

The Qing and their tributaries

Qing perceptions of European and Steppe-peoples



Name: Hans Leijh

ECTS: 20

Student nr: 1340484

Supervisor: F. Sam-Sin

Email: j.h.y.leijh@umail.leidenuniv.nl

Date: 01-07-2019

Course: Ma Global and Colonial History

Words: 18632

Ma Thesis

Contents

Introduction	3
Origins of a masterpiece.....	14
From Mongolian <i>deel</i> to Catholic habit; Comparing Appearances	27
The Daily Life 1000 miles away; Textual Analysis	38
Conclusion.....	52
Bibliography	54
Glossary.....	56

On the Front:

Figure 1: The Franks as portrayed in the Xie Sui edition of the HQZT present at the National palace Museum in Taipei.

Introduction

“The people of the country of Fa Lan Si.

Fa lan si is also called Fo Lang Si, at once also the Fo Lang Gi of the Ming period. (...) Later they selfishly entered Oo Men [Macao] in Hiyang San Hiyan. The people there are ruthless and strong. Their military tools are sharp: they have destroyed Lioi Sung [Luzon] and Man La Giya [Malakka] several times. From the beginning they revered the Buddhist religion, when later they revered the religion of the Catholic God. (...) The people there wrap their heads in white cloth and wear a black felt cap. Taking off the hat is also considered a courtesy. Clothes and ornaments are alike to those of the inhabitants of the Small and Great Western Oceans and Lioi Sung. Women's clothing and jewelry are also similar to that of all the Dutch countries.”¹

This quote comes from the *Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributaries* (Huang Qing zhigong tu, hereafter HQZT).² It is a description of the Frankish foreigners present in their empire around 1750. The plate this description was written upon is on the front page. This description not only shows us what the Qing officials saw and thought of these Franks, strong and ruthless, but also courteous and religious. It also tells us about their earlier interactions in Macao, that the Franks had influenced Luzon and Malakka where Qing traders were present as well and what that did to the Qing. This description is not only focused on the present and the direct vicinity, but also on the past and the larger surroundings of the Qing empire. Contact with these Franks has existed for some time, but they are still different from other peoples the Qing meet.

Furthermore it tells us that the term Fo lang xi had also been used for Franks. The word Fo lang xi itself would sound like Flensh – French thus, implying a more direct connection to France. The term Franks on the other hand was used across the globe to refer to Latin Christian Europeans in general. This interpretation would be supported by its use, as the Franks' early contact with the Qing and invasion of Macao would point to the Portuguese in particular, but their presence in Luzon (the Philippines) would rather point to the Spaniards. Both of whom are not French, but would fall under the category of Franks. Other broad terms used by the Qing writers in particular in connection to Europe were the people of the Small and Great Western Ocean. Where the term Franks seems to have referred to Western Christians, people of the Small Western Ocean seems to have referred to the people of the Mediterranean, while people of the Great Western Ocean were all the Europeans in general.

¹ Appendix page 12, Xie Sui, *Huang Qing Zhigong tu*, 30.

² When it comes to the transcription of Chinese I have chosen for *Hanyu Pinyin*, following its modernity and widespread use. For the Manchu texts I prefer Abkai, formerly Dai qing Transliteration.

The description itself shows that the Qing government was not ignorant of what happened around them, but had an vested interest in their subjects. This interest was not just superficial, as the descriptions included customs of men and women alike, and findings were important enough to share them with both the Han and Manchu literates. Were these people really that strange and hard to understand, if so, why?

The HQZT was commissioned by the Manchu-led Qing court, the foreign invaders that took over China in the seventeenth-century. The Manchus reshaped both the internal and external perceptions of China. External relations changed due to the intensification of foreign trade, otherwise the foreign invasion of Macao and destruction of Luzon and Malakka by these Franks would not have been mentioned.³ Internally the Qing changed the concept of China, by stretching its borders to new limits. Influencing what is thought of today as ‘China’, by adding Tibet, the Island of Taiwan, Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang to the heartlands.⁴ The foreign heritage of the Manchu complicated their rule, but also shook up the status quo at court by introducing a new elite and new thoughts on legitimacy. The fact that they were foreigners also broadened the idea of what a Han-Chinese was and induced responses from the cultured elites.⁵ The HQZT espoused the scope of the changing Qing empire, showing its diversity in particular, by comparing the different groups with each other.

Though the Qing dynasty is blamed for the ‘century of shame’ China endured,⁶ the reigns of the Kangxi (r.1661-1722), Yongzheng (r. 1722-1735) and Qianlong (r. 1735-1796) emperors, forty years earlier, were the last golden ages of dynastic China.⁷ These emperors became the equivalent of the European enlightened monarchs, combining traditional Chinese styles of rule with their Northern heritage, and new Western influences, taking in philosophy and spreading culture while ruling firmly. The imperial work of art, literature and science HQGT is representative of this mix of styles.

The HQZT fit into both a local and a global phenomenon: the development of ethnographies. The HQZT portrays scores of peoples, not only those that offered tribute to the Qing but also those who in other ways held diplomatic relations with the imperial court. Tribute bearers from the steppe are found, such as the Kazaks, who had always only been visitors in, but never residents of the Middle Kingdom. European traders, such as the Russians with whom the Qing had started trading after the border between their empires had been

³ Mark C. Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong, Son of Heaven, Man of the World*, (New York, 2009), xi.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Some of the most influential pieces of Chinese literature were published or saw new iterations in this period.

⁶ Lasting from the First Opium war (1839-1842) to the end of WWII and the civil war (1937-1945/1949).

⁷ Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong*, xi.

settled. The native population of the South of the empire (in particular Taiwan and the Yunnan province) could not be forgotten. Nor could the island peoples of the Indonesian archipelago and China Sea, such as the people of Luzon⁸, go unmentioned as they were remarkable for their European clothing. The work paints a picture both literally and figuratively of these peoples and their habits. The images contained vary both in artistic quality and historic factuality, but are interesting nonetheless because they exemplify the Qing worldview. Ethnographies originate in all times and areas and in Europe ethnographies had found a resurgence in popularity thanks to the Enlightenment.⁹ At the same time, in China too more publications with similar styles can be found. Books portraying both the Chinese minorities and tribute bearers were not uncommon, however but rather part of a tradition.¹⁰

The Qianlong emperor himself wished for the creation of the HQZT:

“Order them to take the Miao, Yao, Li, and Zhuang under their jurisdiction, as well as the various outer barbarians (*wai yi fan zhong*), and according to these examples copy their appearance, bearing, clothing and ornaments, make illustrations and send them to the Grand Council for classification and arrangement for presentation and inspection”.¹¹

He wanted a consistent and detailed overview of all the foreigners in his empire. Scientific and pragmatic aims could also have influenced its compilation however. The creation of this work could have been to support the throne's legitimacy. Not just by showing all the people the emperor ruled, but also by aligning themselves with past traditions and works. A direct predecessor to the HQZT, for example can be found in the *Liang zhigong tu*, Liang illustrations of tributaries (hereafter LZT).¹² Unlike the Qing the Liang had been a sixth-century native Han Chinese empire. Whether the Qing really were aware of this publication is hard to say as the LZT seems to have been absent from their library and was not referenced by the authors or the emperor. In between the LZT and the HQZT, other publications focusing on tribute bearers had been published during the Tang and Song dynasties, building up a genre to

⁸ The main island of the Philippines on which Manila also lies.

⁹ Joan-Pau Rubies, Manuel Ollé, ‘The Comparative History of a Genre: The production and circulation of books on travel and ethnographies in early modern Europe and China’, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.50 (1), (2016), 305.

¹⁰ Hartmut Walravens, ‘Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese’ a unique 18th-century source for East and Central Asian history’. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 49, no. 3 (1996), 395, Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise, Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*, (Chicago, 2001), 44.

¹¹ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 46. Daqing lichao shilu / Qing Gaozong chun huangdi shilu, 390: 8-9.

¹² Hartmut Walravens, ‘Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese’, 267.

which the HQZT would in turn belong.¹³ By following their example the Qing would have shown their accommodation to the Han elites.

More aligned with the outward projection of power, another tradition that arose during the Qing was the creation of *Miao albums*. These were drawn catalogues of all the ethnic minorities inhabiting (Southern) China. They were made by the state as well as by private printers, showing a broad interest in the others of the empire. Unlike the HZQT, these albums portray the subject peoples in their daily life, working in their natural environment, instead of using static posed drawings. These albums show that the HQZT was not a singular medium, but part of a bigger ethnological movement.¹⁴

The HQZT seems to have taken inspiration of these traditions and moved onto a grander scale. The *Miao albums* had been quite limited in scope, focusing only on the ethnic minorities native to a certain region. Works such as the LZT also were more limited in scope as the Liang, or even the Tang and Song had been only a fraction of the Qing empire. Subsequently the lists of their tributaries were inherently smaller. The LZT for example had only 30 drawings, the HQZT edition by Xie Sui lists 301 drawings. The LZT had also been less focused on the appearance of individual emissaries and more on the tribute missions as a whole. The HQZT tried to combine the attention for the diplomatic relations with the attention for the living conditions of the subject peoples.¹⁵

More personal accounts were also present, the Ming trade supervisor Cai Ruxuan for example had created his own account of the people he encountered during his work. Map of the Eastern Barbarians it was called *Dongyi Tushuo* 东夷图说. In this account he wrote about both the Europeans as well as their slaves, what he had understood from them and how he tried to compare them. Whether this account was really widespread is unclear but it was taken up in the Qing libraries.¹⁶

All these works gave the emperor insight into his peoples, but most of them were incomplete, outdated or without a semblance of order. By ordering the HQZT the Qianlong emperor created the possibility to make a work that was up to date, contained correct information of the present-day contacts and which could be arranged in a more pragmatic manner, making it a more encyclopedic work.

¹³ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 44.

¹⁴ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 206.

¹⁵ Eun Joo Jeung, 'The Historical Recognition of China to the Korean Race in Chinese Zhigong-tu', *Journal of Korean Literature in Chinese*, 2015, Vol.42, 81,122-123, Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 402.

¹⁶ Rubies, 'The Comparative History of a Genre', 302-303.

The HQZT was not the only project the Qianlong emperor had set up. During his regency he also set up the *sikuquanshu* (四庫全書 The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries), to compile all the books in his empire and he also demanded the creation of the *Huangqing Quanlantu* (皇清 全覽圖, The Complete Map of the Qianlong reign). This was an updated map of his empire after his grandfather had created the *Huangyu Quanlantu* (皇輿 全覽圖, The Complete Map of the Kangxi reign) in 1717, both of these maps had been created with the help of European missionaries.

The HQZT has seen several editions and forms of publication, among these are painted albums, xylographic prints and painted scrolls.¹⁷ The most ubiquitous and well-spread versions are scrolls. They were published in the mid-eighteenth-century under the rule of Qing emperor Qianlong. The text that is written down together with the drawings is written both in literary Chinese and Manchu. There are several versions of these scrolls, with small differences between them, both in the text as well as in the pictures. These can be intentional and artistic license, or erroneous. For example, as Giovanni Stary pointed out, in one of the versions the slaves that are portrayed have a pinkish color for their skin, while pictures portraying the clergy have a brown/black skin. Since this is the only version in which this happens, and the text is not changed to reflect this, we can be sure that this is a simple painting error.¹⁸ Other deviations between versions seem to be reflective of changes between the original and later copies. The original from which all copies stem, is supposedly preserved in the historical Museum in Beijing, but even at the time of printing several versions and copies were made on order of the emperor.¹⁹

Among the most well-known editions, are those by the authors: Ding Guanpeng, Xie Sui and Zhuang Yude, the original is referred to as the *Yuanmingyuan Album* (圓明園). Editions and later versions are recognizable by differences in pictures, text and number of images included. For example the versions of Xie Sui and Zhuang Yude do not contain the same amount of peoples, but the text they contain is the same.²⁰ The version I refer to is an edition by Xie Sui. Because it is the only one that provides clear high resolution images, it offers great legibility. It is bilingual, presenting both the Chinese and Manchu and is in color.²¹ Thus

¹⁷ Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 399-404.

¹⁸ Giovanni Stary, 'Missionaries, the Low Countries and Their Dependencies, as Described in Xie Sui's Manchu "Pictures of Tribute-Bearers"' in W.F. Vande Walle, N. Golvers, *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing era (1644-1911)*, (Leuven, 2003), 205-216.

¹⁹ Hartmut Walravens, 'Das Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur', Alessandra Pozzi, *Tumen jalafun jecen aku: Manchu studies in honour of Giovanni Stary*, (Wiesbaden, 2006), 267-269.

²⁰ Hartmut Walravens, 'Das Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur', 271, 282.

²¹ <https://www.shuge.org/ebook/zhi-gong-tu/>

making it a lot easier to study those details. Another prominent edition is the one in the *sikuquanshu*, (The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries), this one is also legible, but monolingual, only in Chinese, black and white, and less detailed.²² Thanks to the differing editions and versions that have been published however, cross-referencing can be used to help with missing texts or parts that need further clarification. Other versions' picture quality is sorely lacking, are often uncolored and Manchu is written with such thick strokes that it is hard to understand. Those versions were unsuitable to form the basis of this research.²³

The edition by Xie Sui was painted on four scrolls, their height is consistent as all of them 33,8 or 33,9 cm long, but their length is rather variable, the first two scrolls are 14 meters long and the latter two are 18 and 17 meters long.²⁴ The scrolls portray all kinds of people ranging from Europeans (e.g. the Dutch, the Swiss and Russians), neighboring Asian cultures (e.g. Koreans, Vietnamese, and the Mongols), minorities in the Qing empire (native inhabitants of Taiwan and Yunnan and the peoples that remained in Manchuria), differing ethnicities of far-flung India (Gurkha's), but also subsets of peoples, such as black slaves or Catholic clergy. Of every country, nation, ethnicity or subgroup, both a man and a woman are portrayed wearing the clothing of their country and the attributes that suit them. The text reflects both typical aspects of their dress as well as their behavior.

The main question asked is: Why does the 18th century Qing Chinese perception of European peoples differ from their perception of their North-Western neighbors? Of course it could have been because Europe was less traveled by the Qing. Or that the missionaries present gave an incomplete view of their home continent. But due to the Jesuit presence at the Imperial court and contact with the traders all across their empire, Europe instead had a lot of contact with the Qing, most of which was complete and honest because lies could always be easily unraveled. By comparing two categories of peoples observed in the scrolls we can decipher the influences that played a role in the creation of this source and their purpose. By answering this question we can ascertain whether the Qing perception of foreign elements, is related to the current perception of the people of Xinjiang and Europeans.

Approaches to the HQZT

²² <https://www.shuge.org/ebook/huang-qing-zhi-gong-tu/>

²³ Zhuang Jifa (莊吉發), Xie Sui "zhigongtu" manwen tushuo jiaozhu 谢遂《职贡图》满文图说校注, (Taipei, 1989).

²⁴ Hartmut Walravens, 'Das Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur', 271.

The HQZT has caught the attention of scholars from disparate fields of study.²⁵ Before I will introduce my own approach to tackling the main question of this thesis, a few words on the scholarship to date: Cultural and art historians have primarily looked at the representation of peoples and their clothes from differing areas, see for example the works by Hanson and Eun.

Hanson used the HQZT, among other sources, as a lens with which to see the fluctuating usage of Taiwanese indigenous clothing. In particular she remarked how their traditions eroded against the growing influence of Chinese culture and socio-economic pressure. In particular she used the Chinese ideas of barbarianism, a state in between humans and animals reserved for those who are human but do not assimilate Chinese values, in clothing and rituals. In time indigenous clothing, even those of the chieftains, came to represent the perceived savagery and barbarianism of the natives. The HQZT is used as a factual portrayal of the natives, that categorizes the natives as savages and propagandizes Chinese values.²⁶

Eun took on various 'Illustrations of tribute bearers' through the centuries, from the Liang, Tang, Song, Ming and Qing dynasties, looking at the historical factuality of the descriptions and relations between the Chinese dynasties and the Korean kingdoms.²⁷ What Eun saw was a factual portrayal of these relations based on up to date encounters. She did not make use of any big theories however, taking the text and imagery at face value.

The HQZT has been placed in a more comparative perspective by Laura Hostetler.²⁸ Hostetler focuses on Chinese cartography and ethnography in particular. Her preferred approach is comparative history taking into account separate contexts, instead of writing about diachronic developments. Hostetler focuses on Qing history and her most popular works compare the use of these science in the creation of identity, in China and Europe. The sources she has studied are mostly in Chinese, and as such she predominantly focuses on historical continuity under the Qing. In her work on the role of these social sciences in their separate situations she does point out simultaneous developments, but is less concerned with crosspollination between regions and sciences, or the reasons why these developments resulted in different outcomes.²⁹

²⁵ Giovanni Stary, *Manchu studies: an international bibliography 2: Language, literature, sibe-Manchu* (Wiessbaden, 1990), 706, Giovanni Stary, Hartmut Walravens, *Manchu studies: an international bibliography*, (Berlin, 2012).

²⁶ Henrietta Harrison, 'Clothing and Power on the Periphery of Empire: The Costumes of the Indigenous People of Taiwan' *East Asia Cultures Critique*, 2003, Vol.11(2), pp.333-338.

²⁷ Eun Joo Jeong 'The Historical Recognition of China To the Korean Race in Chinese Zhigong-tu', 122-124.

²⁸ Currently professor at the university of Chicago

²⁹ Laura Hostetler, 'Qing Connections to the Early Modern World: Ethnography and Cartography in Eighteenth-Century China', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.34 (3), 2000, 623-662.

Joan-Pau Rubies and Manuel Ollé,³⁰ expanded on those question in their comparative and contextual research of Chinese and European ethnographies.³¹ Within the framework of the Great Divergence, the authors supported the idea that in the ethnological field, just like in many other fields,³² the European countries and China have gone through similar developments. For their Eastern sources Rubies and Ollé partially based their research on Hostetler. They even went a step further than Hostetler by leaving the HQZT unmentioned in their research.³³ Examples they used instead were the Miao albums and the Boxer codex, also known as the Manila manuscript, a Philippine ethnographic text that seems to combine both European and Chinese traditions as well as sources.³⁴

Both Hostetler, Rubies and Ollé do not question the purpose of scientific pursuit. Whether the pursuit of knowledge was purely scientific or if the development of maps, albums and scrolls were simply in service of that age-old adage: Knowledge is Power. Both writers do imply a certain relation to the power struggles at court and in the country, but neither become really clear. Rubies points out that ethnography and cartography, just like astronomy were Western hobbies and found attention mostly from the emperors and the Manchu elite, but were less popular with the Han Chinese. Hostetler says that the Miao albums, which were created by both the Manchu's and the Han had a more political use.

“The albums, at least their initial conception, served as informational documents aimed at a relatively limited audience: officials who desired as much information as possible about the groups described therein. Of most pressing concern were the present habits and customs of the different peoples who had recently come under their jurisdiction. Details, whether textual or pictorial, that would lead to identifying the different groups and signal what kind of behaviors and practices to expect of them was of primary importance. By contrast to the Illustrations of Tributaries, [HQZT] information on their history and provenance, while sometimes included, was less crucial. Illustrations that pictured multiple figures engaged in activities related to their beliefs, livelihood, or other distinctive practices served a purpose distinct from that of the Illustrations of Tributaries”³⁵

³⁰ Literature scholars of the university of Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona

³¹ Joan-Pau Rubies, Manuel Ollé, ‘The Comparative History of a Genre: The production and circulation of books on travel and ethnographies in early modern Europe and China’, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.50 (1), (2016), 259–309.

³² For more on the development of science in China, see the seminal works of Joseph Needham: Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, vol 1 Introductory Orientations*, (Cambridge, 1954), Joseph Needham, *Within the Four Seas*, (London, 1969).

³³ Joan-Pau Rubies, ‘The Comparative History of a Genre’, 309.

³⁴ Loreto Romero, ‘The Likely Origins of The *Boxer Codex*: Martín de Rada and the *Zhigong Tu*’, *eHumanista* vol. 40 (2018), 117.

³⁵ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 207.

What they do not go into is whether the creation of the HQZT also played a role in the creation of the Manchu ideal in contrast to all the other cultural ideals of the Qing empire. In the balancing of power and the fight against factionalism the Manchu rulers had to keep both Han bureaucrats and Manchu nobles satisfied. They strove to keep up a distinct Manchu ideal while also integrating those parts of Chinese society necessary for their legitimacy. The amount of documents and rules, however point to the fact that it was hard to make the bannermen take this ideal. The HQZT has not been studied in this sense, but there have been several researches into the conservation of Manchu identity under Qing rule, especially during the reign of the Qianlong emperor who also ordered the creation of the HQZT. Mark Elliot has provided an interesting insight on this emperor, through his highs and lows, and also paid attention to his identity-focused policies.³⁶

New Qing History (NQH) is the name of a school in historiography that fits both Mark Elliot and Laura Hostetler as well as the purposes of this research. It turns away from the sinicized view of historical works of the past.³⁷ Those works focused so much on the way the Manchu had assimilated into the Chinese institutions that they paid no heed to the Manchu cultural institutions. These works in turn had emerged from a Sino-centric perspective, after the fall of the Qing and focused primarily in Chinese language sources. NQH instead focuses on the Manchu ideals of government and identity, in particular as part of a Eurasian or Central-Asian tradition. This became possible thanks to the opening of more Qing archives and the further dissemination of the Manchu language. In turn the Qing now sees more attention from Central-Asia scholars and global historians.

Where Euns work is mostly descriptive, but based on both the images and text of one nation, Hansons work is based on the perception of a bigger group of people, but uses a more *longue durée* approach. Hostetler took into account the various sources of ethnological writing and their uses to the state, but primarily focused on Chinese writers and translations. The work of Rubies and Ollé showed the interconnectedness between travel writing and ethnological works, while becoming less detailed in their approach to those works.

I aim to stay detailed and focused on one work in particular, the HQZT, and focus on the Manchu text and interpreting that. Instead of only describing one group, taking on several groups makes it possible to weigh the factuality of the work itself to a higher degree. These groups may not have been written about in a lot of official publication, but by expanding the

³⁶ Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong*, 52,56.

³⁷ Ding Yizhuang, 'Reflections on the "New Qing History" School in the United States', *Chinese Studies in History*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2010, 92–96. Mario Cams, 'Recent Additions to the New Qing History Debate', *Contemporary Chinese Thought*, 47:1 (2016), 1-4.

scope to travel writing as well we can better understand where certain terms and views are coming from. Elliot's use of big picture policies, that some small steps might underscore a higher goal is essential to understanding the Qing views of foreigners. From the philological framework the detailed analysis of both imagery and text is taken as well as the relation these have to each other.

Method and structure

The Europeans form an obvious separate group in the HQZT, simply by virtue of the fact that their clothes and color are different from a lot of other entrants. By including a group called *The people of the Great Western Ocean*, Europeans, the compilers themselves seem to introduce this separate category.



Figure 2. Map of the Eurasian continent showing the locations of the compared peoples³⁸

The Western Neighbors do not form a separate group, and were not separated from other peoples by the compilers, instead their group is being demarcated by me. As a polar opposite to the Europeans they had an intimate history with the Qing, and were subservient to them. Their contact was of a different kind, but their background was similar to the Manchus. Both had lived in harsh circumstances with some groups living nomadic existences while others lived (semi-)sedentarily and both had been influenced by the Central-Asian empires through the ages. Only those people who bordered the Qing empire to their West are included, the Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Uzbeks and the Mongols who had moved there, taking up much of the

³⁸ Dots are placed at the locations of capitals or mentioned cities, Europeans in general are represented by the dot in Suchowola, Poland, which was calculated in 1775 to be the geographic centre of Europe.

territory of modern day Xinjiang province and the Central-Asian nations. These groups are widely presented, taking up sixteen pictures, while the Europeans took up thirteen, and are markedly different from other groups like the Tibetans and Afghans.

My approach to the research question (Why do these two kinds of people differ in representation?) is thematic. The research is divided in themes because this makes the comparison of representations understandable and operable. It is easier to understand why the Qing understood Christian religion differently when this is taken apart as a whole, instead of mentioning it with every group separately. By only taking two groups of representatives the work can be studied in a presentable, but limited manner. A work comparing all the peoples in the HQZT could be very interesting, but would be very extensive. If this research proves the differences are sufficient, research of other groups or the HQZT as a whole might be warranted.

The thesis is structured as follows: the first chapter focuses on the creation of the HQZT. What is it, why is it important, why was it created and how? After this the second and third chapter focus on the interior of the source. The second chapter explains the way the plates are built up, why are several scripts used and do they have varying lengths? It provides graphical analysis and comparison. After that comes the text itself, what does it say about the rebellious nomads and uncivilized Westerners.

Origins of a masterpiece

“Order them to take the Miao, Yao, Li, and Zhuang under their jurisdiction, as well as the various outer barbarians (*wai yi fan zhong*), and according to these examples copy their appearance, bearing, clothing and ornaments, make illustrations and send them to the Grand Council for classification and arrangement for presentation and inspection”.³⁹

These were the words by which the Qianlong emperor proclaimed the creation of the HQZT in 1751. The orders were directed towards the heads of the provincial governments. They were expected to let these paintings be made, and later send them to the capital. In that same proclamation governors were told that they should not go out to look for the subject peoples. Instead they were to await naturally occurring diplomatic encounters: “(...) *the governors are requested regarding the bordering areas to wait for the traffic of public events and take this opportunity to have the portraits done. It is not necessary to send special envoy.*”⁴⁰ The pictures were made by court artists. The texts were based on the knowledge of provincial governors. The creation of the HQZT and this method of compilation did not come out of nowhere. Instead in 1750 the Qianlong emperor had set up a prototype with the help of the governor of Sichuan.

“Take the western barbarians (*xifan*), and the Luoluo with which you are familiar, and make illustrations and commentary concerning the appearance of the men and women, their dress, ornamentation, clothing, and customs. As for those with which you are not familiar, you do not need to send [anyone] to make inquiries....” Whereupon I respectfully [took] those *yi* regions (*yi di*) I had experience of and those barbarian subjects (*fan min*) I had officially met (*jiejian*), and also consulted with the civil and military [officials] in those jurisdictions, and had twenty-four illustrations made. I also followed each [illustration] with a clear explanation of the land, customs, costumes, preferences, and general circumstances of the places.”⁴¹

In this case as well as in the proclamation of the HQZT itself it is clear that the Qianlong emperor wanted first-hand accounts, of those who were already known to the governor, with particular attention to the appearance of these peoples. Furthermore it is probable that the examples the emperor had sent to his second proclamation, were the result of this first trial.

³⁹ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 46. Daqing lichao shilu / Qing Gaozong chun huangdi shilu, 390: 8-9.

⁴⁰ Hartmut Walravens, ‘Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese’, 397.

⁴¹ Hartmut Walravens, ‘Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese’, 397-398, Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 45.

These imperial proclamations are the first time we learn of the creation of the HQZT and no further mention of them is made until the first publication comes out. As such there is a lack of precise details on how the HQZT came into existence. No reactions by the governor have been found or copies of the pieces they sent back. What remains is what the source itself tells us as some plates discuss the context under which individual plates were created.

“In the twenty-second year of the Qianlong emperor, after the Eastern Kazakh Abulai Abulbambit and the Western Kazakh Abilis had taken numerous cities, they surrendered with true intentions, and individually sent a son and a nephew on a mission to the imperial capital, they were sent off to go to court in the city. After they took their horses in the hand, their documents and pictures were immediately entered.”⁴²

“In the twentieth year of our Qianlong period soldiers were sent there to subjugate the people and settle there afterwards. All pictures and records were entered.”⁴³

The image these phrases paint is one of immediate action, of governors jumping on the opportunity to add someone to their list. They do not mention who made the portraits or who wrote down accounts by and of the subjects. Only a few mention literally that these peoples were entered, with slightly more simply referring to the last contact they had had with these subject peoples. Since most direct references only happen with the Western Neighbors, it is hard to say whether the governor of Xinjiang was more pronounced in his activity or whether the accounts on the European just lacked this notion.

A Rulers' Wishes

In the creation of the HQZT an important question remains. What was the use of compiling this work? If it were solely a piece of literature or art, the question would not be necessary, but instead it is a piece of politically motivated science. Was the reason Qianlong ordered it one-dimensional or did it have deeper motivations? Were these motives attained?

The edict that Qianlong passed to his provincial governors to start its compilation prefaces it with an obvious lead-up.

“My dynasty has united the vast expanses. Of all the inner and outer barbarians (nei wai miao yi) belonging under its jurisdiction, there are none that have not sincerely turned toward Us and been transformed. As for their clothing, caps, appearance, and bearing, each [group] has its differences [from the

⁴² Appendix, Kazakhs, 21.

⁴³ Appendix, Mongol princes of the Ili, 17.

other groups]. Now although we have likenesses (tuxiang) from several places, they are not yet uniform and complete.”⁴⁴

His primary aim comes across as perfectionist, wanting to complete and streamline earlier compilations. Qianlong realizes there is cultural diversity within his empire, he shows no signs that he wants to change that. Instead he wants to catalogue it in a consistent manner. He also accepts that through the contact they had with the other peoples, the others had changed.

Walravens translated the edict slightly differently and consequently the mood shifts: ‘*After our dynasty has unified the Empire, the foreigners and strangers from within and outside our border show their loyalty and turn to Chinese culture.*’⁴⁵ Not only does this translation seem more active and happening in the present, the part about ‘turning’ seems more prevalent. Whether they turn due to the cultural superiority of the Qing or its diplomatic importance is for the reader to know. In both cases however civilizing the barbarian does not seem to be the purpose of the HQZT. The goal is understanding the difference, not bridging the gap.

In the edict that demanded the creation of the early samples Qianlong said nothing directly concerning his motives either. As recounted by one of the edicts’ recipients:

“On the eleventh day of the eighth month of the fifteenth year of the reign of the Qianlong Emperor, 1 [Celeng] received an imperial edict written and sent by the Grand Secretary, Loyal Prince, Fuheng, ordering me (your servant): “Take the western barbarians (xifan), and the Luoluo with which you are familiar, and make illustrations and commentary concerning the appearance of the men and women, their dress, ornamentation, clothing, and customs. As for those with which you are not familiar, you do not need to send [anyone] to make inquiries....”⁴⁶

Even if Qianlong wanted to create a more complete and structured catalogue, a certain aim seems to stand in the way of his goal. In its last sentences this becomes prevalent. The people that should be subject of the scrolls do not include everyone everywhere instead the subject peoples are limited to those who are known to the governors.

Why would the emperor have been so determined to compile the scrolls after his realm had been pacified? To make sure his empire was the biggest? to be able to say that everyone had turned to the Chinese? to ensure envoys safe travels? The fact that the compilers should

⁴⁴ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 46.

⁴⁵ Walravens, ‘Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese’, 396.

⁴⁶ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 45.

focus on those they got into contact with naturally, disqualifies the first options as these primarily aim for the highest prestige. The safety of envoys could also hardly have been a priority as even those sent to safe places were not sure they would live.

The HQZT was just one of many of Qianlong's Great Works, and in those other works certain aspects are recognizable. The creation of the HQZT seems to have spun from the same drives that wished for the creation of the *Sikuquanshu*. By considering the similarities we might come to some conclusions. Concerning the creation of the *Siku quanshu* Elliot identifies four main goals:

“We can identify at least four main goals behind Qianlong's Complete Library. Most basic, (...), was a wish to secure his place in the pantheon of great men of letters. (...) A second aspect of the genesis of the Complete Library was Qianlong's bibliophilic wish to expand his library(...) A third goal was to provide accurate texts to the empire's men of learning. (...) The fourth and final goal of the Complete Library project was to find and eliminate any remnants of anti-Manchu literature.”⁴⁷

These goals can be divided into personal and political motivations. The first and last goal manifest his legacy, legitimacy and power by maintaining tradition, exerting influence and rooting out the enemies. The second and third reason represent Qianlong's epistemological drives, his wish to drive science further. This interpretation is favorable and as Elliot notes, the censorship Qianlong presided over can easily make him a villain instead of a hero.⁴⁸ One might criticize him over the conflict between these points as well, if he was so curious after all written literature why would he think it to be so important to destroy all anti-Manchu literature. This literature was probably a thorn in his side, just like the sentiment as a whole and when it came to it, the political goals outweighed the personal ones.

The creation of the HQZT can similarly be summarized as a consequence of personal and political goals. On a personal level the emperor was curious as to what his empire looked like and who inhabited it, the epistemological drive. His universalism and wish to be the perfect monarch propelled him, his drive to prove himself and his legacy. Through creating the HQZT the empire put its contacts into context, indicating their power to the world, further signing off on legitimacy, and that it was able to categorize information on subjects and possible future enemies, thus creating a platform from which to exert power in the future.

Hostetler on the other hand fights this idea, that the HQZT had a practical purpose, rather leaving that to the gazetteers.

⁴⁷ Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong*, 120-121

⁴⁸ Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong*, 122

“The explanation is simple: like the differences between a small-scale and large-scale map, the scope and purpose of the Illustrations of Tributaries differed from that of a gazetteer, and of the albums. More than an aid in the governance of a specific region, it was to be a reflection that the various peoples portrayed had “turned toward civilization.” The idea was to display the splendors of the realm in all their diversity. The imperial nature of the project also accounts for the attention to the administrative history of each group at the expense of some richness of detail”

“This can be seen in the Illustrations' concern with the history and origins of the various groups, their nature, customs, clothing, and the regions where they lived “

Instead it could be argued that the gazetteers compiled all the information on the South-Chinese minorities. Hoping to ensure smooth rule through extreme detailing. This degree of detailing could not be expected of works on the other groups present in the empire and were not necessary. Instead the description given in the HQZT was good enough to secure rule over the other groups as the context was broad enough.

Whether the HQZT was used a lot after its creation is debatable. The many reproductions would point out a certain popularity of the work and when a version came into European hands, they too were very intrigued by it. That does not mean it saw much use after its compilation. The emperors that followed Qianlong were less reputable and less inclined to scientific developments. Consequently the HQZT got no later follow-ups, and it seems unlikely that it was consulted in the creation of policy concerning either the Europeans or other groups.

Editions/Versions

In 1757 a first complete version was compiled in twelve chapters according to the provinces the plates came from. This edition is known as the *Yuanmingyuan* album, and is the first of several versions of the HQZT. It is called an album because instead of scrolls the plates are presented separately in cases. These paintings on silk include 550 separate pictures representing 275 groups. The *Yuanmingyuan* album still exist, which cannot be said of its namesake palace, which was destroyed during the Second Opium War. Its whereabouts are something of a mystery however, as the last time a part of its manuscript was translated was in 1936.⁴⁹ Up until this day the original is thought to reside with the National Palace Museum

⁴⁹ Hartmut Walravens, ‘Das Huang Ch’ing chih-kung t’u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur’, Alessandra Pozzi, *Tumen jalafun jecen aku: Manchu studies in honour of Giovanni Stary* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 266. Ligeti Lajos: ‘Egy XVIII. századi kínai munka a magyarokról’ in: *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, (Suppl. 1936), 129-138.

in Beijing, while Walravens states a fragment exists at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.⁵⁰ The version they have available to the public is indeed an album and shows signs of older provenance. On the other hand it is uncolored, only in Chinese and contains enough drawings to be a copy of another full edition instead of merely a fragment of the album.⁵¹

At the same time the *Yuanmingyuan* (圓明園) edition was made, another one was created, the first head of that project was Ding Guanpeng (丁觀鵬), and it was held in the *Qianqing gong* (乾清宮) palace in the forbidden city. This is however presumed to have been lost when that palace went up in flames.⁵² Other well-known editions are those of the *Wu ying dian*, the Imperial printing shop, and two later editions lead by Xie Sui (謝遂) and Zhuang Yude (莊豫德). The edition by Zhuang Yude was made by an artist collective, and probably commissioned, around 1805, to replace the lost edition by Ding Guanpeng.⁵³ The edition by artist Xie Sui only bears his name, but due to the scope of the work it is unclear whether he made it alone. There is no explicit imperial order for it, but it does contain several Imperial seals, an imperial preface and poems by several bureaucrats, such as grand secretaries, dukes and marquises, as such it had to have been commissioned.⁵⁴ Owning one was not something for the nobility, but primarily for the emperor, who wanted to have several for his differing residences.

Another notable edition of the HQZT is the edition taken up in the *sikuquanshu* (The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries). Qianlong great project to collect all books created and present in his empire, especially the rare books.⁵⁵ Its construction took nineteen years and resulted in seven libraries, four of which were to be located near his important palaces, just like the HQZT editions.⁵⁶

These editions existed concurrent with each other, all seemed to have been imperial but were definitely different. First of all, their materiality differed, the *Yuanmingyuan* was an album while other editions were painted on silk to form scrolls, the version by Ding Guanpeng was one scroll long, other versions comprised four.⁵⁷ Every edition orders the peoples in a different way, the album ordered them by the location the paintings came from,

⁵⁰ Walravens, 'Das Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur', 266-267, 282. Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 401.

⁵¹ 皇清職貢圖, Huang qing zhi gong tu, Figures des peuples étrangers. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Chinois 1819: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9006598m/f51.image>.

⁵² Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 401.

⁵³ Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 403.

⁵⁴ Walravens, 'Das Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur', 272-274.

⁵⁵ Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong*, 118.

⁵⁶ Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong*, 120.

⁵⁷ Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 401.

whereas for example Xie Sui sorted them by where they came from. Most editions were painted by hand, while the *Wu ying dian* and *sikuquanshu* editions were woodblock prints.⁵⁸ Because the version by Ding Guanpeng no longer exists there can only be speculated how it fit on one scroll. Therefore it is believed it could fit on one scroll, either by cutting some images, or making the pictures themselves smaller and less detailed. The *Wu ying dian* edition on the other hand had several versions based on reprints, to these reprints' portrayals of the Gurkhas and Afghans were added when their tribute missions had taken place. The obvious dating of these missions, which took place after the first editions had been printed, have in the past helped date the various editions. Due to the fact that in the Xie Sui edition the Gurkhas and Afghans are portrayed, we know with absolute certainty that this edition was created post-1760.⁵⁹



Figure 3. The Franks' representative (also picture on the front) as pictured in the *sikuquanshu* copy.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 399.

⁵⁹ Hartmut Walravens, 'Das Huang Ch'ing chih-kung t'u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur', 282. Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 399-404.

⁶⁰ Thanks to the Ctext-project a lot of the *Sikuquanshu* is available online, among which the HQZT. It is available online through: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=472128>, <https://archive.org/details/06046338.cn/page/n126>, <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=145632&page=129>.

Like the *Yuanmingyuan* album, the version of the *sikuquanshu*, is referred to by the location of the work instead of the head creator. The version included is an uncolored copy containing only the images and the Chinese descriptions. The presentation and the presence/absence of certain tributaries does make it possible to decipher which edition it was based on. The edition contains nine scrolls, the first of which starts with the Koreans and closes on the people of Yaliwan, a country that is hard to point out exactly, the second scroll starts with the people from Western Tibet and closes on the people of Lukjin. In combination with the fact that people are presented together, this points to the fact that it cannot have been the Yuanmingyuan edition. The absence of the tributaries from the Gurkha's and the Afghans, on which the second scroll would later end, means that it is also not a copy of the edition by Xie Sui or Zhuang Yude. Even though the images are uncolored they are still detailed so Ding Guanpeng also falls of. The remaining possibilities include an early version of the *Wu ying dian* print, an unknown version of one of the other editions, or a completely unknown edition.⁶¹

The Xie Sui version observed in this thesis, is currently located at the National Palace Museum in Taipei.⁶² Among the advantages this edition holds, in comparison to the other texts, are the fact that its pictures are quite large and detailed and that they are in color. This edition contains 271 descriptions in total, among the parties portrayed are all of the later additions. This firmly places the edition in the post 1790 timeframe, the last years of the Qianlong emperor.⁶³ As such the Xie Sui edition is the most complete edition of the HQZT to be published under Qianlong's reign.

The first scroll of this edition starts with the peoples of the Korean and Annamese kingdoms. After that it intermittently depicts all of the European peoples, together with the Japanese, Indochinese and Indonesian peoples. On the other scrolls the Europeans do not reappear. The second scroll depicts all the peoples to the West of China, starting in Western Tibet, moving to people of and around the Tarim Basin⁶⁴ and also including the Afghans and the peoples of Qinghai. The third scroll is all about the peoples of Manchuria and Taiwan, while the fourth scroll focuses on the peoples of Yunnan. Consequently, the first two scrolls are of the biggest importance to this research as they contain the main research subjects.

⁶¹ <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=583795>

⁶² Where part of the Qing physical memory has been stored since the end of the Chinese Civil War.

⁶³ Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 402-403.

⁶⁴ Among these are also the modern day Uyghurs, this term is however a Russian invention linking the people of Xinjiang with the Khaganate of the eighth century. Instead the Manchu used the term *Hoise* for them, but this term also means Muslims in general, just like the Chinese used the term *hui* for all kinds of Muslims. When *hoise* is used in conjunction with people in the Tarim I believe they meant the Uyghurs, but when the term is applied in other regions, such as Badakhshan I choose the term Muslim.

Which edition is used primarily in this research plays a big factor on the route taken and the result outlined. That the Afghans, for example, were added to the Xie Sui edition has no real consequence for this main question, to this research it merely helps determine which work is from which year. But these changes do represent the changing times and growing Qing influence, which showcases the importance of the contacts and the compilation of the HQZT.

By using this version of the Xie Sui edition instead Manchu text can be analyzed as well as smaller details. Canes, swords and beards are more recognizable and can be made part of the comparison. For example, the daggers the representatives of the Mongol princes wear can be seen more easily. The text used in this version of the Xie Sui edition also influences the translation as it chooses other phrasings and other words compared to for example the version used by Zhuang Jifa, this influences the titles of places as well as the flow of the translation. These changes include the preference to use longer words, such as *forgon* instead of *fon*, while both mean time or season, and the increased use of implied subjects, instead of recalling it several times.⁶⁵ Though most changes are small, changed translations can in turn influence the comparison itself.



Figure 4: The Mongol princes of the *sikuquanshu* and Xie Sui edition compared⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Appendix, Uyghurs of An si tinggin, 31.

⁶⁶ <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=52041&page=33>, Appendix, Mongol princes of the Ili, 17.

Compilation

The knowledge encapsulated in the scrolls was a combination of history and current political development of the subject peoples. As such knowledge could not solely be based on new encounters, instead it had to be based on the collection of knowledge in an extended timeframe. This knowledge originated from other sources than direct interactions too, instead being extracted from other sources. This is supported by Walravens' claim that the contributors drew from the *Dai-qing yi tongzhi* (大清一統志, 1744, Comprehensive geography of the empire), and the *Wenxian tongkao* (文獻通考, Comprehensive Investigations based on Literary and Documentary Sources) as well as historical works.⁶⁷

The Comprehensive geography of the empire, ordered by the Kangxi emperor in 1687, was written by a group of Han scholars, under the leadership of Xu Qianxue (徐乾學, 1631-1694). Xu was an important writer, gazetteer and bureaucrat. An example of his influence, was his participation in the compilation of the *Ming-shi*, the Qing ordained dynastic history of the Ming, but he was also involved in the power struggles of the court, and eventually kicked out of the higher ranks for corruption. When he died in 1694 his work was not yet complete. *'The manuscripts of the gazetteer were revised time and again until they were finally put into shape in 1743 and printed in 1744 in 356 chuan.'*⁶⁸ As China grew to include Turkestan, the Comprehensive geography of the empire was edited to also include it in 1790, in turn indicating its appreciation long after the death of its primary contributor.⁶⁹

The Comprehensive Investigations based on Literary and Documentary Sources, was a history about the past administration of China written in the Yuan period. At first it focused on the Song dynasty (960-1279), but during the Ming and Qing dynasties new books were published under the same name. These versions were called *Xu Wenxian Tongkao* (續文獻通考, published in 1586 and 1767), or New Comprehensive Investigations based on Literary and Documentary Sources. The original differed from other histories because it was less focused on biographical depictions of the bureaucracy, instead preferring to create an overview of the dynasty. The Qing publication followed up on the Yuan original describing the time between the Song and the Qing itself, the Ming publication on the other hand took on a more detailed

⁶⁷ Hartmut Walravens, 'Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese', 398

⁶⁸ Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912*, 311

⁶⁹ Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912*, 311

stance coming across more alike an encyclopedia.⁷⁰ The use of the *Wenxian tongkao* and the *Dai-qing i tongzhi* for the HQZT lay in its description of regions, customs and tributaries.

The *Dai-qing i tongzhi* is referred to as a gazetteer by both Hummel and Walravens, but neither of them defines gazetteers. Hostetler does define these and sets them apart from local histories:

*“I use the term local histories for books written by individuals (ji, shu), I reserve the term gazetteer (fang zhi, tong zhi) for works of a more official nature, often commissioned imperially for a given region(...) gazetteers tend to follow a more standardized format”*⁷¹

Taking her stance, it is indeed logical to call it a gazetteer, the *Wenxian tongkao* can probably also be called a gazetteer as it tried to follow a standard imperial format set by the Tongdian. Terminology helps distinguish what was official and what was personal. It is in turn important that these referenced works were gazetteers, because those came from official sources and espoused the view of the empire instead of the local and personal interpretations.⁷²

Whether these were indeed used to compile the HQZT is of importance because that would mean that instead of primary personal encounters, historical works were used. This would not only undermine the goal the Qianlong emperor set, but would also mean that instead of just getting a contemporary interpretation of relations with these foreigners, they would also be influenced by past experiences. On the one hand this would put the Qing perception more firmly in the Chinese tradition, on the other it would take away from the fact that these relations were partially based on a blank slate after the Qing replaced a lot of bureaucrats.

In practice it would seem that these works were mostly used for two goals: 1) to understand the changes time had wrought on the names of nations and peoples. The texts did not mean to analyze the changes between these peoples but did aim to bridge the understanding and help realize who certain groups descended from.

⁷⁰ Ulrich Theobald, *ChinaKnowledge.de, An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art* <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/wenxiantongkao.html#wangqixuwenxiantongkao>

⁷¹ Laura Hostetler. ‘Qing Connections to the Early Modern World: Ethnography and Cartography in Eighteenth-Century China’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 2000, Vol.34(3), 625-626.

⁷² Ulrich Theobald, *ChinaKnowledge.de, An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art* <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/wenxiantongkao.html#wangqixuwenxiantongkao>

“Those who are called the Uyghurs of Hami, then the descendents of the Hvi of the time of the Tang, were no longer protected and lived in Hami during the Ming, behind the Jun gar, and surrendered to us.”⁷³

2) to give further geographical information on the circumstance in which these peoples lived.

“The persons of that place were nomadic, travelling during the winter, moving where it is hot, during the summer to where it is cool. At a certain place they didn’t settle at all. On the mountain, snow piled up and rain rained, after it melted, it continually brought it over the field, watering the plants.”⁷⁴

As such these works primarily gave background knowledge. They had no direct influence on the perception of certain groups, unless the perception of their ancestors or way of life were already widely known and tainted.

Tradition

The HQZT was not the first work on the peoples of China or its many tributaries. The Chinese dynasties had built a long tradition of describing their tribute bearers. Hostetler focused on publications with similar prospects. In particular pointing out Liang efforts to document tribute bearing missions, as they would find imitation in the Tang (*Wanghui tu*, Illustrations of Meetings with Kings) and Song dynasties.⁷⁵ These were so common place and well known that they could well have served as inspiration for the HQZT.

Singular reports on foreign contacts also existed, notable among these is the *Lakqaha jeqen de takvraha babe ejehe bithe*, (Jottings on the places where one sent me in the cut-off frontiers [outside the empire]) Ch. *Yiyulu* (異域錄) or Record of Foreign Regions.⁷⁶ It is more well-known as the *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars*. This embassy took place during the rule of the Kangxi emperor over the span of 1712 to 1715. The ambassador sought contact with the Torghut khan, who lived in Russia as part of the Kalmyk Khanate.⁷⁷ The Ambassadors’ narrative was not enriched by any graphical depictions, but was rich in its description of the Torguts, their habits, customs and lifestyles. He even said that although the Torgut lived in Russia, they were more alike the Manchu themselves. Since their relation with the Qing was exceptional and irregular, they were not included in the

⁷³ Appendix An si tinggin, 31.

⁷⁴ Appendix Mongol princes of the Ili, 17.

⁷⁵ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 44,87-96.

⁷⁶ Manchu text available through the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9002744h>.

⁷⁷ Peter Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2005), 218-220,295.

HQZT at first. But after they moved back to the Qing empire in 1771, the Torgut were depicted and described in later editions of the HQZT.⁷⁸

The former illustrations and manuscripts all seem to have been made primarily to document and archive. In contrast with this Hostetler suggests that these differing sources served equally differing goals. This might be given in by the fact that the HQZT combines the portrayal of tribute bearers with the portrayal of the groups that called the empire their home. Analysis and portrayal of the Chinese ethnic groups was not something that occurred very often, as colonization of the border regions became necessary during the Qing population boom. The Qing ‘Miao albums’, manuscripts detailing the barbarians, were in fact one of the first written sources that serve this goal. Their bigger purpose seems to have been clear, to pull the southern reaches into the influence of the centers of power, and to make it easier to rule these people.

Both the Miao albums and the illustrations of Tribute bearers are interesting equivalents of ethnographies. Even if both of them served different purposes, both of them do it through the usage of similar data. Hostetler reminds us however that the information caught in these sources differs from each other as varying uses demand other types of data and details about changing circumstances. The recent upheaval on the Western steppes, the historical reluctance of the Southwestern provinces to bow to central authority and the relative unpredictability of the Europeans pointed out the importance of intelligence and influence on foreign affairs.⁷⁹

Conclusion

What Qianlong wished for his HQZT to be was an all-encompassing encyclopedia of all the people that were present in his empire. He wanted it to project his power and legitimacy while also supporting his heritage. His work was supposed to stand on itself, but the compilers included background knowledge from other seminal works. As the amount of tributaries kept increasing new editions of the HQZT kept being published. Both the Europeans and the Western Neighbors are present in all varieties of the source, as contact with them took place regularly enough for it to take place during the initial years of compilation. The work had no separate goals for separate groups, as such the onset was not different towards the Europeans compared to the Western Neighbors. That these groups were important is apparent from their prominent position in the first parts of the source.

⁷⁸ Zhuang Jifa, Xie Sui, 165-166.

⁷⁹ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 206.

From Mongolian *deel* to Catholic habit; Comparing Appearances

Of all the plates that are included in the HQZT by Xie Sui, from the first scrolls all the European representatives are considered in the comparison. The second scroll contains the other part of the comparison, the Western Neighbors, they are made up of the people of the Tarim Basin and surrounding steppes, the Uyghurs from the different cities and towns, the Oirat Mongols, the Mongols princes and the tribute bearers from Badakhshan. All in all that means twelve plates of European representatives and sixteen plates representing the Western Neighbors. After explaining how the plates are built up, this chapter will compare exact elements from the images first. Thereafter the texts are also analyzed. By making visible the general points of discrepancies these chapters will show exactly how these people were portrayed differently and why.



Figure 5: The leaders of the Uyghurs of the walled cities and ranks of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu⁸⁰

Every plate can be divided into two main elements, the texts and the images portrayed. When it comes to the images, the dress and hairstyles and ornaments are prime subjects of inspections as these vary and can be checked on historical accuracy. The stance they are portrayed in is something I take to be part of the painting process. When it comes to the text, I

⁸⁰ Appendix, Leaders of the Uyghurs of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu, 25.

focus primarily on the Manchu main text and translate these. Chinese texts and descriptions are also given, but are of lesser import to me.

Both the plates themselves and the text can be visually divided. For example, the several elements that make up each plate from left to right are as follows:

1. The Manchu description of the shown representatives and their people;
2. The female representative;
3. The title of the plate in Manchu and Chinese;
4. The male representative;
5. The Chinese description.

In the case of the example above:

1. “The leaders of the Uyghurs of the walled cities and ranks of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu. Those who are called the Uyghurs of the walled cities and ranks of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu and even tribes of the Uyghurs of the western border, also live in the ranks of the five walled cities of Hotiyan. (...)”
2. The woman in her pink/red *deel*
3. “The female leaders of the Uyghurs of the walled cities and ranks of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu”
4. The man in his golden *deel* and his turban.
5. Chinese rendition of the text.

The main text itself follows a similar division: The first line is the title of the plate. The opening sentences give a description of where these people are geographically located, followed by a description of the political situation. In some texts a little break is placed, indicating things that happened during the current Imperial reign.⁸¹ After a description of the last political encounter, the text starts describing physical aspects to and habits of the portrayed people. Every description starts with the men, but a conscious effort is made to also describe the women. After that is done the text ends and the scroll moves on to the next group.

Both the Manchu as well as the Chinese is written from top to bottom on both pages, but Manchu is read from left to right, while Chinese is read from right to left. It is unclear whether the original writers first wrote the Manchu part, or the Chinese part. As such it is hard to say whether one is the original and the other is the translation or whether they both reflect

⁸¹ This break is signified by the previous sentence stopping and the new line starting higher. The last word tends to be *Musei* i.e. our, while the next word is *Gurun* i.e. reign, rule, dynasty. The whole sentence can be translated as : In the ...th year of our Qianlong rule... Interestingly the break is only coupled with the current rule and not placed when talking about the rule of direct predecessors to the current emperor.

the same original text. Reading the scrolls the Chinese way would seem to be the most intuitive, because proceeding through the text would parallel proceeding through the images. Starting at the right with the description of the male and his image, ending at the left columns with the description of the female, to find her image on the left page. In monolingual versions such as the *sikuquanshu* edition however, the Chinese text is found after both images, so maybe this arrangement was the most aesthetically pleasing in general.

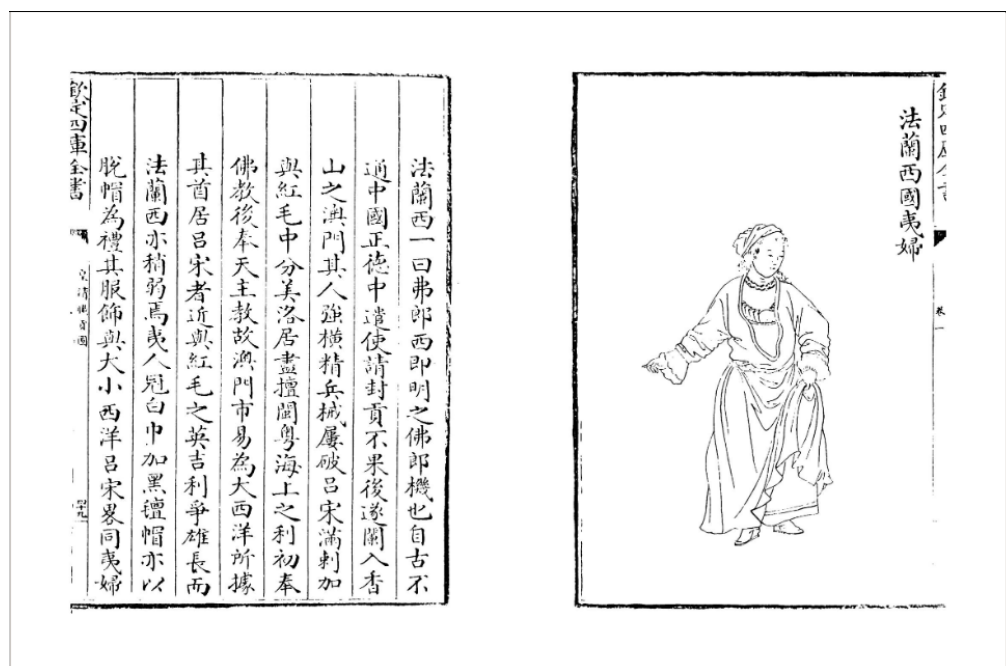


Figure 6: The Franks' female representative and Chinese text in the *sikuquanshu* version⁸²

The Male Attire

When one looks at the images of the HQZT itself both similarities and differences begin to surface. These are most prominently part of the difference in clothing style between the Western Neighbors and the Europeans. For example the Western neighbors all wear long robes, still used and known by nomadic peoples all over Central Asian. These robes are generally known by their Mongolian name: *deel*. One of the men, the representative of the Uyghurs from Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu, seen above, does stand out from the crowd, his *deel* is not in a normal color (brown, blue or red), instead it is golden. Not only does this signify his riches, but it also implies importance. The pictured Europeans wear age and region appropriate garments, in the case of the Dutch, Franks, English and Swedes this means that they wore breeches, paired with jackets and overcoats. Their Polish, Hungarian, Russian and

⁸² Digital entry to this example can be found here: <https://archive.org/details/06046338.cn/page/n128>.

Swiss counterparts deviate from them. The Swiss man pictured is wearing garments inappropriate for a merchant, instead they are more reminiscent of the clothes of the Swiss Mercenaries. The Hungarian man wears trousers, riding boots and a thicker overcoat on a shirt that is closed with a sash instead of buttons. The Polish gentleman is wearing both a Żupan as well as a Kontusz, garments that are typical for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Russian representatives, which are the only Europeans of whom both the people and the officers are pictured, also wear trousers and riding boots. Though their clothes are closed and we cannot see what is beneath them, they appear to be justacorps or frock coats. Half of the European representatives seem to be up to date on the same rules of fashion, whereas the other half wears clothes that are either more suited to their own culture and customs or to their job. The man representing the European clergy and the Swiss man wear the most monotonous clothes when it comes to color. This is actually quite fitting as most clergy wore one color related to their place in their monastic order and mercenaries wore one color to be easily distinguishable. The rest of the Europeans however are polychromatic in their choice of clothes.

Looking at the attributes held by the Europeans in contrast to the Western neighbors, one thing is apparent: The Europeans all bear arms. Ranging from the Swiss halberd to the Hungarian sabre, Polish shashka and the rapiers of the Western Europeans. The only real difference between them is that the Western Europeans carry their weapons concealed by their overcoats. The Western neighbors, on the other hand, are depicted less militarily. Only six out of the sixteen representatives are armed, with five of them only wearing daggers. In one instance, that being the chieftains of the Ili, it is unclear whether a dagger or a sword is carried, but the length of the handle seems to imply a sword.



Figure 7: The slave shows his accommodation to his owners' cultural norms

An attribute that finds use among some of the European representatives is a cane. Because it is not used by the Central Europeans, it seems to be part of the Western European fashion. This idea is further strengthened by the fact that even the black male slave, who imitates the Western clothing, has a cane. The cane does not seem necessary to all of these men as only one of them is hunched over in his portrayal, but this might just show its varied use.

While among them a lot of internal variance can be found, distinguishing the Western and Central European, this internal variance cannot be found among the Western Neighbors. Not only do they wear the same style of clothes, none of them have remarkable items in hand setting them apart. Instead they have their hand around their body, as if they are talking, or positioned on their girdle. Even though the Europeans may look a lot like each other, it is apparently important to still discern English from Franks and Polish. It would seem less important to be able to see the differences between Kazakhs or people from Turfan.

Hair, headdresses and facial fashion

In the European group, the headdresses follow the same division as the clothes do. The Western Europeans all wear tricorn hats, the Swiss man wears a feathered cap, the Hungarian wears something like a fur-lined cap, and the Russian official wears a European hat. The Russian commoner and the Polish man wear hats that are most alike the fur hats of the Western neighbors. The Western Neighbors however also have some deviation in what they wear on their heads, the neighbors' hats are all different, both in color as well as in style. Varying from higher and lower kalpaks with wider and smaller brims, to fur caps and turbans. The man who wore a richer robe, also wears a sumptuous hat, increasing his stature. In complete opposition to their dress, the headdresses the Neighbors wear are not only more varied but also more colorful.



Figure 8 : left to right: Representatives of Poland, the Small Western Ocean, leaders and common folk of Badakhshan

The men's hair is, however almost invisible because of their hats. The Western Neighbors seem to completely conceal their hair with their hats, or don't have any hair to speak of underneath them. The European tricorne might be worn atop of the hair, instead of covering it, but that does not mean that a lot more European hair can be found. That is because wigs covered European hair. It is hard to ascertain the difference between wigs and real grey hair from a drawing. The Western Europeans all wear wigs, but the Russian hair is harder to read. Since it is grey, unlike most natural hair portrayed, it might still be safe to say that they too chose to go for wigs.

More easily to see is the facial hair, and this differs from group to group, but almost all men have a mustache, and a lot of them even have beards or goatees. Due to the variation in facial hairstyles, it would suggest that this style is not very strict. The European stance towards facial hair is less generous. The Swiss, Polish and Hungarian man have some, and in all cases these are in the form of mustaches. Only the Swiss man has a bustling one however

as the others are pointed. The one other dissident is the clergyman, who has a full mustache and beard. The fact that all other men were clean-shaven is an obvious difference with the Western Neighbors. That so many of them do not have beards can be explained. Beards were seen as old-fashioned, whereas a shaven look was a sign of modernity. Especially in Russia this had been a point of policy under czar Peter the Great, who had taxed beards for everyone according to their living standards, unless they were clergymen.⁸³

Among the Europeans their hats and facial fashion are of such importance that certain distinctions can be made on the basis of them alone. If a European is wearing a tricorne he is obviously from Western Europe, if he has a beard he is probably a clergyman. The same cannot be said of the Western Neighbors, the variance in headgear makes it impossible to ascertain whether certain groups always had a certain type of hat, different regions and classes might have their own hats, but it could also be that they had several types of hats. The European variance seems to be supported by a logic, the Neighbors' variance seems to be supported by fashion.

The Women

The fact that every entrance also has a woman portrayed is special in itself. The *Liang Zhigong Tu* by contrast only portrayed men, the Miao albums depicted whatever was appropriate for the scene it was trying to portray and the same goes for the work of the trade supervisor Cai Ruxuan.⁸⁴

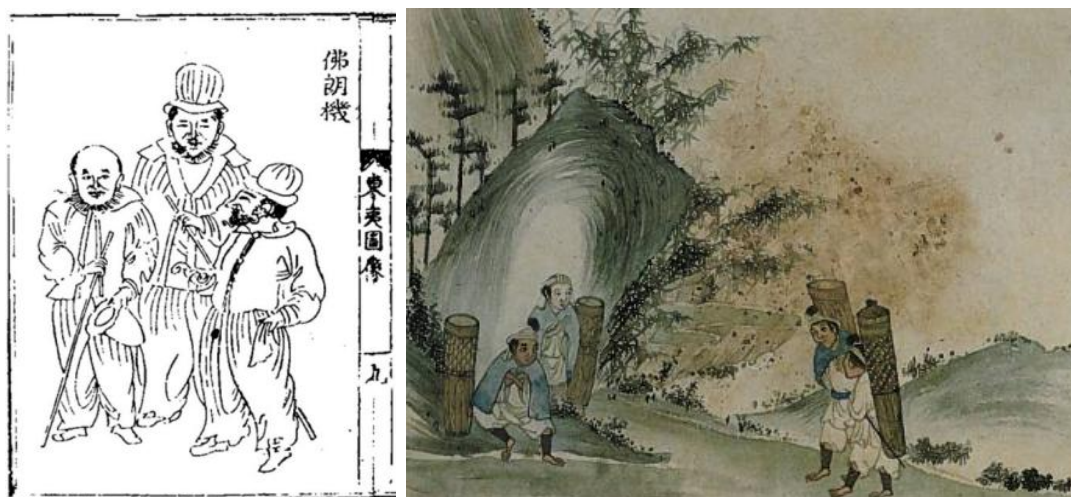


Figure 9: Folangji according to Cai Ruxuan, and Bai Luoluo from a Miao album

⁸³ Walter G. Moss, *A History of Russia, Volume 1: to 1917*, (London, 2005), 242.

⁸⁴ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 108-109, Rubies, 'The Comparative History of a Genre', 302.

In quite some cases the women are also not just side-characters, instead they are almost equal. They take up the same amount of space and are portrayed just as elaborately, furthermore they attract attention on their own, either by contrast or by being the same as their male counterpart. The European female cleric, for example, is obviously a nun whereas the female representatives related to nationalities seem to either be the wives of the male representatives or females that had some kind of relation to them.⁸⁵ The Western European women wear dresses, that are recognizable as the western fashion also seen in the works of seventeenth-century European painters.



Figure 10: Female representatives of Poland, the clergy and England⁸⁶

The Hungarian, Polish, Russian and Swiss female representatives are different. Just like their male counterparts, the women from these areas are less stereotypically ‘European’, colored differently, with faces that are less round and slightly slant eyes. This might be because these peoples are portrayed as different from the Western Europeans, but it might also be the case that these women were not actually European, but instead the local wives of the representatives. The Polish, Swiss and Hungarian women differ from their men, but still wear garments that could be considered traditionally European. The faces of the Russian women are more like their male counterparts, but in their case the dresses are dissonant. The style of their dress is even further away from those of other European women, with a bodice separate from the skirt, which in turn is so long that it rests on the floor. On top of their dress they wear mantles. The clothing of the Russian officials fits this description, but tops it by being even more sumptuous. Unlike the dresses of the Western European women, they

⁸⁵ Though the text often lacks any clarity on these relations and the women are referred to as women in general. In one case they are not only referred to with another word (*sargan*, instead of *hehesi*) this word is used in a construction indicating possession, leading to the singular instance in which the translation actually says wives of, instead of women.

⁸⁶ Appendix, Poland, Clergy, England, 6,8,11.

include smaller strips of various colors in the skirt. The mantle this woman wears seems to be almost of a Chinese make due to the inclusion of a lot of yellow, cylindrical patterns and blue stalks, mimicking the patterns on the clothes of the Emperors.⁸⁷ Sadly even the text does not explain why she breaks the tradition so much. *‘The officials wives wore red capped triangular hats and tied five-colored long, un-slit skirts. They threw short sleeveless brocade clothes over the shoulders, perhaps lined with sable.’*⁸⁸



Figure 11: Comparison of the Qianlong emperor, with the female representative of the Russian officials.

That women are being held to a different standard than the men is not only obvious from the clothing that they wear, but also the way in which this clothing is different. While the men wear breeches, which enunciate the male form, the women cannot show even a single inch of leg, whether it be ankle or knee. When it comes to their dresses however, those do show a lot of skin, especially round the neck and bosom. It is known that showing too much leg was a sign of immodesty, whereas the neck became a later subject of discussion. The Qing artists picked up on this differing attitude towards shown skin with glaring efficiency, remarking of

⁸⁷ Compare for example Appendix, Russians Officials, 15 with the Coronation portrait of emperor Qianlong by Giuseppe Castiglione, Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong*, 14.

⁸⁸ Appendix, Russian Officials, 15.

the Swedish women: *‘‘As for the women, they bare the chest through a square neck collar. In the open they tie skirts.’’*⁸⁹ and the English: *‘‘They wear short clothes and tie double skirts.’’*⁹⁰

The Women of the Western Neighbors are a complete opposite to the European women. Their clothes are almost completely the same as those of their male equivalents. They wear the same robes, with the same boots, in most cases they wear different colors, but in two instances, namely the Oirat and the Burut, the men and women even wear exactly the same. Only once do they fundamentally differ, this is in the case of the rich man. There the woman does not seem to share in his wealth, as her clothing is more in line with that of women of other peoples. Other than with the Europeans this is that strange. While in Europe it was uncommon for women to wear men’s clothing, the *deel* type robe was unisex available and open for everyone to wear.

Female hair and headdress

Of all these women, only the Russian and Polish seem to wear some kind of hat. The other women wear either a simple veil on their head or nothing. Only the Russian women come close to what the Russian men are wearing. While for the men something to protect their head seems almost mandatory, it is interesting to see that for the women such a thing is not necessary.

Whether the hair is real or fake is hard to tell, but it would be no surprise if the women wore wigs just like the men. All the grey hairs, suspect of being wigs, are worn loose and hang freely over the shoulders. The brown and black hairdos, that look more natural, are all put up in some way or another, seemingly necessitating more care.

When it came to dress the women of the Western Neighbors were primarily wearing the same style of clothing, but in the case of the headdresses they go way further. Not only do they wear more hats than their European counterparts, with only three cases going around without headdress, but out of the sixteen women portrayed, ten wear exactly the same hat as their man does. Where the male hairstyles could hardly be observed, the female style can be seen clearly. They all let their hair hang loose instead of it being tied up, and in a majority of cases the hair is even put into two long braids. Unlike the European women, none of these women wear veils. This is especially interesting because a lot of these groups are muslims peoples, and even if the wearing of veils was less in use in Central Asia, than in the Arabian heartlands, veils were also part of local customs. Not only is it harder to get a read on modesty

⁸⁹ Appendix, Sweden, 13.

⁹⁰ Appendix, England, 11.

for the Western Neighbors, but it also seems to have been less controversial, at least for the elite. This is strange because even though the Europeans would not be part of the elite, they would be part of the higher class, but still had to conform to social standards.

Conclusion to the images

Based on the images alone it is hard to distinguish all the different groups from each other as a lot of the subject people wear the same clothes and have a similar appearance. Intentionality cannot be ruled out however, certain groups are so alike each other, that it would definitely be hard to keep them apart. Certain customs and differences are obviously caught in the portraits, but also show regional interconnectedness. In particular the Western Europeans are close-knit, while the Central Europeans are not just different, but seem more alike the Western Neighbors.

Variance can support the idea that certain groups are different from others, but too much difference will make the audience focus on the similarities. It needs a logic to be strong, the variance between the Europeans can be explained, the variance between the Western neighbors needs more context, because now it cannot be explained. Whether this explanation is given in the text or is just part of a lesser interest in the Western Neighbors follows.

The Daily Life 1000 miles away; Textual Analysis

When it comes to the text, the Europeans get a different treatment than the people that are spatially and culturally closer to the Qing heartland. First of all, before the text introduces the first European nationality, the Swiss, the text takes a moment to talk about the Europeans as a whole. They are called the people of the Great Western Ocean and the texts mentions encounters with the Italians (Idaliya) and Portuguese (Bordo G'arya), who are not portrayed later on.

‘‘In the 3rd year of the Yongzheng reign, the Italian king of teaching and education sent tribute. In the 5th year Bordo G'arya [Portugal] sent tribute. In the 18th year of the Qianlong reign they came again. The people of that place revere the Catholic God. Because they understand how to trade, those who are rich and prosperous are many. Their meat and skin are snow white. The noses are prominent, the eyes are sunken and light green. They do not let their hair and beard grow, they assemble other false hair to cover their heads.’’,⁹¹

Europeans are not the only collection of people that is given an introduction, but the introduction that accompanies them is the only one that is paired with an image. When the scrolls later turn to other regions, some are also accompanied by short introductions, primarily stating when the contact had taken place and under what circumstances. The group of Western Neighbors however is not accompanied by such an introduction.

The reason that the introduction to the ‘People of the Great Western Ocean’ are accompanied by both, might have to do with their similar appearances noted earlier. Though several countries and peoples are named, the physical descriptions apply to all of them. Europeans don’t grow beards, make hats out of triangle folded felt, wear wigs, wear short clothes and leather shoes, etc. What the Swiss man shows however is that it is not necessary for a person to look like the stereotype, to still be European. Even if he does not fit all the criteria that the text sets, his country is still introduced as Helvetia of the Great Western Ocean, to be more precise: ‘*The land of He Le We Gi Ya is subjected to the land of Germany.*’,⁹²

In the same way that the first lines of all different nationalities pay attention to the way that diplomatic relations came to be. The passage on the Europeans explains the length of European interaction with the Chinese. ‘*From the Great Western Ocean came at the start of the Yongle period of the Ming-dynasty, Kurisori [Kalikut and Chola], Hurumos [Ormuz] and*

⁹¹ Appendix, Great Western Ocean, 2.

⁹² Appendix, Switzerland, 3.

some ten countries came to court and brought tribute.'' The earliest contact the Qing apparently know of is an embassy received by the Yongle emperor(1402-1424). Interesting to note however is the fact that the places named, lie in India or the Persian gulf, not really Europe. Official interaction with the Europeans started under the Wanli emperor (1572-1620). *''During the Wanli period, a man from the Western Ocean, Lii Ma Deo [Mateo Ricci], crossed the sea coming to the Middle Kingdom. Saying he was a man from Idaliya himself.*''⁹³, and were continued by the Qing under the Kangxi emperor.

A reason that some time and space are already spent on the relation with the Europeans as a whole, might be the fact that this leaves more room for other things in the individual descriptions. Only when noteworthy do the scrolls dwell on the political relation of an individual people with the Qing, otherwise more space is spent on local tradition or interesting irregularities. Of the Swiss it is said that a large part of the country is learned in ways of war, and their men often serve as guards in all of Europe, *''More than half learn military skills, some go so far as to wander countries. They are definitely employed near those who follow the masters of these countries.*''⁹⁴ consistent with the prevalence of Swiss bodyguards in Pre-modern Europe. Even though the Hungarians are still definitely European, they are said to resemble the Mongols. The exact reason for this is unclear, but the statements that directly follow this are about the Hungarian life and contain some things that might indeed seem similar, and pieces that are definitely different. *''The people there are like the Mongols. Clothes and garments are very short. Pants and socks are worn tight, like skirts and leg-bindings. They are very smart and keen and fond of the doctrine and the rules. From when they are small, they learn to ride horses short-necked and fast-running. Regularly they carry a curved sword of 4 feet on the belt. Often they dance on top of the horses.*''⁹⁵ They are alike in the fact that they learn to ride horses early on and prefer small horses, but Mongols definitely prefer longer clothes. The crooked sword may make the Hungarians an exception in the European context, but the use of curved swords, known in Europe as sabers, was normal in mounted warfare, and can hardly be a reason to say they are alike. It could also have been a reference to their overall appearance, since the Hungarians were descendants of the nomadic Magyar, they might have looked slightly different than other Europeans to the Qing officers.

Most differences between the varying Europeans do not go unspoken, the veil of the Hungarian woman is because she is expected to wear one when she goes outside, Polish men

⁹³ Appendix, Great Western Ocean, 2.

⁹⁴ Appendix, Switzerland, 4.

⁹⁵ Appendix, Hungary, 5.

wear thick long coats during the winter, and Swiss clothing is light but warm, suited to the high mountains of their home. Even between the European that are most alike differences are mentioned. For example the penchant Dutch women have: ‘*The clothes do not button and they show the breast.*’, while Swedes wear loose clothes, or that English women wear corset to slim down further, while the Frankish men wear their felt hats atop white linen. Something that recurs among several Europeans, but is not common to all of them, is the idea that they take off their hats as a sign of courtesy. It is mentioned about the Russian (*“Taking off the hat is a sign of courtesy and esteem”*), Frankish (*“Taking off the hat is also considered a courtesy.”*), Swedish (*“Removing the hat is considered courtesy.”*) and Dutch representatives (*“After meeting a person, taking off the hat and holding it under the arm was considered courtesy”*)⁹⁶ All of these connections can also be traced back to the pictures. Certain customs that cannot be found, but connect the Swedes, English and presumably the Dutch according to the text are their love for wine and snuff (tobacco) and their habit to wear whips on them.

A Place to Call Home

One of the structural differences between the description of the Europeans versus the descriptions of the Western neighbors lies in the opening lines of these peoples. The descriptions of the Europeans focus on their habits and traditions both in China as well as in their homelands. In the European cases peoples and nations are mostly synonymous, the English, for example represent both the English people, as well as the United Kingdom.

In the cases of the Western neighbors the same cannot be said. First of all because the Western neighbors, are not all part of the same state. While some were part of the Qing empire, others were part of the neighboring khanates, or were nominally part of other states. For example the people of Badakhshan, a region in modern North-East Afghanistan, East Tajikistan and West China, offered tribute to the Qing and were part of the Afghan state, but they offered tribute separate from the rest of the Afghans. Because the peoples of the Western steppes were fragmented through both ethnic and political allegiances, some people were referenced several times, depending on where they are based, or what state they adhered to. The people most affected by this are the Uyghurs, as they were the most prevalent ethnic group of the modern Xinjiang province, and its various oasis-based city-states. The scrolls divide the Uyghurs between those of Hami, those allied to the khagan Talki Usu, and those of the walled cities of Uxi, Aksu and Kuqe.

⁹⁶ Appendix, Franks, Sweden, Dutch, Russia, 12-15.

The Uyghurs were definitely not the only ones in the Western provinces however. The Khazakhs also made their home in these provinces, divided between the realms claimed by the Russians and the Chinese. The legacy of the Great Khan had also left its traces among the Uyghurs, as both Mongols and Oirats were found there. The both of them primarily fulfilled positions of authority, due to their descentance from Chinggis Khan they were royalty and formed the higher nobility just as they did in other regions of the Central Asian steppe.⁹⁷ The Oirats had formed the last big Mongolian contender state, rivaling the Ming dynasty in the fifteenth century.⁹⁸ After the collapse of their khanate, the remainders were scattered among the steppes.

Just like the description of the Europeans, the descriptions of the Western neighbors include a description of where they are located. Unlike the description of the location of the Europeans however, the descriptions of the neighbors are both relative and absolute

*‘‘The city of Anjiyan is more than a thousand li to the Northwest of Hasigar.’’*⁹⁹

*‘‘Poland is located to the northeast of Germany’’*¹⁰⁰

*‘‘Russia is located in the far north. Giyan Kun and Ding Ling of the Han period, Giyei Giya Sy’ and Gu Lii Wa of the Tang period, Oros Giligis of the Yüan period this country was called.’’*¹⁰¹

The readers are expected to have heard of certain places, and to know where they are located, these known places then form the basis for the description of the unknown places. For example the city of Hasigar (Kashgar), was one of the well-known trade cities of the Tarim Basin. The Manchu *Ba* or Chinese *Li* was a measurement of length and equal to approximately 600 meters, thus the distance between these cities would be around 600 kilometers. The use of an absolute number implies a more explicit knowledge and familiarity of the city and its inhabitants. But on the other hand, the number 1000 was also used to say a lot, thus being more of an approximate.

The information offered indicates the importance of political events for the relation between the Middle Kingdom and the foreigners. The preciseness concerning the Western neighbors is not only a sign of intimacy the Qing kept them on a tight leash, ready to strike if the neighbors got rebellious.

⁹⁷ Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier; Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757*, (Oxford, 1989), 232-233, 275.

⁹⁸ Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, 245-250.

⁹⁹ Appendix, Leaders of the Uyghurs of Anjiyan, 29.

¹⁰⁰ Appendix, Poland, 6.

¹⁰¹ Appendix, Russian Officials.

European Society: Too Varied or Too Much The Same?

It is hard to say if the Qing had become intimate enough with the Europeans to actually understand their society especially concerning the different ways to refer to certain groups at all. For one, it is strange that the compilers included a depiction of a general European, without pointing out who they were. The only nations mentioned in the accompanying text are Italy and Portugal, but the rest of the accounts never mention them again. Even though the most intense relation the Qing kept with Europeans, was their relation with the Portuguese. Even though Rubies mentions that *“the folangji (...)were primarily understood to be the Portuguese”*¹⁰², the writers of the HQZT either take up a broader definition of the word or are unclear about the difference between Portuguese and Spaniards. This would stroke with them mentioning that *“Later they selfishly entered Oo Men [Macao] in Hiyang San Hiyan.”*¹⁰³, also known as Portuguese lease of Macao, and with the Spanish presence in Luzon.

On the other hand the writers also refer to the competitors of the falanxi *“Recently, they battled with the Hvng Moo and competed for leadership. Since Fa Lan Si too has somewhat diminished.”* These Hongmao are redhairs, a common description of the Dutch, with whom the Portuguese had fought a lot in the seventeenth century and to whom they had lost a lot of their Asian possessions. In the end of that same paragraph, however the writer uses the word Holland: *“Women's clothing and jewelry are quite similar to that of all the Dutch countries.”* The question then, is whether the parts about the Falanxi, Great Western Ocean and the Dutch were written by the same, or different authors. If they were written by the same author it would point to a certain misunderstanding of the situation, if they were written by different authors it would make sense that the pieces are cut up incongruent and use differing terminology. At least the compiler seems to have thought that they were different people, otherwise their representations would have been put in right after each other instead of representing eleven groups in between them.¹⁰⁴

Kings Under Heaven

It was not only hard for the Chinese to keep their categories and ethnicities sorted. There is an obvious difference in the understanding of foreign religion both considering the

¹⁰² Rubies, ‘The Comparative History of a Genre’, 302.

¹⁰³ Appendix, Franks, 12.

¹⁰⁴ Appendix, Great Western Ocean, Franks, Holland, 2,12,14.

Europeans and their own neighbors. This is not only present when both are compared to each other, but also internally.

In the introductory piece on the Europeans the text says: *'The people of that place revere the Catholic God'*¹⁰⁵ and when it comes to the European clergy it says *'In the Great Western Ocean, there are two kings, one who teaches and civilizes, and one who rules the world orderly. The traders serve a post, and belong to the person ruling the world. As for the monks of these peoples, they belong teacher and civilizer.'*¹⁰⁶ It might not be completely correct, but it implies a certain understanding of the fight between worldly and clerical power fought between the pope and kings, and the most prominent function the clergy held in the eighteenth century. This might be all that the scrolls get right about Christianity, and the start of some misunderstandings.

The text claims for example that the Franks might currently be Christians, but: *'From the beginning they revered the Buddhist religion, when later they revered the religion of the Catholic God.'*¹⁰⁷ The Russians on the other hand, are still followers of the Buddhist faith, *'They hold up the Buddhist doctrine. From the king of the land to all subjects, in the four seasons, ten days of fasting are kept.'*¹⁰⁸ The mistakes around the religion of the Russians and the Franks just seem to be a misunderstanding at first glance. But Joan Pau Rubies does see some similarity that would make such a mistake possible. Pointing to an earlier portrayal of Europeans by a Ming supervisor of trade:

*'The folangji, that is, the 'Franks' (as Latin Christians were universally known in the East after the Crusades), were primarily understood to be the Portuguese who had been allowed to settle in Macao as traders—and Cai Ruxian was in charge of supervising tribute/trade. Interestingly, rather than connect the Portuguese to learned Jesuits like Ruggieri and Ricci, who at the time, thanks to the patronage of the prefect of Zhaoqing, were beginning to gain some social acceptance, by means of a world map and some rudimentary knowledge of Mandarin Chinese (albeit they were still hard to distinguish from exotic Buddhist monks), Cai Ruxian seems to have been more curious about the black servants of the folangji.'*¹⁰⁹

Unlike the Ming supervisor, the Qing officers would not only have understood that the clergymen were Portuguese, but also have had some difficulty in distinguishing Catholic

¹⁰⁵ Appendix, Great Western Ocean, 4.

¹⁰⁶ Appendix, Clergy, 9.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix, Franks, 12.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix, The people of Russia, 16.

¹⁰⁹ Rubies, 'The Comparative History of a Genre', 302.

priests from Buddhist monks, something that is less hard to understand when one takes a look at the presented clergy.¹¹⁰

The religion of other European countries is not mentioned, neither are other kings or rulers ever mentioned. Yet the English (*The land called England, is also subjected to the country of Holland.*¹¹¹) and the Swedes (*The country called Sweden, is also subordinate to the country Holland.*¹¹²) are part of the Dutch, just like the Javanese are. These remarks are not only made in their text, but in the Franks' text a reference is made to it as well: '*Women's clothing and jewelry are also similar to that of all the Dutch countries*'.¹¹³ In none of the texts a further connection between these groups is made. One of the more reasonable ways to explain this thought, however is to look at that earlier remark about the two kings of Europe. They should probably not be taken literally, there are not two kings, but two *kinds* of kings. The way the Dutch, the Swedes and the English are connected is through their religious king. The Franks and the Polish might follow different kings, they follow the same pope. 'The Dutch countries' do not all follow the same one, instead they are all Protestant, so they do not follow the king of the clergymen present in China.

When it comes to the Western Neighbors, religion itself is less often mentioned and especially less effort is made to describe their religion. The reason behind this is omitted, but it is still important to pay some attention to it. Since the 16th century most of the Mongol groups had converted from their Tengriism (heaven worship) and Shamanism to the Yellow Hat (Gelug) school of Buddhism, combining these with the rituals of their old religions.¹¹⁴ Consequently both the Oirats as well as the Mongol princes in the HQZT should be Buddhists, but it is not mentioned in any of them. All the other groups that make up the Western Neighbors can be classified as Muslims, since they had converted during the Tang-dynasty.

In Manchu several words are used for the word Muslim, but to none of them it is their singular definition. *Hotong* for example means both Muslim, as well as an inhabitant of Turkestan. *Hoise* and *hwise* seem to be interchangeable, just like the terms *Hui* and *Huihui* in modern China, with both of these being used to refer to both Muslims as well as the Uyghurs. When talking about the people from the major cities of the Tarim Basin, for example:

'Those who are called the Uyghurs of the walled cities and ranks of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu, and even tribes of the Uyghurs of the western border, also live in the ranks of the five walled cities of Hotiyan. Since antiquity it

¹¹⁰ Appendix, Clergy, 9.

¹¹¹ Appendix, Dutch, 11.

¹¹² Appendix, Sweden, 13.

¹¹³ Appendix, Franks, 12.

¹¹⁴ Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, 276.

had been the country of godly ioi. In this place the persons who were the leader of the Uyghurs were called Hojom, each city placed a bek to be administered. ‘’,¹¹⁵

Uyghurs is the most logical translation, but when talking about Badakhshan, a region where primarily other ethnic groups are present another translation is more probable: ‘*The leaders of the Muslims of Badakhshan*’’.¹¹⁶

This also points to another curiosity in the texts. While Europeans are described on the basis of their affiliated nation, which are usually ethnically homogenous. The Western Neighbors are described on the basis of their local affiliations. As their societies seem to be more of a mix, ethnicity plays a role in their position in society. To signify how these societies are each a little bit different their description is based on what city the representatives are from. When the differences between some of these cities are not that big those are grouped together so we come to one place for Anjiyan and one for Aksu, Uxi and Kuqe.

Daily Life

Other things that the texts on the Western Neighbors focus more on are things indicative of their societies. The way the locals scramble together their livelihood in service of their superiors is just such example:

‘‘The persons of that place (the mongol princes) were nomadic, travelling during the winter, moving to where it is hot, during the summer to where it is cool. At a certain place they didn’t settle at all. On the mountain, snow piled up and rain rained, after it melted, it continually brought it over the field, watering the plants. First the Muslims (Uyghurs) were invited to farm. Small millet, barley, foxtail millet, hulled rice and several other classes of grain grew. Melons and amur grapes came forth, peaches, plums, pears, apricots also grew.’’¹¹⁷

‘‘The Oirat of the Ili live a nomadic existence, they don’t strive to create and cultivate, they all live depending on the Uyghurs/muslims’’.¹¹⁸

This does not mean only their way of live is interesting:

¹¹⁵ Appendix, Leaders of the Uyghurs of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu, 25.

¹¹⁶ Appendix, Leaders of the Muslims of Badakhshan, 27

¹¹⁷ Appendix, Mongol Princes of the Ili, 17.

¹¹⁸ Appendix, Oirat of the Ili, 19.

“The people of that place (Kazakhs) are born to live a nomadic life, but they also plant, cultivate and milk.”¹¹⁹

“These people depended on fields and livestock”¹²⁰

“In that city (Turfan) on the outskirts were a house and family of Oirat, where five kinds of grain, melons and fruit sprung forth. The men strove to construct and cultivate, the women were able to spin and weave, they even lived with domestic animals, livestock, camels, horses cows and sheep.”¹²¹

Turning to the peoples of Anjiyan, Badakhshan and An si ting less mention is made of the cultivation. Instead the text focuses on whether they fall in line with the others. *“Their manner of speaking, melody, clothing and even eating is same as in Hasigar and the ranks of the other Uyghur cities.”*¹²²

Not only does the same is the same (word for word) said of the people of Badkhshan, one thing more of them is mentioned, their learning: *“The men and women of the ranks of Hasigar generally wear, eat and have the same learning as the Uyghurs from the cities.”*¹²³ An extension of this new aspect might also be another remark on the people of Badakhshan *“In their place, they speak the language of the Persians.”*¹²⁴ More than any earlier piece, this text seems to focus on civilizational progress. Unlike the other peoples the people of Badakhshan weren’t known in the past, so maybe the writers thought it was best to create a more complete image of these outsiders.

When it come to technological or civilizational progress, the Europeans are only noticed in two cases. Of the Franks the Qing say that : *“The people there are ruthless and strong. Their military tools are sharp”*¹²⁵ and of the Catholic monks they say: *“They understand the Chinese language and can construct astronomical instruments.”*¹²⁶ Just like with the Western Neighbors these remarks are few and far between, show some of the practical concern the Qing has, but also put these into context.

¹¹⁹ Appendix, Leaders of the Kazakh, 21

¹²⁰ Appendix, Leaders of the Burut, 23.

¹²¹ Appendix, Leaders of the Uyghurs of Uxi, Kuqe and Aksu, 25.

¹²² Appendix, Leaders of the Uyghurs of Anjiyan, 29.

¹²³ Appendix, Leaders of the Muslims of Badakhshan, 27.

¹²⁴ Appendix, Leaders of the Muslims of Badakhshan, 27.

¹²⁵ Appendix, Franks, 12.

¹²⁶ Appendix, Clergy, 9.

The History of Encounters

While the texts on the differing Europeans tend to mention the first time the Chinese empire and the Qing met them, under which emperor and what kind of circumstances, the Western neighbors are not confronted from this perspective. Instead of recollecting a first meeting, the last meeting is recollecting. In some cases their progenitors, or the names of these groups in other times are mentioned. Compare for example:

“Those who are called the Uyghurs of Hami, descendents of the Hui of the time of the Tang dynasty, lived in Hami during the Ming dynasty and were no longer protected, later they followed the Jun gar.”¹²⁷

“In the twenty-second year of the Qianlong emperor, after the Eastern Kazakh Abulai Abulbambit and the Western Kazakh Abilis had taken numerous cities, they surrendered with true intentions, and individually sent a son and a nephew on a mission to the imperial capital, they were sent off to go to court in the city.”¹²⁸

“During the 300 years of the Ming Dynasty, it did not come through to the Middle Kingdom. In the 15th year of our Kangxi reign it brought tribute. In the 25th year the imperial minister Songgotu was sent to speak and also meet with the envoy Fiyoodolo, to make sure the Gerbica river became the border. Since then it has brought tribute and come to trade.”¹²⁹

The difference in what they recollect is probably related to the difference in the relation, as the relation the Europeans have is primarily based on trade, on the other hand the relation the Western neighbors have is primarily based on subjugation by the Qing and paying tribute to the court. Their pacification is an obvious part of their diplomatic relation as it is mentioned in the description of several peoples.

Some descriptions mention the time when the empire last came into contact with the subject peoples. Even the circumstances under which this happened are mentioned. Not all of them are just as detailed as others, but they do seem to be inserted to further incentivize the thought that contact between subject and court was initiated by the subject peoples themselves.

In the twenty-third year of the Qianlong emperor, the left side Burut Mamutkvli, and the right side Burut Hara Boto, took off from the people of their tribe, after beforehand separately obeying with true intention, persons were appointed and sent off to have an audience at court in the capital city.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Appendix, Uyghurs of An si tinggin, 30.

¹²⁸ Appendix, Leaders of the Kazakhs, 21.

¹²⁹ Appendix, Russian Officials, 15.

¹³⁰ Appendix, Leaders of the Burut, 23.

In the twenty third year of the Qianlong emperor, Hojis Bek of the city Uxi and his son Modzapar were dispatched to the Imperial capital city simply to go to court.¹³¹

Later, in the beginning of our dynasty they were pacified by the dao. The person who led the Uyghurs continued to collect tribute among the rank and file. In the time of the Kangxi reign, on the Western road, an army was employed to protect and watch over the installed officials because they were important to a high degree and had good form.¹³²

These mentions are made in the parts that are focused on the political situation. The Europeans apparently did not deserve separate mentions and instead are mentioned all together. Of meetings with the Western Neighbors more information is given as these meetings are often related to recent upheaval.

Tribute paid by the Europeans seems to be a scarcely paid good as the frequency of this happening lies low. Of Asian peoples only the last time they paid tribute is mentioned, but of the Europeans several times are mentioned. There is some time between these occurrences and they are not exacted at the same time for most of them. During the reign of the Kangxi emperor, some came in 1667, during the reign of the Yongzheng emperor, tribute was paid, supposedly in name of the Pope in the year 1725, followed by Portuguese tribute in 1727. Tribute paid to Qianlong was exacted in 1753, but it is unclear whether this was paid by the Portuguese alone or by several groups of Europeans.

The Russians form an exception to the other Europeans. Their description is accompanied by an individual history. In this history their connection to the Qing is made clear. How they control land in the most Northern reaches, the border treaties they agreed to with the Kangxi emperor, and how since that time they have regularly paid tribute and traded.¹³³ The Dutch were similarly privileged because of their presence in Taiwan during the Qing conquest of South-China. Even if the relation with the imperial court was rocky, but:

“ At the beginning of the Kangxi reign, a big army was reinforced to add Taiwan to our meritorious possessions. Since then officials collected tribute and drove trade without interruption.”¹³⁴

¹³¹ Appendix, Uyghurs of Aksu, Uxi and Kuqe, 25.

¹³² Appendix, The Uyghur people of Ansiting of Hami, 31.

¹³³ Walravens, ‘Das Huang Ch’ing chih-kung t’u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur’, 294

¹³⁴ Appendix, Dutch, 14.

This does not mean the Qing were completely at ease with the Dutch, referring to their interference in the Indonesian archipelago by annexing Java and fighting with the Portuguese over Malakka.¹³⁵

“They have destroyed Lioi Sung [Luzon] and Man La Giya [Malakka] several times. Together with the land of the Hvng mao [redheads] they have taken and divided Mei Lo Gioi [Moluccas].”¹³⁶

The drawings and text were supposed to be based on first-hand encounters. Combined with the lack of individual mentions of tribute, or other ways local governors had come into contact with the Europeans, the text seems to imply that several peoples indeed came by collectively in 1753, otherwise on what else could they have based their parts about the Europeans, without disobeying the emperor.

The Western Neighbors seem to be more closely scrutinized. Instead of mentioning their last tribute as a grouped effort, mention is made of tribute paid by separated groups and of each group the year is given. This results in tribute being paid in a sequence of years, with the earliest having paid in Qianlongs 20th reign-year, whereas the latest paid in his 24th reign-year. This would mean they would have been paying from 1755 to 1759. If that was indeed the case, the latest plates, about the people of Badakhshan and the city of Anjiyan, would have been made after the creation of the first edition of the HQZT. If that really were the case these pictures would have been omitted in the Yuanmingyuan album and other early editions, but these pictures are not normally the ones mentioned as differing between the editions, instead the presence of the Gurkha embassy of 1790 is often times used to date the differing editions.¹³⁷ This is remarkable because the presence or absence of these embassies could help date versions and editions more precisely.

The contact with the Western Neighbors seems to embody both the reason why the HQZT was made as well as why their tribute was exacted so quickly and collectively. The proclamation ordering the creation of the pictures starts with the following line:

*“My dynasty has united the vast expanses. Of all the inner and outer Barbarians (nei wai miao yi) belonging under its jurisdiction, there are none that have not sincerely turned towards Us and been transformed.”*¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Walravens, ‘Das Huang Ch’ing chih-kung t’u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur’, 295.

¹³⁶ Appendix, Franks, 12.

¹³⁷ Walravens, ‘Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese’, 403-404.

¹³⁸ Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 46.

When and how these barbarians had been brought under Qing jurisdiction is mentioned together with their tributes as these are paid after the land has been ‘pacified’. It was necessary to pacify these lands because both Qianlong, his father and his grandfather had been fighting the Dzungar confederacy that had ruled these Central-Asian steppes. The Dzungar were an offshoot of the Oirat Mongols, had conquered the Tarim Basin in the 1670’s and had made political moves both on the Mongol heartlands and on Tibet, places that were nominally subservient to the Qing. Because of both their political and military threat Kangxi had moved against them, instigating a series of military expeditions. It took till 1757 until the threat of the Dzungars was laid low by the Qing. After several attempts to rule indirectly, with appointed local rulers constantly revolting, due to a lack of Qing presence. The Qing finally found success through being ruthless, exterminating the Dzungars almost completely.¹³⁹

After and during these expeditions the other peoples of the Tarim and its environs were expected to pay tribute and it was definitely forthcoming. Qianlong might not have wanted his governors to seek out the diversity, instead wanting them to take advantage of naturally occurring happenings, but the peoples of the Tarim Basin would have felt a pressure to pay up. For their pictures of the Western Neighbors the Qing did not have to go out of the way, but the interaction with the locals can hardly be called normal. The description of the Oirat of the Ili valley can be dated to the year 1755¹⁴⁰ for example, as the information mentions the year, this coincides with the year the valley was pacified: ‘*In the twentieth year of the Qianlong period, the Ili was subjugated and pacified after the Uyghur Adis Bek Usub, honest of intent to reform surrendered*’¹⁴¹, this Adis Bek Usub led a small rebellion. Two year later the Kazakhs paid tribute and were recorded at that point in time, probably more in line with the ideal way of gathering information. A year later the subordinates followed the same pattern of contact, seeking out the Qing on their own. Both these contacts should have been after the Dzungar threat was completely eradicated, thus making it a lot easier for representatives to travel. This did not mean that peace completely returned to the region however, as the entry on the city of Anjiyan mentions: ‘*In the autumn of the twenty-fourth year of the Qianlong emperor, a big army subjugated Hasigar after a revolt was put down*’, the people of Anjiyan however were not on their side and ‘*Muslims of every family, many left their place to go to court*’ thus giving the artist enough people to portray, even leading to two pages being dedicated to the city. The genesis of the plates of several Western Neighbors is revealed by

¹³⁹ Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, 290-294.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix, Oirat of the Ili, 19

¹⁴¹ Appendix, Uyghurs of Talki Qagan Usu of the Ili, 20.

the plates themselves. That does not mean we get insight in all of them. The three tribute missions explain six of the sixteen plates, as every one of these comes with both a drawing of the leaders and of the commoners.

Not only would the Dzungar and the threat they posed to the Qing be eradicated. In time the name Dzungar would be banned,¹⁴² but for some reason the name was not stricken from the HQZT. In its descriptions, the Dzungar are still mentioned, if only three times, and purely to locate others, not even to make light of their insolence. The Dzungars themselves do not appear among the Western neighbors. This might sound strange, but in between their scuffles, the Dzungars declared loyalty and fealty to the Chinese emperor. As such it is hard to reconstruct if they never sent tribute or just in none of these years. Though the remnants of the Dzungars were exiled they also do not reappear in later editions of the HQZT, unlike the Torguts who appeared after their Russian exodus.

The Qing was at least equally interested in the Western Neighbors when compared to the Europeans. The Europeans might have been strong and winning in influence, but the Western Neighbors proved to be a more existential threat.

Conclusion

The representation of the Europeans and Western Neighbors differs in a whole slew of ways. All these peoples can be categorized in three larger groups according to what they look like and do: Western Europeans, Central Europeans, Central-Asian peoples. The Central Europeans are not only geographically in between the other groups, but culturally they are different from the others of their continent and they are more alike their ancestors and former oppressors.

The Qing portrayal centers on subservience and the Europeans have shown themselves to be subservient most of the time, form no reasonable threat and only those that have shown to be aggressive towards China are seen in pragmatic light. Because of this risk assessment Qing officers took more diligence in portraying the political situation of the Tarim Basin, than of Western Europe, notable exception is that they were interested in European incursions to the North and South of their zone of influence. Because of this lesser diligence the portrayal of the Europeans contains more strange connections, mistakes and falsehoods. On the other hand they also portray a more sincere image of what they saw of the Europeans on an anthropological level and less so on a pragmatic political level.

¹⁴² Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier*, 294.

Conclusion

Why did the eighteenth-century Qing Chinese perception of the Europeans and their own Western Neighbors differ? Taking the HQZT as a seminal example of the state's perception of foreign elements, we have learned that the Chinese perception of these peoples definitely differs. The Qing perception of their Western neighbors was one of a (now) relatively peaceful group, eking out a living in harsh conditions, but subjugated to their overlords. The Qing perception of the Europeans was one of peoples with growing influence, especially in their own vicinity.

Length and frequency of contact influenced the intimacy with and knowledge of the other. Contact with the Western Neighbors had mostly been made several centuries ago. Not only that but the Qing combined knowledge of the Chinese dynasties with the knowledge of the steppe rulers. Because of that the Qing knew what to expect as they could build on centuries of information. Contact with the Europeans been a lot more recent, but there was also less historical work. Their knowledge of European powers and politics was lacking in some aspects, contained errors in others and the basis was insufficient to discern lies and the truth. During the eighteenth-century contact with representatives of the Western Neighbors was more frequent because the Qing had mounted several military expeditions to quell rebellions and subjugate local powers. Contact with European powers, on the other hand was dependent on their interest in Chinese goods and perceived chances of getting trade permits. Thus contact with Europeans could range from frequent to not frequent at all. Unlike the Ming before them, the Qing had paid more attention to their trading partners and were aware of the risks they might pose in the future.

Though both the Europeans and the Western Neighbors had been barbarians, as they did not commit to the same custom as the Chinese themselves, they were not discriminated against in the HQZT. Both groups were partners of the Qing empire and worthy of a certain, though lesser, amount of respect.

The Western Neighbors are portrayed as a quite monotonous group, their cities, states and backgrounds might differ, but in essence they were all the same, groups that should be kept on a tight leash. Among the Europeans the Qing could distinguish more distinct groups. Some groups were so closely aligned to each other they were hard to keep apart, these groups were encroaching on the Chinese sphere of influence and were influencing even the locals to adapt their customs. These might have been a future risk, but for now, their infighting kept them weak enough to pose a serious threat. Other Europeans were very different and did not

deserve the same suspicion, they stayed away or were so honest and well-intentioned, that scholars could only admire them.

A returning factor of Qianlong personally was that he wanted to do the same things as his grandfather, but better. He wanted to be the perfect and ideal monarch and in his pursuit of that position he balanced being the perfect Manchu with the most cultured man in general. By creating the Sikuquanshu he tried to become the most literate man, by creating the HQZT the man most in touch with his subjects and his countryside. Qianlong wanted an all-encompassing encyclopedia, and that is what he got. An encyclopedia of all the knowledge the scholars and governors could give him of the foreigners in his country. This also meant that this work contained all the biases, prejudices and mistakes of his forebears. The work itself was a success as it boast an enormous amount of information, which sheds a lot of light on Qing-Chinese relations and politics.

But these were just two groups of the HQZT and the source contains many more. Whether those descriptions were differently based, or more biased can only be examined through further research and this source definitely deserved it.

Bibliography

Source Material

National Palace Museum Taipei

Xie Sui, *Huang Qing Zhigong tu*,

Literature

Barfield, Thomas J., *The Perilous Frontier; Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757*, (Oxford, 1989).

Cams, Mario, 'Recent Additions to the New Qing History Debate', *Contemporary Chinese Thought*, 47:1 (2016), 1-4.

Ding, Yizhuang, 'Reflections on the "New Qing History" School in the United States' *Chinese Studies in History*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2010, 92–96.

Elliott, Mark C. *Emperor Qianlong, Son of Heaven, Man of the World*, (New York, 2009)

Eun Joo Jung The Historical Recognition of China To the Korean Race in Chinese Zhigong-tu, *Journal of Korean Literature in Chinese*, 10/2015, Vol.42(42), 77-124.

Harrison, Henrietta, 'Clothing and Power on the Periphery of Empire: The Costumes of the Indigenous People of Taiwan', *East Asia Cultures Critique*, 2003, Vol.11(2), 331-360

Hostetler, Laura, *Chinese ethnography in the eighteenth century: Miao albums of Guizhou Province*, 1995

Idem, 'Qing Connections to the Early Modern World: Ethnography and Cartography in Eighteenth-Century China', *Modern Asian Studies*, 2000, Vol.34(3), pp.623-662

Idem, *Qing colonial enterprises, Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*, (Chicago, 2001)

Hummel, Arthur W., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912*, 311

Needham, Joseph, *Science and Civilisation in China, vol 1 Introductory Orientations*, (Cambridge, 1954)

Idem, *Within the Four Seas*, (London 1969).

Khanmohamadi, Shirin A., *In Light of Another's World European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2013).

Romero, Loreto, 'The Likely Origins of The *Boxer Codex*: Martín de Rada and the *Zhigong Tu*', *eHumanista* vol. 40 (2018), 117.

Marshall, Poe, *A People Born to Slavery; Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography*, (Ithaca, 2000)

Moss, Walter G., *A History of Russia, Volume 1: to 1917*, (London, 2005)

Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2005)

- Rubiés, Joan-Pau, Ollé, Manel, ‘‘The Comparative History of a Genre: The production and circulation of books on travel and ethnographies in early modern Europe and China’’ *Modern Asian Studies* 50, 1 (2016) pp. 259–309.
- Smith, Richard J., Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China.(Book Review) .Canadian Journal of History, April, 2003, Vol.38(1), 163.
- Sary, Giovanni, *Manchu studies: an international bibliography 2: Language, literature, sibe-Manchu* (Wiessbaden, 1990), 706,
- Idem, ‘‘Missionaries, the Low Countries and Their Dependencies, as Described in Xie Sui’s Manchu "Pictures of Tribute-Bearers" in: Vande Walle, W.F., Golvers, N., *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing era (1644-1911)*, (Leuven,2003), 205-216.
- Idem, Hartmut Walravens, *Manchu studies: an international bibliography*, (Berlin,2012).
- Han Vermeulen, *Early History of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment: Anthropological discourse in Europe and Asia, 1710-1808*, (Ridderkerk,2008).
- Walravens, Hartmut, ‘‘Tribute Bearers in Manchu and Chinese’ a unique 18th-century source for East and Central Asian history’. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 49, no. 3 (1996) 395-406.
- Idem, ‘Das Huang Ch’ing chih-kung t’u als Werk der mandjurischen Literatur’, Alessandra Pozzi, *Tumen jalafun jecen aku: Manchu studies in honour of Giovanni Sary* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 267-269.
- Zhuang Jifa (莊吉發) , Xie Sui “zhigongtu” manwen tushuo jiaozhu 谢遂《职贡图》满文图说校注, (Taipei,1989).
- 《皇清职贡图》的编绘与刊刻, Huangqing Zhigong Tu (The Picture Album of Subordinate Peoples of the Qing Dynasty): Its Painting, Compiling and Printing, 祁庆富, 民族研究 Ethno-National Studies, 2003, Issue 5, 69-74.

Online:

- Ulrich Theobald, *ChinaKnowledge.de, An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art*
<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/wenxiantongkao.html#wangqixuwenxiantongkao>
- Ctext project, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=472128>

Glossary

Dai-qing yi tongzhi	(大清一統志) Comprehensive geography of the empire, describes the geography and living conditions of and in the Qing empire.
Deel	Mongolian robe that covers almost the whole body, keeping the wearer warm in the winter and isolated in the summer.
Franks	Name used primarily in the Middle and Far East to refer to Latin Christians in general.
Gazetteer	History of Chinese origin, commissioned by imperial institution, taking on a standardized style.
Great Western Ocean	Manchu name for the European subcontinent
Kangxi	Qing emperor (r.1671-1722) and grandfather to emperor Qianlong, stabilized the Manchu rule, while also supporting the arts and presence of Jesuits at his court.
Miao albums	Drawn catalogues of all the ethnic minorities inhabiting (Southern) China
Qianlong	Qing emperor (r.1735-1796), expanded the Qing to its greatest extent, while trying to preserve the Manchu identity.
Qing	Last imperial dynasty of China (1644-1912), established by the Manchu confederation of Northern border peoples.
Sikuquanshu	四庫全書, The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries, a collection of all the Chinese books attainable and in existence during the Qianlong reign
Snuff	form of tobacco that is inhaled instead of chewed or smoked
Tarim Bassin	Southern part of the Modern day Xinjiang province, wedged between the Kunlun and Tianshan mountains this region contains most important cities of the province, most of which were important trade cities on the silk road.
Wenxian Tongkao	文獻通考, Comprehensive Investigations based on Literary and Documentary Sources history about the past administration of China, first of which was written in the Yuan dynasty after which several new versions followed
Western Neighbors	Term used to describe the people that bordered the Qing empire on their Western border, includes Uyghurs, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kazakhs, Badakhshani and integrated Mongols and Manchu.