

DID KUBLAI KHAN'S CONQUEST OF THE DALI KINGDOM GIVE RISE TO THE MASS MIGRATION OF THE THAI PEOPLE TO THE SOUTH?

DU YUTING AND CHEN LUFAN

INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES, KUNMING

I. Introduction

During the several decades since Temujin received the title of Genghis Khan through the support of the aristocracy and unified the grasslands of Mongolia in 1206, the Mongolian cavalry swept over the continents of Asia and Europe like a hurricane, devastating many countries in the western part of Asia and the eastern part of Europe, leaving behind a tremendous influence upon those areas. The study of the merits and demerits of the history of this period of the Mongolian people remains a subject of world-wide interest and of the most divergent controversy. Although foreign works on Mongolian history undoubtedly embrace some studies conforming with objective reality, many of them are only phenomenal descriptions. Even worse, some of them have made the already much entangled history of the 13th century even more confused. An example is the theory that Kublai Khan's conquest of the Dali Kingdom compelled the mass migration of the Thai people to the South (the Mass Migration Theory).

The originators of the Mass Migration Theory were scholars and specialists of the Western countries such as H.R. Davies, W. C. Dodd and W. A. R. Wood, etc. Their works, published fifty or sixty years ago, proclaimed that Kublai Khan's conquest of the Dali Kingdom in Yunnan Province led to the final extinction of this Thai Kingdom and the mass migration the south. They even asserted "This is beyond all doubt."¹

Kublai Khan's conquest of the Dali Kingdom Yunnan is a historical fact. But did this compel the Thai people to migrate en masse to the south?

No.

Editor's note : For an earlier and less detailed version of this article, see *The Siam Society Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No.4, December 1988, p. 19.

Since the originators of the Mass Migration Theory stated their thesis very positively, describing their fallacies as beyond all doubt, what irrefutable historical sources did they possess to demonstrate the reliability of their theory?

None.

Since Kublai Khan's conquest of the Dali Kingdom did not in fact compel the Thai people to migrate en masse to the south, and not a single historical source could possibly prove the mass migration of the Thai people from Yunnan to the south in the Yuan Dynasty, we may ask the question: Whence the Mass Migration Theory?

This paper is intended to answer that question.

II. Kublai Khan's Conquest of the Dali Kingdom Did Not Give Rise to a Mass Migration

To be sure, armed forces did play an important role in Kublai Khan's conquest of the Dali Kingdom. In 1253, an army of a hundred thousand strong, led by Kublai Khan, the grandson of Genghis Khan, entered Sichuan via Gansu; then, using leather canoes and rafts, crossed the Jinsha River by three routes, and in less than one year vanquished and exterminated the Dali kingdom which had been entrenched in Yunnan for several hundred years.² At that time, the middle and eastern parts of Sichuan were still under the rule of the Southern Song Dynasty, so the route of march was laid across the western part of Sichuan and the border region between Sichuan and Yunnan having high mountains and deep valleys and a very scanty population. The Emperor resorted to a strategy of a broad circuitous flanking movement, thus taking the kingdom by storm. The conquest of the Dali Kingdom turned Yunnan, the

rear base of the Southern Song Dynasty, into an important base far encircling the territory of that dynasty. This was indeed a battle of strategic significance. Without a vigorous army and capable generals the victory would have been inconceivable. Nevertheless, the reason why the Mongolian aristocracy made a rapid conquest of the Dali kingdom and firmly consolidated their rule in Yunnan when what is now Sichuan, Guanxi and Guizhou were still under the jurisdiction of the Southern Song Dynasty was this: apart from the use of military forces, they had another very important card to play: appeasement and propitiation, disintegration, and the utilization of the original Dali rulers with a view to fully mobilizing their traditional forces. In this sense, such a manoeuvre was no less important than the use of military forces. This basic historical fact which is not to be ignored is exactly what is fatal to the Mass Migration Theory.

Along with the military operations aimed at the conquest of the Dali Kingdom, Kublai Khan paid great attention to summoning the enemy to surrender and to the disintegration and utilization of his adversaries. In order to summon the king of the Dali Kingdom to surrender, Kublai Khan despatched two envoys en route. The first was sent from Gansu but failed to reach Dali. The second was killed by the king of the Dali Kingdom.³ When the army crossed the Jinsha River, the Khan accepted the surrender and the welcome of the leader of the Naxi tribe. When the attack on Dali town started, the policy of "Massacre of the Town" was changed, an edict forbidding slaughter was issued,⁴ and discriminative treatment was given to the captured nobles of the Dali Kingdom. For instance, the recalcitrant and powerful courtier Gao Xing, who refused to surrender, was beheaded,⁵ while Duan Xingzhi, the king of the Dali Kingdom, who originally showed resistance but later was willing to surrender, was bought over and made use of. As a result, the measures taken by the Mongolian aristocracy towards the king of the Dali Kingdom rapidly took effect. In 1255 and 1256 Duan Xingzhi was presented at court, offering Mengu, the Yuan Emperor Xienzhong, maps of Yunnan and counsels about the vanquishing of the tribes who had not yet surrendered, as well as their schemes of political domination and economic exploitation. Mengu was highly delighted with this, and instantly conferred on him the Sanskrit title "Maha Raja," charging him with the administration of the affairs of the various tribes in Yunnan.⁶ From that time on, Duan, the King of Dali, certainly did not disappoint the expectations of the Mongolian aristocracy.

Kublai Khan led a cavalry force of a hundred thousand when he went to conquer the Dali Kingdom, and brought back only a part of the army when he returned to the capital. Thus taking into account casualties in the war, the general Wulianghoutai had only an army of less than one hundred thousand left in his command. This small army not only kept under its rule Yunnan and the adjacent areas of what are now Sichuan, Guanxi and Guizhou, but also extended its occupied territory to part of the region of what is now Southeast Asia. What then is the reason? During the reign of the Tang Emperor Xuanzhong there were two successive expeditions against the Nanzhao Kingdom. Since no small number of troops took part in each

expedition and the area under their attack was by no means as extensive as in the Yuan Dynasty, why then was the whole army annihilated? To be sure, the fighting capacity of the Mongolian cavalry and the judicious command of Wulianghoutai are not to be ignored, yet equally important is the fact that the surrendered king of Dali used his own forces to serve as a spearhead for the Mongolian aristocracy and offered them good counsel. And herein lies the difference between Wulianghoutai and Li Me, the Tang general.

It was precisely the fact that Duan, the king of Dali, led a considerable army to serve as guides and vanguards for the Mongolian army that accounts for the vanquishing of the rebellious tribes. And then the tactics used by the Mongolian aristocracy in making use of Duan were also very judicious. Duan was not deprived of his original military and political power. Furthermore, he was allowed to continue his administration of state affairs, and the newly installed military and political officials with fiefs of less than "ten thousand households" were made subject to Duan's restraint and moderation." This gave Duan's helping the Mongolian aristocracy to vanquish the rebellious tribes a decent cover of recovering remnant followers.

Duan played his part in vanquishing the various tribes in Yunnan. His troops also acted as vanguards in "bringing Indo-China (Vietnam) to surrender," thus helping the Mongolian aristocracy to extend their territory to what is now Southeast Asia.

The outstanding meritorious deed performed by Duan for the Yuan Dynasty was the suppression of the great uprisings of the various peoples in Yunnan.

In 1264, a great uprising against the Mongolian rulers broke out, involving more than one hundred thousand people of the various nationalities in Yunnan. The rebel army developed with tremendously rapidity and took by storm such cities as Xinxing (now Yuxi), Shicheng (now Quqing) and Weichu (now Chuxun), and also seized Zhongqing (now Kunming). The Mongolian garrison was not in position to resist, and sent an urgent appeal for help to Duan. Duan's chief general, Xingzuri, immediately moved his troops to launch a counterattack against the rebels in coordination with the Mongolian army. This great uprising lasted more than a decade, went through several ups and downs, and ended in failure with the murder of the rebel leader Sheliwei.⁸

Hence it is clear that neither during Kublai Khan's conquest of Dali nor after his return to the capital did there occur any mass migration of the Dali people to the south. Even the king of Dali himself did not move to the south. Noteworthy is the fact that Duan, the king, not only stayed at Dali, but also served the new lord in many ways thus playing a unique role in consolidating the rule of the Mongolian aristocracy in Yunnan. Xingzuri's suppression of the great uprisings of the various peoples resulted in the "establishment of counties, the signing and issuing of orders, the imposition of taxes and the process of political discipline and civilization, and in a manner identical with that of the interior." This shows that the adoption of political and eco-

conomic measures in Yunnan, which were identical with those in the interior during the reign of the Yuan Dynasty, all had something to do with Xingzuri's suppression of the peasant uprisings. Hence it is evident how important Duan's position was in helping the Mongolian aristocracy to consolidate their rule in Yunnan. In order to show its high regard for Duan, the Yuan Court not only bestowed on him many awards, but also conferred on him the "Golden Tally" and "The Tiger Tally." Duan, the king of Dali, was vouchsafed the title "Maha Raja" while Xingzuri was installed as "Governor of Dali," "Magistrate of Dali and Monghua etc.," and "Commander of Dali, Weichu and Jingchi Magistracies." In addition, Aching, the son of Xingzuri, was kept by Kublai Khan as the queen's bodyguard and installed as a high dignitary of Yunnan on his return, assuming the office of Vice-Governor of Yunnan Province, etc.⁹ This series of historical facts all reflect the policies carried out by Kublai Khan in Yunnan. After his army had penetrated into the depths of Yunnan and vanquished a series of entrenched local political forces, Kublai Khan knew very well the importance of keeping the original sociopolitical forms to win popular support. Hence the policy of "no official is to be deprived of his office, no person is to lose his job."¹⁰ The Mass Migration Theory is exactly contradictory to this policy. Small wonder that not a single historical source can be found for the confirmation of that theory.

When they began to consolidate their rule in Yunnan, the Mongolian aristocracy made full use of the old aristocracy of the Dali Kingdom. While the Yuan Court was maintaining unity with Duan in their joint domination over Yunnan and achieving remarkable success in this respect, Duan's local power had gradually come to pose a certain threat to the former. Consequently, with the consolidation of the rule of the Yuan Court over Yunnan, the power of the House of Duan gradually declined. This was particularly the case when at the end of the Yuan Dynasty the rule of the Mongolian aristocracy was going down hill and it began to restrict the power of the House of Duan. According to convention, the House of Duan's office of "Governor of Dali" was originally a hereditary local office. But in the third year of the reign of Emperor Wenzhong when it was the turn for Duan Yi to succeed to the post, he was deprived of the office of "Governor of Dali" as well as that of "Governor of Yunnan." He only received the title of "Magistrate of Monghua Prefecture." His offspring (son and grandson) were treated in the same manner.¹¹ Although the offspring of the original king of Dali were entitled "Magistrate of Monghua Prefecture," they resided as in the past only at Dali, not at Monghua (now Weishan). With their power still extending to the broad area originally under the jurisdiction of the Dali military and civil government, the House of Duan, still possessing considerable strength, were naturally not reconciled to their decline and it was inevitable that the contradictions between the local and the central governments were aggravated. As a result the struggle between Duan and Prince Liang, who represented the interests of the Yuan Court, became white hot, leading to rather cruel wars ending in a draw, neither side being able to devour the other. Thus the House of Duan was entrenched in the broad

region in the west of Yunnan in which its headman was self-styled as king,¹² while Prince Liang of the Yuan Court could only be resigned to this existing state of affairs.

Significant, however, is the fact that although there was a life-and-death struggle between the House of Duan and Prince Liang of the Yuan Court, these adversaries would make peace and make joint efforts to suppress the peasant uprisings as soon as they threatened the rule of the Yuan Court and the local entrenchment of the House of Duan. At the end of the Yuan Dynasty, King Duan Gong helped Prince Liang defeat the Red Scarf rebel army which had entered Yunnan from Sichuan,¹³ and this is a manifestation of the identity of their class nature. In the suppression of the Red Scarf Army, Duan Gong acted in the same manner as Prince Liang, launching a frantic counter-attack against the rebels which ended in the defeat of the Red Scarf Army and the recovery of Zhongqing (now Kunming). At the moment of fatal danger, Prince Liang and Duan Gong were indeed in the same boat. When grieving over the death of Duan's soldiers, Prince Liang even burst into tears.¹⁴ In order to buy Duan over, he went so far as to marry his daughter Agai to Duan Gong. Yet once the threat of the peasant rebel army was removed, the contradictions between Prince Liang and Duan Gong were again aggravated. When Prince Liang's command that Princess Agai should poison Duan Gong with peacock bile was disobeyed, he soon had Duan murdered under some pretext.¹⁵

The House of Duan's ambition of local entrenchment was given full play when the army of the Ming Dynasty marched into Yunnan. In 1381, the Ming Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang empowered Fu Youdei, Lan Yu and Mu Ying to lead an expedition of three hundred thousand strong into Yunnan, annihilating more than a hundred thousand troops of the Yuan Dynasty in the east of Yunnan. Prince Liang committed suicide.¹⁶ Yet Duan Gong refused to surrender. He wrote thrice to Fu Youdei, making it clear that Dali could only be a "foreign country" making "a small tribute every year and a big tribute every three years," at the same time directing every possible threat to the Ming army commanders¹⁷ in the form of the so-called "Dali's letter of challenge".¹⁸ Thus Duan Gong, who insisted on the split of the nation and local entrenchment, became the last representative of the Yuan Dynasty's remnant forces in Yunnan. In order to destroy these remnant forces in the name of the unification of the motherland, Fu Youdei, after giving a solemn severe refutation to Duan Gong's challenge, resorted to arms for a final settlement in view of Duan's being intransigent. After a fierce battle, Duan's activities were crushed.¹⁹ When the Duan brothers were escorted in captivity to the capital, Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang neither had them beheaded for their crimes nor sent back to Dali. They were only installed in an insignificant office in the interior. This cunning manoeuvre thoroughly deprived the House of Duan of their hereditary feudal domain which had been passed on from generation to generation for several hundred years. Henceforward, in Dali Prefecture in Western Yunnan "permanent chieftains were replaced by transferable officials,²⁰ and the region was ruled by transferable officials" formally appointed by the Ming Court according to set regula-



Photograph by Teddy Spha Palastira.
A Tai vegetable vendor with typical baskets in Xishuangbanna.

tions. This shows that the entrenched domination of the House of Duan in Dali ended indeed in "migration" — not in migration to the south, but in migration to the north.

III. Did the Tai People in Yunnan "Migrate to the South" in the Yuan Dynasty?

The House of Duan in Dali belonged to the Bai race. Apart from the Bai and Yi, who made up the main body of the people under their domination, there were other races and tribes such as the Tai, Hani, Naxi, Lishu, Achang, etc. The Tai was the only race closely related to the Thai in Thailand and whose language belonged to the same language family.²² According to the theory of Mass Migration to the South, the Tai people who now live in the west and southwest of Yunnan naturally should fall into the category of Mass Migration to the South. But the answer, according to the historical facts is in the negative.

The Tai people who chiefly live in what is now Xishuangbanna and Deihong Prefectures did not in any way migrate in mass to the south after Kublai Khan's conquest of Dali. As early as in the period of the Western Han Dynasty, about two thousand years ago, the ancestors of the Tai people were recorded in history books as *dienyue*.²³ This shows that the Tai people have a long history of exploring the beautiful and fertile frontier of the motherland. In the period of the Tang and Sung Dynasties, records about the history of the Tai people are even more clear and definite. They are called in the books "Golden Teeth," "Silver Teeth," "Black Teeth," "Manmen" (far-away barbarians), "Baiyi" (white clothes) etc. The distribution of this people is spread over a large tract of land, extending from the banks of the Red River to the west of the Salween River, and to Baoshan and Jingdong in the north, with agriculture as their chief occupation and having the custom of decorating their teeth (golden teeth, silver teeth) and the habit of decorating their legs and faces with tattoos. Under the rule of the Nanzhao Kingdom the ancestors of the Tai people were enlisted to fight in wars.²⁴ At the end of the twelfth century, Pacheng, the leader of the Tai people in Xishuangbanna, unified the various tribes and established "the Jinglun Golden Temple Kingdom" with Cheli (now Jinghong)



Photograph by Teddy Spha Palastira.
Tai architecture in Xishuangbanna.

as its center. According to historical records, this regime "regarded the Emperor of the Chinese heavenly dynasty as their common lord,"²⁵ and had some subordinate relationships with the Chinese interior. This indicates that the history of the Tai people has developed in keeping with the inevitable laws of social development.

After Kublai Khan's conquest of Dali, the rule of the Yuan Dynasty did extend to the region where the Tai people now live. But the domination of the Yuan Dynasty over the Tai region underwent a gradual process: the Deihong District fell under Mongol rule earlier, while Xishuangbanna District accepted the domination of the Mongolian aristocracy in 1292, more than 30 years after the conquest of Dali.²⁶ As can be seen from relevant records, in the process of extending its domination to the Tai people, the Yuan rulers resorted chiefly to the soft tactics of "appeasement and propitiation" and no consequential battles took place in the Tai Region. After the rule of the Yuan Dynasty had extended to the Tai Region, a "Six Routes Chief Magistracy" was set up in what is now Deihong Prefecture,²⁷ and a "Cheli Military and Civil Magistracy" was established in what is now Xishuangbanna.²⁸ During the Yuan Dynasty the Tai Region was

under the direct rule of transferable officials appointed by the central government. But owing to the subtropical local climate, officials from the interior could only go to the Tai region in winter and return home in spring, unable to assume permanent offices.²⁹ Therefore, judging by relevant records dating from the Yuan Dynasty to the Ming Dynasty, the Tai Region remained predominantly under the rule of the "chieftains." The "chieftains" of the Tai Region were hereditary officials appointed by the Yuan Court. Disputes among them were subject to the ruling of the Court. In the *History of the Yuan Dynasty* there are repeated records of the settlement of disputes between the Tai chieftains by the Court. The Yunnan provincial government exacted taxes, set up posts and stationed an army in the Tai Region.³⁰ In short, during the Yuan Dynasty the Tai Region was a part of Yunnan province. At that time the Tai people remained settled in the south and southwest of Yunnan. "Mass Migration to the South" simply does not come into the picture.

According to *Descriptions of Yunnan* written by Li Jing of the Yuan Dynasty, "of the tribes in the Southwest, the Bai Yi is the dominant one, since it spreads to Tibet in the north and Cochin-China in the south, with basically similar customs."

Hence it is evident that in the Yuan Dynasty the Tai people had already a rather wide distribution, yet their area of habitation was roughly the same as it is now. Noteworthy is the fact that, judging by the relevant historical sources of the Yuan Dynasty, so far as the history of Yunnan is concerned, not only does the "Mass Migration to the South" of the Tai people not come into the picture, but, on the contrary, it is migration to the north that is recorded in veritable historical sources. For instance, the Tai people who live in what is now Jingdong and Jinggu etc. were those who migrated from the south to the north.³¹ This also represents a sort of negation of the theory of Mass Migration to the South on the part of history.

IV. The Tai People Did Not Migrate Southward to Thailand after Kublai Khan's Conquest of the Dali Kingdom

The Thai people are the natives of Thailand and have a long history. They did not in any sense migrate southward to Thailand en masse after Kublai Khan's conquest of the Dali Kingdom.

Early in remote antiquity, the ancestors of the Thai people had friendly associations with China. According to the records of the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*, at the end of the boundaries of what is now Baoshan and Deihong Prefectures there was a state known as the "Shan Kingdom." The king, named Yongyoudiao, thrice sent missions to Loyang, the capital of the Eastern Han Dynasty, in 97, 120 and 131 A.D., and they were given friendly receptions by the Court. The kings of the Western Han Dynasty bestowed on Yongyoudiao the "Golden Seal and Purple Cordon" and conferred on him the title of "General of the Han Dynasty." Another mission was sent to Loyang by King Yongyoudiao and they presented to the Court a band of musicians and some magicians who gave "varied and excellent performances before the royalty." The interpreters who accompanied the mission of the Shan Kingdom had to use several languages successively to make it possible to communicate with the Han Court. This indicates the distance which separated the Shan Kingdom and the Han Empire in racial, linguistic and geographical respects as well as the long history of political and cultural associations between the two countries. Noteworthy is the fact that the first and second missions came from a territory beyond Yongchang, that is, via China's Baoshan in the Eastern Han Dynasty; yet eleven years later, the third mission did not "come from a territory beyond Yongchang" but from a territory beyond "Rinan," that is, from what is now the middle part of Vietnam. This shows that as far back as more than 1,800 years ago, the ancestors of the Thai people (presumably this Shan Kingdom) already were in the broad area of the northern part of what is now the Indochinese peninsula.

The Shan Kingdom established by the progenitors of the Thai people, though recorded in the history of ancient times, rose in fact in the first century and became powerful in the third century. After the emergence of Funan, which was based in what is now Cambodia, and powerful Chenla, which rose in the Indochinese peninsula in the middle of the sixth century, the Shan Kingdom fell successively under their rule. During this long period, several small states were founded in Thailand. The Thai people waged a long struggle lasting several centuries to resist foreign domination. In the early period of the thirteenth century, the Thai people established the Sukhotai Kingdom with Sukhotai as its center. The Sukhotai Kingdom, called Xian Guo (the ancient Siam) in Chinese historical sources, had rather close political and cultural relations with China in the Yuan Dynasty. More than a dozen records of tributes to the Chinese court can be found in the *History of the Yuan Dynasty*. In June of 1282 Kublai Khan sent a mission headed by Ho Zizhi — a "ten thousand household military lord" — to visit the Siamese kingdom, but it failed to reach its destination owing to accidents on the way.³³ Yet ten years later, in 1292, the Government of Guangdong sent to the Court a "Golden Volume" presented by the Siamese King.³⁴ And in 1295, the latter again despatched a mission to China to present a "Golden Letter" requesting the Yuan Court to send ambassadors to Siam. By the time when the Siamese mission arrived in the Chinese capital, the Chinese mission had already left for Siam. Emperor Chenzhong of the Yuan Dynasty bestowed on the Siamese envoys "Golden Tallies" and asked them to pursue the Chinese mission in all haste so that they might go to Siam together.³⁵ Remarkable is the fact that the famous King Rama Khamheng of the Sukhotai Kingdom, answering an "Imperial Request," sent this prince — hereditary prince — to the Court and made tributes of tigers and elephants, etc. The Yuan Court also bestowed on the king "saddles and bridles, a white horse and gold-filigreed dress" and bestowed a Tiger Tally on the "hereditary prince."³⁶ Judging by the fact that the Yuan Court requested the Siamese king to send his son as a sort of hostage, it is only too evident that the Yuan Court posed itself as "Heavenly Kingdom" and suzerain towards Siam. Yet the Yuan Court never started wars against Siam. The history of the Sukhotai Kingdom was impelled forward by the Thai people themselves.

The expedition against the "State of Eight Hundred Concubines"³⁷ was an important historical event in the middle of the Yuan Dynasty. The capital of that state was Chiang Mai in the north of what is now Thailand. When the Sukhotai Kingdom which was situated to the south of that state already had political connections with the Yuan Court and the Chieftains of Cheli to the north had become hereditary officials appointed by the Court, that state still kept on expanding its power, interfering in the affairs of Greater and Lesser Cheli.³⁸ When the authority of the Chieftains of Cheli, which was within Chinese territory, was threatened and damaged by such interference, Emperor Chenzhong of the Yuan Dynasty was greatly shocked and infuriated. As a result, an expedition was sent in 1300 against the State of Eight Hundred Concubines.³⁹ Nevertheless, by the time the expedition came from the interior to the

west of Guizhou, still 2000 li from that state, the army met with the resistance of the Yi people because of exorbitant taxation and requisitions, and was heavily besieged by the rebels. The army of 20,000 suffered a total defeat which shocked both the Court and the populace and resulted in the execution of Liu Shen, the general who led the expedition.⁴⁰ This event was a turning point which shows that in the middle of the Yuan Dynasty the political and military ruling power of the Mongolian aristocracy was seriously on the decline. Yet remarkable is the fact that although the expedition against the State of Eight Hundred Concubines failed because of setbacks on the way, yet the soft tactics of appeasement and propitiation were again set in motion and even proved successful. Beginning in 1312, the year when that state started to "present tame elephants and native products,"⁴¹ its political relations with the Yuan Court grew rapidly. The

chieftains of that state not only repeatedly "presented native products" but also requested on their own initiative that the Court set up local governments there. The Yuan Court was greatly delighted. In addition to appointing the chieftain of that state "Magisterial Military Commander," officials were also sent there from the interior.⁴² Though the reactionary nature of the Yuan Dynasty as reflected in the expedition against the State of Eight Hundred Concubines is a subject to be investigated, yet one thing is certain: Chiang Mai is a famous ancient capital of the Thai people, and the people of the state of Eight Hundred Concubines with Chiang Mai as its capital could boast of a long history. The Thai people in the north as well as in the south did not in any sense "migrate en masse to the south" after Kublai Khan's conquest of the Dali Kingdom.

ENDNOTES

1. H. R. Davies said that it was beyond all doubt that those Shan people who had not been assimilated by the Han people were gradually driven to the south after the conquest of Yunnan by the Mongolian Emperors in the 13th century. (See H. R. Davies, *Yunnan, the Link Between India and the Yangtze*, Cambridge, 1909 pp. 378-379.)
- W. A. R. Wood said that in 1253 Nanzhao (or Yunnan) was conquered by Kublai Khan. This Thai Kingdom was finally brought to an end, leading to the mass migration to the south of the local inhabitants. As can be seen from what follows, this exerted a great influence upon the history of Siam. (See W. A. R. Wood, *A History of Siam*, London, 1926. Reprint of 1959, p. 35.)
- W.C. Dodd said that the Thai people's seventh and last wave of mass migration from China to the south took place in 1234, after the downfall of the Ailao Kingdom in Dali. This Kingdom had already existed over 600 years. It was not conquered by the Chinese, but by a Mongolian army led by Kublai Khan. (See W.C. Dodd, *The Relation of Chinese and Siamese*, *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LI, 1920.)
- Three years later, Dodd, in his book *The Tai Race* (Iowa, U.S.A. 1923) systematically put forward his "Theory of the Seven Migrations of the Tai Race," asserting that after seven migrations to the south, the Thai people gradually moved from the south of China to the north of the Indo-China Peninsula.
2. *History of the Yuan Dynasty: Vol. 3 Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Xienzhong*, Vol. 4 *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Shizhu*.
3. *History of the Yuan Dynasty: Vol. 3 Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Xienzhong; Vol. 4 Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Shizhu*.
4. *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, Vol. 158 *Biography of Yao Shu*.
5. *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, Vol. 4 *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Shizhu*.
6. *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, Vol. 166 *Biography of Xingzhuri*.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, Vol. 10 *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Shizhu*.
11. According to *the Bypass History of the Nanzhao Kingdom* written by Yangshen of the Ming Dynasty, Duan Yi (assumed office in the third year Zhishun of the reign of Emperor Wenzhong) and Duan Guan (assumed office in the first year Yuantong of the reign of Emperor Shun) and Duan Gong (assumed office in the fifth year Zhizhen) were only installed as Magistrates of the Prefecture of Monghua when they came to assume office.
12. *Bypass History of the Nanzhao Kingdom* by Yang Shen.

13. *Chronicles of the Early Period of the Nanzhao Kingdom.*
14. *Bypath History of the Nanzhao Kingdom* by Yang Shen.
15. *Chronicles of the Early Period of the Nanzhao Kingdom, Bypath History of the Nanzhao Kingdom, History of Yunnan, Records of Yunnan* and other annals of Yunnan and Dali dated from the Ming Dynasty all have more or less detailed narrations of the stories of Duan Gong's helping Prince Liang to defeat the Red Scarf Army and Prince Liang's marrying his daughter Agai to Duan Gong as well as Duan Gong's being murdered and Princess Agai's committing suicide. The stories teem with the contradictions between Duan Gong and the Red Scarf Army and between Duan Gong and Prince Liang as well as the contradictions between Duan Gong and his first wife Madame Gao of Dali and his second wife Princess Agai from Kunming. The stories with their undulating plots and some versified comments and adornments are highly dramatic. Since they were narrated by people of the Ming Dynasty, the specific incidents are not all factual accounts, though not altogether groundless. As there are many versions of these stories which are often contradictory to each other, no detailed mention is made in this article. Guo Morou wrote a play entitled "Peacock Bile" which is based on this story.
16. *Chronicles of the Period of the Hongwu of the Reign of Emperor Taizhu of the Ming Dynasty* Vol. 139, 140.
17. *History of the Ming Dynasty* Vol. 313: *Chieftains of the Tribes in Yunnan*, and *Hoshantang Supplementary Works* Vol.85: *Correspondence between Duan and Fu Youdei.*
18. *Hoshantang Supplementary Works* Vol. 85: *Letters of Challenge from Dali* which include the letters 1,2,3, from Duan Gong to Fu Youdei and an attached reply from Fu Youdei to Duan Gong.
19. *History of the Ming Dynasty* Vol. 313: *Chieftains of the Tribes in Yunnan*; *Hoshantang Supplementary Works* Vol. 85: *Letters of Challenge from Dali.*
20. "Removing native officials and installing transferable officials" otherwise called "Replacing native officials with mobile officials" or "Removing native officials and returning power to mobile officials," exerted a remarkable influence upon the history of the minority peoples in Southwest China. However, views have all along differed on this point. Such is also the case with the problem as to whether the crushing of Duan Gong's activities in 1382 is referable to "Removing native officials and installing mobile officials."
21. Regarding the ending of Duan Gong, the relevant historical sources dated from the Ming Dynasty are identical in pointing out that he was installed in North China. But views differ as to the specific circumstances of the installation and even the specific person installed. No detailed account is given in this article.
22. The Tai people and the Thai people in Thailand all belong to the Zhuang-Tai language family of the Sino-Tibetan language branch.
23. *Records of History* Vol. 123: *Chronicles of Dawan.*
24. *Book of Savage Tribes* by Fanzhou of the Tang Dynasty, Series 4: *New History of the Tang Dynasty* Vol. 222: *History of Southern Tribes.*
25. *History of the Tai People.* This is a history of the Tai people in Xishuangbanna written in the Tai language, translated by Li Fuyi, published in 1947 by the Research Institute of Southwestern Culture Attached to Yunnan University.
26. *Chronicles of Yunnan* by Li Jing of the Yuan Dynasty; *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 132: *Biography of Buluhouda, Cheli.*
27. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 61: *Geography* Vol. 4.
28. Views differ as to the time of the establishment of the "Cheli Military and Civil Magistracy."
- a) In the second year of the reign of Yuanzhen was established the "Cheli Military and Civil Magistracy" (*History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 19: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Chenzhong.*)
- b) "The Cheli Military and Civil Magistracy was established in the middle of the period of Dade." (*History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 61: *Geography.*)
- c) "The Cheli Military and Civil Magistracy was established in the period of Zhiyuan and charged with the taxation of gold and silver." (*History and Geography of Yunnan* by Jingtai.)
- d) "In the middle of the period of Zhiyuan was established the Cheli Military and Civil Magistracy, with six counties under its jurisdiction." (*History of Yunnan* by Zhendei.)
29. *History of the Hundred Tribes* by Chien Guxun and Li Shi-Chung.
30. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 125: *Biography of Nashuchiding.*
31. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 61 *Geography* gives this account: Kainan Prefecture (now Jingdong) "was inhabited by the two tribes of Xipu and Hounierman when a person called Mong rose into power; he set up the Ying-shen township government. The township was later taken by the

tribes of Jingchi (golden teeth) and Baimen (white barbarian) and the government was moved to Weichu. Thus Kainan was occupied by the rude barbarians."

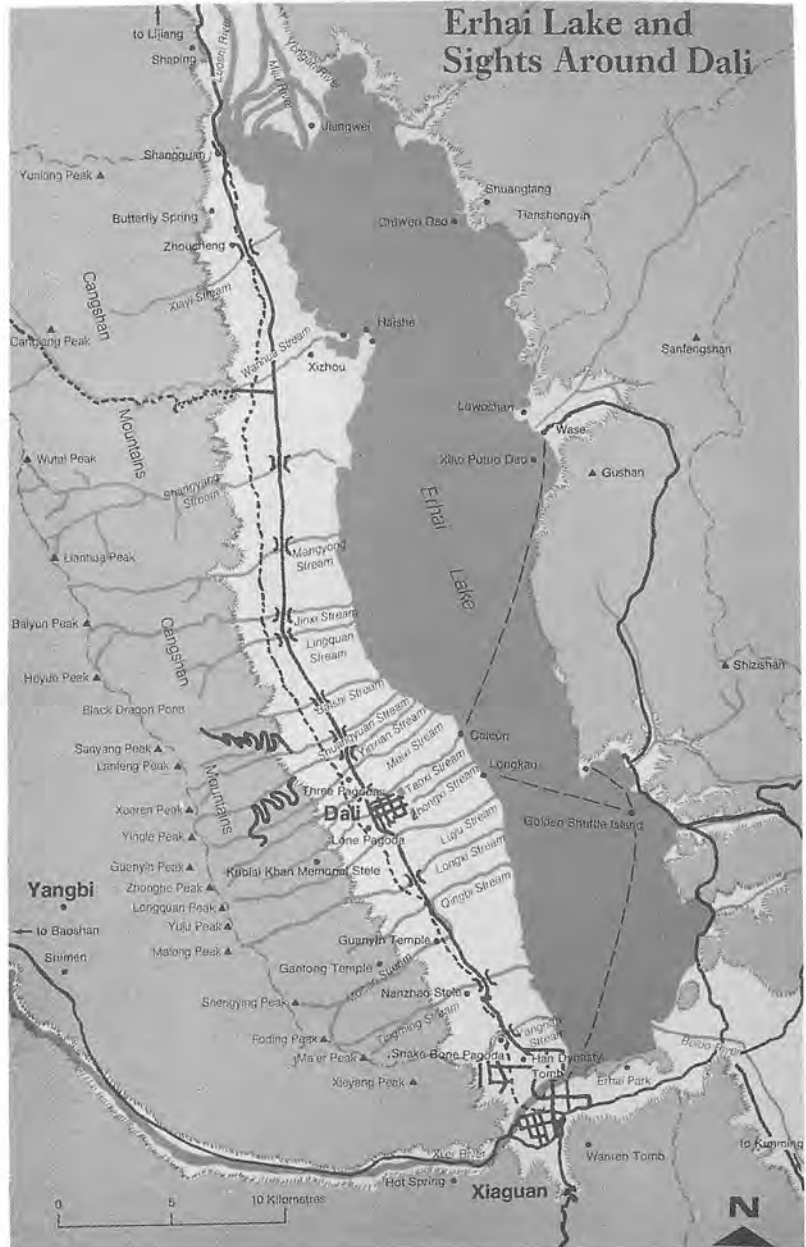
Weiyuan. Prefecture (now Jinggu) "was inhabited by the two savage tribes of Xipu and Hounierman and later was seized by the Chieftains of the Jingchi and Baimen tribes, such as Azhibu etc."

In the early period of the Nanzhao Kingdom, Jingdong and its neighbourhood were chiefly inhabited by the tribes of Pumen and Houni. Later the Jingchi and Baiyi moved tribes to the north and became the dominant people of this region. Similar cases can be found in Dehong District and along the banks of the Red River.

32. *History of the Later Han Dynasty* Vol. 4: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Hou* Vol. 5: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor An* Vol. 86: *History of the Southwest Tribe of Ailao.*
33. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 12: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Shizhu.*
34. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 17: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Shizhu.*
35. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 210: *History of Xien Guo (Siam).*
36. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 17: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Shizhu* Vol. 20: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Chengzhu* Vol. 210: *History of Xien Guo (Siam).*
37. *History of the Ming Dynasty* Vol. 315 : *History of Chieftains of the Tribes in Yunnan* has this account: "Eight Hundred refers to the fact that a chieftain ruling over a hamlet possessed eight hundred concubines. Hence the name: State of Eight Hundred Concubines."

38. *Encyclopaedia of Historical Events: Appeasement and Conquest; History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 19: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Chengzhong.*
39. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 20: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Chengzhong.*
40. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol.21: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Chengzhong.*

41. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol.24: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Renzhong.*
42. *History of the Yuan Dynasty* Vol. 30: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Taiding.* Vol 35: *Chronicles of the Reign of Emperor Wenzhong.*



Erhai Lake
Map by Unity Design Studio, courtesy of The Guide Book Co., Hong Kong.