

## THE EARLY *SYĀM* IN BURMA'S HISTORY

by

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### 1

Not long ago, I was asked to give an opinion about a proposal to write the history of the Shans. The proposal came from a Shan scholar for whom I have great respect, and who was as well-fitted as any Shan I know to do the work. He planned to assemble copies of all the Shan State Chronicles extant; to glean all references to the Shan States in Burmese Chronicles; and finally to collect source materials in English. Such, in brief, was the plan. I had to point out that it omitted what, for the older periods at least, were the most important sources of all: the original Old Thai inscriptions of the north, the number of which, if those from East Burma, North Siam and Laos, are included, may well exceed a hundred;<sup>1</sup> and the dated contemporary records in Chinese, from the 13th century onwards. I do not know if these sources have been adequately tapped in Siam. They certainly have not in Burma. And since the earlier period, say 1250 to 1450 A.D., is the time of the mass-movements of the Dai<sup>2</sup> southward from Western Yünnan, radiating all over Further India and beyond, the subject is one, I think, that concerns Siam no less than Burma. I am a poor scholar of Thai; so I shall confine myself here to Chinese and Burmese sources. The Chinese ones are mainly the dynastic histories of the Mongols in China (the *Yüan-shih*), and the history of the earlier half of the Ming dynasty (the *Ming-shih*). The short, well-dated entries in the Court annals (*pên-chi*) of these histories can often be amplified by reference to the sections on geography (*ti-li-chih*), to the biographies of individuals (*lieh-chuan*), and accounts of foreign countries.

My enquiry here has been prepared during a rather short period of time, and I have certainly failed to collect all the references. But I have got on to cards about 150 dated entries in the *Yüan-shih* relating to the history of Dai peoples, and perhaps 200 under the early Ming. Here, at least, is a useful chronological frame into which a more complete story of the old inscriptions and the later chronicles may be fitted.

## 2

But first, a word about names. The word *Syām*, according to Professor Coedès,<sup>3</sup> first appears in Cham inscriptions of the 11th century; then in Khmer, on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat in the 12th. *Syam*, *Syam̃* (written with a short vowel, and final *m* or Anusvāra), occurs over twenty times in the inscriptions of Pagan, the earliest being dated 1120 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> one of the earliest in Burmese. The word occurs usually in the lists of pagoda-slaves, male and female; it is rarely prefixed to the name, when it should really mean a Shan; it is generally suffixed, when it *may* mean merely that the person had a fair complexion, like a Shan. One *Syam* was a *Saṃbyañ*,<sup>5</sup> an Old Mon title for a high government official. One of the *Syam̃* slaves was a woman-dancer,<sup>6</sup> one a pattern-weaver,<sup>7</sup> one a turner.<sup>8</sup> These names are recorded at Pagan, and there is nothing else to show where the slaves came from. But there is a place, *Khantī*, often mentioned in Pagan inscriptions,<sup>9</sup> which is doubtless derived from Shan *Kham-tī*, "golden place." The name probably implies that the inhabitants were largely Shan. *Khantī* was an important place, with canal-irrigation and rice fields, in "the Six *Kharuṇ*" (Minbu district), on the west bank of the Irrawaddy about 80 miles below Pagan. The other Shan *Khamtīs* of the Upper Chindwin, P'u-t'ao, etc., are only mentioned at a later date.<sup>10</sup>

The Chinese name for the northern or northwestern Shans, variously written and pronounced, was *Pai-i*. I find it first in the *Yüan-shih* under the date 1278, with characters meaning "White Clothes";<sup>11</sup> next under the date 1287, with the characters "White Barbarians."<sup>12</sup> Of the twenty-odd mentions of *Pai-i* I have found in *Yüan* texts, about half are written "White Clothes" and half, "White Barbarians." In 1397, early in the Ming dynasty, the author of the first considerable monograph on the northern Shans, the *Pai-i-chuan*,<sup>13</sup> employs yet a third variant, "the Hundred Barbarians". Other variants occur in modern books. The application of the term in *Yüan* texts is usually (not always) confined to a small area of the Sino-Burman border, mostly between the Irrawaddy and the Salween. To the northeast, in 1325, there were *Pai-i* who raided *Yün-lung chou*,<sup>14</sup> just east of the Salween and west of *Ta-li fu*. To the southwest were the *Pai-i* of *Mêng Nai tien*,<sup>15</sup> who in 1285 stopped, near Tagaung, the peace mission sent by the King of Burma. The term was not generally applied to Dai peoples south of the Shan States of Burma.

## 3

On January 7th, 1253<sup>16</sup> Khubilai Khan captured *Ta-li*, the capital of old *Nan-chao*. The city fell with surprising ease, partly because of the suddenness of the attack (which was quite unprovoked), partly because the members of the ruling *Tuan* family were weakened by their struggle with their *Kao* ministers. But the conquest of the kingdom was not so easy. Khubilai's general, *Uriyangqatai*,<sup>17</sup> was a master of the art of war. He had fought, with his father, the great *Sübötai*, from Korea in the east to Poland and Germany in the west. Yet it took him four years of continual fighting before, in 1257, he could report the pacification of *Yünnan*. Afterwards, he conquered *Tongking* in

one campaign; and within two years he had fought his way northeast, through the rear of the Sung, by the way through Kuangsi, Kueichou and Hunan, to rejoin his master in Hupeh, on the south bank of the Yangtzu. "From the time of entering the enemy's frontier," says his biography, "he had fought time after time over a thousand *li*, and had never been defeated. Thirteen battles, great and small, he had fought, and killed over 400,000 of the Sung troops, and taken prisoner, great and small, three of their generals." Early in 1261, he died, not long after Khubilai had ascended the throne of China as the Emperor Shih Tsu.

Professor Coedès, to whom all of us students of Southeast Asian history owe an inestimable debt, has argued that Dai penetration of the south was an old and gradual process, not a sudden influx due to the Mongol conquest of Yünnan.<sup>18</sup> He points, with due reservation it is true, to the alleged founding of Mogaung in 1215, Möng Mai (in the S. Shan States) in 1223, and the Ahom conquest of Assam in 1229. So far as Burma and Assam are concerned, I feel that these early dates, based on late tradition, should be regarded with suspicion. In the 13th century, after the final conquest of Tagaung (*Takon*) and the Kadu (*Kantū*) in 1228 A.D.,<sup>19</sup> right down to the Mongol conquest, the power and prestige of Pagan were at their highest in the north. Kaungzin (*Koncan*) is mentioned in inscriptions in 1245, and probably in 1237. It was then ruled by the *Mahāsaman* minister, *Manorājā*, uncle of the king, exercising wide powers, it seems, in Upper Burma.<sup>20</sup> Kaungzin was a few miles south of modern Bhamo, on the east bank of the Irrawaddy. Perhaps at Bhamo itself, guarding the junction of the Ta-p'ing River and the Irrawaddy, was the old fortress (*mruiw*) of Nga-hsaung-chan (*Nā Chon Khyam*), first mentioned in 1196 among the northern boundaries of the kingdom of Narapatisithu' (*Cañsū II*).<sup>21</sup> So far as Upper Burma was concerned, this was not a likely time for big movements or concentrations of Shans;

nor, apart from late Chronicles and the Ahom *Buranji*, is there any record of them.

After Khubilai's conquest of Ta-li in 1253, the Kao ministers (who had murdered Khubilai's envoys) were executed by the Mongols. The Tuan ruling family retained its title, *mahārāja*. One of the family, Hsin-chü-jih,<sup>22</sup> rose high in the Mongol service, and played an important part on the Burma frontier. He died in 1282, "having ruled Ta-li for altogether 23 years," from about 1259 onwards. Uriyangqatai drove east, leaving this frontier comparatively quiet. No wonder, then, that the Pai-i, who did not move south, tended to cluster here.

#### 4

The ancient dwellers in these parts, southwest of Ta-li, were known to the Chinese, from the T'ang dynasty onwards, as the "Gold Teeth."<sup>23</sup> Fan Ch'ao, author of the *Man-shu*<sup>24</sup> (863 A.D.), describes them thus: "... miscellaneous tribes of Yung-ch'ang and K'ai-nan. The Gold Teeth barbarians use carved plates of gold to cover their front teeth. When they have business and go out to interview people, they use these as an adornment. When they eat, they remove them." There is little doubt but that these Gold Teeth were the original Austric-speaking peoples, Palaung-RiangLawa, who once, before the arrival of Tibeto-Burman speakers and Shans, covered the whole north of Burma. When the proto-Burmans, on their way to Kyaukse, crossed Western Yunnan and the Northern Shan States in the 8th and early 9th centuries, they occupied, as the *Man-shu*<sup>25</sup> shows, much of the T'êng-yüeh/Yung-ch'ang area, between the 'Nmai Hka and the Mekong. At this time the easternmost of these Austric speakers, the Lawa, must have been pushed east towards their present centres, the hills east of the Salween. When the

Burmans passed on into the plains of Burma, a vacuum was left, into which the Pai-i tended steadily to drift. The Mongol conquest of Yünnan must have greatly increased the pressure. But the term "Gold Teeth" continued to be used for the whole area, including Lawa, now mostly to the east beyond the Salween, and Pai-i, massing on the Burma border between the Salween and the Irrawaddy.

The position is shown clearly in the geographical section of the *Yüan-shih*:<sup>26</sup> "*Comfortership of Gold Teeth and other places*. Their land is south west of Ta-li. The Lan-ts'ang *chiang* (the Mekong) bounds it to the east. It joins on to the land of *Mien* (Burma) on the west. The native southern barbarians comprise altogether eight kinds, namely, the Gold Teeth, the Pai-i, the P'o,<sup>27</sup> the O-ch'ang,<sup>28</sup> the P'iao,<sup>29</sup> the Hsieh,<sup>30</sup> the Ch'ü-lo,<sup>31</sup> and the Pi-su....<sup>32</sup> In the time of the Tuan family the Pai-i and other southern barbarians gradually returned to their former land. Thereafter the Gold Teeth and other southern barbarians slowly began to flourish. In the 4th year of Hsien Tsung of the Yüan dynasty (1254 A.D.), the pacification of Ta-li took place, and then an expedition was made against the Pai-i and other southern barbarians. At the beginning of the *chung-t'ung* period (1260-3 A.D.), the various chieftains of the Gold Teeth and Pai-i each sent their sons or younger brothers to Court with tribute. In the 2nd year (1261 A.D.) there was set up a Comfortership (*an-fu-ssü*) to control them.<sup>33</sup> In the 8th year of *chih-yüan* (1271 A.D.), the Gold Teeth and the Pai-i were divided to form the Comforters (*an-fu-shih*) of two Roads, the eastern and the western.<sup>34</sup> In the 12th year (1275 A.D.), the Western Road was changed into Chien-ning Road, and the Eastern Road into Chên-k'ang Road.<sup>35</sup> In the 15th year (1278 A.D.) the *an-fu* was changed into *hsiian-fu*, and the office of the *tsung-kuan* (Governor) of the Six Roads was set up. In the 23rd year (1286 A.D.), the

*hsüan-fu-ssü* of the two Roads was abolished, and both were placed under the *hsüan-fu-ssü* of Ta-li, Gold Teeth and other places."

There follows a detailed account of the Six Roads: *Jou-yüan Road*,<sup>36</sup> "south of Yung-ch'ang," was nearest to Ta-li and furthest to the northeast. It was largely inhabited by P'o. Perhaps it lay south along the main road from Yung-ch'ang to T'êng-yüeh. South of it was *Chên-k'ang Road*, the original "Eastern Road," between the Mekong and the Salween. It was inhabited by the "Black P'o";<sup>37</sup> but the main inhabitants of the hillier parts, I imagine, then as now were Lawa. *Chên-k'ang* is shown on Davies' map of Yünnan.<sup>38</sup> *Mang-shih Road*,<sup>39</sup> "south of Jou-yüan and west of the Salween," is also shown on the map, W. NW. of *Chên-k'ang*, between the Salween and the Upper Shweli. *Chên-hsi Road*<sup>40</sup> was "due west of Jou-yüan, parted from it by Lu-ch'uan." Its headquarters was Kan-ê, modern Kan-ai, southwest of T'êng-yüeh. It contained, as Huber has shown, the rivers A-ho (the Ta-p'ing), and A-hsi (the Nam Ti), its southern tributary from Nan-tien. *Lu-ch'uan Road*,<sup>41</sup> he says, corresponds to the Salween valley, and *P'ing-mien Road*<sup>42</sup> to that of the Shweli. P'ing-mien contained "the four farms of Lo-pi" and "Little Sha-mo-lung", which Huber rightly places in Möng Hum State, along the northern affluent of the Shweli, south of Nan-tien and Kan-ai. As for Lu-ch'uan, he has reason, but I do not think he is right, in placing it in the Salween valley (see his p. 669, n. 3). The text itself places it "east of Mang-shih." But the whole subsequent history of Lu-ch'uan,<sup>43</sup> constantly linked with P'ing-mien, and of such paramount importance under the early Ming, points to the Upper Shweli or Mao valley, not the Salween.<sup>44</sup> Here was the capital of "the Maw Shans," Sèlan, on the Burma border 13 miles east of Nam Hkam. The description in the *Yüan-shih* suggests a long valley, with 'head,' 'middle,' and 'tail.' It is likely enough that its headquarters, during its long struggle with the Ming, was moved for safety from the upper end to the lower.

It is stated that Chên-hsi (Kan-ai), Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien were all peopled by Pai-i; Nan-shan,<sup>45</sup> northwest of Chên-hsi, by Pai-i and O-ch'ang. It is not stated who the inhabitants of Mang-shih were. East of these were the P'o or P'o-i, which name may be a variant of Pai-i, and who are doubtless the Gold Teeth. Since Gold Teeth (nearest to China) was used as a name for the whole, we need to remember that it may really mean the Pai-i, especially when it refers to those who live on the Burma border.

## 5

The Pai-i hated, no doubt, their Mongol masters, who had ejected them from their ancestral homes; but unable at first to fight back, they were quick to make use of them to conquer perhaps a safer country farther south. The Mongol creed was simple: There is one Sun in Heaven, one Emperor on Earth. The Emperor Shih Tsu (Khubilai) had set his heart on conquering Southeast Asia. It was not difficult for the Pai-i to induce the Yünnan government, in 1271, to send an envoy, Kitai-toyin,<sup>46</sup> to the Pagan Court, demanding submission. Shih Tsu sent him again, in 1273, with an imperial letter threatening invasion.<sup>47</sup> In 1275, Ho T'ien-chio, the old Comforter of Chien-ning Road, made his report showing the Pai-i intrigues behind these missions.<sup>48</sup> He had gathered information from A-kuo,<sup>49</sup> "Chief of the Gold Teeth": "The reason why Kitai-toyin was sent to Mien, was because of my father, A-pi.<sup>50</sup> In the 9th year of *chih-yüan*, 3rd month (Mar. 31st-Apr. 28th, 1272), the king of Mien, hating my father, A-pi, led an army of several myriads to invade our land, captured my father, A-pi, and departed. There was nothing for it but to offer a heavy ransom to Mien, and so secure his release. From that time onward I have regarded the people of Mien-chung (Central Burma) as a mere pack of dogs." Ho T'ien-chio adds, "At present Mien has sent A-ti-pa<sup>51</sup> and others, nine in all, to spy out the movements



of his people. The present head of the Pai-i is a relation of A-kuo, and neighbour to Mien. He has stated that there are three routes to enter Mien: one by T'ien-pu-ma,<sup>52</sup> one by P'iao-tien, and one by the borders of A-kuo's land. All meet at Chiang-t'ou city of Mien. Moreover, a relative of A-kuo, A-t'i-fan,<sup>53</sup> is in Burma, holding five *tien* (native districts), each of over a myriad households; he desires to submit to China. A-kuo wants first to call A-t'i-fan and those of the Gold Teeth who have not yet yielded, and make them lead the way."

Already, on January 24th, 1271,<sup>54</sup> "the chieftains of three tribes of Gold Teeth and P'iao kingdom, A-ni Fu-lo-ting and A-ni Chao, came and submitted, and offered 3 tame elephants and 19 horses." They were probably near the Ta-p'ing road to Burma. A-kuo, another "chief of the Gold Teeth" and certainly on one of the three routes (Huber was probably right in taking it to be the ordinary caravan route that ran along the south bank of the Nam Ti and Ta-p'ing), was related to the "head of the Pai-i, neighbour to Burma"; also to A-t'i-fan, ruler of five native districts within Burma itself. It is pretty clear that they were all Shans, strung out along a line leading from T'êng-yüeh into Burma, some of them very likely along the edge of the hills east of the Irrawaddy.

In the 11th month of the 12th year (November 19th–December 18th, 1276) Yünnan reports: "We have sent persons to discover news of the ambassadors; but the P'u rebels blocked the way. But now the P'u have mostly submitted and the road is already open. The person we sent, A-ho, governor of Kan-ê (*Kan-ai*) of Gold Teeth, has found out that the ambassadors all reached Mien safely."<sup>55</sup>

Whoever the P'u<sup>56</sup> barbarians may have been (one modern Chinese scholar, at least, regards them as Pai-i), they must have been near Nan-tien; for early in 1277, Hu-tu (Qudu?), Hsin-chü-jih, and T'o-lo-t'o-hai "were ordered by the Emperor to hasten the yet unsubdued tribes of T'êng-yüeh,

the P'u, P'iao, A-ch'ang and Gold Teeth west of Yung-ch'ang, and to station themselves at Nan-tien".<sup>57</sup> Whether or not Huber was right in regarding A-ho, the Gold Teeth governor of Kan-ai, as identical with A-kuo, it is probable that he too was a Shan.

"In the 14th year, 3rd month<sup>58</sup> (April 5th-May 4th, 1277), the people of Mien, bearing a grudge against A-ho for his submission (to China), attacked his land and sought to set up stockades between T'êng-yüeh and Yung-ch'ang. . . . They were altogether about forty or fifty thousand men, eight hundred elephants, and ten thousand horses." Hu-tu, Hsin-chü-jih and T'o-lo-t'o-hai, called to the rescue from Nan-tien, arrived with barely seven hundred men. After two days of fighting, "over 30 li", capture of 17 stockades, and "pursuit north as far as a narrow mountain mouth", and finally as far as Kan-ai, only one soldier on the Mongol side was killed by a captured elephant, not by the Burmans. The Burmese dead filled three big ditches, and many prisoners were captured. "Those who escaped, were intercepted and killed by A-ho and the A-ch'ang; so that those who got back were not many."

Huber points out that Nan-tien,<sup>59</sup> according to the *Ta-ming-i-t'ung-chih* before its occupation by the Mongols, was called Nan-sung or Nang-sung; and the pass leading thence towards T'êng-yüeh is still, he says, called Nang-sung *kuan*, i.e., frontier-gate of Nang-sung. And he proceeds to identify *Nang-sung-kuan* with *Nga-chong-khyam*, the fortress (*mruiw*) where the fatal battle was fought which Burmans, from that day to this, have always regarded as a national disaster. Phonetically, the identification is impossible. The "narrow mountain-mouth" to which the pursuit led, was in the direction of Kan-ai, not of T'êng-yüeh. The battle, whose description shows internal signs of gross exaggeration, was, as admitted elsewhere in Huber's text (p.664), merely a frontier incident. And we know, from a contemporary inscription at Pagan,<sup>60</sup>

that *Nā Chon Khyam mruu* was still held by the Burmans in 1278, a year after this incident.

## 6

What is chiefly striking about the raid is not its failure, but the reckless daring of the Burmans in attempting it. They should have known, from Uriyangqatai's campaigns, what a terrible enemy they were bound to provoke. The Mongols were not slow to react. "In the 10th month<sup>61</sup> (Oct. 28th–Nov. 26th, 1277), Yünnan province sent Násir ed-Din,<sup>62</sup> Comforter and Commander-in-Chief of the various Roads of Yünnan, at the head of over 3,840 (Huber–3,800) men, consisting of Mongols, Ts'uan,<sup>63</sup> P'o and Mo-so, to invade Mien. He reached Chiang-t'ou Shên-jou (?),<sup>64</sup> where the chieftain Hsi-an had set up his stockade, and obtained the submission of over 300 stockades,<sup>65</sup> including Mu-nai, Mu-yao, Meng T'ieh, Mu-chü, Mu-t'u, Mo-yü; the submission, also, of the native officials P'u-chê of Ch'ü-la with four thousand households; Ai Lü of Mêng Mo with a thousand households; of Mo-nai, Mêng K'uang and Li (*v.l.* Hei)-ta-pa-la with twenty thousand households; of the native official of Mêng Mang *tien* (native district), Fu-lu-pao, with ten thousand households; and of Mu (*v.l.* Shui)-tu-tan-t'u with 200 households. On account of the hot weather the army was withdrawn." The official report apparently reached the capital only on July 27th, 1279,<sup>66</sup> stating that Násir ed-Din, "at the head of the Ta-li army, had reached Gold Teeth, P'u, P'iao, Ch'ü-la, and within the frontier of Mien kingdom. He had summoned 300 stockades to surrender, including Mang, Mu Chü, Mu T'u, etc., and registered 110, 200 households. The Emperor ordered the fixing of taxes and land-rents and setting up of post-stages and garrison troops. When the army returned, they offered twelve tame elephants to the Emperor."

Násir od-Dín reached Chiang-t'ou, or perhaps rather (if the emendation suggested in note 64 is accepted) Nā Chon Khyam just above it, near Bhamo. It does not seem likely that he took it. The other names are not easy to identify. Much of this old Shan region has been overrun by Palaungs and Kachins. The first name, Mu Nai, may be a variant for Mêng Nai or Mang Nai, the old name for the north of Mông Mit State.<sup>67</sup> The five (unnamed) *tien* or native districts in Burma ruled by A-ti-fan, who, two years earlier, wished to submit to the Mongols, may well be included in the list. Mêng Mo may possibly be the Man Mo<sup>68</sup> of the later Ming dynasty, Old Bhamo (Myothit) on the north bank of the Ta-p'ing, 18 miles northeast of modern Bhamo at the foot of the mountains. There is still a Mo-yu village below Bhamo, near Kaungtôn, and a Mo-yu stream nearby, which flows into the Irrawaddy.<sup>69</sup> But these are only guesses.

## 7

One remembers that all this region east of the Irrawaddy, Mông Mit, the Lower Shweli and Bhamo, had been Shan rather than Burmese for several centuries. "Southwards from the Li Shui (Irrawaddy) ferry," said the *Man-shu*<sup>70</sup> (863 A.D.), "one reaches the Ch'i-hsien Mountains. West of the mountains there is Shên-lung ho (river) stockade." Somewhere in the neighbourhood, "on the Mo-ling Mountains, Nan-chao has specially built a city, and stations its most trusted servants there, to control the Five Regions... and the Ten Tribes (of Northern Burma)." Looking west one observes that "the whole area is malarious. The land is as flat as a whetstone. In winter grasses and trees do not wither. The sun sets at the level of the grasses." It is difficult to place this Nan-chao fortress north of Mông Mit. The proto-Burmans in the same century, escaping from the Nan-chao yoke, appear to have

given this region a wide berth, and crossed the Northern Shan States diagonally to Kyaukse, via Hsipaw and Lawksawk. Aniruddha, after the middle of the 11th century, made an expedition to Gandhālarāj (Nan-chao); he left his autograph Buddhist plaques at Tagaung,<sup>71</sup> and also at Nwatélé, a deserted village<sup>72</sup> some 15 miles southeast of Katha, in the far north of Möng Mit. It seems probable that he held off for a while this grave Nan-chao threat to the kingdom of the Burmans. But there is no evidence of Pagan penetration much to the east of the river. Pagan architecture, with its pointed, radiating arch, is still visible in the Southern Shan States from Lawksawk southwards. It has been traced also at Lamphun and Chieng Mai; and the links between the Mons of Burma and those of Haripuñjaya must have been close throughout most of the Pagan period. But the Pagan Arch has not been reported north of the Nam Tu.

## 8

For his small army Nāsir ed-Dīn had had to rely mostly on Yünnanese levies. But both he and the Emperor realized that more troops were needed to effect the conquest of Burma. They were not available till the autumn of 1283. On September 22nd of that year<sup>73</sup> the army, the size of which we do not know, marched from Yünnan Fu. On November 7th<sup>74</sup> it reached Nan-tien. Here it divided into three parts. T'ai-pu proceeded at once by the longer route via Lo-pi tien (Möng Hum).<sup>75</sup> On November 22nd, Yagan-tegin<sup>76</sup> left by the A-hsi (Nam Ti) and A-ho (Ta-p'ing) route, through Chên-hsi (Kan-yai) with orders to build 200 boats so as to command the river at Chiang-t'ou. The Commander-in-Chief, Prince Sängqüdär,<sup>77</sup> followed the Piao-tien route north of the Ta-p'ing. On December 1st<sup>78</sup> they joined hands with T'ai-pu. On December 3rd,<sup>79</sup> proceeding by different routes, they fought (I imagine — it is not mentioned in

the Chinese) the fatal battle of Na Chon Khyam. On December 9th<sup>80</sup> "they captured Chiang-t'ou city, killing over 10,000 men in the fighting." They "took prisoner 10,000 of its keenest soldiers." The first report, sent with a map to the Emperor, arrived on February 5th, 1284.<sup>81</sup> It says that they had sent envoys to deliver a summons to the king of Mien, but there was no reply; also that "Chien-tu, formerly controlled by Mien, had wanted to submit (to China)." Its king had now submitted. "T'ai-kung city of the Chien-tu<sup>82</sup> is Mien's nest and hole. The rebels relied on it to resist our army. We sent Buddhist monks to warn them of the consequences, good or evil, of their actions; but they were murdered. So we have advanced both by water and land, and attacked T'ai-kung city and captured it. Twelve walled towns of the Chien-tu, Gold Teeth, etc., have all submitted. General Ho-tai (Qadai?) and the *wan-hu* Pu-tu-man (Butman?) have been ordered to take 5,000 troops and garrison them."

The floodgates now were opened, and the Shans descended, westwards, perhaps, rather than southwards, and soon covered both banks of the river. The old Kadu (*Kantū*) or Thet (*Sak*) kingdom, with its eastern capital, Tagaung (*Takoñ*), had once extended west as far as the valley of Manipur;<sup>83</sup> but the coming of the Chins from the north had split it in the Chindwin, and wars with the Burmans of Pagan had broken it from the south. Its ruin was soon to be completed by the Shan torrent which swept westwards, driving the Chins from their old homes in the Chindwin valley ("Hole of the Chins") back into the western hills.

Pagan (*Pukam*) had not yet fallen, but its king had fled south to the Delta, earning his new name, *Tarukplyi*,<sup>84</sup> the king who "fled from the Turks." The Pagan Burmans called their invaders *Taruk*, presumably because (apart from local levies) Turkic tribes formed the majority in the Mongol armies.<sup>85</sup> The Pagan Burmans did not yield too easily. On May 10th, 1284,<sup>86</sup>

we read: "Quduq Tämür's army for the invasion of Mien encountered the rebels and was routed." Reinforcements had to be sent. On August 13th<sup>87</sup> Yünnan reports: "At T'êng-yüeh, Yung-ch'ang and Lo-pi-tan, the people's minds are wavering." A year later, August 26th, 1285,<sup>88</sup> Yünnan reports: "This year we have not yet had time to invade Mien. We beg leave to reap the autumn grain, and then first chastise Lo-pei tien and other tribes." On October 5th<sup>89</sup> it adds: "The two walled cities, Yung-ch'ang and T'êng-chung, lie between Mien kingdom and Gold Teeth. The walls are broken down and cannot be defended against an enemy. The Emperor gave orders that they should be repaired." On November 26th<sup>90</sup> the expedition to Lo-pi-tan was cancelled because of revolts in northeastern Yünnan.

## 9

In this year, 1285, King Tarukpliy, stopping in the hunters' jungle "at *Lhañkla* west of Prome (*Prañ*)," decided to submit, in order to avert a new invasion. The peace mission he sent is recorded both in Chinese<sup>91</sup> and in an Old Burmese inscription now at the Pagan Museum.<sup>92</sup> There are some discrepancies which cannot be discussed here because our subject is Shan history rather than Burmese. The Burmese version makes the leader a Buddhist monk, *Syan Disāprāmuk*, called in at the request of the ministers *Anantapicañ* and *Mahāpuiw* to act as secretary and spokesman. In the Chinese, the leader is the salt-mines minister, *A-pi-li-hsiang* (clearly, *Anantapicañ*), accompanied by *Mang-chih'pu-suan*.<sup>93</sup> In the 11th month (November 28th – December 26th, 1285) they reached Tagaung, where they were "stopped by the chieftain of the Pai-i of Mêng Nai tien, Tai-sai."<sup>94</sup> Credentials had first to be obtained from King Tarukpliy and passports from "Ni-su, native official of P'iao-tien,"<sup>95</sup> who informed the *hsüan-wei-ssü* of Ta-li, and the *hsüan-fu-ssü* of Chên-hsi, P'ing-mien and Lu-ch'uan.<sup>96</sup> The

Chief Comforter of Ta-li, who was about to lead a Mongol army to Chiang-t'ou, arranged a meeting en route at P'iao-tien, where negotiations took place with A-pi-li-hsiang. Syaṇ Disāpāmuk, after spending Lent at *Yachañ* (Yünnan Fu),<sup>97</sup> proceeded to *Taytū*<sup>98</sup> (Peking), which he reached at the end of the year (1286-7). He found that the Emperor had already sent a semi-military 'expedition to Burma' (*chêng-mien*), consisting of 20,000 soldiers and 70 monasteries of Buddhist monks. The latter, perhaps Tibetan Mahāyānists, were extremely reluctant to go. Khubilai had also sent, on July 18th, 1286, as imperial envoy, the Comforter of Chên-hsi, P'ing-mien and Lu-ch'uan, Ch'ieh-lieh,<sup>99</sup> "the Käräit."

Partly as a result, it seems, of the peace mission, this *chêng-mien* was halted in Upper Burma, and appears to have formed the basis of a new province of China, Chêng-mien Province, extending from Kaungzin in the north to Nga Singu in the south. Chêng-mien province lasted till April 4th, 1303, when it was abolished.<sup>100</sup> The Emperor had also decided to create, further south in the plains, yet another province, Mien-chung, in Central Burma. A member of the princely family of Kaoch'ang (Turfan), Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin<sup>101</sup> — the *Susuttaki* of the Burmese inscription — was already named, on March 3rd, 1286, with other officials, as the State Minister of Mien-chung Province. Perhaps the heat of Central Burma was too much for them. Anyhow, on August 18th, 1290, "the Emperor abolished the provincial administration of Mien-chung."<sup>102</sup> On October 31st, 1291,<sup>103</sup> Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin was transferred and made State Minister of the Central Government.

In the 1st month of the 24th year (January 15th-February 13th, 1287), Ch'ieh-lieh reached Mang Nai tien,<sup>104</sup> escorted by 500 men provided by Chêng-mien province. News arrived that King Tarukpiliy "had been seized and imprisoned by his concubine's son, Pu-su-su-ku-li, at the place Hsi-li-ch'ieh-ta-la<sup>105</sup> (Śrī Ksetra, Old Prome). The latter had also put to



death three sons of the queen proper, and rebelled, together with four chief ministers, Mu-lang-chou,<sup>106</sup> etc. A-nan-ta,<sup>107</sup> the official appointed by the Prince of Yünnan, and others also were killed. In the 2nd month (February 14th-March 15th) Ch'ieh-lieh embarked on boats from Mäng Nai tien, leaving there the 500 men of his original escort. Yünnan Province asked the Emperor's leave to advance during the autumn and punish (the rebels), but the request was refused. Yet soon afterwards, the Prince of Yünnan,<sup>108</sup> together with the other princes, advanced and invaded as far as P'u-kan<sup>109</sup> (Pagan), losing over 7,000 men of his army. Mien began to be pacified; and there was fixed a yearly tribute of local products."

Burmese Chronicles tell the tragic story of the death of King Tarukplyi.<sup>110</sup> He was poisoned at Prome, just as he was starting upstream to return to his capital, by his son by a lesser queen, the ruler of Prome. The parricide, ruler of Prome, is clearly the Pu-su-su-ku-li of the Chinese. *Su-ku-li* is Old Burmese *Sūkri*, "headman." *Pu-su* (with the character *su* a diplograph) should hide the name of Prome (*Prañ*). A slight change of character (see n. 105) would give *Pu-lien*, about the nearest Chinese equivalent to *Prañ*.

## 10

As soon as Khubilai completed his conquest of China, he set about conquering Southeast Asia. In Siam, as in Burma, his regular method was to send a haughty embassy which, using threats, demanded submission. His relations with Siam were twofold: in the south, by sea with *Hsien*<sup>111</sup> (Sukhodaya and *Lo-hu*<sup>112</sup> (Lavo, Lopburi); in the north, by land with *Pa-pai-hsi-fu*<sup>113</sup> (Chieng Mai) and *Ch'e-k*<sup>114</sup> (Chieng Rung and the Sip Song P'an-na). Almost all the passages in the *Yüan-shih* relating to the southern contacts have been collected and translated by Pelliot.<sup>115</sup> The first contacts were

with the south; but when Ho Tzü-chih<sup>116</sup> in 1282 was sent on an embassy to Hsien, his ship was intercepted by the Chams (then at war with Khubilai), and the ambassadors killed. Contact with Lo-hu and the "Woman's Kingdom" began on December 4th, 1289.<sup>117</sup> It sent interesting tribute again on November 11th, 1291.<sup>118</sup> Hsien made contact, through Canton, on November 26th, 1292;<sup>119</sup> the Emperor sent his orders there on June 4th, 1293.<sup>120</sup> On July 5th, 1294 "Kan-mu-ting of Pi-ch'a-pu-li city" (P'echaburi) sent envoys to offer tribute;<sup>121</sup> and in the following month, on August 18th, the Emperor ordered "Kan-mu-ting, king of Hsien kingdom," to come to Court, or send hostages.<sup>122</sup> Professor Coedès<sup>123</sup> identifies Kan-mu-ting with the Khmer royal title *kanvraten*; and he takes these passages to show that Rāma Gamheñ, king of Sukhodai, then engaged in conquering the north of Malaya, was making his temporary headquarters at P'echaburi, south of Ratburi. In the following year (1295), we read<sup>124</sup> that "the people of Hsien and Ma-li-yü-êrh had long been quarrelling and fighting with each other. Now both submitted." And the new Emperor, Ch'êng Tsung, ordered Hsien: "Do not injure Ma-li-yü-êrh. Do not trample on your promise." Lo-hu is cited here, as a recipient of favours, on January 23rd, 1297,<sup>125</sup> and again with Hsien on May 2nd of the same year.<sup>126</sup> On February 2nd, 1299, Hsien, Mo-la-yu (another variant for Malaya) and Lo-hu came to Court together, and the Crown Prince of Hsien was specially honoured.<sup>127</sup> Su-ku-t'ai (Sukhodaya) is mentioned by name on June 15th of the same year,<sup>128</sup> when several peoples of the southern sea came with a tribute of tigers, elephants and boats made of *sha-lo* wood. One of these 1299 embassies of Hsien is described in the section on Hsien in the *Yüan-shih*.<sup>129</sup> Another embassy, from Tiao-chi-êrh, Chao-wa (Java), Hsien and Chan-pa (Champa?) arrived on July 7th, 1300.<sup>130</sup> Additional embassies from Hsien are recorded on the dates of April 4th, 1314,<sup>131</sup> January 22nd, 1319,<sup>132</sup> and February 6th, 1323.<sup>133</sup>

## 11

In the north, Yünnan had had contacts overland with pre-Thai Siam and Camboja, from the 9th century, if not earlier. Whether Nan-chao was Dai itself at the time, is open to question. The evidence of the *Man-shu* (863 A.D.) suggests that then it was largely Lolo or Tibeto-Burman in speech. The Dai preponderance, starting perhaps from the top layers of society, may have been a post-9th century development. Passages in the *Man-shu* that relate to the south, between Tongking and Burma, are chiefly the following:

(i) Ch.6, f.3r°. "From T'ung-hai city,<sup>134</sup> going south for 14 day-stages, one reaches Pu-t'ou.<sup>135</sup> From Pu-t'ou, proceeding by boat along the river for 35 days, one issues from (the region of) the southern *Man*. The barbarians do not understand boats: so they mostly take the T'ung-hai city road and, at Ku-yung-pu.<sup>136</sup> enter Lin-hsi-yüan of Chên-têng chow.<sup>137</sup> If they take the Feng-chow road<sup>138</sup> they proceed southwest of Liang-shui river-valley as far as Lung ho<sup>139</sup> ('Dragon River'). Again to the south it connects with the road to the Ch'ing-mu-hsiang<sup>140</sup> ('Dark wood perfume') mountains. Due south, one reaches K'un-lun kingdom."<sup>141</sup>

(ii Ch.6, f.4v°-5r°.—"Yin-shêng city.<sup>142</sup>—It is to the south of P'u-t'an,<sup>143</sup> 10 day-stages distant from Lung-wei city.<sup>144</sup> To the southeast there is T'ung-têng river-valley.<sup>145</sup> Due south it communicates with Ho-p'u river-valley.<sup>146</sup> Again due south it communicates with Ch'iang-lang river-valley.<sup>147</sup> But this borders the sea and is uninhabited land. To the east one reaches Sung-chiang river-valley.<sup>148</sup> To the south one reaches Chiung-ê river-valley.<sup>149</sup> Again to the south one reaches Lin-chi river-valley.<sup>150</sup> Again to the southeast one reaches the Ta-yin-k'ung<sup>151</sup> ('Great silver mine') Again to the south there are the Brahmans, Persians, Javanese, Borneans, K'un-lun<sup>152</sup> (Mon-Khmers?), and various (other)

peoples. In the places for outside intercourse and trade, there is abundance of all sorts of precious things. Gold and musk are regarded as the most precious commodities.

"The P'u-tzü, Ch'ang-tsung<sup>153</sup> ('Long Chignon'), etc.—several tens of tribal *Man*.

"Again, K'ai-nan city<sup>154</sup> is 11 day-stages south of Lung-wei city. It administers the *tu-tu*'s city of Liu-chui-ho.<sup>155</sup>

"Again, Wei-yüan city, Fêng-i city and Li-jun city.<sup>157</sup> Within these, there are salt wells, over one hundred places. Mang Nai, Tao-ping, Hei-ch'ih<sup>157</sup> ('Black Teeth') etc., ten sorts of tribes, are all dependent. By land-route it is 10 day-stages distant from Yung-ch'ang. By water-route, descending to Mi-ch'ên<sup>158</sup> kingdom, it is 30 day-stages. To the south one reaches the southern sea. It is 3 day-stages distant from K'un-lun kingdom. In between also it administers Mu-chia-lo, Yü-ni, Li-ch'iang-tzü<sup>159</sup> and other clans, five sorts of tribes."

(iii) Ch.10, f.2v° — K'un-lun kingdom. — Due north, K'un-lun kingdom is 81 day-stages from the Hsi-êrh ho of the *Man* borders.<sup>160</sup> Products of the land are the dark wood perfume,<sup>161</sup> sandalwood perfume, dark-red sandalwood perfume, areca-nut trees, glazed ware, rock-crystal, bottle-gourds, unburnt brick, etc., various perfumes and herbs, precious stones, rhinoceros, etc.

"Once the *Man* rebels led an army with cavalry to attack it. The (people of) K'un-lun kingdom left the road open and let them advance. Then they cut the road behind the army and connected it with the river, letting the water cover it. Whether they advanced or retreated, (the *Man*) were helpless. Over ten thousand died of hunger. Of those who did not die, the K'un-lun severed the right wrists and let them go home."

(iv) Ch.10, f.3v° — “Nü-wang<sup>162</sup> kingdom (‘Where Woman rules’). It is over 30 day-stages distant from Chên-nan *chieh-tu*<sup>163</sup> on the *Man* border. The kingdom is 10 day-stages distant from Huan-chou.<sup>164</sup> They regularly carry on trade with the common people of Huan-chou. The *Man* rebels once led 20,000 men to attack the kingdom. They were shot down by (the people of) Nü-wang with poisoned arrows. Not one in ten survived. The *Man* rebels then retreated.

“*Water Chên-la* kingdom and *Land Chên-la*<sup>165</sup> kingdom. These kingdoms are conterminous with Chên-nan of the *Man*. The *Man* rebels once led an army of cavalry as far as the sea-shore. When they saw the green waves roaring and breaking, they felt disappointed and took their army and went back home.”

I do not know if the above passages of the *Man-shu* have already been studied by Siamese scholars; I have neither the knowledge nor the library to do so adequately myself. The following remarks are therefore merely preliminary and provisional. I take the K'un-lun kingdom of extracts ii and iii to be the Old Mon kingdom of *Haripuñjaya* (Lamphun). The common mention of the dark ark aromatic wood (*ch'ing-mu-hsiang*) suggests that extract i may also refer to the same kingdom: if so, for the ‘south’ of the itinerary, we must understand ‘southwest.’ The rough position of Yin-shêng/Wei-yüan/K'ai-nan, 10-11 stages south of T'êng-yüeh/Yung-ch'ang/Ta-li Lake, is fairly clear. Wei-yüan is still shown on the map (lat. 23° 29', long. 100° 55', according to Playfair), east of the Mekong, about 150 miles southeast of Yung-ch'ang, about 140 miles east of the Kunlong Ferry on the Salween. “The water-route descending to Mi-ch'ên kingdom,” say to Pegu, could only have been down the Salween. If Yin-shêng was really south of T'êng-yüeh, it may have been in the Nam Ting valley, say, at Mêng Ting, just east of the Salween. The two *chieh-tu* cities, Yin-shêng and K'ai-nan, are likely to have been far apart, the former perhaps guarding the area

between the Salween and the Mekong, the latter the area east of the Mekong. If the K'un-lun kingdom is really *Haripñjaya* (and what else could it be?), the alleged distance (from K'ai-nan? Yin-shêng?), 3 stages, is a gross underestimate; 30 stages, like the distance to Mi-ch'ên, would be much more likely. On the other hand, the 81 stages alleged distance between the kingdom and Ta-li Lake, seems rather too much; the distance (about 500 miles) is less than four times that between Wei-yüan and Yung-ch'ang, 10 stages. But progress south of the frontier may well have been a good deal slower than north of it.

The itinerary given at the beginning of extract ii has no names that I can identify, not even K'un-lun kingdom. Did it follow a line to the east of it? It seems to have struck the Gulf of Siam at a blank spot and turned east, south, and south-east, to reach a "great silver mine", south of which there was clearly an international emporium. This, I imagine, was near the Great Lake of Cambodia or at the mouth of the Mekong. Nan-chao's invasion of the Chên-la kingdoms (extract iv) may have followed this route to the sea. No date is given, but a likely time would have been around 800 A.D., when Cambodia, split for the past century into Land Chên-la in the north and Water Chên-la in the south, was in a state of anarchy, more or less subject to the Śailendras of Java, before Jayavrmān II (fl. 802-850) reunited and freed the kingdom and laid the foundations of the greatness of Angkor.<sup>166</sup> If the itinerary really crossed Siam, are these names Thai? Or are they pre-Thai?

Nü-wang kingdom, of extract iv, 10 stages (presumably west) from Ha-tinh, was probably on the middle Mekong, north of Land Chên-la, possibly at the great bend east of Vieng Chan. Conceivably (but there is a big gap in time), it was "the Woman's Kingdom" which joined Lavo in sending an embassy to Khubilai in 1289. Matriarchal regimes certainly existed, and still exist, among the older Austro-speaking peoples of Southeast Asia.<sup>167</sup>

Extract i is the most obscure; but except for the last two sentences, it does not seem to concern us here. The general sense, as I understand it, is that many of the *Man*, not being used to boats, would not, when they wished to go to the Tongking delta, take the easy route from Ku-yung-pu (Man-hao) down the Red River, but would diverge to the east, via Liang-shui-ch'uan (Ch'êng-chiang), and thus reach the delta overland, probably by the Hagiang and Clear River Route.<sup>168</sup> Or again, at Ku-yung-pu, they might have diverged south and gone overland towards K'un-lun kingdom (or kingdoms?).

What provoked these southern expeditions of Nan-chao, which seem to have been mostly failures except on the Burma side? Nan-chao does not seem to have needed much provoking. It was a highly militarized state.<sup>169</sup> Every year, as soon as the harvest was in, compulsory military manoeuvres were held, which seem to have passed easily into large-scale dacoity beyond the frontiers, if only for purposes of self-support. An excuse, anyhow, was available in the fact that in 754<sup>170</sup> a prince of Land Chên-la had joined Ho Li-kuang in his invasion of eastern Nan-chao, in support of Li Mi's disastrous campaign against Ko-lo-fêng. But perhaps the chaotic condition of Camboja at the time was a sufficient invitation.

## 12

Leaping four centuries, from the T'ang to the Yuan, let us next consider the Chinese evidence on the regions south of Yünnan, as approached overland. We have already dealt (*supra*, p. 129) with the "Six Roads" of Gold Teeth. On April 26th, 1290,<sup>171</sup> two new Roads were added, perhaps to the west of the Six, *Mêng Lien*<sup>172</sup> and *Mêng Lai*.<sup>173</sup> *Mêng Lai* Road was the route by which, in 1301, the defeated army of the Mongols withdrew to China from Nga Singu,<sup>174</sup> in the north of Mandalay district. Huber places it in the Shweli valley, east of

Bhamo. *Mêng Lien* was probably in the same neighbourhood; if so, the Shweli may have been the line of division, with the Sinlunkaba hill-tracts of Bhamo on the north (*Mêng Lien* ?), and the Kodaung hill-tracts of Mông Mit on the south (*Mêng-Lai* ?).

South of the six western Roads, and including roughly the Shan States of Burma today, was "the wooded country," *Mu-pang*. *Mu-pang* Road<sup>175</sup> is barely mentioned in the incomplete geographical section of the *Yüan-shih*; the date of its creation is given as 1289 in the *Ming-shih*. South of *Chên-k'ang* Road to the east, along the Nam Ting valley, was *Mêng Ting* Road,<sup>176</sup> also barely mentioned in the *ti-li-chih* of the *Yüan-shih*; the *pên-chi* adds that on May 25th, 1294, "the Emperor appointed A-lu, an official of Gold Teeth who had submitted, as governor (*tsung-kuan*) of *Mêng Ting* Road, wearing at the waist the Tiger Tally."

The following allusions to the south (some not easy to identify) I give *seriatim*, in chronological order;—

(i) May 17th, 1278.<sup>177</sup>—"Yünnan Province summoned and subdued parts of Lin-an, Pai-i ("White Clothes") and Ho-ni—109 towns and stockades; parts of Wei-ch'u, Gold Teeth and Lo-lo—towns and stockades, military and civil, 32,200; the T'u-lao *Man*, Kao-chou and Yün-lien *chou*—19 towns and stockades."

(ii) August 31st, 1290.<sup>178</sup>—"The chieftains of Shê-li and Pai-i ("White Clothes") *tien* of Yünnan, altogether 11 *tien* (native districts), submitted to China."

(iii) October 11th, 1292.<sup>179</sup>—"The Emperor ordered Pu-tun Mang-wu-lu-mi-shih to take an army and attack Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom."

(iv) January 11th, 1293.<sup>180</sup>—"Yünnan Province reported that the newly submitted Gold Teeth lay just along the route of the expeditionary force sent out by Mang-wu-t'u-êrh-mi-shih, and that they could supply fodder and grain.



They recommended that the place be set up as *Mu-lai* Road. The Central Government petitioned that it be set up as a dependent *fu*, with Pu-po as *darugaci* (Mongol provincial governor) and the native Ma-lieh employed as prefect. The Emperor set up Mu-lai military and civil *fu*."

(v) January 30th, 1293.<sup>181</sup> — "A-san-nan Pu-pa, late military and civil *tsung-kuan* and *darugaci* of *Lu-ch'uan* Road, and Chao Shêng, etc., summoned the Gold Teeth native officials of Mu-hu-lu *tien*, Hu-lu-ma-nan (and) A-lu, to come and enter the Presence and offer tribute of local products. A-lu said that on the southeast borders of his land, which had not yet submitted (to China), there were about 200,000 people longing for civilization and anxious to submit. He requested the Emperor to vouchsafe an imperial order commanding Pu-pa and Chao Shêng to notify them. The Emperor approved."

(vi) February 12th, 1293.<sup>182</sup> — "The Emperor gave orders to summon and notify the Lacquered Head and Gold Teeth southern barbarians."

(vii) December 15th, 1293.<sup>183</sup> — "Owing to the increase of population in Mu-to *tien* of Gold Teeth, the Emperor set up a minor Road, *tsung-kuan-fu*, and granted the persons who were chiefs there double-pearl Tiger Tallies."

(viii) Reign of Ch'êng Tsung.— November 7th, 1294.<sup>184</sup> — "The newly submitted chieftian of Mêng Ai *tien* of Gold Teeth sent his son to come to Court; whereupon his land was set up as Mêng Ai military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*."

(ix) December 29th, 1296.<sup>185</sup> — "The Emperor set up the military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu* of Ch'ê-li. The minister of Yünnan Province said: 'The land of Great Ch'ê-li interlocks, dogtooth-fashion, with Pa-pai-hsi-fu. At present Hu Nien of Great Ch'ê-li has already submitted; but Little Ch'ê-li, on the other hand, is occupying and blocking land facilities. They are

mostly killing and plundering each other. Hu Nien has sent his younger brother, Hu Lan, to request us specially to set up another office (*ssü*), to select a person well acquainted with the character and conditions of the southern barbarians, and to summon them to come and submit, and so cause their land to progress.'"

(x) September 21st, 1297.<sup>186</sup>— "Pa-pai-hsi-fu rebelled and raided Ch'ê-li. The Emperor sent Yeh-hsien-pu-hua (*Äsän-buqa*) to lead troops to punish them."

The above passages show the rapid southward advance of the Mongols during the period that ended with the death of Khubilai in 1294, and a bit beyond. Extract i, 1278, shows them 'summoning and subduing' on a massive scale in northeast, southeast, and south central Yünnan. It is interesting to find the term *Pai-i* ("White Clothes") used in a context of Southern Yünnan: it was not then confined to the Burma border. Extract ii, 1290, mentions eleven "Shê-li and *Pai-i* ("White Clothes") native districts" submitting. I cannot place Shê-li, unless it is an early writing of Ch'ê-li (Sip Song P'an-na) with two unusual characters. Nor can I place Mu-hu-lu native district of Extract v (1293), but the recurrence of *hu-lu* in the names of the district and of the chief, Hu-lu-ma-nan, forcibly reminds one of the 'Hu-lu kingdom'<sup>187</sup> of Manchu times, the land of the Wild Wa (Ch'ia-wa), west of Chên-k'ang. The 'Lacquered Head and Gold Teeth' of Extract vi were also probably old Austric-speaking tribes of the interior; they remind one of the 'Tattooed Face barbarians',<sup>188</sup> mentioned, with the Gold Teeth, in the *Man-shu*.

Extract iii, October 11th, 1292, introduces us with a bang to Pa-pai-hsi-fu in North Siam, whose capital, Chieng Mai, according to Professor Coedès, was only built in 1296, though Mangray had chosen the site in 1292.<sup>189</sup> If the usual 'summoning' had taken place previously, it is not recorded (I think) in the *Yüan-shih*. Here I am hampered by not having at my disposal

the anonymous *Chao-pu-tsung-lu*,<sup>190</sup> "General Record of Summoning and Arresting" (12 folios), which appears, together with the text translated by Huber, in the History Section of the *Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu* of Ch'ien Hsi-tsu. All I find in my notes is that "it helps to fill in the picture of the Mongol wars with the Dai of Ta-li, Gold Teeth, Ch'ê-li and Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

Professor Coedès refers us<sup>191</sup> to a passage in his translation of the old Pali Chronicle of North Siam, the *Jinakālamālinī* of Ratanāpañña (1517), which says that in 649s./1287 A.D. "the three friends, *Māmrāya* (Mangray), *Purchādana* (Ngam Müöng, prince of Müöng Phayao on the upper Mè Ing), and *Rocarāja* (Phra Ruang, *i.e.*, Rāma Gamheng, king of Sukhodai), had a meeting in a propitious place (*jayaigghatthāne*), and concluded a solemn pact of friendship, after which each returned to his own country."<sup>192</sup> This was followed in 1292 by Mangray's Conquest of Haripuñjaya. The Thai at this moment were in grave peril from the north; and it is easy to guess that the three leaders' main purpose was to clear the decks before the coming battle. Rāma Gamheng, it is true, made contact with Khubilai on November 26th, 1292;<sup>193</sup> but this, perhaps, was simply to buy time while he secured his conquests in the south. Mangray, it seems, was the leader in the resistance; and just as the three Shan brothers in Burma had to dispose of Pagan before they could face the Mongols with any hope of success, so Mangray had first to dispose of Haripuñjaya.

The first invasion of Pa-pai-hsi-fu (1292-3) was led by Mängü Türümish.<sup>194</sup> If he was the same man as the leader of the last invasion of Burma, eight years later (1300-1), he probably obtained some measure of success; otherwise, he would not have been sent again. To protect his communications a post was opened, early in 1293, at Mu-lai, southeast of Möng Lem (Extract iv); and at the end of the year Mu-to Road was set up near by, northeast of Kengtung State (Extract vii). A year later, after Khubilai's death, another post was set up at Mêng Ai, further north (Extract viii). There must, it seems, have

been an almost annual invasion. Under pressure of these constant attacks, 'Great Ch'ê-li' (Chieng Rung?), submitted at the end of 1296 (Extract ix); but 'Little Ch'ê-li', said to lie to the east (across the Mekhong?), resisted. In September 1297, Pa-pai-hsi-fu invaded Ch'ê-li, and Äsän-buqa was sent to punish them. He was of the Mongol-Käräit family, Grand Secretary of Yünnan, with the title "Senior Pillar of the Realm," etc.; the *Yüan-shih* contains his biography, but there is no mention in it of this campaign.

## 13

At this point we may return awhile to happenings in Burma. Burmese Chronicles relate how Klawcwā, ruler of *Tala*<sup>195</sup> (Twante), a senior son of Tarukplyi, resisted his father's murderer, and after the latter's death, returned as king to Pagan. An inscription there<sup>196</sup> shows that he received his anointing (*abhiseka*) early in Lent, 1289 A.D. On this occasion, poor as he must have been, he gave a handsome present of rice fields at *Khantī*, the Shan settlement in Minbu district, to the minister Jeyyasetthi. There is no mention of the three Shan brothers, the ultimate usurpers, being present at the ceremony. But already, several months earlier, they appear<sup>197</sup> — "the three great ministers, *Asaṅkhyā*, *Rājāsāṇleram* and *Sīhasūra*" — making a dedication near Singaing (*Cactaru*y), north of Kyaukse, "after asking leave of the supreme lord, *Rhuy-nan-syan* (Lord of the Golden Palace)," i.e., Klawcwā. If they were indeed absent from the *abhiseka*, it looks like a slight.

The origin of the Shan brothers is obscure.<sup>198</sup> Perhaps it was somewhere in the hills east of Kyaukse. During the five years of interregnum, 1284 to 1289, they had made themselves masters of a large part of Kyaukse, "the Eleven *Kharuin*," the old home and chief granary of the Burmans. When Klaw-

*cwā* returned to Pagan, he appears to have regained the loyalty of the other, smaller granary, "the Six *Kharuīn*" of Minbu; but Kyauksè stood aloof, if not hostile; and Pagan, without its main source of food and wealth, was feeble. It does not seem at all likely that the Kyauksè Shans (perhaps none too numerous) were an overflow from the north. The Pai-i or Great Shans of the China border were non-Buddhist—*ditthi Syām*, "Shan heretics", they are commonly called in later inscriptions;<sup>199</sup> whereas the Shan rulers of Kyauksè were every bit as Buddhist as the Burmans. The northern Shans left no inscriptions: those of Kyauksè left dozens, all written in Burmese, not Shan.

Mr. Harvey says that the brothers had been brought up at King Tarukplyi's Court, had taken wives there, and been entrusted by the king with the rule of Kyauksè. I find no old authority for this. Confusion in the late Burmese Chronicles has been caused by the fact that both Saw Nit, the last king of Pagan, and Sīhasūra, youngest of the Shan brothers, styled themselves *Chan phlū skhīn*, "Lord of the White Elephant".<sup>200</sup> The only certain evidence of intermarriage in the inscriptions is that the eldest brother, *Asaṅkhyā*, in 1299, was the husband of *Caw Ū*, the granddaughter of *Sumlūla*, chief queen of Tarukplyi's father, and that he joined her (*Caw Ū*) in a dedication to the Shwezigōn *Sumlūla's* temple at Minnanthu.<sup>201</sup> In a brick monastery west of at Pagan, there is a fragment of inscription dated 1293,<sup>202</sup> setup by *Siri Asaṅkhyā*, who, with his younger brothers *Rāja* and *Sīhasu*, were generals and equals of the Pagan king and who had defeated the *Taruk* army. He, or they, still claimed to rule from *Nā Chon* (*Ti wā* in the north, to *Talwīnsare* and *Tawai* (Tenasserim and Tavoy) in the south, from *Majjhāgiri* (the Fish Mountains, Arakan Yoma) in the west, to the *Sanlwān* (Salween) in the east. There is nothing here, linking the Shan brothers with Pagan, that antedates the return of *Klawcwā*. No doubt *Asaṅkhyā*, and probably *Rājasankram*,<sup>203</sup> for long temporized with him, and sought to rule the country

through him, till his subservience to the Mongols drove many of the Burmans into a 'resistance movement,' in which Sīhasūra, the youngest and strongest of the trio, early took the lead.

The Buddhist Shans of Kyauksè were in more or less secret league with the Buddhist Thai of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, and joined them, no less bravely and successfully, in their desperate resistance to the Mongols. But first let us note the rather mysterious evidence of their connections with Kyauksè. In 1300, when the Mongol emperor ordered a new expedition against Burma, it is said, "The rebels are in league with Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom. Their power is widely extended."<sup>204</sup> In 1298, Kuan-chu-ssū-chia,<sup>205</sup> an envoy sent by Yünnan to open relations with the Mons<sup>206</sup> of Lower Burma, now in revolt against Pagan, had provoked trouble by escorting, via Pagan, the Mon leaders taking their tribute to China. These were arrested by Klawewā, though Kuan-chu-ssū-chia was allowed to proceed to Tagaung.<sup>207</sup> Soon afterwards, Klawewā was dethroned by the Shan brothers and held in captivity, with two of his sons, at Myinzaing, east of Kyauksè, while Tsou Nieh<sup>208</sup> (Saw Nit) was placed on the Pagan throne. When Kuan-chu-ssū-chia returned to Pagan, Saw Nit told him, among other reasons for the dethronement, that Klawewā "had called into Burma an army of our enemies of Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom, who robbed our kingdom of the cities of Kan-tang, San-tang, Chih-ma-la, Pan-lo,<sup>209</sup> etc." I have no doubt but that these places were four (or more) of the Eleven *Kharuīn* of Kyauksè. Kan-tang is (*Mrān*) *khuntwīn*, Myingondaing, the most central; the first syllable is omitted to prevent confusion with *Mrāncwīn* (Myinzaing). San-tang is *Santōn* (Thindaung), in the northeast, Chih-ma-la is *Plañmanā* (Pyinmana), south-central near Kumè. Pan-lo is *Panlay* (Pinlè), farthest south. All four extended eastwards to the foot of the Shan Hills.

It is hard to believe that Klawewā, a Pagan Burman, could have asked, much less persuaded, the Chieng Mai Shans

to help him to expel the Shans of Kyauksè. But it is not at all improbable that the Shan brothers borrowed troops from Chieng Mai, either to overawe the proud Burmese aristocracy of Kyauksè, or to meet the expected Mongol attack. And it is possible that they tried to bluff Kuan-chu-ssū-chia into believing that Klawcwā had done it; it is possible, also, that Saw Nit weakly lent his word to the deception. There may be other explanations. I am inclined to accept as a fact that Chieng Mai helped in the occupation of Kyauksè by the Buddhist Shans. In the autumn of 1299, in *Raṇun kharuṇ* to the west of Kyauksè, a dedication was made by the family of the "queen of the king called *Sirirāja*, who has conquered all his enemies."<sup>210</sup> The king is mentioned nowhere else.<sup>211</sup> I suspect he may have been a member of the old Burmese aristocracy who, after Klawcwā's dethronement, made a stand against the Shan occupation of Kyauksè, with some temporary success on the west side of the river Panlaung.

The Mongols were the first to capture Pagan, in 1287-8. Its ruin was completed by the Shans and the Mons. When Klawcwā, the headman of *Tala*, moved back to Pagan in 1289, the Mons of the Delta took the opportunity to revolt. Before 1293, Rājasaṅkraṇ and his follower Anantajayapakram<sup>212</sup> led a campaign which recovered Tala for a while.<sup>213</sup> But by 1298, when Kuan-chu-ssū-chia was sent by Yünnan to open relations with the Mon kingdom, and returned to China up the Irrawaddy, the Mons must have been masters of most of the Delta.

At Pagan, the three Shan brothers, usually called *sambyan*, the Old Mon title for a senior minister, are commonly mentioned together in Pagan inscriptions, from 1289 to 1291,<sup>214</sup> endorsing Klawcwā's decisions. In 1292 Rājasaṅkraṇ alone appears.<sup>215</sup> Early in 1293, as we have seen in Asaṅkhayā's inscription at Pagan,<sup>216</sup> their policy begins to show itself. The three brothers are the generals, but also the equals, of the Pagan king, and they have defeated a *Taruk* army.

One obstacle to their plans was probably the prestige of Tarukpiliy's grand old queen, the great Queen Saw of the Chronicles. These say, "Queen Saw had no son nor daughter";<sup>217</sup> but this is in plain contradiction of her own inscriptions in the Sawhlawun temple, Minnanthu: "my two beloved sons" and "my husband the king, father of my two beloved sons."<sup>218</sup> She and her favourite, perhaps the elder son, *Rājasū*, were busy making dedications in 1290.<sup>219</sup> In the spring of 1291 he was dead, and her heart was broken.<sup>220</sup> The other son was probably *Klacwā*, who always takes precedence of the three Shan brothers in her inscriptions.<sup>221</sup> He (or his brother) may be called "the king's son *Dhammmarac*";<sup>222</sup> if so, it suggests the possibility of his having been declared Crown Prince. We hear no more of Prince *Klacwā* till the autumn of 1293, when we find him married to *Puthuiw-nī Mañ* <sup>223</sup> (the only female *mañ*, I think, in Old Burmese, perhaps a courtesy title), 'queen of Pahto-ni', a small village in East Kyauksè, near Myinzaing. We do not know exactly when Queen Saw died; but it was well before 1300, when her younger sister, who took her place as chief queen at Pagan, set up her first inscription at Pwazaw.<sup>224</sup> I cannot but suspect that the Shan brothers played some part in these events.

The cat-and-mouse tactics of the Shan brothers continued. Early in 1294,<sup>225</sup> *Singhasū*, the youngest, was present at a Pagan audience. At the turn of the year 1294/5,<sup>226</sup> "the *sarṇpyaṇ* Asaṅkhayā" also attends. In 1295, *Sīhasū* is first styled *Chañ phlū syaṇ*, "Lord of the White Elephant", in a Kyauksè inscription.<sup>227</sup> Near the end of the following year, 1296, he sets up his first inscription<sup>228</sup> at Myinzaing with true royal protocol: "The king called *Simhasūra*, fulfilled with virtue, might and splendour"; he has built a "golden monastery east of *Mrañcuin*" (Myinzaing), at the foot of the hills east of Kyauksè town, and dedicates a lot of small pieces of land in the eastern half of the district, and a large area in the hills behind Myinzaing.

Chinese texts, though based sometimes on contradictory reports, are our fullest informants about the last days of Pagan,



The following seems to me to be the probable course of events. Klawcwā, well nigh desperate, one imagines, turning to the only source from which effective help could be obtained, early in 1297 sent an important embassy to Peking, headed by his eldest son, Prince Singhapati.<sup>229</sup> He promised to pay a yearly tribute of 2,500 taels of silver, 1,000 pieces of silk, 20 tame elephants and 10,000 piculs of grain.<sup>230</sup> On March 20th, 1297, in an edict given at length in the *pên-chi*,<sup>231</sup> the Emperor granted official appointment to Klawcwā as king of *Mien* with a silver seal, and to Singhapati as Crown Prince with a Tiger Tally; a Pearl Tiger Tally was also conferred on "Sa-pang-pa, younger brother of the king of *Mien*," and three on "the leader of the chieftains, *A-san*," i.e., Asankhayā, including, no doubt, his two brothers. "Border generals of Yünnan, etc.," the edict concludes, "are not to raise armies without my authority."

According to Na-su-la's report,<sup>232</sup> Singhapati, on his return, was accompanied by the minister Chiao Hua-ti,<sup>233</sup> as deputy of the Mongol Court. On their arrival at Pagan, Klawcwā convoked a big assembly to hear the reading of the Emperor's edict. Rājasankram and Sihasū absented themselves. This was probably the occasion when Ch'ieh-lieh, late Chief Secretary of Mien-chung province, "was made bearer of the imperial edict to publish abroad the majesty and virtue (of the Emperor) at *Mien*. The king of Mien bowed down his forehead to the ground and pronounced his thanks for the favour shown him. He sent his son and heir, Singhapati, to Court with tribute."<sup>234</sup>

In the autumn of 1297, things still seem normal at Pagan. "*Sin̄kasū*, *sampyan* in the royal presence," recommends to the king a largish grant of land in *Panan kharuin* (the centre of Kyaukse) to "his servant and follower, *Anantajayapakram*."<sup>235</sup> The trouble comes to a head, as mentioned above, in March-April 1298,<sup>236</sup> when Kuan-chu-ssū-chia and the Mon envoys try to pass through Pagan. Klawcwā's arrest of the latter gives the two younger brothers an excuse to revolt. There were other

reasons also. The A-pa<sup>237</sup> tribe had rebelled, apparently, in the north; perhaps they were northern Shans, west of the Irrawaddy, on the border of Chêng-mien province. Klawcwā asked the Mongols for troops to deal with them. The rebels were indignant: "He calls in an army from China to kill, plunder and enslave us." They fortified their town and mustered troops to retaliate. Sīhasū and Rājasankram made common cause with the rebels. They ravaged the land of Mi-li-tu (*Mlyitū*, Myedu, in the north of Shwebo district) and Pang-chia-lang.<sup>238</sup> Asankhayā was sent to stop them, but failed, and was put under arrest. The rebels fortified themselves in the land of Pu-kan-yü-su-chi-lao-i,<sup>239</sup> and advanced by water and land to besiege Pagan. Na-su-la leads a sortie, but is captured. The monks of the capital persuade both sides to stop fighting and swear oaths of loyalty,<sup>240</sup> whereupon prisoners on both sides are released. But in the 5th month (June 10th-July 9th, 1298), the three brothers return with a large army, force an entrance into Pagan, arrest the king, his eldest son Singhapati, and younger son (sons?) Chao Chi-li (and) Chao P'u,<sup>241</sup> and imprison them all "for 11 months" in Myinzaing. "Ever since you submitted to China," they told Klawcwā "you have not ceased to load us with shames."<sup>242</sup>

Such is the version given in Huber's text, supported by a wealth of detail. It places the dethronement of Klawcwā and his removal to Myinzaing in June-July 1298. This date, however, clashes with a Myinzaing inscription<sup>243</sup> dated six months earlier, when "the dethroned king" (*Nan kla man*) "appeared in full audience" in Myinzaing, listening to a request seconded by "the great minister *Asankhyā*," and pouring water of dedication. He still retains in captivity, it seems, his religious functions. If this inscription is trusted (I cannot question it), one is led to believe that the arrest of the Mon embassy at Pagan was not by order of Klawcwā, who was in captivity 100 miles away, but by that of the brothers who afterwards bluffed Kuan-chu-sū-chia into believing that he, not they, was responsible.

On the Pagan throne they left a puppet-king, Tsou Nieh<sup>244</sup> (*Caw Nac*, Saw Nit), "a bastard son of the king, 16 years old," telling him, it seems, to do his best to propitiate the Mongols. In the 6th month (July 10th to August 7th, 1298), he sent an envoy, A-chih-pu-ch'ieh-lan,<sup>245</sup> to Tagaung to report their version of what had happened, apologize to Kuan-chu-ssū-chia, and invite him to come to Pagan for discussions. When he arrived, Tsou Nieh put the blame on Klawcwā, and said he was preparing to send tribute to Peking by the hand of three high officials.<sup>246</sup> He also sent a letter to the Yünnan government, praising Asaṅkhayā, and giving the reasons why the three brothers (here named in full)<sup>247</sup> have dethroned Klawcwā and placed Asaṅkhayā on the throne.

To lend colour to their protestations, it appears that the three brothers allowed the captive Crown Prince, Singhapati, to head one further embassy to Peking. On April 13th, 1299<sup>248</sup> "the Crown Prince of Mien kingdom, Hsin-ho-pa-ti, submitted a memorial and came to thank the Emperor, who bestowed clothing on him and sent him back." The account in the section on *Mien*<sup>249</sup> is fuller: "In the 3rd year (1299 A.D.), 3rd month, Mien again sent its heir apparent to submit a memorial of thanks. He himself reported that his tribespeople were being killed and plundered by the Gold Teeth", *i.e.*, the Shans, "and that this had caused widespread poverty and want, and thus prevented him from being able to pay the tribute-offering of gold and silks at the appointed time. The Emperor took pity on him, and ordered him only every other year to offer elephants. Once more he bestowed clothing on him, and sent him back." Why did he not blurt out the whole truth, and beg the Emperor (as his brother did a few months later) to vindicate his father's right and punish the usurpers? I imagine they had sent spies to accompany him, and warned him that his father's life depended on his secrecy and quick return to Myinzaing. And so their poor victim duly

told his tale, and in a vain attempt to save his father, returned to his captivity and death.

But the truth was now beginning to leak out. The captive father and son having now served their purpose, on May 10th, 1299 (according to Na-su-la's report),<sup>250</sup> "Asaṅkhayā ordered his brother to kill the king and his two sons. K'ang-chi-lung Ku-ma-la-ch'ieh-shih-pa,<sup>251</sup> another son of the king, managed to escape." Conflicting accounts of the murders now poured in, which the murderers sought in vain to counteract.

*Mañ Lulan*, "the young king" (Tsou Nieh), was now with great publicity anointed king of Pagan. In the summer of 1299, "when the king appeared in full audience, in the glorious Presence of the Future Buddha Siri Tribhavanādittiryāpavara-dhammarāja *Mañ Lulan*," a request was made, and the chief witnesses were "the great *sampyāṇ* Asaṅkhayā, the *sampyāṇ* Rājāsankram, the *sampyāṇ* Sinkasū," etc.<sup>252</sup> After the death of her sister, Tarukpli's queen, the youngest *Phwā Cau*, grandmother Saw, became the chief queen of *Mañ Lulan*. Horrified, one imagines, at the happenings around her, she left Pagan and settled in the little village of Pwazaw, still called after her, four miles inland from the city. Here she and her daughter and nephew found some comfort in a feverish burst of architectural activity, the last masterwork of Old Pagan—the Hsutaungbyi group with their great brick monasteries,<sup>253</sup> the Thitmati brick monastery,<sup>254</sup> the Adhiṭṭān temple,<sup>255</sup> and the last and almost loveliest of the greater temples, the Thitsawadi.<sup>256</sup>

#### 14

During the autumn of 1299, if my views about King *Sirirāja* are correct (*supra*, p. 153), the Shan brothers must have been busy crushing a Burmese rebellion in the west of Kyaukse. Meanwhile, in the 8th month<sup>257</sup> (August 27th-September 25th) Kumārakassapa had made good his escape to Yünnan.

Here, Mängü TÜRÜMISH, the imperial commissary, warmly espoused his cause. The latter's report was approved by the Emperor who, in the 9th month<sup>258</sup> (September 26th-October 24th) ordered the Council of State to prepare a plan of campaign. This meant a year's delay; for Burma could only be invaded during the cold season, which had already well begun. In the 12th month<sup>259</sup> (December 24th, 1299 - January 22nd, 1300), as soon as he knew that no invasion was imminent, Asaṅkhayā invaded Chêng-mien province, captured Nga Singu and Malé, and only turned back a few miles short of Tagaung. In the 1st month of the 4th year<sup>260</sup> (January 23rd-February 20th, 1300), Mängü TÜRÜMISH was summoned to Peking to help in the planning. On May 27th,<sup>261</sup> "fifteen post-stages were added, from Yünnan to Mien kingdom." On June 22nd,<sup>262</sup> the Emperor issued a decree declaring Kumā-rakassapa king and rightful heir to the throne of Mien.

Past masters in deception, the three brothers tried every sleight to avert, or at least delay, the coming invasion. On May 1st, 1300<sup>263</sup> "Mien kingdom sent envoys to submit a white elephant." Impersonation, even, was attempted. On July 28th, 1300,<sup>264</sup> "Che-su, (*i.e.*, Sihasū), younger brother of A-san-ko-yeh of Mien kingdom, and others, 91 persons, each submitted local products and were coming to Court. The Emperor gave orders that the rest be detained at An-ch'ing"<sup>265</sup> (*read* Chung-ch'ing), "and only Che-su sent to Shang-tu."<sup>266</sup> On September 1st, 1300<sup>267</sup> (four days later), "A-san-chi-ya of Mien kingdom and others, elder and younger brothers, came to the Gate of the Palace, and confessed in person their crime in killing their lord. The Emperor cancelled the expeditionary force to Mien." It was only for a moment, until the fraud was discovered. In the intercalary 8th month<sup>268</sup> (September 14th - October 13th) the Mongol army started from Yünnan Fu.

The Shan brothers, even in their graves, could deceive brilliant scholars. Huber does an injustice, I believe, to the *Yüan-shih*. "It is regarded," he says (p. 662—I translate from

the French), "as the worst-edited of the 24 dynastic histories of China.<sup>269</sup> .... Its editorial committee, under the Ming, has shewn great incapacity to use the documents at its disposal. Thus, according to the *Yüan-shih*, no Chinese army ever besieged Myinzaing. Better still, the Shan usurper Asamkhaya becomes own brother of King Kyoza of Pagan, and in 1300 there was no change of capital nor of dynasty. The *Yüan-shih* chapter on the geography of the Burma frontier is equally worthless ...." On p. 679 he adds: "The official annals of the Yüan" (*i.e.*, the *pên-chi*) "state that in 1300... Kyoza was killed by his brother Asamkhaya, who shortly afterwards came to Peking to excuse himself, was pardoned and received investiture. If... the authors had seen the work I have just translated, we should be entitled to conclude that they have knowingly falsified history. But it is fairer to accuse them only of carelessness and ignorance."

In general the *pên-chi* of the *Yüan-shih* are very full and admirably dated, fuller and better dated, *e.g.*, than those of the *Ming-shih*. In working out over 150 dates, I have found, if I remember aright, only one mistake. So far as Burma is concerned, omissions there certainly are, but there is little sign of carelessness. The geographical section (*ti-li-chih*, ch. 61) is incomplete; and in writing of Lu-ch'uan (see n. 41) it once says 'east' for 'west'; but my frequent references to it here prove that I have found it very useful. The section on *Mien* (ch. 210) is almost the same as Huber's text, except that it entirely omits the last campaign. Everything that is not in Huber follows exactly the facts and dates as stated in the *pên-chi*. I cannot say, but it is quite possible, that the authors knew the story of the last campaign (as given in Huber), and deliberately rejected it as inconsistent with the evidence of the *pên-chi*, *e.g.*, the Emperor on September 1st cancelling the expedition on the one hand, and the expedition starting a few weeks later on the other. Huber, facing the same dilemma, rejects the *pên-chi*, while the brothers (if they but knew it) rejected Huber's text. I have tried to show that

both sources are valid, and can be reconciled, once we realize that the Shan brothers were out to deceive and delude, and often for a while succeeded in doing so.

Huber embroils his case by confusing *Che-su* with Klawcwā. This is impossible. *Che-su*, the name used everywhere, I think, in the *Yüan-shih*, corresponds to Huber's *S'eng-ko-su* (see n.247). The latter is derived from the Sanskrit *Singhasūra*, "the Lion Hero"; Chê-su is from the Pali *Sīhasūra*. In Old Burmese, forms like *Singhasū* and *Sīhasū* are interchangeable. The *Yüan-shih* does not deny the siege of Myinzaing, nor the change of capital or dynasty; it merely does not mention them, because, presumably, it found the evidence conflicting. And it nowhere says that Asaṅkhayā was pardoned or received investiture.

The Mongol army was quite a small one, not "the 200,000 soldiers of the *Khan mañkrī*" whom Asaṅkhayā claims, three years later, that his younger brother Sīhasūra has defeated.<sup>270</sup> Mängü Tüürümish had asked for 6,000 men. On June 2nd, 1300<sup>271</sup> the Council of State, "considering that Burma was strong and could rely on help from Pa-pai-hsi-fu," thought he needed "at least 10,000." The Emperor sanctioned up to 12,000. Mängü Tüürümish had asked for two generals to join him, Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh (Sächäur?), the Grand Secretary of Yünnan, and General Liu Tê-Lu. He asked also for the State Counsellor, Kao A-k'ang, native chieftain of Yünnan, The Prince of the Blood, K'uo-k'uo ("the Blue Prince") was placed in nominal command.<sup>272</sup> In the 10th month,<sup>273</sup> November 13th-December 11th, they entered Burma. On January 15th, 1301,<sup>274</sup> they reached Malé, and held a general review.

While the army marched straight on Kyauksè, Kumāra-kassapa diverged towards Pagan. He is not mentioned in Burmese Chronicles, but a two-faced inscription<sup>275</sup> dated 1302, at the Shwenan-u pagoda, Paunglaung, mentions him under the

name, *Tak tau mu māṅkrī*, *Taruk prañ la so Tak tau mū māṅkrī*, "the king who came from the land of the Turks and ascended the throne," "King Ascend-the-throne." Some 40 miles above Pagan, on the west bank of the river, he halted to hear a sermon on the way to Nirvāṇa, the *Rathavinīta Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and to make a dedication of land (afterwards confirmed by the three brothers) "at the royal monastery of the *mahāthera Tipitakavīlāsa*, spiritual preceptor of our lord *Sīṅkapicañ*." Having thus created a favourable impression, he entered Pagan without difficulty. Later he told the Mongols,<sup>276</sup> "Those who through fear are still on the side of the rebels, are few. Everyone is on my side." But when the Mongols retreated, he went with them.

On January 25th, 1301,<sup>277</sup> the army reached Myin-zaing,<sup>278</sup> with its three walled enclosures interlocking. The Shan brothers came out to fight, but were driven back within the walls, where they maintained a stout defence. Māṅgū Tūrūmish and Liu Tê-lu undertook the east and north sides, Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh and Kao A-k'ang, the more open west side. They could spare no troops to besiege the south until later, when they mustered 2000 Pai-i (Northern Shans), who were on the lines of communication. The fighting was severe. The defenders mounted mechanical catapults on the walls. To protect themselves, the Taruk had to heap an earth-rampart all round the city. Between February 10th and March 10th,<sup>279</sup> the fortified outpost called "the Stone Mountain" was captured. The grand assault on February 28th<sup>280</sup> was a failure, the Taruk losing over 500 men, killed by arrowshot or crushed beneath the blocks of stone and timber that rained down from the walls. There was little more fighting, but, for the defence there was a real danger of starvation.

The Shan brothers fell back on their old incomparable expedient. On March 12th<sup>281</sup> Asaṅkhayā sent out men who shouted from afar, "We are not rebels. We are loyal



subjects of your Emperor.... We never killed the king. He committed suicide by poison. We are innocent men. We are Mongols. Please accept our submission." Negotiations and secret corruption followed and the hot weather helped to complete the rout. Between April 6th and 8th,<sup>282</sup> the Taruk began their retreat. On April 14th<sup>283</sup> Nga Singu was reached, and a vain attempt was made to rally the routed forces and return. The same day, by elephant, Kunārakassapa's mother arrived and said, "The rebels held me captive in Myinzaing. I have only just managed to escape. If you had only waited five more days, the rebels would have been bound to surrender. What a pity you left so soon!" The Taruk returned to China by the Mêng Lai Road.<sup>284</sup> They had to fight their way through 'the Gold Teeth', i.e., the Pai-i, during the following autumn. Under the date of September 10th, 1301,<sup>285</sup> we read, "The Emperor sent Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh, etc., to take troops and invade Gold Teeth and other kingdoms. At the time when the army of the Mien expedition was returning, they were intercepted by the Gold Teeth, and many of the soldiers killed fighting."

On the same day, September 10th,<sup>286</sup> the Court of Enquiry appointed by the Emperor reported that every single person of importance, from Prince K'uo-K'uo downwards, had been bribed. "Having let themselves be corrupted, the Commanders-in-Chief had no longer any authority over their subordinates...."

Their triumph accomplished, Burma and the Shan brothers were tactful and assiduous in softening the blow. On July 27th, 1301,<sup>287</sup> "The king of Mien sent envoys to offer as tribute nine tame elephants." On September 16th,<sup>288</sup> "I-la-fu-shan, *wan-hu* of Chêng-mien, and others submitted six tame elephants." On November 4th,<sup>289</sup> "The king of Mien sent envoys to Court with tribute." The final triumph, after the failure of the Pa-pai-hsi-fu expedition (see *infra*), came eighteen months later. On April 4th, 1303,<sup>290</sup> "the Emperor abolished

Chêng-mien Province split off from Yünnan." On May 25th,<sup>291</sup> "the 14,000 men of the army returned from Chêng-mien were sent back, each man to his post."

Tribute continued to be submitted. On October 6th, 1303,<sup>292</sup> "the king of Mien sent envoys to offer as tribute four tame elephants." Friendly relations were even established under the new Emperor, Wu Tsang. On February, 1st, 1308,<sup>293</sup> "Mien kingdom submitted six tame elephants." On May 31st,<sup>294</sup> again, "Mien kingdom submitted six tame elephants." On August 3rd,<sup>295</sup> "the Emperor appointed Kuan-chu-ssü-chien," probably a Tibetan, "as Vice-President of the Board of Rites, and To-êrh-chih as Vice-President of the Board of War, and sent them to Mien kingdom." At this time, Sîhasû, the youngest of the Shan brothers, was busy choosing a site for his new capital near the junction of the rivers. Relations continued to be good under the next Emperor, Jên Tsung. On December 27th, 1312,<sup>296</sup> "the lord of Mien kingdom sent his son-in-law, together with Ts'ên-fu, chieftain of the Pu-nung *Man* of Yünnan, to come to Court." On July 31st, 1315,<sup>297</sup> "the lord of Mien kingdom sent his son, T'o-la-ho, and others to come and offer tribute of local products." On July 20th, 1319,<sup>298</sup> "Chao Ch'in-sa of Mien kingdom brought local products and entered the Presence."

## 15

The resistance of the Northern Thai to Mongol aggression appears to have been just as brave, and just as victorious, as that of the Shan brothers. But the harvest was not reaped so neatly, and theirs continued for long to be a troubled border. Not having the *Chao-pu-tsung-lu* text (see *supra*, n. 190), the most I can do for the present is to translate *seriatim* relevant extracts from the *pên-chi* of the *Yüan-shih*, from 1300 A.D. onwards:

(i) February 1st, 1301.<sup>299</sup> — "The Emperor sent Liu Shên, Ho-la-tai and Chêng Yu, at the head of an army of 20,000 men, to invade Pa-pai-hsi-fu. As usual, he sent orders to Yünnan province to give 5 horses per 10 men of each army, and more, if this was not enough."

(ii) February 18th, 1301.<sup>300</sup> — "For the expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, the Emperor gave paper money reckoned altogether at over 92,000 'shoes' (*ting*)."

(iii) March 27th, 1301.<sup>301</sup> — "For the expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, the Emperor set up two *wan-hu-fu*" (*lit.* offices controlling ten thousand households), "and four posts of *wan-hu*. He despatched criminals of Ssüch'uan and Yünnan to follow the army."

(iv) May 21st, 1301.<sup>302</sup> — "The Emperor moved the Yünnan army to invade Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

(v) July 4th, 1301.<sup>303</sup> — "The Emperor ordered that persons of Yünnan province who volunteered to go on expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, should be given, each man, 60 strings of cowries."

(vi) August 20th, 1301.<sup>304</sup> — "The Emperor commanded Yünnan province to divide up the Mongol archers to go on expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

(vii) September 10th, 1301.<sup>305</sup> — "... again, the various southern barbarians on the borders of Pa-pai-hsi-fu have agreed among themselves not to pay taxes and imposts; and they have robbed and killed the government officials. Therefore all are to be attacked."

(viii) March 21st, 1302.<sup>306</sup> — "The Emperor dismissed from office the *yu-ch'êng* for the expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Liu Shên, and other officials, and took from them their tallies, seals and post-station coupons."

(ix) April 4th, 1303.<sup>307</sup> — "On account of the ruin of the army invading Pa-pai-hsi-fu, the Emperor put to death Liu Shên, and sentenced to flogging Ho-la-tai and Chêng Yu."

(x) December 3rd, 1309.<sup>308</sup> — "Yünnan province stated that Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Great Ch'ê-li and Little Ch'ê-li were making a disturbance at Ku-pao of Wei-yüan *chou*, and had snatched and occupied Mu-lo *tien*; the Emperor had given orders to send the *yu-ch'êng* of the province, Suan-chih-êrh-wei, to go and summon and notify them, and, as usual, had ordered 1500 men of the army of Wei-ch'u *tao* to guard and escort him within their frontier; but Suan-chih-êrh-wei had accepted bribes from Ku-pao (amounting to) 3 'shoes' each of gold and silver; after which, he advanced his force and raided and attacked Ku-pao; but bows and cross-bows were improperly used, and so he was defeated and returned. Not only had he lost the day, but also he had injured our men. 'Let Your Majesty decide!' The Emperor replied 'It is a big matter. We must be quick and select envoys once more to bear a letter with the imperial seal, and go and summon and notify them. As for Suan-chih-êrh-wei, (his life) is pardoned, but he must be rigorously tried.'"

(xi) February 22nd, 1310.<sup>309</sup> — "The Emperor sent down orders to summon and notify Great Ch'ê-li and Little Ch'ê-li."

(xii) February 23rd, 1310.<sup>310</sup> — "The Emperor gave orders to notify Pa-pai-hsi-fu, and sent the *yu-ch'êng* of Yünnan province, Suan-chih-êrh-wei, to summon and comfort them."

(xiii) December 6th, 1310.<sup>311</sup> — "The ministers of the Central Government reported .., 'Moreover we are just moving troops to punish Pa-pai-hsi-fu. Our military strength is dispersed and exhausted. Now we propose that the Mongol troops be given one horse each, and the Chinese troops two

horses per ten men. We suggest giving these directly. We request the Emperor to bestow 30,000 'shoes' of paper-money for the purpose.'"

(xiv) May 20th, 1311.<sup>312</sup> — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, together with those of Great and Little Ch'ê-li, raided the frontier. The Emperor ordered the Prince of Yünnan and the *yu-ch'êng* A-hu-t'ai to take troops and punish them."

(xv) March 21st, 1312.<sup>313</sup> — "Pa-pai-hsi-fu came and offered as tribute two tame elephants."

(xvi) September 29th, 1312.<sup>314</sup> — "The Emperor sent orders that the *yu-ch'êng* of Yünnan province, A-hu-t'ai, etc., should lead Mongol troops and follow the Prince of Yünnan and punish the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

(xvii) October 6th, 1312.<sup>315</sup> — "The Emperor cancelled the expedition against the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, and those of Great and Little Ch'ê-li. He sent a letter with the imperial seal to summon and notify them."

(xviii) October 9th, 1312.<sup>316</sup> — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu and Great and Little Ch'ê-li offered as tribute tame elephants and local products."

(xix) November 1st, 1312.<sup>317</sup> — "The *yu-ch'êng* of Yünnan province, Suan-chih-êrh-wei, was found guilty. The spiritual teacher of the realm (*kuo-shih*), Shuo-ssü-chi-wa-chieh-êrh, memorialized requesting the Emperor to pardon him. The Emperor reproached him saying, 'A Buddhist monk should study the writings of the Buddha. Is it proper for him to interfere in state affairs?'"

(xx) November 25th, 1315.<sup>318</sup> — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu sent envoys to offer as tribute two tame elephants. The Emperor bestowed silks on them."

(xxi) January 24th, 1320.<sup>319</sup> — "The Emperor economized 124 ranks of officials, including sub-prefects and subordinate officials of Ta-li of Yünnan, Great and Little Ch'ê-li, and other places, and various officials employed as Confucianist teachers and Mongol instructors."

(xxii) January 24th, 1324.<sup>320</sup> — "Yü Mêng of Ch'ê-li of Yünnan made a raid. The Emperor gave orders to summon and notify him."

(xxiii) January 26th, 1324.<sup>321</sup> — "The Hua-chiao ('Flowery Leg') southern barbarians of Yünnan made a raid. The Emperor gave orders to summon and notify them."

(xxiv) September 18th, 1324.<sup>322</sup> — "The Emperor sent envoys to notify Great Ch'ê-li and Little Ch'ê-li of Yünnan."

(xxv) November 3rd, 1324.<sup>323</sup> — "The Ch'ê-li southern barbarians of Yünnan made raids. The Emperor sent Wa-êrh-to bearing an imperial decree to summon and notify them. Ni-êrh, son of their chief Sai-sai, and Tiao Ling, son of Ying-kou-mu, came out and submitted."

(xxvi) June 14th, 1325.<sup>324</sup> — "T'ao La-mêng of Ch'ê-li and the Great A-ai southern barbarians, 10,000 soldiers riding on elephants, attacked and captured 14 stockades including Tola...."

(xxvii) August 9th, 1325.<sup>325</sup> — "The southern barbarians of Great and Little Ch'ê-li came and offered tame elephants."

(xxviii) August 15th, 1325.<sup>326</sup> — "The Emperor sent envoys bearing imperial orders separately to...; to the native official of Chên-k'ang Road, Ni Nang; and to the native official of Mou-chan (*or* nien) Road, Sai Ch'iu-lo, ordering them to come out and submit...."

(xxix) August 20th, 1325.<sup>327</sup> — "The Emperor set up Ch'ê-li military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*, and appointed the native

Han Sai as *tsung-kuan* (Governor), wearing at the waist a gold Tiger Tally."

(xxx) June 11th, 1326.<sup>328</sup> — "Chao Nan-tao, southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, sent his son, Chao Zan-t'ing, to offer local products and come to Court."

(xxxi) August 15th, 1326.<sup>329</sup> — "Chao Nan-t'ung, southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, sent envoys to come and offer as tribute tame elephants and local products."

(xxxii) October 18th, 1326.<sup>330</sup> — "The Emperor bestowed on the southern barbarian officials of Great Ch'ê-li who had recently submitted, 75 persons, fur garments, caps, boots and clothes."

(xxxiii) October 23rd, 1326.<sup>331</sup> — "Ai P'ei, chieftain of T'u-la stockade of Wei-ch'û Road of Yünnan province; A-wu, son of A-chih-lung, chief of Ching-tung stockade; Ni Tao, younger brother of the lord of Great A-ai stockade; Ai Pu-li, chief of Mu-lo stockade; A-li, native official of Mang-shih Road; T'o-chin-k'o, younger brother of Ni Nang, native official of Chên-chiang Road; Ch'iu-lo, native official of Mu-t'ieh Road; Ai Yung, nephew of Chao Ai of Great Ch'ê-li; and Wu Chung, native official of Mêng Lung *tien* — all together submitted local products and came to offer tribute. The Emperor took Chao Ai's land and set up one Mu-to Road, with one Mu-lai *chou* and three *tien* (native districts). He took Wu Chung's land and set up one Mêng Lung Road with one *tien*. He took Ai P'ei's land and set up one *tien* there. At the same time he conferred on them gold tallies and copper seals, and bestowed the usual silks, saddles and bridles according to their rank."

(xxxiv) March 14th, 1327.<sup>332</sup> — "Chao Nan-t'ung, chief of the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, came and offered as tribute local products."

(xxxv) August 9th, 1327.<sup>333</sup> — "Sai Ch'iu-lo, native official of Mou-chan (*or* - nien) Road, summoned and notified the southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Chao San-chin, to come and submit. San-ch'ieh-chê, native official of Yin-sha-lo ('Perimeter of Silver Sand'), killed Sai Ch'iu-lo. The Emperor ordered the Prince of Yünnan to send persons to notify them."

(xxxvi) November 13th, 1327.<sup>334</sup> — "The southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu requested the officials to garrison and set up Meng Ch'ing (as a) *hsüan-fu-ssü* and *tu-yüan-hsuei-fu* (Comfortership and office of General Commander), with two *fu*, Mu-an and Mêng Chieh, in their land. The Emperor appointed the sub-prefect and acting comforter of Wu-sa, Ni-Ch'u-kung, and the native official Chao Nan-t'ung as Joint Comforters and General Commanders; and the *chao yü jên* ('summoner'), Mi-tê, as sub-prefect and acting Comforter; and Chao San-chin, son of the Assistant General Commander (Chao) Nan-t'ung, as prefect of Mu-an *fu*; and his nephew, Hun P'ên, as prefect of Mêng Chieh *fu*. The Emperor made the normal bestowals paper-money and silks, on each according to his rank."

(xxxvii) June 15th, 1328.<sup>335</sup> "The southern barbarian of Pa-pai-hsi-fu sent his son, Ai Chao, to offer as tribute tame elephants."

(xxxviii) October 15th, 1328.<sup>336</sup> "The native official of Mêng Ting Road of Yünnan came and offered as tribute local products."

(xxxix) November 20th, 1328.<sup>337</sup> "The native official of Yin-lo *tien* of Yünnan, Ai Tsan etc., came and offered tribute of local products."

(xl) November 24th, 1328.<sup>338</sup> — "The native official of Ch'ê-li Road of Yünnan, Tiao Sai, etc., came and offered tribute of local products."



(xli) December 16th, 1328.<sup>339</sup> — "Chao Ai, envoy of Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom; Ni Fang, etc., native official of Wei-ch'u Road of Yünnan; and Pi-yeh-ku etc., native official of 'the Ninety-Nine Stockades'; each brought local products and came to offer tribute."

(xlii) March 14th, 1329.<sup>340</sup> — "A-san-mu, native official of Mêng T'ung (and) Mêng Suan *tien* (districts) of Yünnan province; Ai Fang, native official of K'ai-nan; Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Gold Teeth, 'the Ninety Nine Caves', and Yin-sha-lo *tien*; all came and offered as tribute local products."

(xliii) March 28th, 1329.<sup>341</sup> — "The Emperor set up the *hsüan-wei ssü* (Comfortership) and *tu-yüan-shuai-fu* (Office of General Commander) of Yin-sha-lo *tien* and other places."

(xliv) December 15th, 1329.<sup>342</sup> — "The Emperor once again set up the military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu* (office of Governor) of Mêng Ting Road."

(xlv) June 20th, 1331.<sup>343</sup> — "Mêng Ting Road and Mêng Yüan Road were both made military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*, their rank being 3rd grade. Chê-hsien, Mêng Ch'ing *tien*, Yin-sha-lo and other *tien*, were all made into military and civil *fu*, their rank being 4th grade. Mêng Ping, Mêng Kuang, Chê-yang and other *tien* were all created military and civil *chang-kuan-ssü*, their rank being 5th grade."

(xlvi) January 26th, 1342.<sup>344</sup> — "Han Sai-tao etc., of Ch'ê-li of Yünnan revolted. The Emperor gave orders to the *p'ing-chang-chêng-shih* (Grand Secretary) of Yünnan province, T'o-t'o-mu-êrh, to punish and pacify them."

(xlvii) May 13th, 1342.<sup>345</sup> — "The Emperor abolished Mêng Ch'ing *hsüan-wei-ssü* of Yünnan."

(xlviii) February 1st, 1347.<sup>346</sup> — "The Emperor set up again the *hsüan-wei-ssü* of Pa-pai, and appointed the native official Han Pu to inherit his father's rank."

(xlix) February 27th, 1347.<sup>347</sup> — "Lao Ya and other southern barbarians of Yünnan came to submit. The Emperor set up the military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu* (Governor's Office) of Kêng-tung Road."

These are all of the extracts I have found in the *pên-chi* of the *Yüan-shih* that are concerned with the border of Siam. There is more about the Pai-i of the north, and also about Mien and Mu-pang. But they relate rather the story of the rise of 'the Maw Shans', who sacked the two capitals of Central Burma, Sagaing (*Cackuin*) and Pinya (*Panya*) in 1364, and remained a menace to the Chinese of the Ming dynasty for nearly a century. This story must necessarily be made the subject of a separate study. Further searches throughout the whole of the *Yüan-shih* will very probably yield additional fruits. I hope, I shall be able to present them in the pages of a future issue of this *Journal*.

## NOTES

### THE EARLY SYĀM IN BURMA'S HISTORY

1. For Northern Thailand (*Yonaka*), excluding Eastern, Professor Coedès has listed 57 inscriptions (94 faces) on pp. 25-33 of his *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Part I, *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (Bangkok 1924), dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries. In East Burma about 10 faces in Old Thai have been found at various sites in the Kengtung plain. And recently, Professor Søren Egerod of Copenhagen, on a brief visit to Mōng Lwe and Mōng yang (50-60 miles north of Kengtung), discovered 14 faces in Old Thai, and heard of others which he had no time or materials to stamp. I cannot estimate the number of Old Thai inscriptions in Laos (Luang Phrabang, Vieng Chan, etc.); but those collected by the Mission Pavie, Fournereau, Lunet de Lajonquière, etc., suggest that it may be considerable. I would humbly suggest that it would be a good thing if a small joint committee of scholars of all three countries could visit the sites of these inscriptions, collect and share information, and arrange for their scientific editing under the auspices, if possible, of the three Governments.

2. In this paper I use *Thai* for the Siamese proper, and *Dai* for the larger unit, linguistic if not racial, stretching from Ssüch'uan southwards and Assam eastwards. For a note on the word, see Henri Maspero, *BEFEO* t. XI, 1911, p. 153, n. 1.

3. *États hindouisés*, p. 320.

4. Pl. II 112<sup>6</sup>, dated 482 s. Note that the modern Burmese spelling of 'Shan' is *Rham*:

5. Pl. II 138<sup>18</sup>, 603 s. (*sambyañ syam*).

6. Pl. II 113<sup>14</sup>, 507 s. (*wih syam pantyāh*).

7. Pl. IV 391<sup>22</sup>, 661 s. (*yan sañ nā syam*).

8. Pl.IV 392<sup>19</sup>, 662 s. (*panqwat nā syam*).

9. Pl.I<sup>13</sup>, 65b<sup>3</sup>, 87<sup>10</sup>, 92<sup>17</sup>; II 143a<sup>9,21</sup>, 143b<sup>7,17</sup>, 144<sup>9</sup>, 148b<sup>3</sup>, (*Khamtī Porlon*), 153b<sup>10</sup>, 183a<sup>2</sup>, 186<sup>3</sup>; III 239<sup>2,8,10</sup>, 282<sup>3</sup>, 283<sup>14</sup>. These references to *Khamtī* range in date from 554 to 655 s. (1192-1293 A.D.).

10. The *Khamtī* mentioned after *Muiwkoñ* (Mogaung) and *Muiñ Cañ* (Maing Zin) in the Kyaukse Hill inscription (*List* 1084a<sup>5</sup>, 955 s.), is doubtless Singkaling Khamti. The recently discovered Yan-aung-myin pagoda inscription at Thèmaunggan, south of Pinya (Obverse, line 8, 762 s.), claims that in 1400 A.D. the rule of the king extended beyond the *Kandu* (Kadu) and the *Porlon amrī yoh* ("Palaungs who grow tails"), to the "heretic kingdoms of the Naked Nagas on the borders of *Khamtī Khun kyuiw* (?), as far as the heretic kingdom called *Timmasāla* where they kill people and turn into spirits," i.e., the Dimasa Kacharis of Upper Assam.

11. 白衣 *Pai-i*. See Y.S. ch. 10 (15th year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *ting ch'ou* day). According to the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* ch. 222 B (f. 1 v<sup>0</sup>), when the Nan-chao invasion of Tongking began (in 854 according to the *Man-shu*), the invaders styled themselves 白衣沒命軍 *Pai-i Mo-ming-chün* "the White Clothes Death-devoted Army." The invaders were probably, in part, Hsi-yüan or Nung troops (see n. 137 *infra*), speaking a Dai language on the Kuangsi-Tongking border. One wonders if the fame of these heroes, who captured Hanoi in 863, may have led to the adoption of the name by the Dai (Shans) of the Burma frontier. The name 'White Clothes' occurs again on the Yünnan-Tongking border in the Y.S. ch. 15, under date 25th year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *kuei wei* day, That is, May 30th, 1288 A.D., when 愛魯 Ai-lu reports: "Since we left 中慶 Chung-Ch'ing (Yünnan Fu), on our way through the 羅羅 Lo-lo and 白衣 *Pai-i* to enter 交趾 Chiao-Chih (Tongking), we have fought, coming and going, 38 battles, and cut off innumerable heads." But at Y.S. ch. 61, at 蒙自 Mêng-tzū in the S.E. of

Yünnan, on the hill which gives it its name, "there is an old city built by the 白夷 *Pai-i* ('White Barbarians')."

12. 白夷 *Pai<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>*. See *Y.S.* ch. 14 (24th year of *chih yüan*, 8th month, *i-ch'ou* day). So also at ch. 61 ('Gold Teeth') under date 1254 A.D. (4th year of Hsien Tsung), etc.

13. 百夷傳 *Pai<sup>3</sup>-i<sup>2</sup>-chuan<sup>4</sup>*, of 李思聰 *Li Ssü-ts'ung* and/or 錢古訓 *Ch'ien Ku-hsün* (1 ch. Published by Liu I-chêng, *Kuo-hsüeh-t'u-shu-kuan*, 1929). See *Ming-shih* ch. 97, f. 29v<sup>0</sup> (*Pai-na* ed.).

14. 雲龍州 *Yün-lung chou*. Lat. 25° 54', Long. 99° 36' (Playfair 7810). See *Y.S.* ch. 29 (2nd year of *t'ai-t'ing*, 8th Month, *hsin-mao* day). "Yün-lung 甸 *tien* military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

15. 孟乃甸 *Mêng Nai tien*. See *Y.S.* ch. 210, section on *mien*, and the anonymous text translated by Huber, and his note (P. 669, n. 1). Old Mêng Nai was north of Mêng Mi (Möng Mit): see *TSEFYCY* ch. 119, P. 4752; *T'ien-hsi* I, 2, f. 59v<sup>0</sup>.

16. *Y.S.* ch. 4 (*jên-tzu*, 2nd year of Hsien Tsung, 12th month, *ping-ch'ên* day). 大理 *Ta-li*. 段 *Tuan*. 高 *Kao*.

17. 兀良合台 *Wu-liang-ho-t'ai*. See the biography of him and his father, 速不台 *Su-pu-t'ai*, in *Y.S.* ch. 121.

18. *États hindouisés*, p. 318: "On parle parfois de 'l'invasion des T'ais' conséquence de 'la poussée mongole' du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. En réalité, il s'est agi plutôt d'une infiltration lente, et sans doute fort ancienne...."

19. Pl.III 231b<sup>1</sup>, 590s.

20. Pl.III 231b<sup>6</sup> (607s.), where Manorājā is judging a suit at Amyint on the Chindwin. He may well be the *Samanta Kōṇcaṇ* who was witness to a Pagan dedication in 1237 (Pl. I 100b<sup>24</sup>, 599s.). See also Pl. II 158<sup>20</sup> (607s.); III 248<sup>11</sup> (598s.).

21. Pl.I 19<sup>9</sup> *Takōn*, a *N'Chōn Khyam*, *Uchotika* (?) - 558s.) In

1292 the corresponding northern boundary claimed was *Nā Chon-tiuvā* (Pl.III 276a<sup>2</sup>, 654s.).

22. 信直日 *Hsin-chü-jih*. See his biography in *Y.S.* ch. 166.

23. 金齒 *Chin-ch'ih*. Called by Huber (after Persian and Marco Polo) *Zardandan* (*BEFEO* IV, p. 430) or *Zerdandan* (*ibid.*, IX, p. 665), *i.e.*, 'Gold Teeth'.

24. 蠻書 *Man-shu* of 樊綽 *Fan Ch'o* ch. 4, f. 9r<sup>0</sup>. 永昌 *Yung-ch'ang*. 開南 *K'ai-nan*.

25. *Ibid.* ch. 4, f. 6 r<sup>0</sup>-v<sup>0</sup>, 7v<sup>0</sup>-8v<sup>0</sup>, 9v<sup>0</sup>-10r<sup>0</sup>, etc.

26. Ch. 61. See especially the final pages, from "Gold Teeth Comfortership" (宣撫司 *hsüan-fu-ssü*) onwards.

27. 僂 *P'o.* - *Hsin-chü-jih* and the Tuan ruling family of Nan-chao were of the *P'o* tribe. Another name for them was 黑獐 *Hei Ts'uan*, "Black Ts'uan". 僂夷 *P'o-i* is said to be a variant of *Pai-i*, *i.e.*, Shans. See J. Siguret, *Territoires et Populations des Confins du Yunnan*, Vol. I, p. 137.

28. 峨昌 *O-ch'ang*. Called 阿昌 *A-ch'ang* today, and in Huber's text: see his note on p. 667. Linguistically, they are members of the Burma Group, stragglers of the proto-Burman migration, still mostly on the China side of the frontier, south of the Ta-p'ing. They are now Buddhist, and much influenced by the Shans who live around them.

29. 驃 *P'iao*. - The later *P'iao* or *Pyū* capital, probably *Halingyi* south of *Shwabo*, was sacked by *Nan-chao* in 832 A.D., and 3000 of its people transported to colonize 柘東 *Chê-tung* (*Yünnan Fu*): see *Man-shu* ch. 10, f. 2r<sup>0</sup>. - Possibly some escaped en route, and settled either on the north bank of the Ta-p'ing in China (thenceforth known to the Chinese as 驃甸 *P'iao-tien*, "Pyu district"), or on the south bank (thenceforth called 驃賧 *P'iao-shan*, in P'ing-mien Road). See Huber's note on p. 666. "P'iao-tien military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

30. 緬 *Hsieh*. - Possibly for 僕緬 *P'u Hsieh*, the original inhabitants of 三賧 *San-t'an* (-lan), the old name for 麗江

Li-chiang Fu in N.W. Yünnan. The general meaning might be Mo-so. See J.F. Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi kingdom of Southwest China*, pp.87 n. 2, 180-1 n. 6.

31. 渠羅 *Ch'ü-lo*.—Possibly the 曲蠟 (Huber's text 曲臘) *Ch'ü-la*, whose submission Nâsir ed-Dîn received in Nov. 1277 on his expedition to 江頭 *Chiang-t'ou* (Kaungzin). See Y.S. ch. 10 (16th year of *chih-yüan*, 6th month, *kuai-ssü* day=July 27th, 1279).

32. 比蘇 *Pi-su*.—According to the *Hsü-han-chih*, *Pi-su* was one of the six districts of the west region of 益州 *I-chou* (E. Yünnan) which were taken over by Yung-ch'ang, when that commandery was formed in 69 A.D. See *JBRIS*, Vol. XIV, Part II (Aug. 1924), p. 114. According to J.F. Rock (*op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 13) *Pi-su* was in modern 雲龍 *Yün-lung* district.

33. Cf. Y.S. ch. 4 (2nd. year of *chung-t'ung*, 8th month, *mou-hsü* day i.e., Sept. 4th, 1261): "The Emperor appointed 賀天爵 *Ho T'ien-chio* as 安撫使 *an-fu-shih* of Gold Teeth and other kingdoms, with 忽林伯 *Hu-lin-po* to assist him." *Ho T'ien-chio* was probably Chinese. In 1275 he was still *an-fu-shih* of Chien-ning Road on the Burma border. His important report of that year is translated *infra*.

34. A different date is given in ch. 8—April 8th, 1273 (10th year of *chih-yüan*, 3rd month, *jên-shên* day): "The Emperor divided Gold Teeth kingdom into two Roads (路 *lu*)."

35. 建寧路 *Chien-ning Road* (No description given). 鎮康路 *Chên-k'ang Road*. "South of 柔遠 *Jou-yüan Road*, and west of the 蘭江 *Lan-chiang*", i.e. *Lan-ts'ang Chiang*, the Mekong. "The land is called 石賧 *Shih-shan*." 賧 *shan*, written 賧 *fan* in my text of the *Man-shu* (863 A.D.), was the Nan-chao word for river-valley (see *Man-shu* ch. 8, f. 3v<sup>0</sup>).

36. 柔遠路 *Jou-yüan Road*. "West of 大理 *Ta-li*, and south of 永昌 *Yung-ch'ang*. The land is called 潞江 *Lu-chiang*, or 普坪賧 *P'u-p'ing chien*, or 中賧焚寨 the P'o stockade of Shên-

*chien*, or 烏摩坪 Wu-mo-p'ing. The P'o barbarians are what the 通典 *T'ung-tien* calls the 黑鬘 Hei (Black) Ts'uan. At the beginning of the *chung-t'ung* period (1260-3 A.D.), the chieftain of the P'o, 阿八思 A-pa-ssü, came to Court" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). *P'ing*=plain. As for 險 *chien*—"When the 蒙 (Mêng family)" (the rulers of Nan-chao) "founded their realm, there were ten *chien*. In the barbarian language, *chien* is the same as 州 *chou*", i.e., prefecture (*Y.S.* ch. 61). The 險 *chien* of *Y.S.* is probably the same as the 險 *t'an* of my text of the *Man-shu*, (see ch. 6, "the Six *t'an*"). According to *T'SFYCY* ch. 118, pp. 4723-4, "in the 23rd year of *hung-wu* (1390 A.D.), Jou-yüan *fu* was changed into 潞江 Lu-chiang *chang-kuan-ssü*". In 1411 it was raised to be an *an-fu-ssü* (Comfortership). Lu-chiang is a corruption of the old 怒江 Nu-chiang, i.e., the Salween. The *T'ung-tien*, first of the Nine *T'ung* or encyclopaedias, was the work of 杜佑 Tu Yu, in 201 *chüan*, c. 800 A.D.

37. 黑鬘 Hei P'o ("Black P'o"). For the P'o, see n. 27 *supra*

38. H.R. Davies, *Yün-nan: the Link between India and the Yangtze*, Cambridge University Press, 1909.

39. 茫施路 *Mang-shih Road*. "South of Jou-yüan Road, and west of the 瀘江 Lu-chiang. The land is called 怒謀 Nu-mou, or 大枯朥 Great Ku-shan, or 小 Small Ku-shan. It is what the T'ang histories call the 茫施蠻 Mang-shih Southern barbarians." (*Y.S.* ch. 61). Written 芒市 Mang-shih in Ming texts. Both the *Ming-shih* (ch. 46) and *T'SFYCY* (ch. 119, pp. 4753-4) give "the river of 麓川 Lu-ch'uan" as its western boundary.

40. 鎮西路 *Chên-hsi Road*. "Due west of Jou-yüan Road. To the east, it is parted from it by Lu-ch'uan. The land is called 千賴戩 Yü-lai shan or 渠瀾戩 Ch'ü-lan shan. The 白夷蠻 Pai-i Man ('White Barbarians') inhabit it" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). According to the *Ming-shih* (ch. 46) and *T'SFYCY* (ch. 119, p. 4743), it is the 千崖 Kan-yai *hsüan-fu-ssü* (Comfortership) of the Ming dynasty, i.e., the Kan-ai of modern maps.



41. 麓川路 *Lu-ch'uan Road*. "It is to the east of Mang-shih Road" (I believe 'east' is here a mistake for 'west'). "The land is called 大布茫 Great Pu-mang, or 朥頭附賽 Fu-sai at the head of the *shan*, or 朥中譚吉 Tan-chi at the middle of the *shan*, or 朥尾福祿培 Fu-lu-p'ei at the tail of the *shan*. All are inhabited by Pai-i" (Y.S. ch. 61).

42. 平緬路 *P'ing-mien Road*. "To the north it is near Jou-yüan Road. The land is called 騾駝 P'iao-shan, or 羅必四庄 Lo-pi-ssü-chuang ('the Four Farms of Lo-pi'), or 小沙摩弄 Small Sha-mo-lung, or 騾朥頭 P'iao-shan Head. The Pai-i inhabit it" (Y.S. ch. 61). In the *Ming-shih* (ch. 314, section on Lu-ch'uan, 1442 campaign of 王驥 Wang Chi), one finds 羅卜思莊 Lo-pu-ssü-chuang and 木籠 Mu-lung. In 1441, according to the *Ming-shih* (ch. 46), Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien were cancelled, and in 1444 they merged in 龍川 Lung-ch'uan *hsüan-fu-ssü* headquarters 龍把 Lung-pa: "the P'ing-mien Road of the Yüan was north-east of Lung-pa. The Lu-ch'uan Road of the Yüan was south of Lung-pa."

43. See *Ming-shih*, ch. 314, Section on *Lu-ch'uan*: "Lu-ch'uan, and P'ing-mien are conterminous." *Pai-i-chuan* f.2v<sup>0</sup>: "The land of Lu-ch'uan, where 思倫發 Ssü Lun-fa resides, is called 者闕 Chê-lan, which in Chinese means 'the capital'." For Sêlan, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part I, vol. I, pp. 195-6.

44. The source of confusion probably lies in the name 麓川 "the Lu river-valley". The name for the Salween in T'ang times, 怒江 Nu-chiang, got mispronounced as Lu *chiang*, variously written in Yüan texts. In the very passage we are considering, it is written 潞 Lu *chiang* (under Jou-Yüan) and 瀘 Lu *chiang* (under Mang-shih). Perhaps it was thought that 麓 Lu was yet another alternative. Note that 瀘 Lu in the *Man-shu* (ch. 2, f. 3r<sup>0</sup>) meant the Upper Yang-tzŭ.

45. 南朥 *Nan-shan*. Described after the Six Roads (Y.S. ch.61): "North-west of Chên-hsi Road. The land includes 阿賽朥

A-sia shan and 午真駝 Wu-chên shan. It is inhabited by Pai-i and 峨昌 O-ch'ang." For the latter, see n. 28 *supra*.

46. (乞解 Haber 台) 脫因 Ch'i-tai (t'ai)-t'o-yin. See Y.S. ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (8th year of *chih-yüan*). Huber's text, p. 665.

47. *Ibid.* (10th year), The exact date is given in Y.S. ch. 8 (2nd. month, *ping-shên* day = March 3rd, 1273):— "The Emperor appointed 勘馬刺失里 K'an-ma-la-shih-li (Kamala Śri), 乞帶脫因 Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin, and 劉源 Liu Yüan as ambassadors to Mien kingdom, to summon (the king) to send a son or younger brother and minister near the throne, to come to Court." The section on *Mien*, ch. 210, gives the text of the imperial letter.

48. Y.S. ch. 210, Section on *mien* (12th year, 4th month, or April 28th-May 26th, 1275). Huber's text (pp. 665-6) dates the report 2nd month (Feb. 27th-March 28th, 1275), and only gives the latter part, about the three routes into Burma. For these, see Huber's full note on pp. 665-6.

49. 阿郭 A-kuo.

50. 阿必 A-pi.

51. 阿的八 A-ti-pa.

52. 天部馬 T'ien-up-ma (the Nam Hkam route).

53. 阿提犯 A-t'i-fan.

54. Y.S. ch. 7 (7th year of *chih-yüan*, 12th month, *ting-wei* day). 阿匿福勒丁阿匿爪 A-ni Fu-lo-ting (and) A-ni Chao.

55. Y.S. ch. 210, Section on *Mien*; Huber's text, p. 666. 金齒千額總管阿末 "A-ho, *sung-kuan* of Kan-ê of Gold Teeth." Kan-ê, in Ming texts 千崖 Kan-yai, is modern Kan-ai. The first character is often miswritten 千 Ch'ien.

56. 蒲 P'u.-See Mr. 張笏 Chang Hu's interesting remarks translated into French by J. Siguret, *op. cit.*, t. II, P. 69. J. R. Rock (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 5 n. 2), probably quoting the *Yün-nan-t'ung*.

*chih* (ch. 189), identifies the 蒲 P'u with the 濮 P'u (or 濮), whom Tsin and perhaps Later Han texts place on the Burma border S.W. of Yung-ch'ang. This is phonetically impossible. The latter character-group had a final *-k*; the former an open vowel (see B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*, 102 ii. 1211). The latter Buok tribes, if they were akin to the 濮 P'u of the *Man-shu* (ch. 4, f. 6r0.v<sup>0</sup>), were probably Tibeto-Burman, if not proto-Burmese. On Jan. 9th 1328 (4th year of *tai tuy*, 11th month, *hsin-mao* day), when the 蒲 P'u submitted, the Emperor set up 順寧 Shun-ning fu (S.of Ta-li W. of the Mekong): see *Y.S.* ch 30 57. *Y.S.* ch. 210, Section on *Mien*; Huber's text, p. 667. 忽都 Hu-tu (Qudu ?) was Mongol Commander of Ta-li Road. Hsin-chū-jih (*supra*, n. 22) was governor (*tsung-kuan*) of Ta-li Road. 脫羅脫孩 T'o-lo-t'o-hai, like Hu-tu, was a 千戶 *ch'ienhu* (Commander of a Thousand Households).

58. *Y.S.* ch. 210, Section on *Mien*. Huber's text (pp.666-8) closely corresponds.

59. 南甸 Nan-tien. Old name 南宋甸 Nan-sung-tien. 囊宋 Nang-sung is also mentioned (*TSFYCY*, ch. 119, p. 4742). Nan-tien *fu* (military and civil) is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.

60. Pl. III 277, lines 1-6:—"In 640s. (1278 A.D.), Vaisākha year, the great minister called Īntapacrā, since there was no theas, monastery at the site of the Venerable Mahākassapa, made plans that there should be one. Before building the monastery, he built the enclosure-wall; and the enclosure-wall was not yet complete when Īntapacrā was stationed at *Nā Choh Khyam mruiw* (fortress), and the government of the country fell into ruin."

61. *Y.S.* ch. 210, section on *Mien*; Huber's text, p. 668. I have not had access to the Chinese of this text, apart from the list of place-names (here fuller than in *Y.S.*) which Huber gives. His characters, too, sometimes differ from those of *Y.S.* My translation, therefore, is an amalgam, with variants added where possible.

62. 納速剌丁 Na-su-la-ting, son of the great Muslim minister of Shih Tsu, 賽典赤瞻思丁 Sai-tien-ch'ih Shan-ssü-ting (Sayyid Ajall), who organized and pacified Yünnan. See their biographies in *Y.S.* ch. 125.

63. 爨 Ts'uan. A general name, dating from the T'ang, for the tribes, largely Lo-lo, mostly of Eastern Yünnan. See Pelliot *BEFEO* t.VI, pp. 136 follg.

64. 江頭深蹠 Chiang-t'ou Shên-jou. Chiang-t'ou "Head of the River", was the Chinese name for the city Kaungzin (Ming texts 貢章 Kung-chang), below Bhamo. See Huber's note on p. 652. It is possible to translate this sentence (much as Huber does): "He reached Chiang-t'ou and deeply trampled on the site where Hsi-an had set up his stockade." But the expression is odd. I suspect that the original reading was 蹠深 Jou-shên, old pronunciation n'ziou-shyam (see B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, 942, 970); i.e., *N'a Choin Khyam*, and that since this was not recognized as a proper name, the characters were inverted to make them intelligible. 細安 Hsi-an.

65. Stockades named: 木乃 Mu Nai. 木妥 Mu Yao. 蒙帖 Mêng T'ieh. 木巨 Mu Chü. 木壳 Mu T'u. 磨欲 Mo Yü. 曲蠟 (H. 臘) P'u-chê. 蒲折 Ch'ü-la P'u-chê. 孟磨愛呂 Mêng Mo Ailü. 磨奈 Mo Nai. 蒙匡 Mêng K'uang. 里答 (H. 黑答) 八刺 Li-ta (H. Hei-ta)-Pa-la. 蒙忙 (H. 古) 甸甫祿堡 (H. 保) Mêng Mang (H. Ku) tien Fu-lu-pao. 木都彈壳 Mu Tu Tan T'u.

66. *Y.S.* ch. 10 (16th year, 6th month, *kuei-ssü* day). The first stockade mentioned, 忙 Mang, should be the Mêng Mang of n. 65. Huber's 'Mêng Ku' (usually = Mongol) is probably a mistake.

67. *Supra*, n. 15; *infra*, 104.

68. 蠻莫 Man-mo, at the foot of 蠻哈 Man-ha Mt. Split off from 孟密 Mêng Mi (Möng Mit) in the 13th year of wan-li, 1585 A.D. (see *TSFYCY* ch. 119, pp. 4752-3). Here is still

the Chinese inscription-pillar of 劉綎 Liu T'ing (March 22nd 1584- see his memorial to the Throne, *T'ien-hsi* VIII 3, f.11v<sup>0</sup>)

69. See *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, part II, Vol. I, p. 46, and map facing p. 72.

70. *Man-shu* ch. 6, f. 5v<sup>0</sup>-6r<sup>0</sup>. 麗水渡 Li Shui ferry. 祁鮮 Ch'i-hsien 神龍河柵 Shên-lung ho stockade, 摩率都督城 Mo-ling city of the General Commander.

71. *Rep. Sup., Arch. Surv. Burma*. 1916, pp. 37-40.

72. *Ibid.*, 1948 pp. 8-9.

73. Huber's text (p. 668) gives the exact day—20th year, 9th month, 1st day. For this campaign, see also *Y.S.* ch. 133, biography of 也罕的斤 Yeh-han-ti-chin, and ch. 210 Section on *Mien*. In my translation *infra*, I combine these sources.

74. 10th month, 17th day.

75. 太卜 T'ai-pu (Tabu?). 羅必甸 Lo-pi tien. See Huber's note 2 on p. 668; and *supra*, n. 42. The Lo-pi route appears to have led to T'ien-pu-ma (the Nam Hkam route).

76. Yeh-han-ti-chin (Yagan-tegin) left on the 2nd day of the 11th month (Huber, pp. 668-9), via Chên-hsi (Kan-ai).

77. 相吾答兒 Hsiang-wu-ta-efh. For the 驛甸 P'iao-tien route see Huber, p. 669, n.1.

78. 11th month, 11th day (Huber, p. 669).

79. 11th month, 13th day (*ibid.*).

80. 19th day (*ibid.*).

81. *Y.S.* ch. 13 (21st year, 1st month, *ting-mao* day). Yeh-han-ti-chin's biography gives the names of the envoys sent to summon the king of Mien. 黑的兒 Hei-ti-efh (Qidir?) and 楊林 Yang Lin.

82. 建都太公城 T'ai-kung city (Tagaung, Old Burm. *Takon*) of the Chien-tu (Kadu, Old Burm. *Kantū*). These Burma Chien-tu are not to be confused with other Chien-tu (same characters) mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 8 (12th year, 3rd month, *i-hai* day; 13th

year, 1st month, *chia-wu* day), ch. 13 (21st year, 8th month, *chia-hsü* day), and ch. 15 (25th year, 9th month, *kêng-tzhü* day), who appear to have been in the 建昌 Chien-ch'ang valley in North Yünnan, on the road to Ch'êng-tu, Ssüch'uan. General 合帶 Ho-tai (Qadai?) and the *wan-hu* (commander of ten thousand households) 不都蠻 Pu-tu-man (Butinan?)

83. For the Sak-Lai Group of Tibeto-Burman languages, see Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 27-28; Vol. III, Part III, pp.43 follg., etc.

84. For early mentions of the name, see Pl. V 563<sup>8</sup> *Tarukple manlērī* (703s.); 471<sup>13</sup> *Tarukply manlērī* 705s.).

85. The term *Taruk* was later transferred to Burma's next invaders from the north, the Ming Chinese; and so (now written *Tarup*) is applied today to Chinese generally.

86. Y.S. ch. 13 (21st year, 4th month, *jen-yin* day 忽都鐵木兒 Hu-tu-t'ieh-mu-erh).

87. *Ibid.* (7th month, *ting-ch'ou* day). 羅必丹 Lo-pi-tan is doubtless for Lo-pi tien (Mōng Hum).

88. *Ibid.* (22nd year, 7th month, *i-wei* day). 羅北甸 Lo-pe tien is yet another variant.

89. *Ibid.* (9th month, *i-hai* day). 永昌 Yung-ch'ang. 騰衝 T'êng-ch,ung, an old variant name for 騰越 T'êng-yüeh.

90. *Ibid.* (10th month, *ting-mao* day).

91. Y.S. ch. 210, Section on *Mien*. Huber's text (pp.669-670) corresponds closely except for a few differences in the names.

92. Pl. III 271, reverse of the Mñagalacetī pagoda inscription, now at Pagan Museum, St. 110, E. face. The initial date is 647 s. (1285 A.D.).

93. 阿必立相 A-pi-li-hsiang. 忙直卜算 (or 算) Mang-chih-pu-suan. For the latter name Huber's text has 忙直十弄 Mang-chih-shih-lung.

94. 孟乃向白衣頭目解寨 "Tai-sai, chief of the Pai-i of Mäng Nai tien."

95. 驛甸土官匿俗 "Ni-su, native official of P'iao-tien."

96. I follow Huber's text in reading 麓川 Lu-ch'uan. The reading of the Pai-na and other editions, 麗川 Li-ch'uan, must be a mistake.

97. 押赤 "Ya-ch'ih city, capital of the 烏蠻 Wu Man (Black S. Barbarians), on the brink of 滇池 Tien-ch'ih (the Lake of Tien)." See *Y.S.* ch. 121, biography of Wu-liang-ho-t'ai. *Yachañ* is the name given in the Burmese inscription (Pl. III 271<sup>18</sup>).

98. *Taytū* of the inscription (Pl. III 271<sup>19</sup>) is 大都 Ta-tu (or 太都 T'ai-tu), "great capital." See *Y.S.* ch. 58. The name was changed from 中都 Chung-tu, "central capital," to Ta-tu in the 9th year of *chih-Yüan* 1272 A.D.

99. *Y.S.* ch. 14 (23rd year, 6th month, *hsin-yu* day): "The Emperor sent 怯烈 Ch'ieh-lieh, 招討使 *chao-Pao-shih* ('imperial envoy to summon and punish') of Chên-hsi and P'ing-mien Roads, to summon and notify Mien kingdom." In his interesting biography (*Y.S.* ch. 133) he is said also to have been *hsüan-fu-sü* (Comforter) of Chên-hsi' Mien (for P'ing-mien), and Lu-ch'uan Roads. Later he was appointed Chief Secretary of Mien-chung Province. The name is the same as Käräit, then a Christian Turkic tribe between China and East Mongolia.

100. *Y.S.* ch. 21 (7th year of *ta-tê*, 3rd month, *i-sü* day): "The Emperor abolished 征緬 Chêng-mien province, split off from Yünnan."

101. 雪雪的斤 Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin. See *Y.S.* ch. 14 (23rd year of *chih-yüan*, 2nd month, *chia-ch'ên* day). Pl. III, 271<sup>12</sup> *Susuttaki*.

102. *Y.S.* ch. 16 (27th year, 7th month, *kuai-ch'ou* day).

103. *Ibid.* (28th year, 10th month, *jên-shên* day),

104. 忙乃甸 Mang Nai tien. This must be same as 孟乃甸 Mêng Nai tien (*supra*, n. 15). Here a river-port, it probably means Tagaung.

105. 不達速古里 Pu-su-su-ku-li. 昔里怯答刺 Hsi-li-ch'ieh-ta-la. The latter name, Śrī Kṣetra, is the classical title of Old Prome. For the first, we propose the emendation 不達 Pu-lien-su-ku-li, i.e., *Pra ñ sūkrī*, "headman of Prome."
106. 木浪周 Mu-lang-chou. *Mu-lang* ordinarily represents Old Burm. *Mrañ*.
107. 阿難答 A-nan-ta.
108. 也先帖木兒 Yehhsien-t'ieh-mu-erh (Äsän Tämür), grandson of Khubilai, and son of the first Prince of Yünnan, 忽哥赤 Hu-ko-ch'ih (appointed on Sept. 12th, 1267—see *Y.S.* ch. 6).
109. 蒲甘 P'u-kan (Old Burm. *Pukan*).
110. See, e.g., *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, transl. by Tin and Luce, pp. 178-9.
111. 暹 *Hsien*=Syām, Syām. Central Siam.
112. 羅斛 *Lo-hu*=Lavo, Lavapura, Lopburi, in the old Mon Kingdom of South Siam (Dvāravati).
113. 八百媳婦 *Pa-pai-hsi-fu*, "800 wives." "It is an old tradition that the tribal chieftain had 800 wives, each controlling one stockade" (*Ming-shih*, ch. 314, Section on *Pa-pai*). Thai *Lan-na* Yomakarattha. Capital Chiang Mai ("New City"), said to have been founded in 1292-6 (*États hindouises*, p. 349). *Pa-pai-hsi-fu* first occurs, under date Oct. 11th, 1292, in *Y.S.* ch. 17 (29th year of *chih-yüan*, 8th month, *mou-wu* day).
114. 徹里 Ch'ê-li.- 亭里 Ch'ê-li, the regular later form of the word, appears first, I think, under date Jan. 24th, 1324: see *Y.S.* ch. 29 (3rd year of *chih-chih*, 12th. month, *i-yu* day). Ch'ê-li was largely peopled by Lü.
115. See *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 240-4.
116. 何子志 Ho Tzŭ-chih. See *Y.S.* ch. 12 (19th year of *chih-yüan*, 6th month, *chi-hai* day=July 17th, 1282), and ch. 210 Section on 占城 *Chan-cheng* (Champa). Ho Tzŭ-chih's death was on Feb.



21st, 1283, according to the Pai-na text (20th year, 1st month, 23rd day).

117. *Y.S.* ch. 15 (26th year, intercalary 10th month, *hsin-ch'ou* day), when "the two kingdoms of Lo-hu and 女人 *Nü-jên* ('Women') sent envoys (I translate the Pai-na text).

118. *Y.S.* ch. 16 (28th year, 10th month, *kuei-wei* day). See Pelliot's translation.

119. *Y.S.* ch. 17 (29th year, 10th month, *chia-ch'ên* day).

120. *Ibid.* (30th year, 4th month, *chia-yin* day).

121. *Y.S.* ch. 18 (31st year, 6th month, *kêng-yin* day). Pelliot omits this passage in *BEFFEO*, but subsequently informed Professor Coedès of it by letter (*États hindouïses*, p. 343). 必察不里城敢木丁 "Kan-mu-ting of-ch'a-pu-li city".

122. *Ibid.* (7th month, *chia-hsü* day).

123. *États hindouïses*, p. 343.

124. *Y.S.* ch. 210 Section on *Hsien* (1st year of *yüan-chêng*). 麻里予兒 Ma-li-yü-efh (Malaya).

125. *Y.S.* ch. 19 (2nd year of *yüan-chêng*, 12th month, *kuei-hai* day).

126. *Ibid.* (1st year of *ta-tê*, 4th month, *jên-yin* day).

127. *Y.S.* ch. 20 (3rd year of *ta-tê*, 1st month, *kuei-wei* New Year day). 沒刺由 Mo-la-yu.

128. *Ibid.* (5th month, *ping-shên* day). 速古臺 Su-ku-t'ai. The place or places mentioned after this name. 速龍探奔奚里 Su-lung-t'an-pên-hsi-li-have not been identified. 杪羅 sha-lo wood. Is this Sanskrit *śāla*, *Shorea robusta*? On p. 916 of the dictionary, *Botanical Nomenclature* published by the Shanghai Hsin-ya Bookshop (4th Ed., 1956), 杪羅 is identified as *Stewartia pseudo camellia* (Maxim).

129. Ch. 210. See Pelliot's translation, *loc. cit.*, p. 243.

130. Y.S. ch. 20 (4th year, 6th month, *chia-tzui* day). 吊吉而 Tiao-chi-êfh (Could this be a strange variant for 交趾 Chiao-chih, Annam?). 巔八 Chan-pa (here too, if it means Champa, the first character is strange. See Pelliot's note, *loc. cit.*, p. 243, n. 9).
131. Y.S. ch. 25 (1st year of *yen-yu*, 3rd month, *kuai-mao* day). Led by the minister 愛耽 Ai-tan.
132. Y.S. ch. 26 (6th year, 1st month, *ting-ssü* New Year Day).
133. Y.S. ch. 28 (3rd year of *chih-chih*, 1st month, *kuai-ssü* New Year day). Accompanied by "the chief of the 八番洞蠻 Pa-fan Cave barbarians."
134. 通海 T'ung-hai. District in Lin-an *fu*, S.E. Yünnan. Lat. 24° 12', Long. 102° 56' (Playfair 6779). See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 138. T'ung-hai was one of the garrison towns of Nan-chao (*Man-shu* ch. 6, f. 3r<sup>0</sup>). It is placed at the 7th stage beyond Ku-yung-pu (*infra*, n. 136) in the itinerary from Tongking to Yünnan Fu (*ibid.* ch. 1, f. 1v<sup>0</sup>).
135. 步頭 Pu-t'ou. Identified by Pelliot with Lin-an *fu* in S.E. Yünnan. *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 137-9). It was the southernmost point in the area occupied by the Eastern Ts'uan or Wu (=Black Man (*Man-shu* ch. 4, f. 1r<sup>0</sup>-v<sup>0</sup>)). The "Pu-t'ou Road" meant the road to Tongking.
136. 賈勇步 Ku-yung-pu, written 古湧步 Ku-yung-pu in 賈耽 Chia T'an's land-itinerary. It was the upper limit of navigation up the Red River, probably corresponding, says Pelliot, to modern 蠻耗 Man-hao (*BEFEO* t. IV, p. 365, n. 3; *Man-shu* ch. 1, f. 1v<sup>0</sup>).
137. 真登州林西原 Lin-hsi-yüan of Chên-têng *chou*.—This was the frontier area of Tongking administration under the T'ang, 22 stages from Hanoi (*Man-shu* ch. 4, f. 2v<sup>0</sup>), north of the Red River. Here the 桃花 T'ao-hua ('Peach Flower') tribe furnished the frontier guards, and, 12 stages beyond, the 崇魔

Ch'ung-mo bred cattle and horses, and exchanged them for Chinese salt. In 854 A.D., according to Fan Ch'o, Chinese extortion and meanness forced these tribes to sever relations and join Nan-chao, thus opening the road for the Nan-chao occupation of Tongking in 863 (*ibid.*, ch. 4, f. 10v<sup>0</sup>-11v<sup>0</sup>). The 桃花 T'ao-hua of the *Man-shu* are clearly the same as "the 桃林 T'ao-lin people of 安南 An-nan (Tongking) living in the seven 縮洞 *wan* and *tung* (caves) of Lin-hsi-yüan" of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, ch. 222 B. I do not find Chên-têng *chou* in the T'ang histories; but probably Lin-hsi-yüan runs together the 林西州 Lin-hsi *chou* (with two districts) and 西原州 Hsi-yüan *chou* (with three districts), under Tongking (安南都護府) An-nan *tu-hu-fu*) of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* ch. 43 C. In ch. 222 C of this history the Hsi-yüan *Man* are described as living "in the south of 廣容 Kuang and Jung, and the west of 邕桂 Yung and Kuei," i.e., the west of Kuangsi, and presumably astride the Tongking border. See d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des Peuples Étrangers à la Chine, Meridionaux*, pp. 236-265; G. Devéria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite*, pp. 108-113. They are commonly identified with the 儂 Nung of today, who talk a Dai language (see F.M. Savina, *Dictionnaire Étymologique Français-Nung-Chinois*, 1924, Hongkong).

138. 峰州路 Fêng-chou Road. At the junction of the Clear River and Red River, 2 days upstream from An-nan *fu* (say Hanoi): see *Man-shu* ch. 1, f. 1r<sup>0</sup>; Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 141, n. 4.

139. 量水川 Liang-shui *ch'uan*. 龍河 Lung ho ('Dragon River'). The Liang-shui *ch'uan* was 2 stages south of Yünnan Fu Lake, "the old 黎州 *Li-chou* of the Han dynasty," with a big lake (*Man-shu* ch. 2, f. 3v<sup>0</sup>; ch. 6, f. 3r<sup>0</sup>)—presumably the 潞江 Ch'êng-chiang of today. All I can find about the Lung ho (*ibid.*, ch. 6, f. 2v<sup>0</sup>) is that 夔鹿弄 K'uei-lu-lung river valley ("where the walrus and deer played"), the old 同勞 T'ung-lao district of the Han dynasty was "over 100 *li* south of the Lung

ho and 遇川 Yü ch'uan." T'ung-lao was one of the 17 cities of 益州 I-chou commandery in the Later Han dynasty (*Hou-han-shu* ch. 33).

140. 青木香 *Ch'ing-mu-hsiang* ('Dark wood perfume'), see *Man-shu* ch. 7, f. 4r<sup>0</sup>.—"It is a product of 永昌 Yung-ch'ang. The mountains there are full of it. The mountains are 3 day-stages south of Yung-ch'ang." And contrast the distance given in Extract (iii) *infra*, where it is a product of K'un-lun kingdom, "81 day-stages from the Hsi-êrh ho," i.e., Ta-li Lake. For this "dark wood aromatic," see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 462-4.

141. 崑崙國 K'un-lun kingdom.

142. 銀生 Yin-shêng city, "Born of Silver." One of the seven strategic cities of Nan-chao, controlled by a 大軍將 *ta-chün-chiang* ('great general'). See *Man-shu*, ch. 5, f. 1r<sup>0</sup>. Inhabited partly by 撲 P'u (Buok) tribes (*ibid.*, ch. 4, f. 6v<sup>0</sup>; ch. 6, f. 5r<sup>0</sup>)—perhaps the southernmost of these proto-Burmans (see n.56 *supra*). Tea was grown in the neighbouring mountains (ch. 7, f. 3v<sup>0</sup>). According to *Y.S.* ch. 61, the Yin-shêng *chieh-tu* of Nan-chao corresponded to the 威楚 Wei-ch'u and 開南 K'ai-nan Roads of the Yüan dynasty. "When the 蒙 Méng-family" (rulers of Nan-chao) "flourished, they set up Yin-shêng 府 *fu*. Afterwards it was captured by the Gold Teeth and 白蠻 Pai Man ("White S. barbarians"), and the *fu* was removed to Wei-ch'u" (i.e., Ch'u-hsiung). "Thereupon K'ai-nan was occupied by the Wild Man."

143. 撲睢 P'u-t'an (*t'an* = 睢 *shan* of Yüan texts—see n. 41 *supra*), 'the river-valley of the P'u.' Also called 越睢 Yüeh-t'an, the country round T'êng-yüeh, the main centre of the P'u.

144. 龍尾 Lung-wei, 'Tail of the Dragon,' modern Hsia-kuan at the south end of Ta-li Lake.

145. 通鑑川 T'ung-têng ch'uan.

146. 河普川 Ho-p'u *ch'uan*.

147. 羌浪川 Ch'iang-lang *ch'uan*.

148. 送江川 Sung-chiang (river) *ch'uan*.

149. 印鵝川 Chiung-ê *ch'uan*.

150. 林記川 Lin-chi *ch'uan*.

151. 大銀乳 Ta-yin-k'ung, "Great Silvermine."

152. 婆羅門 P'o-lo-mên (Brahmans). 波斯 Po-ssü (Persia). 閩婆 Shê-p'o (Java). 勃泥 P'o-ni (Borneo). 崑崙 K'un-lun (Mon-Khmer speakers?). — On this last term see Pelliot's discussion at *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 219-231; and Prof. Coedès' remarks on pp. 26-27 of *États hindouisés*.

153. 撲子 P'u-tzü. Same as P'u, *supra* n. 142, 143. 長鬃蠻 Ch'ang-tsung *Man*, "Long Chignon barbarians."

154. 開南城 K'ai-nan city. — Like Yin-shêng, one of the 7 節度 *chieh-tu* cities of Nan-chao, ruled by a 'Great General' (*Man-shu* ch. 5, f. 1r<sup>0</sup>). Like Yung-ch'ang, it was inhabited by 'Black Teeth,' 'Gold Teeth,' 'Silver Teeth,' 'Tattooed Legs' and 'Tattooed Face' tribes (ch. 4, f. 9r<sup>0</sup>) — perhaps Austro-speakers. Like Yin-shêng, it also included some P'u (f. 6v<sup>0</sup>) and 茫 Mang tribes (f. 9v<sup>0</sup>) — the southernmost of the proto-Burmans. Elephants were plentiful; and these and yaks were bred for plough-cattle (ch. 7, f. 6r<sup>0</sup>-v<sup>0</sup>). 白崖 Pai-yai city (S.E. of Tali Lake) — or perhaps 蠻子 Man-tzü city 80 *li* south of it — was 11 stages north of K'ai-nan city (ch. 5, f. 4r<sup>0</sup>). For the evidence of the *Y.S.* (ch. 61), see n. 142 *supra*. It adds: "K'ai-nan 州 *chou* ... was formerly inhabited by two kinds of southern barbarians, the 撲 P'u and the 和泥 Ho-ni" (see *infra* n. 177).

155. 柳追和都督城 "City of the *tu-tu* (Commander-in-chief) of Liu-chui *ho*." 和 *ho* was the Western Tscuan word for 'mountain' (*Man-shu* ch. 8, f. 3v<sup>0</sup>).

156. 威遠城 Wei-yüan city, 奉送城 Fêng-i city, 利潤城 Li-jun city. Wei-yüan is N. NW. of P'u-êrh fu, lat. 23° 29', long. 100° 55' (Playfair 6961). According to the *Y.S.* ch. 61, Wei-yüan was one of the 4 州 *chou* under 威楚 Wei-ch'u, K'ai-nan and other Roads. "It is southwest of K'ainan *chou*. There are six river-valleys. Formerly the two tribes of southern barbarians, 摸 P'u and 和泥 Ho-ni, lived here. When the 蒙 Mêng family" (rulers of Nan-chao)" arose, they opened up Wei-ch'u as a commandery. Then communications with the territory of the *chou* began. Afterwards, the barbarian chief of the Gold Teeth and 阿只步 A-chih-pu, and others, seized the land. In the 3rd year of *chung-tung* (1262 A.D.), we attacked it and they all submitted. In the 12th year of *chih-yüan* the Emperor set up K'ai-nan *chou* and Wei-yüan *chou*, under Wei-ch'u Road."

157. 茫乃 Mang Nai, 道并 Tao-ping, 黑齒 Hei-ch'ih ("Black Teeth"). The first name, Mang Nai, is not to be confused with the one in n. 104 *supra*.

158. 彌臣國 Mi-ch'ên kingdom. See *Man-shu* ch. 10, f. 1r<sup>0</sup> - v<sup>0</sup>. This important kingdom, which sent an embassy to China in 805 A.D. (see *Tang-hui-yao* ch. 33, f. 26r<sup>0</sup>; ch. 100, f. 10 r<sup>0</sup>, etc.). was probably on the Gulf of Martaban, "60 stages S.W. of Yung-ch'ang." The notice on 驛 P'iao (the Pyū) in ch. 222 C of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* describes a route, through coastal 'K'un-lun kingdoms,' from Mi-ch'ên to 磨地勃 Mo-ti-p'o (Martaban?): see Pelliot's translation and comments at *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 22-4. Provisionally, I should place it at Old Pegu, at the head of the Gulf.

159. 模迦羅 Mu-chia-lo, 于泥 Yü-ni, 禮强子 Li-ch'iang-tzŭ The names could be divided in other ways, e.g., Mu-chia, Lo-jü, Ni-li, Ch'iang-tzŭ.

160. 蠻界西洱河 "Hsi-êrh ho of the *Man* borders." The Hsi-êrh ho is Ta-li River and Lake. *Man*, "southern barbarians," in the *Man-shu* ("Book of the *Man*"), means generally Nan-chao.

161. 青木香 ch'ing-mu-hsiang. See n. 140 *supra*.

162. 女王國 Nü-wang kingdom, where "Woman reigns."
163. 鎮南節度 Chên-mən ('Guard the South') *chieh-tu-chieh-tu-shih* was a T'ang title for a high military official deputed by the Emperor usually as governor of a province. As applied in Nan-chao, it was used of any of the 12th 'Great Generals' sent to "administer vital strategic cities or garrison towns" (*Man-shu* ch.9, f.2v<sup>0</sup>). The list of the original 7 *chieh-tu* cities given at ch. 5, f. 1r<sup>0</sup>, does not include Chên-nan, which, indeed, the *Man-shu* only mentions in the extract translated in the text. It was therefore a late creation. Chên-nan, at present, is a little northwest of 楚雄 Ch'u-hsiung (old 威楚 Wei-ch'u). It is on Lat. 25°16', Long. 101°24' (Playfair 431). See Pelliot's note at *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 375, n. 3; he says that Chên-nan *chou* dates from 1285. If there were not two places of the same name, the extract in the text shows that it existed already, as a *chieh-tu*, in 863. According to *Y.S.* ch. 61, the old name for Chên-nan *chou* was 和子 Ho-tzu city; it was captured by 閻羅鳳 Ko-lo-fêng of Nan-chao. Pelliot identifies it also with the 沙卻館 Sha-ch'io Inn of the *Man-shu* itinerary (ch. 1, f. 2r<sup>0</sup>). It is possible, I think, that Chên-nan *chieh-tu*, when Nan-chao was at the height of its power, may have been much further south, and that when the southern frontier drew in, the name was transferred to the administrative headquarters in Central Yünnan. This seems to have happened in the case of K'ai-nan, Wei-yüan and Yin-shêng.
164. 驩州 Huan-chou. The southernmost *chou* of 8th cent. China. Pelliot (*BEFEO* t. IV, p. 184) places it at or near Hatinh on the coast of Annam.
165. 水真蠟 Shui ('Water') Chên-la. 陸 Lu ('Land') Ghên-la.—The T'ang histories show that during nearly all the 8th century, Chên-la (Old Cambodia) was divided into these two kingdoms (See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 211-5). Land Chên-la was clearly to the north. Prof. Coedès (*États hindouisés*, pp. 161-3) says that, on the evidence of Chia Tan's land-itinerary, its capital at the

end of the 8th century was at first located in the region of Pak Hin Bun on the middle Mekong, but was probably much further south, towards the centre of the original Chên-la.

166. See Prof. Coedès, *États hindouisés*, pp. 148-150, 161-3, 167 follg.

167. See Prof. R. Lingat's conclusions' *Les Régimes matrimoniaux du Sud-Est de l'Asie*, t. I, pp. 165 follg.

168. See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 141-2; G. Devéria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite* pp. 52-53.

169. See *Man-shu*, ch. 9

170. *États hindouisés*, p. 161, based on Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 212, 139. The latter gives as his source the *T's'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 975, f. 22r<sup>0</sup>-v<sup>0</sup>. 何履光 Ho Li-kuang. Li 李宓 Mi.

171. *Y.S.* ch. 16 (27th year of *chih-yüan*, 3rd month, *chi-wei* day), and ch. 61.

172. 蒙憐路 Mêng Lien Road. "In the 27th year of *chih-yüan* (1290 A.D.), in accordance with the request of Yünnan province Mêng Lien 甸 *tien* was made into Mêng Lien Road military and civil 總管府 *tsung-kuan-fu*, and Mêng Lai *tien* into Mêng Lai Road military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu*" (*Y.S.* ch. 61). Not to be confused with the 孟連長官司 Mêng Lien *chang-kuan-ssü* of the Ming dynasty, set up in April 19th-May 17th, 1406, at Mông Lem, just north of the Kengtung State border. The *Ming-shih* (ch. 46) places Mêng Lien Road and Mêng Lai Road of the Yüan dynasty in the north of Mu-pang. A 木連 Mu-lien Road military and civil *fu* is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61; possibly this is Mông Lem.

173. 蒙萊路 Mêng Lai Road. In Huber's text the name is written 蒙來 Mêng Lai. See his note on p. 678. Not to be confused with 木來府 Mu-lai *fu*, mentioned below. "Mêng Lai Road military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.



174. 阿真國 A-chên-kuo, 阿占國 A-chan-kuo. See Huber, p. 674, n. 2.

175. 木邦路 Mu-pang Road. "Military and civil *fu*" (Y.S. ch. 61). According to the *Ming-shih* (ch. 315, Section on *Mu-pang*), the military and civil 總管府 *tsung-kuan-fu* of Mu-pang Road, controlling three 甸 *tien*, was set up in the 26th year of *chih-yüan* (1289 A.D.).

176. 孟定路 Mêng Ting Road. "Military and civil *fu*" (Y.S. ch. 61): ch. 18 (31st year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *chi-yu* day). Cf. *Ming-shih* ch. 46.

177. Y.S. ch. 10 (15th year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *ting-ch'ou* day). 臨安 Lin-an (Lat.  $23^{\circ} 37'$ , Long.  $103^{\circ} 05'$  — Playfair 3838), the chief city in S.E. Yunnan. 和泥 Ho-ni — a tribe, mentioned with the 模 P'u, as inhabiting K'ai-nan *chou* and Wei-yüan *chou* (Y.S. ch. 61, and n. 154 and 156 *supra*). 威楚 Wei-ch'u (see Y.S. ch. 61 — "Wei-chen, K'ai-nan and other Roads") is modern 楚雄 Ch'u-hsiung (Lat.  $25^{\circ} 02'$ , Long.  $101^{\circ} 43'$  — Playfair 1404). 落落 Lo lo (the Lo-los of today. The name is written in many different ways in Chinese). 禿老蠻 T'u-lao *Man*: probably the 土老 T'u-lao or 土獠 T'u-lao (mliao) of Devéria, *La Frontière Sino-Annamite* pp. 114-115. In the Yüan dynasty they were further north, in 高州 Kao-chou (now Kao-hsien) and 筠連 Yün lien *chou* N.E. of Yunnan, now under Ssüch'uan (Lat.  $28^{\circ} 06'$ , Long.  $104^{\circ} 40'$  — Playfair 7832).

178. Y.S. ch. 16 (27th year, 7th month, *ping-yin* day). 閣力 Shê-li. 白衣甸 Pai-i *tien*, Possibly this Shê-li is the 閣里 Shê-li of ch. 26 (6th year of *yen-yü*, 2nd month, *ting-yü* day = March 3rd, 1319): — "Ai-o of Shê-li of Yunnan, and A-pa-la the P'u *Man* of Yung-ch'ang, etc., all made raids. The Emperor ordered Yunnan province to take every opportunity to exterminate or arrest them."

179. Y.S. ch. 17 (29th year, 8th month, *mou-wu* day). 不敦忙 兀魯迷失 Pu-tun Mang-wu-lu-mi-shih. 八百媳婦 Pa-pai-hsi-fu,

180. Y.S. ch. 61; ch. 17 (29th year, 12th month, *kêng-yin* day). 木來府 Mu-lai *fu* 忙兀兒迷失 Mang-wu-t'u-erh-mi-shih. 布伯 Pu-po. 馬列 Ma-lieh. According to the *Ming-shih* ch. 46, Mu-lai *fu* was south-east of Mêng Lien *chang-kuan-ssü* (Mêng Lem). For 木來州 Mu-lai *chou*, see n. 183 *infra*.

181. Y.S. ch. 17 (29th year, 12th month, *chi-yu* day). 阿散男 布八 A-san-nan Pu-pa. 麓川路 Lu-ch'uan Road. 趙昇 Chao Shêng. 木忽魯甸 Mu-hu-lu *tien* 忽魯馬男 Hu-lu-ma-nan (and) 阿魯 A-lu.

182. Y.S. ch. 17 (30th year, 1st month, *jên-hsü* day), 漆頭蠻 Ch'i-t'ou *Man* "Lacquered Head barbarians."

183. Y.S. ch. 61 木朶路 Mu-to Road; ch. 17 (30th year, 11th month, *mou-ch'ên* day). 木朶甸 Mu-to *tien*. 下路總管府 *hsia-lu* (minor Road) *tsung-kuan-fu*. See also ch. 30 (3rd year of *t'ai-t'ing*, 9th month, *mou-ch'ên* day=Oct. 23rd, 1326): 哀用 Ai Yung, nephew of 昭哀 Chao Ai of 大車里 Great Ch'ê-li, and 吾仲 Wu Chung native official of 孟隆甸 Mêng Lung *tien*, all submitted local products and came to offer tribute. The Emperor took Chao Ai's land set up one 木朶路 Mu-to Road there, with one 木來州 Mu-lai *chou* and three *tien*. He took Wu Chung's land and set up one Mêng Lung Road there, with one *tien*." Mêng Lung Road is barely mentioned in Y.S. ch. 61. The *Ming-shih* (ch.46), describing 孟艮 Mêng Kên *yü-i-fu* of the Ming dynasty (Kengtung State or part of it), says that Mu-to Road and Mêng Lung Road were to the east of it, and 孟愛 Mêng Ai to the northeast. According to *TSEYCY* ch. 119, p. 4749), the cancelled Mu-to Road was 200 *li* east of Mêng Kên *fu*.

184. Y.S. ch. (31st year, 10th month, *i-wei* day). 孟愛甸 Mêng Ai *tien*. See n. 183 *supra*. "Mêng Ai and other *tien*, military and civil *fu*," is also recorded in ch. 61. In some editions the date is wrongly given as the 21st year, but rightly in the *Pai-na*.

185. Y.S. ch. 19 (2nd year of *yüan chêng*, 12th month, *mou-hsü* day). 徹里 ch'ê-li, 胡念 Hu Nien. 胡倫 Hu Lun.

186. *Y.S.* ch. 19 (1st year of *ta-tê*, 9th month, *shiu-tzu* day).  
也先不花 Yeh-hsien-pu-hua (Asän-buqa). See his biography  
in the *Y.S.* ch.134.
187. 葫蘆國 Hu-La kingdom. See, e.g., J. Siguret, *Territoires  
et Populations des Confins du Yunnan*, Vol. I, pp. 198 – 210,  
Vol. II pp. 51–53. 卡瓦 Ch'ia-wa (= Wa).
188. 繡面蠻 Hsiu-mien Man, "Tattooed Face barbarians" (*Man-  
shu* ch. 4, f. 9r<sup>0</sup>).
189. *États hindouisés*, p. 349.
190. 招捕總錄 *Chao-pu-tsung-lu*. 守山閣叢書 *Shou-shan-ko-  
ts'ung-shu* of 錢熙祚 Ch'ien Hsi-tsu (Shanghai, Po-ku-chai ed.,  
1922, 180 vols.).
191. *États hindouisés*, p. 326.
192. *BEFEO* t. XXV, p. 88.
193. *Supra*, p. 140 and n. 119.
194. The *Mang-wu-t'u-êrh-shih* of Extract (iv) must surely be  
the same as the *Pu-tun Mang-wu-lu-mi-shih* of Extract (iii).  
Burma's invader in 1300–1 (see Huber, p. 674) was 忙兀都魯迷失  
*Mang-wu-tu-lu-mi-shih*. In the Section on *Mien* (ch. 210) he  
is called 忙完禿魯迷失 *Mang-wan-t'u-lu-mi-shih*.
195. Doubtless the "*Tala sukri* who became king" of the younger  
Phwā Caw's inscription at Pwazaw, Pl. IV 392<sup>16</sup> (663s., 1301 A.D.).  
The name *Klawcwā* occurs at Pl. V 580a<sup>3</sup> (655s.). He is usually  
called *Rhuy-nan-syan*, 'Lord of the Golden Palace.'
196. Pl. III 282<sup>1-9</sup>, at Doyinpahto pagoda, Minnanthu. The  
Burmese date is Monday, the 12th waxing of *Mhwaytā* (Wazo),  
651s.
197. Pl. IV 417, now at Kyaukzedi, Singaing. The date, twice  
given, is Tuesday, the 11th waning of Tabauing, 650s. (approx.  
Feb. 15th, 1289).
198. See A.D. Phayre, *History of Burma* (1883), p. 57; Scott and

Hardiman, *Upper Burma Gazetteer* Part I, Vol. I, p. 198; G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (1925), pp. 75-76.

199. In 1375 A.D., *Kaṅkasū*, headman of *Khaṇmwan* on the Sagaing Monywa border, compares the victory of king *Tryāphyā* of Ava over the *diṭhi Syan* to Dutthagāmaṇi's victory over the Coḷa *Klañ* heretic, Eḷāra, at Anurādhapura, Ceylon, in 101 B.C. (*List* 682<sup>8</sup>, 736s.). This is repeated in *Caw Nantā*'s inscriptions of 1383 (*List* 713a<sup>7</sup>, 744s.) and 1392 *List* 761a<sup>9</sup>, 754s.).

200. Thus the younger Phwā Caw's big inscription at the Hsutaungoyi pagoda, Pagan (Pl.IV 390-393, 661-3s./1300-1 A.D.) shows her to be the queen of "*Chan phlū skhīn* reigning in *Arimattānapūra*" (Pl.IV 3905), i.e., Saw Nit of Pagan, *not* Sīhasūra the Shan brother. But the latter is certainly called *Chan phlū sikhān* in the Kyauksè *Tamut* inscription of Dhammasiri (Pl.IV 428<sup>13</sup>, 662-681s.); *Chan phlū syan* at Pl.IV 389c<sup>8</sup> 657s.)—a Kyauksè inscription; and again *Chan phlū skhīn* at Pl.IV 406a<sup>19</sup> (Mandalay Palace Shed, 88, 669s./1308 A.D.)—an inscription shown by its material, marble, to come from Kyauksè. Probably Sīhasūra was the donor of one the brick monasteries in the Hsinbyushin ('Lord of the White Elephant') group near Minnanthu, Pagan (Pl.V 503-4, 692-715s.).

201. Pl.III 291<sup>10-14</sup>, 661s./1299 A.D., still in the Thambula temple there. The Burmese date is Monday, the 1st waxing of Kason, 661s.). *Sumlūla*, 'Moon of the Three Worlds,' Triloka candradevī, soon got corrupted into *Sambhūla* Thambula.

202. Pl.III 276a, 654s./1293 A.D. The Burmese date is Thursday, the 11th waxing of Tabaung (?). Several words and clauses (e.g.) the reference to the defeat of the *Taruk* are no longer visible on the stone. I restore them from the copy of lines 1-5 in Mahājeayasāṅkhaya U Chein's *Vohāralinatthadīpanī Kyan*, p. 301.

203. Rājasāṅkraṁ, "when the *Tanluin* rebelled, attacked *Tala mruiv* (Twante) and took it," and so got "a reward for bravery" in 655 s./1293 A.D. See his inscription, Pl.III 294<sup>6</sup>, Stone 72 at

Pagan Museum. The date of this part of the inscription (which is often illegible) is perhaps the 11th waxing of Nadaw, 655s.—towards the end of 1293 A.D.

204. Y.S. Ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (4th. year of *ta-te*, 5th month, i.e., May 19th—June 17th, 1300).

205. 管竹思加 Kuan-ch-ussñ-chia. See Huber's text, pp. 670—2 (2nd year of *ta-te*, 2nd month, March 14th—April 11th, 1298). The name is probably Tibetan.

206. 登龍 Têng-lung, Old Burm. *Tankwin* the northern word for the Mons (Old Mon *Rmenñ*). The leaders sent by the Mon king included his two uncles 兀刺合 Wu-la-ho and 兀都魯新合 Wu-tu-lu-hsin-ho (Uttarasimha). They reached Pagan in the 2nd month (March 14th—April 11th, 1298).

207. In the 6th month (July 10th—Aug. 7th, 1298).

208. 鄉聶 Tson-nieh, described as "a bastard son of the king, then 16 years old" (Huber text, p. 675).

209. 甘當 Kan-tang. 散當 San-tang. 只麻刺 Ohih-ma-la. 班羅 Pan-lo.

210. Pl.III 293<sup>1-3</sup>, 661s. (Sunday, 5th waxing of *Santu*, Thading-yut). The inscription, now Stone 3 at Kyauksè Club, comes from the Kudwetawya monastery, Samá village.

211. Certain parts of the land-dedications in Pl.III 293 are repeated in *List* 1326 (UB II 256), a fragmentary inscription not yet recovered.

212. "The headman *Anatajayapakram*" who also, in 1296, received "a reward for bravery in the victorious war and attack on *Tala* (Pl.III 292<sup>18</sup>, 658s.). The stone is a mica schist, which shows that it is a Kyauksè inscription.

213. Early in 1293 Asankhayā claims that Pagan rule extended to Tenasserim and Tavoy (Plate III 276a<sup>2</sup>, 654s. Tabaung); but this may be a claim rather than statement of fact.

214. Pl. III 279<sup>15</sup>, 272<sup>18</sup>, 274<sup>15</sup>, 273<sup>18-19</sup>.
215. Pl.III 297<sup>30</sup> (654s., Wed., 13th waning of Nayôn).
216. Pl.III 276a (654s., Thurs., 11th waxing of Tabaung ?)
217. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, transl. Tin and Luce, p. 179.
218. Pl.III 273<sup>21</sup>, 275<sup>1</sup>, 2.
219. Pl.III 272<sup>6</sup>, 12, 274<sup>4</sup>, 7.
220. Pl.III 272<sup>32</sup>, 274<sup>18</sup> (Thurs., 11th waxing of Nayôn, 653s.).
221. Pl.III 272<sup>18</sup>, 273<sup>18</sup>, 274<sup>15</sup>.
222. Pl.III 274<sup>12</sup> (*atuiw skhin manñeri sã Dhammmarac*). — In the *Kathin* (end of Lent) offerings of 652s./1290 A.D., there was a dispute about some land dedicated; and enquiries were made, first by Asaṅkhayā, then by the king, and finally by Prince *Dhammmarac*. The question is whether *atuiw skhin* here means "my husband," i.e., Tarukpliy, or "our lord," i.e., Klawcwā.
223. Pl.III 276b<sup>2</sup> (*Puthuiw-ni manñ nharñ manñ Klacwã moñnham* — 655s., Thurs., 7th waxing of Tazaungmôn). The inscription records their building of a monastery "west of *Khatcãñ* (?) village," near Mõnbaung, Myingõndaing *kharuñ*, from which the stone has been removed to Mandalay (Palace Shed, Stone 510). The reverse (Pl.IV 398a<sup>3</sup>), of identical date though perhaps later hand shows them making request to *Tajisyan* (the first mention of this popular royal name of Sihasu, 'Lord of One (White Elephant),' to confirm their dedication.
224. Pl.IV 390<sup>25</sup>, 392<sup>4</sup>, 10, 22. The date of the first stone is Friday, 3rd waning of Tabodwè, 661s., early in 1300 A.D.
225. Pl.III 279<sup>26</sup> (655s., Sun., 13th waxing of Tabodwè).
226. Pl.III 282<sup>14</sup> (656s., Wed., 11th waning of Pyatho).
227. Pl.IV 389c<sup>8</sup> (657s.). The inscription, now at Mandalay Palace Shed (Stone 79, E. face), comes from Mõnbaung, Mhington, daing Kyauksè.

228. Pl. III 285<sup>2</sup> (658s., Sat., 7th waning of Nadaw).
229. Huber's text (p.670). 1st year of *ta-te* (1297 A.D.). 僧加八的 Sêng-chia-pa-ti.
230. Y.S. ch.210 Section on *Mien*. 1st year of *ta-te*, 2nd month (Feb. 23rd—Mar. 23rd, 1297). 信合八的 Hsin-ho-pa-ti. Klawewā is called 的立普哇拿阿迪提牙 Ti-li-p'u-wa-na-a-ti-t'i-ya *Tribhuvanâditya* 'Sun of the Three Existences').
231. Y.S. ch. 19 (1st. year of *ta-te*, 2nd month, *chi-wei* day = March 20th, 1297). 撒邦巴 Sa-pang-pa. 阿散 A-san.
232. See Huber, p. 675. 那速刺 Na-sula (Narasūra?) was a son-in-law of Klawewā and governor of 馬來 Ma-lai town *Malan* Malé, on the west bank of the Irrawaddy in Shwebo district).
233. 教化迪 Chiao Hua-ti.
234. See n. 99 *supra*, and Ch'ieh-lieh's biography in Y.S. ch.133.
235. Pl.III 292<sup>20</sup> (659s., Thurs. (?), 15th waxing of Tazaungmôn).
236. Huber's text, pp.670-671 (2nd year of *ta-te*, 2nd month = March 14th—April 11th, 1298). See n. 205 *supra*.
237. Huber's text, p. 673. 阿巴 A-pa.
238. 密里都 Mi-li-tu. 邦加郎 Pang-chia-lang. Huber (p. 673, n. 1) rightly, I think, identifies the former with the old frontier town of Myedu (Old Burm. *Mlyitū*), on the east bank of the Upper Mu, in the far north of Shwebo.
239. 不甘兩宿吉老亦 Pu-kan-yü-su-chi-lao-i.—*Yü-su-chi-lao-i* might possibly be Old Burm. *rwā-sūkrī*, 'village-headman.' If so, one would expect *Pu-kan* to be Pakhan, the old city on the west bank of the Irrawaddy below the Chindwin junction. But the name in Old Burmese is always written *Kukhan*. Whether it was colloquially pronounced *Pukhan* as early as this, I cannot say.
240. Huber's text, p. 675 (Na-su-la's report—2nd year of *ta-te*, 5th month).

241. 朝乞力朝普 Chao Chi-li (and) Chao P'u (*Chaw Krī, Chaw Phū?*).

242. Huber's text, p. 672.

243. Pl.III 286<sup>2</sup> (659s., Thurs., 13th waxing of Pyatho), from *Satyāpicañ* monastery, Myinzaing, now at Mandalay Palace Shed (Stone 71, W. face).

244. 鄉聶 Tsou-nieh. See n. 208. Called Saw Nit in Burmese Chronicles. In the inscriptions he is *Mañ Lalan*, "the young king" (Pl. III 290b<sup>3</sup>, 661s.; 292<sup>28</sup>, 661s.).

245. 阿只不如蘭 A-chih-pu-ch'ieh-lan (*Rāja... kram*). See Huber, p.671-2.

246. 密得力 Mi-tê-li, 信者亨 Hsin-chê-chang, and 者思力 Chê-ssŭ-li. Mi-tê-li might be the *Mittara (sīñjañ)* of Pl.III 279<sup>26</sup> (655s.).

247. (i) 阿散哥也 A-san-ko-yeh. Also written sometimes in the Y.S. 阿散吉牙 A-san-chi-ya. And, in the Emperor's edict (n. 231, *supra*) A-san. = Asaṅkhayā.

(ii) 阿刺者僧吉藍 A-la-chê-sêng-chi-lan. = Rājasāṅkram.

(iii) 僧哥速 Sêng-ko-su. Called in the Y.S. 者蘇 Chê-su "younger brother of the Mien rebel, A-san-ko-yeh" = Sihasūra.

248. Y.S. ch. 20 (3rd year of *ta-tê*, 3rd month, *kuei-ssŭ* day). 信合八的 Hsin-ho pa-ti (cf. n. 230 *supra*).

249. Y.S. ch. 210.

250. Huber's text, p. 675 (3rd year, 4th month, 10th day).

251. 康吉弄古馬刺加失巴 K'ang-chi-lung Ku-ma-la-chia-shih-pa. On p. 673 of Huber's text this son of Klawewa, *Kumārakassapa*, probably a monk, who escaped to Yünnan, "accompanied by his spiritual preceptor," is called 古馬刺加失八珣耽八者里 Ku-ma-la-chia-shih-pa-su-tan-pa-chê-li (Is the last part of the name, *Sudhamma-śrī* (?), really that of the preceptor?). In the Y.S. he is called 窟麻刺哥撒八 Ku-ma-la-ko-sa-pa.



252. Pl. III 290b (661s., Thurs., 8th waxing of Nayôn), Pagan Sathingu inscription.
253. See Pl. IV 390-393 (661-663s.), and *List* 416 and 829 (663, 768s.).
254. See Pl. IV 395<sup>19-34</sup> (664s.). The original dedication was by her aunt, *Caw Pulay May*, wife of king *Klaciwā*.
255. See Pl. IV 413 (672s.), "the temple and monastery of her brother's son, *Mahāsakthit*".
256. Pl. IV 451, 452a (696s.). But it was probably "the four-faced temple built by my daughter" (Pl. IV 393<sup>21</sup>, 663s.).
257. Huber's text, p. 673. For Kumārakassapa see n. 251, for Mängü Tüürümish, n. 194, *supra*.
258. *Ibid.*, p. 674.
259. *Ibid.* 阿真谷 A-chên-kuo (Nga Singu, see n. 174). 馬來 Ma-lai (Malè, see n. 232).
260. *Ibid.*, p. 675.
261. Y.S. ch. 20 (4th year of *ta-tê*, 5th month, *kuei wei day*).
262. *Ibid.* (6th. month, *chi-yu day*). "The Emperor appointed by decree, as king and successor to Mien kingdom, the king's son 窟麻刺哥撒八 L'u-ma-la-ko-sa-pa, and conferred on him a silver seal, and also gold and silver utensils, clothes, etc."
263. *Ibid.* (4th month, *ting ssü day*); ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (4th year, 4th month).
264. *Ibid.* (7th month, *Ii-yu day*). ch. 210 Section on *Mein* (autumn, 7th month). 者蘇 Chê-su. 阿散哥也 A-san-ko-yeh.
265. 安慶 An-ch'ing (capital of An-hui province), the reading in the *pênchi*, must be a slip for 中慶 Chung-ch'ing (Yünnan Fu), which is the reading in the section on *Mien*.
266. 上都 Shang-tu, "the Upper Capital" (the Xanadu of

Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan'). Near the Dolon Nor in the far north of Chih-li (Playfair 5535).

267. Y.S. ch. 20 (4th year, 8th month *kêng shên* day); ch. 210 Section on *Mien* (8th month). 阿散吉牙 A-san-chi-ya.

268. Huber's text, p. 676.

269. The *Yüan-shih* was compiled by 宋濂 Sung Lien and others at the very beginning of the Ming dynasty. On March 9th, 1369, according to the *Ming-shih* ch. 2 (2nd year of *hung-wa*, 2nd month, *ping-yin* day), the Emperor ordered its compilation. The modern colophon, at the end of the Pai-na edition of the Y.S., says that it had been ordered still earlier, but that this was the date when an office was opened and work really begun. It continued down to Sept. 12th, 1369 (8th month, *kuei-yu* day), when the writing stopped while envoys were sent all over China with orders to all the prefectures and districts to submit historical materials. On March 3rd, 1370 (3rd year, 2nd month, *i-ch'ou* day), the office was reopened, and on Aug. 2nd (7th month, *ting-hai* day), the work was complete. 錢大昕 Ch'ien Tshin, a great Ch'ing dynasty scholar, concludes that the writing took only 331 days (If the dates given above are right, it should be 341 days). "No history, ancient or modern, has been compiled so quickly as the *Yüan-shih*, and none is so poor and mean in style." Still, it had the great advantage of being written when the dust of recent events had settled, but had not been swept away.

270. Pl. IV 398<sup>4</sup> (665s., Fri., 12th waxing of Pyatho), a Myin-zaing inscription, now at Mandalay Palace Shed (Stone 76, W. face).

371. Huber, p. 676 (4th year, 5th month, 15th day).

272. 薛超兀兒 Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh. 劉德祿 Liu Tê-lu. 闊闊 K'uo-k'uo.

273. Huber, p. 676.

274. *Ibid.* (12th month, 5th day).

275. Pl. IV 396a<sup>4</sup>, b<sup>1</sup> (664s., Thurs., 7th waxing of Tazaungmôn).
276. Huber, p. 678.
277. Huber, p. 676 (12th month, 15th day).
278. Old Burm. *Mrañcuñ*, Chinese 木連城 Mu-lien-ch'êng (Huber p. 672, n. 2), 迷郎崇城 Mi-lang-ch'ung city (Y.S. ch. 20-4th year of *t'ai-ting*, 11th month, *hsin-mao day*). The old city of Myinzaing, the capital of the Shan brothers, with its three interlocking walled enclosures, is still in fair preservation, four miles east of Kyauksè, on the east bank of the Thindwè (*Saithway*) Canal. It is almost surrounded by hills except on the west. Cf. Huber, p. 672, n. 2.
279. 5th year of *ta-tê*, 1st month. "Stone mountain" should be Old Burm. *Klok-ton*. I do not find this name in the inscriptions in the immediate neighbourhood of Myinzaing; but there was one under *Santon Kharuñ*, some miles to the north (Pl. IV 453a<sup>9</sup>, 696s.).
280. 1st month, 19th day.
281. 2nd month, 2nd day (Huber, pp. 676-7).
282. 27th, 28th, 29th day.
283. 3rd month, 5th day.
284. 蒙來路 Mêng-lai Road. See Huber, p. 678, n. 1, and *supra* n. 172, 173.
285. Y.S. ch. 20 (5th year, 8th month, *chia-hsü day*).
286. 8th month, 8th day (Huber, pp. 678-9).
287. Y.S. ch. 20 (5th year, 6th month, *chi-yu day*). The 乙酉 *chi-yu* of the text, coming as it does between 丙戌 *ping-hsü* before and 壬辰 *jên-ch'ên* after, is clearly a slip for 己丑 *chi-ch'ou*.
288. *Ibid.* (8th month, *k'eng-ch'ên day*). 戛刺福山 I-la-fu-shan, 萬戶 *wan-hu* (controller of 10,000 households) of 征緬 Ch'eng-mien (province).

289. *Ibid.* (10th month, *chi-ssü* day).
290. *Y.S. Ch.* 21 (7th year, 3rd month, *i-ssü* day).
291. *Ibid.* (5th month, *ping-shen* day).
292. *Ibid.* (8th month, *kêng-hsü* day).
293. *Y.S. Ch.* 22 (1st. year of *chih-ta* of 武宗 Wu Tsung, 1st month, *chi-ssü* day).
294. *Ibid.* (5th month, *chi-ssü* day).
295. *Ibid.* (7th month, *kuei-yu* day). 管祝思監 Kuan-chu-ssü-chien. 朵兒只 To-êrh-chih.
296. *Y.S. Ch.* 24 (1st year of *huang-ch'ing*, 11th month, *kêng-shên* day). 岑福 Ts'ên-fu. 不農蠻 Pu-nung southern barbarians.
297. *Y.S. Ch.* 25 (2nd year of *yen-yu*, 6th month, *ping-wu* day). 脫刺合 T'o-la-ho.
298. *Y.S. Ch.* 26 (6th year, 7th month, *ping-ch'ên* day). 趙欽撒 Chao Ch'in-sa.
299. *Ch.* 20, 4th year of *ta-tê*, 12th month, *kuei-ssü* day. 劉深 Liu Shên, 合刺帶 Ho-la-tai, 鄭祐 Chêng Yu.
300. *Ibid.* 5th year, 1st month, *kêng-hsü* day. 錠 *ting* 'shoe'.
301. *Ibid.* 2nd month, *ting-hai* day. 萬戶府 wan-hu-fu.
302. *Ibid.* 4th month, *jên-wu* day.
303. *Ibid.* 5th month, *ping-yin* day. 貝子 *pei-tzü* "cowry".
304. *Ibid.* 7th month, *kuei-ch'ou* day. 蒙古 Meng-ku = Mongol.
305. *Ibid.* 8th month, *chia-hsü* day.
306. *Ibid.* 6th year, 2nd month, *ping-hsü* day. 右丞 *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant Governor).
307. *Ch.* 21, 7th year, 3rd month, *i-ssü* day. For Liu Shên, Ho-la-tai and Chêng Yu, see n, 299 *supra*.

308. Ch. 23, 2nd year of *chih-ta*, 11th month, *kêng-ch'ên* 1st day of the month. 撒里 Ch'ê-li. 谷保 Ku-pao. 威遠州 Wei-yüan *chou* (see n. 156). 木羅甸 Mu-lo- *tien* (native district). 算只兒威 Suan-chih-êrh-wei. 威楚道 Wei-ch'u *tao* (region). For "Wei-ch'u, K'ai-nan and other Roads," see n. 177 and section in *Y.S.* ch. 61; under it was Wei-ch'u 縣 *hsien*. According to *TSPYCY* (ch. 119, p. 4749) the 谷賓江 Ku-pao *chiang* (note difference of characters) was another name for the Wei-yüan *chiang*, the river on which Wei-yüan stands. It flows south, and joins the Mekong from the east.

309. *Ibid.* 3rd year, 1st month, *hsin-ch'ou* day.

310. *Ibid.* *Jên-yin* day.

311. *Ibid.* 11th month, *mou-tzŭ* day.

312. Ch. 24 (reign of Jên-Tsung), 4th year, 5th month, *kuei-yu* day. 阿忽台 A-hu-t'ai.

313. *Ibid.* 1st year of *huang-ch'ing*, 2nd month, *chi-mao* day.

314. *Ibid.* 8th month, *hsin-mao* day.

315. *Ibid.* 9th month, *mou-hsü* day.

316. *Ibid.* *Hsin-ch'ou* day.

317. *Ibid.* 10th month, *chia-tzŭ* day. For Suan-chih-êrh-wei, see n. 308 *supra*. 國師 *kuo-shih*, i.e. *rājagura*. 捌思吉幹節兒 Shuo-ssŭ-chi-wa-chieh-êrh.

318. Ch. 25, 2nd year of *yen-yu*, 10th month, *kuei-mao* day.

319. Ch. 26, 6th year of *yen-yu*, 12th month, *chia-tzŭ* day.

320. Ch. 29, 3rd year of *chih-chih*, 12th month, *i-yu* day. 車里于孟 Yü Mêng of Ch'ê-li. Note the new first character of 車 Ch'ê-li. It becomes regular henceforward.

321. *Ibid.* *T'ing-hai* day. 花脚蠻 Hua-chiao *Man*, 'Flowery Leg barbarians.' Cf. the 繡脚 Hsiu-chiao *Man*, 'Embroidered, i.e., Tattooed, Legs *Man*' of the *Man-shu* (ch. 4, f. 9r<sup>0</sup>), who were a

tribe of 'Yung-ch'ang and K'ai-nan', perhaps of the old Austric-speaking peoples.

322. *Ibid.* 1st year of *t'ai-ting*, 8th month, *kuei-wei* day.

323. *Ibid.* 10th month, *chi-ssü* day. 幹耳朵 Wa-êrh-to. 尼而 Ni-êrh. 塞賽 Sai-sai. 刀零 Tiao Ling. 鷹構木 Ying-kou-mu.

324. *Ibid.* 2nd year of *t'ai-ting* 5th month, *jëntzû* day. 陶刺孟 T'ao La-mêng. 大阿哀 Great A-ai. 朵刺 To-la.

325. *Ibid.* 7th month, *mou-shên* 1st day of month.

326. *Ibid.* *Chia-yin* day. 鎮康路 Chên-K'ang Road. 你囊 Ni Nang. 謀粘路 Mou-chan (or -nien Road. 賽丘羅 Sai Ch'iu-lo. For Chên-k'ang Road see *supra*, n. 35. There is a bare mention of "Mou-chan Road military and civil *fu*" in *Y.S.* ch. 61. In the *Ming-shih*, ch. 46, it is given under Mêng Ting *yu-i-fu*:—"To the south-east there is Mou-chan Road, set up in the 7th month of the 3rd year of *t'ai-ting* of the Yüan (1326 A.D.)." According to *T'SFYCY* (ch. 119, p. 4747), the cancelled Mou-chan Road was southeast of Mêng Ting *fu*.

327. *Ibid.* *Chi-wei* day 總管府 *tsung-kuan-fu* (Governor's Office). 寒賽 Han Sai.

328. Ch. 30, 3rd year of *t'ai-ting*, 5th month, *chia-yin*. 招南道 Chao Nan-tao. 招三聽 Chao San-t'ing.

329. *Ibid.* 7th month, *chi-wei* day. 招南通 Chao Nan-t'ung.

330. *Ibid.* 9th month, *kuei-hai* day.

331. *Ibid.* *Mou-ch'ên* day. 哀培 Ai P'ei. 禿刺 T'u-la stockade. 威楚 Wei-ch'u Road. 阿吾 A-wu, son of 阿只弄 A-chih-lung. 景求 Ching-tung stockade. 你刀 Ni Tao. Great A-ai stockade (see n. 324). 哀卜利 Ai Pu-li. Mu-lo stockade (and *tien*, see n.

308). 阿利 A-li, Mang-shih Road (see n. 39). 陀金客 T'o-chin-k'o 泥囊 Ni Nang. 鎮江 Chên-chiang Road. 丘羅 Ch'iu-lo. 木帖 Mu-tieh Road. 哀用 Ai Yung. 昭哀 Chao Ai. 吾仲 Wu

- Chung. For Mông Lung *tien*, Mu-to Road, Mu-lai *chou* see n. 180.
183. For Ohing-tung, see Lat.  $24^{\circ} 31'$  Long.  $101^{\circ} 04'$  (Playfair 1138), between the Mekong and the Red River. "Mông Lung Road military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in *Y.S.* ch. 61.
332. *Ibid.* 4th year, 2nd month, *kêng-yin* day Chao Nan-t'ung (see n. 329).
333. *Ibid.* 7th month, *mou-wu* day. Sai Oh'in-lo, Mon-chan Road (see n. 326). 招三斤 Chao San-chin. 銀沙羅 Yin-sha-lo. 散怯遮 San-ch'ieh-chê.
334. *Ibid.* Intercalary 9th month, *chia-wu* day. 蒙慶 Mêng Oh'ing. 木安府 Mu-an *fu*. 孟傑府 Mêng Chieh *fu*. 烏撒 Wu-sa. 你出公 Ni-ch'u-kung. 招諭人 *chao-yü-jên* 'Summoner.' 米德 Mi-tê. 混盆 Hun P'en. The Wu-sa tribes lived "750 *li* N.E. of Ohung-ch'ing," i.e. Yunnan *Fu* (*Y.S.* ch. 61). "Mêng Chieh Road. — In the 3rd year of *t'ai-t'ing* (1326 A.D.), the southern barbarians of Pa-pai-hsi-fu requested the (Yünnan) authorities to guard it. There were set up the two *fu* of Mu An and Mêng Chieh at this place." (*Y.S.* ch. 61). Mêng Oh'ing is not mentioned here, but is given under Pa-pai-ta-tien in ch. 46 of the *Ming-shih*.
335. *Ibid.* 1st year of *chia-ho*, 5th month, *chi-ssü* day. 哀招 Ai Chao.
336. Ch. 32, 1st year of *t'ien-li*, 9th month, *hsin-wei* day. Mêng Ting Road (see n. 176).
337. *Ibid.* 10th month *ting-wei* day. 銀羅甸 Yin-lo *tien* query for Yin-sha-lo (see n. 333)? 哀贊 Ai Tsan.
338. *Ibid.* *Hsin-hai* day. 徹里 Ch'ê-li Road (note old first character). 刁賽 Tiao Sai.
339. *Ibid.* 1st year of *t'ien-li*, 11th month, *kuai-yü* day. 昭哀 Chao Ai. 脫放 Ni Fang. 也必姑 Pi-yeh-ku.
340. Ch. 33, 2nd year, 2nd month, *hsin ch'ou* day. 阿三木 A-san-mu. 蒙通蒙算甸 Mêng T'ung (and) Mêng Suan *tien*. 哀放 Ai

Fang. 開南 K'ai-nan (see n. 154).

341. *Ibid.* I-mao day. 宣慰司 *hsüan-wei-ssü*. 都元師府 *tu-yüan-shuai-fu*. 銀沙羅甸 *Yin-sha-lo tien*.

342. *Ibid.* Ting-ch'ou day. Mêng Ting Road (see n. 176, 336).

343. Ch. 35, 2nd year of *chih-shun*, 5th month, *chi-ch'ou* day. 孟育路 Mêng Yuan Road. 者線 Chê-hsien. Mêng Ch'ing tien (see n. 334). 孟併 Mêng Ping. 孟廣 Mêng Kuang. 者樣甸 Chê-yang tien. "Mêng Kuang Road military and civil *fu*" is barely mentioned in Y.S. ch. 61. I wonder if Mêng Yüan Road is the 孟絹 Mêng Chüan Road mentioned under Pa-pai-ta-tien in the *Ming-shih*, ch. 46, as "set up in the 1st year of *yüan-t'ung* of the Yüan (1333 A.D.) and placed under Pa-pai *hsüan-wei-ssü*." Is Chêhsien 景線 Ching Hsien, (Chieng Sen?).

344. Ch. 40, 1st year of *chih-chêng*, 12th month, *jên-hsü* day. 寒賽刀 Han Sai-tao. 脫脫木兒 T'o-t'o-mu-êrli.

345. *Ibid.* 2nd year, 4th month, *chi-yu* day. 蒙慶 Mêng Ch'ing *hsüan-wei-ssü* (see n. 334, 343).

346. Ch. 41, 6th year, 12th month, *chia-wu* day. 八百 Pa-pai (= Pa-pai-hsi-fu). 韓部 Han Pu.

347. *Ibid.* 7th year, 1st month, *kêng-shên* day. 老丫 Lao Ya. 耿凍路 Kêng-tung Road (perhaps the present Kengtung State). In the *Ming-shih*, ch. 46, under Ch'ê-li, "there is also the Kêng-tung Road of the Yüan dynasty, set up in the 1st month of the 7th year of *chih-chêng* (1347 A.D.); also the two 州 *chou* of 耿當 Kêng-tang and 孟弄 Mêng Lung, which were also set up at the end of the Yüan dynasty. In the 15th year of *hung-wu* (1382 A.D.), all were reduced and merged in Ch'ê-li." Cf. *TSEFYCY*, ch. 119, p. 4733.



## SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY (WITH ABBREVIATIONS)

### CHINESE.<sup>1</sup>

A. 元史 *Yüan-shih* (Y.S.) of 宋濂 Sung Lien, etc. Completed in 1370 A.D. (see n. 269, *infra*), 210 *chüan*. — I have used various editions, but generally follow the Pai-na edition, with its pre-Manchu writings of Central Asian names.

B. 明史 *Ming-shih* of 張廷玉 Chang T'ing-yü, etc., 1742 A.D., 332 *chüan*. Pai-na and other editions.

C. 蠻書 *Man-shu* of 樊綽 Fan Ch'o, 863 A.D., 10 *chüan*. — Wu-ying-tien Chü-chên-pan (moveable type) edition.

D. 讀史方輿紀要 *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* (TSFYCY) of 顧祖禹 Ku Tsu-yu, 1667 A.D., 134 *chüan*. Chung-hua-shu-chü edition (in 6 bound vols., European style).

E. 滇繫 *Tien-hsi* of 師範 Shih Fan, 1807 A.D., 40 vols. — Yün-nan-t'ung-chih-chü edition of 1887.

1. During the last war the Japanese looted all the Chinese historical works (over 20,000 volumes) in Rangoon University Library. So this article is based, I fear, on inadequate texts. I regret, in particular, the lack of the following:

(i) 守山閣叢書 *Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu* of 錢熙祚 Ch'ien Hsi-tsu, 1841 (Shanghai, Po-ku-chai edition, 180 vols. 1922), which contains two anonymous works on the subject of this paper: (a) 皇元 (or 元朝) 征緬錄 *Huang-Yüan-(or Yüan-ch'ao-) chêng-mien-lu* (9 folios) — the text translated by Huber in *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 662–679. (b) 招捕總錄 *Chao-pu-tsung-lu* (12 folios) — see *infra* pp. 148-9 and n. 190.

(ii) 大明一統志 *Ta-ming-i-t'ung-chih* of 李賢 Li Hsien etc., 1461 A.D., 90 *chüan*.

(iii) 雲南通志 *Yün-nan-t'ung-chih* of 王崧 Wang Sung etc., 1835 A.D., 216 *chüan*, and the earlier encyclopaedias of the same name by 李元陽 Li Yüan-yang, 鄂爾泰 O-êrh-t'ai, etc.

*BURMESE.*

A. *Inscriptions of Burma*. Portfolios I-V, containing 609 collotype plates of inscriptions arranged chronologically down to the founding of Ava, 726s./1364 A.D.—G.H. Luce and Pe Muang Tin—Oxford University Press. Nearly all references to inscriptions in this article are given to these portfolios. Thus, e.g., in n. 6 “Pl. II 113<sup>14</sup>, 50/7s.” means that the word in question may be found in Portfolio II, Plate No. 113, line 14, under date 507 *sakarāja*. Add 638 (= 1145) to get the approximate year in the Christian era.

B. *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma, Part I* (all published) 1921. Government Press, Rangoon.—Inscriptions not contained in A *supra*, are referred to where possible, under *List*. Thus, in n. 10 “List 1084a<sup>5</sup>, 955s.” means that the word in question is to be found, under date 955 *sakarāja* (1593 A.D.), in line 5 of the obverse of the inscription numbered 1084 in *List*, where the necessary notes and references may be found.

*EUROPEAN.*

A. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (BEFEO)*:  
(i) t. IX, n<sup>o</sup> 4, oct.—déc. 1909 — *La Fin de la Dyastie de Pagan* (pp. 633-680) par M. Édouard Huber. (In my paper I refer to this simply as ‘Huber’ or ‘Huber’s text.’)

(ii) t. IV, nos. 1-2, jan.—juin 1904 — *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (pp. 131-413) par M. Paul Pelliot.

(iii) t. XXV — *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos Occidental* (pp. 1-200) par G. Coedès.

B. *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, par G. Coedès 1948, Paris, de Boccard. (Referred to in this paper as *États hindouisés*).

C. *Variétés Sinologiques* No. 29. *Concordance des Chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne*, par le Rév. Père. P. Hoang, 1910, Shanghai. (Tables giving equivalents of Chinese and European dates—according to the Julian calendar so far as this article is concerned).

D. *The Cities and Towns of China, a Geographical Dictionary*, by G.M.H. Playfair, 2nd ed., 1910, Shanghai.

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*G.H. Luce*

## POETIC TRANSLATIONS FROM THE SIAMESE

Selected Verses of Sri Praj and Sunthorn Bhu

by

*M. R. Seni Pramoj*

### Sri Praj

กรณ ๗ ไช้ฟ้าร้อง	เรียมครวญ
หึ่ง ๗ ไช้ลมหวด	ฟ้าให้
ฝนตกไข่นวนวล	ฟ้าทอด ใจนา
ร้อนไข่นวนไฟไหม้	ฟ้าไหม้กลดาม

Boom, boom ! Not Heaven's wrath, I moan;  
Crash, crash ! Not cyclone, I fret;  
Pour, pour, Not rainfall, I sigh, my heart;  
Fire? No fire burns yet; I burn with love.

ธรณนน	เป็นพยาน
เรากลัศชัยอาจารย์	หนังบาง
เราผิดท่านประหาร	เราชอบ
เราผิดท่านมล้าง	ดาบคนคนสนอง *

Bear me witness, ye Earth,  
Spite not God's image in man.  
If wrong I did, let this sword fall true and sharper,  
If wronged I am, let it strike back the striker.

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\* This is the great poet's last and most famous verse, written when he was about to be beheaded. Tied to a block, with both hands lashed behind him, he used his toe to inscribe it in the sand.