

# Qianlong Emperor's Copperplate Engravings of the "Conquest of Western Regions"\*

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## 1. Introduction

"The Conquest of Western Regions" (*Pingding Xiyu zhantu* 平定西域戰圖), also called "The battle-pieces of the conquest of Dzungaria and Chinese Turkestan" (*Pingding Zhun Hui liangbu deshengtu* 平定準回兩部得勝圖), is a series of 16 black and white copperplate prints produced in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century in France by order of the Chinese Qianlong Emperor (1736–1795). The sketches were made by Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766) and other European painters who served at the Qing imperial court. The battle-pieces are not only outstanding pieces of art, but also form an important visual source on military history and monumental evidence of the cultural exchange between the East and the West. Qianlong, who proudly called himself "The Old Man with Ten Achievements" (*Shiquan laoren* 十全老人), having won ten victories in the wars of conquest, later ordered a number of similar albums of copperplate prints printed in China, and "The Conquest of Western Regions" is particularly valuable as the first of this series.

The Qing Empire waged war against the Dzungars for nearly a hundred years before conquering them and incorporating their huge lands into its territory. The Dzungar, or Oirat, Khanate was formed in the 1630s in the vast North-Western region of Mongolia and part of today's Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in China through the unification of Oirat tribes by Khara Khula and his son Batur Khong Tayiji (reign 1635–1660), princes of Choros clan. The Khanate's power reached its climax in the reign of Galdan Boshughtu Khan (reign 1671–1697), who annexed Khalkha and began a series of wars with the Manchus. Under Tsewang Arabtan (1697–1727) and Galdan Tseren (1727–1745), the conflict between the Dzungar Khanate and the Qing Empire escalated even further. When an internal power struggle broke out after the death of Galdan Tseren, whose reign was marked by the Khanate's most violent

and successful wars with the Manchus, the Dzungarian state was weakened, and the Qing Empire immediately took advantage. The Qianlong Emperor sent formidable armies to Dzungaria three times, in 1755, 1756, and 1757, and by 1758 had completely destroyed the Dzungar Khanate and put down the revolt of Amursana, the last pretender to the throne of the Dzungar khans.

The Qianlong Emperor's policy of conquest in the Western Regions next focused on Kashgaria. The Uighur state, which was situated in Kashgaria, was beset with internal religious and political conflicts between two main Muslim factions: the "white mountaineers" and "black mountaineers" of the Kashgar khoja family. In 1755, with the support of Qianlong, the khan's throne was occupied by the head of the "white mountaineers," Burhan-ed-Din, who raised a revolt against the Qing and defeated the Manchu army near Kucha in 1757 with the assistance of "hakims," or local rulers. Zhao Hui 兆惠, who was sent by Qianlong to fight him, occupied Kucha in 1758 and then conquered the oasis towns of Aksu, Khotan, and Uchturpan one by one. By the end of 1759, the conquest of Kashgaria by the Qing was complete. When the Manchu army returned in triumph to the capital in the second month of 1760, Qianlong personally went to meet the army at a place 3 *li* to the south of the fort of Liangxiang xian 良鄉縣. There he performed the ceremonies of salutation and awarding of warriors and held a feast for them.

The war in the Western Regions was prolonged; it lasted six years—1755 to 1760. Qianlong selected the 16 most significant events of the war for the album "The Conquest of Western Regions" and arranged their pictures mainly chronologically. The album includes the following pictures:

1. Receiving the Surrender of the Ili
2. Storming of the Camp at Gädän-Ola
3. The Battle of Oroj-jalatu
4. The Victory of Khorgos
5. The Battle of Khurungui
6. The Chief of Uchturpan Surrenders with His City
7. Lifting of the Siege at the Black Water River
8. The Great Victory of Qurman
9. The Battle of Tonguzluq
10. The Battle of Qos-qulaq
11. The Battle of Arcul

12. The Battle of Yesil-köl-nor
13. The Chief of Badakhshan Asks to Surrender
14. The Emperor is Presented with Prisoners from the Pacification of the Muslim Tribes
15. The Emperor in the Suburbs Personally Receives News of the Officers and Soldiers Distinguished in the Campaign against the Muslim Tribes
16. A Victory Banquet Given by the Emperor for the Distinguished Officers and Soldiers

## 2. Qianlong's plan to produce the copperplate engravings

The 1755–1760 campaign in the Western Regions was the greatest war of conquest in the history of the Chinese Empire, and the Empire seized huge territories as a result. Inspired by his first big victory, Qianlong decided to monumentalize it. He ordered the artists to make portraits of distinguished generals, and the court artists, headed by G. Castiglione, to prepare battle pieces. He decided to exhibit the portraits and battle-pieces in the pavilion of Ziguang-ge 紫光閣, located in the western part of the Forbidden City, to the west of Zhonghai 中海 Lake. Under the Ming emperor Wuzong 武宗, in the Zhengde 正德 era (1506–1521), a practice ground for the emperor's horse archers was set up here. It was called the Arena of Pingtai 平臺, and later the pavilion of Ziguang-ge was built in its place. During the reign of the Kangxi 康熙 Emperor (1654–1722), parades of marksmanship by the top officers of Imperial Guard as well as the military examination for the degree of *jinshi* 武進士 were held here. Lieges were also rewarded for distinguished service here, as a more appropriate place was not available. The portraits of one hundred distinguished noblemen along with sixteen battle-pieces were placed into the Ziguang-ge after its full reconstruction by Qianlong in 1760.

It was these sixteen excellent and realistic battle-pieces from Ziguang-ge, with their good use of perspective, that became the basis for the copperplate prints. The picture of "The Great Victory of Qurman," stored now at the Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg (Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde), is the only surviving original battle-piece from Ziguang-ge. It is a square of 4 meters, made by painting on silk. However, it only preserves the right half of "The Great Victory of Qurman," the eighth engraving in the album.<sup>1)</sup>

However, why did Qianlong have a desire to make copperplate en-

gravings based on the battle-pieces? The European technology for such engraving came to be known in China in the reign of the Kangxi Emperor due to the missionary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide), Matteo Ripa (Ma Guoxian 馬國賢, 1682–1746). By the order of the Kangxi Emperor, Ripa engraved “36 views” (*Sanshiliu jingtu* 三十六景圖) for the Mountain Villa for Avoiding the Heat (Bishu shanzhuang 避暑山莊), an imperial palace in Jehol (Rehe 熱河). These were based on the imperial woodcut print of “the Pictures of the Mountain Villa for Avoiding the Heat with the Poems by the Emperor” (*Yuzhi bishu shanzhuang tuyong* 御製避暑山莊圖詠), made in 1711. Ripa started his work under imperial decree on June 6, 1711.<sup>2)</sup> In spite of Jesuit interference in the course of making sample copies, Ripa finally presented an album of engravings printed by him to the Emperor on April 24, 1714. Kangxi was pleased with the quality of the work and ordered Ripa to print quantity pieces to give to his children and high officials.<sup>3)</sup>

These were the first copperplate engravings made in China, and only a few of them survive to this day. In a report presented at the Guimet Museum in 1927, P. Pelliot claimed to know the storage places of five copies of Ripa’s album but named only three: The National Library of France, Vienna (the storing institution is unknown), and a bookshop in London. According to P. Pelliot, the last one contains quite extensive notes written in Ripa’s own hand.<sup>4)</sup> Later Kuroda Genji announced that a full album of 36 engraving prints by M. Ripa is in the Collection of Prints, Drawings and Photographs (the Kupferstichkabinett) in Dresden.<sup>5)</sup> Information about the incomplete collection of 34 engraving prints in the British Museum was then published.<sup>6)</sup> Today copies of the Ripa’s albums have also been found in the Vatican Library, the National Library of Naples, and the National Palace Museum in Taipei.<sup>7)</sup>

On April 17, 1711, Kangxi decreed that Ripa must make copperplates of “The Atlas of the Chinese Empire” (*Huangyu quanlan tu* 皇輿全覽圖), which was formerly produced by missionaries under the Emperor’s orders based on accurate land surveying. On May 22, 1714, one more decree was issued to make the atlas in the form of album. By that time, Ripa had completed 44 plates.<sup>8)</sup> The full set of the 50 plates is now kept in the British Museum.<sup>9)</sup>

Qianlong was, of course, aware of Kangxi’s undertakings. Moreover, he was influenced by the works of the battle-painter Georg Philipp Rugendas (1666–1752) from Augsburg. Qianlong’s admiration of Rugendas

is mentioned in the postscript to a letter which scholars believe was sent by the Slovenian missionary Augustin Hallerstein (Liu Songling 劉松齡, 1703–1774), who served under Qianlong as the head of the Astronomy and Calendar Board (*qintianjian jianzheng* 欽天監監正),<sup>10</sup> from Beijing to his Jesuit brothers in Europe in autumn 1765. Regarding Qianlong's desire to order 16 engravings of the conquest of Western Regions from Europe, Hallerstein wrote: "After the war in the Western Regions was over, the Emperor ordered 16 big battle-pieces and then adorned his palace with them. Later he obtained some works with a battle theme by the engraver Rugendas from Augsburg. They caught the Emperor's fancy as soon as he saw them. The Emperor ordered our people—Brother Joseph Castiglione (he is from Milan and 78 years old now, and has lived in Beijing for 49 years, but still is sagacious and skillful), Father Ignacius Sicherbart from Bohemia, Brother Dionisius Attiret from France, and Father Damascenus from Rome—to make reduced copies of these battle-pieces." Thus, Qianlong's decision to order engravings was motivated, in part, by Rugendas's battle-pieces.

### 3. Qing government's order of the copperplate engravings

The Qing government's order of copperplate engravings has been studied comprehensively in several works<sup>11</sup>; we turn our attention to the main facts. Reduced copies of the battle-pieces from Ziguang-ge were made by four European court painters: (1) Joseph Castiglione (Lang Shining 郎世寧), 1688–1766, Italian, Brother of the Society of Jesus; (2) Denis Attiret (Wang Zhicheng 王致誠), 1702–1768, Frenchman, Brother of the Society of Jesus; (3) Ignace Sicherbart (Ai Qimeng 艾啓蒙), 1708–1780, Czech, Father of the Society of Jesus; (4) Jean Damascène (An Deyi 安德義), Roman, Augustinian father sent by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

The most famous missionary of those listed above is Castiglione, who is known first of all as a Qing court painter who composed many outstanding pieces of art. The real name of Damascène, the last painter listed above, is Salusti, or Sallusti; Jean Damascène de la Conception is his name as a member of the church. He was appointed Beijing's bishop in 1778.<sup>12</sup> At the end of his notes, Hallerstein briefly estimates the quality of the sketches of these four painters. According to these notes, Castiglione's work was certainly the best, while the works of Sicherbart and Attiret were apparently inferior, and Damascène's even worse. The low

quality of Damascène's work prolonged the manufacture of the engravings in France.

Before copies of all sixteen pictures were complete, four sketches made by these painters were sent to France via the trading post of the French East India Company in Canton. They were sketches of the following pictures: "(2) Storming of the Camp at Gädän-Ola" by Castiglione, "(11) The Battle of Arcul" by Attiret, "(1) Receiving the surrender of the Ili" by Sischerbart, and "(8) The Great Victory of Qurman" by Damascène.

The sketches were supplemented by Qianlong's rescript, Castiglione's letter of instruction, and the contract signed under the authority of the Thirteen Factories at Canton 廣東十三行. The Emperor's message was probably translated by Castiglione into Latin and Italian; Castiglione's own letter was written in Latin and Italian as well. Moreover, 5000 *liang* 兩 in Spanish silver taels were enclosed as an advanced payment. Unfortunately, the message from Qianlong and the instructions from Castiglione are extant only in French translation, and the text of the contract has come down to us in Chinese only.

The emperor's message dates to the 26<sup>th</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the 30<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong (July 13, 1765); Castiglione's letter contains the same date. In order for the battle scenes to be engraved faultlessly, Qianlong requested that the receiver of the order select the best engravers to perform the task as soon as possible. He also requested that they make 100 prints from each engraving and send them to China along with the copperplates. Castiglione called the artists' attention to the fact that the engravings had to be made with graceful details and be as accurate as possible, regardless of the method of manufacturing, etching, or carving. It was also noted that if any copperplates were broken or damaged after printing, they should be repaired before being sent to preserve their original beauty in case their impressions were taken in China.

It is possible that Castiglione did not know in advance which European country would accept the Chinese Emperor's order. This would explain why his letter, quite unclearly addressed to the "President of Academy of Painting" (Président de l'académie de peinture), was written in Italian as well as in Latin: Castiglione hoped in his heart that the copperplates would be made in his motherland Italy. However, because the French Jesuit Lefebvre lobbied for Canton's governor, the letters were sent to France.

According to recently published Chinese sources, France was selected as the country to fulfill the order from the very start. In the First Histori-

cal Archives in Beijing, there is a written order (*yatie* 押帖) from the director of the department (*lagzhong* 郎中), De Kui 德魁, and the vice director (*yuanwailang* 員外郎), Li Wenzhao 李文照, which refers to the Emperor's decree of the 25<sup>th</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> month, handed down by a senior palace eunuch (*taijian* 太監), Hu Shijie 胡世傑. This was received by the workshop of the Imperial Household Department on the 5<sup>th</sup> of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of the 29<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong (1764). The key part of this decree is as follows: "I hereby order that Lang Shining compose sketches of the sixteen battlepieces of the conquest of Ili and other places and show them for inspection on time. Then pass them in sequence to the surveyor of customs in Canton, send them to France, and find craftspeople to engrave copperplate on the basis of these sketches. Let Lang Shining explain clearly how to do this and enclose his explanation in the parcel."<sup>13</sup>) The date of the decree provides evidence that Qianlong intended to order copperplates from France eight months before sending the sketches abroad.

Some more detailed regulations on the conditions of the order can be found in the contract of the Thirteen Factories. It contains a request to print 200 copies of each engraving on special high quality paper (800 copies in total) and—when shipping them back along with the copperplates—to convey them on two different ships, with 400 engravings (100 of each sketch) and 2 copperplates on each. It is obvious that the Thirteen Factories, which executed the contract, decided to double Qianlong's order to ensure against any emergency. Moreover, it demanded that the four sketches and four copies of Qianlong and Castiglione's letters in Latin and Italian that were sent along with the order to Europe should be sent back to China at the same time.

Finally, four sketches and letters were taken aboard the vessel "Baiye" (白耶)<sup>14</sup>) and shipped off from Canton in early 1766. They were delivered to Paris in autumn of the same year. The management of the French East India Company dealt with the order of the Chinese Emperor and got in touch with the French Minister of the Interior, Bertin (Henri Léonard Jean Baptiste Bertin, 1719–1792), to delegate control over the production of engravings to the President of the Royal Academy of Painting, the Marquis de Marigny (Abel-François Poisson de Vandières, 1727–1781). In this way, Bertin intended to show French abilities to the Chinese Emperor and to gain some advantages in trade with China over England and Holland. On December 17, 1766, Marigny received written instruction from the East India Company along with Bertin's note, and by the end of the year, he received the sketches as well. The Marquis de Marigny assigned the

execution of the order to the most accomplished master, Cochin (Charles-Nicolas Cochin, 1715–1790), who had no equal in France.

Cochin selected four of his most able apprentices—Le Bas, Saint-Aubin, Prévot, and Aliamet—and took control of the work. After negotiating the terms of the order on April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1767, the craftsmen began to work. They were scheduled to complete the work in October 1768, and only Saint-Aubin, who dealt with Damascène’s sketch, was allowed to complete his work in November. In July 1767, the other 12 sketches were delivered and another four craftsmen joined the project: De Launay, Masquelier, Née, and Choffard. The East India Company was particularly concerned about compliance with the deadlines of the order; the parcel with the 12 sketches enclosed a letter in which it was emphasized once again. However, the production of the copperplates turned into a grand enterprise that extended over as many as seven years; the first two plates were complete by December 1769, while all the copperplates and copies of prints only left Paris in December 1774.<sup>15)</sup>

The shipping of the engravings to China was carried out in stages, and the ordered number was not always sent as a complete lot of 200 sheets. The reason for this is unclear, but perhaps it was due to the fact that the lots were not always completed in time to be shipped together. Using the archival records of the workshop of the Imperial Household Department, we can trace very exactly the dates and the amounts in which the copperplates were received by the Department. The complete delivery of 16 original sketches, 16 copperplates, and 200 copies of each engraving prints, or 3,200 sheets in total, was recorded by the Chinese court on the 20<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>th</sup> month of 42<sup>nd</sup> year of Qianlong (1777). The prints and copperplates cost the Chinese side 204,000 livres in total. If converted into Chinese currency, this becomes the great amount of 29,000 *liang*.<sup>16)</sup>

#### **4. Execution of the copperplate engravings**

After receiving the order and carefully getting acquainted with the sketches, Cochin realized that he was not heading a very easy job. That is why he considered the selection of suitable craftsmen and materials with great care. In spite of this, he took much more time than he originally supposed. There were several reasons for this. First, in order to fulfill the request that the engravings should be as accurate as possible, with graceful details, the sketches themselves needed to be retouched; some of them were even remade. In the comments to battle-pieces “The Conquest of

Western Regions" in the catalogue of Cochin's works, it is written that the plates for five of the sixteen pieces were remade entirely.<sup>17)</sup> This was, of course, associated with the technique of engraving commonly used at that time. In Europe, the manufacture of engravings involved the etching of copperplates with *eau-forte* (nitric acid), after which the etched lines were filled with ink. However, this alone was not capable of achieving delicate lines when printing, so the etched copperplates were to be processed with a *burin* (chisel). In other words, the simultaneous use of etching and engraving was necessary. This inevitably required a significant amount of time. The need for such a thorough work can be seen in some interesting material published recently. Two sets of battle scenes "The Conquest of Western Regions," donated by the Rothschild family to the Louvre, are both made by etching, but only the plates for one of them were processed with a *burin*.<sup>18)</sup> In the prints made only by etching, without further processing, the overall shape is somewhat dim and the strength of the image cannot be felt clearly, while the accurate and lively forms of the prints processed with a *burin* cannot escape the notice of observers. Cochin and his workshop's craftsmen corrected the prints with *burin* several times until they obtained the intended effect. Such delicate work, which required maximum concentration, was also subject to the change of the seasons. In a letter addressed to the Marquis de Marigny, Cochin noted that in winter, they could work only four or five hours per day, and on dull murky days they could not work at all.<sup>19)</sup>

Another problem was the large size of the pictures. To make copperplates and prints in the format 55 × 95 cm, it was necessary to select the material properly. The plates of brass were imported from England, and the order for the very large "Grand Louvois" sheets of paper was placed with the company "Prudhomme."<sup>20)</sup> According to some reports, the costs amounted to 400 livres for a plate of brass.<sup>21)</sup> Beauvais also undertook the printing under Cochin's orders. Initially, the Marquis de Marigny and Cochin discussed the possibility of printing frames with fleur-de-lis apart from the engravings,<sup>22)</sup> but for some unknown reason it was not done.

In the lower part of each complete copperplate, they engraved in Latin the name of the artist of the sketch, the year of its completion, Cochin's name, as he was in charge of manufacture, the name of the painter-engraver, and the year of the engraving's completion.<sup>23)</sup> For example, the picture "(2) Storming of the Camp at Gädän-Ola," which is based on a sketch by Castiglione, contains the following text:

*Joseph. Castilhoni Soc. JESU delin 1765. C.N. Cochin direx. J. Ph. Le Bas Scul 1767.*<sup>24)</sup>

However, this part is covered over in many of the engravings that were later bound into albums in China, as in the copy in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM), Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), St. Petersburg.

These engravings of the battle scenes can be called the last and largest creation of Cochin's life. In the catalogue of Cochin's works, there are a total of 320 items over 44 years placed in chronological order from 1727 to 1770. The pictures of Qianlong's victories are noted as the "Seize estampes des Chinois" under the number 316 in the section of 1770. However, as mentioned above, the work was actually completed in 1774.

### 5. Whereabouts of the copperplate engravings

After the prints were delivered to the court in Beijing, Qianlong added his own poems, had them bound into albums, and gave them to some family members and senior vassals. Two types of albums were arranged. The first type appended the Emperor's poems to each engraving as a separate sheet, with Qianlong's own introduction in the beginning and afterwards by Fuheng 傅恆 and others attached at the end (34 sheets in total). The "34 paintings" (*sanshisi fu* 三十四幅)<sup>25)</sup> or "34 sheets" (*sanshisi pian* 三十四篇)<sup>26)</sup> mentioned in the "Continuation of the history of the Imperial court of Qing Dynasty" (*Guochao gongshi xubian* 國朝宮史續編) and the "Directory of Institutions of the Capital Shengjing" (*Shengjing dianzhi beikao* 盛京典制備考) is of this type. Among those stored in Japan, the copy in the Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫) belongs to this type.<sup>27)</sup>

The albums of the second type consist of 18 sheets, with the poems of Qianlong placed directly on the sheets of engravings.<sup>28)</sup> One such album is mentioned in "The Catalogue of Books of Tianyi-ge Pavilion" (*Tianyi-ge shumu* 天一閣書目), among the gifts granted by the Emperor in the 44<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong as "a series of 16 sheets of 'The Battle Pieces of Pacification of Uighurs'."<sup>29)</sup> The copy from the IOM RAS and the copy formerly owned by the Library of South Manchuria Railway Company in Dalian also belong to this type.<sup>30)</sup>

After "The Conquest of Western Regions" was completed, Qianlong ordered other albums dedicated to the victories of the Manchu Armies and the annexation of Greater and Lesser Jinchuan 金川 areas (Sichuan)

and the lands of Miao people, Annam and Taiwan, to be printed in China in accordance with this second type of arrangement. The recently published "Commissioned-Painting Documents of Western-Regions in Qing Qianlong Dynasty" contains pictures from an album of this type, and notes that the album is the "second edition."<sup>31)</sup>

In addition to albums, one can find another type of binding: 16 sheets of engravings and 18 sheets of texts bound into 4 gorgeous rolls.<sup>32)</sup> We can imagine this came from Qianlong's personal library.

Moreover, there are also separate sheets without poems that originated in France. Upon completion, all the copperplates engraved at Cochin's workshop were to be sent to China, and this was very strictly controlled. Pelliot says that the elder brother of Attiret, one of the creators of the sketches, enquired with the Marquis de Marigny about the possibility of obtaining a set of engravings, but his request was not met in the end.<sup>33)</sup> A limited number of sheets fell into the hands of high officials such as members of the royal family and the Prime Minister Bertin, but theoretically, very few sheets could have been legally distributed by the Royal Academy of Painting and the East India Company. At the same time, other ways of distribution are entirely possible. The Louvre sets made without chiseling mentioned above, for example, were obtained by the Rothschilds. These were probably the tentative copies of Cochin's workshop.

Although Qianlong's copperplate engravings gained a great reputation in France and in Europe as a whole, it was not easy to see the real pictures. Therefore, in response to public demand, an engraver named Helman (Isidore-Stanislas Helman, 1743–1806?) made some copies of them in 1783–1785, reducing them to one-fourth of their original size. Helman was an apprentice of Le Bas, the eldest of Cochin's craftsmen. This reduced edition included short explanations under the pictures and an appended table in which all the explanations are incorporated.<sup>34)</sup> However, the text of explanations contained many errors regarding the order as well as the content.<sup>35)</sup> Information about further reprints, whether engraved or lithographed, is available in Ishida Mikinosuke's work.<sup>36)</sup>

From the very beginning of his enterprise, Qianlong intended to print an extra number of engravings in China. Just for this plan, he requested the return of the copperplates. In late 1769, when none of completed engravings had been sent to China, Cochin sent a letter to the French Jesuit Benoist (Michel Benoist, Jiang Youren 蔣友仁, 1715–1774), who lived in Beijing, and enclosed a note addressed to the Emperor Qianlong. The note has not survived, but its content can be inferred from the

letter written by Benoist. It seems that in it, Cochin touched on details of the technology for producing engravings, emphasized the difficulty of printing them in China, and therefore proposed that not two hundred but one thousand copies of each engraving should be done in France.<sup>37)</sup> Qianlong, however, rejected this proposal and approved the production of only two hundred copies each.

In late 1772, the first seven copperplates were delivered to Beijing along with the printed engravings, and in the spring of 1773, Qianlong ordered Benoist to begin printing from them.<sup>38)</sup> Benoist had been put in charge of making the 104 sheets of prints that make up the so-called “Qianlong’s map in thirteen bands” (*Qianlong shisan pai tu* 乾隆十三排圖). However, there is no information about the results of his work or about whether the printing continued after all the other copperplates were delivered or after Benoist’s death on November 23, 1774. The question of whether any copies of “The Conquest of Western Regions” printed in China are among those that have survived to this day is of great interest. Toriyama Kiichi raised this question previously but failed to arrive at a definite conclusion.<sup>39)</sup>

We would like to refer to material that could lead to a new development. A few years ago, Kyoto National Museum purchased an incomplete set of battle-pieces on 19 sheets of the first type described above. The conservation staff who were in charge of the repair work suggested that they are printed not on European paper but on Chinese *xuanzhi* 宣紙 paper of very high quality.<sup>40)</sup> If this is proven demonstratively, then we cannot deny that the album was most likely printed in China. However, this question needs further detailed study.

Unfortunately, the location of the sketches that provided the basis for the copperplates is currently unknown. There is information suggesting that colored versions of the sketches also existed.<sup>41)</sup> The picture “(4) The Victory of Khorgos,” stored at the library of Tenri University, is of interest. Although it is no more than a simplified sketch, it is accompanied by small slips of yellow paper glued on it with the names of Qing warriors written in Manchu script. Perhaps this example was not created for the making of a copperplate but served an explanatory function for Manchu nobles.<sup>42)</sup>

The copperplates were stored at the Imperial Palace in Beijing for a long time, but disappeared during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. The Ethnological Museum of Berlin (Museum für Völkerkunde) stores 34 copperplates with pictures of Qianlong’s victories. They are mainly made in

China, but there are three plates of "The Conquest of Western Regions" among them (numbers 3, 9, 15).<sup>43)</sup>

Isolated copies of the engravings still appear occasionally on the market, but there are not many complete albums. Those are stored at the two palace museums in Beijing and Taipei, in the collections of the Tōyō Bunko, Yūrinkan 有鄰館 Museum and the Library of Tenri University in Japan, and at the Guimet Museum and the Louvre in France. Before the Second World War, according to some evidence, one copy was stored at the South Manchuria Railway Company Library in Dalian (Mantetsu Dairen Toshokan 滿鐵大連圖書館), a copy came to the State Museum of Manchukuo, and another copy was purchased by the Imperial University in Taipei (Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku 臺北帝國大學),<sup>44)</sup> but the present location of these is unknown.

The copy of the IOM RAS,<sup>45)</sup> identified by the round stamp "Библиотека / Дальневосточный Государственный Университет," formerly belonged to Far Eastern State University in Vladivostok. In May of 1932, six albums of engravings, including "The Conquest of Western Regions," along with some other manuscripts in Chinese, were transferred to the newly formed Far Eastern Branch of the USSR Academy of Science, and in 1935, upon the initiative of academician V. M. Alexeev (1881–1951), they were brought to Leningrad.<sup>46)</sup>

## Notes

- \* This essay is a slightly revised English version of the Japanese Introduction appended to the facsimile reproduction of the album of copperplate engravings of the "Conquest of Western Regions," in possession of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. *Kenryū Tokushōzu, Heitei Saiiki Senzu* 乾隆得勝圖平定西域戰圖 (Engravings of the Emperor Qianlong's conquests: Conquest of Central Asia), Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 2009.
- 1) Walter Fuchs, *New Material on Chinese Battle-Paintings of the 18th Century, International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts: Collection of Papers Presented*, Tokyo: Japanese National Commission for Unesco, 1959, p. 41; *Europa und die Kaiser von China*, Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1985, plate 152 on the p. 165. Astonishingly enough, a fragment (68.6 cm. in height and 105.5 cm. in width) from the left half of the silk painting was discovered recently. See Niklas Leverenz, *From Painting to Print: The Battle of Qurman from 1760*, *Orientations*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (May 2010), pp. 1–6.
  - 2) Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724). Testo critico, note e appendice documentaria di Michele Fatca*, Vol. II (1711–1716), Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Collona "Matteo Ripa" XIV, 1996, p. 41; Matteo Ripa, *Storia della fondazione*

- della Congregazione e del Collegio dei cinesi*, Tomo I, Napoli, 1832, p. 425. *Giornale* is a faithful edition of Ripa's diary, while *Storia* is a compilation, so the former is more authoritative for dating. However, as the latter is used more frequently, we specify its data here as well.
- 3) Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724)*, p. 136; Matteo Ripa, *Storia*, Tomo I, p. 429.
  - 4) Paul Pelliot, *Les influences européennes sur l'art chinois au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle, Conférence faite au Musée Guimet le 20 février 1927*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1948, pp. 12, 27.
  - 5) Kuroda Genji 黒田源次, *Dōhan Enmei-en shōkō 銅版圓明園小考* (Some thoughts concerning Yuanmingyuan copperplates), *Etching エッチング*, No. 68 (1938), p. 1078.
  - 6) Basil Gray, Lord Burlington and Father Ripa's Chinese Engravings, *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 1/2 (1960), pp. 40–43. Gray writes that in 1950, through the agency of one London dealer, the New York Public Library and the Bodleian Library obtained two albums that formerly belonged to Thomas Phillips (1792–1872). It may be suggested that the former is the copy from the London bookshop mentioned by Pelliot, but unfortunately it is hard to be certain.
  - 7) Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724)*, p. XIX.
  - 8) Matteo Ripa, *Giornale (1705–1724)*, p. 136; Matteo Ripa, *Storia*, Tomo I, pp. 463–464.
  - 9) Basil Gray, op. cit., p. 40.
  - 10) This letter is an attachment to the work *Imposturae CCXVIII. in dissertatione R.P. Benedicti Cetto, .... detectae et convulsae*, published in 1781 by Georges Pray. See Paul Pelliot, *Les «Conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine», T'oung Pao*, Vol. XX (1921), pp. 268–271. G. Pray points out that this postscript belongs to a letter written in September 1764, but Pelliot, on the basis of its content, believed that it actually belonged to another letter written in Autumn 1765. Here, we follow the latter opinion.
  - 11) The three most significant are: Henri Cordier, *Les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, Tome Premier, Paris, 1913, pp. 1–18; Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, *Pari kaichō Kenryū nenkan Jun-Kai ryōbu heitei tokushōzu ni tsuite* パリ開雕乾隆年間準回兩部平定得勝圖に就て (Concerning a series of copper engravings, known as “The Victories of the Emperor K'ien-lung” in Jungar and Chinese Turkestan, printed in Paris), *Tōyō gakuho* 東洋學報, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1919), pp. 396–448; Pelliot, *Les «Conquêtes»*, pp. 183–274.
  - 12) Cordier considers Damascène-the-artist and Damascène-the-bishop as different persons with the same name (Cordier, op. cit., p. 5). Ishida Mikinosuke also accepts this opinion (Cf. Op. cit., p. 404, note 7), but we hold the view of Pelliot, who thought that they were the same person. Cf. Pelliot, *Les «Conquêtes»*, pp. 192–195.
  - 13) *Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan* 中國第一歷史檔案館 (The First Historical Archives of China), *Qianlong nianjian faguo daizhi deshengtu tongbanhua shiliao* 乾隆年間法國代製得勝圖銅版畫史料 (Materials on the history of mak-

- ing in France the copperplates on the base of battle-pieces in the reign of Qianlong), *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案 (Historical Archives), 2002, No. 1, p. 5. Now, the facsimile edition of the whole archives of the Workshop of the Imperial Household is available: Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan and Xi-anggang Zhongwen Daxue Wenwuguan 香港中文大學文物館 (Chinese University of Hong Kong, Art Gallery) eds. *Qinggong neiwufu zaobanchu dang'an zonghui* 清宮內務府造辦處檔案總匯 (Zaobanchu Archives of the Qing Imperial Household Department), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 2005, 55 vols.
- 14) The French original of the name is unknown. Cf. Pelliot, Les «Conquêtes», p. 198, note 5.
  - 15) In his letter of December 6 1774, Cochin says: "Chinese copperplates have been handed over, the engravings have been printed, the rest of the cargo will be shipped within 2 or 3 days (Les planches de la Chine sont livrées, les estampes imprimées, le dernier envoi se fait dans deux ou trois jours)." Cf. Pelliot, Les «Conquêtes», p. 209, note 6.
  - 16) Zhongguo Diyi Lishi dang'anguan, op. cit., p. 14.
  - 17) Charles-Antoine Jombert, *Catalogue de l'oeuvres de Ch. Nic. Cochin Fils*, Paris, 1770, pp. 120-121.
  - 18) Pascal Torres, *Batailles de l'empereur de Chine. La gloire de Qianlong célébrée par Louis XV, une commande royale d'estampes*, Paris: Le Passage, 2009.
  - 19) Pascal Torres, op. cit., p. 72.
  - 20) Cordier, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
  - 21) Cordier, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
  - 22) Pelliot, Les «Conquêtes», p. 214, note 1.
  - 23) The name of Cochin and the name of the engraver were always specified, but the name of the artist of the sketch and the years of creation and completion of the engraving only appear occasionally.
  - 24) Drawn in 1765 by Joseph Castiglione, the member of Jesuits; engraved in 1767 by J. Ph. Le Bas under the supervision of C. N. Cochin.
  - 25) *Guochao gongshi xubian* 國朝宮史續編 (Continuation of the history of the Imperial court of Qing Dynasty), *juan* 97, "book" (書籍), 23, "illustrative album" (圖刻), 1.
  - 26) The *Shengjing dianzhi beikao* 盛京典制備考 (Directory of institutions of the Capital Shengjing), *juan* 1 mentions that generals were awarded the albums in the 44<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong's reign. In the same year, Qianlong granted the battle-pieces of the conquest of the Western Regions to Tianyi-ge Pavilion. Such contemporaneity attracts attention; however, the copies are different in their types and purposes. Maybe this was simply the year when they were bound into the albums and their distribution began.
  - 27) It is assumed that it was brought from Beijing in the spring of 1919 by the owner of Bunkyūdō 文求堂 Bookshop Tanaka Keitarō 田中慶太郎, and then came into possession of the Iwasaki family (Ishida, op. cit., p. 397).
  - 28) However, as distinct from the first type, commentaries on the poems are omitted, and may be concerned with the width of sheets.
  - 29) *Tianyi-ge shumu* 天一閣書目 (The catalogue of books of Tianyi-ge Pavilion),

- juan* 1, sheet 14 ff.
- 30) Toriyama Kiichi 鳥山喜一, *Kenryū jidai no sensōga ni tsuite*, Gyodai heitei Iri Kaibu zenzu wo shu to shite 乾隆時代の戦争畫に就いて——御題平定伊犁回部全圖を主として (On the battle-pieces of Qianlong's reign, on the base of "The Panorama of the Conquest of Ili and Uighurs with the Poems of His Majesty"), *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (Korea), No. 281 (October 1938), p. 147; Shimada Yoshimi 島田好, *Shinkyō no enkaku* 新疆の沿革 (The history of Xinjiang), *Shokō* 書香, No. 112 (October 10, 1939), pp. 2-4. We do not know whether this album is still stored at the Dalian Library. Toriyama also tells us that the characters written on the engravings closely resemble the hand of Qianlong himself; the rumor was once spread throughout the country erroneously.
  - 31) Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan ed., *Qianlong Xiyu zhantu midang huicui* 乾隆西域戰圖秘檔薈萃 (Commissioned-painting documents of Western-regions in Qing Qianlong dynasty), Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2007, pp. 208-211.
  - 32) All four rolls are reproduced in color plates in *Qianlong Xiyu zhantu midang huicui*.
  - 33) Pelliot, *Les «Conquêtes»*, p. 214.
  - 34) Helman's edition is also very rare today. The table is put as an illustration on pp. 77-78 of Pascal Torres's book mentioned above.
  - 35) Ishida, *op. cit.*, p. 440.
  - 36) Ishida, *op. cit.*, p. 407.
  - 37) Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
  - 38) Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
  - 39) Toriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
  - 40) Nishigami Minoru 西上實, *Dōhanga to Chūgoku shi* 銅版畫と中國紙 (Copperplates and Chinese paper), *Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan dayori* 京都國立博物館だより (Newsletter of Kyoto National Museum), No. 151 (July 1, 2006).
  - 41) In the archival documents of the workshop of the Imperial Household Department on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month of the 30<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong's reign, it is said: "Four Europeans headed by Lang Shining are ordered to make 16 sketches of battle-pieces, and the other five headed by Ding Guanpeng 丁觀鵬 are to make colored copies on yellow paper based on these originals." See Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan, *Qianlong nianjian Faguo daizhi deshengtu tongban shiliao*, p. 5; *Qingong neiwufu zaobanchu dang'an zonghui*, Vol. 29, p. 515.
  - 42) Formerly this copy belonged to Kuroda Genji (cf. Toriyama, *op. cit.*, p. 149). Moreover, he owned a sketch of the picture "(11) The Battle of Arcul" as well, but we do not know whether it is still stored at the Tenri University library.
  - 43) On pp. 148-149 of the above-mentioned article, Toriyama writes: "One sheet came later from an antique shop in Shanghai to the collection of Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, and then was transferred to the Imperial University in Kyoto." But we failed to find it. Moreover, Toriyama, referring to Kuroda Genji, writes that "all the rest of the sheets are stored at a German museum," but actually not all the rest but only the mentioned number of them. Besides, a photo of one of three copperplates stored at Berlin ("(15) The Emperor

in the Suburbs Personally Receives News of the Officers and Soldiers Distinguished in the Campaign against the Muslim Tribes") is inserted in the exhibition catalogue: Herbert Butz ed., *Bilder für die „Halle des Purpurglanzes“; Chinesische Offiziersporträts und Schlachtenkupfer der Ära Qianlong (1736–1795)*, Berlin, 2003, S. 61.

- 44) Toriyama, op. cit., p. 146.
- 45) Press mark is H-54/I NOVA.
- 46) И. Ф. Попова, К истории библиотеки Восточного института во Владивостоке (To the history of the library of Oriental Institute in Vladivostok), Раздвигая горизонты науки : к 90-летию академика С. Л. Тихвинского (Widening the horizons of the science: On the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Academician S. L. Tikhvinsky), Москва, 2008, С. 620.



Fig. 1 Receiving the Surrender of the Ili (1)

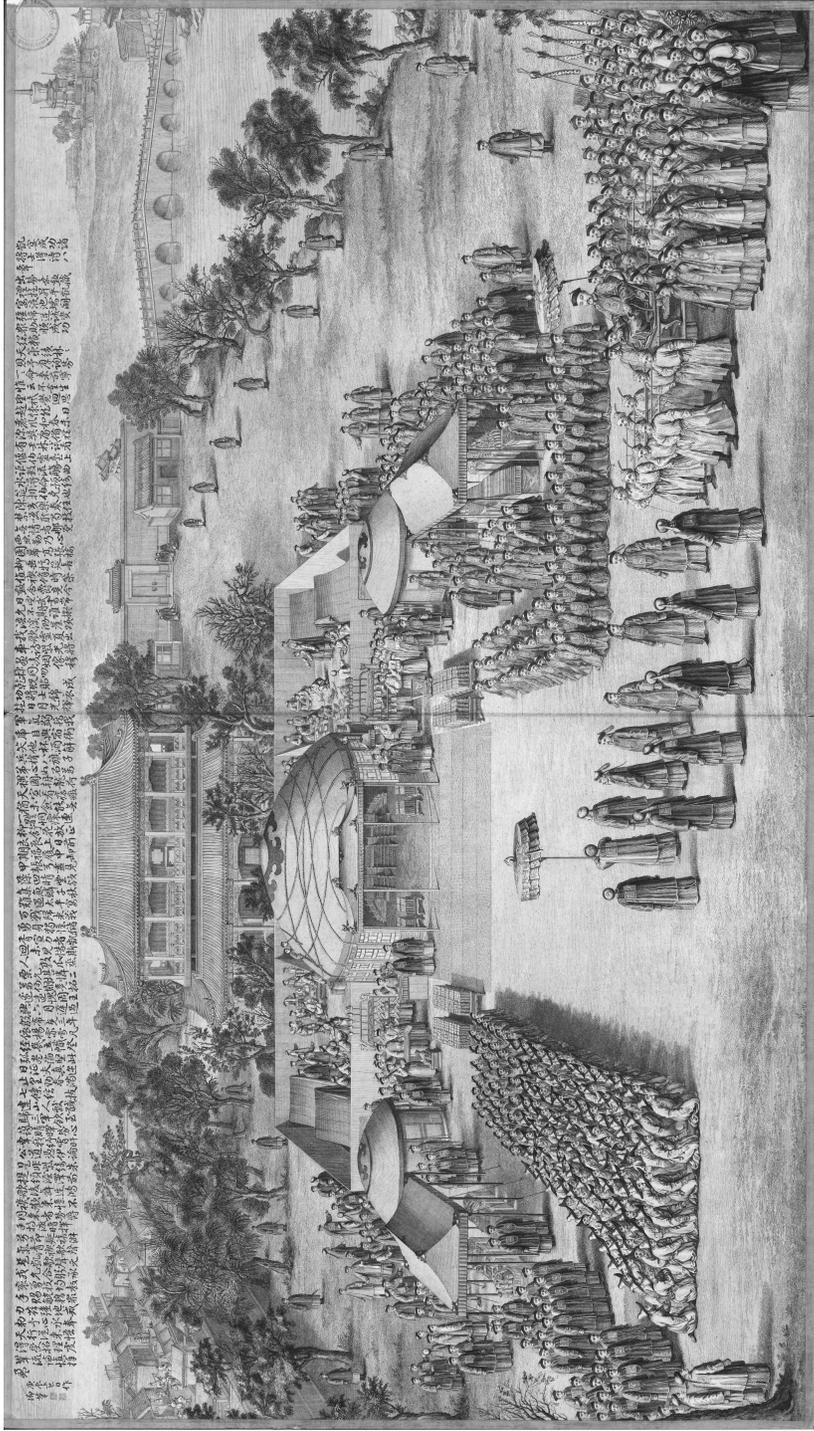


Fig. 2 A Victory Banquet Given by the Emperor (16)