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

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 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: “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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1 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).

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 cam-
paigns 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:3 “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 Offi-
ciern und Beamten, die durch glänzende Waffenthaten oder außerordent-
liche Thätigkeit zum Erfolge besonders beygetragen hatten, aufstellen. Nach
dem hat man an den Mauern auch die Gemälde 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 Offi-
ciern und Beamten, die sich in diesem ausgezeichnet hatten, alle, Portraits

3 Quoted after Plath 1830, 860.
und Gemälde, von europäischen Mahlern 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 — $2 \times 50$ 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 imperial 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.”\(^4\) Three drafts for this series drawn by charcoal-cràpen 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.\(^5\)

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.\(^6\) 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 cavalry is missing, except a single warrior who is standing beside his fallen horse and is shooting an

\(^{4}\) Bernard 1943, 438.
\(^{5}\) Fuchs 1939, 116–124.
\(^{6}\) 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.
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.

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). 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. According to Bushell lacquer versions were also prepared from the Eastern Turkestan series.

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. 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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7 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).


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

10 MÜNSTERBERG 1912, 435–438.

11 BUSHELL Chinese art, ed. 1921, I, 119.

12 Cf. WALKRAVENs 2001, 79–94.
The Veritable Records\textsuperscript{13} 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 Agôi [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 Museunggak 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”\textsuperscript{14}.

While this note refers to the Jinchuan campaign, the imperial reference indicates clearly that Agôi 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\textsuperscript{15} 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).

\textsuperscript{13} Shilu 984/6a-b, of July 2nd, 1775.
\textsuperscript{14} Translation after Fuchs 1944, 101–122.
which were the models for the hanging scrolls.\textsuperscript{16} There also handscrolls with Chinese eulogies only which represent the intermediary stage between oil paintings and hanging scrolls.\textsuperscript{17}

Besides brave officers and generals also the leaders of the Torguts who returned from Russia to China and those of the Dörbed were painted.\textsuperscript{18}

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, \textit{Rixia jiuwenkao} (24/2a-b) says: “Towards the East and the West of the two woodcarved imperial aphorisms (dulian), 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”.\textsuperscript{19}

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.”

\textsuperscript{16} WALRAVENS 1997, 401–423.
\textsuperscript{17} For details see WALRAVENS 2012.
\textsuperscript{19} According to FUCHS 1944, 104.
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.\textsuperscript{20}

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, printed in 1772. 172 juan — Jun gar-i ba be necihyeme 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:\textsuperscript{21}

Pingding Jungaer leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihyeme toktobuha babe Ili bade ejeme ilibuhu eldengge wehei bithe.
Quadriglacial inscription. Jehol: Puningsi 1755.

Pingding Jungaer hou leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihyeme toktobuha sirame Ili bade ejeme ilibuhu eldengge wehei bithe.
Quadriglacial inscription. Jehol: Puningsi 1758.

Pingding Jungaer leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihyeme toktobuha babe Ili bade ejeme ilibuhu 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 necihyeme toktobuji gurun-i tacikô de gungge mutebuhe jalin ilibure eldengge wehei bithe.
Bilingual inscription. Peking: Guozijian 1759.

\textsuperscript{20} Pelliot 1921, 183–274; Fuchs 1939.

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. 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 [Agōi] 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
Jalingga & \text{ Gin cuwan-i hōlha} \\
Jalan & \text{ halame ehe yabuha} \\
Jabsan & \text{ de Manju cooha ofi} \\
Jabdunggala & \text{ hōdun gisabuha.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \textit{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 \textit{Qianlong shisanpai ditu} 十三排地圖 which paid special attention to the newly acquired areas. The map was a follow-up to

\textsuperscript{22} \textsc{Amiot} 1792. \textsc{Cf. also Walravens 2015, 209–219.}
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.  

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 tongwen*zhì,* and had the quadrilingual Manchu Mirror (dictionary) extended by another language (Uigur) to form the *Wuti Qingwenjian* 五體清文鑒 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.

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”

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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".26

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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Pl. 1
Portrait of the Qianlong emperor in court attire. N. d. (after 1773).
(Quoted from China: The three emperors. London 2005.)
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).
“The Vice Commander of the Avantgarde, the Careful Hero Yanjimboo” 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 hade.
aburi ehe hòlha somiha.
amcame ibefi yeru be efulefi.
ambarame šancin be tuwa sindaha.
Jun gar-i habe neciiyeme tokotoluha bodogon-i bithe, jingkini banjihun.
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).
Pl. 8

Qinding xiyu tongwenzi 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.)