

succeeds, a gaint step toward social and political stability will have been made.

I am well aware of the short-comings of this article. The fiscal data on which this study is based will be revised as research continues. Only further study of provincial and local politics of the late Qing and early Republic could substantiate my suggestions that the rise of warlordism was in part the product of the military establishing its domination over local society at least in some regions, the erosion of county finances, and provincial elites wrecking attempts by the central state to extend its power and draw more resources from local society. If this article can only be an initial exploration of these difficult topics, I nonetheless believe that the study of such practical matters as public finance and local and provincial politics provides a better approach to warlordism than one that focuses on the moral or cultural attitudes of the warlords themselves.

Commemorating War in Eighteenth-Century China¹

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Reviewing his long reign in 1792, the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736–95) hailed his military triumphs as one of its central accomplishments. To underscore the importance he ascribed to these successes, he began to style himself 'Old Man of the Ten Complete Victories' (*Shi Quan Lao Ren*), after an essay in which he boldly declared he had surpassed, in 'Ten Complete Military Victories' (*Shi Quan Wu Gong*), the far-reaching westward expansions of the great Han (206 BCE–220 CE) and Tang (618–907) empires. Such an assertion, together with the program of commemoration discussed below, served to justify the immense expense incurred by frequent long-distance campaigning; to elevate all these wars to an unimpeachable level of splendor even though some were distinctly less glorious than others; and to align the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911) with two of the greatest native dynasties of Chinese history and the Qianlong Emperor personally with some of the great figures of the past.²

Qianlong's ten victories included the wars of conquest in Xinjiang—the Zunghar, Ili and Muslim campaigns (1755–59); two wars to suppress rebellious Jinchuan minorities in Sichuan pro-

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² See Lu Zhengming, 'Qianlong Di "Shi Quan Wu Gong" Chu Tan' (A Preliminary Investigation of the 'Ten Great Victories' of the Qianlong Emperor), in *Zhongguo Junshi Shi Lunwen Ji* (Collected Essays on Chinese Military History), edited by Nanjing Junchusi Bianyan Shi (Research and Editorial Department of the Nanjing Military Region) and the editorial department of 'Shi Xue Yue Kan' (Historical Studies Monthly) (Kaifeng: Henan University Publishing Company, 1989), 239–58.

vince (1747–49, 1771–76), wars in Burma (1766–70), Annam (Vietnam—1788–89) and Taiwan (1787–88), and two wars against the Gurkhas in Nepal (1790–92). During Qianlong's reign Qing armies also three times defeated insurgent Muslims, first at Wushi in Xinjiang in 1765 and then in Gansu in 1781 and 1784; they crushed millenarian rebels in Shandong in 1774; and they quelled unruly Miao minorities in Yunnan and Hunan in the 1790s, but the emperor dismissed these domestic uprisings as unworthy of inclusion in his catalogue of ten. Thus, the period sometimes described as the height of 'Pax Sinica' in reality saw almost continuous military activity, albeit mostly restricted to limited areas within China proper or the vitally important imperial periphery.³

A sequence of multi-layered commemorations marked the conclusion of these wars. These emanated in large measure directly from that most authoritative source, the Qianlong Emperor himself. A notoriously prolific writer and poet whose literary œuvre purportedly amounted to tens of thousands of poems and essays, Qianlong lent his authorship to some fifteen hundred poems and essays that specifically concerned the major wars of his reign. Authentic or not, the presentation of such texts as the emperor's own work, published most often in his own instantly identifiable calligraphy, gave his extraordinary prestige to these particular portrayals of the campaigns and made it quite clear that, whatever the reality, this was the way in which the wars were to be remembered.⁴ To emphasize this even further, the emperor periodically observed that he intended the memorial texts he composed should 'instruct and edify later generations into the distant future (*chuishi jiu yuan*).'⁵ These commemorative writings were engraved on huge monuments installed in Beijing and elsewhere, incorporated in paintings, hung as calligraphic scrolls that adorned halls and pavilions within the imperial palace complex, and reproduced in many of the huge imperially sponsored compilations of the time. Ritual celebrations of victory attended by multitudes of civil and military

³ *Shi Quan Ji*, in Peng Yuanrui, comp., *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji* (The Qianlong Emperor's Prose and Poetry on the Ten Great Campaigns), edited by Xiong Hui (Zhengzhou: Guji Chubanshe: 1989–90), 671.

⁴ On the significance of a powerholder's calligraphy, see Richard Curt Kraus, *Brushes with Power: Modern Politics and the Chinese Art of Calligraphy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991).

⁵ See, for example, *Shang Yu Dang* (Archive of Imperial Edicts) (Beijing) Qianlong ('QL') 41/8/20, 293.

officials as well as by visiting dignitaries also became an integral component of imperial power. Court painters recorded these events in careful detail, producing a whole genre of documentary painting featuring a series of sets of war illustrations (*zhantu*) and several groups of portraits of meritorious officials involved in the different campaigns (*gongchen xiang*). Together with such trophies as the weapons and personal belongings of defeated rebels, these paintings were displayed in specially designated pavilions located in the center of Beijing, the Zi Guang Ge (Pavilion of Purple Light) and the Wu Cheng Dian (Hall of Military Achievements). Additional versions of the paintings also were kept in the imperial palaces for the daily enjoyment of the emperor and his court, while thousands of copper engravings of the war illustrations graced public buildings all around the country and were presented to individuals privileged to receive imperial largesse. In short, the official commemoration of war in eighteenth-century China became a major social, cultural and political enterprise, one that was conducted under specifically imperial auspices.

This essay describes the different ways in which war was officially commemorated in the Qianlong period, focusing mainly on stelae and their inscriptions, military ritual, and paintings, all of which were closely interwoven. The essay considers the objectives underlying the production and dissemination of these monuments and records and the extent to which their purposes, articulated or otherwise, were achieved. It takes into account a curious phenomenon recently pointed out by Harold Kahn, that is, that the various memorials and their offshoots took on a life of their own; the accomplishments, 'as ritually celebrated and formally recorded, themselves became the triumphs, transcending mere event and historicity.'⁶ The essay focuses on the Qianlong reign because of that emperor's own particular interest in war and its commemoration. He displayed this near-obsession with warfare and its trappings and uses, for example, by taking a close personal interest in the direction of campaigns, for instance leaving strict instructions to awaken him immediately at any time upon receipt of dispatches—he often refers to extended periods of virtually sleepless nights; and by insisting on examining

⁶ Kahn, 'A Matter of Taste: The Monumental and Exotic in the Qianlong Reign,' in Chou Juhsi and Claudia Brown (eds), *The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor 1735–1795* (Phoenix, Arizona: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), 288–302, at 293, citing Sabine G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1981), 271.

draft versions of all textual and visual representations of his wars before these circulated among any kind of public audience. In 1760, for example, after reviewing a poem on the pacification of Xinjiang, *Ping Xiyu Shi*, composed by favored scholar Shen Deqian, Qianlong complained that several points were quite inaccurate, and specified very precisely all the changes he wished made.⁷ On another occasion Qianlong's instructions to Sichuan governor-general Wenshou and provincial commander-in-chief Mingliang, to select the precise spot and to report on the size of the stone slabs for the monument, so as to facilitate his composition of the inscriptions show his attention to every detail involved in the production of a war memorial.⁸

Closely intertwined with the emperor's passion for warfare was his preoccupation with bolstering and even reinventing the indigenous culture of the ruling Manchus, in large measure to counterbalance the notorious potency of Chinese civilization. The commemoration of war was absolutely relevant to this cultural project. Thus, the production of war memorials and military paintings significantly intensified after 1759, when Qing armies brought to a triumphant conclusion a long series of campaigns initiated by Qianlong's illustrious grandfather, Kangxi (1662–1722). In that year the Qing conquered Xinjiang, thereby massively expanding the territorial extent of the empire and dispelling forever the nomadic threat to China's Central Asian borders, as well as fulfilling the desire of Qianlong, at once filial and competitive, to emulate Kangxi. As we shall see, the glorification of the conquest was intended to achieve several purposes; at its most straightforward, it demonstrated Qing power and thereby heightened anew the Manchus' legitimacy as rulers of China, an issue on which the Qing at its mid-eighteenth-century zenith remained keenly sensitive.⁹ This sensitivity related for the most part to two different phenomena. First, as I have discussed elsewhere, Qing monarchs suffered from a tricky ambiguity. Ultimately dependent on military power as the foundation of their rule in China, they nonetheless cultivated civilian accomplishments—Qianlong's mass production of poetry exemplified this tendency—in a bid to present themselves as thorough-going Con-

⁷ *Shang Yu Dang* QL 25/3/5, 149. For another example dating from sixteen years later, see *ibid.*, QL 41/12, n.d., 506. See also Yang Xin, 'Court Painting in the Yongzheng and Qianlong Periods of the Qing Dynasty, with Reference to the Collection of the Palace Museum, Peking,' in *The Elegant Brush*, 343–87, at 356–7.

⁸ See *Shang Yu Dang* QL 41/8/20, 293.

⁹ On the Qing conquest of Xinjiang and its aftermath, see Joanna Waley-Cohen, *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

fucians whose authority stemmed primarily from their moral virtue, their scholarly attainments and their benevolence as rulers.¹⁰ Second, the sensitivity indirectly concerned the real dearth in Manchu culture of any artistic and literary tradition comparable to that of their Chinese subjects, whose attitude to other civilizations tended to resemble the patronizing 'orientalist' approach identified in western cultures by Edward Said.¹¹ To some extent, then, the celebration of victories and the commemoration of wars arose out of a sense of cultural rivalry; it was the imperial purpose to demonstrate that martial prowess was a mark of superior civilization, not merely an attribute of bandits, and thus that the exaltation of warfare properly belonged at the center of the cultural activity of the time. However, there were still further complexities to all the glorification. First, the emperor undoubtedly wished to exercise control over the way in which his wars were remembered—to 'put an accurate spin' on them and thereby to manipulate the judgement of history. Second, he hoped to fend off what he clearly perceived as a profound threat to Manchu identity after a century of assimilation while at the same time wishing to stiffen the sinews of Chinese culture, because he considered its great emphasis on civilian culture inadequate for so extensive and powerful an empire as the one over which he ruled. This was in effect the very reverse of the much-vaunted sinicization of the Manchus; it constituted an attempt to integrate Chinese civilization with the Central Asian khanates Qianlong also sought to represent. His ultimate goal, as we shall see, was to draw together his diverse subjects under the overarching umbrella of a uniquely Qing form of nationalist ideology.¹²

Stelae Inscriptions

During Qianlong's reign war memorials in the form of engraved stelae sprang up all over the country, especially in the vicinity of

¹⁰ See Joanna Waley-Cohen, 'China and Western Technology in the Late Eighteenth Century,' in *American Historical Review* 98.5 (December 1993): 1525–4, at 1527.

¹¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). For a more recent view in an Asian context, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993). See also Laura Hostetler, 'Chinese Ethnography in the Eighteenth Century: Miao Albums of Guizhou Province' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1995).

¹² See Pamela Kyle Crossley, 'Manzhou Yuanliu Kao and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage,' in *Journal of Asian Studies* 46.4 (November 1987): 761–90; Crossley, 'The Rulerships of China,' in *American Historical Review* 97.5 (December 1992): 1468–84; and see below.

the main Qing capitals in Beijing and Chengde and at important battlefields and other centers of military success. The production of such monuments fell firmly within the indigenous tradition, for the Chinese, well known as the inventors of paper, were also past masters at creating more permanent written records in the form of stone engravings. Long known as an art form, such stelae inscriptions had also been a common form of private and public memorial in China since at least the earliest days of the empire. The subject-matter of their inscriptions—here we do not even include representational ones—covered an enormous range of topics—posthumous praise for virtuous women; the construction or repair of an important public building; the dispatch of a fleet; the establishment of a religion; the record of an episode of local history, and so on. A famous and elaborate stone-engraved record was a twelfth-century scaled map of the entire Chinese empire at the time, including major rivers.¹³ What was notable about the eighteenth-century production of war memorials was the sheer quantity—they numbered at least in the hundreds—and the empire-wide distribution. In both cases the scale may have been unprecedented.

Memorial stelae often were very large and the effort involved in creating them was colossal. They usually were made up of three originally rectangular pieces; the main body, which rested on the second part, a base set on the ground, and was surmounted by a third stone slab. All three parts, especially the base and top, might be ornately carved (see Figures 1a and 1b for the tombstone of Fu Heng, one of the great figures of the Qianlong period whose career was intimately tied in to the Ten Great Campaigns). Apart from the actual composition of the text, in the case of Qing war memorials often done at least putatively by Qianlong himself, there was a calligrapher for both the main text and the heading able to write in different scripts; a stone carver; a geomancer who designated the most auspicious day for actually erecting the monument, and probably the precise location; and workers involved in the physical setting up of the stone.¹⁴ In addition, someone had to take responsibility for coordinating all these endeavors. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that problems

¹³ See Cordell Yee, 'A Cartography of Introspection: Chinese Maps as Other than European,' in *Asian Art* (Fall 1992): 29–45, at 30–1; for an illustration, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954–), vol. 3, pl. 81 (fig. 226). The map dates from 1136.

¹⁴ Valerie Hansen, 'Inscriptions: Historical Sources for the Song,' in *The Bulletin of Sung Yuan Studies* 19 (1987): 17–25, at 17.



Fig. 1a Fu Heng's tomb (front).

sometimes beset the production even of imperial war memorials. In 1761 Agui, then serving as military lieutenant-governor (*dutong*) at Ili, the newly established seat of government in Xinjiang, reported that some of these recently erected monuments had already toppled over. Apparently, in more than one instance not only had the base been too small, but also the top, instead of consisting of a single block

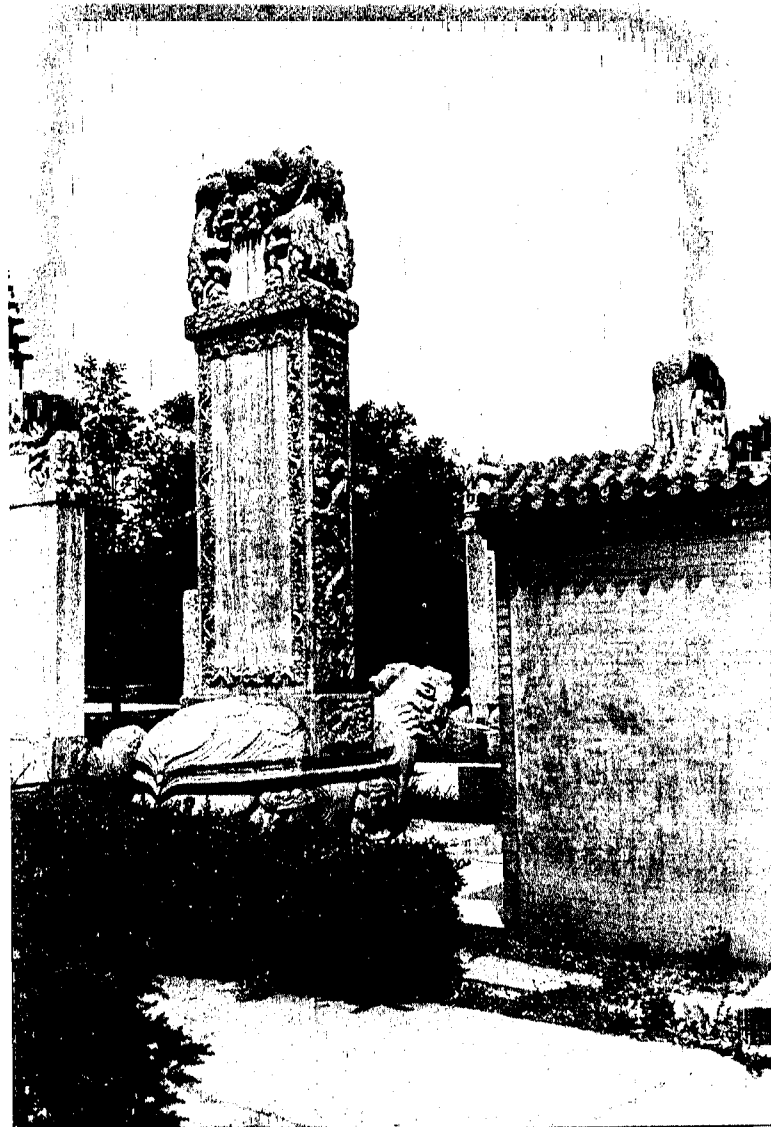


Fig. 1b Fu Heng's tomb (back).

of stone, had been made of separate slabs that had now sundered into several pieces. Qianlong was outraged. Noting that he had ordered the stone workers and engravers for the monuments in question expressly selected in China proper and brought to Xinjiang to work on the project, he ordered Shaanxi-Gansu governor-general Yang Yingju at once to investigate all the details; who did the work, who

hired them, how many people had been involved? Heads would clearly roll. Not only did this disaster, coming only a year or two after the conclusion of the war, speak ill of Qing workmanship, but also it was a humiliatingly brief life for a monument intended to extol Qing imperial might in perpetuity. Calamities such as this only rarely came to light; we cannot know whether they were in fact quite common nor whether perhaps in some cases they may have been the result of sabotage in the form of deliberately poor workmanship or desecration by the disaffected. Indeed, the very considerable expense undoubtedly involved in creating and setting up memorial stelae may well have given rise to opposition at various levels of society, but this is something upon which we can only speculate.¹⁵

Qing war memorial inscriptions generally presented a very manicured image but nonetheless often provided valuable information, both direct and indirect. Such texts included, for instance, detailed accounts of battles and summaries of the main events of an entire war or series of wars, as well as records of related incidents such as the organization of new military forces. An early extant example is a stele erected after the first of the Ten Great Victories, the first Jinchuan war (1747–49). As was often the case with such monuments, it originally stood in a memorial temple, the *Shi Sheng Si* (Temple of True Victory). Although the temple itself no longer exists, the stele still stands in a somewhat overgrown stone pavilion located in the Fragrant Hills (*Xiangshan*) to the west of Beijing, between a ruined guard tower once used for drilling assault troops and the former imperial military inspection grounds (*Tuancheng Yanwu Ting*). The open-sided stele pavilion has a double-storied roof of yellow tile (this color roof-tile was reserved for imperial use) supported by red pillars at each of the four corners. The three parts of the square stone stele rise altogether 7.7 meters high, with an inscription in a different language on each of its four sides: Manchu, Mongol, Chinese and Tibetan. See Figure 2 (*Shi Sheng Si* pavilion). The inscription on the 1749 *Shi Sheng Si*, composed and calligraphed by the Qianlong Emperor, confirms the proposition that commemorating war had much to do with legitimation, for it goes out of its way to situate this most recent victory in the longer sweep of Chinese history. First, the text draws attention to an earlier namesake temple erected by Hong Taiji (1592–1643), venerable second leader of the pre-conquest Manchus. Hong Taiji's monument, set in the early

¹⁵ *Shang Yu Dang* QL 26/2/13, 103.



Fig. 2 Shi Sheng Si pavilion.

Qing capital of Shengjing (contemporary Shenyang), commemorated a major defeat of Ming forces. Although the 1749 text notes that victory over the Jinchuan rebels, who were not even ethnically Chinese, could hardly be compared to the defeat of a massed Ming army—particularly from the point of view of Qing legitimacy—it makes a point of associating the two monuments in terms of their commemorative intent: 'lest we forget.' Second, referring to the nearby construction of stone towers used for training Qing troops in the art of siege, the 1749 text mentions the History of the Han dynasty (*Hanshu*), in order both to display the author's erudition and further to imply historical continuity.¹⁶

¹⁶ Rubbings of all four sides of the stele inscription are at the National Library in Beijing: jing 6049; for a photograph, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 70, 98–101. See also *ibid.*, 96–7. For the text, see Yu Minzhong et al., comps, *Rixia Jiwen Kao* (1781; reprinted in Beijing, Guji Chubanshe, 1983), juan 102, 1690. See also 'Haidian Chu Diming Zhi,' Bianji Weiyuanhui, comp., *Beijing Shi Haidian Chu Diming Zhi* (Record of Place Names in Haidian, Beijing) (Beijing, 1992), 348–9, which erroneously states the fourth side is in Sanskrit (*fan*); it is in Tibetan.

Not far away another huge memorial stele, much wider and lower than the *Shi Sheng Si* monument, stands in the 'Pavilion for Commemorating Success' (*Ji Gong Lou*), set up after the conquest of Xinjiang at the former imperial military inspection grounds. On it is engraved a text entitled *Shi Sheng Si Hou Ji* (Later Records of the Temple of True Victory), on the front in Chinese and Manchu and on the back in Mongol and Tibetan, in each case side by side. Much of this inscription covers the impressive achievements of the emperor's crack troops, the *jianruiying*, a division formed in 1749 after the first Jinchuan war.¹⁷

An important still extant series of Qianlong period war memorials consists of several huge stelae inscribed with imperial narratives that marked the conclusion of each of the major wars. These military monuments were set up in pavilions flanking the *Da Cheng Dian* (Hall of Great Completion) at the Confucian Temple next to the National Academy (*Guo Zi Jian*), a rather notable choice of location given both that the *Da Cheng Dian* contained the spirit tablet of the great sage and that the Confucian Temple/*Guo Zi Jian* complex was the educational center of the empire. Indeed, this institution represented the central bastion of Chinese civilian culture in the empire; in its courtyards also stood the stone tablets listing the successful candidates for the triennial civil service examinations as well as those inscribed with the thirteen classical texts of Confucian orthodoxy. In other words, the installation of stelae bearing military narratives at this particular location represented a bold effort to blur the traditional separation of civil and military, *wen* and *wu*.

The inscriptions on each of the *Guo Zi Jian* war memorials related the course of a war and its triumphant completion, in both Chinese and Manchu. Thus, in 1749 a stele inscribed with an account of the first Jinchuan war (*Yuzhi Pingding Jinchuan Gaocheng Taixue Beiwen*) was raised; it was followed in 1758–60 by two inscriptions similarly recording the Xinjiang wars: *Yuzhi Pingding Zhunke'er Gaocheng Taixue Beiwen*; and *Yuzhi Pingding Huibu Gaocheng Taixue Beiwen*; and in 1776 by yet another, this time marking the successful conclusion of the

¹⁷ A rubbing of the *Shi Sheng Si Hou Ji* stele inscription can be seen at the National Library, Beijing: jing 6041; for a photograph, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 71, 191; for the text of the inscription, see Yu, *Rixia Jiwen Kao*, juan 102, 1691–2, which also reprints the text of some imperial verses on the first Jinchuan and the Xinjiang campaigns: 'Yuzhi Shi Sheng Si Ba Yun,' dating from 1761. On the *jianruiying*, see Waley-Cohen, 'Warfare and Culture in Eighteenth-Century China,' forthcoming.

second Jinchuan war: *Yuzhi Pingding Liang Jinchuan Gaocheng Taixue Beiwen*.¹⁸

All the above-mentioned monuments were located in the Beijing area, but war memorials sprang up all over the country in the eighteenth century and were not limited to that region. An important group was installed at the summer capital at Chengde, a crucial location for the exhibition of Manchu power and the representation of Qing imperial knowledge. This group included the 1755 Puning Temple stele (*Puning Si Bei*), the inscription on which recorded a banquet held at Chengde to mark the subjugation of certain Central Asian ethnic groups in the Zunghar campaigns. Other Chengde war-related stelae inscriptions include: *Pingding Zhunke'er Leming Ili Bei* (1755); and *Pingding Zhunke'er Hou Leming Ili Bei* (1758), presumably replicas of Ili monuments on the pacification of the Zunghars; and the Pu Yao Temple stele (*Pu Yao Si Bei*) of 1767–68, a record of the construction as memorials of the various Chengde temples with their stelae. All these war-related inscriptions on stelae at Chengde are engraved in four languages: Chinese, Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan; the texts sometimes differ from bilingual inscriptions (Chinese and Manchu) with the same title found at the Guo Zi Jian.¹⁹ In this context it is important to mention another Qing 'victory'—the so-called return to allegiance of the Torguts, an ethnic group who

¹⁸ Sometimes additional inscriptions were added on the reverse of already carved stones to save the expense and trouble of creating and raising new monuments. See Hansen, 'Inscriptions,' 17. Such later texts might or might not relate to the same topic as the original inscription. For example, in 1758 the text of an inscription on the defeat of the Zunghars, *Pingding Zhunke'er Leming Ili Bei*, the duplicate of one engraved on a stele located at the new Qing administrative capital at Ili in Xinjiang, was engraved on the back of one of the stelae that already bore an inscription on the same war: *Pingding Zhunke'er Gaocheng Taixue Bei*. For a photograph of a rubbing of the latter inscription, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 71, 119, where it is erroneously identified as '*Pingding Zhunke'er Hou Leming Ili Bei*.' For the text, see Liang Guozhi et al., comps, *Qinding Guo Zi Jian Zhi* (Imperial Authorized History of the National Academy), 1781. Photoprint of the Wen Yuan Ge copy of the 1781 *Siku Quanshu* (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) edition (Taipei: Shangwu, 1974), 5, 15a–17a; Peng, comp., *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji*, 5, 40–1. On the other hand, a stele dating from the Qianlong period on the Bell Tower (*Zhong Lou Bei*), in Beijing, had an inscription added on the back almost two hundred years later; the subject-matter of the Republican period inscription was, of course, unrelated to the original text. *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian* vol. 70, 9.

¹⁹ For photographs of the rubbings of these inscriptions, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 71, 61–4, 68–71, 119–22; vol. 72, 175–8; for the texts, see Peng, comp., *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji*, 5, 41–3; 5, 40–1; 11, 127–9; 11, 117–21.

migrated eastwards from the Russian empire to take up residence in the Qing empire in the late eighteenth century. Two stelae at Chengde record this event in quadrilingual inscriptions; Qianlong referred to it in his 1792 *Shi Quan Ji* essay, and the eighteenth-century compiler of Qianlong's writings on his military victories included both texts in his work, clearly reflecting the official view that this immigration represented a Qing triumph albeit gained without a fight.²⁰ The installation of a series of monuments to Qing military successes at Chengde was a major ingredient of the project to create an 'imperial landscape' at the summer capital.²¹

Beyond the imperial capitals at Beijing and Chengde many more memorials were scattered throughout the provinces and in the newly pacified regions. Some marked the site of key battlefields. In 1776, for example, the emperor ordered preparations made for the placement of stelae at Meinuo, Lewuwei and Karaï in Sichuan province, strongholds of the Jinchuan rebels at which, in each case, Qing victories had marked turning points in the hard-fought second Jinchuan war. Some provincial war memorials were situated in rather remote locations that perhaps needed a literally solid reminder of Qing authority. For example, in 1749 a stele engraved with the inscription on the first Jinchuan war (*Pingding Jinchuan Gaocheng Taixue Bei*) was placed at Guilin in Guangxi province—an area inhabited by a number of rambunctious minority groups. The inscription was one of a number of duplicates of Guo Zi Jian stelae erected in Guilin.²² In Xinjiang after the conquest, a number of commemorative stelae were installed in prominent but remote locations, for instance at Gedengshan (Gädän-Ola), the site of a daring nighttime raid that

²⁰ For photographs of the rubbings of these inscriptions, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 73, 59–67; for the texts, see Peng, comp., *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji*, 11, 129–33. On the Torguts, see Thomas de Quincey, *Revolt of the Tartars or, Flight of the Kalmuck Khan* (Boston: Leach, Shewell and Sanborn, 1896).

²¹ See Philippe Foret, 'The Imperial Landscape Project' (unpublished manuscript, 1994); see also Anne Chayet, *Les Temples de Jehol et leurs modèles tibétains* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985). Qianlong appears to have devoted relatively little of his energy to construction work at Shengjing, the third imperial capital. See Jiang Xiangshun, *Shengjing Huang Gong* (The Imperial Palace at Shengjing) (Beijing: Zi Jin Cheng, 1987), 302.

²² For a photograph of the rubbing of the inscription, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 70, 43. The inscription is identical to the Guo Zi Jian one; it is not at present possible to check whether the monuments themselves are identical. For other duplicates of Guo Zi Jian steles commemorating war that were located in Guilin, see, for example, *ibid.*, vol. 71, 59, 161.

devastated the Qing's Zunghar enemies in 1755. The presence of a monumental reminder at the very site of this attack was intended to discourage any resurgence of opposition; this newly incorporated frontier region was dotted with many more such monuments.²³ Similarly, after the second Gurkha war, the emperor had his essay on his ten great victories engraved in four languages on a monument erected on Potala mountain in Lhasa, Tibet.²⁴

Besides memorials to wars and battles, the emperor sometimes authorized a monumental tribute to an individual warrior. Thus, in 1768 a temple was erected in the western part of Beijing in memory of Mingrui, who as commander of the army in Burma lost his life after making a series of miscalculations. The inscription on the now-lost stele also records the deaths of other officers who had joined Mingrui in fending off the pursuing enemy as Qing forces retreated.²⁵ Such temples might also commemorate those who had died in the service of the state, but not necessarily in battle. In 1751 the emperor had built a 'Temple of Double Loyalty' (*Shuangzhong Si*) in memory of Fuqing and Labdon, two Manchu officials who had lost their lives in Tibet after assassinating a local leader inimical to the Qing. Labdon was killed by the Tibetans; Fuqing committed suicide. The inscription on a stele at the temple bore a memorial poem with a preface, both composed by the emperor and calligraphed by Liang Shizheng, a senior metropolitan official. That the emperor did not see fit to write this inscription in his own hand, as sometimes happened on other occasions, perhaps reflected the fact that in this case Fuqing and Labdon had not died in actual combat.²⁶ Yet death was

²³ On this episode, see Ka Bo Tsang, 'Portraits of Meritorious Officials: Eight Examples from the First Set Commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor.' In *Arts Asiatiques: Annales du musée national des arts asiatiques—Guimet et du musée Cernuschi* 47 (1992): 69–88, at 77; for the text of the stele inscription, see Peng, comp., *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji*, 5, 41; for other stele inscriptions relating to the Xinjiang campaigns, see Zhang, Liang et al., *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian* (Imperial Paintings Catalog, First Supplement, 1793, reprinted in Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1969–71), vol. 6, 3095–104; Peng, comp., *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji*, juan 4–21, *passim*.

²⁴ See Lu Zhengming, 'Qianlong Di "Shi Quan Wu Gong" Chu Tan,' 240.

²⁵ For Mingrui's biography, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 578–9. A rubbing of the stele inscription is at the National Library, Beijing: jing 1767; for a photograph, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 72, 189; for the text, see Yu et al., *Rixia Jiuwen Kao*, juan 44, 696.

²⁶ Liang Shizheng also wrote out the emperor's composition for the Pingding Jinchuan Si Bei. *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 70, 43; this was in 1749 before the commemoration project had become, perhaps, fully fledged. A rubbing of the Shuang Zhong Si stele inscription, which was apparently

not a prerequisite for the erection of a shrine honoring an individual; successful surviving generals might also be so recognized—as occurred, for example, after the suppression of Lin Shuangwen's uprising in Taiwan in 1788.²⁷

As noted, inscriptions on war memorials were often engraved in more than one script. Virtually all used Chinese and Manchu, the everyday languages of state, and many added Mongol and either Tibetan or some other script such as Uighur that was relevant to the particular subject matter or to the locality in which the monument was established.²⁸ For example, a monument erected to record the emperor's ritual welcome, just outside the capital, to generals returning victorious from Xinjiang bears an inscription in Chinese, Manchu, Mongol and Arabic (*huiwen*), presumably in acknowledgement of the prevalence of Islam in major portions of the newly conquered territory.²⁹ Such multilingual records were by no means new

done only in Chinese, is at the National Library, Beijing: jing 2536; for a photograph, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 70, 166; for the text, see also Yu, comp., *Rixia Kiuwen Kao*, juan 48, 759–60. A rubbing of the bilingual inscription on Labdon's tombstone (located in another part of Beijing) is also at the National Library, Beijing: for a photograph, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 70, 151. The story of Labdon and Fuqing is in Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 249–50.

²⁷ See, for example, the biography of E'hui in *Qing Shi Gao* (Draft History of the Qing, 1928, reprinted in Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1977), juan 328, 10902, which records the erection of shrines honoring a number of commanders including E'hui. It is unclear whether shrines such as these included imperial calligraphy. E'hui was a meritorious official who fought in several of the ten great campaigns and whose portrait, now in a private collection in the United States, once hung in the Zi Guang Ge (see below).

²⁸ Bilingual inscriptions normally used only Chinese and Manchu but in Sichuan, for example, monuments established at key battlefields of the second Jinchuan war were engraved in Chinese and Tibetan, suggesting a hope that local people might actually read and benefit from the texts. Realistically, however, and without regard to the question of literacy among the local populace, the intimidatingly vast size of most monuments made them almost impossible to read in their entirety on the spot. For a photograph of the inscription on a monument erected at Meinuo in Sichuan, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, Gedi 7890, inscription dated QL 41/2. This rubbing is in very poor condition—the central portion is virtually illegible—but the text is also reproduced in Peng, comp., *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji*, juan 31, 404–5, which also reprints the texts of the Lewuwei and Kara' stelae.

²⁹ See *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 71, 167. On the occasion for this monument, see also below. Other examples included *Huiren Lipai Si Bei*, a stele inscription in Chinese, Manchu, Mongol and Uighur located at the Muslim soldiers' camp (*Huihuiying*) on what is now West Chang'an Avenue in Beijing. On this establishment, see James Millward, 'A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meanings of the Fragrant Concubine,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 53.2

in China: a well-known early example is the Tang dynasty Nestorian tablet engraved in Chinese and Syriac and erected in Chang'an in the year 751 by adherents of the religion to mark its by then already well-established presence in China.³⁰ Under Qianlong, however, multilingual inscriptions became far more common and most related to warfare, albeit with some exceptions, including inscriptions relating to foreign religions.³¹

The use of multiple languages was in part a mark of Qing cosmopolitanism and in part the act of a conqueror wishing to reiterate his dominion. But the purpose went beyond that. In the eighteenth-century Qing context, using multiple languages asserted a claim to universal spiritual as well as terrestrial overlordship. Qianlong inherited these concepts from the Buddhisms of China, Tibet and Mongolia and, in keeping with his goal of simultaneously ruling as khan, emperor and bodhisattva, he infused them with a distinctively Qing coloration. The Chinese 'world order' had for centuries involved claims to universal rulership of the known world, but Qianlong's ambitions were both more grandiose and, perhaps, somewhat closer to realization, than those of most of his predecessors, and he was one of relatively few emperors of China to focus quite so specifically on warfare and its ideological underpinnings in this connection.

Part of Qianlong's aspirations to universal rulership involved his perceived role as successor to and competitor with a number of distinguished antecedents.³² These included in particular the great

(May 1994): 427–58, at 428–9; for a photograph of a rubbing of the inscriptions, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 72, 59–60. An example of the use of Sanskrit in some inscriptions is furnished by the *Fan Xiang Si Bei* at the Buddhist Fan Xiang temple in the Fragrant Hills northwest of Beijing. For a photograph of a rubbing of these inscriptions, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 70, 121.

³⁰ A. C. Moule, *Christians in China Before the Year 1550* (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), 27–52.

³¹ Funerary monuments for Jesuit missionaries were engraved in Chinese and Latin, with an intaglio crucifix above the inscription rather than a crucifix in relief as in Europe. A number of such stelae are now on display at the Stone-Carvings Museum in Beijing. For some photographs of rubbings of the Chinese and Latin inscriptions on Jesuit tombstones, see *Beijing Tushuguan Zang Zhongguo Lidai Shike Taben Huaibian*, vol. 72, 146 (Castiglione's tombstone); vol. 73, 140 (Benoist's tombstone); vol. 76, 62 (Amiot's tombstone). For photographs of rubbings taken from monuments engraved in Russian and Chinese, see *ibid.*, vol. 71, 52, and vol. 72, 189.

³² Qianlong's undoubted desire to emulate his grandfather Kangxi formed part of these perceptions, as evidenced by his patronage of the arts as well as by his

Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626–49), an ideal embodiment of combined civil and military virtue whom Qianlong explicitly and repeatedly sought first to emulate and then to outshine; the formidable conqueror Chingghis Khan (c.1162–1227), and Chingghis' grandson, the Mongol Khan of Khans and emperor of China Khubilai Khan (1215–94). All these men had been military giants whose exploits had in different ways brought them control of huge portions of Central Asia as well as of China; in many ways Qianlong's Mongol forerunners, whose Chinese empire merely formed part of a larger whole, rather than constituting the core of an empire that radiated outwards, were his most appropriate role models, but their identity as alien rulers made them politically less desirable antecedents than Tang Taizong. The achievement of Taizong, Chingghis and Khubilai surpassed mere conquest; they had functioned as the personification of an epoch and, at the same time, turners of the wheel of time towards the ages of salvation (*cakravartin*). This Buddhist 'kingly way' differed from that of the legendary rulers of Chinese antiquity, whose claim to sagehood, although not absolutely dissociated from violence, rested mainly on their moral virtue, as Pamela Kyle Crossley has described:

Around the *cakravartin* revolved time, spirit, and incarnation. On earth, the turning wheel of the Law [...] represented militant expansion of the empire, the generation of history, and the closing of the ages. This image, unlike the 'kingly way' of the Zhou, lends itself to overt military representation, since the vessel of religious universality is explicitly he who is 'victor over all the cardinal directions.' It was a unique extension of imperial symbolism, and the portrait of the Qianlong emperor by Giuseppe Castiglione in his dharani-marked battle helmet is one of very few depictions of emperors as warriors in the entirety of China's imperial tradition.

Qianlong's treatment of the two traditions of the 'kingly way' as neatly complementary conformed to his quest to fulfil multiple roles as ruler. In the same way, the Manchu conqueror of China and the Qing conqueror of the Zunghars, the Mongols, the Jinchuan, the Burmese, the Tibetans, and so on, intended that his deployment of an array of scripts on imperial stelae commemorating war should

military exploits—but the demands of filial piety, both genuinely experienced and required to be conspicuously displayed, meant Qianlong stopped short of openly declaring he had outshone Kangxi altogether. It was, of course, in similar spirit that Qianlong formally abdicated the throne in 1796 to avoid reigning longer than Kangxi, although he continued to rule until his death three years later.

represent his claim to universal symbolic as well as geographic dominion.³³

The proclamation of another illustrious forebear of Qianlong's with universalist aspirations is suggestive of a further imperial motivation in appealing to Buddhist symbolism: that of unification. In 581 the founding Sui emperor, Wendi (r. 581–601), holding himself out as a universal monarch, issued the following edict before embarking on a series of military campaigns:

With the armed might of a Cakravartin king, We spread the ideals of the ultimately enlightened one. With a hundred victories in a hundred battles, We promote the practice of the ten Buddhist virtues. Therefore We regard the weapons of war as having become like the offerings of incense and flowers presented to Buddha, and the fields of this world as having become forever identical with the Buddhaland.³⁴

Sui Wendi (and his early Tang successors) thus made use of Buddhist beliefs in their quest to reunify the cultures of north and south China after centuries of division. Similarly, the Qianlong Emperor accurately construed the multiculturalism of the empire he ruled and took every possible step to domesticate it so as to bind that empire together. To that end he enlisted an ideology pervasive in Mongolia and Tibet as well as in much of China, in the service of a form of proto-nationalism. This was rather different from the 'divide and rule' policy with which the Qing have often been credited; it was an attempt to bring together diverse traditions into a coherent unit under Qianlong's overlordship, and thereby to rule them all. The Qing under Qianlong thus had moved beyond concerns of mere legitimacy; the creation of the multilingual war memorials was one major means towards forging a sense of nationalism.

³³ Crossley, 'The Rulerships of China,' 1483 (notes omitted). On the role of violence in early China, see Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); on Tang Taizong, see Howard Wechsler, 'T'ai-Tsung (reign 626–649) The Consolidator,' in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, Sui and Tang, 581–906, Part I, edited by Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 188–241, especially 239–41; on Khubilai, see Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, London and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), especially Chapter Five. On Qianlong's relationship to the Tibetans, see in particular James Hevia, 'Lamas, Emperors and Rituals: Political Implications in Qing Imperial Ceremonies,' in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16.2 (Winter 1993): 243–78. See also David Farquhar, 'Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire,' in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38 (1978): 5–34.

³⁴ See Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 62, 67.

The institution of monuments was, however, only one among many means the emperor deployed in pursuit of such goals. The commemoration of war also involved well-attended public spectacles, themselves usually the subject of commemorative stelae and of paintings that formed part of an extensive artistic record produced by members of the court academy, somewhat in the manner of official photography.³⁵ In the final layer of commemoration, a wide-scale documentary record took the form of reproduction of some of the major texts on war in a number of the huge imperially sponsored compilations of the late eighteenth century, many of which apparently had little to do with military matters.

Military Rituals

Military ritual, one of five categories of ritual in the Qing institutional tradition, comprised eighteen forms of ritual occasion. These included reviewing and dispatching the troops; issuing instructions to generals; receiving those who surrender; reporting a victory; returning in triumph; holding banquets and granting rewards upon report of a victory, and the presentation of captives.³⁶ As triumphant affirmations of the power of the Qing dynasty in its diverse capacities, these often spectacular pageants themselves constituted historic events definitive of the moment and the space in which they occurred. Thus, a late eighteenth-century description of the Meridian Gate (*Wu Men*), the main entrance to the Forbidden City where the Emperor presided over these rituals, explicitly notes the principal association of the place: reverencing military victory by means of the consecutively performed *xianfu* and *shoufu* rituals of presentation and execution by quartering of war captives.³⁷

³⁵ On the Qianlong painting academy and its artists, see Yang Boda, 'The Development of the Ch'ien-lung Painting Academy,' in Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong, eds, *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* (New York: The Museum of Metropolitan Art, and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 333–56, translated by Jonathan Hay; Yang Xin, 'Court Painting in the Yongzheng and Qianlong Periods of the Qing Dynasty'; Howard Rogers, 'Court Painting under the Qianlong Emperor,' in *The Elegant Brush*, 303–17; and She Ch'eng, 'The Painting Academy of the Qianlong Period: A Study in Relation to the Taipei National Palace Museum Collection,' in *The Elegant Brush*, 318–42.

³⁶ *Qinding Daqing Huidian* (Imperially Authorized Collected Institutes of the Great Qing) (1899; reprinted in Taipei, Xinwenli, 1976), 26, 8b–9a.

³⁷ Yu et al., *Rixia Jiuwen Kao*, juan 10, 142–5.

Known in some form since antiquity and particularly associated in the minds of cognoscenti with none other than emperor Taizong of the Tang, these latter rituals, an aspect of victory celebrations, were reserved for major successes: during the Qing, such occasions were limited to Kangxi's defeat of Galdan in 1697; Yongzheng's capture of rebel Khoshote leaders of Kokonor in Qinghai in 1724, and Qianlong's victories in Xinjiang (1755–56 and 1760) and against the Jinchuan in 1776. All but the last involved the protracted campaigns waged by the three great Qing emperors in Central Asia. The ceremonies were performed for the last time in 1828 after the suppression of a relatively minor uprising in Xinjiang, in an attempt to resuscitate old glories.³⁸

The detailed paintings commissioned to record the Qianlong military rituals combine with the complex regulations governing their performance to give us some sense of the magnificence and pageantry of these occasions. Among the most portentous of the celebrations performed to salute the Xinjiang conquest were the *xianfu* and *shoufu* rituals held in 1760 before an international audience; their significance may well have been cosmically underscored, at least for eighteenth-century Chinese accustomed to think in terms of connections between the natural and human worlds, by a violent thunderstorm that raged over the capital the night before the ceremony. The ritual scene was painted more than once, for it formed a major part of the project to exalt the ten great campaigns: as part of the set of war illustrations (*zhantu*) discussed below, and by court artist Xu Yang. In Xu Yang's work, we see towards the right-hand side the emperor seated high up on the Meridian Gate, surveying the serried ranks of imperial bodyguards in the great courtyard below. Further back (to the left of the painting), three rows of generals and officials kneel in obeisance to the emperor, holding up the head of the defeated rebel. In such ceremonies each participant's movements were carefully prescribed: on the appointed day, desig-

³⁸ The main accounts are at *Qinding Daqing Huidian Shili* (Imperial Authorised Collected Institutes and Precedents of the Great Qing) (1899; reprinted in Taipei: Xinwenli, 1976), 414, 10b–21a; Yu, *Rixia Jiuwen Kao*, juan 10, 143–4, which cites *Qinding Daqing Huidian* and reproduces imperial verses on the ceremonies with contemporary annotation. On the incidence of the ceremonies, see also Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 68, which omits to mention the 1760 *xianfu* ceremony recorded in Xu Yang's painting. According to the *Huidian Shili* (414, 12b), *shoufu* routinely followed *xianfu* but in practice this does not seem always to have been the case. These ceremonies occasionally took place during the Ming dynasty: see Long Wenbin, *Ming Hui Yao* (Collected Essentials of the Ming) (Canton: Guangya, n.d.), 6b–8a.

nated officials of the Board of War brought in the prisoners through the right-hand entrance of the Chang'an gate to the Tian'an gate, leading them by a white silken cord fastened around the neck. After offerings were made; the officials from the Board of War announced the victory and the capture of the prisoners, who were then formally turned over to the custody of Board of Justice officials to the sound of military bells and drums. The ceremony thus involved many civilian as well as military officials.³⁹

In practice, moreover, considerable political maneuvering concerning extent of participation and order of precedence sometimes took place among senior officials and generals competing to share the glory: who would present the prisoners? who would take his place next to the emperor? and so on. Thus, the Qianlong Emperor, preparing to celebrate his troops' eventual victory in the second Jinchuan war, in 1776 directed as follows:

With regard to the Board of Rites' memorial concerning the *shoufu* [set for] for the 28th: they have made an annotation to the effect that the generals shall enter in the company of all the officials and shall perform the ritual at the Meridian Gate. But the generals have already carried out rituals twice; once at the greetings ceremony outside the capital and once at the celebratory banquet. The generals and those who returned from the army to the capital and have paraded in Our presence at the Qianqing gate are to join Our retinue on the Meridian Gate; there is no need for them to perform [further] rituals. Only Fukang'an is to bring in the prisoners and perform the ceremony before the Meridian Gate.⁴⁰

From this we may infer that, although the main purpose of the ceremony was to enhance the prestige of the emperor and the dynasty, clearly it offered tremendous opportunities for major participants to embellish by association their own stature.

³⁹ See Zhang and Liang, *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian*, vol. 2, 788; see also Nie Chongzheng, 'Qingchao Gongting Tongbanhua "Qianlong Pingding Zhun Bu Huibu Zhantu"' (The Qing Court's Copper Engravings of the 'Battle Pictures of Qianlong's Pacification of the Zunghars and Muslims') (*Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* 1989.4): 55–64, at 59, and, for a partial illustration, at 62. There is some question as to the date of this ceremony. *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian* states that it took place in the first month of Qianlong 25 (1760), and Nie, discussing a painting of the same name done by Jesuit artist-priests as part of the series of war paintings follows this. The 1760 date is likely correct since the wars were not completely over until 1759. On the other hand, Hu Jing, a contemporary observer who was intimately familiar with the imperial paintings collection, states, however, that Xu's work dates from 1755. See Hu Jing, 'Guochao Yuanhua Lu' (Record of the Qing Painting Academy), in *Huashi Congshu* (Collectanea of the History of Painting, 1816, reprinted in Shanghai: Renmin Meishu, 1963), 52. I thank Nie Chongzheng for making a copy of this text available to me.

⁴⁰ *Shang Yu Dang QL* 41/4/27, 169.

A wide spectrum of people witnessed these celebrations, for the opportunity to display Qing might was too good to squander. According to a description of Xu Yang's painting of the 1760 *xianfu* ceremony, published in 1793 in the catalogue of the imperial paintings collection, not only large numbers of civil and military Qing officials attended the event, but also an astonishing range of tribute-paying foreign visitors bearing their national flags. These apparently included French, English, Dutch, Koreans and Japanese, as well as representatives of numerous Southeast Asian and Central Asian states. This seems surprising. Thirty-odd years prior to the Macartney mission, were representatives of King George 'presenting tribute' to the Qianlong Emperor? Most Englishmen then in China were traders, but the records of the East India Company for this period are missing, so verification is somewhat problematic. Certainly, there were French missionaries living at Qianlong's court in 1760, but despite their attempts to claim close links with the French crown, they were not qualified to act as national representatives or to 'present tribute' to the Chinese emperor. Did the painting in fact accurately represent the event? or is this an example of the record embellishing the event recorded? Given Qianlong's acute concern with the historical record, it is entirely plausible that the emperor, more keenly aware of international developments than has sometimes been credited, might have ordered the adaptation of the pictorial record to suit his own purposes. For that audience, by its very presence incorporated as actors in imperial theater and hence by implication consenting to his overarching goals, acknowledged the reaffirmation of imperial power represented by the ritual celebrations.⁴¹

Another of the rituals associated with warfare involved the formal greeting of generals returning in triumph from the war front. Like the *xianfu* and *shoufu* ceremonies, this was reserved for important victories; it took place a number of times during the conquest phase of the early Qing but in Qianlong's reign it occurred on full scale only in 1760, following the conquest of Xinjiang and in 1776 after the defeat of the Jinchuan. Thus, in 1760, as we know both from formal descriptions and from the pictorial record, the emperor rode to Liangxiang county, just beyond the walls of Beijing, to perform ritual greetings to commander Zhaohui and others as they returned

⁴¹ See Zhang and Liang, *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian*, vol. 2, 788; see also H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1634-1835* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. I, 295. For a suggestive comparison with ceremonial occasions in ancient Rome, see MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 9-12.

from Central Asia. It was an occasion of great pomp and ceremony. As musicians played, the emperor ascended a specially constructed altar arrayed with flags, at least some of which had been captured from the enemy. Together with all the senior generals, in full armor, and a number of senior civilian officials, the emperor made obeisance to heaven, performing the ritual of three kneelings and nine kowtows in gratitude for the victory. Afterwards, all were formally received by the emperor in a yellow tent.⁴²

Commemorative Paintings

Court academicians produced at imperial behest a large number of commemorative paintings, including 'Infinite Fortune of the Sage's Plans' by Qian Weicheng; 'The Western Regions' by Xu Yang; 'Three Victories of the Red Banners' by Hong Wu; numerous works by Lang Shining (Giuseppe Castiglione); such collaborative works as 'Dispatch and Victory of the Jinchuan Army' by Yao Wenhan, Zhou Kun and Zhang Weibang; and many more.⁴³ Especially well known in this category are the series of sixteen war pictures (*zhantu*) executed for Qianlong by four foreign artist priests, Castiglione, Attiret, Sichelbart and Salusti, including battle scenes, surrender scenes, depiction of a daring Qing raid, the Liangxiang greeting scene just described, the *xianfu* scene, a celebratory banquet held at Qianlong's hall of military fame, the Zi Guang Ge, and so on.⁴⁴ In commissioning this

⁴² On the prescribed ceremony, see *Daqing Huidian Shili*, 413, 14-20; for a description of one of the paintings of this event, see Zhang and Liang, *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian*, vol. 2, 810; see also Nie, 'Qingchao Gongting Tongbanhua "Qianlong Pingding Zhun Bu Huibu Zhantu"', 59-60. For a partial illustration (of the copper engraving), see Christoph Müller-Hofstade and Hartmut Walravens, 'Paris-Peking: Kupferstiche für Kaiser Qianlong,' in Hendrik Budde, Christoph Müller-Hofstade and Gereon Sievernich, eds, *Europa und die Kaiser von China* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1985), 163-72, fig. 163. I thank David Mungello for sending me a copy of this article. The ritual greeting was also performed in 1749 following the first Jinchuan war but the emperor seems not to have personally ridden out to greet General Fuheng on that occasion.

⁴³ See Zhang and Liang, *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian*, vol. 2, 785 ('Infinite Fortunes'); vol. 2, 789 ('Western Regions')—on this see also Hu Jing, *Guochao Yuanhua Lu*, 52, where he notes the painting was based on Western missionary surveys; vol. 2, 572-3 (the three victories were the three major turning points of the second Jinchuan campaign; see above, text following note 21); vol. 4, 1869-1970 ('Dispatch and Victory'). For a recent illustration of the latter work, see Christies (New York), *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, sale 7790, 1 December 1993, 149-53.

⁴⁴ On the Zi Guang Ge, see below.

series Qianlong was elaborating a long-standing Chinese tradition of commemorative or propagandistic painting—a tradition far less well known than landscape or naturalist painting but by no means insignificant; he is said also to have been influenced by seeing European war paintings done by the German painter Rugendas (1666–1742).⁴⁵ Perhaps, too, through the missionaries at his court he was aware of the battle paintings produced in Europe, such as those displayed at Versailles in France and at El Escorial in Spain. The latter series had been commissioned by Philip II of Spain, a sixteenth-century monarch who (although Qianlong may well not have known this), had shared both Qianlong's grand imperial aspirations and his desire to represent himself as performing a divine mission through his military efforts.⁴⁶

With a view to further broadcasting Qing military prowess, Qianlong decided to have mass reproductions of the war illustrations made in the form of copper engravings. As the Chinese had then lost that art, and perhaps also because the Qing emperor wanted to let his military might become known to the French king, copies of the sixteen war illustrations were sent to Paris on French East India Company ships with orders for two hundred sets of copper engravings. These eventually were returned to China where many more were made. They bedecked public buildings all over the country and were distributed to deserving officials as a mark of imperial favor, for instance by way of thanks for contributing their libraries to the *Siku Quanshu* project, as an alternative to sets of the *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* or *Peiwen Yunfu* which were also distributed in this way.⁴⁷ Subsequently, *zhantu* series were drawn and engraved in China by

⁴⁵ Hu Jing, 'Guochao Yuanhua Lu,' preface, 2–3, uses these paintings to compare Qianlong's achievements to those of his predecessors, particularly during the Tang dynasty, and the clear implication is that although these court paintings do have their antecedents they have surpassed them. For information on the extensive earlier links between art and warfare in China, I am grateful to Robert E. Harist, Jr., of Oberlin College.

⁴⁶ See Jonathan Brown, 'War and Glory in the Hall of Battles of El Escorial' (Paper presented to the Conference on Force in History, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1995). On Qianlong's claim to be receiving divine assistance see Zhang and Liang, *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian*, vol. 1, 241–6 (on the Annan campaign).

⁴⁷ On the battle pictures, see Waley-Cohen, 'China and Western Technology, 1542–1543,' and accompanying notes. See also Nie, '“Qianlong Pingding Zhunbu Huibu Zhantu” he Qingdai de Tongbanhua' (The War Illustrations of Qianlong's Wars to Suppress the Zunghars and [Xinjiang] Muslims, and Qing copper engraving), in *Wenwu* 1980.4: 61–4; and Nie, 'Qingchao Gongting Tongbanhua “Qianlong Pingding Zhun Bu Huibu Zhantu”.'

Chinese artists and craftsmen, presumably based on eyewitness descriptions since court artists cannot personally have observed every one of these far-off battles. These later series, not all of which contained as many as sixteen paintings, covered the suppression of Muslims at Wushi in 1765, and of the Two Jinchuan in 1776; the conclusion of wars in Vietnam (1788–89) and Taiwan (1787–88); victories against the Gurkhas in Nepal (1792), the Miao aborigines in Yunnan and Hunan in the 1790s, and the Central Asian leader Jahangir in the 1820s; and the bitter Muslim wars of the late nineteenth century. The originals are located in the Palace Museum, Beijing; the copper engravings—some sets having been retained in France in disregard of the Qing emperor's stipulation for exclusivity—can be found all over the world.⁴⁸

The hall where the original war illustrations were hung, the Zi Guang Ge, was an old pavilion originally used for parades, archery review and the like and expressly restored in 1760 for the purpose of displaying military art and trophies and used to receive tributaries—official foreign visitors are still received there today. It overlooks a drill ground located on the west bank of the central lake in Xi Yuan, immediately to the West of the Forbidden City in what is now the sealed-off government headquarters known as Zhongnanhai.

In addition to the sets of war illustrations, the Zi Guang Ge housed another series of paintings commemorating war: portraits of meritorious officials (*gongchen xiang*). After the Xinjiang wars, a series of one hundred was made. They were divided into two groups of fifty; the emperor personally wrote eulogies on the upper fifty, and three senior officials, Yu Minzhong, Liu Tongxun and Liu Lun did them on the lower fifty. Each eulogy appeared in both Chinese and Manchu.⁴⁹

The senior official Fuheng, credited with the first Jinchuan victory in the 1740s, headed the hundred meritorious officials thus honored after the Xinjiang wars, because although he had not personally been involved in the fighting, he had been almost alone in supporting the emperor's decision to pursue his goals in Central Asia. Qianlong's eulogy on Fuheng's portrait, which is now in a private collection in the United States, reads as follows:

⁴⁸ Some of these copper engravings were 'colorized,' both in France and in China at Qianlong's bequest; there are examples in the Beijing Palace Museum and in private collections in the West. For an illustration, see Christies (New York) sale no. 9220 (21 September 1995), p. 153.

⁴⁹ The following discussion is much indebted to Ka Bo Tsang's fine article, 'Portraits of Meritorious Officials,' 69–88.

Of noble descent, a distinguished public servant
 Your sorrow and joy are linked with the country's;
 Earlier on in the Jinchuan war
 You were noted for exceptional performance,
 When I was deciding to send out an army to the far west
 You were alone in agreeing with me—
 Like the marquis of Zan who had never fought in battles
 You deserve to be placed foremost among contributors.⁵⁰

The division between the upper and lower fifty was made on the basis of merit and shows no distinction between civil and military officials, thus reinforcing the quest to equalize the two branches of the bureaucracy. Subsequently, further series of portraits of this kind were made after the Jinchuan, Taiwan and Gurkha wars—one hundred again for the Jinchuan, forty for the Taiwan campaign and thirty for the Gurkha wars. Agui and Hailancha, leading generals of the emperor's ten campaigns, each had their portraits hung in the Zi Guang Ge no less than four times, a distinction rare enough to have been recorded in their respective biographies. Honoring selected generals, soldiers and military administrators in this way formed part of a deliberate policy of rewards and punishments intended to encourage values of service and loyalty to the Qing cause. That policy, as so often not introduced by Qianlong but greatly elaborated in his time, also included an expansion in the award of gifts and hereditary titles to victorious generals and in the meting out of severe punishment to those whose dedication or success rate were found wanting, as in the case of the two top commanders executed during the first Jinchuan war.⁵¹

As in the case of the war illustrations, there was a venerable precedent for portraits of meritorious officials: in the latter part of the first century the Han emperor Mingdi (58–75) had commissioned a set of twenty-eight while in the seventh century Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty—Qianlong's model again—had ordered a set of twenty-four painted by Yan Liben for the Lingyan Hall and later engraved on stelae.⁵² Evidence suggests the Qianlong portraits

⁵⁰ The reference to the Marquis of Zan is to Xiao He, advisor to Liu Bang, who became the first emperor of the Han dynasty; like Fu Heng he never actually fought in the war.

⁵¹ See Lu Zhengming, 'Qianlong Di "Shi Quan Wu Gong" Chu Tan,' 253–5; see also Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 43–5.

⁵² Cf. Wu Cheng'en, *Monkey* (translated by Arthur Waley, London: Penguin, 1974), 132–3, referring to portraits of heroes of the dynasty painted during Tang Taizong's reign by Wu Daozi and hung in the 'Tower of Rising Smoke.'

closely adhered to tradition in format composition and content but on the whole the eighteenth-century portraits are somewhat more lively than the earlier ones and involve the melding of two painting techniques, Chinese and Western. Generally, the hundred Xinjiang portraits show individual figures either frontally or in three-quarters profile, wearing ceremonial robes or military uniforms and standing somewhat woodenly in front of a neutral background. The portrait sets were executed in triplicate. One set, in ink and color on silk, hung in the Zi Guang Ge, and two more sets, in the form of hanging scrolls and handscrolls done on the very finest Anhui paper, were installed in the halls and pavilions of the imperial palace complex.

Castiglione and the other foreign artists who had produced the original war illustrations were also involved in producing the portrait series but in addition they trained quite a few Chinese apprentices as portraitists; many artists collaborated in this project, as in many of the commemorative paintings, in this case not least because once the wars were over Qianlong wanted the portraits completed more or less immediately—within four to five months. Such haste was due to the fact that once the army returned the authorities planned to hold the celebratory banquet at the Zi Guang Ge as part of the series of ritually authorized triumphal events, and the portraits just had to be done in time. These portraits were dispersed at the time of the Boxer rebellion, in 1900, and now only a few are known. Some are in private collections; others are located in museums around the world, including what is the only one known to be still in China, located at the Tianjin Municipal Museum. Other extant portraits from these series continue to surface on the international art market today.⁵³

Behind the Zi Guang Ge stood the Wucheng Dian, the Hall of Military Achievements. This hall seems to have played a less prominent role in war commemoration than the Zi Guang Ge. In its vicinity, however, were displayed further stelae, engraved with several hundred of Qianlong's military compositions; this was probably the major collection in stone of those writings. At the Wucheng Dian, too, were exhibited various war trophies, such as the silver sutra case of Amursana, turncoat and Qing archenemy of the Xinjiang campaigns, and some captured weapons, and so on. Captured

⁵³ See, for example, Sotheby's Amsterdam, *Catalogue of Chinese and Japanese Ceramics and Works of Art*, sale 604, 25 October 1994. I thank John Finlay of the Brooklyn Museum for providing this information.

weapons may have been a plentiful commodity immediately after the wars were over. One Jesuit missionary sent a finely worked jewelled dagger, allegedly from the Jinchuan rebel armies, to his patron Henri Bertin in France.⁵⁴ Indeed, the missionaries at Qianlong's court provided one avenue along which imperial propaganda travelled effortlessly, for correspondents in the French government repeatedly sought out information about the Chinese military from their countrymen in Beijing.⁵⁵

The Documentary Record

The stelae and paintings that commemorated the wars and the triumphs and bore the imperial word on the ten great campaigns were themselves immortalized in numerous compilations made towards the end of the Qianlong reign. Here we will mention just five major examples of this tendency. The first consisted of a complete set of Qianlong's military writings: *Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Shi Quan Ji* (The Qianlong Emperor's Prose and Poetry on the Ten Great Victories). Organized by campaign, and subdivided into chapters of poetry and prose, this collection in fifty-four *juan* was presented to the throne by its compiler, Peng Yuanrui, in 1794, soon after Qianlong adopted the sobriquet 'Old Man of the Ten Great Victories' and six years before the emperor's death. Gathering together the imperial writings on war in a single volume gave them yet more visibility and more of an aura of importance, as well as at least theoretically making them more readily accessible to readers. No evidence, however, has come to light concerning the volume's circulation at the time or later. Harold Kahn has described these writings as the 'ultimate esthetic word on the mid-Ch'ing military ventures,' contrasting them to the accounts contained in the official campaign histories (*fanglüe*).⁵⁶ Yet the latter themselves constituted a major form of documentary commemoration rather than the complete and accur-

⁵⁴ Henri Cordier, 'Les correspondants de Bertin, secrétaire d'état au XVIIIe siècle' (*T'oung Pao* 2e série, vol. XIV, 1913, 227-57, 465-72, 497-536), at 467. On the display of captured weapons, see Hu Jianzhong, 'Qing Gong Bing Qi Yan Jiu' (*Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* 1990.1: 17-28), 17; for an illustration, see Ka Bo Tsang, 'Portraits of Meritorious Official,' fig. 3.

⁵⁵ See the correspondence of Henry Bertin, comptroller of France, and Father Amiot, Jesuit missionary in Beijing, much of which can be found in the archives of the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France*, manuscript volumes 1515-24.

⁵⁶ Harold Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 50.

ate record one might have expected them to be. Published within a few years of the wars they covered, the massive *fanglüe* did make public much illuminating correspondence between the emperor and his generals concerning the conduct of the wars and postwar reconstruction, and of course they incorporated the imperial military writings later assembled by Peng Yuanrui. Yet the most secret communications were either suppressed or carefully edited by the military archives office of the Grand Council, the highest ministry of state.⁵⁷

None of the other three works was directly concerned with military matters. The first was the 1793 publication of a continuation of the massive and extremely detailed catalog of the imperial paintings collections, *Shi Qu Bao Ji Xubian*, compiled by Liang Shizheng, a senior official as well as a painter and collector, and one of those whose calligraphy sometimes adorned commemorative monuments. This compilation included descriptions of all the war-related and propaganda paintings as well as reprinting in full all their inscriptions—although such texts were hardly what a person perusing an art catalogue would expect to encounter. Somewhat earlier, Yu Minzhong, one of those who wrote the inscriptions on the lower fifty 'portraits of meritorious officials,' acted as chief compiler of a detailed description of Beijing, its architecture and monuments. This text, *Rixia Jiuwen Kao*, appeared in 1781; it reprinted in full vast numbers of the stelae inscriptions and related imperial writings. In the same year a multi-volume history of the National Academy, *Guo Zi Jian Zhi*, reprinted the texts of a number of major war memorials located there. By thus reproducing the official word on the war these imperially sponsored texts on disparate non-military topics undoubtedly helped disseminate the politically correct view. This additional medium for the blending of *wen* and *wu*, civil and military, in the cultural realm may ultimately have had more impact than stelae inscriptions, which are normally too large to read on the spot, or than one-time ritual celebrations and paintings with inscriptions that were largely confined to the imperial palace and government buildings.

Conclusion

The commemorative works described above constitute the main material evidence for the official project of commemorating war in the

⁵⁷ See Beatrice S. Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723-1820*, 11.

eighteenth century. They demonstrate how powerfully the Qianlong Emperor was motivated by his concern for history, both past and future. For Qianlong's inscriptions, and the monuments, paintings and printed works in which they appear, amount to a claim to have competed successfully with, on the one hand, the great cakravartin kings of old and, on the other, those great imperial rulers yet to come, in order to stake his claim to supremacy across space that was temporal as well as symbolic and physical.

The project to commemorate war under the Qianlong Emperor is also highly significant because of the sophisticated grasp of 'modern' techniques of the control of knowledge to which they testify, particularly in terms of the representation of the defeated or colonized inferior. The Qianlong Emperor thought and made plans on a grand scale; he was an empire-builder who recognized the profound complexities presented by his multi-ethnic domains, and took comprehensive steps to try to harness those complexities in the service of what we have called Qing Chinese nationalism. Further, he made the attempt from a highly ambiguous position—that of an alien ruler, trying to be all things to all his different subjects. But the consequences of these efforts to draw together diverse different groups under the single roof of that nationalism exceeded even the emperor's audacious intentions. In successfully drawing attention to the fact that Qing were Manchus, Qianlong helped create a potent focus for the dissatisfaction among the Manchus' Chinese subjects, one that surfaced in the century following Qianlong's death, with results that were ultimately fatal to the Qing cause and to Qianlong's grand designs. That is, Qianlong's schemes indirectly contributed in the long term to the anti-Manchuism that later developed into a more generalized anti-foreignism, and thus bears a share of the responsibility for the decline of his dynasty—a result precisely the opposite of what he sought to achieve.⁵⁸

Thus, Chinese nationalism of the twentieth century, and its close association with militarism, have very much deeper and more complicated roots than historians who focus on the nineteenth-century 'Western impact' have previously suggested. First, in China the origins of modern nationalism lie in the goals of the eighteenth-century Qing imperial project rather than in the reaction against nineteenth-

century Western imperialism. What happened was that the Qing Chinese nationalism orchestrated, nurtured and manipulated under Qianlong in the long term got out of control and evolved into a more purely Chinese nationalism strongly motivated by anti-Qing sentiment. Second, the intimate relation between nationalism and militarism, something normally associated with twentieth-century China, traces its inception to no later than the Qianlong period, as the consequence of the emperor's attempt to militarize Chinese culture. This cultural assault was the ultimate purpose of Qianlong's project to commemorate his 'ten great victories.'

⁵⁸ Some of these issues are raised in Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

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