The Art and Politics of Painting Qianlong at Chengde

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Abstract
*New Qing Imperial History* uses the Manchu summer capital of Chengde and associated architecture, art and ritual activity as the focus for an exploration of the importance of Inner Asia and Tibet to the Qing Empire (1636-1911). Well-known contributors argue that the Qing was not simply another Chinese dynasty, but was deeply engaged in Inner Asia not only militarily, but culturally, politically and ideologically.

Emphasizing the diverse range of peoples in the Qing empire, it analyzes the importance to Chinese history of Manchu relations with Tibetan prelates, Mongolian chieftains, and the Turkic elites of Xinjiang. In offering a new appreciation of a culturally and politically complex period, the authors discuss the nature and representation of emperorship, especially under Qianlong (r. 1736-1795), and examine the role of ritual in relations with Inner Asia, including the vaunted (but overrated) tribute system. [from the publisher]

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The Qianlong emperor was one of the most prolific collectors and patrons of works of art in late imperial China. Besides maintaining painting and craft ateliers in Beijing, he also sponsored the arts at his Bishu shanzhuang (Mountain Villa to Escape the Heat). Qianlong commissioned many paintings of life at Chengde and at the nearby Mulan hunting grounds, and these are valuable sources for historians interested in this place where the Manchu, Mongolian, and Han cultural spheres overlapped. Some of the paintings directly commissioned at the behest of Qianlong were historical genre scenes that record important moments in his political relations with neighboring peoples. As Qianlong’s “imperial visage” (yu rong) appears in most of these works, they are a type of imperial portraiture and are thus important documents that reveal Qianlong’s vision of himself as a sovereign over many peoples.

This essay focuses on one of the most important historical genre paintings Qianlong commissioned at Chengde: the enormous Ceremonial Banquet in the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees (Wanshu yuan ciyan tu), which commemorated a historic meeting Qianlong convened with Oirat (Western) Mongols on the grounds of the Bishu shanzhuang (Figure 8; see also Yu, Chapter 7). Focusing on the creation and the subsequent fate of this one important painting illustrates how Qianlong commissioned works of art to convey a certain image of himself to his political allies (and to his potential enemies). Linked to this essay is a translation of some correspondence by the French Jesuit brother who painted the early sketches for Ceremonial Banquet, wherein he provides a telling first-hand account of what it was like to work in Qianlong’s service at Chengde (this is included in Part IV).

It may be impossible to discern whether the historical genre scenes of Chengde depict the realities, as opposed to the ideals, of daily life or political events there; nevertheless, as imperial portraits were granted the imprimatur of the emperor himself, these works at the very least indicate how Qianlong wanted himself to be seen by his subjects. Moreover, they incidentally provide many details of day-to-day life at the Bishu shanzhuang and at the hunting camps in Mulan. A survey of the art of Chengde reveals the diverse cultural influences — European, Mongolian, Manchu,
Tibetan, and Han— that shaped the aesthetic of the Qianlong reign. At Chengde, Qianlong commissioned European painters to document banquets with visiting Mongolians and record hunting expeditions with his Manchu colleagues; he had Tibetan painters depict him in the persona of a patron of the Buddhist dharma; and he personally copied out in his own hand not only entire Buddhist sutras but also the calligraphic works of Wang Xizhi (321–379), whose style represented the epitome of Han literati refinement. These works, exhibited in the halls and collected in the storehouses of the Mountain Villa, reflect Chengde’s unique position at the confluence of several cultural systems. Surveying this art enriches our understanding of Qianlong’s ability to interweave several worldviews simultaneously.

The Ceremonial Banquet work is but one of many historical genre paintings that depict the lifestyle of the court and its followers at Chengde. Favorite subjects of the artist’s brush were hunting expeditions and the camp entertainment (wrestling, horse racing, and even picnicking) of the staff and soldiers who accompanied the emperor to the northeast. Of this genre, however, Ceremonial Banquet in the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees and its pendant piece Horsemanship (Mashu tu) are among the best documented. Ceremonial Banquet was placed in Qianlong’s spirit-shrine for a time upon his death— further evidence of the painting’s importance to him.

Extremely large in size (each measures approximately 400 by 200 cm, or roughly thirteen by seven feet), both paintings were executed in the tieluo, or appliqué, format. Many historical genre paintings were completed in the more common hanging scroll format, but some were produced in this newly popular medium of tieluo, literally, “paste-on lift-off” paintings. Appliqué paintings were not hung as free-standing hanging scrolls but were affixed directly to the surface of a wall from which they could later be lifted off and remounted. Ceremonial Banquet is painted on silk perhaps manufactured in Hangzhou.

The Qing archives dryly document every step of the production of these two paintings, but their creation is described with considerably more élan in the correspondence of the Jesuit painters who served the Qing court. The cosmopolitan court at Chengde included visiting Europeans who recorded the events and ceremonies they witnessed during their stays at the Bishu shanzhuang. One of these visitors during the reign of Qianlong was the French Jesuit artist Jean-Denis Attiret (Chinese name Wang Zhicheng; 1702–1768), who had arrived in China in 1738. Attiret lived with his fellow Jesuits in Haidian, near Beijing, and was engaged in Qianlong’s service as a court painter, usually at one of his several palaces in and around Beijing.

On one occasion, however, he was commanded by Qianlong to go directly to Chengde to document an important historical event: a ceremonial banquet that commenced on July 5 of the summer of 1754 to commemorate Qianlong’s recognition of a group of Oirats as his own
subjects. In the mid-1750s, Qianlong held a series of banquets and entertainment for newly arrived Western Mongols who aligned themselves politically with the Qing. These secessions were of critical strategic importance, for they reflected the weakening of the Zunghar federation, and were preludicory to the 1755 Qing campaign in Zungharia (see Millward, Chapter 8).

Attiret’s work became the preliminary sketch for, if not the actual finished painting of, the famous Ceremonial Banquet (Figure 8). This painting depicts the moment at the start of the banquet when the emperor makes his entrance into the Wanshu yuan (Garden of Ten Thousand Trees), which has been decorated with yurts, trapezes for acrobatic performances, and open-air pavilions set with gifts. A large audience of Mongol immigrants, Qing officials, and Buddhist monks has lined up in attendance, awaiting the emperor’s approach.

Attiret was ordered to go to Chengde, watch all these proceedings, and incorporate them into a composition to document the occasion. Attiret’s visit to Chengde in 1754 is described in a letter to Europe by his fellow Jesuit, Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot (1718–1793). The section of that letter relevant to Attiret’s stay at the Bishu shanzhuang is translated in Chapter 14. Amiot’s account of Attiret’s stay in “Chinese Tartary” begins with a description of the political events in Central Asia that sends a large contingent of Dörböt Mongols eastward to seek refuge under Qianlong and be accepted as his subjects. Qianlong sets out for Chengde from Beijing to receive them, taking a much larger retinue with him than usually accompanies him to the Mountain Villa. This exodus initially gives the Jesuits stationed in Haidian some cause for relief, for as Amiot notes, “It is only when the emperor is absent that the people who work under his eyes have a little liberty,” implying that Qianlong is a demanding patron. Attiret’s plans for a spiritual retreat during this brief liberty are soon interrupted by an envoy delegated to take him to Chengde to paint portraits of the newly immigrated foreigners. Leaving in all possible haste to catch up with the imperial retinue that has already left for the northeast, he takes his painting materials and borrows from the envoy some clothes suitable for the event, for “here there are town clothes and travel clothes, determined by their length, shape, and by what is worn with what, and it would be the worst indecency to appear at court in clothing inappropriate to the occasion, place, and season.”

Camping à la tartare, Attiret soon catches up with the slower-moving retinue, which is thrown into complete disorder by inclement weather. His description of this royal progress — which he calls an excellent model for an army in disarray, with human beings and animals crushed in a wild fracas — is hardly one likely to appear in the official Chinese sources. Arriving in Chengde, a “third-rate city,” Attiret is given excellent rooms and is informed that he is to paint the coming festival. He attends the fête, watching everything with the gaze of an artist who must convey the
essence of the entire celebration in one scene and present a sketch of it to the emperor that very evening. Under great time pressure, Attiret at first does not know where to begin, and Amiot relates the brother’s psychological anguish with almost cinematic imagery — the reader sees Attiret anxiously sharpening his drawing pencils, stalling for time, waiting for inspiration. Attiret finally hits upon the plan for his initial sketch: the moment when Qianlong enters the site of the ceremony, “a moment flattering to this prince, where one saw at a glance all the magnificence of his grandeur.”

Amiot’s letter does not describe the actual festival that Attiret has witnessed earlier that day, for apparently the ceremony of 1754 was so similar to one convened by Kangxi in 1691 that Amiot, instead of describing it himself, refers the reader to an account of it recorded by Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707) in Gerbillon’s third trip to Tartary. Gerbillon made eight trips to Tartary with Kangxi from 1689 to 1698 and participated in the negotiation of treaties with the Russians. Gerbillon’s account is of interest in that it illustrates the continuity of ceremonial performances from Kangxi’s to Qianlong’s time. Amiot notes in his letter that Gerbillon’s description is recorded in the fourth volume of an unnamed work by Père Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674–1743), no doubt Du Halde’s four-volume Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l’Empire de la Chine (Paris, 1735) (a work unavailable to the translators). A secondary discussion of Du Halde’s account, however, is included in the more readily available Choix des lettres édifiantes, écrites des missions étrangères. This secondary account of the ceremonies Gerbillon witnessed in 1691 in Tartary (most likely in Dolonnor in Inner Mongolia) is found within the context of a discussion of the importance of Buddhism, particularly Tibetan Buddhism, to the Qing emperors. (A similar ceremony greeted the newly arrived Torgnutsh in 1771 — see Millward (Chapter 8); Ragnubs’ translation from a biography of the Third Panchen Lama in Chapter 16, provides a detailed description of yet another such festival held in the Wanshu yuan in 1780.)

In the ceremony of 1691, Kangxi met with the current Jebsundampa khutukhtu and his brother and received the homage of a group of Khalkhas. Gerbillon’s account of the arrangement of tents, pavilions of gifts, and rows of dignitaries in ceremonial attire could equally describe the ceremony recorded in Attiret’s much later painting Ceremonial Banquet, with the exception that Kangxi had four elephants brought in for the occasion. The Khalkha dignitaries expressed homage by repeated kowtowing, kneeling, and prostrating, but the khutukhtu and his brother were exempt from such acts of secular subordination and were allowed to remain standing throughout the entire ceremony. During the banquet that followed the kowtows and prostrations, Kangxi entertained his guests with acrobats, marionettes, and musical performances and offered the Khalkhas gifts of silver, silk, and clothing. Considering the similarity between
Gerbillon's description of 1691 and Attiret's painting of 1754, then, Qianlong's reception of the Oirats in 1754 was not a novel event but was a repetition of a ceremonial precedent established by his grandfather.

Attiret, pencils sharpened, creates a sketch of all the activities before nightfall, and Qianlong says of it that it is "hen hao," or very good. The next day, despite a serious chest cold, Attiret is enjoined to paint portraits of eleven of the most important Mongol nobles in attendance. The Mongol nobles watch him as he works, politely inquiring about life in France; marveling at the painter's art, they are mystified by Attiret's ability to capture their likeness with brush and ink. Qianlong also dubs these portraits "hen hao" and honors the painter by having meals from the imperial table sent to him; he visits Attiret personally to watch him work and has him relocated directly to the throne room to create an enlarged sketch of the ceremony. All these imperial attentions incite the jealousy of the officials in attendance on Attiret, who make no attempt to disguise their sentiments.

Qianlong, dictating the subject matters himself, requires Attiret to create several more works and orders him to do an imperial portrait, posing obligingly for the painter. This life-size portrait pleases the emperor so much that Qianlong offers to make Attiret a mandarin of the fourth rank, much to the annoyance of the officials attending the Jesuit — and much to the chagrin of Attiret himself, who seeks heavenly rather than worldly honor. Qianlong is particularly pleased that in this portrait his head has been drawn sufficiently large. One eunuch in attendance during the emperor's portrait-sitting (one who knew of Qianlong's previously unspoken dislike of being painted with what the ruler considered too small a head) silently put his hands to his own head, spreading them apart and pointing at the emperor as if to suggest that the sovereign's head be made larger. (Note the size of Qianlong's head-in Figure 13.) Attiret quickly understands, and produces a work that pleases the sitter.

Attiret sees Qianlong almost every day for the remainder of his stay at the Bishu shanzhuang, where he stays a total of about fifty days and completes over twenty portraits in oils, several large sketches, and a number of other works — an average of roughly one painting every other day. This workload harms Attiret's health so seriously that he is bedridden for two weeks upon his return to Beijing. He will be sent to Chengde again before long, however, to paint a new group of immigrants, but on the next trip his labors will be shared by his fellow painters Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining, 1688–1766), and Ignace Siguelbarth (Ai Qimeng, 1708–1780).

Attiret certainly completed one or possibly two sketches of Qianlong's banquet for the Oirats, but whether he actually completed the extant painting of the Ceremonial Banquet in the Garden of Ten Thousand Trees is uncertain. Chinese records indicate it was most likely completed the following summer with the cooperation of Castiglione and Siguelbarth. The signature in the lower left corner of Ceremonial Banquet says "Respectfully painted
in the twentieth year of Qianlong," which would indicate it was completed in the year following Attiret's first journey to Chengde, or 1755.

Yang Boda has examined the history of the Ceremonial Banquet and its companion painting Horsemanship at some length and has attempted to sort out its complicated history and content by exploring the Chinese records (he also availed himself of Amiot's correspondence).6 Two works once listed as Large Paintings of the Imperial Visage at Ceremonial Banquets (Yiurong yanyan dahuaw) in the Official Qing Records of the Activities of the Bureaus and Workshops in the Palace Board of Works in the Hall of the Cultivation of the Mind (Yangxindian zaobanchu gezuohengzuohuoj) are most likely the paintings Ceremonial Banquet and Horsemanship. This can be deduced, Yang asserts, from the content of the works and from the paintings' signatures. The available data may be summarized as follows. On the ninth day of the fifth month of the twentieth year of Qianlong's reign, or 1755, an imperial commission to paint two Large Paintings of the Imperial Visage at Ceremonial Banquets was given to Castiglione, Attiret, Siguelbarth, and others. The paintings were completed on the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month, mounted on the tenth of the seventh month, taken to Chengde on the eleventh of the seventh month by the official Bai Shixiu (which indicates that some of the work on the painting was done outside Chengde), and adhered to the eastern and western end walls of the Zhuan'a shengjing dian (Scenic Winding Hills Hall) at the Bishu shanzhuang on the twentieth of the seventh month.

Yang carefully describes the content of Ceremonial Banquet and attempts to identify the almost 140 people it depicts. He notes that the actual background scenery behind the garden has been artificially adjusted somewhat to accommodate the composition of the painting. In looking at the painting, the viewer faces north. In the northeast, or upper right-hand corner of the painting, rises the Pagoda of the Six Harmonies (Liuhe ta), which is built in imitation of a structure in Hangzhou. In the upper left, or the northwest, are two peaks topped with two pavilions that were included in Kangxi's thirty-six famous views of the Bishu shanzhuang. In order to emphasize the voluminousness of the central yurt, the artists have de-emphasized these peaks, the Jin mountain in the northwest and Hei mountain in the northeast. The composition of the painting accords with the canons of western perspective, and space seems to recede into the distance. There are two main focal points: one is the small finial atop the acrobatic trapeze in the foreground, and the second, more important one, is slightly above the main yurt in the background. Almost all the straight lines in the painting converge on these two points. Such a composition accords well with the canons of perspective Castiglione translated into Chinese for the benefit of his fellow court painters.7

In the area where the banquet is to take place, a Mongolian yurt with a three-pillared entrance is centered before a "wall" created by a length of yellow cloth. On either side of the main yurt stand musicians dressed in red. The main yurt is carpeted with a colorful rug with a winding lotus
design; a throne sits in the back of the yurt, which is lined on both sides with tables for a banquet; outside are two more lines of tables to a side, six tables to a row. In the foreground before those tables kneel two rows of people on a side, fifty-four people in all, ranging from royal princes to officials of the second rank. At the end of each row are leaders of the new immigrants.

Two smaller yurts flank either side of the main pavilion. In front of the smaller yurt on the left, eleven people dressed in the garb of Tibetan monks kneel at attention. In front of the small yurt on the right stands a large pavilion with fourteen tables of gifts of silk, porcelain, jade, and enamel to be distributed to the Mongolians. On the west stands a large contingent of kneeling men; forty-nine men (some of them Mongols) dressed in Qing official costume fill the first three rows. Ten of these men are painted in the western style, and Yang Boda believes that these may be the Oirat – former Zunghar – officials of whom Attiret painted portraits earlier. Behind these men kneel five more rows of seventy Oirats (wearing Mongolian-style hats and large earrings) who are to be enfeoffed. Further to the west, outside the cloth wall, are three small tents where servants are making the preparations for the feast. In the southeast corner, Qianlong, then forty-four years old, enters in a palanquin, dressed in a summer hat, yellow gown, and blue robe – and, one might notice, his head seems somewhat larger than that of anyone else in the painting. He is accompanied by rows of civil and military officials of the second rank. In the center foreground stand several trapeze frames for acrobatic performances; a small table beneath them holds five golden vases.

Attiret, as he noted in his account of his sojourn at Chengde, has chosen the moment most likely to flatter Qianlong, the moment when all the eyes of the visitors are turned toward the sovereign as he enters this carefully staged tableau, carried on the shoulders of his servants. The Mongols and Tibetan lamas kneel motionlessly as the imperial entourage walks sedately onto the stage, parasols fluttering faintly in the breeze. What better scene could show a calm and ordered empire at peace, an empire to whom all peoples pay homage as guests pay homage to a generous host?

Qianlong’s role as host is reiterated in Horsemanship, the companion painting to Ceremonial Banquet. Horsemanship depicts a large contingent of Oirat dignitaries dressed in national costume who are watching a show of equestrian skills performed by Manchu bannermen. This event took place in the late fall or early winter, judging by the leafless trees and red foliage of the natural setting. Standing in a neatly squared group of linear rows near the center of the composition, the guests immobile observe the equestrian skills of their Manchu hosts as they gallop past in the foreground, performing handstands and other acrobatic stunts on horseback. Behind the visitors stands a row of Qing officials who form a kind of fence or boundary in the background; on the right side of the composition, Qianlong (painted slightly larger and taller than anyone in the composi-
tion) rides at the head of a contingent of men dressed in Qing court attire; all in this group are mounted and thus rise above the heads of the Oirats standing on the ground. Although this painting is hailed by some modern Chinese art historians as a visual paean to ethnic harmony, a less sanguine observer might interpret a different message: that *Horsemanship* depicts Qianlong as the gracious host and lord of a “captive audience” of Oirats, who are corralled into a neat square by the requisites of ritual guest behavior, bounded behind by a “living fence” of Qing officials, and reminded before their eyes of the active power of the Qing. The Oirats can only watch this show of strength, passive and motionless; they stand afoot, that is, horseless, in a world where military power is exerted from horseback.

*Ceremonial Banquet* and *Horsemanship* were created to be hung in the Zhuan’a shengjing dian, one of the imperial residences located inside the southern walls of the Mountain Villa complex. It was one of the more important buildings of the imperial complex, for it was here that Qianlong’s mother resided when she accompanied her son to Chengde, and it was here that Qianlong entertained Mongol leaders again in the fall of the twentieth year of his reign to celebrate the acceptance of the Mongol leaders into the Manchu fold and to celebrate military victories in Yili. As the Qing records above indicate, the paintings were rushed to completion in the late summer of that year, just in time for the celebrations. *Ceremonial Banquet* was hung at the east end of the hall; *Horsemanship*, on the west, both would demonstrate Qianlong’s military prowess to his mother and to all his guests.

The *tieluo* format of the paintings suggests that *Banquet* and *Horsemanship* were meant to be a permanent part of the hall’s decor, and it is interesting to consider the possible connections between the paintings themselves, the structure that housed them, and the associations the hall’s name invoked to those who entered it. The title of the hall itself is very revealing of Qianlong’s vision of himself as a sovereign, and this vision is echoed in the content of the two paintings installed there. The phrase *zhuan’a* in the hall’s name appears at first glance to be a transliteration of a Manchu word (*juwan* means “ten” in Manchu), but it is actually the title of the verse “Winding Hills” from the *Book of Odes*. This ode praises a virtuous (but unnamed) sovereign of Chinese antiquity, and Qianlong obviously intended to draw parallels between himself and this model of Han classical propriety by naming this hall after the ode. (On Qianlong’s use of the classical Chinese tradition, see Adler, Chapter 9.) The ancient Han ruler resided among a region of “winding hills” whose topography was not unlike that of the Bishu shanzhuang; he arrived from the south like a whirlwind (a phenomenon ascribed to the ancients’ supernatural powers). Similarly, Qianlong arrived in Chengde from the same direction on his annual visits—although Attiret, in witnessing such an approach, “did not distinguish in any fashion that majesty, that economy, that order that characterized
all Chinese ceremonies.” The report of this Jesuit detractor notwithstanding, the classical allusion is supposed to invoke in the visitor an image of a contented ruler securely supported by his allies. The ode reads,

To the winding hills comes a whirling wind from the south;

[ ... ]

Your lands are vast and extensive, stretching far and wide;

[ ... ]

You have received a long-lived mandate, wealth, and happiness;

[ ... ]

You have supporters and helpers, filial and virtuous people who bear you up like wings;

[ ... ]

Such is our gracious sovereign,

Considered a paragon by all in the four quarters,

[ ... ]

The sovereign’s chariots are many; his horses, trained and fleet...

(excerpted from ode 252)

The two paintings that hung in the Zhuan’a shengjing dian visually portray the text of this ode: Ceremonial Banquet depicts the “gracious sovereign” Qianlong just as he arrives in the park in a sedan chair to enfeoff his “supporters and helpers,” that is, the new Oirat subjects; Horsemanship depicts him again with Zunghar leaders, enjoying an equestrian show performed on horses “trained and fleet.” In the naming of the Zhuan’a shengjing dian pavilion, Qianlong thus styled himself after the sage kings of Chinese antiquity by evoking traditional poetic imagery from Han classical literature. He interpreted those images visually with the help of European painters who accommodated his desire to be depicted as “a paragon by all in the four quarters” of the empire. Thus did Qianlong put European painting styles and classical Han literature into service to promote his political relationships with the Mongols.

What was the eventual fate of these two paintings? Yang Boda believes both hung in the Zhuan’a shengjing dian for almost forty-five years, although some believe they may have been replaced earlier. Nonetheless, upon Qianlong’s death, both paintings were sent to Beijing as memorial souvenirs and placed in Qianlong’s spirit-shrine in the Jingshan shouhuang dian. When the last Qing emperor abdicated, the paintings became part of the Palace Museum collections. Most secondary sources by modern-day Chinese art historians point to these paintings as visual proof of the long history of harmonious coexistence among China’s many ethnic groups. Both works were publicly exhibited for the first time in 1975 in an exhibit of paintings about the Mountain Villa. This was during the Cultural Revolution, and one wonders if the exhibit was intended to demonstrate the proper place of minority peoples (a certain myopia perhaps beclouding
the fact that Qianlong was a "minority" Manchu sovereign over the Han people). *Ceremonial Banquet* underwent some restoration for the 1975 exhibit and was remounted then; its blue and gold colors had flaked and it was somewhat mildewed, but it was otherwise restored to good condition. In 1981, a symposium on the *Ceremonial Banquet* painting in China was attended by various international scholars.\(^{12}\) *Ceremonial Banquet* has thus played a role in art and politics in both the Qing dynasty and in modern times, outlasting both the fall of the imperial dynastic system and the Cultural Revolution.

**Notes**

1. This medium is described in English in Zhu Jiajin’s “Castiglione’s *Tieluo Paintings*” and in Chinese in Yang Boda, “Wanshu yuan ciyan tu,” 15.
2. For a bibliography of sources regarding Jesuits in China, see Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*.
3. Besides creating paintings for the imperial ateliers, the Jesuits also composed music for the Chinese court. Musical works by Amiot and other Jesuits resident in China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have recently been interpreted by the group Musique des Lumières; see recording of Teodorico Pedrini, *Concert baroque à la Cité Interdite*. I am grateful to Josef Kyburz for drawing this work to my attention.
5. For a reproduction of a portrait of a Mongol noble attributed to Attiret and dated to 1754, see Ka Bo Tsang, “Portraits of Meritorious Officials,” 70. A Chinese version of this work includes color plates of other Mongol nobles; see Tsang’s “Ji feng gong, shu wei ji [Record of the portraits of ten martial heroes].”
6. The following several paragraphs summarize the main points of Yang Boda’s “Wanshu yuan ciyan tu kaoxi [An Analysis of *Ceremonial Banquet*],” and “Guanyu Mashu tu [On Horsemanship].”
7. For Castiglione’s work on perspective, see Cécile Beurdeley and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione*.
9. For a discussion of this painting, see Yang Boda, “Guanyu *Mashu tu*.”