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Introduction by
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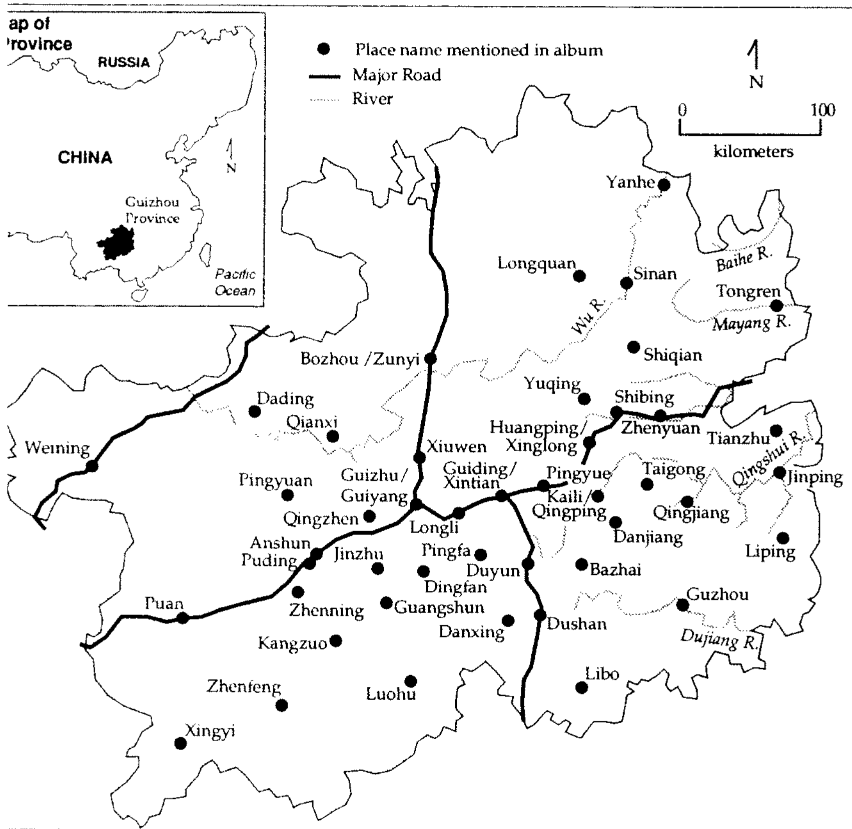

Guizhou circa 1820, showing place names mentioned in the album texts. Cartography Laboratory, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Introduction: Early Modern Ethnography in Comparative Historical Perspective

LAURA HOSTETLER

FROM costume books to portrayals of "exotic" peoples in distant lands, ethnographic interest in the "Other" has often been associated with European colonial projects.[1] Yet, ethnographic representation was practiced by expanding powers in many parts of the world, not only by European or "Western" states. During the eighteenth century, Qing China (1636–1911) saw an increase in the literary and artistic representation of different peoples, including the rise of a systematic ethnography of ethnic minority groups.[2] In 1751 the Qianlong emperor commissioned the *Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* (Huang Qing zhigong tu). The work is an illustrated compilation describing peoples from around the world, including the frontier areas of China proper, the far reaches of the Qing empire, and foreign countries (encompassing various parts of Europe).[3] The most elaborate edition is a set of scrolls containing 304 color paintings on silk with accompanying descriptive text in both Chinese and Manchu (see pls. 1 and 2).[4] The illustrations depict a wide variety of peoples in colorful and distinctive costumes. The text describes where the peoples represented lived, their relationship to the Qing empire, and any distinctive customs for which they were known.

The section of *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* that describes the culturally non-Chinese peoples[5] of southwest China may well have been based on a genre of illustrated manuscripts known in English as "Miao albums" (*Miaoman tu* or *Bai Miao tu* in Chinese). The earliest of these albums were compiled by officials responsible for governing frontier areas during the late Yongzheng (r. 1723–35) or early Qianlong (r. 1736–96) periods. The texts of the Miao albums and *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* are not identical, nor is the layout of the illustrations the same; yet in their overall design and even in specific aspects of their content they exhibit striking similarities.

Plate 1. Foreigners from "Heleweicaiya." Huang Qing zhigong tu. *National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.*

Plate 2. (Kayou) Zhongjia. Huang Qing zhigong tu. *National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.*

The *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* showcases pairs of male and female figures in distinctive costumes, often shown together with an artifact that evokes a characteristic cultural practice. For example, a colorful ball made of ribbon is suspended between a couple representing one of Guizhou's ethnic minority groups, the Kayou Zhongjia (pl. 2). The scene portrays a courtship custom in which lovers tossed a ball back and forth to signal their mutual affection. No background scenery is shown for the focus is on the peoples themselves, not so much on the locales in which they dwelled. The goal of the compendium was to demonstrate the multiplicity of peoples united in their recognition of Qing sovereignty. The commissioning edict clearly described this: "My dynasty has united the vast expanses. Of all the inner and outer barbarians belonging under its jurisdiction, there are none that have not sincerely turned toward Us and been transformed."[6] The completed work was to serve as a testament to the glory and achievements of the Qing, and specifically the Qianlong emperor's reign.

The illustrations in the Miao albums, on the other hand, are less formal and more rustic.[7] Larger groups of people, young and old, are depicted in a natural setting. Quite often they are engaged in the same cultural activity that the *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* alludes to through the presence of a signifying cultural object. For example, the illustration of the Kayou Zhongjia in the album reproduced below (fig. 6) shows six individuals frolicking outside with their partners on a spring day. Here, too, the colorful balls serve as a trope that identifies the group. The background scenery reflects variations in topography, level of architectural sophistication, and other features of the environment that may have held significance for the album's readership. Whereas a given group's preference for living next to water, in the mountains, or near a market town where individuals could sell their handiwork was of little direct importance to the emperor, this level of detail would have mattered to local officials. Although the specifics of design and specialized function distinguish the Miao albums from the *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples*, both genres attest to the existence of a detailed and highly complex taxonomy of ethnically diverse peoples that was part and parcel of the Qing state's immensely successful efforts at empire building.[8]

What distinguishes these works as "ethnographic" is their purported basis in direct observation. Many of the earlier written descriptions about China's Others, such as the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (Shanhai jing) and a Ming (1368–1644) encyclopaedia known as the *San cai tu hui*, relied heavily, and sometimes exclusively, on earlier textual descriptions.[9] The preface to at least one edition of the *Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* specifically claims that those produced under the Qianlong emperor were more reliable and true to life than *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* produced under earlier dynasties.[10] The archival record bears out this claim. An edict received by the governor-general of Sichuan in 1750, prior to the formal commissioning of the project, directed him to "take the western barbarians, 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." It also specifically stated that at this time he should not send anyone to make inquiries about those with whom he had no familiarity.[11] Judging by the context, the emperor wanted only information grounded in personal experience. The edict implies that documentation of other, more remote, groups should await further instruction.

The actual commissioning edict, which shortly followed that received by the Sichuan governor-general, specified how the groundwork for the *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* was to be carried out:

> As for their clothing, caps, appearance, and bearing, each has its differences. Now although we have likenesses from several places, they are not yet uniform and complete. Gather together the several models that we now have, and deliver them to each of the governors and governors-general near the borders. Order them to take the Miao, Yao, Li, and Zhuang under their jurisdiction, as well as the various outer barbarians, 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 [by the emperor].[12]

The edict specifically described the procedures that should be followed in completing the work. Models based on likenesses of peoples that had already been submitted from a number of border areas were to be transmitted to the governors and governors-general in areas from which no illustrations had yet been forthcoming. Images were to be made according to these models, that is, following the form, but with rele-

vant local content. The sum total would then be sent to the capital, where they would be arranged into a format worthy of the emperor's inspection. The completed work would allow him to survey his empire, his subjects, and his accomplishments, and also to leave a record of them for posterity. The *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* was to serve as a reflection of the order the empire had helped to create. At the same time, it served to justify and to perpetuate the type of relationships the Qing enjoyed with its tributaries.

We have less direct information about the origins of the Miao albums, but do know from several extant prefaces that at least some of them were made by lower-level officials posted to frontier regions. These individuals based their work on a combination of firsthand experience and research into accounts of customs recorded in local gazetteers of the province. In the only case where the identity of the artist is mentioned, he is said to have been a long-time resident of the area who had a thorough familiarity with his subject matter.[13] It is possible that the early Miao albums may have served as drafts for the *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples*.[14] The album texts were largely based on information in local gazetteers, which were regularly revised and expanded from around 1600 through 1750 on what appears to have been the basis of direct observation. As in the case of the *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples*, this rootedness in observation (however imperfect) is what makes the albums "ethnographic," and is also what allows us to understand them as part of an early modern phenomenon also seen outside of China.

This book contains the complete reproduction of a Miao album with a fully annotated translation into English. The album reproduced here is, like most, anonymous and untitled. Dating from sometime after 1797, it is neither one of the earliest nor one of the latest examples, and is typical of the genre at the height of its distribution when albums were routinely hand-copied from existing models.[15] This album identifies eighty-two different ethnic groups residing in Guizhou.[16] A separate hand-painted illustration, textual description, and poem is devoted to each ethnic group.[17] The multifaceted nature of the work makes it of value to ethnographers, art historians, and historians of China, as well as those interested in the cultural side of early modern imperial expansion from a comparative angle.

This introductory essay situates these examples of early modern Chinese ethnography within two different contexts. By locating the development of the albums within the Qing empire, we can trace the genesis of the genre and the sociopolitical context in which the albums were first made; lay out what is known of the albums' authorship and their production; explore the basis for the composition of the illustrations; discuss the ethnographic content of the texts; and finally, trace the evolution of the genre over time. In addition, situating the production of these Miao albums and related *Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* within the broader early modern context of imperial expansion permits a broader historical analysis through a comparison of these ethnographic documents with other roughly contemporaneous ethnographic depictions from Tokugawa Japan and the Ottoman empire.[18] The goal is to show that during the early modern period, defined roughly as 1500–1800, a variety of different expanding states and empires gathered and recorded information about peoples with whom they were coming into contact, whether through exploration, direct colonization, or diplomacy. Ethnographic interest in other peoples was not simply a "Western" phenomenon, but rather was part of a much more widespread process of state building in that period. This assessment is an effort to make visible some of the similarities shared by early modern states in their attempts to categorize, represent, and ultimately, to construct knowledge about peoples from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds.[19]

MIAO ALBUMS

The region we now call southwest China was only loosely integrated into the Qing empire during the early eighteenth century. The area had long served as a buffer zone between dynastic China and the countries beyond. Since the early Ming (1368–1644), native chiefs (*tusi*) had been recognized by the throne and therefore ruled the area by proxy. By virtue of their inherited position, the *tusi* enjoyed great autonomy, governing as they saw fit. Gradually, however, their power was eroded as regions that had been under their jurisdiction were transferred to direct administrative rule by officials in the imperial bureaucracy. This process, known in Chinese as *gaitu guiliu*, intensified under the Qing, most dramatically through the militarily aggressive policies of the Yongzheng emperor.[20] The changes in governance he instituted not only had implications for legal procedures and taxation, but even restricted the expression of cultural activities such as gatherings on

festival days and regulated the types of dress that were to be permitted.[21] Confucian-trained scholar officials from other parts of the empire would now be assigned to govern these remote frontier regions. The Miao albums served an important purpose by providing the new officials with information about the populations to be governed.

Miao albums are bound collections of hand-painted color illustrations of ethnic minority groups paired with hand-written annotations in classical Chinese. Because most Miao albums are anonymous and undated, the emergence of the genre is difficult to trace with precision. We do know, however, that they first appeared toward the end of the Yongzheng reign during the implementation of *gaitu guiliu*, or during the early years of the Qianlong emperor's reign in the aftermath of widespread rebellion against its repressive policies. The prose texts of the albums were derived from portions of local gazetteers describing the customs (*fengsu*) of non-Chinese inhabitants of the province. Local artists painted the illustrations that were sometimes later recopied by artists who had less, if any, familiarity with their subject matter. Together, the texts and illustrations record information on the provenance, whereabouts, character, beliefs, and cultural practices of the broad range of groups that the albums identify. The dominant Confucian values of Chinese society that emphasized the proper performance of ritual—particularly in the areas of marriage and funeral practices, but also through norms for diet, dress, and the observance of annual festivals—undoubtedly shaped the categories of inquiry. The albums also show an interest in the means of livelihood of the various groups discussed, as well as in their "natures." Overall, these documents give witness to the state's desire to know, as well as to control, its southern frontier territories and peoples. Miao albums exist for various parts of south and southwest China, including Guizhou, Yunnan, Guangdong, Hunan, Taiwan, and Hainan.[22] While all of these albums show great similarity in both design and general content, the albums for Guizhou have been studied most extensively.[23]

The albums portray not only Miao peoples strictly speaking, but also other *miaoman*, or non-Han ethnic groups. In classical Chinese, Miao has two usages relevant to our purposes here. Both are used in the albums. The looser usage, reflected in the variety of titles under which the albums circulated, refers broadly to non-Han peoples in south and southwest China. Hence the somewhat misleading label "Miao album." The other meaning of the term Miao was circumscribed more narrowly, as is the normal usage of "Miao" in English. It referred specifically to the Miao ethnic minority who are distinguished in the Guizhou album reproduced here from other minority groups such as the Gelao, Zhuang, Zhongjia, Luoluo, Yao, Dong, and others.

Today, "Miao" is a highly contested term with a variety of usages. In the People's Republic of China, "the Miao" are one of fifty-five nationally recognized ethnic minority groups (*minzu*).[24] Many English speakers use the term Miao to refer to members of this same ethnic group who migrated from China into Southeast Asia and later, in the aftermath of the Vietnam war, to the United States.[25] Most "Miao" living outside China do not, however, self-identify as Miao but rather as Hmong. Miao is, after all, not an indigenous word, but a Chinese ethnonym, although it is probably the Chinese transliteration of the native word for Hmong.[26] To further complicate matters, the correlation between those groups who were called Miao in the albums and those who bear that name within China today is not necessarily entirely consistent.

The term Han also begs a word of explanation. The word itself is ancient, but like many words has undergone substantial shifts in meaning and usage over time. The Chinese character for the Han majority ethnic group is the same as that for the Han dynasty, which ruled China from 206 B.C.E. to 220 C.E. In the Miao albums, the word Han was used to differentiate what we would now call culturally Chinese peoples from those with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. During the early twentieth century, the term Han became associated with Chinese ethnic nationalism under the political leadership of Sun Yat-sen, who used it as a banner to unite the Chinese people in opposition to the Manchu ruling house.[27] Today, although Han denotes the majority ethnic group in China, it also carries political overtones different from its eighteenth-century usage. I use "Han" below as it is used in the albums to describe a cultural norm against which the ethnic Others in the albums are implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, described.

The term Chinese also commonly carries at least two layers of meaning. In popular usage it is more or less synonymous with "Han." "Chinese" also refers to citizens of China—of whatever ethnic origin.[28] I use "Chinese" here to describe the more or less coherent dominant culture largely shaped by and conveyed through the Chinese written

language. I prefer not to use "Han"—except when, and as, it is used in the albums—so as not to inadvertently invoke meanings that were not part of its eighteenth-century usage.

Album Illustrations

The album as a venue for artwork in China dates from at least as early as the Song dynasty (960–1278), when bird and flower painting came into vogue.[29] Landscape paintings accompanied by poetry also appeared in albums. The Miao albums, however, seem more closely related to albums that had a more ideological or instructive purpose such as *Illustrations of Weaving and Tilling* (Gengzhi tu), which first appeared during the Song dynasty, but were later reissued during the Qing;[30] or illustrated manuals that described a complex series of steps in porcelain manufacture.[31] The Miao albums, rather than serving primarily as a repository for art—whether visual or literary—constituted instead a kind of practical map for locating different groups in space, and for codifying or predicting their behavior. They were, among other things, an effort to describe and to better understand the natural world and its inhabitants. It is no coincidence that Miao albums emerged at roughly the same time that travel writing became more prevalent in China. A number of albums actually include topographical maps.[32]

The illustrations and texts are components of equal importance in the Miao albums.[33] Like the texts, discussed in more detail below, the illustrations drew their inspiration and models in part from local gazetteers. For Guizhou, the earliest visual representations we have of native peoples are found in the 1673 and 1692 editions of the *Guizhou Gazetteer* (Guizhou tongzhi). These works contain thirty and thirty-one wood block illustrations respectively. In terms of composition, the illustrations in the 1692 gazetteer bear a resemblance to the later hand-painted Miao albums that normally include visual and textual depictions of eighty-two groups. These eighty-two standard images, once established, were repeated with some variations across the albums of Guizhou. The illustrations, in a sense, go further than the texts by providing the viewer with a single mental image or template of each different ethnic group. The texts by contrast describe a variety of characteristics, thus providing a somewhat more multifaceted view. Repeated across the albums, that same image becomes the defining feature, or trope, for that group. Thus, for example, the Mulao are shown sacrificing a chicken, and preparing a straw dragon with flags, each of a different color, sticking into its back (fig. 30). The Black Luoluo (fig. 1) are on horseback returning from a hunt. The Red Miao fight amongst themselves, with the women restraining their menfolk (fig. 14). The Gou'er Longjia dance outside around a tall pole (fig. 10). In this way, each of the identified groups becomes strongly associated with the primary characteristic depicted in the illustration accompanying the somewhat more nuanced ethnographic text.[34] As with the texts, there can be some variation in detail from album to album, but the general themes and composition remain largely the same. For each group pictured, not only is the same visual trope repeated across the albums but the figures often occupy the same position on the page.

Lothar Ledderose has proposed that in Chinese culture, art—from language, to architecture, to the plastic and visual arts, and even to food preparation—is produced through the recombination of units, which he calls modules. Most relevant for our purposes here is his discussion of the various versions of the "Ten Kings of Hell" paintings dating from the thirteenth century.[35] He shows that such paintings were produced in sets, and that while there was some room for variation from set to set, certain features—especially the position and number of figures in a given scene—tend to remain constant. From this he concludes that the artists probably used stencils to give them "a firm compositional framework in which to operate."[36] Furthermore, several artists may also have worked on different aspects of the same paintings. With certain features of the painting already formulated, and one's work niche narrowly carved out, original creative work was limited in this context to such areas as designing the patterns depicted on clothing or fabric.[37] Most of the Miao albums appear to have been made by paid artists in a workshop setting where the overall composition of the illustrations was largely predetermined.

As alluded to above, the names of a number of Guizhou's non-Han minority groups were derived from characteristics of their outward appearance. These included distinctive hairstyles, the color or other aspects of their clothing, identifying behaviors or practices, as well as their dwelling places. These features were often depicted in the illustrations, as highlighted in the selection of color plates. Notice the distinctive hairstyle on the Guoquan (Pot-Ring) Gelao, who are preparing sacrifices to a divinity represented by a tiger's head made out of flour

paste (pl. 3). The Louju Hei Miao's distinctive housing arrangements with room for cattle on the ground level of their houses are depicted in plate 4. Plate 5 depicts the Daya (Teeth-Breaking) Gelao engaged in the activity for which they are named. This particular illustration shows an example of an album where the descriptive text appears on the same page as the illustration. It is also one of several albums that does not include background scenery. Nüguan, the first wife of the Luoluo chief, is shown in plate 6. We see her in regal majesty, a woman who may assume rule of her people should her husband die and a son not yet be of age. The illustration of the Hua Gelao reproduced in plate 7 is included here to demonstrate the range of styles found within the Miao album genre.[38] Two figures with primitively depicted features are dressed in colorful outfits. Although we know that the texts have roots in direct observation, there is some question as to the basis for the illustrations. Aside from the one album preface whose author claims to have lived in Guizhou for many years, and to have drawn from his local knowledge in making the illustrations, we do not have evidence that the artists were familiar with their subjects. In cases where they were not simply copying another album they may have taken their inspiration from the names or from the actual costumes and other distinctive visual features of the groups in question.[39]

If, as suggested above, most of the albums were made by paid artists in a workshop setting, it is not surprising that illustrations may have sometimes been reproduced by artists unfamiliar with their subject matter. Under these conditions, odd or exaggerated effects within the parameters permitted by the genre could easily be introduced. Across the albums, the short-skirt Miao are, for example, depicted in skirts of varying lengths, some portrayals being much more titillating than others. The hairstyle of the Madeng (Stirrup) Longjia also shows significant variation.[40] While no two albums are identical, the composition of the illustrations—even down to the placement of individual figures on the page—can be quite similar.[41] Compare, for example, the two illustrations of the Turen in figure 33 and plate 8. There is also evidence that, at least some of the time, the figures as well as the natural scenery and buildings were painted by two different artists as in the paintings of the "Ten Kings of Hell" that Ledderose describes. An apparently unfinished album in the collection of the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania includes only figures but no background scenery (pl. 9). These figures are nearly identical to those found in an album housed in the British Library that does include background scenery (pl. 10).

While the early albums were originally made to serve a utilitarian function, the genre eventually evolved to fill other niches as well. The lower quality workshop albums may have catered to an audience interested in the exotic, paralleling the demand for armchair ethnographies in Europe. The fact that they are anonymous shows that those who painted them either did not care to, or were not in a position to claim authorship. A higher quality market for the albums also apparently developed simultaneously. In these albums, the identity of the artist and calligrapher is indicated by the presence of seals or sometimes a signature. Such an indication of the author's identity demonstrates evidence of pride in their production (see pls. 4 and 11). In these later albums the artistry may have been valued as much or even more than the ethnographic content they contained. Some albums were penned in a variety of calligraphic styles. Plate 11 shows an opening from an album, the text of which is written in a style evocative of ancient seal script. Other albums were penned by the hand of one or more local notables. The artists of a number of these later albums also took more liberty in terms of the composition of the illustrations, as well as the portrayal of the various groups depicted.

The colorful and "exotic" albums sometimes found their way out of the locality in which they were made when a local official moved on to take up a post in another part of the empire. Miao albums were also circulated when bestowed as gifts on superiors. In such cases, the underlying message from the giver was two-fold. The gift at once communicated both the giver's appreciation of art and fine calligraphy, as well as the diligence and seriousness with which he approached his frontier post.

At any rate, the Miao album was not an insignificant genre. Albums were actively produced for a period of at least 150 years, and in significant numbers for handmade documents; over one hundred eighty albums are extant and housed in various libraries and museums throughout Asia, Europe, and the United States.[42] Others remain in private hands. During the 1860s, a century after they began to be made, the albums started to appear in used bookstores and on the foreign art market in Chinese cities.[43] Purchased by European and American expa-

Plate 3. Guoquan (Pot-Ring) Gelao. Società Geografica Italiana. Chinese Catalog no. 63.

Plate 4. Louju (Storied-Dwelling) Miao. The seal identifies the calligrapher (who may also have been the artist); the smaller characters indicate the date and the location where the text was penned. By permission of the British Library, Or 11513.

Plate 5. Daya (Teeth-Breaking) Gelao. By permission of the British Library, Or 4153.

Plate 6. Nüguan. By permission of the British Library, Add 16594.

Plate 7. Hua Gelao. From Miaoman tu. *This is one of the cruder representations from a Miao album. Courtesy of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.*

Plate 8. Turen. By permission of the British Library, Add 16594.

Plate 9. Datou Longjia. University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. P4–2566.

Plate 10. Datou Longjia. By permission of the British Library, Or 13504.

Plate 11. Yangbao Miao. The calligraphy in the album is written in a number of different styles, but the seals indicate that each page was penned by the same hand. Società Geografica Italiana. Chinese Catalog 63.

triates who found them attractive—or at least objects worthy of curiosity—they became geographically highly dispersed. Scholars have taken an interest in the albums for over a century, with the first translations into European languages already appearing at the end of the nineteenth century. The earliest scholarship tended to describe a single album and its contents. Beginning in the 1960s, the genre itself received attention with questions about authorship, dating, and accuracy starting to take precedence. Only more recently have the albums been given book-length treatment, and studied as part of the Qing effort to create and maintain a multiethnic empire.[44]

Album Texts

Ethnographic descriptions of culturally non-Chinese peoples in southwest China appeared as early as 1560.[45] Over the course of the next two-and-a-half centuries, these texts, found both in officially commissioned local gazetteers and in private writings, came to reflect an expanded knowledge of the groups they describe and, correspondingly, an increasingly complex taxonomy. In 1608, *A Record of Guizhou Province* (Qian ji) contained headings for thirteen different groups. Three editions of the *Guizhou Gazetteer* dating from 1673, 1692, and 1741 contained thirty, thirty-one, and thirty-eight groups respectively. An 1834 publication also entitled *A Record of Guizhou Province* enumerated eighty-two, as does the album reproduced below.[46] As the system of naming became increasingly elaborate, the geographical scope of inquiry also expanded. Later works contain references to remote areas of the province not mentioned earlier. Furthermore, the amount of ethnographic detail was continually augmented up until about 1750, presumably on the basis of direct observation.[47] Publications like these, portions of which described the customs (*fengsu*) of non-Chinese inhabitants of the province, formed the textual basis for the Miao albums.

The text of the album reproduced here uses a number of approaches to define and describe the peoples it depicts. In unpacking its meaning, it may be helpful to think of the textual content as comprising four different types of maps or diagrams, all superimposed on one other. I will describe each approach separately, in much the same way that one can individually view anatomical transparencies showing different body parts and bodily systems before again layering them on top of one another for added "real life" complexity.

The first "map" or diagram seeks to order the multiplicity of culturally non-Chinese peoples resident in Guizhou through an elaborate taxonomy. Each page of text begins with a numbered heading that gives the name of the group to be described. In this way, the unwieldy ethnic and cultural diversity of the province is broken down into smaller parts that are thus made knowable. The organization of the album further reflects this taxonomy, giving it substance.

The system of naming has its own internal logic. The names of the peoples depicted generally consist of two parts. One identifies the larger ethnic group, that is, Miao, Gelao, Luoluo, Zhongjia, and so on. Many of these general categories are still in use today, although some of them have been renamed; Zhongjia and Luoluo (that appear in the albums) have been superseded by Buyi and Yi respectively.[48] The other part of the name serves as a modifier, providing more intricate classifications within ethnicities. These distinctions, which have since been rejected by anthropologists and ethnologists who find them both superficial and unhelpful, were often based on some aspect of appearance, or other distinct practices or characteristics. Red (fig. 14), White (fig. 15), Blue (fig. 16), Black (fig. 17) and Flowery Miao (fig. 13) were, for example, named for the color of their garb. Pointed-Head Miao (fig. 78); Pot-Ring Gelao (fig. 28 and pl. 3); and Dog-Eared (fig. 10), Stirrup (fig. 11), and Large-Headed Longjia (fig. 12) for their hairstyles or head coverings (see also pls. 9 and 10). Pig-Filth Gelao (fig. 24) were said to go for a year without bathing. Water Gelao (fig. 27) were known for their aquatic skill, and Wild or Raw Miao (fig. 74) for their untamed nature. Not all of the names are so transparent, nor is it possible to determine all of their derivations or how each relates to the fifty-five minority nationalities currently recognized in China today. Some names may have been transliterations from non-Chinese languages.

The second way the information in the texts served as a kind of map was to plot the location of the various groups onto the political geography of the province. The location in which a given group resided is almost always identified at the outset of the description. Location was indicated by administrative divisions such as prefecture, district, subdistrict, or military encampment. The group's provenance, if known, was also recorded. Provincial administrators could thus conceptually map peoples in a way that corresponded to what they already knew. Such geographical mapping also allowed officials to correlate which geographically remote frontier areas were culturally foreign or inhospitable, and which areas were more amenable to imperial rule.

Most, if not all, of the album texts describe the clothing worn by both men and women in some detail, providing a third means by which peoples could be identified. The ability to visually recognize and categorize the different groups was important because people did, of course, travel and could not be relied on to verbally self-identify, particularly according to the categories created by Chinese officialdom. Visual identification of ethnicity based on costume allowed the viewer to slot a person into a mental category that corresponded with the album's taxonomy. The ability to categorically identify a person through their appearance was another way to order one's cultural environment.[49]

Finally, the texts served as a kind of indicator of where the groups fell on a cultural continuum from "like us" (*yu hanren tong*) to savage or in some way "Other." This kind of distancing did not involve a simple dualistic conception of barbarian versus civilized, but rather a more complex system in which a group's distance from a cultural center was measured by examining the specifics of its cultural practices.[50]

Significantly, the albums show how this formation of Han identity began well *before* the recognized penetration of Western-based forms of nationalism into China.[51] Areas of ethnographic inquiry tended to correspond to those realms of life where prescribed ritual practices (*li*) determined what was civilized according to Chinese Confucian culture—including courtship practices and marriage customs, death ritual, religious practices, and the observance of festivals.[52] While less prominent as a category of inquiry, diet was also sometimes described. Other general topics for consideration included whether members of the group could speak or understand Chinese, how a group earned its livelihood, and any other particularly remarkable habits or beliefs. Some texts go so far as to attribute a certain "nature" to the members of a given group such as "honest and careful," "crafty and fierce," "nimble and cruel," or "unyielding and foolish." Not every entry covers all of these topics.

As with any ethnographic text, we learn not only about the peoples described, but also about the authors' interests and preoccupations. Thus, in reading the cultural maps provided by the albums we must always be conscious of a kind of doubleness ingrained in the texts. Just as historians need to carefully interpret the documents they use to distinguish the "facts" they contain from the attitudes of the authors who

recorded them, we need to read the ethnographic information in the albums with care. While we should not dismiss all of the content out of hand as biased or voyeuristic, we do need to keep in mind that the content was necessarily mediated by the lenses through which the authors viewed and understood their subjects.[53] While the term "information" can be used to describe the albums' contents, it should not be understood as an uncritical acceptance of the veracity of all the recorded details. Rather, the word primarily reflects the state of knowledge in a given place at a given time. The "information" in the albums was undoubtedly flawed, just as all our knowledge is flawed to some degree through the limitations posed by our own inevitable subjectivity. This is why scholarship is constantly revised. The following pages take a close look at the customs described in the albums. Although we may think that excessive interest is shown in certain areas such as sexuality or death ritual, keeping in mind both what we can learn about the peoples described, and about those describing them, helps us more fully understand these preoccupations.

Courtship rituals and marriage customs, as well as norms that governed the relationship between the bride and groom and their extended families, attracted the most attention. In a culture where arranged marriages and patrilineal descent were the norm, variant practices understandably held a fascination for those to whom they were forbidden. Among Guizhou's ethnic minorities, courtship practices often centered around an annual festival, usually held in the spring, at which young men and women had the opportunity to interact and subsequently to select partners. The Kayou Zhongjia (fig. 6), as discussed above, held a spring moon dance at which young women would toss a colorful ball to their partner of choice. The Hua Miao (fig. 13) and Bai Miao (fig. 15) also held moon dances in the spring, at which the women shook bells and the men played a reed wind instrument called a *lüsheng*. Each spring, the Gou'er Longjia youth (fig. 10) would dance around a "ghost" pole, resembling a May pole, as part of their courtship activities. The Qingjiang Hei Miao (fig. 56) are described as picnicking together in the woods where they would also sing and dance. Couples signified their commitment by sharing an ox horn cup. The New Year's festival was a time for the Liuzhong Miao (fig. 26) to pair off; the woman being carried off on the back of her lover.

Parents tended to support the youth in what are sometimes described as "illicit" activities. Among the Bazhai Miao (fig. 55), each village would erect a building where the youth would come together to choose their mates. The Yao Miao (fig. 20) also had courting houses for their young where men could woo young women by playing music on reed pipes. Young Qing Zhongjia couples (fig. 8) would sneak off to go drinking together before marriage. Although parents did not forbid the practice, girls had to hide it from their brothers. Betrothal arrangements were arrived at only after couples had engaged in sexual intercourse. Practices among the Gaopo Miao (fig. 60) are described as being even more informal; marriage was simply determined by who decided to sleep together. In most cases, betrothal arrangements concerning dowry or bride price were to be worked out after couples had chosen each other—or even given birth to a first child as in the case of the Lingjia Miao (fig. 46) and Xiqi Miao (fig. 72). Only the Yangbao Miao (fig. 37) and Gulin Miao (fig. 42) are described as using a matchmaker in the more conventional sense.

According to the albums, the degree of freedom one had for choosing one's own mate varied extensively among the groups. Women from some groups were free even to have relations with Han men. Turen women (fig. 33), for example, are described as intermarrying with both soldiers and commoners. Bai Zhongjia women (fig. 67) could also court outsiders. However, the text indicates that these relationships were often eventually broken off. Having had such a liaison did not, apparently, prevent the woman from making a good marriage from within her own ethnic group at a later date. This would have been unheard of in China's dominant culture where chastity was all important; Qing biographies of virtuous women even included examples of young women who refused to marry at all after the death of their betrothed. Not all ethnic groups enjoyed so much marital freedom. Yetou Miao women (fig. 53) were expected to marry a son of a maternal uncle, or to pay off his family.

While generally speaking the courtship and marriage practices described in the album are much freer than those dictated by Chinese Confucian culture, various groups described had their own sometimes restrictive practices. The Daya Gelao (fig. 22) chiseled off the bride's front teeth so that she would not bring harm to her husband's family. Among the Caijia Miao (fig. 5), fathers and daughters-in-law were forbidden to speak to one another. Even more drastically, the text relates

that, "When the husband dies the wife is buried alive with him unless her family rescues her." Among the Zijiang Miao (fig. 41), by contrast, widows were required to remarry before the bodies of their deceased husbands were buried. Inclusion of examples of such extreme cases of violence against women allowed the Chinese to construct themselves as a civilized center. A number of unspoken messages come through: While Han women did not enjoy certain freedoms, they were also protected from certain forms of violence. Similarly, if Han men were less driven by raw sexuality, they were also less prone to brutality. Of course, both of these messages reflected views from a constructed cultural center, and could be challenged from a number of angles.

Second to courtship and marriage, death rituals claim the most consistent attention in the album texts. This is no coincidence for, as James Watson has put it, "the proper performance of the rites . . . was of paramount importance in determining who was and who was not deemed to be fully 'Chinese.'"[54] In the albums, topics relating to death ritual include what was done with the corpse, what kind of mourning or other rituals were held, beliefs surrounding the deceased, and—in at least one instance—remarriage of widows. The treatment is anecdotal rather than systematic. We learn, for example, that the Langci Miao (fig. 79) twisted the heads of their dead around immediately after death so that the deceased could keep an eye on their descendants from the afterlife. This same text, however, gives no indications as to whether the corpse was then buried and, if so, whether or not a coffin of some sort was used. Even assuming the reliability of the texts, which is open to question, this kind of sketchy evidence limits the albums' usefulness as source material. One cannot determine, for example, the percentage of groups in Guizhou that buried their dead.

Although the albums do not always answer the questions we might want to ask, they do nonetheless record a fair amount of ethnographic detail. A good example is the coverage of a wide variety of practices for disposing of a corpse. The Bai Luoluo (fig. 3) would wrap the dead body in animal hides and burn it. The Cengzhu Longjia (fig. 9) burned the body, buried the bones, and followed up by performing annual sacrifices to the dead on the seventh day of the seventh month. The Hua Miao (fig. 13) buried their dead without using coffins, having first determined an auspicious site through a ritual that involved throwing a chicken. The Ge Zhuang (fig. 31) also buried their dead without coffins, instead laying the body out on a plank, while the Pingfa Miao (fig. 61) used a wooden trough. The Gelao (fig. 25) did use coffins, but did not bury them; they rather placed them in a cave or a forested area near a river. The Yaque Miao (fig. 69) would select a mountain top location as an auspicious spot for burial. The Liu Ezi (fig. 49) used coffins in burial, but then dug up the bones annually for seven years in order to wash them clean. If illness struck the family it was attributed to the bones not having been scrubbed clean enough. In such cases, the bones would then be dug up for additional cleansing even after the seven year period was over. The Louju Hei Miao (fig. 57) used coffins, but would delay burial for up to twenty years, until they could bury a great number of bodies together at the same time. In conjunction with the burial they would collectively build an ancestral hall. The Yao Miao (fig. 20), by contrast, neither used coffins nor practiced burial. They would tie the corpse up in a tree and allow the elements to transform it gradually.

The albums' authors were attentive to social and religious rituals surrounding death as well as to burial practices. A number of groups would hold a big gathering following a death. Beyond the general ethnographic interest this information held for cultural mapping, administrators in the area might find it useful to know which minority groups would congregate when a death occurred. In the context of recent and potential rebellion, the assembly of large groups could make officials nervous. As one might expect, practices at such funeral gatherings varied. The Bulong Zhongjia (fig. 7) are said to have served meat to their guests with the host generally eating fish or shrimp instead. The Dong Miao (fig. 18) would slaughter a water buffalo, sacrificially prepare the meat, and call out to the deceased. Afterward all would partake, drink, and sing. Manren (fig. 34) practices are similarly described. The Hong Miao (fig. 14) made a likeness of the deceased by stuffing clothing and then would "sing, drum, and dance." The Kemeng Guyang Miao (fig. 43) would also throw a party for the deceased, delaying their mourning until the following spring when the cry of the cuckoo would remind the family that although the birds return annually, the dead cannot.

Not all groups held feasts or parties in conjunction with funerals. The Bafan Miao (fig. 40) preferred to bury their dead quietly at night. Some groups reflected mourning through their dress. The Madeng Longjia (fig. 11) wore dark clothes instead of white during mourning—a reversal from Han practices. The Mulao (fig. 30) also demonstrated

their grief through a change in their outward appearance; what they wore is not described, the reader is simply told that it was not coarse white hemp, as was customary among the Han.

The albums also prominently describe seasonal festivals and religious practices. The dominant Chinese culture observed several festivals, which were tied to the lunar cycle. The most important may have been the celebration of the New Year, followed (in calendrical order) by the Lantern Festival, Qing Ming (or Grave-Sweeping Day), Dragon Boat Festival, and the Mid-Autumn Moon Festival. The Miao albums detail which of the festivals were also observed by the peoples described (for some held at different times), and which were not.

A number of Guizhou's minority groups held observances foreign to their Chinese neighbors. The Liuzhong Miao (fig. 26), Yaoren (fig. 36), and Lingjia Miao (fig. 46) all worshiped Pan Hu as part of their New Year's celebrations. Pan Hu is a legendary figure, in the form of a dog, whose union with a Chinese princess is supposed to have given birth to the Yao. The Bai Miao (fig. 15) and Dong Miao (fig. 18) both performed annual sacrifices to their ancestors. The Manren (fig. 34) were said to "perform sacrifices to ghosts" on the first day of the tenth month. Whether these were the ghosts of their ancestors is not made clear. Some groups had beliefs that were unique to them. The Hong Miao (fig. 14) would sleep separately on the first day of the fifth month, and stay inside in order to "avoid ghosts and tigers." The Zijiang Miao (fig. 41) had a week-long prohibition on going out during the eleventh month. The Xi Miao (fig. 19) would hold a three-day festival after the autumn harvest when they would offer sacrifices to a "white tiger," make music, and dance. They also celebrated the Spring Festival with chicken and wine. The festivities celebrated by the Bai Zhongjia (fig. 67) in spring seem to have centered around courtship activities; no mention of sacrifices or offerings is made at all. For some groups such as the Yao Miao (fig. 20), Boren (fig. 32), Bafan Miao (fig. 40), and Jiantou Miao (fig. 78), the date of their big festival is given, but no additional detail. The Liminzi (fig. 64) are said to have New Year's rites and festivals "similar to those of the Han."

In some instances, religious beliefs and practices are mentioned in contexts where specific annual festivals are not recounted. The Louju Hei Miao (fig. 57) are described as being respectful of ghosts, not daring to infringe on the land set aside for the "ghost hall." The Luoluo (fig. 1) also believed in ghosts, although no additional detail is given. The Boren (fig. 32) and Luohan Miao (fig. 80) are depicted as adherents of Maitreya Buddha. Most albums, like the one reproduced here, show them worshiping before a Buddhist altar. The Guoquan Gelao (fig. 28) would fashion a tiger head from flour paste, decorate it with colorful thread, and engage a shaman to pray when a person fell ill (see also pl. 3). When sacrificing to ghosts, the Mulao (fig. 30) would make a dragon from straw, and insert five flags, each of a different color, into its back. The Bai Longjia (fig. 66) offered a conundrum. Their weddings and funerals followed Han rites, but they wore white on a daily basis. Han Chinese associate the color white with mourning. The reader is also informed about contradictory aspects of the Yangbao Miao (fig. 37). Although "their sacrifices are also like Han rituals," they are described as "crafty and fierce" by nature. Theoretically, practicing such Confucian rites should have produced a corresponding civilizing effect on their behaviors.

Diet was another cultural marker of civilization.[55] Generally diet is remarked on only when it is somehow exceptional; most often as an indication of the degree of a group's savagery. The Sheng Miao (fig. 74) would "generally . . . eat any living thing." Their name, "Raw" or "Wild" Miao, is said to derive from their belief that "half-cooked fish and meat are the most delicious foods." The Zhushi Gelao (fig. 24) were said to gnaw noisily on the animals they caught, "just like a wolf would." The Hei Miao (fig. 17) were described as being so debased that they had to use bracken ash instead of salt, and considered putrefied meat a delicacy. The Bai Luoluo (fig. 3) would "collect and cook any animal that wriggles or moves, including rodents, birds, and insect larvae," and eat it, without utensils, from a common pot. The Hong Miao (fig. 14) were noted for eating their meat extremely rare. "Using fire to remove the hair, they cook the meat only slightly and eat it while it is still bloody." More neutral images of diet also appear in the Miao albums, although less often. Peculiarities were specifically noted: the Dongren (fig. 35) avoided salt in their diet, the Qian Miao (fig. 45) ate some hemp seed, the Ranjia Man (fig. 51) considered shrimp and fish a delicacy, while the Shuijia Miao (fig. 48) were noted for their diet of glutinous rice and water.

Language facility, like rites and diet, was another way to gauge the degree of cultural distance that non-Han ethnic groups occupied from

the center. Although the written Chinese word (*wen*) was literally synonymous with culture, in this context the spoken language most obviously divided members of minority ethnic groups from neighboring speakers of Chinese—of whatever dialect. The Songjia Miao (fig. 4) were said to be conversant in Chinese, the Dongjia Miao (fig. 47) could speak but not read it, and the Zhushi Gelao (fig. 24) and Dong Miao (fig. 44) understood it. Boren (fig. 32) were known for being conversant in all of the Miao languages. The language of the Yaque Miao (fig. 69) was said to "resemble the sounds of small birds."

How different peoples passed their time and earned a living was also of interest. Most groups are described as either tillers and weavers, or hunters, or some combination of both. The Gulin Miao (fig. 42) and Hongzhou Miao (fig. 71) were famous for the fine cloth woven by the women. The Kemeng Guyang Miao (fig. 43) and Dongjia Miao (fig. 47) were known for raising cotton, the Duanqun Miao (fig. 77) for harvesting gromwell, a plant producing purple dye, while the Hulu (fig. 70), Hei Jiao (fig. 75), and Hei Shan Miao (fig. 58) were singled out as relying on robbery for their livelihoods. Although Qingjiang Zhongjia males (fig. 63) would kidnap and hold unwary travelers for ransom, the women were described as "diligent at both weaving and working in the fields." Participation in trade or skilled labor distinguished a number of groups. The Qingjiang Hei Miao (fig. 56) and Hei Zhongjia (fig. 59) both raised trees, and had business dealings with the Han. The latter group would also act as money lenders, and had a reputation for ruthlessness if cheated. They would take revenge by digging up "the bones of the guarantor's ancestors" thus forcing repayment. Yaoren (fig. 36) collected medicinal herbs and practiced healing arts. The Bai Longjia (fig. 66) collected medicinal herbs in the mountains, and cut down lacquer trees to sell in the market. The Liminzi (fig. 64) engaged in trade, some Bai Luoluo (fig. 3) dealt in tea, and the Pipao Gelao (fig. 29) cast ploughshares for a living.

Not all of the information contained in the albums falls neatly into the broad categories described above. Other topics that come up include governance, conflict resolution, class relationships, the physical setting in which different groups prefer to live, common surnames (if used), the practice of divination, and a myriad other observations that the reader will discover in perusing the translation.

In addition to these textual descriptions, the album reproduced here also contains a poem on each page. Poetry appears only in a small percentage of the extant Miao albums. When it does, it occupies an intermediary space between the prose text and the illustrations. Not only are the poems located literally between the prose text and the pictures, but by using words to create images, they create further room for interpretation in the mind of the beholder. The poetry thus provides an additional avenue for enriching, and perhaps exoticizing, the picture of each group portrayed.

The poems express a wide range of emotion and imagery. Some, like those reflecting on the Gaopo Miao (fig. 60) and Jiantou Miao (fig. 78) paint an idyllic, if bucolic, setting. These poems evoke images of rural tranquility, plenty, and matrimonial harmony. Others are belittling, or derogatory, as in the cases of the Yaque Miao (fig. 69) and Sheng Miao (fig. 74). "Completely unintelligible," the speech of the Yaque Miao is "Amusing, like cawing crows and chirping sparrows." In a standard four-character expression used to evoke savagery, the reader is told that for the Sheng Miao, "Munching fur and quaffing blood are customary," their primitive eating habits apparently unaffected by civilization. Poems are also used to pose a conundrum or to explain something that might otherwise not be apparent: Why is it that the Bai Longjia (fig. 66) "customarily wear white, / Yet in weddings and funerals imitate the Han?" It would appear that the Hei Zhongjia (fig. 59) have a fierce reputation, but then, "only because many Han fail to meet their debts / Are the bones of the guarantor's ancestors harmed." In each instance, the imagery is rich, complementing the accompanying illustration, even as it creates a space for the mind to embroider its own variations on the themes provided.

EARLY MODERN ETHNOGRAPHY

Since the appearance of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1979, Euro-American representations of "Others" have attracted increasing amounts of critical attention.[56] However, non-Western representations of their "Others" are only beginning to be examined, especially for the early modern period.[57] The emergence of early modern ethnographic practices *across* cultures has been difficult to see for a number of reasons. Post-colonial theory has linked technologies of representation, including both cartography and early ethnographic practice, to the rise of merchant capitalism and colonialism among emergent European

nation states. In this context, studies of the age of exploration have focused primarily on describing the rise of Western hegemony and local forms of resistance to it. Not surprisingly, critiques of Western hegemony have been largely shaped by, or in reaction to, the grand narrative of the "rise of the West."[58] However, for this reason, the very possibility of "non-Western" colonialism is only beginning to be considered.[59] At base is a binary division in our thinking that has too long allowed "Western" and, by implication, "non-Western" or "Other" to be accepted as legitimate descriptive categories that function as a shorthand for a wide set of cultural practices and assumptions, rather than terms primarily signifying place.[60] The situation is compounded by a (now-fading) disciplinary bias toward national histories in the academy, and the practical difficulty of conducting research in different parts of the world in a variety of languages—both of which make it difficult to carry out broad comparative historical studies involving regions construed as part of the "non-West."

Although little studied to date, expanding non-Western empires also engaged in ethnographic representation. The following examples of ethnographic representation from Tokugawa Japan (1603–1867) and the Ottoman empire (c. 1300–1922) place the Miao albums in comparative historical perspective. During the early modern period, the Tokugawa state was consolidating its rule over Japan, establishing firm borders, and defining itself in relation to other parts of the world. The Ottoman empire, like China, extended its power over a vast multi-ethnic domain, and engaged in extensive trade and cultural relationships beyond its borders. These relatively far-flung examples demonstrate that during the early modern period, a variety of states in different parts of the world were consolidating their knowledge of and control over peripheral peoples and territories.[61] Examining comparative models of representation of "Others" brings a more balanced world-historical perspective to a consideration of the early modern period.

Ainu-e: Japanese Illustrations of the Ainu People

The Tokugawa period in Japan saw the rise of a genre of illustrated albums depicting culturally distinct peoples living on the periphery of the state. Because the Japanese albums depict the northern Ainu peoples from the island of Hokkaido, they are known as *Illustrations of the Ainu* (Ainu-e). Like the Chinese Miao albums, *Ainu-e* are the cultural products of a transitional period in which the state was working to consolidate its rule over different peoples and territories that had earlier enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy.[62]

The large island of Ezo—later renamed Hokkaido—was not initially ruled directly by the Tokugawa shogunate, but by the Matsumae, one of many *daimyo* families, or vassals. Members of this family, whose wealth and legitimacy depended on trade and other relations with the Ainu, first collected information about them.[63] Following the suppression of an Ainu rebellion in 1669, the Matsumae family imposed certain rituals on the Ainu with whom they demanded exclusive trading privileges. For the Matsumae, these ritual practices, known as *uimam*, marked a tributary relationship in which the Ainu recognized the political authority of the Matsumae and signified their own submission.[64] The Ainu, however, viewed the "audience" simply as an opportunity for trade.[65] Gradually, the Tokugawa shogunate asserted its direct control over Hokkaido, partly in response to Russia's perceived territorial aspirations. In the emergent system of nation states, the existence of multiple sovereignties and power sharing with vassals or other intermediaries could not be tolerated. From this time forward, the shogunate developed a keen interest in the Ainu, who were seen as potential allies against Russian encroachment.[66]

While some artistic depictions of Ainu had been made before the eighteenth century, the term *Ainu-e* refers specifically to those illustrations of Ainu that appeared after the 1720 publication of *Ezo-shi*, a gazetteer of Ezo by Arai Hakuseki (1656–1720).[67] This gazetteer was followed by an appendix containing illustrations of Ainu made from live models.[68] Much as the imperially commissioned illustrations in the Kangxi-era Guizhou gazetteers (1673, 1692) were the starting point for the Miao albums, the illustrated appendix to the *Ezo-shi* may have formed the initial basis for the illustrations of the *Ainu-e*.[69] The author may even have been acquainted with the common practice of including a section on "customs" in local gazetteers. Educated Japanese would have been familiar with Chinese literary and historical genres. In fact, the *Ezo-shi* contains allusions to the Chinese *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, and to the Tang and Song histories.[70] However, there is no reason to believe that Arai would have been exposed to the Miao albums themselves.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *Ainu-e* were made

in significant numbers. The albums went by a wide variety of titles,[71] and were produced by a number of different artists.[72] Some took the form of scrolls, and others that of books. As one would expect, they differ in organization and content from the Chinese Miao albums in a number of ways. Because the *Ainu-e* focus on only one ethnic group, illustrations are devoted to different aspects of Ainu culture and to a variety of cultural activities, rather than to different ethnic subgroups as in the Miao albums. One scroll, for example, begins with a recounting of the Ainu foundation myth. The Ainu are described here as the progeny of a female spirit from overseas and a dog who cared for her after she arrived by boat. The origin myth is followed by annotated illustrations of a man and a woman, objects for bodily adornment (including tattoos), distinctive customs, objects representing Ainu material culture, their dwelling places, and religious practices.[73] *Portraits of Ezo Chieftains*, which are also considered *Ainu-e*, are reminiscent of the *Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples*; each page contains an illustration of one figure in native costume, clearly labeled.[74] Plate 12 reproduces an illustration from an *Ainu-e*.

Like the Miao albums, the *Ainu-e* were frequently recopied, sometimes by artists who clearly did not understand what they were drawing, sometimes by artists who added their own interpretive gestures. Thus, like the Chinese Miao albums, some may be more reliable as ethnographic source material than others.[75] In both cases, it was no coincidence that those who compiled the ethnographic information were peoples of a different culture and ethnicity who were also in a position of authority over the peoples and lands portrayed. Both the *Ainu-e* and the Miao albums demonstrate that ethnographic depiction was not the sole province of European expansion.

Ethnographic Representation in Ottoman Art

If ethnographic depiction was not confined to the "West" but was also a feature of early modern state building in East Asia, was it present in other contexts as well? To address this question, let us turn to the Ottoman empire. To date, Ottoman ethnography has not been an area of scholarly inquiry for a number of reasons. In most circles, ethnography is still thought of as having developed in the "West," whether as part or product of Western colonial pursuits. Furthermore, it is sometimes popularly presumed that techniques of realistic representation

Plate 12. Illustration from an Ainu album. University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. T4–3200.

did not take hold because of Islamic resistance to the making of graven images. Only Allah could create; artists were to represent ideal images, but not to represent individuals, whether humans or animals.[76] Yet visual and textual representations of actual locations and peoples were central to imperially sponsored Ottoman art for centuries.

From before the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), an imperial workshop known as the *nakkaşhane* recorded significant events in the history of the empire. The workshop, administratively attached to the military, produced illuminated manuscripts of the life of the sultan; genealogies of the sultans; and books recording and visually depicting festivals and special ceremonial occasions such as visits from foreign ambassadors and the circumcision of royal sons. Campaign histories depicting battle scenes were painted on-site. Furthermore, specific locations reached by military campaigns were also recorded in sketches.[77] Although texts were an important part of these works, reproductions generally only depict the artwork. The text of the *Süleymānnāme*, a record of the reign of Süleyman I from 1520 to 1558, is written in verse.[78] From these examples, we can determine that visual records of the Ottoman empire were important during the early modern period, whether or not they specifically distinguished and identified particular groups of peoples by ethnic origin.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, Abdulcelil Çelebi, more commonly known as Levni, painted illustrations for a number of books and albums remarkable for their ethnographic qualities. His illustrations in the *Book of Circumcision* (Surname-i Vehbi) show tremendous detail in terms of palace architecture, hierarchy of officials, and variety of occupation and dress among commoners. Depiction of European diplomats who attended the ceremony is also extremely detailed. Even more directly ethnographic are illustrations for his *Murakka* or "album," that include not only various figures from the palace court, but also foreigners including Europeans. An annotation accompanying an illustration labeled "Austrian" remarks on the beauty of the young man. His female counterpart is also pictured in the album. A poem accompanying the images informs the reader that wine is responsible for the color of their complexions. Beyond the broad category of "Austrians," the individuals are not identified.[79]

Levni's subject matter, the relatively "realistic" style of his work, and the fact that he painted in the early eighteenth century during a period when the court was taking a renewed interest in the outside world, might lead one to believe that he was influenced by European models. However, other, probably older, indigenous examples of this kind of pictorial representation—that could be described as "ethnographic"—exist as well. The collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris houses four albums containing, among other illustrations, paintings of a single figure, or sometimes two, in distinctive dress, sometimes carrying an object associated with his or her station in life. Famous princes and princesses are portrayed, but also officers, mullahs, Indian ascetics, dervishes, the executioner of the sultan, a cupbearer, a water carrier, musicians, and even a veiled woman holding the hand of a young child. Many of the paintings, which are in the Safavid style, are labeled in Persian, and some include poetic inscriptions. Each is bordered with fine handiwork displaying the skills and techniques of the trained manuscript illuminator. Their general style of composition, although not their specific content, is reminiscent of the *Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples*. Although the specific origins of these album leaves are uncertain, Persian artists were patronized at the Ottoman court (see pls. 13 and 14).[80]

Some of the illustrations in these albums show a close connection to two somewhat later works housed in the Print Room (Département des Estampes) of the Bibliothèque nationale. The first, dated 1688, is comprised of a total of sixty illustrations. According to the catalog, the paintings were made in Turkey by a native artist and then pasted into an album under a French title. Figures from the Ottoman court, residents of Constantinople, and scenes from daily life are all depicted with close attention to detail.[81] One illustration depicts a woman making a pilgrimage to Mecca, another, a troupe of acrobats. Foreigners are also shown, including dervishes from India, Persia, and Europe. Alternate pages contain explanatory texts in French. The name or title of the person described is printed in red, and a description of the role of that person in black ink. Each illustration is set off by a rectangular border, but one that is plainer than those described above. Comparing the album page reproduced in plate 15 with plate 13 gives one a sense of the similarities between the Arabic and European albums, and also of the derivative nature of the latter. Its quality is inferior to the album leaves in the collection of Arabic manuscripts.

The other album, dating from 1720, is actually bilingual. While there

Plate 13. A Prince with Falcon. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 6076.

Plate 14. Executioner of the Sultan. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 6077.

Plate 15. "Dogandgi," the Page who Carried the Sultan's Falcon. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes, Od 7.

is less text, each illustration is labeled in both Arabic script and French (see pl. 16).[82] The illustrations are similar, but not identical, to the 1688 manuscript and there is evidence that its contents, too, are probably derivative of older indigenous albums. To cite one example, we see repeated here the depiction of a veiled woman holding a child's hand. The French inscription describes the plainly dressed woman as a slave accompanying her mistress. The Print Room also contains a number of earlier European manuscripts painted in a style similar to those described here.[83]

Most fascinating with regard to this foray into Ottoman ethnographic representation is the interplay between Ottoman and French art and sources. We see evidence of borrowing between the Ottoman and French works, but also of joint production in those that were commissioned by Europeans, drawn by Turkish artists, and then circulated in Europe, sometimes in bilingual editions. Furthermore, it would seem that in their thirst for information about the Ottoman empire, Europeans drew from existing Ottoman art forms as source material for their own ethnographic inquiry. Thus, portraits of individuals would be copied and later labeled in such a way that their specific identities were lost, even as categorical labels, such as "falconer," were created.[84]

There is also a lesson here about how the conclusions we draw are affected by what we see, which is, in turn, influenced by how manuscripts are housed and catalogued. After looking at only the Print Room manuscripts, one might simply conclude that the French had a long history of interest in learning about Turkish people and the workings of the Turkish court, and that this may only have been picked up on by the Ottomans in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century—judging by when we see bilingual and joint-made manuscripts, as well as Levni's paintings of foreigners. However, when viewing the album leaves in the Arabic collection, it becomes evident that indigenous works made with superior artistry also existed contemporaneously, and may even have predated what were probably European copies.[85]

From what little we know of this imperially sponsored art, it is still premature to claim the definitive existence of as developed an ethnography in the Ottoman empire as we see in Qing China. However, Ottoman artists were certainly taking an interest in different kinds of peoples, their dress, provenance, occupation, and station in life. The work sponsored by the *nakkaşhane*, Levni's *Murakka*, and the albums described

Plate 16. Badanadgi, or an Armenian Who Whitewashed Walls. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes, Od 6.

above do show that at least a nascent ethnography did exist and suggest that the time is ripe for further inquiry into this area.

The hand-painted illustrated ethnographies of peoples on China's southwestern frontier reproduced in the body of this book, the Japanese *Ainu-e*, and the examples of Ottoman ethnographic representation are, of course, different from each other in important ways, but are also broadly comparable. They helped members of their intended audience to conceptualize, categorize, and learn about "Other" peoples in distant lands, or remote parts of their own country. These representations included both representatives of established states as well as frontier peoples who were targeted for closer control. Although Euro-American representation of "Others" has, to date, been given more scholarly attention, this analysis shows that expanding states and empires in other parts of the early modern world also collected ethnographic information about peripheral peoples as they tightened control over them. Illustrated ethnographic albums are part and parcel of an ethnography of expansion that emerged worldwide during the early modern period. They sometimes romanticized the primitive or exotic, and at other times portrayed a more menacing picture. The Miao album reproduced in this book can help modern readers understand that ethnographic depiction was not solely the province of the early modern "West," and that cultural difference and its management has long been a preoccupation of the state worldwide.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*; Asad, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*; Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*; Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*; Gilman, *Difference and Pathology*; Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; and Said, *Orientalism*.

2. These groups are only "minorities" when considered in relation to the Qing polity as a whole. In the regions in which they lived they most often constituted majorities.

3. By China proper, I refer to those areas governed under the Ming dynasty.

4. These are reproduced in Chuang, *Xie Sui "zhigong tu"*; see also his "Xie Sui zhigong tu yanjiu." For representations of Europeans, see Hostetler, "Qing Views of Europeans." Numerous versions of the *Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* are extant.

5. That is to say that their primary ethnic and cultural identity was not with the dominant Chinese culture.

6. *Daqing lichao shilu*, 390:8–9. See also Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 46.

7. For a book-length study on the Miao album genre and the context in which it arose, see Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*.

8. Hostetler, "Qing Connections," 623–62.

9. This is not to say that *all* genres of earlier writing about other peoples were necessarily without any basis in direct observation. Work is currently being undertaken for earlier periods. See, e.g., Brose, "Realism and Idealism."

10. *Huang Qing zhigong tu*, Introduction (*ti yao*), 2. See also Jaeger, "Über Chinesische Miaotse-Albums," 82–83.

11. *Secret Palace Memorials*. Memorial dated the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of the sixteenth year of the Qianlong emperor's reign (1751). See also Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 45.

12. *Secret Palace Memorials*.

13. Preface to *Bai Miao tu yong*. This album is dated 1890, which is quite late in the development of the genre. See Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 165, for a translation of a portion of this preface. Very few albums contain prefatory material of any kind.

14. We do not have the drafts from which Xie Sui produced *Huang Qing zhigong tu*.

15. The dating of the album was determined by an analysis of place names appearing in the text. Yongfeng Department (*zhou*) was renamed Zhenfeng in 1797. Zhenfeng appears in this album's descriptive passages for both the Nong Miao and the Bai Ezi.

16. For a color reproduction and translation of a forty-page album in the British Library's collection, along with additional album pages selected from the same collection, see Tapp and Cohn, *Tribal Peoples of Southwest China*.

17. The album reproduced here is missing two pages of text, those describing the Chezhai Miao (fig. 73), and the Liudong Yiren (fig. 82) respectively. The texts for these entries have been translated from other albums.

18. Although it could be argued that North American depictions of Native Americans bear important similarities in goals and content to the ethnographies discussed here, they are not included. The goal here is to elucidate non-Western examples of the ethnography of expansion.

19. It is premature to say whether the range of examples of ethnographic representation discussed here arose independently or influenced each other. This is also, perhaps, not the most relevant or useful line of inquiry. Like concepts of "West" and "non-West," the dualism invoked by such a question exists more clearly in the mind than in actual practice. By concerning ourselves too much with cultural or national origins, we undercut the possibility of a complex interplay of ideas and practices that may lead, even independently, to similar pursuits (although possibly for different reasons). An exclusive search for models (as *are* sometimes found, as we shall see below) does not grant the possibility of fruitful cross-fertilization, tending instead to relegate the "copier" to imitator status, thereby precluding the possibility of independent creative thought and invention.

20. For more on the *tusi* system, see Herman, "Empire in the Southwest"; and Herman, "National Hegemony and Regional Hegemony."

21. Many of these specific restrictions were lifted by his successor, who also allowed local disputes to be resolved through traditional channels. For more on *gaitu guiliu* and specific policies in Guizhou under the Yongzheng emperor, see Smith, "Ch'ing Policy." On restrictions under the Yongzheng emperor, see Lombard-Salmon, *Un exemple d'acculturation chinoise*, 222, 232.

22. See Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*; and Song Guangyu, *Huanan bianjiang*.

23. See Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*; and Tapp and Cohn, *Tribal Peoples of Southwest China*. Other works on Guizhou's history, culture, and peoples include: Corrigan, *Miao Textiles From China*; Jenks, *Insurgency and Social Disorder*; Oakes, *Tourism and Modernity*; Schein, *Minority Rules*; and Wright, *Promise of the Revolution*.

24. The single category "Miao" masks a much more complex reality. For a more detailed discussion of the complexities and political implications of the labels Miao and Hmong, see Schein, *Minority Rules*, xiii-xiv, 3–4. For a discussion of ethnonyms in southwest China under the PRC, see Gladney, *Muslim Chinese*, 302–6. For case studies of the complex process of minority nationality identification for the groups Yi, Naxi, and Zhuang, respectively, see Harrell, "The History of the History of the Yi"; McKhann, "The Naxi and the Nationalities Question"; and Kaup, *Creating the Zhuang*.

25. For a detailed account of Miao migration, see Michaud and Culas, "The Hmong."

26. Victor H. Mair, pers. comm.

27. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese*, 81–87.

28. See, e.g., Link, *Evening Chats in Beijing*, 201–2, note 19.

29. For an overview of earlier Chinese depictions of foreigners, see Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, 87–96.

30. For a full color reproduction and translation into French, see Empereur Kangxi and Jiao Bingzhen, *Le Gengzhitu*.

31. Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, 98–101.

32. An elaborate album for Yunnan painted on silk includes a detailed map at the beginning of each of its four volumes. See "Dian yi tushuo," housed in the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. An album that covers portions of Guangdong also includes a map of the region whose inhabitants it depicts. See "Lianshanting Lianzhou fen xia Yao pai diyu quantu," housed in the Società Geografica Italiana (Chinese Catalog nos. 62 and 67). "Tai fan tushuo," Fu Ssu-nien Library, Academia Sinica, also includes a map. For a fascinating study of cultural mapping in early modern Japan that includes consideration of both cartography and various genres of literature, see Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan*. For a study on how maps, travel writing, and pictures contributed to Taiwan's integration into the Qing empire, see Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*.

33. Several albums I have seen do not include any text. The texts were almost certainly discarded when albums were rebound by those who had acquired them on the foreign art market, could not read them, and did not value the calligraphy or the ethnographic content.

34. A small number of albums for other provinces are organized by activity rather than by ethnic group, but they are the exception. See, e.g., Musée Guimet 32229. A number of pages from this album are reproduced in Lombard-Salmon, *Un exemple d'acculturation chinoise*.

35. Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, chap. 7.

36. Ibid., 170.

37. Ibid., 175.

38. This album is unusual in more than one way; Hua Gelao is not one of the eighty-two standard ethnonyms commonly found in the albums for Guizhou.

39. For example, a later album, housed in the Società Geografica Italiana (Chinese Catalog no. 60) departs in many instances from the standard tropes. See Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, chap. 7.

40. For a more detailed discussion of the hairstyle variations in the illustrations of the Madeng (Stirrup) Longjia (fig. 11), see Hostetler, "Chinese Ethnography," 123–26.

41. The only case of identical albums I have seen is a rare instance of a color album printed by woodblock. Copies are housed in the Guizhou Provincial Museum, and the Library of the Central Nationalities Institute, Beijing, under the titles "Guizhou Miaozu tu," and "Miaozu fengsu tushuo" respectively. The latter album is incomplete.

42. For a complete listing of those viewed by the author, see the Appendix to Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*. The National Museum of Natural History in Beijing also contains numerous albums to which I have not had access.

43. Edkins, "Miau Tsi Tribes," vol. 2, 74.

44. For a full summary of this scholarship, see Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*. For a more recent exhibit catalog that includes discussion of the albums in the collection of the Società Geografica Italiana (in both Italian and English), see *Carte di riso*.

45. Tian, *Yanjiao jiwen*. These findings are based on research carried out for Guizhou. They are only meant to be illustrative, not comprehensive for all of southwest China.

46. The earlier *Qian ji* was by Guo Zizhang, the later by Li Zongfang.

47. This is not to say that the information thus obtained was purely "objective." Inquiry and interpretation is always shaped to some degree by the interests and experience of the ethnographer. The *Qing Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples* describes forty-two groups for Guizhou. The 1834 text, like that of a handful of albums, is significantly curtailed. This may reflect a reduced interest in ethnographic detail by the nineteenth century. For a fuller analysis of the development of ethnographic writing in Guizhou over this time span, see Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, chap. 5.

48. Ethnographic studies on the Yi groups referred to as Luoluo in the Miao albums include: Harrell, *Perspectives on the Yi*; Harrell, *Ways of Being Ethnic*; Harrell, Bamo, and Ma, *Mountain Patterns*; Mueggler, *The Age of Wild Ghosts*; and Oppitz and Hsu, *Naxi and Moso Ethnography*. As these studies reveal, the term Yi masks significant ethnic and cultural complexity.

49. On the cultural need for stereotyping, see Gilman, "Introduction."

50. As Susan Blum describes in *Portraits of "Primitives,"* a similar variety of factors, even today, goes into ascribing traits to minority groups within China. Part Two of her book describes this contemporary process of characterization for various minorities in Yunnan. A consequence, if not a primary purpose, of this type of cultural mapping of "others" was the corollary creation of a Han identity. For more on the civilizing projects, and on the importance of majority-minority relationships to identity, see Cheung, *Appropriating Alterity*; Gladney, *Making Majorities*; Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China"; Hansen, *Lessons in Being Chinese*; and Harrell, *Cultural Encounters*.

51. For works on ethnic consciousness prior to the modern era, see Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror;* and Elliott, *The Manchu Way*. Edward Rhoads' *Manchus and Han* addresses issues of Han and Manchu ethnicity somewhat later, in the transition period from dynastic to republican China.

52. Watson and Rawski, *Death Ritual*. Han interest in minority culture in China is still largely determined by many of these same categories. See Blum, *Portraits of "Primitives,"* esp. 76–88.

53. Fascination with sexuality, prompted by different sets of expectations regarding courtship, marriage, and family life, *is* a recurring theme in mainstream representations of minority groups in China. See, e.g., Diamond, "Defining the Miao," esp. 102–4; Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China"; Harrell, "Civilizing Projects," esp. 10–13; Schein, *Minority Rules*; and Schein, "Gender and Internal Orientalism."

54. Watson, "Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites," 3. In Watson's analysis, the importance of correct ritual practice (orthopraxy) is more important in China than correct doctrine (orthodoxy), thus leaving open the possibility for greater diversity in Chinese religious beliefs than in actual practices. Watson also outlines a sequence of nine standardized rites, 12–15. See also Rawski, "A Historian's Approach," and the other chapters in the same volume.

55. This still applies today. See Blum, *Portraits of "Primitives,"* 79–80.

56. For further discussion on orientalism, see note 1.

57. For Japan, see Bremen and Shimizu, *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia*, that examines Dutch and Japanese ethnography in the colonial context; and Ohnuki-Tierney, "Conceptual Model." For Chinese representations of "Others" during the modern period, see Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China"; Schein, "Gender and Internal Orientalism"; and Schein, *Minority Rules*, esp. chap. 4.

58. See, e.g., McNeill, *Rise of the West*.

59. This same logic has allowed the "non-West" to view racism as something that is uniquely "Western" in origin and practice. For a discussion of the construction of race in China, see Dikötter, *Discourse of Race*.

60. For a critique of the use of the term Western, see Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, chap. 2. They show how the geographical area encompassed by the term has expanded over time to include more and more territory; it now refers to localities that have become "westernized." Because of the ubiquity of the use of "West" and "non-West," I cannot completely escape the use of these terms even while critiquing some of the assumptions they have come to entail. When I use the words "West" or "Western," I refer to Europe and (when pertinent) the United States. When I use these terms to connote more than geographical location, I put them in quotation marks.

61. See Thongchai, *Siam Mapped*, for a ground-breaking description of this process in Siam.

62. For more on Japanese expansion during this period, see Walker, *Conquest of Ainu Lands*.

63. Sasaki, "*Ainu-e*: A Historical Review."

64. Howell, "Ainu and the Early Modern Japanese State," 97–98.

65. This is reminiscent of the ambivalence that surrounded tributary relationships with the Qing. Many peoples who were represented in the *Imperial Illustrations of Tributary Peoples*—including Europeans—would not have acknowledged tributary relationships with the Qing. For analogous ambiguities surrounding relationships between the Qing Emperors and the Dalai Lama, see Hevia, "Lamas, Emperors, and Rituals."

66. For more on the relationship between the Ainu and state power in the early modern period, see Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu*, chap. 2.

67. Ezo can refer either to the island of Hokkaido or to its residents.

68. Whether the earliest edition of this gazetteer contained the illustrated appendix is open to question. Later editions most definitely did. See Sasaki, "*Ainu-e*: A Historical Review," 82.

69. Sasaki, "On *Ainu-e*," 221, reproduces an illustration from the *Ezo-shi*.

70. I have consulted the copy of the *Ezo-shi* in the collection of the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania.

71. For a full black-and-white reproduction of a hand scroll housed in the Hamburg Museum of Ethnography that bears the title *Ezo-shima kikan* (Strange views from the Island of [the] Ezo), see Prunner, "Ainu Scroll." The title of a four-volume printed work in the library of the Museum of Ethnography in Rotterdam—*Illustrations and Descriptions of the Northern Ainu*—includes the same two Chinese characters often found in the suffix to Miao albums. Pronounced *tu shuo* in Chinese, the expression literally means "illustrations and explanations." Later series of paintings with varied content, by Teiryo Kodama, were entitled *Ezo Customs and Manners*. Shimanojo Murakami (1760–1808), who had firsthand access to Ainu people in his position as a shogunate official in Ezo, authored *Curious Sights of Ezo Island* (Ezo-shima kikan) in 1799. According to Sasaki, it "offers the most extensive description of Ainu Culture and Society presented in the *Ainu-e* format." Sasaki, "*Ainu-e*: A Historical Review," 84.

72. For a "List of the Old Japanese-written Documents on Ezo 1681–1868," see Kodama, *Ainu Historical*, 283–85. For a full discussion of artists of *Ainu-e*, see Sasaki, "*Ainu-e*: A Historical Review"; Sasaki, "On *Ainu-e*"; and MacRitchie, *The Aïnos*. The best reproductions of *Ainu-e* are found in the 1991 exhibit catalog *Kakizaki Hakyo to sono jidai*, Hokkaidoritsu Hakodate Bijutsukan.

73. Prunner, "Ainu Scroll," 230. See also Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu*, 44.

74. Hakyo Kakizaki painted a series that goes by this title in 1783. See Sasaki, "On *Ainu-e*," 223, for a reproduction.

75. Sasaki, "*Ainu-e*: A Historical Review," 84.

76. A recent, best-selling historical novel whose tension centers around these themes is Orhan Pamuk's *My Name is Red*.

77. Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views," vol. 2, book 1.

78. *Süleymānnāme*, History of Sultan Süleyman, 1558. Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi. Süleyman reigned for another eight years after the appearance of the book.

79. The images are reproduced in *Topkapi à Versailles*, 325–26. The original is housed in the Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi.

80. Ms. Arab 6074–6077. These particular albums contain an assortment of album leaves, only some of which fit the above description. Other album leaves would appear to have come from illuminated manuscripts depicting famous stories. How they came to be in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale is unknown. It would seem that they might have been purchased separately, and then rebound into the existing albums. Each page of the album is bordered in marbled paper. The fact that the illustrations may have been rebound at a later date raises the question of whether any of these illustrations may have, at one time, been accompanied by (additional) text. For further description see *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 167–76.

81. "Figures naturelles de Turquie, par Raynal," 1688. The original is housed in the Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes, Od 7. This manuscript is described in *Topkapi à Versailles*, 113.

82. "Costumes turcs de la Cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720, peints en Turquie, par un artiste turc," Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes, Od 6. This manuscript is also described in *Topkapi à Versailles*, 114.

83. The oldest are entitled "Costumes de la Cour du Grand Seigneur" and are dated 1600 and 1630 respectively. Both works are illustrated, with annotations on separate pages. The earlier work is in French, the later in Italian. The latter includes peoples of various national origins including Moors, Greeks, Armenians, and Turks, to name a few. People of various professions are also depicted, such as vendors. Women are portrayed as well. Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes, Od 3 and Od 5.

84. This same process can be traced in European inquiry into China during roughly the same period. Joachim Bouvet, a Jesuit missionary to China, published a work in 1697 entitled *L'Etat présent de la Chine en figures* that included a series of illustrations of Chinese figures hardly representative of the "present state" of China.

85. Two different catalogs date the albums in the Arabic manuscript collection variously as beginning from 1590, and from the seventeenth century.