

Abolishment and Reestablishment of Cheli Xuanweishi in the 1770s: How Qing China Dealt with the Escape and Resubmission of the Family of the Supreme Ruler of Sipsongpanna

Kumiko KATO

This paper discusses how Qing China dealt with the incident in which the family of Cheli Xuanweishi, or the supreme ruler of a Tai state called Sipsongpanna, fled to Burmese territory in 1773 and returned to Sipsongpanna in 1777. It shows the changing thoughts of the emperor about conducting ‘gaituguiliu’ 改土歸流, which refers to the sending of regular officials, rather than native chiefs, to control the area.

The emperor, along with the high-ranking officials in Yunnan, might have preferred ‘gaituguiliu’ if conditions allowed, but easily gave it up when facing difficulties. In addition, the Qianlong Emperor did not seem to view the *tusi* 土司 system negatively. If the system worked well, he did not need to remove native officials. On the other hand, there seemed to be an unchangeable idea about native officials, or native chiefs appointed as Chinese officials. That is, they were not allowed to leave their assigned region.

Keywords: Qing China, Sipsongpanna, Cheli, Qianlong, gaituguiliu

1. Introduction

This paper discusses how Qing China dealt with the incident in which the family of Cheli Xuanweishi 車里宣慰使, or the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna, fled to Burmese territory in 1773 and returned to Sipsongpanna in 1777. It further shows the changing thoughts of the emperor about conducting ‘gaituguiliu’ 改土歸流 in Sipsongpanna, which refers to the sending of regular officials, rather than native chiefs, to control the area.

Sipsongpanna was a Tai state at the southernmost part of present-day Yunnan Province of China¹ and consisted of approximately 30 small Tai states called *moeng* (*muang*). The lord of Moeng Cheng Hung also held the position of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna. He was given official titles by both the Chinese and Burmese dynasties. The Chinese title in the Qing period was Cheli Xuanweishi, referring to the head of a Chinese office entitled Cheli Xuanweishi 車里宣慰司.

In previous papers, I discussed how Qing China’s view of Sipsongpanna had been changing by 1768. In the northern part of Sipsongpanna, Qing China established Pu’er Fu 普洱府 in 1729 and Simao Ting 思茅庁 in 1735 under Pu’er Fu. Sipsongpanna then came under the control of Pu’er Fu and Simao Ting². In addition, Tai lords in Sipsongpanna were appointed as native military officers at the end of the 1720s [Kato 1997, 2015]. From that time, Qing China recognised Sipsongpanna as the ‘interior,’ or *neidi* 內地.

In fact, Sipsongpanna was also a tributary state of Burma, as well as the other Tai states in southernmost Yunnan, the eastern Shan States of Myanmar, and northern Thailand were. However, such relationships might have been unimaginable, or unacceptable, for Qing China until the mid-

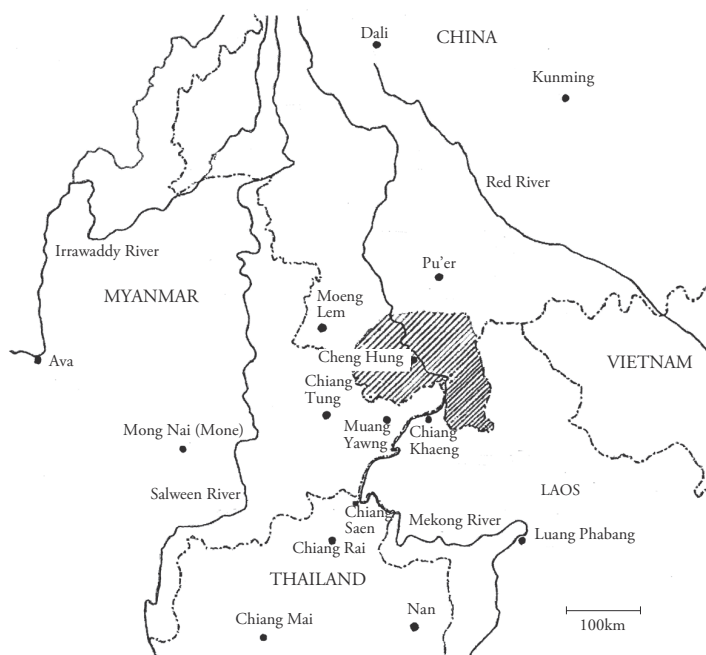


Fig. 1: Map around Sipsongpanna

The shaded area indicates present-day Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture
 -----: borders between present-day nation states

18th century. Qing China's view toward Sipsongpanna and the Tai states gradually changed from 1765 to 1768. In 1765, Konbaung Burma sent troops to Sipsongpanna and captured Cheng Hung, the capital city of Sipsongpanna, where Cheli Xuanweishi was located. China had no choice but to send troops to Sipsongpanna and fought against Burmese troops because the place governed by Cheli Xuanweishi was considered the 'interior.' The war between Qing China and Konbaung Burma lasted a few years after that. Through the war, Qing China obtained a great deal of information about the Tai states, including about their relationships with Burma. [Kato 2022]

Thereafter, Qing China seemed to change its policy, giving Sipsongpanna tacit approval to continue giving tribute to Burma and obtaining titles as lords of vassal states from Burma. However, Qing China also continued to appoint the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna as Cheli Xuanweishi and to treat Sipsongpanna as the 'interior.' This concept of 'interior' led to a prohibition against *neiti* 内地土司, or interior native officials, moving out to the 'exterior.'

Nevertheless, Cheli Xuanweishi at that time fled to Burmese territory with his family in 1773. How did Qing China deal with the incident? Four years later, in 1777, Cheli Xuanweishi and some of his family members returned to Sipsongpanna and resubmitted to Qing China. In that case, how did Qing China treat them? In this paper, I will discuss these questions in relation to Qing's idea of 'gaituguilu.'

To conduct this research, I plan to use the articles of the veritable records of the Qing, or the *Qing Shilu* 清实录, and a confidential report by government officials to the throne, or *zouzhe* 奏摺,

the main historical sources³. The discussion will be conducted generally chronologically.

2. Cheli Xuanweishi's escape in 1773

Cheli Xuanweishi, who fled to Burmese territory in 1773, had the Chinese name of Dao Weiping 刀維屏 and the Tai name of Chao Namphung. The former Cheli Xuanweishi, Dao Shaowen 刀紹文, had several sons. Dao Weiping, Dao Chaoting 刀召序, and Dao Shiwan 刀士宛⁴ were the first, second, and fourth sons⁵, respectively. Dao Shaowen was dismissed from office on the day of Bingwu in the twelfth month of Qianlong 31, or 10 January 1767, on the grounds that he was insufficient for the job [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 774]. This probably means that Dao Shaowen could not contribute to the Qing-Burma War. Dao Weiping succeeded his father, but it was not until 1772 that he was officially appointed as Cheli Xuanweishi [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 910]. The escape happened in the following year.

The first news concerning Dao Weiping's escape probably reached the throne in the first half of the fourth month of Qianlong 38. A *Qing Shilu* article from the sixteenth day of the fourth month of Qianlong 38, or 5 June 1773, writes that Zhang Bao 彰宝, who was the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou 雲貴總督 at that time, sent a report to the emperor as shown below. At first, zhendao 鎮道⁶ reported to Zhang Bao that Dao Weiping crossed the river to seek information and for protection because there were signs of bandits hiding 'outside' the river and that dozens of bandits had entered the house of Dao Weiping at night, so he escaped with his family. Another report said that the bandits came from Moeng Long⁷ to Jiulong Jiang 九龍江 and that Dao Weiping crossed the river with his soldiers and stayed with the bandits.

'The river' here probably means the Mekong River. Jiulong Jiang was the Chinese name of the Mekong River around Sipsongpanna, but here, it is referring to the place where Cheli Xuanweishi was located. Cheli Xuanweishi at that time was probably located on the east bank of the Mekong River because they crossed the river to escape 'outside'; this refers to the west bank of Mekong River.

In the same article, in response to Zhang Bao's reports, the speech of the emperor is shown below. Dao Weiping should not have left the land that he was required to protect as his duty because he had been appointed as a *tusi*, or native official. Granted, he escaped because his father, Dao Shaowen, had forced him to do so; this cannot explain the reason why Dao Weiping was staying with the bandits.

An article from the eighteenth day of the fourth month of Qianlong 38, which was recorded two days later, writes that Lihu 李湖, who was the governor of Yunnan 雲南巡撫 at that time, sent a report to the emperor. It says that Tang Yiheng 唐辰衡, who was the head of Yinan Dao 迤南道⁸, had reported to Lihu that there were no signs of bandits either 'inside' or 'outside' of the Jiulong Jiang River 江内外 and also transmitted information from a native chief as shown below. Around the time when lamps were lit, Dao Chaoting, who was a little brother of Dao Weiping, came to the riverbank with about twenty or thirty people with the intention to cross the river. He explained that he was planning to visit the former xuanweishi⁹. Soon after that, Dao Weiping, Chao Moengnai, who was the husband of Dao Weiping's niece, and Dao Weiping's wives and children got on the boat with their luggage, and they crossed the river. After some time, dozens of people came to fire

the houses of Dao Weiping, Dao Chaoting, and Chao Moengnai and said that bandits had come. That was why the chief and other people escaped. Afterward, the chief asked about the bandits, but no one saw the bandits. They say that Dao Weiping continued on through Moeng Long. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 933]

The emperor judged by this report that Dao Weiping had secretly escaped with his family and relatives under the pretext of facing bandits. The emperor said that Dao Weiping was not only the chief of the thirteen *tusi* 十三土司¹⁰ but had also been given ‘haozhiyinxin 号紙印信,’ or a letter of appointment and the official seal. The emperor also called Dao Weiping ‘neiti *tusi*’ 內地土司, or an interior native official, and said that he bore more blame than he would with a normal abandonment of office because he had fled with his family and relatives suddenly even though he was ‘neiti *tusi*.’ The emperor then commanded that Dao Weiping be arrested and questioned so that he could give an account of the affair. Regarding the post of Cheli Xuanweishi, the emperor made an order for an honest and allegiant person to succeed the post.

In short, the emperor thought that Dao Weiping should be blamed because he had left the land of Cheli even though he had been appointed as a native official with a letter of appointment and the official seal. At this stage, the emperor did not think about abolishing Cheli Xuanweishi but only put forth an order for a suitable person to be chosen to succeed the post.

3. The emperor’s reaction after learning about the background of Cheli Xuanweishi’s escape

A *Qing Shilu* article from the twenty-third day of the fourth month of Qianlong 38, which was five days later than the day of the article mentioned above, writes about another of Zhang Bao’s reports to the throne explaining Cheli Xuanweishi’s escape as follows:

In winter of the previous year, Sun Erkui 孫爾桂, who held *zongbing* 總兵¹¹, had once tied Dao Chaoting up with a rope because there was an insufficient number of native soldiers. Therefore, Dao Chaoting bore a grudge and forced his father and elder brother to relinquish the office and escape. In addition, Chao Moengnai also seized this opportunity to incite them to escape. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 933]

After learning about the origin of this incident, the emperor said that Dao Chaoting was more to blame and should be arrested, along with Dao Weiping, and seriously punished. The emperor also dismissed Sun Erkui and Tang Yiheng because, after tying Dao Chaoting up, they released him and allowed him to stay at the original place that was in a remote region. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 933]

On the same day, the emperor also gave his opinions about who should succeed the position of Cheli Xuanweishi. He was not able to entrust the post of Cheli Xuanweishi to the family of ‘Dao,’ or the family of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna. The governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou was instructed to choose a candidate from all of the *tusis*, or the native chiefs appointed as Chinese officials, and let him temporarily manage the jobs of Cheli Xuanweishi. During that time, an honest and loyal man had to be chosen carefully, and after matters would come to end, the person would be appointed as a new Cheli Xuanweishi. The family of Dao were not to be chosen, and close relatives were also inappropriate for the post. In addition, suspicious people among them

had to be moved to 'neiti', or the 'interior'¹², on this occasion. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 933]

Concerning the post of Cheli Xuanweishi, the emperor said that the family of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna must not be chosen. However, the emperor did not want to abolish the post yet. He added that an honest and loyal man who was carefully chosen would be appointed as a new Cheli Xuanweishi. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 933]

4. The plan to abolish Cheli Xuanweishi and establish a new 'ying'

The next month, the emperor changed his mind about what to do with the Cheli Xuanweishi post.

From an article from the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month of Qianlong 38, or 18 July 1773, we can see that Zhang Bao, or the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou, had sent a letter to the throne asking for the post of Cheli Xuanweishi to be abolished and for a new ying 營, or military unit, with dushi 都司 and shoubei 守備 who would move there from other places as military officers, to be established. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 935]

The emperor agreed with Zhang Bao's idea and gave his opinion as shown below. The Cheli Xuanweishi position had been succeeded for four generations since the official seal and the appointment letter were given and the position was established when they had sworn allegiance to the Qing with their people. Dao Shaowen, who was Cheli Xuanweishi when Burmese bandits (mangfei 莽匪) attacked, was dismissed because he was weak and incompetent and because he had fled. Nonetheless, his son, Dao Weiping succeeded the position as a special favour. However, Dao Weiping fled from the place without reason. His family should never succeed the position of Cheli Xuanweishi. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 935]

The emperor also referred to Tai lords of the other major moengs of Sipsongpanna, who were appointed as native officers, as shown below. None of the native officers of 'the twelve moengs 十二猛'¹³ had ever been given the official seal and an appointment letter, so if one of them was chosen to succeed Cheli Xuanweishi, others would not want to be under control of him. Therefore, Cheli Xuanweishi must be abolished and a new ying must be established. It was suitable for the conditions of the frontier to move officers such as dushi to the ying for protection and for controlling the twelve native officers.

From the above historical source, it can be seen that the emperor decided to abolish Cheli Xuanweishi. However, he did not intend to do an ordinary 'gaituguliu,' that is, to establish a new administrative unit and send civil service officials to control the area. He rather intended to establish a new military unit to control Sipsongpanna.

Another measure for the Tai native chiefs in Sipsongpanna was to move suspicious persons to 'neidi,' or the 'interior'¹⁴. As mentioned above, on the twenty-third day of the fourth month of Qianlong 38, the emperor said that suspicious people among the family of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna and its close relatives had to be moved to the 'interior'. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 933] In addition, a *Qing Shilu* article from the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of Qianlong 39, or 6 August 1774, says as shown below. Twelve Tai chiefs had sworn allegiance in Qianlong 31 and 32. However, Chao Moengnai, which was one of the twelve Tai chiefs, incited Dao Weiping, and they fled together in Qianlong 38. In addition, another Tai chief

also ran away in Qianlong 39. In response to these events, the emperor ordered four Tai chiefs to be moved to Jiangxi 江西, from which they were not able to easily flee. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 961]

5. The emperor's reaction to the return of Dao Weiping and Dao Shiwan in 1776

An *Qing Shilu* article from twenty-eighth day of the third month of Qianlong 41, or 15 May 1776, which is almost three years after the emperor's order to establish the ying, includes a description about the return of Dao Weiping as shown below. Tu Side 图思德, who was the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou at that time, sent a report to the throne that Dao Weiping and his younger brother, Dao Shiwan, repented of having done wrong and voluntarily returned. According to Tu, they submitted an official letter to ask to let them govern native people in the same way as before. Tu suggested holding Dao Weiping and Dao Shiwan as prisoners because doing so could probably summon Dao Chaoting and other fugitives. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 1005]

The emperor expressed his opinion to the suggestion as shown below. Cheli Tusi 车里土司, which means Cheli Xuanweisi, had experienced 'gaituguilu.' Dusi and shoubei were set up there with soldiers for protection. They had also long managed the twelve moengs. Therefore, the family of 'Dao,' or the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna, were not allowed to govern the native people as before. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 1005] This shows that the emperor did not want to restore Cheli Xuanweisi.

Regarding the treatment of Dao Weiping and Dao Shiwan, the emperor agreed with Tu and ordered them to be imprisoned in the capital city of Yunnan Province. He said that he would not put the brothers to death because they had already swore allegiance. The emperor also explained the situation as shown below. Dao Weiping had been to blame because he had abandoned the office and fled even though he had been an interior native official. However, he repented, returned, and swore allegiance, so the emperor showed generosity toward him. Dao Shiwan had been forced to flee as well, so he deserved sympathy. In addition, the emperor said that if he treated the brothers in this way and the native people found out, they would be deeply moved. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 1005]

6. Reestablishment of Cheli Xuanweisi in 1777

In the next year, however, the emperor decided to reestablish Cheli Xuanweisi in compliance with a petition from Yunnan. Concerning this, we can also see the original text of the zouzhe, or the confidential report to the throne. Here, I will analyse the report to find the reasons why Cheli Xuanweisi was restored.

The zouzhe was written by Agui 阿桂¹⁵ and Li Shiyao 李侍堯¹⁶ on the twenty-second day of the fifth month of Qianlong 42, or 26 June 1777. They asked the emperor to abolish Pu'an Ying 普安营, which was established in Qianlong 38 to govern Sipsongpanna, to move the soldiers of Pu'an Ying to other places, and to reestablish Cheli Xuanweisi. [Confidential report by Agui and Li Shiyao to the throne, in *Gong Zhong Dang Qianlong Chao Zouzhe*, vol. 38, p. 711] Their reasons can be generally classified into two groups.

The first reason regarded the officers and soldiers assigned to Pu'an Ying. They were at high risk of being affected with endemic diseases such as malaria¹⁷. At that time, it was believed that *zhang* 瘴 or *zhangqi* 瘴氣, or miasma, caused the endemic diseases. Agui and Li Shiyao said in the *zouzhe* that Pu'an Ying were facing furious *zhangqi*. They reported damages by the *zhangqi* as shown below. There had been two *dusi*¹⁸ killed by *zhangqi* for three years. Pu'an Ying originally had 400 soldiers, but every year, more than 100 soldiers were killed by *zhangqi*. Many of the surviving soldiers had also been affected and were worn out. Therefore, Pu'an Ying, completely lacking in soldiers and being located in an isolated area, were not able to effectively control the moengs of Sipsongpanna. Although there were vacancies for soldiers in Pu'an Ying, no one applied to fill the positions. Therefore, other soldiers had been moved from nearby yings. Recently, because they were scared to be moved to Pu'an Ying, few men had applied for the nearby yings. [Confidential report by Agui and Li Shiyao to the throne, in *Gong Zhong Dang Qianlong Chao Zouzhe*, vol. 38, p. 711]

The second reason concerned the native people of Sipsongpanna. Agui and Li Shiyao write the following in the *zouzhe*. *Liuguan* 流官, or officials despatched from the interior, were not able to control the native people of Sipsongpanna, who were communicating with people outside of Sipsongpanna. Only a hereditary *tusi* would be able to win the hearts of the native people. They had been governed by Dao's family for 24 generations. They were not able to forget Dao's family and thought about the past with nostalgia. [Confidential report by Agui and Li Shiyao to the throne, in *Gong Zhong Dang Qianlong Chao Zouzhe*, vol. 38, p. 711]

Agui and Li Shiyao also indicated that Jiulong Jiang was the 'gate' to controlling danger and protecting a strategic point, so it should be managed well. In addition, they were afraid that the native people would disturb the border area if no one controlled them well, but Pu'an Ying had already become useless by that time. They considered the situation and discussed it well, and, as a result, the following was suggested. They asked for Pu'an Ying to be abolished and to let the soldiers escape from the place with miasma and to reestablish the *xuanwei tusi* 宣慰土司, which means Cheli Xuanweisi, and let the native people be controlled by the *xuanwei tusi*. For the new *xuanweishi*, they recommended Dao Shiwan, because when Dao Shiwan had been intimidated by Chao Moengnai and fled across the river, he had thrown himself into the river, but the bandits pulled him up and tied him up to take. Afterward, Dao Shiwan had persuaded his elder brother and father to swear allegiance to the interior and had submitted to punishment. Compared to other native people, Dao Shiwan had obeyed the law, was afraid of committing a sin, and never forgot a favour. Therefore, he was also trusted by the people. [Confidential report by Agui and Li Shiyao to the throne, in *Gong Zhong Dang Qianlong Chao Zouzhe*, vol. 38, pp. 711–712]

According to a *Qing Shilu* article from eleventh day of the sixth month, the emperor accepted the petition completely. [*Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu* vol. 1034] Thus, Pu'an Ying was abolished and Cheli Xuanweisi was reestablished.

7. Conclusion

Regarding the individual Tai chiefs of Sipsongpanna, the emperor probably thought that those who fled Chinese territory should be punished and those who might flee in the future should be moved to the interior in advance to prevent them from leaving. This was especially true for native officials

formally appointed by China, who must not leave their assigned region. The emperor thought that Dao Weiping should be blamed because he left his assigned region, even though he had been formally appointed as Cheli Xuanweishi. When Dao Weiping and Dao Shiwan returned and swore allegiance again, they were accordingly imprisoned at the capital of Yunnan. This was a consistent belief until at least the first half of the nineteenth century. [Kato 2006: 38 (note 62)]

However, concerning the position of Cheli Xuanweishi, the emperor often changed his mind. When the emperor was first informed about Dao Weiping's escape, his only order was to choose a suitable person to succeed Cheli Xuanweishi. Next, after learning of the background of the escape, the emperor decided not to choose a family member of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna but to choose a man who was not closely related to the family as a new Cheli Xuanweishi.

Then, following the suggestion by the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou, the emperor changed his mind and ordered Cheli Xuanweishi to be abolished and a new ying, or a military unit, to be established to govern Sipsongpanna. The reason was that if one of the native chiefs of Sipsongpanna were chosen to be Cheli Xuanweishi, the others would not obey him. It seems that the emperor gave a feasible explanation for this action. When Dao Weiping and Dao Shiwan returned and swore allegiance in 1776, the emperor rejected their wish to let them govern native people in the same way as before.

In 1777, after receiving a petition from Yunnan to abolish the ying and to reestablish Cheli Xuanweishi, the emperor changed his mind again. One reason was that endemic diseases had killed many people of the ying. Moreover, only a hereditary tusi was able to win the hearts of the native people, and officials despatched from the interior were not able to control the locals. After understanding the actual conditions, the emperor easily gave up the 'gaituguiliu.'

In short, the emperor, along with the high-ranking officials in Yunnan, might have preferred 'gaituguiliu' if conditions allowed, but easily gave it up when facing difficulties. In addition, the Qianlong Emperor did not seem to view the tusi system negatively. If the system worked well, he did not need to remove native officials. On the other hand, there seemed to be an unchangeable idea about native officials, or native chiefs appointed as Chinese officials. That is, they were not allowed to leave their assigned region.

Notes

- 1 Sipsongpanna existed until the 1950s. Most of the former Sipsongpanna belongs to the present-day Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture 西双版纳傣族自治州. It borders on Myanmar and Laos.
- 2 After Simao Ting was established under Pu'er Fu, Sipsongpanna was under the immediate control of Simao Ting.
- 3 I would like to thank Ms. Lili 李麗 for useful discussions about the readings.
- 4 The Tai pronunciation was Thaa Suwan.
- 5 The third son died young.
- 6 Zhendao might show Pu'er Zhen 普洱鎮 and Yinan Dao 迤南道.
- 7 Moeng Long is located near the present border between China and Myanmar.
- 8 From this description, it can be surmised that the report from zhendao in the previous article might be written by Tang Yiheng.
- 9 This means Dao Shaowen, who was the father of Dao Chaoting and his brothers.
- 10 The chief of the thirteen tusi means the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna.
- 11 This was one of the positions of high-ranking military officer.
- 12 The word 'neidi' in this context seems not to include Sipsongpanna. This seems to mean the places governed by Chinese officials, not by native chiefs.
- 13 This refers to the twelve powerful moengs other than Moeng Cheng Hung.

- 14 See note 12.
 15 Agui was a *daxueshi* 大學士, which was one of the highest positions at the imperial court of Qing China. He was in Yunnan to deal with the Burmese envoys at that time.
 16 Li Shiyao was the governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou at that time.
 17 Cang Ming's article discusses the influence of Malaria in Qing China's efforts to govern Sipsongpanna [Cang 2022].
 18 Dusi was the highest-ranking officer of the ying and the head of the ying.

References

<Historical Sources>

- Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi Shilu (Qing Shilu)* 『大清高宗純皇帝實錄』(清實錄)
Gong Zhong Dang Qianlong Chao Zouzhe 『宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺』(National Palace Museum, Taiwan 國立故宮博物院: 台灣)
Qingshibiliezhuàn 『清史列傳』
Qing Shi Gao 『清史稿』

<Others>

- Cang Ming 2022 'Qingchu Qingting dui Xishuangbanna de jingying ji yanzhang yingxiang' (in Chinese) ('The Influence of Malaria on Governing Xishuangbanna by the Central Government in Early Qing'), *Qingshi Yanjiu (The Qing Historical Journal)* 2022-1, pp. 125-134.
 Kato, Kumiko 1997 'Changes in Sipsongpanna in the Eighteenth Century: focusing on 1720s and 1730s', *The Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University. History* 43, pp. 1-18.
 ——— 2006 'Zyukyu seiki nakaba no Sipusonpanna to Ratanakosin cho: Muan pon no Mahachai no shogen kara' (in Japanese) ('Sipsongpanna and the Ratanakosin Dynasty in the Middle of the 19th Century: The Statement of Mahachai of Muang Phong'), *Nenpo Tai kenkyu (The Journal of Thai Studies)* 6, pp. 21-40.
 ——— 2015 'Qing China's View of Its Border and Territory in Southernmost Yunnan in the 1830s: Analyses of Historical Sources Concerning Sipsongpanna', *Journal of the School of Letters, Nagoya University* 11, pp. 1-18.
 ——— 2018 'Qing China's View of the Sipsongpanna in the 1720s', *The Journal of Graduate School of Humanities, Nagoya University* 1, pp. 167-176.
 ——— 2021 'Qing China's View of the Eastern Shan States and Northern Thailand in the Mid-eighteenth century', *The Journal of Graduate School of Humanities, Nagoya University* 4, pp. 313-324.
 ——— 2022 'Qing China's View of the Eastern Shan States and Northern Thailand in the 1760s', *The Journal of Graduate School of Humanities, Nagoya University* 5, pp. 235-249.

Appendix: Related articles in *Qing Shilu*

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百十 乾隆三十七年 六月 七日

以故湖廣永順府屬下崗土把總向梁佐子正暘、革職雲南車里土司刀紹文子維屏、各襲職。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百三十三 乾隆三十八年 四月 十六日

乾隆三十八年癸巳四月甲辰。諭軍機大臣等。彰寶奏。先據鎮道等報稱、車里宣慰土司刀維屏、因江外有匪類潛伏形跡、過江探聽堵禦。至夜有賊數十、擁入土司家內、刀維屏與其妻小即行逃避。又據稟報、賊匪係由猛籠潛至九龍江。其宣慰土司刀維屏、帶同土兵等過江。現與賊匪同在一處各等語。所報甚不明晰。刀維屏既係土司、焉肯棄其職守土地、挈眷潛逃。即或云、因其父協制、不能自安、亦何至轉與賊匪同在一處。若非降順緬匪安能與賊混處無別。其故殊不可解。至刀紹文、前因莽匪侵擾並不防禦輒即逃避、本係有罪之人、既已革退、即不應令其仍居故地。從前楊應琚所辦、原未妥協。且土職既令其子承襲并為換鑄印信另給號紙、尤不應復令其父在彼、以致把持滋事。今彰寶既已親往該處。自應查明妥辦。但現在正當瘴盛之時。斷不宜輕舉妄動。不但彰寶不可觸瘴而行、即孫爾桂為總兵中熟習邊情得力之員、亦不可冒昧輕往。下至弁兵等、又豈可使之與氣候嘗試。彰寶查明後、如有必須兵力整理之處、先行具摺奏聞。俟秋深瘴退時、再行酌辦。但此時不可豫洩機宜、使賊匪得以豫作準備。將此由六百里傳諭彰寶知之。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百三十三 乾隆三十八年 四月 十八日

諭軍機大臣等。據彰寶奏報、車里宣慰土司刀維屏攜眷逃出江外一摺、所奏情節未明。已傳諭彰寶、令其查辦。今據李湖奏、據迤南道唐辰衡續稟、查得江內外並無賊蹤。夷民安堵如故。惟土司刀維屏渡江未回。訊據該頭目等供稱、三月二十九日點燈時、刀維屏之弟刀召廳帶了二三十人到江邊叫船渡江、說來看老宣慰的。不多時、即同伊兄刀維屏、姪婿召猛乃等、同伊妻小行李、都搬上船過江去了。過了一刻、有數十人來到宣慰弟兄並召猛乃草堂子上放火、說有賊來了。我們躲避。過後打聽、總未目見賊匪。聞得刀維屏由猛籠一路前去等語。竟係刀維屏等、假張賊勢、攜眷潛逃、已無疑義。

較彰寶昨日之奏、頗為明晰。閱李湖摺內稱、四月初四日、始接唐辰衡此稟、隨於初六日拜摺具奏。普洱距省城

較永昌為近。是彰寶所奏、尚未接到該道續稟、故未能得其詳要。但刀維屏係十三土司之長、且給有號紙印信。因何無端攜眷脫逃、其故殊不可解。若云為其父刀紹文率制窘迫不得已而逃避、亦應赴內地籲訴、不宜徑往賊境。尤出情理之外。總之刀維屏為內地土司、忽而攜眷竄逸。較逃官之罪尤重。即應拏獲、訊明確情、在該處正法示眾。其父刀紹文、若有滋事不法之處、亦即拘拏治罪。另擇誠妥恭順之人、襲替宣慰土司之職。方為妥善。彰寶現已馳往該處。即著查明妥協辦理。仍即將查辦情由迅速覆奏。將此由六百里發往、李湖摺鈔寄彰寶閱看、並諭李湖知之。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百三十三 乾隆三十八年 四月 二十三日

又諭。前據彰寶奏、車里宣慰土司刀維屏、忽爾攜眷潛逃。其故殊不可解。因彰寶已馳赴普洱、諭令就近查辦。並以時當盛瘴、不宜輕舉妄動。即總兵孫爾桂、下至弁兵等、亦不宜冒瘴而行。設有必須兵力整理之處、只應俟秋深瘴退時、再為酌辦。今據彰寶奏到、查明此事緣由、因刀維屏軟弱無能、其弟刀召廳為人強悍。去冬孫爾桂等巡查隘口、曾以土練缺少將刀召廳網綁、因而懷怨生讐、挾制父兄棄職悖逃。復有呂猛乃、於中乘隙恣逞所致。該鎮孫爾桂、疑其潛出外夷、意欲加調官兵直入夷境追拏。此時瘴氣正盛兵力易疲、已飭各土境搜捕。如果無獲、即將官兵撤回九龍江防守、俟秋冬瘴退、另行妥籌再辦等語。與朕前降諭旨甚合。此亦只宜如此辦理。但刀維屏、以內地土司敢於棄職悖逃、法當擒治。而刀召廳釀禍情罪更為可惡、尤當加緊搜捕重懲以申憲典。至孫爾桂、唐辰衡、於去冬巡查邊地、既見刀召廳所屬土練缺少、即有應得之罪。自應將伊拘回內地訊明懲治、方合制馭邊夷之道。乃僅循網嚇之虛文、旋即釋放。且仍留之邊地、致令無所顧忌滋擾事端。孫爾桂等原辦此案甚屬乖謬、其罪均難輕道。唐辰衡著革職。留於滇省自備資斧効力、聽候差委。孫爾桂著革職。拔去所賞花翎、暫留總兵之任、責令將刀維屏、刀召廳等上緊緝拏。如能速行擒獲、即著彰寶奏聞請旨。若經久不獲、則孫爾桂尤當從重治罪。亦俟臨時再行參奏。候旨遵行。至彰寶身任總督、邊陲諸務理宜時刻留心查察。該鎮道等、去年如此妄行貽患、彰寶豈竟毫無見聞、乃並未飭令嚴密周防、又未早為據實參劾、殊屬不合。彰寶並著交部議處。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百三十三 乾隆三十八年 四月 二十三日

諭軍機大臣等。本日彰寶奏到、查明刀維屏攜眷潛逃、係由刀召廳與呂猛乃挾制逼令所致、並將不能先事豫防之孫爾桂、唐辰衡參奏一摺、已明降諭旨矣。摺內所稱、先飭該鎮於各土境搜捕、如果無獲即將官兵撤回九龍江、分布要隘防守、切勿觸瘴輕入、仍一面設法、探聽刀維屏寓在下落、俟秋冬瘴退時另行妥籌等語。所辦尚協機宜。與朕前降諭旨適合。至所稱該土司印信號紙曾否帶去、現在嚴查、并車里宣慰土司員空缺、飭該道等、先於鄰近土弁內選擇、委令暫管一節、殊屬非是。車里土司為十三猛之長、其員缺關係緊要。舊土司刀紹文、因前此莽匪滋擾時、不肯出力防禦、輒行逃遁、久經革退。今刀維屏承襲以來、又軟弱無能。至任其弟逼迫逃竄。而刀召廳更頑劣不服教化、並逼其父兄遠竄過江、尤屬有罪之人。是刀姓一門、弱者無用、強者跳梁。豈可令其復管土職。該督現既馳赴普洱查辦此案。自當就近傳齊各土司、於中揀擇一員、令其暫管車里土司事務。并留心慎選誠妥恭順之人、於將來事竣後、令其襲替。所有刀姓族裔、斷不可用。其近派尤非所宜。至其中有可疑者、皆宜趁此機會、遷之內地。庶永靖邊陲、此事豈該道等所能辦理。況唐辰衡、既據該督參奏離任、安能復令其議辦此事。而質長庚甫經陞署道缺、即使星馳赴任、而初到諸事未諳、豈能選委。不知該督奏請交該道等查辦之處、所指何人、殊不可解。彰寶平日尚屬曉事、何近來錯謬日形、一至於此。彰寶著傳旨申飭。所有車里宣慰司事務、仍著該督先於土司中、詳慎選擇一人、奏令代管。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百三十四 乾隆三十八年 五月 四日

又諭。前據彰寶奏、車里宣慰土司刀維屏、及其弟刀召廳等、挈眷潛逃。由於孫爾桂、唐辰衡、去歲查邊時、明知刀召廳不法、並未拘回懲治、僅用虛文網嚇、旋即釋放、致令懷怨滋事。辦理殊屬乖謬。已降旨將唐辰衡革職、留滇効力。孫爾桂革職、拔去花翎、暫留總兵之任、責令將刀維屏等、上緊緝拏。如經久不獲、即著彰寶參奏、從重治罪矣。今據孫爾桂奏到、刀維屏等挈眷叛逃及追搜至猛籠各情形一摺、僅敘道將等現在札稟緣由、而於該鎮等查邊辦理不善滋生事端之處、並無一語提及。殊屬取巧失實。且摺內既稱遍查各猛夷民安堵如故、又稱其地夷民果有驚慌躲避山箐、當即招回等語。前後自相矛盾、亦屬深染綠營惡習。此等邊地土司、棄職逃竄、自應擒捕治罪。然究屬不成事體。已交彰寶查辦、仍令其妥協辦理。孫爾桂著再交部嚴加議處。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百三十五 乾隆三十八年 五月 二十九日

又諭。據彰寶奏、請將車里宣慰土司缺裁汰、於其地改設專營、移駐都司守備、撥兵巡防等因一摺、所見甚是。車里土司設立之初、原因其率土投誠、頒給印信號紙、授以宣慰之職、遞傳四輩。前此莽匪滋擾、該土司刀紹文、懦弱無能躲避獲罪、雖經革退、仍令其子承襲、已屬格外施恩。今刀維屏無故棄地潛逃、實係自行滅絕。斷不應令其再襲。並據該督查、十二猛各土職、俱非頒給印信號紙土司、若於此內選擇一人陞襲、未必違背受其鈐制。自應將車里宣慰司即行裁汰、改設專營。移駐都司等官帶兵鎮守、兼轄十二土弁、於邊境夷情更為得要。且於高壞瘴輕之地、建立衙署營房、自不慮其沾染瘴癘。而近邊千把兵丁與彼水土素習、較由他處撥往者自更相安。即所需移駐之守備都司、亦可擇各員中之能耐瘴氣者前往。酌定年分輪換、於事尤為有益。況前有宣慰土職時、內地兵役常往勒索。近經彰寶查明、俱即正法。此後兵丁等、自更知畏懼。而有專營大員在彼駐守、其於彈壓稽查亦必倍加嚴密、無慮復有擾累土境之事。至該土司所屬夷民、或可仿照川省屯兵之例、量給口糧、令其一體當差防守。伊等自必共知感奮出力。所有安營設官、及酌改屯兵各事宜、並著彰寶詳悉妥議具奏。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之九百六十一 乾隆三十九年 六月 二十九日

署雲貴總督覺羅圖思德、雲南巡撫李湖奏。查乾隆三十一二兩年、召彝手、召關喃、召丙、召猛乃、叭護猛、召猛齋、召那花、召那賽、美管猛、叭先捧、叭豸、召罕彪等、先後進內投誠、當即分別安插。乃上年召猛乃、竟誘同土司刀維屏遁。本年召彝手等又復潛逃。則凡外夷內附之人、均不可信。查現在各土弁內、除召猛齋、召那花、

召那賽、羨管猛等、安插省城、尚皆安分。惟召丙、叭先捧、叭豸、召罕彪等四戶、在寧洱縣屬、清水河等處安插。該處逼近夷境、恐又為召拿手等之續。應請照內地土司有犯軍流等罪者遷徙江西等省安插之例、將召丙等四戶發往江西、交地方官嚴行管束。得旨。如所議行。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之一千五 乾隆四十一年 三月 二十八日

又諭。據圖思德奏、車里逃夷刁維屏等、悔罪自歸一摺、內稱、刁維屏弟兄過江爭迎饋食、並公呈乞留仍管夷眾等情、可否將刁維屏、刁士宛暫行羈禁、令其招致刁召廳等各犯、以完塵案等語。車里土司、業經改土歸流、添設都司守備、設兵駐守、兼轄十二猛、相安已久。豈可以夷民乞留、即令刁姓復管其眾。此與國體有關。但刁維屏兄弟、既已投歸、祇可貸其一死、在省城按察司監牢固監禁。竟當作圖思德之意。諭以刁維屏本係內地土司棄職潛逃、本應立正典刑以彰國法、念其悔罪投歸、姑予網開一面。至刁士宛、隨從同逃、於法亦難未減、因其被人網劫、且曾有投河一節、尚可矜原。均從寬免死、在省監禁。此即本部堂仰體大皇帝法外之仁、爾弟兄當倍加感激。如此辦理、眾夷人聞知、亦必共知感畏。至刁紹文、本係無足重輕之人、無庸緝捕。如彼自行投回、亦可照刁維屏兄弟一例辦理。至其餘隨逃之眾、并可聽其自然。其來與不來、皆無關緊要也。將此由五百里諭令知之。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之一千七 乾隆四十一年 四月 二十五日

又諭。今日據圖思德由驛遞到四百里奏函、朕初意以為或係邊地要務、及拆函披閱、乃係巡閱營伍、順道辦理凱旋兵丁事宜、并景海、整欠夷役出境日期、此等俱屬尋常事件。即覆奏曉諭刁維屏一摺、係奏聞業已遵旨辦理、並無緊要應辦之處。自應專差齎奏、何以擅行由驛馳遞。圖思德、殊不知事體輕重。至所稱一面提出刁維屏等、宣示恩旨、一面飛檄該鎮道府等、曉示夷眾、如刁紹文聞信投回、即解赴省城一例辦理等語、更不曉事。刁維屏兄弟前此投回內地、不過希冀仍為土司管事。今既將刁維屏解至省城拘禁、且將辦理原委曉諭夷眾。刁紹文聞之、必不肯復行來投。此事理之顯而易見者。圖思德、何竟見不到此耶。圖思德、著傳旨申飭。

高宗純皇帝實錄 卷之一千三十四 乾隆四十二年 六月 十一日

軍機大臣議覆。大學士阿桂等奏稱、普安營瘴盛、兵丁等憚於派撥應募、且孤懸江上、不足控制各猛。請徹普安營、其景蒙移徙來兵、仍還本營。查思茅營近九龍江、城外廠地可設營。即將元江營移往兵二百十六名、添設該處、歸思茅營遊擊管轄。原造普安營署舍、甫建旋朽、其銀著承辦各員及各上司賠繳、以為添。蓋思茅營弁兵房署及擴修城垣之用等語、應如所請。仍令李侍堯、先行嚴估、撥項興建。又稱、刁氏管理車里夷眾、已二十四代、眾不能忘。自刁維屏棄職潛逃、曾委刁應達、暫管宣慰司、轉滋事故。查有同刁維屏投歸之刁士宛、尚知奉法畏罪。請賞給宣慰土司、管理車里地方、以靖各猛之心等語。亦應如所請。並將私莊八處、給刁士宛交納額賦。刁維屏仍舊監禁。從之。

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers JP16K03078 and JP21K00905.