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## IN THIS ISSUE

- Olga Chunakova, Federico Dragoni, Enrico Morano**  
A forgotten Manichaean Sogdian bifolio in Sogdian script 3
- Adam Benkato**  
Sogdian letter fragments in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
St. Petersburg 26
- Peter Zieme**  
An Embryonic Saint. Interpretation of an Old Uighur Fragment in  
the Serindia Collection at the IOM, RAS 40
- Alexander Zorin**  
Fragments of Tibetan Texts Refound at the Dunhuang Collection Kept  
at the IOM, RAS: Eleven Identified Fragments of Buddhist Canonical  
Texts 49
- Hartmut Walravens**  
Symbolism of sovereignty in the context of the Dzungar campaigns  
of the Qianlong emperor 73
- Reviews**
- Joseph F. O'Callaghan. *The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the  
Conquest of Granada*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,  
2014, by **Anastasia Stepanova** 91
- Catalogue of Japanese Manuscripts and Rare Books. Merete Pedersen.  
The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark. Catalogue of Oriental  
Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc. in Danish Collections (COMDC),  
by **Karine Marandjian** 95
- Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) und seine indologischen Freunde:  
seine Briefe an die Indologen Albrecht Weber (1825–1901), Rudolf  
Roth (1821–1895) und William D. Whitney (1827–1894) sowie den  
Indogermanisten Adalbert Kuhn (1812–1881) / Hartmut Walravens,  
Agnes Stache-Weiske [editors]. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen  
Akademie der Wissenschaften 2015. (Österreichische Akademie der  
Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte,  
868. Bd.; Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 89),  
by **Alexander Zorin** 98*
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Hartmut Walravens

**Symbolism of sovereignty in the context  
of the Dzungar campaigns of the Qianlong emperor**

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*Abstract:* The Qianlong emperor (reigned 1736–1795) proved to be a master in documenting and glorifying his military exploits and creating his own myth. He used a variety of media (paintings, copper-engravings, inscriptions, books, hymns, parades, ceremonies, banquets) for this purpose and would be considered today a master of advertising and public relations.

*Key words:* Qianlong emperor, China — military campaigns: China, 18th c.

During the last centuries, besides the Kangxi emperor his grandson the Qianlong emperor was without doubt the most important ruler of China. Both reigned for 60 years, both were enterprising military leaders and consolidated and expanded the borders of the empire. Especially the Qianlong emperor was proud of his Ten Glorious Military Exploits<sup>1</sup> among which he included only those that he counted as successful, of course. Today's historians may have slightly different views.

How did the emperor evaluate his role? In the preface to the Manchu Kanjur he said:<sup>2</sup> “Running matters rests with the humans, perfecting matters rests with Heaven. If the Heaven does not give support how could matters be conducted to the end? If the humans did not act how should the Heaven give support? Therefore acting consists of following reason; when acting without observing reason Heaven will not grant its support. With all my state affairs of which I did run many, I always trusted in the quiet protection of the Great Heaven; and when I was successful with my projects, I could not adequately

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<sup>1</sup> The Ten Glorious Exploits were: the campaigns against the Dzungars, against Eastern Turkestan, against the Small and Large Gold River Land (Jinchuan), Taiwan, Birma, Vietnam and the Gurkhas (two).

<sup>2</sup> *Gaozong chun huangdi yuzhiwen sanji* 高宗純皇帝御製文三集 *juan* 9, after NAITÔ 1929, 297–298, and *Weizang tongzhi* 衛藏通志 ed. 1896, introductory chapter. 25a–26a. Quoted after FUCHS 1930, 395–397.

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express in words my sincere mind with which I received grace with a grateful heart and lived respectfully; and when I examine myself deep down in my heart I do not know how I can compensate for all this”.

Here the emperor appears mellow and reasonable, at the advanced age of 80, however. His important achievements not only as military commander but also as administrator, writer and artist, allowed him these modest remarks. Simultaneously, one notices a certain parallel to the Enlightenment in Europe, and it is hardly surprising that Europe was under a spell of China enthusiasm for a while.

Unlike few other rulers the Qianlong emperor knew how to document his exploits historically and disseminate them in a literary and artistic way — elements of symbolism of sovereignty as well as superb reason of state become evident. The campaigns against the Dzungars, without doubt one of his most remarkable and effective military exploits, may serve as an example. As a reminder: The unrest among the Dzungars was pacified quickly by the imperial army with the help of Amursana in 1755. Amursana however rose to become the leader of the Dzungars and was defeated only after heavy battles involving serious losses in 1757. In the meantime the two Hojas, Hoja Jihân and Burhan al-Din, had risen against China, and their conquest was also effectuated with heavy sacrifices. In 1760 these campaigns were successfully concluded, and the head of one of the Hojas was presented to the emperor in Peking.

In order to disseminate and symbolize his military exploits the emperor took the following measures:

1) The Qianlong emperor commissioned the painting of pictures of the decisive battles.

Among the first Western communications on the battle pictures a note by the Russian monk and sinologist Iakinf (N. Ya. Bichurin) may be counted; in his description of Peking he said:<sup>3</sup> “Im Pallaste Tseu-kouang-ke [Ziguangge] ließ der Kaiser Jin-ty (Khian-loung) 1761 nach der Eroberung der Songarey und des östlichen Turkistan’s (der kl. Bucharey) die Portraits von 100 Officieren und Beamten, die durch glänzende Waffenthaten oder außerordentliche Thätigkeit zum Erfolge besonders beygetragen hatten, aufstellen. Nach dem hat man an den Mauern auch die Gemählde von den Schlachten der Westarmee im Jahre 1776 aufgehängt und nach Beendigung des Krieges mit Kin-tchouan (den Miao-tseu) wurden auch noch die Portraits von 100 Officieren und Beamten, die sich in diesem ausgezeichnet hatten, alle, Portraits

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted after PLATH 1830. 860.

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und Gemälde, von europäischen Malern gemahlt, ausgestellt". [In 1761 after the conquest of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan (Small Bukharia) the Qianlong emperor had put up the portraits of 100 officers and officials who contributed by their excellent bravery and extraordinary activity considerably to the success, in the Ziguangge [Hall of Purple Splendor]. Afterwards also pictures of the battles of the Western Army in 1776 were suspended on the walls and after the completion of the campaign against Jinchuan (the Miaozi) also the portraits of 100 officers and officials exhibited which excelled in it, all portraits and pictures done by European painters.] The original edition (Iakinf: *Opisanie Pekina*) is somewhat more precise and mentions — like the Chinese sources — 2×50 pictures. Also, the year 1776 which Pelliot considered an error is related clearly to the Jinchuan campaign (Iakinf: *Description de Pékin*. St. Petersburg 1829, 61–62).

Regarding the genesis of the battle pictures we learn details from Father Amiot's biography of the Jesuit court-painter Jean-Denis Attiret: "During the whole duration of this war against the Eleuths and other Tartars, their allies, whenever the imperials troops gained some victories, the painters were ordered to paint them. Those of the most important officers who had played the decisive roles in the events were favoured to appear in the paintings according to what really had happened".<sup>4</sup> Three drafts for this series drawn by charcoal-crayon were in the 1940s in the possession of the physician and scholar Kuroda Genji. They are the scenes Tonguzluq, Khorgos and Qoš-qulaq, and little yellow slips of paper bearing the Manchu names of most of the heroes were glued to the appropriate places. Fuchs published and described the Tonguzluq sheet (61.9×36.1 cm) as plate 4–5, including the 88 personal names on it.<sup>5</sup>

Of the original battle pictures only two items seem to be extant: One is a large coloured painting on silk (366×388 cm), acquired by the Hamburg Ethnological Museum in 1904.<sup>6</sup> The upper left shows part of an imperial poem on the victory at Qurman in the hand of the Qianlong emperor. In comparison to the later copper-prints the painting only shows the right half, featuring the flight of the Kirgis and Dzungars under Burhan-ed-Din who was defeated by the imperial troops at Qurman at the beginning of 1759. The left part with the attacking cavallery is missing, except a single warrior who is standing beside his fallen horse and is shooting an

<sup>4</sup> BERNARD 1943, 438.

<sup>5</sup> FUCHS 1939, 116–124.

<sup>6</sup> The other one is a large painting of the Taiwan campaign where the different battle scenes are all united in one picture. It is also in the possession of the Hamburg Museum.

arrow.<sup>7</sup> This painting provides a good impression of how the setting and persons were adapted for the copper-print which does not show the individual features anymore.<sup>8</sup>

This is the time frame:

1760                      Painting of 16 large battle pictures (no. 16 after April 16th), probably by Chinese court-painters under the direction of Jesuit missionaries. Painting of 100 portraits of meritorious officers.

1761, Febr. 6      The pictures were put up and displayed in the hall of fame Ziguangge, on the occasion of its refurbishment and extension by the Wuchengdian.

2) A number of battle-paintings were also executed in layered red lacquer (actually in several colours, depending on the depth of the engraving).<sup>9</sup> One panel from the Taiwan campaign and two from the Jinchuan campaign were described. One panel from the Taiwan expedition was reproduced and described already by Münsterberg.<sup>10</sup> According to Bushell lacquer versions were also prepared from the Eastern Turkestan series.<sup>11</sup>

Haenisch called the picture which used to be in the possession of the Berlin Museum of Ethnology “a piece of art of the highest degree”: “The lacquer is arranged in three layers of which the one below is blackish green and marks the water of the river and moat, the one on top of it olive green colours the field and the uppermost one the mountains, woods, buildings and persons, also the gilt inscription on the upper part”. Theme of the picture that corresponds almost exactly with the copper print, is the relief of the town of Zhule.<sup>12</sup> The panel was returned from the Soviet Union to the GDR and is now in the collections of the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin. Further five panels, from the same series, were preserved in the museum Kasteel Huis Doorn.

3) The Qianlong emperor had portraits of the meritorious generals and officers painted.

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<sup>7</sup> He is identified by his name given in Manchu script on his quiver: Macang. The emperor honoured him by a portrait one version of which is preserved in Berlin, another one in Taipei (Palace Museum).

<sup>8</sup> The fragment is reproduced and briefly described by G. Prunner in: *Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde* 1984, 106–107, Nr 181. — Cf. FUCHS 2010/11, 237–261.

<sup>9</sup> HAENISCH 1920/22, 177–184; WITKOWSKI 1876, 37.

<sup>10</sup> MÜNSTERBERG 1912, 435–438.

<sup>11</sup> BUSHELL *Chinese art*, ed. 1921, I, 119.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. WALRAVENS 2001, 79–94.

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The Veritable Records<sup>13</sup> give a few interesting details: “Now that the completion of the great military exploits is to be expected shortly, immediately after the victorious return of the army — similar to the conquest of the Dzungars and the Mohammedan tribes [1759] — portraits of the meritorious officials shall be drawn and battle-paintings executed in order to pass on the achievements forever. As the appearance and locations as well as the defiles and ravines of the aboriginal areas cannot be known exactly, the following decree is to be sent to Agôï [the Manchu general]: Wherever officers and soldiers performed real acts of great bravery at rebel fortresses — as the recently conquered Sunkerzung and the earlier taken Guga, Ramram, Sepengpu, Kangsar and Muse gunggak as well as the locations on Mingliang’s route and the whole area from Dartu to the Ju fortress — and these fortresses were conquered after brave attacks, he shall have a true picture of each of them painted and the leading generals and the bravest officers named in them, forward these [paintings] at the next opportunity and wait for Our decision after inspection”.<sup>14</sup>

While this note refers to the Jinchuan campaign, the imperial reference indicates clearly that Agôï should follow the example of the previous campaign.

The following series of portraits are known:

Eastern Turkestan	100 portraits
Jinchuan	100
Taiwan	50
Gurkha	30
Eastern Turkestan II	44 (Daoguang period)

A number of these portraits were taken abroad after the Boxer Rebellion, probably as souvenirs. Most of them are almost life-size hanging scrolls. The faces are particularly remarkable as they are not following the Chinese tradition but are executed in a Western realistic style; the remaining bodies are done in the usual way, probably by Chinese court artists. It is known from the biography of Brother Attiret that he painted about 200 portraits; after his death, Ignaz Sichelbarth and Giuseppe Panzi<sup>15</sup> took his pursuit over. The first portion of these portraits received imperial poetic eulogies in Chinese and Manchu while the lower ranks were given eulogies by the highest court officials. Of particular interest are a number of half-length portraits in oil on paper (apparently by Attiret and later by the other Jesuits)

<sup>13</sup> *Shilu* 984/6a-b, of July 2nd, 1775.

<sup>14</sup> Translation after FUCHS 1944, 101–122.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. ZETTL 2011. — WALRAVENS, STEINICKE 2014, 52–68.

which were the models for the hanging scrolls.<sup>16</sup> There also handscrolls with Chinese eulogies only which represent the intermediary stage between oil paintings and hanging scrolls.<sup>17</sup>

Besides brave officers and generals also the leaders of the Torguts who returned from Russia to China and those of the Dörbed were painted.<sup>18</sup>

4) The Qianlong emperor had the hall of fame Ziguangge (Hall of Purple Splendor) erected on the Western palace ground, for display of the battle-paintings and portraits and other memorabilia. The description of Peking, *Rixia jiuwenkao* (24/2a-b) says: “Towards the East and the West of the two woodcarved imperial aphorisms (duilian), bearing South, between the partition walls are respectfully put up the inscriptions composed by the emperor, from the National Academy, on the occasion of the completed conquest of the Ili area and the Mohammedan tribes. On the Eastern walls there are all the [8] pictures from the conquest of the Ili area, and on the Western wall all those [8] of the conquest of the Mohammedan tribes. On the walls of the Eastern and Western galleries there are respectfully put up the inscription from the National Academy, written by the emperor, on the occasion of the completed conquest of the two Jinchuan areas, all the pictures of the conquest of the two Jinchuan and the 10 stanza imperial song of triumph on the occasion of the report of the victory. The upper story of the hall respectfully houses the victorious and miraculous banners and seized arms. Exactly in the centre a picture of the victory banquet on the occasion of the pacification of the Western borders was painted. On the Eastern wall there is a picture showing the presentation of the severed head of the Hoja from the Western borders; on the Western wall a picture showing the reception of the victors outside the gates of Peking after the conquest of the Mohammedan tribes was painted”.<sup>19</sup>

The battle paintings regarding Eastern Turkestan were already put up at the beginning of 1761 together with the officers' portraits as may be gathered from the heading of an imperial poem of 1761: “When they assembled for a banquet on account of the opening of the Ziguangge with the newly painted portraits of the meritorious officials and with all the battle paintings, the emperor wrote four poems of six double lines each.”

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<sup>16</sup> WALRAVENS 1997, 401–423.

<sup>17</sup> For details see WALRAVENS 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. VEIT 1970, 199–237; RASIDONDUK, VEIT 1978, 543–591.

<sup>19</sup> According to FUCHS 1944, 104.

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5) The Qianlong emperor had the battle paintings engraved in copper.

The history of these copper prints was treated in detail by Pelliot and Fuchs.<sup>20</sup>

In 1762–1764, the emperor saw copper engravings of battle scenes by the Augsburg battle painter Georg Philipp Rugendas and ordered the four missionaries Giuseppe Castiglione, Jean-Denis Attiret, Ignaz Sichelbarth and Giovanni Damasceno Sallusti to reduce the large wall paintings to serve as the basis for engravings.

In 1764–1765, at the court the drafts for the engravings were prepared.

Afterwards these drawings were forwarded by imperial command to the Paris Academy of Painting where the copper plates were engraved and then sent to the emperor together with prints.

6) The Qianlong emperor had chronicles of his campaigns, by the title of *fanglue*, composed. The campaign against the Dzungars is described in Chinese and Manchu in the voluminous *Pingding Jungaer fanglue* 平定準噶爾方略 (printed in 1772. 172 juan) — *Jun gar-i ba be necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon-i bithe* (1772. 171 debt.)

7) The Qianlong emperor had put up memorial inscriptions of his victories in appropriate places:

a) Re the conquest of the Dzungars:<sup>21</sup>

*Pingding Jungaer leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihiyeme toktobuha babe Ili bade ejeme ilibuha eldengge wehei bithe.*

Quadrilingual inscription. Jehol: Puningsi 1755.

*Pingding Jungaer hou leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihiyeme toktobuha sirame Ili bade ejeme ilibuha eldengge wehei bithe.*

Quadrilingual inscription. Jehol: Puningsi 1758.

*Pingding Jungaer leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihiyeme toktobuha babe Ili bade ejeme ilibuha eldengge wehei bithe.*

Bilingual inscription. Peking: Guozijian 1758.

b) Re the conquest of the Mohammedans in Eastern Turkestan:

*Yuzhi pingding Huibu gaocheng taixue beiwen / Han-i araha Hoise aiman be necihiyeme toktobufi gurun-i tacikô de gungge mutebuhe jalin ilibure eldengge wehei bithe.*

Bilingual inscription. Peking: Guozijian 1759.

<sup>20</sup> PELLIOU 1921, 183–274; FUCHS 1939.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. AMIOT 1778, 539–664. Translated from the original in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*. Vol. 1. Paris 1776, 325–401.

These inscriptions are of importance as they reflect in poetical form the emperor's views of his campaigns; they were partly displayed also in the hall of fame Ziguangge.

8) The Qianlong emperor had victory hymns written, or composed them himself:

The celebration of the victory after the completion of the campaigns comprised, besides solemn offerings and banquets for the victorious officers, also victory hymns of which Father Amiot communicated an interesting example.<sup>22</sup> This hymn the Chinese text of which is possibly unpublished, is composed in Manchu and consists of 17 stanzas in alliteration. It was sung after the completion of the campaign against Jinchuan (in Sichuan Province):

“It was sung after [the emperor] had reported to his ancestors in a ceremonious offering, and the emperor gave the princes of his family, the high officials, the general [Agôî] and the higher officers of his army a banquet. The dancers made their pirouettes during the singing; whenever a slightly rhythmic declamation could be called a song, some instruments accompanied it in order to keep together within certain limits what without this assistance might have gone apart any moment.”

Here is the first stanza to serve as an example:

*Jalingga Gin cuwan-i hôlha*  
*Jalan halame ehe yabuha*  
*Jabsan de Manju cooha ofi*  
*Jabdunggala hôdun gisabuha.*

The villainous robbers from Gold River Country  
committed evil from generation to generation.

Fortunately the Manchu army  
cut them down quickly in one successful strike.

We may assume that a similar hymn (or hymns) was also sung after the other campaigns were successfully concluded.

9) The Qianlong emperor had monographs written on individual areas such as the *Xiyu tuzhi* 西域圖志 in 52 juan, “Illustrated Description of the Western Regions” on the living grounds of the Dzungars and Mohammedans. This was in the tradition line of a work of the same title from the Tang period (100 juan).

10) The Qianlong emperor had a comprehensive topographical survey of the empire made, the *Qianlong shisanpai ditu* 十三排地圖 which paid special attention to the newly acquired areas. The map was a follow-up to

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<sup>22</sup> AMIOT 1792. Cf. also WALRAVENS 2015, 209–219.

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the survey of the Kangxi period, the *Guangyu quanlan tu* (1718–1719); work started in 1756 under the supervision of the mathematician He Guozong 何國宗 (†1766), in cooperation with the Jesuits Felix da Rocha (1713–1781) und José d’Espinha (1722–1788). The map was also to supplement the *Xiyu tuzhi*. There are some inconsistencies, however, apparently on account of different updates. The map was published as a copper print 1769/70 under the direction of the Jesuit Michel Benoist (1715–1774). A new printing from the original plates in the Palace Museum was done in 1931. It is still the most comprehensive historical map of Qing China.<sup>23</sup>

11) In connection with the conquest of the Dzungars who were Lamaists the Qianlong emperor had the Puningsi (temple) in Jehol built which was modelled after the famous Tibetan bSam-yas monastery. Details may be found in the gazetteer of Jehol, *Rehe xianzhi*.

12) To facilitate handling the numerous strange Dzungar and Turki names the emperor commissioned a hexaglot dictionary, the *Xiyu tongwenzhi*,<sup>24</sup> and had the quadrilingual Manchu Mirror (dictionary) extended by another language (Uigur) to form the *Wuti Qingwendian* 五體清文鑑 which was not published, however, probably due to the emperor’s passing. The Peking manuscript was published in facsimile only in 1957; a new analysis of this dictionary, based on a comparison of the extant manuscripts was only just published.<sup>25</sup>

In an inscription on the Dzungar issue, in 1755, the emperor said: “When then (the throne) passed to my unworthy person I strove for daily endeavour and hoped the whole country might become one cultural unity”. This statement underlines the imperial vision not only of a Pax manjurica / sinica but also of an empire with languages and cultures of apparently equal rights, which he tried to establish by means of his language and cultural policy on the basis of his military exploits.

When he blamed the Dzungars for their wrong behavior as quoted below, his words seem to imply the idea of a close ethnic, cultural, language and religious relationship. Through their rebellion against the “pater familias”

<sup>23</sup> See FUCHS 1943. The mentioned facsimile is: Qianlong shisan pai tu. Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 2007. (as part of the series *Qingting san da shice quantu* 清廷三大實測全圖集).

<sup>24</sup> ENOKI 1961–1964.

<sup>25</sup> CORFF 2013–2014. The first facimile is a rare book nowadays and therefore little known: *Han-i araha Sunja hacin-i hergen kamciha Manju gisun-i buleku bithe. Yuzhi Wuti Qingwenjian* 御製五體清文鑑. *Qayan-u bičigsen tabun jüil-ün üsüg-iyer qabsuruşan Manju ügen-ü toli bičig. rGyal-pos mdzad-pa’i skad lha šan sbyar-gyi Mañdzu’i skad gsal-ba’i me-loñ. Hamniñ pütügen baš kismi koşikan hat Manču sözniñ ayri mačin hati.* Eiin Gotai shimbunkan Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko 1943 (Tōyō Bunko sōkan 9). 36 fasc.

and Son of Heaven the Dzungars put themselves in the wrong, like disobedient children: “Alas, you Dzungars, you are of the same ilk as the Mongols, aren’t you? Why did you separate from them?” He put the blame for what had happened on the “dipsomaniac” DAWACI and explained his necessary action by compassion: “People stood there with their mouths open because of the misery. I was anxious that your misery came to a standstill. And I hope that it will not — with my help — last till the next morning”.

In 1758, he ascribed the mischief to the Dzungars themselves: “If Heaven wants to strengthen somebody, people cannot injure him even if they want his downfall. ... You want to honour the Yellow Doctrine and pray to Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. But in your hearts you are like man-eating Rakshas. Therefore you were unable to escape from your self incurred retribution with your lives when your crimes were at the lowest [moral level] and your wickedness reached a zenith”.<sup>26</sup>

The mentioned measure explain the emperor’s concept of his sovereignty and show his comprehensive and masterly publicity and documentation activities.

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<sup>26</sup> See HAENISCH 1950, 224–247.

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Pl. 1

Portrait of the Qianlong emperor in court attire. N. d. (after 1773).  
Painter: Giuseppe Panzi S.J. (not signed) Gugong (Palace Museum) Peking.  
(Quoted from *China: The three emperors*. London 2005.)

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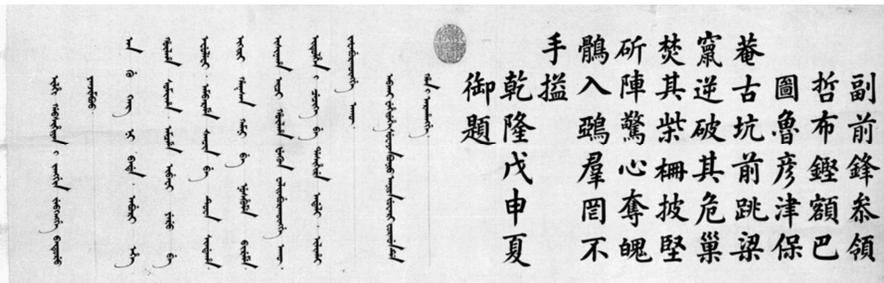
Pl. 2

Mingliyang (1735–1822), “Vice commander on the Right of the Expedition Forces, Commander of Chengdu, Marquis of the first rank, the Meritorious Hero” excelled during the military campaign against the Gold Stream Countries. This oil portrait was finished in 1776 and is to be credited either to Ignaz Sichelbarth S.J. or Giuseppe Panzi S.J. who arrived at Peking in 1773. The pictures in oil served as basis for handscrolls and lifesize hanging scrolls (photo: author).



Pl. 3

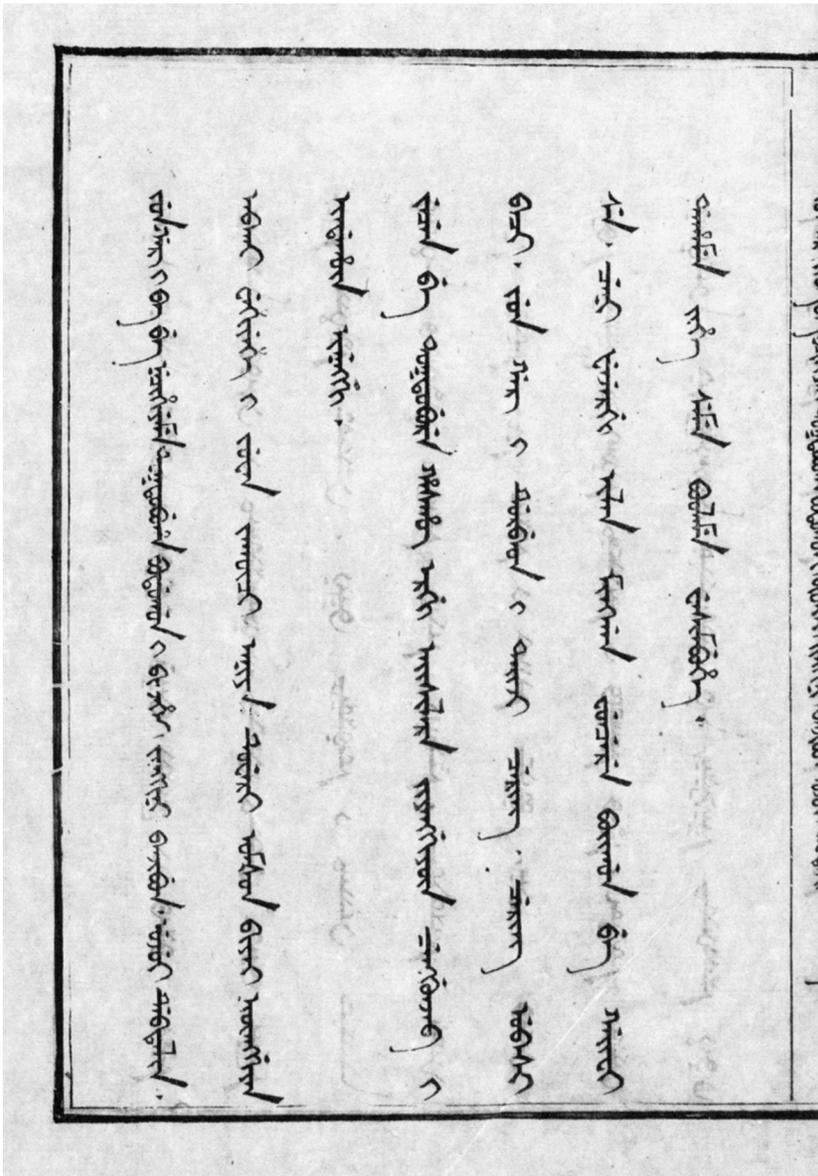
“The Vice Commander of the Avantgarde, the Careful Hero Yanjimbo” who showed his bravery during the campaign against Taiwan. 1788 (date of the eulogy). Hanging scroll (Náprstek Museum, Prague. Inv. no. 34505; courtesy of Náprstek Museum.)



Pl. 4

Eulogy to Yanjimbo. 1788 (Náprstek Museum, Prague. Inv. no. 34505; courtesy Náprstek Museum). The first bar of the imperial eulogy runs:

An gu keng-ni bade.  
 aburi ehe hólha somiha.  
 amcame ibefi yeru be efulefi.  
 ambarame śancin be tuwa sindaha.



Pl. 5

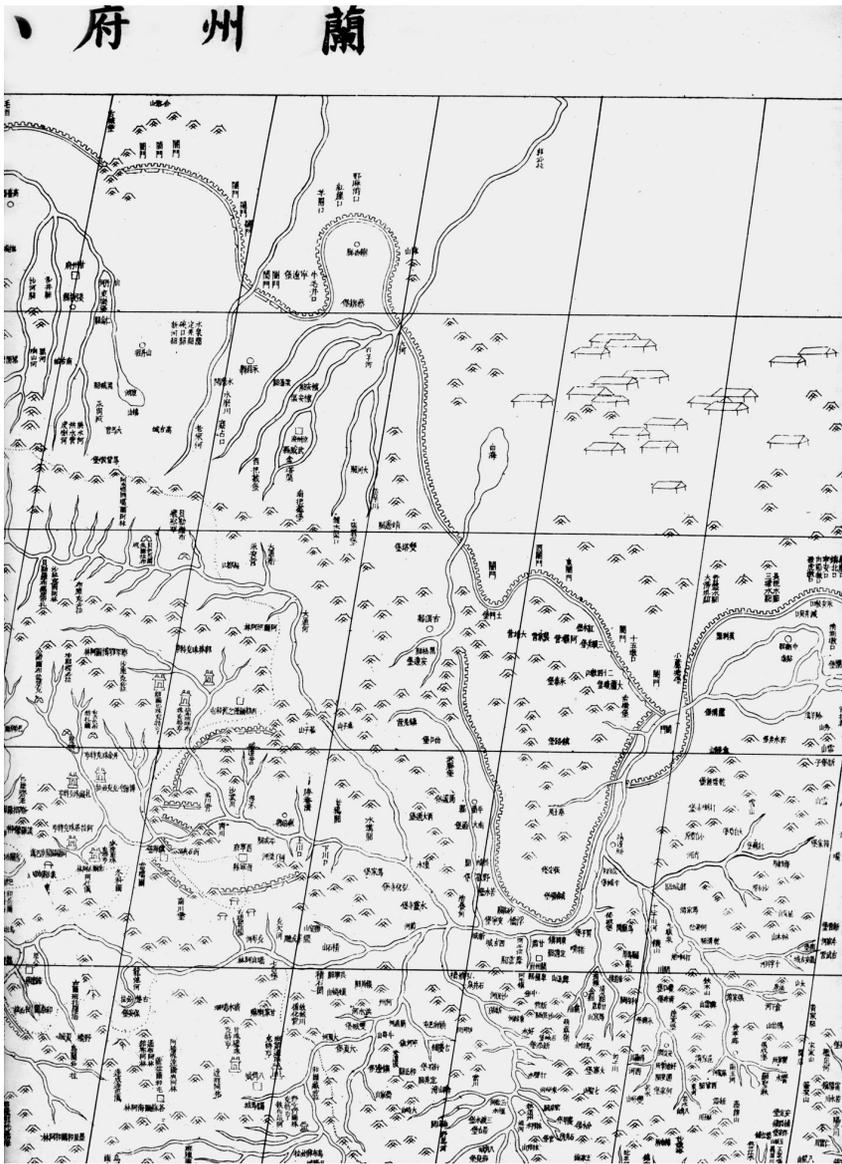
*Jun gar-i babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon-i bithe, jingini banjibun.*

The military operations for the pacification of the Dzungars. Manchu only.

A Chinese edition was published separately. Printed in 1772. (Berlin State Library.

Deposited at the Jagiellonian University Library, Cracow. Call. no. PS 8.)





Pl. 7

From the sheet "Lanzhou" from map of the Chinese empire prepared by the Jesuits and Chinese cartographers. Reduced reprint (Taipei 1976) after the second printing from the original copperplates 1931/32, *Shisan pai ditu* 十三排地圖. (Woodblock print 1760, copperprint 1775).

<p>字托忒 ᠮᠣᠩᠭ᠋ᠢ</p>	<p>字回 ᠬᠠᠯᠠ</p>	<p>ᠬᠠᠯᠠ</p>	<p>字漢 哈喇忽刺 布拉台 什第四</p>	<p>子為第十三世其 長子額伯內伊勒 登以下另按 世次載後</p>	<p>三合 切音 阿喇呼喇</p>	<p>字蒙古 ᠮᠣᠩᠭ᠋ᠢ</p>	<p>字西番 ᠬᠠᠯᠠ</p>	<p>ᠬᠠᠯᠠ</p>	<p>ᠬᠠᠯᠠ</p>
<p>字西番 ᠮᠣᠩᠭ᠋ᠢ</p>	<p>字托忒 ᠬᠠᠯᠠ</p>	<p>字回 ᠬᠠᠯᠠ</p>	<p>字漢 巴圖爾 渾台吉 喇哈</p>	<p>忽刺之長子為第 十四世其次子墨 爾根代青以下另 按世次載後</p>	<p>巴圖爾 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯</p>	<p>巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯</p>	<p>巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯</p>	<p>巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯</p>	<p>巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯 巴圖魯</p>

Pl. 8

Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi 欽定西域同文志 juan 7, fol. 4a.

Hexaglot dictionary of personal names and toponyms of the newly acquired areas in the West. Palace edition, ed. by Fuheng 傅恆 1763. (from the facsimile edition of Tôyô Bunko, Tôkyô.)