

THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE OLD THAI OR SHAN EMPIRE OF WESTERN YÜNNAN.

A hundred years previous to the Christian era, the Chinese Han Emperor Wu Ti sent an expedition to Tien(1) (a name by which Yünnan is still known in the literary style). We may presume that the King of Tien was a Shan, as he had his capital at Peh-ngai,(2) which was an important Shan centre 800 years later. He became an ally of the Chinese, and joined them in suppressing the K'un-ming(3) tribe, — K'un-ming being still the name of a lake near Yünnan Fu.

In the various Burmese accounts of their own missions to China, it will be noticed that the Chinese Emperor is always unaccountably called an *Udi*. This is probably *Wu Ti*, or *Imperator Martialis*, that Emperor having left a name in China as *Reichsmehrer* not inferior to that of Cæsar in Europe.

The most ancient name by which the Shans were known to the Chinese was that of *Ai-lao*, the second syllable representing the name of the mountain or mountains upon or in which the progenitors of the race had dwelt. There can be very little

doubt that the same syllable is etymologically the same word as Lao, or the Laos tribes; for the Annamese still call the Laos tribes and kingdoms on their western frontier by the ancient name of Ai-lao.

It is unnecessary to go into the mythical history of the Ai-laos, as represented by them to the Chinese of 1,900 years ago. What is certain is that about A.D. 50, the Ai-lao King Hien-lib,(4) whilst engaged in warlike operations against another barbarous tribe, trespassed upon Chinese territory. The result was that he and his horde, numbering something under 18,000 persons, got the worst of it and became tributary to China. After this, numerous other kinglets of kindred tribes submitted, with a total of over half a million of inhabitants, and the Ai-laos were grouped together under the prefecture of Yung-ch'ang. From that day to this a dozen or so of Shan *t'u-sz*,(5) or *sawbwas* as the Burmese call them, have remained under the direction of the same prefecture or of its sub-prefecture T'êng-yüeh [Momein].(6)

The earliest Chinese descriptions say that

- (1) 滇.
- (2) 白崖.
- (3) 昆明.

- (4) 賢栗.
- (5) 土司.
- (6) 騰越.

the Ai-laos used to pierce their noses and distend their ears, the higher the rank the greater the distension, in some cases bringing the ear down to the shoulder. I have never heard of nose-piercing among the modern Shans, but the distension of the ear is still practised upon a moderate scale. One of the Assistant Commissioners in Burma tells me that he has seen it at Mogouk. Besides that, most Shans, and many Burmese, are in the habit of carrying good-sized tubes in the lobe of the ear, no doubt an alternated form of the old distension. Quite recently I discovered that the so-called *Loi* tribes (at least those on the north-west coast) of Hainan Island, South China, spoke a language allied to the Shan. It is therefore especially interesting to be able to record that the word *Tan-êrh* or 'ear-distenders' was, and is still in part, the name of one of the Hainan districts. I also find that the Muongs of Tonquin, vocabularies of whose languages have been collected by my learned friend M. Dumoutier, Inspector of Education, Tonquin, speak Shan dialects; and, finally, in confirmation of this, I may mention that the Muong chieftain Diêu Van-tri,(7) now in close alliance with the French, informed me a year ago that the Siamese, the Laos of Luang Prabang, the Ch'ê-li of Sib-song Panna,(8) and the Muongs of Tonquin all spoke different forms of one language. He also informed me quite recently that one of his friends, M. Taupin, who has travelled a whole year in Laos, reports having come across natives who spoke of the emigration to Hainan of a great part of the Laotians whom they called *Li*. This is most important evidence, for the *Li* and the *Loi* are of course one and the same. A painstaking Burmese-Shan

scholar in Bhamo has looked over and annotated my comparative vocabulary of Hainan and Siamese words. Father Wallys of Penang has also just sent to me a list of Shan words taken from the To-jên tribes of Kwang Si in China. From these notes it is evident that the Kwang Si and Burmese Shans must be included in one whole with those just enumerated. We have therefore living philological evidence confirmatory of the historical facts I am about to enumerate, all tending to show that the Shan race is at the present moment, and always within the memory of history was, of Indo-Chinese races one of the very first order in point of extent. It must number about twenty millions now.

One of the first Chinese governors of Yung-ch'ang entered into a treaty with the Ai-laos, under which each poll of the population had to pay two garments (with a hole in for the head to go through) and a measure of salt as tribute. Later governors were less successful, and frontier wars with China broke out from time to time. There seems some reason to suspect that, at this period, the Burmese or Pyu (as distinguished from the Talaings or Mount of Pegu), were more or less under the predominant influence of the Shans, or, at all events, in some way mixed up with them, for it is mentioned in Chinese accounts of the Ai-lao that Yung Yu,(9) King of the T'an,(10) sent tribute to China in A.D. 97, and received an official seal. Now Alompra alluded to this fact when he announced his conquest to China nearly 1,700 years later, claiming Yung Yu as his ancestor, and, as we shall shortly see, another of the Yung or Aung family of Burmans was known to the Chinese T'ang dynasty seven centuries later; so that the continuity of Shan-Burmese history receives further confirmation from the genealogical point of view. At

(7) 刁文持

(8) 車里. The other words are Siamese, meaning 'Twelve Counties,' but the Chinese mistaking the word *song* usually write 十三板納.

(9) 雍由

(10) 揮

the same time there is ground for suspecting that Alompra's letter was apocryphal, or at least concocted for him by some meddlesome Chinese. I cannot account for the word *T'an* or *Dan* as applied to the Burmese: that is a question for local archæologists. I rather suspect that the Chinese are confusing a State which sent tribute through Burma with Burma itself.

It is perfectly clear from Chinese history that adventurers from India founded kingdoms in Java, Malasia, Cambodia, and Ciampa, and it is also clear that envoys or merchants from Alexandria or some other Roman port visited China in A.D. 166. These envoys reached China by way of Ciampa, then known as Jih-nan,—more anciently known as Yüeh-shang. This accounts for a mistake which one of the Chinese histories makes in identifying Mientien(11) (a quite modern name for Burma) with Yüeh-shang.(12) The Roman emissaries called their country Ta-ts'in, and Ta-ts'in conjurers went to China with Yung Yu's envoys, previous to the visit of Ta-ts'in envoys to China *via* Jih-nan. Hence, probably the confusion. The envoys most probably landed at Mergui or somewhere else in the Talaing kingdom of Burma, which was therefore held to be a part of Yüeh-shang. Having only last year visited the ancient kingdom of Ciampa, [Tourane, Hué, &c.], I can perhaps presume to speak with some slight show of authority on this point. We may therefore assume that, during the first century of our era, there was a trade route from the mouths of either the Sittang or the Irrawaddy, *via* modern Mandalay and Xieng-hung, to Vinh on the coast of Annam, or possibly *via* Tennasses and Cambodia to Ciampa. M. Pavie, the distinguished traveller, has quite recently re-discovered the Vinh trade route, which seems to have been as likely as

not that taken by the envoys of Marcus Aurelius.

China was shortly afterwards (A.D. 220) split up into three empires, one of which was Sien-pi Tartar (a Tungusic dynasty akin to the modern Manchus). Accordingly the Ai-lao drop out of sight for some centuries, until, at last, the powerful Chinese dynasty of T'ang consolidates the empire into one cohesive whole again. But the celebrated Chu-koh Liang, a General serving one of these three empires,(13) which was practically the modern Sz-ch'wan, did a great deal of solid work in Yünnan. When I entered the first gorge of Sz-ch'wan, ten years ago, I found that stories about Chu-koh Liang were repeated as if he had only lived a hundred years ago. If my memory does not fail me, a town not far from Momein was, and perhaps is, known to tradition as the city of Chu-koh Liang. He died in A.D. 232, and the 'invasion of the Chinese,' under the third king of the old Pagan dynasty, mentioned by Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes, doubtlessly refers to him. For 400 years after this there is a complete blank. The Ai-lao have now (A.D. 650) become the Nan-chao. The explanation is as coherent as it is simple. "In the barbarian tongue 'prince' is *chao*," says the Chinese author; and there were six *chao*, of which the *nan* or southern was the leading power. Hence the name Nan-chao; and we are distinctly told that the Nan-chao were the Ai-lao of old. It is hardly necessary for me to say that *chao* or *kyiao* is still the Shan-Siamese word for 'prince.' Moreover, the six *chao* were enumerated as early as A.D. 70, when the Kings all styled themselves Ai-lao. Even then the *chao* of Mêng-shê,(14) from which the Nan-chao Kings descended, was the most powerful. Prince Hassan, son of the unfortunate Sultan Tu Wên-siu, informs

(11) 緬甸.

(12) 越裳.

(13) 蜀.

(14) 蒙舍.

me that the Nan-chao were the *p'u-tsz* (as he calls them) or *peh-tsz*, (14a) and not the Shans or *pai-i* (14b); but, though this tribe may have been predominant, it must have been a Shan or Thai tribe, for the general evidence to that effect is overwhelming.

The Nan-chao Empire was extensive. It reached to Magadha on the west, from which fact we may assume that both Burma and Shan-land had direct relations by land with India. Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes, indeed, suggests this in his *Legendary History of Burma*, on the authority of Hindoo traditions, but only to reject the idea for want of better evidence. Colonel Phayre however supports it, and the plates of Pegu ruins exhibited in Colonel Yule's *Mission to Ava* shew that the temples of Anawrat'â were inspired by architects from India and Cambodia. Indeed during the 12th century, Cambodia and Arramana or Pegu were under the same ruler who was defeated in battle by a Singalese King. Nan-chao touched the Tibetan Kingdom on the north-west, and this fact supports the contention that the Burmese people and language are historically connected with Tibet. South was the Female Prince State—a term then applied to Cambodia, whose queen married an Indian adventurer. South-east were the Annamese, then called *Kiao-chi* or 'sprawling toes,' who had at that time not extended further south than Tonquin. Finally, to the south-west were the *P'iau* (Cantonese *piu*),—the Pyoo of Captain Forbes (*i. e.* the Burmans). There were two metropolitan towns in Nan-chao, one at or near the modern Ta-li Fu, and the other not far from the modern Yung ch'ang Fu.

The Nan-chao Empire seems to have been highly organized. There were ministers of State, censors or examiners, generals, record officers, chamberlains, judges, treasurers, ædiles, ministers of commerce, &c., and the native word for each department is given as

shwang. It is for Shan scholars to exercise their wits upon this word. Minor officers managed the granaries, stables, taxes, &c., and the military organization was by tens, centurions, chiliarchs, deca-chiliarchs, and so on. Military service was compulsory for all able-bodied men, who drew lots for each levy. Each soldier was supplied with a leather coat and pair of trowsers. There were four distinct army corps or divisions, each having its own standard. The King's body-guard were called *chu-nu katsa*, and we are told that *katsa* or *katsii* meant 'leather belt,'—perhaps the Siamese *khat-ou* or the Burmese *khatsi*. The men wore *chuti* helmets and carried shields of rhinoceros hide. The centurions were called *lo-tsa-tsz*. All these words are deserving of the attention of Shan scholars. Land was apportioned out to each family according to rank: superior officials received forty *shwang* or acres (the tone of this word being unlike the tone of the first-mentioned word *shwang*). Some of the best cavalry soldiers were of the Wang-tsa tribe, west of the Mekong,—possibly the modern Wa. (15) The women of this tribe fought too, and the helmets of the Wang-tsa were studded with cowries. There were six metropolitan departments and six provincial Viceroys in Nan-chao. The barbarian word for 'department' was *Kien*,—undoubtedly the *Keng* of modern Keng-ma, and the *Kiang* of the modern Kiang-tung. The *King* of Ching-mai, Tzim-me, or Zimme is perhaps the same word locally pronounced. Sometimes it is written *Ts'ing*.

It is unnecessary to enumerate all the Nan-chao departments, but it is interesting to note:—Peh-ngai, once the capital of the King of Tien; Yünnan; Mông-shê, the ancient seat of the Mông family of Nan-chao rulers; Ta-li; and Tai-ho (Ta-li Fu).

The people were acquainted with the arts of weaving cotton and rearing silkworms; in some parts—the west—of the country,

(14a) 夔子.

(14b) 百夷 或 白夷 或 擺夷.

(15) 狇.

there was, as there is now, considerable malaria, and the salt wells of K'un-ming or modern Yünnan Fu were free to the people. West of Yung-ch'ang a mulberry grew, the wood of which was suitable for making bows, and gold was found in many parts, both in the sands and in the mountains. West of modern Momein the race of horses was particularly good.

When the King sallied forth, eight white-scalloped standards of greyish purple were carried before him, two feather fans, a chowry, an ax, and a parasol of kingfishers' feathers having a red bag. The queen-mother's standards were scalloped with brown instead of white. She was called *sin-mo* (? Burmese *sheng-ma*) *kin-mo*, and the queen wife was called *tsin-wu*.

As a special mark of honour, the chief dignitaries wore a *kimpolo* or tigerskin,—an article still worn by the northern Burmese in winter. The women's hair was gathered into two locks and plaited into a chignon: their ears were ornamented then as now with pearls, green-stone, and amber. Female morals were easy previous to marriage: death was the penalty for adultery. If I am not mistaken, the same thing may now be said of some of the Shan States, according to recent reports on Burmese Shan affairs.

One peculiar article of food called *ngo k'üeh* is mentioned. This was fish, hashed up with gherkins, pepper, and ginger. The first syllable suggests the word *ngo* and *k'üeh* may be a misprint for a very similar character *pi'h*. (16) the Burmese *njapi*. But too much must not be made of trifling coincidences.

It took three Nan-chao men to drive an ox-plough: one led it, another drove it, and the third poked up the animal; all ranks, even the nobles, engaged in this leisurely agricultural work. There were no *co vées*, but each man paid a tax of two measures of rice a year.

The Royal family of Mêng (probably same word etymologically as the Burmese *Maing* and the Siamese *Moung*) kept up a peculiar succession of names. The record is complete after about A.D. 600. Thus we have as kings:—

1. She-lung.
2. Ka-tuh-mang.
3. Tuh-lo (*alias* Sinulo).
4. Lo-shêng-yen.
5. Yen-koh
6. Shêng-lo-p'i
7. Koh-lo-fêng, adopted by 5.
8. P'i-lo-koh, son of 6, nephew of 5.

It is unnecessary to encumber this paper with the Chinese characters for their names. It will be noticed that, as a rule, each son takes as the first syllable of his own name the last of his father's. In the case of adopted sons and nephews, the complication is greater. The names of modern Shan *tsawbuas* exhibit somewhat of the same peculiarity, and though the system of nomenclature is different, the same idea of hereditary syllables seems to exist. Towards the middle of the 8th century King Koh-lo-fêng made T'ai-ho his residence. *T'ai-ho* means 'great peace' in Chinese, and it is explained that the Shan word for 'peace' is *shan-po t'o*, and that this name was adopted after a successful war. This King received a title from China, and succeeded to his father's throne in A.D. 748. A war with China now took place, owing to the imprudent behaviour of a neighbouring Chinese governor: the result was that Koh-lo-fêng styled his kingdom the Great Mêng Empire, and threw in his lot with the Tibetans, who conferred upon him a seal and the title of *btsanpo-chung* or 'younger brother Gialbo,' *i.e.*, ruler equal to the ruler of Tibet, but ranking slightly after him. The same distinction of 'elder and younger brother' was afterwards adopted between China and Burma. China was in difficulties with the Turks at this periode and Koh-lo-fêng took advantage of the opportunity to annex parts of the Chinese Empire, besides the land of the P'iau (Pyu,

or northern Burma) and that of the Sün-chwan. These last would seem to be an Assamese tribe, for polyandry existed among the people to the west of them, who lived in cage-like houses, scattered about without any central authority, clothed themselves with bark, and practised no agriculture. It must be mentioned that when Koh-lo-fêng threw off his Chinese connection, he had engraved a marble slab setting forth the reasons which drove him to revolt. This stone, which must be a priceless relic of antiquity, is said by M. Emile Rocher, the author of the History of Yünnan, to be still in existence in the suburbs of Ta-li Fu, and a rubbing of it is now being sent to me *via* Shanghai through the good offices of the China Inland Mission.

Koh-lo-fêng's son Fêng-k'a-i died before his father, who was succeeded by his grandson I-mou-sün, son of Fêng-k'a-i, by a mother belonging to the Tuh-kin tribe of savages. He was a man of some education notwithstanding. The Shans and Tibetans now made organized attacks upon China, the object of the latter being to kidnap Chinese artisans and take them to Lo-so (? Lhasa). I-mou-sün, however, found his new protectors or allies, the Tibetans, very irksome taskmasters. They established garrisons at all important points, levied men to fight their wars, and taxed the country very heavily. Having been defeated by the Chinese, I-mou-sün built a wall round Tsüme(17) city. Dr. Bushell of Peking, in his account of the Tibetans, read before the Royal Geographical Society, thinks this city was near Ta-li Fu. I-mou-sün had in his employ a Chinese prisoner who seems to have acted for him as educational minister. This man used all his influence to induce I-mou-sün to abandon the Tibetans and throw himself once more in the arms of China. At that time China had as Proconsul in the south-west a man named Wei Kao,(18)

whose name is very well known in Chinese history and tradition: his nephew was *hoppo*, or Comptroller of Foreign Customs, at Canton. Wei Kao's seat was at Ch'êng-tu, the capital of modern Sz-ch'wan province, and he was not long in opening clandestine communications with the Shan King. The Tibetans, meanwhile, had their suspicions, and detained certain of the Shan grandees as hostages. I-mou-sün sent a piteous letter to Wei Kao, setting forth the bullying conduct of the Tibetan *lun* (Tibetan *Blon*) or Governors, and explaining how it was that his ancestor was almost forced by Chinese oppression to abandon China. He wound up his letter by suggesting that the Ouighour Turks should be directed to join him and China in an expedition against Tibet.

At that time the Ouighours, through whom the modern Mongols and Manchus derived their letters, were in occupation of parts of modern Kan Suh Province, with their capital at modern Urumtsi, where they had for a considerable length of time been under the influence of the Nestorian-Syrians. A well-known Syriac stone still exists at Si-an Fu in Shen Si Province, and Ouighour letters are, I believe, merely a form of Syriac.

The result of all this was a treaty, four copies of which were drawn up at the modern Ta-li Fu; one copy was sent to the Chinese Emperor; one placed in the private royal temple; one in the public stone temple; and one sunk in the river. I-mou-sün then proceeded to massacre all the Tibetan emissaries in his dominions. A tremendous battle took place at the Iron Bridge (probably one of the suspension bridges in West Yünnan) in April 794, when I-mou-sün defeated the Tibetans with great slaughter. For this he received from the Emperor a gold seal, duly dated, as King of Nan-chao. The Chinese envoy was received at the capital (Γ'ai-ho or Ta-li Fu) with great pomp. Soldiers lined the roads, and the horses' harness was ablaze

(17) 苴咩.

(18) 韋臯.

with gold and cowries. I-mou-sün wore a coat of gold mail and tiger skin, and had twelve elephants drawn up in front of him: he *kotowed* to the ground, facing north, and swore everlasting fealty to China.

Then followed a great banquet, at which some Turkish women presented by a former Emperor sang songs: their hair was quite white, as they were the only two ancient survivors of a once large musical troop. Amongst the presents which I-mou-sün sent to the Emperor were some magnificently tempered steel swords. I believe the Shans [Ch'è-li] of Kiang Tung are still expert at this work.

I-mou-sün now entered upon a career of conquest, and, besides welding the six Shan principalities into one, annexed a number of neighbouring tribes. Some (probably Burmese) lived in raised houses; others varnished or gilded their teeth (*cf.* the Mongol province of Gold Teeth 400 years later). These last wore dark-coloured short cloth trousers, and wound a piece of stuff round the waist, allowing the end to hang out behind as an ornament. The women wore gay cottons. I-mou-sün sent his sons to China to be educated, and kept up a regular understanding with the Proconsul-Viceroy Wei Kao, with a view to breaking the Tibetan power. The Tibetans were defeated once more, and amongst the prisoners taken were a number of Abbasside Arabs and Turkomans from Samarkand. It may be here mentioned that a Korean General in Chinese employ had about this time carried the Chinese arms into Balti and Cashmere, and that the Abbasside caliphs had regular relations with China. The Tibetan strategy seems to have aimed at the possession of what is known as the Kien-ch'ang valley in Sz-ch'wan, to the west of the Yangtze, impassable alike to the east or to the west, their object being of course to cut Nan-chao off from communication with China. It seems, too, that for some considerable time the Tibetans had possession of the

modern Yün-nan Fu. Amid these exciting events I-mou-sün died in A.D. 808.

I-mou-sün's son Sün-koh-k'üan, otherwise called Mêng Ts'ou, styled himself *P'iau-sin*, meaning (we are told) in the barbarian tongue 'sovereign prince.' Both these words have a Burmese ring, and the second certainly suggests *Pyoosheng* or 'King of the Burmese.' As we have seen, the Pyoo had been conquered sixty years before. This monarch reigned but one year, and was succeeded by his son K'üan-lung-shêng, a dissolute individual, who was soon murdered by one of his generals, and was, in turn, succeeded by his brother K'üan-li. K'üan-li was succeeded by his brother Fêng Yu, who out of modesty declined to take a syllable from his father's name. Meanwhile the general who had murdered K'üan-lung-shêng carried the Shan arms right up to the Viceregal capital, and kidnapped a large number of Chinese boys, girls, and skilled artisans. This enterprising act 'placed Nan-chao on a par with China in mastery of art, literature, and weaving.' Fêng Yu seems to have assisted Annam, which was then in revolt against Chinese extortion and tyranny. On this subject M. Dumoutier has some valuable notes.

In 859 the direct line of the ruling family seems to have become partially extinct, for we find a Shan grandee (*tanch oh*) named Ts'iu-lung succeeding to the throne. Possibly, however, the word meant 'heir-apparent,' as he is afterwards spoken of as I-mou-sün's grandson. Taking offence at the omission by China of certain diplomatic courtesies, this man declared himself Emperor of the Ta-li kingdom, which name now first appears as the name of a State. Ts'iu-lung advanced far into China, and, also marching east, occupied the capital of Annam (Tonquin), then the seat of a Chinese Viceroy.

The Chinese now despatched a very able General Kao P'ien(18a) to the south. By

the year 866 this officer had re-conquered Annam, and it was only in July 1891 that in company with M. Dumoutier I visited the ruins of his capital a few miles outside of Hanoi, where he seems to have later on established himself as an independent ruler. He subsequently became mad, and was last seen attempting to soar from a lofty tower up to heaven upon a stone phoenix. Severe fighting went on in the modern province of Sz-ch'wan, and in the siege of Ch'êng-tu, the Viceregal capital, Ts'iu-lung seems to have displayed considerable engineering talent. He still kept up the title of *p'iao-sin*, and, in giving audience to Chinese truce-flag bearers, affected the state of an Emperor. He behaved to his prisoners with great barbarity, and it is stated that, after the re-conquest of Sz-ch'wan by China, eighty per cent. of the inhabitants of certain towns were found with artificial noses and ears made of wood. Kao P'ien was now transferred from Annam to Sz-ch'wan, and very soon brought Ts'iu-lung in a double sense to his knees. Ts'iu-lung had always declined to kneel before Chinese envoys, so Kao P'ien, aware of the reverence of the Shans for Buddhist priests, sent one of them to the King as his envoy. This device succeeded: the King did obeisance, a treaty was drawn up, and noble hostages were sent to Ch'êng-tu. Kao P'ien proceeded to ally himself with the Shans' old enemies, the Tibetans, and Ts'iu-lung, thus out-generalled alike in diplomacy and war, died in 874 of a carbuncle brought on by excessive mental worry.

His son Fah, or Méng-fah, now ascended the throne, affecting, also as Emperor, an unusual pomp and style. Kao P'ien's recommendation that a conciliatory or diplomatic policy should be kept up was disapproved, and he was in consequence transferred to another post. The Nan-chao people, finding China proper too strong, again attacked Annam, and at last Kao P'ien, who from his exile kept persistently advocating his own pacific policy, was

listened to. At his recommendation a princess of the blood was to be sent to Fah, and the three Nan-chao envoys at the Chinese Court, the ablest men in the State, who had gone to negotiate the matter, were treacherously poisoned at Kao P'ien's suggestion. Fah, being thus deprived of his chief stays, found himself too weak to insist upon fulfilment of the treaty; he never got the girl, who was always starting, but never came. He was succeeded in 835 by his son Shun-hwa, whose friendly advances were uniformly ignored by the Chinese Viceroy.

China meanwhile became a prey to civil war, and relations with Nan-chao entirely ceased. In any case, Shun-hwa had no sons, and, in 889, the family of Méng which, beginning in Méng-shê, had ruled for 800 years or more, was extinct.

Fah had been assassinated by one of his ministers, who established an ephemeral dynasty of his own over what he called the Great Ch'ang-ho State. Anarchy followed, and another ephemeral dynasty ruling the Great T'ien-hing State was established through Chinese intrigues. Then the king-maker himself set up as ruler of the Great I-ning State; until finally a Chinese satrap from Yünnan, named Twan Sz-p'ing,⁽¹⁹⁾ established himself firmly in A.D. 936 as independent King of Ta-li, with capital at Yang-tsi-me city. Probably the Twans were a Shan family, for the first four all had the syllable *Sz* in their names, whilst the next six all had the syllable *Su*.⁽²⁰⁾ It was the first Emperor of the Sung dynasty who, in the middle of the tenth century, as I have mentioned in another paper, 'drew a line,' beyond which he was determined to have no concern. The statement made by the Burmese that King Anawrat'á marched an army into Yünnan in order to obtain a holy tooth must have reference to the independent Kings of Ta-li

(19) 段思平.

(20) 素

Fu, who, probably enough, dubbed themselves Emperors in their correspondence with outer nations. At this time Sz-ch'wan was a strong Buddhist stronghold. During the eleventh century the Twans nearly lost their country, which for a time was called the Great Central Kingdom, and then the After Li Kingdom. In A.D. 1115 embassies with China were exchanged, and the Emperor conferred upon Twan Chêng-yen(21) the title of King of Ta-li State. This is the beginning of the *tributary* State of Ta-li. It must be mentioned, however, that China was again divided into two empires. First the Kitans, and then the Nüchêns (ancestors of the Manchus) ruled in the north, whilst the Sung, with capital at Hangchow, ruled south of the Yangtze. Hence we find that the Russians still call the Chinese *Kitai*, it being with the Kitan dynasty that they first had relations. Marco Polo's *Manzi* is the southern Empire of the Sung, it being still the custom for Northern Chinese to apply the term Man-tsz, or 'barbarians,' to the southern. This epithet no doubt dates from the time when the Shans, Annamese, Miao-tsz, &c., occupied nearly all South China, for it is essentially to the Indo-Chinese that the term Man-tsz belongs.

So things went on until A.D. 1236, when Twan Siang-hing(22) heard that the Mongols, who had now absorbed the Kitans, Nüchêns, and part of China, were threatening war. Ta-li was only one of the numerous principalities into which Yünnan was divided, and Prince Kublai himself was despatched by the Mongol Emperor Mangu Khan to reduce them. The two chief ministers of Ta-li were unwise enough to murder Kublai's envoys: the element conqueror, however, spared the town, whilst executing the murderers. Kublai created Liu Shi-chung,(23) another of the King's

ministers, *siian-fu-shü*, or 'pacificator,' charged with the duty of aiding the King in his government. This seems to be the origin of the kindred appellations now bestowed upon the Shan *sawbwas*. On Kublai's accession to the throne, the aged King Twan Hing-chi(24) went to congratulate him, but died *en route*. He was succeeded by his son Twan Sin-cha-jih(25) but Kublai only made him Governor instead of King. For other services he was subsequently made General, and then *siian-fu-shü*. It is a significant tribute to the trustworthiness and accuracy of the Chinese literature that we find as corroboration the following passage in the Annals of Momein:—'In the year 1271 the General of Ta-li was sent on a mission to procure the submission of the Burmese, and managed to bring a Burmese envoy named Kiai-poh back with him. Four years later Fu A-pih, Chief of the Golden Teeth, was utilised as a guide, which so angered the Burmese that they detained Fu A-pih and attacked Golden Teeth: but he managed to bribe himself free. A-ho, Governor of the Golden Teeth, was now sent as a spy, which caused the Burmese to advance to the attack once more, but they were driven back by Twan Sin-cha-jih. These events led to the Burmese war,'—which lasted till 1301. Twan Sin-cha-jih was succeeded as Governor by his son Twan K'ing, and then by his grandson Twan Lung. In 1298 Kublai's son, the Prince of Liang, was Viceroy of Yünnan, and various passages of arms took place between him and the Twans, whom the Mongols never thoroughly subdued. In 1367 the Prince of Liang—apparently another man,—named Timur Bukha, was at war with Ta-li, and though the Mongols generally were now driven out of China by the Mings, Timur Bukha seems to have esta-

(21) 正嚴.

(22) 詳興.

(23) 劉時中.

(24) 智.

(25) 信苴日.

blished himself for some time as an independent satrap. In 1381 a large Ming army under Muhying(26) effected the conquest of Yünnan, but it was decided to leave the native chiefs to govern the people.

This brings us to the period whence the history of the border *sawbwas* begins. Even now, the southern portions of Yünnan are, as above stated, in part administered by Shan *sawbwas*, or by Chinese adventurers, who have become Shans in character. As the Chinese find they can absorb this or that *sawwaship*, it falls under direct Chinese rule, and the centre of Shan power is slowly but surely driven south. As Captain Forbes very judiciously suggests:—'Previously to the destruction of the Pegu monarchy in A.D. 1284, the Tai race, of which the Shans form a branch, had been gradually forced out of their original seat in Yünnan by the advance of the Chinese power under the great Emperor Kublai

Khan. It was about this time that a portion of the race formed the kingdom of Siam.' Bishop Pallegoix puts it half a century or more later. It was also about this time that the Shans got possession of Burma and Pegu for a time.

In speaking five years ago to a Siamese of high rank at Bangkok, I found that they were totally ignorant of the history of the Shan Empire. Doubtless the Siamese migrated or were driven south when the Shan Empire broke up. In South Burma the Siamese are simply called 'Shans'; in north Burma 'Shans of Ayuthia.' The Chinese too are ignorant that the Nan-chao were Shans.

I should perhaps mention that the above paper is but a *précis*, corrected after residence in Burma, of my paper on the *Early Laos*, published in the *China Review* two years ago.

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(26) 沐英.

THE HISTORY OF HONGKONG,

BY E. J. EITEL, PH.D.

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CHAPTER XI.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF CAPTAIN ELLIOT. 26 January to 10 August, 1841.

Having, in the preceding chapter, given an outline of the political events connected with the cession of Hongkong to the British Crown, we now take up the thread of its internal history.

On the very day when the Treaty of Chuenpi was concluded (20 January, 1841) Captain Elliot issued a Circular at Macao, addressed to Her Britannic Majesty's subjects, informing them that the Island and Harbour of Hongkong had been ceded to the British Crown. The news of the cession of Hongkong was conveyed to England by

the steamship *Enterprise* which left China on 23 January, 1841. Captain Elliot explained in his circular of 20 January, 1841, that Her Majesty's Government had sought for no privilege in China for the exclusive advantage of British ships and merchants, and that he therefore only performed his duty in offering the protection of the British flag to the subjects, citizens and ships of foreign Powers that might resort to Her Majesty's Possession at Hongkong. A general invitation was thus given to all the merchants of other countries to utilize the proposed new British trade station for commercial purposes. At the same time, Captain Elliot expressly stated that all just