THE EARLY SYĀM IN BURMA'S HISTORY

by

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1

Not long ago, I was asked to give an opinion about a proposal to write the history of the Shans. The proposal came from a Shan scholar for whom I have great respect, and who was as well-fitted as any Shan I know to do the work. He planned to assemble copies of all the Shan State Chronicles extant; to glean all references to the Shan States in Burmese Chronicles; and finally to collect source materials in English. Such, in brief, was the plan. I had to point out that it omitted what, for the older periods at least, were the most important sources of all: the original Old Thai inscriptions of the north, the number of which, if those from East Burma, North Siam and Laos, are included, may well exceed a hundred;\(^1\) and the dated contemporary records in Chinese, from the 13th century onwards. I do not know if these sources have been adequately tapped in Siam. They certainly have not in Burma. And since the earlier period, say 1250 to 1450 A.D., is the time of the mass-movements of the Dai\(^2\) southward from Western Yūnnan, radiating all over Further India and beyond, the subject is one, I think, that concerns Siam no less than Burma. I am a poor scholar of Thai; so I shall confine myself here to Chinese and Burmese sources. The Chinese ones are mainly the dynastic histories of the Mongols in China (the Yüan-shih), and the history of the earlier half of the Ming dynasty (the Ming-shih). The short, well-dated entries in the Court annals (pên-chi) of these histories can often be amplified by reference to the sections on geography (ti-li-chih), to the biographies of individuals (lieh-chuan), and accounts of foreign countries.
My enquiry here has been prepared during a rather short period of time, and I have certainly failed to collect all the references. But I have got on to cards about 150 dated entries in the Yüan-shih relating to the history of Dai peoples, and perhaps 200 under the early Ming. Here, at least, is a useful chronological frame into which a more complete story of the old inscriptions and the later chronicles may be fitted.

2

But first, a word about names. The word Syām, according to Professor Coedès, first appears in Cham inscriptions of the 11th century; then in Khmer, on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat in the 12th. Syam, Syām (written with a short vowel, and final m or Anusvara), occurs over twenty times in the inscriptions of Pagan, the earliest being dated 1120 A.D., one of the earliest in Burmese. The word occurs usually in the lists of pagoda-slaves, male and female; it is rarely prefixed to the name, when it should really mean a Shan; it is generally suffixed, when it may mean merely that the person had a fair complexion, like a Shan. One Syam was a Sambyan, an Old Mon title for a high government official. One of the Syām slaves was a woman-dancer, one a pattern-weaver, one a turner. These names are recorded at Pagan, and there is nothing else to show where the slaves came from. But there is a place, Khantí, often mentioned in Pagan inscriptions, which is doubtless derived from Shan Kham-ti, “golden place.” The name probably implies that the inhabitants were largely Shan. Khantí was an important place, with canal-irrigation and rice fields, in “the Six Kharuin” (Minbu district), on the west bank of the Irrawaddy about 80 miles below Pagan. The other Shan Khamlis of the Upper Chindwin, P’u-t’ao, etc., are only mentioned at a later date.
The Chinese name for the northern or northwestern Shans, variously written and pronounced, was *Pai-i*. I find it first in the *Yün-shih* under the date 1278, with characters meaning "White Clothes";\(^{11}\) next under the that 1287, with the characters "White Barbarians."\(^{12}\) Of the twenty-odd mentions of *Pai-i* I have found in *Yün* texts, about half are written "White Clothes" and half, "White Barbarians." In 1397, early in the Ming dynasty, the author of the first considerable monograph on the northern Shans, the *Pai-i-chuan*,\(^{13}\) employs yet a third variant, "the Hundred Barbarians". Other variants occur in modern books. The application of the term in *Yün* texts is usually (not always) confined to a small area of the Sino-Burman border, mostly between the Irrawaddy and the Salween. To the northeast, in 1325, there were *Pai-i* who raided *Yün-lung chou*,\(^{14}\) just east of the Salween and west of Ta-li *fu*. To the southwest were the *Pai-i* of Méng Nai *tien*,\(^{15}\) who in 1285 stopped, near Tagaung, the peace mission sent by the King of Burma. The term was not generally applied to Dai peoples south of the Shan States of Burma.

On January 7th, 1253\(^{16}\) Khubilai Khan captured Ta-li, the capital of old Nan-chao. The city fell with surprising ease, partly because of the suddenness of the attack (which was quite unprovoked), partly because the members of the ruling Tuan family were weakened by their struggle with their Kao ministers. But the conquest of the kingdom was not so easy. Khubilai's general, Uriyangqatai,\(^{17}\) was a master of the art of war. He had fought, with his father, the great Sūbūtai, from Korea in the east to Poland and Germany in the west. Yet it took him four years of continual fighting before, in 1257, he could report the pacification of Yünnan. Afterwards, he conquered Tongking in
one campaign; and within two years he had fought his way northeast, through the rear of the Sung, by the way through Kuangsi, Kueichou and Hunan, to rejoin his master in Hupeh, on the south bank of the Yangtzu. "From the time of entering the enemy's frontier," says his biography, "he had fought time after time over a thousand li, and had never been defeated. Thirteen battles, great and small, he had fought, and killed over 400,000 of the Sung troops, and taken prisoner, great and small, three of their generals." Early in 1261, he died, not long after Khubilai had ascended the throne of China as the Emperor Shih Tsu.

Professor Coedès, to whom all of us students of Southeast Asian history owe an inestimable debt, has argued that Dai penetration of the south was an old and gradual process, not a sudden influx due to the Mongol conquest of Yünnan. He points, with due reservation it is true, to the alleged founding of Mogaung in 1215, Mông Mai (in the S. Shan States) in 1223, and the Ahom conquest of Assam in 1229. So far as Burma and Assam are concerned, I feel that these early dates, based on late tradition, should be regarded with suspicion. In the 13th century, after the final conquest of Tagaung (Takoñ) and the Kadu (Kantū) in 1228 A.D., right down to the Mongol conquest, the power and prestige of Pagan were at their highest in the north. Kaungzin (Koncañ) is mentioned in inscriptions in 1245, and probably in 1237. It was then ruled by the Maḥā-
saman minister, Manorājā, uncle of the king, exercising wide powers, it seems, in Upper Burma. Kaungzin was a few miles south of modern Bhamo, on the east bank of the Irrawaddy. Perhaps at Bhamo itself, guarding the junction of the Ta-p'ing River and the Irrawaddy, was the old fortress (mruiw) of Naghsaung-chan (Na Choñ Khyain), first mentioned in 1196 among the northern boundaries of the kingdom of Narapatisithu' (Cañsū II). So far as Upper Burma was concerned, this was not a likely time for big movements or concentrations of Shans;
nor, apart from late Chronicles and the Ahom Buranji, is there any record of them.

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

The ancient dwellers in these parts, southwest of Ta-li, were known to the Chinese, from the T'ang dynasty onwards, as the "Gold Teeth."\(^{23}\) Fan Ch'o, author of the Man-shu\(^{24}\) (863 A.D.), describes them thus: "... miscellaneous tribes of Yung-ch'ang and K'ai-nan. The Gold Teeth barbarians use carved plates of gold to cover their front teeth. When they have business and go out to interview people, they use these as an adornment. When they eat, they remove them." There is little doubt but that these Gold Teeth were the original Austric-speaking peoples, Palaung-RiangLawa, who once, before the arrival of Tibeto-Burman speakers and Shans, covered the whole north of Burma. When the proto-Burmans, on their way to Kyaukse, crossed Western Yünnan and the Northern Shan States in the 8th and early 9th centuries, they occupied, as the Man-shu\(^ {25}\) shows, much of the T'êng-yüeh/Yung-ch'ang area, between the 'Nmai Hka and the Mekong. At this time the easternmost of these Austric speakers, the Lawa, must have been pushed east towards their present centres, the hills east of the Salween. When the
Burmans passed on into the plains of Burma, a vacuum was left, into which the Pai-i tended steadily to drift. The Mongol conquest of Yünnan must have greatly increased the pressure. But the term "Gold Teeth" continued to be used for the whole area, including Lawa, now mostly to the east beyond the Salween, and Pai-i, massing on the Burma border between the Salween and the Irrawaddy.

The position is shown clearly in the geographical section of the Yü-an-shih: 26 "Comfortership of Gold Teeth and other places. Their land is south west of Ta-li. The Lan-ts'ang chiang (the Mekong) bounds it to the east. It joins on to the land of Mien (Burma) on the west. The native southern barbarians comprise altogether eight kinds, namely, the Gold Teeth, the Pai-i, the P'o, 27 the O-ch'ang, 28 the P'iao, 29 the Hsieh, 30 the Ch'ü-lo, 31 and the Pi-su.... 32 In the time of the Tuan family the Pai-i and other southern barbarians gradually returned to their former land. Thereafter the Gold Teeth and other southern barbarians slowly began to flourish. In the 4th year of Hsien Tsung of the Yüan dynasty (1254 A.D.), the pacification of Ta-li took place, and then an expedition was made against the Pai-i and other southern barbarians. At the beginning of the chung-l'ung period (1260-3 A.D.), the various chieftains of the Gold Teeth and Pai-i each sent their sons or younger brothers to Court with tribute. In the 2nd year (1261 A.D.) there was set up a Comfortership (an-fu-ssü) to control them. 33 In the 8th year of chih-yüan (1271 A.D.), the Gold Teeth and the Pai-i were divided to form the Comforters (an-fu-shih) of two Roads, the eastern and the western. 34 In the 12th year (1275 A.D.), the Western Road was changed into Chien-ning Road, and the Eastern Road into Chên-k'ang Road. 35 In the 15th year (1278 A.D.) the an-fu was changed into hsiüan-fu, and the office of the tsung-kuan (Governor) of the Six Roads was set up. In the 23rd year (1286 A.D.), the
hsüan-fu-ssu of the two Roads was abolished, and both were placed
under the hsüan-fu-ssu of Ta-li, Gold Teeth and other places.”

There follows a detailed account of the Six Roads: Jou-yüan Road,36 “south of Yung-ch’ang,” was nearest to
Ta-li and furthest to the northeast. It was largely inhabited
by P’o. Perhaps it lay south along the main road from Yung-
ch’ang to T’eng-yüeh. South of it was Chên-k’ang Road, the ori-
ginal “Eastern Road,” between the Mekong and the Salween.
It was inhabited by the “Black P’o”;37 but the main inhabitants
of the hillier parts, I imagine, then as now were Lawa.
Chên-k’ang is shown on Davies’ map of Yünnan.38 Mang-shih
Road,39 “south of Jou-yüan and west of the Salween,” is also
shown on the map, W. NW. of Chên-k’ang, between the Salween
and the Upper Shwel. Chên-hsi Road40 was “due west of Jou-
yüan, parted from it by Lu-ch’uan.” Its headquarters was
Kan-ê, modern Kan-ai, southwest of T’eng-yüeh. It contained,
as Huber has shown, the rivers A-ho (the Ta-p’ing), and A-hsi
(the Nam Ti), its southern tributary from Nan-tien. Lu-ch’uan
Road,41 he says, corresponds to the Salween valley, and P’ing-
mien Road42 to that of the Shwel. P’ing-mien contained “the
four farms of Lo-pi” and “Little Sha-mo-lung”, which Huber
rightly places in Mõng Hum State, along the northern affluent
of the Shwel, south of Nan-tien and Kan-ai. As for Lu-ch’uan,
he has reason, but I do not think he is right, in placing it in
the Salween valley (see his p. 669, n. 3). The text itself places
it “east of Mang-shih.” But the whole subsequent history of
Lu-ch’uan,43 constantly linked with P’ing-mien, and of such
paramount importance under the early Ming, points to the Upper
Shwel or Mao valley, not the Salween.44 Here was the capital
of “the Maw Shans.” Sêlan, on the Burma border 13 miles east
of Nam Hkam. The description in the Yüan-shih suggests a long
valley, with ‘head,’ ‘middle,’ and ‘tail.’ It is likely enough
that its headquarters, during its long struggle with the Ming,
was moved for safety from the upper end to the lower.
It is stated that Chên-hsi (Kan-ai), Lu-ch’uan and P’ing-mien were all peopled by Pai-i; Nan-shan,\textsuperscript{45} northwest of Chên-hsi, by Pai-i and O-ch’ang. It is not stated who the inhabitants of Mang-shih were. East of these were the P’o or P’o-i, which name may be a variant of Pai-i, and who are doubtless the Gold Teeth. Since Gold Teeth (nearest to China) was used as a name for the whole, we need to remember that it may really mean the Pai-i, especially when it refers to those who live on the Burma border.

The Pai-i hated, no doubt, their Mongol masters, who had ejected them from their ancestral homes; but unable at first to fight back, they were quick to make use of them to conquer perhaps a safer country farther south. The Mongol creed was simple: There is one Sun in Heaven, one Emperor on Earth. The Emperor Shih Tsu (Khubilai) had set his heart on conquering Southeast Asia. It was not difficult for the Pai-i to induce the Yünnan government, in 1271, to send an envoy, Kîtaï-toyin,\textsuperscript{46} to the Pagan Court, demanding submission. Shih Tsu sent him again, in 1273, with an imperial letter threatening invasion.\textsuperscript{47} In 1275, Ho T’ien-chio, the old Comforter of Chien-ning Road, made his report showing the Pai-i intrigues behind these missions.\textsuperscript{48} He had gathered information from A-kuo,\textsuperscript{49} “Chief of the Gold Teeth”: “The reason why Kîtaï-toyin was sent to Mien, was because of my father, A-pi.\textsuperscript{50} In the 9th year of chih-yüan, 3rd month (Mar. 31st-Apr. 28th, 1272), the king of Mien, hating my father, A-pi, led an army of several myriads to invade our land, captured my father, A-pi, and departed. There was nothing for it but to offer a heavy ransom to Mien, and so secure his release. From that time onward I have regarded the people of Mien-chung (Central Burma) as a mere pack of dogs.” Ho T’ien-chio adds, “At present Mien has sent A-ti-pa\textsuperscript{51} and others, nine in all, to spy out the movements
of his people. The present head of the Pai-i is a relation of A-kuo, and neighbour to Mien. He has stated that there are three routes to enter Mien: one by T'ien-pu-ma,52 one by P'iao-tien, and one by the borders of A-kuo's land. All meet at Chiang-t'ou city of Mien. Moreover, a relative of A-kuo, A-t'ı-fan,53 is in Burma, holding five tien (native districts), each of over a myriad households; he desires to submit to China. A-kuo wants first to call A-t'ı-fan and those of the Gold Teeth who have not yet yielded, and make them lead the way."

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

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

Whoever the P'u barbarians may have been (one modern Chinese scholar, at least, regards them as Pai-i), they must have been near Nan-tien; for early in 1277, Hu-tu (Qudu ?), Hsin-chü-jih, and T'o-lo-t'o-hai "were ordered by the Emperor to hasten the yet unsubdued tribes of T'eng-yüeh,
the P’u, P’iao, A-ch’ang and Gold Teeth west of Yung-ch’ang, and to station themselves at Nan-tien”. Whether or not Huber was right in regarding A-ho, the Gold Teeth governor of Kan-ai, as identical with A-kuo, it is probable that he too was a Shan.

“In the 14th year, 3rd month (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’eng-yüeh and Yung-ch’ang.... They were altogether about forty or fifty thousand men, eight hundred elephants, and ten thousand horses.” Hu-tu, Hsin-chü-jih and T’o-lo-t’o-hai, called to the rescue from Nan-tien, arrived with barely seven hundred men. After two days of fighting, “over 30 li”, capture of 17 stockades, and “pursuit north as far as a narrow mountain mouth”, and finally as far as Kan-ai, only one soldier on the Mongol side was killed by a captured elephant, not by the Burmans. The Burmese dead filled three big ditches, and many prisoners were captured. “Those who escaped, were intercepted and killed by A-ho and the A-ch’ang; so that those who got back were not many.”

Huber points out that Nan-tien, according to the Ta-ming-i-t’ung-chih before its occupation by the Mongols, was called Nan-sung or Nang-sung; and the pass leading thence towards T’eng-yüeh is still, he says, called Nang-sung kuan, i.e., frontier-gate of Nang-sung. And he proceeds to identify Nang-sung-kuan with Nga-chong-khyam, the fortress (mruiw) where the fatal battle was fought which Burmans, from that day to this, have always regarded as a national disaster. Phonetically, the identification is impossible. The “narrow mountain-mouth” to which the pursuit led, was in the direction of Kan-ai, not of T’eng-yüeh. The battle, whose description shows internal signs of gross exaggeration, was, as admitted elsewhere in Huber’s text. (p.664), merely a frontier incident. And we know, from a contemporary inscription at Pagan,
that Ṣā Choṅ Khyam mruiw was still held by the Burmans in 1278, a year after this incident.

6

What is chiefly striking about the raid is not its failure but the reckless daring of the Burmans in attempting it. They should have known, from Uriyangqatai's campaigns, what a terrible enemy they were bound to provoke. The Mongols were not slow to react. "In the 10th month (Oct. 28th–Nov. 26th, 1277), Yünnan province sent Naṣir ed-Din, Comforter and Commander-in-Chief of the various Roads of Yünnan, at the head of over 3,840 (Huber–3,800) men, consisting of Mongols, Ts'uan, P'o and Mo-so, to invade Mien. He reached Chiang-t'ou Shên-jou (?), where the chieftain Hsi-an had set up his stockade, and obtained the submission of over 300 stockades, including Mu-nai, Mu-yao, Meng T'ieh, Mu-chü, Mu-t'u, Mo-yū; the submission, also, of the native officials P'u-chê of Ch'ü-la with four thousand households; Ai Lū of Mēng Mo with a thousand households; of Mo-nai, Mēng K'uang and Li (v.i. Hei)-ta-pa-la with twenty thousand households; of the native official of Mēng Mang tien (native district), Fu-lu-pao, with ten thousand households; and of Mu (v.i. Shui)-tu-tan-t'u with 200 households. On account of the hot weather the army was withdrawn." The official report apparently reached the capital only on July 27th, 1279, stating that Naṣir ed-Din, "at the head of the Ta-li army, had reached Gold Teeth, P'u, P'iao, Ch'ü-la, and within the frontier of Mien kingdom. He had summoned 300 stockades to surrender, including Mang, Mu Chü, Mu T'u, etc., and registered 110, 200 households. The Emperor ordered the fixing of taxes and land-rents and setting up of post-stages and garrison troops. When the army returned, they offered twelve tame elephants to the Emperor."
Nāṣir ed-Din reached Chiang-t'ou, or perhaps rather (if the emendation suggested in note 64 is accepted) Na Choi Khyam just above it, near Bhamo. It does not seem likely that he took it. The other names are not easy to identify. Much of this old Shan region has been overrun by Palaungs and Kachins. The first name, Mu Nai, may be a variant for Mêng Nai or Mang Nai, the old name for the north of Mêng Mit State. The five (unnamed) tien or native districts in Burma ruled by A-ti-fan, who, two years earlier, wished to submit to the Mongols, may well be included in the list. Mêng Mo may possibly be the Man Mo of the later Ming dynasty, Old Bhamo (Myothit) on the north bank of the Ta-p'ing, 18 miles northeast of modern Bhamo at the foot of the mountains. There is still a Mo-yu village below Bhamo, near Kaungtôn, and a Mo-yu stream nearby, which flows into the Irrawaddy. But these are only guesses.

One remembers that all this region east of the Irrawaddy, Mêng Mit, the Lower Shweli and Bhamo, had been Shan rather than Burmese for several centuries. "Southwards from the Li Shui (Irrawaddy) ferry," said the Man-shu (863 A.D.), "one reaches the Chi'hsien Mountains. West of the mountains there is Shen-lung ho (river) stockade." Somewhere in the neighbourhood, "on the Mo-ling Mountains, Nan-chao has specially built a city, and stations its most trusted servants there, to control the Five Regions... and the Ten Tribes (of Northern Burma)." Looking west one observes that "the whole area is malarious. The land is as flat as a whetstone. In winter grasses and trees do not wither. The sun sets at the level of the grasses." It is difficult to place this Nan-chao fortress north of Mêng Mit. The proto-Burmans in the same century, escaping from the Nan-chao yoke, appear to have
given this region a wide berth, and crossed the Northern Shan States diagonally to Kyaukse, via Hsipaw and Lawksawk. Aniruddha, after the middle of the 11th century, made an expedition to Gandhālarāj (Nan-chao); he left his autograph Buddhist plaques at Tagaung,71 and also at Nwatélè, a deserted village72 some 15 miles southeast of Katha, in the far north of Mōng Mit. It seems probable that he held off for a while this grave Nan-chao threat to the kingdom of the Burmans. But there is no evidence of Pagan penetration much to the east of the river. Pagan architecture, with its pointed, radiating arch, is still visible in the Southern Shan States from Lawksawk southwards. It has been traced also at Lamphun and Chiang Mai; and the links between the Mons of Burma and those of Haripūnjaya must have been close throughout most of the Pagan period. But the Pagan Arch has not been reported north of the Nam Tu.

8

For his small army Nāsīr ed-Dīn had had to rely mostly on Yūnnanese levies. But both he and the Emperor realized that more troops were needed to effect the conquest of Burma. They were not available till the autumn of 1283. On September 22nd of that year73 the army, the size of which we do not know, marched from Yūnnan Fu. On November 7th74 it reached Nan-tien. Here it divided into three parts. T'ai-pu proceeded at once by the longer route via Lo-pi tien (Mōng Hūm).75 On November 22nd, Yagan-tegin76 left by the A-hsi (Nam Ti) and A-ho (Ta-p'ing) route, through Chēn-hsi (Kan-yai) with orders to build 200 boats so as to command the river at Chiang-t'ou. The Commander-in-Chief, Prince Sāngqūdār,77 followed the P'iao-tien route north of the Ta-p'ing. On December 1st78 they joined hands with T'ai-pu. On December 3rd,79 proceeding by different routes, they fought (I imagine— it is not mentioned in
the Chinese) the fatal battle of Nhà Chơn Khyaûn, On December 9th the captured Chiang-t'ou city, killing over 10,000 men in the fighting.” They “took prisoner 10,000 of its keenest soldiers.” The first report, sent with a map to the Emperor, arrived on February 5th, 1284. It says that they had sent envoys to deliver a summons to the king of Mien, but there was no reply; also that “Chien-tu, formerly controlled by Mien, had wanted to submit (to China).” Its king had now submitted. “T'ai-kung city of the Chien-tu is Mien’s nest and hole. The rebels relied on it to resist our army. We sent Buddhist monks to warn them of the consequences, good or evil, of their actions; but they were murdered. So we have advanced both by water and land, and attacked T’ai-kung city and captured it. Twelve walled towns of the Chien-tu, Gold Teeth, etc., have all submitted. General Ho-tai (Qadai?) and the wan-hu Pu-tu-man (Butman?) have been ordered to take 5,000 troops and garrison them.”

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

Pagan (Pukam) had not yet fallen, but its king had fled south to the Delta, earning his new name, Tarukpîy, the king who “fled from the Turks.” The Pagan Burmans called their invaders Taruk, presumably because (apart from local levies) Turkic tribes formed the majority in the Mongol armies. The Pagan Burmans did not yield too easily. On May 10th, 1284,
we read: "Quduq Tämür's army for the invasion of Mien encountered the rebels and was routed." Reinforcements had to be sent. On August 13th, 87 Yünnan reports: "At T'êng-yüeh, Yung-ch'ang and Lo-pi-tan, the people's minds are waverling." A year later, August 26th, 1285, 88 Yünnan reports: "This year we have not yet had time to invade Mien. We beg leave to reap the autumn grain, and then first chastise Lo-pei tien and other tribes." On October 5th, 89 it adds: "The two walled cities, Yung-ch'ang and T'êng-chung, lie between Mien kingdom and Gold Teeth. The walls are broken down and cannot be defended against an enemy. The Emperor gave orders that they should be repaired." On November 26th, 90 the expedition to Lo.pi-tan was cancelled because of revolts in northeastern Yünnan.

In this year, 1285, King Tarukpliy, stopping in the hunters' jungle "at Lha'nkla west of Prome (Prañ)," decided to submit, in order to avert a new invasion. The peace mission he sent is recorded both in Chinese 91 and in an Old Burmese inscription now at the Pagan Museum. 92 There are some discrepancies which cannot be discussed here because our subject is Shan history rather than Burmese. The Burmese version makes the leader a Buddhist monk, Syan Disàpràmuk, called in at the request of the ministers Anantapicañ and Mahàpuiv to act as secretary and spokesman. In the Chinese, the leader is the salt-mines minister, A-pi-li-hsiang (clearly, Anantapicañ), accompanied by Mang-chih'pu-suan. 93 In the 11th month (November 28th – December 26th, 1285) they reached Tagaung, where they were "stopped by the chieftain of the Pai-i of Mêng Nai tien, Tai-sai." 94 Credentials had first to be obtained from King Tarukpliy and passports from "Ni-su, native official of P'iao-tien," 95 who informed the hsüan-wei-sṳ of Ta-li, and the hsüau-fu-ssṳ of Chên-hsi, P'ing-mien and Lu-ch'uan. 96 The
Chief Comforter of Ta-li, who was about to lead a Mongol army to Chiang-t’ou, arranged a meeting en route at P’iao-tien, where negotiations took place with A-pi-li-hsiang. Syān Disūpūmuk, after spending Lent at Yacha%n(Yunnan Fu), proceeded to Taytū (Peking), which he reached at the end of the year (1286-7). He found that the Emperor had already sent a semi-military ‘expedition to Burma’ (chêng-mien), consisting of 20,000 soldiers and 70 monasteries of Buddhist monks. The latter, perhaps Tibetan Mahāyānists, were extremely reluctant to go. Khobilai had also sent, on July 18th, 1286, as imperial envoy, the Comforter of Chên-hsi, P’ing-mien and Lu-ch’uan, Ch’ieh-lieh, “the Kūruit.”

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

In the 1st month of the 24th year (January 15th-February 13th, 1287), Ch’ieh-lieh reached Mang Nai tien, escorted by 500 men provided by Chêng-mien province. News arrived that King Tarukpliy “had been seized and imprisoned by his concubine’s son, Pu-su-su-ku-li, at the place Hsi-li-ch’iehtal-a (Śrī Ksetra, Old Prome). The latter had also put to
death three sons of the queen proper, and rebelled, together with four chief ministers, Mu-lang-chou,\textsuperscript{106} etc. A-nan-ta,\textsuperscript{107} the official appointed by the Prince of Yünnan, and others also were killed. In the 2nd month (February 14th-March 15th) Ch’ieh-lieh embarked on boats from Mang Nai tien, leaving there the 500 men of his original escort. Yünnan Province asked the Emperor’s leave to advance during the autumn and punish (the rebels), but the request was refused. Yet soon afterwards, the Prince of Yünnan,\textsuperscript{108} together with the other princes, advanced and invaded as far as P'u-kan\textsuperscript{109} (Pagan), losing over 7,000 men of his army. Mien began to be pacified; and there was fixed a yearly tribute of local products.”

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

10

As soon as Khubilai completed his conquest of China, he set about conquering Southeast Asia. In Siam, as in Burma, his regular method was to send a haughty embassy which, using threats, demanded submission. His relations with Siam were twofold: in the south, by sea with Hsien\textsuperscript{111} (Sukhodaya and Lo-hu\textsuperscript{112} (Lavo, Lopburi); in the north, by land with Pa-pai-hsi-fu\textsuperscript{113} (Chiang Mai) and Ch’e-li\textsuperscript{114} (Chiang Rung and the Sip Song P’an-na). Almost all the passages in the Yüan-shih relating to the southern contacts have been collected and translated by Pelliot.\textsuperscript{115} The first contacts were
with the south; but when Ho Tzü-chih\textsuperscript{116} in 1282 was sent on an embassy to Hsien, his ship was intercepted by the Chams (then at war with Khubilai), and the ambassadors killed. Contact with Lo-hu and the “Woman’s Kingdom” began on December 4th, 1289.\textsuperscript{117} It sent interesting tribute again on November 11th, 1291.\textsuperscript{118} Hsien made contact, through Canton, on November 26th, 1292;\textsuperscript{119} the Emperor sent his orders there on June 4th, 1293.\textsuperscript{120} On July 5th, 1294 “Kan-mu-ting of Pi-ch’a-pu-li city” (P’echaburi) sent envoys to offer tribute;\textsuperscript{121} and in the following month, on August 18th, the Emperor ordered “Kan-mu-ting, king of Hsien kingdom,” to come to Court, or send hostages.\textsuperscript{122} Professor Coedès\textsuperscript{123} identifies Kan-mu-ting with the Khmer royal title \textit{kmraterəi}; and he takes these passages to show that Rāma Gamheñ, king of Sukhodai, then engaged in conquering the north of Malaya, was making his temporary headquarters at P’echaburi, south of Ratburi. In the following year (1295), we read\textsuperscript{124} that “the people of Hsien and Ma-li-yü-ër had long been quarrelling and fighting with each other. Now both submitted.” And the new Emperor, Ch’êng Tsung, ordered Hsien: “Do not injure Ma-li-yü-ër. Do not trample on your promise.” Lo-hu is cited here, as a recipient of favours, on January 23rd, 1297,\textsuperscript{125} and again with Hsien on May 2nd of the same year.\textsuperscript{126} On February 2nd, 1299, Hsien, Mo-la-yu (another variant for Malaya) and Lo-hu came to Court together, and the Crown Prince of Hsien was specially honoured.\textsuperscript{127} Su-ku-t’ai (Sukhodaya) is mentioned by name on June 15th of the same year,\textsuperscript{128} when several peoples of the southern sea came with a tribute of tigers, elephants and boats made of \textit{sha-lo} wood. One of these 1299 embassies of Hsien is described in the section on Hsen in the \textit{Yüan-shih}.\textsuperscript{129} Another embassy, from Tiao-chi-erh, Chao-wa (Java), Hsien and Chan-pa (Champa?) arrived on July 7th, 1300.\textsuperscript{130} Additional embassies from Hsien are recorded on the dates of April 4th, 1314,\textsuperscript{131} January 22nd, 1319,\textsuperscript{132} and February 6th, 1323.\textsuperscript{133}
In the north, Yünnan had had contacts overland with pre-Thai Siam and Camboja, from the 9th century, if not earlier. Whether Nan-chao was Dai itself at the time, is open to question. The evidence of the Man-shu (863 A.D.) suggests that then it was largely Lolo or Tibeto-Burman in speech. The Dai preponderance, starting perhaps from the top layers of society, may have been a post-9th century development. Passages in the Man-shu that relate to the south, between Tongking and Burma, are chiefly the following:

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

(ii Ch.6, f.4v-5r. -- "Yin-shêng city.\textsuperscript{142} It is to the south of P'u-t'an,\textsuperscript{143} 10 day-stages distant from Lung-wei city.\textsuperscript{144} To the southeast there is T'ung-têng river-valley.\textsuperscript{145} Due south it communicates with Ho-p'u river-valley.\textsuperscript{146} Again due south it communicates with Ch'iang-lang river-valley.\textsuperscript{147} But this borders the sea and is uninhabited land. To the east one reaches Sung-chiang river-valley.\textsuperscript{148} To the south one reaches Chiung-ê river-valley.\textsuperscript{149} Again to the south one reaches Lin-chi river-valley.\textsuperscript{150} Again to the southeast one reaches the Ta-yin-k'ung\textsuperscript{151} ('Great silver mine') Again to the south there are the Brahmans, Persians, Javanese, Borneans, K'un-lun\textsuperscript{152} (Mon-Khmers?), and various (other)
peoples. In the places for outside intercourse and trade, there is abundance of all sorts of precious things. Gold and musk are regarded as the most precious commodities.

"The P’u-tzü, Ch’ang-tsung\textsuperscript{153} (‘Long Chignon’), etc.—several tens of tribal Man."

"Again, K’ai-nan city\textsuperscript{154} is 11 day-stages south of Lung-wei city. It administers the tu-tu’s city of Liu-chui-ho.\textsuperscript{155}

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

\hspace{1cm} (iii) Ch.10, f.2v—K’un-lun kingdom. Due north, K’un-lun kingdom is 81 day-stages from the Hsi-érh ho of the Man borders.\textsuperscript{160} Products of the land are the dark wood perfume,\textsuperscript{161} sandalwood perfume, dark-red sandalwood perfume, areca-nut trees, glazed ware, rock-crystal, bottle-gourds, unburnt brick, etc., various perfumes and herbs, precious stones, rhinoceros, etc.

"Once the Man rebels led an army with cavalry to attack it. The (people of) K’un-lun kingdom left the road open and let them advance. Then they cut the road behind the army and connected it with the river, letting the water cover it. Whether they advanced or retreated, (the Man) were helpless. Over ten thousand died of hunger. Of those who did not die, the K’un-lun severed the right wrists and let them go home,"
(iv) Ch.10, f.3v—"Nü-wang\textsuperscript{162} kingdom (‘Where Woman rules’). It is over 30 day-stages distant from Chên-nan chieh-tu\textsuperscript{163} on the Man border. The kingdom is 10 day-stages distant from Huan-chou.\textsuperscript{164} They regularly carry on trade with the common people of Huan-chou. The Man rebels once led 20,000 men to attack the kingdom. They were shot down by (the people of) Nü-wang with poisoned arrows. Not one in ten survived. The Man rebels then retreated.

"Water Chên-la kingdom and Land Chên-la\textsuperscript{165} kingdom. These kingdoms are conterminous with Chên-nan of the Man. The Man rebels once led an army of cavalry as far as the seashore. When they saw the green waves roaring and breaking, they felt disappointed and took their army and went back home."

I do not know if the above passages of the Man-shu have already been studied by Siamese scholars; I have neither the knowledge nor the library to do so adequately myself. The following remarks are therefore merely preliminary and provisional. I take the K’un-lun kingdom of extracts ii and iii to be the Old Mon kingdom of Haripuṇjaya (Lamphun). The common mention of the dark ark aromatic wood (ch’ing-mu-hsiang) suggests that extract i may also refer to the same kingdom: if so, for the ‘south’ of the itinerary, we must understand ‘southwest.’ The rough position of Yin-shêng/Wei-yüan/K’ai-nan, 10-11 stages south of T’êng-yüeh/Yung-ch’ang/Ta-li Lake, is fairly clear. Wei-yüan is still shown on the map (lat. 23° 29’, long. 100° 55’, according to Playfair), east of the Mekong, about 150 miles southeast of Yung-ch’ang, about 140 miles east of the Kunlong Ferry on the Salween. ”The water-route descending to Mi-ch’ên kingdom,” say to Pegu, could only have been down the Salween. If Yin-shêng was really south of T’êng-yüeh, it may have been in the Nam Ting valley, say, at Mêng Ting, just east of the Salween. The two chieh-tu cities, Yin-shêng and K’ai-nan, are likely to have been far apart, the former perhaps guarding the area
between the Salween and the Mekong, the latter the area east of the Mekong. If the K'un-lun kingdom is really *Haripñjaya* (and what else could it be?), the alleged distance (from K'ai-nan? Yin-shêng?) 3 stages, is a gross underestimate; 30 stages, like the distance to Mi-ch'ên, would be much more likely. On the other hand, the 81 stages alleged distance between the kingdom and Ta-li Lake, seems rather too much; the distance (about 500 miles) is less than four times that between Wei-yüan and Yung-ch'ang, 10 stages. But progress south of the frontier may well have been a good deal slower than north of it.

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

Nü-wang kingdom, of extract iv, 10 stages (presumably west) from Ha-tinh, was probably on the middle Mekong, north of Land Chên-la, possibly at the great bend east of Vieng Chan. Conceivably (but there is a big gap in time), it was "the Woman's Kingdom" which joined Lavo in sending an embassy to Khubilai in 1289. Matriarchal regimes certainly existed, and still exist, among the older Austric-speaking peoples of Southeast Asia.167
THE EARLY SYAM IN BURMA’S HISTORY 145

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

What provoked these southern expeditions of Nan-chao, which seem to have been mostly failures except on the Burma side? Nan-chao does not seem to have needed much provoking. It was a highly militarized state.169 Every year, as soon as the harvest was in, compulsory military manoeuvres were held, which seem to have passed easily into large-scale dacoity beyond the frontiers, if only for purposes of self-support. An excuse, anyhow, was available in the fact that in 754170 a prince of Land Chên-la had joined Ho Li-kuang in his invasion of eastern Nan-chao, in support of Li Mi’s disastrous campaign against Ko-lo-fêng. But perhaps the chaotic condition of Camboja at the time was a sufficient invitation.

12

Leaping four centuries, from the T’ang to the Yuan, let us next consider the Chinese evidence on the regions south of Yünnan, as approached overland. We have already dealt (supra, p. 129) with the “Six Roads” of Gold Teeth. On April 26th, 1290,171 two new Roads were added, perhaps to the west of the Six, Mêng Lien172 and Mêng Lai.173 Mêng Lai Road was the route by which, in 1301, the defeated army of the Mongols withdrew to China from Nga Singu,174 in the north of Mandalay district. Huber places it in the Shweli valley, east of
Bhamo. *Mêng Lien* was probably in the same neighbourhood; if so, the Shweli may have been the line of division, with the Sinlunkaba hill-tracts of Bhamo on the north (*Mêng Lien?*), and the Kodaung hill-tracts of Mêng Mit on the south (*Mêng-Lai?*).

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

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

(i) May 17th, 1278.\(^{177}\) —“Yünnan Province summoned and subdued parts of Lin-an, Pai-i (*“White Clothes”*) and Ho-ni—109 towns and stockades; parts of Wei-ch’u, Gold Teeth and Lo-lo—towns and stockades, military and civil, 32,200; the T’u-lao *Man*, Kao-chou and Yün-lien *chou*—19 towns and stockades.”

(ii) August 31st, 1290.\(^{178}\) —“The chieftains of Shê-li and Pai-i (*“White Clothes”*) *tien* of Yünnan, altogether 11 *tien* (native districts), submitted to China.”

(iii) October 11th, 1292.\(^{179}\) —“The Emperor ordered Pu-tun Mang-wu-lu-mi-shih to take an army and attack Pa-pai-hsi-fu kingdom.”

(iv) January 11th, 1293.\(^{180}\) —“Yünnan Province reported that the newly submitted Gold Teeth lay just along the route of the expeditionary force sent out by Mang-wu-t’u-êrh-mi-shih, and that they could supply fodder and grain.
They recommended that the place be set up as Mu-lai Road. The Central Government petitioned that it be set up as a dependent *fu*, with Pu-po as *darugaci* (Mongol provincial governor) and the native Ma-lich employed as prefect. The Emperor set up Mu-lai military and civil *fu*.

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

(vi) February 12th, 1293. 182—“The Emperor gave orders to summon and notify the Lacquered Head and Gold Teeth southern barbarians.”

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

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

(ix) December 29th, 1296. 185—“The Emperor set up the military and civil *tsung-kuan-fu* of Ch’ê-li. The minister of Yün-nan Province said: ‘The land of Great Ch’ê-li interlocks, dogtooth-fashion, with Pa-pai-hsi-fu. At present Hu Nien of Great Ch’ê-li has already submitted; but Little Ch’ê-li, on the other hand, is occupying and blocking land facilities. They are
mostly killing and plundering each other. Hu Nien has sent his younger brother, Hu Lun, to request us specially to set up another office (ssū), to select a person well acquainted with the character and conditions of the southern barbarians, and to summon them to come and submit, and so cause their land to progress."

(x) September 21st, 1297.186—"Pa-pai-hsi-fu rebelled and raided Chê-li. The Emperor sent Yeh-hsien-pu-hua (Äsän-buqa) to lead troops to punish them."

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

Extract iii, October 11th, 1292, introduces us with a bang to Pa-pai-hsi-fu in North Siam, whose capital, Chieng Mai, according to Professor Coedès, was only built in 1296, though Mangray had chosen the site in 1292.189 If the usual ‘summoning’ had taken place previously, it is not recorded (I think) in the Yüan-shih. Here I am hampered by not having at my disposal
the anonymous Chao-pu-tsung-lu, \(^{190}\) "General Record of Summoning and Arresting" (12 folios), which appears, together with the text translated by Huber, in the History Section of the Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu of Ch'ien Hsi-tsu. All I find in my notes is that "it helps to fill in the picture of the Mongol wars with the Dai of Ta-li, Gold Teeth, Ch'ê-li and Pa-pai-hsi-fu."

Professor Coedès refers us\(^ {191}\) to a passage in his translation of the old Pali Chronicle of North Siam, the Jinakā-lamālinī of Ratanāpañña (1517), which says that in 6498/1287 A.D. "the three friends, Māmrāya (Mangray), Purchādana (Ngam Müöng, prince of Müöng Phayao on the upper Mē Ing), and Rocarāja (Phra Ruang, i.e., Rāma Gāmheng, king of Sukhodai), had a meeting in a propitious place (jayaigghatthāne), and concluded a solemn pact of friendship, after which each returned to his own country."\(^ {192}\) This was followed in 1292 by Mangra's Conquest of Haripūnjaya. The Thai at this moment were in grave peril from the north; and it is easy to guess that the three leaders' main purpose was to clear the decks before the coming battle. Rāma Gāmheng, it is true, made contact with Khubilai on November 26th, 1292;\(^ {193}\) but this, perhaps, was simply to buy time while he secured his conquests in the south. Mangray, it seems, was the leader in the resistance; and just as the three Shan brothers in Burma had to dispose of Pagan before they could face the Mongols with any hope of success, so Mangray had first to dispose of Haripūnjaya.

The first invasion of Pa-pai-hsi-fu (1292-3) was led by Māngū Türkūmish.\(^ {194}\) If he was the same man as the leader of the last invasion of Burma, eight years later (1300-1), he probably obtained some measure of success; otherwise, he would not have been sent again. To protect his communications a post was opened, early in 1293, at Mu-lai, southeast of Mōng Lem (Extract iv); and at the end of the year Mu-to Road was set up near by, northeast of Kengtung State (Extract vii). A year later, after Khubilai's death, another post was set up at Mēng Ai, further north (Extract viii). There must, it seems, have
been an almost annual invasion. Under pressure of these constant attacks, 'Great Ch'ê-li' (Chieng Rung?), submitted at the end of 1296 (Extract ix); but 'Little Ch'ê-li', said to lie to the east (across the Mekhong?), resisted. In September 1297, Pa-pai-hsi-fu invaded Ch'ê-li, and Äsän-buqa was sent to punish them. He was of the Mongol-Kâráit family, Grand Secretary of Yünnan, with the title "Senior Pillar of the Realm," etc.; the Yüan-shih contains his biography, but there is no mention in it of this campaign.

13

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

The origin of the Shan brothers is obscure.\(^{198}\) Perhaps it was somewhere in the hills east of Kyauksè. During the five years of interregnum, 1284 to 1289, they had made themselves masters of a large part of Kyauksè, “the Eleven Kharuin,” the old home and chief granary of the Burmans. When Klaw-
cwā returned to Pagan, he appears to have regained the loyalty of the other, smaller granary, "the Six Kharuin" of Minbu; but Kyauksē stood aloof, if not hostile; and Pagan, without its main source of food and wealth, was feeble. It does not seem at all likely that the Kyauksē Shans (perhaps none too numerous) were an overflow from the north. The Pai-i or Great Shans of the China border were non-Buddhist—ditthī Syaṁ, "Shan heretics", they are commonly called in later inscriptions;\textsuperscript{199} whereas the Shan rulers of Kyauksē were every bit as Buddhist as the Burmans. The northern Shans left no inscriptions: those of Kyauksē left dozens, all written in Burmese, not Shan.

Mr. Harvey says that the brothers had been brought up at King Tarukpliy's Court, had taken wives there, and been entrusted by the king with the rule of Kyauksē. I find no old authority for this. Confusion in the late Burmese Chronicles has been caused by the fact that both Saw Nit, the last king of Pagan, and Śīhasūra, youngest of the Shan brothers, styled themselves Chaṅ phū skhiṅ, "Lord of the White Elephant".\textsuperscript{200} The only certain evidence of intermarriage in the inscriptions is that the eldest brother, Asāṅkhyaṅ, in 1299, was the husband of Caw Ū, the granddaughter of Sumūlā, chief queen of Tarukpliy's father, and that he joined her (Caw Ū) in a dedication to the Shwezigōn Sumūlā's temple at Minnanthu.\textsuperscript{201} In a brick monastery west of at Pagan, there is a fragment of inscription dated 1293,\textsuperscript{202} setup by Śiri Asāṅkhyā, who, with his younger brothers Rāja and Śīhasu, were generals and equals of the Pagan king and who had defeated the Taruk army. He, or they, still claimed to rule from Na Choṅ (Tiwā in the north, to Tauiñsaře and Tawai (Tenasserim and Tavoy) in the south, from Majjhāgiri (the Fish Mountains, Arakan Yoma) in the west, to the Sanlwaṅ (Salween) in the east. There is nothing here, linking the Shan brothers with Pagan, that antedates the return of Klawcwā. No doubt Asāṅkhayā, and probably Rājasāṅkrain,\textsuperscript{203} for long temporized with him, and sought to rule the country
through him, till his subservience to the Mongols drove many of the Burmans into a 'resistance movement,' in which Sīhasūra, the youngest and strongest of the trio, early took the lead.

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

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