

THE EARLY SYĀM IN BURMA'S HISTORY

A SUPPLEMENT*

by

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The basic article under the title above was written before I was able to complete my searches of the whole of the *Yüan-shih*. With the following supplementary extracts, mostly taken from the biographical chapters, I seek to fill the gaps (still, I fear, not exhaustively) in the record.

Mr. Chen Yee Sein, my invaluable helper, has meantime managed to procure a modern edition of the well-known Sung dynasty treatise, the *Chu-fan chih*, "Record of Various Barbarians," 1225 A.D., by Chao Ju-kua.³⁴⁸ He has pointed out to me that here Chiao-chih (Tongking) is said to be bounded on the west by the *Pai-i* ("White Clothes"). This suggests to me that the first main door of Dai entry into the Indo-Chinese peninsula may have been from the northeast (the Kuangsi-Upper Tongking border) rather than from the northwest (the Sino-Burman frontier); that the oldest form of the term *Pai-i* was "White Clothes" rather than "White Barbarians"; and that the suggested origin of the term in late T'ang times (see n. 11 *supra*), is provisionally tenable, pending further search in T'ang and Sung sources.

I have assumed hitherto that Hüber (*op. cit.*, p. 668, n. 2) was right in identifying Lo-pi *tien* with Mōng Hum state on the tributary of the Upper Shweli south of Nan-tien-Kan-ai. And I have assumed, too, that Lo-pei (n. 88), Lo-pu (n. 42), etc., were variant forms of the same name. Whether Lo-p'an *tien* of Extract (iii) was the same place is much less likely. According to *T'SFYCY* (ch. 115, p. 4657), Lo-p'an *tien* was the original name of another

*The author's basic study under this title was published in the last issue of this *Journal*, Volume XLVI, Part 2. References in this supplementary article are made to the basic study, and the enumeration of the notes begun in that study is continued here.

Lo-pi *tien*, dependent on Yuan-chiang Road, *i.e.*, in S. (Central) Yünnan near the Red River. On the southern border hereabouts was the Pai-i ("White Clothes") *tien* of Shê-li (*cf.* n. 178). The Pai-i were apparently widespread across S. Yünnan, from east to west. But the term Lo-pi, it seems, was used for more than one place, so that its application must be determined by the context.

The *Chu-fan-chih* does not appear to mention *Hsien*. Both here and in the *Sung-shih*,³⁴⁹ to the west of *Chên-la* (Cambodia) was *P'u-kan* (Pagan). Twelve (or thirteen) States are listed by Chao Ju-Kua as tributary to *Chên-la*, some of which were certainly in Siam. The first, *Têng-liu-mei*³⁵⁰ – also mentioned in the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*³⁵¹ (1178 A.D.) – is perhaps the *Tan-mei-liu*³⁵² of the *Sung-shih*, which was 15 stages by sea north of Lo-yüeh (Johore). The second, *Po-ssü-lan*, and the fifth, *Chên-li-fu*,³⁵³ reappear in the *Sung-shih* section on *Chên-la*: "A district dependent on *Chên-la* is *Chên-li-fu*, which is in the southwest corner. To the southeast it touches *Po-ssü-lan*. To the southwest its neighbour is *Têng-liu-mei*. It controls over 60 villages." If *Tan-mei-liu* = Tambralinga = Ligor, Prof. Cœdès is doubtless right in placing *Chên-li-fu* and *Po-ssü-lan* along the coast of the Gulf of Siam.³⁵⁴ But he can hardly be right in identifying the fourth name, *San-lo*,³⁵⁵ with "the country of Syâm on the Upper Menam." Can he hold that this *San-lo* of 1225 is the same as the *Hsien-lo*³⁵⁶ of Ming dynasty texts, *i.e.*, modern Siam? Both characters are quite different. *Hsien-lo* is said to derive from the union of the two states, *Hsien* + *Lo-hu*, in the middle of the 14th century. As characters, this obviously cannot apply to the *San-lo* of 1225. And *Lo-hu*³⁵⁷ (Lavo) is already mentioned here as the third of the dependencies of *Chên-la*. *P'u-kan*³⁵⁸ (Pagan) is also included in the list, and a place, *Wa-li*,³⁵⁹ which M. Cœdès places "in Upper Burma." I do not know his reasons for doing so, nor can I recall any such place-name in the inscriptions of the period. The claim to Pagan as a dependency was doubtless a mere boast; but it might be based on a re-occupation by the Khmers of the

Isthmus of Kra, which appears to have been under the control of Pagan from about 1060 to 1200 A.D.³⁶⁰

Extract (xi), from the biography of the Uigur *Chia-lu-na-ta-ssü*³⁶¹ – is not this a Sanskrit or Pali title, *Karunadarśin?* – contains one of the earliest mentions of *Hsien*. It shows the Emperor Shih Tsu (Khubilai) – probably soon after his final conquest of China (1279), and certainly before 1287 – making plans to conquer, not only Hsien and Lo-hu, but also the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Southern India, and, very likely, Ceylon. *Hsing-ha-lati-wei*³⁶² I take to be *Simhaladīpa*, the island of the Lion, *i.e.*, Ceylon. There is a section on *Ma-pa-êrh*³⁶³ in Chapter 210 of the *Yüan-shih*, which clearly points, I think, to South India. Ma'bar, says Professor Nilakanta Sastri,³⁶⁴ quoting a 'contemporary Muslim chronicler,' "extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore)," *i.e.*, down the western or Malabar coast from Quilon to Cape Comorin, and up the Coromandel coast as far as Nellore. *Chü-lan*³⁶⁵ (Quilon) is frequently mentioned in the section of Ma-pa-êrh. From 1280, if not earlier, several sea-missions passed between China and these places, stopping en route, it seems, in Siam, the Malay Peninsula and the north of Sumatra. According to our extract, over twenty kingdoms submitted. In 1286, according to the Section on Ma-pa-êrh, the following ten kingdoms beyond the sea sent tribute: (i) Ma-pa-êrh (including Chü-lan), (ii) Hsü-mên-na,³⁶⁶ (iii) Sêng-chi-li,³⁶⁷ (iv) Nan-wu-li,³⁶⁸ (v) Ma-lan-tan,³⁶⁹ (vi) Na-wang,³⁷⁰ (vii) Ting-ko-êrh,³⁷¹ (viii) Lai-lai,³⁷² (ix) Chi-lan-i-tai,³⁷³ (x) Su-mu-tu-la.³⁷⁴ Su-mu-ta kingdom, also mentioned, is doubtless a variant for *Su-mu-tu-la*. Pelliot takes *Hsü-mên-na* to be the same place, Samudra in the northwest of Sumatra, which has given its name to the island; it was probably founded, he says, about 1250.³⁷⁵ *Nan-wu-li*, the Lan-wu-li of Chao Ju-kua and Lamuri of the *Nagarakretâgama* (1365), is Marco Polo's Lambri in Aceh, at the far north of the island. *Na-wang* was somewhere on the route from Chü-lan to China. *Ma-lan-tan* may well be a misprint for the Chi-lan-tan of Chao Ju-kua, *i.e.*, Kelantan; and *Ting-ko-êrh* is probably Trengganu.

The Uigurs³⁷⁶ were the most civilized of the Eastern Turks, much influenced by T'ang Chinese, Manichean, Nestorian, Buddhist and Islamic culture. Karunadarśin, like his master Khubilai, was probably a Buddhist, familiar as he was with Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Singhalese. His wise words appear to have saved these countries from an Armada invasion, such as wrought havoc in Champa and Java.

For the rest, the extracts translated, which I arrange roughly in chronological order, simply amplify the story given above. It suffices to add a few comments after each. Translations of the sections on *Mien* and *Hsien* are added (Extracts xvi and xvii), for convenience of reference.

Extract (i). Biography of *HSIN-CHÜ JIH*³⁷⁷ (*Y.S.*, ch. 166).

Hsin-chü Jih was a P'o³⁷⁸ man. He was a Tuan³⁷⁹ by family. His ancestors for generations had been kings of Ta-li kingdom. Latterly they were frequently dethroned by their powerful ministers of the Kao³⁸⁰ family.

In the year *kuai-ch'ou* (1253 A.D.), during the reign of Hsien Tsung,³⁸¹ Shih Tsu received orders to invade the south. He executed the minister Kao Hsiang,³⁸² and appointed Tuan Hsing-chih³⁸³ to be lord of the affairs of the kingdom.

In the year *i-mao* (1255 A.D.), Hsing-chih and his paternal uncle Hsin-chü Fu³⁸⁴ entered the Presence. The Emperor gave orders bestowing on them the Gold Tally, and sent them back to their kingdom.

In the year *ping-ch'ên* (1256 A.D.), they submitted to the Emperor a map of their land, and requested leave to pacify all the various tribes. At the same time they memorialized, item by item, the methods of governing the people and fixing the taxes. Hsien Tsung was greatly pleased, and bestowed on Hsing-chih the name Mo-ho-lo-ts'o³⁸⁵ (*mahārāja*), and commanded him to be lord of all the various southern barbarians, the White Ts'uan and other tribes, and appointed Hsin-chü Fu to command the army. Hsing-chih thereupon delegated his

government functions to his younger brother, Hsin-chü Jih, while he himself, together with Hsin-chü Fu, led an army of 20,000 P'o and Ts'uan, to act as vanguard and guide for the great general Wu-liang-ho-t'ai (Uriyangqatai),³⁸⁶ and to punish and pacify the unsubdued parts of the various commanderies. They attacked and conquered Chiao-chih³⁸⁷ (Tongking), and were about to enter the Court when Hsing-chih died on the way.

In the 2nd year of *chung-t'ung* (1261 A.D.), Hsin-chü Jih entered the Presence. Shih Tsü again bestowed on him the Tiger Tally, and ordered him to rule Ta-li, Shan-shan, Wei-ch'u, T'ung-shih, Hui-ch'uan, Chien-ch'ang, T'êng-yüeh³⁸⁸ and other cities. All, from the rank of *wan-hu* downwards, were placed under his orders.

In the 1st year of *chih-yüan* (1264 A.D.), the Ts'uan tribes were pacified. In the third year (1266 A.D.), Hsin-chü Jih entered the Presence. After recording his merits, the Emperor bestowed on him gold and silver, clothing, a saddle, reins, and weapons of war.

In the 11th year (1274 A.D.), Sai-tien-ch'ih was appointed *p'ing-chang-chêng-shih* (Grand Secretary) of Yünnan province. He changed and fixed the names and titles of the various Roads. He appointed Hsin-chü Jih as *tsung-kuan* (Governor) of Ta-li.

In the 13th year (1276 A.D.), Mien kingdom (Burma) massed several myriads of elephants and cavalry, and plundered Nan-tien of Gold Teeth,³⁸⁹ and sought to take Ta-li by surprise. The provincial authorities despatched Hsin-chü Jih, together with the *wan-hu* Hu-tu,³⁹⁰ at the head of a thousand cavalry and soldiers to resist them. Hsin-chü Jih, on account of his services, received appointment as *hsüan-fu-shih* (Comforter) of Ta-li, Mêng Hua³⁹¹ and other places.

In the 18th year (1281 A.D.), Hsin-chü Jih and his son A-ch'ing³⁹² again entered the Presence. The Emperor praised his loyalty and diligence, and promoted him to be *hsüan-wei-shih* (Senior Comforter) and *tu-yüan-shuai* (General Commander)

of Ta-li, Wei-ch'ü, Gold Teeth, and other places. He detained A-ch'ing to serve on the night-bodyguard of the Eastern Palace. At the farewell audience he again did homage on appointment as *ts'an-chih-ch'ông-shih* (State Counsellor) of the various Roads and provincial administration of Yünnan.

In the 19th year (1282 A.D.), the Emperor ordered him to join the *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor), Pai-ta-êrh³⁹³ (Baidar), and to go and meet the Yünnan army for the invasion of Mien (Burma). He proceeded as far as Gold Teeth, where he fell ill and died.

Hsin-chü Jih had ruled Ta-li for altogether twenty-three years. His son, A-ch'ing, inherited his rank and was successively appointed "Senior General guarding the realm," and *hsüan-wei-shih* (Senior Comforter) and *tu-yüan-shuai* (General Commander) of Ta-li, Gold Teeth and other places.

Comment. For Hsin-chü Jih, see notes 22, 57. This scion of the Tuan line of Nan-chao rulers was a P'o (n. 27). The word, P'o, does not occur in the *Man-shu*. Whether the P'o-i (P'o barbarians) were really Pai-i, *i.e.*, Shans, I am inclined to doubt. Their centre was northeast of the Shan area, and nearer to Ta-li. They were also called 'Black Ts'uan.' According to the *Man-shu* (ch. 4), "the Western Ts'uan are the White *Man*, the Eastern Ts'uan are the Black *Man*." The P'o should therefore be the latter, the Eastern Ts'uan, who originally were south, rather than east, of the former. In chapter 8 of the *Man-shu*, six words (meaning, City, Bamboo, Salt, Earth, to Ask for, Sour) are given in the language of the Eastern Ts'uan; only one of these, Salt³⁹⁴ (*chu-kuw*), looks at all like Shan. The P'o, as distinct from the Pai-i, threw in their lot with the Mongols from the first; and, like the Ts'uan, Lolo and Ho-ni, they are frequently mentioned as recruits in the local Mongol armies.

Extract (ii). Biographies of *HSI-LI-CH'ÏEN-PU* and *AI-LU*³⁹⁵ (Y.S., ch. 122).

Hsi-li-ch'ien-pu was a man of T'ang-wu³⁹⁶ (Tangut)....
(Goes on expedition against Russia. and wins the title Bahadur).

In *chi-wei* year (1259 A.D.),³⁹⁷ Shih Tsu invaded the south. Hsi-li-ch'ien-pu had to find and furnish the commissariat for the army. There was never any lack or stoppage. On account of sickness he returned in a sedan chair and died at home, aged 69. His son was Ai-lu.

Ai-lu inherited the post of *darugači* of Ta-ming Road.³⁹⁸ In the 5th year of *chih-yüan* (1268 A.D.), he followed the Yünnan expedition to the various tribes of Gold Teeth. Southern barbarian troops, ten thousand in number, had cut the P'iao-tien³⁹⁹ road. He attacked them and cut off over a thousand heads. This so frightened the various tribes that they submitted.

In the 6th year (1269 A.D.), he again entered (the region) and fixed their rents and land-tax. He pacified twenty-four stockades, including Huo-pu-ma.⁴⁰⁰ He got seven tame elephants and returned.

In the 7th year (1270 A.D.), he was transferred to be *darugači* of Chung-ch'ing Road,⁴⁰¹ with the combined office of Controller of Ts'uian and P'o troops.

In the 10th year (1273 A.D.), the *p'ing-chang* (Grand Secretary), Sai-tien-ch'ih, became Governor of Yünnan province. He ordered Ai-lu to demarcate the boundaries of Yung-ch'ang.⁴⁰² The increase in cultivated fields was greatest here....

When Prince Hsiang-wu-êrh,⁴⁰³ at the head of various generals, invaded Mien, Ai-lu supplied the commissariat and rations. There was never any lack or stoppage....

In the 25th year (1288 A.D.), he fell ill with malaria and died.

Comment. The Tangut,⁴⁰⁴ of the kingdom of Hsi-hsia in Kansu and Ordos, were a Lolo-speaking Tibeto-Burman people of Buddhist culture, who arose about the same time as the Burmans. They were conquered, unfortunately, not by Khubilai but by Gengis, who was doing his best to exterminate them at the time of his death in 1227. Ai-lu, an able and faithful servant of the Mongols, also believed in massacre. His service was largely in E. Yünnan and Tongking, where (see n. 11), just before his death

in 1288, he "fought 38 battles and cut off innumerable heads" of Lolo and Pai-i. On the Burma border, during 1268-9, he opened the Nam Kham route: *Huo-pu-ma* of the text is surely a misprint for *T'ien-pu-ma* (n. 52).

Extract (iii) Biographies of *SAI-TIEN-CH'IH*,⁴⁰⁵ and his sons *NA-SU-LA-TING*⁴⁰⁶ and *HU-HSIN*⁴⁰⁷ (ch. 125).

.... Lo-p'an *tien*⁴⁰⁸ rebelled; and Sai-tien-ch'ih went on expedition there. He wore a sorrowful look, and his followers asked him why. He said: "I am not sad at going out on expedition. I am sad about you people risking your lives among spear-points and barbs of arrows, lest unfortunately and quite guiltlessly you may die. And I am sad also for fear you people may rob or plunder ordinary persons, leaving them nothing to live on; and so the people will revolt, with the result that we shall have to send another expedition against them."

The army halted at Lo-p'an city, which for three days refused to submit. The various generals asked leave to attack it. Sai-tien-ch'ih would not allow them. He sent envoys to notify (the city), with reasons. The lord of Lo-p'an said: "I respectfully accept your commands." Three days passed, but still it did not submit. The various generals were all eager to fight, and asked leave to advance to the attack. Sai-tien-ch'ih again refused. Suddenly, among the generals and the men, there were some who mounted the city-wall and were proceeding to attack. Sai-tien-ch'ih was very angry, and urgently sounded the metal (gong) and stopped them. He summoned the *wan-hu*, and loudly blamed him saying: "The Son of Heaven has commanded me to pacify and comfort Yünnan. He has never commanded me to kill and slaughter. Without the orders of your commanding officer, to take it upon yourself to attack, according to military law is punishable with death." And he ordered his attendants to bind him. The other generals kowtowed and begged him to wait till the day of the city's submission, and then take action.

When the lord of Lo-p'an heard of this, he said: "Fancy the *p'ing-chang* being so magnanimous and kind! If I resist his orders, it will be unlucky." So he took his kingdom and came out and submitted. The officers and men also were set free and not executed.

From that time the various barbarians of the southwest with one accord made genuine submission. The barbarian chiefs, whenever they came for an interview, would as a rule have something to offer as a present. Sai-tien-ch'ih would distribute them all as gifts to his attendants and officers. Sometimes he would pass them on to poor people. Not 'an autumn hair'⁴⁰⁹ would he take for himself. He would make wine and food and reward the chieftains for their pains, and cut out clothes, caps, socks and shoes, and give them as a substitute for their plant-clothes and grass-sandals. The chiefs were all grateful and glad.

Sai-tien-ch'ih lived in Yünnan for six years. In the 16th year of *chih-yüan* (1279 A.D.), he died at the age of 69. The common people in the streets mourned for him.... He had five sons. The eldest was Na-su-la-ting. The second was Ha-san.... The next was Hu-hsin....

NA-SU-LA-TING advanced in his official career to be.... Senior Comforter (*hsüan-wei-shih*) and General Commander (*tu-yüan-shuai*) of Yün-nan Road.⁴¹⁰

In the 16th year of *chih-yüan* (1279 A.D.), he was transferred to be commander of Ta-li. Taking his troops he reached Gold Teeth, the P'u and P'iao, Ch'ü-la and Mien kingdom.⁴¹¹ He summoned and pacified 300 barbarian stockades, registered 120, 200 households, fixed rents and land-tax, set up post-houses and courier-service, and stationed garrison-troops. On his return he brought 12 tame elephants and submitted them at Court. The Emperor issued a decree rewarding him with 50 taels of gold, two suits of clothes with lining, and silver in appropriate quantities to reward the officers under his banner.

It happened that his father, Shan-ssŭ-ting,⁴¹² died. The ministers of Yünnan province, in dealing with the various barbarians, had lost his knack of soothing and calming them. Shih Tsu was anxious about this. The ministers near the throne recommended Na-su-la-ting....

In the 29th year (1292 A.D.) he fell ill and died....

HU-HSIN

.... In the 5th year of *ta-tê* (1301 A.D.), the lord of Mien kingdom, relying on the strength of his defences, refused to submit. Hu-hsin sent persons to notify him saying: "I am a son of the old Sai-tien-ch'ih, the *p'ing-chang* (Grand Secretary). I am only following the instructions of my predecessor. If any officials in charge in your country act improperly, they must all be changed for your own sakes." When the lord of Mien kingdom heard this, he thereupon came along with the envoy and offered as tribute one white elephant. Moreover he said: "This (sort of) elephant, from of old till now, has never been had. Only now the sacred virtue (of the Emperor) has caused it to appear. I venture (to submit it) as a kind of local product." When it was submitted at Court, the Emperor bestowed on the lord of Mien kingdom the title of Heir to the Throne....

[Hu-hsin died in the 1st month (Jan. 31st-Mar. 1st), 1310.]

Comment. This passage is of interest because it shows the methods of a firm pacifist living in a grim age of war and massacre. For the six years (1274-79) of Sayyid Äjäll's governorship, this "Sun of the Faith" (Islam) kept Yünnan and its frontiers peaceful and quiet, with gain rather than loss to Khubilai's prestige.

For his eldest son, Nâsîr ed-Dîn, see n. 62, and the fuller and better-dated account in the text. This first Mongol invasion of Burma occurred in 1277-78, but the report only reached the capital in 1279. The dating and recording of events in the biographical chapters is often not as careful as in the *pên-chi*. Thus, the sending of the white elephant is here dated 1301, that is, it

was done after the siege of Myinzaing. The *pên-chi* (n. 263) dates it May 1st, 1300. It was a supreme effort to avert the coming invasion; and the "bestowing on the lord of Mien kingdom of the title Heir to the Throne" (n. 262, June 22nd 1300) refers, of course, to Kumāarakassapa, not to Assaṅkhayā.

Extract (iv). Biography of *YEH-HAN-TI-CHIN*⁴¹³ (ch. 133).

Yeh-han-ti-chin was a Hsia-la-lu⁴¹⁴ man

In the 21st year (1284 A.D.) he, and the *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor) T'ai-pu,⁴¹⁵ and Prince Hsiang-wu-ta-êrh,⁴¹⁶ by different routes invaded Mien. He constructed boats on the two rivers A-hsi and A-ho,⁴¹⁷ as many as 200 craft. He advanced and attacked Chiang-t'ou ('Riverhead') city,⁴¹⁸ and captured it. He took prisoner 10,000 of its keenest soldiers. He ordered the General Commander (*tu-yüan-shuai*), Lai Shih-an,⁴¹⁹ to garrison it. Moreover he mapped the physical features of the land, and sent messengers to go to the Gate of the Court and furnish a report on the proper way to attack and garrison it.

Previously, after the conquest of Chiang-t'ou city, he had sent Hei-ti-êrh and Yang Lin,⁴²⁰ etc., to notify (the king of) Mien and cause him to submit. There was no reply. But the various rebel southern barbarians were relying on T'ai-kung city of the Chien-tu⁴²¹ in order to resist our main army. Again he sent Buddhist monks to warn them of the consequences, good or evil, of their actions, but they were murdered. Thereupon he directed his army to advance both by water and land, and captured (the city) by storm. Twelve walled towns of the Chien-tu, Gold Teeth, etc., all submitted. He ordered the General Commander Ho-tai, and the *wan-hu* Pu-tu-man,⁴²² etc., to take 5,000 troops and garrison them.

In the 28th year (1291 A.D.), he was transferred to be Assistant Delegate of the provincial War Office of Ssüeh'uan, where he died

Comment. For Yagan-tëgin, see n. 76 and the text. He was a prince (*tëgin*) of the Hsia-la-lu or Qarluq,⁴²³ the chief

tribe of the Western Turks who lived originally, west of the Uigurs, in the Tarbagatai mountains, east of Lake Balkash.

This main invasion of Burma was in the cold season of 1283-84. The general left to garrison Chiang-t'ou (Kaungzin) is here called Lai Shih-an, in the Section on *Mien* Hsüan Shih-an, in Huber's text Yüan Shih-an.⁴²⁴

Extract (v). Biography of *CHANG-WAN-CHIA-NU* and son *PAO-T'UNG*⁴²⁵ (*Y.S.*, ch. 165).

In the 20th year (1283 A.D.), Chang-wan-chia-nu accompanied the expedition to Mien and died fighting. The Prince of Yünnan ordered his son, Pao-t'ung, to lead his troops and accompany the expedition. He entered T'ai-kung city.⁴²⁶ As a reward for his services, he inherited the post of Assistant General Commander (*fu-tu-yüan-shuai*). Again he accompanied the expedition to Shan-tan of Kan-chou,⁴²⁷ and also died fighting....

Extract (vi). Biography of *YEH-LÜ-T'U-HUA* and his great-grandson *MANG-KU-TAI*⁴²⁸ (*Y.S.*, ch. 149).

Yeh-lü-t'u-hua was a Ch'i-tan⁴²⁹ man.... His son Chu-ko⁴³⁰ succeeded him.... His son Pao T'ung⁴³¹ succeeded him.... Mang-ku-tai was son of Pao-t'ung. In the time of Shih Tsu he was granted the Gold Tally and inherited his father's rank.... On account of his services he was promoted *wan-hu*. He accompanied the expedition against Lo-pi *tien*.⁴³² On reaching Yünnan, he was ordered by the Emperor to take his force and enter Mien, and go and meet the Prince of Yünnan. The Gold Teeth, Pai-i ('White Clothes'), Ta-pên,⁴³³ and other southern barbarians repeatedly ambushed him at vital strategic points, and lay in wait for him. Mang-ku-tai vigorously attacked and broke them. After more than ten fights altogether, he reached the Mien border and opened the Gold Teeth Road. He received the Prince, and so returned. He was promoted to be Assistant General Commander. He accompanied Prince A-t'ai⁴³³ on his expedition against Chiao-chih.... Again he accompanied the Prince of Yünnan in attacking Lo-pi *tien* and conquered it.

In the 29th year (1292 A.D.) he entered the Presence.... (In 1294 A.D.) he was promoted to be Senior Comforter (*hsüan-wei-shih*) and General Commander of Ta-li, Gold Teeth and other places....

Comment. *Yeh-lü* was the royal clan of the Ch'i-tan Tartars (Khitái, Cathay).⁴³⁵ They lived originally in S.E. Mongolia, and spoke a palatalized Mongol tongue. They conquered S. Manchuria (Liao-tung) and N. China, founding the Liao dynasty (fl. 907-1123). Driven thence by the Jucen Tungus, some of them founded a new empire of the Qarâkhitái ('Black Khitai') in Turkestan, which lasted till it was conquered by Gengis in 1211.

The first Lo-pi *tien* campaign mentioned in this extract perhaps took place in 1287-88, when Prince Äsän Tämür, grandson of Khubilai (see n. 108), fought his way to Pagan, "losing over 7000 men of his army." Mang-ku-tai, I take it, was sent to extricate him. The *Mang-ku-tai* of this extract is clearly the *Mêng-ku-tai* of Extract VII, where the invasion of Lo-pi *tien* appears to fall in or after 1284. It precedes Prince A-t'ai's expedition to Tongking: I am not sure of the date of this.

Extract (vii). Biography of PU-LU-HO-TA⁴³⁶ (*Y.S.*, ch. 132).

Pu-lu-ho-ta was a Mongol of the Hung-chi-la⁴³⁷ clan....

In the 21st year (1284 A.D.) he was ordered to command a thousand Mongol and T'an-ma-ch'ih⁴³⁸ troops and accompany the expedition against the southern barbarians of Gold Teeth. He pacified them. When the General Commander (*tu-yüan-shuai*) Mêng-ku-tai⁴³⁹ invaded Lo-pi *tien*, Pu-lu-ho-ta led guerilla troops and went ahead. The water in the river suddenly rose in flood. He led his men swimming through the water and forded it. At a point 300 yards from the city-wall, he encamped. He stayed there for seven days. When the whole army assembled under the walls of the city, and advanced to attack it, Pu-lu-ho-ta was the first to mount the walls and capture the city; whereupon there was a massacre.

Again he accompanied the expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom, and reached Ch'ê-li.⁴⁴⁰ Ch'ê-li is the residence of the chieftain. Prince K'uo-k'uo⁴⁴¹ ordered Pu-lu-ho-ta to lead 300 guerilla cavalry and to go and summon them to submit. They refused; so he made his troops advance and attack them. The *tu-chên-fu* Hou Chêng⁴⁴² was killed. Pu-lu-ho-ta demolished the woodwork of their northern gate; whereupon he entered their stockade. Their land was wholly pacified. The emperor bestowed on him the Gold Tiger Tally and appointed him 'Great General cherishing the Far,' and *darugâci* of the *wan-hu* office of Yünnan. When he died, his son Mang-ku-pu-hua⁴⁴³ inherited his post....

Comment. Pu-lu-ho-ta belonged to the Hung-chi-la, *i.e.*, Qongirat or Ongirat⁴⁴⁴ tribe, here described as Mongol. They lived on the east bank of the Argun River in the northeast of Mongolia, west of the Khingán mountains.

The first expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu (n. 179) was in 1292-3, under Mängü Türümish. Great Ch'ê-li must have submitted before the end of 1296, when a governorship was set up there (n. 185). I do not know which of the expeditions was commanded by Prince K'uo-k'uo.

Extract (viii). Section on the *ARMY*. "Army regulations" (*ping-chih* - *Y.S.*, ch. 98).

15th year (1278 A.D.).... Yünnan province reported: "Of the old Mongol troops who were stationed as colonists in Yünnan, very few are left. So we have to take gradually, as they reach manhood, young recruits, a lot of timid and nervous soldiers (?), and prepare them for service abroad. Yünnan is vast and far, and there are lots of places still unsubdued. The use of troops is certainly necessary. We have already enlisted 10,000 Ts'uan and P'o⁴⁴⁵ men as soldiers. And we are continually taking newly-submitted Lo-lo, Ho-ni⁴⁴⁶ and other persons, and also causing them to fill gaps in our army. But these men are not like those of Central China. If they go on expedition to other regions, they are sure to desert and hide. It would be

best to order them to be employed only against places not yet subdued in the immediate neighbourhood of the places where each of them live...."

Comment. Compare the entry in the *pên-chi*,⁴⁴⁷ under date April 26th, 1278: "The Emperor issued orders that in view of the fact that the border-lands of Yünnan are vast and far, and that there are still many who have not yet submitted, he authorized the sending of 10,000 men on punitive expeditions."

Extract (ix). Section on the ARMY. "Frontier Defence" (*chên-shu* - *Y.S.*, ch. 99).

In the 21st year (1284 A.D.).... 10th month (Nov. 9th-Dec. 7th). Reinforcements were sent to garrison and guard Gold Teeth kingdom. It was because the people of that region are stubborn and truculent. Formerly Chinese troops and newly submitted troops, 3000 men, were the frontier guards. Now, in addition, the Emperor moved T'an-ma-ch'ih and Mongol troops, 2000 men, and ordered Yo-ha-hai⁴⁴⁸ to take command of them and go there....

Comment. Compare the entry in the *pên-chi*,⁴⁴⁹ under date November 12th, 1284: "Ssüch'uan province reported that there were still many people left amongst the Gold Teeth who had not yet submitted. The Emperor ordered Yao-la-hai to lead 2000 T'an-ma-ch'ih troops to punish them."

Extract (x). Biography of *CH'IEH-LIEH*⁴⁵⁰ (*Y.S.* ch. 133).

Ch'ieh-lieh was a man of the western regions. His family lived at T'ai-yüan.⁴⁵¹ He started as an official in the translation department of the central government. He followed the *p'ing-chang-chêng-shih* (Grand Secretary) Sai-tien-ch'ih, when he was Governor of (Ssü-) ch'uan and Shên (-hsi).

In the 12th year of *chih-yüan* (1275 A.D.), when the provincial administration of Yünnan was set up, he was given a temporary post in the secretariat. The genuine submission of the chiefs of the various southern barbarians of the Caves was largely owed to the services of Ch'ieh-lieh.

In the 15th year (1277 A.D.), he was given the special task of governing Ta-li. It happened that the people of Mien made a raid across the frontier. Ch'ieh-lieh at once supplied the army with weapons of war, and punished and pacified (the invaders). He was granted appointment as Second Secretary to the Left and Right Offices of the provincial Boards.

In the 18th year (1281 A.D.), the *p'ing-chang* (Grand Secretary), Na-su-la-ting, sent him to the imperial Gate to memorialize the Throne about frontier affairs. Shih Tsu liked his quickness and discrimination, his skill and experience. He bestowed on him the Tiger Tally, and granted him appointment as *darugav'i* of the Comfortership (*hsüan-fu-ssü*) of Chên-hsi, Mien (for P'ing-mien), Lu-ch'uan and other Roads,⁴⁵² with the combined office of *kuan-chün-chao-t'ao-shih*⁴⁵³ ('disciplinary officer directing the army').

The various posting-stations of Ch'êng-tu and Wu-mêng⁴⁵⁴ had their communications blocked and cut off. Ch'ieh-lieh bought horses and supplied couriers, to the great convenience of travellers. Just at this moment he was summoned to go up to the capital, and questioned about the arrangements necessary for the invasion of Mien. His replies made in audience suited the Emperor, who bestowed on him silks and a coat of mail with feather.

When Prince Hsiang-wu-ta-êrh and the *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor) T'ai-pu invaded Mien, they ordered Ch'ieh-lieh to take war-boats and lead the way. They captured Chiang-t'ou ('Riverhead') city, and led their army back home.

Again, he followed the Prince of Yünnan when he entered Mien. He commanded 3000 soldiers and encamped and guarded P'iao kingdom.⁴⁵⁵ He fixed the strategy of the campaign, and summoned and encouraged the adherents (of Mien to return). From this time those who returned to their normal occupations were many.

Afterwards he entered the Presence, and Shih Tsu comforted and rewarded him, and enquired all about Mien king-

dom. He was selected to receive the title *Chêng-i-ta-fu* ('Upright Counsellor') and General Secretary to the provincial administration of Mien-chung⁴⁵⁶ ('Central Burma'), wearing at the waist the Gold Tally. The Emperor made proclamation to Mien, publishing and making known his own majesty and virtue. 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, Hsin-ho-pa-ti, to enter the Court with tribute.

Ch'ieh-lieh was promoted *t'ung-fêng-ta-fu*⁴⁵⁷ and *ts'an-chih-chêng-shih* (State Counsellor) to the provincial administration of the various Roads of Yünnan. He rose to be *tzü-shan-ta-fu*⁴⁵⁸ ('Helper of the good') and *tso-ch'êng* (Junior Assistant-Governor) of the provincial administration of the various Roads of Yünnan.

In the 4th year of *ta-tê* (1300 A.D.), he fell ill and died.

Comment. For Ch'ieh-lieh (the Käräit), see notes 99, 234, and the text. Sayyid Äjäll (Sai-tien-ch'ih) was in charge in Shensi and Ssü-ch'uan from 1264 to 1274. The "Caves" were in S.E. Yünnan, on the Chiao-chih (Tongking) border. Mien's raid across the frontier really took place in the 14th year, April—May, 1277 (see n. 58 and the text). As for Wu-mêng, the Senior Comfortership (*hsüan-wei-ssü*) of Wu-sa and Wu-mêng is described in the Geographical Section (*Y.S.* ch. 61) as "750 *li* N.E. of Chung-ch'ing" (Yün-nan Fu). In the Army Section (ch. 100) Wu-mêng is called "the throat of Yünnan." It lay, I expect, in the Independent Lolo country, east and west of which ran the main roads from Ssü-ch'uan (Ch'êng-tu).

For the campaign of Prince Sängqüdar (n. 77) and T'ai-pu (n. 75), in 1283–84, see the text. The "Prince of Yünnan" is Äsän Tämür (n. 108), whose campaign, in 1287, led to the capture of Pagan. The Emperor's proclamation to Mien, on the first sending of Singhapati to Peking, is dated March 20th, 1297 (n. 231). Its reading at Pagan by Chiao

Hua-ti (n. 233) — was Ch'ieh-lich also present? — took place later in the same year; and Klawcwā's dethronement, according to Burmese sources (n. 243), about the end of the year (13th waxing of Pyatho). Singhapati's second mission to Peking (n. 248) is dated April 13th, 1299; the murder of him and his father (n. 250) May 10th, 1299.

Extract (xi). Biography of CHIA-LU-NA-TA-SSŪ⁴⁵⁹ (Y.S. ch. 134).

Chia-lu-na-ta-ssŭ was a Wei-wu-êrh⁴⁶⁰ (Uigur) man. He was well-versed in the religions of India and the languages of various kingdoms. He was a Reader in the Han-lin Academy....

(Summoned to Court by the Emperor Shih Tsu, he studies under the Hsi-fan, *i.e.*, Tibetan, Rājaguru ('Phags-pa?), and within one year masters Tibetan. He then translates the Indian and Tibetan sūtras and śāstras into Uigur.)

A small kingdom of the south-west, Hsing-ha-la-ti-wei,⁴⁶¹ with more than twenty tribes, came to Court. Chia-lu-na-ta-ssŭ, in the presence of the Emperor, presented and read out their memorials to the Throne. The various kingdoms were awestruck and submitted.

The Court was deliberating on the starting of military operations to punish Hsien kingdom, Lo-hu, Ma-pa-êrh, Chü-lan, Su-mu-tu-la,⁴⁶² and other kingdoms. Chia-lu-na-ta-ssŭ memorialized saying: "These are all unimportant petty kingdoms. Even if we get them, what is the profit? To start military operations merely destroys human lives. Would it not be better to send envoys to notify them of the results, good or bad (of their actions)? If they fail to submit, it will not be too late to attack them." The Emperor accepted his words, and ordered Yo-la-yeh-nu-t'ieh-mieh⁴⁶³ and others to proceed on missions (to these countries). Over twenty kingdoms submitted.

In the 24th year of *chih-yüan* (1287 A.D.).... (he was appointed Reader in the Han-lin Academy, and sent to live in the palace of Ch'êng Tsung,⁴⁶⁴ then heir-apparent) "and cause him to be moderate in drinking and to keep the precepts. When

Ch'êng Tsung came to the Throne (in 1294 A.D.), "he remembered his loyalty, ... pitied his old age, and gave orders allowing him to enter the Palace-grounds riding in a cart. When Jên Tsung⁴⁶⁵ came to the Throne" (in 1311 A.D.), and there was a general discharge of superfluous officials, "only Chia-lu-na-ta-ssŭ held his post as Minister of Instruction,⁴⁶⁶ as before

"The Emperor bestowed on him a jade saddle. In the same year, 8th month, he died."

Extract (xii). Biography of *LIU CHÊNG*⁴⁶⁷ (*Y.S.*, ch. 176).

.... In the 1st year of *ta-tê* (1297 A.D.) Liu Chêng was transferred to be Secretary of the War Office (*t'ung-ch'ien-shu-mi-yüan-shih*).⁴⁶⁸ Soon after, he was sent out as *tso-ch'êng* (Junior Assistant-Governor) of the provincial government of Yünnan. The *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor), Mang-wu-t'u-lu-mi-shih,⁴⁶⁹ requested leave to make an expedition against Mien. (Liu) regarded it as not possible. Suddenly (came orders for) a general levy. Once more, with the utmost emphasis, he declared that it was impossible. The Emperor did not agree. The campaign finally proved a failure

Comment. For Mängü Türümish, see n. 194. It was in the 8th month of 1299 (see Huber's text, p. 673.4) that Kumarakasapa escaped to Yünnan, and Mängü Türümish espoused his cause. See the text.

Extract (xiii). Biography of *HA-LA-TAI*⁴⁷⁰ (*Y.S.*, ch. 132).

Ha-la-tai was of the Ha-lu⁴⁷¹ clan

In the 5th year of *ta-tê* (1301 A.D.) he was commanded to enter the Presence, and selected for appointment as *tzŭ-tê-ta-fu*⁴⁷² ("great man relying on virtue") and *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor) of Yünnan province (with orders), to accompany Liu Shên⁴⁷³ on expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu⁴⁷⁴ kingdom.

In the 1st year of *chih-shun* (1330 A.D. — a mistake), Sung-lung-chi⁴⁷⁵ and others rebelled. He lost his army and returned. (Liu) Shên was executed. Ha-la-tai also was found guilty and dismissed.

In the 11th year (of *ta-tê*? 1307 A.D.), he fell ill and died at Ju-chou⁴⁷⁶

In the 1st year of *huang-ch'ing* (1312 A.D.), the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous titles of

Comment. For Ha-la-tai (Qaratai), see notes 299, 307. He was a Qarluq (Ha-lu = Ha-la-lu = Hsia-la-lu, etc.). He appears to have been vindicated after his death. The date, 1st year of *chih-shun* (1330 A.D.), is an obvious mistake. Sung Lung-chi's rebellion is first mentioned in the *pên-chi* under date June 30th, 1301:⁴⁷⁷ "The native official of Yünnan, Sung Lung-chi, rebelled. At this time Liu Shên was leading his army from Shun-yüan⁴⁷⁸ to enter Yünnan. The *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor) of Yünnan, Yüeh Hu-nan,⁴⁷⁹ was moving the population to supply the commissariat. Sung Lung-chi took advantage of this to deceive his people saying, 'The government army's levying and despatching of you people, means that they will cut off all your hair and brand your faces. They will make you soldiers, and you will die yourselves, either on the march or on the battlefield.' All were misled by his words and so rebelled." Under date February 13th, 1304,⁴⁸⁰ we read: "In view of the fact that the sub-prefect and Acting Comforter of Shun-yüan of Yünnan, Sung A-chung,⁴⁸¹ had captured alive his father's younger brother, (Sung) Lung-chi, and come and surrendered him, the Emperor specially promoted him in office and bestowed on him a suit of clothes." And further rewards, under date June 21st, 1304,⁴⁸² were given to the higher officials, from Prince T'o-t'o-i-chi-li⁴⁸³ downwards, "for their merits in pacifying Sung Lung-chi."

Extract (xiv). Biography of *CH'ÊN T'ÏEN-HSIANG*, younger brother of *CH'ÊN HU*⁴⁸⁴ (*Y.S.*, ch. 168).

. . . . In the 6th year of *ta-tê* (1302 A.D.), Ch'ên T'ien-hsiang was promoted *hsing-t'ai* (Viceroy?) of Honan and President of the Censorate (*yii-shih-chung-ch'êng*).⁴⁸⁵ He memorialized the Emperor on the subject of the expedition to the southwest barbarians, saying:

“There are wars which cannot possibly be stopped. There are also wars which can be stopped, and are not stopped. If only we *can* stop them, and in fact *do* stop them, we can maintain our military strength for ever. To make military preparations for use in wars which cannot possibly be stopped, this may be called good war strategy. Last year the provincial *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor), Liu Shên, went on a distant expedition against Pa-pai-hsi-fu. This was a war which could have been stopped, and was not stopped. It is a small country in the frontier-wilds, far away in the southwest of Yunnan. And it is several thousand *li* (in area). It is a mean rustic place, of no use whatever. The people are all obstinate, stupid and ignorant. If we get the land, it can hardly be counted as an asset. If we fail to get it, it can hardly be regarded as a loss.

“Liu Shên cheated his superiors and deceived his subordinates. He led troops only to slaughter them. On his way through Pa-fan,⁴⁸⁶ he gave free rein to his perversity and licentiousness. Relying on his majesty and strength, he cruelly oppressed the inhabitants. While he was still on the road, rebellion broke out. Everywhere they all revolted. When he was unable to suppress the rebellion, he himself in turn was suppressed by the rebel masses. In the army there was shortage of rations. The men had to eat each other. He was at his wits' end, all in a flurry and dither; so he retreated and fled. The local troops pursued and attacked, resulting in a great defeat. (Liu) Shên abandoned his men and fled. He barely escaped himself. Of the army nine men out of ten perished. Over a thousand *li* of territory was abandoned.

“The Court is now once more despatching various armies of the four provinces of Shensi, Honan, Kiangsi and Hukuang, and has made Liu Êrh-pa⁴⁸⁷ the commander-in-chief, with the intention of recovering the revolted territory. In Hupeh and Hunan there has been a big levy of adult male labourers to transport army-rations for delivery at Po-chou.⁴⁸⁸ The regular labourers, together with those who carry on their backs their own rations, are estimated at over 200,000 altogether....”

(The writer mentions the injury to farming; the risk of the rations not arriving at their destination; the difficulties of the terrain—steep mountains, dense forest, thorny bamboo, constant danger of ambush, malaria and famine).

“Moreover, since we started expeditions against Japan (“Kingdom of Dwarfs”), Chan-ch’êng (Champa), Chiao-chih (Tongking), Chao-wa⁴⁸⁹ (Java), and Mien kingdom (Burma), down to the present day, nearly 30 years have passed; and we have not seen the gain of a foot of territory, or a single person added to those subject to China. And when one reckons the money and wealth wasted, and the number of soldiers killed or wounded — alas, how can they be counted!

“Last year there was the western expedition. And now there is this one starting. Here again, what is the difference between them? The mirror-warning of the past is not far off; nor is it difficult to see.

“Our troops are weary, our people disturbed. They see as yet no date for resting. (Liu) Shên alone is the one man who is the cause of this disaster. Again, one hears that the people of Pa-fan-lo kingdom have already been troubled and injured by the army of the western expedition. They have abandoned their occupations for a livelihood, run away in a body, and rebelled. Their grievance against (Liu) Shên has entered into their bones and marrow. They all want to get his flesh and divide and eat it. They all hate him. And Heaven’s Will also abhors him. The (Emperor’s) duty, above, is just to bear the Will of Heaven; below, it is to comply with the hearts of men; to be quick and correct the crimes of (Liu) Shên; and, next, to send down a clear imperial edict....”

There was no reply (from the Emperor).

Comment. Ch’ên T’ien-hsiang’s memorial, though marked by the usual Chinese contempt for the ‘Southwest barbarians,’ is a fitting comment on the futility of all these Mongol wars. And if they did small good to the Mongols, they were disastrous to the victims of their aggression. They ruined the Lolo-Dai kingdom

of Nan-chao. They ruined the Burmese kingdom of Pagan. They nearly stilled the Thai kingdoms of Chieng Mai, etc., in their cradles. And they left a bad tradition of aggression and insecurity.

"The western expedition" apparently means Liu Shên's campaign.

Extract (xv). Section on the *ARMY*. "Frontier Defence" (*chên-shu-Y.S.*, ch. 99).

4th year of *chih-ta* of Wu Tsung,⁴⁹⁰ 12th month (Jan. 9th-Feb. 7th, 1312). Yünnan Pa-pai-hsi-fu, Great and Little Ch'ê-li,⁴⁹¹ etc., were doing mischief. The Emperor (wanted to) transfer Mongol and Chinese troops of Ssüch'uan province, 4000 men, and ordered the *wan-hu*, Nang-chia-tai,⁴⁹² to take them under his command, and go to Yünnan on garrison and guard-duty.... (Ssüch'uan province protests against the transfer) "We request you to sympathize with us and suspend the service; and in the 6th year (1313 A.D.) to transfer thither 2000 men from within the army." The Emperor approved.

Extract (xvi). Section on *MIEN*⁴⁹³ (Burma-*Y.S.*, ch. 210).

Mien kingdom forms (part of) the south-western barbarians. We do not know what tribe. Its land borders on Ta-li, and so is not far distant from Ch'êng-tu. We do not know, moreover, how many *li* square the country is. The people have cities with inner and outer walls, and houses and huts to live in. They have elephants and horses to ride, and boats and rafts to ford water with. For their written characters submitted to the Throne, they used gold leaf to write on. Next they used paper, and next they used the leaf of the areca-nut;⁴⁹⁴ for they were copied, translated, and then sent.

In the 8th year of the *chih-yüan* period of Shih Tsu (1271 A.D.), the office of the Senior Comforter (*hsüan-wei-ssü*) and General Commander (*tu-yüan-shuai*) of Ta-li, Shan-shan and other Roads, sent Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin and others as envoys to Mien kingdom, to summon its king to submit to China. In the

4th month (May 11th-June 8th) Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin and the others brought back with them the envoy Chieh-po, and made their report.

In the 10th year, 2nd month (Feb. 19th-March 20th, 1273), K'an-ma-la-shih-li, Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin and others were sent as ambassadors to the kingdom, bearing an imperial letter notifying it, as follows: "Recently the office of the Senior Comforter and General Commander of Ta-li, Shan-shan and other Roads, sent Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin to escort Your kingdom's envoy, Chieh-po,⁴⁹⁵ to the capital. He says, moreover, that on arrival at Your kingdom he only saw the ministers, but never saw Your Majesty. Again, (your envoy) desired to see the Body-relic of my great kingdom. Having compassion on comers from afar, I caused the coming envoy to have an audience and see me, and I ordered that he be permitted to behold the Relic. Furthermore I enquired into the purpose of his coming, and so learnt that Your Majesty entertains the idea of submitting to China. Although Your kingdom is far, I have but one merciful look for you all. Now again I send K'an-ma-la-shih-li, and the Senior Secretary of the Board of Rites, the accredited Ambassador (*kuo-hsin-shih*) Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin, and the Senior Secretary of the Board of Works and Assistant Ambassador (*kuo-hsin-fu-shih*) Pu-yün-shih,⁴⁹⁶ to go and notify Your kingdom that if sincerely you can respect the principle of Serving the Great, you will send hither a son or younger brother or perhaps a high minister near (the Throne), and so demonstrate that My nation has no intention of outcasting anyone, and thereby consolidate our friendship forever. The time for you to attain good fortune has come. As for the using of an army, who would like it? Your Majesty should reflect."

In the 12th year, 4th month (April 28th-May 26th, 1275), Ho T'ien-chio, *an-fu-shih* (Junior Comforter) of Chien-ning Road, reported information got from A-kuo, chieftain of Gold Teeth, namely: "The reason why Ch'i-tai-t'o-yin was sent to Mien, was because of my father, A-pi. In the 9th year of *chih-yüan*, 3rd month (March 31st-April 28th, 1272), the king of Mien, hating

my father A-pi, led an army of several myriads to invade us, and captured my father A-pi and departed. There was nothing for it but to pay a heavy ransom to that kingdom, and so obtain his release. I therefore regard the people of the Mien-chung (Central Burma) tribe as a mere pack of dogs. At present Mien has sent A-ti-pa and others, nine persons, to go and spy out the reactions of his people. The present chieftain of the Pai-i ('White Clothes') is a relative by marriage (*ch'in-ch'i*) of A-kuo, and is neighbour to Mien. He has stated that to enter Mien there are three roads: one by T'ien-pu-ma, one by P'iao-tien, and one by the borders of A-kuo's land. All meet at Chiang-t'ou ('Riverhead') city of Mien. Again a relative by marriage of A-kuo, A-ti-fan, is in Mien, holding five native districts (*tien*), each with over ten thousand households. He wishes to submit to China. A-kuo wants first to call A-t'i-fan and those of the Gold Teeth who have not yet submitted, so as to make them lead the way."

Yünnan province thereupon reported: "The king of Mien refuses to submit. The envoys who departed have not returned. We must certainly make a punitive expedition."

In the 6th month (June 25th-July 24th, 1275), the War office (*shu-mi-yüan*) informed the Emperor; but he said it would be better to wait a while.

In the 11th month (Nov. 19th-Dec. 18th, 1275), Yünnan province first reported that it had despatched persons to watch and spy out news of the ambassadors, but the P'u rebels blocked the way. Now the P'u had mostly submitted, and the road was already open. They had sent the Governor (*tsung-kuan*) of Kan-é of Gold Teeth, A-ho, who had found out that the ambassadors had all reached Mien safely.

In the 14th year, 3rd month (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. At this time Hu-tu, Mongol *ch'ien-lu* of Ta-li Road, and Hsin-chü Jih, Governor of Ta-li Road, and T'o-lo-t'o-hai, *tsung-pa* and *ch'ien-lu*, had received imperial

orders to chastise the yet unsubdued tribes and clans, P'u, P'iao, A-ch'ang and Gold Teeth, of T'êng-yüeh, west of Yung-ch'ang, and to station themselves at Nan-tien. A-ho sent them an urgent message. Hu-tu and the rest marched by day and night and met the Mien army by the side of a river. They were a host of forty or fifty thousand men, 800 elephants, and 10,000 horses. The army of Hu-tu and the rest was barely 700 men. The men of Mien led first with the cavalry, next with the elephants, next with the infantry. The elephants wore coats of mail, and bore on their backs fighting-howdahs. On both sides they carried big bamboo tubes, furnished with several tens of short spears. The riders on the elephants would take these out, and use them to strike and pierce.

Hu-tu issued the following orders: "The rebels are many. We are few. We must first charge the army north of the river. I myself will lead 281 horsemen, forming one company. Hsin-chü Jih, with 233 horsemen, will be alongside the river, forming one company. T'o-lo-t'o-hai, with 187 men, will rest on the mountain, forming one company." After a long hand-to-hand fight the rebels were defeated and they fled. Hsin-chü Jih pursued them three *li*, and reached the gate of the stockade, but got involved in the mud and retired. Suddenly, from the southern side, over 10,000 rebel troops made a circuit and came out at the back of our army. Hsin-chü Jih rode full-speed and informed Hu-tu. Once more he formed the three companies into line, and advanced up to the river-bank and attacked them. Again they were defeated and fled. He pursued, and captured their 17 stockades, and drove them north as far as a narrow mountain mouth, returning to the charge and fighting over 30 *li*. The rebels and the elephants and the horses trampled on each other. Their dead filled three big ditches. In the evening Hu-tu was wounded, and then he collected his troops. On the following day he pursued the enemy as far as Kan-ê, but could not come up with them, so he returned. The prisoners captured were very many. In the army one could exchange one living creature for a cap or a pair of boots or a piece

of felt. Those who escaped, moreover, were intercepted and killed by A-ho and the A-ch'ang; so that those who got back were not many. Of our regular troops, although those who suffered wounds were many, only a Mongol soldier, who had captured an elephant and did not know how to treat it, was attacked and killed (by the animal). Apart from him, there was no one who died.

In the 10th month (Oct. 28th-Nov. 26th, 1277), Yünnan province sent the Senior Comforter (*hsüan-wei-shih*) and General Commander (*tu-yüan-shuai*) of the various Roads of Yünnan, Na-su-la-ting, at the head of Mongol, Ts'uau, P'o and Mo-so troops, over 3,840 men, to invade Mien. He reached Shên-jou of Chiang-t'ou, where the chieftain, Hsi-an, had set up his stockade. He obtained the submission of over 300 stockades including Mo-yü, and of the native officials, P'u-chê of Ch'ü-la with 4,000 households; Ai-liü of Mêng Mo with 1,000 households; Mo-nai, Mêng K'uang (and) Li-ta-pa-la with 20,000 households; Fu-lu-pao, the native official of Mêng Mang *tien*, with 10,000 households; and Mu-tu-tan-t'u with 200 households—altogether 35,200 households. On account of the hot weather the army was withdrawn.

In the 17th year, 2nd month (March 3rd-31st, 1280), Na-su-la-ting and others submitted a memorial saying: "The geographical features of Mien have all been seen by me, your servant. Formerly Your Majesty gave orders that if the various commanderies of Ch'ung-ch'ing⁴⁹⁷ were pacified, then, after that, you would deal with Mien kingdom. Now Ssüch'uan is already basically settled. We request you to reinforce the army and invade (Mien)." The Emperor questioned the *ch'êng-hsiang* (Senior Minister), T'o-li-to-hai,⁴⁹⁸ who said, "Your Majesty formerly gave orders to despatch Ha-la-chang⁴⁹⁹ and Ssüch'uan (troops), together with those under the banner of A-li-hai-ya,⁵⁰⁰ 60,000 soldiers, on expedition to Mien. Now Na-su-la-ting only wants to get 10,000 men." The Emperor assented. At once he ordered the War Office (*shu-mi*) to make ready coats of mail and weapons, and supply military equipment, and discuss the choice of generals to lead out the army.

In the 5th month (May 30th-June 28th, 1280), he ordered Yünnan province to despatch 10,000 Ssüch'uan troops, and commanded Yo-la-hai to lead them, together with the generals previously sent, for the Mien expedition.

In the 19th year, 2nd month (March 11th - April 9th, 1282), he sent orders to Ssü, Po, Hsiü⁵⁰¹ and other commanderies, and to I-hsi-pu-hsieh⁵⁰² and other places of the various southern barbarians, to despatch local troops for the Mien expedition.

In the 20th year, 11th month (Nov. 21st-Dec. 19th, 1283), the government army attacked Mien and conquered it. Previously the Emperor had sent orders to the Prince of the Blood, Hsiang-wu-ta-êrh, to the *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant-Governor) T'ai-pu, and to the *ts'an-chih-chêng-shih* (State Counsellor) Yeh-han-ti-chin, to lead the troops on the Mien expedition. In the 9th month of this year (Sept. 22nd-Oct. 21st), the main army started from Chung-ch'ing (Yünnan Fu). In the 10th month (Oct. 22nd-Nov. 20th) it reached Nan-tien. T'ai-pu took forward his troops by way of Lo-pi *tien*. In the 11th month (Nov. 21st-Dec. 19th) Hsiang-wu-ta-êrh commanded Yeh-han-ti-chin to take the road by the A-hsi river, to reach the A-ho river of Chên-hsi, and to build 200 boats and float downstream to Chiang-t'ou ('River-head') city, and so cut off the water-road of the people of Mien. He himself led one army by P'iao-tien straight into their kingdom; and having joined hands with T'ai-pu's army, he ordered the various generals to attack from different directions; whereupon they captured by storm their Chiang-t'ou city, killing in the battle over 10,000 men. He detailed the General Commander (*tu-yüan-shuai*), Hsüan Shih-an, to employ his troops in guarding the land and collecting stores of grain to supply his forces. And he sent messengers with a map of the country for submission to the Emperor.

In the 22nd year, 11th month (Nov. 28th - Dec. 26th, 1285), the king of Mien sent his superintendent of salt wells, A-pi-li-hsiang, to T'ai-kung city. He wished to come and make terms, but he was stopped by the Pai-i ('White Clothes') chieftain of

Mêng Nai *tien*, Tai-sai. Not being able to proceed, he sent one T'êng-ma-chai,⁵⁰³ with a one-sheet supplementary letter, to bring information to the native official of P'iao-tien, Ni-su, and beg him to convey a message to the authorities above him, that they should spare the army from entering the frontier. Ni-su gave a passport, and sent T'êng-ma-chai back to Chiang-t'ou city, and summoned A-pi-li-hsiang to go to the province. He also reported the matter to the Senior Comforter (*hsüan-wei-ssü*) and Comforters (*hsüan-fu-ssü*) of Chên-hsi, P'ing-mien, Li-ch'uan⁵⁰⁴ and other Roads. They sent three persons holding passports (*shan-ch'ih-pang*?)⁵⁰⁵ to Chiang-t'ou city, for delivery to the two persons, A-pi-li-hsiang and Mang-chih-pu-suan, and fixed a date two months later when they would lead a force to Chiang-t'ou city. The Comforters (*hsüan-fu-ssü*) led Mongol troops to P'iao-tien, where the interview took place and matters were discussed. A-pi-li-hsiang begged them to address the Court to send down an imperial edict accepting their repentance for their transgressions; after which (Mien) would send a great minister to the Gate of the Court. Soon after, (the Emperor) sent Ch'ieh-lieh, the *darugaci* of the Comfortership (*hsüan-fu-ssü*) of Chên-hsi and P'ing-mien, combining the office of *chao-t'ao-shih* ('imperial delegate to summon and punish'), as envoy to the kingdom (of Mien).

In the 23rd year, 10th month (Oct. 19th - Nov. 16th, 1286), the Emperor appointed the *chao-t'ao-shih* Chang Wan⁵⁰⁶ as Assistant General Commander of Chêng-mien (*lit.*, 'Expedition to Mien'); Yeh-hsien-t'ieh-mu-êrh⁵⁰⁷ as *darugaci* of the *chao-t'ao-ssü* (office of the *chao-t'ao-shih*) of Chêng-mien; and the *ch'ien-hu* Chang Ch'êng⁵⁰⁸ as *chao-t'ao-shih* of Chêng-mien; all were given the Tiger Tally. The Emperor's orders were to build fighting boats and lead an army of 6,000 men to Chêng-mien. He made T'u-man-tai⁵⁰⁹ the General Commander, to be in general charge. The Prince of Yünnan, in view of the fact that Ai-lu, *yu-ch'êng* (Senior Assistant Governor) of the province, had re-

ceived imperial orders to raise levies from the land of Gold Teeth and Ch'a-han-tieh-chi-lien,⁵¹⁰ despatched a force of 1,000 men.

In this same month (the expedition) started from Chung-ch'ing Fu (= Yünnan Fu), and in due course reached Yung-ch'ang Fu, where it met the officials of Chêng-mien province. The crossed A-hsi *tien*, and despatched a force of 500 men to escort and guard the imperial delegate to summon Mien, Ch'ieh-lieh, as far as T'ai-kung city.

In the 24th year, 1st month (Jan. 15th - Feb. 13th, 1287), they reached Mang-nai *tien*. The king of Mien was seized and imprisoned by his concubine's son, Pu-su-su-ku-li, at the place Hsi-li-ch'ieh-ta-la (Śrī Kṣetra). The latter also put to death three sons of the queen proper, and rebelled together with four big ministers, Mu-lang-chou and others. A-nan-ta, the official under orders from the Prince of Yünnan, and others were also put to death.

In the 2nd month (Feb. 14th - Mar. 15th, 1287), Ch'ieh-lieh embarked on boats from Mang-nai *tien*, leaving there the 500 men of his original escort. Yünnan province asked leave of the Emperor to advance and punish (*Mien*) during the following autumn, but he refused. Soon after, the Prince of Yünnan, together with the other princes, advanced and invaded as far as P'u-kan, losing over 7,000 men of his army. Mien began to be pacified, and there was fixed a yearly tribute of local products.

In the 1st year of *ta-tê*, 2nd month (Feb. 23rd - Mar. 23rd, 1297), in view of the fact that the king of Mien, Ti-li-p'u-wa-na-a-ti-t'i-ya (Tribhuvanâditya), had sent his son Hsin-ho-pa-ti, to submit a memorial at Court requesting leave 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, the Emperor issued a decree appointing Ti-li-p'u-wa-na-a-ti-t'i-ya King of Mien, and conferred on him a silver seal; and appointed his son, Hsin-ho-pa-ti, as heir-apparent of Mien kingdom, and conferred on him the Tiger Tally.

In the 3rd year, 3rd month (Apr. 2nd - 30th, 1299), 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, and that this has caused general poverty and want, thus making it impossible for them to pay the gold and silks offered as tribute at the appointed time. The Emperor took pity on him, and only ordered him every other year to offer tribute of elephants. As before, he bestowed clothing on him and sent him back.

In the 4th year, 4th month (Apr. 20th - May 18th, 1300), (Mien) sent envoys to submit a white elephant.

In the 5th month (May 19th - June 17th, 1300), Ti-li-p'u-wa-na-a-ti-t'i-ya was killed by his younger brother A-san-ko-yeh and others. His son, K'u-ma-la-ko-sa-pa escaped and reached the capital. Mang-wan-t'u-lu-mi-shih was ordered to put himself at the head of an army and go and inquire into the crime. The southern barbarian rebels were in league with Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom. Their strength was widely extended. Mang-wan-t'u-lu-mi-shih requested the Emperor to reinforce the army; so he commanded Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh and others to take 12,000 men on the expedition. Again he ordered Prince K'uo-k'uo to be in general control of the army.

In the 6th month (June 18th - July 16th, 1300), the Emperor issued an edict appointing K'u-ma-la-ko-sa-pa as king, and conferred on him a silver seal.

In the autumn, 7th month (July 17th - August 14th, 1300), Chê-su, younger brother of the Mien rebel A-san-ko-yeh, and others, 91 persons, each submitted local products at Court. Orders were sent that the others should stay at Chung-ch'ing, and Chê-su, etc., alone sent on to Shang-to.

In the 8th month (Aug. 15th - Sept. 13th, 1300), A-san-chi-ya of Mien kingdom, etc., elder and younger brothers, came to the Gate of the Court, and in person confessed their crime of killing their lord. The Emperor cancelled the Mien expeditionary force.

In the 5th year, 9th month (Oct. 3rd - 31st, 1301), the *ts'an-chih-chêng-shih* (State Counsellor) or Yünnan, Kao Ch'ing,⁵¹¹ and

the Comforter (*hsüan-fu-shih*), Ch'a-han-pu-hua,⁵¹² were beheaded. At first (Kao) Ch'ing, etc., followed Hsieh-ch'ao-wu-êrh and besieged Mien. After two months, fuel and food within the city were all exhausted; it seems that they were on the point of coming out to submit; when (Kao) Ch'ing, etc., received heavy bribes from them, and, making the hot weather and malaria their excuse, led off their army and returned. Therefore they were executed.

In the 10th month (Nov. 1st-30th, 1301), Mien sent envoys to submit tribute.

Extract (xvii). Section on *HSIEN*⁵¹³ (Siam, Sukhodaya—Y.S., ch. 210).

Hsien kingdom, in the 1st year of the *yüan-chêng* period of Ch'êng Tsung (1295 A.D.), submitted a memorial to the Throne in gold characters, desiring the Court to send an envoy to their kingdom. By the time this memorial arrived, the Emperor had already sent an envoy—a fact not yet known to Hsien. He bestowed on the envoy who came a plain gold tally for him to wear at the waist. The envoy hastened to follow the envoy bearing the imperial letter, so that they might go together. Whereas the people of Hsien and Ma-li-yü-êrh had been quarrelling and killing each other from of old, and now had both returned to their allegiance (to China), there was an imperial decree issued notifying the people of Hsien not to injure Ma-li-yü-êrh and thus trample on its promise.

In the 3rd year of *ta-tê* (1299 A.D.), the lord of Hsien kingdom addressed the Emperor saying, that at the time when his father was on the throne, the Court had bestowed on him a white horse with saddle and reins, and a dress of gold thread. "I request you to follow the old precedent, and bestow the same." In view of the words of the *ch'êng-hsiang* (Senior Minister), Wan-tsê-ta-la-han,⁵¹⁴ who said it was a small kingdom, and if it was granted a horse, he feared its neighbours, Hsin-tu,⁵¹⁵ etc., might laugh at or criticize the Court, the Emperor therefore bestowed a dress of gold thread, but did not bestow the horse.

NOTES

THE EARLY SYĀM IN BURMA'S HISTORY

348. 諸蕃志 *Chu-fan-chih*, 2 *chüan*, by 趙汝适 Chao Ju-kua of the Sung dynasty. Transl. by Hirth and Rockhill: *Chao Ju-kua; his work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the XIIth and XIIIth cent.* (1912, St. Petersburg).

349. *Sung-shih*, ch. 489, Section on *Chên-la*.

350. 登流眉 *Têng-liu-mei*. See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 233.

351. 嶺外代答 *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, 10 ch., by 周去非 Chou Ch'ü-fei. Contained in the 知不足齋叢書 *Chih-pu-tsu-chai-ts'ung-shu* of 鮑廷博 Pao T'ing-po, 1787 (Shanghai, Ku-shu-liu-t'ung-ch'u, 1921-240 vols.). I regret that I have no access to this important work.

352. 丹眉流 *Tan-mei-liu* kingdom. See section on it at the end of ch. 489 of the *Sung-shih*. The section begins as follows (I add Pelliot's identifications given on pp. 233-4 of *BEFEO* t. IV): "To the east, to reach 占臘 *Chan-la* (Cambodia) is 50 stages. To the south, to reach 羅越 *Lo-yüeh* (Johore) is 15 stages by water. To the west, to reach 西天 *Hsi-t'ien* (India) is 35 stages. To the north, to reach 程良 *Ch'êng-liang* is 60 stages. To the northeast, to reach 羅斛 *Lo-hu* (Lavo) is 25 stages. To the southeast, to reach 闍婆 *Shâ-p'o* (Java) is 45 stages. To the southwest, to reach 程若 *Ch'êng-jo* is 15 stages. To the northwest, to reach 落華 *Lo-hua* is 25 stages. To the northeast, to reach 廣州 *Kuang-chou* (Canton) is 135 stages." *Tan-mei-liu* itself Pelliot would place at Ligor, Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.

353. 波斯蘭 *Po-ssü-lan*. 真里富 *Chên-li-fu*.

354. *États hindouisés*, p. 304.

355. 三瀾 *San-lo*.

356. 暹羅 *Hsien-lo*. See *Ming-shih* ch. 324, and Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, p. 235.

357. 羅斛 Lo-hu.
358. 蒲甘 P'u-kan.
359. 窠裏 Wa-li.
360. The Pali stone inscription (Pl. V 548a) of *Śrī Bajrābharana*, probably *Mañ Lulan* (Sawlu), Aniruddha's son and successor, found at Maung Law Kwin, S.E. of Mergui, seems to shew that Aniruddha's conquests extended far south of Thaton. Kyanzittha's minister, "the *sambhī Ananta jeyyabhikrān* who guards *Dawāy*" (Tavoy), has left Old Mon plaques near Mōkti village, south of Tavoy (see *Rep. Arch. Surv. Burma*, 1924, pp. 38-40). Kyanzittha's grandson, in 1164 or earlier, was involved in quarrels with Parakkama Bāhu I of Ceylon, which appear, from ch. 76 of the *Cūlavamsa*, to have concerned rights of passage over the Isthmus of Kra. His successor, Narapatisithu, in his Dhammarājaka inscription (Pl. I 197⁸, 1198 A.D.), gives as the southern limits of his kingdom a whole series of places difficult to read, but probably extending well below the Isthmus:— *Taway* (Tavoy), *Cañhat* (?), *Santhut* (?), *Tanānsare* (Tenasserim), *Takwā* (Takua-pa), *Salankre* (Junk Ceylon?), and two other places hardly legible, ending with a city.... *nalviw'* (*nagara*).
361. 迦魯納答思 Chia-lu-na-ta-ssū (*Y.S.*, ch. 134).
362. 星哈刺的威 Hsing-ha-la-ti-wei. For early Chinese references to Ceylon, see *BEFEO*, t. IV, p. 356 follg.
363. 馬八兒 Ma-pa-êrh (see *Y.S.*, ch. 210).
364. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 212.
365. 俱藍 Ch'ü-lan.
366. 須門那 Hsü-mên-na.
367. 僧急里 Sêng-chi-li.
368. 南無力 Nan-wu-li. = the 南巫里 Nan-wu-li of the *Y.S.* (ch. 18, Nov. 17th, 1294), the 藍無里 Lan-wu-li of Chao Ju-kua, etc. (see *BEFEO*, t. IV, pp. 327, 344).

369. 馬蘭丹 Ma-lan-tan. See Pelliot, *BEFEO*, t. IV, pp. 344-5 and n. 1.
370. 那旺 Na-wang.
371. 丁呵兒 Ting-ko-êrh. See Pelliot, *BEFEO*, t. IV, p. 344 and n. 6.
372. 來來 Lai-lai.
373. 急蘭亦巒 Ohi-lan-i-tai.
374. 蘇木都刺 Su-mu-tu-la, 蘇木都拉 Su-mu-tu-la, 速木答刺 Su-mu-ta-la, 蘇木達 Su-mu-ta, etc.
375. *BEFEO*, t. IV, p. 327, n. 4.
376. For the Uigurs and their very mixed culture, see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient* (1929), pp. 356-9, 406-7; *L'Empire des Steppes* (1948), pp. 161-2.
377. 信直日 Hsin-chü Jih.
378. 夔 P'o.
379. 段 Tuan. The Tuan were kings of Ta-li at least from 1117 A.D., when 段和譽 Tuan Ho-yü sent an embassy to the Sung Court (*Sung-shih* ch. 488, Section on Ta-li).
380. 高 Kao.
381. 憲宗 Hsien Tsung, Chinese title of the Mongol Emperor, Möngkä (*f.* 1251-59). His younger brother, Khubilai, was ordered to "invade the south" in 1252, not 1253. (see *Y.S.*, ch. 3, 2nd year of Hsien Tsung, 7th month (Aug. 7th - Sept. 5th 1252): "The Emperor ordered 忽必烈 Hu-pi-lieh to attack 大理 Ta-li." On Möngkä's death, in 1259, Khubilai succeeded as the Emperor 世祖 Shih Tsu.
382. 高祥 Kao Hsiang. See *Y.S.*, ch. 4, 12th month, *ping-ch'ên* day (Jan. 7th, 1253): "The army reached Ta-li city. Formerly, the lord of Ta-li, of the Tuan family, had gradually become weak. State affairs were all decided by the brothers Kao Hsiang and 高和 Kao Ho. That night (Kao) Hsiang took his followers and escaped. The great general 也古及拔突兒 Yeh-ku-chi-pa-t'u-êrh

was ordered to pursue him. As soon as the Emperor entered Ta-li, he said: 'The city has been captured, but my ambassadors have not been produced. I think they must be dead.' (3 days later they discover the corpses of the three ambassadors) *kwei-hai* day (Jan. 14th, 1253). Kao Hsiang was captured and beheaded at 桃州 Yao-chou."

383. 段興智 Tuan Hsing-chih.

384. 信直福 Hsin-chü Fu (I follow the reading in the Pai-na text).

385. 摩訶羅嗟 Mo-ho-lo-ts'o (*mahārāja*).

386. For Uriyangqatai, see n. 17 and text.

387. 交趾 Chiao-chih.

388. 大理 Ta-li; 善闡 Shan-shan (Yünnan Fu); 威楚 Wei-ch'u (Ch'u-hsiung); 統失 T'ung-shih (Yao-chou); 會川 Hui-ch'uan (see *Man-shu* ch. 1; it was then at the south end of the Chien-ch'ang valley, north of the Yangtzu, on the Nan-chao side of the frontier); 建昌 Chien-ch'ang; 騰越 T'eng-yüeh.

389. 金齒南甸 Nan-tien of Gold Teeth. See n. 59.

390. 忽都 Hu-tu. See n. 57 and text.

391. 蒙化 Méng Hua, S. of Ta-li Lake.

392. 阿慶 A-ch'ing. The Eastern Palace was the residence of the Heir-Apparent.

393. 拜答兒 Pai-ta-êrh (Baidar).

394. According to the *Man-shu* ch. 8, the Western Ts'uan word for Salt was 賓 *pin* (pien), the Eastern Ts'uan word was 陶 *chu*, *hsou* or *jou* (according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary). The latter, going back to a T'ang pronunciation like kou or kiu (see B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, No. 484), bears some resemblance to Shan *kuiu*, Siamese ကိုဝ်.

395. 昔里鈴部 Hsi-li-ch'ien-pu. 愛魯 Ai-lu (Airuq?).

396. 唐兀 T'ang-wu (Tangut).

397. *Chi-wei* year (1259 A.D.). — This cannot be the campaign against Ta-li (1252-3). It must refer to Khubilai's crossing of the Yang-tzu in 1259 to meet Uriyangqatai coming up from the south.
398. 大名路 Ta-ming Road in Chihli.
399. 緜甸 P'iao-tien. The same as 驃甸 P'iao-tien. See n. 29, and Huber p. 666.
400. 火不麻 Huo-pu-ma. A misprint for 天不麻 T'ien-pu-ma, the Nam Kham route into Burma. See n. 52, and Huber p. 665.
401. 中慶路 Chung-ch'ing Road (Yünnan Fu and neighbourhood).
402. 永昌 Yung-ch'ang (modern Pao-shan).
403. 相吾兒 Hsiang-wu-êrh. For Hsiang-wu-ta-êrh (Sängqüdär). See n. 77 and text.
404. For the Tangut and Hsi-hsia (capital Ning-hsia), see R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'E.O.*, p. 370, n. 3; 371, n. 1; 424, etc.; B. Laufer, "The Si-Hia Language," *T'oung-pao*, mars 1916.
405. 賽典赤 Sai-tien-ch'ih, Sayyid Äjäll. See n. 62, and Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 459 and n. 7; p. 460, n. 1.
406. 納速刺丁 Fa-su-la-ting, Násir ed-Dîn. See n. 62 and text.
407. 忽辛 Hu-hsin, Husain.
408. 蘿槃甸 Lo-p'an tien. See *supra*, p.
409. 秋毫 *ch'iu-hao*, 'autumn hair.' For this curious expression, see H.A. Giles, *Chinese English Dictionary* (2nd. Ed.), No. 3873.
410. 雲南路 Yün-nan Road. I do not know a Road of this name under the Yüan. I think the meaning is 雲南諸路 "all the various Roads of Yünnan."
411. 蒲驃曲纒緬國 P'u and P'iao, Ch'ü-la, and Mien kingdom. See notes 29, 31, 56.
412. 瞻思丁 Shan-ssü-ting, Shams ud-Dîn, "Sun of the Faith," the Muslim title of Sai-tien-ch'ih.
413. 也罕的斤 Yeh-han-ti-chin, Yagan-tëgin (n. 76).
414. 厘刺魯 Hsia-la-lu, Qarluq.

415. 太卜 T'ai-pu (n. 75).
416. 相吾答兒 Hsiang-wu-ta-êrh, Sängqüdär (n. 77).
417. 阿昔阿禾雨江 "the two rivers, A-hsi and A-ho." The A-hsi is the Nam Ti, and the A-ho the Ta-p'ing. See Huber, p. 669 and n. 1.
418. 江頭城 Chiang-t'ou ('Riverhead') city, *i.e.*, Kaungzin (Old Burm. *Koncañ*). See n. 64.
419. 來世安 Lai Shih-an.
420. See n. 81.
421. See n. 82.
422. See n. 82.
423. For the Qarluq, see Grousset, *Hist. de l'E.-O.*, p. 407 and n. 3. For *tëgin*, *ibid.*, p. 416, n. 3.
424. 亥世安 Hsüan Shih-an (*Y.S.*, ch. 210, Section on *Mien*).
袁世安 Yüan Shih-an (Huber's text, p. 669).
425. 張萬家奴 Chang-wan-chia-nu. 保童 Pao-t'ung.
426. 太公城 T'ai-kung city, *i.e.* Tagaung (Old Burm. *Takoñ*)
See n. 82.
427. 甘州山丹 Shan-tan of Kan-chou (in Kansu). Lat. 38° 50',
Long. 101° 29' (Playfair, No. 5462).
428. 耶律禿花 Yeh-lü T'u-hua. 忙古帶 Mang-ku-tai (Mängütai).
429. 契丹 Ch'i-tan (Khitai, Cathay).
430. 朱哥 Chu-ko.
431. 寶童 Pao-t'ung.
432. 羅必甸 Lo-pi tien.
433. 答奔 Ta-pên. Possibly the 打奔 Ta-pên, chieftain of Gold Teeth, mentioned in a report dated Aug. 31st, 1287 (*Y.S.*, ch. 14, 24th year, 7th month, *kêng-hsü* day): "愛魯 Ai-lu of Yünnan province said: 'The Gold Teeth chieftain, Ta-pên and others, elder and younger brothers, ask leave to submit to China. Moreover they request permission to enter the Presence.'"
434. 阿台 A-t'ai.

435. For the Ch'i-tan (Khitai), see Grousset, *Hist. de l'E.-O.*, pp. 365-367. For the Qarā-Khitai, see *ibid.*, pp. 407-8, etc. See also his *L'Empire des Steppes*, pp. 180-8, 219-222.
436. 步魯合答 Pu-lu-ho-ta, Burn'u-qada.
437. 弘吉剌 Hung-chi-la (Ongirat). 蒙古 Mêng-ku (Mongol).
438. 探馬赤 T'an-an-ma-ch'ih (Tamachi). Tamachi troops, as distinct from Mongol troops, were those enlisted from the other tribes and clans of Central Asia (see *Y.S.*, ch. 98).
439. 蒙古歹 Mêng-ku-tai.
440. 車厘 Ch'ê-li (Chieng Rung, n. 114).
441. 闊闊 K'uo-k'uo (Kökö, "the Blue Prince," n. 272).
442. 候正 Hou Chêng. A 都鎮撫 *tu-chên-fu* was a minor provincial official. According to *Y.S.*, ch. 91, each province had a *tu-chên-fu-ssü*, with one *tu-chên-fu* officer and one assistant.
443. 忙古不花 Mang-ku-pu-hua (Mängü-buqa).
444. For the Ongirat, see Grousset, *Hist. de l'E.-O.*, p. 404 and n. 3; *L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 248.
445. 爨 Ts'uan (n. 63). 𪚩 P'o (n. 27, 378).
446. 落落 Lo-lo. 和泥 Ho-ni (n. 154, 156, 177).
447. *Y.S.*, ch. 10, 15th year of *chih-yüan*, 4th month, *ping-ch'ên* day.
448. 𪚩刺海 Yo-la-hai. Called 要刺海 Yao-la-hai in the *pên-chi* (n. 449). Yauraqai?
449. *Y.S.*, ch. 13, 21st year, 10th month, *mou shên* day.
450. 怯烈 Ch'ieh-lieh.
451. 太原 T'ai-yüan (capital of Shansi).
452. 鎮西緬麓川等路 Chên-hsi (n. 40), Mien (= P'ing-mien, n. 42), Lu-ch'uan (n. 41) and other Roads.
453. 管軍招討使 *kuan-chüan-chao-t'ao-shih*.
454. 成都 Ch'êng-tu (capital of Ssüch'uan). 烏蒙 Wu-mêng.
455. 驃國 P'iao kingdom. A surprising expression. The P'iao (Old Burm. *Pyü*) had two capitals: *Śrī Ksetra* (Old Prome) in

the 7th-8th cent., and probably Halin (Old Burm. *Hanlan*) near Shwebo in the 8th-9th. I hardly think Ch'ieh-lieh would have been posted to either of these in the 13th. I prefer, therefore, to regard "P'iao kingdom" as an archaistic term here applied to the Burmese capital, Pagan. And it recalls to my mind the fact that Stone 5 at Pagan Museum (found near the main gate of the city) has a Pyū inscription on the east face, and a Chinese one on the west. Neither has been read, though expert rubbing of the latter might well yield some meaning to the expert. Did Ch'ieh-lieh "encourage the nationalists" by seeking to revive the Pyū language?

456. 正議大夫 *chêng-i-ta-fu*. 僉緬中行中書省事 *ch'ien-mien-chung-hsing-chung-shu-shêng-shih*.

457. 通奉大夫 *t'ung-fêng-ta-fu*. See Giles' Dictionary (2nd Ed.), No. 12, 294.

458. 資善大夫 *tzŭ-shan-ta-fu*.

459. See n. 361.

460. 畏吾兒 *Wei-wu-êrh* (Uigur). For the Uigur Turks, see n. 376 and text.

461. See n. 362.

462. 暹 *Hsien* (n. 111). 羅斛 *Lo-hu* (n. 112). 馬八兒 *Ma-pa-êrh* (n. 363). 俱藍 *Ch'ü-lan* (n. 365, Quilon). 蘇木都剌 *Su-mu-tu-la* (n. 374, Samudra).

463. 岳刺也奴帖滅 *Yo-la-yeh-nu-t'ieh-mieh*.

464. 成宗 *Ch'êng Tsung* (Tämür Öljäitü, *fl.* 1295-1307).

465. 仁宗 *Jên Tsung* (*fl.* 1311-1320).

466. 司徒 *ssü-t'u*.

467. 劉正 *Liu Chêng*.

468. 同僉樞密院事 *t'ung-ch'ien-shu-mi-yüan-shih*.

469. 忙兀突魯迷失 *Mang-wu-t'u-lu-mi-shih* (Mängü Türümish). See also n. 194.

470. 哈刺憐 *Ha-la-tai* (Qaratai). See also n. 299, 307.

471. 哈魯 Ha-lu (Qarluq). Cf. n. 414, 423.
472. 資德大夫 *tzü-tê-tu-fu*.
473. 劉深 Liu Shên, Cf. n. 299, 307.
474. See n. 113.
475. 宋龍濟 Sung Lung-chi.
476. 汝州 Ju-chou (in Honan).
477. *Y.S.*, ch. 20, 5th year of *ta-tê*, 5th month, *jên-hsü* day.
478. 順元 Shün-yuan. This was a Road on the Yünnan-Kueichou border, now under Kuei-yang district of Kueichou (see Tsang Li-huo's *Comprehensive Chinese Gazetteer* (1930, Shanghai Commercial Press), p. 972).
479. 月忽難 Yüeh Hu-nan.
480. *Y.S.*, ch. 21, 8th year of *ta-tê*, 1st month, *kêng-shên* day.
481. 宋阿重 Sung A-chung.
482. *Y.S.*, ch. 21, 8th year, 5th month, *chi-ssü* day.
483. 脫脫亦吉里 T'o-t'o-i-chi-li.
484. 陳天祥 Ch'ên T'ien-hsiang. 陳祐 Ch'ên Hu.
485. 河南行臺 *hsing-t'ai* of Honan. 御史中江 *yü-shih-chung-ch'êng*.
486. 八番 Pa-fan. Called 八番羅 Pa-fan-lo below in this same extract. "The chief of the Pa-fan Cave barbarians" sent an embassy to China, with Hsien, on Feb. 6th, 1323 (n. 133). See Pelliot's note, *BLEFEO* t. IV, p. 244, n. 1. On Nov. 26th of the same year (*Y.S.*, ch. 29, 3rd year of *chih-chih*, 10th month, *ping-hsü* day), a mutiny was reported of "Pa-fan, Shun-yüan (n. 478), and the 猺 Yao troops of the various Roads of 靜江 Ching-chiang (in Kuanghsi), Ta-li and Wei-ch'u."
487. 劉二霸 Liu Êrh-pa.
488. 播州 Po-chou. Modern 遵義 Tsun-i in Kueichou.
489. 倭國 Wo-kuo (Japan). 占城 Chan-ch'êng (Champa). 交趾 Chiao-chih (Tongking). 爪哇 Chao-wa (Java).
490. 武宗 Wu Tsung (*f.* 1307-1311).
491. 大小徹里 Great and Little Ch'ê-li.

492. 囊加解 Nang-chia-tai (Nangkiyatai).

493. 緬 *Mien*. To these translations of the Sections on *Mien* and *Hsien*, I add in the notes only the Chinese of names, etc., not given in the body of the article.

494. I doubt if the leaf of the areca-nut (檳榔 *pin-lang*, Malay *pinang*, *Areca catechu*) was used in Old Burma for stationery, though I.H. Burkill (*A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. I, p. 228) mentions modern experiments, which were "disappointing," in turning the husk of the areca-nut into paper. I suspect that "areca" in the text is a mistake for another palm, whether palmyra (*Borassus flabellifer*) or talipot (*Corypha umbraculifera*), which were certainly used for writing materials at Pagan.

495. 价博 Chieh-po.

496. 卜云夫 Pu-yün-shih (Büyüneh?).

497. 重慶 Ch'ung'ch'ing, in S.E. Ssüch'uan (巴 Pa). Lat. 29° 34', Long. 106° 50' (Playfair, No. 1583).

498. 烝相脱里奪海 the *ch'eng-hsiang* T'o-li-to-hai.

499. 合刺章 Ha-la-chang. The Karajang or "Black Jang" of Rashided-din. See Pelliot, *BEFEO* t. IV, pp. 158-9.

500. 阿里海牙 A-li-hai-ya (Ariq-qaya).

501. 思播敘諸郡 Ssü, Po, Hsü and other commanderies. Ssü-chou is in Kueichou (Lat. 27° 11', Long. 108° 35' - Playfair 5858). Po-chou is in Kueichou (see n. 488). Hsü-chou is in Ssüch'uan (Lat. 28° 47', Long. 104° 51' - Playfair 2895).

502. 亦奚不薛 I-hsi-pu-hsieh. Also written 亦乞 I-ch'i-pu-hsieh. "A special tribe of 羅施鬼 Lo-shih-kuei kingdom," adds the commentator at the end of *Y.S.*, ch. 10. Here, under date 16th year of *chih-yüan*, 6th month, *kuei-ssü* day (July 27th, 1279), we read that "愛魯 Ai-lu, directing his troops from different quarters, pacified I-ch'i-pu-hsieh." Further expeditions took place in 1280, when the tribes submitted (ch. 11). The Emperor's

order, shown in the text, is dated April 1st, 1282 in the *pên-chi* (ch. 12 - 19th year, 2nd month, *jên-tzŭ* day).

503. 騰馬宅 T'êng-ma-chai.
504. 麗川 Li-ch'uan. A mistake for 麓川 Lu-ch'uan.
505. 揜持榜 *shan-ch'ih-pang*.
506. 張萬 Chang Wan.
507. 也先鐵木兒 Yeh-hsien-t'ieh-mu-êrh, Äsän Tämür.
508. 張成 Chang Ch'êng.
509. 禿滿帶 T'u-man-tai (Tümändär).
510. 察罕迭吉連 Ch'a-han-tieh-chi-lien. (Chagan = White).
511. 高慶 Kao Ch'ing. The same person as the Kao A-k'ang, "native chief of Yunnan," of Huber's text (pp. 676-9).
512. 察罕不花 Ch'a-han-pu-hua (Chagan-buqa). He had been governor of 麗江 Li-chiang district, says Huber's text (p. 679), in the northwest of Yunnan.
513. 暹 Hsien. Pelliot has translated this Section at *BEFEO*, t. IV, pp. 242, 243.
514. 完澤答刺罕 Wan-tsé-ta-la-han (Öljäi-darqan). *Ta-la-han*, says Pelliot, was an old Turkish title (*BEFEO*, t. IV, p. 243, n. 7).
515. 忻都 Hsin-tu, Sindhu, Hindu, India.

