong in the seventeenth year of the Kangxi era", in Yonglong et al.

¹⁷ Volumes 1-6 of the Fuyao Records in the Oriental Library, Tokyo, contain the Zao, and volumes 7-8 contain the poems of the Red Miao Rebellion. The poems of the Red Miao (紅苗歸化恭紀詩) and the postscript to the poems of the Red Miao (紅苗歸化恭紀詩) Ehai and Che Dingjin, Fumiao zhuan (in the Toyo Bunka Collection, Tokyo, Kangxi 52, preface edition). Also edited by Ehai and Che Dingjin, Fumiao jin (in Seven Historical Materials, Taipei: Guangwen Publishing House, 1978, based on a copy in the collection of the National Central Research Institute).

¹⁸ A further version is given and discussed in the third section of the 'Zhangshi zhao zhi (The Zhangshi of Shi Lang's conquest of Taiwan during the Kangxi period)' in The Chronicle of the Sea of Tranquillity. Shi Lang, "The Chronicle of Jinghai" (in Bank of Taiwan, Economic Research Office, ed.)

¹⁹ Qian Mu, The Outline of National History, lower volume (in Qian Mu, The Complete

Works of Mr. Qian Mu (New Proof Book), Beijing: Kyushu Publishing House, 2011), p. 923.

²⁰ Shi Lang, The Chronicles of Jinghai.

²¹ By Yong Rong and others, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 54, p. 485.

Although the Sikuquanshu Head was edited during the Qianlong reign, it reflects to a considerable extent the official opinion of the Qing dynasty, and it is worth considering its significance in the Ming and Qing dynasties and its relationship with the Fangli. The Sikuquanshu Head has a description of the 'imperial edicts and zhen-jiao' category.

The two histories are divided into two divisions. The right history is also responsible for the writing of the notes, while the left history is contemptuous. The only thing that Wang Yan has done is to make imperial decrees. According to the Book of the Tang Dynasty, this division was first established in the Ministry of History. 黃虞稷《千頃堂書目》則移制誥於「集部」，次於「別集」。 The title of the Dissertation, Mingtang, has no vague meaning, and the gains and losses of governance and chaos can be traced. This is the pivot of political affairs, not just the essays. It is not just a class of essays, but a collection of words and writings that are obscure to reason. The Letters Patent in the Shang Shu have clear indications. It is still contained here

"The 'Ministry of History', in the ancient sense of the word, was also used. The 'general examination of documents' begins with the 'zheng yan' as its own department, which also resides at the end of the collection. In the Han Dynasty, there are eighteen articles on zhengzhi, which are listed between the Zhan Guo Ce and Shi Ji, and are attached to the end of the Spring and Autumn Period. This is clear evidence that the discussion of affairs should be placed in the 'History' section. It is clear that this is the case.²²

On the one hand, it argues for the transfer of both from the collection to the history section, and on the other, it implies that the political status of imperial edicts was higher than that of literature, and therefore higher than that of officials' discursive writings. However, most of the collections of personal essays included in the 'imperial essays' category are marked by individuals or officials, as in the Two Walls Essays', and only a few have titles that enumerate areas of governance, as in Wang Ji's 'Essays on the South of the Country', or issues, as in Li Hualong's 'Essays on the South of the Country'.

Zuoren (Zuoren for the Rule of the River),²³ and war-related zoan collections such as Wan Zhengsei's (1637-1691) Pinyue Zuoren are even more limited.

In contrast, the collections of individual war-related zhengjian, which are not entitled 'zhengjian' and are included in the Sikuquanshu Head, are mostly placed in the 'Miscellaneous History' category, which states.

"The title 'Miscellaneous History' was first published in the Sui Shu. It is difficult to classify the numerous books. It was meant to encompass

all the various bodies and to encompass a wide range of names. Therefore, Wang Jia's Gleanings and Kapzuka's Trivia can be listed alongside the Shang Shu of Wei and the Liang Shi Lu, which is not objectionable. However, since it is a historical title, the events

²² By Yong Rong et al, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 55, p. 492.

²³ By Yongruong et al, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 55, 56, pp. 500, 508-509.

A novel of a different kind. The book has a body, so how can it not be divided. I am using the old text to create this category. All the writings in this category are intended to be unique. It is not only the beginning and end of a matter, but also the whole of a generation. The first and second stories are not the whole of a generation, or the first stories of a time, but the personal records of a family. It is hoped that the remaining texts will be sufficient to preserve the history, to provide evidence and to prepare the reader of history for reference. The book is not a complete account of a single generation, but rather a private account of a single time and anecdote.²⁴

It is likely that this is because the titles of the individual collections of 'imperial edicts and zazhens', whether of individuals, officials, regions or events, are clearly labelled with the words 'zazhens' or 'zhenshu' at the end; however, the titles of many war-related collections of zazhens in the Ming and Qing dynasties were often no longer labelled with the words 'zazhens', but with the general term 'war events'. In addition to the above, there are a number of other examples of 'miscellaneous histories' in the Synopsis of the Four Books, such as Wang Shi's Pingban zhuan: 'This is a record of his zhengzhi' and Qin Jin's (1467-1544) An Chu zhuan: 'This book was written by him when he was deputy imperial governor of Huguang and was fighting the Yao invaders. Volume 1 is an imperial edict, volume 2, volume 3 is a zhenshu, volume 4, volume 5 is a diatribe, volumes 6 to 9 are inscribed with a poem, and volume 10 is an appendix on the legacy of Fengqiu'; Fang Mingyue (1505-?) This book is a summary of the history of the invasion by Fan Ziyi and Li Nayan of Qiongzhou in the 28th year of the Jiajing reign. The first five volumes are for the invasion, the sixth volume is for the post-evaluation, the seventh volume is for the consultation, the eighth to the eleventh volumes are for the card, the twelfth to the fourteenth volumes are for the book. 十五卷為評批、為祭文」等。²⁵ Basically, these books are compilations of official documents such as zhenshu, but the names are different from the titles of the collections of individual zhenshu included in the 'imperial edicts and zhenshu', so it is no wonder that they have been relegated to the 'miscellaneous histories'. Although it is not unintentional that the Synopsis of the Four Treasury Heads

²⁴ By Yong Rong and others, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 51, p. 560.

²⁵ By Yong Rong et al, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 53, pp. 477-479, 484-485.

It is noted that these texts are not only 'inscribed with the diatribes of the ministry of the time',²⁶ , but also emphasise that some of them are 'mostly written down by officials',²⁷ , so they are not regarded as personal collections of the officials. It is therefore included in the 'Miscellaneous History' category, which is 'a record of an event'. In other words, because of the specific subject matter of the Ming and Qing war-related zazhi collections, both their titles and their contents are more flexible, and their classification is not limited to the 'imperial zazhi' category, but can be crossed over to the 'miscellaneous history' category of 'the history of a matter'.

In contrast, Fangliu in the "Sikuquanshu" belongs to the "where a book with the origin and end of all things, and a book with the origin and end of a matter, the total collection in this. It is not labelled as a record of the end of a matter, but is actually a record of the end of a matter, and is also included in the 'Record of the end of a matter' category.²⁸ However, the same 'record of the beginning and end of a matter' of the Ming and Qing war-related zhengjian may be classified as a miscellaneous history due to the fact that 'if there are only occasional records, there are not many books, so they are still part of the miscellaneous histories and biographies, not included here' and 'but the beginning and end of a matter, not the whole of a generation'.²⁹ However, in the light of the close relationship between the Ming and Qing personal war-related zhengjian collections and the body of the strategy, the two belong to different categories of the history section in the Sikuquanshu, and it may be useful to consider the significance of their division.

In order to clarify these issues, this article first examines the development of personal war-related zhengjian collections during the Ming dynasty in chronological order, then discusses the changes in war-related zhengjian collections of officials during the Kangxi period, and finally discusses the relationship between the first two and the compilation of Kangxi court strategies, while the remainder of the paper explains the changes and positioning of strategies during the Qianlong dynasty. It is hoped that by tracing and contrasting the sources over a long period of time, the meaning and development of the newly created Fangliu in the Qing dynasty, and its relationship to the collection of personal war-related zhen-jian of the Ming dynasty, will be re-examined, and the significance of the creation of Fangliu in the Kangxi dynasty, which was previously regarded as one of the representatives of Manchurian martial culture, will be reconsidered. However, it should be noted that

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- ²⁶ By Yong Rong et al, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 53, p. 484.
- ²⁷ By Yong Rong and others, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 54, p. 485.
- ²⁸ By Yong Rong and others, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 49, p. 437.
- ²⁹ By Yongruong et al, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 49, 51, pp. 437, 460.

It is clear that the Kangxi dynasty's strategies are discussed mainly in the context of the "Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Rebellions" and the "Strategy for the Personal Expedition for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert" because, although the Kangxi dynasty compiled other strategies such as the "Strategy for the Pacification of the Chahar" and the "Strategy for the Pacification of the Chahar

The two strategies were only included in the Qianlong Siku Quanshu (Four Books of the Qianlong period), but according to Yao Jirong's research, they were either small and unformed, or secret.³⁰In addition, the Qianlong Siku Quanshu only contains the "Strategies for the Pacification of the Three Revolts" and the "Strategies for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert", so the representativeness of these two strategies can also be seen, and so this article will only discuss them.

The Prevalence and Transformation of Personal War-related Zhangs in the Ming Dynasty

The popularity of Ming scholarly collections has been noted for a long time, but in the past scholars have mostly emphasised the compilation of multiple collections of zhengjian, such as the Huangming Zhuanjian Zhuanshu,³¹. However, the fact that there were also event-centred collections such as the Chaoyuan Zhuanshu,³², in addition to the classical texts, suggests that there were other cultural aspects of zhengjian that could be further explored. In particular, it has rarely been realised that the number and variety of individual collections of zhengjian were significantly increased during the Ming dynasty, and that this had an impact on their

³⁰ The Ping Ding Hai Kou Fangliu exists only in unwritten form, the Ping Ding Chahar Fangliu is available only in copy, and the modern Ping Ding Luo Za Fangliu is a reprint from the Guangxu Gong Shun Tang Jingshu. Yao Jirong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu*, pp. 78-81.

³¹ For example, Wolfgang Franke, "Historical Writing during the Ming," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 7, The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 1, edited by Frederick W. Mote, Denis Twitchett, 734 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). -1644, Part 1, edited by Frederick W. Mote, Denis Twitchett, 734 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988)*. Chinese translation in Mou Fuli and Cui Ruide, edited by Zhang Shusheng and Yang Pinquan, et al.

〈明代的歷史寫述〉，收录《劍橋中國明代史》，上卷（北京：中国社會科學出版社，2006），p. 43；Yang Yanqiu, *Exploring the History of the Ming Dynasty* (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2005), pp. 232-241.

³² Liu Guangfu, ed. In addition, the book "The Records of the Emperor Ming's Japanese Harboring", which covers "the summons of the sages, the chapters of the ministers, the history of public and private innovations, and the strategy of war and defence in China and abroad", contains a large proportion of chapters and chapters, and may be considered a compilation of multiple submissions in a broad sense. Wang Shiqi, *The Records of the Imperial Ming Dynasty* (Harvard University, Yanjing Library, Ming Wanli edition).

The changes in the classification of catalogues, not to mention the corresponding historical significance, are discussed here. In this context, a collection of individual zhengjian refers to the collection of individual officials' zhengjian, as well as official documents such as imperial edicts, diagrams, advisory letters, and sometimes biographical information on the author, and even a collection of related texts such as letters and inscribed poems; for a few lower-ranking officials, official documents such as ministry diagrams were the main focus. Since the Song dynasty, there has been a gradual increase in the compilation of individual collections of zhengjiao, which have been published not only by famous ministers, but also by scholars known for their literary achievements. For the first time, a collection of individual zhengjian appeared independently in the classification of the four 'Collected Works' of the Southern Song, rather than in Ma Duanlin's (1254-1323) General Examination of Literary Literature of the Yuan dynasty, as mentioned in the aforementioned Siku Quanshu Head.³⁴ For example, in the Southern Song dynasty, You Jeng's (1127-1194) *Suichu Tang Shu Mu* (Sui Chu Tang Shu Mu) was the first to list the 'zhanzhao' category in the Collected Works, and this was later followed by Chen Zhen Sun's (1179-1262) *Zhi Zhai Shu Lu Jie Jie*;³³ Zheng Qiao's (1104-1162) *Tong Zhi Yi Wen Liao* (Tong Zhi), although it breaks through the four divisions, also lists the 'zhanzhao' sub-category under the 'wen' category, which should be related to the fact that personal zhanzhao collections began to flourish in the Song dynasty. This is probably related to the fact that personal collections of zhengjian began to flourish in the Song dynasty. After the Qianlong *Sikuquanshu*, 'imperial edicts' and 'zhengjian' were transferred to the 'History' section, a change that is generally considered to have begun with the compilation of the *Sikuquanshu*.³⁵ However, the scholar Yang Yimqiu has already pointed out that in the Ming dynasty, Zhu Mu's (1520-1587) *Book Catalogue of Ten Thousand Scrolls* already divided 'zhengjian' into thirteen categories, including 'Zheng Shi', 'Chronology', 'Miscellaneous History', 'Historical Commentary', and 'Jiju Jiao'. Chen Di's (1541-1617) *Catalogue of the Shishantang Collection* is also listed in the "History" section.

18 The categories include 'imperial decrees' and 'zhengqi'.³⁶ In addition, in the Ming dynasty, Xu Tu et al. wrote

The "History" section of the "Carved Book Catalogue" also has a category for "Zhangyan".³⁷ The "History" section of the "Kasazetang Book Catalogue" by Wang Daoming of the Ming Dynasty

³³ Yao Mingda, *A History of Chinese Cataloguing* (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2002), p. 79; Lin Yuci, *A Study of You Jiang and His Suichutang Shuji* (Xinbei: Master's thesis, Institute of Oriental Humanistic Thought, Huaan University, 2009), pp. 80-83; He Guang-Yen, *Chen Zhen-Sun's Literature and the Collection of his Zhizhai Shuji* (Zhonghe: Hua Mulan Publishing House, 2010), pp.

41-42. (Zhonghe: Hua Mu Lan Press, 2010), pp. 41-42.

³⁴ Peter Chang and Meiyue Pan, *Chinese Bibliography* (Taipei: Wen Shi Zhe Press, 1986), pp. 162-169.

³⁵ Yao Mingda, *A History of Chinese Cataloguing*, p. 79.

³⁶ Yang Yimqiu, 'History in Ming dynasty catalogue works', *Chinese Texts and Culture*, 1 (Beijing, 2006), pp. 20-21.

³⁷ Xu Tu et al., "A Catalogue of Reprinted Books by the Pedestrian Division" (in *Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Bibliographical Series, Ming Dynasty*, vol.

After 'Commentary' also comes the category of 'Zhaoyan',³⁸ , which shows the relaxation of the 'Zhaoyan' from the 'Collection' to the 'History' section in the Ming dynasty. For example, in the 'History' section of the 'History' category in Qi Chengzheng's (1563-1628) 'Tanshangtang Shuibi', there are examples of contemporary collections of zhengjian, such as He Qiaoxin's (1427-1502) 'Shuanshu xuanji' and 'Pingxia zhuanran', and Mei Guozhen's (1542-1605) 'Mei Hengxiang zhengjian'.³⁹ The 'miscellaneous histories' in the 'Book Catalogue' also include Qin Jin's 'An Chu Record', which is in fact a personal collection of zhengzhi.⁴⁰ also shows the tendency of the Ming zhengzhi collections to move closer to the 'history section'.

In terms of style, the zazen had both literary connotations and specific content aimed at political affairs. The Tang historian Liu Zhiji (661-721) criticized the obscene style of ornamentation as leading to 'a series of chapters and records without a single word being wasted, which, instead of being a historical book, would become a collection of writings',⁴¹ but it is also clear that the zazen could have been classified as both 'historical' and "However, since the Southern Song dynasty, zhengjian has long been classified as part of the "Collection" in the catalogue, so why did it suddenly appear in the Ming dynasty as part of the "History" section? Although it is difficult to know the specific reasons why the above-mentioned individual Ming bibliographies changed the inclusion of 'zhengjian' in the 'Collection' since the Southern Song dynasty, with the exception of the 'Reprinted Bibliography of the Pedestrian Division', which only lists 'the books of the previous dynasty' and includes Ming zhengjian in the 'Allusions' category because of 'the cheapness of the times, the flurry of articles, and the admonition to listen to the wise',⁴² other Ming bibliographies with changes in classification have a significant proportion of contemporary personal collections of zhengjian listed in the 'Zhengjian' category, providing a clue for further consideration. The other Ming dynasty bibliographies in the category of 'zhen yan' include a significant proportion of contemporary personal collections of zhen yan, providing clues for further reflection. For example, the catalogue of the Shishantang Collection contains a modest 28 titles in the category of 'zhengjian'.

(vol. 1, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuji, 2006, based on a copy of the 1939 edition of Wang Dalong's Jimao Zongjian), pp. 16b-17a.

³⁸ Wang Daoming, The Kasazawa Hall Bibliography, pp. 36a-38a.

³⁹ Qi Chengzhi, Tan Sheng Tang Shu Mu (in Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Shu Mu Jue Jue, Ming dynasty, vol. 2, Beijing: Zhonghua Shu Shu Shu, 2006, based on a copy of the Shaoxing Xianzheng Zu Shu published by Xu of Huiji during the Guangxu period of the Qing dynasty), vol. 3,

pp. 9b-10a.

⁴⁰ Wang Daoming, *The Kasazawa Hall Bibliography*, p. 33a.

⁴¹ Liu Zhijī, Shi Tong (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2008), vol. 5, 'Carrying Text', p. 92.

⁴² Xu Tu et al., *The Pedestrian Division's Catalogue of Reprinted Books*, p. 4a.

Although there is a relatively large collection of zoans and zoans, there are **six collections of individual zoans from the Ming dynasty**;⁴³ Kasazawa

Of the nearly fifty entries in the Tang Bibliography, **forty** contemporary collections of personal recitations make up the largest number.⁴⁴ The Wanvotang Bibliography contains over 130 entries, including nearly 120 collections **of personal recitations from the Ming dynasty**.^{45,48} In addition to reflecting the popularity of these collections, an in-depth look at their titles reveals that they ranged from the Song dynasty, when they were mainly based on personal names or official positions, to the Ming dynasty, when they were centred on events, such as Tian Shiwei's *The Purging of the Rulers*,⁴⁶ Zhang Huan's *The Purging of the Japanese*,⁴⁷ and even the titles, where the word "zheng" is missing from the title, making it difficult to know the genre of the collection. It is difficult to distinguish between these two genres, such as Chen Liao's *Anbian Lu*, Xu Lun's (1495-1566) *San Jie Lu*,⁴⁹ and the Ming's wild history notes, such as Sun Yunzhong's (1506-1573) *Yunzhong Jie Shu* (1506-1573), which are included in Qi Chengzhi's *Tansheng Tang Shu Shu Shu*.⁵⁰ reveals that the reason for the reclassification of the zhengjian collection to the 'History Department' in the Ming dynasty was not unrelated to its role in recording specific events, rather than merely emphasising the literary and political qualities of individuals or the style of officialdom. This was particularly true of the frontier-related topics, which gave the collection the nature of a historical document, and was an important reason for the conversion of the individual collections to the 'History Section'. The preceding example, *Tantan*

⁴³ Chen Di, *A Catalogue of the Shishantang Collection* (in Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasty Book Catalogues, Volume 2, Ming Dynasty, Beijing: China Book Bureau, 2006, photocopied from the *Zhijianzhai Zhongshu* engraved by Changtang Bao during the Qianlong period of the Qing dynasty), vol. 56a-57a; Zhuang Linfang, 'Chen Di and his Shishantang Collection' (Fuzhou: Master's thesis, Institute of Chinese Ancient Literature, Fujian Normal University, 2008); Wu Qingyan, 'A Study of the Travels of Chen Di, a Private Scholar in Fujian during the Ming Dynasty' (Fuzhou: Master's thesis, Fujian Normal University, 2015). (Fuzhou: Master's thesis, Institute of Library Science, Fujian Normal University, 2015).

⁴⁴ Yang Yimqiu, 'History in Ming dynasty catalogue works', pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵ Zhu Mu 樛, *Wannan tang shu mei*, vol. 2, pp. 5b-8a.

⁴⁶ Zhu Mu 樛, *Shu mei wan mu tang*, vol. 2, p. 5b; Wang Daoming, *Shu mei kasawa tang*, p. 36a-38a.

⁴⁷ Zhu Mu 樛, *Wannan tang shu mei*, vol. 2, p. 7a.

⁴⁸ Zhu Mu 樛, *Wanvotang Shumu*, vol. 2, p. 7a.

⁴⁹ Zhu Mu 樛, *Shu mei wan mu tang*, vol. 2, p. 7a; Wang Daoming, *Shu mei kasawa tang*, p. 36a-38a.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of wild history notes, see Xie Guozheng, 'An Overview of Ming and Qing Wild History Notes', in Xie Guozheng, *The Style of Learning in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties* (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Press, 2004), pp. 81-96.

The collection of contemporary zhen-jian in the Shengtang Shuhui is concentrated in the 'Wu Gong' category of the 'History of the State', while others, such as the 'Current Affairs' category, also include the 'He Gong Zhongyu',⁵¹ , but the number of entries is very small, which is also indicative of the development of individual zhen-jian collections in the Ming dynasty in relation to Jingwu events.

Changes in the number of Ming officials' zhengjian collections and in the prominence of border affairs and warfare can also be seen in other materials. In terms of the number of individual submissions, there are still a few surviving and reprinted copies in major library catalogues, such as Wang Chonggu's (1515-1588) *Zanzhi Zanzhi* (Zanzhi, Shao Bao Jianchuan Wang Gong): 'Volumes 1 to 11 of the military affairs of the governors of Xuanda and Shanxi... ..Vol. 12-15: "The Military Affairs of Shaanxi, Yanning and Gansu",⁵² Tam Lun (1520-1577) *Tan Xiangmin*, "The Mien Manuscript", "The Shu Manuscript", "The Lia Manuscript of Thistle", and ⁵³Gao Wenjian (1527-1586), "*Zanzhi Zanzhi*" (Zanzhi zanzhi), ⁵⁴Sun Chengzong (1563-1638) "*Zanzhi zanzhi*" (Zanzhi zanzhi),⁵⁵ , "*Zanzhi zanzhi*" (Zanzhi zanzhi),⁵⁶ , "*Zanzhi zanzhi*" (Zanzhi zanzhi) and "*Zanzhi zanzhi*" (Zanzhi zanzhi), and Sun Chengzong's "*Zanzhi zanzhi*" (Zanzhi zanzhi).⁵⁷ A search of Ming collections will reveal a surprising number of self

⁵¹ Qi Chengzhi, *Tansheng tang shu mu*, vol. 3, p. 17a.

⁵² Beijing University Library, Ming Wanli engraved book, Wang Chongmin, *Synopsis of Good Chinese Books* (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Press, 1983), p. 176.

⁵³ TAN Lun, *Tan Xiangmin Gong zao yan* (in Jiang Yasha, Jing Li and Chen Zhanqi, eds, *Zhongguo dianji jianbian jianbian*, Beijing: National Center for the Reproduction of Cultural Documents, 2009, based on a copy published by Gu Gu Gu in Yihuang in the twenty-eighth year of the Wanli era).

⁵⁴ Library of Congress Collection, Ming Wanli Engraved Book, Wang Chongmin, *Synopsis of Good Chinese Books*, pp. 176-177.

⁵⁵ Beijing University Library, late Ming inscriptions, Wang Chongmin, *Synopsis of Good Chinese Books*, p. 178.

⁵⁶ Nagasawa Noriyukiya, *Sanjuso-no-mori* (Tokyo: Classical Studies Association, 1964); Yamane Yukio, 'Sanjuso-no-mori and Hu Zongxian', in Yamane Yukio, *Studies in the History of the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Tokyo: Kenmon Publishing, 1989), pp. 48-53.

⁵⁷ Shi Maohua, '*Zanshu Zanshu*, Governor of Yi'an'; Xu Yuantai, '*Zanshu Zanshu*' (in Jiang Yasha, Jing Li, and Chen Zhanqi, eds, *The Rare Books of Chinese Literature*, Beijing: National Library Documentary Microfilm Reproduction Centre, 2009, based on a copy from the 17th year of the Wanli era); Sun Chengzong, '*Zanshu Zanshu*' (in Jiang Yasha, Jing Li, and Chen Zhanqi, eds, *The Rare Books of Chinese Literature*, Beijing: National Library Documentary Microfilm Reproduction Centre, 2009, based on a copy from the late Ming dynasty). Beijing: National Centre for the Reproduction of Library Documents, 2009, photocopied from a late Ming inscription).

序、他序或代序的奏議、奏疏、疏草、疏稿等序；其中標題在沿襲過去標示個人和官職之外，也可見前述標舉武功事件者，如〈胡公平寇奏議序〉、⁵⁸〈太保邢公東征奏議序〉。⁵⁹What is particularly noteworthy is that even in the Ming dynasty, the collection of zao-an (zao-an) with personal or official titles, there is an increasing emphasis on frontier warfare, unlike in the Song dynasty. 以個人為題的奏議集，出現不少武職者例如〈劉大將軍奏議序〉、⁶⁰〈大司馬王公督撫奏議序〉、⁶¹〈兩督奏議序〉「大司馬虞坡楊公」、⁶²〈栢泉胡公督撫奏議序〉「少司馬栢泉胡公」、⁶³〈督府奏議序〉「司馬荊山王公」等。⁶⁴官職標題者更出現了大量督撫邊疆者，序言也經常強調邊務和戰事的勝利，⁶⁵例如〈防海撫畿奏疏序〉「外則奉倭虜之備」、⁶⁶〈少保王公督府奏議序〉「都督雲中、

⁵⁸ Chen Zilong and others, *Huangming jing shi wen wen* (in *Zhongxiu shiqu quanshu*, Collected Works, p. 1659)

(Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2002, based on a photocopy of the Ming Chongzhen engraving), vol. 264, p. 7b.

⁵⁹ Li Guangyuan, Shi Nanzi (Harvard-Yenching Library Collection, inscribed by Ming Chongzhen), vol. 6, pp. 2b-6a.

⁶⁰ Ni Yuanlu, Ni Wenzhen ji (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge si qu Quanshu*, vol. 1297, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, based on a copy in the collection of the National Palace Museum), vol. 7, p. 21a.

⁶¹ Wang Daokun, Taikanji (in *Siku Quanshu Cunmu jungle*, Collected Works, vol. 117, Tainan: Chuang Yen Culture Publishing Company, 1997, based on a photocopy of the Ming Wanli engraving in the Peking University Library), vol. 25, p. 5b.

⁶² Zhang Shuinan, Zhang Shuinan Wenji (in *Siku Quanshu Cunmu jungle*, Collected Works, vol. 76, Tainan: Chuang Yen Culture Publishing Company, 1997, based on a copy of the Ming Longqing engraving in the Tsinghua University Library), vol. 5, p. 20a.

⁶³ Yin Tai, Dong Lu Tang Ji (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu*, vol. 1277, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, based on a copy in the collection of the National Palace Museum), vol. 1, p. 46a.

⁶⁴ Tang Long, Yu Shi Jie (in *Siku Quanshu Cunmu Jongshu*, Collected Works, vol. 65, Tainan: Chuang Yen Culture Publishing Company, 1997, based on a photocopy of the Ming Jiajing engraving in the Shanghai Library), vol. 2, p. 21a.

⁶⁵ In addition, there are also collections of zazhens whose titles do not specifically refer to border affairs and warfare, but are highlighted in the preface; for example, Wu Shan's 'Preface to Zhu Jianzhai's Zazhens' states that 'it is a compilation of the later Jianbai's declarations. The most important thing is to fight against the invasion and defend the border, and there are many opportunities to do so. Zhu Jin, Zhu Jianzhai zao yanji (Harvard University, Yanjing Library, reprinted in the fifty-third year of the Kangxi era), vol. 1, 'Preface', p. 4a.

⁶⁶ 顧起元，〈防海撫畿奏疏序〉，《懶真草堂集》(收入《四庫禁毀書叢刊

上谷諸鎮」、⁶⁷〈大司徒張公撫遼奏議序〉「清河、劈山諸處，先後奏凱」、⁶⁸〈雙谿陝西奏議序〉「六軍克捷」、⁶⁹〈毅菴石先生總督陝西三邊奏議序〉「敘功奏凱」、⁷⁰〈督府奏議序〉「三路捷奏」、⁷¹〈南贛督府奏議序〉「先後以捷聞」、⁷²〈總制邊務奏議序〉「駿功茂烈，有平寇之碑」、⁷³〈制府奏議序〉「總制陝西三邊軍務……胡戰弗克」、⁷⁴〈督撫奏議序〉「公之撫閩……自公兵政成」、⁷⁵〈栢泉胡公督撫奏議序〉「督撫我江西… …and the great battle against the thieves under his command」⁷⁶，also show the prevalence of personal collections of war-related zhengqi in the Ming dynasty.

In addition to these entries, which are easily retrieved by keywords, the above-mentioned bibliographies, in which the word zao is no longer found in the title and which can only be identified as a collection of personal war-related zao by means of a synopsis or a reading of the whole book, are scattered in various materials and library collections. For example, the aforementioned Siku Quanshu

Supplementary Works, vols. 68-69, photocopied from the Ming edition of Wanli 46); Wang Yingjiao, Zhangshu, Fugui Zhangshu, and Zhangshu of the Ministry of Planning (Harvard University, Yenching Library, Ming and Qing dynasties), also included in Shuxiu Shiku Quanshu, vol. 480 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1995, photocopied from the Ming engraving in the Beijing Library).

⁶⁷ Chen Zilong et al, Huangming jing shi wen zhi wen, vol. 334, p. 20b.

⁶⁸ Chen Zilong et al, Huangming jing shi wen zhi wen, vol. 434, p. 11a.

⁶⁹ Cui Miao, Huan Yi (in Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu), vol. 1267, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the collection of the National Palace Museum, vol. 12, p. 62b.

⁷⁰ Liu Bo Xie, He Ming Ji (in The Four Treasury of Uncollected Books, Series 5, vol. 22, Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 2000, reprinted from an engraving by Zheng Mao Xun in the 14th year of the Ming dynasty), vol. 19, p. 4a.

⁷¹ Tang Long, Yu Shi Ji, vol. 2, p. 21b.

⁷² Wang Daokun, Taikanji, vol. 20, p. 17b.

⁷³ Wang Jiushi, 漢陂集 (in Continuing the Four Treasury Books, Collected Works, vol. 1334, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1995, based on a photocopy of the Ming Jiajing engraving of the Chongzhen supplement), Continuing the Collection, vol. 37a.

⁷⁴ Wang Weizhen, Huaiye xianzhu shu shu (in Shuxiu siku quanshu, Collected Works, vol. 1344, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1995, based on an engraving made in the 34th year of the Ming dynasty), vol. 2, p. 8a.

⁷⁵ Ye Xianggao, Cangxia Cao (in The Four Treasury of Forbidden Books, Collected Works, vol. 124, Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 1995, based on a copy of the Ming Wanli engraving in the Peking University Library), vol. 6, p. 64.

⁷⁶ Yintai, Dongluotang ji, vol. 1, pp. 46b-47a.

In the "Miscellaneous Histories" category of the Head Abstracts, there are the "Pingban Record", the "An Chu Record", the "Jiaoli Fuzhi Shu Shu", the "Ping Yi Gongji Record", and the "Pingbao Quanshu"; or in other documents, such as the "Preface to the Pinggyong Quanshu" in the collection "Cangxia Cao" by Ye Xianggao (1559-1627) of the Ming Dynasty: "When Songluo Peng Gong was in charge of Shu, he conquered the southern barbarians, and all the rulers were compiled together",⁷⁷ and Cheng Rie's "The Book of Pinghai", "The Book of Pinghai".⁷⁸ The book is a collection of personal recommendations, the first two being more related to the war effort. The first two are even more relevant to the war effort. Even Dong Yuchen (1572-1648), the imperial governor of Yunnan Province in the National Public Library of Japan, has a collection of all of his imperial edicts in volumes 1 to 8; Jiang Liangdong's Zhenwu Record, volumes 1 to 2 (Zhenwu Record), contains imperial edicts, imperial edicts, ordinances, articles, and poems; volumes 3 to 4 (Dongjian Record), contains imperial edicts from Jiang Liangdong's superior, Wan Shide; and volume 5 (Xijian Record), contains seven edicts from the Ministry of Military Affairs, including a review of the mutual market effort; Lin Zhaoding (1570-1633), a collection of his imperial edicts, imperial edicts, ordinances, articles, and poems. The book is a collection of the records of the war, which were written by the emperor himself. The Pyeonglan Chronicle and Volume 2 of the Rindong Chronicle, and Volumes 3 and 4 of the Jingbian Jyutaku, the Conquest and Suppression

The latter two are even more war-related. Although the titles of these three books are not explicitly stated, they can all be classified as collections of personal recitations, the latter two being even more war-related, so it is conceivable that there is more material that has been temporarily lost in the pile without the aid of synopses.

These numerous collections of personal war-related zodiacs, like the newly discovered eunuchs and battle maps that were also popular during the Ming dynasty, can be said to be the result of the self and mutual labeling of individuals at the time.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ye Xianggao, *Cangxia yucao* (in *The Four Treasury of Forbidden Books, Collected Works*, vol. 125, Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 1995, based on a copy of the Ming Wanli engraving in the Peking University Library), vol. 6, p. 8a.

⁷⁸ Library of Congress Collection, *Ming Wanli Engraved Book*, Wang Chongmin, *Synopsis of Good Chinese Books*, p. 144.

⁷⁹ Ma Yazhen, "War Honours and Eunuchs: War-related Images and the Visual Culture of Officials in the Ming Dynasty", *Ming Studies*, 17 (Taipei, 2011), pp. 49-89. For a Japanese translation, see Ma Yazhen, translated by Uematsu Ruihi, "War

The latter is a part of the culture of officials who were eunuchs.⁸⁰⁸² Both are similar in subject matter, documentary sources and production mechanisms, and both are records centred on the experiences of the scholar as an official, with a large number of related entries in the scholar's anthology. There are even a few examples where images and documents are combined to highlight the achievements of individuals. For example, the Annan Laiwei Album, now in the National Library in Beijing, is a collection of images from the descendants of Jiang Yigui, the governor of Taiping Prefecture, and the Annan Laiwei Album (containing surrender books and accounts of achievements) to highlight the contribution of Mo Deng-yong (1483?-1541), who had invaded the rebellious Ming in Annan.⁸³ Another surviving example is Qin Jin's An Chu

Hoon and Eunuchs – War Images and the Visual Culture of Officials in the Ming Dynasty, 23 (Tokyo, 2013), pp. 316-347; also in Makiko Suda, ed.

⁸⁰ 如汪道昆(1525-1593)，〈大司馬王公督撫奏議序〉：「視師諸疏，公嘗梓之」，見汪道昆，《太函集》，卷 25，頁 8a。

⁸¹ For example, Han Bangqi (1479-1556), 'Preface to the Shaanxi Zao': 'I, the Duke of Shaanxi, request an inscription', in Han Bangqi

Qi, Yuan Luo Ji (in Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu, vol. 1269, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from a copy in the National Palace Museum), vol. 1, p. 19b. Lu Chou (1479-1542), 'Preface to Shaanxi Zao Yan': 'There are good masters of the pastoral system who have recorded the books, and I have added them to the wood', in Lu Chou

The Collected Works of Mr. Jingye (in Siku Quanshu Cunmu Jongshu, Collected Works, vol. 61, Tainan: Chuang Yen Culture Publishing Co., 1997, photocopied from an engraved copy by Yu Dechang in the Hunan Library in the 34th year of the Ming dynasty), vol. 13, p. 29b. Tang Long (1477-1546), 'Preface to the Prefect's Zao': 'Who is the one who has carved the book to pass it on to the world? For a discussion of this, see Tang Long, Yu Shi Ji, vol. 2, p. 19a. Wang Weizhen (1507-1555), 'Preface to the Zuifu Zao Suggestions': 'Li Jun, the deputy military attaché of Diannan in Zhongyuan Prefecture, begged to be engraved by Mr. Jiu, and when Li Jun left, he arrived at Dongshan Ji Jun, and the engraving was completed', in Wang Weizhen, Huaiye xianzhu shu shu, vol. 2, p. 8a. Zhang Iron (1487-1564).

For the 'Preface to the Two Supervisors': 'His supervisor, Gao Junmou, a member of the Shandong Municipality, has also interpreted the book', see Zhang Shuinan, Zhang Shuinan Wenji, vol. 5, p. 20.

⁸² 如汪道昆，〈御史大夫思質王公奏議序〉：「二子次公奏議數百篇」，見汪道昆，《太函集》，卷 21，頁 6a。

⁸³ Feng Shiyong, Liang Tianxie and Jiang Meizhong, An Nanlai Wei Tuhua (in Beijing Library Antiquarian Books)

(Beijing: Bibliographic Literature Publishing House, 1988, based on a copy of the Ming Longqing engraving), pp. 373-479 (the number of pages in this book is confused by the original engraving, so the new number of pages in the photocopy is used.

Although there is no diagram in the Records, the preface by Rudo (1458-1524) mentions that 'the records contain diagrams, chapters and declarations, diacritical orders, and texts of sacrifices, all of which are signs of the usefulness of their facilities'.⁸⁴ vol. 6 The Preface to the General Operation of the Rongji by Yi Shu (1475-1526) states that 'he drew a diagram depicting the image of a public official at a teacher, a wise man ordering a general, and a selective soldier issuing orders, and wrote on it the imperial decree on the awarding of merit and the preface to the Letters Patent'.⁸⁵ First of the original volume The picture in the original volume may also be related to the events of Qin Jin. Although Jiang Liangdong's Records of Zhenwu may not have been illustrated, the preface to Sun Youguang's poem, 'The images drawn by the generals in the county and the poems and texts written by the officers to show them',⁸⁶ , also suggests that the war honour images and the collection of individual war-related zhengzhi could have been used to honour the deeds of the officials, either separately or simultaneously with images and texts, and that both were closely related and part of the culture of the officials.

However, compared to the Eunuchs and War Honours, which were mainly paintings and few engravings, and had a limited audience, the collection of personal war-related zhangs was mainly published in text, and was probably even more popular; the latter, with its more direct textual presentation, could also be used as a platform for posterity and even self-proclamation among officials by including other texts. In addition to the aforementioned Guo Zizhang's 'The Beginning and End of the Qianzhong Pingxiao': 'The Zanshu Zanshu is slightly interpreted to identify its falsehoods',⁸⁷ as an example of directly using the content of the Zanshu to counteract the Pingxiao novel;⁸⁸ there are also examples such as 'The Preface to the Zanshu Zanshu of the Shaoshi Xia Gong': 'The Preface to the Zanshu Zanshu'. 'In the past, Ouyang Wenzhong was a great ignoramus, but his writings and temperament shone through the ages. The essays of Ouyang Wenzhong, who was a great ignoramus, shone brightly through the ages. This will be used to show how much you have hidden.

Note). For a discussion of this book, see note 79. Also, **Kathlene Baldanza** has compared the different records of this matter in Chinese and Vietnamese literature, including the Annam Levin Album, see **Kathlene Baldanza, "The Ambiguous Border: Early Modern Sino-Vietnamese Relations," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2010), Chapter Four.**

⁸⁴ Qin Jin, An Chu Record (in Siku Quanshu Cunmu, Shi Shi, vol. 46, Tainan: Chuang Yen) (Cultural Affairs Publishing Company, 1996, based on a photocopy of a Ming engraving), Ruddock's Preface to An Chu Lu, p. 2b.

⁸⁵ Yi Shuxue, 'Preface to the General Transport of the Military', in Qin Jin, An Chu Lu, vol. 6, p. 3a.

⁸⁶ Jiang Liangdong, Zhen Wu Jie (in the collection of the National Public Library, Tokyo, Japan, Wanli),

under Poetry, pp.

12b-13a.

⁸⁷ By Yong Rong and others, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 54, p. 485.

⁸⁸ For a discussion of Guo Zizhang's "The Beginning and End of the Ping-Sowing of Qianzhong" in which he addresses the Ping-talking "in order to argue against its falsehood", see Liao Kebin, "The Plain Talking", in
〈The Book Formation and Ideological Tendencies of the Legend of Zhanbao Zuojie〉, pp. 114-117.

⁸⁹The preface to the collection of war-related prefaces is, of course, too full of praise to be repeated here. The preface to the collection of personal war-related petitions is, of course, too full of praise to be repeated here; some of the prefaces defend the author, such as the 'Preface to the Petition of the Governor of Paiquan and Hu': or that the Governor's proposal for Shanxi was not exempt from the jealousy of the jealous. The preamble to the "Preamble to the Fulbright": "I am not afraid to say that I am not sure that I am not sure that I am.

The person who sue it, in the play is evil, enough to know that the public sparkling without blemish of the heart. The fact that Zhang Zhong Ding can make Shu Zhong a hundred generations to think about, but can not make a day of falsehood is prohibited; Fan Wenzheng can make the summer people small and large regimented, but can not make the two houses happy and the generals and, to its eminence in the white between the vault. The public and the Song two public acts without wisdom and foolishness, all can be seen.⁹⁰

In addition to the collection of related documents, the collection can be edited in a variety of ways to meet the specific needs of the author or editor.

The following few examples of deliberate editing provide a glimpse of how a collection of personal war-related recitations in the Ming dynasty morphed into a platform for expression and proclamation by the editors. The first is the aforementioned An Chu Record, included in the Siku Quanshu Head, where half of its contents, 'volumes 6 to 9 are inscribed with poems, while volume 10 contains an appendix on the legacy of Feng Qiu', include volumes written by 80 central and local 'colleagues'

The five 'inscriptions' in Volume 6, the 29 'poems' in Volume 7, the nine 'hymns' in Volume 8, the 36 'letters' in Volume 9 and the seven 'inscriptions' in Volume 10 on the Fengqiu ancestral shrine are of great importance. The number of these collections of 'chants and rhymes of the gentry' is so large that⁹¹ is almost as large as the official texts. While the large number of praises may seem to overwhelm the audience, the 'appendices of the colleagues are really the same'.⁹² shows the support and praise of the officials' circle. Similarly, with the exception of a few pages of advice, Jiang Liangdong's Book 2 of the Zhen Wu Record is almost entirely devoted to over seventy poems of praise, some of which are even more extensive than others.

⁸⁹ Tian Rucheng, *Tian Shuhe xiaoji* (in *Siku Quanshu Cunmu jianshu*, Collected Works, vol. 88, Tainan: Chuang Yen Culture Publishing Company, 1996, based on an engraved copy of Ming Jiajing 42), vol. 1.

〈少師夏公奏議序〉，頁 20b。

⁹⁰ Yintai, *Dongluotang ji*, vol. 1, p. 48.

⁹¹ Hu Feng, 'After the Anchu Records', in Qin Jin, *Anchu Records*, postface, p. 6b.

⁹² Ruddock, 'Preface to the Anchu Records', in Qin Jin, *Anchu Records*, p. 3a.

The list ranges from nearly a dozen to dozens of peers who 'pay homage to him',⁹³ , and finally to 'a song by Wu Min Shen Daochun and others',⁹⁴ , which is a sprawling demonstration of the recognition he received from all. In particular, volumes 3 and 4 of the 'Records of the Eastern Expedition' also contain a collection of essays by Jiang Liangdong's superiors, such as Wan Shide, preceded by Jiang's postscript.

The emperor, in view of the many problems on the frontier, issued a seal to the governor, ordering the recruitment of all contracting civil and military officials, dismissed generals, and men of the cloth, but those who have strange and good spies, and those who are brave and meritorious, can all be employed. The first **one is the** one who is known to Shu Xiang and Yi Wu, and the third one is not abandoned by Bao Zi. I was not one of them, but I did not dare to be a liability to Shuxiang and Baotzu. He then composed a volume of the book of knowledge and encounters, in which he illustrated small portraits of all the princes, each describing the subtleties of the selection, in order to recognise that he would not forget.⁹⁵

Although it is said that the purpose of this work is not to forget the kindness shown to him by the princes, most of the spokesmen in this collection refer to Jiang Liangdong's achievements, and, like the omissions from the Ministry of War recorded in Book 5, **The Record of the Western Expedition**, they serve the purpose of praising others as well as themselves. As for the Annan Laiwei Album, which has already been mentioned, in addition to the special cut of the illustrations and texts, the compilation of the Annan Laiwei Collection is more than a mere collection of official documents surrounding the invocation of Mo Deng-yong, such as the surrender text in the middle and lower volumes, the Zhangshen Shu, the narrative of merit, the Imazumi, and the thank-you text, or the poetic texts of praise, such as the Pingnan Song, the words of the Southern Expedition, the Zhangshen inscription, and the Zhaode inscription. The upper volume focuses entirely on Jiang Yigui's biography, including his memorials and epitaphs, and focuses heavily on his personal life. The next volume even includes 'accompanying comments' after some of the documents, such as after the 'Investigation of Traitors and the Correction of the Law'.

The right application was originally intended to investigate the traitor to clarify the heart of the matter, the right state law to believe in foreign barbarians also. But the single horseman speech, the mistakes are seen eight years of disturbance, only rely on this, and only this application to see the, public opinion in, a cry of sorrow. In addition, the first look at the place, so that

there is no this application, then Xianning's invitation to merit

⁹³ Jiang Liangdong, Zhen Wu Record, vol. 2, 'Zhen Wu Record', under Poetry, pp. 33b-39b, 43b-46b.

⁹⁴ Jiang Liangdong, Zhen Wu Record, vol. 2, 'Zhen Wu Record', poems, p. 47.

⁹⁵ Jiang Liangdong, Zhenwu zhuanji, vol. 3, 'Records of the Eastern Expedition', no pb.

Even now, those who have been surrendered to the Emperor's grace and dignity were not as numerous as they were at that time.⁹⁶

The first of these is the "The Government of the People's Republic of China".

⁹⁷The first and second collections of Shen Zhengzong's 'The Urgent Affairs of the Imperial Invasion' both contain occasional commentary. The first and second collections of Shen Zhengzong's The Urgent Affairs of the Imperial Invasion both contain occasional commentary, such as 'It is not difficult to combat the bandits, but the soldiers and generals who do so will know how difficult it is. In the past years, I have seen the beginning of the end, but unfortunately, I have ended up saying so. ⁹⁸These examples are exceptional,⁹⁹ , but they also show that the Ming dynasty's collections of individual war-related zhengzhi were no longer simply collections of zhengzhi, but were also a means of expressing the deeds of officials.

The development of personal war-related collections during the Kangxi period: the example of Yao Qisheng's Compendium of Song of Min and Shi Lang's Chronicle of Jinghai¹⁰⁰

This trend in the Ming dynasty of compiling collections of personal war-related zhen-jian was similar to the development of the Ming and Qing dynasties' war-herald maps, which continued and even intensified into the Kangxi dynasty. ¹⁰¹Firstly, both commemorated Han officials, as in Yang Jie's Ping Min, and also extended to Manchurian banners, as in E Hai's Fu Miao. ¹⁰²Furthermore, the variety of representations in the Qing dynasty's War Honours Map and in the collection of individual war-related zhengzhi is also evident.

⁹⁶ Fung Sze Yong, Leung Tin Sik, and Kong Mei Chung, eds, *Annan Lai Wai Album*, p. 454.

⁹⁷ Fung Sze Yong, Leung Tin Sik, and Kong Mei Chung, eds, *Annan Lai Wai Album*, p. 472.

⁹⁸ Shen Zhengzong, "The Continuing Collection of the Urgent Affairs of the Imperial Invaders" (in the Tsinghua University Library, Beijing, Ming dynasty), pp. 1a, 5b.

⁹⁹ However, this may not be an exception, for example, the Zhejiang edition of the Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目) has a very good description of

Zhou Qiyuan (1571-1626) Zhong

The title of the 'Min Min Zao' mentions 'and later the inscriptions of poems by various people'. Peter Chang, 'The Summary of the Siku Quanshu Head in the Wuyingdian Book', in Chang, Peter Chang, 'Adding to the Air-breathing Ancient Books' (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Publishing Co., 1997), pp. 109-110.

¹⁰⁰ This section is available in English from Ya-chen Ma, "To Visualize or Not to Visualize: Commemorating the Suppression of Revolt in Early Qing China," in *Iconic Revolts: Political Violence in Early Modern Imagery*, edited by Monika Renate Barget, David de Boer and Malte Griesse, forthcoming.

¹⁰¹ On the development of individual war honours in the Ming and Qing dynasties, see Ma Yazhen,

'Engraving War Honours'.

¹⁰² Ehai and Che Dingjin, eds. The Red Miao Guihua Gongji Poem Also, Ehai and

The preface is often very long or voluminous. In the case of the prefaces, they are often very long or numerous, such as Tong Guozhi's sprawling preface before the Sanfu Mi Zao Shu Shu and the Sanfu Jie Gong Shu,¹⁰³ and the five prefaces to Wan Zhengshe's Ping Yue Shu Shu,¹⁰⁴ and Yang Jie's Ping Min Jie: 'There are three volumes of prefaces and postulates, purely for praising virtue', which is an astonishing quantity.¹⁰⁵ In terms of inscribed poetry, the seventh and eighth volumes of Fumiao Lu are entirely devoted to poems and postscripts on the naturalisation of the Red Miao.¹⁰⁶ Yao Qisheng's (1624-1683) twenty-volume compendium of Min chants, with its focus on memorials and essays, is more emphatic in its title and in its nearly half-dozen volumes of praise.¹⁰⁷ In terms of commentary, Xia Yan's "The History of the Peaceful Invasion of Jiaoshan" states

The story of Zhao Jishi, the governor of Jiaocheng, who fought the invaders Yan was a guest of Jishi's curtain, so he recorded his story Songjiang Lu Qingzhen commented on it, and attached a poem of congratulations to it. The book was published in two separate volumes.¹⁰⁸

This is more comprehensive than the Ming dynasty's Annan Laiwei Zhuanliu, which only adds 'appended comments' to some of the instruments, or the occasional commentary in The Urgent Affairs of the Imperial Invasion; and the aforementioned praise of Shi Lang's Jinghai Jiji, which 'appends the original commentary of the eight Mien gentlemen' to each zhengji,¹⁰⁹ is a clear statement of the support of the local elite. All of these examples show that the Qing dynasty's collections of personal war-related zhengqi were characterised by prefaces, inscriptions, poems and

Che Dinh Jin, ed.

¹⁰³ Tong Guoqi, 'Sanfu mizo zao dou Sanfu jie gong zao' (in Jingli and Chen Zhanqi, eds., The Rare Book of Chinese Literature, Beijing: National Library of Literature Microfilm Reproduction Centre, 2006).

¹⁰⁴ Wan Zhengsai, Ping Yue Shu Yan (in the National Taiwan Library, Kangxi 21, preface edition).

¹⁰⁵ Xie Guozhen, Additions to the Late Ming Historical Books (Shanghai: Ancient Books Press, 1981), p. 632.

¹⁰⁶ Ehai and Che Dingjin, eds. The Red Miao Guihua Gongji Poem (in Chinese)

¹⁰⁷ Unknown, "A Compendium of Min Song" (in Chen Chi-ping, ed.

(1-7 volumes, Beijing: Kyushu Publishing House; Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 2004). For a discussion of the Min Ch'ang compendium, see below.

¹⁰⁸ By Yong Rong and others, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 54, p. 490.

¹⁰⁹ Shi Lang, The Chronicles of Jinghai.

There is a growing trend to recognise officials through, for example, commentary.

Of particular interest are the editorial strategies and political contexts of Yao Qisheng's *Compendium of Min Song* and Shi Lang's *Chronicle of the Sea of Tranquillity*, and the way in which the Kangxi officials' collections of war honour images and personal war-related zhengqi were used not only to honour them, but also to raise the level of the tug of war between the two sides.¹¹⁰ In the case of Yao Qisheng, he was very keen to produce a sensational collection of war honour images and personal war-related memorials, sponsoring not only the voluminous *Min Song Collection*, but also a great success barrier in honour of his superior, Prince Kang Jieshu (1645-1697), who defeated the Three Clans, as well as a staggering number and size of fifty 32cm high

A 64-centimetre-wide print of Prince Kang's Great Achievement in the Purging of the Four Provinces, with 50 corresponding inscriptions by 50 people.¹¹¹ Yao Qisheng's sponsorship of Jieshu's war portraits is closely related to his political career and the progress of Jieshu's pacification of the three clans, and is similar to the above-mentioned entry in Jiang Liangdong's *Records of the Eastern Expedition* of his superiors, such as Wan Shide, which praises his superiors as well as his own praise. Since Kang

¹¹⁰ Although Guo Zizhang's *Qianzhong Pingxiao* begins and ends with a 'defence of falsehoods', he confronts the novel with a chronological history of the events according to the order of the zhenshu, rather than using a collection of individual zhenshu as a platform to compete with each other.

¹¹¹ Although the Rifu Jia Zhuang says: 'When King [Kang Prince] was ordered to present his kai, the people of Min Province were so impressed by the merits of his skin that they drew a great merit map as a screen tent and made it all into one book. However, as mentioned below, there are more than ten pictures in Yao Qisheng's *Min Song* compilation that are identical to those in Prince Kang's map of the great achievements in pacifying the four provinces (see note 114); and there is a signature on the map of the great achievements in pacifying the four provinces in the National Palace Museum that reads: 'This map of the great achievements is a map of Yao Qisheng's record of achievements, while the present map of the southern expedition is a record of the years of the previous king's father. The two pictures have different titles and different poetic lines. Only twenty of the poems in this volume were selected for use in the poem, but the rest do not fit'. This is probably the inscription that Yongen (1728-1805) made when he collected his ancestors' deeds to compile the poems in the *Nanzheng Tu* (Poems on the Southern Expedition) after he resumed the title of Prince of Rites in 1778. For records of the *Nanzheng Tu* Shi Cao, see Ding Bingzang, edited by Ding Ren, *The Eight Thousand Scrolls of the House of Calligraphy* (in *Continuing the Four Books, History*, vol. 921, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1995, based on a photocopy of Ding's lead-printed book from Qiantang in the twelfth year of the R.O.C.), vol. 19, p. 374; Dekun, *The Family Biography of the Rifu* (in *Beijing Library, Beijing Library Collection of Genealogy*,

Manchurian Shangwu

vol. 33, Beijing: Beijing Library, 2003, based on a photocopy of Ding's lead-printed book). (Beijing: Beijing Library, 2003, reprinted from an engraved copy in the forty-third year of the Qing dynasty), pp. 621-648, 641; Yongen, Chengzheng tang dou (in Ji Baocheng, ed., Collected Poems and Writings of the Qing Dynasty, vol. 361, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2010, reprinted from an engraved copy in the Qing dynasty), pp. 79-273.

In the 13th year of the Qing dynasty (1674), when the Qing emperor sent Jie Shu to lead an expedition against Geng Jingzhong, Yao Qisheng donated money and recruited soldiers to serve in Jie Shu's army, and with the successive successes of the campaign he quickly rose through the ranks, rising from the ranks of the conqueror and the provincial governor of Fujian at the end of the 15th year of the Kangxi reign (1676) to become the governor of Fujian in the 17th year of the Kangxi reign (1678).¹¹² The events depicted in Prince Kang's Map of the Great Achievement in the Pacification of the Four Provinces are therefore not only an account of Jieshu's victories, but also of Yao Qisheng's contribution to the pacification of the war, with nearly half of the fifty captions referring to him.¹¹³ His own achievements in Fujian are later commemorated in

¹¹² There are many commentaries on the merits and faults of Yao Qisheng and Shi Lang, but this article is not intended to denigrate the historical figures, but rather to discuss their lives in terms of their sponsorship of war portraits or the publication of war-related memorials. For the career of Yao Qisheng, see the chronology in Chen Qinfang, *Yao Qisheng and Taiwanese Society* (Fuzhou: Master's thesis, Institute of Specialized History, Fujian Normal University, 2004), pp. 53-66, and for the life of Shi Lang, see Shi Weiqing, *Shi Lang's Chronology* (Changsha: Hunan Yuelu Publishing House, 1998).

¹¹³ In addition to those listed in Note 114, there are also the following pictures with Yao Qisheng's title: the fourth picture, "Prince Kang ordered Vice-President Ma Hada, Chief Military Officer Li Rong, Chief Military Officer Chen Shih-Kai of Wen Division, and Accompanying General Inspector Yao Qisheng, to defeat the false governor Xu Shangzhao at Zhi Shan and restore the counties of Wuyi and Yiwu"; the fifth picture, "Prince Kang ordered Vice Generals Mou Dayin of Kualanda, Bai Su and Jinhua, and Fubiao Guerrillas Tian Wanhou and Yao Qisheng, the general accompanying the expedition, each led a three-pronged attack and defeated the false governor Zhu Defu at Zilang Mountain, restoring the counties of Zhuji and Pujiang and killing Zhu Defu in battle. The fake governor Wang Shan, the fake chief soldier Yang Fengsheng and Lu Chupei took advantage of the situation and led more than 37,000 fake soldiers to invade in five directions. Yao Qisheng fought alone and defeated the bandits at Fengqiao, and pacified the bandits in Zhuji, Huiji and Xin Sheng counties, and recruited the bogus governor and the bogus general soldiers to return to the fold. The King of Hong Kong ordered Dudu Ma Hada, Chief Military Officer Chen Shih-Kai, and Yao Qi-Sheng of Wenzhou to defend the town, and defeated the false captain Lian Deng-Yun, the false governor Ma Tang-Long, and Xu Shang-Chao at Chen Tan-Tou", and "The King of Hong Kong ordered Pei Zi Gu-Shan, Vice-President Wu Shen, Chen Shih-Kai of Wenzhou, Wang Ting-Mei of Pingyang, and Yao Qi-Sheng of Wenzhou to lead a large force to attack Shitang from an indirect route and defeat the false captain Lian Deng-Yun", and "The King of Hong Kong ordered Pei Zi Gu-Shan and Yao Qi-Sheng of Wenzhou and Pingyang to attack Shitang from an indirect route and defeat the false captain Lian Deng-Yun". The two towns of Wenzidao, Yao Qisheng, restored Shitang and Songyang to five counties and won a great victory over the soldiers and the people. The pirates returned in droves.

Thirteen of the sixteen 'Ping Hai' pictures in the Min Song Compendium are from Prince Kang's 'Great Achievement in the Pacification of the Four Provinces'.¹¹⁴ also shows the overlap between Yao Qisheng and Jieshu's achievements. The display of the barrier

The Shun map, the thirty-third map, and the thirty-fourth map, in which the Prince of Hong Kong appoints General Lai Ta and Governor Yao Qisheng to guard Zhangzhou, defeats the false commander Liu Guoxian, and restores the counties of Changtai and Tong'an at Centipede Hill and Longhu Hill

Prince Kang's Order to Governor Yao Qisheng to Restore Zhangping County and Recruit the False General Troopers, including Huang Rui-biao, to Surrender to the Sovereignty of the People"; forty-first, "Prince Kang's Order to Governor Yao Qisheng to Restore Nineteen Walled Villages First and Restore Haicheng by Victory"; and forty-second, "Prince Kang's Order to Governor Yao Qisheng to Restore Xiamen and Kinmen".

¹¹⁴ 「平海圖」第二圖《招撫韓大任》、第一圖《招撫劉進忠》、第三圖《剖營鳳凰山洪塘與灣腰樹觀音山對壘》、第四圖《設站運米》、第五圖《北溪龍虎山大捷》、第六圖《招撫廖瑛等五大鎮》、第七圖《文圃山大捷》、第八圖《攻打洪礁剖營王家城漸山寨》、第十圖《克復觀音山、三叉河等處》、第九圖《招撫武平將軍》、第十一圖《蕩平廈門》、第十二圖《招撫朱將軍》、第十三圖《請旨復界安插授誠》、與《康親王平定四省大功圖》第二十六圖《康親王命布政司姚啟聖，招撫盤踞江西吉安府，偽將軍韓大任等於汀州府，共計官兵一萬七千餘帶赴軍前，江西蕩平，百姓復業圖》、The 28th picture, "Prince Kang orders the Chief Secretary, Yao Qisheng, and the General Secretary, Guo Hong, to go to Guangdong and recruit Liu Jinzhong, restore the two provinces of Huichao, and restore all the counties to obedience, thus pacifying all the provinces of Guangdong"; the 30th picture, "Prince Kang orders the Governor, Yao Qisheng, and the General Governor of Pingnan, to guard Zhangzhou, stationing themselves at Fenghuang Mountain, Hongtang, Wanwaishu and Guanyin Mountain, and fighting against the bandits"; and the 31st picture, "Prince Kang orders the Governor, Yao Qisheng, to guard Zhangzhou and set up a transport station for the troops. The picture is entitled "Prince Kang Orders Governor Yao Qisheng to Defend Zhangzhou and Defeat the False Commander Liu Guoxian at Centipede Mountain and Long Hu Mountain, and Restore the Counties of Changtai and Tong'an"; the picture is entitled "Prince Kang Orders Governor Yao Qisheng to Invite Liao Dian and Other Five Towns to Return, and Restore the County of Pinghe after the False Commander Liu Guoxian Loses Power"; and the picture is entitled "Prince Kang Orders Governor Yao Qisheng to Defend Zhangzhou and Defeat the False Commander The battle was fought on Wenpu Mountain and the Jiangdong Bridge was restored."; "Prince Kang orders Governor Yao Qisheng to defend Zhangzhou and attack Hongjiao. The picture shows "The Prince of Kang ordered the governor, Yao Qisheng, to invoke the false Wuping general, Chen Chang, to lead more than 200 warships and lead his people to join him"; the picture shows "The Prince of Kang ordered the governor, Yao Qisheng, to raze Xiamen and Kinmen, forbid the kidnapping of children, jade and silk, and present them to the people for peace, so that the old and young could eat and drink to welcome the troops"; the picture shows "The Prince of Kang ordered the governor, Yao Qisheng, to invoke the false governor, Zhu Tianguai, to lead more than 300 warships and lead them to join him"; and the picture shows "The Prince of Kang ordered the generals, governors, and tizhens to break up the Zheng bandits. The title and composition of the picture are extremely relevant.

The nature of this work and the communicative role of the prints and inscriptions on Prince Kang's Great Achievement in Pacifying the Four Provinces show that Yao Qisheng was interested in the public role that the images and inscriptions of war honours could play.

In particular, the **nine** volumes of more than 1,000 poems in the Compendium of Fujian Songs show Yao Qisheng's plea for public support. These numerous poems not only testify to Yao's virtues for Fujian, but also to the local people's endorsement of his contribution, which must have had a declarative and comforting effect on a governor of Fujian who had only just lost his role with Shi Lang in the invasion of Taiwan to stabilise Fujian and Taiwan.¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁷In particular, Shi Lang, originally a general under Zheng Zhilong (1604-1661), was recruited by Kangxi after Yao Qisheng had repeatedly recommended him to do so.¹¹⁶ However, he repeatedly submitted a petition to Kangxi requesting that Zheng Ke-tsing (1670-1707) be given exclusive authority to conquer Taiwan instead of working with Yao Qisheng. In contrast, Yao Qisheng, the governor of Fujian, not only lost his command of the expedition but also had to assist in the logistics, while Kangxi "failed to reward" him.¹¹⁸ The difference between the two men was no wonder that Yao felt aggrieved. Perhaps this is also why, although Yao Qisheng did not go to Taiwan, the first set of illustrations in the Min Song Compendium is titled 'Pinghai', and after depicting the ten or so major battles he fought under Jieshu's supervision to pacify Fujian, he adds the naval battle of 'Dinghai Weitou Tongshan', and concludes with 'Pinghai Triumph', which is a rival to Shi Lang's 'pacification of the sea'.¹¹⁹ Two months after Shi Luang's accession to the throne, 'the entire Fujian scholar, farmer and industrialist community built a monument to the re-creation of the Fujian Ming Gong Gong's great achievements',¹²⁰ , probably to highlight the fact that Yao Qisheng was loved by the people at such an awkward time. Similarly, the publication of the Min Song Compendium

The composition of the right-hand half of the fourteenth panel of the "Pinghai diagram", entitled "Rewards for the waning masters", is similar to that of the forty-ninth panel of the "Prince Kang's Great Achievement in Pacifying the Four Provinces".

¹¹⁵ Chen Qinfang, 'Yao Qisheng and Taiwanese Society', pp. 39-42.

¹¹⁶ Chen Qinfang, 'Yao Qisheng and Taiwanese Society', pp. 36-39.

¹¹⁷ Shi Weiqing, Shi Lang's Chronology, p. 476.

¹¹⁸ Chen Qinfang, 'Yao Qisheng and Taiwanese Society', p. 66.

¹¹⁹ (The original of this photocopy is not paginated, so the following are all modern pagination.)

¹²⁰ Anonymous, The Min Song Glossary, pp. 19-31.

It is also the 'Record of the People of Minzhong',¹²¹, which must have served the same purpose. The book is accompanied by 'An account of the people of the province weeping for the governor's grand master Yao Ende',¹²², again emphasising the support of all the people of Fujian. However, since neither the preface nor the eulogies mention Yao Qisheng's death, it is likely that they were collected during his lifetime, and it is likely that the book was published after his sudden death.¹²³

The same strategy of seeking public support can be seen in the two sets of illustrations in the *Min Song Compendium*. The first group, 'Ping Hai', consists of sixteen panels, although thirteen are taken from 'The Great Achievement of Prince Kang in Pacifying the Four Provinces', the proportion of scenes depicting the Qing army at war has been significantly reduced. It is dominated by Yao Qisheng's peaceful military strategy, including the 'setting up of stations to transport rice' and nearly a third of the incidents of pacification, as well as the beneficial

'The second group, 'The Restoration of the Boundary', depicts the people's support for the 'Ping of Xiamen'.¹²⁴The second group, 'Change and Fuqing', emphasises Yao Qisheng's achievements in governing Fujian Province and the people's gratitude, with 'Hailing the extension of the boundary', 'Appeals from far and near', 'Donating cattle seeds', 'Returning home with a swaddling load', 'The people's support', and 'The people's support'.

'The two sets of illustrations are: 'Acknowledging the Tomb of Lu', 'Building a House and Cultivating a Field', 'A Happy Career in Autumn', and 'Gratitude and Reward'.¹²⁵Taken together, the two sets of illustrations highlight the contribution of Yao Qisheng's martial and literary achievements to the people of Fujian.

In short, Yao Qisheng's series of pictorial and textual accounts appeal to public support, most likely in relation to his rivalry with Shi Lang. In particular, Shi Lang, originally a subordinate of Zheng, would hardly have gained the confidence of Kangxi without the support of Yao Qisheng, who must have been particularly angry at the fact that Shi Lang was eventually granted the right to conquer and was made Marquis of Jinghai, not to mention the fact that Yao Qisheng's logistical support for Shi Lang's attack on Taiwan was not at all well received by the Kangxi emperor. I think that in the *Min Song Compendium*

¹²¹ Anonymous, *The Min Song Glossary*, p. 117.

¹²² Anonymous, *The Min Song Glossary*, pp. 85-107.

¹²³ Although Chen Chi-ping points out that Yao Qisheng had sent a letter to the government in February 1683, before the restoration of Taiwan.

"However, he also suspects that Yao Qisheng 'secretly acquiesced to, and even directed, the publication of the *Min Song Compendium*'. Chen Chi-ping, *The Min Ch'ung Compendium and the Life of Yao Chi-sheng*', pp. 233-234, 238.

¹²⁴ Anonymous, *The Min Song Glossary*, pp. 33-65. and see note 114.

The more than 1,000 tributes he received from the people and scholars are a testament to Yao Qisheng's achievements and a tribute to him. He died three months after Shi Lang was made a marquis.

Yao Qisheng's rival, Shi Lang, also published his memorials, among other things, to commemorate his achievements in the pacification of Taiwan. The surviving edition of the *Jinghai ji* is a handwritten copy,¹²⁶ but the few surviving prefaces indicate that it was first compiled as the *Pingnan ji ying*, published in the spring of 1685, after Shi Lang's return to Fujian as a marquis, and was published in the spring of 1685 as a collection of his *zao zao*, or "Pingnan *zao zao*", "Pingnan fact", "Pingnan actual achievement", "Pingnan table chapter", and "Pinghai *zao*". The present copy is based on the nineteenth-century reprint of the *Jinghai ji*, which contains the undated Zheng Kaiji (1638-1717) (*Pingnan jing*), Zhou Pengbai (*Pingnan fu*), Chen Qianhe *zan* (Chen Qianhe *zan*), five prefaces from the twenty-fourth year of the Kangxi era, and Shi Lang's *zhengzuo*, which presumably preserves most of the text of the *Pingnan zhengzuo* published during Shi Lang's lifetime.¹²⁷ As modern reprints are referred to as the *Jinghai Chronicle*, the following is also referred to as the *Jinghai Chronicle* unless otherwise required.

Although both Shi Lang's *Records of the Sea of Tranquillity* and Yao Qisheng's *Min Song Compendium*, both of which are based on the *Zhangs*, are notable for their ability to provide a clearer picture of the history of the sea.

It was a product of the personal consultation trend, but the publication of Shi Lang's "*Chronicle of the Sea of Peace*" came at a time when the "*Min*

¹²⁶ Shi Lang, *The Chronicle of Jinghai*, p. 101. Also, Shi Lang, edited by Shi Shilai, *The General Record of the Zhangshu of Pinghai* (in Jiang Yasha, Jing Li, and Chen Zhanqi, eds.

¹²⁷ It is difficult to determine the exact name of Shi Lang's collection from the extant material. Zheng Kaiji's 'Pingnan *zao*' is called 'Pingnan *zao*', Fu Hongji's (1634-1708) preface is 'Pingnan *zao*' (The Facts of Pingnan), Lin Lin's 'Pingnan *zao*' (The Facts of Pingnan), Cheng Jiahua's preface is 'Pingnan *zao*' (The Epitome of Pingnan), and Shi Shilai's (1667-1714) 'Pinghai *zao*' (The *Zao* of Pinghai). Also. The date of the publication of the *Pingnan Jiyong* is uncertain as to whether it was made in 22 or 23 years. In the spring of this year, all the scholars in Fujian again asked Lin Diao to preface the book with 'The Actual Results of Pingnan', which was written in the twenty-third year of the Kangxi era. Shi Lang, *The Chronicle of Jinghai*, pp. 99-101.

It is likely that the editorial strategy, with its focus on the ode and the memorials, and its similar call for public support, was a response to the *Min Song Compendium*, which was published shortly after.¹²⁸ The preface to Yao Qisheng's *Min Song Compendium* reads 'A record of the sons of Min', and the preface to Shi Lang's *Jinghai jiji* also states that 'the people of Min took the previous and subsequent chapters of the Duke and compiled them into a single volume'.¹²⁹ If the purpose of the nine volumes of the *Min Song Compendium* was to demonstrate local support for Yao Qisheng, Shi Luang was also asking for support from the public.

However, in contrast to Yao Qisheng's *Min Song Compendium*, which refers to 'the people of Minzhong' in general, Shi Lang's *Chronicle of the Sea of Tranquillity* places more emphasis on the support of the local elite. As mentioned above, each of Shi Luang's *zhenshu* is followed by the 'Original Commentary of the Public Publication of Gentleman Min in Appendix VIII'.¹³⁰ One of the two surviving ode texts was written by the well-known scribe Zheng Kaiji, and the other by Zhou Peng, a self-proclaimed 'disciple'.¹³¹ If the *Min Song Compendium* relies on a large number of eulogies as evidence of public support for Yao Qisheng, Shi Lang relies on the authoritative endorsement of his actions by the local elite. Although it is not entirely certain that the surviving copy retains all the chants, the original number is likely to be limited rather than exaggerated, as is the case with the *Min Ch'ung Compendium*. It is possible that the only two surviving texts are from the scholars, or at least that the later editors chose to retain only the scribes' chapters. In any case, the high status of the scholars in the value system of late Chinese society makes it easy to explain why, for Shi Lang, a few of the elite scribes

¹²⁸ In contrast, Wu Ying (1637-1712), the lieutenant of Shi Lang's conqueror, did not choose to write a collection of *sung-jutsu*, but rather an autobiographical account of his exploits. Although it is possible that the book was also written with reference to his *zao*, it did not use the *zao-jian* style to compete with Shi Lang or Yao Qisheng; the descriptions of the conflicts between Shi Lang and Yao, such as 'Ying saw that the governor (Governor Yao Qisheng) and the ti (Governor Shi Lang) were not quite at peace with each other and dared not allow it' and 'Ying said that he wished that his father would lower his heart and be at peace with the This is also evident in his peaceful stance between Shih and Yao, and may be evidence that both Shih and Yao deliberately used the collection of *zhengjian* as a platform for their self-expression. Wu Ying, edited by Li Zujī, *The Chronicles of the World*. (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 2016), p. 61.

¹²⁹ Shi Lang, *The Chronicles of Jinghai*, pp. 3, 7, 11.

¹³⁰ Shi Lang, *The Chronicles of Jinghai*, pp. 4, 8-9, 12, 17, 19-21, 24, 26, 37, 42, 45-46, 48, 50, 53, 62-63, 65-66, 69.

¹³¹ Shi Lang, *The Chronicles of Jinghai*, pp. 17, 21.

The text of the ode is not without its counterpart in the volume of panegyric in the *Min Song Compendium*.

The 'Appendices of the Eight Mien Gentlemen in the Public Gazette', which follow Shi Lang's memorial, are particularly indicative of the editorial strategy of the *Jinghai Chronicle* in response to the *Min Ch'an Collection*. In contrast to the more than a thousand first eulogies collected by Yao Qisheng, these appendices in the *Jinghai Chronicle* are titled 'The Original Commentary of the Eight Min Gentlemen' and claim to represent the common objective opinion of all the elite of the eight counties of Fujian (but they do not list the 'Eight Min Gentlemen' at all).

Although it is not a commentary, it is more of a compliment to Shi Lang. The tributes to the character, ability and merit of Shi Lang and Yao Qisheng. A few of them even defend Shi Lang against his rivalry with Yao Qisheng, for example, in the 'Appendix VIII of the original commentary on the official journal of the Gentleman of Min', which follows Shi Lang's 'The Secret Chen Dictatorship', which reads: 'In ancient times, there was no great general who could achieve success with his authority. He was a generous and generous man who was sincere and open-minded, who drew in talented men and women, and who was worthy of his post. The "The Great Victory"¹³²The book is also a great source of praise after the 'Flying Report of the Great Victory'. No one below Duke Xuan could have done more. You are a man of great literary and military talent! The sudden turn of phrase that follows, "Even if the Min people had not given a single word of praise, how could they have praised the Duke?", concludes¹³³, as if in irony to the continuous praise of Yao Qisheng in the *Min Song Compendium*. Shi Lang's original 'Original Review of the Public Journal of Gentleman Mien' in *Jinghai Chronicle* can be said to contrast the personal, subjective and flattering praise of Yao Qisheng in the *Min Song Compendium* with the objective and unbiased comments of the local elite.

However, whether it is the continuous ode in the "Compendium of Min Ch'ien" or the "Appendix" in the "Chronicle of the Sea of Tranquillity

The 'Recording of the Original Commentary of the Eight Ministers' Public Publication' is in fact a variation on the prototype of a collection of personal war-related *zazhens*, with further adjustments to compete with each other. Although the *Jinghai chronicle* is the result of a renaming of the first publication, the *Pingnan chronicle*, with the addition of Shi Lang's memorials, the memorials are the most heavily weighted, and the subsequent editions follow suit, remaining in the style of a collection of personal war-related memorials. The first volume (in the centre of the edition, 'Min Song Hui') contains the aforementioned 'Yao Gong Zaishu, Minister of Military Affairs, Governor of Fujian'.

¹³² Shi Lang, *The Chronicles of Jinghai*, p. 12.

¹³³ Shi Lang, *The Chronicles of Jinghai*, p. 37.

The next 10 volumes are the 'Monument to the Creation of Quan Min Hong Gong', the 'Map of the Pinghai', the 'Map of the Boundary of the Two Counties of Changle and Fuqing', and the 'Description of the Boundary', followed by 10 volumes of the 'Yao Qisheng Zao' (in the 'Zao of the Fearful Pavilion'), and the last 9 volumes of the 'Eulogy' (in the 'Zao of the Fearful Pavilion').

It is also the result of the addition of the relevant biographies and later canticles to the core of the Zao.

It is also clear from the fact that the Shanghai Library has a copy of Yao Gong zhenshu (Zhanshu, Minister of War) in the same edition as the ten volumes of Yao Qisheng's zhenshu in the same collection that the Min Song Compendium is in, that the Min Song Compendium was developed from a collection of zhenshu. However, the first volume of the Min Song Compendium not only includes a map of the eunuchs and battle honours of Yao Qisheng, but also adds nine volumes of praise of almost equal weight to the memorials, and even changes the name from "Yao Gong Zuoshu, Minister of Military Affairs, Governor of Fujian" to "Min Song Compendium", making it appear to be a far cry from a collection of memorials, changing the nature of the original collection of personal memorials from a historical archive to a testament to Yao Qisheng's achievements. Likewise, the 'Appendix VIII of the original commentary by Squire Min' at the end of each of the zhengzhi in Jinghai jiji (Chronicle of the Sea of Tranquillity) makes Shi Lang's personal war-related zhengzhi an arena of competition with Yao Qisheng and the Min chong rei.

In this way, the absence of pictures in Shi Lang's Jinghai Chronicle may be a response to Yao Qisheng's extensive use of images to honour his personal achievements.¹³⁴ Although it is impossible to be completely certain of the original appearance of the original Pingnan Zao, none of the five prefaces mentions images; and considering that these prefaces repeatedly state that 'the villagers and scholars presented the facts of Pingnan' and that 'the Putu villagers and scholars asked the preface to the Pingnan chronicle and all the villagers and scholars in Fujian repeatedly posted the facts of Pingnan', it is likely that the preachers of these books were also aware of the strategy of appealing for public support and therefore also made use of it. If the illustrations were an important part of the book, they might have been included, so it is likely that the original version did not have them. Just as Shi Lang responded to Yao Qisheng's extensive tribute with the objective and impartial 'Appendix 8, the original commentary of Squire Mien's public journal', it is possible that the absence of images of personalities in the Jinghai Chronicle served a similar purpose. By reverting to a collection of memorials with only text but no images, the Chronicle of the Sea of Tranquillity is even more strikingly similar to Yao

Qisheng's sponsorship of the Great Merit Barrier, the prints of the Prince of Kang's Great Merit Map of the Pinghai of the Four Provinces, and the "Pinghai Map" and "Changle Fuqing Erxian" of the Min Song Collection.

¹³⁴ Shi Lang, *The Chronicles of Jinghai*, p. 37.

It is no wonder that the prefaces refer to him as the 'fact of Pingnan' and 'the actual achievements of Pingnan', emphasising his objective and down-to-earth accounts. Although the title was changed to a historical narrative, the later editions of the *Jinghai ji* by Shi Lang's descendants included only archival texts such as the imperial texts, following the usual collective style of *zazen* without images and with only text.

The large number of illustrations and the large ode in Yao Qisheng's *Min Song Jiehui* contrasts with the selective changes and returns to the style of the *zhengjian* collection in Shi Lang's *Jinghai Jiji*, showing that the personal warfare *zhengjian* developed from the Ming dynasty to the Kangxi dynasty, with greater variation and richer connotations. Shi Lang's 'Chronicle of the *Jinghai*' responds to the huge volume of ode in Yao Qisheng's 'Compendium of *Minchong*' by means of the 'original commentary by the gentleman *Min*' in Appendix 8, and eschews the latter's heavy use of images in favour of the objectivity of its list of archival facts in contrast to the text of the *zhenshu*. Although this section takes Yao Qisheng and Shi Lang in the mid-Kangxi period as examples, as already mentioned, the trend of publishing personal war-related collections was not limited to Han Chinese, as Manchurian banners such as Ehai also published *Fumiao zhuan*, which contains the poem 'Gongji' by a Chinese official.¹³⁵In general, the popular collection of personal war-related *zhen-jiao* was not only a platform for honouring officials and a historical text for recounting current events, but also a cultural arena for dialogue between officials, and its unique genre of official documents with archival authority was also highlighted.

4. The Kangxi court's compilation of personal war-related *zhengqi* and the transformation of imperial power

On the basis of the diverse and important cultural significance of personal war-related *zhen-jiao* collections for Ming and Qing scholars, we can further consider their relationship with Fangliu. In the introduction to this paper, we have already discussed the similarity between the genre of personal war-related *zhengjian* and that of the Qing dynasty.

¹³⁵ Ehai and Che Dingjin, eds. *The Red Miao's Return to China: A Postscript to the Poem*. Ehai and Che Dingjin, eds.

If one considers that the collection of war-related zhenqi was already a prevalent part of the culture of officials, it is possible that the Kangxi court's strategy of compiling court documents, such as the imperial edicts, for specific wars, in chronological order, was also a transfer of the mainstream culture of the scholar. This is particularly true when compared to the successive court arts and literature, which were mainly inherited from the imperial tradition, but did not necessarily identify enthusiastically or fully with the culture of the scribes, and the Kangxi dynasty, which began to promote the style of Dong Qichang (1555-1636), which was popular among the literati at the time and became the orthodox school of painting,¹³⁶ the Kangxi emperor imitated Dong Qichang's style of calligraphy and bestowed a large number of imperial calligraphy,¹³⁷ transformed the garden paintings of the Ming and Qing dynasties to create a new model of imperial garden painting, the Imperial Summer Palace Poems,¹³⁸ and the compilation of the eunuchs' maps that had been prevalent in official circles since the Ming and Qing dynasties into official maps for recording the emperor's administration, such as the Southern Tour, the Qing court's aggressive and large-scale compilation of mainstream scholarly culture was unprecedented in the past, and could be described as the Manchurian emperor's efforts to construct 'cultural hegemony'.¹³⁹ "Cultural hegemony" (cultural hegemony) was originally used by Antonio Gramsci (1897-1937) to discuss the capitalist system below. The relationship between domination and power concerns the way in which the dominant group tacitly accepts the subordination of the dominated through, for example, cultural symbolism;¹⁴⁰ but it can also provide insights into historiographical analysis.¹⁴¹ In particular

¹³⁶ Wai-kam Ho and Judith G. Smith eds., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang, 1555-1636* (Kansas City, Missouri: Nelson-Aktins (Kansas City, Missouri: Nelson-Aktins Museum of Art, 1992); Huang Wei-ling, "Painting for the Eyes of the People: A View of Wang Yuanqi's Career and Painting from the Early Qing Court Landscape Paintings

The Founding of the Wind (Taipei: Master's thesis, Institute of Art History, National Taiwan University, 2005).

¹³⁷ Jonathan Hay, "The Kangxi Emperor's Brush-Traces: Calligraphy, Writing, and the Art of Imperial Authority," in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, edited by Wu Hung and Katherine Tsiang Mino, 1-48 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2004). in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, edited by Wu Hung and Katherine Tsiang Mino, 1-48 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2004).

¹³⁸ Ma Yazhen, 'A New Paradigm for Imperial Painting - The Making of the Kangxi Imperial Poem on the Summer Villas and its Meaning

義', *The National Palace Academic Quarterly*, 32:2 (Taipei, 2014.12), pp. 39-80.

¹³⁹ Ma Yazhen, 'Engraving the War Honours'.

- ¹⁴⁰ Antonio Gramsci, translated by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 12, 1971), 12.
- ¹⁴¹ T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *The American Historical Review* 90:3 (June 1985): 567-593. June 1985): 567-593.

It is also useful to consider how the rulers won the consensus of the dominated over the established social order, how they continued to create their legitimacy to maintain their dominance, how the dominated participated in this complicity to legitimise their domination, and how the culture of the dominant and the dominated was not clearly delineated but penetrating. This was transformed into various 'imperial' and 'ordained' court cultures, which reinforced the subordination of the dominated Han people, led by the scholars, and reinforced the supremacy of imperial power in the Chinese proper social order. These palace cultures needed to be repeatedly performed by the Manchurian emperors in order to maintain their dominance, and it was the participation of the dominated Han elite, such as the compilation of the Kangxi Imperial Poems on Summer Villas, which were drawn from the scholarly garden culture, and the creation of a visual culture for officials, such as the War Honours Map, which was transformed into a visual culture of the Qing dynasty.

The conspiracy to legitimise their domination was only maintained by the inscription of the painting 'The Victory of the Ping of the Junggar Hui' and other praise. Although there is no historical evidence of how the Shengqing emperors discussed with their subjects the reasons for the transformation of mainstream scholarly culture, or of the direct response of the scholars to the incorporation of Manchurian imperial authority, a similar pattern can be inferred from the above-mentioned examples of the incorporation of orthodox landscape painting from Dong Qichang's style, the transformation of imperial garden painting from Ming and Qing scholarly garden painting, the transformation of the Southern Tour from a painting of officials' eunuchs, and the transformation of the Victory in the Panning of the Jungare Hui from a painting of officials' war honours. It is likely that the senior officials of the imperial court in the capital recommended the above-mentioned cultural endeavours on the basis of their own familiarity with the culture of the scholars, and the emperor agreed to discuss with these ministers the way in which they should be transformed (or perhaps the ministers speculated on the wishes of their superiors and tried them out first).

(the final decision was made by the emperor),¹⁴², and when completed, it was printed by engraving, given as a gift to individuals, distributed or occasionally

It was presented to the government offices or to schools and temples, and was even passed on orally to other levels and areas.

¹⁴² I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for suggesting that we consider the example of Gao Shiqi's (1644-1703) *The Journal of the Eastern Tour*. This book contains his poetic record of Kangxi's eastern tour of Shengjing, as well as poems inscribed by other scribes, and presents the eastern tour as a poetic journey, the Kangxi emperor as an agile monarch, and the sacred capital as a long-established civilization in Ho and

Manchurian Shangwu

Chang'an. Although this book is not a publication of the Kangxi court, and cannot be used as a direct example of the way in which imperial authority was assumed here, starting with the high officials of the imperial court in the metropolitan area, it is possible that it could have been used as an introduction to the later compilation of the Xinglu Shengdian by the Kangxi court, or at least as an active response by the scholars to the Qing court's efforts to promote imperial authority.

The Manchurian emperors, as a minority group, inherited the practice of the original Han emperors of declaring the dynasty's mandate through imperial collections and auspicious images. From the perspective of the Qing emperor,¹⁴³ Manchuria, as a minority group ruling Han society, inherited the original Han emperor's practice of declaring the dynasty's mandate through imperial collections and auspicious images, and the collection of the original Han elite culture was a rather effective way to establish Manchurian imperial power; and the compilation of the Qing Palace Strategy may also have been a transfer of the collection of war-related recitals prevalent among Ming and Qing officials in a similar vein.

If we look at the effect of the official restoration and printing of the Fangliu, we can also see a similar response to the visual culture of the Qing palace, which compiled images of the eunuchs and war honours of scholars. After these images, which had been popular among officials since the Ming dynasty, were transformed by the Qing emperors into official drawings and paintings of the emperor and the empire's achievements, and were engraved and printed for mass distribution, the production of individual eunuchs and war heroes by private individuals gradually faded into obscurity, only to be revived in the late Qing dynasty; and, with the exception of the official's acknowledgements, there are no responses or comments from other scribes.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, the same is true of the Fangliu.¹⁴⁵ The collection of officials' war-related memorials compiled in the Qing dynasty was originally

¹⁴³ There is no consensus on whether the term 'empire' can be used to refer to the Qing dynasty, and this involves not only academic debate but also complex contexts of nationalism. For a discussion of this, see Mark C. Elliott, "Was Traditional China an Empire? (Beijing, 2014), pp. 29-40; Ould and Ding Yizhuang, "How to write Chinese history in the twenty-first century: implications and responses to the study of the 'new Qing history'", in Peng Wei, ed. *An Early Historical Examination of the European Calling of China as an "Empire"*, *Monthly Journal of History*, 5 (Henan, 2015), pp. 52-63.

¹⁴⁴ Ma Yazhen, *Engraving War Honours*. In addition to the example of Mei Yunqiu's observation of the scarcity of scholarly commentary on the large number of imperial monuments in the Shengqing period, as already mentioned in *Carving and Painting*, a recent book by Dorothy Ko also notes the scarcity of scholarly commentary on the large number of Songhua *inkstones* given by the Kangxi court, Dorothy Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China* (Seattle: Oxford: Oxford University Press). *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 46-47.

¹⁴⁵ Although no direct commentary by scholars has yet been published, thanks to the anonymous reviewer, several examples of genealogical compilations from the Qianlong to Xianfeng periods provide a glimpse of the contemporary response to the Qing court's publication of the genealogy. A copy of the genealogy compiled by E Rong'an (1714-1755) for his father Ertay (1680-1745) in the early Qianlong period, with

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occasional excerpts from zao and cinnabar comments, may be regarded as an early attempt by officials in the early Qianlong period, but probably because it was not published, its circulation and influence were limited. It was compiled by Yan Rong (1761-1821) for Wang Chang (1742-1806) in the early Jiaqing period

The Chronicle of Mr. Shu'an is included at the end of the 1807 edition of Chunrongtang jī (The Collection of Chunrongtang), which does not include Wang Chang's essays directly, but it should give a fairly detailed summary of his involvement in many political affairs. Yan Rong

A private work,¹⁴⁶ , but published from the Kangxi dynasty to the Qianlong dynasty, when it was often compiled in large numbers by the Fangliuguan

He considered himself to be "more detailed than the three previous chronicles compiled for Wang Chang, and in the future he may be able to draw on them for his knowledge of the people and the world". In the Jiaqing period, Na Yen Cheng's (1764-1833) *chronicle of Duke A Wen Cheng* (A Gui, 1717-1797) and *Duke De Zhuang Guo* (Leng Tai, 1749-1809) both contain the full text of the memoirs and even the orders. In the preface to the chronicle of Duke De Zhuang Ge, Qi Cuckoozao writes: "The country's martial achievements have been used to secure the world. The biographies of the generals and commanders of the time are all of great merit, and there is no way to tell the whole story. In the mid-Jiaqing period, Na Wenyi began to compile a chronology of his grandfather, A Wencheng Gong. The chronology was compiled in a single book. The book was written by Wang Lanquan (Wang Chang), a great recorder. On the one hand, he regretted that the biography of Fangliu was hidden in the Museum of History and could not be made more widely known; on the other hand, he praised the clarity and detail of the chapter and verse of Lun-yin, which he began to include in his chronicle; and on the third hand, he traced this practice back to the rules set by Wang Chang, who was once a member of A Gui's staff. The chronological inclusion of "Lun-yin zhang-zhao" in these chronicles is quite similar to that of the Qing dynasty. Although there are no chronicles of Wang Chang's own rules, the chronicles of Ertai, Shuan, A Wencheng and De Ge Zhuang show that officials gradually incorporated zhengzhi into their chronicles. Taken together, it might be said that these examples demonstrate the response of officials to the Qing court's strategy since the Qianlong reign: whether passively influenced by the strategy or actively using it, they no longer directly published collections of their personal war-related zhengzhi, but included them under the name of 'chronicles', which circumvented the rules against competing with the emperor's strategy and the prohibition of private engraving of zhengzhi, while at the same time allowing for the concrete use of zhengzhi to publicise events. In this way, these chronicles demonstrate the relevance of officials' reactions to the publication of the Qing court's recipes during the transitional period between the gradual disappearance of the Qing dynasty and the revival of the publication of individual recipes in the late Qing. E Rong'an et al, edited by Li Zhizhong, *The Annals of Ertai* (Beijing: China Book Bureau, 1993); Yan Rong, *The Annals of Mr. Shu'an* (in *The Four Treasury Books, Collected Works*, vol. 1438, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1995, photocopied from the Qing dynasty, Jiaqing 12, Qingpu Wang's Sook Nan Shushe); Na Yancheng, *The Annals of Duke A Wencheng* (in *The Four Treasury Books*, Vols. 554-555, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1995, photocopied from the Jiaqing kiyou year book); Qi Cuckoozao, *Preface to the Chronicle of De Zhuang Guo Gong*, in *Hua Shana, The Chronicle of De Zhuang Guo Gong* (Leng Tai) (in *Modern Chinese History Series*, vol. 22, Taipei: Wenhai Publishing House, 1968, photocopied from the Zhiyuantang zangzuzhi text engraved in the Xianfeng bingchen year), p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ Yao Jirong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu*, p. 4.

After the Wuyingdian published the Fangliu,¹⁴⁷ private collections of war-related zazhi gradually disappeared,¹⁴⁸ and were only revived in the late Qing dynasty.¹⁴⁹ As already mentioned, there were few commentaries on the Fangliu by scholars during the Shengqing period.

¹⁴⁷ There are only a few copies of the Wuyingdian text, but the Qianlong Guozhi Zhizhi has a record of the publication of the "Personal Expedition to Pacify the Shuo Desert". Liang Guozhi et al., *Guozhi zhi* (in *Jing Yin Wenyan Ge siquanshu*, vol. 600, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the National Palace Museum collection), vol. 51, sutra 1, p. 15a.

¹⁴⁸ For a study of private history in the early Qing dynasty, see Que Hongliu, *A Study of Private History in the Early Qing Dynasty: A Study of the Historians as a Group* (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2008). However, the relationship between the fangliu and the personal war memorials did not occur immediately, as the example of Ehai's "Fuyao Zuoren" printed in the 52nd year of the Kangxi era (1713), cited earlier, shows that even the Manchurian banners continued to publish personal war memorials in the later period after the fangliu was created in the first and middle periods of the Kangxi era. Of course, the Qianlong ban on private engraving was also one of the reasons for the disappearance of the Officials' Zhangs (after the formation of the secret system in the middle of the Kangxi dynasty, officials were forbidden to divulge the contents of their zhangs; after the Yongzheng emperor succeeded to the throne, officials were ordered to return the zhangs that had been approved by the cinnabar, and this became the practice, with the data becoming an official 'monopoly', before the so-called ban on private engraving). For example, the following two records from the year 1779 (the year of the Qianlong emperor's death), 'Reportedly in compliance with an order to pay for the publication of the tablets of my grandfather's zhengmin and requested to submit my great-grandfather's pingmin jie' (Ref. 03-9666-013) and 'Reportedly in compliance with an order to find out that the sons and grandsons of Chen Hongmou, the former university scholar in Lingui County, did not carve the zhengmin jie' (Ref. 04-01-38-0013-002). In contrast, the prevalence of personal war memorial collections during the Kangxi period was certainly related to the fact that the court did not prohibit their publication, but it does not mean that officials did not censor themselves, as in the case of Zhang Yushu (1642-1711 <) Xiao Changyuan's 'Preface to Zhangshu', which mentions the 'non-acceptance of secret memorials'. In the Yongzheng dynasty there is the very special Tian Wenjing (1662-1733), *Fuyu Xuanhua zhuan* (Records of Fuyu Xuanhua) and *Zongzhi Xuanhua zhuan* (Records of General System Xuanhua), which were compiled by order of the emperor as a model for other officials to write their zheng. Tian Wenjing, "Fuyu Zhangshu Xuanhua zhuan" (Records of the General System of Fuyu Xuanhua). For more information on the control of the Qing dynasty, see Chuang Jifa, *The System of the Qing Dynasties* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1979) and *The National Palace Archives* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1983).

¹⁴⁹ The author has not yet conducted a systematic study of the collection of individual recitations from the late Qing Dynasty, but a review of major library catalogues and related
In the experience of electronic databases, the Ming and late Qing dynasties were the peak periods for the emergence of personal collections. A few examples include Lin Qing (1791-1842), Zao Zao (Lin Ji Ting Zao) (in *National Library Collection of Historical Archives*, Beijing: National Library Microfilm Reproduction Centre, 2005, photocopied from the original in the collection of the National Library of China) and Wu Rulun (1840-1903), Zeng Guozhuo Zao Zao (Zeng Guozhuo Zao Secret Draft) (in

National Library Collection of Historical Archives, Beijing: National Library Microfilm Reproduction Centre, 2005, photocopied from the original in the collection of the National Library of China). Beijing: National Library Microfilm Reproduction Centre, 2005, photocopied from the original in the collection of the National Library of China), **and** others. In addition, most of the photocopied manuscripts published today are edited and catalogued in chronological order, and were probably originally intended for publication, e.g. Linqing, Yunyin

Theory. The similar relationship between official and private work in the Qing dynasty reflects a similar effect of the Qing court's codification of this type of official culture, which promoted personal achievements: once the official government had a unified imperial view of war history through the formulae, it was difficult for the scholars to have a say, and they gradually ceased to compile their own war-related collections or private war histories; just as when the emperor was spreading his monarchial deeds and imperial military achievements through images, few officials' eunuchs or war honours could or dared to compare with the emperor's great achievements. It is not surprising that the culture of officials, which had been so widespread, gradually disappeared, and that the scholars had no choice but to remain silent in the face of the fact that their culture was being codified by the imperial power. In this way, the Kangxi dynasty's new strategy was not merely a manifestation of what academics have previously described as a martial culture, but was inextricably linked to the Manchurian emperor's transformation of mainstream scholarly culture to construct a cultural hegemony.

堂奏稿》(收入《國家圖書館藏歷史檔案文獻叢刊》，北京：全國圖書館文獻縮微複製中心，2005，據中國國家圖書館收藏原件影印)、王文韶(1830-1908)，《退園老人宣南奏議》(收入《中國史學叢書三編》，第9冊，臺北：學生書局，1986，據國立中央圖書館藏清光緒 (in Chinese History, vol. 9, Taipei: Student Bookstore, 1986, photocopied from the Qing Guangxu manuscript in the National Central Library), and Yuan Shikai (1856-1916), *Zanshouyuan Zanshou* (Taipei: Wenhai Publishing House, 1967, photocopied from the authentic copy by Shen Xuxian with a single handwritten manuscript). There are even cases where the manuscripts have survived instead of the published texts, such as Wang Shaozai Zhanyan (in Chinese History Series, vol. 10, Taipei: Student Bookstore, 1965, photocopied from the manuscript in the National Central Library), which was published by Yi Peijun, a disciple of Wang Moyin (1798- 1865), at the Clan Office in Sichuan during the Guangxu period. Although it is difficult to identify the effects of the Qing dynasty's inclusion of scholarly culture, there are signs of different effects on different genres that can be observed, although there is no specific audience response material. For example, after the Qing court began to produce war hoods, the personal hoods of officials gradually disappeared and did not revive until the late Qing dynasty; and similar to Wang Fan-sen's recent comparison of the self-repression of scholars as a result of the writing prison in the Qing dynasty with the 'capillary effect of power', and the re-emergence of book banning in the late Qing dynasty, it is likely that both were the result of scribes choosing to avoid in silence in the face of the immense imperial power, but resuming when the power of the imperial power was reduced. It is likely that they were both the result of scribes who chose to avoid the greatness of imperial power in the face of it, only to return to it when it was reduced. In contrast, after the Qianlong emperor began erecting imperial monuments all over the land, the scribes turned to the search for ancient monuments, etc. Ma Yazhen, *Engraving the War Honours*, pp. 247-248; Wang Fan-sen, *The Capillary Role of Power: Scholarship, Thought and Mind in the Qing Dynasty* (Taipei: Lianjing Publishing

Company, 2013). mei Yun-chiu, "The Pictorial Mapping and Imperialization of Epigraphic Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century China," (Ph. Dissertation, Stanford, California: Stanford University, 2008).

If one further analyses the earliest compilations of the Kangxi Dynasty, the "Strategies for the Pacification of the Three Revolts", one can also see that it is similar to the Ming and Qing dynasties' collections of individual war-related submissions, except that it is centred on the Kangxi emperor, with his admonishments and the relevant ministries' submissions, as well as the addition of ministerial praise. The original title of this work was "The Divine Warrior's Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts", emphasizing the excellence of the Kangxi Emperor's strategy, but the word "divine warrior" is missing;¹⁵⁰ However, the original source of the compilation is.

The imperial official Dai Wangchun said, "Your Majesty's administration of the Emperor's government has been able to reduce the chaos. His Majesty's work was carried out at night, and the country was forever cleared. Please compile it into a book to show the limitless. The government of the Republic of China has been working with the government of the Republic of China for a long time. The government of the country has been a great help to the people of China, and the government has been a great help to the people of China. The Emperor's divine plan was to eliminate the great nuisance; he was able to pacify the multitudes of the people, and he was able to destroy all the sins that were left behind. In the course of eight years, nothing was left to chance."¹⁵¹

The purpose of this strategy is to record Kangxi's brilliant strategies in guiding the war effort, which is similar to that of the collection of zhengzhi on the war effort in the Ming and Qing dynasties, in which individual officials are praised for their skill in using the army. In addition, while the various volumes of the "Strategies for the Pacification of the Three Revolts" list the imperial orders in chronological order, they also occasionally insert "I respectfully submit" in the form of historical commentary in praise of the emperor and the Qing army,¹⁵² which serves a similar purpose to the aforementioned Ming-Qing individual warfare-related zhengjiao collections in that they are used to praise the insights and abilities of the protagonists. For example.

The rebels had no intention of prying at the gates of Yunnan and Qian. But the rebels were not alone in not being able to enter, and the rebels in Hunan were also suspicious and wandering. The temple was so deep. I was surprised to learn that the generals

¹⁵⁰ Yao Ji-rong was the first to observe this change in the Kangxi actual records, Yao Ji-rong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu*, p. 77.

¹⁵¹ By Le Duc Hung and others, "A Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts", vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵² Yao Jirong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu*, p. 200.

The government has been slow to act, but the changes in Shu have been made, and the Longguan government has not been able to calm the situation, which has caused trouble to the heaven: I am convinced of the wisdom of the foresight. The eight banners of our dynasty are a collection of forbidden brigades, in line with the ancient law; the soldiers are the Prince's own army, and the generals are all heart and horses and minions. They were well trained, and their troops were well disciplined. When nothing happens, the soldiers are returned to the army and the generals to the court; when something happens, the generals have been stored for a long time and the soldiers have been well trained, so there is no need for any simple recruitment. Therefore, Sangui's counter-book was heard in the morning, and the dispatch was done in the evening. The people were suffering and looking forward to the clouds, while our troops were being driven away faster than the wind and rain. The bandits wanted to cover my defences, but I was quick to take them by surprise. The poem says: "The king's brigade is like a flying army."¹⁵³

The book also ends with a postscript that reads, "In conclusion, His Majesty is a saint, a god, a man of letters and a man of arms; he has fought against calamities and opened up peace, and his managers have done everything well: it is difficult to name the matters of the heavens. Although I have barely embellished a few words, I can only sum up the general; I am ashamed of my supreme virtue and abundant merit, which I have not been able to explain in detail".¹⁵⁴ is an even greater tribute to the Kangxi Emperor.¹⁵⁵ However, the difference between the 'Strategies for the Pacification of the Three Revolts' and the usual collection of personal war-related advice is that it shows the extraordinary nature of the court's strategies. Although the ministers responsible for its compilation acted as commentators on the book in the same way that they would on a personal war-related collection, their subordinate role is more obvious. They begin the book as ministers, explaining the reasons for the rejection of the request for an honorary title after the successful pacification of the feudal domain, and the reasons for the imperial officials' request for compilation; they then compile the entire pacification of the feudal domain into a more complete chronological narrative, with the emperor at the centre of it. The later book, "The Strategy for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert in Person", which will be discussed later, dates back to the 16th year of the Kangxi reign (1677) and covers twenty years of important events up to the 37th year of the Kangxi reign (1698), rather than just the later pro-quest activities, and presents a longer period of time than the usual collection of individual war-related zhen-jiao, and the importance of the whole

pacification event is even greater.¹⁵⁶It can be argued that *The Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts* is a collection of personal war-related submissions from the Ming and Qing dynasties, replacing the officials' personal submissions with those of the emperor.

¹⁵³ Le Dehong et al., *A Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts*, vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵⁴ Le Dehong et al., *A Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts*, vol. 60, p. 479.

¹⁵⁵ Le Dehong et al., *A Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts*, vol. 60, p. 479.

¹⁵⁶ Thanks to the anonymous reviewer for reminding us of the longer period of time covered by the Qing dynasty's strategy of deliberately separating the imperial power from officials and scholars than the collection of individual war-related zoans.

The collection has been successfully transformed into an extraordinary collection of the Kangxi emperor's personal war-related comments, replacing peer commentary with ministerial commentary, and editing a more complete and ambitious historical narrative through his subordinates.

However, it is worth noting that, in contrast to the above-mentioned tendency to honour officials with prefaces, inscriptions, poems and commentaries, the Kangxi dynasty's strategy for celebrating the emperor took the opposite direction.¹⁵⁷In contrast to the early editions of the 'Strategies for the Pacification of the Three Revolts', which were extensively interspersed with ministerial commentaries in praise of the Kangxi emperor, the 'Strategies for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert in Person', edited in the forty-seventh year of the Kangxi reign (1708), is considerably less glorious, with the exception of the 'Table of the Advance Strategies' at the beginning of the volume and the explanations at the beginning of volume 1, which praise the Kangxi emperor. The book is a collection of the relevant ministries. The only two imperial prefaces and jottings at the beginning of the book are not of Kangxi's own bravery, but of his 'hardships and hardships in the country' or his 'unconcerned with comfort and honour, he ate with his soldiers, had only one meal a day, and drank turbid water constantly'. If we consider that the earlier version of the 'Strategy for the Pacification of the Three Revolts' was not published, and that the later version of the 'Strategy for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert in Person' was printed by the Wuying Hall as soon as it was completed, it would be more representative of the Kangxi emperor's eventual requirements for the editing of the strategy.¹⁵⁸If this is so, then why did the early and late editions show such a wide variation in their praise of the emperor, and how does this compare with other editions at the Kangxi court, and what should

¹⁵⁷ The Strategy for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert by Wenda and others (in *The Four Bases of the Library of the Emperor Jing Yin*, no.

In addition, although the ode is not included in the "Pro-Communication and Pacification of the Shuo Desert", the third volume of the "Qing Dynasty's Compendium of Strategies for the Administration of Xinjiang" includes the "Song of the Gangping of Kardan", which was sung by over a hundred people, and can be contrasted with the deliberate omission of the ode in the "Pro-Communication and Pacification of the Shuo Des". Zhang Yuxin and Zhao Shuqing, eds, *A Compendium of Qing Dynasty Strategies for the Management of Xinjiang*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Xueyuan Publishing House, 2006), pp. 201-294.

¹⁵⁸ Some commentators may say that the difference between the 'Strategies for the Pacification of the Three Revolts' and the 'Strategies for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert' is that the former was one of the 'three major events' that the Kangxi Emperor had resolved for a long time, so the account was written with great enthusiasm, while

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the latter was an imperial expedition, but the war was brought to an end only because of the death of Kardan, the Khan of Junggar, who fell ill, so the strategy was kept low key. However, if the Kangxi emperor had wanted to keep a low profile, he could have either compiled or not printed the strategy. On the contrary, the strategy for pacifying the Shuo Desert was the first to be printed by the Palace of the Qing Dynasty, and the strategy and content of the strategy should perhaps be seen as an image of Kangxi's imperial martial prowess.

How should we understand the significance of the publication of the "Strategy for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert in Person"?

If we compare this with the *Xiong Lu Sheng Dian* and the *Wan Shou Sheng Dian Chu Ji*, both published in the late Kangxi period and symbols of his literary rule, which contain half of the poetry and praise of his ministers,¹⁵⁹ , but none of the poetry and praise of his martial achievements, the "Strategy for the Pacification of the Shuo Mo", shows that the Kangxi emperor had very different considerations for the publication of his literary and martial achievements.¹⁶⁰ This is especially true of the original Kong Yuqi (1657-

In 1723, when the first editions of the "Xionglu Shengdi" were compiled in the twenty-seventh year of the Kangxi reign (1688), only two ninths of the ode were written

It took more than twenty years for the book to be published in the fiftieth year of the Kangxi reign (1711), with a significant increase from four to twenty volumes.¹⁶¹ confirms the importance he attached to the inclusion of ode lyrics. Although there was no shortage of poems or choruses by rulers and ministers in past dynasties, such a large number of ode texts by ministers is rarely found in the canonical texts compiled by the court, and one cannot help but be reminded of the culture of the scholars and scholars who have been publishing inscriptions since the Ming and Qing dynasties. Although the culture of praise has been around for a long time, in the past, flattering words of praise and virtue had no historical value to historians and were discarded from time to time, as Xie Guochen (1901-1982) stated in his 'An Examination of the Revision of the Historical Books of the Late Ming Dynasty': 'The texts of praise and flattery are not to be published in general.'¹⁶² In the Ming and Qing dynasties, there was also no shortage of those who treated them as useless, such as the first order of the Four Books compiled in 1772, which stated: "Those who were sold in the marketplace, and those who were not used in the community, such as genealogies, rulers, scrolls and shouyin, etc., and those who had no real knowledge, but were only married to the name and were surprised, compiled and sung poetry, which was trivial and inappropriate, were not to be taken.

¹⁵⁹ Kong Yuqi, Jin Juijing, etc., *The Sincerity of the Xionglu Shengdi* (in *The Four Books of the Wenyuan Ge*, vol. 652, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, based on a copy in the National Palace Museum). Wang Yuanqi et al., *The First Collection of the Wanshou Shengdi* (in *The Four Bases of the Wenyuan Ge*, vols. 653-654, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the collection of the National Palace Museum).

¹⁶⁰ In my view, the Kangxi Southern Tour and the Preliminary Collection of the Longevity Ceremony are seen as the result of the transformation of the culture of officials, such as the eunuchs, to emphasize the image of the Kangxi emperor as a benevolent 'holy lord'. The *Xunlu Shengdi* can perhaps be viewed in a similar light, as a court production that exalts the cultural rule of the Kangxi emperor, and can be juxtaposed with a strategy to

promote his military prowess. Ma Yazhen, Engraving War Honours, pp. 135-140.

¹⁶¹ By Kong Yuqi, Jin Juijing, and others, The Fortunate Lu Ceremony.

¹⁶² Xie Guozhen, "Additions to the Late Ming Historical Books", p. 18.

There is also no volume 7-8 of the Fuyu Miao Book of Poems for the Red Miao Rebellion. The Red Miao Guiding Poem: A Postscript to the Red Miao Guiding Poem

The 'fetching'.¹⁶³¹⁶⁴ However, recent scholarship has re-examined the popularity of the Yuan dynasty go-size stele, which enumerated the achievements of magistrates, and the Ming dynasty birth shrines, and found that they were closely related to scholarly interactions and local society, and were no less important as a medium for understanding community activities.¹⁶⁵ In particular, prefaces, dedications and commentaries, which were used by scholars to mark each other, have been prevalent in many art and literary expressions since the mid- to late-Ming period, and even more so in the early Qing dynasty, reflecting the social world of the scholars. Both literary and

The Siku Quanshu (Four Books) says of Cao Zhenji's (1634-1698) "Ke Xue Lyrics" that "at the end of each tune in the old version, comments such as those by Wang Shizhen are listed, which are in fact along the lines of the bad practices of the Ming literary society and are most repulsive, and are now deleted in order to clear the ears of the preface and commentary of the celebrities".¹⁶⁶ The above-mentioned personal war-related zhengjian collection is accompanied by an ode, or

The Ninghai Shogun Gushan Pei Zi's Record of Merits contains 'Ninety-six Absolute Verses in Seven Words',¹⁶⁷ the Huixian Pei Zi Zhongding Record 'followed by an ode',¹⁶⁸ and even those dedicated to inscribed poems, such as Shen Yourong's (1557-

¹⁶³ The First Historical Archives of China, edited by the First Historical Archives of China, *The Documents of the Qianlong Dynasty* (Beijing: Archives Press, 1991), p. 897.

¹⁶⁴ Chen Wenyi, 'From the Go-Si Stele to the Record of Words and Acts: Political Achievement Celebration, Interculturalism and Identity Formation of the Scholar in the Yuan Dynasty', *Academia Sinica, Collected Works*, 86:1 (Taipei, 2015.3), pp. 1-52. He Shuyi, 'Local Officials' Shrines and Local Society in the Late Ming Dynasty: The Case of Jiaxing Prefecture', *Academia Sinica, Collected Works*, 86:4 (Taipei, 2015.12), pp. 811-854. *The Collected Works of the Institute of Historical Languages*, 86:4 (Taipei, 2015.12), pp. 811-854.

¹⁶⁵ Also see Tobie Meyer-Fong, "Packing the Men of Our Times: Literary Anthologies, Friendship Networks, and Political Accommodation in the Early Qing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64:1 (June 2004): 5-56. Thanks to Li Yan-Yuan for this article.

¹⁶⁶ By Yong Rong et al, *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書總目), vol. 199, p. 1823

¹⁶⁷ Xie Guozhen, "Adding to the Late Ming History," p. 700. no author, "Ninghai jiangjun gushan beizi merit record" (in *Siku quanshu jinben*, vol. 11, 53, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1981, unpublished edition), synopsis, p. 2b.

¹⁶⁸ Xie Guozhen, "Adding to the Late Ming History", p. 701. de Pei, *Huixian Pei Zi Zhongding zhi* (in *A Collection of Biographies of Chinese Historical Figures*, vol. 32, Beijing:

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Linguistic Bookstore, 2003, photocopied from the collection of the National Library of China), volume of chants, pp. 1-26.

1628), 'A Gift from the Minhai', ¹⁶⁹'A Gift from a Tablet' by Tang Ruowang (1591-1666).

¹⁷⁰'A Gift from a Tablet' by Wang Pheasant (1632-

(1717) *The Gift of Qing Hui*,¹⁷¹ is a cultural phenomenon of the time in which scholars were popularly commending each other.

In contrast to the negative 'bad habits' of the Ming and Qing scholars who bragged about each other, modern scholars are quite positive about the trend of public discourse among the scholars of the mid and late Ming period. ¹⁷²However, the two sides of the same coin are not the same: they both create public opinion through public discourse. But while the former focused on personal glory and was easily criticized, few scholars were able to stay out of the way of the trend. From this perspective, the numerous eulogies in the *Xiong Lu Sheng Dian* and the first collection of the *Wan Shou Sheng Dian* may also be the product of a trend of mutual praise among the scholars, intended to show the public opinion of the subjects on the emperor's achievements; and the compilation itself has nothing to do with the achievements of the Ming and Qing officials or the culture of celebrating the life of the scholars.¹⁷³ It should be part of the transformation of the culture of the scholars by the Kangxi court, as mentioned above, to show the achievements of its civil administration.

In contrast, the Kangxi emperor adopted a rather different strategy for the representation of his martial prowess, which tended to be less and less centred on him. Firstly, despite the increasing popularity of official production of war pictures during the Kangxi period, there were no such pictures closely associated with his personal military exploits, and instead he sponsored large scale pictorial projects such as the 12-volume *Southern Tour* and the publication of the *Imperial Poem on the Summer Villas*, which portrayed the benevolence of his saintly lord, without any intention of using the pictures to proclaim his personal war achievements.¹⁷⁴ Further, the

¹⁶⁹ Shen You-rong, "A Gift from the Sea of Min" (in Bank of Taiwan, Economic Research Office, ed. (Type 56, Taipei: Bank of Taiwan, Economic Research Office, 1959, engraved in the second year of Chongzhen). Fang Hao, "Chen Di Dongfan Jie koji, with a discussion of the Minhai gift", *National Taiwan University Journal of Literature, History and Philosophy*, 7 (Taipei, 1956), pp. 41-76+76_1-76_10.

¹⁷⁰ Ji Jianxun, 'A cross-correction of the combined editions of the Tablet inscriptions', *International Sinology*, 2 (Beijing, China) 2014), pp. 81-97.

¹⁷¹ Wang Hui, 'A Gift from Qing Hui' (in *Chinese Historical Figures*, vol. 30, Beijing: Lin Bian Shu Bao, 2003, photocopied from the collection of the National Library of China).

¹⁷² Zhao Yuan, *A Study of the Shih Taishi in the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1999); Wang Fan-sen, *The Transformation Era of Modern Chinese Thought History* (Taipei: Lianjing Publishing Company, 2007), pp.

155-166.

¹⁷³ Qiu Zhonglin, 'Birthday Celebrations: The Culture of Celebrating Longevity in Ming and Qing Societies', *New History*, 11:3 (Taipei, 2000.9), pp. 101-156; Ma Yazhen, 'Engraving War Honours', p. 135.

¹⁷⁴ Ma Yazhen, 'Engraving the War Honours', p. 135.

¹⁷⁶In 1704, after pacifying Shuo Mo in person, the first official was sent to pay tribute to Confucius, the late master, and erected the 'Monument to the Completion of the Imperial School for the Pacification of Shuo Mo' at the Guozi Temple.¹⁷⁵ In the Qianlong dynasty, the final ceremony for the victory in person was to 'announce the strategy for pacification to the Hall of History'. These ceremonies did not focus on the emperor's military achievements, but went beyond the emperor himself, elevating his achievements to the level of imperial military honours. In other words, if the praise of the subjects helped to set off the holy aura of Kangxi's civil rule, the establishment of the new military rituals elevated his personal war honours to those of the emperor. No wonder, then, that even though the 'Strategy for Pacifying the Shuo Mo' records the Kangxi emperor's conquest of Kardan (1644-1697), there is no mention of his praise in the 'Strategy for Pacifying the Three Revolts' or of his praise in the 'Xing Lu Sheng Dian' and 'Wan Shou Sheng Dian Chu Ji', whose imperial prefaces and records emphasise his saintliness rather than his bravery. Perhaps the earlier 'Strategies for the Pacification of the Three Revolts' were not printed because they focused too much on the emperor's 'divine warfare' and did not fit in with the martial culture that Kangxi eventually constructed.

Despite the differences in the way in which the Kangxi court transformed the Ming and Qing officials to boast of their own civil and military achievements.

But whether it be the literary 'Xionglu Shengdi' and 'Wanshou Shengdi Chouji', or the martial 'Pingxing Sanrei Fangliu' and 'Pingxing Shuo Mo', all are closely related to the Kangxi emperor's efforts to compile a culture of scholarly exuberance. Ironically, while there is some truth in the academic view that the strategy was part of the Manchurian martial culture, the Kangxi court never produced a map of war honours or a collection of personal war-related recitals to publicise the Kangxi emperor's martial achievements, and ultimately abandoned the "Strategy for Defeating the Three Revolts" as if it were the emperor's version of the "War Honours".

¹⁷⁵ Ma Yazhen, "Engraving the War Honours", p. 135. Chu Yu-ki, "From the Temple Society to the Ritual Reconstruction of the Pingding of the Northwest Side of the Qing Dynasty", in *Journal of Oriental Studies*, edited by the Oriental Studies Research Association, *Essays on Oriental Studies in Memory of Professor Takada Tokio's Retirement* (Kyoto: Rinkawa Shoten, 2014), pp. 397-411.

¹⁷⁶ *The Great Qing Code of Canon Law (in The Four Books of the Wenyuan Court, vol. 619, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, based on a copy in the collection of the National Palace Museum), vol. 35, Rites, p. 8b; The Great Qing Rites (in The Four Books of the Wenyuan Court, vol. 655, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, based on a copy in the collection of the National Palace Museum), vol. 40, Military*

Manchurian Shangwu

Rites, p. 22b. (published in *The Four Books of the Qing Dynasty*, vol. 655, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the National Palace Museum collection), vol. 40, 'Military Rites', p. 22b.

The war-related zoos, which are so highly praised by Kangxi, conclude with a large, faded version of the 'Strategy for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert in Person', which, along with the confession of Confucius at the Imperial College and the erection of the war monument, shapes the distinctive military culture of the Qing Empire.

V. Conclusion - Changes in strategy and changes in orientation during the Qianlong reign

In contrast to the Kangxi palace's selective codification of the Ming and Qing dynasties' cultural pattern of honouring officials with military honours, which focused on the establishment of imperial rituals that transcended the emperor's own person, the Qianlong dynasty gradually transformed the form and content of war-herald maps and strategies into an integral part of the Qing empire's martial culture. In the case of the battle honours drawings, the early Qianlong period saw the development of court drawings based on military rituals, while the pacification of the Hui border saw the gradual development of the ritual-based Ziguangge Battle Honours Drawings and the use of the 'East-meets-West' technique to represent the fierce battle of the pacification of the Zungar Hui, which served as a model for the representation of military honours in subsequent important battles. ¹⁷⁷The Qianlong reign began with the establishment of the Museum of Strategies,¹⁷⁸ which compiled and published more than ten strategies, each slightly different from the other, but no longer based on the personal valour of Kangxi, which was praised in his own words, but on the editorial policy of celebrating the emperor's achievements in civil and political life, with the use of inscriptions or ode to present the public opinion of his ministers on the military achievements of the empire, and the reinforcement of Qianlong's role as the emperor's strategist. The first editions of the Qianlong reign's The first book of the Qianlong reign, Pingding Jinchuan Fangliu, was a departure from the 'Pingding Shuo Mo Fangliu' and returned to the 'Pingding San Rebellion Fangliu', with its inclusion of ministerial commentaries and the inclusion of one volume of imperial poetry at the end of the 26-volume work in a six-volume 'art and literature' series

The emperor's military honours were proclaimed in five volumes of poems and poems on the merits of his ministers; and in addition to the original superior orders of the Founder and the In addition to the new poems, which are self-explanatory in terms of military strategy, there is also a record of Qianlong's imperial comments on war generals and other submissions, so that "the instructions of the imperial edicts and the

replies to the submissions" provide a more comprehensive picture of Qianlong's

¹⁷⁷ Ma Yazhen, *Engraving War Honours*, pp. 144-243.

¹⁷⁸ Yao Jirong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu*, pp. 25-28.

A record of warfare instruction.¹⁷⁹The Qianlong dynasty's later editions of the Pingding Jinchuan (Pingding Jinchuan Fangliu), in addition to following the pattern of the press releases and zhangs, gradually developed a pattern of "Tianzhang" at the beginning of the volume.¹⁸⁰ The change in the imperial poetic texts in the editions from "Yewen" at the end of the book to "Tianzhang" at the front of the book is similar to that of Gao Jin (1707-1778) when he first compiled the "Southern Tour", with "Enlun" as the first door and "Tianzhang" as the second.

In the Sikuquanshu.

The book has been collected from the four treasuries, and the category of the books has been reviewed, all of which are headed by the Heavenly Chapter.

This is a compilation of the books presented to us. The book should be changed from the first to the second.¹⁸¹

"The 'Tianzhang' or 'Chenzhang' took precedence over other genres as the norm for books ordained by the emperor, such as the 'Eighty Years' Longevity Ceremony'. In this way, it can be argued that the Qianlong reign's Fangliu took the emperor's version of the collection of personal war-related zhangs to the extreme, reinforcing it as a record of the emperor's exclusive martial functions with the ranking of the 'Tianzhang' (Heavenly Chapter), the 'approval and reply of the chapters', the ministers' comments and the ode to the ministers, unlike the

¹⁷⁹ Lai Bao, Pingding Jinchuan Fangliu (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu*, vol. 356, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the National Palace Museum collection), synopsis, p. 7a.

¹⁸⁰ For example, A Gui et al., *A Strategy for the Pingding of the Two Jinchuan Rivers* (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu*, pp. 360-

361 volumes, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Library, 1983, photocopied from the National Palace Museum collection); A Gui et al.

The Chronicle of the Qin Ding Shi Feng Fortress (in *The Four Treasury Books*, vols. 110-111, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1970, based on the copy in the Wen Yuan Ge Collection of the National Palace Museum); by Emperor Gaozong of the Qing Dynasty, *The Chronicle of the Qin Ding Ping Ding Taiwan* (in *The Four Treasury Books*, vol. 363, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, based on the copy in the National Palace Museum); no authorship.

(in *Goblets of the National Palace Museum Collection*, Taipei: Shenxiangting Enterprise, 2007, authorized by the National Palace Museum); no author, *Gurkha of the Qin dynasty* (in *Goblets of the National Palace Museum Collection*, Taipei: Shenxiangting Enterprise, 2007, authorized by the National Palace Museum).

¹⁸¹ Gao Jin et al., *The Southern Tour of the Qin dynasty* (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu*, vols. 658-659, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the collection of the National Palace Museum), p. 3, col.

The 'Strategy for the Pacification of the Shuo Desert in Person' reduces the emphasis on Kangxi's martial prowess as part of an imperial ritual that transcends personal war honours, such as the completion of the Imperial Academy and the recording of achievements in stone. In other words, the emperor's 'personal' war honour maps were avoided, and the emperor's role in the strategy was gradually weakened, as opposed to the reserved compilation of war honour maps and collections of personal war-related submissions by the Ming and Qing officials, which were used to celebrate their own martial feats.

"On the other hand, the Qianlong renders the 'personal' part of the two figures, which focus on the 'personal' part of the personal rewards, completely replacing the 'personal' with the 'emperor' and equating the 'emperor' directly with the 'empire': on the one hand, the Qianlong renders the 'personal' battle honours figure into an 'imperial' battle honours figure through the theme of imperial military rites and the 'East-meets-West' form of showing the king's troops fighting against the enemy, so as to On the other hand, the Emperor's status as a representative of the empire is reinforced by the use of the Tianzhang (Heavenly Seal), which makes the strategy a record of the empire's military achievements. In this way, the Ming and Qing 'personal' war-related zhengqi were completely transformed into the 'emperor's' own Qianlong zhengqi, rather than just the Kangxi 'emperor's version' of war-related zhengqi.

This is the same way that the collection of personal war-related zhenqi of the Ming and Qing dynasties can be classified as either a 'collection' or a 'history' in the catalogue classification, as it was closely related to the Manchu emperors and can also be regarded as an official history book. The book was completed in the 34th year of the Qianlong reign. In the 'Books' category of the 'History of the Palace', written in the 34th year of the Qianlong reign (1769), 'actual records', 'sacred teachings', 'imperial production' and 'recipes' were placed after other items such as 'rules', 'sutra' and 'history', 'firstly to record actual records in order to highlight the origin of merit and virtue. The second is a record of instructions to show the greatness of the Ee's plans. The 'History of the Emperor',¹⁸², is a codification of the emperor. Likewise, in addition to the fact that Le Dehong, as already mentioned in the introduction to this article, traces the compilation of the Fangliu to the relevant compilations of the emperors of the past, the earliest Kangxi Fangliu is recorded in the Qiju (the first journal) of the twenty-first year of the Kangxi reign (1682).

¹⁸² Yu Minzhong, *The History of the Palace of the Guo Dynasty* (in *Jing Yin Wen Yuan Ge Si Ku Quan Shu*, vol. 657, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, photocopied from the National

Wang Ch'ung has proposed that the sacred teachings of Emperor Tai Zu Gao Huang, Emperor Taizong Wen Huang and Emperor Shi Zu Zhang Huang should be compiled and revised, and that all imperial decrees and secret orders on the use of military force and the expediency of conquering and attacking should be compiled and written down for immortality. The Supreme Court said: "The sacred teachings of the Great Ancestor, Emperor Taizong and Emperor Shizu are of great importance and should be compiled and revised. It is important that they should be compiled. The matters that I have done should be compiled into a book

The The Great Masters and Bachelors, along with their salaries, submitted a request to the Ministry of Rites for the compilation of the sacred instructions of the Ministers and Officials of the Emperor, Tai Zu, Tai Zong and Shi Zu, as well as the compilation of the Emperor's eight years of military service, his divine power, and the usual banquets given by the Ministers and Officials',¹⁸³ , also mentions the compilation of the Fangliu alongside the compilation of the sacred instructions of the emperors of the Qing dynasty, which shows that the Fangliu was from the very beginning a compilation related to the emperor. However, after the Siku Quanshu created a new category of "Chronicle of Events" in the "History" section, in which Fangliu was subordinated,¹⁸⁴ has since become customary; for example, in 1787, the "General Records of the Imperial Dynasty" included Fangliu in the "History" category of the "Art and Literature" section, "in accordance with the practice of the Four Books of the Qin Dynasty, a new category of Chronicle of Events" was added.¹⁸⁵The main reason for this is that the Kangxi dynasty's 'recensions' were 'dedicated to the supreme edicts, not to the zhenshu', which is also a way of looking at the recensions from the point of view of the history books (although he is wrong in saying that the Kangxi and

The Qianlong reign's recipes were all included in the ministerial recommendations.)¹⁸⁶ However, even if only the recommendations were recorded, if the recommendations from the Kangxi dynasty were not included in the Kangxi dynasty

It is not unacceptable to receive only the emperor's orders, since the compilation of the formulae was originally most relevant to the emperor. The earliest compilation in the Qianlong reign, the 'Strategies for the Pingding of the Jinchuan', contains the first of the Qianlong's instructions to his ministers and generals.

¹⁸³ The First Historical Archives of China, Kangxi qiju zhiji, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo shu bao, China) 1984), pp. 879-881, 891.

¹⁸⁴ By Yong Rong and others, Siku Quanshu (四庫全書總目), vol. 49, pp. 437-445.

¹⁸⁵ Liu Yong et al, The General Records of the Imperial Dynasties of the Qin Dynasty (in The Four Bases of the Four Books of the Wenyuan Court, vol. 645, Taipei: Taiwan

Commercial Press, 1983, based on a copy in the collection of the National Palace Museum), vol. 99, p. 5b. In contrast, the General Examination of Imperial Documents follows the classification of Ma Duanlin's General Examination of Documents, which includes a 'chronology' of the Fangliu. Zhang Tingyu et al., The General Examination of Imperial Literature (in The Four Books of the Imperial Court, vol. 632, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1983, based on a copy in the National Palace Museum), vol. 219, pp. 7-32.

- ¹⁸⁶ Yao Jirong, Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu, pp. 96-97; Wei Yuan, Shengwu Ji (Beijing: Zhongguo Shuhua, The 1984, based on the Daoguang XXVI edition), Appendix vol. 12, 'The Remains of the Martial Arts (武事餘記 掌故考證)', p. 491.

The imperial approval of the imperial edicts, which emphasises the 'instructions of the imperial edicts and the answers of the zhangs', provides a more complete record of the emperor's command of the war, and once again confirms the close relationship between the Qing dynasty's strategies and the collections of individual war-related zhangs from the Ming and Qing dynasties, both of which were of the same type of compilation centred on the 'individual' (official or emperor). More importantly, both the Imperial General Records and the Shengwu Ji show that the Qianlong dynasty

The Sikuquanshu's inclusion of Fangliu in the History section has influenced later understandings of Fangliu in ways that are different from the concept of Fangliu as it was created by Kangxi.

However, the new classification of the Fangliu in the Sikuquanshu involves more than just the 'Collection' and

"The attribution of the 'History Department' may have touched on the issue of defining the 'Chronicle of Events' and the relationship between the 'Chronicle of Events' and the collection of war-related zhengzhi. Modern scholars believe that although the late Ming and early Qing dynasties had already seen a parallel between the chronicle of events and the chronicle of biographies, it was not until the creation of a new category of 'chronicle of events' in the 'History Department' by the curators of the Sikuquanshu that the chronicle of events was established as a new genre of history.¹⁸⁷The Summary of the Sikuquanshu Head explains

the reason for this at great length: In ancient times, history was only chronological, and there were no different tracks before the Zhou Dynasty. Sima Qian wrote The Records of the Grand Historian.

There was then a single chronicle, and before the Tang Dynasty there was no different track. In the Song dynasty, Yuan Shu took the old text of the Tong Jian and divided each incident into chapters, ranking them in order of precedence, and giving a detailed account of the end of the story, ordering them to be called the "Chronicle of Events". The history of the world is a single entity. If there is a creation at the beginning, it cannot be avoided at the end. Therefore, before the existence of this body, the Chronicle of Events was created by Micro alone, that is, the Chronicle was also created and the Chronicle was also created. After the existence of this body, the chronology alone was created, and the chronicles were created, and the end of the chronicles were created. Since there were so many, a separate family was created outside of the two bodies. This is also a distinction by category, so as to make it its own discipline.¹⁸⁸

and proposes criteria for such income.

This is a collection of all the books that contain the origin and the end of all events, and a book that contains the origin and end of one event.

Those who do not bear the name of a record of events, but are in fact a record of events, are also recorded. If by chance

¹⁸⁷ Liu Haibo, 'A brief discussion of the development of the genre of chronicle – with a viewpoint on omnographics', *Journal of Jinan University (Social Sciences Edition)*, 21:2 (Jinan, 2011.3), pp. 34-38.

¹⁸⁸ By Yong Rong and others, *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書總目), vol. 49, pp. 437-445.

Since there are not many records, they are still included in the miscellaneous biographies and are not listed here.¹⁸⁹

However, such a loose criterion is not comparable to the earliest Yuan Shu's use of the *Zizhi Tongjian* as the basis for the compilation of the *Tongjian Jiji Benmu*, nor is it judged by whether the book has a title of 'Jiji Benmu', especially in terms of how to distinguish it from miscellaneous histories or even biographies. Liu Xianxin (1896-1932), a scholar of the early Republican period, criticised

However, the cost of this body from Yuan Shu, other miscellaneous history in the solid more to the name of the matter, not to be the record of the end of the matter, and "Summary" with a wide collection of a book with a matter of the end of the book, said that it is not labeled the name of the record of the end of the matter, but actually for the record of the end of the matter, it is fallacious if an occasional record of the matter with the beginning and end, miscellaneous history, biography, who otherwise evil.¹⁹⁰

It is also true that the books in the *Sikuquanshu* (The Chronicle of Events) are of different types, and it is difficult to say that there is a consistent standard.

¹⁹¹In the case of *Fangliu*, Yao Ji-rong considers it to be a "compilation of data" in nature.

"The 'new form of chronicle book' is in fact quite different from Yuan Shu's redaction of the existing chronicle books. ¹⁹²One cannot help but wonder whether the new category in the *Siku Quanshu* is also related to the fact that *Fangliu* accounts for nearly one-half of the number of books included in the 'Chronicle of Events', and that the inclusion of *Fangliu* in the 'Chronicle of Events' category, which is a tripod of chronicles and biographies, not only serves to elevate the importance of *Fangliu*, but also avoids the fact that the *Fangliu* style discussed in this article is most relevant to the collection of *zhen-jian*, a collection of war-related events by Ming and Qing officials. The latter, in particular, is classified as miscellaneous history in the *Sikuquanshu* Head Summary on the grounds that it is 'not a complete compilation of one generation', even though it also 'has the beginning and end of a matter';¹⁹³ is not without its suspicion of excluding individual war-related *zhenjian* collections from the 'record of events', and of diluting their connection with the strategy. If we consider that the new category of 'imperial edicts and *zhen-an*' in the *Sikuquanshu* specifically includes the emperor's Letters Patent

¹⁸⁹ By Yong Rong and others, *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書總目), vol. 49, pp. 437-445.

¹⁹⁰ Quoted in Liu Haibo, 'A Brief Discussion of the Development of the Chronicle Genre', p. 37.

¹⁹¹ Ge Wun-li, 'A Correction of the Creation of the Book of Records', *Wen Shi Zhe*, 329 (Jinan, 2012), pp. 101-110.

¹⁹² Yao Jirong, *Studies in Qing Dynasty Fangliu*, p. 4.

¹⁹³ By Yongruong et al, *Siku Quanshu* (四庫全書總目), vol. 49, 51, pp. 437-445, 460-467.

¹⁹⁴The collection of imperial edicts and the collection of officials' war-related zao-an (zao-an) without titles such as 'zao-an' are excluded from the collection, however, and perhaps echoes the tendency to weaken the relationship between the two, by suggesting that it is the imperial edicts and zao-an that contrast the texts of the emperor and officials, rather than the collections of edicts and war-related zao-an, which are divided into 'chronicles' and 'miscellaneous histories'. In particular, if we refer to the Ming dynasty's Wanshutang Shujian, mentioned in the second section of this essay, we can see that the collection of war-related zhengjian of officials without the title 'zhengjian', such as Chen Zhun's Anbian Lu and Xu Lun's Sanjie Lu, is included in the 'Miscellaneous History' category.¹⁹⁵ It is also clear that these collections of individual war-related zhengjian did not necessarily have to be excluded from the 'imperial zhengjian' and classified as 'miscellaneous history', but may have been the result of a selection by the curators of the Sikuquanshu, which reduced the number of zhengjian of officials and their war-related activities. It is possible, however, that this is the result of a choice made by the curators of the Sikuquanshu, which reduced the relevance of the collection of zhengzhi to officials' war-related matters. In the light of this, the above discussion does not aim to join the debate on the rationality or otherwise of the classification and attribution of the historical texts to the curators of the Siku, but rather to analyse the relationship between the collection of zhen-li and the collection of personal war-related zhen-li under the classification and attribution of the Siku, as well as the connotations revealed therein. Through the three categories of the Siku Quanshu: 'imperial edicts and zhen-an', 'miscellaneous histories' and 'chronicles of events', the different attribution of personal war-related zhen-an collections to Fangliu establishes, on the one hand, the political hierarchy between imperial edicts and officials' zhen-an, on the other, the relationship between Fangliu and officials' war-related zhen-an collections, and on the third, the elevated status of Fangliu.

In any case, the origin of the original Kangxi dynasty's new formula was revealed in the Qianlong Sikuquanshu (The Four Books of the Qing Dynasty), which included the formula

After being subsumed into the 'History' section, the work has gradually been overlooked, but a crawl through the development of the collection of war-related zhengqi of Ming and Qing officials reveals that it was closely linked to the imperial transformation of official culture at the Kangxi court. What has been seen as a strategy to demonstrate the military culture of the Qing court was not a natural outgrowth of the Manchurian martial spirit, but rather a part of the Kangxi emperor's significant and active efforts to codify and transform the culture

¹⁹⁴ The statement in the introduction to this article that the Yuan dynasty's Wenxian Tongkao began to treat zhengjian as a separate discipline is inconsistent with the statement in the second section that zhengjian was included in Zheng Qiao's Tongzhi • Yiwenliu under the category of "Wen", but in fact Zheng Qiao's Tongzhi was included in the Sikuquanshu, so the emphasis in the Sikuquanshu's "zhengjian" on the fact that zhengjian should not be a part of the collection but must be classified as a part of The official statement that zhengjian should not be a part of the collection but must be classified as a part of history and placed alongside the imperial edicts is, in fact, a rather deliberate choice.

¹⁹⁵ Zhu Mu 樛, Wanjintang Shumu, vol. 2, 'Imperial Orders and Zhangs', p. 7a.

It was inherited and developed by the Qianlong emperor. From the Ming and Qing dynasties, the collection of individual war-related zoos to the official history of the Qing dynasty, it involved not only the self-proclaimed 'martial' culture of the scholars, but also the cultural hegemony established by the Kangxi emperor through his domination of the Han elite culture, and the new style of historical texts reinforced by the Qianlong emperor to express the martial achievements of the Qing empire. If the Qing court's extensive use of war monuments, battle strategies and battle maps to record and commemorate warfare was previously regarded by scholars as a feature of the Qing dynasty's martial culture, we have now re-examined the production of battle maps and the compilation of battle strategies in the Qing court and found that the so-called Manchurian martial culture was in fact unrelated to the Qing court's collection of the Ming and Qing scholars' martial culture, and can be regarded as a feature of the Qing dynasty's martial culture, and may serve as a reference for future reflections on the Qing court's It can be regarded as a feature of the martial culture of the Qing dynasty, or as a reference for future reflections on other cultures of the Qing court.

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Fanglue (Official Campaign Histories) was invented by the Kangxi court and was thenceforth compiled until the end of the Qing dynasty. *Fanglue* was an archival collection of correspondence between the emperor and his generals concerning the conduct of wars and postwar reconstruction and has been cited by scholars as historical documents. Recent scholarship, however, has gradually broken away from the documentary perspective, identifying how Recent scholarship, however, has gradually broken away from the documentary perspective, identifying how archives and records were sometimes heavily edited in *fanglue*, and interprets the compilation within the larger context of Qing military culture. Nonetheless, in order to understand the meaning of the Kangxi invention and his followers' compilations, we need to analyze the origins of Nonetheless, in order to understand the meaning of the Kangxi invention and his followers' compilations, we need to analyze the origins of the special format of *fanglue*, the context in which *fanglue* appeared, and its effects. Although one scholar has pointed out that *fanglue* might have followed the war memorials compiled in the Ming dynasty, this connection and its meaning need to be further explored. In fact, the compilation of the war memorials was so popular that they were not only the records of an official or a specific war but also an important medium for self-expression among The popularity of the war memorials also affected their position in historical writings.

discusses the development of Ming memorials, explores their changes during the Kangxi reign, analyses their relationship to the compilation of the The approach of *longue durée* allows us to trace and compare the relationship between memorials and *fanglue* in order to reinvestigate the meaning and development of the *fanglue*. *The approach of longue durée allows us to trace and compare the relationship between memorials and fanglue* in order to reinvestigate the meaning and development of *fanglue*, as well as the character of the Manchu culture of martial prowess.

Keywords: *fanglue* (official campaign histories), memorials, Kangxi, imperial prerogative, military culture