

CONTENTS

List of Maps · ix
A Note to the Reader · xi

Prologue: A Clash of Cultures?	1
CHAPTER 1 The Center	16
CHAPTER 2 The Amateur	22
CHAPTER 3 Man Proposes, God Disposes	28
CHAPTER 4 The Delta	34
CHAPTER 5 Canton	46
CHAPTER 6 A Dreadful Prospect	61
CHAPTER 7 The Imperial Way: By Boat through Southern China	74
CHAPTER 8 A Walk into Winter	93
CHAPTER 9 Beijing	124
CHAPTER 10 Ice Games	133
CHAPTER 11 Favored Guests of the Emperor	147
CHAPTER 12 A New Year	160
CHAPTER 13 The Purple Ray Pavilion, A Good Death, A Tour of Temples	172
CHAPTER 14 Stately Pleasure Gardens: Yuanmingyuan	180

CHAPTER 15	The Lantern Festival	194
CHAPTER 16	Goodbye, Beijing	208
CHAPTER 17	By Land through Beizhili and Shandong	216
CHAPTER 18	Sailing into Spring: By Canal through the Lower Yangtze	227
CHAPTER 19	Zhejiang and Jiangxi	246
CHAPTER 20	An Uncertain Future	267
Conclusions:	A Contested Embassy and the History of Sino-Western Relations	292

Acknowledgments · 309

*A Note on Place Names, Transliterations,
Terms, and Sources* · 315

Abbreviations · 321

Notes · 325

Index · 399

CHAPTER ONE

The Center

Beijing, Early 1794

The emperor is the pivot around which everything turns. Today he's holding court in the Forbidden City, but to get there, you have to pass through walls. As you approach Beijing, you can see them looming over the plain, crowned by many-storied gatehouses with curved roofs and rows of black windows. If allowed through the cavernous port, you'll find yourself in the Outer City, also known as the Chinese City. Follow this wide street, but be careful not to lose your place, because it's so crowded that you'll have to stand to the side until you can seize an opening and rejoin the press of humanity. At least the shuffling bodies offer relief against the bitter wind, which drives dust over everything, forcing shopkeepers to pull tarps over their hanging ducks. The dromedaries are lucky to be able to squeeze their nostrils shut. Maybe you want to keep yours open, to smell the dumplings and the incense from temples.

After an hour—and perhaps a dumpling or two—you reach the next set of walls, equally massive. If you have the right credentials, you're allowed into the Inner City, also called the Manchu City, because it was designated for families of the Qing conquerors of China. The roads are better paved but still dusty and busy. Every so often an ornate palanquin appears, carrying someone important, and people have to step out of its way and wait for it to pass.

But maybe you are one of these important people—a noblewoman, a dignitary, a high official. Maybe your palanquin even has

a little wood stove, like the emperor's, so you're cozy under your fox fur blanket. With servants to clear the way, you make rapid progress and are soon waved through another set of walls and into the imperial city.

It's less crowded here, with fewer shops. Brick walls are interrupted by an occasional grand gateway. If a gate is open, you might catch a glimpse of children chasing one another under lanterns left over from New Year's. Soon you're granted access through another wall and into the imperial park, where the wind hisses across frozen lakes: North Lake, Middle Lake, South Lake. You'll want to open your curtains wide to look at the famous sites: the Five Dragon Pavilions or the White Pagoda, whose bulbous stupa juts up from the top of Jade Flower Island. Maybe you ask your porters to stop for a moment on Rainbow Bridge to watch Manchu champions skating, their twirling figures reflected in the clear ice, so that they seem like phoenixes flying in the sky.¹

Soon you arrive before the massive walls of the Forbidden City itself, which squat over a wide moat. Now, even you must get out of your palanquin and set foot on the cold flagstones, because beyond this point, only the emperor and a few favored ones are permitted to be carried. If your documents are sound, you're escorted through the long, cavelike entranceway into the Forbidden City.

The Forbidden City is a warren of courtyards laid out on a divine axis. The largest courtyards contain grand temple-like halls where the emperor presides over banquets, audiences, and ceremonies. The rites and sacrifices he performs are a key part of his job, because he's the prime intermediary between heaven and earth. When you meet him—if you're so lucky—his dragon throne will stand to the north, like the ever-constant pole-star, and you'll approach from the south, kneeling and touching your head to the floor three times and then standing and doing it again and again, three times three.

Each year a thousand ten thousands kowtow to him this way. Most do so far beyond the walls of Beijing, in the cities and towns of the provinces, prefectures, and counties, where his golden tablets are displayed in the temple-like offices of local ministers. But the lucky ones do it here in person, at one of the many halls and palaces. These fortunate people tend to be ministers, officials, princes,

or nobles from the vast empire: Chinese, Mongols, Tibetans, and Turks. But each year, visitors also come from beyond the borders. Ever since the ancient kings accepted the obeisance of the people of the four directions, foreigners have come to take part in the harmonizing rites. This is how the earthly realm is ordered.

The current occupant of the dragon throne has been carrying out his duties for fifty-nine years, and the weight of office shows. His eighty-three-year-old eyes are so wrinkled he has to lift his head to see from beneath the drooping lids. His shoulders ache, and he can't draw a bow. He can walk but needs help climbing stairs. He has trouble sleeping. He can't hear well. He's forgetful.²

His reign is one of the longest ever recorded, and one of the most prosperous, but lately he's been worried. There are rumblings of rebellion, reports of strange teachers spreading dangerous ideas, complaints about dishonest officials bullying the people, news of robbers robbing and pirates pillaging. Most troubling, the rains and snows haven't come to the capital since last year.³

This may be a sign of heaven's disapproval, and who else is there to blame but him? As he frequently points out, he's never ceased to work tirelessly for the well-being of his subjects, carrying out the rites and prayers and sacrifices, reading memorials and issuing edicts, punishing the wicked and rewarding the good. But perhaps there's something to reproach in his conduct?

Maybe, he feels, he's wrong to have scheduled a party. Next New Year's Day will mark the beginning of his sixtieth year on the throne, and princes, dukes, and ministers from throughout the realm and beyond have begged him to hold a national celebration. Of course, every New Year's is celebrated with two weeks of banquets, fireworks, acrobatics, plays, concerts, wrestling displays, and ice-skating competitions. But his subjects say next year's festivities should be grander. After all, an emperor reigning for a full sixty-year calendrical cycle is a rare and wondrous thing. He has ruled as long as any other emperor in the thousands of years of recorded history, a clear sign of heaven's blessing.

He loves celebrations, especially when they focus on him and his many accomplishments, so he initially agreed to the proposals. After all, how could he deny his subjects' heartfelt wishes? But now he wonders whether such a celebration might manifest arrogance

or self-satisfaction. It is especially troubling that a solar eclipse will occur right on New Year's Day next year. Eclipses have been seen from time immemorial as warnings from heaven, and this one will be followed just two weeks later by a lunar eclipse, which will coincide with the second most important day of the New Year's season—the Lantern Festival.

He acknowledges that solar and lunar trajectories and their resulting eclipses are in the category of things that have been determined for thousands of years, recalling the words of the ancient sage Mencius, who said, "Despite the height of heaven and the distance of the stars, one can calculate the solstice of a thousand years in the future while sitting in his seat if one has apprehended the underlying principles."⁴ Still, it's highly unusual for two eclipses to occur during the first month of a lunar year.

The emperor decides to be cautious. "This is a clear portent," he proclaims, "a warning sign descending from heaven."⁵ He declares that no grand celebration must take place:

The capital has not obtained any auspicious snow since the beginning of winter last year, and up to today there still has not been any significant precipitation or rain. I long for moisture. Worried and worn down, I have been praying devoutly and piously and carrying out sacrifices, but still we've not received any precipitation. Enquiring into the reasons for this, it might be precisely this desire to allow the carrying out of a great celebration. Already, this borders on egotism and self satisfaction, . . . but next New Year's solar and lunar eclipse events make it impossible not to feel all the more a sense of fearful admonition and to reflect urgently and examine one's conscience. The great celebration ceremony for next year—it seems evident that it's not really necessary to hold it.⁶

He orders his ministers and officials to refrain from asking again for an anniversary celebration. In this way, perhaps heaven will bring succor "so that the districts of the common people will all increase in happiness and well-being. This is, in any case, my great wish, although I don't dare to suggest that it must be so."⁷ He reassures his subjects that his decision doesn't foreclose the possibility of future festivities, and he suggests the following New Year, when he plans to abdicate and let his son take the throne, another rare and wondrous event.

The edict ends as edicts do: “Let this order be known.” But the Great Qing is unimaginably vast, stretching from the far Western oases of Turkmenistan to the Yellow Sea, from the tundra of northern Mongolia to the tropical beaches of Hainan Island, from the highest mountains of Tibet to the river ports of the Lower Yangtze, and its people are multitudinous and diverse. How can one make certain that the emperor’s words are understood throughout the realm?

The answer is that the empire is held together not just by armies, officials, and legal codes, but by ritual. Of the six boards of government, the Board of Rites plays a central role. Rites organize the hierarchical relationship of all imperial subjects, and even those from beyond the borders. They are, as a historian has recently written, “the foundation of the Qing political system.”⁸

The Board of Rites is responsible for promulgating imperial edicts, which it does via a series of ceremonies designed to extend the emperor’s sacred presence into the farthest reaches of the realm. The process begins in the Forbidden City, where an edict is placed on an altar in the Hall of Great Harmony. High officials kowtow to it, and then one of them raises it up and gives it to another official, usually a President of the Board of Rites, who receives it with hands above his head. The president carries it down three flights of marble stairs to the vast paved courtyard below, where he places it on another altar, kowtows, pauses, lifts it again, and then, standing up, sets it on a lacquered tray. A canopy is raised over it, and the tray is carried southward through the Forbidden City, accompanied by a retinue of officials carrying flags, umbrellas, and instruments. At the southern gate of the Forbidden City, the Meridian Gate, the edict is placed in a special palanquin carved with dragons. It is kowtowed to again and then carried, incense wafting, through long paved courtyards southward beyond the Forbidden City to the Gate of Heavenly Peace, the main gateway between the Imperial City and the Inner City of Beijing.

Here, the edict is proclaimed from the top of the walls. Below, on the other side of the five marble bridges that span the Golden Water River, officials kneel and listen, and then they kowtow, heads touching the paving stones.⁹ The edict is lowered from the gate, placed on the dragon palanquin, and carried across the central

bridge—the Dragon Bridge—to the Board of Rites Building, accompanied by music and incense.¹⁰ Here it's placed on another altar and kowtowed to. Not all edicts receive such attention, but all of the emperor's official communications involve this sort of ritual theater.

The officers of the Board of Rites are tasked with printing edicts so they can be sent out to the provinces and prefectures, where they'll be received in musical processions, displayed on altars, kowtowed to, and proclaimed out loud. In this way, the emperor's sacred authority is felt even in the farthest reaches.¹¹

Yet it takes time for the emperor's orders to travel. An edict must be painstakingly carved into woodblocks, each character in reverse, and then printed, after which it must travel in multiple copies through the empire, post station to post station, canal lock to river port. By early April, a month after the edict is proclaimed in the Forbidden City, it seems that it still hasn't reached the great southern city of Canton, which is how the Dutchman Everardus van Braam Houckgeest gets a chance to go to Beijing.

INDEX

Page numbers in italics refer to figures.

- Agie, Mr. (interpreter), 9, 66–67, 72, 95, 97,
130, 140, 144, 192–193, 200–201, 225, 319
- Agote, Manuel de, 271, 275; diary of, 310,
319; Guignes and, 95; Macartney and,
293; Shy Kinqua and, 270; Spanish
chief, 26–27, 58, 63; Spanish Royal
Philippines Company, 292; Titsingh and,
389n6; web of informants and, 292–293
- Altar of Heaven, 168. *See also* Beijing
- American plantations, 22, 23
- Amsterdam, 2, 14, 29–30, 128, 137, 174, 228,
255, 278–279, 290
- Amur River, 131
- Anhui Province, 75, 101–103, 106, 129,
350n54
- Aphrodite, 258
- Arnold, John, watchmaker, 191, 192
- Arrow War, 3. *See also* Opium Wars
- Attiret, Jean-Denis (French Jesuit), 188–189,
366n50
- Bagman, Mr., 68, 274, 385n74
- Baigou River, 11, 94, 119, 247
- Banks, Joseph, 278
- Baochu Pagoda, 240
- Baoying, 11, 94, 217, 228
- barbarian, 164
- Barrow, John, 188, 278, 296, 390nn24–25;
on China, 13–14, 300; on Titsingh and
Van Braam, 293–295; *Travels in China*,
5, 293
- Batavia, 6, 34, 49–50, 57, 78–79, 131, 276;
Chinese in, 45, 54, 64; commissioners
in, 271, 298; court of justice in, 253;
Isle of Java, 28–33; leadership in, 35,
48, 55; ship and, 269, 271; Titsingh
and, 276, 297–298
- Batavian Republic, 14, 255
- Battle of Xiangyang, 205
- Beale, Daniel, clock specialist, 50, 271
- Beigu Mountain, 373n23
- Beijiehe, 11, 116, 247
- Beijing, 124–132; Altar of Heaven, 168;
checkpoints in, 203; Chinese City, 16,
121, 218; early 1794, 16–21; elephants
in, 182; Eternal Peace Temple, 176;
Five Dragon Pavilions, 17, 176, 177;
Guang'an Gate, 218, 353n126; Inner
City, 16, 20, 121, 125, 180–182; Imperial
City, 20; Imperial Pleasure Gardens,
307; Jing Mountain, 127, 177; leaving,
208–215; Manchu City, 16, 121, 181, 294;
Outer City, 16, 121, 180; Seventy-Year
Door, 168; Tartar City, 180, 202; Xi'an
Gate, 125, 180, 364nn6, 12; Xihe Gate,
359n50; Xizhi Gate, 364n12; Xuanwu
Gate, 121, 124, 182, 353n7
- Beizhili, 118, 218–219, 221, 352n108
- Beng River, 223, 371n40
- Birch, William Russel: “China Retreat,”
284; pagoda of China Retreat, 285
- Blagden, Charles, 278
- Bletterman, Johannes Hendrik, mission's
doctor, 68, 72
- Blussé, Leonard, 325n2, 329n13, 329nn21,
24, 336n19, 388n133; on diplomatic
practices, 6, 329n25; on Latin inscription,
386n105
- Board of Rites, 20–21; celebration by, 146,
169, 204; Chinese Board of Ceremonies,
138; ministers of, 151, 168; office complex,
333n10; officers of, 21, 209; Records
of in Number One Archives, 317; role
of, 20, 135
- Boxer, C. R., on mission, 297–298
- Boxer Rebellion, 3
- British Museum, 280, 379n102
- British Royal Society, 278

- Broken Rainbow Bridge, in Forbidden City, 155
- Browne, Henry, 26–27, 55; on Macartney, 71, 107, 330n27; Shy Kinqua and, 270; Titsingh and, 58–59, 71
- Bucks County Jail, 288
- Buddhism, 262
- Buddhist universal kingship, 301
- Burmese, 164
- Canton, 220, 264; April 1794, 22–27; imperial courier service, 63. *See also* Haizhuang Temple
- Canton Commercial Council, 36, 380n18, 383n52
- Caoping Station, 11, 94, 217, 253
- Cape of Good Hope, 45, 68, 162, 278, 282
- Carlos, Chinese man, 49
- cart, sketch by Guignes, 114
- Cazenove, Theophilus, 287
- Chambers, William, 230–231
- Changlin, Viceroy, 9, 24–25, 42, 48, 49, 55–56, 60, 298; Haizhuang Temple ceremony, 53, 54, 267; recruiting Westerners, 66; report to emperor, 55–56, 60; on voyage to Beijing, 69–71
- Changshan, 11, 94, 217, 246, 252
- Chasseboeuf, Constantin François de, 287
- Chen Huai, 256
- Chen Yongfu, 106, 350nn54–55
- China: backwardness of, 294; British encounter with, 3, 4; superstition in, 199–200. *See also* Sinophilia
- China Board of Ceremonies. *See* Board of Rites
- China Commission, 68
- China Lane, 283
- China Retreat (mansion), 8, 229, 230, 282, 284, 285, 287–288, 290
- Chinese New Year, 54, 56, 63
- Chinese World Order, 3, 299, 302
- Chonghua Palace, 156, 175. *See also* Forbidden City
- Chongzhen, Emperor, 127
- Chowqua, merchant, 342n36
- Christie's, 290
- Christmas, 106–108, 164
- Chronicle of the Rulers of Japan, 279
- Cirencester* (English ship), 277, 384n67
- Ciyun Tower, 257
- clock for emperor, 50, 51
- Closing of the Seals, 62, 115
- Cloud Dragon Mountain, 111
- “Coiling Dragon, Shooting Ball,” 142, 143
- Confucianism: diplomacy as ritual propriety, 306; order, 300; translations, 64
- Confucius: birthplace of, 116; temple to, 85, 261
- Constatia, Johanna Egberta, Van Braam and, 282
- coolies. *See* porters
- Council of the Indies, Dutch East India Company, 33, 336n23
- Cythera, 258
- Dabie Mountains, 101–103
- Daguangming Hall, 198
- Daguan Town, 11, 75, 103, 247
- d'Almeida, Joseph-Bernard, missionary, 61
- Dane's Island, 38. *See also* Whampoa Island
- De'an, 11, 75, 96, 97, 247
- Dezhou City, 11, 94, 117, 221, 247, 370n11
- Dianbu Township, 11, 75, 106, 247
- Diao Zhicheng, visiting travelers, 106–108
- Dingyuan, 107–108
- Dongping, 11, 117, 247
- Dozy, Henrietta Maria, caring for William, 34, 273, 277–278
- Dozy, Mr. R. (director), 47, 57, 68, 72, 95, 97–98, 106, 108, 110, 273–274, 277, 319, 382n50
- Dragon Bridge, 21
- Dragon King God, 90
- Duanmen Gate, 169
- Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, on beauty in China, 239, 240, 251
- Dutch East India Company, 5–6, 14, 22, 29, 44, 48, 78, 270, 279, 298, 330n27
- Dutch Golden Age, 113
- Dutch mission/embassy of 1655, 74. *See also* *Embassy to the Grand Tartar Cham* (Nieuhof); Nieuhof, Johan
- Dutch mission/embassy of 1794–95, 2, 4, 307, 313, 326n5; accounts of, 330n30; Barrow's interpretation of, 5; culture-clash narrative, 299; Duyvendak and

- Boxer on, 297–298; floating town, 259;
Guignes's critique of, 295–296; journey
by boat, 75; journey by boat from
Hangzhou to Canton, 247; journey by
boat to Quzhou, Zhejiang, 217; journey
from Canton to Beijing and back
(1794–95), 11; journey overland (Bei-
jing to Qingjiangpu, Jiangsu), 217;
journey overland (Nanchang, Jiangxi
to Beijing), 94
- Dutch Nation, 213–214, 292
- Dutch National Archives, 310, 319
- Dutch Patriots, 78
- Dutch Republic, 14, 22, 25, 33, 78, 137,
270, 298
- Dutch Royal Institute for Science, Letters,
and Fine Arts, 281
- Duyvendak, Jan Julius Lodewijk, 325n2,
350n55, 390n28; on mission, 297–298;
translations of, 345n45, 350n59,
354nn25–26, 371n12, 390n30
- Earthly Orb, 142
- East Asian diplomacy, 5, 303, 306, 395n72
- Eighteen Shoals, 11, 75, 90, 91, 92, 217, 257;
Eighteen Cataracts, 9
- Embassy to the Grand Tartar Cham
(Nieuhof), 74
- emperor: authority of, 224; banquet of
Purple Ray Pavilion, 172–174; clock for,
50, 51; decree of, 219–220; Jin Congshan
and, 167; meeting Van Braam and
Titsingh, 294–295; observing perfor-
mances, 161–165; penning a poem, 174;
Titsingh and Van Braam gift shopping
for, 50; tour of temples to guests, 176–177
- Encheng, 11, 117, 247
- English Factory, 26, 58
- Enlightenment, 24
- Fahai, 232, 244
- Fairbank, John K., academic study of
China, 299–302, 393n45
- Falck, Anton Reinhard, Titsingh and, 281
- Fangguan, 11, 94, 219
- Fanshui, 11, 94, 217, 228
- Fan Zhongyan, poet, 376n5
- Fengcheng, 11, 75, 91, 217, 256
- fireworks, 1, 18, 72, 183, 306, 367n3,
367–368n25; Lantern Festival and, 184,
194–195, 198–201, 205; New Year's, 18,
146, 166, 180; in Yuanmingyuan, 268
- Five Blessings, 175
- Five Dragon Pavilions, 17, 176, 177. *See also*
Beijing
- Floating Spirit Shoal, 90
- Flowerland, 72–73, 265
- Flying Temple, 77
- Forbidden City, 15–17, 21, 127–128, 133,
135, 143–145, 151–152, 154–155, 159, 160,
172, 180, 184, 198, 208–210, 255, 294,
307, 309, 361n38, 369n4; Broken Rain-
bow Bridge in, 155; Chonghua Palace,
156, 175; Gate of Heavenly Peace, 20;
Gate of Supreme Harmony, 155, 160;
Golden River, 155; Golden Water River,
20; Hall of Middle Harmony, 160;
Hall of Preserving Harmony, 161, 161;
Hall of Supreme Harmony, 160, 198;
Meridian Gate, 20, 154–155, 160, 169,
209; Meridian Gate Plaza, 154, 168
- forced march, 41, 118, 150, 338n36
- Foshan, 11, 75, 217, 264–265, 379n111
- Franklin, Benjamin: coin design, 386n104;
Confucius and, 117; Enlightenment
and, 24
- French Island, 38. *See also* Whampoa Island
- Fucheng, 11, 118, 221, 247
- Fuchun River, 251
- Fu-lieou-ta-jin, 200
- Fuyang, 250
- Ganlu Temple, 373n23
- Gan River, 90, 256, 257
- Ganzhou City, 11, 75, 90, 91, 217, 257, 348n76
- Gaomin Temple, 229, 230, 282, 284, 285
- Gaoyou, 11, 94, 217, 228
- Gaoyou Lake, 11, 75, 94, 217, 227, 247
- Gate of Heavenly Peace, 20
- Gate of Supreme Harmony, 155, 160
- George III (King), 47, 341n23
- Golden Mount Island, 232; Jinshan
Island, 11, 94, 217, 233
- Golden River, 155
- Golden Water River, 20. *See also* Golden
River

- gongguan, 87
 Grab-ball, 142
 Grammont, Jean-Baptiste-Joseph de, 40, 65, 156, 203–204, 211, 292–293
 Grand Canal, *II*, 74, 75, 94, 114, 217, 218, 221, 224, 226, 228–229, 232, 247, 249, 254
 Grand Council, 28, 61–62, 115, 129, 155, 213; Qing Grand Council, 28, 61–62, 115, 129, 155, 213
 Great Qing, 3, 20, 25, 155, 164, 172. *See also* Qing dynasty
 Grinding Mill Lane, 125
 Grotius, Hugo, poem by, 113
 Guang'an Gate, 218, 353n126. *See also* Beijing
 Guangdong Province, 9, 10, 12, 41, 63, 75, 82, 85, 86, 88, 96, 247, 258, 260, 262, 286, 298
 Guangxi province, 9, 10
 Guanyin, 97, 190, 262
 Guanyin Cliff Temple, *II*, 217, 262, 263
 Guazhou, 232
 Guignes, Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de, 8, 12, 71–72, 91, 108, 110; as agent of French crown, 65–66; on Chinese construction, 231; Diao and, 106; emperor and, 136–140; on escorts from Canton, 148; on Gold Mount Island, 232–233; greeting missionaries, 152–153; on Hangzhou, 244–245, 245; Heshen and, 144–145; horses and, 95–98, 110, 113, 252–253; ice games and, 140, 142–143; journey to Beijing, 101; kowtow and, 137; on ladies of Lücheng, 234; observing performances, 194, 196–198; porters, 85, 87–88, 100–102, 104–105, 116–118; position as secretary, 66; public houses for travelers, 87–88; seasickness and, 100; sketch of boats in Jiangxi Province, 89; sketch of cart, *II*4; sketch of festival at Yuanmingyuan, *196*; sketch of Guanyin Temple, *263*; sketch of porters, 85; travel, 110–123; trip to Beijing, 67, 71–72, 76–77, 79, 81–85, 87; on Wang Shiji, 130; on West Lake, 244–244; women and, 99
 Guignes, Joseph de, orientalist, 13–14, 65
 Guixi, *II*, 217, 254, 377n45
 Haidian, 182, 364n16
 Hair Lane, 125
 Haizhuang Temple, 52, 69, 267; ceremony, 52–54, *53*, 70–71
 Hall of Middle Harmony, 160
 Hall of Preserving Harmony, 161, *161*
 Hall of Supreme Harmony, 160, 198
 Hangbu River, 104
 Hang merchants, 24, 39, 43, 265, 267; Locqua, 55; Monqua, 24; Pan Youdu, 52
 Hangzhou, *II*, 93, 94, 217, 235, 237–240, 242, 243, 245–246, 247, 249–250, 268, 286. *See also* West Lake
 Hanzhuangjia, *II*, 114, 247
 Happy-Together Garden, 206
 Heaven in Miniature, 241–242
 Heavenly Sphere, 142, *143*
 Heaven's Pillar, 90
 Hebrew Bible, 169
 Hejian, *II*, 94, 118, 219, 247
 Hekou, *II*, 217, 254
 Heshen: Europeans and Dutch treatment, 150–151; Guignes on, 153; Jiqing and, 239; Koreans and, 151; Nan-san-da-yin and, 185, 210; right-hand man, 8, 144–145, 147; Van Braam and, 190–192, 210; Van Braam on, 152, 157
 Hevia, James, on Macartney mission, 301, 301–303, 305, 328n10, 393nn45, 52
 History of Great Japan, 208
 Hoeylang, 182, 364n15
 Holland, 1, 45, 61, 70, 110, 145, 270; China and, 55; emperor on, 70, 137; Grand Council, 155, 213; Titsingh and, 29–30, 48, 110, 137, 204, 206, 234, 276; Van Braam on, 145, 170, 187, 202, 224
 Hollander(s), 46, 150, 206, 275
 Holy of Holies, 169
 Hong Taeyong, 189
 Hong Yangho, 206, 369n59
 Huai River, 93, 101, 109
 Huangpu Island, 37–38. *See also* Whampoa Island
 Huizi, 186
 Huns, 65
 Ice Games, 133, 138–143, 146, 307
 imperial ancestral temple, 154

- Imperial City, 20. *See also* Beijing
- Imperial Pleasure Gardens, 307. *See also* Beijing
- Inner City, 16, 20, 121, 125, 180–182. *See also* Beijing
- Isle of Java, Batavia (June 1794), 28–33
- Ixion, 228
- Jade Flower Island, 17, 125, 126, 176
- Jakarta, Indonesia, 6, 310. *See also* Batavia; Isle of Java
- Japan, 6, 208, 232, 281, 303; Titsingh and, 27–28, 77, 181
- Jefferson, Thomas, 24, 287
- Jiangsu Province, 10, 11, 111, 217, 218, 223
- Jiangxi Province, 75, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 91, 94, 101, 253, 256–257, 260–261
- Ji'an Prefecture, 11, 75, 256
- Jiaqing emperor, 385n74
- Ji Gong, trickster monk, 375n91
- Jin Congshan, scholar, 167
- Jingci Temple, 242
- Jingdezhen, 255
- Jing Mountain, 127, 177
- Jinhua Ham, 252
- Jinshan Island, 11, 94, 217, 233. *See also* Golden Mount Island
- Jiqing, 239–240, 374–375n75
- Jiujiang, 11, 75, 97–100, 247
- Jiuzhou Qingyan, 187
- Jochim, Christian, on rituals, 333n11
- John Arnold of London, watchmaker, 191, 192
- Jones, William, Titsingh and, 64
- Junjichu. *See* Grand Council
- Kang, David, tribute system and, 299
- Kangxi emperor, 176
- king of the fish, 131
- “Know-the-fish Gazebo,” 186
- Koran, 239
- Koreans, 135, 156–158, 164, 168, 174, 177, 184, 189, 195, 197, 201, 204, 207, 208, 232; ambassadors, 9, 150, 156, 158, 176, 199; Chen Shangsheng on, 369n59; envoys, 151, 318; gentlemen, 1; Hong Yangho, 206; journals and reports, 136; medicine, 199; shogunal court and, 303; sources, 2; Titsingh and, 368n48; *Veritable Records*, 359n56
- kowtow, 3, 5, 305; emperor's letter, 213, 267; Macartney refusal, 40–42, 53, 295; Titsingh and, 45, 53, 53–54, 131, 137, 140, 144, 163, 185, 209; Van Braam and, 53, 53–54, 131, 137, 144, 154, 158, 163, 185, 209
- Kui Mountain Tower, 111
- Lake Poyang, 99, 255. *See also* Poyang Plain
- Lantern Festival, New Year's, 19, 184, 193, 194–207
- Lanxi, 11, 94, 217, 252
- Laou Hou Tong, 182
- “Laughing Buddha,” 261
- Lehua, 11, 75, 95, 247
- Leibniz, G. W., Enlightenment and, 24, 291
- “Leifeng Sunset,” 244. *See also* West Lake
- Lequin, Frank, 8, 15, 325n2, 342n36, 390n30
- Liangxiang, 11, 120, 247
- Linhuai, 11, 75, 108–109, 247
- Locqua: Hang Merchant, 55, 342n36
- Lücheng, 11, 94, 217, 234
- Lugou Bridge, 120, 247
- Macartney, George (Lord), 2, 34, 47, 187, 188, 213, 256, 278; “absurd and impotent demands,” 41, 338n34, 397n8; arrival in China, 3; kowtow refusal, 40–42, 53, 295; mission, 2, 4–5, 122, 208, 293, 305–306, 330n27, 331n37; Titsingh and, 31–32; travel in China, 58, 71–72, 211, 216
- Macau, 26, 34–35, 264, 290, 315, 330n32; Agote in, 27, 334n35; Macao, 26, 379n120; on map, 11, 75; Portuguese in, 25, 34, 302; Titsingh and, 69; translators in, 66; voyage to Beijing from, 366n50
- Malay servant, 105, 148–149
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, language and, 306
- Manchu City, 16, 121, 181, 294
- Manchus, 54, 79, 108, 135, 136, 140, 145–146, 164, 177
- Mandarin, 192, 228, 245; Chinese, 9, 36, 107–108; language of China, 9, 61, 63, 193, 250, 279–280

- mandarins, 67, 71, 79, 85, 97, 135, 145, 153,
169, 201, 203, 210, 211, 225, 232, 253,
268–269, 287, 296–297, 304; Chinese,
37, 52; fish, 59; of Fong-yong-fou,
350n55
- Marco Polo Bridge. *See* Lugou Bridge
- Maritime Customs, Superintendent of, 38,
39, 44
- Marsden, William, Titsingh and, 278, 280
- Matthe, Maria Cornelia, widow of Jan, 269
- Meiling Gate, 260. *See also* Meiling Pass
- Meiling Pass, 9, 11, 75, 82, 85, 86, 217, 258,
260; Meiling Gate, 260
- Mei Mountain, 85
- Meixin Station, 11, 75, 104, 247
- Mencius, 19
- Mengyin City, 11, 94, 223
- Meridian Gate, 20, 154–155, 160, 169, 209
- Meridian Gate Plaza, 154, 168
- Middle Lake, 17
- Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 6, 79, 127, 177,
329n22, 393n50
- missionaries: Attiret, 188–189, 366n50;
Catholic, 330n32; European, in Beijing,
13, 23–24, 40; French, 66, 131, 203, 211,
387n113; Grammont, 40, 65, 203–204,
211, 292–293; Jesuits, 178, 188, 235,
291; Raux, 153, 211–213, 215, 218, 220;
Ricci, 235
- Mongols, 18, 135, 136, 146, 164, 174, 195
- Monqua, Hang merchant, 24–26, 274–275,
278, 334n23
- Moreau de Saint-Méry, Médéric Louis
Élie, 289, 290
- Morris, Staats, 288
- Moslems, 136, 156, 174, 184–185, 195, 200,
239, 301
- Mountain High, Water Wide, 184, 195
- Mount Tai, 11, 94, 218, 222–223
- “Music of the Four Barbarian Tribes,” 164
- “Music of the Four Directions,” 164
- Music Room, 284, 288
- Nan'an, 11, 74, 75, 83, 86, 86–88, 87–88,
217, 257, 260; Nan'an Prefecture, 82
- Nanchang, 11, 74, 75, 92, 93, 94, 217, 247,
254–256
- Nanjing, 181
- Nankang, 11, 217, 260
- Nan-san-da-yin, 202, 209; Fu-lieou-ta-jin
and, 200; Guignes and, 153; Heshen
and, 185–186; title, 312; Titsingh and,
214; Van Braam and, 154, 210, 214
- Nanxiong City, 11, 74, 75, 82–83, 217, 260
- Napier Affair, 388n140
- Napoleonic Wars, 298
- National Library, Paris, 281
- Nederburgh, Sebastian Cornelius: Changlin
on, 55; emperor letter, 70; Titsingh and,
31–32, 345n44, 385n74
- Nepalese, 164
- Netherlands, 14, 22, 33, 64, 78, 112–113, 137,
255, 270, 272, 274–278, 297
- New Year's Day, 18, 18–19, 54, 56, 60, 165,
167, 168; celebration, 1, 9, 62, 115, 125,
146, 166, 175, 180, 187; celebrations of,
18–19; dragon dance, 200; gifts and
money, 142; Lantern Festival, 19, 184,
193, 194–207; poetry writing, 175
- New Year's Eve, 159, 165, 174, 184
- Niemcewicz, Julian Ursyn, 287–289, 387n114
- Nieuhof, Johan: China visit, 181–182; Dutch
embassy, 13, 78–80; *Embassy to the
Grand Tartar Cham*, 74, 90; floating
town drawing, 259; Titsingh and, 131
- Nine Continents, 185, 187. *See also*
Yuanmingyuan
- North China Plain, 12, 111–112, 118
- North Lake, 7, 17, 125, 126
- O'Neill, Patricia, 304, 325n2, 329n13, 395n71
- Opium Wars, 2, 3, 291
- Orchid River, 251
- Oriental Diplomacy, Blussé, 6
- “Orioles Singing in the Willows,” 242.
See also West Lake
- Ouang-kia-pou, 254, 377n45
- Outer City, 16, 121, 180. *See also* Beijing
- “Paeon to the Sandalwood Scepter,”
emperor poem, 175
- palanquins, 16, 17, 112, 119, 125, 144, 154,
194, 221, 223, 239, 241, 245, 246, 248,
366n50; dragon on, 20–21; emperor in,
136, 138, 170, 173, 180, 182, 184, 294;
Guignes in, 100, 115–116, 117; refuge

- for travelers, 102; Titsingh in, 12, 83,
84, 86, 88, 95, 98–99, 105–107, 119, 148,
218, 225, 260; Van Braam in, 12, 83,
84, 86, 88, 95, 98–99, 103–106, 116–117,
218, 225, 260
- Pan Youdu, Hang merchant, 52
- Paonkequa, merchant, 387n113
- Party of Falck, 281
- Pearl River, 9, 37, 46, 74, 81, 86, 264, 310
- Perdue, Peter, 394n58
- Père Lachaise Cemetery, 8
- Petitpierre-Boy, Charles-Henry, Swiss
horologist, 211–212
- phatic diplomacy, 306–307
- Pingwangzhen, 238, 374n60
- Pingyuan, 11, 94, 222
- pirates, 18; Chinese, 35; French, 33
- Pi Yuan, 115
- politics of inclusion, 301
- Polo, Marco: on Hangzhou, 238, 240;
Travels, 120
- Ponqua, merchant, 98
- porters: for Guignes, 85, 87–88, 100–102,
104–105, 116–118; sketch of, 85; travel,
82–88, 93, 95–98, 100–105, 107, 116–118,
121, 127, 148, 208, 210, 212, 215, 223,
225, 239, 260
- Poyang Plain, 254. *See also* Lake Poyang
- Prayer for Good Harvests, 168
- Prince of Orange, 113, 174, 204, 210, 276,
351n91. *See also* William of Orange
(Prince)
- Purple Ray Pavilion, 172, 173, 369n58
- Qianlong emperor, 1, 2, 8, 120, 126, 141,
166–168, 172, 175, 178, 188, 206, 298,
326n5
- Qiantang River, 94, 217, 242, 245, 246, 248,
249, 251–252, 375n91
- Qing dynasty (1644–1911), 6, 9, 146, 155, 164,
228, 301, 316; empire, 146, 155, 164, 168,
328n10; Great Britain and, 328n10;
map of, 10; size of, 172; term, 316
- Qing Empire. *See* Qing dynasty
- Qing Grand Council. *See* Grand Council
- Qingjiangpu, 11, 94, 217, 218, 225
- Qing maps, 9
- Qingtu, 223
- Qingyuan, 11, 77, 217
- Qin Hui, 241
- Quanzhou City, 45, 48
- “Quei-chew,” 286
- Quixote, Don, 12
- Rainbow Bridge, 17, 125, 172, 176, 177, 180
- Raux, Nicolas Joseph, missionary, 153,
211–213, 215, 218, 220
- Regent of the Netherlands, 255
- Returning Dragon Tower, 99
- Revolutionary Wars, 381n31
- Ricci, Matteo, missionary, 235
- Rituals of Zhou* (ancient text), 164
- Rockhill, William, 390nn24–25
- rope beds, 356n21
- Round Bastion, 127
- Ruins, The* (Chasseboeuf), 287
- Ryukyuan, 303
- sacrifices, 17–19, 154, 253, 348n80
- Sanshui, 11, 75, 79, 217, 264
- Seventy-Year Door, 168. *See also* Beijing
- Shandong Province, 10, 115–118, 218,
221–222, 370n11
- Shaozhou, 11, 75, 80, 81, 217, 262, 379n109
- Shimen Township, 11, 94, 217, 238
- Shucheng, 11, 75, 103–106, 110, 129, 247,
350n55
- Shu Xi, 339n48
- Shy Kinqua, 270–271, 381n27
- Siam, 293
- Siam* (ship), 35, 37–38, 43, 270, 336n4
- Sinocentric discourse, 5, 301–302, 304,
394n55. *See also* tribute system
- Sino-French War, 3
- Sinophilia, 77, 132, 291
- Sino-Western diplomacy: as culture, 2–3,
44; relations, 4, 7, 291, 304, 307
- Six Peace Tower, 248
- Smith, Thomas, 288
- Solitary Island, 241
- Southern Mountain, 241
- South Lake, 17
- Spanish Royal Philippines Company, 292
- Speed Skating, 141
- Spence, Jonathan, 7, 330n28
- Sperie, Jean, 263

- Sports. *See* Ice games
 “Spring Dawn at the Su Causeway,” 241.
See also Hangzhou; West Lake
 Staunton, George, 32, 65, 80, 278
 Stevin, Simon, Dutch engineer, 113
 “Still Lake, Autumn Moon,” 241. *See also*
 Hangzhou; West Lake
 Suleng’e, 43–45, 48, 339n48
 Superintendent of Maritime Customs, 38,
 39, 44
 Suzhou, 11, 93, 94, 110–111, 217, 235–239,
 247, 375n83

 Tai’an, 11, 94, 223
 Taihe County, 11, 217, 257
 Taihe Hall, 198. *See also* Hall of Supreme
 Harmony
 Taihemen Square, 208. *See also* Hall of
 Supreme Harmony
 Taihu County, 102
 Taisu Temple, 177
 Taiye Lake, 138
 Tangjiabu, 250
 Tantalus, 228
 Tantan Dangdang, 185, 365nn36–37
 Tartar City, 180, 202. *See also* Beijing
 Tassel Lane, 125
 Tazhou, 11, 217, 256
 “Tchéli,” 286
 Teapot Shoal, 90
 Temple of Heaven, 168, 170
 “Temple of Ten Thousand Icons,” 177
 Tengzhou, 11, 115, 247
 Ten Perfect Military Victories, 172
 Terrifying Shoal, 90
 Thackara, William, 288
 Three River Mouths, 251
 Thunder Peak Tower, 243. *See also* West
 Lake
 Tianjin, 122, 332n3
 Tianning Temple, 11, 94, 217, 228
 Tibetans, 18, 135, 146, 164, 174
 Tiger’s Mouth, 35, 37, 41, 50
 Titsingh, Isaac, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15; emperor
 and, 135–136, 135–143; Falck and,
 281; gifts for emperor, 9, 31–32, 45,
 50, 51, 148, 150; Grand Council of the
 Indies, 28; Guignes and, 13; Haizhuang
 Temple ceremony, 52–54, 53, 70–71;
 on Hangzhou, 239; ice games and,
 138–142; Japan and, 28–29, 77, 181;
 kowtow and, 45, 131, 137, 140, 144, 163,
 185, 209; on ladies of Lücheng, 234;
 linguistic abilities of, 63–64; Malay
 servant and, 105, 148–149; mistress
 Okimine and, 29, 30; on mixing of
 Manchus and Chinese, 145–146; New
 Year’s celebration, 165–169; observ-
 ing performances, 161–165, 195–198;
 palanquins for, 12, 83, 84, 86, 88, 95,
 98–99, 105–107, 119, 148, 218, 225, 260;
 public houses for travelers, 87–88;
 ruminating about dark times, 78; sex-
 ual activities of, 335n4; son William,
 30, 34, 34–35, 278; on statue of Qin
 Hui and wife, 241; study of Macartney’s
 mission, 41–43; successes of, 269–270;
 on Suzhou, 236–237; widow Keiser,
 30; in Yangzhou, 228
 Tokugawa shogunate, 6, 302
 Tongcheng County, 11, 75, 103, 247
 Tonglu, 11, 94, 217, 250
 Tong Mountain, 113, 247
 Tonkin, 63, 293
Travels (Polo), 120
Travels in China (Barrow), 5, 293
 tributary system. *See* tribute system
 tribute system, 3, 299–303, 316, 328n10,
 393nn45, 49–50, 52, 395n58. *See also*
 Sinocentric discourse
 Turks, 18, 65
 Turtle Shoal, 90

 Uighurs, 1, 164
 Unequal Treaties, 2
 United Provinces of the Netherlands, 14
 Uoitime, 182, 364n15
 Utrecht province, 109

 Van Braam, Jacob Andries, 68, 95, 107, 151,
 236, 271–273, 275–277, 310, 382n50,
 383n63, 384n67, 385n75, 391n37; skat-
 ing on ice, 107, 108, 140–141
 Van Braam, Jacob Pieter, 272
 Van Braam Houckgeest, Andreas Everar-
 dus, 1, 8, 14, 21; as amateur of China,

- 22–27, 250; on bound feet, 234–235;
Canton (April 1794), 22–27; China
Retreat and, 8, 229, 230, 282, 284,
285, 287–288, 290; collecting Chinese
maps and paintings, 23; cooking sup-
plies, 102; death of, 290; emperor and,
135–143; frustration with Wang Shiji,
249; gifts for emperor, 9, 31–32, 45,
50, 51, 148, 150; Haizhuang Temple
ceremony, 52–54, 53, 70–71; ice games
and, 138–142; imperial garden tour,
229–231; on imperial road to Beijing,
121; kowtow and, 131, 137, 144, 154, 158,
163, 185, 209, 294–295; New Year's
celebration, 125, 165–169; observing
performances, 157–159, 159, 161–165,
195–198; palanquin for, 12, 83, 84, 86,
88, 95, 98–99, 103–106, 116–117, 218,
225, 260; public houses for travelers,
87–88; on scenery, 103–104, 108–109, 111;
as Sinophile, 77, 132, 291; stroll through
Jiujiang, 99; study of Macartney's mis-
sion, 41–43; on travel accommodations,
118, 127–131; wares in Jingdezhen,
255–256; on Zhang River, 258
- Van Dyke, Paul, on Canton trade, 309,
333n9, 339n48, 342n36
- Van Rossum, Anna Maria Elisabeth,
Titsingh and, 268
- Vietnam, 37
- Vietnamese, 164
- "Vlottendt Dorp," 259
- Voltaire, 13, 24, 117, 291
- Vulliamy, Benjamin, horologist, 341n23
- Wanggangjing, 238, 374n60
- Wangjiaying, 11, 94, 224–225
- Wang Shiji, 96–97, 99, 111, 129–130, 132,
139, 150, 208, 212, 220, 223, 237,
248–249, 254
- Wanshan Islands, 34
- Warkas, 164
- Washington, Martha, 282, 283
- Weishan Lake, 11, 112–113, 247
- Western Gate, 133, 135–136, 144, 154–155,
210, 359n50
- Western Ocean Swings, 196
- Western Palaces, 190
- West Lake: Hangzhou's, 94, 217, 240, 242,
243, 244, 249, 268, 375n91; "Leifeng
Sunset," 244; "Orioles Singing in the
Willows," 242; "Spring Dawn at the Su
Causeway," 241; "Still Lake, Autumn
Moon," 241
- Westphalian diplomacy, 4, 239; non-, 7;
Western system, 299
- Whampoa: Dane's Island, 38; French
Island, 38; Huangpu Island, 37–38;
Whampoa Island, 23, 37, 39, 337n20
- White Pagoda, 17, 125, 126, 141, 173, 176–177
- White Snake Lady, 232, 243
- White Temple Lane, 125
- Wilberforce, William, Titsingh and, 278
- William of Nassau (Prince), 55–56
- William of Orange (Prince), 49, 213
- Wills, Jack. *See* Wills, John E., Jr.
- Wills, John E., Jr., student of Fairbank,
300–301, 303, 325–326n2, 327n9;
Wills, Jack, 307, 328n10
- Wilton, Frances, 278
- Windler, Christian, 304, 328n10, 330n26,
395nn69–70
- Wolff, Christian, 24
- Womack, Brantly: asymmetrical power,
299, 393n50; mutual respect, 303
- women, 9, 99, 222, 223; carts and, 212;
elephant dung as hair stiffener, 182;
hiding themselves, 101, 156, 181; ladies
in China, 234–239, 258; Niemcewicz
on, 287–288; Nieuhof in China and,
181–182; observing Europeans, 157;
piloting ferries, 80; as porters, 83, 85;
statue of "Laughing Buddha" and, 261;
Titsingh and Agie observing, 201–202;
Titsingh on, 30; Van Braam on, 228
- Wu Gate, 359n50
- Wujiang, 11, 94, 217, 238
- Xian County, 11, 118, 247
- Xi'an Gate, 125, 180, 364nn6, 12. *See also*
Beijing
- Xiangshan, 373n23
- Xianxian, 220
- Xie River, 110
- Xihe Gate, 359n50. *See also* Beijing
- Xincheng Township, 11, 94, 119, 219, 247

- Xin'gan, 11, 217, 256
 Xiong County, 11, 119, 247
 Xizhi Gate, 364n12. *See also* Beijing
 Xuanwu Gate, 121, 124, 182, 353n7. *See also*
 Beijing
 Xuzhou, 11, 111–112, 247
- yanglie dance, 164
 Yangtze Delta, 114
 Yangtze River, 9, 11, 74, 75, 86, 93, 94, 99,
 114, 217, 232, 233, 247, 373n23, 375n91;
 Lower region, 20, 67, 74
 Yangtze Watershed, 82, 85, 86, 101, 246
 Yangzhou, 11, 93, 94, 217, 228–229, 231;
 Gaomin Temple year, 230, 284, 285
 Yanzhou, 11, 116, 247; Prefecture, 251,
 376n17
 Yao Wenhan, 362n3
 Yellow River, 11, 12, 93, 94, 111–112, 114,
 224–225, 247, 315
 Yellow Sea, 20
 Yiyang, 11, 217, 254
 Yongzheng emperor, 133, 134
 Yuanming Gardens. *See* Nine Continents;
 Yuanmingyuan
 Yuanmingyuan, 180, 183, 188–189, 203, 240,
 268; emperor visit and, 204, 211; Euro-
 pean gardens, 201; European-style
 palaces in, 178, 286–287; festival in
 front of emperor at, 196; formal ban-
 quet, 198–199; Yuanming Gardens, 11,
 94, 178, 179, 184, 196, 247, 326n5. *See also*
 Nine Continents
 Yucheng, 11, 94, 222
 Yue Fei, 241, 375n83
 Yuhong, 257
 Yushan, 11, 94, 217, 252, 253
- Zeeman, B., 68, 275, 385n74
 Zhang Feng, 394n55
 Zhangqiao, 11, 75, 107, 247
 Zhang River, 9, 89–90, 257–259, 260, 315
 Zhangxia, 11, 94, 223
 Zhangzong emperor (1190–1208), 120
 Zhao Hongwen, 208, 333n7
 Zhejiang Province, 10, 217, 237, 239, 245,
 247, 253
 Zhenjiang, 11, 94, 217, 232–233, 373nn23,
 38
 Zhen River, 81, 82
 Zhuangzi, 186
 Zhuozhou, 11, 94, 219, 247
 zongfan order, 394n56
 Zoucheng City, 116
 Zuiderburg (ship), 339n49
 Zuoshi Linliu, 205