

Some Notes by Sung-yün on the Administration of Tibet

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Sung-yün^[1] (1752—1835), a Mongol of Khortsin heritage belonging to the Mongol Plain Blue Banner, who was Imperial resident in Tibet from 1794 until 1799¹, has left some interesting notes on the administration of Tibet. The title of a Mongol translation of these notes which is known to us only, "composed by the Hsiang-p'u Sung-yün on a day of the mid-autumn month, Chia-ching 3 (1798), and translated into Mongol by *Qasbuu*"², is *Jen-fu či-i bičig*, which we assume to represent Chinese *Chen-fu shih-i*^[2].

Although there are a few works by Sung-yün known to deal with Tibetan affairs, e.g. the *Hsi-chao t'u-lüeh*^[3] and the *Hsi-tsang t'u-shuo*^[4]³ which together with three other works have been printed under the title *Chen-fu shih-i*^{4a}, as well as the detailed remarks on the support of the Tibetan population which in two chapters with a slightly similar title *Fu-hsü*^[5] have been incorporated into the 2nd edition of the *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*^[6] of 1896⁴, none of these seems to be of the same contents as the Mongol *Jen-fu či-i bičig*⁵ described here. These collection of notes on the handling of Tibetan affairs was apparently penned down by Sung-yün shortly before having been recalled from his post in Tibet for becoming governor-general of Shensi and Kansu in 1799.

¹ HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing-Period*, II, 691—692.

² Ms. Mong. 198, 44 fol., Chinese double-leaf book, 25 : 27 cm, Royal Library Copenhagen, 1 v.: *Sayisiyaltu irügeltü-yin yurbaduyar on, dumdatu namurun edür qiyang pu süngyün bičibeī, mongyol qasbuu orčiyulbaī*.

³ HUMMEL, 692.

⁴ Reprinted Shanghai 1935, II, 327—387.

^{4a} This information has been unfortunately omitted by HUMMEL, *l.c.*, where only the titles of these five works are given. Professor Olbricht, Bonn, informs me kindly about the existence of a print of the *Chen-fu shih-i* of 1823 as well as of an undated edition according to TENG YEN-LIN, *Chung-kuo pien-chiang t'u-chi-lu*, Shanghai 1958, 206.

⁵ A work of this title is also not been included in the list of Chinese works written by Mandju bannermen, *Pa-ch'i i-wen pien-mu* by EN-HUA YUNG-CH'UN^[7], Peking 1943. For another unpublished important work by Sung-yün on the culture of the old Mandju, *Emu tanggô orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyar (Pai-erh lao-jen yü-lu)*^[8] cf. W. FUCHS, *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*, Tôkyô 1936, 98 und MS 7: 1942, 22; further R. RUDOLPH JAOS 60: 1940, 554—563.

[1] 松筠

[2] 鎮撫事宜

[3] 西招圖略

[4] 西藏圖說

[5] 撫卹

[6] 衛藏通志

[7] 詠春恩華 八旗藝文編目

[8] 白二老人語錄

Expressing the experiences as well as the thoughts of the Chinese supervisory representative⁶ to Tibet in the crucial years after the Gurkha-war they are of a rather particular interest to the student of Chinese-Tibetan relations. They, furthermore, illustrate how fargoing at that period could become the identification of a Mongol with the Mandju policy towards other non-Chinese. It is not possible to treat the whole work within the scope of the present short notice. We shall, however, endeavour to convey the general contents as well as the line of colonial thought which make these notes to a samplepiece of Mandju political science.

Treating at the beginning the "Setting of boundaries"⁷ and illustrating it with an example from the Han-times, Sung-yün immediately confronts himself with the question of defining the term of Tibetan protectorates and how they be to kept calm and peaceful⁸. On the function of the Chinese representatives in Tibet he states in this second chapter ". . . for example: These who are called the Dalai [lama] and the Pančen [lama] of dBus and gCañ are [outside of] the wall. It is indeed their way that they know only how to spread the knowledge of reading the holy scriptures. Furthermore, from the beginning they had no understanding in which way to educate their subjects and to sustain them. Therefore the great minister was sent out and installed upon imperial order in gCañ for educating and supporting, pacifying the border and appeasing the [people outside] the wall . . ."⁹. Then he deals with "Restriction of Anger"¹⁰ and the "Termination of Demands"¹¹ by the protectoras, stating that this is necessary because "all frontier-tribes whoever they are were greedy for goods and profit"¹². In the next chapter on suppressing violence¹³ he again gives justification for the presence of Mandju officials in Central Tibet because of the social indifference of Dalai Lama and Pančen. The yearly inspection-trip by the Mandju resident is explained too by the necessity of taking into account the diminution of the Tibetan population when deciding levies and taxes¹⁴. This is explained by examples:

" . . . if one explains it: In *Ciung-tui*, an hamlet of *Jirung (rJe-druñ)* lived from the beginning on more than fifty families. Although there are now only eight families left taxes are still taken yearly according to the number of the original families. In one of the tributary (districts) of Sera lived originally more than thousand families; today, though only as much as threehundred

⁶ He was imperial resident in Tibet from 1794—1799.

⁷ 2r. — 3v.: *Kiŋayar-i toytayagu*.

⁸ 4r. — 5v.: *Qasilya-yi ilbikü, qasilya* verbally "enclosure, wall", here used for the people outside the Great wall.

⁹ ". . . *üligerlebesü üi cang-un dalai. bančün kemegči mön qasilya bolai. teden-ü jang yača nom ungsiqu suryal-yin delgeregülkü-yi medekü bui*]. *Jiči qariyatu arad-yin yayakin suryaqu. yayakin tejigekü-yi uy-ača uqaburilaqu ügei. teyimü-yin tula boyda qayan Jarli-yiyar yeke sayid-i yaryaju. cang-dur sayulyan suryalan tejiyelgen. kiŋayar-i amurjyulun. qasilya-yi ibigülkü anu bolai . . .*

¹⁰ 5v.—7r.: *Kiling-i čegerlekü*.

¹¹ 7r.—9r.: *Küsel-i qačaqu*.

¹² ". . . *aliba kiŋayar-un ayınay čöm ed asiy-tur qobdy tula . . .*

¹³ 9r.—10r.: *Küčürkeg-i boyuqu*.

¹⁴ 10r.—11v.: *Möldeng-yi arilyaqu*.

families are left, duties and levies are collected according to the number of the old families. Because that happens in all of the districts, the people are left in a state that they cannot want to live . . . " 15.

The improvement of morals¹⁶, supervision of criminals¹⁷, pacification of foreigners¹⁸ and the surveillance of travels and entrance¹⁹ are the next items. In the last one of these is particularly discussed the sojourn of Mongol lamaist monks in Tibetan territory and the pilgrimage of Mongols to Tibet, habitually since 1642 when the 5th Dalai Lama and the Pančen had sent a message of submission to Mukden²⁰.

Sung-yün then treats in the following chapters the exercising of power²¹, gives a survey of the historical events²² leading to the Chinese intervention and the establishment of the protectorate since LHa bzañ Khan and deals finally with military problems of the defence of the country as there are the guarding of the passes²³ between Tibet and China²⁴, the mounting of guards against the enemy²⁵, instructions about the combining of forces²⁶ and the movement of troops²⁷ wherein the passage about the use of artillery is of particular interest. Some common thoughts on being a soldier²⁸ and articles of war²⁹ close the notes of this Mandju colonial officer of Mongol birth. The concise survey of the history of the Mandju protectorate over Tibet which forms chapter XII is particularly interesting as a contemporary assessment of facts, and we cite it therefore:

"If someone lives on where-so-ever a place, it becomes undoubtedly easier when he knows about its former circumstances, has them told and sees them

¹⁵ 10v.: . . . *üligerlebesü Jirung-un čing tui kemekü nigen ayil-dur uy-ača tabin ilegüü erüge nere bayıysan* (11r.) *anu edüge yača nayıman erüge-yin tedüi üleşen bügütele jilbüri basaku uy erüge-yin toyan-u yosuyar alba abumui. sera-yin nigen qariyatu uy-ača mingyan ilegüü erüge bayıysan anu edüge yača yurban jayun erüge-yin tedüi üleşen bügütele mōn kü qayučün erüge-yin toyan-u yosuyar alba qubčiyuri kügejü abumui. yačar buridur čōm ene metü-tula irged amiduran čidaqu ügei uđajuqi . . .*

¹⁶ 11v.—13r.: *Jang-i Jasarayulqu.*

¹⁷ 13r.—15r.: *Eregüü-yi seremjilekü.*

¹⁸ 15r.—16.: *Qolakin-i nomuyadqaqu.*

¹⁹ 16v.—18r.: *Irekü-yi übürlekü.*

²⁰ . . . *Dalai bañčin degedü erdemtü-yin doluduyar on-dur elči Jaraju kičiyenggüilen tangyariy bičig-i mügden-dü ergün kürgenegen-eče inaysı olan mongyölčüd nengden kündülen bisirejü . . .*

²¹ 18v.—20r.: *Čidal-i bütügekü.*

²² 20r.—21v.: *Kereg-i toyočiqu.*

²³ 22r.—26v.: *Qabčıl-i sergeyilekü.*

²⁴ The names of the mountains and passes of Tibet according to the geographical handbook of the Mandju-period, *Hsi-yü l'ung-wen-chih* cf. E. von ZACH, *Lexikographische Beiträge*, III, Peking 1905, 108—126. Furthermore: W.W. ROCKHILL, "Tibet, a geographical, ethnographical, and historical sketch, derived from Chinese Sources", *JRAS* 1891, 247—258.

²⁵ 26v.—31r.: *Dayısun-i jisikü.*

²⁶ 31r.—32r.: *Neyilegüülün suryaqu.*

²⁷ 32r.—35r.: *Yabuyulun suryaqu.*

²⁸ 35r.—39r.: *Čirig aqu.*

²⁹ 37r.—39r.: *Čayača yabuylqu.*

after they had been written down. Since the Dalai Lama and the Pančen together with Güüsi Khan of the Olöt, in the 7th year of the reign of T'ai-tsung (1642) of our dynasty, had had sent an envoy and had offered tribute³⁰, these happenings and their reasons have, however, not been noted down in the historical records; although this was not done there is something to be recounted. As it is, so-called records are kept within the Empire (but) not in gCañ³¹. Now, as the Tibetans live in recovery and peace, their aged men have lost their spirit and the youth have never heard about (history)

. . . . After earlier lHa bzañ Khan, the great grandson of Güüsi Khan had been exterminated by the army of the Dzungghar C'e dbañ rab brtan³², when it came that the country of gCañ was nearly to be ruled by the Dzungghars, the generalissimo for the pacification of the foreigners³³ led an army to pacify the disobedient, and together with general Yen-hsin³⁴ he attacked along the Hsining-road, and going down to West-gCañ, he established peace. That (then) the incarnation of the Dalai Lama was installed at the throne of the Potala, this was the first benevolent and fostering aid.

The second benevolent and fostering aid was how, the son-in law of lHa bzañ Khan, K'an č'en nas³⁵, having acted very meritorious at this occasion, and having been for that reason promoted to a prince of third rank (*Beyile*), when

³⁰ The sources are nearly silent about this embassy. An anonymous Mongol chronicle from Tsakhar, Ms. Mong. 143, Royal Library Copenhagen, 4r., calls the envoy *Erdeni Lama*. Cf. for further Mongol remarks my "A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism", *Anthropos* 48: 1953, 500.

³¹ Phraseologically similar writes Lom in his *Mongyol borjigid oboy-un teüke* (1735), I, 3r. (ed. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, vol. 9, Wiesbaden 1957, 9); cf. my *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, I, Wiesbaden 1959, 121.

³² 1665—1727; for the events of the year 1717 cf. my "Ein mongolischer zeitgenössischer Bericht über den Olöteneinfall in Tibet und die Plünderung von Lhasa 1717", *ZDMG* 104: 1954, 391—411; furthermore the Mongol chronicle *Bolur toli* by *Jimbadorji*, book III (Ms. Mong. 350, Royal Library Copenhagen, 98r.—99r.; Ms. F 305, Inst. Vostokoved. Leningrad, 111v.—118r., cf. L. S. ПУСКОВСКИЙ, *Mongol'skie Rukopisi i ksilografy instituta vostokovedenija*, Leningrad 1957, 66). lHa bzañ was the great grandson of Güüsi Khan after his son *Tayan qayan* (*Erdeni-yin erike* by *Isibaldan*, ed. *monumenta linguarum asiae maioris*, Series Nova, II, Copenhagen 1961, 68: *egündür köbegün arba bayiḡu-ača tayan qayan kiged. tegünü ači lhasung qoyar-bar darayalan tübed-ün qayan sayubai*). Cf. furthermore P. PELLIOU, "Notes critiques d'Histoire Kalmouke" (*Ouvres Posthumes* VI, Paris 1960, 9).

³³ Prince Yün-t'i, emperor K'ang-hsi's 14th son (L. PETECH, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, Leiden 1950, 57); cf. for the Mongol *yeke jiyangjun wang*, the Mandju equivalent *amba jiyanggiyön wang* in the reports of general Funingga (E. S. KRAFT, *Zum Dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert. Berichte des Generals Funingga*, Leipzig 1953, 145).

³⁴ Mandju: Yan sin; P'ing-ni Chiang-chün Yen-hsin, cf. HUMMEL, II, 907—908; PETECH, 56.

³⁵ Chin. K'ang-ch'i-nai (PETECH, 28), the chief-minister of lHa bzañ Khan; that he had family-ties with the latter is new information.

³⁶ The official Chinese and Tibetan historiography accounts the murder of K'an č'en nas to all ministers and other Tibetan officials, cf. PETECH, 101.

³⁷ Also to be found in Mandju as Arbuba (E. S. KRAFT, *op. cit.*, 145: *daibung. diba. arbuba sei jergi* . . .) designating officials lower in rank than the bKa blon. Perhaps this word is related to tib. sGar dpon, the term that designated provincial governors.

he then had been persecuted by the ministers³⁶ and *Arbuba*³⁷, the great army had extinguished the *Arbuba* in the 5th year of reign of Yung-cheng (1727)³⁸.

At this time P'o lha had acted meritorious and thus he was by and by promoted to the rank of Chün-wang³⁹. When he had found his end, his second son, Gyur med rnam rgyal⁴⁰ had been appointed as successor. When he later insulted the Dalai Lama, made to suffer the hundred families⁴¹ and, in the 15th year of Ch'ien-lung (1750), decided to revolt, he was killed⁴². Thereafter the great minister, residing in Western gCañ⁴³, united himself upon Imperial orders with the Dalai Lama and the Pančen and settled things. From then on peace was established in the county of gCañ⁴⁴.

³⁶ After arrival of the Mandju expeditionary-force lead by Jalangga and Mailu in September 1728 (Yung-cheng 6, not Yung-cheng 5 as Sung-yün writes) the three rebellious ministers had been put before a court and condemned to death (PETECH, 130—134).

³⁹ Prince of 2nd class; PETECH, 163.

⁴⁰ Reigned from 1747 to 1750; PETECH, 177 sq.

⁴¹ Expression for "all".

⁴² By the ambans Fucing and Labdon, cf. PETECH, 198; for a contemporary Mongol chronicle reporting this event cf. *Bilig-ün Julia* by *Lubzanghungrub* (1757); my *Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, I, 167.

⁴³ Governor-general C'e riñ; PETECH, 202.

⁴⁴ 20r.: *aliba nigen ororn-dur sayubasu erkebiši nigen ororn-u qaγučin kereg-i medeju toyučin bičiged üjikü-dür kilbar bolyabasu Jokimui. qarqan man-u ulus-un degedü erdemtü-yin doluduqar on-dur dalai bančin ögeled-ün güüsi qan-luya elči jaruju. alba bariysan-ača inaysi kereg uçar-i sudur dangsan-a ese temdeglegsen anu ügei bügetele basa qaγun-i toyöčiqu bui. teyin bolbaču. sudur dangsa kemegči törödür bui (20v.) buiJa. cang-dur ügei. edüge tangγud amurliju sayuysaniyar tere tuqai lacang qan-u kürgen gangjinai yabiyatai boluysan-u uçar. beyile bolyan (21r.) ergümjilegsen-i. basa gablon arbuba tan-dur. künügedegsen-dür nayiraltu töb-ün tabuduyar on. yeke čirig arbuba tan-i alan sönügeju cang-un yaJar-i dakin amurliyulysan nu. bürküju tejiğegsen ači ene qoyar buyu. tere üye-dür poloni yabiya-tai bolju. bayin bayin ergümjilegseger. giyün wang-un Jerge-dür kürčü ečüs boluysan-u qoyona. tegün-ü qoyaduyar köbegün Jürmednamjil-i Jaγamjilan ergümjilegsen qoyina. dalai lama-ban doromjilan üjiJU jaγun oboytan-i jobayän künügegseger ngri-yin tedkügsen-ü arban tabuduyar on-du urbaqu-yi Jöbleju alaydayan qoyina Jarliy-iyar barayun cang-dur sayuysan yeke sayid dalai bančin-luya qabsurčilan sitkeju. egüneče cang-un yaJar nomuyadun toγtaysan anu.*