

Ethnicity and Identity in the Art of Giuseppe Castiglione

by

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ABSTRACT

My thesis argues that an unrecognized genre existed in classical Chinese painting, one which I call “ethnic” or “minority painting.” The genre of ethnic painting consistently displays certain styles and cultural values and is meant to represent unique ethnic identities. These ideas have not been substantially covered by previous research on Qing dynasty painting. My research raises three main questions: was there a distinct genre in traditional Chinese painting that could be called “ethnic art” (or “minority art”)? How did ethnic art distinguish itself within Chinese painting? What were the ethnic identities presented by minority artists from ethnic groups within and outside of China? The materials used for this research include a close visual study of six paintings by Lang Shining (Giuseppe Castiglione) from the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Munich Residenz in Germany and the Musée Guimet in France.

For my dear advisor Professor Claudia Brown

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CHAPTER 1
ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN THE ART OF GIUSEPPE CASTIGLIONE
Introduction

Giuseppe Castiglione (1688- 1766) was born to a well-known family in Milan on 19 July 1688.¹ Castiglione studied with a private tutor at home during his early childhood, which was a common tradition among wealthy families in Italy. In 1707, at the age of 19, he joined the Society of Jesus in Genoa. In 1714, he arrived in China and stayed in the Portuguese colony at Macau. During his time in Beijing (1715-1766), Lang Shining painted many vivid ethnic scenes, presenting Manchu, Kazakh and Uyghur peoples under his skillful brush. He also is said to have painted several of the extant portraits of a Uyghur concubine of the Qianlong emperor.² Additionally, Castiglione painted some works related to Uyghur culture and the Xinjiang area, including the *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖 (1757), a copperplate engraving entitled *Receiving the Surrender of the Yili* 平定伊犁受降圖 (1769) and “*Storming of the Camp at Gädän-Ola*” from *Victory in the Pacification of Dzungars and Muslims* 準噶爾回部平定戰役圖 (1769-1779).

¹ Giuseppe Castiglione was recorded as P. Joseph Castiglione 郎世寧 (T. 若瑟, 1688-1766) in Fang Chao-ying, “CHAO-hui 兆惠 (和甫),” in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943-44), 74.

² There are extant works attributed to Castiglione that art historians have found to contain portraits of the consort Rong: first, *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖 (1760-1779), held at The Palace Museum of Beijing; second, *Chang Chun Yuan Tu (In the Garden of Eternal Spring)*, in a Japanese collection from the Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (Tokyo National Museum); and lastly, *Portrait of Xiang Fei in European Armor*, also in the collection of the Palace Museum of Beijing.

Preface by the Emperor to the Victory in the Pacification of Dzungars and Muslims (1766) is a sketch by Castiglione.³ By presenting each human figure's facial expression to illustrate the battle, Castiglione abandons the traditional way of illustrating such scenes. Instead of focusing on the action of the battle, Castiglione highlights the ethnicity of Ayūsi through his facial features and costume. Ayūsi rides on a black horse, killing his enemies with his weapon. The Qianlong emperor not only commissioned Castiglione to paint Ayūsi, but also wrote a poem to document the story of Ayūsi's loyalty and courage.⁴ Castiglione was aware of the minorities in China, especially the Uyghur people and their culture.⁵ Instead of simply illustrating how the minorities looked, Castiglione depicted their past and cultural heritage, presenting their individual identities realistically in his paintings.

After the Qianlong emperor started his conquest of Central Asia, he did not try to erase the native peoples' differences. On the contrary, he preserved distinctions between the various ethnic groups. In two paintings especially, *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖 (1757), and *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting*

³ This is a separate copperplate engraving also known as "Kalmuk Ayūsi Attacking Dawaachi's Camp on Mount Gādān."

⁴ "Hong-li 弘曆 (H. 長春居士, 信天主人, 古稀天子, 十全老人), Sept. 25, 1711-1799, Feb. 7, was the fourth emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty, who ruled under the reign-title Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (1736-1796)." See: Fang Chao-ying, "HUNG-li 弘曆" in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, 369-373.

⁵ Marco Musillo, "Reconciling Two Careers: The Jesuit Memoir of Giuseppe Castiglione Lay Brother and Qing Imperial Painter." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 1 (2008), 53. See: "One of the main strategies of the mid-Qing dynasty was the inclusion and public display of the empire's cultural differences by the act of commissioning pictures that involved the use of different types of imagery. In keeping with this, it would seem that the Jesuits in Beijing appeared to the emperor as useful agents of one of many cultural entities (Europe) to be contained and controlled within the Qing Empire. Therefore, the acquisition, mastering, and incorporation of European artistic techniques were strategic acts of government."

Trip 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖 (1760-1779), Castiglione illustrates the root values and ethnic authenticity of minority groups.

During a cross-country research trip to Germany, France, Italy and Cleveland Ohio, I engaged in a study of objects held around the world including two paintings by Castiglione, one porcelain relates to Castiglione's painting, several sculptures and funeral boxes. Since there are so many paintings by Castiglione, I will focus on six paintings in particular: first, *Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆皇帝和他十二個妃子肖像畫 (1736); second, *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖 (1757); third, *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖 (1760-1779); fourth, *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖; fifth, *Ma Shu Tu (Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show)* 馬術圖; sixth, *Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖.⁶ Using these six paintings, will I argue for the existence of an ethnic art genre in traditional Chinese painting.⁷

⁶ The fourth, fifth and sixth paintings were made during the Qianlong period (1711-1799), and the specific dates were unknown.

⁷ I have chosen to use the words ethnic art as a term for the “minority ethnic painting” or “frontier ethnic painting.” Even though the Han Chinese can be also regarded as an ethnic group, the concept of the ethnic minorities art in this thesis is based on the current non-Han Chinese cultures defined in China.

Importantly, I think that ethnic art can be focused on cultural identity. In ethnic art, human figures wear the costume associated with a particular culture, and they share similar facial features, hair and makeup styles, jewelry and habits. In addition, certain cultural and social activities, such as hunting, ice-skating and dancing are represented. The animals shown in ethnic art were useful in people's daily lives and were also their companions. Certain background environments are also characteristic of ethnic art. Instead of showing ink, brushes, scrolls and books as in literati paintings, ethnic paintings are set in broad grasslands and show people directly engaging with nature. Compared with literati and landscape paintings, ethnic art shows more movement and action.

I argue to define six types of ethnic subject matter found in traditional Chinese painting: ethnic portraits 肖像畫 (Fig.1), outdoor recreation scenes (like hunting, skating, cooking and mulberry leaf picking) 戶外活動畫 (Fig.2), tribute paintings 進貢畫 (Fig.3), banquet paintings 設宴畫 (Fig.4), battle scenes paintings 征戰畫 (Fig.5) and religious paintings 宗教畫 (Fig.6). Across these categories, several features are common to ethnic paintings in general. First, they typically contain rich, vivid colors; second, human figures are shown wearing clothing patterns and jewelry associated with their culture; third, scenes take place in spacious settings, either outdoors or in large rooms; and fourth, paintings within certain categories use similar compositions. For example, in most banquet paintings, the emperor and empress are in the center of the image, surrounded by other figures like consorts, servants and ethnic minorities; examples of this structure include *Celebrating Empress Dowager Chongqing's Eightieth Birthday* 崇慶皇太后八旬

萬壽圖, *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴

四事圖, and *A Banquet Given by the Qianlong Emperor for the Leaders of Mongolian*

Dörbet (Choros) Tribes in Chengde Mountain Resort (1754) 萬樹園賜宴圖.

***The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖**

Ethnic art presents the national, social, religious and cultural identity of an ethnic group. Thus, I suggest that ethnic court painting has four main functions: first, to record important events between ethnic groups; second, to record the appearance of the emperor, empress, and concubines through portraits; third, to record political relations between the ethnic groups and imperial household; and lastly, to present the religious interests of the emperor. *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲

鹿 (1760-1779) (Fig.7) can be categorized as both an ethnic portrait and an ethnic

outdoor recreation scene. This scroll depicts a couple cooperating to hunt a deer. The Qianlong emperor holds a bow, while his Uyghur consort Rong hands him an arrow. The same scene is also illustrated on a porcelain in the East Asian collection of the Munich Residenz - however, in this version it is the woman waiting for the man to hand her an arrow. I argue that this porcelain from the Munich Residence also illustrates the Qianlong emperor and his Uyghur consort Rong Fei. Indeed, both the scroll and porcelain belong to ethnic art in the category of traditional Chinese art.

The Uyghur (ئۇيغۇر) people speak the Uyghur language (ئۇيغۇرچە), and are a Turkic ethnic group of Central Asia whose history spans several thousand years.⁸ The story of Rong Fei, or the “Fragrant Concubine” (Xiang Fei) has been drawn upon to represent the ideal Uyghur woman (female) in drama, literature, and entertainment, particularly artistic films and television shows.⁹ The real name of the consort known as Rong is unrecorded in history.¹⁰ The name Iparhan ئىپارخان was associated with her, which translates to “musky” or “fragrant lady.”¹¹ However, historians argue that she was the consort or daughter of Khoja Jihān, the “younger Khoja,” who had an elder brother named Burān ad-Dīn. Burān ad-Dīn opposed the Qianlong emperor after Amursana’s rebellion in the mid-eighteenth century.¹² According to the Qing court record, the consort Rong was born on September 15th of the twelfth year of Yongzheng, which is October 10th, 1734, in the Gregorian calendar. On February 4th of the 25th year of Qianlong (1760), the consort Rong entered the Forbidden City.¹³ Therefore, when she first arrived in the Forbidden City, she was 26 years old and the Qianlong emperor was 23 years older

⁸ James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2007), 9.

⁹ James A. Millward, "A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meanings of The Fragrant Concubine." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 2 (1994): 427-458, 428. The legendary life of Xiangfei became a household story in China. As scholar James Millard states that “In China, the legend of the Fragrant Concubine gained its greatest circulation in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s as a staple of nonofficial histories, romances, and Beijing opera, she has acquired European devotees as well.”

¹⁰ The story between Hsiang-fei 香妃 and Chao-hui’s conquest of Yarkand was cited in Fang Chao-ying, “CHAO-hui 兆惠 (和甫),” in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period (1644-1912)*, 72-75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 429.

¹² Ji Dachun 纪大椿, *The Phantom of the Qianlong’s Consort Rong* (San Lian Shu Dian Press, 2010), 43.

¹³ Millward, “A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong’s Court,” 430.

than she. According to the *Qing Shi Gao Hou Fei Zhuan* 清史稿後妃傳, Rong was promoted from *Guiren* 貴人 to *Pin* 嬪 in May of the 27th year of Qianlong (1762). After six years, she was promoted again from *Rong Pin* 容嬪 to *Rong Fei* 容妃, and she lived with Qianlong for 28 years until her death. She was a third-rank consort of Qianlong.¹⁴ The Qianlong emperor arranged for her a Uyghur chef¹⁵ and a Muslim palace with engravings of texts from the Qu'ran, called *Fangwai guan* 方外觀.

The subject of the scroll *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖 (1760-1779) is a couple's hunting trip.¹⁶ The face of Rong

¹⁴ *Qing Shi Gao Hou Fei Zhuan, Juan 214* 清史稿後妃傳, 卷 214: “容妃和卓氏,回部(新疆南部)臺吉和劄麥女,初入宮號貴人。乾隆二十七年五月,以克襄內職冊封容嬪,三十三年十月晉容妃,五十三年戊申四月十九日卒。” Translation by the author: “The concubine Rong of the Hezhuo family, who is Muslim (from southern Xinjiang). The daughter of Khoja Jihan. She was given the title of Guiren when she first came to the imperial family. In May of the 27th year of Qianlong, because of her good behavior, she became Rong Ping. In October of the 33rd year she was promoted to Rong Fei. She died on April 19th of the 53rd year of Qianlong. Rong and Zhuo Shi, the returning section (southern Xinjiang), Taiji and Zha Mai, were first admitted to the palace.”

¹⁵ Ji Dachun 紀大椿, *The Phantom of the Qianlong's Consort Rong*, 56. “容妃有自己的清真廚師, 名叫努兒瑪特, 可能是 Nur Memet, 估計是領銜的大廚, 手下必有幾位動手操作的高級廚師。廚師們日常進獻的食品有“谷倫杞”, 回子饽饽和滴非雅則等品種。谷倫杞 gyrych 是稻米制作的主食, 當是抓飯 polo 一類, 回子饽饽顯然是維吾爾族傳統的烤饊 nan 一類面食, 滴非雅則, 很可能是皮牙子 piyaz 洋蔥為主料制作的副食品。” Translation by the author: “The consort Rong has her own halal chef, named Nuer Mart or Nur Memet. It is estimated that he was the head chef, overseeing several other hands-on senior chefs. These chefs included Guan Lun, Hui Ziyi and Dian Feiya. *Gu lunqi* is the staple food of rice production. When it is a kind of pilaf or polu, Huizi 饽饽 is obviously a Uyghur traditional roast 饊 nan-type pasta, and was probably similar to pizza.”

¹⁶ The Palace Museum Beijing 故宮博物院, *The Emperor Qianlong and Consort Rong Hunting the Deer* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖, <http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233717.html>, accessed 8th November, 2018. 這裡參考了故宮博物院官網的論述: 《乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖》卷, 清乾隆, 紙

Fei and the Qianlong emperor has been identified as the work of Castiglione.¹⁷ In this painting, the Qianlong emperor is shooting an arrow from his bow and riding on a steed; the deer hears the sound and falls; the royal concubine follows the emperor closely, which portrays a royal harmony between husband and wife. This scroll is painted in luxuriant color with fine and smooth lines. The picture shows the Qianlong emperor in the prime of his life. The concubine is young and beautiful with white skin, and they both wear elaborate royal clothing. The scroll is set within a landscape of rocks, trees, and flowers. From the positions of the two riders, the audience can feel the speed of the horses. The pain of the deer is conveyed by the vivid red blood flowing from the arrow. The short distance between the two horses and the deer shows the couple's excellent skill at horseback riding, a skill which may have been learned by other Manchu concubines of the Qianlong emperor but was rarely painted and presented by imperial court artists.

本，設色，縱 37.6cm，橫 195.5cm。引首乾隆皇帝題：“威弧獲鹿”。此手卷描繪的是乾隆皇帝騎馬在秋季的木蘭圍場狩獵的場景。畫中的乾隆皇帝身跨駿馬、拉弓放矢，遠處的奔鹿應聲而倒，皇帝身旁的皇妃騎馬緊緊追隨侍奉，在關鍵時刻將一只只羽箭奉上，演繹了皇家版的夫唱婦隨。作品設色艷麗華美，筆觸細膩，風格富貴，為清代宮廷畫師所繪。圖中所繪的乾隆皇帝形象正值壯年，舉手投足強健有力；所繪皇妃年輕貌美，皮膚白皙，通過發式與衣服花紋及面部特征判斷，圖中所繪皇妃很有可能就是來自西域的容妃，也即傳說中的香妃。My translation: *The Emperor Qianlong and Consort Rong Hunting the Deer* was painted Qianlong period, color on paper, vertical is 37.6cm, horizontal is 195.5cm. Emperor Qianlong's written title as: “*Wei Gu Huo Lu*.” This hand scroll depicts the scene of the Qianlong Emperor riding a horse in the autumn of the Mulan hunting ground. The Qianlong Emperor in the painting spanned the horse and pulled the bow. The galloping deer in the distance fell down. The emperor's horse-riding was closely followed by the service. At the crucial moment, a feathered arrow was presented, and the royal interpretation between the Qianlong emperor and consort Rong was performed. This is a version of the husband leads the singing with the wife accompanying him. This artwork is bright and colorful, with delicate brush strokes and rich styles, painted by the court painters of the Qing Dynasty. The image of Emperor Qianlong painted in the picture is in the prime of his life. He is very strong and powerful; and his wife is young and beautiful, and her skin is fair. Judging from the hair style, the clothing pattern and facial features, the concubine is likely to come from the Western Region 西域, which is the legendary concubine Xiang Fei.”

¹⁷ Jan Stuart, *Empresses of China's Forbidden City 1644-1912* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 168.

Moreover, the short distance between the consort Rong and Qianlong proves that her horsemanship is as good as his. She can easily follow his steps and hand him the arrow in a single movement. She rides a bluish-white horse and holds a yellow bridle that matches her clothes. Her horse is decorated with a gold chain at its mouth and green jade on its saddle. Judging from its color and size, this horse could be the *pun yu cong* 歆玉骢 horse, which was a gift from a Uyghur leader named Ejiboergen 霍集博尔根.¹⁸ The Qianlong emperor's horse is white and brown with strands of black in its mane - this could be the *xing wen lin* 星文麟 horse, which was a gift from a Kazakh leader named Tulibai 图里拜.¹⁹

The two horses are the same size, and both are adults. Under their saddles, they carry elegant carpets of the same design. The stirrups and stirrup bars are made of gold and inlaid with red and green hardstones. Unlike the Qianlong emperor, whose right foot is visible on his golden stirrup, the consort Rong hides her feet behind her robes, as Muslim women were forbidden to show their feet. While handing the arrow to the Qianlong emperor, she keeps her eyes fixed on him with a slight smile. The Qianlong emperor raises his right hand to grasp the arrow from the consort Rong, and the jade thumb ring on his right hand identifies him as an emperor. The thumb ring was originally worn by Manchu archers to protect their thumbs, but it later became an important fashion item in the Manchu court. Rong Fei does not have rings, but wears a pair of earrings, a

¹⁸ Guo Wenzhong, "From the Manchu Archive and Art History Material to Discuss the Relationship between the Qing Dynasty and Kazakh People - A Study of *The Kazakh Presenting Horses in Tribute*" *China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House* no. 3 (2018): 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

triangle necklace with red strings, a robe with a waistcoat and an overskirt. I think that her necklace could be a *tumar* (تۆمار), a Uyghur amulet that contains several chapters from the Qu'ran and was worn by the Uyghur from childhood (Fig.8). Her costume appears similar to the one she wears in another portrait, *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖. In this image, the Qianlong emperor wears a brown robe with a fur collar, and a gold belt lined with sachets. Both wear a black court hat with red tassels on top.

Manchu women were rarely shown in the imperial hunting scenes. In fact, the consort Rong may have been the only one. Unlike Rong Fei, other Manchu concubines are typically pictured with classical Chinese antiques, scrolls, books, fans, and teacups in an elegant Chinese garden. For example, the *Consort of the Qianlong Emperor and the Future Jiaqing Emperor in His Boyhood* 乾隆帝妃與嘉慶帝幼年像 (1760s) (Fig.9), probably painted by Castiglione, depicts Jiaqing's mother holding him as if he will fall to the ground. The consort Ling, whose name was Weijia, hides behind the screen showing half of her face, and she wears a Han-style robe. She was also a consort of the Qianlong emperor, later becoming the empress. In contrast with the consort Rong riding on horseback with her husband, Weijia is shown performing the duties of a mother while standing in a traditional Chinese garden. In this garden, there are symbolic plants such as bamboo and *mudan* (peony). In Daoism, bamboo represents strength in the face of adversity. It also used by Confucians to describe a virtuous "gentleman" *junzi* 君子. Peonies symbolize the imperial rank, wealth, and royalty, and are honored as the "king of

flowers” in Han culture.²⁰ In addition, *Ladies Enjoying Antiquities in the Eleventh Month* from *The Pursuit of Pleasures in the Course of the Seasons* 月曼清遊冊之十一月圍爐博古頁 (1723-1735) (Fig.10) shows court ladies’ activities during the Yongzheng era, which include writing poetry, viewing antiques and studying paintings; Confucian-influenced pastimes that were common subjects of literati painting.

The consort Rong wore her hair in distinctive twin braids. Her braids were excavated from her tomb in August 1979.²¹ The excavated braids appear to be a similar length to those portrayed in *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip*. Styling their hair in many braids is an old tradition among Uyghur women. Even today, female Uyghur continue this tradition, and sometimes even engage in hair-braiding competitions. These kinds of hair-braiding are Uyghur hair styles and are not seen in portraits of Manchu or Han Chinese women in the mid to late Qing dynasty. For instance, *Yinzheng’s Twelve Ladies*, possibly by Zhang Zhen or his son Zhang Weibang, illustrates twelve Manchu ladies’ daily lives in a *meiren tu* (beauty painting).²² Instead of braids, all twelve beauties wear a stylish upswept hairdo with hairpins. *Seated Lady Holding a Fan* by Mangguri, a Mongolian-Manchu banner painter, also shows an upswept hairstyle with a wooden hairpin.

²⁰ Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2006), 155.

²¹ Ji Dachun 纪大椿, *The Phantom of the Qianlong’s Consort Rong*, 27.

²² Stuart, *Empresses of China’s Forbidden City*, 168.

Xu Ke 徐珂 (1869- 1928) recorded the Uyghur costumes during the Qianlong region in his *Qingbai Leichao Fushi* 清稗類鈔服飾 (1916):

The costumes of the Uyghur in Xinjiang are called *chapan* (پەلتو) and have round and narrow cuffs. The men's garment has lapels on the right-hand side with a belt, while the female garment has a collar instead of lapels. This design makes it easier for women to nurse their babies. The men's hats are embroidered in gold. During the winter, they wear hats of fur and suede. Women's clothes are made entirely of animal skin and wool during the summer and winter and are decorated with the feathers of peacocks and other birds. Their veils are called *chun mu ban*, and their kerchiefs are called *cha qi ba shen* (hair in two braids). Rich Uyghur wear a piece of red silk twisted into a spike, and adorn themselves with fine beads, gems, and corals. They wear a type of high boot called *ordeklik* (ئورۇمە), and low boots called *paypaq* (پايپاق). Their shoes, called *kexi*, are made of leather. Before entering a mosque, they must take off their shoes.²³

The flower pattern on consort Rong's costume can be further identified as *bādām* floral 巴旦 (بادام), which is an almond flower pattern. Uyghur artists have used the *bādām* pattern not only because of its profound significance in Uyghur folklore, but also for its smooth, rounded, dynamic and beautiful lines, as well as a usage of color that is full of religious and cultural meaning.²⁴ In Central Asian culture, *bādām* is a popular nut and a daily food supplement. A painted Kucha funeral box dating from the 6-7th century, held by the Musée Guimet, displays the same *bādām* pattern on its surface, with gold outlines

²³ Xu Ke 徐珂, *The Qingbao Leichao* 清稗類鈔 (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 2010), 6158.

Translation by the author. The original Chinese text reads: 新疆纏回謂衣曰袷袂，圓袂而窄袷。男右袷攔帶，女有領無袷，囊首而下，生子則當膺開襟，便乳哺也。內襯長襦，下及膝。男子華冠，鏤金刻繡，冬以貂、獺皮為沿，夏以絨絨女子冬夏皆用皮，前後插孔雀、文翠毛尾為飾。其障紗謂之春木班，絡發謂之恰齊把什。富者結紅絲成穗，上綴細珠、寶石、珊瑚諸物。靴之高抵者謂之玉代克，平抵者謂之排巴克，履謂之克西，皆牛馬革為之。入寺禮拜，必解履門外。

²⁴ Yu Jieying 于杰影, "The Study of the Uyghur Pattern Bādām 維吾爾族巴旦木花紋探究" *China Textile Leader*, no. 11 (2015): 90, 88.

and a filling of black pigment. The *bādām* pattern is “S”-shaped and composed of two parts, leaves and flowers, recalling the almond tree. In Samarkand and Khujand, *bādām* were well-known as *bādāmcha*, *āftāba* (jug) or *darakht* (tree).²⁵ The *bādām* pattern was also typical of Central Asian Turkic cultures, including the Uyghur tribes.

A scene very similar to the one shown in *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* can be seen on a porcelain in the East Asian Collection of the Munich Residenz (Fig.11). The museum label dated this porcelain Kangxi period (1662-1722). As this is an example of export porcelain, the artist might have been working from Chinese paintings or prints. I argue that this porcelain was made during the Qianlong period, and was made after the painting *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* was painted, because this porcelain and *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* painting have similar composition, same numbers of figures (one man and one woman), same animal (deer), similar gestures of the figures, similar style of landscape, and even the different colors of the two horses presented similar with the painting (one bright color and one dark color). These similarities were not a coincidence. The porcelain artist likely saw the copies or imitations of the painting so that the artist designed and imitated something similar to *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip*.

In this version, the face of the consort Rong is painted with simple lines, and her costume has lost its Uyghur pattern. Her right hand is extended to accept an arrow from her husband. One arrow is already being shot at the deer from a very short distance. The

²⁵ Dani Ahmad Hasan, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia* (Multiple History Series. Paris: Unesco, 1992), 665.

Qianlong emperor holds an arrow in his right hand, with his left hand on his back, waiting to take over from his wife. His hat appears similar to the one he wears in the painting by Castiglione, having two layers and a tassel on top. The porcelain painting also shares a similar composition with Castiglione's scroll painting: a landscape scene serves as the background with trees and elaborately-detailed rocks; the deer runs in front of their two horses, while Rong and the emperor ride close beside each other, working together to shoot the deer. Just as in the scroll, the two horses on the porcelain are different in color, one black and one white, but are equal in size. However, the techniques employed on this porcelain show the artist's lack of training compared to Castiglione. The patterns on the lip are stauros 十字結 and lotus 荷花.

Another image of the consort Rong can be found in *Celebrating Empress Dowager Chongqing's Eightieth Birthday* 崇慶皇太后八旬萬壽圖 (Fig.12) by Yao Wenhan, Zhou Ben, Yi Lantai. The consort Rong is seated in an auditorium with other consorts of high rank (Fig.13).²⁶ Chongqing is shown at her banquet on a higher platform. Beside her is her son, the Qianlong emperor. This scene shows Chongqing's great and great-great grandsons playing before her, while other male descendants of hers perform a dance.²⁷ Unlike other consorts, consort Rong wears a high-peaked Uyghur style hat and a red garment under a pink jacket adorned with jewels. Her hat makes her distinct from the

²⁶ “*Celebrating Empress Dowager Chongqing's Eightieth Birthday* 崇慶皇太后八旬萬壽圖” *The Palace Museum Beijing* 故宫博物院, accessed November 8th, 2019, <http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/232815.html?hl=%E5%85%AB%E6%97%AC%E4%B8%87%E5%AF%BF%E7%9B%9B%E5%85%B8>.

²⁷ Stuart, *Empresses of China's Forbidden City*, 85.

other concubines that surround her. This kind of woolen hat was part of the ancient traditional costume of the Uyghur people of Central Asia. Archaeological evidence shows that this kind of hat was made 3800 - 4000 years ago. In the Lop Nur (Xiaohe mudi 小河墓地) cemetery, a brown and white woolen hat with feathers was discovered (Fig.14), measuring 27 cm in height and 22 cm in diameter.²⁸ These hats were not a part of traditional Manchu women's costume; their function and design were derived from the unique environment and culture background of the Uyghur people. The Musée Guimet has hats of similar design on two colored sculptures of figures wearing such hats labeled "Foreign Caravan" from the North China Tang dynasty in the 7th century (Fig.15-16). The female foreigner wears a yellow and green robe with a large, tall woolen hat on her head. A similar hat is also worn by a servant of the consort Rong in the painting *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖 by Castiglione (Fig.17). The servant, wearing a woolen hat and a red dress, stands at the back of the scene talking to her host. This kind of hat was adopted by the Uyghur people several thousand years ago and is still worn today.

When the painting *Celebrating Empress Dowager Chongqing's Eightieth Birthday* 崇慶皇太后八旬萬壽圖 was made, Rong Fei was at the age of 38.²⁹ She is older here than in any other images of her. No longer wearing her two braids, she has

²⁸ Adil Abu, "Several Felt Hats Excavated in Xinjiang Thousands of Years Ago," *The Institution of Archeology CASS*, accessed 7th February, 2019, <http://www.kaogu.cn/cn/kaoguyuandi/kaogusuiji/2018/0419/61724.html?1524124993>.

²⁹ Stuart, *Empresses of China's Forbidden City*, 155.

hidden her hair under her hat. With wrinkles on her peaceful face, she watches the young children playing in front of Chongqing. In *Chang Chun Yuan Tu* 長春園圖 (Fig.18),³⁰ which means “In the Garden of Eternal Spring,” the consort Rong is shown standing next to the Qianlong emperor in a western-style hat and dress.³¹ They are in front of the Fang Wai Guan 方外觀 (Belvedere) in the Yuan Ming Yuan. With them are two male attendants, one with a cup of tea and the other holding a canopy over the emperor to protect him from sunshine. A woman is also present, holding a *cuju* 蹴鞠 (traditional Chinese football). Another painting attributed to Castiglione, entitled *Xiang Fei rong zhuang xiang* 香妃戎裝像 (Fig.19) shows the consort Rong in European armor.³² It was recorded as an oil painting by an anonymous court artist during the Qing dynasty in the catalog *Emperor Ch'ien-lung's Grand Cultural Enterprise* published by the National Palace Museum of Taipei. This portrait was also displayed in the Yu De Tang 浴德堂 in 1914.³³ A reproduction of the painting is displayed outside the consort Rong's tomb in Kashgar, which has become a popular tourist attraction. Another painting of Rong Fei in

³⁰ The western manner of the consort Rong was cited in Christopher M. S. Johns, *China and the Church Chinoiserie in Global Context* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 136.

³¹ Millward, “A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court,” 440.

³² *Ibid.*, 445.

³³ Ji Dachun 纪大椿, *The Phantom of the Qianlong's Consort Rong*, 27. This portrait was displayed in the Yu De Tang 浴德堂 was also cited in Fang Chao-ying, “CHAO-hui 兆惠 (和甫),” in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943-44), 72-75.

a very different style is an oil portrait held at the Hong Kong Museum of Art. (Fig.20)³⁴ A young woman is seated facing the viewer, wearing a Manchu costume decorated with butterflies and flowers. These decorations may be connected the legend of Rong's body fragrance attracting butterflies. To audiences, she looked like a Han or Manchu woman, but her high nose and deep-set eyes are suggestive of Turkish features. Some have argued that because this painting is a realistic portrait of a palace woman, and uses both exotic themes and media, that it relates to the consort Rong. However, these debates ignored the decorative elements of her costume. The butterfly and flower embroideries imply the identity of the subject because it was related to the consort Rong's legendary story that she could attract butterflies to her fragrant body. Indeed, this subject was also presented in later novels such as *The Book and the Sword* (1955-1956) by Jin Yong, in Peking opera *Xiang Fei Hen* and also television drama *My Fair Princess* (1997-1999).

***Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖**

The tribute painting is a subject unique to ethnic art.³⁵ One example of this subject is *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬 (Fig.21), which was painted in 1757 by Castiglione. Castiglione's inscription reads "Respectfully painted by your servitor Lang Shining," and with it is a seal that reads "Chen Shining Gonghua." There is

³⁴ Hong Kong Museum of Art 香港博物館, *A Female Portrait* 婦女像, accessed February 7th, 2019, https://hk.art.museum/zh_TW/web/ma/collection03.html.

³⁵ Mark Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World* (New York, NY: Longman, 2009), 127. Mark Elliott claims that under the tribute system, the emperor did not directly rule these regions, and there were no Qing officials settled there. Therefore, on the one hand, the tribute system provided the Qianlong Emperor a pleasurable exchange of unique things across Inner Asia, East and Southeast. On the other hand, the line between "domestic" and "foreign" was blurred and hard to identify within the tribute system. There was a tradition of distinguishing the "domestic" as "inner," and "foreign" as "barbarian" or "outer." The inner refers to people who were civilized, and the outer refers to ethnic groups who were uncivilized, and were "threatened, abused, and insulted." If the "outer" were to deny the authority of the Qing emperor, the emperor considered it urgent to conquer them.

also an inscription by the Qianlong emperor: “In the far west, clouds gallop away,” and a seal that reads “Qianlong yu bi 乾隆御筆 (the handwriting of the Qianlong emperor).”

Castiglione divides this painting into two parts: the Manchu court officers with the Qianlong emperor, and the three Kazakhs who offer the horses. These two parts are separated not only in space, but also by their background setting, clothes, facial elements and cultural characteristics. The function of this painting was not only to chronicle an important historical event, but also to illustrate the ethnic identities of the Manchu and the Kazakh. On the right side of the painting is the emperor sitting on an elegant chair, with a painted landscape screen behind him (Fig. 22). He looks straight ahead, with his hands on his legs. He wears a peach-colored court robe with a court hat and a waistband. He has two servants standing on his left side and three on his right. One of his servants holds a cup of tea, and another holds a bow and a quiver of arrows. Near the Kazakhs are two court officers, who may be introducing the Kazakhs to the emperor. The three Kazakhs wear red peaked hats and simply-designed robes. Beside them are the three large, healthy tribute horses.

The Qing region grew to encompass an enormous area during the Qianlong era because of the tribute system. The Qianlong emperor once declared that “Korea has for generations been our dynasty’s humble servant; among the tributary nations its significance is minor.”³⁶ Thus, Korea’s independence was less important than its tributes to the Qing government. The tribute system also applied to Siam, Cambodia, Liuqiu (Ryukyu, now Okinawa), Laos, Burma, Vietnam, Luzon and a large number of ethnic

³⁶ Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong*, 126.

groups from Central Asia, such as the Kazakh, Badakhshan, Uyghur, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Dzungar (before 1759).³⁷ Ethnic groups and foreign traders presented cultural treasures and ethnic products from their homeland to the Qianlong government under the tribute system. What was the tribute system during the Qianlong reign? The tribute system was “the exchange of gifts with ritualized visits” and “this system was between the superior (the emperor, China) and inferior (other people, other countries),” writes historian Mark Elliott.³⁸ *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* is not only a realistic painting, but also a historical document. It documents the tribute system between the Kazakh and the Qianlong government.

Mark Elliott identifies four poses of the Qianlong emperor under the tribute system: waiting, bending, giving, and eating. First, waiting describes the emperor’s audience, who arrive and wait for the emperor to appear; second, bending describes the visitor’s need to show their respect to their emperor by kneeling, kowtow or genuflection; third, giving refers to the tribute itself, in which minorities present various ethnic products to the emperor; lastly, eating refers to the great banquet provided by the Qianlong emperor to his guests, the ethnic leaders. These four poses are all documented in Castiglione’s paintings, such as *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, *A Banquet Given by the Qianlong Emperor for the Leaders of Mongolian Dörbet (Choros) Tribes in Chengde Mountain Resort* 萬樹園賜宴圖, and *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖. In the latter painting,

³⁷ Ibid., 126.

³⁸ Ibid., 128.

waiting, giving and bending are shown by Castiglione. On the right side of this scroll is the Qianlong emperor sitting on his chair and waiting for his Fergana horses³⁹, while on the left side are the Kazakhs, giving their horses to the emperor and kneeling before him.

Most art historians have not fully understood this painting because they are not knowledgeable about the Kazakh people. The history of the Kazakh can be traced back to the Neolithic age, three to four thousand years ago. According to archaeologists, the Afanasievo culture was founded in Kazakhstan in 3000 BC and the Andronovo culture originated in 2000 BC. The ancient Greek authors Herodotus and Ptolemaeus recorded Kazakhs as Scythen or Scythians, and the ancient Persians knew them as Sarks. However, in Chinese history books, the Kazakh were called Serbs. The Kazakh people speak an Indo-European language and are related to European Caucasians. Chinese historian Yan Shigu writes that the *wusun* people (the Kazakh) lived in the Yili river basin around the second century BC. They had red hair and blue eyes and, Yan Shigu claims, looked like macaques.⁴⁰ According to anthropologists, 23% of Kazakh people have facial features of Mongolian origin, with blue eyes and blonde hair. The two Kazakh men pictured in *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* have brown eyes and high noses. One of them has blonde hair, concurrent with the anthropological evidence. Other Central Asian ethnic groups, the Manchu, Mongol and Uyghur, do not have a gene for blonde hair.

What does “Kazakh” قازاقتار mean and why did they offer their horses as tribute, rather than other goods like spices, clothing or fruit? The ethnologist Geng Shimin writes:

³⁹ Fergana is the capital of Fergana Region in Uzbekistan.

⁴⁰ Geng Shimin, “Three Thousand Years of Kazakh History - New Book Introduction” *Journal of Yili Normal University*, no. 1(2009), 1.

“There are many explanations of what ‘Kazakh (or Qazaq)’ means. I think it means ‘free people,’ which has the same origin with the Cossack class of Russia.” Before the Kazakh connected with the government of the Qianlong emperor, the Cypriot and Wusun people (Kazakh) lived in the Yili River basin, and it was recorded in Chinese historical documents that they belonged to the nomadic nations of this area. This group of Kazakhs were the earliest Kazakh people in China.⁴¹ After the mid-16th century, there were three Kazakh kingdoms: the large kingdom *Uly*, the middle kingdom *Orta*, and the small kingdom *Kishi*. “Kingdom” in the Kazakh language is *Jüz*. There were many tribes within these three *Jüz*. The main tribes that made up the Great *Jüz* were Uysun, Qangly, Dulat, Alban, Suwan, Jalair, Usty, Srgeli, Chanyshkly, Choprashti, etc. The middle *Jüz* included Kerei, Naiman, Arghyn, Qypchaq, Qongyrat, Waq and so on. In the small *Jüz* were tribes such as Alchin, Jedgir, Kerder, and Adai.

When the Qing Emperor Qianlong (1736-1795) conquered the Dzungar Khanate 准格爾汗國⁴² in the middle of the 18th century, he destroyed the threat from the eastern area and provided a safe area for the Kazakh people moving into northern Xinjiang.⁴³ Under this circumstance, the Kazakh people bent their knees to the Qianlong emperor.

Like other nomadic peoples, the Kazakh people are very friendly and hospitable. There are three types of guests in the Kazakh culture: first, the “Guest of God,” the

⁴¹ Ibid., 5.

⁴² There are Qing court paintings depicts Dzungar presenting horses to the Qianlong emperor, such as the *The Dzungar Presenting Horses in Tribute* 准格爾貢馬圖手卷 (1748) in the The Musée de l'Homme Paris France.

⁴³ Geng Shimin, “A Historical Research on Kazakh - Kazakh Kingdom and Kazakh Minorities,” *Journal of Yili Normal University*, no. 1 (2009), 4.

overnight guest who accidentally passes by their yurts; second, guests from afar; and third, uninvited guests. The 18th century German ethnologist Johann Georgie, in his book *The People of All Nations*, wrote that the Kazakh “are very friendly to guests from other lands and do everything they can to entertain. They specialize in slaughtering sheep for their guests and hand-pick the meat for them.”⁴⁴ These attitudes created a harmonious relationship between the Kazakh and the Qianlong emperor.

The traditional clothing of the Kazakh is widely varied and includes many distinct pieces. Women's headwear includes the *kiymeshek* and the *shylawysh*. In the Alepban tribe, men wear curled hats of white felt, and girls wear suede hats called *qungdyz boerik*. Horse's hides and hair were used for making leather coats, boots, socks, carpets, pullovers and gloves. Xu Ke 徐珂 recorded the Kazakh costumes during the Qianlong era in his *Qingbai Leichao Fushi* 清稗類鈔服飾:

There is no difference between the rich and poor in the clothes they wear. The *chanpan* is a coat with round, narrow sleeves and no knots, which comes to the knees. The men's clothes have a left-side shirt in order to cover their chest, and strings with a belt engraved with gold, silver, and embedded with corals and various precious stones. On their left side hangs a leather bag, and at their right side is a knife. The women's clothes are quite long. The chest area is made entirely of gold silk, adorned with a ring button. They also wear a bag to carry snacks. Both the male and female clothes use black color as first choice, and white color as second choice. Even during the summer time, they like to cover their bodies with clothing. During the spring and winter, they use fur to keep warm, which in Turkic is called *tong*. Rich people use mink, otter, (shackles, scorpions) and lynx. Poor people use lambskin, white clothes, or multicolored clothes. Some short coats only have sleeves but do not have collars. The women's skirts are long enough to reach the ground. Kazakh men wear a high leather hat with a kerchief inside, and women wear a wide leather hat.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 3.

After marriage, they wear a floral turban. After one or two years, they start to wear a white cloth called *que luo zhi*. It is made of white fabric, about two feet long, and shaped like a bag. Their headscarf extends to their chin. Only their faces can be seen under it. It is easy to see that it is a woman's garment.⁴⁵

Kazakh people also eat the meat of horses and drink their milk during the cold winter.

The Kazakh have been a nomadic people since ancient times. It goes without saying that livestock plays an important role in their lives. The Kazakh people believe that each type of livestock has its own god: Choban Ata is the sheep god; Oambar Ata is the horse god; Zengi Baba is the cattle god; and Oysul Qara is the camel god.⁴⁶ An old prayer shows the Kazakh's tradition of worshiping Qambar Ata:

Qambar Ata, the Horse Patron,
May God make every wish come true!
May there always be many mares,
May koumiss always be in abundance.
May all children be healthy,
All relatives live in concord
And our alliance be stable
God the Great!⁴⁷

This poem shows that worshiping Qambar Ata the horse god is an important religious ritual for the Kazakh. The Kazakh not only worship Qambar Ata, but also treat

⁴⁵ Xu Ke 徐珂, *The Qingbao Leichao* 清稗類鈔, 6154. Translation by the author. The original Chinese text reads: 哈薩克之男女, 所服之衣, 貴賤不分。曰袷, 圓襟窄袖, 不結紐, 長及於膝。男蔽前衿, 以左衽掩腋, 束以皮帶, 帶刻金銀, 嵌珊瑚、珍寶諸石, 左懸皮囊, 右佩小刀。婦衣較長, 當胸純以金絲編緒, 綴以環鈕, 衣之前後繫小囊, 盛零物, 便於取用, 續續如也。男女衣皆以黑色為上, 白為次。雖盛夏, 裋襦襜復, 以蔽日光。春冬則外襲皮裘, 厥名曰恫。富者以貂、獺、猞猁諸皮, 貧者羊裘澤身, 襯白布及五彩。裋襦有袖而無衿。女之屬衣, 下圍之如繞領, 其長曳地。男子著皮帔高帽, 內襯幪頭。女之皮帽, 方頂闊檐。嫁後, 則以花巾斜紮於頭, 逾一二載, 其姑為易戴白布面衣, 曰雀洛汁。其制以白布一方, 斜紮如袋, 巾首至於頰, 而露其目, 上覆白布圈, 後帔襜然, 下垂肩背, 長二尺餘。望而知為婦裝也。

⁴⁶ Geng Shimin, "A Historical Research on Kazakh," 5.

⁴⁷ Toktabai A. U, "Horse Cult of the Kazakhs." (Translated title) Originally published as "Кульť коня у казахов." Almaty, 2004, 25. Translation by Toktabai A. U.

their horse herders in a special way to show their respect. A special room in a yurt would be given to the Kazakh horse herder (*tör*). Rich people (*bailar*) also marry their daughters to the horse herders so that the herders will protect their horses. The three main colors of the Kazakh horses were piebald, bay and black. The three horses in the painting *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* are a black horse, a white horse, and a mixed bay-white - piebald horse. The white horse has special meanings and functions in the Kazakh culture. Kazakh people say: *aieldin kunasi tek boz bienin sutine tusse gana ketedi* “the sins of a girl who is not a virgin can only be washed away and forgiven after she bathes in white mare’s milk.”⁴⁸ In addition, there is another Kazakh phrase: *sheshendi boz biyenin sutine shomyldyratyn zhaiyin bar* (bathe your parents in white mare’s milk to show that you respect and love them).⁴⁹ This is based on a Turkic epic in which a hero named Alpamys bathes his parents in mare’s milk because they suffered while he was at war. The Kazakh people gave one of their most valuable white horses to the Qianlong emperor.

Besides the horses, Castiglione presents Manchu and Kazakh cultures differently in the painting. Kazakhs have a close relationship with animals, but Manchu are more interested in elegant gardens, ink, brushes, books, tea and art. They also have such a close relationship with each other that there is less space between them. The Kazakhs stand on open ground, without the beautifully intricate rocks, trees and furniture of a typical Chinese garden. The Qianlong emperor also appreciated animal life, such as camels, deer, foxes, tigers, wolves, bears, leopards, wild asses, and of course wild horses. The

⁴⁸ Toktabai, A. “Phenomenon of a Horse in Traditional Culture of Kazakh People,” (PhD diss., University of Almaty, Kazakhstan, 2010), 29.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 228.

Qianlong emperor believed that a real Manchu should not be without fauna and flora, which endow Manchu men with unlimited strength and energy. This is alluded to in the painting by the brown fur collars of the emperor and his servants. By contrast, the Kazakhs wear no fur. As the Qianlong emperor said “Established on a grand scale, it promulgates the rule of great kings... Such a propitious location will last forever, generation after generation. It surpasses and humbles all [other] places and has united [lands] within and [lands] without.”⁵⁰ As the great king of the Manchu, the Qianlong emperor wished to present himself also as a ruler of animals, like tigers, bears, and leopards. Therefore, the unique aesthetics and environments made the Manchu stand out from other ethnic groups. Even though they adopted Confucianism and Buddhism, they would never have become fully “Han.” For the Manchu, there was a power forever.

The first Kazakh (Fig.23)., wearing a blue robe, kneels on the ground with his hand outstretched and his head below the court officers’ feet. He is the only person kneeling piously in this manner, and this creates a dramatic contrast with the emperor, who is seated on an elegant chair several inches above the ground. Even though the blue-robed Kazakh is kneeling to the emperor, he is still holding the horse’s reins in his hands. He must know that his horse is wild and he needs to control it in front of the Qianlong emperor. He cannot take a risk in this moment.

His face bears a serious expression, with frowning eyebrows and an unsmiling mouth. It is hard to tell if he is overwhelmed or disappointed because he must give the horses in tribute. The big white horse beside him emphasizes that he is even smaller than

⁵⁰ Jonathan Schlesinger, *A World Trimmed with Fur: Wild Things, Pristine Places, and the Natural Fringes of Qing Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 2.

the other two Kazakhs, though because all three wear similar clothes, their rank might be the same. It is difficult to tell who is the leader of their group. Behind the white horse is another Kazakh holding the white and bay horse (Fig.24). He is looking back at his companion and seems to be talking to him, perhaps whispering. He wears a black robe with blue and white accents. He has protruding eyes, a high nose, thick eyebrows and a short beard. He also is holding the horse's reins in one hand, his other hand concealed in his robe. His body language suggests that he is nervous and uneasy in this moment. He knows he is not in his homeland, where he can ride horses and be a free man. Thus, he is afraid to make eye contact with the emperor, looking back at his companion instead. His companion is also looking at him and seems to say something. He wears a pink robe, simple boots and a red peaked hat. He also has a high nose, thick eyebrows and a short beard. These two Kazakhs stand behind the white horse, far away from the Manchu. Castiglione places the three Kazakhs and their horses in a distinct, separate space that represents Kazakh ethnicity and identity. The opposite side of the image is devoted to the Manchu, reflecting their half-Manchu and half-Han ethnicity.

There is no record of the names of the three Kazakhs in this painting. The two Kazakhs depicted in another scroll, *Illustrations of Tribute Missions* 職貢圖 by Xie Sui 謝遂, are similar to the Kazakhs in Castiglione's painting.⁵¹ The figures are painted with

⁵¹ The Chinese script reads: “哈薩克在準噶爾西北，即漢大宛也，有東西二部，自古未通。中國乾隆二十二年，東哈薩克之阿布賴、阿布爾、班必特、西哈薩克之阿必裏斯等先後率衆歸誠，各遣其子侄赴京瞻仰，並進獻馬匹，遂隸版圖。其俗以遊牧為生，亦知耕種頭目等戴紅白方高頂皮邊帽，衣長袖錦衣，絲繖，革鞮。婦人辮髮雙垂，耳貫珠環，錦鑲長袖衣，冠履與男子同。其民人男婦則多氈帽褐衣而已。”

a sense of three-dimensional space, and the man's face is illustrated with dark outlines and brown shading to create a yellowish skin tone. The male and female Kazakh wear similar robes and hats, and the man's robe has a belt. Above them is a short inscription describing who the Kazakh are.

***Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆皇帝和他十二個妃子肖像畫**

Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts 乾隆皇帝和他十二個

妃子肖像 (Fig.25) was painted by Castiglione and other court painters beginning in 1736, and is held at the Cleveland Museum of Art.⁵² Scholar Ju-Hsi Chou claims this painting is “one of the best-known and well-studied paintings in the museum's Chinese collection.”⁵³ Most of the existing research on this scroll has focused on four main aspects: first, the artists and their painting techniques; second, the personal history and family background of each figure; third, the various inscriptions; and lastly, the corrections made to the scroll. Therefore, this thesis will not discuss these aspects further. Having closely studied the scroll at the Cleveland Museum of Art, I will instead focus on the themes of Manchu ethnic identity displayed in the scroll.

At the front of the scroll are dragons crawling between mist and clouds (Fig.26), which represent the emperor surrounded by his consorts; this begins the scroll with a tone that is both mysterious and regal. There are three dragons, skillfully painted, and each moves in a different direction. The clouds are formed with blooming ink and gold

⁵² Ju-hsi Chou, *Silent Poetry: Chinese Paintings from the Collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2015), 434.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 435.

outlines. The bodies of the dragons are made up of fan-like shapes, painted with thin black and gold lines. A darker color is used to highlight the eyes, claws and whiskers. The first human figure in the scroll is the Qianlong emperor (Fig.27), with an inscription that reads: “The auspicious day of the eighth month in the first year of emperor Qianlong.” He wears a yellow dragon robe with a fur collar, and a red and black hat topped with a large baroque pearl. Where did this giant pearl come from? In the Qing court, most pearls were reserved for imperial clothing and jewelry. The pearl was a symbol of the Manchu imperial household. Pearls for the court were collected in the Manchu homeland, and transported near the Korean border via the Amur River in northern China. The trading of pearls was illegal, as only freshwater pearls were picked as gifts to the emperor from Ula.⁵⁴ The Qianlong emperor himself also described Manchu’s homeland as a productive space and a “natural wonderland” in his *Ode to Mukden*. He writes:

Majestic Mukden was founded
Along the north bank of the Shen waters
Established on a grand scale,
it promulgates the rule of great kings...
Such a propitious location will last forever,
generation after generation,
It surpasses and humbles all other places
and has united within and without⁵⁵

This demonstrates that the Manchu homeland was viewed as distinct from the interior of China. The precious natural resources of the Manchu represented a special Manchu identity. In the Qianlong emperor’s poem, Mukden was full of priceless

⁵⁴ Schlesinger, *A World Trimmed with Fur*, 68.

⁵⁵ Quoted and translated in Elliott, “The Limits of Tartary,” 616.

treasures like leopards, bears, wild asses, tigers and the finest freshwater pearls.

Manchuria as the root of The Eight Banners of Manchuria 八旗 the Qianlong emperor exempted his Manchu homeland from taxation to protect it. As Jonathan Schlesinger writes, “Manchuria was everything China was not.”⁵⁶ This distinction can be observed in the scroll, particularly in the lustrous furs and giant pearls - treasures that were unique to the Manchu and thus represented their culture. Pride in such emblems held the northern lands and the Manchu people together, in a way that language, ethnicity, culture and environment did not. Most of the Manchu learned other languages aside from their native language. Many of the younger generations learned Chinese, adopted Han customs, and began to leave their native culture behind them.⁵⁷

Castiglione used many delicate, short and thin black lines to render the fur collar of the emperor’s robe (Fig.28), creating a three-dimensional effect. This tactile effect makes the collar appear to shine, making the fur seem almost a real animal skin as part of his royalty, especially the thin line on the edges of the collar are especially distinct. Similar fur collars are also worn by the twelve empresses and concubines. On the front of each figure’s court robes is a dragon, its mouth agape and its claws toward the viewer, with bulging eyes and a twisted body. Its body is painted in gold pigment and outlined in red and black. The blue pigment as background of his robe and all the gold pigment have a twinkling effect under electric lights. Another pair of dragons in the same pose adorn the shoulders of the emperor’s robe. Clouds surround all three dragons. What is the significance of the Qianlong emperor court robe? One hidden history behind the robes

⁵⁶ Schlesinger, *A World Trimmed with Fur*, 57.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

involves the fur trade between the imperial court and the people of the Tannu Uriankhai region. Tannu Uriankhai was responsible for providing furs to the Qing court, including the fur of wolves, sables, river otters, lynx, martens, foxes, snow leopards, and squirrels. From 1758 to 1910, every winter the Uriankhai would hunt these animals in the forests, and every spring they offered fur and pelts to the Qing court. The fur they provided was subject to specific requirements and was expected to be of the highest quality. There are two kinds of documents that record this trade between Tannu Uriankhai and the Qing court: first, the imperial court office has an archive *Neiwu Fu Zouxiao Wenjian* 內務府奏銷文件 cataloging the received fur, including numbers and names for each type of fur; second, the Uliasutai military government recorded all furs sent from Mongolia in the Manchu language. Therefore, unlike the Confucian literati who wore simple robes without decoration, the Manchu elite used rare goods in their clothing like fur, freshwater pearl, feathers, and other adornments from nature.⁵⁸

Next to the Qianlong emperor is his empress Xiaoxianchun 孝賢純皇后 (Fig.29), who was from the Manchu Yellow Banner Fucha 富察氏 clan. Her brother Fuheng 傅恆 served his brother-in-law the emperor as his senior minister.⁵⁹ Lady Fucha's face is

⁵⁸ Ibid., 130.

⁵⁹ Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong*, 43. “Fu-heng 傅恆 (T. 春和), d. Sept. 1770, of the Fuca clan and a member of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner, was the tenth son of Li-jung-pao.” See: Dena R. Wickes, “Fu-heng 傅恆,” in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, 252- 253.

painted with a three-dimensional effect, with light pink tones.⁶⁰ Instead of giving shape to her face with thin lines, Castiglione used chiaroscuro to accentuate her bone structure. Lady Fucha looks peaceful and dignified, with flat long eyebrows, slanted eyes and light red lips. She wears a set of traditional lageniform Manchu earrings, three on each ear (Fig.30). This style of earring is called *yi er san qian* 一耳三鉗, commonly known as “one ear three pliers.”⁶¹ This type of earring became popular during the early Qing dynasty. During the Qianlong period, due to the influence of Han women, the Manchu women began to wear only one earring on each ear, because it was lighter and more convenient. However, after an intervention by the Qianlong court, court officers insisted on keeping the Manchu tradition rather than adopting a Han custom. Xu Ke 徐珂 records this intervention in his *Qingbai Leichao Fushi* 清稗类钞服饰:

All the dynasties, starting with the Northern Wei dynasty, have adopted the Han traditions; because of this their bodies have changed into weak and sick bodies. Hence, we need to keep our Manchu customs of *Chongwu*. After the Kangxi reign, the Eight Banner brothers gradually became acquainted and knowledgeable, but they stopped practicing shooting and horse-riding traditions. Shengzu rebuked them for their actions and urged them to uphold the Manchu traditions. During the ruling of the Qianlong emperor, he said, this time of *xuanxiu* 選秀, unexpectedly we have women imitating Han style dress. This kind of dress is not the custom of the Manchu. If they are all like this in front of me, then are they not paying more attention to their dressing at home? From now on, it is necessary to

⁶⁰ Same painting technique was also used by a Manchu court artist Mangguri (Mang Huli; 1672-1736), who served both the Kangxi (r. 1662-1722) and Yongzheng emperors (1678-1735). Mangguri's paintings include *Seated Lady Holding a Fan* (Yongzheng period 1723-35) held by the Philadelphia Museum of Art; See Diandian Li, “Beauty Reviewed: Manguri and Portraiture for the Yongzheng Court,” *Orientalism*, no. 1 (2019): 98.

⁶¹ Song lili, “Three Earrings: The View Swinging by Manchu Women's Ears in Qing Dynasty,” *China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House*, no.1(2018): 75, 74.

be pure and noble, and you must not change your makeup arbitrarily. After this incident was over, the Emperor Qianlong said that the Manchu women wore three earrings in one ear, which was the original tradition of the Manchu. It was absolutely impossible to change this tradition. I also saw the daughter of a third-rank officer who only wore one earring. The habit of wearing one earring per ear cannot appear in Manchuria. This behavior should be prohibited. This is another thing. When Jiaqing was in the year of jiazi [1804], Ren Zong said: “Today, there are as many as 19 people in the Yellow Banner who are Manchu women, but they practice foot binding. Everyone knows that this was forbidden by the Manchu. After this incident, people who do not obey will be punished.”⁶²

The Qianlong emperor’s response to his officer’s intervention was that the Manchu custom of three earrings per ear was an old tradition and whoever went against it would be punished according to the court rules (於北魏金元諸朝，凡政事之守舊可法，變更宜戒者，無不諄切辨論，以資考鑒).⁶³ The Qianlong emperor had already enacted specific laws regarding the Manchu costume after deep consideration. The Manchu kept their *yi er san qian* 一耳三鉗 custom during the Qianlong period. Therefore, all the consorts painted on this scroll have three earrings per ear, signifying their Manchu identity. Since the consorts were all of different ages, Castiglione conveys their ages

⁶² Xu Ke, *The Qingbao Leichao: Fushi Lei* 清稗類鈔：服飾類, 6220. Translation by the author. The original Chinese text is as follows: “列朝鑒於北魏之崇效漢俗，因以自弱，故力欲保存其固有尚武之俗。康熙以後，八旗子弟漸有不習騎射即於文弱者。聖祖疊加申飭，垂為厲戒，後且及於婦女。乾隆己卯，高宗諭曰：“此次閱選秀女，竟有仿漢人妝飾者，實非滿洲風俗。在朕前尚爾如此，其在家，恣意服飾，更不待言。嗣後但當以純樸為貴，斷不可任意妝飾。”此一事也。乙未又諭曰：“旗婦一耳帶三鉗，原系滿洲舊風，斷不可改節。朕選看包衣佐領之秀女，皆帶一墜子，並相沿至於一耳一鉗，則竟非滿洲矣，立行禁止。”此又一事也。嘉慶甲子，仁宗諭曰：“今鑲黃旗漢軍應選秀女，內纏足者竟至十九人，殊為非是。此次傳諭後，仍有不遵循者，定將秀女父兄照違制例治罪。此又一事也。”

⁶³ *Qing Gaozong Shi Lu* 清高宗實錄, juan 卷 760 (Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1986), 367.

through the shape of their eyebrows and their wrinkles. For instance, the consort Dun 惇妃 (Fig.31) has extremely thin eyebrows and several wrinkles under her eyes. Compared with the empress Xiaoxianchun 孝賢純皇后 and the consort Shu 舒妃 (Fig.32), Dun looks much older. Thus, we can infer that Castiglione did not completely idealize the consorts of the Qianlong emperor, but painted each woman's face with reference to the way it really looked.

CHAPTER 2

ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN OTHER PAINTINGS

***Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖**

During the Qianlong era, some ethnic paintings portrayed imperial events and the daily lives of ethnic minorities. These paintings reflected the Qianlong emperor's principle of *hui bao gu jin* 懷抱古今 (“cherishing the past and the future”).⁶⁴ The Qianlong emperor appears to have cared about the traditions of ethnic groups such as the Mongol, Uyghur, and Kazakh, even while he adopted Han traditions in Central China. This strategy strengthened all ethnic groups together as one large family. *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖 (Fig.33) by Giuseppe Castiglione illustrates this family-like gathering of cultures. This painting

⁶⁴ Ung Vai Meng, “Huai Bao Gu Jin Preface” *The Macao Museum of Art*, accessed February 14th, 2019, http://www.mam.gov.mo/oldmam/shows/qianlong/english/preface_e.htm.

depicts four performances: *zha ma* 詐馬 (horse racing), *bu ku* 布庫 (wrestling), *shi bang* 什榜 (musical performance), and *jiao tiao* 教跳 (horse show).

Watching Four Performances does not depict *zha ma* 詐馬 (Fig. 34) as an ongoing performance - there are many horses and figures on the upper level of this painting, which means that the performance is finished. Horse racing, called *zha ma* 詐馬 in Chinese, was once a custom of the Mongolians in the Yuan Dynasty. Usually, after a horse racing performance, a feast was held known as the *zha ma yan* 詐馬宴. Although the horse race must have been the first of the four performances, Castiglione places this content at the upper end of the image. After the race ended, the players concentrated on organizing their wild horses into the valley in the distance. The Qianlong emperor showed such an interest in this Mongolian horse racing game that he even wrote a poem in its honor:

The famous King left his style behind at the horse race,
His officers prepared banquets for him.
Horses stand side by side outside of the court,
They are all ready for the King's order.⁶⁵

Thus, the Qianlong emperor not only liked horses but also watching horse races. The race was held in the *wan shu yuan* 萬樹園 of the Summer Resort (Chengde Mountain Resort)

⁶⁵ *Qing Gaozong Yuzhi Shiji Di Sanji: Di Ba Juan* 清高宗御製詩集三集：第八卷 (Beijing: Beijing Guji Chuban She 北京：北京古籍出版社, 1983), 10. Translation by the author, the original Chinese text reads: 名王詐馬存遺風，獻筵備陳表敬恭。廿裏以外列駿驄，置郵傳命聽發蹤。

承德避暑山莊 beginning in the reign of Emperor Kangxi. Before the *zha ma* began, the Mongolian princes prepared 250 horses and placed them about ten kilometers away from the banquet. The horses were not equipped with saddles or halters, and their manes and tails were bundled. Mongolian children all lined up, ready to mount the horses. When a loud noise was sounded, the riders scrambled into action. Riding their horses, with the wind rising, the scene was grand, and all the riders were full of energy. In the prescribed ten-kilometer race, the best of thirty-two riders would win the prize. After the game, the banquet was held by the emperor, with music and dancing performances. When these races began to be held at the Summer Resort (Chengde Mountain Resort), during the race, nearby establishments also held similar horse racing events, thus expanding its influence and promoting the development of various ethnic sports in the country. This kind of influence promoted further unique folk art and customs in Chengde. According to the *Chengde fuzhi* 承德府志 (1826-1887), each summer and autumn, banquets, equestrian events, lantern shows, and fireworks were held dozens of times in Wan Shu Yuan 萬樹園 with a huge variety of activities and diverse ethnic minorities in attendance.⁶⁶ The Qianlong emperor apparently appreciated the *ma bei* (horseback) people who were good at horse-riding, music, dance, and wrestling. Thus, he held a banquet to watch the leaders of Ulbert tribe (one of the Mongolian tribes) and other minority leaders' performances, and he also respected their traditions and made them feel all ethnic groups were part of one large family in an environment of harmony.

⁶⁶ Wang Kai 王凱, "Sai Yan Si Shi Tu Painted by Lang Shining" *Journal of Nanjing Arts Institute, Fine Arts & Design*, no.1 (2008), 31.

Besides the *zha ma* performance, the most eye-catching scene in the painting is the *buku* 布庫 (wrestling) (Fig.35) performance in the center of the image. The word *buku* in the Manchu language means sumo 相撲 or wrestling 摔跤.⁶⁷ *Buku* was one of the most important ethnic activities for the Manchu Eight Banners in the Qing dynasty. In Manchu history and culture, *buku* had been given a significant role. During the Qing dynasty, emperors were invested in the practice of *buku* and built *buku* camps (*buku kifukvwaran*). The Manchu *buku* system had around two hundred outstanding wrestlers. They were divided into first-rank, second-rank and third-rank, and trained to compete with Mongolian wrestlers.⁶⁸ The Manchu wrestling tradition traces back to the Jurchen people's 女真 *ba li su xi* 拔里速戲, which was adopted from the Khitan people.⁶⁹ During the Yuan and Ming dynasties, the Mongols invaded and spread Mongolian wrestling throughout Manchuria. After their conquest of China, the Manchu maintained their wrestling tradition, hosting competitions every year at the Mulan royal hunting ground. During the Qianlong era, the categories of the *buku* and the numbers of talented wrestlers were both increased. Thus, Manchu wrestling was superior to Mongolian wrestling during the Qianlong years.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Ibid, 29.

⁶⁸ Jin Qicong, *Chinese Wrestling History: Wrestling Origins and Evolution of the Chinese Contribution to the Sport* (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House 2006), 129.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 120.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 141.

In the painting, the Qianlong emperor sits on a double-layered mat, watching the four Mongolian wrestlers compete. The wrestlers act as the focal point of this painting. All of them wear white shirts with belts and high boots. These shirts were made of a special cloth selected for its strength.⁷¹ Three of them wear blue pants and one wears green pants. They all wear their hair in a Mongolian style, with their heads mostly shaved except for the braids in the back. The two wrestlers on the left are grappling, holding each other at the shoulder and stomach. The other two wrestlers stare straight at each other, with their hands open. Their postures show an intensely competitive atmosphere and a distinctive ethnic custom. A royal carpet on the ground is decorated with red-crowned cranes and clouds. Although the four wrestlers fight with their hands, the key skill of wrestling is in the use of the feet, because whoever falls over is defeated. Hence, the most powerful legs and feet win the battle.

Near the Mongolian wrestlers are ten musicians playing instruments. Background music for the wrestling matches was provided by these musicians. This kind of musical performance is called the *shi bang* 什榜. The *shi bang* has both instrumental and vocal performances. At the top of the painting is the title *Qianlong yu zhi shi ci* 乾隆御製詩詞, and the poem which translates: “When the musicians perform *Jun mang huang* 君馬黃, it is like the unstoppable flow of the ocean. Then they perform *Shan zai xing* 善哉行, and

⁷¹ Ibid, 142.

all the pressure and worries disappear, and they all become friends.”⁷² This poem shows the strong influence and power of the *shi bang*. The Qianlong emperor demonstrated a deep understanding of the *shi bang*, writing:

Shi bang was a type of Mongolian ritual music. What we call *shi fan* today may have originated with this. Yang Wanli wrote in his poem that “All the Mongolians have flutes and belly drums, one spring song indicates the *biansai* 邊塞 (frontier fortress).” This song is named *fan* 蕃, which is a foreign song known far and wide. The instruments for this song include: *jia* 筳, *guan* 管, *zheng* 箏, *pa* 琶, *xuan* 弦, *yuan* 阮, *huo bu si* 火不思 etc. After the song we will drink wine, and the musicians before us will play instruments and sing songs; sometimes they use their throats to sing and echo each other. This kind of music presents an ancient style.⁷³

In this poem, the emperor Qianlong listed seven musical instruments. In the painting *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, from left to right the ten instruments are: *kou qin* 口琴, Mongolian *zheng* 蒙古箏, *huo bu si* 火不思, *hu jia* 胡筳, *pai ban* 拍板, *yue qin* 月琴, *er xian* 二弦, *yuan* 阮, *pi ba* 琵琶, and *si hu* 四胡 (Fig.36). Some of these instruments are equivalent to those Han Chinese music, such as *gu zheng* 古箏, but most of them are only used by the Mongols. Hence, these instruments became a part of the Mongolian ethnic identity during the

⁷² Translation by the author. The original Chinese text reads: “初奏《君馬黃》，大海之水不可量。繼作《善哉行》無二無虞，式毅友朋。”

⁷³ Translation by the author. The original Chinese text reads: “什榜，蒙古樂名，用以侑食。今俗所謂十番或因此。楊萬裏詩有“金番長笛橫腰鼓，一曲春風出塞聲”之句。蓋樂曲名番，本塞外語，而傳訛耳。其器則筳、管、箏、琶、弦、阮、火不思之類。將進酒，輒於筵前鞠踞奏之，鼓喉而歌，和羅赴節，有太古之遺音焉。”

Qianlong years. Judging by the use of these instruments, the musicians in the painting may be playing Mongolian music. They all wear well-designed blue robes with similar red fur hats and belts. Therefore, they prepared and practiced before this performance, and for a better performance they wear a Mongolian musicians' uniform. Although they are kneeling on the ground, the *kou qin* musician on the left can be seen to wear high boots. Unlike the Manchu behind them holding scrolls, the Mongols' faces are rounded, with high cheekbones, small eyes and short mustaches. The *hu jia* musician pauses, looking back at another musician. Possibly, a single piece of music is being played, with different musicians responsible for different parts.

The last performance is *jiao tiao* 教跳 (Fig.37). *Jiao tiao* is a competition to tame wild horses. This activity shows the courage and great equestrian skills of ethnic groups like the Mongols as well as the Manchu. Indeed, it represents the close relationship between the ethnic groups and their horses. Before the start of *jiao tiao*, the Mongolian leaders sent a group of people to drive a large group of horses into an open area before the banquet. Then, about twenty Mongolian princes used horse-catchers to drive and catch the horses; the horses all ran wildly but the Mongolian princes quickly put hoods on them, and rode them until they were tamed.⁷⁴

In *Watching Four Performances*, the *jiao tiao* performance is being prepared, while the Mongolian wrestling and musical performances are seen in progress. In the upper right corner of the painting are shown two people on horseback, signalling to their horse catchers to herd the horses into the performing area. The location of the various

⁷⁴ Wang Kai 王凱, "Sai Yan Si Shi Tu Painted by Lang Shining," 31.

horses and horse trainers indicates that they will be the next to perform for the Qianlong emperor (Fig.38). Three Manchu officers run into the scene from the far left, pointing at the horses; they seem to be worried that these horses are too wild and will ruin the emperor's banquet. Another six ethnic men stand together in a row (Fig. 39-40), trying to block the horses from the other side. In the methods used to depict them, those horses appear similar to others painted by Castiglione: they are all very large, and seem fat and healthy.

Bing Xi Tu (Picture of The Ice-Skating Game) 冰嬉圖 and Ma Shu Tu (Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show) 馬術圖

A similar type of ethnic activity painting was developed during the Manchu-controlled Qing dynasty, one which was a rare and distinctive variety in classical painting. Before the Manchu conquest, the subjects of traditional Chinese painting included mainly landscapes, flowers and animals, Confucian ideas, calligraphy, and literati scenes.

Examples of these include *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* by Hong Gongwang 黃公

望, Gu Hongzhong's 顧閔中 *The Night Entertainments of Han Xizai*, and Qian Xuan's

錢選 *Eight Flowers*. Winter activities such as skating and equestrian shows were rarely

shown in classical Chinese painting before the Manchu entered inner China. *Bing Xi Tu*

(*Picture of The Ice-Skating Game*) 冰嬉圖 (Fig.41) was painted by Jin Kun 金昆, Cheng

Zhisao 程志道 and Fu Longgan 富隆安. Skating was a seasonal sport among the Manchu.

During the Qing dynasty, skating, single skating and figure skating were all practiced,

and these sports were regarded as a national custom of the Manchu. Qianlong also said,

“Skating is an important part of our national system 冰嬉為國制所重.”⁷⁵ Thus, he selected talented skaters from the Eight Banner armies to be trained at the palace. From the *Dongzhi* festival 冬至 (around December 22nd) to *San Jiu* 三九 (the coldest days of winter), skating shows were held at Xi Yuan 西苑.⁷⁶ The emperor led the ministers and princes to watch the skating show, and after the show he gave his rating of each skater and awarded the best ones with *Yinliang* (a prize of money) 銀兩. The setting of the painting *Bing Xi Tu (Picture of Ice-Skating Game)* 冰嬉圖 (Fig.42) might be the southern end of the Jinyuyu bridge (also called the Beihai bridge 北海橋) and it shows the skaters performing a routine called *zhuan long she jiu* 轉龍射球 (“turning the dragon and shooting the ball”) (Fig.43 - 44). On the right side of the painting is the royal skating rink. Here, the flag bearers and shooters are organized into groups, circling and twisting on the ice; from afar, they look like a dragon twisting its body. Near the throne, there is a ball hanging inside a door frame, called the *tian qiu* 天球 (Fig.45). When the team of skaters arrived here, they shot separately; whoever shot the ball would win the game, as well as a prize from the emperor. Indeed, in the skating line, there are also other activities such as *wu dao* 舞刀, *die luo han* 疊羅漢, and figure skating 花樣滑. The performers appear energetic in the cold winter. This painting also shows the architecture and pavilions near

⁷⁵ Li Shi, *Qianlong Huangdi Huazhuan* (Beijing: Zhi Jingcheng Chuban She, 2005), 31.

⁷⁶ Xi Yuan was the Zhong Nanhai, a traditional imperial garden in the Forbidden Palace in Beijing.

the Xi Yuan. The fog and frost show that this northern area is in the midst of a cold winter.⁷⁷

The northeastern region of China (now Dong Bei 東北) or Manchuria has cold winters, thus the hunting industry has long been a crucial source of subsistence for the Manchu. Because hunting and fishing were so important to their survival, animals provided the main products of the Manchu. Manchu people needed animal skin, and meat in their daily lives. It is difficult to hunt wild animals with primitive tools, so the Manchu used skating to help them hunt. Additionally, the Manchu ice-skating was tied to the worship and deification of wild animals. Since the Manchu were aware of the irresistible forces of nature, they were eager to find supernatural skills with which to overcome these forces.⁷⁸ Hence, the Manchu ice-skating became part of the ethnic identity of the Manchu, but was not adopted by the Han culture of inner China.

Another painting of Manchu traditional activities is *Ma Shu Tu* (*Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show*) 馬術圖 (Fig.46) by Castiglione. Amursana 阿睦爾撒納 and the leader of the Dzungar Dawaqi 准噶爾達瓦齊 fought with each other because of the conflicts between their two tribes.⁷⁹ After Amursana was defeated by the Dzungars, they

⁷⁷ Nie Hui, “Jin Kun etc Bing Xi Tu Juan” *The National Palace Museum Beijing*, accessed February 16th, 2019, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233288.html>.

⁷⁸ Qi Zhen, “Traditional Physical Cultural Implication of Manchu Nationality by Appreciating “Picture of Ice-Skating Game” *Journal of Shenyang Sport University*, no.4 (2009), 4.

⁷⁹ “Amursana 阿睦爾撒納 d. 1757, *taisha* of the Khoits, who was instrumental in the Chinese conquest of Sungaria, was a son of Boitalak 博託洛克.” See: Fang Chao-ying, “AMURSANA 阿睦爾撒納” in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, 9-11.

requested to be attached to the Qing court and ruled by the Qianlong emperor. The emperor was pleased by their request; more importantly, through the surrender of the Dulbert 杜爾伯特 and Amursana tribes, the emperor realized that he completed the wish of his grandfather, the emperor Kangxi, and his father Yongzheng, and had solved “the unfinished business of the two dynasties” 兩朝未竟之業.⁸⁰ After considering that the Amursana had not yet suffered from pox diseases 天花, he picked the Bi Shu Shan Zhuang 避暑山莊 as the location of the banquet for them in the cold winter. On the 15th day of the 11th month of the year 1753, the Qianlong emperor held a grand welcoming banquet and ceremony in the village of the Bi Shu Shan Zhuang, and then prepared an equestrian skill show for the Amursana, the Mongol Dulbert and the Bebu Banjul tribes (Fig.47-50). In order to commemorate this important event, the Qianlong emperor commended the artist Castiglione and other court painters to document the gathering in a painting.⁸¹ The painting contains many human figures, but Castiglione arranges them neatly, rather than showing a chaotic crowd (Fig.50-51). He also paints the Qianlong emperor (Fig.52) the same size as the other figures, instead of making him larger to distinguish him from the others. The emperor is at the front of the image, on horseback along with his ministers; his special location in the painting immediately conveys his power and identity as the emperor.

⁸⁰ Liu Jingzao, *Huangcao Jiwen Xian Tong Kao* 皇朝續文獻通考 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chu Ban She, 2002), 820.

⁸¹ Li Ti, “Jin Kun etc Bing Xi Tu Juan” *The National Palace Museum Beijing*, accessed February 16th 2019, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233334.html>.

Castiglione places the leaders of the Dubert tribes in the middle of the painting to show their important role during this event, and he had the approval of the emperor in doing this, because Qianlong wanted to show these leaders honor and respect. On the left side of the painting are the soldiers of the Eight Banner brotherhood, riding as a troop; they follow the standard that their leader flies at his back. Some people following him are bowing on their horses; some are standing up on their horses, and some are sitting behind another rider; finally, some are riding in the normal way. The movement of the soldier is powerful, bold and thrilling. The performers and the viewers form a strong contrast between the quiet side and the sporting side of the scene. The faces of Qianlong, his ministers, and the leaders of the tribes are painted as they really looked, giving them the characteristics of portraits. Other than in this painting, such scenes of equestrian shows are rarely found in the horse painting genre of classical painting. Compared with other masterpieces such as *Grooms and Horses* 趙雍 趙麟 吳興趙氏三世人馬圖卷 (1296 - 1359) and *Man Riding a Horse* 人騎圖 (Yuan Dynasty 1271-1368) by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫; and *Night-Shining White* 照夜白圖 (ca.750) by Han Gan 韓幹,⁸² *Ma Shu Tu* (*Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show*) 馬術圖 shows more ethnic identity in the excellent equestrian skills of the Manchu, which they needed not only to conquer the inner China (and the Han Chinese) but also to expand the Manchu lands with the

⁸² *Grooms and Horses* 趙雍 趙麟 吳興趙氏三世人馬圖卷 (1296 - 1359) and the *Night-Shining White* 照夜白圖 (ca.750) are held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Man Riding a Horse* 人騎圖 (Yuan Dynasty 1271-1368) is held by the Palace Museum Beijing.

conquest of other ethnic regions. Thus, their equestrian skills were the foundation of the Manchu's success.

***Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖**

Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions, with Imperial Poems was designed and painted from 1765 to 1774 (Fig.53), while the inscribed poem was first written in 1755.⁸³ The Qianlong emperor ordered this set of engravings to record battles in the Western Regions (Central Asia). He also added his poetry to each engraving in order to display his military power. The poem inscribed on this print reads:

[We] Conquered Yili, they have surrendered. Taking advantage of the current order and setting in place well-devised laws. God bless the army to bring back the good news, for without war they took the city. We will welcome the generals with wine and delicious food. Two dynasties [emperors] thought about [this conquest] before; they have been thinking of it for hundreds of years. When we came here, we touched the good rain and opened up the land. With awe, we can achieve my goals. In the mid-summer of the jihai year [1779], *shu bi*.⁸⁴

This poem suggests that the conquest of the Western Regions was wished for by previous emperors, starting with the Kangxi emperor, and was finally realized in the

⁸³ "Receiving Surrender from the Eli: from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions, with Imperial Poems," *The Cleveland Museum of Art*, accessed February 12, 2019, <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1998.103.1>.

⁸⁴ Translation by the author. The original Chinese text reads: 平定伊犁受降，乘時命將定條枝，天佑人歸捷報馳。無戰有征安絕域，壺漿簞食迎王師。兩朝締構敢云繼，百世寧綏有所思。好雨優霑土宇拓，敬心那為慰心移。己亥仲夏月作，淑筆。

Qianlong years. Thus, the Qianlong emperor styled himself *Shi Quan Lao Ren* 十全老人 (Old Man of the Ten Completed) because of his ten great campaigns 十全武功.⁸⁵ This engraving illustrates the first surrender of the Yili. Trained by Castiglione, Father Ignatius Sichelbart (1708-1780) designed the structure of this engravings as an “open panorama.” Sichelbart shows his excellent skills in his illustrations of animals and plants, and distinction in the nonviolent atmosphere of this engravings. The Manchu army departed in the spring of 1755 and arrived in Yili after about one hundred days. This engraving was made in 1769 by Prévôt and directed by Cochin.⁸⁶ The image can be separated into five parts: 1. the Manchu generals leading their armies forward (Fig.54); 2. Ethnic figures with sheep, horses, camels, and cows at the front(Fig.55); 3. Uyghur and Kazakh musicians playing ethnic instruments; 4. the ethnic groups trying to cross the river with their horses, camels and belongings; 5. the Manchu army riding down from the mountains to stop the people trying to cross the river.

The first group of minority figures kneel on the ground, holding their weapons. All the sheep, camels, horses, and cows stand side by side in a row. Near them are the Uyghur musicians playing Uyghur instruments, including: the drum (داپ), *naqara* (ناگمل), *suona* (سۇناي), *sataer* (ساتتار), and *nay* (نهي) (Fig.56). Judging from the instruments, the musicians may be performing the Uyghur *muqam* (مۇقام). This music was led by a *muqamchi* (singer), accompanied by lutes or drums, but also “played in instrumental form

⁸⁵ The Ten Great Campaigns see: Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty* (International Library of War Studies; 7. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 57.

⁸⁶ Jean-Paul Desroches, *From Beijing to Versailles Artistic Relations between China and France* (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1997), 229.

by kettle drum-and-shawm (*naghra-sunay*) bands.”⁸⁷ In this engraving, there are two musicians playing drums and one playing a flute. The Uyghur *muqam* was not only performed by professional musicians, but also by folk musicians, for local rulers and rural festivals, and in urban areas. Both men and women could perform the *muqam*. There are no women in this engraving. Muslim women must have rarely participated in such important events, so as not to be seen in the presence of the men. As well as a type of music, the *muqam* was a spiritual ritual for religious mendicants and physical necessity, specifically the *muqaddima* section in the Twelve Muqam during religious festivals.⁸⁸ Hence, the Uyghur are offering some of their most valued music to the Manchu, as well as precious animals, food and other goods.

Not only did the Uyghur musicians perform while the Manchu received surrender from the Yili 伊犁, but they also performed at court banquets during the celebration of New Year’s Day, the emperor’s birthday, and other special events. Including family members, there were around 300 people in the Qing court, and over 1800 by the time of Guangxu.⁸⁹ In 1760, the Qianlong emperor established quarters for Uyghur nobles, musicians and dancers on the southwest side of the palace. In the engravings, behind the Uyghur musicians are other Uyghur people talking to each other and kneeling on the ground. Another two ethnic figures hold a large box with a peacock (توز) inside. The peacock’s head is pointed to the left, and its tail to the right. Near them is a long-bearded

⁸⁷ Rachel Harris, *The Making of a Musical Canon in Chinese Central Asia: The Uyghur Twelve Muqam* (London: Routledge, 2016), 14.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁹ James A. Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia 1759-1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 159.

old man holding a board that seems to be full of money; a young man near him holds a bag that may contain food, and another man holds a large jar that is likely full of wine.

On the left side is a group of Mongols presenting their *khadags* to the Manchu generals (Fig. 57). Eric Thrift writes that “One of the most ubiquitous ceremonial objects used in Mongolia is the *khadag*, a silk scarf used as a symbol of respect. Mongolian offer *hadags* on important occasions.”⁹⁰ Thus, the *khadag* distinguishes the Mongols from the Uyghur and Kazakh people. The *khadag* has several functions in the Mongol culture: first, they play an important role in ceremonial communication between the gods and the people; second, they are given as precious gifts between family members, and as diplomatic protocol gifts; third, the *khadag* is a symbol with meanings of appreciation, respect, supplication and blessing; lastly, the *khadag* transmits and connects Mongolian society and ethnic identity.⁹¹ This engravings represents the second function of the *khadag*: a gift given as part of diplomacy. The *khadag* is made in five main colors: blue, white, yellow, red and green; among these, the most commonly-used colors are blue, white and yellow, because blue and white are symbolic of the Mongol culture. It is hard to identify the color of the *khadag* in this engraving, but it is most likely white, a color that represents peace and wealth in Mongolian culture.⁹² The phrase “white *khadag* held

⁹⁰ Eric Thrift, *The Culture Heritage of Mongolia* (Ulaanbaatar: Naranbulag printing KhKhK, 2001), 47.

⁹¹ Ao Liya, *A Study on Mongolian Hadag Culture* (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia Normal University, 2014), 5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 18.

above head and sing eulogy” is attributed to Genghis Khan.⁹³ Behind the five Mongols presenting the *khadag* are other minority figures whispering to each other.

One Kazakh holds an eagle on his arm, which represents falconry as a symbol of Kazakh identity (Fig. 58). His eagle falconry and customs provides evidence that the Kazakh in Yili area kept their falconry practices as well as eagle falconry customs. The Kazakh also celebrate an eagle falconry holiday, called *Nawrız*, and falconry is connected to their birth, death and daily life. Falconry is a tradition among the Mongol and Kazakh that is needed to train and keep eagles for hunting. In this engraving, a large white eagle perches on the Kazakh man’s arm. The Kazakh only use golden female eagles to hunt foxes. In Kazakh language the eagle is called *bürkit*. Their eagles were often given beautiful names, such as: best eagle, diva of the sky, king of birds, owner of the steppe, blue sky and brighter warrior.⁹⁴ Eagles hold a divine place in the hearts of the Kazakh, being important in their daily life and social relations, as well as the masculinity of Kazakh men. When a Kazakh woman gave birth, an eagle would be placed at her side, because it was believed that the eagle would drive away all demons. Even today, there are similar customs among the Kazakh. Eagle talons were often hung on boys’ vests or collars, and many boys were named “Burket” or “Kran,” meaning “eagle.” For the Kazakh, the eagle is brave, and it is a symbol of wisdom, toughness, and warriors. Kazakh people hope that their boys will be as strong as eagles.⁹⁵ The Kazakh adopted

⁹³ Sai Yin Ji Ri Ga La, *Mongolian Sacrifice* (Hohhot: Inner Mongolian University, 2008), 77.

⁹⁴ Altangul Bolat, *Burged-Kazakhuudiin Soyoliin Belgedel (The Eagle-Culture as a Symbol of Kazakhs)* (Hohhot: Mongolian Cultural Studies and Art Research, XIV), 118–124.

⁹⁵ Hayishaer Kadeerhan, “Falcon and Falconry: Kazakh Nomads about the Local Knowledge of the Eagle.” *Journal of Beifang University of Nationalities*, no.3 (2017), 88.

eagle falconry from the Mongol, and in Mongolia the training of eagles, hawks and falcons is called *shuvuulakh*. However, modern Mongolians have abandoned this tradition, and only the Bayan-Ölgii Kazaks continued the practice of falconry.⁹⁶ Eagles were also the subject of Kazakh poetry: the poet B. Akhtaan (1959) described in a poem how wealthy people use eagles for their own pleasure, while the poor rely on their eagles to live, and the Kazakh wish to live like eagles, as “free men.” The eagle in this engraving looks at the Manchu army like its trainer and stands firm; we can see that this eagle is well-trained and experienced in communicating with its trainer. Like the Uyghur and Mongols, the Kazakh have brought this precious companion with them to welcome the Manchu conqueror.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNIC ART AS A GENRE AND CONCLUSION

Definition and Categorization

Why should we consider ethnic art as a new genre in traditional Chinese art? I argue that an unrecognized genre existed in classical Chinese art, one which I call “ethnic art,” and I contend that ethnic art has two foundations: first, ethnic artists depict the artist’s own ethnic culture or other specific ethnic cultures through art; second, non-ethnic artists present certain ethnic groups and their culture in visual form. The term “ethnic culture” includes religion, languages, costume, symbols, music, sports and architecture that are associated with specific cultures. An example of the first foundation is the Uyghur artist Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310) of the Yuan dynasty, who

⁹⁶ Altanngul Bolat, “The Kazakh Minority in Mongolia, Falconry as a Symbol of Kazakh Identity” *Senri Ethnological Studies*, no.93 (2016), 112.

specialized in landscape painting (Fig. 59 -61) and was ranked the second master after Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫.⁹⁷ Gao Kegong adopted Confucian ideas and traditional painting techniques like Zhao Mengfu did.⁹⁸ An example of the second foundation, discussed in Chapters One and Two, is Giuseppe Castiglione; although a Christian foreigner (and therefore a non-ethnic artist), he successfully illustrated various ethnic cultures like the Manchu, Uyghur, Kazak, Mongol and Tibetan.⁹⁹

What can we say about Manchu, Uyghur, Kazakh, and Mongol identities during the late Qing dynasty? Laura Newby writes “There can be few theories of ethnicity and identity that have not been applied in recent years to the peoples now commonly known as Uyghurs. Some of these theories are undoubtedly mutually exclusive, but many if not all have added something valuable to our understanding of not merely the ethnic, but cultural, social and political identity of the Uyghurs,”¹⁰⁰ and the same is true of the Kazakhs and Mongols. In the field of art history, the artistic traditions of the Uyghur, Kazakh and Mongol peoples have not been specifically defined and categorized as an independent genre within traditional Chinese painting. This formed a gap in the study of classical Chinese art, an area in which non-majority ethnic groups were barely included.

⁹⁷ Wang Ting, “The Historical Studies of the Yuan Uyghur Artist Gao Kegong” *Journal of China Studies*, no. 48 (2008): 1.

⁹⁸ Other Uyghur artists during the Yuan dynasty include: Bian Lu 邊魯, Sa Douci 薩都剌 (1272-1355), Ding Yefu 丁野夫, and Boyan Buhua 伯顏不花 (?-1359). See: Zhang Dong 張冬, “The Study of the Gao Kegong’s Landscape Paintings,” (Master’s Thesis, Shaanxi Normal University, Xian, 2018), 9.

⁹⁹ The Tibetan culture was shown in the painting *The Qianlong Emperor as Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom*, 1755 with portrait face by Giuseppe Castiglione. This thesis did not include the Tibetan ethnicity, which will be left for future research.

¹⁰⁰ Laura J. Newby, “Us and Them’ in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Xinjiang,” in Ildikó Bellér-Hann, ed. *Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asian* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 15-29.

Most studies of Uyghur ethnicity and identity have been influenced by nationalist ideology and modern political unrest.¹⁰¹ These influences also appear in the field of art history. Newby further writes that:

... In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the people of the oases of Altä Shähär did not simply think of themselves as people of this or that oasis, but shared a discrete group consciousness, which extended to the sedentary Turkic Muslims north of the Tianshan and west to the region of Qumul and Turpan, so-called Uyghuristan. In other words, just as labelling may help to create group consciousness, the absence of a label, in this case an ethnonym, does not preclude the sense of a common identity that may comprise all those elements regularly found in the hotchpotch of ethnicity...¹⁰²

As Newby claims, the Uyghur identity was different from the common ethnicity. The distinction between Turkic Muslims and other ethnic groups in the Western Region and Inner China was not only geographical but also ethnic. Justin Jon Rudelson also argues that “the modern definition of the Uyghur people as encompassing all the oasis Turks of Xinjiang hides two traditional divisions of Uyghur society that have existed since 840 C.E: the strong local oasis identities and different strategies that each oasis employs in response to political, social, economic, and geographical forces.”¹⁰³ Hence, he treats the ethnic groups in the Western Region as one oasis group that shares a similar identity and ethnicity. The ethnic boundaries between the Manchu, Uyghur, Kazakh and Mongol were thin under Qianlong’s ruling, but it was also very clear that their ethnic identities were portrayed specifically and differently by Castiglione. It is also recorded in ethnographic texts in the imperial archive *Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi* (1782) and *Xinjiang zhilue* (1821) that

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 15.

¹⁰² Ibid., 16.

¹⁰³ Justin Jon Rudelson, *Oasis Identities: Uyghur Nationalism Along China’s Silk Road* (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1997), 39.

“The Muslims of the south and the Oirats of the north have all become subjects (*fuyi*), and are equivalent to the registered people (*bianmeng*), and must not be called ‘outer barbarians (*waiyi*).” James Millward argues that this statement “distinguishes them (Uyghur) clearly from Kazakhs, ‘Buruts’ (Kirghiz), and other nomadic people on Xinjiang’s borders and beyond.”¹⁰⁴ After the Qianlong emperor’s victory in Altishahr in 1759, the Uyghur began to be seen along with the Manchu, Han, Mongol, and Tibetan as one of “the five main culture blocs” of the Qing ruling. Instead of removing ethnic distinctions, the Qianlong maintained the original and authentic identity of each ethnic group, and also learned to appreciate their values. For example, Qianlong commanded the gates at the Chengde summer palace and Shenyang palace, also the steles reading “dismount here” at the tomb complexes of the Qing ancestors carved in “Manchu (Qing), Chinese (Han), Mongol (Menggu), Tibetan (Xi-fan), and Arabic/Turki (Huizi).”¹⁰⁵ Besides the use of ethnic languages, the Qianlong emperor had concubines of various ethnicities including Han Chinese, Mongol, Korean and Turkic (the consort Rong). For the consort Rong, Qianlong also built several European-Uyghur style palaces only for her. One of them was the Yuan Ming Guan 遠瀛觀¹⁰⁶, which was a baroque-style palace inspired by Versailles 凡爾賽 (and designed by Castiglione) where the consort Rong lived and prayed.¹⁰⁷ The emperor’s attempts to conserve ethnic culture and languages

¹⁰⁴ Millward, *Beyond the Pass*, 196.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁰⁶ Yuan Ming Guan 遠瀛觀 was built in the Yuan Ming Yuan 圓明園.

¹⁰⁷ Millward, “A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong’s Court,” 444.

were clearly represented in artwork, political victories, marriages, merchant trades and ethnographic material. In summary, first, the ethnicity and identity of each ethnic group were well-preserved during the reign of the Qianlong emperor, which provides historical and ethnographic evidence for the existence of the ethnic art; second, the importation of Jesuit artists and realistic European painting techniques provided ethnic art with new tools and methods to document important events and diplomatic activities in accurate visual form; lastly, the Qianlong emperor himself favored learning about and preserving the ethnic cultures and languages.

Not only were the Uyghur, Kazakh, Mongol and Tibetan ethnicity and identity well-preserved, but also the Manchu identity. The Qing court ideology envisioned a “universal empire” comprised of the Manchu, Uyghur, Kazakh, Mongol, Tibetan and Han Chinese; rather than a Manchu empire, the Qing rulers ruled Inner China and the ethnic regions as “a province of the empire.”¹⁰⁸ Indeed, as Cohen has stated “as only a part, albeit a very important part of a much wider dominion that extended far into the Inner Asian territories.”¹⁰⁹ Not only the oasis ethnic groups, but also the Manchu, kept their identity by preserving their customs and languages. Mark Elliott argues in his book *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* that “it is useful to think of Qing authority as having two foundations, neo-Confucian legitimacy (required to successfully rule the Chinese state) and ethnic sovereignty (required to build and maintain a universal empire of a conquering minority ruling over many domains

¹⁰⁸ Pamela Kyle Crossley, *The Manchu* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 2002), 341.

¹⁰⁹ Joanna Waley Cohen, "The New Qing History." *Radical History Review* 88, no. 1 (2004):195.

centered upon China).”¹¹⁰ Elliott believes that the Manchu way included “venerable Manchu customs and practices,” among them “archery, horse-riding, ability in the Manchu languages, and frugality.” Moreover, he claims that “the empire of the Qing was truly a Manchu empire, not a Chinese one: *pax Manjurica*, not *pax Sinica*.”¹¹¹

In addition, among Japanese scholars, the conqueror and conquered of the Qing dynasty are called the “nationality rule” (*iminzoku tōchi*).¹¹² The New Qing History 新清史 school started a heated debate among historians throughout the West and China.¹¹³

However, such a debate did not change the perspectives of art historians, even though artists like Castiglione presented strong ethnic characteristics of each ethnic group. Hence, I suggest “a New Qing Art History 新清藝術史” should exist alongside “the New Qing History.” The Qianlong emperor proposed the unification of the five ethnic groups “under Heaven” as well as describing them as “the whole.” He wrote:

...Now, in Chinese [*Hanyu*], “Heaven” is called *tian*. In the language of our dynastic house [*guoyu*] it is called *abka*. In Mongolian [*Mengguyu*] and Zungharian [*Zhunyū*] “Heaven” is *ngri*. In Tibetan [*Xifanyu*] it is *nam-mkhah*. In the Muslim tongue [*Huiyu*, i.e., Turki] it is called *asman*, and the Han will necessarily think this is not so. If the Han, meaning “Heaven,” tells the Muslim *tian*, the Muslim will likewise certainly think it not so. Here not so, there not so. Who knows which is right? But by raising the head and looking at what is plainly up above, the Han knows

¹¹⁰ Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 13.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹³ Similar ideas of the Manchu ethnicity and identity throughout the Qing dynasty were discussed among the scholars like James A. Millward, Evelyn S. Rawski, Peter Perdue and Mark C. Elliott.

tian and venerates it, and the Muslim knows *asman* and venerates it. This is the great unity (*da tong*). In fact, once the names are unified, there is nothing that is not universal...¹¹⁴

Qianlong's point of view demonstrates that his authority was based on a unified language system of the main ethnic groups, by which any misunderstanding and misreading could be avoided. This text also shows that Qianlong himself was familiar with at least five languages (Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Uyghur, and Tibetan). He ruled all ethnic groups under his universal heaven – and the concept of heaven needed to be understood in each ethnic language. The Manchu name of the Qianlong emperor is *Abkai Wehiyehe*, which contains the Manchu word for “heaven.” Hence, both Han Chinese and ethnic civilizations, behave within this ideal of “great unity [*da tong*].”¹¹⁵ Furthermore, this statement of Qianlong also shows that he separates Han Chinese and other ethnic groups clearly by presenting language differences. The line between Han Chinese and ethnic groups (Manchu, Mongol, Kazakh, Uyghur and Tibetan) was drawn and existed during the Qianlong region. Hence, this line also was drawn in art of the Qianlong's era. Under this circumstance, art historians would be able to provide visual evidence for the New Qing historical theory by using historical evidence from the New Qing History school. Chinese art has rarely been defined by art historians; is Chinese art equal to Han Chinese art, or the combination of Han art with all other ethnic art? When we write about Chinese art, to what specific group of people (or culture) do we refer? Nie Chongzheng claims that:

...The Manchus became enthusiastic patrons of Chinese art. The Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722), among others, promoted regional schools of art and employed a number of court painters who specialized in decorative,

¹¹⁴ Millward, *Beyond the Pass*, 199.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 199.

colorful paintings, as well as in landscape compositions in the literati manner. From early on, the Qing emperors were also influenced by Western ideas and technology, especially by Western artistic traditions. Under the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-1795), China entered a period of political, economic, and cultural supremacy, in which the empire's borders were expanded. The emperor played an active role in the arts, both painting and composing poetry himself and prompting court painters and sponsoring the publication of catalogues of the imperial collection...¹¹⁶

Nie clearly separates the Manchu from the Han and labeled them “the patrons of Chinese art.” He also pointed out that both the Kangxi emperor and the Qianlong emperor had changed the existing tastes, techniques, categorization and publication of Han Chinese art. Should we refer to the new Chinese art as “Manchu art” in light of the changes brought about by the Qing rulers? Nie Chongzheng points out that “throughout the Qing, Chinese artists were forced to become conscious of their cultural tradition; they struggled to define it and to find the best way to preserve it. Following past masters, they embraced artistic traditions while reinterpreting them in creative and individualistic ways.”¹¹⁷ The struggle he refers to is clearly that of the Han Chinese artists who worked under the Manchu. They had to either commit themselves to the Manchu ideology and ethnicity, or preserve the artistic tradition left by the Han masters. Either path would have been hard for them - if they chose to keep Han Chinese artistic traditions, the Manchu emperors might question their disregard of Manchu ethnicity and identity; if they committed themselves to Manchu ethnicity, they would lose their Han identity. Possibly because of these struggles, a number of Jesuit artists (Jean Denis Attiret 王致誠, Giuseppe Panzi 潘

¹¹⁶ James Cahill, Lang Shaojun, Nie Chongzheng, Richard M Barnhart, Wu Hung, and Yang Xin, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 251.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 252.

廷章, Louis Antoine de Poirot 賀清泰, Ignatius Sichelbart 艾啓蒙 and others.) like

Castiglione took over central positions in the imperial painting house Ruiyi Guan 如意館, and became the favorites of the Manchu emperors.¹¹⁸

Conclusion

Why should art historians consider ethnic art as a new genre under Chinese painting? How do Giuseppe Castiglione's paintings present ethnicities and identities of the Manchu, Mongol, Uyghur and Kazakh during his reign? Was there a distinct genre in traditional Chinese painting that could be called "ethnic art"? How did ethnic art distinguish itself within Chinese painting? What were the ethnic identities presented by minority artists from ethnic groups within and outside of China? By asking these questions, I seek to define ethnic art as a new genre under classical Chinese painting - ethnic art is a group of artforms that share ethnic cultural elements, including ethnic religion, languages, costumes, symbols, music, sports and architecture. Either by ethnic artists or non-ethnic artists, I suggest that within ethnic art there are six types of ethnic subject matter in traditional Chinese painting: ethnic portraits 肖像畫, outdoor recreation scenes (like hunting, skating, cooking and mulberry leaf picking) 戶外活動畫, tribute paintings 進貢畫, banquet paintings 設宴畫, battle paintings 征戰畫, and religious paintings 宗教畫. Across these categories, ethnic paintings share several features. First, they typically contain rich, vivid colors; second, human figures are shown wearing

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 283.

clothing patterns and jewelry associated with their culture; third, scenes take place in spacious settings, either outdoors or in large rooms; and fourth, paintings within certain categories use similar compositions, such as several banquet paintings by Castiglione like *Imperial Banquet in the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees* 萬樹園賜宴圖, *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, *The Emperor in the Suburbs Personally Receives News of the Officers and Soldiers Distinguished in the Campaign against the Muslim Tribes* 郊勞回部成功諸將士平定準部回部得勝圖 - all place the Qianlong emperor in the most eye-catching location, with people of other ethnicities surrounding him. The emperor has his officers side by side, sits or rides on horseback to welcome the Uyghur, Kazakhs, Mongols and others. The materials used for this research include a close visual study of four paintings by Lang Shining (Giuseppe Castiglione) from the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Munich Residenz in Germany and the Musée Guimet in France. Among those objects, a porcelain in the East Asia Collection of the Munich Residenz shows a scene very similar to the one shown in *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖. This thesis may contain the first comparative analysis of these two different types of artworks together.

In the first chapter, I performed a close visual analysis and identification of ethnic themes in three paintings: *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖, *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖, and

Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts 乾隆皇帝和他十二個妃子

肖像畫。For the first painting, I identified the Uyghur costume, textile patterns, hair-style, jewelry, and Muslim identity of Rong Fei, as well as her excellent horsemanship compared to other women. I also analyzed the signs of Manchu ethnicity and identity showed by the Qianlong emperor, such as his hunting skills, thumb ring and Manchu costume, as well as both riders' horses. I went on to compare the porcelain from the East Asian Collection of the Munich Residenz with this painting, coming to the conclusion that the painter of the porcelain was not as excellently skilled as Castiglione, but he used his own design in it, and possibly had seen paintings relating to Castiglione's painting before painting the porcelain. Lastly, I also compared other portraits of Rong Fei with this painting, and identified the different stages of her life shown in these portraits.

For the second painting, I used ethnopolitical research on Kazakh ethnicity and identity to identify the horse as a sacred animal in Kazakh culture, as well as the ethnographical presentations of Kazakh culture and costume, the relationship between the Kazakh and their animals, and Kazakh personalities based on the painting. First, I introduced the Manchu and Kazakh political relationship under the tribute system; second, I briefly introduced the ethnicity and culture of the Kazakh; then I studied the clothing of the three Kazakh presenting their horses in the painting; lastly, from an ethnological point of view, I pointed out that horses were represented in Kazakh religion by the god Qambar Ata, and that Castiglione suggested this kind of worship relationship clearly in this painting.

In examining the third painting, *Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆皇帝和他十二個妃子肖像畫, I argued that the giant freshwater pearls that appear on the court hats of the Qianlong emperor and his concubines are a symbol of the Manchu homeland, Manchuria, because only the Tannu Uriankhai people could legally collect and provide natural freshwater pearls to the imperial court. Similarly, wolves, sables, river otters, lynx, martens, foxes, snow leopards and squirrels were hunted for their fur in Manchuria, and specific dates, numbers, points of origin, and hunters for each shipment of fur are recorded in the court archive *Neiwu Fu Zouxiao Wenjian* 內務府奏銷文件. In addition, I argue that the *yi er san qian* 一耳三鉗, commonly known as “one ear three pliers” was an ethnic tradition of Manchu women. In light of this fact, I compared the earrings worn by Qianlong’s concubines, and their facial characteristics as rendered by the brush of Castiglione.

Chapter Two presented visual analysis of three ethnic paintings and one engraving: *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, *Bing Xi Tu (Picture of the Ice-Skating Game)* 冰嬉圖 and *Ma Shu Tu (Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show)* 馬術圖, *Receiving Surrender from the Eli(Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖. I identify the four ethnic performances - *zha ma* 詐馬 (horse racing), *bu ku* 布庫 (wrestling), *shi bang* 什榜 (musical performance), and *jiao tiao* 教跳 (horse show) -

shown in the first painting, and how Castiglione illustrated them using his Eastern-Western painting techniques. The second and third paintings depict Manchu ethnic sport activities, and I argued that before the Manchu entered Inner China, skating and equestrian contests were rarely shown in Chinese painting. Hence, skating and equestrian skills were part of Manchu ethnicity and identity. In *Receiving Surrender from the Eli(Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖, an engraving held by the Cleveland Museum of Art, I found visual markers of different ethnic identities, including the instruments played by the Uyghur musicians, the Mongolian *khadags*, and the trained falcon of the Kazakh.

In Chapter Three, I defined what ethnic art might be and what the ethnic identities of the Manchu, Uyghur, Kazakh, and Mongol were during the Qing dynasty. Further, I argued that with the successful development of the New Qing History school, there should be a corresponding “New Qing Art History” that mainly concerns Manchu art, but also the art of other ethnic groups, such as Uyghur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Tibetan art, within classical Chinese painting.

FIGURES

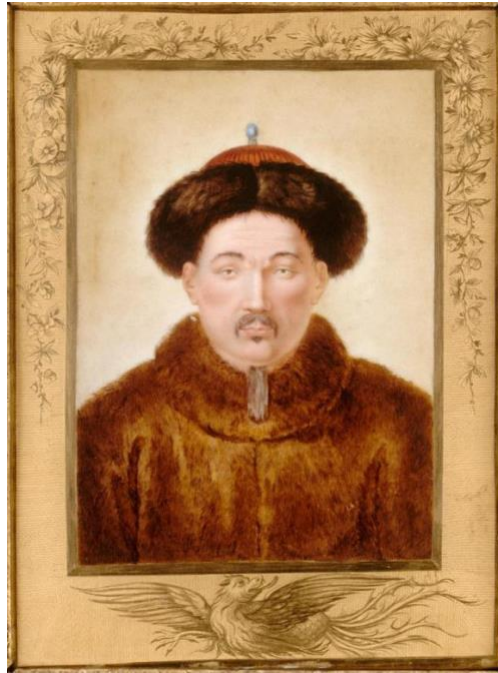


Figure 1. Title: *Portrait of a Chinese Emperor, presumably Qianlong*, artist: attributed to Charles-Eloi Asselin, after Giuseppe Panzi. Date: 1778, Location: From the cabinet intérieur of Louis XVI at Versailles. Dimensions: 237 x 170 mm.



Figure 2. Title: *Bing Xi Tu (Picture of The Ice-Skating Game)* 冰嬉圖, Artist: Jin Kun 金昆, Cheng Zhisao 程志道 and Fu Longgan 富隆安, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 35cm x 578.8cm.



Figure 3. Title: *Illustration of the Tribute Missions*, Artist: Xie Sui, Date: Qing Dynasty (1644–1912), Location: The Nation Palace Museum Taipei, Dimensions: 33.0 x 1481.4 cm.



Figure 4. Title: *A Banquet Given by Qianlong Emperor in the Wanshuyuan Garden of Chengde, Mountain Resort* 萬樹園賜宴圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 221.2cm x 419.6 cm.



Figure 5. Title: *Breaking Through the Siege at Hesui: from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions, with imperial Poems*, copperplate engraving, Artist: Lang Shiniang 郎世寧, Date: c. 1765-1774; poem dated 1759, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dimensions: 51 x 87 cm.



Figure 6. Title: *The Qianlong Emperor as Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom*, Artist: Imperial workshop Emperor's face painted by Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining) (1688-1766), Date: Qing dynasty, Qianlong reign, mid-18th century, Location: Freer Gallery of Art, Dimensions: 113.6 x 64.3 cm.



Figure 7. Title: *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: 1760- 1779, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 37.6 x 195.5 cm.



Figure 8. Title: *The Qianlong Emperor Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip* 乾隆帝及妃威弧獲鹿圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: 1760- 1779, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 37.6 x 195.5 cm



Figure 9. Title: *Consort of the Qianlong Emperor and the Future Jiaqing Emperor in His Boyhood* 乾隆帝妃與嘉慶帝幼年像, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period probably 1760s, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 326.5cm x 186 cm.



Figure 10. Title: *Ladies Enjoying Antiquities in the Eleventh Month* from *The Pursuit of Pleasures in the Course of the Seasons* 月曼清遊冊之十一月圍爐博古頁, Artist: Chen Mei 陳枚, Date: 1723-35, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 37x 31.8 cm



Figure 11. Title: *Porcelain with Underglaze Cobalt-Blue Decoration*, Artist: Unknown, Date: China, Qing-Dynasty, Location: The Munich Residence, Germany, East Asian Collection – Fragile treasures from the other side of the world. Photo by the author.

清代瓷器，德國慕尼黑王宮東亞收藏，照片為作者拍攝。



Figure 12. Title: *Celebrating Empress Dowager Chongqing's Eightieth Birthday* 崇慶皇太后八旬萬壽圖, Artist: Yao Wenhan (1740s-70s), Zhou Ben (1760s-70s) and Yi Lantai (1748-86), Date: Qianlong Period 1771-72, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 219 x 285 cm.



Figure 13. Title: *Celebrating Empress Dowager Chongqing's Eightieth Birthday* 崇慶皇太后八旬萬壽圖, Artist: Yao Wenhan (1740s-70s), Zhou Ben (1760s-70s) and Yi Lantai (1748-86), Date: Qianlong Period 1771-72, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 219 x 285 cm.



Figure 14. The Original White Feather Hat from the Xiaohe cemetery, Date: 3500-3800 years ago, Location: The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Museum, Dimensions: Unknown.



Figure 15. Title: Foreign Caravanner. Polychrome glazed earthenware. Date: North China Tang Dynasty 7th Century. Location : Musée National des Arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France. 外國旅行者，中國北部，唐代，七世紀彩繪陶器，法國巴黎吉美博物館收藏。



Figure 16. Title: Foreign Caravanner. Polychrome glazed earthenware. Date: North China Tang Dynasty 7th Century. Location : Musée National des Arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France. 外國旅行，中國北部，唐代，七世紀彩繪陶器，法國巴黎吉美博物館收藏。



Figure 17. Title: *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖 , Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qing Dynasty Qianlong Period , Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm



Figure 18. Title: *Chang Chun Yuan Tu (In the Garden of Eternal Spring)*. Artist: Attributed Lang Shining 郎世寧, Print. Date: Qianlong Period, Location: Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan , Dimensions: Unknown.



Figure 19. Title: Oil Portrait, Artist: Anonymous Court Artist, Date: Qing Dynasty, Location: Unknown, Dimensions: 114.3 x 78.3 cm.



Figure 20. Title: *A Portrait of a Lady*, Artist: Unknown, Date: 19th Century Location: Hong Kong Museum of Art, Oil on canvas, Dimensions: 68.6 x 51.3 cm.



Figure 21. Title: *Kazaks Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining) (1688-1766) and Jin Tingbiao (active at court 1757-67) 郎世寧和金廷標, Date:1757. Location : Musée National des Arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France, MG 17033 法國吉美博物館收藏, Dimensions : 45.4 x 245 cm.



Figure 22. Title: Detail from the *Kazaks Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining) (1688-1766) and Jin Tingbiao (active at court 1757-67) 郎世寧和金廷標, Date:1757. Location : Musée National des Arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France, MG 17033 法國吉美博物館收藏, Dimensions : 45.4 x 245 cm.



Figure 23. Title: Detail from the *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克
貢馬圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining) (1688-1766) and Jin Tingbiao
(active at court 1757-67) 郎世寧和金廷標, Date:1757. Location : Musée National des
Arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France, MG 17033 法國吉美博物館收藏, Dimensions :
45.4 x 245 cm.



Figure 24. Title: Detail from the *Kazakhs Presenting Horses in Tribute* 哈薩克貢馬圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining) (1688-1766) and Jin Tingbiao (active at court 1757-67) 郎世寧和金廷標, Date:1757. Location : Musée National des Arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France, MG 17033 法國吉美博物館收藏, Dimensions : 45.4 x 245 cm.



Figure 25. Title: *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date:1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.

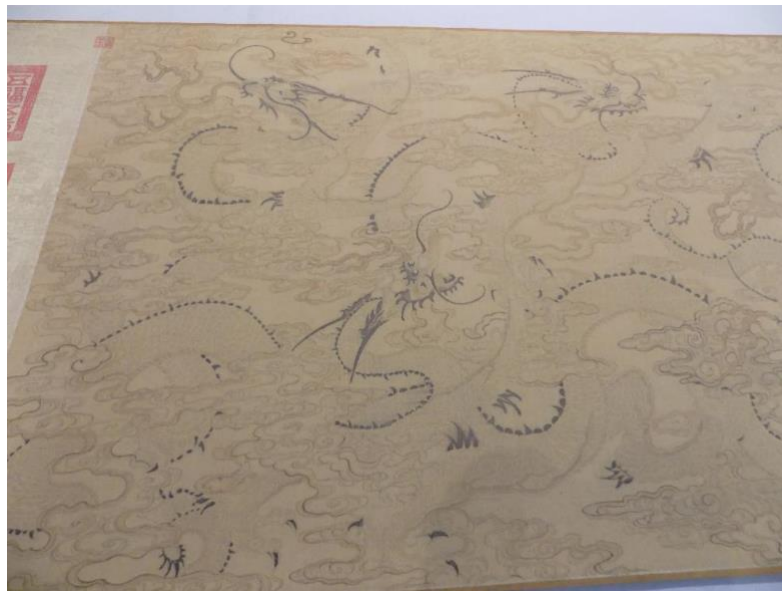


Figure 26. Title: Detail from *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date:1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 27. Title: Detail from *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date:1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 28. Title: Detail from *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date:1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 29. Title: Detail from *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date:1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 30. Title: Detail from *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date:1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.

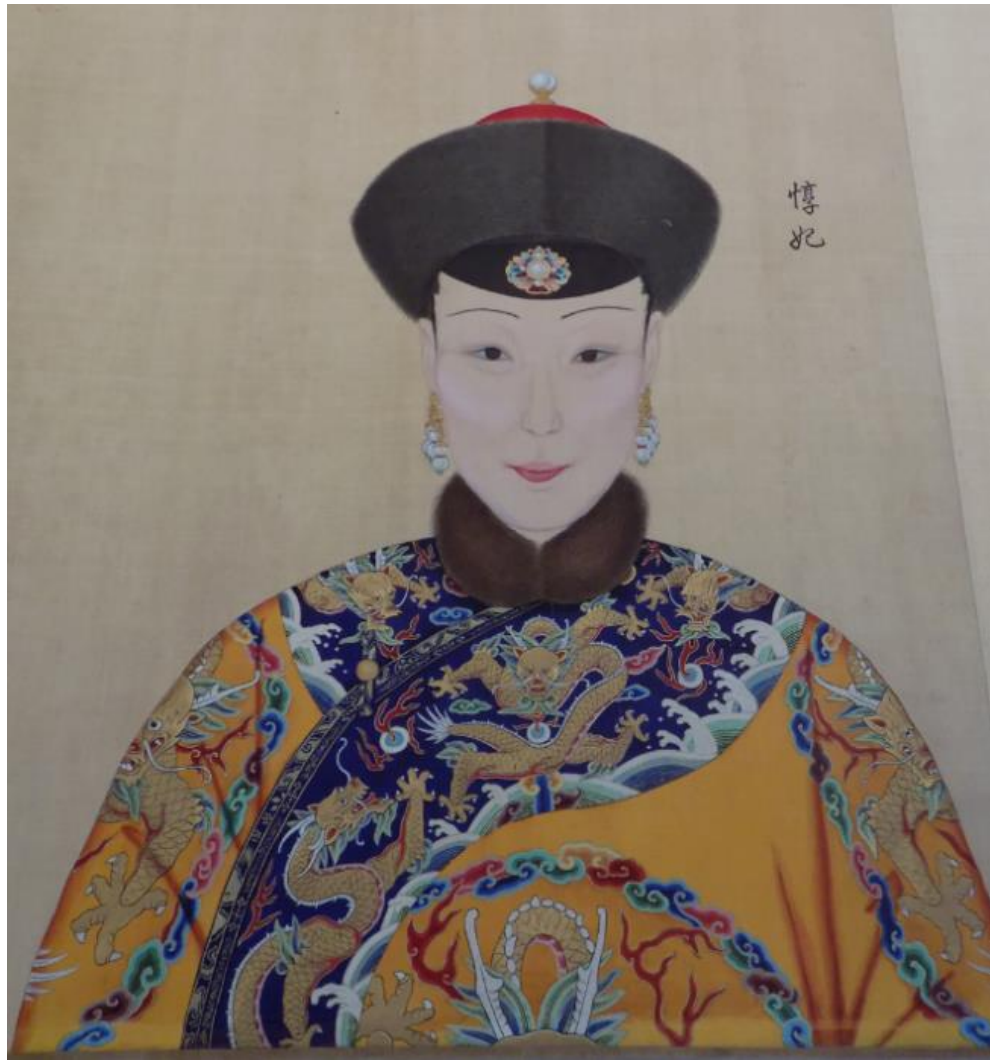


Figure 31. Title: Detail from *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date:1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 32. Title: Detail from *The Portraits of the Qianlong Emperor and His Twelve Consorts* 乾隆帝及后妃卷, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione (Italian, 1688-1766), and others 郎世寧及其他, Date: 1736 - c. 1770s, Dimensions: 53 x 688.3 cm, Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Figure 33. Title: *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖 Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.



Figure 34. Title: Detail from the *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.



Figure 35. Title: Detail from the *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.



Figure 36. Title: Detail from the *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.



Figure 37. Title: Detail from the *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.



Figure 38. Title: Detail from the *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.

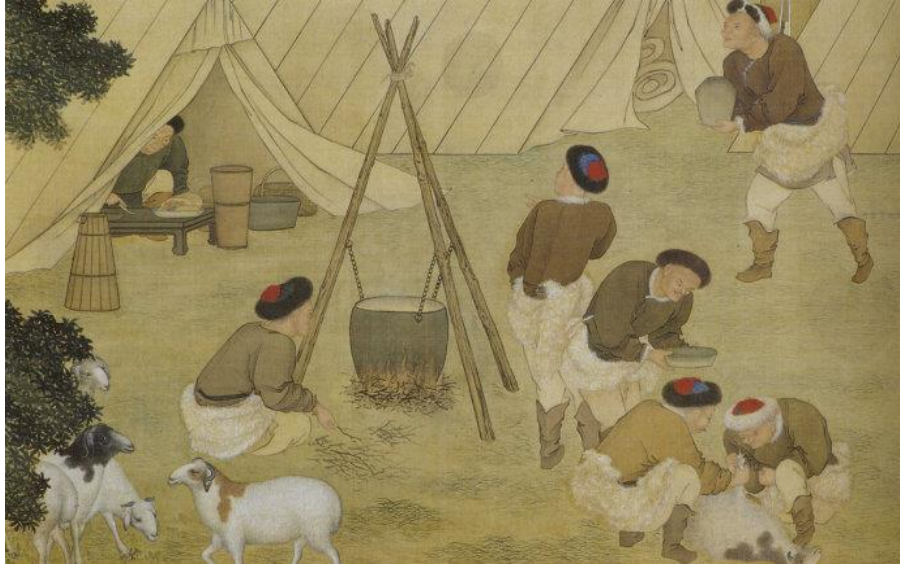


Figure 39. Title: Detail from the *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖 Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.



Figure 40. Title: Detail from the *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖 Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.



Figure 41. Title: *Bing Xi Tu (Picture of The Ice-Skating Game)* 冰嬉圖, Artist: Jin Kun 金昆 Cheng Zhidao 程志道 Fu Longan 富隆安, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 35 x 578.8 cm.



Figure 42. Title: Detail from the *Bing Xi Tu (Picture of The Ice-Skating Game)* 冰嬉圖, Artist: Jin Kun 金昆 Cheng Zhidao 程志道 Fu Longan 富隆安, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 35 x 578.8 cm.



Figure 43. Title: Detail from the *Bing Xi Tu (Picture of The Ice-Skating Game)* 冰嬉圖, Artist: Jin Kun 金昆 Cheng Zhidao 程志道 Fu Longan 富隆安, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 35 x 578.8 cm.



Figure 44. Title: Detail from the *Bing Xi Tu (Picture of The Ice-Skating Game)* 冰嬉圖, Artist: Jin Kun 金昆 Cheng Zhidao 程志道 Fu Longan 富隆安, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 35 x 578.8 cm.



Figure 45. Title: Detail from the *Bing Xi Tu* (*Picture of The Ice-Skating Game*) 冰嬉圖, Artist: Jin Kun 金昆 Cheng Zhidao 程志道 Fu Longan 富隆安, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 35 x 578.8 cm.



Figure 46. Title: *Ma Shu Tu* (*Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show*) 馬術圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 223.4 x 426.2 cm.



Figure 47. Title: Detail from the *Ma Shu Tu* (*Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show*) 馬術圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 223.4 x 426.2 cm.



Figure 47. Title: Detail from the *Ma Shu Tu* (*Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show*) 馬術圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 223.4 x 426.2 cm.



Figure 49. Title: *Ma Shu Tu (Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show)* 馬術圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 223.4 x 426.2 cm.



Figure 50. Title: *Ma Shu Tu (Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show)* 馬術圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 223.4 x 426.2 cm.



Figure 51. Title: Detail from the *Ma Shu Tu (Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show)* 馬術圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 223.4 x 426.2 cm.



Figure 52. Title: Detail from the *Ma Shu Tu (Picture of The Equestrian Skills Show)* 馬術圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 223.4 x 426.2 cm.



Figure 53. Title: *Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (Italian, 1688-1766), copperplate engraving, Date: China, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dimensions: 51 x 87 cm.



Figure 54. Title: *Detail from the Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (Italian, 1688-1766), Date: China, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dimensions: 51 x 87 cm.



Figure 55. Title: Detail from the *Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (Italian, 1688-1766), Date: China, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dimensions: 51 x 87 cm.



Figure 56. Title: Detail from the *Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (Italian, 1688-1766), Date: China, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dimensions: 51 x 87 cm.



Figure 57. Title: Detail from the *Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (Italian, 1688-1766), Date: China, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dimensions: 51 x 87 cm.



Figure 58. Title: Detail from the *Receiving Surrender from the Eli (Yili): from Battle Scenes of the Quelling of Rebellions in the Western Regions* 平定伊犁受降圖, Artist: Giuseppe Castiglione 郎世寧 (Italian, 1688-1766), Date: China, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dimensions: 51 x 87 cm.



Figure 59. Title: *Mozhu Po Shitu* 墨竹坡石圖軸, Artist: Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310), Date: Yuan Dynasty 元代 1248-1310, hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 121.6cm x 42.1cm.

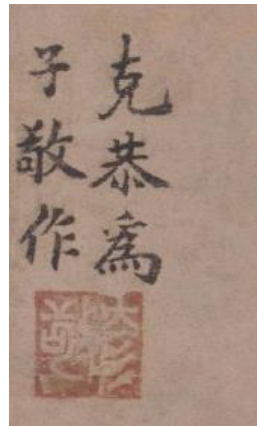


Figure 60. Detail from the *Mozhu Po Shitu* 墨竹坡石圖軸, Artist: Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310), Date: Yuan Dynasty 元代 1248-1310, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 121.6cm x 42.1cm.



Figure 61. Title: Yunheng Xiu Ling 雲橫秀嶺, Artist: Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310), Date: Yuan Dynasty 1248- 1310, Location: The National Palace Museum Taipei Dimensions: 182.3 x 106.7cm.

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- Fig. 16 Title: Foreign Caravanner Polychrome, Date: North China Tang Dynasty 7th Century. Location: Musée National des Arts Asiatiques – Guimet, Paris, France. 外國旅行，中國北部，唐代，七世紀彩繪陶器，法國巴黎吉美博物館收藏, Photo by the author, 圖片為作者拍攝。
- Fig. 17 Title: *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖, Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qing Dynasty Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm.
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Location: The Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo by the author, 圖片為作者拍攝。

- Fig. 33-40 Title: *Watching Four Performances at the Imperial Banquet in Northern China* 塞宴四事圖 Artist: Lang Shining 郎世寧, Date: Qianlong Period, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 316 x 551 cm. http://www.mam.gov.mo/oldmam/shows/qianlong/english/photo_e.htm
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- Fig. 60 Detail from the *Mozhu Po Shitu* 墨竹坡石圖軸, Artist: Gao Kegong 高克恭(1248-1310), Date: Yuan Dynasty 元代 1248-1310, Location: The Palace Museum Beijing, Dimensions: 121.6cm x 42.1cm. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/228381.html>
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