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ALTAICA BEROLINENSIA

THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY  
IN THE ALTAIC WORLD

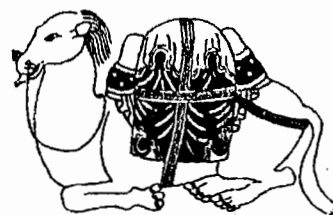
*Permanent International Altaistic  
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Edited

by

Barbara Kellner-Heinkele



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## VORWORT

Die 34. Arbeitstagung der Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC) mit dem zentralen Thema "The concept of sovereignty in the Altaic world" fand vom 21. – 26. Juli 1991 in Berlin-Spandau statt. Die Organisation der Tagung lag in den Händen der Mitglieder des im Sommersemester 1991 an der Freien Universität Berlin neu gegründeten Instituts für Turkologie. Für die großzügige Förderung der Tagung durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft und durch die Berliner Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft und Technologie möchte ich an dieser Stelle meinen wärmsten Dank zum Ausdruck bringen. Auch von Seiten der Freien Universität Berlin wurden die Tagungsvorbereitungen in vielfältiger Weise unterstützt.

Der vorliegende Band enthält 35 der bei der Tagung, zumeist zum zentralen Thema, gehaltenen Vorträge. Mein Dank gilt auch hier der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, die durch einen Druckkostenzuschuß diese Veröffentlichung möglich machte.

An den Vorbereitungen zum Druck waren sämtliche Mitglieder des Instituts für Turkologie beteiligt. Herrn Dr. Marek Stachowski und Frau Margarete I. Ersen-Rasch M.A. möchte ich herzlich danken für ihre Sorgfalt und Umsicht bei den redaktionellen Arbeiten. Ganz besonderen Dank schulde ich Frau Kathrin Möller, die mit unermüdlichem Engagement die Eingabe der Texte in den Computer besorgte, und Herrn Rainer Weihs (Berlin), der uns seinen Fachverstand in allen Computerfragen, insbesondere im Umgang mit den verschiedenen Transkriptionssystemen, lieh. Herzlich danken möchte ich auch Frau Dr. Jenny B. White (Berlin/Omaha, Nebraska), die die Redaktion der englischsprachigen Beiträge auf sich nahm. Herrn Professor Dr. Walther Heissig (Bonn) danke ich sehr für die Aufnahme des Sammelbandes in die Monographienreihe "Asiatische Forschungen". Dem Verlag Otto Harrassowitz (Wiesbaden), vor allem seinem Leiter, Herrn Michael Langfeld, bin ich für die sorgfältige verlegerische Betreuung sehr verbunden.

Berlin, Juli 1993

Barbara Kellner-Heinkele

Hartmut Walravens

PORTRAITS OF MERITORIOUS OFFICERS,  
ACCOMPANIED BY MANCHU EULOGIES

The Museum of East Asian Art in Berlin has three large almost lifesize portraits of military men in its collections. The pictures are carefully executed and are headed by a bilingual eulogy each. The texts, in Chinese and Manchu, praise the bravery of these officers in battles against the barbarians, and were commissioned by the Ch'ien-lung emperor. The pictures are dated but the names of the artists are not given; the Ch'ien-lung emperor's red seal<sup>1</sup> shows in between the Chinese and Manchu texts.

Which role did these pictures play in history, and do they have any importance for scholarly studies? So far there are hardly any studies on pictures with Manchu inscriptions on them<sup>2</sup>, and so it may be worth our while tracing their background.

The Chien-lung emperor was very much concerned about keeping his huge empire in peace, and extinguishing rebellions and border quarrels. He was quite determined and did not hesitate to set his troops in march when he deemed it necessary. Reviewing the emperor's sixty year reign we find that he led at least 9 major campaigns against trouble-makers:

Eastern Turkestan in 1759  
Uš in 1765  
Burma in 1769  
Chin-ch'uan in 1776  
Taiwan in 1788  
Annam in 1788  
the Gurkhas in Nepal in 1792  
the Ch'ung Miao in 1795  
the Miao in 1795

These campaigns resulted not only in victory celebrations but also occasioned quite a number of outstanding literary and artistic productions. The emperor had been shown European battle engravings by his court advisers, Jesuit fathers. He was so enthusiastic about the Augsburg engraver Georg Philipp Rugendas' work that he decided he wanted similar engravings to illustrate his own military

<sup>1</sup> Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih pao.

<sup>2</sup> Chuang Chi-fa: Ch'ing-tai ming-hua-chung-ti Man, Meng, Hui-wen t'u-shuo. *Man-tsu wen-hua*. 11. 1988, 25 - 30.

achievements. For this reason he decreed that during the campaigns all noteworthy battlegrounds should be sketched and portraits of the meritorious officers be taken on the spot. Thus the sketches made during the military activities in Eastern Turkestan led to 16 large-size silk pictures for which the emperor had a special hall of fame built on the palace grounds, the Tzu-kuang-ko, in 1760. These pictures were then reduced to a small size to be engraved in copper. This task was performed by the Paris Academy of Art during the years 1767 – 1774, and copper plates and 100 prints each were sent back to China. This is a model case of Chinese-European cooperation, and it proves that it is not quite true that China was never really interested in anything outside her own culture. The emperor composed eulogies on the individual battle scenes which were blockprinted and appended to the prints.<sup>3</sup>

Another remarkable thing about these battle pictures is that not only the setting of the pictures corresponded to the actual sites, but also the persons, at least the officers of the imperial troops, were included according to the portraits taken. On the huge silk paintings the likeness is quite noticeable; in order not to make a mistake, or to remind the emperor of who was who, the painters added the person's name in Manchu characters in the picture! This makes these paintings important historical source material.

The portrait sketches were turned by the court painters into near-lifesize pictures which not only attempt to give a true likeness of the individual heroes, but also provide us with meticulous details of military attire and weapons. Besides their historical value as portraits they contribute much to our knowledge of material culture of the 18th century.

Each portrait contains a eulogy composed by imperial command by the highest court officials, usually members of the Grand Council. In some instances they were written by the emperor himself. They give us brief details of the rank and function of the person, and also praise the particularly brave actions of the respective officer.

Many of these officers were not Chinese, as we can easily guess from the names—there were Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Turks, and other nationalities represented. We are fortunate therefore that the eulogies are not only provided in Chinese—Manchu is much more convenient for giving phonetic renderings of foreign names.

The portraits were also hung in the Tzu-kuang-ko in the imperial palace.

According to the *Ch'ing kung-shih hsü-pien* (1802 – 1806, 96/5b – 9a) the following pictures were painted:

Eastern Turkestan	50, then again 50
Chin-ch'uan	50, then again 50
Taiwan	30, then again 20
Gurkha	15, then again 15

This is an astounding number—altogether 280 portraits! We do not know if the tradition was continued during the Ch'ien-lung emperor's later campaigns. All the portraits that have come to light so far refer to the above mentioned series.

Lists of the officer's names are given in several sources, e.g. *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan* (V.1), *Kuo-ch'ao yüan-hua lu*, 26; *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao*, 4a – 9a.

During the Tao-kuang period (1828), when there was a second campaign against Eastern Turkestan, the emperor ordered 44 portraits of meritorious officers to be painted for the Tzu-kuang-ko.

Besides the three portraits in the East Asian Museum in Berlin (Badai, Banningga, Hamtukô), I know of

1 picture in the Reiss Museum, Mannheim (Cemcukjab)

2 pictures in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Namjal, and the President of the Ministry of Public Works, also by the name of Namjal)

3 pictures at the Von-Portheim Stiftung, Heidelberg (Meningca, Sungan, Giyamz'an namk'a)

1 picture in the Übersee-Museum, Bremen.

A few pictures showed up at auction during the last twenty years, and one of them was sold in New York a few years ago for about \$180,000.

The Berlin Museum of Ethnology had a pretty good collection of these portraits, probably about thirty of them. During WWII they were transferred to depositories for safekeeping but they did not return after the war. The Museum of Ethnology still has a series of portraits of meritorious officers from the imperial campaigns but of a much smaller size. There are pictures of Koma, Forontai, Tortoboo, Mutar, Ajungboo, Yamantar, Jorgiyamz'an, Manjortu and Dalha. Why these portraits are different is not known; I would assume that these were the preliminary portraits from which the near-life-size versions were created later on.

The Hamburg Museum of Ethnology has similar portraits of Urtunasun and Aldanca. In both cases the imperial, or court eulogies, are missing. Those pertaining to Koma and Forontai are to be found, however, in their respective biographies in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng ch'u-pien* (354a). This would support the view that the sketches were actually turned into large portraits for the Tzu-kuang-ko later on. The small portraits are painted in oil on paper. This definitely shows foreign influence. And as we know that the famous Jesuit court painters Giuseppe Castiglione and Denis Attiret were involved in the preparation of the huge silk battle paintings and their reduced versions for the engraving it may be easily assumed that they also had a hand in portraying the officers. As none of the known portraits

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Walravens: *China illustrata*. Weinheim 1987, 36ff.

of this genre provide any hints as to the identity of the painters we will probably never know for sure.

Let me give you a sample of a portrait and a eulogy<sup>4</sup>:

The subduer of the rebels, Duke of Loyalty and Merit of the third degree, then President of the Board of Public Works, Namjal.

I realized that the officials sent to the front strove hard, and therefore sent you personally. When you arrived with your troops at Kara usu, the enemies challenged you like daredevil rats. Hardly 200 men of our troops were surrounded by 10,000 enemies. You performed your duty in fighting to the last, and therefore I cannot but call you a great hero and a loyal official.

In the spring of the Black Dragon year [1760] written by the emperor.

Battle paintings were also prepared for the Ch'ien-lung emperor's later campaigns and for the second Eastern Turkestan one during the Tao-kuang period. There was not one picture for one battle or event, however, but one huge painting showed the different scenes one next to the other. The individual scenes were then reduced to manageable size and engraved in copper—this time in China, and including the imperial inscriptions. It is relatively easy to recognize the country of origin—the plates made in China show a much coarser grain than the Paris ones but they are of good quality and prove the superior skill of Chinese craftsmen who got quickly accustomed to a new technique. There are the following series of battle engravings in existence:

Eastern Turkestan	16
Chin-ch'uan	16
Taiwan	12
Annam	6
Gurkha	8
Ch'ung Miao	4
Miao	16
2nd Eastern Turkestan	10

<sup>4</sup> *Man-tsu wen-hua*. 15. 1991, cover ill.; an original portrait belongs to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; the published reproduction was apparently made from an original at the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

34 of these extremely interesting copper plates are in the possession of the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin; the British Museum recently acquired one other plate at an auction.

It is very little known that the paintings at least of some campaigns were also carved into red lacquer panels<sup>5</sup>. Two of them belonged to the Berlin Museum of Ethnology before WWII; their present whereabouts are not known.

A project is under way to describe the plates and the engravings in a scholarly catalogue.

It should be pointed out that the emperor was not satisfied with these artistic achievements alone:

– He also commissioned the preparation of detailed official records describing the individual campaigns. They were published in Chinese and in Manchu versions and are known under the name of *fang-lüeh / bodogon-i bithe*, meaning strategic plans. The office in charge was the Fang-lüeh-kuan. These records were enumerated by Walter Fuchs in his standard work on Manchu bibliography<sup>6</sup>, and copies of the Manchu versions are to be found in several of the major repositories of Manchu books.

– The emperor had inscriptions in commemoration of his victories erected in several places<sup>7</sup>:

– The Eastern Turkestan campaign was eulogized in four inscriptions—two quadrilingual ones (1755, and 1758) at the P'u-ning-szu in Jehol, and a bilingual one of 1758 at the Kuo-tzu-chien. The subjugation of the Mohammedans is dealt with in a bilingual inscription of 1759 at the Kuo-tzu-chien.

– The Chin-ch'uan campaign is recorded in three inscriptions: a bilingual one of 1776 at the Kuo-tzu-chien, and two quadrilingual ones of 1776 at Lo-wu wei, and Mei-no (Mou-kung hsien, Szuchuan), respectively.

– Two inscriptions on the successful completion of the Taiwan campaign were published by Prof. Ch'en Chieh-hsien<sup>8</sup>.

– The pacification of rebellious Mohammedans in Kansu was recorded in an inscription of 1781.  
and so on.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Erich Haenisch: Tsch'ai Ta-ki, der Held von Tschu-lo. Geschichtliche Würdigung eines chinesischen Rotlackbildes. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. 9. 1920/22, 177 – 184.

<sup>6</sup> Fuchs: *Beiträge zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*. Tokyo 1936, 100 – 102.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Catalogue of Chinese rubbings in Field Museum*. Chicago 1981.

<sup>8</sup> Ch'en: *Ch'ing-shih isa-pi*. Vol. 7. Taipei 1988.

Little known is the emperor's interest in victory hymns. The originals do not exist in Western collections, but Father Amiot published one such hymn from the Manchu manuscript in 1792<sup>9</sup>. The first stanza runs:

The evil robbers of Chin-ch'uan  
have done harm from generation to generation.  
Fortunately the Manchu army  
cut them down quickly by one efficient blow.

The stanzas follow the known Manchu rhyme patterns and boast alliteration:

Jalingga Gin cuwan-i hôlha  
Jalan halame ehe yabuha  
Jabšan de Manju cooha ofi  
Jabunggala hôdun gisabuha.

Father Amiot says: "The hymns were sung after the emperor had reported in a solemn offering to his ancestors and when he gave the imperial princes, the high officials and officers a banquet."

— To get a better idea of Hsin-chiang the emperor commissioned a series of gazetteers, the *Hsi-yü t'u-chih*. He also ordered the missionaries at his court to prepare a new map of the empire with special reference to the newly acquired areas, the *Ch'ien-lung san-p'ai t'u*<sup>10</sup>.

— In order to cope with all the foreign names that referred to the border areas in the West the emperor had a dictionary compiled that listed the geographical names and the more important personal names in six languages. This is the famous *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen-chih*, a rare book that is available in an excellent modern Japanese edition<sup>11</sup>.

— Last but not least the emperor ordered a copy of the famous Tibetan bSam-yas monastery be built in Jehol, the P'u-ning-szu.

<sup>9</sup> *Hymne Tartare Mantchou chanté à l'occasion de la conquête du Kin-tchouen*, traduit en français et accompagné de notes pour l'intelligence du texte par M. Amyot, missionnaire à Pékin, et publié par L. Langlès. Paris: Didot l'aîné 1792. 26 pp.

<sup>10</sup> This was in the tradition of the K'ang-hsi emperor who had commissioned the Jesuits to map the empire. Cf. W. Fuchs: *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der K'ang-hsi-Zeit*. Peking 1946.—The Ch'ien-lung atlas was reprinted in Taipei under the title *Ch'ing-tai i-t'ung ti-t'u* (1966). It was done after the reprint of 1931/32 which was based on the original copperplate edition of 1769.

<sup>11</sup> *Ch'in-tung Hsi-yü t'ung-wen-chih. Hesei toktohuha wargi aiman-i hergen be emu obuha ejetun-i bithe*. 4 vols. Tokyo 1962–1964 (with an excellent introduction by Kazuo Enoki).

Thus we see that the portraits of meritorious officers are important historical records and form part of a complex network of artistic and literary sources on the campaigns of the Ch'ien-lung emperor.

#### Appendix: List of portraits

- I. Tzu-kuang-ko wu-shih kung-ch'en<sup>12</sup>  
[Campaign against Eastern Turkestan, 1st series]
- |     |                     |   |
|-----|---------------------|---|
| 1.  | Fu-heng             | P <sup>13</sup>                                     |
| 2.  | Jaohôï              | P; Hu <sup>14</sup> 72                              |
| 3.  | Bandi               | P; Hu 15  |
| 4.  | Namjal              | P; Portrait in Toronto                              |
| 5.  | Ts'e-pu-teng Cha-pu | P?; ? 3/shou 99/7a <sup>15</sup>                    |
| 6.  | Fude                | P; Hu 262   |
| 7.  | Sa-la-erh           | Hu 10   |
| 8.  | Huang T'ing-kuei    | P; Hu 349   |
| 9.  | Septen Baljur       | P; Hu 349   |
| 10. | Jalafungga          | P; 1/340/5b; 3/351/29a; 33/16/12b                   |
| 11. | Lobzang Dorji       | P; ?3/shou 46/4a                                    |
| 12. | Emin Hojo           | 4/148/3a; Portrait formerly in Berlin <sup>16</sup> |
| 13. | Šuhede              | P; Hu 659   |
| 14. | A-li-kun            | P; Hu 252   |
| 15. | O-jung-an           | P; Hu 603   |
| 16. | Mingšui             | P; Hu 578   |
| 17. | Agôï                |   |
| 18. | San-t'ai            | P; 1/318/76; 2/19/24a; 3/350/23a; 11/47/7b          |
| 19. | O-shih              | P; 1/321/1a; 3/350/35a; 11/43/24a                   |
| 20. | Po-erh-pen-ch'a     | 3/284/44a   |

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*. V, 1; *Kuo-ch'ao yüan-hua-lu*, 26; *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao*, 4a–9a

<sup>13</sup> P = mentioned in the index to *Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih* (Hakki tsüshi retsuden sakuin. Tokyo 1965).

<sup>14</sup> Hu = Hummel (ed.): *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*. Washington, D. C. 1943/44.

<sup>15</sup> Numeric references refer to the Harvard-Yenching index to 33 collections of Ch'ing biographies.

<sup>16</sup> Lent by the army physician Dr. Hildebrandt to the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. Cf. *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*. 35. 1903, 484.

22. Kao T'ien-hsi 1/321/1a; 2/22/6a; 3/350/32a;  
12/27/39a; Portrait in Hamburg.
23. T'a-shih baturu Tuan-chi-pu P; 1/321/5a; 3/286/32a; 11/40/10b
24. Ailungga P; 1/322/2a; 2/21/44a; 3/827/15a;  
11/47/27b
25. Mergen baturu Macang One portrait in Berlin
26. Pa-t'u Chi-erh-ko-erh 2/22/2a; 3/288/18a; 33/18/9a
27. Mu-erh-te-mu t'u-lu Ch'i-leng cha-pu
28. Ha-t'an baturu Ko-pu-shu P
29. Ko-pi-ya-t'u baturu Eldengge
30. Huo Chi-szu 3/shou 128/1a; 4/148/9b
31. Odui cf. V 82822
32. O Ch'i-erh P; 3/265/39b; 11/12/32b
33. Hala baturu Ayusi P; 3/342/30a
34. Ta-shih Cering
35. O-po-shih
36. T'u-pu baturu Wen-pu Hu 160
37. K'o-t'e-erh-k'o baturu Yu-t'un
38. San-ko P; 3/62/17a; 11/31/57a
39. Shu-pu-t'u-k'ai baturu Ch'i-ch'e-pu P; 3/350/8a
40. Po-k'o baturu Looge P
41. Mergen baturu Daktana
42. Sa-mu-t'an
43. Manjortu 3/350/31a; Portrait in Berlin
44. Ha-lang-shu baturu T'a-ma-nai
45. Ha-pu-t'ai baturu Fu-hsi-erh P; 3/350/7a
46. Erke baturu Hailanca P
47. Fu Shao P
48. Sai-yin-po-lo-k'o baturu Cha-ch'i-t'u
49. Šilun hasiha baturu Aldanca Portrait in Hamburg
50. Cho-li-k'o-t'u baturu Wu-shih-pao
- II. P'ing-ting hsi-yü hou wu-shih kung t'u<sup>17</sup>  
[Campaign against Eastern Turkestan, 2nd series]
1. Pa-lu P; 1/318/5a; 3/287/42a; 11/44/63a
2. Fu-lu P; cf.06185 [3 names]

3. Ho-ch'i P; 1/321/2a; 2/22/3b; 3/349/38a;  
11/38/35a
4. Sang-ch'i Dorji
5. Man-fu P; 1/321/4b; 3/350/10a; 11/42/53b
6. Cemcukjab Portrait in Mannheim
7. Yen Hsiang-shih 1/322/4b; 3/286/34a; 12/23/45b  
(Auctioned off by Ernst Haus-  
wede<sup>18</sup>)
8. Yü Su-fu
9. Jalafungga P; 1/340/5b; 3/351/29a; 33/16/12b
10. Hu-erh-ch'i P; 1/322/1a; 3/287/33a; 11/37/62a
11. A-min-tao P; 1/321/3b; 3/350/1a; 11/37/35a
12. Ufu P; 1/339/2a; 3/290/11a; 11/46/62a
13. No-erh-pen 1/321/6a; 3/329/20a; 33/19/10a
14. Kuan-yin-pao P; 1/340/6a; 3/351/32a; 33/17/7b
15. A-shih-mo-t'e
16. Ko-tai-mo-t'e 4/148/1a
17. Liang Yin-t'ai
18. Badai P; Portrait in Berlin
19. Burha P
20. Na-lan-t'u P; 3/351/39a
21. Banningga P; 3/102/13a; 33/40/7b Portrait in  
Berlin
22. A-erh-ha-erh-ch'in
23. Sa-t'ieh
24. Cha-erh-shan P; 3/350/28a
25. No-man-ch'a
26. Te-erh-shen[- ...]
27. Chan-p'o-t'u
28. I-sa-mu
29. Wu-shih-erh-t'u
30. Sha-chin-ch'a
31. Cha-tun-ch'a
32. Mangkaca P; 3/288/4a; 11/42/51a
33. Ch'i-li-k'o-ch'i 1/322/4a; 3/296/23a
34. O-na-shen
35. Mao Han
36. Ning-ku-li P

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*. V, 2.<sup>18</sup> Auction 183 of 29/4/1972, Nr 210.

37. K'uei Ma-tai P; 3/303/37a; 33/27/19a  
 38. Tetungge P; 1/320/2b  
 39. Meningca Portrait in Heidelberg  
 40. Namjal P; Portrait in Toronto  
 41. T'a-ni-ku  
 42. Mage  
 43. Dalhan P; 1/233/3a; 2/4/15a; 3/263/44a;  
 11/6/4a; Portrait in Berlin  
 44. Entei P  
 45. I-ta-mu Cha-pu 3/shou 79/3a  
 46. Chan-yin-pao  
 47. Sirkul  
 48. Pai-ta-erh P  
 49. Wang-la  
 50. Hamtukô Portrait in Berlin

III. P'ing-ting Chin-ch'uan ch'ien wu-shih kung-ch'en<sup>19</sup>  
 [Campaign against Chin-ch'uan, 1st series]

1. Agôï Hu 6  
 2. Fengsengge P; /319/6b; 3/95/8a; 9/30/10b  
 3. Ming-liang Hu 579  
 4. Šuhede P; Hu 659  
 5. Yü Min-chung Hu 942  
 6. Fulunggan Hu 259  
 7. Septen Baljur Hu 373  
 8. Hailanca P; Hu 273  
 9. Esente P; 1/337/8b; 3/290/1a; 9/30/26b  
 10. Shu-ch'ang Hu 661  
 11. K'uei-lin Hu 578  
 12. Horonggo P; 1/337/8a; 2/22/5a; 11/38/39b  
 13. Fukanggan Hu 253  
 14. P'u-erh-p'u 1/337/10b; 2/25/33b; 3/292/15a  
 15. Hsing Chao P  
 16. Ha Kuo-hsing 1/317/1b; 2/24/9b; 3/286/15b;  
 9/29/1a; 10/8/27a; 12/27/49a  
 17. Ma Piao 1/339/5b; 3/290/16a; 12/30/54a

18. Ma Ch'üan 1/340/1a; 3/352/38a; 4/121/7a;  
 33/62/4b  
 19. Shu-lin (= Kao Chin) Hu 411  
 20. Cho-k'o-t'o baturu San-pao P; Hu 159  
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 3/361/35a; 33/18/2a  
 22. To-pu-t'an baturu Hu-ni-erh-t'u 1/339/8b; 3/293/3a  
 23. Cha-k'o-po baturu Chu-erh-ko-te P; 1/337/7b  
 24. Tsa-erh-ch'in baturu A-erh-t'u P  
 25. A-erh-hang-a baturu Arsalang 1/355/11b; 3/360/4a; 33/39/1a  
 26. Mu-t'eng-o baturu Shu-liang 1/334/6b; 2/27/21a; 3/295/25a,  
 33/33/7a  
 27. Nacin baturu Koma 1/340/3b; 3/354/15a; Portrait in  
 Berlin  
 28. Cha-chi-k'o baturu I-lan-pao  
 29. Jardan baturu Forontai 3/354/17a; 1/340/3b; Portrait in  
 Berlin  
 30. Fu-hsing Hu 561  
 31. Te-ho-pu  
 32. Mangkaca P; 3/288/4a; 11/42/51a  
 33. Ko-pu-shih-hai baturu Hailu 1/339/3a; 2/24/50a; 3/292/19a  
 34. Sengge baturu Ao-ch'eng 1/339/9b; 3/290/23a  
 35. Pa-erh-tan baturu Kuan-ta-se P; 1/339/7a; 3/280/31a  
 36. Saišangga baturu Cengde  
 37. Fafuri baturu Ch'in-pao P  
 38. Cha-ch'in baturu Ts'ao Shun 1/340/2b; 3/354/34a; 12/31/63a  
 39. Pa-ning? 1/348/1a; 3/31/40a; 33/21/9b  
 40. Tecengge 1/320/2b; 3/102/16a  
 41. Urna P; 1/340/3a; 3/355/1a  
 42. Tun-chu P; ?1/340/3a; 3/354/1a  
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 45. La-pu-k'ai baturu T'ai-fei-ying-a P  
 46. Ch'ung-ch'ien baturu Po-ling  
 47. O-i-pa-erh baturu Ta-lan-t'ai P; 1/340/4a; 3/354/24a  
 48. Shan-pa baturu Sa-erh-chi-tai P; 1/340/4a; 3/354/32a  
 49. Shu-tan baturu T'e-erh-tun-ch'e  
 50. T'e-ch'en baturu Hsing-k'uei 2/31/50a; 3/312/11a

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*. V, 3; *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao*, 10a – 17a.



IV. P'ing-ting liang Chin-ch'uan hou wu-shih kung-ch'en<sup>20</sup>  
[Campaign against Chin-ch'uan, 2nd series]

- |     |                  |                        |
|-----|------------------|------------------------|
| 1.  | Tu-erh chia      |                        |
| 2.  | Shu-ching-an     |                        |
| 3.  | Udai             |                        |
| 4.  | Ka-t'a-pu        |                        |
| 5.  | Cha-erh-sang     |                        |
| 6.  | Ma-erh-chan      |                        |
| 7.  | A-erh-su-na      |                        |
| 8.  | Po-ling-a        |                        |
| 9.  | Ch'ang Ching     | Hu 481                 |
| 10. | Niu T'ien-pi     |                        |
| 11. | Ming-jen         |                        |
| 12. | Ufu              |                        |
| 13. | Liu Kuo-liang    |                        |
| 14. | Pa-k'o-tan-pu    |                        |
| 15. | P'ei Shen        |                        |
| 16. | Ma Piao          |                        |
| 17. | Ch'ang Lu-pao    |                        |
| 18. | Liang Ch'ao-kuei |                        |
| 19. | Ling-shan        |                        |
| 20. | Sung-an          | Portrait in Heidelberg |
| 21. | San-te           |                        |
| 22. | Liu Hui-tsu      |                        |
| 23. | Chang Ai         |                        |
| 24. | Na-mu-cha        |                        |
| 25. | Chin Ts'ai-shih  |                        |
| 26. | Ilibu            | Hu 387                 |
| 27. | Tai Shen-pao     |                        |
| 28. | Muhana           | P                      |
| 29. | Urtunasun        | Portrait in Hamburg    |
| 30. | Fu-ning          |                        |
| 31. | Ming-shan        |                        |
| 32. | I-shih           |                        |
| 33. | Pa-ta-ma         |                        |
| 34. | K'u-erh-te       |                        |
| 35. | A-lan-pao        |                        |

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*. V, 4.

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 36. | Amantai  |  |
| 37. | Hsin-tsa-su  |  |
| 38. | Fu-erh-sai   |  |
| 39. | O-erh-po-k'o   |  |
| 40. | Aisingga   | Hu 898                                     |
| 41. | Pu-ya-sa   |  |
| 42. | Hsü Shih-heng  | Hu 681                                     |
| 43. | Ku-hsing   |  |
| 44. | Giyamz'an namk'a   | Portrait in Heidelberg                     |
| 45. | Yung-chung-wa-erh-chieh  |  |
| 46. | Yamantar   | Portrait in Berlin                         |
| 47. | Jorgiyamz'an   | Portrait in Berlin                         |
| 48. | Ajungboo   | Portrait in Berlin                         |
| 49. | Mutar  | Portrait in Berlin                         |
| 50. | Yung-chung-erh-chieh   |  |
|     |  |  |
| V.  | P'ing-ting T'ai-wan erh-shih kung-ch'en <sup>21</sup><br>[Campaign against Taiwan] |  |
| 1.  | Agôï   |  |
| 2.  | Heßen  | Hu 288                                     |
| 3.  | Wang Chieh   | Hu 137                                     |
| 4.  | Fukanggan  |  |
| 5.  | Hailanca   |  |
| 6.  | Fu-ch'ang-an   | Hu 249                                     |
| 7.  | Tung Kao   | Hu 791                                     |
| 8.  | Li Shih-yao  | Hu 480                                     |
| 9.  | Sun Shih-i   | Hu 680                                     |
| 10. | Hsü Szu-tseng  | Hu 571                                     |
| 11. | Ohôï   | 1/334/5b; 2/27/16b; 3/189/19a;<br>33/37/1a |
| 12. | Shu-liang  |  |
| 13. | P'u-erh-p'u  |  |
| 14. | Chien-yung baturu Ts'ai P'an-lung  | 1/334/3a; 3/295/35a; 33/77/3a              |
| 15. | Fen-yung baturu Liang Ch'ao-kuei   | 1/334/3b; 3/293/29a                        |
| 16. | Chien-yung baturu Hsü Shih-heng  | Hu 681                                     |
| 17. | Fen-t'u-li baturu Mukdengga  | 2/27/23a; 3/301/13a; 33/27/16a             |

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*. V, 5.

18. Cha-tun-pa baturu Chang Chih-yüan  
 19. Ch'ung-chieh baturu P'u-chi-pao 1/334/4b; 3/296/33a; 33/26/17b  
 20. Mutar Portrait in Berlin

VI. P'ing-ting K'o-erh-k'a shih-wu kung-ch'en t'u<sup>22</sup>  
 [Campaign against the Gurkhas]

1. Fukanggan  
 2. Agöi  
 3. Heßen  
 4. Wang Chieh  
 5. Sun Shih-i  
 6. Hailanca  
 7. Fucanggan  
 8. Tung Kao  
 9. Ch'ing Kuei Hu 927  
 10. Ho-lin Hu 286  
 11. Hui-ling Hu 69  
 12. La-pu-k'ai baturu T'ai-fei-ying-a P; 1/340/10a; 3/356/39a  
 13. Horonggo baturu Eldemboo P; Hu 222  
 14. Cha-nu baturu Amantai P; 1/340/10b; 3/356/44a  
 15. Saisangga baturu Cengde cf. II 50720

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan*. Reprint, p. 5297; *Kao-tsung ch'un-huang-ti shih-lu*. 1002/39a (Repr. 14746); 1007/19b (Repr. 14844).

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