The Tai are believed to have migrated to Burma from the sixth century B.C., or probably from an earlier date, from the region of South-west China. The ancient Chronicles of the Shans and the Burmese contain succinct accounts of early Tai settlements in what is now called the Shan States of Burma. The Tai communities, at that early time, penetrated along the tributaries of the Irrawaddy into the plains of Upper Burma as peaceful immigrants in search of safe and fertile areas to settle down; but, at times, they also came in great strength as raiding hordes from a central consolidated position somewhere in Yun-nan and, where possible, founded their principalities by subjugating the local tribes.

The first remarkable development of Tai power, that of the Mao-Shans, in the valley of the Mekong and Upper Burma, took place in the sixth century A.D. under the leadership of two Tai Princes named Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai. They annexed vast tracts of territory in Upper Burma driving out the ancient ruling dynasty of Indian origin to the west and subjugating the local tribes. It was followed in the eighth and the thirteenth centuries respectively by a regular expansion of the Tai dominions in Burma and Assam. Thus the steadily growing pressure of the Tai from the north-east of Burma gradually drove, in successive periods, the Pyu, the Burmans, the Kachins and other tribes, inhabiting or ruling in that
part of the country, to the south and the west. It may also
be noted, if the legendary accounts of the early times now
available in fragments, can be relied upon in any degree,
that the rich valley of the Irrawaddy was also a meeting ground
of invading forces from both India and China in the first
millennium B.C.; but, in the later period the danger from
India ceased, almost the whole of northern and eastern Burma
having come under the rule of the Tai. On the other hand, being
dislodged from the north, the Burmans successively consolidated
themselves in the central and southern parts of the Irrawaddy
and the Sittang valleys, while the Mons ruled farther south
in the region of Lower Burma called Raman'vadesa.

Though in the old records of the Burmese there are
references to the irruptions and movements of peoples, said
to be Tai, from Yun-nan into Burma, they are too insufficient
and fragmentary to be used for the construction of a well-
knit history. Of such movements the one noted by Dr. Cushing
is of immense political importance. He points out that the
sixth century of the Christian era saw a great wave of Tai
migration descending from the mountains of southern Yun-nan
into the Nam-Mao (the Shweli river) valley and the adjacent
regions. Compared with the earlier ones the strength of the
migration wave of this century was such that it converted
almost the whole of the Shweli valley down to the Irrawaddy
into a consolidated seat of Tai political power for the first
time in the history of Burma. It was from this area that the
Tai spread out to the north, west and south-east. Thus not
only the Shweli valley itself but the whole expanse of territory between the Mekong and the Irrawaddy covering the present Shan States of Burma came under the control of the branch of the Tai called Mao-Shan. Thus there arose at this time a number of Tai States, such as Hsem-wi, Mong-mit and Bhamo in the valleys of the Shweli and the Tapeng. Northwards, these Tai reached up to the Upper Chindwin and Hukawng valleys and westward the Shwebo district. In the south-east, these people enormously increased the strength of the earlier settlers of their stock in the region of the present Shan States of Burma. Those, who proceeded to the north, consolidated their position in the area of Mogeung (Shan: Mong-Kawng) and Mohmyin (Mong-Yang).

The last greatest migration of the Tai to Upper Burma and the Menam valley of the modern Thailand was caused by the advance of Kublai Khan, with his Mongol hordes, right down to the heart of western Yun-nan in the middle of the thirteenth century. At this time the northward advance of the branch of the Tai, called the Mao-Shan, under the leadership of Prince Hso-Ka-Hpa (�!), had already reached the Brahmaputra valley in Eastern Assam by crossing the Patkai range and conquered a strong foothold in this new country and founded what is called in Assam the Ahom dynasty. In a few centuries the whole of the Brahmaputra valley and once up to the Karatoya river to the west of Assam came under the Ahom rule.

Thus the history and political development of the Tai in Burma and Assam can be conveniently divided into three periods: (1) The Early Period, (2) The Early Medieval Period and (3) The Later Medieval Period.

1 Called Waisali-Long by the Shans and the Burmese
When exactly the Tai first crossed the frontiers of south-west China and entered the Irrawaddy valley of Burma is not definitely known. The earliest references in the Burmese Chronicles were to an irruption of the "Tarops and Tarets" into Burma from the Sein country in the kingdom of Gandhala in the sixth century B.C. This irruption took place about 523 B.C., according to the Burmese era and is pointed out as the first entrance of the Tai into Burma from Yun-nan. Who were the people of Burma at that time to be affected by the invasion of the Tarops and Tarets? From the extant records it is known that the Pyu were the earliest inhabitants of Burma with their central seats in Shwebo and Prome. The Pyu were still there in Burma as a subject people of I-mou-hsun (778-808), who, on concluding peace with China, sent a troupe of Pyu musicians to the Chinese Court. Hence the Pyu, who might have flourished in the early period as the dominant race in Upper Burma, must have been reduced to subjection by the early Indian rulers of the Sakya clan and later pressed westward by the irruptions of the Shan-Tayoks from Yun-nan.

2 Sir Arthur Pheyre says the Manchus are called Tarets by the Burmese, but Parker doubts the fact and demands his authority. - GUESS, 1, 1, 1900, p.190. It seems Tarets were Karens, the people of the ancient Teru State in China.
3 Gandhala was Gandhara which name was applied to Yun-nan by the Buddhists.
4 Or 519 B.C., according to the Shan Chronicles.
5 Called in Burma Shan-Tayoks (from Shan-Taroks or Shan-Tarops).
It is mentioned in the dynastic records of Burma that princes of the Sakya dynasty of northern India ruled in Upper Burma both before and after Buddha. Tagaung Tagawin says that the first Sakya Prince to enter Burma with his army was Abhij Raja of Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu or the Middle Kingdom) as early as 923 B.C., that is, about 360 years before the birth of Gautama the Buddha. He went by way of Arakan and founded, for the first time, a kingdom called Sangasarattha in the Tagaung country of Burma. The capital was established in the site of the old Pagan, called Kambuja Thintawe or simply Chindwe on the left bank of the Irrawaddy. According to Hall the date of foundation of Tagaung in the Burmese Chronicles corresponds to 850 B.C., and the stories these Chronicles tell are copies of Indian legends taken from Sanskrit or Pali originals. It seems Abhij Raja's connection with his own country ceased and he merged himself with the local population. His two sons are known by their Burmanized names of Kan Rajahgyi and Kan Rajahmg. He carried to Burma the pre-Buddhist culture and tradition of the Sakyas, then a people of the sub-Himalayan tract of North India, but whose original habitat was probably at Sakya in Southern Tibet to the north of Sikkim. It is very doubtful whether the Aryan rule at all extended over that part of the country in that early period, though, of course, the impact of Vedic culture must have been felt by the peoples living in the Gangetic valley.

8 Tagaung is the Burmanized form of Tung Kawng of the Shans. - Elias: op. cit., p.13.
It may be noted that the Sakya\textsuperscript{10} and the Lichhavi\textsuperscript{11} were allied clans and the latter "undoubtedly belong to the Mongolian race".\textsuperscript{12} In the inscription by Jayadeva, the Lichhavi king of Nepal, dated A.D. 759, the Lichhavi kings are given a legendary pedigree connecting them with the solar line, Lichhavi being eighth in descent from Dasaratha the father of Rama. The Himalayan peoples the Khasas, the Lichhavis and the Sakyas were included within Aryanism at a later date and even a Lichhavi princess was the mother of the Gupta line of emperors of India. Hence they were treated as Kshatriyas, rather as Vrātya Kṣatriyas by the Brahmins.\textsuperscript{13}

The thirty-third descendant of the Sakya line of Princes of old Pagan or Tagaung was Rinnaka Raja,\textsuperscript{14} a contemporary of Gautama the Buddha. During his reign and about the commencement of the Buddhist era the Tayoks (Tarops) from Gandharā\textsuperscript{15} (Yun-nan) invaded his country about the date mentioned above, captured Tagaung, destroyed it and compelled the Raja to quit the country. The Raja and his family, with their followers, entered the Mali stream and took refuge at Male on the right bank of the Irrawaddy and nearly opposite the present ruins of Lower Sabenago (Champa Nagara). The Tayoks could be no other than the Tai, the ancestors of the so-called Shans of Burma, who had been predominant in South-west China until

\textsuperscript{10} The Sakya were rulers of Kapilevattinu.
\textsuperscript{11} The Lichhavis ( Licchavis or Nicchavis ), a Himalayan clan of North Bihar and Nepal, were rulers of Vaissali.
\textsuperscript{12} C.V. Vaidya: History of Mediaeval Hindu India, vol. i, p. 377 ; "Notes: (1) Lichhavis".
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., pp. 369, 377 ; also Manu, X. 22.
\textsuperscript{14} Possibly Skr. Pinaka; The Shan Peng Naka of the Ong Pawng Hai-Paw Chronicle.
\textsuperscript{15} Skr. Gandhara.
Kublai Khan conquered Yun-nan (Nan-Chao) in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. Even in the eleventh century A.D., Yun-nan was called Tayok (Tarop) country. For, when the Tai kingdom of Nan-Chao (Yun-nan) was under the rule of the Ta-li dynasty, the Pagan monarch Anawrahta visited that country in A.D. 1047 and this fact is referred to in the Burmese Chronicles as his journey to "the Tarop country of the kingdom of Gandhala" to ask for the holy Buddha tooth which was known to be in possession of the Tarop Utibwa. 16 The Utibwa, mentioned here, appears to be Prince Si-lien (1045-76) of Nan-Chao, who ruled for thirty-one years, defeated and beheaded the Man-tai leader Beng-Kao and then became a Buddhist monk abdicating the throne in favour of his son Lien-i.

It is known from the Lao and Siamese sources that there was in the early sixth century B.C. a great migration of Tai and other non-Chinese populations from South China to the central regions of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula partly due to Chinese pressure and partly from internal dissensions among them. The Ngai-Lao, who spread to the south in considerable masses from their home in Yun-nan, built a number of important cities in the areas of their new settlement. Thus the cities of Hong-Lem and Chieng-Rang in Yun-nan, Chieng-Tung17 in Burma and Chieng-Sen in Siam sprang up during this

16 A.D. Chronicle, pp. 80-83.
17 Officially spelt as Kang-tung.
The local Tai Annals say that all these areas were liberated by the Ngai-Lao from the Karen rule in the year 543 B.C., but the Burmese used to call the Ngai-Lao or the Shan, who inhabited the country to the east of the Salween, as Yun Shan.

The Mong-Mao State, destined to attain great fame and prosperity in later times, was founded in what is now the most westerly section of Yun-nan well before the middle of the sixth century B.C. For many centuries Mong-Mao remained in obscurity until it reappeared under the Mao-Shans in the sixth century A.D. The kingdom of Mong-Mao reached the zenith of its power in the thirteenth century with her greatest territorial expansion under Hao-Hkan-lpe, the Great.

In about two centuries of time since the sixth century B.C., a number of Shan States with their capital towns sprang up in Burma. Thus the Shan Chronicles, quoted by Ney Elias, mention that the city of Monei (Mone or Mong-Nai) in 441 B.C., and Hai Paw (Burmese Thibo) in 423 B.C. The most striking fact is that even after a lapse of about 2,300 years now all the above States between the Irrawaddy and the Salween and its eastern neighbourhood have continued to remain predominantly Tai to this day.

A brief acquaintance with the history of these three very important States of early times is necessary here. The classical name for the State of Monei, which is to the south of the other two, was Kemboja. In Yule's map of Burma the name Konanda is given for the present town of Monei.
According to Hallett Kamboja includes all the Shan States on the tableland between the Irrawaddy and the Salween.\textsuperscript{18} Ney Elias reports from Burmese sources that the original city of Monei was founded in the year 24 of religion or 519 B.C. by Nga-Chan-Kyo, who was succeeded by the Sawbwas of his line as independent rulers. But in about A.D. 1223 the famous Nao-Shan General San-Long-Ipa conquered the State and placed a Prince of the Mong-Hit branch of the Shan rulers as a feudatory to Mong-Mao. Thus the Mong-Hit line supplanted the old independent Sawbwas. Monei, before its subjection to the Nao-Shans, exercised sway over a number of States, such as Myaung-Yuei, Mobyei, Yauksai, Legya, Tigyit, Kyain-Taung, Maing-Seik, and sometimes the Mre-Lap Shans in the present Southern Shan States. Most of these areas are now difficult to identify. The tract of the Mre-Lap Shans was neither absolutely under the Burmese, nor entirely under the Shans, but lay more or less south-east of Ava from the neighbourhood of Myin Gyan on the west to the Nittik Hills on the east. It is said that the more easterly-hilly portions were the abode of a Demon race, called the Gungs or Gaens, who probably practised cannibalism. The Demon Chief, who, according to the legend, lived in a town called Kinlay, about a mile north-west of the Nittik Pass, was driven away eastward to Keng-Tung by Anawrahta.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18} Hallett : \textit{ibid.}, p. 333. It may be remembered that Komboja or Kamboja-desa means Cambodia.

\textsuperscript{19} Ney Elias : \textit{Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans in Upper Burma and Western Yunnan}, (Calcutta, Foreign Department Press), 1906, pp. 54-55.
Meng Hsen-Wi of the Shans is called Theinni by the Burmese and Mu-pang by the Chinese. Hsen-Wi Chronicles contain dynastic history of the Tai ruling families in Burma beginning from the Burmese Era 92 A.D. 730. These Chronicles give no account of the earlier period. All that could be gathered about the earlier history of this State was obtained partly from what the natives related to Key Elias and partly from a Burmese work called the Zabu-Oke-Saung. According to these sources Hsen-Wi was founded in 441 B.C. by a native Shan named Kinta-No-Hunh, who also became the first king of that State. He fortified the capital city with strong walls the traces of which remain to this day. As Key Elias puts it "shortly afterwards, on the 4th day of the 2nd moon of the 102nd year of Religion (B.C. 441) he began to build a wall to surround the city, the form of which was a square of 1345 ta, the height was ten cubits above the ground and 2 cubits below ground; the thickness 10½ cubits; outside the wall, was constructed a moat 5 ta broad and 20 cubits deep, while between the wall and the moat a space was left of 3 ta in breadth. There were 11 gates in the wall each...".

20 According to Hsen-Wi Chronicle, first translated and incorporated in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (Part I, vol. I, Rangoon, 1900, pp. 227-257) "the name Hsen Wi is derived from wi, the bunches of plantains grown in the garden of the two aged cultivators of Maa Sa near the Naung Put, the parents of Tung Ksan, and has been in use ever since in the form Hsen Wi Hsi Lo, Hsen Wi Hso-an-wa, Hso-an-hou, Hoapatu, Hoono Kawampi, the country of white blossoms in the province of Sirivilata Haha Kambawa Sengui Kawampi." — Ibid. p. 230.

21 The ta consists of seven cubits, as noted by Elias and the cubit is generally taken at eighteen English inches. Mallett seems to have summarised Key Elias's description of this wall according to English measurement in his Historical Sketch of the Shans, in Amongst the Shans by Colquhoun at p. 335. Even to-day a measuring pole called tar, eight cubits in length, is used in Eastern India; particularly in Assam, to measure...
3 cubits wide, but the material of which the wall was constructed is not mentioned.\textsuperscript{22} But from the description it may be assumed that the wall was made of either stone or brick. It is said that at a distance of ten days' journey to the south of the city there was a stone post erected to mark the southern limit of the kingdom just across which one enters the State of Monei. Its position was five dainge or about ten miles due south of the village of Han-thaw. The description given above presents to us the picture of what was a walled city of the Shans in ancient times. Similar cities built by them, whether in Burma or Assam in mediaeval times, appear to have been essentially of this model. Hsen-Wi was a fairly big State extending from the Konei-hill near the Shweli opposite Hong-Mao on the north to the border of monei on the south and from the eastern limits of Hsi-Paw on the west to the river Salween on the east. But Hinta-Bo-Hung's dynasty came to an end after about one hundred and seventeen years of rule from the date of its foundation, when, in 324 B.C., an Indian Prince, named Chandravansa, said to be a brother of Asoka's principal queen Asandimitra, took possession of the country and founded a new dynasty.\textsuperscript{23} He transferred his capital to a new site which he fortified with a structure made of bricks. The palace was built within the walls with a gilt tower (pya-thet) and, when the Chinese came to know of this tower, they called the capital "the golden palace city" (Shue-hna-syo). Chandravansa's reign is important for the introduction of Buddhism into Hsen-Wi. Asoka's son Mahendra is said to have

\textsuperscript{22} B. Elias' s
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., pp. 47-8.
visited the State from Ceylon and with Chandravansa's patronage built a monastery on the Yangoma hill in the neighbourhood of the capital. He resided in that monastery for only a few years and preached Buddhism, probably of the Pali Canon of the south, accompanied by a hundred attendant priests and then left the country. Chandravansa died at seventy years of age. He was succeeded by his son, after whom the reigns of fifteen kings, all of Shan names, are recorded without mention of dates. The Shan names indicate the recapture of power by the Shans by overthrowing Chandravansa's son and with it putting an end to the Buddhist missionary work.

Hsi-Paw or Tai-Po, as the Shans would call it, was founded by a local chief named Udina in the year 423 B.C. His dynasty continued to 79 B.C. through a line of sixteen kings. In that year Chau-Hung-Hkam (Koe-Hung-Hkam), obviously a Tai Prince, belonging to another dynasty, came into power displacing the ruling house. He built a new city measuring 273 ta from east to west and 239 ta from north to south, the western wall having three gates, and the other three sides two gates each; the wall being seven cubits in height. According to a Burmese source Chau-Hung-Hkam ruled over a State consisting of two hundred and ninety villages. These early Shans (Tai) undoubtedly moved westward from the region of the Mekong and used the valleys of the Shweli (Nam Mao) and the Salween as the principal routes to enter the basis of the Irrawaddy from Yun-nan. From the region of Mong-Mao as their central seat in the extreme west in Yun-nan they spread out to the north, west and south making settlements and building States.
It may be recalled that the fugitive Binnaka Raja died at Male. His followers then split up into three groups, one of which migrated eastward and founded what is called 'the nineteen Shan States' of the east. This shows that the members of this group were Shan. But the Shans of these nineteen States became known as 'the descendants of Binnaka Raja'. It was possibly from their habit of referring to Binnaka Raja as their king that they were looked upon as his descendants by their neighbours.

Thus it is evident that the Shans from South-west China had already settled in Upper Burma from before the reign of Binnaka Raja to become his subjects. They must have come with the invading armies from Yun-nan and also as peaceful settlers, group by group, from very early times and the Shans of Tagaung became subjects of the rulers of the Sakya family. It was a section of these Shans that accompanied Binnaka Raja in his flight from Tagaung. It is possibly this section of the Raja's followers, who, after the Raja's death, preferred to start a colony of their own nearer the Shan neighbours of the east. This early Shan colony may be assumed to have developed, in course of time, into what is known in history as 'the nineteen Shan States' of Eastern Burma and its neighbourhood.

The second group moved down the Irrawaddy and entered the Western Country, which was then ruled by the Princes of the Sakya dynasty of Tagaung, descended from Abhi Raja, with their capital at or near a hill called Kalétashguyo in the southern part of the Kuko valley. As already mentioned, Abhi Raja
left behind two sons, Kan Rajagyi (Prince Elder) and Kan Rajange (Prince younger), who, on their father’s death, disputed the succession to the throne, and the younger brother contrived to possess it for himself. At this the elder Prince Kan Rajagyi went away down the Irrawaddy and then proceeded up the Chindwin river and founded a dynasty at Kale. It was at Kyaukpadaung immediately to the south-east of new Pagan that he placed his son Muducitta (Madhu Citra) as the ruler over the Pyu, Kanjan (or the Kanyan who were Arakanese) and Sak (Thek) tribes of the area. Muducitta next moved to Rakhaing leaving his line of rulers at Kyaukpadaung and founded the kingdom of Dhanyavati. Tentula, a lineal descendant of Muducitta, appears to be the last ruler of the Tagaung Sekya family at Kyaukpadaung. The third group of Binnaka Raja’s followers remained at Male with the chief queen Naga-Seng.

At that time another Sakya Prince, named Dhaja Raja, of Kapilavatthu visited Male and espoused the widow Naga-Seng being of the same Sakya clan. The event that drove this Prince to Burma was an invasion of Kapilavatthu by Prince Vitatupa.

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27. The Arakanese call themselves Rakhaing and their country Rakhaingyi. According to Sir Arthur Phayre, the word is a corruption of the Pali rakkhaso (Skt. rakshasa) meaning ‘ogre’ (Burmese bilu) or guardian of the mansion of Indra on Mount Meru. — vide Hall A History of South-east Asia, p. 328; Phayre: History of Burma, 1883, p. 41.
(Vidudabha) of Kosala, Bhaja Raja fled towards the east and first founded a kingdom in Moriya. After reigning for a short

28 The cause of the invasion is related as follows: — "Pasenadi (Prasenajit), the Kosalan king of Savatthi, sought in marriage a daughter of Mahamana king of Kapilavattthu; who, desirous of preserving the purity of his race, gave him not a princess of the blood royal but gave him his daughter by a slave woman, the princess Vasabhakhattiya. And she was made queen and bore prince Vitatupa (Vidudabha, a distortion of Valliava). He, when he came of age, visited Kapilavattthu. Now when he returned home, they washed with milk the place he had occupied, reviling it as the place of a man slave-born. When he came to know of it, he nursed his wrath and said, 'When I am king, I will wash in the blood of their throat!' So when his father was no more, he remembered his wrath and marched out with his fourfold army thrice to destroy the Sakiyan princes, but the Blessed Buddha prevented him. Howbeit the fourth time the Buddha, considering the past life history of the Sakiyans, prevented him not; and Vitatupa marched with a great army and reached Kapilavattthu and slew the whole Sakiyan race, save those who dwelt with king Mahamana, not sparing even sucking babes. ... Thereafter the Sakiyan princes took refuge in diverse places, such as the cities of Moriya, Vedissagiri, and Panduraja. ... When thus — the Sakiyan princes perished, Dhajaraja the Sakiyan king moved with his followers from the Middle Country and first founded and reigned in Moriya". — Glass Palace Chronicle, p. 4. See also Edward J. Thomas: The Life of Buddha, (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London), 1949, pp. 139-40. That there was such a massacre of the Sakya Princes and their families may well have been a historical fact in spite of conflicting details about it. This event is described in the Jataka and the Dhammapada Commentary. — vide Trans., in Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 29, pp. 50-46.

29 The place name Moriya is from the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. Moriya occurs in the Buddhist literature, such as Dhammapada. In Gotama-Purana it is called Moranga, and in the Arakan Chronicle it is mentioned as Morvin and now it is Mwerin. Moriya is also the classic name of the Kubo valley and there is also the Moreura metropolis of Ptolemy. Mauroya, as Col. Burney tells us from Burmese history, preceded Tagaung as the seat of Sakyas kings (see Col. Burney in JASB.V, 163). Mauroya is now known as Myayen (a Burmese form), according to Yule, and is a town not far south from Bhamo. Probably Dhaja Raja's first kingdom was in the Kubo valley and Myayen was its capital and the second kingdom in Thitwe in the Tagaung country. Mauroya, after the name of the ruling clan, was perhaps another city south of Bhamo. The occurrence of this place-name indicates that not only the Sakyas but also the Moriyas came to Burma and built cities. The Mauryas belonged to a Himalayan clan like other such peoples as the Lichchhavis of North Bihar and Nepal. With their gradual absorption in the Brahmanical society, they claimed the status of Kshatriyas, although orthodox Brahmans regarded them as no better than Sudras! See Inscriptions of Asoka by Dr. D.C. Sircar (The Publications Division, New Delhi), 1957, p. 11.
period over that small kingdom he abandoned it and founded another kingdom in Thintwe in Burma. He left Thintwe for Hla where he met Queen Naga-Seng and married her. He then 'founded and reigned in Upper Pagan' where he built a new fortified capital city immediately beyond the north wall of the old city. Here he reigned over the ancient kingdom of Sangassarattha or Sankissa of Abhi Raja in the Tagaung country. Dhaja Raja virtually restored and reconstructed the old Sakya kingdom in Burma. On ascending the Throne he assumed the title of Thado Jambudipa, Dhaja Raja and changed the name of the kingdom into Panchala. This Sangassarattha of the Sakyas is Tagaung of the Burmese and Tung-Kawng of the Shans. Dhaja Raja's kingdom was founded, according to the Burmese Chroniclers, in

30 The coronation ceremony is an instance of mixed religion. It is a mixture of Brahminical and tribal forms. First a State ceremony, called Thingyan, is performed and then titles are bestowed on the learned and one thousand and three score title-warrants are given to ministers and high officials, to his minions, masters of elephants and horse, foot-soldiers, wealthy men, Brahmins, Astrologers, Doctors of medicine and artisans. While ascending the place, the king has on his right Brahma and the Naga king, and on his left Sakra and Pajumna. Eight Brahmin Councillors are present, each holding a dextral conch in his hand, above on the right. Attended by his Generals and Ministers, a hundred thousand in all, two chief queens, seven hundred concubines, four-score and ten white elephants, one hundred and four-score Sind horses and an host of officials, he ascended the ground-palace. Thence he ascended the main palace; and in honour of his ascension he partook of food. Pots of rice and curry - of each one hundred three score and ten - were served in jewelled salvers. He offered food moreover to the god of the birth day plant, also to Sakra and Brahma and the guardian spirits of the Umbrella, the palace, and the city. On the floor of the palace food was scattered. It was eaten by two cats, and one hour later by two men, one hour later the king himself partook of it; then the heir-apparent, then the Ministers and officials - G.R.O. 9.5.

31 Skr. Jambudvipa which refers to India.
32 Properly Skr. Dhvaja-Raja.
33 Also Tung-Kawng of the Assamese Chronicls of the Ahoms.
the twentieth year of the year of religion (523 B.C.) and according to the Shans in the twenty-fourth year of the same (519 B.C.). In Colonel Burney's text the older city was called Tagaung, and the one rebuilt by Dhaja Raja was named Pinjala-rit (Skr. Panchala-rastra) or Pinja Tagaung, shortened into Pagan by the Burmese. Under Abhi Raja the city of Tagaung was named Kambuja Thintawe and was so known also during Buddha's time. It was called Tagaung "because there was but one Naga". In ancient times Tagaung was, of course, noted for its Naga tradition.

Dhaja Raja's dynasty, a line of seventeen kings, ruled at Tagaung (Old Pagan) until, within one generation posterior to the year A.D. 568, it was displaced by Hkun-Long, who installed his eldest son Ai-Hkun-Long on the throne of that kingdom. In this connection it may be noted that there is a significant mention of a revolt of twelve villages in the Tagaung Chronicle with the result that "Tagaung became servant to the Shan". This undoubtedly refers to the first success of the Shans under Hkun-Long's generalship in ousting the Indian Sakya dynasty from the Tagaung kingdom.

Hkun-Long's success seems to have been made easier by a second major invasion of Burma by the Shan-Tayoks (Tarops) from Yun-nan about A.D. 241. This invasion added further strength to the Shan element that had already been there from

34 JASE, vol-V, p.163.
35 Huy Elias : op. cit., p. 13, f.n.
36 G.P.Cr., p. 35.
37 Huy Elias : ibid., p.13 ; Kashinath Temuli Phukan's Assam Bureji, p. 6.
38 G.P.Cr., Introduction, "The Tagaung Chronicle," p.XX.
39 according to Rev. Cushing, and A.D.225 according to others.
before, Hey Elias, from his study of Mao manuscripts, now no longer available, has concluded that the Mao-Shan kingdom developed as a separate political entity before the middle of the seventh century A.D. In the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., Hkun-Long's line in the person of Hkun-Pong-Hpa became supreme among the Mao. Scott also points out that the Tai Chronicles indicate that the Mao kingdom began in the seventh century A.D. and maintained itself with varying degrees of prosperity until the rise of Anawrahta the Pagan Emperor, who married a daughter of the Mao-Shan ruler of Mong-Mao of that time. The Hsen-Wi Chronicle places the date of the rise of the Mao power a century later. But the bulk of evidence is in favour of the former authority.

The historic march of the Tai towards Burma in the middle of the sixth century A.D. was undoubtedly headed by two Tai brothers Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai and while Hkun-Lai remained behind as the ruler of the countries called Mong-Sci Mong-Ram and Lai-doi, the Elder Prince Hkun-Long, after a short reign at Mong-Sci Mong-Ram, left that country and started the conquest of northern Burma and its eastern neighbourhood placing his sons and descendants as the Governors of the different Monga (principalities) of his kingdom. He himself became the ruler of a

40 Hey Elias: op. cit., p. 16.
41 GUESS, 1,1, p. 196.
42 "Hsen-Wi Chronicle" in GUESS, 3,1, p. 230.
43 Hlae and Cochrane: op. cit., pp. 16-17.
'wide country' called Mong-Hku Mong-Jao or probably Mong-Hku Mong-Jao. The country Mong-Hku Mong-Jao appears to be a wide country in the valley of the Nam Yao in the Northern Shan States of Burma.45 This location of Mong-Hku Mong-Jao is also almost definitely indicated in the Ahom Chronicles by the successive place-names mentioned in describing the journeys of two Tai Princes Hkun-Lu-Cheo and Chao-Changnyeu from Mong-Ri Mong-Ram to Mao-Lung.46 The Hsen-Wi Chronicle's location of Mong-Ri Mong-Ram (Shan: Mong-Ri Mong-Ram) on the bank of the Mekong to the south-east of the Northern Shan States is confirmatory of this.47 But Ney Elias appears to be mistaken when he says that Mong-Ri Mong-Ram is at a short distance from the left bank of the Shweli, some eight or nine miles to the eastward of the city of Mong-Mao.48 Elias further says that Hkun-Long "crossed the Irrawaddy and shortly afterwards arrived at a place near the Uyu (or Uru) river, a tributary of the Chindwin, where he established himself and founded a city called Mong-Kong Mong-Yawng, whence he sent forth his sons or relations to become rulers of neighbouring States".49 Though he admits that the position of Hkun-Long's State is difficult to define, yet he seems to believe that the region comprising Haing-kaing on

44 Mong: country; Hku: wide, extensive; Mong: country, Jao: country; Jao: country probably the wide country of the region of the Nam Yao (Burmese Kyit-nge) which flows into the Irrawaddy from the Northern Shan States.
45 AB, pp. 42-3; also Deodhai Asem Puranji, ed. by Bhuyan, D.H.A.S, 1932, pp. 4-5.
46 GUBSS. 1.1, p. 231.
47 GUBSS. 1.1, p. 231.
a small left tributary of the Chindwin in the south on the west of the Noajeebee Hills was Mong-Hku Mong-Jao. Scott thinks that this area is the district of, and round about, the present Singkaling Hkemti. But this area was then somewhat detached from the main Tai areas in Burma. No other records, so far available, give any geographical account indicating the location of Hkun-Long's kingdom in the Upper Chindwin valley as is given by N. Elias.

As already mentioned, Hkun-Long distributed the territories of his extensive dominions among his sons or the princes of his family, about which more will be said below. But the country, allotted to his eldest son, Ai-Hkun-Long, was, according to N. Elias, Tung-Kung or Tausung, which, till it was wrested from the Sakyas by him, had been ruled by the Indian dynasty of Dhaja Raja. This kingdom, already overrun by the Shan-Tayoks, not once but a number of times, must have contained a large Tai element to Hkun-Long's advantage.

Almost all the Shan ruling families of Burma, as also the Ahom rulers of Assam, claim their descent from the heavenly House of Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai. The Mao-Shans, who extended their power to the plains of Upper Burma from the early medieval times, mostly concentrated themselves in the fertile valleys of the Nam-Mao (the Shweli), the Upper Irrawaddy and later of the Upper Chindwin and set up kingdoms in

50 Ibid., p. 15.
them and built capitals of which there are still some un­
mistakable traces. All these areas were occupied by the Mao-
Shans, partly by ousting from them the ruling Indian dynasties,
partly by pressing out to the south the Burmese power and
partly by subjugating the local tribes, such as the Pyu and
the Kachins.

EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD:

The Mao-Shans are a well-known section of the Tai
race, who, in the seventh century A.D., were ruling in the power-
ful kingdom of Hong-Mao-Lung or the great Mao country in the
north-eastern frontier region of modern Burma. The kingdom was
founded by the Mao-Shans, who settled along the valley of the
Shweli river (Nam-Mao). Regarding the origin of the word Mao,
Terrien de Lacouperie gives from Chinese sources Ti, Mou and
Taiu as the 'tribal names with settlements in Szetchuen'.
According to him Ti has its modern representative in Mong-ti ;
Mou in Mong-mou or Hong-mao ; and Taiu seems to appear in Hao, the Tiger race of Heen-Wi. 51 The above three are but different
clan names of the northern branch of the Tai. The Shweli river
was named Nam-Mao by the Mao community of the Tai, who first took
possession of its valley, though the precise time when the river
was given that name is difficult to ascertain. But yet it may be
assumed that it was not later than the sixth century A.D. that
the river acquired that name.

51 Milne and Cochrane: op. cit., p. 16.
No one place was the seat of government all through the long period of the Mao rule, but the site often selected was Cheila on the left bank of the Shweli and immediately opposite 'Ma-kau Mong-Lung. 52 The city of Cheila is said to have existed where modern Se-Ran or Se-Lan 53 has its location, about thirteen miles east of Nam-Ikam, and Mong-Mao is in the modern territory of Yun-nan opposite Se-Lan on the right bank of the Shweli. The present Mong-Mao is an insignificant place being only a petty settlement shorn of all its ancient glory. 54 The site of Mong-Mao is also the site of the old city of Ma-kau Mong-Lung. But Hallett says that Ma-kau Mong-Lung was an earlier name of Mogaung and that early in the eighth century A.D. it was a Mao capital under that name. 55 This identification of Ma-kau Mong-Lung with Mogaung cannot be accepted unless the name is used as a general term to mean a great city referring thereby to any ancient capital of the Tai rulers, whether it be Mong-Mao or Mogaung. Another city called Pang-Ikam was also a Mao capital at one time. The ruins of ancient Mao-Shan cities, which were built with strong parapet and formidable entrenchments, are still to be seen in this area.

The political history of the Mao-Shans begins, according to the Mao-Shan and Burmese Buddhist Chronicles.

53 The people of Se-Lan or Se-Lan use the water of the Khau-khan a tributary of the Shweli.
54 Sir George Scott: Burma and Beyond, 1932, pp. 203-4.
55 "Historical Sketch of the Shans", in Amongst the Shans, p. 332.
with the descent of two heavenly Princes Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai on the earth by a golden ladder (or rather a gilded iron ladder). These two Princes, both brothers, were sent down by Lengdon, the Lord of Heaven (Indra of the Assamese Buranjis), whose grand-sons they were, to found his dynasty in the lower countries, once governed by heavenly Princes but now suffering from disorder under the misrule of others. According to the Tai-Shan Chronicles Hsun-Jong and Hkun-Lai were the sons of Shengtaonyenkaikya Hten-Elkan, who was a

56 Hkun-Lo of Tai-Shan and Burmese Chronicles.
57 Particular mention of "golden ladder" in the various Chronicles is significant. It may mean 'gold and silver path' by which the Princes came down. Sir Arthur Phayre points out that gold was from very early times brought from South-west China down the river Irrawaddy and exported to India. The name, therefore, may have been given from that fact. He also says that it is only within the last twenty years (i.e., 1865-83) that the import of gold bullion from Yun-nan to Upper Burma has diminished; but gold-leaf is still imported from that country to Burma. (vide His History of Burma, p. 25). But probably 'golden ladder' means an actual row of steps or a ladder to descend from the highland city of Lengdon to the plains. Attached to the ladder was probably an iron chain also to hold during ascent and descent. A part of the ladder and the chain was perhaps gilded within the region of the heavenly city. Chronicles also mention both iron ladder and iron chain. It was the road for communications with the plains, particularly in the valleys of the Mekong and the rivers of Burma.

58 Though the manner of narrating the story gives a sense of high antiquity to the descent of Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai, yet their advent is of a comparatively recent but dark period of history and the reference to Lengdon (or Leng-non) and Heaven is difficult to follow being of a legendary character. Lengdon, who is described as the Lord of eight hundred thousand thunders, is identified by the Hindus with Indra.

59 Lengdon's advice to the Princes was "there is no one of my family to rule the lower country, that is, Mong-tau (Mong-Long) and Mong-tam (Mong-Kang) meaning the country lower than the low. The country is not properly ruled. The strong oppress the weak. They live on cultivation. They are unable to distinguish right from wrong. I, therefore, give you the rule of the country. Both of you must rule the wide country peacefully". This region is also referred to as Hongklang (or Mong-kang) which means a vast country. - AB, pp. 12, 14.
nephew of Lengdon. Hten-Ikam was the son of Chaodahkam, king of Long-thi and the latter was the youngest son of Hpocheiphsengdeng. Hten-Ikam became king in Mongthila or Mong-htin, the Shan Province of Yun-nan-sen. Cochran points out that Mong-htin extended westward to the Salween. He further says that "Mong-htin and Upper kingdom of the Ngaia-Lao Shans were 'equal in power and glory'; the king of Mong-htin called the northern king 'our father'; the northern king called the southern 'our son'; a messenger was sent back and forth on horseback; he crossed a river in a boat; the mother of the northern king is mentioned, as also astrologers; Htran-long and Htran-lai were sent down to Mong-hi Mong-ham with knowledge and consent of the king of Mong-htin; they were carried on palanquins, with four bearers each; they were to pay annual tribute to the northern king." This passage is based on an original Shan text in possession of Cochran himself. An almost a parallel account is given of the heavenly kingdoms of Lengdon and Hten-Ikam in a Sibsagar Tai-Ahom Chronicle. The above account shows that it gives, as Cochran points out, terrestrial facts and no celestial myths and that Lengdon was the ruler of the Upper kingdom of the Ngaia-Lao Shans. Thus there

60 From Nithila in India, that Hten-Ikam became king of Mongthila or Mong-thi is mentioned in the Tai-Ahom Baranji vide AB, p.4. The Indian name was probably applied to Yun-nan-sen at a later date by the Buddhists.
61 From the description it is clear that there was a river which had to be crossed in going from the capital of Lengdon to that of Hten-Ikam and according to the Ahom Chronicle of Sibsagar (p.3) it was "a wide river with transparent water. A large gilded boat was at anchor." The river mentioned appears to be the Mekong.
63 AB, chap. II, pp.5-83.
is no doubt that the Miao-Shans are descended from the great Ai-Lao or Ngai-Lao race of Yun-nan and Sze-chuan. From the Chronicles it is clear that these Ngai-Lao Shans of the sixth century A.D. and their branch, the Ahoms, who entered the Brahmaputra valley, were not Buddhists. As known from the accounts of Non-Chao, Buddhism had no footing in western Yun-nan at that time. The Ngai-Lao had a peculiar form of religion of their own. If the ancient religion of the Ahoms was any clue to it, then it may be noticed that they worshipped Lengdon, the Lord of Heaven, with animal sacrifices besides a number of other minor deities, whom they propitiated with similar offerings but with less ceremonial grandeur. It was in essence ancestor-worship, the ancestors being represented as rulers of Heaven.

Lengdon was the supreme ruler of Heaven (Chinese T'ien) and his city was in the highest part of it. This heaven was perhaps no other region than Yun-nan called T'ien in early periods. It appears that among the Counsellors of Lengdon the most trusted were Ja-Ensing-hpa, Goddess of Learning, probably the Queen-mother, Isokhri (υο/ο'ο') the senior politician or Chief Minister and Hten-Mkam the most powerful ally and nephew of Lengdon himself. With the object of selecting Princes of his House to rule over the territories in the lower countries, as mentioned

64 Ab, p.8.
65 Ya-Ensing-hpa or "the heavenly-jewelled lady". The Shans of Yun-nan still use Ya in speaking of any old lady. The Tai people of Upper Assam are heard to address the mother as Jo', a variation of Ya or Je, and father as Po' in the localities in which they still preserve their ancient customs and language. In polite address young ladies are also addressed as Ya or Jo'.
66 Ab, n.8.
above, Lengdon particularly called in Ja-Hsing-Hpa, Laokhri and Hten-Eram to his palace for consultation. In the meeting that was held they, after due deliberation, decided to appoint Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai as rulers of those countries and then summoned them for formal appointment. When the latter presented themselves at the palace they were formally invested with royal authority by Lengdon. At the investiture ceremony Lengdon gave them a Sword\(^67\) (-notch) with magic powers as a symbol of authority to be justly wielded against enemies and criminals, a Code of Law to be judiciously applied, an image of a deity called Chum-phra\(^68\) (chief) exclusively for the ruling Princes of his line to worship. The Sword, which would destroy enemies, was to be placed in the middle of the Council Hall and was to be greeted seven times by the Princes kneeling before it as homage to Lengdon. The image of 'Chum-phra-rung-mong' was originally presented by Phalaibot (God) to Shangdam, who, by worshipping it according to rules, proved a successful ruler. It was to be installed in a temple specially built for it and worshipped according to a set ritual procedure. In addition to the above, he also gave them a pair of drums (tack) to be used only in war and on ceremonial occasions, a tusked elephant (and) and a pair of heavenly cocks (hunting) whose heads and wings should be prepared and eaten by the ruling Prince alone and the legs and thigh bones were to be used for divination. That the heads and wings should be recommended

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67. notch: Sword, sheng: holy; also called Hengdam. See AB, p. 14.
68. Chum-phra: God Chum. Sometimes Chum-sheng which means 'Holy Chum'. It is also referred to as Sheng-deo meaning 'holy god'.
for the ruling Prince was possibly from the belief that they symbolized the powers of the head and of the arms, the essential qualities of a ruler.

The Sibsagar Chronicle also brings to light certain facts of great historical value. It has specifically mentioned instances showing that the Tai, particularly the Dao-Shans, were a literate race with an advanced language and culture and alphabet of their own in the sixth century A.D., the age of Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai. A messenger named Leng-Sheng (ソン), the Lord of Light, proceeded on horseback to Hten-Hkam's Court to deliver to him a letter (牋) written (牋) by Lengdon. The horse was used for carrying mails. For delivering important diplomatic papers or letters containing high policy matter the king usually sent his personal envoy. Addressing the people of Hten-Hkam's kingdom Leng-Sheng said that "both the kings' are ruling wide countries with great fame. All the countries are progressing well under their rule. They are of equal power and never in war with each other. Both the kings punish the offenders only. Hten-Hkam, the handsome, is a descendant of the All-powerful and is a great king. Each year, Lengdon consults Hten-Hkam about the affairs of their countries. Both the kings are in very friendly terms. Both of them sit on the

from folio 3, p.5 of Ms. in possession of the writer.
70 Lengdon (Son ; Leng-non) and Hten-Hkam, the former being the ruler of the Upper or Northern kingdom of the Ngai-Lao of which the capital was in the highest part of Heaven. It perhaps refers to the northern part of Yun-nan with some southern parts of Sze-chuan. - AB, p. 8.
same throne. They eat and drink together and converse on the affairs of their States. This account gives us glimpses of the political, economic, and cultural background of the Mao-Shans of the time, which also probably formed the basic material for the construction of the nucleus of the Tai Empire of Nan-Chao. There was progress and prosperity among the Tai under their kings, who ruled the countries, not arbitrarily, but according to the accepted principles of justice which distinguished right from wrong and maintained peace with the neighboring rulers of the race. Moreover, they had a culture and literature developed from the past, which enabled them to explore the higher principles of social justice and political advancement that found expression in the subsequent history of their activities in the mainland of South-east Asia.

Heavenly Princes had been sent to rule over the lower countries as tributary to Lengdon from long before Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai and the names of some of them are mentioned in the Chronicles. For instance, one Sheng-den was sent as the first ruler of a country called Mong-Shang. He built the city of Mong-chai as his capital and governed the country. This country was full of unruly elements, but he was a great and powerful king and compelled these elements to pay homage to him. He also received homage from the dependent States. He

71 Meaning thrones of the same kind, which are also of gold, with this difference that Lengdon's throne was of nine stairs (Bright throne of gold having nine stairs) and Hkun-Hkam's was of eight stairs (eight stairs). The difference was probably to show the higher position of Lengdon in rank and precedence being regarded as the Lord of Heaven.
72 AB, p. 10.
73 Ibid., p. 8. Perhaps Mong-chai = Mong-Tai.
was ably assisted in his administration by the poet Shangsheng and the Councillor Shangbun, the forefather of the Deodhais. Once in the lower regions, a country, ruled by Hkum-Kum of the line of heavenly (Tai) princes, fell into disorder. At this, Lengdon sent Prince Shengngeom with necessary instructions to take charge of the country and restore peace and order, but he failed to act up to the instructions and proved utterly incompetent as a ruler with the result that the country was once more plunged into lawlessness and violence.

It was the period when the Tai (Mao-Shans) were pushing forward down the Mekong valley and to the west across Upper Burma. There was therefore constant fighting between these new Tai conquerors (Mao-Shans) and the earlier Tai elements and the native tribes. At times, when a Tai ruler happened to be weak, the subject peoples attempted to upset his regime and created disorder. It was necessary therefore to send from heaven some powerful ruler to restore order by reducing the ungovernable races to submission. Lengdon, this time, determined to send his grandsons. "He whose forefathers were never rulers", remarked Lengdon, "can hardly be expected to be a king. He can never get homage from others". Approving the remark Ja-Heing-Npa said that "if an ordinary being be sent he will not be able to rule the earth. You should, therefore, send your grandsons to rule the wide earth." 74 Leokhri, the great physician and the oldest
of the gods, too, agreed to the proposal. Then Lengdon asked all the gods (the Tai) their opinion. They all supported the proposal to send as rulers the sons of Hten-Hkam, the Great.

The two brothers, Hnum-Long (Prince-Elder) and Hkun-Lai (Prince-Younger), were then called in and invested with princely authority and sent down to rule over the lower countries, not arbitrarily as they pleased, but according to a Code of Law which was dictated to them by Lengdon, the supreme Ruler of Heaven. The Code was meant for protecting the life, property and chastity of the subject population. It was specifically enjoined that in the administration of law punishments should be inflicted only after a fair trial. The forms of punishment reflect their emanation from a very humane consideration of principles of justice. The sanctions behind law were almost invariably socio-religious in character. Their moderate nature relatively to the age indirectly brings to our mind the picture of a society in which a high ethical sense must have governed the general conduct of the people. The Code contained, among others, the following specimens as models of punishments for the violations of the provisions of the Law:

"If a person commits a crime, don't kill him at once without a fair trial. Cleanse him if he offers a feast by killing a cow. You must confiscate all his properties. A Bailung Pundit will sprinkle incantated water on him with Nem-bla-knya leaves. All of you, then, bless him." 76

75 Countries down the Mekong.
76 AB, p.15. The expression pan blak nya means water-flower-medicine, that is, the water of the flower of a medicinal plant. The plant may be either blak-nya-renal, called batguamali in Assamese, or blak-nya-dang, called Tenglati in Assamese and not Durba-grass as the translator translates it. (See AB, p.15).
"If you find a person, having unlawful intercourse with the sister of his mother or of his father, or one depriving his father of his property by force, you must drive him away from the country. If you do not punish such a person, others will be demoralized by his example." 77

"If any of them lives by oppressing others, he should be sent to exile. If he wants to clear himself of the sin, he should sacrifice three white buffaloes, four white oxen and some hogs to gods. He should also give a feast by killing cows and buffaloes. He should make offer of gold and silver to the Deodhani Pundits. He must ask for pardon from all, kneeling down. All his properties are to be confiscated. He should also greet you. He will then be cleared of his sin." 78

"If any body robs his mother or if an elder brother takes his younger's wife as his, none should have a look at him. If it happens to any body to come across such a culprit he should cast his eyes to the sky." 79

"If any body commits rape on his daughter-in-law or his brother's wife, his heart should be pierced with the point of a knife. Such sinners are not to be looked at. If they are not put to death, they should be driven to a jungle which is frequented by tigers and bears. If you wish to purify such persons, you must collect all the people and inform Lengdon by sacrificing ten cows. All the holy things are to be

77 Ibid., p. 15.
78 Ibid., p. 16.
79 Ibid., p. 16.
collected there, and "Shengdeo" too. The culprits should kneel down before the heavenly king. A feast should be given by killing cows and buffaloes. Gifts should be offered to all. The culprits should be allowed to drink a quantity of the water with which "Shengdeo" be washed. Then he should perform 'Rikkhwan' ceremony (a religious ceremony performed to get a new life). After this, he should be stripped of his garments and allowed to go naked.

Here the feast and gifts must obviously be given by the culprit and after the 'Rikkhwan' ceremony he is not allowed in the new life to retain on his body anything of the previous life reminiscent of the past misdeed.

"If a person weds a girl of his own family, ... gods should be worshipped by sacrificing three cows and some buffaloes. After this, the Deodhai Pundits will bring holy water and offer nine mehengas (stands full of offerings) to the gods. The Pundits in order to purify the culprit should sprinkle holy water on his body. His whole garment should be taken off and he should be allowed to go away naked. He should relate the story of his crime to the people at large."82

The culprit when purified should throw away the old garment worn in the impure state. Such is the practice also in the Hindu society.

"But those persons who kidnap women and usurp other's property, should be put to death."83

81 Ibid., p. 16.
82 Ibid., pp.16-17.
83 Ibid., p.17.
In case of females the punishments appear to be less severe. If a female, for instance, unlawfully unites with a male person "the hands of the female should be bound together towards the back, and she should be made to pay homage to the gods by falling prostrate on the ground. After this, she is to be cleansed by making her wash her body with water purified with holy plants". 84

Ham-Long and Ham-Lai were advised by the Lord of Heaven to rule over the new countries, so long torn by lawlessness, with a firm hand but following moral rules and doing justice to everybody. 85 The mighty Lengdon also assured them of further armed assistance whenever any situation demanded. "I shall send down," he said, "eight lakhs of gods (the Tai) who will cut down all the enemies to pieces as cloths are torn to pieces by a storm". 86 What Lengdon emphasized most was that they should rule in harmony and never allow anything to disrupt their unity and solidarity. He said "if you quarrel amongst yourselves, you are sure to lose your royal power". 87

On a comparison of the Laws of Lengdon with those of Manu, then in force in India, certain striking differences in purposes and methods between the two systems are noticed. While the Laws of Lengdon were meant to regulate the secular relations of man and man according to the universal concepts of fundamental justice and the ethical notions of the Tai, those of Manu were framed to preserve the integrity of the

84 Ibid., p. 17.
85 Ibid., pp. 13, 15.
86 Ibid., p. 11.
87 Ibid., p. 39.
Hindu society, as based on orthodox principles of the Sastras, by the rigorous enforcement of caste rules. The modern secular view of law as respector of no persons had no place in Manu's system. He gave the pre-eminent position to the Brahmans and made their persons inviolate, whereas the severest corporal punishments were attached to the violations of the law by the Sudras.

The caste privileges and immunities, as were provided in the Code of Manu, have no parallels in Lengdon's Code. For instance, according to Manu, if a Sudra or a member of a 'vile caste' commits an act of violence, however minor, or utters a slander against a Brahmin, he is punished with death or mutilation of the offending limbs, but in similar cases, a Brahmin has to pay only a pecuniary penalty, or at most, may be exiled, for he is immune from capital or corporal punishment, whatever may be the gravity of his offence.

But Lengdon made no provision for such social discrimination in the administration of law. His Laws sought to regulate the relations of individuals, both in the family and the society according to the accepted code of conduct and the sanctions provided were not so severe as those of Manu and included no such disabling and frightful punishments as mutilation of limbs or burning alive the convict to death.

Ham-Lung and Ham-Lai, after receiving the necessary instructions from Lengdon, greeted the latter ten times

88 Na jatu brahmamam hanyat sarva papesvapi sthitam.
Rastradenam vaibhuvyat samapradhanamaksatam. - Manu, VIII, 380; also Manu Sambita, VIII, 270-379, 413-14.
by kneeling down before him and also saluted the wise Counsellor Lao Khri and the goddess Ja-Hsing-Hpa, who were present at the investiture ceremony. Next they knelt down before the royal deity Chumphra-rung-mong, an idol of pure gold and then, placing it reverentially in the box, held it on the head and took leave of Lengdon. They set out for their appointed country in the right royal style putting on shining coats adorned with stars and wearing golden crowns. They were accompanied by two Ministers, Hkun-Tun and Hkun-Ben, who were descended respectively from the moon and the sun. Among the other distinguished heavenly companions were Hkun-thao Lao Khri, the astrologer of the family of Jupiter and Hkun Fujikji, the heavenly Pandit. A great number of the Tai had already proceeded as a vanguard.

It is of importance to know that the Tai believed themselves to be heaven-born (heaven-born race) as

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89 It is said to be an image of God in the shape of a heron. - AB, pp. 8, 15.
90 or possibly Hkun-Tun (Hkun : Prince, Tun : Moon).
91 Hkun : Prince, Ban : Sun, Hkun Hpun of N.Elias.
92 Lao Khri was a senior Counsellor in the Court of Lengdon. He was also a great poet and the Hindus identify him with Visvakarma and say that he was a descendant of Vrihaspati, Shangburn or Deodhals - a family of Ahom Priests whose duty it is to invoke the gods in the religious ceremonies - are descended from him.
93 Fujikji was the ancestor of the Ahom Mahan family of Assam. - N.Phukan's Notes. According to the Hindus he is descended from Sukra. The Mohans are priests, who perform the rites with the appropriate offerings. - T.Phukan : op.cit., p. 3 ; N.Elias : op.cit., p.13 ; P.Phukan : D.H.A.S, Transcript, vol. IX, p. 181 ; Gurdon : A Short Note on the Ahoms, (Morrison & Gibb Ltd., Edinburg), p. 12 ;
94 AB, p.18.
distinguished from the non-Tai races, whom they called slaves (a race of slaves). It is almost always so with a conquering and dominating race and the Tai were no exception. "Longdon was ruling in the wide country of gods. There eight lakhs (eight hundred thousand) of gods paid him homage." The eight lakhs of gods, mentioned in the Tai-Abom Chronicle, were no other than eight lakhs of Tai population (Mao-Shans) whose abode it was and Longdon was their sovereign. Hence the story of the early Mao-Shans, as fashioned in the Chronicle to give it a heavenly character, appears to the reader extraordinary and mythical; but, stripped of its garb, it is a history of the Mao-Shans, plain and simple, with its dynastic links connecting the past with the present, the heaven with the earth.

Kun-Long and Kun-Lai then proceeded down to the lower plains from the Land of the gods, accompanied by a body of chief men and Councillors and also an armed

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95 Ibid., p. 15.
96 Ibid., p. 5.
97 It is not clear whether Longdon was the title of the Sovereign or the name of a particular ruler. More probable is that it was a Tai title of the supreme ruler of the Tai in Yun-nan. That title may now be a matter of legend with the changes of time.
force in the month of Agrahayana (Nov.-Dec.) in Lakni Kashei of the Tai Teoshinga or sexagenary cycle. In addition, ten different kinds of animals were sent down with them. The purpose of sending this moving zoo is not known. These creatures were perhaps necessary as sacrificial offerings for propitiating the gods or spirits and also for sport and food. After reaching the plains they entered a country called Mong-Ri Mong-Ram. The country was found deserted and without any government. Probably the hostile elements, who would not submit to the Mao-Shans and had created disorder during the reigns of the former Tai rulers, quitted that part of the vast country either at the approach of the mighty Princes Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai or by being defeated by the advancing Mao-Shan forces.

There were in that region vast tracts of grassy land and fertile paddy fields. Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai found to their great satisfaction that the people of the neighbouring

99 The strength of the force is believed to be ninety thousand at the most from the account which says "They brought thirty thousand cooking vessels with them. Three persons could eat out of each vessel" - AB. ex. cit., p. 40. Here G.C. Barua's translation is wrong since in the text \( \times \) \( \times \) means three times ten thousand. Hence they brought thirty thousand cooking vessels.

100 The lists of animals are given at two places of the Sibsagar Ahom Chronicle. List I. - "alligators, bears, tigers, serpents, monkeys, seven million wild cats, eight otters seven crows, nine hogs and ten lizards." (p. 34). List II. - "a deer, an alligator, three bears, a tiger, a snake, a monkey, a wild cat, seven otters, eight hogs, and a cat." (p. 41). In Deodhai Assam Birenji, ed. by S.K. Bhuyan, (D.H.A.S., Gauhati, Assam), p. 3, list of animals is as follows:

101 Mong-Ri : Country uninhabited, Mong-Ram : Country deserted.
districts, probably mostly Tai, assembled there and warmly welcomed them. Large numbers of these people also loyally joined with them. The Princes then decided to build a city and a palace in the central part of the country Kong-Ri Hong-Ram. Thousands of people helped them to build the capital city with fortifications and ditches all around it. They also constructed a large palace or Haw-Lung in that city for the Princes. The throne room of the palace was nicely decorated with cloth carpets spread over mats on which a throne of gold was placed. The Tai people, who came down from Heaven in great numbers, selected suitable sites in a fertile valley near a hill and set up villages of their own with the co-operation of the local people.

Both Hsun-Long and Hsun-Lai installed themselves as rulers of Kong-Ri Hong-Ram in obedience to the mandate of Lengdon, who, at the investiture, had commanded "I, therefore, give you the rule of the countries. Both of you must rule the wide countries peacefully". A kind of dual principedom was thus established. The Princes sat on the thrones decorated with gold-embroidered cloth. The great golden royal umbrella was "spread over them both". The nobles, officers and the audience sat around them in a circle.

102 "I send you down", said Lengdon, "with these essential instructions. The Tais are dwelling there"; - AE, p.15.
104 AE, p.12.
105 Some times only one throne is mentioned for both the rulers. Ibid., p.18.
106 DAB, p. 2.
107 DAB p. 2; AE, p.40.
Ham-Long and Haun-Lei, having installed themselves as rulers of Mong-Ri Mong-Ram, made a thorough survey of the country and its frontiers mounting on an elephant and then divided the lands among the subjects. They ruled the country harmoniously and well and the abundance of produce of the vast agricultural tracts gave them perfect economic security. All people including the neighbouring chiefs paid them homage and annual tributes and remained loyal to them.

The Princes were advised by Ja-Haing-Hpa to worship them, their heavenly ancestors, at the end of a year by sacrificing an elephant and in the next year by killing a cow and a buffalo. They were then sent down to the earth with their blessings to be undisputed rulers. Lengdon ordered the Princes to eat the heavenly fowls at the end of a year and further said "The Tais should eat the flesh of the heavenly fowls. You will then be in possession of stores of wealth". But the Princes having descended to the earth found upon enquiry that the fowls were left behind through forgetfulness while departing from Heaven. They also could not remember the ritual procedure and the sacred formulae necessary for the worship of the holy Sword and the drums.

It became thus imperative on their part to send for the heavenly fowls and also for the ritual procedure and formulae, otherwise it would not be easy for them to subjugate

109 Here Ja-Haing-Hpa herself, Lengdon, Hten-Hkam and others of their heavenly family are meant.
110 AB, p.18.
111 Ibid., p.11. According to N. Elias's version, immediately on arriving on the earth to kill and eat the cock or cocks - Elias, op.cit., p.13.
112 BAB, p.2.
the native races in the new country, Hmun-Long and Hmun-Lai asked the persons assembled there if any body would be able to do the job of ascending to Heaven to bring the fowls and other things. The job being arduous, none dared, not even their Ministers Hum-tun and Hum-kan. But there appeared one man named Langu ( lang ), who ventured to undertake the journey to bring the heavenly fowls and the other articles as desired by the Princes. Langu is believed to be the Shan form of the Chinese name Leang of Lao-Wu. He was also called Chao-Ti-Kan. Langu's readiness to serve the heavenly Princes was inspired by the ambition to become the ruler of the Hse country taking advantage of their present difficulty. He therefore bargained for it as a reward for doing this particular piece of job, "I wish to ascend the ladder", said Langu to Hmun-Long and Hmun-Lai, "and bring down the heavenly fowls. I alone shall climb the ladder. O Kings of the Tais, I shall fetch the holy cocks, provided, you make me king of the 'Khe' (China) country". Both the Princes then promised to give him the Hse country, which was Mithila (Yun-nan)

113 N. Elias: ibid., p.13; Scott is of the opinion that the story of Hmun-Long and Hmun-Lai has been taken by the Shan Chronicler (from whose work Elias writes) from the Burmese Maha Yazawin. — GUESS, I. 157, 218.

114 Mithila or Deithila is the Pali or classical name for Mong-Hse which is no other than Yun-nan. Videha or Vidharit (Videha-rastra) is another name for it. Such application of ancient Indian geographical names to this part of south-west China may be attributed to early Buddhist missionary influence. Langu's Hse must have been some State in Hse (Yun-nan). This State seems to be Mong-Htin itself over which Hten-Hkan had been ruling. But when his two sons, Hmun-Long and Hmun-Lai, left for the lower countries the question of succession must have arisen and its settlement probably rested with the two Princes. Had not Hse belonged to them there would have been no point in Langu's asking for it from them.
according to N. Elias, to govern probably as a tributary ruler. Obviously by this the whole of China could not be meant at that time.

Langu then went up and reached the abode of the gods and entered into the palace of Ja-Hsing-Hpa. He knelt down before the goddess and greeted her and explained the reason of his coming to Heaven. After listening to him she brought out the holy fowls and handed them to him with the necessary instructions, to be communicated to the Princes, about the proper use of the Sword and the drums. In her instructions she particularly pointed out that the Princes must take only the heads and wings of the fowls and spare their leg and thigh bones for calculating future omens and that the Sword is to be placed in the middle of the Council Hall tied to a post, by the side of which the Princes sit.

Having received this message Langu descended from Heaven holding the fowls on his shoulder and in due time arrived back at Mong-Ri Mong-Ram. But the knowledge he had of the magic powers of the heads and wings of the heavenly fowls and the Sword aroused in him the temptation to secure them for himself. He therefore made up his mind to give to the Princes a report, just contrary to what he had been told by Ja-Hsing-Hpa. Thus on arriving at the capital, he knelt down before Eknun-Long and Eknun-Lai and humbly reported thus: "I

115 In AB. (p. 21) and Tamuli Phukan's AS. B. (p. 4) the Sword and the drums too are said to have been left behind. At this, Lengdon, according to T. Phukan (AS. B., ibid.) and Hten -Iken, according to N. Elias (ibid., pp. 13-14), became angry with the Princes for their carelessness.
wish to tell you what Ja-Using-Hpa said. She said that 'the Princes might not remember what Lengdon said to them. Let no other person know the secret. The rule of the Khe country may be given to you. The princes should eat the flesh and liver of the fowls of the holy country ( qs *\text{\textsuperscript{9}} \text{\textsubscript{50}} 10\text{\textsuperscript{2}} ) The heads and wings are to be taken by you, Langu. The princes should not take the legs of the fowls as they scatter about dungs with their legs when they go out in search of food in the morning. They (the Princes) are prohibited from taking the heads and legs of the fowls. If they follow the advice they will be able to rule the earth.' Langu further said, "Ja-Using-Hpa has ordered you to offer me the Sword and directed you, 0 Kings! to rule the countries in the north."\textsuperscript{116}

The Princes believed all that Langu had said and, in fulfilment of their promise, gave him the country of Khe (Mithila). He was also allowed to eat the heads of the fowls with the result that he became a wise and powerful ruler of the Khe country and the heaven - descended Princes, having eaten of the bodies, "remained ignorant Mao-Shans."\textsuperscript{117} Langu commenced his rule in A.D. 568 with capital at Mong-Kye.\textsuperscript{118} (Mong-Kye, Langu's dynasty, according to the Shan records, ruled over Mong-Hke (Yun-nan) till A.D. 1038, after which the history is silent.

\textsuperscript{116} ibid., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{117} ibid., p. 14.
\textsuperscript{118} ibid., p. 14. According to Scott Mong-Kye is Mong-Se-Long which is the name by which the Shans know Yun-nan-sen. - GURSS, i.1, Rangoon, 1900, p. 219.
It may be noted that the descent and reigning period of Ekim-Long and Hkun-Lai fell within the period of the Chinese Nan Pei Chao or the Southern and Northern Dynasties (A.D. 420-589). It was an era of division of China which weakened her seriously. To the Chinese rulers the rise of the powerful rival Tai State of Mong-Ri Mong-Ram, so close to them, became a source of great menace. At this time the divided China was perhaps too weak also to attack Mong-Ri Mong-Ram. They therefore sent their secret agents to get into the services of Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai's administration and disrupt the kingdom from within. Lengu was probably one of such secret agents. Within a short period the Chinese officers in the services of Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai succeeded, it is suspected, in creating a dissension between the two Princes over the question of supremacy as rulers.\(^{119}\)

Having made their headquarters at Mong-Ri Mong-Ram, Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai ruled for sometime over that country. They next came to a thickly populated country called Laidoi and built there a city and a fort with ditches around it. They made the fort their residence. In olden times this country of Laidoi was ruled over by a powerful Prince named Hkun-Kam, but on his death his sons Khrai-Hkam and Chao-Sam-Wun could not govern it owing to a violent outbreak of disorder, which upset the regime and caused a great dispersal of the population.\(^{120}\) It was probably this disorder that made Lengdon appoint and send down

120 AB, p. 41; DAB, p.3.
from heaven another Prince, named Hseng-Ngao-Hkam, for the restoration of peace in and assumption of power over this country. But he failed to rule by neglecting to act according to the instructions of the Lord of Heaven and a great disorder ensued again. Some of the inhabitants crossed the Sri Lohit and entered into the country called Puphanguau. There was a serious clash between the aggressors and the natives of Puphanguau, each party cutting down the men of the other party. In this state of things one Men-nam (or Men-dam) by name, said to be a 'Naga slave', made himself ruler of that country. But his rule proved to be one of great oppressions, misdeeds, and disorder. Being unable to endure the tyrannies of this upstart the chief men of the country wished to have a Prince of the family of Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai as a ruler. When the request came, Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai sent Chao-Tai-Hpa to bring that State to order and rule over it. This marks the consolidation of the power of the Mao-Shans in these new countries in Upper Burma.

It appears that Mong-Ri Mong-Ram and Laidoi, the latter being probably the chief centre of the 'countries in the north', were parts of a vast country, which the Mao-Shans brought under their control, building a fortified city in every strategic area so annexed.

About the Location of Mong-Ri Mong-Ram (Shan: Mong-Ri Mong-Ham) it is said in the Haen-Wi Chronicle that

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121 AB, p.14,
122 DAE, p.3. Sri Lohit is the Irrawaddy. Puphanguau or Pupangpau is not identified. It is some country to the west of the Upper Irrawaddy. It may be the land of the Kachins or Nagas.
123 According to DAE, (p.3) son of Hkun-Lai.
124 It is difficult to locate Laidoi in a modern map.
"In the time of the first Haha Thamadamins, Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, the boundaries extended to Mong La, Mong Hi and Mong Ham on the banks of the Mekong." It is further stated that Mong Hi and Mong Ham are "on the frontier of Mong La in the province of Keng Mai" (Chieng-Mai). 125 W.W. Cochrane, who made a thorough study of the available Shan manuscripts, being himself a master of Shan, further clarifies the geographical location of Mong-Ri Mong-Ram. He asserts: "Four Shan records agree in fixing the location on the Me-hkawag; two of them say that it was on the border of Chieng-Mai; and one is more explicit and say distinctly that it comprised Mong-1u, Mong-yon, Mong-kang, and Mong-hpa. Just what territory was included in these states we do not know, but the general location is clear enough." 126 Mong-Ri Mong-Ram was undoubtedly a part of the ancient Tai State of Haip-Haawng-Pan-na (Keng-Hing), which was situated on the western bank of the Mekong river and which comprised a part of the southern territory of Yun-nan, a part of the eastern Shan States and a part of northern Siam with Chieng-SEN, Chieng-Rai and Maang-Pang. 127

Though Hkun-Long and Hkun-Lai jointly administered the affairs of the country under them, which comprised Mong-Ri Mong-Ram, Laidol and such other territories as were conquered by the Tao forces, Hkun-Lai, for administrative convenience,

125 GUESs. I. I, p. 231.
made Laidoi his residence, while Hmun-Long continued to
rule from the capital at Mong-Ri Mong-Ram.

In due time, as instructed by Lengdon, the
heavenly Princes performed the State ceremony of planting
a peepul tree* in the name of the eldest brother A1-Hkun-
Long, the master of elephants and treasures.* The ceremony
was peacefully concluded and then salt was distributed among
the people. But after some days Hkun-Lai's mind became poisoned,
probably at the instigation of some Chinese secret agent
in the garb of an officer of the realm.* Disregarding the
advice of Lengdon to rule the country with unity between
them, he conspired to become the real king by reducing his
elder brother to the position of a subordinate ruler. With
that intention one day, without the knowledge of his brother,
he came to the spot where the peepul tree was standing and
tied to the root some gold strings. Then he allowed some

128 not a banian tree as Barna translates it. (see
AB, p. 21, para 23). The name of the tree in the Ahom text is
Tun-rung (     ) which means a peepul tree, in Assamese
Anhat tree (    ) and in Sanskrit Asvattha (flüss religi-
osa) which represents long life. Lengdon sent Puphishma as the
presiding deity of the forest who would dwell in this peepul
tree. Lengdon instructed Hmun-Long and Hkun-Lai: "When the
month of dinpet (Ahar, June-July) comes and the lakes and
rivers be full of water, Puphishma should be adored by all the
people by sacrificing buffaloes. Thus propitiated he will keep
you all safe and sound." - AB, p. 11. The ceremonial planting
of this peepul tree for long and happy life was done in the
morning of one auspicious day. According to Tamuli Phukan's
Buranji Hmun-Long and Hkun-Lai descended from Heaven in the
month of Agrahayana (Nov.-Dec.) of A.D. 568. If so, then the
three ceremony was performed after about six or seven months
of their arrival in Mong-Ri Mong-Ram, and in the meantime, they
settled down firmly in this country and built two fortified
cities, one in Mong-Ri Mong-Ram and the other in Laidoi.

130 P.K., Buragohain : on cit., p.10.
days to pass peacefully. When the plan for seizure of power matured, one day he suddenly asked his brother whether he had tied gold strings to the root of the tree. Hkun-Long replied in the negative. Then Hkun-Lai, to his brother's astonishment, asserted thus: "I am the real king of the country. I planted the tree and attached gold strings to its root. O, brother! you may examine it." On examining the root of the tree Hkun-Long found the gold strings and realised what was in store for him. There was then a difference between the two brothers. But Hkun-Lai, with the help of his supporters, took possession of all the things including the royal umbrella given by Lengdon. 131

Hkun-Long was a noble soul. Without further botheration he abdicated and left for Heaven, carrying with him the image of Chum-phia, to report the matter to Lengdon. Before he went he placed his son Tao-Long-Hpa-Tao-In-Lo 132 as the ruler of Mong-Ri Mong-Ram. When Hkun-Long related the matter to Lengdon the latter was fired up with rage and cursed Hkun-Lai in the following words: "He will not be able to reign long and come back to heaven. Know it for certain that his family will not reign for a long period." Lengdon then advised Hkun-Long to go back and rule the country called Mong-Hko Mong-Jao. Hkun-Long accordingly returned to the earth and assumed the rulership of the said country. He soon rose to be a powerful

131 AD, pp. 21-22.
132 Presumably as subordinate to Hkun-Lai. In some accounts Tao-In-Lo is described as the eldest son of Hkun-Long. (vide AD, p. 88; AE, pp. 24, 41; DAE, p. 3).
but benevolent king with a wide fame for his popularity and good government. The dominant element of his kingdom were the Tai who provided the main source of strength for embarking upon schemes of further expansion of his dominions.

Hkun-Long ruled for forty years and during this period he found himself master of a vast empire extending from Chiang-Hai in northern Siam in the east to the neighbourhood of the Lohit (the Brahmaputra river) and the Assam Hills in the west. It comprised almost the whole of Upper Burma and a part of Siam to the west of the Mekong with possibly the rich rice area of Kyaukse to the south of Ava. The Chronicle is, however, silent about the annexations made by Hkun-Long to his original kingdom. But it can be safely assumed that at this time there was a vast westward surging movement of the Mao-Shans over Upper Burma under the leadership of Hkun-Long and other minor chiefs.

Hkun-Long divided his empire and appointed his sons to rule over its different divisions. His eldest son (Ai-Hkun-Long), possibly Tao-Long-Hpa-Tao-Lu-Lo, was given the rule of the country Taitamkang and Mong-Mit. Hkun-Hpa, his second son, was appointed ruler of Mong-Teu or lower countries. He had to supply as tribute ten lakhs horses every year. He

133 Tunk-Kung of the Shans or Tagaung of the Burmese. In Tamuli Pimkan's Burant it is mentioned as Tai-Tung-Kung, that is, Hunkang. If so, it would mean Hogoang which is improbable. For Mong-Mit see AB, p. 22, para 24.
134 N. Elias identifies this territory as Mong Yang which is Mohnyn of the present day.
135 It simply means a large number.
placed his third son Hkun-Ngu in La-Mong-Tai as the ruler of that country. He was directed to send as tribute three hundred elephants annually. Hkun-Long made his fourth son Hkun-Hkak-Hpa, ruler of the country called Jun-Long, his annual tribute being a quantity of gold. He sent his fifth son Hkun-La to rule Mong-Kula on the Assam border and directed him to supply horses as tribute. According to N. Elias and Tamuli Phukan the tribute was to be paid in water from the Chindwin river. In Phukan's Buranji the river mentioned is Dihing, which may mean the Chindwin. Hkun-Ta, the sixth son of Hkun-Long, was made the ruler of Ava in Burma. His tribute was fixed at two viss of rubies yearly. Hkun-Long's seventh son Hkun-Hsu lived with his father at the capital and succeeded to the throne of Mong-Hko Mong-Jao after his father's death. Thus the great patriarch king Hkun-Long became a historic

136 According to N. Elias this country is Labun (or La Bong) near Zimme (Chiang-Mai) in Siam. Labun is called Juttra (or Yu-tara) in Tamuli Phukan's Buranji.
137 Hkun Kwat Hpa of N. Elias.
138 or You Lon or Mong-Yawng. N. Elias thinks that Mong Yawng was, probably, Garnier's Mong Yong, the former capital of Keng Cheng, the Cia-Mekhong portion of which is now annexed to Keng Tung.
139 or Mong-Kala or Kale on the right back of the Chindwin above Minjin. Kala refers to the Hindus and in the text it is the country of the Hindus. In another Tai manuscript Han-Ti-Lao (Iohit river) is said to be the western boundary of Hkun-Le's State. If so, it is not impossible that his State comprised an area of Hindu population or its former rulers were Hindus.
140 Hkun Hsa, according to N. Elias.
141 One viss is about 7 lbs. weight.
142 or Hkun-Ju (see AB, p. 25).
figure among the Mao-Shans as the heavenly ancestor of the Mao-Shan dynasties who ruled over the vast area from the Chindwin to the Mekong. Since then the Shan principalities rapidly increased in number from conquests and the habit of placing the sons and relatives of the ruling house as governors of the newly formed States.

In Mong-Ri Mong-Ram Hkun-Lai ruled for seventy years with his capital in Laidoi.\(^ {143} \) On his death his son Chao-Ai-Jep\(^ {144} \) ascended the throne in A.D. 638 and ruled the country for forty years. The famous Ai-Jepi Lekni or Era of the Mao-Shans commenced with the year of his accession. It may be noted that both the Birmese and Siamese national eras also commenced with this date.\(^ {145} \) Chao-Ai-Jep died in A.D. 678 leaving no heir. As the throne fell vacant the ministers and nobles sent messengers to Chao-Hkun-Jun, the ruler of Mong-Hko Mong-Jao, to inform him of the situation with a request for a prince of his family. Chao-Hkun-Jun sent his son Hkam-Pong-Hpa to occupy the vacant throne and rule the country.\(^ {146} \) Hkam-Pong-Hpa ruled for twenty-five years and was succeeded by his eldest son Hkam-Tyap-Hpa in A.D. 703. In this very year Hkam-Tyap-Hpa, the younger brother of Hkam-Tyap-Hpa, became ruler of Mong-Hao-Long and established his capital at Ma-Kao.

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143 DE, p. 41; DB, pp. 3-4, N. Elias and Tamuli Phukan make no mention of Laidoi.
145 Hallett says that the Siamese civil era, which dates from A.D. 638 is said to have originated in Sangkalok. It was associated with the foundation of the Phra Ruang dynasty in that State. Hallett in Amongst the Shan, pp. 344-45.
146 Tamuli Phukan: op. cit., p. 7.
Mong-Ihng. But according to Elias Hkam-$yip-Hpa (Kam-sippha of Elias) succeeded his elder brother Hkam-$yap-Hpa in A.D. 703 and established his court at Ma-Kao Mong-Ihng, thus finally abandoning Mong-Ri Mong-Ram as capital.

Thus Hkam-Long's posterity became supreme among the Mao and from Hkam-Pong-Hpa's accession reigned more or less peacefully in regular succession for about seventy-five years. During this period of political expansion of the Mao-Shans all over Upper Burma with their centres in Mong-Ri Mong-Ram, Mong-Hko Mong-Jao and Ma-Kao Mong-Long, rulers of the Vikrama dynasty ruled at Prome, the centre of the Pyu. Then came political pressure from Nan-Chao, Ko-lo-feng, the powerful king of Nan-Chao, after having won notable victories in the wars with the Chinese and the Tibetans, sent his expeditions to Burma not long after A.D. 754. He broke the power of the Pyu, who were still holding a predominant position over a considerable part of Central Burma and in this, though the history is not very clear, the Mao-Shans probably co-operated with and acknowledged the suzerainty of Nan-Chao.

The predominance of Nan-Chao over Upper and Central Burma and also a part of Assam seems to have continued to the middle of the ninth century A.D., if not more, and during this period, according to the Chinese, the Pyu kingdom came to a sudden end in 832 when the 'Man rebels' plundered the Pyu capital and deported three thousand captives to Hun-nan-Pu. At the time of its final fall the Pyu kingdom was already reduced in size and strength and pushed to the south by the

147 Hall: A History of South-east Asia, p.122. According to Hall the Pyu claimed suzerainty over all of...
Mao-Shans who had been exerting a steady pressure on it ever since the advent of Hkun-Long. The political extinction of the Pyu chronologically synchronized with the reign of Yong-Yeh in Nan-Chao.\(^{148}\) Yong-Yeh was another very powerful monarch of that kingdom who sent an expedition to Burma and also defeated the Chinese.

The Burmese version of the history of Hong-Mao, as contained in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle\(^{149}\) makes mention of two Shan kings Hkun-Lu and Hkun-Lai (Maha Thamadamina) who ruled in Hong-Mao for eighty and forty years respectively covering a period from A.D. 835 to A.D. 951. The important fact to be noted about these two kings is that Hkun-Lai was the son and successor of Hkun-Long, but he died without leaving any male issue to succeed him. Four Elders or Hao-Mongs of the ruling community had to manage the affairs of the country, which was then a confederacy of eight Shan States, from A.D. 951 to 956 before they could bring five sons and a few relatives of Hkun-Lu-Hkam, the then king of Hong-Mi Mong-Ram, to rule the States. All these princes are said to be the "descendants of the house of Hkun-Lu and Hkun-Lai".\(^{150}\) They are sent to be rulers.

\(^{148}\) L. Montrukul presents to us a map of the Nan-Chao kingdom as it was during the T'ang Dynasty in China. The map was obtained from the book Chinese History, Book 2 which is still used in the Chinese Secondary School in China. The map covers an area extending from the eastern boundary of East Pakistan on the west to the sea in Indo-China on the east and from Szechuan on the north to the sea on the south including Malaya in the kingdom. \(^{\text{Op.cit.}, }\text{p. 99}\). Here Nan-Chao included Assam and Burma.

\(^{149}\) It is pieced together from two manuscripts, one furnished by the Northern Shan States, the other by the Southern.

\(^{150}\) Ibid HSEN-WI Chronicle in JHSS, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 232. Here the reference is evidently to the heavenly Princes earlier sent down by Lengdon.
over the Salween States. This shows that the Salween was the boundary between Mong-Mao-Lung and the Mong-RI Mong-Ram States, and dependencies in the region of Hsip-Hsawng-Panna and Kimg-Mai (Chien-Mai) between the two great rivers Mekong and Salween. Hkun-Lu-Hkam had many sons most of whom were Governors at that time in the different divisions of the province of Keng-Mai.

As regards the parentage of Hkun-Lu of Mong-Mao the Chronicle relates that one Tung Hkam, a prince of the ruling house of Hsen-Wi, married Princess Pappawadi (Parvati ?), the daughter of Sao Wong-Ti, king of Meiktla (Yunnan), that Sao Wong-Ti built for the new couple a palace in the town of Tung Hkaw in Mong-Mao where they were made Governors in the year 125 B.C. (A.D. 763) and that a son, named Hkun-Lu, was born to them. From the above account it appears that Hkun-Long and his wife were governors under Sao Wong-Ti. Sao Wong-Ti here could be no other than the great Ko-lo-feng of Nam-Chao who had already extended his sway over Burma. Though there is a certain degree of correspondence in names and some facts between the story of the descent of Hkun-Lung and Hkun-Lai from heaven and that described in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle, yet they present different historical facts in different contexts and periods. Further the account of the Hsen-Wi Chronicle fits in with the general background of events of that period. It seems that this part of the Mong-Mao history has been inadvertently blended together with the earlier account of the descent of Hkun-Long and

151 Ibid., pp. 231-32.
Hkun-Lai by later chroniclers or compilers with the result that one meets with conflicting narratives about the origin of the branch of the Tai that migrated westwards across Upper Burma. This confusion crept into some of the Assamese Chronicles also in which, among others, the heavenly prince Hkun-Lai is said to have left no issue.\footnote{152}

Han-Chao’s exercise of suzerainty over Burma did not last much beyond the reign of Ko-lo-feng. There is a reference in the Chinese records to the fact that I-mou-hsun, Ko-l-fent’s grandson and successor, after having concluded peace with China, sent a present of Pyu musicians to the T‘ang Court early in 800. But two years later a formal Pyu embassy, led by Shunanto and accompanied by thirty-five musicians, visited the Chinese Court via Nan-Chao.\footnote{153} Thus it would seem that Nan-Chao suzerainty over the Pyu was merged after about forty years of its existence into that of China when I-mou-hsun formally declared himself and his heirs as ‘subjects of China’. Whether this change in the political status of Nan-Chao left the Shan States of Burma independent or placed them under Chinese suzerainty the available records throw no light. On the other hand, for over two centuries that followed the Shan rulers of Burma are not known to have owned any political allegiance either to China or Nan-Chao though, as among themselves, necessary political adjustments were made from time to time according to the practices of Tai polity of those days. But from the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

\footnote{152 Vide Anum Buronji (obtained from the family of the late Sukumar Mahanta) ed. by S.K. Bhuyan, p.4.}

\footnote{153 Hall : A History of South-east Asia, p. 131 ;}
the rapidly growing Pagan Empire of the Burmese under Anawrahta (1044-77) in the central part of Burma became a strong barrier to any further extension of the Shan power to the south and west from its main centre. Anawrahta not only restrained the expansion of the Shan supremacy, but also made a number of expeditions into the Shan country endangering its independence and imposing his nominal suzerainty over some of the Shan chieftains of the eastern highlands. But there is no record to show that he completely subdued the Shans and annexed their country. On the contrary, he had to build "a line of forty-three outposts along the eastern foothills to retrain the Shans from attempting to push into the plains". 155

154 Pagan or rather New Pagan was known as Pugarama in the reign of Anawrahta Minaw (or Maw-saw : Chief, King or ruler in the language of the Sgis who have racial and linguistic affinities with the Burmans). - G.E.Cr., p. 70. It is mentioned as Pukem in a Cham inscription of the eleventh century and as Pu-Kan in Old Han sly. In Burma its earliest mention is, according to Hall, in an old Man inscription of 1093. Pali classical name for it is Arimaddana. Its ancient Indian name is Tamra-anva (land of copper) in Tattadesa. The Burmese Chronicles mention A.D. 103 to be the date of its foundation with a line of forty kings who had reigned before Anawrahta. But the history of these kings is not known. In the early second century A.D., 88 A.D., according to the Jatabon Yazawin, Thamadarit (Samudharaj) is said to have founded nineteen villages at Yon-Hutkyun in the neighbourhood of Pagan, but it is significant that amongst these nineteen villages the name of Pagan does not occur. Probably the accounts of Pagan before the ninth century A.D. were those of Old or Upper Pagan (JERS, vols. XII-XV, 1928-35, pp. 95-96). Hall points out that the name of the predecessor of Anawrahta is mentioned in the inscriptions to be Saw Rahan who built a Buddhist shrine on Mount Tura, some eight miles east of Pagan. Another king, named Pyanpya, is credited with the foundation of the walled city or capital called Pagan in 849.

The greatest event in the reign of Anawrahta is his conquest of the Mon kingdom of Thaton (old Suddhamabhapati in Suvarnabhumi) for the Pithakas of the pure form of Buddhism. From the sixth century A.D., a comparatively dark period - a period when Hun-Long of the Anam Chronicles marching from Yun-nan conquered Eastern and Upper Burma - to the time of Anawrahta Buddhism in Burma "began to be strangled by various heathen growths and to become mingled with the debased Tantric system which is a mixture of black magic, witchcraft and Siva worship." \[156\] In Pagan, a degraded form of Buddhism, believed to have migrated originally from North Bengal and Nepal, prevailed under the influence of the Ari\[157\] monks who, it is said, were thirty in number with sixty thousand disciples. Some writers are of the opinion that the Ari cult, which held sway in Upper Burma, was a distinct development of Tibetan Buddhism. The Ari were centred at Thamaht village, a few miles south-east of Pagan. The Ari rejected the law preached by the Lord Buddha and professed cults of their own, particularly one of Dragon (Naga) worship in which Buddha and his Sakti wives figured. The Ari were bearded, grew their hair four fingers long, wore robes dyed blue-black, rode horses, drank liquor and went into battle. \[158\] According to the law preached by the Ari a man might...

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\[157\] According to Maung Tin "Ari" is derived from aranna, forest, and not from ariva as Charles Duroiselle and U Tin would say. The Burmese happened to pronounce the final mu as i, thus Ararn(e) = ari. The Ari are the Aranabikshus who worshipped neither Nat images nor images of the Buddha, but their own images with offerings of rice, curry and fermented drinks. \("The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism" in the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1915-16 by Duroiselle. Also Editors' Notes in JERS, vol. II, Part III, Dec., 1919, p. 155 on "Ari.") They were generally aramika (forest-dwellers) in their aramikes (forest-monasteries). In later periods most of them used to live in the towns and...
take the life of another, even of the parents, and yet evade
to course of *Karma* if he simply recited the formula of
deprecation, a practice characteristic of the mystic cults of
tantrism. Again from the kings and the nobles down to the
common people all were under the religious obligation to send
their marriageable children just before their marriage to
the *Ari* teachers, the practice being called 'sending the
flower of virginity'. They could not be married till they
were set free early in the morning. Persons were heavily
punished by the king for breaking the custom. The nature of
*Ari* worship is well represented by the frescoes in the Paya-
thonzu Pagoda at Pagan. The farmer Nyaung-u Saw Rahan, who
usurped the throne of Pagan and ruled from A.D. 931 to 964, is
the only name of a king before Anawrahta to be mentioned
in the inscriptions. Saw Rahan set up an image of the Serpent
and asked the people to bow down and worship it. 159
Apparently this king was under the influence of the *Ari*. But we know from
the Glass Palace Chronicle that Saw Rahan was killed and his
throne and three wives seized by Kunhsaw Kyaungbyu. In A.D.
986 Saw Rahan's two sons dethroned Kunhsaw and compelled him
to lead the life of a monk. The elder of the two sons Kyizo
then ascended the throne and ruled till A.D. 992 when, being
hit by an arrow of a hunter, he lost his life in the Chindwin
valley. Saw Rahan's son Sokkate by his younger wife then suc-
cceeded to the throne. Kunhsaw's son Anawrahta by the youngest

159 Harvey: *JBS*, Aug. 1919, vol. IX,
Part II, p. 63.
wife of Saw Rahan attended on him. But a conflict arose between Anawrahta and Sokkate when the latter took Anawrahta's mother to wife. In a duel between them Anawrahta lanced Sokkate to death and seized the throne. He first offered the throne to his father who had become a monk, but the latter declined the offer. The Chronicle records that Anawrahta then became king in A.D. 1017 and ruled for forty-two years. But the latest researches have lead to the fixing of the period of Anawrahta's reign from A.D. 1077. Anawrahta was a king of ripe perfections and when he heard and saw the wrong and lawless doings of the Ari he was determined to find out and enforce the true religion of the Lord in his country and suppress the false one that degraded the society. 160

It is traditionally well known that at about this time a famous Hinayanist Mon (Talaing) monk named Shin Arahara from the kingdom of Thaton in Lower Burma visited the Pagan Court. His original name was Shin Dhammadasi. Anawrahta being impressed by his personality and profound knowledge of Buddhism engaged him to start missionary work in his kingdom and convert the people to the right path. Shin Arahana's preachings brought opposition from the Ari priesthood who lost their gains and honour. In order to put an end to the Ari influence Anawrahta took drastic measures and 'unfrocked the thirty Ari lords and their sixty thousand followers and enrolled them among his spearmen and lancers and elephant dung-sweepers'. For giving proper instruction to the people on the true doctrine he extended his patronage to the new Buddhist preacher and sought to build a library
of the sacred books of Buddhism in the capital. In this enterprise he received the guidance from Shin Arabia himself, who advised him to procure copies of the Tripitaka ('Three Baskets of the Law') of the Pali canon, from the southern Mon country of Thaton. Anawratha then despatched one of his ministers to Manuha (Manobara), the king of Thaton, and possessor of thirty complete sets of Tripitaka, with a request to offer at least one such set. But Manuha ill received

161 Thaton had adopted Buddhism from Conjeevaram, which in the eleventh century was dominated by Brahminism, Ceylon being then the centre of Theravada Buddhism. According to Burmese tradition it was Buddhaghosa who first brought to Thaton Buddhist scriptures early in the fifth century A.D. from Ceylon. But modern scholars show that it was not from Ceylon but Conjeevaram, a great South Indian centre of Hinayana school under Dhammapala, that Thaton received the first current of Buddhism in that century. It was from Conjeevaram again that the Kings of Suvannabhumi acquired the Pallava alphabet with which they wrote their earliest inscriptions. It may be noted that during the reign of Jatakuma Sridhammasoka of Thaton Indian Buddhist missionaries Sona and Uttara visited Suvannabhumi which is identified by some scholars with Pegu and Moulmein. (See R.K. Mookerji's Asoka, Gaskwad Lectures, p. 33). According to G.P. Or., (p. 49) 'only Thaton should be understood by Suvannabhumi'.

162 The tribal name "Mon" is defined by Gsomde Koros, in his Tibetan Dictionary, as a general name for the hill people between the plains of India and Tibet. The Mon-pas of the southern lower Himalayan ranges are certainly these people. 'pa' means man or 'race'; Mon-pas means Mon people. These people are held to be connected with the Mon people of Lower Burma (Bhamma-desa) and southern part of Central Siam (Dvaravati) of ancient times, but it is doubtful. The Burmans, who conquered Lower Burma (Pegu and Thaton), called the Mon Talainga which was a term of reproach. The so-called Talaings never call themselves Talaing; they call themselves Mon. They are not to be connected with Telingana in South India.

163 Full title is 'Siritribhuvanadityapavaradhajam-raja Manuha'. He was the forty-eighth king of Thaton and lord of the thirty-two white elephants, the founder of Suvannabhumi (Thaton) being Siharajah (Simha Rajah), Upadeva, the sixth in descent from Siharajah, founded Suddhamavatii. Jatakuma Sridhammasoka was the grandson of Upadeva.
the minister and discourteously rejected the request. At this
Anawrahta marched with a large army and four generals and
invaded Thaton in 1057 and occupied it. He also captured king
Manuba with his family and ministers. Anawrahta then carried
away to his capital the sacred relics which were kept in a
jewelled casket and worshipped by a line of kings in Thaton,
and also the thirty sets of Pitakas by loading them on the
thirty-two white elephants of the king. He also transferred
to Pagan thirty thousand souls including men of valour, nobles
of the court and the monks and also elephants, horses, artisans
including forgers of cannon and masket. At Pagan a special
library building, called the Tripitakatalaik, was constructed to
house the Pitakas.

The conquest of Thaton, the Indianized suvarnabhumi, 164
soon proved to be of revolutionary significance to the Burmese.
With the wholesale movement of the Mon population to Pagan came
also their men of letters, books and scriptures. The Burmese,
who had no alphabet of their own, adopted the Mon alphabet
and for the first time Burmese became a written language. Pali,
the language of the Tripitakas, was studied as a sacred language.
Shin Arakan enjoyed the king's patronage and favour as the chief
religious guide of the Hinayana school. Under his direction the
Mon Buddhist missionaries spread out throughout the length and
breadth of the country to preach the new faith and convert the
people. Yet it would be wrong to assume that the Buddhism of
Pagan was unmixed in entirety. Luce, from his critical study of
the inscriptions of Burma, points out that it was mixed up with

164 The name Thaton or correctly Htawtun has the same
Hindu Brahmanic cults, Vaishnavism in particular. It was tinged with Mahayanaism, and towards the end of the dynasty at least with Tantrism. It rested doubtless on a deep bed of Naga and Nat worship. It is a fact that the coastal countries of the Far East came under the Indian cultural influence much earlier than the Pagan period and in this not one but many different forms of culture, particularly religious and artistic, found their way to them. Religion of Suvarabhumi can not be said to be purely Buddhist. Vaishnavism and Tantrism of India, too, must have penetrated into that land and made their influence felt. Harvey refers to the bas-reliefs of Hindu deities in the throne room of Mawhsa, built by the captive king himself, in the Nanpaya shrine at Myinkaba, south of the city of Pagan, showing thereby how Thaton Buddhism was influenced by Hindu art and ideals. Hence there is no wonder if evidences of various Hindu Brahminic cults are found in Pagan by recent investigations. In particular, the flow of Indian cultural influence into the land of the Burmese became easy after the conquest of Thaton, which opened the way for the Burmese to develop intercourse with the Buddhist and Brahminic centres overseas as far as Ceylon and South India. It may be noted that from the seventh century onward, if not earlier, the Pyu capital frome, to the south of Pagan, was a centre of Indian religions and culture; records and relics of the prevalence of Buddhism of both Mahayana and Hinayana schools and of Hindu Vaishnavism being found

166 History of Burma, p. 28.
in it. The Pyu, who had commanded the Irrawaddy valley from Prome to Halin at one time or other in the past before their subjugation by Nan-Chao, must have left traces of their achievements and cultural features in that region. Hence it is no wonder that a mixed religion was found in Pagan in the beginning, though Hinayana Buddhism ultimately triumphed. In this background, it may be reasonably assumed that the Tai communities of Yun-nan and Burma were already more or less acquainted with the Indian religious systems and thoughts even before their great movements in the thirteenth century.

In 419 B.C. (A.D. 1057), according to the Hsien-Wi Chronicle, Anawrahta also made a journey to "the Tarop country of the kingdom of Gandhala", which was the kingdom of Nan-Chao in Yun-nan, to ask the Tarop Utibwa for the Lord's holy tooth possessed by the latter. According to the Glass Palace Chronicle he marched to Gandhala with elephants, horses and fighting men. He had, however, to return without being able to get the real tooth, but with an understanding between the two monarchies. On way back, he entered the Tai State of Mong-Mao and met Sao-Hom-mong, "the ruler of the nine provinces of Mao". 170

168 meaning Emperor, Uti is possibly the Chinese title meaning 'Emperor' and Uwa, a form of Uti, hence the word Utibwa refers to the king of Nan-Chao who was a Tai king. E.H. Parkar is of the opinion that Anawrahta's famous visit to China in quest of the Buddha's tooth took him no further than the independent State of Nan-Chao, then called the Tayok country. (GUESS, i, i, pp. 196). But it is noteworthy that the Utibwa worshipped both Shinga and Sandi.

169 According to the Glass Palace Chronicle. But the Hsien-Wi Chronicle mentions "the five relics of Buddha".

170 G.P.Cr., p. 85. As can be gathered from the records of the Hsien-Wi Chronicle the nine provinces appear to be the following: Mong-Mao, Mong-Na, Se Hrang, Meng-Wan, Mong-Ti, Mong-Nho, Mong-Kawn, Mong-Nam and Mong-No.
Sao-Hom-mong was the assumed name of the ruler, his real name being Hkun-Tun. He was the son of Sao Tao-Nga-Ran, a prince from Hong-Ri Hong-Ran and Hkun-Lei. After the death of Hkun-Lei, the ruler of Hong-Hao, the Council of Elders-in-charge appointed Hkun Tao-Nga-Ran to be the ruler of Hong-Mao with a few other States.

While at Hong-Mao Anawrahta married Sao-Hom-Mong's daughter Sao-Mon-La (or Saw-Hun-Mla). The Chronicles so far available are silent about the purpose of Anawrahta's visit to Hong-Mao. It appears from circumstantial evidences that the purpose was not to conquer and annex Hong-Mao, but, after his disappointment at the Nan-Chao capital, Anawrahta probably wanted to strengthen his position by a marriage alliance with the powerful Hao-Shan Chief of Mong-Mao. For, there is nothing in the extant records to show that Sao-Hom-Mong had ever to acknowledge the overlordship of the Pagan monarch or at any time after the marriage visited the Pagan Court, which a vassal prince would have to do. Though the question of Mong-Mao's relation with Pagan may be a little controversial, it seems beyond doubt that the succeeding kings or Chao of that country were independent rulers.

The Hao-Shan Princess Sao-Mon-La enjoyed for a

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171 Hkun-Hao, Chronicles, SUSS, 1.1, pp. 232, 235. But N. Elias says that in the history of Mong-Mao it is recorded that Hkun Kent Hpa's son and successor gave his daughter in marriage to the Pagan monarch, op. cit., pp. 16-17. If so, Hkun Kent Hpa and Tao-Nga-Ran appear to be the same person and Sao-Hom-Mong was Chao-Tai-Hpa, who is said to have ascended the throne of Mong-Mao in A.D. 1050.

172 N. Elias, op. cit., p. 17.
time special favour from the Burmese monarch and attracted particular attention of the nobles of the Court and of the common people by her charms. But the queen and the concubines apparently grew envious of her for her position and the riches of her parents' kingdom that adorned her person. They conspired to poison the superstitious mind of the king against her and, on the plea that she was a witch and wore a magic earring of evil omens, they succeeded in persuading the king to order her expulsion from Pagan. At this, she left Pagan with her attendants and belongings for her native home in Mong-Maw. But she became a legendary figure to the later generations of the people of Burma who attributed to her wonderful powers and venerated her memory as a pious and virtuous lady. It is said that on her way back to Mong-Maw she built a Cave Temple called Shwezeyar pagoda. In it she enshrined the holy relic of the earring and placed an image five cubits in height. The pagoda was further developed by later Burmese kings.

Next Anawrahta invaded Tharakhetra (Sriksetra, now Mawra, in Prome) by land and water for the frontlet

173 C.P.G., pp. 84-7. In it the date mentioned is the tenth waxing of Taungmon in the year B.E. 416 (A.D. 1054) which is antedated by three years from Anawrahta's visit to the Tarop country.
relic and destroyed the zedi built by king Dwattabaung. He then seized the relic, set it on a white elephant and brought it away.

Anawrahta's religious zeal, when put to action, tremendously changed the political face of Burma. He brought under his sway a greater part of Burma proper. He crossed the Arakan Yoma and conquered northern Arakan. To the east the frontiers of his empire touched the foothills of the Shan mountains. To the south his dominions extended to Lower Burma and included the Mon country of Thaton with its outlet to the sea. Thus he founded the greatness of Pagan and politically united most of Burma. There is, however, no evidence of any wider expansion of his empire in the north owing probably to the consolidation of the Shan power in Upper Burma.

174 The legend about Dwattabaung (or Dwot-ta-baung) is that on the death of Mahathambawa (435-23 B.C.), the first king of the dynasty that started while at Prome, his wife, who was in the state of pregnancy, was kept by his brother and successor Sulathambawa as his own. The lady gave birth to a son called Dwattabaung because he was begotten by the two brothers (dwatta is from Skr. dyitva meaning two). The child is said to have had three eyes from which he was also called Twattabaung. It is also said that Dwattabaung, when he succeeded Sulathambawa, "built a town still known as Tharebkettara". The capital city of the dynasty had hitherto been Prome, but the new city of Tharebkettara was founded on an extensive plain about five miles to the eastward. The ruins of the city still exist and known as Rathmya or 'city of the hermit'. Dwattabaung had brought the frontlet relic from the Kenyan country. He is held in deep veneration by the Burmese people and the kings of Burma claim their descent from Mahathambawa. Chinese sources also mention that Sriksetra was the Eyu capital. Thus the Eyu appear to be the predecessors of the Burmese. (vide Chronicle of the City of Taung as translated by Ms. Tin and Luce in HRJ vol. IX, Part 1, pp. 28-46; Pkeyre: History of Burma, pp. 10-11; Hall: A History of South-east Asia, p. 120; G.P.Cr., p. 85).
Yet the frontier towns and fortresses, as named in the Burmese Chronicles, show that his empire extended to Katha and Tagaung along the valley of the Irrawaddy. He built as many as forty-three towns "to prevent mixture with the Shan Yuns, who dwelt with the Burmese kingdom of Tampadipa (Tamravipra or Pagan) and Kamboja kingdom (Tagaung) ruled by Maw kings of the Shan country of Maw."  

Anawrahta had a strong desire, in making his expedition to the west, to bring the famous image of Mahamuni to his capital from its seat in Dinnyawadi (Dhanyawadi) in the Akyab district of Arakan, but it was not fulfilled as his resources were too limited for the purpose. He is noted for his devotion to the sacred task of spreading Buddhism in Burma and for building a number of solid pagodas of which the Shwezigon was principal. It was erected over relics obtained from Prome and Ceylon.  

While Anawrahta was ruling over Burma proper from his capital at Pagan and expanding his domains in the south, in the north and east the powerful Mao-Shans were ruling over a

175 For fuller details with the names of the frontier towns and fortresses see Glass Palace Chronicle, pp. 96-7.
176 Ibid., p. 96.
177 It is practically one great plain in the central part of Burma, the hills that exist here and there being comparatively mere undulations.
178 It is a vast tableland interspersed with rivers such as the Salween, the Sittang, the tributaries of the Irrawaddy and of the above two rivers and also the tributaries of the Mekong. This part comprising the Northern and Southern Shan States is known as the great Shan plateau and is inhabited by the Shans from early times. The area of the Shan Hills is estimated at between 40,000 and 50,000 sq. miles, and, broadly speaking, it may be said to lie between the 19th and 24th parallels of latitude and the 96th and 102nd of longitude. The shape of the area is that of a triangle, with its base on the plains of Burma and its apex on the Mekong river. (vide...
vast expanse of territory between the Irrawaddy and the Mekong. It may be recalled that the Mong-Ri Mong-Ram prince Hkam-Tyip-Hpa of the line of Hkun-Long, on arriving in Mong-Mao-Lung (the great country of the Maos) in A.D. 703, made Ma-Keu Mong-Lung his capital. This is the first influx of Hkun-Long's posterity into Mao-Lung. From this time onward Ma-Keu Mong-Lung rose to a premier position as a residence of the king and central seat of administration for the great Mee-Shan country and on its rise the importance of Mong-Ri Mong-Ram began to decline. The last Chao-Hya or ruler of Hkam-Tyip-Hpa's line was Hng-Lep-Hpa, who died in A.D. 1035 without leaving any male issue to succeed to the throne, hence a prince named Tyao-Tai-Pong of the line of Hkun-Hkok-Hpa, Hkun-Long's fourth son and ruler of Jun-Long (or Yen Lon), was then brought in and installed in that year as king of Mong-Mao-Lung. His coming marked the second influx of Hkun-Long's posterity into that country. He was followed by his son and grand-son Tyao-Tai-Hpa (1050-62) and Tao-Le-Lo (1062-61) as rulers of Mong-Mao-Lung, these rulers being contemporaries of the Burmese king Anawrahta of Pagan. It is pointed out by Ney Elias that Hkun-Kawt-Hpa - mentioned as Tyao-Tai-Pong and Sao Tao-Nga-Ram in other Chronicles - signalized the change in the succession by establishing a new capital at Cheilla (the modern Se Lan).

179 Kham-sip-pha of H. Elias.
180 Chau-Lip-pha of H. licu.
182 It is supposed to be Garnier's Mong Yong, the former capital of Keng Cheng, the Cis-Mekong portion of which was later annexed to Keng Tung.
183 H. Elias: op. cit., p. 16.
on the left bank of the Salweli and immediately opposite Ma-Kau Hong-Lung. He is also said to have incorporated Bhamo with his dominions. Whether Cheila continued to be the capital of Hong-Hao during the reigns of his successors is not definitely known, but it may be assumed that either of the two places, Ma-Kau Hong-Lung or Cheila, was the capital.

The Hsen-Wi Chronicle presents to us a picture of the Hao-Shan country between the Irrawaddy and the Salween as it was in A.D. 956. As mentioned above, after a period of interregnum, a batch of Mong-Ha Hong-Hao princes was invited and placed as rulers of the Sin-Salween Shan States. The appointments were made by Sao Hmum-Tai-Hka, the leader of the batch, in consultation with the Council of Elders at Mong-Tu in Hsen-Wi. Sao Hmum-Tai-Hka himself lived at Hsen-Se, a city which he had rebuilt with his son Sao Hmum-Hkam-Hsen-Hpa making it the capital of all the Shan States, so placed under him, where State affairs were to be settled. It was a grand confederacy of States or groups of States ruled by these princes of the house of Hmum-Hong and Hmum-Hai as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rulers or Chao-Hpae</th>
<th>Territories under the rulers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hmum Tao-An-Kwa</td>
<td>Mong-Nai, Keng-Hkam, Keng-Tawng and Hma-Kmai, as far as the Siamese borders.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Hkun Tao-Nga-Run
Hmong-Mao, Hmong-Na, SeHpang,
Hmong-Wen, Hmong-Ti, Hmong-Hko,
and Hmong-Kawn.

4. Hkun Hpa Wan-Ton
Hmong-Ting, Hmong-Ching, Kung-
Ma, and Hmong-Mong.

5. Hkun Tao-Lu-Lo
Hmong-Ham, Hmong-Yawng, and
Hmong-Hkattrra.

6. Hkun Pawng-Hpa
Wing-Hao.

7. Hkun Hseung-Pawng
Hmong-Kun-Kwoi and Lam-palam.

8. Hkun Pan-Pao-Long

9. Hkun Hram-Hsen
Keng-Lao, Man-Haw, Keng-Leng,
Hmong-Yang, and Hmong-Kawng.

10. Tao-Hkun-Wen
Hmong-Yuk, Hmong-Yin, Hmong-Ham,
Hmong-Tai, and Hmong-Ham.

Most of the above districts are in the present region
of Northern and Southern Shan States of Burma. The above Hmong-Ram princes, sent by Hkun-Iu-Hkam, assumed charge of
those districts in their respective States and built many towns
and palaces in addition to those that were already there. By
319 B.E. (A.D. 957) two very important cities, namely, Hsen-Se
and Hsen-Wi rose to be the headquarters of two groups of towns
and districts of the Shan country. Under the direct control of
Sao Hkun-Tai-Hkam of Hsen-Se were placed Hmong-Hai-Paw, Hmong-Hko,
Hmong-Lao, Lawk-Sawk, Hmong-Nawng, Hmong-Sang, Hmong-Lon, Hmong-Mong,
Another group, namely, Man-Se Memong, Hmong-Yaw, Hmong-Hten,
Hmong-Ya, Hmong-Ko, Hmong-Wan, Hmong-Kek, Hmong-Si, Hmong-Hka, Ko-
Kang, Hmong-Paw and Hmong-Lawng, was placed under the direct
control of Hkun-Ai-Hawn of Mong-Ta in Hsen-Wi. Tao-Hkun-Wen of
Wing-Nam-Mong-Yin managed the affairs of Hmong-Yuk, Hmong-Tat,
Hmong-Hao and Hmong-Noi.
Another state of some significance was Homiet, of which the Shan name is Hong-Hit. In a Burmese work, entitled Zabu-Oke-Saung, the ancient name of the State is given as Hong-Hit-Lup-kling-nau.Hey Elias says that the adopted Pali name was probably Thiri-Kata (Sri Bastra). At times Hong-Hit included the whole of the country between the left bank of the Irrawaddy and Busamri or the provinces of Hong-Hao proper, as far north as the territory of the Ikemi Shan comprising the Sawbwaiship of Huma. It appears from the Hsen-Wi Chronicle that Hunm-Hkan-Hkan-Ipa or Hunm-Hkan-Hean-Ipa, the son of the Hong-Ri Hong-Ram prince Sao Hkan-Tai-Hkan of Hseen-Se, was appointed as ruler of Hong-Hit Keng-Lao with capital at Keng-Lao. He had three sons named Ta-Ka, Hunm-Yi-Awang and Hunm-Sam-Hao. Sao Hunm-Ta-Ka succeeded to the throne on the death of his father and removed his capital from Keng-Lao to Sung-Ko or Singu. Hunm-Hkan-Pawng-Ipa of Karr-Wing-Hao died without issue whereupon the ministers of that State applied to Sao Hunm-Tai-Hkan of Hseen-Se for a prince. Sao Hunm-Tai-Hkan then appointed his youngest son Hunm-San-Hao to rule that country.

185 Keng-Lao appears to be Kling-nau of Zabu-Oke-Saung and Kay-Kling-dan or Kay-King-nau or simply Kay-King of Tai-Ham and Assamese Duranji (see A.E.P. 42, Tomlin: Assam Duranji, pp. 8-9: DAE, P. 4 etc.). The city of Keng-Lao was the capital of the two districts of Hong-Hit and Keng-Lao. Sao Hunm-Ta-Ka shifted his capital in 1069 from Keng-Lao to Singu on the east bank of the Irrawaddy.
Hmun-Kum, who was one of the most noted rulers of the Shan States, was according to the Kaen-Vi-Chronicle, a descendant of Sao Hmun-Ta-Ka and ascended the throne of Hong-Mit Keng-Lao in 547 B.C. (A.D. 1185). A Shan prince, Hmun-Yi-Kuai-Hkan (the Golden Buffalo Prince), is said in the Kaen-Vi Chronicle to be a son of Sao Hmun-Kum and a contemporary of Kublai Khan and Narathihapate (Marasinghapati) or Hsihapadi (A.D. 1254-87), the Burmese king of Pagan. But this connection appears to be absolutely fictitious, for, Hmun-Yi-Kuai-Hkan must be a prince of a later period to be contemporary of Kublai Khan and Narathihapate. Sao Hmun-Kum's son was the famous Chao Tai-Pong to whom his father gave the rule of the country Lao-Lang.

It took four years of continual fighting before Kublai in A.D. 1267, annexed Yunnan. Then, having installed himself as Emperor of China, he sent envoys to all those countries, that were regarded as satellites of the Middle Kingdom, demanding their allegiance which they had been traditionally paying to the Emperor of China. In A.D. 1271, his viceroy in Yunnan was instructed to claim from Pagan the tribute which had been paid to China by the predecessors of the Burmese king.

Accordingly when envoys were sent to the Burmese king Narathihapate, the latter refused to receive the envoys and recognize

186 Hmun-Kum does not appear to be a son of Sao Hmun-Ta-Ka. He may be a descendant or a relation, for, if he would have been a son Sao Hmun-Ta-Ka would have a reigning period of 117 years (1063-1185) which is normally impossible. There thus occurs a gap between the reigns of Sao Hmun-Ta-Ka and Hmun-Kum. According to N. Elias's account, which is more reliable, Sao Hmun-Kum was the son of Sao Hmun-King, a Kong-Liao Sawtra, and his reigning period is 1163-1171 which nearly agrees with the Dynastic List attached to the Deodhai Buranji. See N. Elias : op.cit., p. 26.
the assumed overlardship of Kublai Khan. But two years later
the demand was renewed and this time Kublai Khan deputed an
imperial ambassador, the First Secretary of the Board of Rites,
with three Colleagues to Pagan with a letter asking the Pagan
king to enter into a perpetual alliance with him and threatening
war if he refused to fulfil his duties. In this connection it
is important to note the version of the Neen-Ti Chronicle which
says that Hun-Yi-Kwai-Kiam, reputed to be a son or descendant
of the great Han-Shan king Hun-Kam, visited the Gem Palace in
China with a great retinue on invitation from Emperor Kublai
Khan. The latter received him with great honour and proposed that
he should go as an emissary to Kshapadi (Narathihapate), the
king of Pukan (Pun-Kam) (Pagan), to demand the payment of the
tribute of four elephants, eight viss of gold, and eighty viss
of silver which his ancestors used to pay every three years or
every nine years. He then proceeded to Pagan probably as one
of the Colleagues of the ambassador, accompanied by one
hundred Chinese. Fifty of these stayed with him in Sung-Ko,
his father's capital, and fifty went on to king Kshapadi of
Pagan. But the king of Pagan, in his reckless arrogance and
against the advice of his ministers, refused to pay the tribute,
put forty of the Chinamen to death, and sent back the
remaining ten to tell the Seo Wong-Ti (Emperor) that he was

188 Ibid. But Hall says that Narathihapate seized the
ambassador, his Colleagues and their whole retinue, and put them
to death—see Burma, p. 25.
prepared for war. In this the Pagan king himself took the offensive and attacked the State of Kaungai on the Taping river between Bhamo and Wama-in, because its chief had submitted to the Mongols. At this the Chief sought the help of the Mongols. Kublai Khan then ordered an expedition against the Burmese and at the battle of Ngasaunggyan in 1277, graphically described by Marco Polo, the Burmese with their numerical superiority were worsted. A series of Mongol campaigns under the provincial governor Nasr-uddin followed against the Burmese till a decisive battle was fought at Kaungai in 1283 in which the Burmese were heavily defeated. The Chinese then entered the Irrawaddy valley and Narathihapate being panic-stricken fled to Bassein in the south, for which he was called by the people Tarokpyemin 'the king who ran away from the Taroks' (Chinese). He was later (1287) put to death by his son Thibathu, the governor of Prome.

How was the Chinese army composed? Undoubtedly it was composed of Tartar and Chinese soldiers, but that it was also reinforced by a Shan army is brought to light by the Hsen-Wi Chronicle. The Chronicle says that 'the Emperor of China sent an army and asked for support from Sung Ko under the command of Hsun Yi Kwai Hkam. Contingents came from Seihang, Mong Hko, Mong Hkam, Mong Yang, Mong Na, Santa, Mong Ti, and Mong Van, and all the other Shan States under the chief Sawbra, Sao Tai Pong, and placed themselves under the leadership of Hsun Yi Kwai Hkam'.189 Were Sao Tai Pong

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must be distinguished from the great Mao-Lung king Chao-Tai-Pong, who ruled from A.D. 1171 or 1172 to 1188 or 1189. The Chronicle also mentions 639 B.E. (A.D. 1277) as the date of Sao Wong-Ti's declaration of war against Hsihapadi which exactly corresponds to the date of the battle of Ngasmanggyan. By 641 B.E. (A.D. 1279) the Chinese forces with the Shan army invaded Pagan and the king and his son Hsiri Kyawzwa fled to Pyema Mong Myen. Since then the people called the king Tarokpyemin, 'the king who ran away from the Taroks (or the Chinese)'. In the following year the Shan General is said to have carried the head of Hsiri Kyawzwa to the Chinese Emperor, and the troops returned to their own country. The head carried was perhaps of some other son of Hsihapadi and not a Kyawzwa, who survived a the bloodbath in the south, in which five of his brothers perished, and later submitted to the Chinese. Though Pagan was destroyed Kyawzwa received official recognition as its ruler.

Sao Hkun-Kum (A.D. 1164-72) was a powerful ruler possessing extensive territories within his domains. He ruled the States or rather districts Mong-Mit, Mong-Yang (Hlomyin), Kare-Wong-Hso, Mong-Kung-Kwai-Lam, Mong-Kawng (Mogaung) and Man-Maw (Bhamo), in short, he was the ruler of the northern territories of the Shan country in Burma from A.D. 1185, with his capital at Sung-Ko (present Simgu) on the east bank of the Irrawaddy.

190 According to some it was Ser Marco Polo's kingdom of Mien and the Burmese histories refer to Male by it. It was perhaps Hsihapadi's immediate refuge before his flight to Bassein. The date (1279) mentioned is four years earlier than one mentioned in recent works.
above Mandalay in the State of Hong-Mit, which was larger than the present district of that name. In the same period Sao Tai-Pong ruled the rest of the Shan States that lie to the south with his capital at Hsen-Se of Mao-Lung (the great Mao country). Sao Tai-Pong's period of reign is given as A.D. 1172-89 in the Deochai Asam Baranjil. According to the Ahom Chronicles Chao Tai-Pong (or Sao Tai-Pong) was the son of Sao Hkun-Kum. Prior to Chao Tai-Pong's accession to the throne of Hsen-Se, one Thao-Hkunra was the ruler of Mao-Lung (Southern Shan States) but Sao Hkun-Kum forced the latter to quit Mao-Lung and live in Mong-Lum-Lung-Kaoklang from where he later retired to Mangjakali. When the throne of Mao-Lung thus fell vacant Chao-Hkun Kum gave his son Chao-Taiplung, the rule of the country, Mao-Lung. He ruled Southern Mao-Lung with his capital at Hsen-Se. Consequently Sao Hkun-Kum was not only the ruler of the northern Shan States, which then extended far to the north and included Mogaung, but was also the overlord of the States under Sao Tai-Pong. During Sao Tai-Pong's reign it was found that the descendants of Sao Hkun Nga Run, to whom Mong-Mao was given, had already failed and Mong-Mao was left without a ruler for some time. The ministers of Mong-Mao approached Sao Tai-Pong with a request to appoint a prince of his family as the ruler of their State. Sao Tai-Pong gave them his youngest son Hkun-Hpong-Hkam, who then proceeded to Mong-Mao and assumed the rulership of

194 DAB., p. 42; DAB., p. 4.
the State and also built a new capital at the town of Wing-Wai. At Sung-Ko, Sao Hkun-Kum was succeeded by his son Hkun-Yi-Kwai-Hkam, but the latter died, leaving no issue. The ministers of Sung-Ko therefore went to Haen-Se to ask for a ruler and the Sawbwa Sao-Long-Tai-Long, the second son and successor of Sao Tai-Pong, gave them Sao Hkun-Hpo-Hsaeng-Kang to rule over Hong-Mit Sung-Ko. It appears that Tai-Long, and not Tai-Pong, was then the ruler at Haen-Se. Probably by that time the old king Tai-Pong was dead and Tai-Long came to the main capital.

During the reign of Chao Taiplung (Tai-Pong), a prince named Chao Changneyu, son of Chao Changbun (or Chao Chengman) of the Mong-Ri Long-Ren line of kings from Hkun-Long, left Mong-Ri Long-Ren with his followers and proceeded westward towards Mao-Lung. He first reached Mong-Hea Mong-Ja (Mong-Hea Mong-Jao) and then Hong-Pa Hong-Hkan along the route. His was probably an expedition. As he entered Mao-Lung and continued to advance towards the Nam-Kiu (the Irrawaddy), Pameoplung appealed to him saying "You should never cross the Nam-Kiu. We were sent down at the same time. We tied up our hairs together. We killed cows and buffaloes and ate the meat together. We are in peace up to this time, so we must always be in friendly terms". He further strengthened this kinship by offering his sister Mangmong Blakhksamheng in marriage to Chao Changneyu. While at her

195 Hsen-Wi Chronicle, p. 236. There are errors in the dates of Sao Tai-Pong's reign and Hkun-Hpa-Hkam's appointment as given in the Chronicle.
196 Ibid., p. 237.
197 Ibid.
198 AB, p. 43; DAB, pp. 4-5.
parents' palace she gave birth to a son whom the grand-father Chao Taiplung named Hao-Ka-Hpa. The child was brought up by the maternal grand-mother with great care and affection.\(^{199}\)

According to Tai-Ahom Chronicles Lengaham Phuchang-khang (or Hpo-Hsang-Kang) was the second son of Chao Taiplung (or Sao Tai-Pong)\(^ {200}\) and father of Chao Hao-Ka-Hpa, and one account says that he was an adopted son,\(^ {201}\) Chao-Tailung and Pameoplung (or Pa-Meo-Pong) being respectively his eldest and youngest sons.\(^ {202}\) This adopted son was no other than Chao Changneyu, who thereafter assumed the name of Phuchang-khang. It appears that if Sao Tai-Pong had any son above Sao Tai-Long he must have died earlier without being made a ruler anywhere.

The Tai-Ahom account further says 'Chao Taiplung divided his countries between his sons. He gave Tailung, the eldest, the rule of Mangjin (or Mong-Jin or Mong-Yin), Pameoplung, the youngest, the rule of the country, Maelung and Phuchangkhang, his son-in-law, the rule of the country, Kupplingdiao',\(^ {203}\) or according to the Deodhai Assam Buranji, the States Mong-Kit and Kupling. Here the appointment of Phuchangkhang was made by Sao Tai-Pong himself and not by Tai-Long as said in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle and the date of appointment was A.D. 1202 according to Hey Elias or A.D. 1204 according to the Deodhai Assam Buranji.

\(^{199}\) AB, Ibid; DAB, p. 5. Here Chao Changneyu's son is wrongly called Hao-Mirran-Hpa.

\(^{200}\) AB, pp. 24, 42; DAB, p. 215.

\(^{201}\) AB, p. 42.

\(^{202}\) Ibid, pp. 24, 42. But according to Tamuli Phukan's Assam Buranji Pa-Meo-Pong was the eldest son and in N.Elias's book Pu-Sang-Kang (or Hpo-Hsang-Kang) is shown as the younger brother of Pam-Yau-Pung (or Pa-Meo-Pong). In Tai-Ahom texts the spellings of these names are

\(^{203}\) InTai-Ahom texts the spellings of these names are
It seems this arrangement was made during the life time of Hkun-Kum, the father of Sao Tai-Pong, for, while his grandsons were appointed to rule the different divisions of Sao Tai-Pong's kingdom, he was to rule another district, called Mong-Hkan. Sao Tai-Pong's kingdom included eight Shan States which extended over the districts of Hsen-Wi, Tung-Lao, Lai-Hka, Keng-Hkam, Wung-Kawk, Nawng-Wawn, Hsi-Hkip, Hsa-Tung, Maw-La-Hyeng, Mong-Nai, Mong-Him, Kung-Ma, Mong-Mong, Hsi-Paw, Mong-Kung, Keng-Tawng, Hpa-Hea-Tawng, Hawk-Hai, Yawng-Hwe, Sam-Ka, Yan-Kong, Pu-Kam, Mong-Lon, Mong-Tiang and Mong-Ching. During the reign of Sao Hkun-Tai-Lung, Mong-Han and Mong-Yin were annexed to the State of Hsen-Se. The Shan country of Mao-Lung thus attained to a great size in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries under Hsen-Se.

A comparison of the different narratives leaves little doubt about Sao Hkun-Hyang-Hkam's family name being Pa-Meo-Pong. Some Chroniclers refer to Hkun-Hyang-Hkam by the latter name only. By both names this prince is shown to be the youngest son of Sao Tai-Pong. The greatest Hao-Shan monarch, Hao-Hkan-Hpa, of the Burmese Chronicles (or Hao-Hkan-Hpa of the Shans) and his brother General Sam-Long-Hpa are described as the sons begotten, according to the Hsen-Wi Chronicle, on Sao Hkun-Hyang-Hkam's wife by a prince, wrongly identified as Yok-ka-so nat, and, according to the Tai-Abom Chronicle, on Pa-Meo-Pong's wife by one Prince
Blak-Hkem-Deng, 206 said to be a descendant of Lengdon, the Lord of Heaven. A story related in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle says that Hkun-Hpang-Hkam managed to catch hold of a tiger that had killed one of the younger daughters of Sao Wong-Ti of the Gem Palace in China, 207 and took it himself to the latter's presence, Sao Wong-Ti, being greatly pleased, presented Hkun-Hpang-Hkam with a State Seal and also with a passport Seal, which authorized him to tax all who passed through his country, and he also conferred on Hkun-Hpang-Hkam the title of Governor of No Pong.Hac Pong. 208 In this connection the South Hsen-Wi Chronicle says that nine Haat-hnte came with the Seals and established nine tolls at different places in Hsen-Wi. This shows some kind of recognition on the part of the Kong-Mao Sawbwe, of the suzerain authority of China, however nominal. Sao Wong-Ti's action also made Hkun-Hpang-Hkam Governor of the Hsen-Wi group of States originally placed under the direct control of Hmun-Al-Hkam of Hong-Tu. Having returned from China Hkun-Hpang-Hkam also shifted his capital from Wing-Wai to Nam-Paw, south of Hpang-Hkam near Se Lam on the Nam Paw in the country of Hong-Hao. The States or districts over which Hkun-Hpang-Hkam ruled were Mong-Hao, Mong-Wan, Mong-Ha, San-Ta, Mong-Ti, Mong-Ham, Sot-Hpang, Mong-Kwan, Mong-Ya, and Mong Haat-ta-ra. 209

206 Yok-ka-so is a hat, the latter meaning a spirit of god, Blak flower, Hkam gold, Deng or Neng, canopy i.e. the prince who looked like a golden-canopy-like flower. See AB, p. 43 ; DAE, p. 5.
207 Here the reference is almost certainly to the Chinese Governor of Yun-nan.
208 This is said to be Ma Pang, by which Hsen-Wi is known to the Chinese.
Hkun-Hpang-Hkam had four daughters named Nang-Ye-Hkam-Long, Nang-Ye-Hkam-Leng, Nang-Ye-Haeng and Nang-Am-Aw. He was growing old, but no son was born to succeed him. He was extremely worried at this and started praying daily to the Yok-ka-so nat that he might have a son. One day while he was suddenly entering the chamber of his youngest queen the latter was so much discomposed that the king suspected the presence of her paramour who had just escaped from the chamber. After this a watch was set on the queen's chambers and one night the guard reported that the Yok-ka-so nat was with her. Hkun-Hpang-Hkam then turned the queen out of the palace. The Chronicle says that 'one day she gave birth to three sons on the banks of the Nam Paw, at the foot of a hill. They were named Hkun-Ai-Ngam-Mong, Hkun-Yi-Kang-Hkam, and Hkun-Sam-Long'. A further light is thrown on this incident by a Tai-Ahom Chronicle which says that 'In Lekni Raishinga, Biakkhamdeng, the grandson of the Lord of heaven, came down to have a bath in a river and the queen of Pemeoplung Nam-Nem-Ap also went there. There Biakkhamdeng had an intercourse with her and she became pregnant. She was

210 Ibid., p.237.
211 or Sao (Ai-mo) Hkam-Neng of Ney Elias and Tyao-Ai-mo-Hkam-Neng of Tamuli Phukan. He was a descendant of Longdon in the line of Hkun-Su. See N. Elias, cit., p.17; Tamuli Phukan, cit., p.9.
212 The river here is almost certainly the Nam-Paw.
putting up with her father, Thabkhenlung or Thaokhenmong, In
Lakni, Mungmu.\textsuperscript{215} Shukhanpha the great was born.\textsuperscript{215} The cause of
her putting up with her father, according to the Deodrai Asam
Buranji, was that she had been driven out by her husband at her
being found pregnant.\textsuperscript{214} Though there may be a mistake of a few
years in the calculation of dates in the two Chronicles there is
no doubt that the Chronicles refer to the same story.

In the meantime Pa-Meo-Pong (Sao lkmun-Hpang-Hkam)
developed epilepsy and died in A.D. 1203 after reigning for
seven years.\textsuperscript{215} According to another version he suffered from
mental derangement and died by cutting his own throat with a
knife.\textsuperscript{216} On his death the problem of appointment of a
successor arose. According to the Hsen-Wi Chronicle Hkun-Yi-
Hkam, the elder of the two surviving sons, was too young.
The eldest daughter Nang-Ye-Hkam-Long was betrothed to a prince
named Sao Wong-Yieng who lived in China. Hence Hkun-Hpang-
Hkam's second daughter Nang-Ye-Hkam-Leng was appointed ruler
by the Chief Minister, But according to the Chronicle of
N.Elias Pa-Meo-Pong was succeeded by Chao-Ai-Mo-Hkam-Neng,
a descendant of Hkun-Su and Tamuli Phuken's Buranjí says
that Chao-Ai-Mo-Hkam-Neng was invited to assume the Sawbhawship

\textsuperscript{213} AB, p.43. Lakni : year, Reickinge (or Hsi-Iss-
nga) and Mungmu (or Hong-Mut) are names of consecutive years
of the Tai-Ahom Sexagenary Cycle. If 1074 be taken to be the
year of Hse-Aham-Hpa's birth according to the corresponding
Hindu Sak (see Table : DAB, p.221) or A.D. 1152 then in A.D.
1220, the date of his accession, his age would be 69 years.
Again from A.D. 1127 to 1152, as shown in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle,
Nang-Ye-Hkam-Leng's reigning period would be 25 years and not
16 as said in the Chronicle. Hence there are mistakes of dates,

\textsuperscript{214} P.5.
\textsuperscript{215} Tamuli Phuken : \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{216} AB, p.43. DAB, p.5.
of Hong-Mao by its Ministers when the throne became vacant. 217
It may be that Princess Ye-Hkam-Long was in charge till the
accession of Chao Ai-Mo-Hkam-Neng. She left her mark by
building a city, called Wing-Nam-I-Ni of Nam Paw (the Paw
river). The Chronicles agree that Hso-Hkan-Hpa and Sam-Long-
Hpa were the two distinguished sons of Chao Ai-Mo-Hkam-Neng
alias Blak-Hkam-Deng. Chao Ai-Mo-Hkam-Neng ruled for ten
years and was succeeded by Hso-Hkan-Hpa, the Great, in A.D. 1220. 218
Hso-Hkan-Hpa’s brother Hkan-Sam-Long had already been made Sawbwa
of Hong-Kawng (Mogaung) in A.D. 1215 under his father. He then
assumed the title of Sam-Long-Hpa and founded a new line of Sawbwaa
tributary to Hong-Mao. He also built a city on the bank of the
Nam-Kawng. He is a remarkable figure among the Maos and seems to
have been “one of the greatest conquerors of the history of
Indo-China”. 219 Heretofore, the Mao-Shans had mostly confined
themselves to the valleys of the hill country of the upper
Salween and the eastern tributaries of the Irrawaddy, with
stray settlements which appear to have spread as far west
as the Chindwin and as far south as the upper Meping-Menam.
Under his brother, Sam-Long-Hpa is said to have consolidated
the Shan country up to Yung-Chang, imposed his authority on

218 N. Elias: op. cit., pp. 17, 27; Tamuli Phukan: op. cit., p. 9. There is a considerable discrepancy in the dates
given in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle. The date mentioned by N. Elias
and Tamuli Phukan appears to be correct when the date and events
of the foundation of the Ahom dynasty in Assam are compared with
it.
219 See 'The Appearance and Historical Usage of the
Terms Tai, Thai, Siamese and Lao' by Lawrence P. Briggs in
Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 60, Number 2,
April-June 1949, p. 67.
the Tai-settlements of the middle Mekong and the Menam, overrun part of Arakan as well as Manipur, the Hkamti country and a part of Eastern Assam.

Hso-Hkan-Hpa was the first Hao-Shan monarch to dream of an empire over the more or less compact region of independent and semi-independent Shan States between the Irrawaddy and the Mekong, though his successes later encouraged him to extend the frontiers of his empire beyond these limits. After he had established himself in his new fortified capital at Se Ran, Hso-Hkan-Hpa summoned Hkun-Tai-Paw of Mong-Yin, Tao-Noi-Che of Hsen-Se, and all the rulers of the Hsen-Wi States to make their submission to him. On their refusal to submit he invaded Wing-Nan and Mong-Yin and drove out Hkun-Tai-Paw and his three sons. They fled to Wing-Ta-Pok in Hsi-Paw from where they made terms with Hso-Hkan-Hpa and gave him the Princess Nang-Ai-Hkam-Hpawng in marriage. Thus Hsen-Se, with the Shan States under it, acknowledged his authority.

Next he turned on Mong-Mit, Keng-Lao and Sung-Ko and summoned the brothers Sao Tai-Hkon, Sao Tai-Hkai, Sao Tai-Tao, Sao Tai-Ting and Sao Hkam-Awn of these States to submit. All these princes except Sao Tai-Ting were the sons of Sao Hkun-Hpo-Hsang-Kang, the ruler of Mong-Mit.

220 It may be recalled that during the reign of Sao Hkun-Tai-Long, Mong-Nan and Mong-Yin were annexed to the State of Hsen-Se which was then the chief of all the eight Shan States as mentioned above. Sao-Long-Tai-Long appointed his son Sao Tai-Paw to the charge of Wing-Nan and Mong-Yin. Tao-Noi-Che, the eldest son of Sao Tai-Paw, is mentioned as the grandson of Sao-Long-Tai-Long. See Hsen-Wi Chronicle, op. cit., p.238.

221 The sons were Tao-Noi-Che, Tao-Noi-Myen and Sau-Pan-Noi. Ibid., p.238.
Sung-Ko, Sao Tai-Ting (or Hmam-Ting), was the grandson of the Sawbwa Hkun-Hkam-Hkam-Hpa of Hseh-Se and ruler of Kare-Wing-Hso. Instead of submitting these princes killed seven of Hso-Ikan-Hpa's ten messengers sent to ask for their submission and spared three to go and report their determination to resist. Hso-Hkan-Hpa therefore attacked them with a large army and defeated them. Sao Tai-Hkon, who refused to surrender, was executed at Sung-Ko. The others submitted and Sao Tai-Hkeai was appointed Sawbwa by Hso-Hkan-Hpa under him, first of Sung-Ko and later of Mong-Mit also. Thus Mong-Mit-Keng-Lao-Sung-Ko confederacy broke down and came under Mong-Mao.

With Hsen-Wi an amicable arrangement was made, in virtue of which the Sawbwa of that State accepted the vassalage of Mong-Mao and agreed to send a princess periodically to the harem of the Mao king.

Having thus dealt with the Shan States immediately to the south of Mong-Mao he prepared a powerful expedition against the Chinese in the north. The reason was probably, as recorded in the south Hsen-Wi Chronicle, that the Chinese had made an attack on Se Rn which, however, was repulsed by the Mao-Shans. Sao Hso-Ikan-Hpa then marched at the head of his expedition against the Se Sung-Tu of China and conquered

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223 The Mong-Ri Mong-Ram Prince Hkun-Hkam-Hkam-Hpa, who was appointed ruler of Kare-Wing-Hso, died without issue. Then on application from the Ministers Sao Hkun-Tai-Hkam of Hsen-Se appointed Hkun-Sam-Hso, the youngest son of SaoHkam-Hkam-Hpa, as its ruler. Hkun-Sam-Hso's son and successor was Hkam-Hpa, as its ruler Hkun-Sam-Hso's son and successor was Hkun-Ting who then assumed the title of Sao Tai-Ting. See Hsen-Wi Chronicle, ob. cit., pp. 232-33, 239.

224 Ibid., p. 239.

225 Sung-Tu is said to be the Tsung-tuh or Governor-General of Yun-Kuei. Se Sung-Tu is probably the capital of the
it. He then advanced to Mong Se Long with a force of four hundred thousand men. According to N. Elias's Chronicle San-Long-Hpa was the Commander-in-chief of the Yun-nan expedition and conquered Mong-Ti (Nan Tien), Womien (Teng-Yueh) and Wan-Chang (Yung-Chang) in that region. But Haen-Wi Chronicle says that Sao Wong-Ti enquired what Hso-Hkan-Hpa wanted and surrendered Mong Se Yung, Sang Mu, and Aw Pu Kat, and this ended the war with China. While the Mao king was away his ministers invaded Kung-Ma where they captured the Sawbwa and put him to death at Tima. Among the countries or States which Shan legends claim acknowledged the supremacy of Mong-Mao the name of Tai-Lai is mentioned which is identified with Ta-li-fu by modern writers. If so, then Hso-Hkan-Hpa's expedition advanced up to Ta-li-fu and conquered it. Thus the whole region extending from the border of Mong-Mao to Ta-li-fu of Nan-Chao was brought under the Mao power. Scott notes that the Tai kingdom of Ta-li acknowledged allegiance to the Mao king before its fall in A.D. 1253.

Returning from Ta-li Hso-Hkan-Hpa raised another army and marched to the south. He invaded Len-Sang, Hsen-Taen, Keng-Hang, Keng-Tung, La-Bong, La-Pong, La-Mkong, Mong-Hawng, and Hpahsa-Tawng, east of Keng-Mai (Chiang-Mai) and conquered them all, and demanded an annual tribute of twenty-four viss of gold, three hundred viss of silver, and twenty-

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226 This is the Shan name of Yun-nan-sen.
228 Haen-Wi Chronicle, op.cit., p.239.
229 GIBBS, 1.1, p.197. Nan-chao of the Chinese was changed into the name Ta-li in 784 by the Shan. See Nan-chao Ye-toke, p.48. Also Briggs: ibid., p.67.
two elephants, which their rulers agreed to pay. He then marched up to the Waip-Hsawng-Panna of Mong-Yon or Mong-Yun, which submitted without resistance, and then he returned to Mong-Mao. But, to his grief, he found that his Chief Minister Tao-Kang-Mon was already dead. He then appointed another noble named Hkun-Pa-Hkawm in his place and gave him the title of Tao-Kang-Mong and made him Sawbwa of Mong-Tu. At about that time the Sawbwa Sao Tai-Paw, son of Sao Tai-Long, sent presents of gold and silver and asked for the hand of Nang-Ye-Hkon for his son Hkun-Sau-Pan-Noi. They were married and had a son and a daughter named respectively Noi-Hsan-Hpa and Nang-Hom-Mong.

Hso-Hkan-Hpa's next objective was to conquer the western countries and hence he ordered "an army of nine hundred thousand men" to march against Mong Wehsali Long (modern Assam) under the command of his brother Hkun-Sam-Long (Sam-Long-Hpa) and the ministers Tao-Hso-Han-Kai and Tao-Hso-Yen. According to Hsiao Elias Sam-Long-Hpa led his first expedition to Manipur, over which State he successfully established his brother's supremacy, and second expedition to Upper Assam, where he conquered the greater portion of the territory then under the

230 Hsaen-Wi Chronicle, op. cit., p. 239. Some of these States are also mentioned in Hsiao Elias's brief account of this campaign. But according to him it was Sam-Long-Hpa who conquered these States.

231 In Hsaen-Wi.

232 She was the daughter of Sao Tai-Hkon, whom Hso-Hkan-Hpa had already defeated and executed at Sung-Ko. He then carried off Sao Tai-Hkon's wife Nang-Am-Hkawm, with her daughter Nang-Ye-Hkon and her son At-Pa-Hkawm to Mong-Mao and proposed to marry her, but his mother forbade it as they were cousins. He then gave her to a Paw-Mong, Tao-Kang-Mon, who was a warrior of note.

233 It is perhaps a customary way of expressing a large number.
sway of the Chuiya or Sutya kings. For conquering Manipur the Miao-Shan General probably advanced through the Lushai Hills and Tripura from Northern Arakan and, as pointed out by Robinson in his Account of Assam (p. 160) reached the capital of Cachar and captured it, and returning thence he descended into the Manipur valley. In undertaking the latter expedition he marched with a victorious army by the way of the Malin valley into Hkamti (Hkamti Long), then ruled by the Ailtun Hkamyang Shans who had found their way to that country from Hkao Mao Long in the Shan States of Burma. It was during the reign of one of their Sawbwas named Sao Hang-Nyi that Hkamti attracted the attention of the powerful Mogaung Sawbwa who was locally known as Sao Sam-Lon-Mung. Sem-Long-Hpa occupied Hkamti and established there the rule of the Paklong, who had accompanied him from Mogaung. From there he returned homeward Assam and the Hkamti Valley.

234 Elias: op. cit., p. 18.
235 Hkao: Transparent, Hkao = bright, Mao = Nam-Mao, Long (or Lon) = great. Here two rivers are meant-Hkao-Hkao and Nam-Mao. The Hkao Hkao stream falls into the Nam-Mao. Thus it means the valleys of these two rivers in the neighbourhood of Mong-Mao. People of Cham (Se Ram or Se Len) are said to use the water of the Hkao-Hkao.
236 'History of Putao' by J.T.O. Barnard in J.R.S., vol. XV, Part II, pp. 197-198. Putao is a plain district in Hkamti Long. This area was earlier under the rule of Tibetan princes but later occupied by the Shans. This change might have been one of the effects of Ko-lo-feng's victory over the Tibetans. It is said there were as many as sixteen thousand villages in the plain. The local inhabitants were the people whom the Shans call Kang, Lengkai, Nokkyo, Yoyi and Tawhawng.
237 Sem-Long-Hpa is also known by various names such as Chau-Sam-Long (Sao Sam-Long), Sao Sam-Lon-Mung and Sao Sam-Long-Humong.
238 Said to be called also Tai Palong or Plong. These are a section of the Tai who live mostly in the Hills of Yun-nan to the east of Mong-Mao.
239 Barnard: ibid., p. 138.
But from Hksmti he entered the Chutiya kingdom and found that there was no king on the throne. The last Chutiya king called Lekroy Raja died leaving four sons named respectively Burora, Maisura, Kolita and Kossi Raja, but before the succession had been fixed Sam-Long-Hpa arrived with a Mao army. The brothers being divided among themselves made only a feeble resistance. Burora, surnamed Buruk, was killed in battle with the Mao-Shans; Maisura, probably Mohishura but surnamed Malkron, fled with a number of followers to Maing-Bing which is said to be a place near the present Visvanath in the district of Darrang; Kolita, with a considerable force of his countrymen, also fled westward across the mountains near the Sri Lohit and established a kingdom to the north-east of Assam proper; the fourth brother, Kossi Raja, was captured by the Shans but was spared and appointed as a feudatory chief under a Tamon or Governor whom Sam-Long-Hpa placed on the Chutiya throne and then left that country.

Regarding this invasion of the Chutiya kingdom in Eastern Assam, a reference to which by Ney Elias has already been

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240 Ney Elias: op. cit., pp.61-62. This account of the Chutiya kingdom is derived by 'Elias from an Assamese manuscript work found in possession of the king of Burma. In this work the first Chutiya king recorded was one Asambhinna, who, with his seven brothers, dwelt on the banks of the Sri Lohit or Brahmaputra. During his reign a Brahmin is said to have come from Benaras and converted the whole of the eight brothers to Brahminism. The king gave him his daughter in marriage. At Asambhinna's death the surviving brothers quarrelled among themselves over the question of succession, but eventually agreed to place the Brahmin on the throne. On his death a descendant of Asambhinna named Indra Deva Raja came to the throne. There were thirty-one kings of his line, the last being called Lekroy Raja. Edward T. Delton also makes mention of an old Assamese Buranji, which he once met with, purporting to be a history of the Chutiyas in which the Chutiyas are said to have entered Assam from the northern hills, crossed the Subanshiri and proceeding east established themselves at Cedin. (See his Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p.73).
mentioned above, the Hsen-Wi Chronicle States: "When they reached Wehsali Long, some cowherds reported the arrival of the army from Kawsampi, the country of white blossoms and large leaves, and the ministers submitted without resistance and promised to make annual payment of twenty-five ponies, seven elephants, twenty-four viss of gold, and two hundred viss of silver every three years. Hkun Sam Long accepted these terms and commenced his march back." At that time there were three races inhabiting Eastern Assam and they were the Chutiya or Chutya, the Harabi and the Moran, the latter two being subordinate to the first, and Kawsampi was the Mao country in which, we are told by Cochrane, there is still a wealth of white blossoms at the beginning of the dry season in the jungles near the Chinese-Shan town of Mong-Mao.

241 It is an Indian Buddhistic place name applied by the Buddhists to this part of the country. Burmese officials in the Shan States thought it to be Ko-Shen-bye, which means 'nine Shan States', from the similarity of sounds. This group of small States lies to the east of Ebsho and mostly in the valleys of the rivers Shweli and Taping. Hallett, from Chronicles consulted by him, points out that 'the power of the Mao empire gradually extended. At first it seems to have nearly included the ten chieftainships, or manus, of Kusambi - Mao (Mao), Ti, Wuin, or Wen, La, Sanda, Sa (afterwards divided into Ho-sa and La-sa), Si-luen, Meng Luang, or Homein, and a part of Yung-chang'. Op. cit., pp. 332-33. Kusambi or Koshampyi also refers, as said above, to the region of nine Shan States (or towns), the names of which are given by Burney and Macleod as Maingmo, Tsiugm, Lotha, Latha, Mana, Tsanta, Mowah, Kaingma and Maing-Lyin or Maing-Lyi and by Hallow somewhat differently as Moong-mau, Lotha, Latha, Santa, Moongwan, Sula, Moong-sai, Moong-la and Moong-tye or Moongti and these are the same as those in Hallett's list. Now from the above there is no doubt about the general position of Kusambi (Kawsampi). (See Yule's "Mission" p.292, also his map in his end flap for the location of most of these States).


243 N. Elias : ibid., p.61.
Among the countries conquered by Sam-Long-Epa to the west of Burma names of J&nung-Kuinjan (the Missoni country) and Hkang Se (the Naga country) are also mentioned in Nye Elias's Chronicle and earlier he had conquered, according to Pemberton and Sir Arthur P. Phayre, Cachar and Tippera (Triputa) in addition to Manipur. Pemberton's account says that having conquered Tippera, he marched back across the hills, and descended into the Manipur valley near Moirang, a village on the western bank of the Logtak lake. The fact of Sam-Long-Epa's visit is also recorded in the Chronicles of Manipur though there is a discrepancy in dates. It is said 'Sam-longpha, in consideration of the extreme poverty of the Meepoor territory, remitted all tribute, and appears to have directed the adoption of certain observances in dress and diet, calculated to improve the habits and manners of the people, who were evidently in the lowest stage of civilization'. All the above conquests from Manipur to Sediya and Hkamti-Long were probably the achievement of one major invasion of this western region. Having completed the conquests on this side Sam-Long-Epa 'dispatched messengers to Mong-Maorong, to communicate the intelligence of his success to his brother Soo-Kampha (Hso-Hkan-Hpa), and to announce his intended invasion of this region'.

244 Pemberton: The Eastern Frontier of British India (Calcutta, 1835), p.109; Phayre: History of Burma (London, 1883), pp.12-13. For the first time Pemberton brings to our notice that the Manipuris called the Mao-Shen kingdom by the name of 'Pong', of which the city called by the Burmese Mogaung, and by the Shans Mongmaorong, was the capital' and further that Hso-Hkan-Hpa succeeded to the throne of Pong. If that be so, then Pong was just the Mao-Shen empire to the east of Manipur of which Mong-Kaung (Mogaung) and Mong-Mao-Rong (or Mong-Mao-Long) were the principal cities. The word Pong is foreign to the Shans.
Hsen-Wi Chronicle says that the two Generals, who accompanied Sam-Long-Hpa, sent messengers on their part to Hao-Hkan-Hpa 'with a story that Hkan Sam Long had obtained the easy submission of Wehsali Long by conspiring with the king of that place to dethrone Hao-Hkan-Hpa'. The Chronicle further says that Hao-Hkan-Hpa believed the story and sent poisoned food to his brother which the latter ate at Mong-Kaung (Mogaung) and died. In this connection Ney Elias's account is that 'Seo Hkan Hpa, being jealous or fearful of his brother's influence, decided to put him to death' and, with this end in view, left his capital on the Shwali and proceeded to meet him at Mong Pet Ekan on the Taiping river (which Elias identifies with Hentha near Old Hckmo). A great ovation was given to the successful general, but after the lapse of some time, according to the most trustworthy account, his brother succeeded in poisoning him, or, according to another account, failed in the attempt and Sam Long Hpa made good his escape to China. About the same time Nang-Hkan-Hkan-Hsan, the wife of Hao-Hkan-Hpa and daughter of the Sawbwe of Mong-Leng, left him owing to some quarrel and went to China, probably to Mong-Se Yung-Song (Yung-Ch'ang) as indicated in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle where she gave birth to a son named Ai-Pu-Ekem. Though the cause of the quarrel is not mentioned in the Chronicle, yet, the coincidence of events suggests that it was probably on the issue of the conspiracy to poison the king's own brother, the redoubtable general Sam-Long-Hpa, which she could not approve. Still another

245 Ibid., p. 240.
246 Ibid., The wife of the Hao king left probably for her parents' place in Mong-Leng. Mong-Leng was probably some Tai State in Yun-nan.
account says that a conspiracy was entered into for the purpose of poisoning Sam-Long-Hpa, who, however, was saved by his mother's having got scent of the plot, of which she gave him timely warning by a letter, and which led to his continuing in Assam and asking his wife and children to come over from Mogaung and join him there.  

Though nothing definite is known about what happened to the great Mac-Shan General after his conquest of Assam, some further light is thrown by the local Garo sources of history of the time on how he settled his conquered territories of Tipam and Namrup in Eastern Assam. These sources say that one Riga-Diga, who was no other than Sam-Long-Hpa himself as confirmed by the Garo account of his family history, entered Sanaar Pith (Eastern Assam), marched through it and established a small kingdom in the area of Tipam-Namrup which adjoins the eastern Naga Hills. He had two sons and two daughters who came with him. The Garo sources further reveal that he awarded Namrup to Jay-Jalinpha and Tipam to Sabi-Bonggipha, probably as governor or tributary chiefs of these two divisions of his kingdom. It is

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247 Pemberton, op. cit., p.110. But the version that the line of Ahom kings descended from Sam-Long-Hpa's son Chowma-Khum, as said in Pemberton's Report (1835), is unacceptable in view of the clear family history of Hso-Ka-Hpa, the founder of the Ahom dynasty.

248 D.K. Marek of Garo Hills, who is working in this field and from whom this corroborative piece of information, particularly that of Sam-Long-Hpa's foundation of a small kingdom in the area of Tipam-Namrup prior to Chao Hso-Ka-Hpa's arrival, is received through the Department of Historical & Antiquarian Studies, Guwahati, also gives the name of the elder daughter as Ringring-Bangsai who was married to Gringrang Saj-jepangpha and that of the younger as Khai-Noring who was married to Bugarik-Samrongchupha. Apparently, if the story can be depended upon, these are names of local tribal chiefs and even Sam-Long-Hpa and his family members acquired tribal names by being connected with the peoples of this newly conquered land where he decided to live due to his rupture with his brother.
also said that Chao Hso-Ka-Hpa, the founder of the Ahom dynasty, stayed at Namrup with his brother or rather cousin Riga-Diga (Sam-Long-Hpa) in A.D. 1228 for a year, after which Riga-Diga handed over Namrup and Tipam to Hao-Ka-Hpa as his successor and or retired and died there. Left the country. As to who the two chiefs, Jap-Jalinpha and Sukh-Ronggiph, were is not clear from the Garo account. But it is well-known from Assamese Puranjis, as also from tradition, that the area of Tipam-Namrup was inhabited by the Haran and Barahi tribes from ancient times and Chao Hso-Ka-Hpa, who arrived from Mao-Long next to Sam-Long-Hpa, found this area almost solely inhabited by these tribes. It is significant that the chiefs of these tribes - Bedaucha of the Mataks (or Harans) and Thakumtha of the Barahis - accepted Chao Hso-Ka-Hpa as their king without any resistance. It may be that the Garo account refers to these tributary chiefs under different names. These tribes must have already submitted to Sam-Long-Hpa as a corollary to the subjugation of the Chutiyas by the latter.

It may be recalled that the Governor, appointed by Sam-Long-Hpa to manage the administration of the Chutiya kingdom, could not continue long in his office. After five months of his rule the feudatory Kossi Raja poisoned him to death and the seized the power. When this news reached the Shan capital, a strong force under the command of Chao Hao-Ka-Hpa was despatched to punish the subverter. The force appeared in the Chutiya kingdom after a period of six months of Kossi Raja's rule.

249 Chao-Kaa-pha of Koy Elias who says that he was 'the younger brother or cousin of the Mogaung taalba', but the name and event, taken together, appear to establish him as the son of Fu-Sang-Kang of Momiet'. On cit., p.62.
Chao Hao-Ka-Hpa is said to be the same prince as founded later the Ahom dynasty of Assam. Kossi Raja was defeated by Chao Hao-Ka-Hpa and obliged to take refuge in Cachar and the Chatiya country finally brought under the great Mao-Shan Empire.

After the conquests of Mong-Wehsali-Long Hao-Ekan-Hpa next ordered another expedition against Mong-Man (Burma) and gave the command to his two sons Sao Sau-Pyem-Hpa and Sao Ngok-Kyo-Hpa, together with the veteran generals Tao Hao-Yen, Tao Hao-Han-Kai, and Tao Hpa-Prao. The command was so given probably in the absence of Sam-Long-Hpa. They invaded the Pagan empire (Mong-Man) from the north and first of all captured Wing-Takawng (Tagaung). The Burmese ruler of Takawng Sao Heinapadi fled to Wing-Hsaching (Sagaing) and put himself under the protection of Sao Yun, who was called also Hsato-Min-Pyu. The Shan army advanced on Sagaing and Hsato-Min-Pyu fled immediately and was followed by Sao Heinapadi of Takawng. The Shan troops then crossed the Nam-Kiu (the Irrawaddy) and took Pin-Ya and captured its ruler Halasu, whom they carried off as prisoner to Mong-Mao, where he was afterwards called Hwpaping. The dates in the Burmese Era are here definitely inaccurate. But the fact that the Mao-Shans annexed the northern part of the Pagan empire from Tagaung to Pin-Ya seems indisputable. It appears from contemporary Burmese history that at the time of this Mao-Shan invasion of Burma Kyaswa (1334-50)

251 Ibid., p. 240.  
252 or Hao-pye-min. Ibid. He does not seem to be the grandson of Kyaswa of Pagan who ruled at Pin-Ya during 1324-43 according to the dates of the Chronicle.
was reigning at Pagan and his grandson Sao Hsihapadi was Governor of the extreme northern province of Tagaung. Hsato-Min-Pyu, who was then the Governor of Sagaing, was no other than the son of Sao Hsihapadi. Hsaen-Wi Chronicle says that Sao Hsihapadi was put to death by Hsato-Min-Pyu. Hall points out that when Harathihapate (or Sao Hsihapadi) returned to Prome from Bassein, his last place of refuge, hoping to collect an army and mend his shattered fortunes, his son Thihathu, its governor, put him to death in 1287 as mentioned above. Thus it shows that Hsato-Min-Pyu was later appointed to be the Governor of Prome. There was a marked decline of the Burman power during Kyaswa’s reign. Like his father Nantaung-mya, nicknamed Htilominlo, ‘the whom the umbrella designated as king’, Kyaswa devoted himself more to religion leaving the direction of the kingdom mostly to his son Uzana. After his father’s death Uzana reigned for a short period of four years only when he was accidentally killed in 1254 while hunting elephants. His son Narathihapate (Skr. Narasinghapati, 1254-87), a typical oriental despot, by his foolish policy, brought about the destruction of the once great Pagan Empire.

The extent of the Mao-Shan Empire under Hso-Hkan-Hpa is indicated by the countries and places conquered and brought under it during his rule. Such countries and places are

253 Ibid., Hsato-Min-Pyu means the Governor of the Pyu. At Sagaing he was Sao Yun. After his flight from Sagaing he was probably made the Governor of the Pyu province of Prome.
mentioned by Ney Elias as given below:

(1) Mong-Hit*, comprising seven mongs; namely, Bhamo, Molai, Mong-Long, Ong-Pawng-Neipaw, Hsai, Sung-Ko (Singa), Tagaung.

(2) Mong-Kawng (Mogaung), comprising ninety-nine Mongs, among which the following were the most important:
Mong-Long (Assam), Kale (Manipur), part of Arakan, the Yaw country, Kale, Haawng-Neup, Mong-Kong, Mong-Yawng, Mong-Kawn (in the Pakawng Valley), Senkring or Singkealing-Hkenti, Mong-Li (Hkenti-Long), Mong-Yang (Holayin), Mot-Sho-Bo (Shwebo), Kunung-Human (the Nishmi country), Hkang-Sa (the Naga country), etc.

(3) Hsen-Wi comprising forty-nine mongs.

(4) Mong-Mai.

(5) Kung-Ma.

(6) Kang-Hsen, the present Siamese province of Chieng-Hsen on the Mekong.

(7) Lan-Sang (or Lan Chang, the Burmese Linzin).

(8) Pagan.

(9) Yon (Chiengmai and neighbouring States).

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255 Ney Elias: op. cit., p.19; also reproduced in "UBAS, L.1, p.222.
256 Scott says that this suggests the Mole river, or it may be Mong-Lai.
257 According to Scott these are the same place.
258 It is said to be a principality which had at different periods Wing-Chang (Vien-Chan) and Luang-Prabang for its capital: the Chinese Lan-tsiaang.
259 Probably only the northern territories of the Pagan empire.
(10) Keng-Long, probably Keng-Hung, the XII Panna,
called by the Chinese Ch'eli.

(11) Keng-Lawng, said to be the country north of Ayuthia,
where there are many ruined capitals.

(12) Mong-Lem.

(13) Tai-Lai, possibly Ta-li Fu.

(14) Wan-Chang (Yung-Ch'ang in Yun-nan).


(16) Sang-Hpo (Sing-pho or the Kachin country).

(17) The Karen country.

(18) Lawair.

(19) Lapyit, not easily identified.

(20) Lemu.

(21) Lakheng (or Rakheng or Rakhaing which means Arakan,
probably that portion not under Mogaung).

(22) Leng-Sap, not identified.

(23) Ayuthia (Siam). 260

(24) Htawe (Tavoy).

(25) Yunsaleng. 261

In the Hsen-Wi Chronicle Sao Hso-Hkan-Hpa is said
to have obtained the submission of the following States 262
and received tributes from them to the end of his days:

' Mong Se-Yung, Hsaeng Mu-ku Hpa Tu-hso,' 263

Mong Hkon, Hsaung-Yawn, Kawi-Yotara, Hpa-hsa Tawng,

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260 Probably the northern portion of it only.
261 Chalang or Jalieng, later Sawankalok immediately to the north of Sukhot'ai. It was founded by Prince P'rolim of Chiang-Sen immediately after A.D. 857. See Wood: History of Siam, p. 50; also Hallett: op. cit., p. 334.
262 See op. cit., p. 241.
263 the Chinese Tu-ssu?
Thus the two lists of conquered territories are in agreement with one another except a few unidentified areas. Such extensive conquests may be thought to be somewhat exaggerated, and, in fact, the Mao authority on many of them may have been nominal, but there is no doubt about their solid historical basis. "The territory actually governed by Mong Mao", says Briggs, "was probably not greatly increased; but during the early part of the thirteenth century its armies probably raided all these regions and exacted some form of submission from their rulers."

The conquests of western Yun-nan right up to Ta-li (Tai-Lai) show that the rulers of the Twan dynasty of Nan-Chao were made tributary to Mong-Mao for a period however short it may be. These conquests also brought under the Mao rule the peoples of that region known by various names, such as the Gold Teeth, the Pai-i, the P'o, the O-ch'ang, the P'iao, the Hsieh, the Ch'u-lo, the Pi-su and others. Of these the Pai-i, and the P'o were Tai who came from the north and the most of the rest went back

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264 The Chinese Lan-taiang, said to be Wing-Chang (Vienchan) or Luang-Prabeng, whichever was for the time the dominant State of the Laos. Luang-Prabeng has outlasted Wing-Chang as capital.

265 Ava is a corruption of Eng-Wa or In-Wa meaning 'the entrance to the lake'. See Hall : A History of South-east Asia, p.155.

from the south and settled in Yunnan when the Twan royal family, who ruled from A.D. 1097 to 1253 at Ta-li, assumed power. Holt S. Hallett in his "Historical Sketch of the Shan" supports, from his independent investigation, the fact that in the thirteenth century the Taic rulers extended their dominions far and wide, including a part, if not all, of the modern Siam (Thailand). Briggs points out that the reputed Tai-Yai raids into the Menam valley, then part of the Khmer Empire, correspond well with the unrest which followed the death of Jayavarman VII which Coedes thinks occurred in A.D. 1218 or 1219. 267 It may be noted that the traditional boundary between the States of Mong-Hao and Hsen-Wi was the Nam-Hao (the Shweli river)268 and, according to Nan-Tohao ye-toke, the western boundary of Nan-Chiao (the Carajan of Marco Polo), which means probably the kingdom of Nan-Chiao proper, under king I-mou-hsun in A.D. 786, was T'ai che, whose capital of the same name was located on the Teng-Yueh-hien (Teng-Yueh-Burma) route, ten days below Teng-Yueh. 269

The ancient dwellers in the tract of country, southwest of Ta-li, were known to the Chinese, from the T'ang dynasty onwards, as the "Gold Teeth".270 Luce says that Pan Ch'o, the author of the Man-shu (A.D. 863), describes them as "miscellaneous tribes of Yung-Ch'ang and K'ai-nan. The Gold Teeth barbarians

267 Ibid.
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.

The Gold Teeth are believed to be original Austro-Asiatic-speaking peoples, such as the Palaungs and the Lawas who occupied the whole north of Burma. But in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., proto-Burmans migrated from the north to the plains of Kyunkse in Burma across Western Yun-nan and the Northern Shan States. In the course of that migration these people occupied, as the Man-sim shows, much of the T'eng-Yueh-Yung-Ch'ang area. Under the pressure of the Burmans and also of the Shans the Austro-Asiatic-speaking Lawas quitted those areas and took refuge on the hills east of the Salween. When the Burmans of T'eng-Yueh-Yung-Ch'ang area later migrated to the plains of Burma the Pai-i (Tai) took possession of it. During the Mongol conquest of Yun-nan the Pai-i ("White clothes" or "White Barbarians") massed on the Burma border between the Salween and the Irrawaddy. But the term "Gold Teeth" continued to be used as the name of the T'eng-Yueh-Yung-Ch'ang area. Mong-Mao, the central seat of the Mao-Shans, was now the head of all the Shan States from Ta-li to the Brahmaputra valley and from the Tibetan borders to Tavoy, enclosing within these limits vast portions of territory. The kingdom of Mong-Mao was the Kin-Chii, "Gold Teeth", of the Chinese annals, the Zerdandan of Marco Polo, which, the annals of the Mongol

221 Ibid., p.127.
222 Ibid., p.128.
dynasty says, had not been conquered by China. San
Hso-Hkan-Hpa later removed his capital from Se-Ran to
a place called Ta Hsup-u about three miles north of the Nam-Hao
(the Shweli). He built his capital at this place at the
instance, it is said, of a Chinese fortune-teller who had
predicted this new site to be a gold and silver field, the
object being to have the capital transferred to the Chinese
side of the river Shweli at a place vulnerable to Chinese
attack. According to Hey Elias's version, the Chinese sent
down a party of one hundred and thirty mules loaded with
silver and this was scattered about among trees which surrounded
the site of Ta Hsup-u, the present Mong-Mao. From the extant
records nothing is known of the consequences of such removal of
the Hao capital. The great king Hso-Hkan-Hpa, who consolidated
the Shan power on a wider scale than ever before, reigned until
A.D. 1250.

274 JAS, vol. 69, No. 2, 1949, p. 67; also Edouard
Huber, 'La fin de la dynastie de Pagan', BEFEO, 1909, 633-80,
esp. 636.

275 or modern Se Lan on the south bank of the Shweli; Se Lan is close to the frontier of China and is about 13 miles
east of Nam-Ukam. Se Lan stands on the highest point of an
irregular four-sided plateau, which rises to a height of 200
or 300 feet above the valley level and is about a square mile
in area. The plateau is completely surrounded by an entrenched
ditch, which is in many places 40 to 50 feet deep. It was un-
doubtedly an old Shan capital built by Hkun-Kawt Hpa in 1035
when it was called Cheila. See GUESS, op. cit., pp. 195, 221, 239.

276 According to the Neen-Wi Chronicle he reigned for
53 years and died at the age of seventy-three in 1205. The peri-
od and the dates of his reign here must be wrong when related to
other events of the time.
He was succeeded by Sao Pem-Hpa, who assumed the title of Sao Hao-Pem-Hpa. He ruled, according to the Chronicle of N. Elias, for thirty-two years. If this is true, then the Burmese fought against the Mongols in the plain of Vochang (the battle of Ngasaunggyan of the Burmese history) in A.D. 1277 probably by violating the territory of Mong-Hao. It was thought expedient by the Mong-Mao king not to resist the powerful Mongols when their emissaries and armies sought permission to pass through the territory of his kingdom to Burma. Hence Mong-Mao remained unassailed by the Mongols while Pagan was destroyed by them. On the other hand, being encouraged by the authorities of the new Mongol Province of Yun-nan the Shans overran all Burma and seized the opportunity to establish their domination over that country.

The Mongols organized northern and central Burma, which they had conquered, into two provinces, of which the northern was called Chieng-mien and the southern Mien-chung. The conquest of the area that constituted the northern province was completed by A.D. 1283, when the Mongols had taken Tagaung and made it the head-quarters of this province. It may be remembered that Tagaung (Wing-Takawng of the Shans, also variously called T'ai-kung or Takon) had been earlier conquered by the Mao-Shans under Sao Hao-Hkaa-Hpa of Mong-Mao but after Sao Hao-Hke-Hpa's death Narathihapade (Narathihapade), who had been once driven out from Tagaung by the

277 Ghau-Pi-pha of N. Elias.
278 only two years according to the Hsen-Wi Chronicle, op.cit., p. 241.
invading Mao-Shans, on ascending the throne of Pagan, invaded and reoccupied this lost territory and raided the Yun-nan frontier, only to be swept back again in A.D. 1285 by the Tartar forces under Nasr-uddin, the Viceroy of Yun-nan, who, this time, made Tagaung the chief seat of government of the newly created northern province of Chiang-mien in Burma. As said above, the Burmese king Narathihapate fled south to the Delta, earning his new name Taroktyemin or Tarukpliy, only later in A.D. 1287, to be 'seized and imprisoned', as quoted by Luce from Chinese records, 'by his concubine's son, Pusu-ku-li (Pu-su = Prome; Su-ku-li = Headman, Chief) at the place Hsei-li-ch'ien-ta-la (Sri Xsetra, Old Prome) and poisoned to death. Later in A.D. 1287 Prince Ye-su Timur, Kublai Khan's grandson, invaded Pagan and occupied it and the Shans and the Mons completed its ruin. Ye-su Timur then compelled the provinces under Pagan to submit to the Mongol authorities. He reduced this central part of Burma into another province, Mien-chung, of the Mongol empire and made Pagan its capital.279 But these arrangements were upset by the Shans after two or three years.

There was a Shan colony at Hysnsaing in the rich district of Kyaukse. This colony is known to have been existing from before A.D. 1260. This was possibly the only important Shan area in the territory of the Pagan empire. The real Shan

country was the highland to the east of Kyaukse. Hall points out that it was customary for Burmese kings to assign lands in this area to the regiments of the army, and he thinks that the colony may have been formed by a Shan mercenary force employed by Pagan. The Chronicles relate that a Shan chief from the hills took refuge at Myinsaing in 1260 and sent his three sons to king Narathihapate's Court for education. When Pagan was overwhelmed by the Mongol invasions these 'Three Shan Brothers' made themselves masters of three principalities, all in the Kyaukse area. Athinkaya (Asemkhaya), the eldest, became Chief of Myinsaing; Yazathinkyen (Rajasankrem), the second, Chief of Mekkaya; and Thihathu (Singhasu), the youngest, Chief of Pinle. The Pai-i or Great Shans (the Tai-Yai) of the China border were non-Buddhist. They are commonly called ditthi Syam (doitya Syam ?), meaning Shan heretics in later inscriptions. The Tai-Ahoma of Assam belong to this group. But the Shan rulers of Kyaukse, says Luce, were 'every bit as Buddhist as the Burmans.' 282 The northern Shans are said to have left no

280 Hall: ibid., p.133.
281 Hall: ibid., p.133. The names of the 'Three Shan Brothers' are given by Phayre as A-theng-kha-ya, Ra-dza-theng-yan and Tha-tham Ta-tai-sheng. These brothers of the Shan race usurped authority and governed with equal power for 14 years from 660 B.C. or A.D. 1298. (Vide his History of Burma, No. 4 - List of kings of Burma of Shan Race who succeeded the Pegan (Pagan) kings, and reigned at Myin-Saing and Pan-Ya).

282 Luce in JSS, XLVI, 2, Nov., 1956, p.151. He also cites an instance that in 1375 A.D. Kunkau headman of Khammwan on the Sagaing Monywa border compares the victory of king Tryauhva of Ava over the ditthi Syam to Dutthagamani's victory over the Cola Kian heretic Etara, at Anuradhapura, Ceylon, in 101 B.C. (List 683s, 736s.) This is, as pointed out by Luce, repeated in Caw Nanta's inscriptions of 1383 (List 715a′, 744s) and 1392(List 716a′, 754s.).
inscriptions, but those of Kyaukse left many written in Burmese, not Shan. The Buddhist Shans of Kyaukse were more or less in secret league with the Buddhist Tai of Pa-pai-hai-fu kingdom (Chiang-mai).

Kyawswa (or Klawwa), the sole survivor and son of Narathingapate, returned to Pagan in A.D. 1239. He submitted to the Mongols and was allowed by the latter to rule as their vassal. He thus lost the traditional prestige of the Pagan monarchs. The old kingdom was no more. The northern part of the empire was lost to the Mongols, and Kyaukse, the old home of the Burmans and the richest rice-land on which Pagan's economic strength lay, went into the possession of the Shan Brothers during the five years of interregnum from A.D. 1284 to 1289. In the south, a Mon leader of Pagan named Tarabya, with the assistance of Wareru, a Shan (Tai) adventurer from Sukhot'ai (Suksodaya) in northern Siam, ousted the Burmese rule from the region south of Prome and Toungoo. When Kyawswa succeeded his father at Pagan he had to confirm the Three Shan Brothers in the possession of their respective principalities. These Shan chiefs are also said to have dedicated a pagoda in their area. Their control over Kyaukse gave them control over the food supplies to Pagan. They used this economic stranglehold to throw off their allegiance to the Burmese suzerain. Further, the A-pa tribe (northern Shans west of the Irrawaddy) had rebelled. At this Kyawswa tried to call in Mongol military aid against the rebels and
the Three Shan Brothers. The rebels indignantly said:

"He calls in an army from China to kill, plunder and enslave us." They fortified a town and were prepared to resist and retaliate. The Shan brothers, Singhasu and Rajasankram, made common cause with the rebels. They attacked Mi-li-fu (Nyedu) in the north of Shwebo district and Pang-chia-long on the east bank of the Upper Mu. Asenkhaya, who was sent to stop them, failed and was captured. But in the fifth month (June 10th-July 9th, 1298), a controversial date, the three Shan Brothers returned with a powerful force and entered Pagan. They arrested the king, his eldest son Singhapati and two younger sons and imprisoned them all for eleven months in Kyin Saing, east of Kyaukse, while Tson-Mieh (Sawh-Nit), a bastard son of the king sixteen years old, was placed on the throne of Pagan as a puppet-king. 'Ever since you submitted to China,' they told Kyawswa, 'you have not ceased to load us with shames'.

They put the king and also probably two of his sons to death on May 10, 1299. At Pagan, the three Shan Brothers were called Sambyan, the old Mon title for a senior minister. Their names generally appear together in Pagan inscriptions. They are also known to be the generals, and equals, of the Pagan king. These Shan Brothers also sacked the city of Pagan and burnt it and

233 Luce : Ibid., p.156.
massacred all the Chinese found in it.284 "The Chinese sack", remarks Hall, "in 1287 had been terrible, but the Shan destruction in 1299 was decisive".285 After this, Hien-chung's existence as a Mongol province became untenable. When this state of things was reported the Yun-nan government despatched a punitive force in 1300 against the Shan Brothers. On January 25th, 1301, the Mongol force, with a small Pai-i levy, reached Myinsaing and laid siege to it. But the Shan Brothers, from their strong fortifications at Myinsaing, so successfully beat off all attacks that the Mongol commander preferred to retire in April, 1301 by accepting a rich bribe, with the consequence that he had to face death penalty at the hands of the Yun-nan authorities for such conduct.286 The Mongols,

284 In the Glass Palace Chronicle this tragedy of Pagan is attributed to the treachery of Queen Saw who is said to have been in collusion with the Shan Brothers. It was perhaps to eliminate the Mongol-Chinese overlordship with the help of the Shan Brothers against the fears and obstruction of the weak king, rather than to eliminate the king himself as some writers believe. This may be inferred from the fact that the Shan Brothers permitted Kyawswa's son Sawmit to succeed to the Pagan throne instead of seizing it for themselves, whatever Chronicles say about the queen.

285 Hall: Burma, p. 29. Kublai Khan died in 1294, at the ripe age of eighty. His successors were weak and incompetent. There were as many as eight such monarchs, some with too short a tenure of office, between the death of Kublai Khan and the accession of the last Mongol emperor in 1333, a period of about forty years. These were the years of religious and political wars and gradual dissolution of the Mongol empire into separate kingdoms.

286 A fairly detailed account of the activities of the Shan Brothers in subjugating Pagan and driving out the Mongols from Burma is given by G.H. Luce from Yae-Shih in JSS, XLVI, 2, 1958, pp. 150-64.
while retreating, were harassed by the Gold Teeth meaning now the Pai-i. This was the last of the Mongol invasions against Pagan. Evidently the Shan successes made the continuance of the province of Mien-chung so difficult and costly that the Mongol authorities had ultimately to abandon it. Two years after this, that is, on April 4th, 1303 the Emperor abolished Chieng-mien province, which was then evacuated by the Mongols. This put the Shans in such a strong position that thenceforward they rapidly extended their power. Later inscriptions attribute the final expulsion of the Mongols from Upper Burma to Thihathu and describe him as 'Tarok Kan Mingyi', 'the king who defeated the Chinese'. After having accomplished their triumph, Burma and the Shan brothers were tactful and assiduous in softening the blow. They sent envoys to China from time to time and offered elephants and other products as tributes. The resistance of the northern Shans to Mongol aggressions was no less effective than that of the Shan Brothers, but the former had to deal with a troubled border for a long time after their victory. In 1312 Thihathu, the sole survivor of the Shan Brothers, established his capital at Pin-Ya, not far from Pinle. But soon there arose a family quarrel, in consequence of which one of his sons crossed the Irrawaddy and founded on the north bank another principality with its capital at Sagaing. The withdrawal of the Mongols from Upper Burma and decline of their power in Yun-nan encouraged also the Shans in the far off north of Burma to assert their power aiming at founding an independent kingdom with Che-Lan (Se-Lan) as its capital.

287 Ball : A History of South-east Asia, p.134.
While Pagan was grappling with the Mongols in a life and death struggle, in her southern dominions equally serious troubles developed, which were destined to eliminate Burmese rule from them. The people of Pegu had become restive under foreign rule. The effete government of Tarokpyemin lost its control over the Burmese officers in that province. These officers, many of whom married into the Mon (Talaing) families, determined to establish an independent government for Pegu. The first open act of rebellion against the Burmese king was that of a Burmese officer, named Abkamun, who was connected by marriage with Mon family. By his influence he enlisted the support of the people, took possession of the ancient capital Hansawadi (Hamsawati or Pegu), defeated an army that was sent against him, and proclaimed himself king of Pegu. But soon he made himself extremely unpopular by his tyrannical rule and, after a brief period of two years, was put to death by his brother-in-law Lenggya, who himself was killed by another relation who was installed as king under the title of Taratya.

About the same time there was a disturbance in the country of Muttama (or Mohtama in Siamese, now Martaban) caused by a local political movement to establish its independence. Martaban formed a part of the Burmese dominions in the south ever since the time of Anawrahta and was under a Burmese
Governor. Many Shans from Zimme (Chiang-mai) and other adjoining States had come to this country and made their settlement in it. A Shan merchant named Magadu, born at Donwan in the district of Thaton, rose to prominence by acquiring wealth and authority. He went to the neighbouring Tai kingdom of Sukhotai in the middle Menam region and entered the service of king Ram Kambaeng, or "Rama the Brave" (1283-1317), who was pleased to raise him from an initial humble job to the post of captain of the guard to the king in appreciation of his merits. He became a great favourite with the Siamese king, to whom he also presented a white elephant which he possessed.

This is said to be the first Siamese white elephant of which history makes mention. It is said that the Shan Brothers of Pin-Ya (or Panya) had endeavoured by war to obtain the

289 The story of Magadu is recorded in the Mon history of the famous Rajadirit (Rajadhon). It was translated into Thai from a Mon manuscript in the Thai National Library. The date 1231 A.D., when Wareru became king of Martaban, does not coincide with the dates referred to above. As the story of Magadu was translated from Mon, he is popularly believed to be a Mon merchant. He entered the service of king Ruang (Ram Kambaeng) as a minor officer tending the king's elephants. One day when the king was inspecting the royal elephants in the elephant-shed he saw a cowry lying on the ground which was given to Magadu. Later when the king paid a second visit to the elephant-shed Magadu presented him with a quantity of fine vegetables. The vegetables were grown by him out of a few seeds which he had got in exchange for the cowrie. The king was so pleased with him that he was raised to a higher post and in a few days he became a favourite of the king. - (Phya Anuman Rajadhon's personal Note to the writer). This part of Magadu's career is comparable to that of Momai Tsmuli Barbarua of Assam history.

290 Wood: A History of Siam, p.54.
elephant, but had been defeated by Wareru. Once when King Ram Kambaeng was absent on a campaign against Cambodia, Magadu eloped with one of his daughters in A.D. 1281 and escaped to Martaban, where he had previously resided as a trader. Martaban was then under a Burmese Governor, named Aliemma, who had been placed to this post by Ram Kambaeng. Previous to this, Aliemma was the Governor of Martaban under the king of Burma, Tarokpyemin; but for disobeying certain orders of the king he was turned out by the Burmese. He then sought political asylum under King Ram Kambaeng to whom he also took an oath of fealty. Ram Kambaeng thereupon restored him to power at Martaban, and the Burmese Government at Pagan, being seriously disorganized and confused at that time, could not interfere with it. But Magadu raised a rebellion against Aliemma and murdered him and seized the post of Governor at Martaban. He then became the ruler of the country and later assumed the title of King Wareru of Martaban.291

In the meantime, the king of Pagan sent an army to recover Pegu. The Burmese army encamped at Dala fortifying the place with stockades. Tarabya, not feeling strong enough to attack the post alone, applied to Wareru for assistance which the latter gave, and the allied army advanced by land and water against Dala and forced the Burmese to retire within their own frontier. The two kings, with their armies, then

come down the river and encamped to the south of the city of Pegu. Here a difference arose between the two kings and a battle was fought. Tarabya was defeated and fled and Wareru at once took possession of the capital (Pegu). Tarabya was soon afterwards captured with the aid of some villagers and taken to Martaban where he was put to death for entering into a conspiracy. Thus Wareru annexed the province of Pegu to Martaban and proclaimed himself king of both the provinces, with the city of Martaban as capital. In order to strengthen his position he submitted to his old patron, King Ram Karmhaeng, as his overlord, and in A.D. 1286 the Siamese king conferred upon him the title of Chao Fa Rua, called Wareru in Burmese Chronicles. Hall points out that this did not prevent him from obtaining recognition of China also. He virtually ruled as an independent sovereign. Wareru, for the rest of his reign, was free from any foreign attack. Later in A.D. 1296, after a regular reign of nearly ten years, he was assassinated at his palace by two sons of Tarabya, whose lives he had spared. They then took refuge in a monastery, but were discovered and put to death. Wareru was succeeded, possibly after an interregnum, by his brother Hkun-Law (1306? - 1310), who got recognition from the Siamese king. Wareru's death was followed by a period of internal troubles and succession disputes, but the weaknesses of the neighbouring kingdoms saved the situation until, after a number of successors, there came to

the throne of Martaban a strong king in the person of Binnya U (1353-85). During his reign the ruler of Chiangmai attacked his kingdom and the Chiangmai forces burnt Taikkola, Sittaung and Donwun, but were driven off in A.D. 1356. In A.D. 1363, during the reign of Rama Thibodi (Ramadhipati) in Ayuthia, the Siamese made a powerful invasion of Martaban forcing Binnya U to retreat to Donwun, to which city he had to temporarily transfer his capital. The Siamese also attacked the provinces of Houlmein and Tenasserim and established their sway over them. Under Thai pressure from Ayuthia Binnya U, in A.D. 1369, finally established his capital at Pegu, which remained the capital of the Mon kingdom until Tabinshweti destroyed its independence in A.D. 1539. Wareru and his descendants and relations ruled over the Mon country for two hundred and fifty-two years (1237-1539).

Wareru's kingdom of Martaban, which included Thaton and Pegu, extended from the neighbourhood of Prome and Toungoo in the north to Hergui in the south. Earlier, in A.D. 1237, Wareru had come into clash with Meng-Rai, the powerful Chief of Chiengsen of the north of Siam, over the frontiers of their respective realms, but in the end he presented one of his daughters to Meng-Rai together with a town on the river Heniam as a dowry and the matter was peacefully settled.293 His monumental work was in the field of law and jurisprudence. He engaged the learned monks of his kingdom to compile a digest.

293 Reginald Le May: The Culture of South-East Asia, (George Allen and Unwin, 1954), p.163.
of the Laws of Manu preserved in the writings of earlier scholars of which there were collections in Mon monasteries. These laws had been brought to Lower Burma by Hindu colonists. The law-book so compiled is known as the Tatanu Dhammathat (Dharma-Sastra) and is the earliest one in Burma still extant.

Last Rulers of Pagan Dynasty

At Pagan, Sawmit, a son of Kyawswa, was permitted to succeed to the throne after his father by the powerful Shan Brothers. He was appointed king with great publicity. Pagan Sathringa inscription says that in the summer of A.D. 1299 when the king appeared in full audience, in the glorious Presence of the future Buddha Sri Tribhuvanadityaparyavesadharma-raja, the chief witnesses were 'the great Samoyan Asankhaya, the Samoyan Rajasankram, the Samoyan Sinka, etc. This shows the dominant position of the Shan Brothers at Pagan. Sawmit was just a nominal king and ruled from A.D. 1299 to 1325. He was succeeded by his son Uzana (1325-69), the last of the Asawrahta dynasty. Uzana, according to Phayre, was a son of Kyawswa, the deposed king of Pagan and ruled from B.E. 634 (A.D. 1322), a date earlier by a few years, for twenty years only. Further, Phayre points out that Uzana was adopted by Thihathu, the youngest of the Shan Brothers. This appears to be correct.

294 Phayre : History of Burma, No. 4 - List of Kings of Burma etc.
as he succeeded Thihathu at Pin-Ya. In the Dynastic Lists of Hall, Uzana of the Pagan dynasty was the fourteenth and last ruler and was the son of Sawhnit. In the List of rulers of Myinsaing and Pinya, Uzana is shown by Hall to be 'son of Kyawswa of Pagan' who succeeded Thihathu of Pin-Ya in A.D. 1324 and ruled up to A.D. 1343, which substantially agrees with the reigning period of Uzana as shown by Phayre. If the Lists and dates are correct in the above, then there were two contemporary rulers of the same name, one of Pagan and son of Sawhnit and the other of Pin-Ya and son of Kyawswa. Here a confusion occurs. The truth seems to be that Uzana (Ucana) succeeded Sawhnit at Pagan, but, after a short period, left Pagan and succeeded Thihathu at Pinya, the capital of Myinsaing-Pin-Ya kingdom.

Mao-Shan Pressure on Central Burma:

At Pin-Ya, Uzana was succeeded by his half-brother, Ngashishin in A.D. 1343. On the death of Ngashishin in A.D. 1350, his son, Kyawswange ascended the throne. In A.D. 1359 he was succeeded by his brother Narathu. It may be remembered that as a result of a family quarrel in the house of Thihathu of Pin-Ya, his son, Sawyun, founded a principality of his own on the northern side of the Irrawaddy with Sagaing as its capital in A.D. 1315. Since then there were protracted quarrels between the Shan rulers of Sagaing and Pin-Ya, which became so bitter that Narathu of Pin-Ya, in A.D. 1364, invited the Mao-Shans from the north to intervene and punish Sagaing, which was then ruled by Minkyauk Thihapate (1352-64), the seventh and last ruler of
that State and brother-in-law of the sixth ruler, Tarabyanga, who was himself a younger son of Sawyun. 295 The Mao-Shans readily responded to the call and swept down on Sagaing driving the population before them. The easy stampede, by which the Mao-Shans ended for good the Sagaing rule, also tempted them to sack Pin-Ya itself. 'The Mao-Shen from Mo-geang', says Colonel Phayre, 'carried war into the Panya dominions, and carried off the king (1364)'. Hkam-Tao-Ipa (1361-61), a descendant of Hso-Hkam-Ipa (Nai-San-Ipa), was then the ruler of Hgeang, when thus Sagaing became deserted and had to be abandoned owing to its easy vulnerabili
ty to attacks from the north; a Shan chieftain of Pin-Ya, Thado-
minhya, a descendant of the founder of Sagaing, set up a new capital at Ava in A.D. 1365 on the south bank at the confluence of Myitnge and the Irrawaddy and built it on the pattern of the Burmese capital, Pagan. It was given the classical Pali name of Ratanapura, 'city of gems'. In order to conciliate the Burmese national sentiment he traced his descent from the legendary kings of Tagaung and used Burmese to write inscriptions. He then started a campaign to reduce to submission the country of the Burmese.

295 Cochrane refers to a short paragraph in the history of the Chinese Ming dynasty (which succeeded the Mongol dynasty in 1368), which says that 'the Mongols appointed Comforters of Panya and other places in 1338, but withdrew them in 1342.' If this is so, then Uzana (1324-43) was then the ruler of Pin-Ya (Pinya). Cochrane comments that this means 'both the Panya and Sagaing houses accepted Mongol vassal titles for a short period'. This part of the history calls for further investigation. (See Cochrane: ibid., op.cit., p.24.)
The Burmese districts to the southwards of Pagan, as yet unaffected by Shan inroads, were, in the meantime, in revolt. He therefore proceeded to subjugate them in A.D. 1368, but died of small-pox while campaigning at Sagu, Mingyi Swasawke (1368-1401), who succeeded him as the next real ruler of the kingdom of Ava through a palace intrigue, thought it expedient to claim his descent from the Pagan royal family. He was a contemporary of Chao-Tai-Long (1346-96) of Mong-Mao, and Shan-Tao-lpa (1361-81) and Chao-Hung-Ipa (1381-1411) of Mo-ngaung in the north, and king Binnya U (1353-85) and Rajadarit (or Rajadirit) (1385-1423) of Pegu in the south. He had the ambition to conquer the valley of the Irrawaddy right down to the sea and also to annex the Mon country of Lower Burma. He therefore adopted a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Shan States of Upper Burma and refused to intervene when war broke out in A.D. 1371 between the States of Kale in the upper Chindwin valley and Mohnyin. But he was kept engaged in the early part of his reign, particularly from A.D. 1373 to 1383, by the Mao-Shans of Mohnyin (Mong-Yang of the Shans) who made a series of attacks on the kingdom of Ava. These attacks, started with a powerful raid on the town of Myedu in the Shwebo district in A.D. 1373, were continued during

296 Sagu is north-west of the town of Minbu on the west bank of the Irrawaddy and south of Pagan.
297 In between Thadominbya and Swasawke the name of an usurper, Nga Nu, is mentioned in the dynastic list, but nothing in detail is known about him.
a period of transition when there was a rapid decline of the Mongol rule and the Mings, who succeeded, were yet to stabilize their power. The king of Ava, being hard pressed by the Mao-Shans, appealed to the Ming viceroy of Yunnan for help. To the Mings also the growing power of the Mao-Shans proved equally menacing. Hence Mingyi Swasawke was accorded official recognition as ‘Governor’ of Ava, thus placing him under Chinese protection, and, in conformity with this policy, the Ming viceroy asked the Sawbwa of Mohmyin to desist from any further act of aggression against Ava. This action had effect and peace returned for a period. In A.D. 1393 the peace was again broken when the Mohmyin Shans took the offensive and penetrated to Sagaing. But they were heavily defeated by Thilawa, the Chief of Yamethin and brother-in-law of Mingyi Swasawke. This major reverse discouraged the neighbouring Shan States to attempt any further invasion of Ava for a number of years.

Occupation of Arakan:

Mingyi Swasawke extended his sway over Arakan. In A.D. 1374 he placed one of his uncles on the throne of this country. On the death of his uncle in A.D. 1381, he sent his son to succeed him. But the Arakanese soon drove out this prince and raided the Pakokku district. At this, Mingyi Swasawke, in A.D. 1404, sent a powerful expedition, which defeated the Arakanese and recaptured the capital. The reigning Arakanese king Naremeikha fled to Bengal and was hospitably received.
there by King Ahmed Sheba of Gaur, his son sought refuge in the Mon country. This time the king of Ava placed a son-in-law on the throne of Arakan, but the latter was killed by the Arakanese prince, son of Narameikhla, who attacked him with a Mon force. As expected, another punitive expedition from Burma arrived in Arakan and a series of campaigns kept both sides engaged until the exiled king Narameikhla appeared on the scene with a force from Bengal under the command of Wali Shah. But Wali Shah, instead of helping the king, treacherously held him as a prisoner by siding with a disloyal Arakanese chieftain. The king, however, managed to escape again to Bengal and, with the help of another force, placed at his disposal by Ahmed Shah's successor, Nazir Shah, regained the throne of Arakan in A.D. 1430 and ruled as a vassal of Gaur for the rest of his life. In A.D. 1433 he built a new capital called Mrauk-u in Arakanese and Myaung in Burmese in the Akyab district and this city was regarded as an eastern Venice in those days. During the period of vassalage of Narameikhla and his successor, Islamic influence became so predominant in Arakan that, though the rulers of that kingdom were Buddhists, they did not hesitate to adopt Muslim titles and issue medallions bearing the Kalima.

Domestic Trouble of Pegu:

On the death of Binnya U, the ruler of Pegu, his son Rajadarit (or Rajadirit) ascended the throne in A.D. 1335.

But his uncle conspired to capture the throne and applied to Mingyi Swasawke for support, and, in return, agreed to rule as a vassal of Ava. Mingyi Swasawke saw in this domestic trouble of Pegu an opportunity to bring the Mon country to his subjection. He responded readily and his forces marched to the south, took Prome and invaded Pegu, but could not, even by repeated attempts, break the stubborn resistance of the Mons to capture it. It is while referring to these forces that the Mon Chronicles mention contingents of Shans descending from the northern highlands. It appeared to Harvey as a war of Shan migration to the south, but it was essentially a war waged by the Burmese to establish their supremacy over the rich Mon country, an objective long cherished by the Burmese kings.

Rajadarit was a shrewd politician and a capable ruler. He had to deal with ever-increasing Burmese pressure, which rose to a climax during the period from A.D. 1413 to 1415. In face of this great danger, Rajadarit formed an alliance with the Arakanese and also instigated the northern Shan chiefs to attack Ava. In the meantime, by way of intervention in a renewed feud between the Shan Sawbwas of Mohnyin and Kale, king Minhkaung of Ava sent a force in A.D. 1406 under 'Holota' (Hawrahta), his 'Senior Comforter' (Wungyi), who robbed the land and killed the Sawbwa of Mohnyin and his son.299 The Chinese Emperor, who had vested the king of Ava with the status of 'Governor', as mentioned above,

299 Hall relates this attack on Mohnyin from the Chinese account. See A History of South-east Asia, p.137.
severely reprimanded Minhkaung for the attack on Hohnyin and
the latter 'withdrew his troops and sent a propitiatory embassy'.
But the attack was so devastating that the Shan State was ruined
and its Sawbwa extinguished, Hohnyin was without a Sawbwa
until A.D. 1416. As a reprisal the Sawbwa of the State of Hsen-
Wi raided the Ava villages in A.D. 1413 and ‘sent some of the
prisoners to Peking’.390 But the Burmese defeated him at Wetwin,
a few miles to the north-east of Maymyo, and forced him to retire.
At the instigation of Rajedarit, the Hsen-Wi Sawbwa again raided
the territory of Ava in A.D. 1414 and there was a simultaneous
attack on Myedu launched by the Shan Chiefs of Hawke and Hawdon.
Though they were temporarily driven off, in the following year
the latter two Chief's attacked the Burmese with renewed vigour
and threatened the capital city of Ava. This was exactly the time
when the Burmese campaign in the delta, under the command of
Minrekyawswa, 301 was on the point of winning a decisive victory
over the Mons, only the cities of Pegu and Martaban being left
to Rajedarit. But at this crucial moment Minrekyawswa had to
hurry back with his force to the defence of Ava against the
Shans. In A.D. 1417 this prince was killed while engaged in
another campaign in Lower Burma. Owing to a mounting threat
from the Shan aggressions in the north the Ava rulers had to
give up the conquest of the Mon country in the south. Thus Raja-
darit's policy ultimately saved his kingdom from the Burmese
danger.

300 Ibid.
301 He was the son of Minhkaung by a Kao-Shan princess.
The Mao-Shans' struggle with the Chinese:

Though the Tai were supplanted by the Mongols as rulers at Ta-li in A.D. 1253, yet the Mao Shans, who had consolidated their position to the south-west with their central seat in Mong-Mao, did not give up the dream of reviving the old Nan-Chao empire. It may be recalled that on the death of the great king Sao Hao-Ekan-Hpa in 1250 his son Sao Hso-Pem-Hpa (or Chau-Pin-hpa) ascended the throne of the kingdom of Mong-Mao, and about this Ney Elias's account in the Table of Sawbwas is supported by the Haen-Wi Chronicle, the dates only differing. Sao Hso-Pem-Hpa was succeeded by his son Hkun-Tai-Pem-Hpa of Haen-Wi Chronicle (or Tai Peng Hpa or Chau Kam-hpa of Ney Elias) who assumed the title of Sao Hso-Wan-Hpa. During the reigns of these two successors of Sao Hao-Ekan-Hpa the capital of Mong-Mao remained at Se Lan, but their dominions in Yun-nan were annexed by the Mongols. Sao Hso-Wan-Hpa was a tyrant and was put to death by his people for his cruelty and oppression. In the Ney Elias's Table his period of reign is recorded to be three years only. Hkun-Ngok-Chyo-Hpa was then brought from Mong Ang-wa (Ava) and installed as Sawbwa of Mong-Mao under the title of Sao Hso-Sung-Hpa, but died insane in about six months' time. But, according to N. Elias's Chronicle, Chau-Wak-phä was the son and successor of Tai-Peng-Hpa (or Hkun-Tai-Pem-Hpa) and ruled for thirty years (1285-1315). He founded a new capital

302 N. Elias: op. cit., p. 20.
called Mong-Mao after the name of the country on the site of the present town of Mong-Mao. This is the last change of capital of Mong-Mao recorded in the old accounts. Most probably Chau-Wak-pha succeeded Hkun-Ngok-Chyo-Hpa instead of Tai-Peng-Hpa (or Sao Hao-Wan-Hpa). That there was a period of interregnum after this is recorded both by Ney Elias and in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle. According to the Hyen-Wi Chronicle, for want of a prince, the country was administered by the three Ministers, Tao-Hao-Yen, Tao-Hpa-Pran and Tao-Hao-Han-Kai, while, at the same time, a search was made for a descendant of Sao Hao-Hkan-Hpa. A deputation proceeded to China, to which country Hao-Hkan-Hpa's queen had gone while in a state of pregnancy. It reached Mong So-Yung-song (probably Yang-Ch'ang) and learnt that the queen was dead, but had left a son named Hkun-Pu-Hkan. It contacted the prince and offered the Sawbwa-ship of Mong-Mao, but the latter refused it. However, suggested the name of his son, Hkun-Pu-Kaw, and hence the grandson of Hao-Hkan-Hpa in the direct line, to that throne. Hkun-Pu-Kaw was accordingly elected king, and on his accession he assumed the name of Sao Hao-Hom-Hpa. He made his royal residence at Wing-Ta-Hsup-U (the modern Mong-Mao). In the following year he summoned all the tributary chiefs under Mong-Mao to pay their usual homage, but they refused to come. So he despatched an army under the command of his ministers to compel them to submit. The army overcame

304 Hkun Ai-Puk or Ai-Puk of N. Elias.
the States of Man-Maw (Bhmo), Mong-Yang (Molmyin), Mong-Hkong (Mogwang ?), Mong-Kung-Kwai, Lampalum and Karo-Wong-Hso and established the authority of Mong-Mao over them. A garrison under Tao-Hpa-Prao was posted at Mong-Yang and another under Tai-Hso-Man-Kai at Mong-Hkong. But Hso-Hom-Hpa was hated for his dissolute character and was driven out from the kingdom by his minister Tao-Hpa-Prao for seducing his wife. In this the Sawbwa of Mong-Tu, Tao-Kang-Mong, helped him with a force and himself marched on Wing-Ta-Hsup-U. Hso-Hom-Hpa fled to Mong-Man in Mong Se (Yunnan) and put himself under the protection of Sao Wong-Ti. Tao-Kang-Mong appointed his son Sao Hso-Yep-Hpa to be Sawbwa of Mong-Mao. The Emperor despatched a force under the command of the General Wahg-Song-ning to reinstate Hso-Hom-Hpa in Mong-Mao. The General not only reinstated Hso-Hom-Hpa, but also proceeded, probably at the instance of the latter, against Mong-Tu, the capital of Tao-Kang-Mong. Tao-Kang-Mong offered to submit and made a present of elephants, gold and silver, which was accepted but shortly afterwards Sao Hso-Hom-Hpa with a party of Chinese soldiers surprised him and put him to death.

305 Men-mo or Wan-mo (Wen : village, mo : earthen cooking pot), meaning village of pots or pot-makers' village. Buddhistical name is Champamagara; Chinese Sin Kieh (new street), pronounced Sin-sai in the dialect of Western Yunnan, so named when the village was first transferred from its former site on the Taiping near where that stream issues from the Kachymen hills.

306 At one place in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle it is said without coherence - 'By the advice of the Song-Tu, Sao Hso-Hom-Hpa told his story to Narrahta and was referred to the Emperor of China'. There is a confusion here as Narrahta's (Nawrahta's) visit was more than two centuries earlier and was not to the Court of the Emperor of China, but to that of Nan-Chao.
This appears to have occurred at Mong-Tu in Hsen-Wi. Sao Hso-Yep-Hpa's temporary rule in Mong-Mao ended with the arrival of the Chinese force. Hao-Hom-Hpa became ruler again in 641 B.C. (A.D. 1279), a date nearly half a century earlier, when compared with the dynastic list provided by Ney-Mias. The Chinese inroad into Hsen-Wi caused the deceased Sawbwa's son, Sao Hkum-Hkum-Tep-Hpa, to flee with his men to Man-Kang in Mong-Kyit. As the Chinese pursued him, he further retreated to Keng-Pa in Keng-Tawng. But at this place he organized a force and attacked the Chinese and drove them back to Mong-Tu where a fighting took place. The Chinese asked for reinforcements and Sao Wong-Ti sent them, but when he was informed that the Nam-Mao (the Shweli) was the boundary between the States of Mong-Mao and Hsen-Wi and the Chinese went beyond the limits of Mong-Mao he ordered the hostilities to be stopped and recalled the General Wang Song-ping to China. Sao Hkum-Tep-Hpa then returned to Hsen-Wi and, in view of further risks of attack from the northern neighbour, removed his capital from the city of Hsen-Wi to Loi-Sang-Mong-Kang, and later to Loi-Long-Pawng-Nang and lastly to Wing-Ta-Puk in Hai-Paw. Here he built a large town and 'assumed authority over all the Shan States', including Hsip-Hsawng-Panna and others in the south. From this account

307 also called Mong-Tu by the Shans being in the valley of the Nam-Tu (river Tu of the Shans and Kyit-nge of the Burmese).

it appears that Hsen-Wi and Hsi-Paw were under his Sawbwaship and also a number of other States south of Mong-Mao acknowledged his authority, whereas Mong-Mao's authority extended northwards over another group of States.

In A.D. 1368 the imperial capital of the Mongol emperors, Cambaluc (Khan baligh), fell into the hands of Chu Yuan-cheng, usually known as Hung Wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty. The incompetent Mongol ruler fled northward and Chu Yuan-cheng was proclaimed Emperor. Sporadic resistance of the Mongols came to an end when by the end of A.D. 1382 Yun-nan had succumbed. It is of importance to know how the Shans were affected by it. Parker points out from Chinese Annals that during Kublai Khan's reign all the Shan States between Manipur and Annam were at least nominally subject to the Mongol authority. After the conquest of Ta-li Kublai Khan ended the rule of the Twan family there, but put the King's Ministers in charge with the title of Ssuan-fu-shih or Pacificator and asked them to conquer the neighbouring tribes. Among the early Pacificators or Conciliators were those of Liu-ch'wan, which included the Sawbwaships of the present Lung-Ch'wan and Mong-Mao, and Kaa-ngai or Kaa-ngeh, both under the Mongol Military Governor of Kin-Ch'ih (Zardanden). But with the fall of the Mongol power the Shan States became once more free. The Ming rulers, for the first time, came into clash with the Mao-Shans, in trying to control the trade routes to

309 Ming means 'brilliant' or 'glorious'. 
the Irrawaddy valley across the Mao-Shan country of Upper Burma and extreme south-west of Yun-nan. With the decline of the Mongol power the control over these routes was gradually lost to the Shans, who came to dominate over Upper Burma and forced the Mongols to withdraw their authority over their provinces in it. The first attempt to regain control over the Mao-Shan territory by a Mongol-Chinese army from Mithila (Yun-nan) was made in the fifth year (A.D. 1343) of Sao-Ki-Hpa's reign at Mong-Mao. The army, however, withdrew after reconnoitring in the area. The next Chinese invasion of major importance took place in 1393 during the rule of the Ming dynasty. But Sao-Ki-Hpa's son Tai-Long (1346-96), who was then ruling over Mong-Mao-Lung, repulsed the Chinese with heavy losses. Tai-Long ruled for fifty years (1346-96). He was succeeded by his son Tao-Loi or Sao Tit-Hpa. In A.D. 1411 he visited Mong-Mao (Yun-nan-sen), the capital of Mithila (Yun-nan), with his son Sao Ngan-Hpa or Sungampha (Sajen-fah of Parker) either on invitation or for a certain consultation with the Chinese viceroy. It is related in Nuy Elias's Chronicle that he was given a cup of spirit to drink, which so completely intoxicated him that the Emperor (in all probability the viceroy), at the instigation of a minister named Maw Pi, obtained from him the royal seal and thus rendered his country tributary. All that may be derived from this story is that Mong-Mao became tributary to China as a result of the interview. It is also said that Sao Tit-Hpa returned to Mong-Mao two years after this event. The cause of this unusual

310 real name being Tai-Pona.
delay remains unaccounted for in the Chronicle. The Chronicle further relates that in the next year (1414) a party of 130 mules came down from China. Each mule was loaded with silver cut into small pieces, and on arriving in the neighbourhood of the capital, those in charge led them into the bamboo jungle that surrounded the city, and scattered the silver among the trees. The party then returned to China, and the inhabitants of Mong-Mao cut down the jungle in order to find the silver. But according to the Hegen-Wi Chronicle, 'gold and silver fields' were already there in that area during the time of Sao Hse-Ngan-Hpa (1220-50) and a notorious Chinese fortune-teller persuaded the king to remove his capital from Su-Lan to Ta Hsup-U (Mong-Mao) on the north bank of the Han-Moo.

Either the same version is repeated wrongly or the Chinese applied the same stratagem twice; on one occasion to get the capital transferred to the north bank of the river, and on another to get the protective forests cleared for easy attack with cavalry.

In the year 1415 Sao Tit-Hpa died and was succeeded by his son Sao Ngen-Hpa. The rise and fall of this Mao-Shan Chief produced a great effect on the fortunes of the Shan States of Burma. Burmese accounts relate the tragic end of this popular and enterprising monarch. With the assistance of his two brothers, Sao Hsi-Hpa and Sao Hung-Hpa, he subjugated the

312 Sau-jen-fe of the Chinese and Thonganbua of the Burmese. He is mentioned as Soogumpha by Pemberton and as Chau-Ngan-pha by Ngy Elias, but his accession is antedated by a century by Pemberton.
Shan States to the east and south-east of his country and then, elated by success, marched on and conquered Tai-Lai or Ta-li.
The date of this event, according to Cochranes, is A.D. 1413 which is earlier by a number of years. According to Parker the whole story of Sao Ngan-Hpa's conquests and fall 'belong to the period 1432-1450'. At Ta-li he collected a large army from the contingents supplied by the subjugated Shan States and decided to conquer the whole of Yun-nan and revive the old Nan-Chao empire. He then marched with his army to invade the Chinese capital Mong-Se (Yun-nan-sen) in 1441. Under the walls of the capital he was met by the Ming General, Wang-Chi, the President of the Board of War, with a strong force. In the fight that took place Sao Ngan-Hpa was defeated and had to fall back first on Tai-Lai and afterwards on Wan-Chang (Yung-Ch'ang). Being unable to hold his ground he retired into his own country Mong-Mao. Vast numbers of inhabitants of the Shan States that helped him against the Chinese preferred to follow him, rather than submit to Chinese vengeance. At Mong-Mao his army broke up and fled with the civil population in various directions, most of them entering Molmyin, Hsen-Wi and Ayuthia. In this great debacle he, accompanied by his brother Sao Hai-Hpa, escaped first to Molmyin and then to Kale and at last to Ava and sought an

313 Yangchangsoo of Pemberton, See his The Eastern Frontier of British India (Calcutta, 1835), p.112. With reference to the context Yangchangsoo cannot be Wang-Song-ping or Wang-Chang-ping who reinstated Hso-Hom-Hpa earlier at Wing-Ta-Thaup-U. Also E.H. Parker's Burma with special reference to her relations with China as quoted in GUESS, op.cit., p.270.
asylum there. The Chinese under the command of Wang-Chi captured Hong-Mao-Rong (Hong-Mao-Long), offered Sao Ngan-Hpa's lands to whoever succeeded in capturing him, and then followed the fugitive king to Mohnyin which State he also conquered. He then proceeded to invade Burmese territory when the Burmese king Narapati (1443-69) refused to surrender the Mao Chief who took refuge at his capital at Ava. In 1445 a battle was fought with the Burmese near Tagaung in which, according to the Hmannan Yazawin, the Chinese general was killed and the army defeated with heavy casualties. Next year the Chinese reappeared in greater strength, marched towards Ava and encamped before the walls of the city. They pressed their demand for the surrender of the fugitive Mao king.\textsuperscript{315} The Burmese king promised to hand over the Mao king if only the Chinese force helped him to subdue a rebellion at Yamethin and capture the rebel leader Min-Nge-Kyaw-Dwin. This the Chinese commander did by despatching a body of soldiers under him, who subdued the rebellion and brought the rebel leader to Ava. In face this situation Sao Ngan-Hpa, instead of allowing himself to be surrendered to the enemy, committed suicide by taking poison. The Chinese commander simply received his dead body, which was then dried up in the sun and carried to Yum-nan. This event is mentioned in both Chinese and Burmese history.\textsuperscript{316} In confirmation of this part of history Hall refers to an inscription at the Tapayon Pagoda, erected by Narapati at Sagaing.

\textsuperscript{315} Hall: A History of South-east Asia, pp.138-39.
\textsuperscript{316} N. Elmes: op.cit., p.22; Milne and Cochrane: op.cit., p.25.
which relates how Thongthunwa (San Ngen-Hpa), fleeing before
Wang Chi to Molmyin and Kale, was captured by the Burmese
and presented to their king on the day of his coronation
which took place in 1442. 317

The account furnished by Capt. R. Boileau
Pemberton from an ancient Shan Chronicle found in Manipur,
referring to Soognamba's reign, says that about the year
1332 (a mistake of about a hundred years) 'some disagreements
originating in the misconduct of four pampered favourites
of the Pong King, 318 led to collision between the frontier
villages of his territory, and those of Yuen'. As a result
an interview was held between the king of Pong and Chow-
Wong-Ti at the town of Mong-si which was situated at a
distance of five days' journey eastwards from Mong-Mao-Pong,
the capital of Pong. The misunderstanding between the two
countries was removed by the Mao king by executing the
offenders. 319 'The Chinese, however', adds Pemberton.
probably, now conscious of their superior power, determined on subjugating the Pong dominions (Mao-Shan dominions), and after a protracted struggle of two years' duration, the capital of Hogaang or Mongmaorong was captured by a Chinese army, under the command of a general called Yangchangsou, and the king Soognampha, with his eldest son, Sokeespha, fled to the king of Pagan or Ava, for protection. They were demanded by the Chinese general, to whom the Burmese surrendered them, and were carried into China, from whence they never returned. 320 This is undoubtedly the same episode as that of Sao Ngen-Hpa, narrated in the account of Hey Elias. In this connection we must constantly remember the warning given by Parker that 'the Manipur Chronicle is exactly a century wrong and the whole story belongs to the period 1432-1450'. Hall points out two reasons why the Chinese attacked the Mao country, namely, the Kings wanted trade routes through it to the Irrawaddy and the ambitious Mao-Shan chieftain, Sao Ngen-Hpa, was attempting to revive the old Nan-Chao empire as said above. 321 The Chinese aggression probably led to Shan unity and their initial victory which threatened Yan-nan-sea. But in the later phase of the protracted campaign Sao Ngen-Hpa had to retreat against Chinese counter-attack and ultimately take refuge at Ava. The retreat appears

320 Ibid., pp.111-12.
321 Parker as quoted in GUBSS, 1:1, p.270 ; Hall : A History of South-east Asia, p.135.
to have been steady and according to plan up to the border of
Mong-Mao and then precipitate when his army began to break up
and the civil population became panic-stricken.

The queen of Sao Ngan-Hpa, with her two remaining
sons and a third born after her flight from the capital,
sought a refuge among the Hsantibs on the north, probably
in the upper Chindwin Shan State of Hsantib. She returned at
the expiration of two years, that is about A.D. 1445, and
established a town called Mong-Kawng on the bank of the
Nam-Kawng, a western tributary of the Upper Irrawaddy to the
north of Mong-Mao. The second son of the exiled king ruled the
State of Mong-Kawng for three years. He was succeeded by his next
younger brother who ruled for twenty-eight years. On his death

322 It is situated on the right bank of the Mogaung
River (i.e., the Nam-Kawng) at its junction with the Nam-yen
Nullah. See Bayfield's description in his Narrative of a
Journey from Ava to the frontiers of Assam between December
1836 and May 1837. Ney Elias notes that Sam-Long-Hpa, the
first Serbaw of Mogaung, in crossing the river now known
as the Nam-Kawng, a short distance above the site of the
present Mogaung, found a sapphire drum in its bed. Kawng in
Shan means a drum. Ney Elias thinks that it was probably
'a sapphire in the shape of a drum'. The Mao chief regarded
it as a good omen and soon established a town near the
spot and called it Mong-Kawng i.e., "drum-town". The adopted
Pali name is Udigiri-rata (Skt. Udayagni-rastra). N. Elias
op. cit., p. 40. Whether the name of the river is after that
of the town or vice versa is difficult to trace. There is
also the legend of the Western Shan that in much earlier
days Mong-Kawng was founded by the eldest grandson of Sao
Wong-Ti at the spot where his gong or probably Kawng (drum)
produced a sound of its own accord. Sam-Long-Hpa, says N. Elias,
retained the sapphire, and it was afterwards handed down to
his successors, and held by them for many generations as a
mark of power.
the youngest brother, named Hsa-Oop-Hpa, ascended the throne in A.D. 1363, a date earlier by more than a century. He was determined to avenge the treachery of the Burmese, who had surrendered his father and brother to the Chinese general Yangchosoo. He therefore invaded the Burmese country and laid siege to their capital of Zakaing (Sagaing) on the northern bank of the Irrawaddy and succeeded in capturing and destroying it.

Pemberton refers to a very unexpected confirmation of this event in the Appendix of Mr. Crawfurd's Embassy to Ava, where, in the Burmese Chronological table, obtained during his residence in that country, the destruction of Chitkaing or Zakaing (Sagaing) and Pemya (Pin-Ya) is mentioned as having been effected in the year 1564, a date which, in the above context, appears to be more than a century earlier.

Pemberton further adds that Major Burney also discovered the same circumstance recorded in the sixth volume of Maha Yazawin, or great history of Ava, where the destruction of both cities is said to have been effected by the Shan king Thokyenbwa. In this reference there is a confusion; for, in A.D. 1364 there was actually a Mao-Shan invasion of Sagaing and Pin-Ya, and it is not mentioned from which State the Mao-Shans came.

Since Hsa-Wac-Hpa (1361-91) was the ruler of Sagaing at the time, Thokyenbwa (or Hsa-Kyen-Hpa) must have been a ruler of some other State. If Thokyenbwa was the ruler of Hsa-Mao, then Tai-Long (1346-96), the ruler of that country, assumed

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298 Pemberton: op.cit., p.112.
that name. The matter needs further investigation. Again Hso-Oop-Hpa's name is not to be found in the dynastic lists provided by Ney Elias. If he was a ruler of Mogaung at any time during the fourteenth or fifteenth century, it is difficult to identify him. Hso-Oop-Hpa may be another name of Hmun-Tao-Hpa who ruled over Mogaung from A.D. 1361 to 1381, or he may be a Sawhwa of another State.

Mong-Hao was without a Sawhwa for three years even after the death of Sao Ngan-Hpa. There was a search for a Sawhwa and at the end of that period of relation of Sao Thak-Hpa, called Sao Lam-Kon-Hkam-Hpa, was placed on the throne in A.D. 1448. He was said to be an uncle of Sao Thak-Hpa and the nearest relative to Sao Ngan-Hpa among those who survived him. In the fourth year of his reign a large force from China invaded his country and defeated his troops. He then fled to Ava and sought refuge with the Burmese. He returned to his country after five years of exile, but died in A.D. 1461. He was succeeded in the same year by his son Sao Ham-Hpa. The Chinese again invaded Mong-Hao soon after his accession, but were defeated and had to beat a retreat inside their own country after eighteen days of continued fighting. In the later period of Sao Ham-Hpa's reign, that is about A.D. 1479, the Chinese returned with a greater strength and routed the Hac-Shans compelling their king Sao Ham-Hpa to take to flight and seek protection at Ava just as his predecessor had done. He, however, returned to his capital after four years and
died after seven years in A.D. 1490.  

On the death of Sao Hom-Hpa, his son Sao Ka-Hpa ascended the throne. In the sixth year of his reign the Chinese appeared again in force and invaded the Yao territory. After some fighting Sao Ka-Hpa placed his son Sao Pem-Hpa on the throne in A.D. 1496 and himself retired to Ai Hraim, the northern division of Hrumi. Sao Pem-Hpa appears to have enjoyed an undisturbed rule for twenty years. Then a Chinese force from Fum-nun under the command of General Li-Sang-Pa made an attempt to invade the country, but was repulsed. Li-Sang-Pa, being baffled in the open encounter, resorted to a ruse to mislead the Shans. "He constructed a number of rafts", describes Ney Elias, "placed a goat on each, and set them floating down the Shweli; the Shans, on seeing the goats approaching from the side of China, exclaimed Moe Poi Pa Maw, 'the Chinese are sending goats down', a cry that quickly spread through the town as 'the Chinese are coming floating down' and caused a general panic. The citizens, together with the army, fled in all directions and Sao Pem-Hpa, who was ill at the time and unable to move, died as the enemy entered his city."  

His father Sao Ka-Hpa came afterwards to Hogeung and became its Sawbwa in A.D. 1496. He was sumanamed Sao Kyek-Hpa and established his capital at Chei-En (or Tsei-En or earlier Tsei-Len) to signalize his accession and probably also to

325 Ibid., p. 23.
commemorate the beginning of a new era in Mogaung. The new capital Chei-In is at a distance of one day's journey to the north-west of old Mogaung. He also built another city called Hpa-Kung, now in ruins.

Narrating the history of Mogaung beginning from the time of Sam-Long-Hpa, Ney Elias says that when Sam-Long-Hpa was engaged in the conquest of western countries he appears to have been succeeded by a nephew named Noi-Sanpha, a son of the Mau king, but who in assuming the throne took his father's name, Chau-Kem-pha. But, as it would be shown below, Noi-San-Hpa (or Chau-Kem-pha) was the son of Phu-Chang-Khang and elder brother of Hao-Ka-Hpa. Noi-San-Hpa's accession must have followed the rupture between Hao-Hkan-Hpa and Sam-Long-Hpa when the latter was still engaged in his campaigns in Upper Assam. In the meantime, according to Mogaung Annals, the following areas had been subjugated by the Mao General and brought under Mogaung rule: (1) Hkemti; (2) Sankring Hkemti; (3) Hu-Kawng; (4) Maing-Kaing; (5) Maing-Ngyaung; (6) Mo-Myin (Mohmyin); (7) Taungthwot (Sumjok); (8) Kalei; (9) the four Yaw towns (the most northern of the districts inhabited by the Yaws); and (10) Mautahobo. All these areas were inhabited by eight different races, which, Ney Elias points out, were: (1) the Naras, divided into Ai-Ton, the Ai-Hkam, and Fakeli (the latter were not true Naras, but fugitives from Mong-Man); (2) the Khang or Khang-sei,

(i.e., the Khyene or Nagas); (3) the Singphos or Kachyens; (4) the Pongs, divided into great and small Pongs; (5) the Padus, a kindred people to the latter, similarly divided; (6) the Yaws, a tribe of Burmans on the right bank of the Irrawaddy; (7) the Kubbaw (said to be the Burmese of the neighbourhood of Meuthobo; (8) the Kunungs and Kunums, or Mismis, divided by the Assamese into Miju and Chullicotta Mismis. These races, prior to their being conquered, lived in numerous petty States under their own Chiefs. 327

Noi-San-Hpa (or Loi-San-Hpa), the Sawbwa of Mogaung and contemporary of Sam-Long-Hpa, could not be confused with another chief of the same name and son of Hun-San-Pan-Noi as mentioned in the Hsen-Wi Chronicle. The latter must have been too young at the time of Sam-Long-Hpa's western campaigns if he had been born at all by that time. Hence Ney Elias seems to be correct in showing that the Mogaung Sawbwa, Noi-San-Hpa, was a contemporary of the Mao king Hso-Hkan-Hpa. The descendants of Noi-San-Hpa ruled in regular succession until A.D. 1443 or 1446 when a change occurred. It is not known how this line of Sawbwa came to an end. Ney Elias says that Sao Hsi-Hpa, the brother of the unfortunate Sao Ngan-Hpa, succeeded to the Sawbwa shipment in this year and ruled for long fifty years. Sao Hsi-Hpa was surnamed Sao Kwon-Hpa. 328 But Pemberton's Chronicle tells a different story. According to his Chronicle it was not Sao Ngan-Hpa's

328 Ibid., p. 41.
brother, but his sons, who established their rule over Mogaung at that time. Hey Elias's Chronicle supports the fact that Sao Ngan-Hpa's queen went to Hkamti with her two children seeking protection and further says that the children were Sao Hng aged ten and Sao Hup aged two. On arrival there a third, named Sao Put, was born and one of these three became Sawbwa of Hkamti. Sao Hup was probably Pemberton's Sao-Oop who defeated the Burmese and destroyed Sagaing. When the two accounts are compared Hey Elias's account appears to have been written more carefully providing a regular Shan Chronological table than Pemberton's, with this difference that nothing is said by Hey Elias about what countries the two sons of Sao Ngan-Hpa ruled. In A.D. 1496 Sao Hai-Hpa was succeeded by Sao Ka-Hpa, who ruled up to A.D. 1520. Hey Elias refers to an expedition by Sao Ka-Hpa with a large army for the conquest of Assam. When the army approached the border of Assam the Ahom King offered him large presents of cattle and horses, and he retired peacefully to Mogaung. The Ahom King mentioned must be either Chao-Hpa Supim (1493-97) or Chao-Hpa Hso-Rem-Mong (1497-1539). In the Assam Chronicles there is no mention of this expedition.

Before his death Sao Ka-Hpa completed the work of placing the various dominions of Mogaung on a firm footing by appointing to them his relatives and friends as governors or tributary chiefs. Thus Sao Long-Tu-Mong was appointed Governor of Man-sai on the right bank of the

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329 Ibid., p.41.
Kyendwen and Tsa-Tsam-Yot was made Governor of Maing-Tung on the left bank. He placed the northern dominion, comprising the country of the Hkumungs and Hkumuns (Mishmis) and the areas called Ta-Wi and Ta-Wai, under the governorship of Chao Long-Mong-Chang. He gave Kassel or Manipur to Haw Yot, and three districts of the Khang-sei or Haga country to one Chao ho-tom. To his only son, Sao Mun-Hpa, he assigned the Yaw country west of the Kyendwen. In the State of Mogaung itself it was not his son but his Minister Sao Sui-Hpa who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1520. Sao Sui-Hpa was known by his title Sam-Long-Paw-Mong (Sam-Lung-pawmaing) and, as indicated by Hey Elia, was not of the Mao line of Sawbwas. He ruled for six years and was succeeded in A.D. 1526 by one Chao Sui-Kwei, surnamed Chao Peng, whose relationship to his immediate predecessor or earlier Sawbwas of Mogaung is not known from the Chronicles. In the thirteenth year of this prince's reign (Shan Lakli-Pungweo 23 = A.D. 1556) a Burmese army despatched by the king of Hanta-Wadi (Skt. Hamsavati), by which name Pegu (Shan Pei-Ko) was known, invaded Mogaung and conquered it. These Burmese conquerors also established priests and teachers in Mogaung to convert the rulers and the local population to Buddhism. The Sawbwa Chao-Peng offered his submission and was allowed to continue as a tributary chief. Mao glory had departed. For an appraisal of how the Shan power in Burma ultimately succumbed to the Burmese assaults it is necessary to know the fresh rise and expansion of Burmese power in their new centre

330 Ibid., p. 42.
in the south. The fall of Pagan and consequent Shan pre-
dominance in Upper Burma led numerous Burmese families to
quit their country in the Irrawaddy valley and trek across
to the valley of the Sittang. Far to the south-east of Pagan
and around Toungoo (or Teungu or Taung-ngu) on the bank
of the Sittang, a place safer and happier than any in the
Irrawaddy valley, a Burmese settlement began to grow up which
owed nominal allegiance to Pagan. In A.D. 1280 a village of these
settlers had to be fortified on a hill spur (teung-ngu) as
an outpost against slave hunting by the Karens who had their
States nearby to the east. Constant flow of Burmese population
to this area from the Irrawaddy valley made Toungoo so strong
that its chief Thinbka (1347-58) asserted the independance
of Toungoo and proclaimed himself king and built a palace in
traditional style. This small monarchy was destined to develop
into a mighty power in course of time. In 1358 Thinbka was
succeeded by his son Pyanchi. During his reign a fresh wave
of Burmese immigrants entered his kingdom from Sagaing and
Pin-Ya in the Irrawaddy basin which had been destroyed by the
Moo-Shans in 1364. In an inscription erected by him at Pagan
he recorded his visit to that place to make offerings to the
temples there and also stated how he and his wife had welcomed
refugees from the Shan terror.

Though the Burmese political aspirations found ex-
pression in this little State of Toungoo, yet in the first one
hundred and thirty-nine years of its existence it had no
stability. No single ruling family in this early period was able
to hold its power for long. The second ruler Pyanchi (1358-77), who was on friendly terms with the neighbouring Mon State of Pegu, fell a victim to the machination of the ambitious Ava king, Mingyi Swaswake, who was anxious 'to revive the traditional Burmese policy of subduing the Mons of the south', but had been restrained from doing so in the early part of his reign by the aggressive activities of the Mao-Shans. But at a desperate moment in A.D. 1383 he secured Chinese support against the raiding Mao-Shans, which relieved him of the northern pressure. In Pegu, on Razadarit's accession in A.D. 1385, his uncle made a plot to seize power by dethroning him and appealed to Mingyi Swaswake for support offering to rule as his vassal. This opportunity, as noticed already, Mingyi Swaswake wanted to exploit to fulfil his ambition and a long-drawn war ensued between Ava and Pegu, with no tangible gain for the former. In this struggle the Toungoo rulers did not always observe neutrality. At times they fought on the side of Ava against the Mons. Attempts were also made from time to time by both Ava and Pegu to wipe off the independence of Toungoo.

This state of things in Toungoo was brought under control by the first important ruler, named Minkyinyo, who came to the throne in A.D. 1486. He was the real founder of the Toungoo dynasty. His accession synchronised with the bad days of Ava. Narapati's son Thibathura (1469-81) was the last of the Ava kings in whose reign there was comparatively more peace. The peace that Ava had from the time of surrendering Sao Ngan-Hya to the Chinese was due to Narapati's formal acceptance of
Chinese overlordship which guaranteed security to Ava against the rebels and Shans and invested Narapati with a gold seal of appointment as 'Comforter of Ava'. Earlier China was glad to make common cause with Ava at the request of Mingyi Swayawke against the Mao-Shans whose growing power became a matter of concern for both. The Shans quarrelled among themselves, but also formed powerful confederacies and alliances against external enemies, particularly the Chinese and the Burmese. The Chinese failed to break the process of Shan consolidation and had to be contented with warning the Sawbwa of Mohnyin against obstructing the route between Burma and Yun-nan. The Ming dynasty reached the apex of its power under Yung Lo (1403-1424). Yung Lo was aggressive in his foreign policy and received tributes from most of the South-east Asian countries including Java and Ceylon. Under him, the petty chiefs of Upper Burma acquiesced more or less in Chinese authority. These were mostly Shan chiefs. But by the middle of the fifteenth century there was a marked decline of the Ming power and most of the countries asserted their independence and stopped the tributes. Friction with the Japanese further weakened the Ming in the first half of the sixteenth century. Thus when the Chinese control weakened Upper Burma and the neighbouring regions to the north and east became, as Harvey puts it, 'a bedlam of snarling Shan States'. The Shans

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331 Chu-Ti was more correctly called by his dynastic title Cheng Tsu. He is best known to us by the name of his reign period, Yung Lo.

332 Latourette: op.cit., p.287.
became strong and aggressive again after Thihathura's death in A.D. 1481.

Temporary Recovery of Mao-Shan Power: Capture of Ava:

His two successors Minheung (1481-1502) and Shwenankyawshin (1502-27) were unable to stem the tide of mounting disorders. Molnyin would not forget the past. When the restraining hands of China were found weak or withdrawn, it made a series of attacks on Ava, which in A.D. 1527 culminated in the capture and sack of the city and the death of Shwenankyawshin. The Sawbwa of Molnyin then put his son Thohanbwa (Mao-Han-Hpa) as the ruler of Ava. This Molnyin Prince was a 'full-blooded savage,' says Harvey. He had no respect for the Buddhist religion. It seems he had no faith in the integrity of the Burmese Buddhist monks. He wanted to suppress them on the ground that they conspired against the Shan Government and fomented rebellions to overthrow it. He, therefore, 'pillaged pagodas, massacred monks, and made bonfire of the precious contents of monastic libraries'.


Hallett notes the point of view of a then Shan Sawbwa of Burma, who he says 'certainly seems to have considered the safety of his dynasty more than religion; but the poangyees, or monks, in those days may have been as dangerous in conducting rebellions as those in Tibet have frequently proved.' Hallett also quotes in this connection (See next page)
Thohanbwa was succeeded by several other Shan kings who ruled Ava until in A.D. 1555 it was conquered by Bayin Naung (1551-81), the greatest of the Toungoo rulers, and incorporated into the reunited kingdom of Burma under him.

The Rise of the Toungoo Dynasty: Its Political Expansion:

King Minkyino of Toungoo took advantage of the weaknesses and disorders in the kingdom of Ava that followed the death of Thihathura to extend his territories northwards. His greatest territorial gain was the acquisition of the Kyaukse area. When Ava was sacked by the Holmyin Shans many Burmese

(Continued from the previous foot-note)

the following from the Royal History: "He (apparently referring to the Shan ruler of Ava, Thohanbwa) was of a cruel and savage disposition. He spared not men's lives. He respected not the three treasures (Buddha, the law, and the assembly). Pagodas, he used to say, are not the Bhoora (Paya), but merely fictitious vaults in which the Burmese deposit gold, silver, and jewels; so he dug into and rifled those shrines of their treasures. The poongyees too, he used to say, having no wives and children, under pretence of gathering disciples, collect guards around them ready to rise in rebellion. He therefore built a number of sheds on the plain of Toung-ba-loo, and pretending to do honour to the poongyees, invited all those around Ava, Taegaing, and Panya to a feast. Then surrounding them with an army, he had them all slaughtered. He then seized all the books in their monasteries and had them burned. But some of the Shans had pity on the poongyees, and many thus escaped to Prome and Toungoo. More than three hundred and sixty were killed, but more than a thousand escaped." - Hallett's Historical Sketch of the Shans, op. cit., pp. 336-37.

334 Nkommaing, usurper (1543-46); Nolye Narapati (1546-52), son of Nkommaing; Sthinkyawhtin, usurper (1552-55). - See Hall: A History of South-east Asia, Appendix, p. 752.
chiefs fled from there to take service under him which simply added to his strength. At that time the northern Shan States were so divided among themselves that a threat to the Sittang valley from that quarter was no near possibility. This gave Minkyinyo an opportunity to prepare for the conquest of the rich Mon kingdom of Pegu in the south, but, before the preparations could be completed, he died in A.D. 1531. The Mon country of Thaton and Pegu, which Anawrahta of Pagan had conquered in the middle of the eleventh century, regained independence during the Mongol invasions of Pagan, when, by a concerted action, Waxeru and Tarakya expelled the Burmese in A.D. 1237 from Pegu and the country as far as Tavoy south of Prome and Toungoo.

Tabin Shwe T'ī (1531-50), the son and successor of Minkyinyo, was a brilliant and enterprising ruler. At the time of his accession Burma was divided into four kingdoms, namely: (1) the remnants of the original kingdom, with capital at Ava; (2) Prome; (3) Pegu; and (4) Toungoo.335 The kingdom of Ava was then ruled by the Shan Sawbwa Thobanwua (1527-43), a scion of the Mohmyin Shan dynasty. The countries to the north, northwest and east of Ava belonged to the Shan, who had their own principalities in them. Tabin Shwe T'ī first annexed the Irrawaddy delta in A.D. 1535 with the towns of Bassein and Myaungmya, and then proceeded to conquer Pegu, then under an equally

brilliant ruler Takayupti. Pegu was so well defended that Tabin Shwe T'i's four years of campaigning could not bring about its fall. It was finally taken by him by stratagem in A.D. 1539 and King Takayupti fled to Prome closely followed by the Burmese king and his brother-in-law Bayin Naung. When Tabin Shwe T'i attacked Prome the Shan Sawbwa of Ava, Thohanbwa, sent against him a force downstream by a large flotilla which, by a powerful counter-attack, defeated the Burmese and relieved the city and the Burmese force had to retire. Failing to take Prome Tabin Shwe T'i decided to attack Martaban. He therefore reinforced his army with Mon levies and Portuguese mercenaries. These mercenaries were armed with muskets and light artillery and commanded by Joao Gayero. With this mixed force he, in A.D. 1541, marched against the port-city of Martaban and attacked it. The city was defended by a Portuguese garrison. Tabin Shwe T'i had a tough job to break through the stout resistance put up by the city's forces, but the Portuguese soldiers later deserted the post and the defence collapsed. Tabin Shwe T'i then took the city by storm and gave it over to horrible massacre and plunder by his mercenaries which continued for three days. This frightful act of savagery had such demoralising effect on the rest of the Mon country that the Burmese king received the surrender of Moulmein on the opposite bank without having to strike a blow and the remainder of the Mon country 'as far as the Siamese frontier at Tavoy fell into Burmese hands'.336 He celebrated his victory by adding commemoratory spires to the principal Mon

pagodas of that country. The famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda received a special thank-offering of ten viss (36.5 lb) of pure gold.

In the course of his campaign against Pegu Tabin Shwe T'ii occupied a town called Chiang-Krai or Chiang-Kran, now called Gyaing or Kya-in on the bank of the Ayar river in the Moulmein district. This town was then subject to Siam. King P'rajit of Siam, heading a strong force, attacked and utterly defeated the Burmese and drove them out of his dominions. Here, too, the Portuguese mercenaries in the service of Siam played such a notable part in turning out the Burmese that they were rewarded with various commercial and residential privileges. This Chiang-Krai incident became the original cause of a long and bitter struggle between Siam and Burma later bringing death, famine and unspeakable misery to both countries.

The conquest of the Mon country encouraged Tabin Shwe T'ii to renew his invasion of Prome in the following year (1542). In the meantime, the Mon king Takayupti had died and many of the Mon chiefs offered their allegiance to the Burmese king, who, they thought, would be able to guarantee peace and a settled Government after long years of chaos, bloodshed and miseries from which their country had suffered. On the other

337 The Burmese legend is that two brothers, Tapusa and Paliust, received from Gautama eight hairs of his head, which they brought by sea to Savannakham and enshrined under the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, which stands just outside the small fishing village of Dagon, named after it, and renamed Rangoon by Alaungpaya (1755).
338 Wood p. 103, cit. p. 102.
339 Ibid. p. 103.
hand, the Burmese king, too, treated the Mons as equals with the Burmese and respected the Mon customs and institutions. It is believed that behind such conciliatory policy Tabin Shwe T'í had a larger plan of conquest in the east with the support of the Mons, otherwise it is in sharp contrast to the scenes of massacre and plunder which he had enacted at Martaban.

Reaching Prome with his army he laid siege to the city and, by causing an exhaustion of its food stocks, compelled it to submit after five months. As a punishment here, too, he allowed the population to be slaughtered and their properties robbed by his soldiers. By the capture of Prome he got an outlet to the Irrawaddy waterway to move his troops to attack the Shan country of the north. When this danger presented itself at the door of the quarrelling Shan States, they sank their differences and prepared themselves for a concerted action to recover Prome from the Burmese occupation for their own security. In A.D. 1544 the king of Ava, Hkonmaing and the Sawbwas of Molmyin, Momeik (Mong-Mit), Hsen-Wi, Phamo, Yawnghwe and Mone united and organized a combined force to drive off the Burmese from Prome by a counter attack. The force moved down the Irrawaddy in a flotilla of war-boats and launched its counter-attack on the Burmese. The Shans were also joined in this expedition by the Arakanese. But, with the help of his Portuguese gunners Tabin Shwe T'í won a decisive victory over the Shans and forced them to retreat. He then advanced northwards and occupied the country up to the north of Minbu and Myingyan districts, but did not proceed far enough to attack Ava. He had enough territories
in southern and central Burma which he wanted to consolidate and become strong before exhausting himself in a war with the Shans.

He also wanted to see himself acknowledged as a true Burman king. He was therefore duly crowned king of Burma with ancient ceremonial at the old, though ruined, capital of Pagan. After that he returned to the south and reached Pegu, which city he made his capital instead of Pagan or Toungoo. At Pegu he held a second coronation in A.D. 1546 using both Burmese and Mon rites. His ambition rose high, for he wanted to become a great Emperor ('Chakravarty Raja') and earn the distinction of being the possessor of white elephants. The king of Siam, he learnt, possessed a number of such elephants and he was determined to have them. He also remembered that Siam was no friend of the Burmese as the latter had already a clash with that country at Chiang-Kraa.

Arakan Expedition:

Soon after his coronation at Pegu an Arakanese prince appeared at his Court for help to remove the ruling chief of his country, named Minbin (1531-53), and secure the throne for him. This prince offered to rule as a Burmese vassal if the help was given. Tabin Shwe T'i was simply too glad to give the help and have that country as a part of his dominions. But the fortifications of the capital city Mrohaung were so strong that his expedition failed to break through them. He therefore called off the expedition on the plea that the Siamese were
raiding the Tavoy region and the military needs in that area were more urgent. His Arakan expedition was just an opportunist venture. His main objective had been Ayuthia and for its conquest he made massive preparations. He also knew that Siam was weakened by domestic troubles. From A.D. 1534 to 1549 the Siamese Court was in a state of turmoil with scandalous stories, intrigues, conspiracies and murders.

First Burmese Invasion of Ayuthia: An Unsuccessful Adventure:

In A.D. 1554 King Phra Jai Rajat'irat (Jaya Rajadhira), a half-brother of King Boromaraja IV (Parama Raja), occupied the throne of Ayuthia by killing off a boy king of five years and five months. According to a Siamese Chronicle, he twice invaded Chiengmai during A.D. 1525-26 without success and died in A.D. 1527 while returning to his capital after the second invasion. Thus the dates of the Chronicle do not agree with those given by Wood. On the death of King Phra Jai Rajat'irat, the ministers, nobles and royal Brahmin astrologers raised his elder son Phra Kao Fah, then only eleven years old, with the title of Phra Yotfah and appointed the Queen Mother, Sri Sudachan as Regent to assist the young King. In the usual course, the deceased King's younger half-brother, Prince T'ien Raja, would have been appointed Regent. But the choice of a

340 See the Siamese Chronicle Phra Raj P'ongsawadan Chabab Phra Raj Hat'alek'a (or the "Royal Autograph Edition" as called by Wood) as translated by Phra Phraison Salarak (U Aung Their) under the title "Intercourse between Siam and Burma" in JERS, XXV, II, 1935, p.59.
female for this position was exceptional. This lady, who was one of the senior non-Royal Consorts of King Phraja I (1534-46), must have obtained the nomination to regency from the King during his life time. But her scandalous character, as soon as proved, led to a bloody revolution in the capital, which also brought invasions from outside. While acting as Queen Regent she carried on illicit love affairs with a palace attendant, named P'an Put Srit'ep (Putra Sridev), whom, in course of time, she promoted to the title of K'un Worawongsat'irat (Varavamsadhiraja) and then raised to the throne. She cleared the throne for him by executing the boy king, though she spared his younger brother Phra Sri Sin who was then seven years old. She also caused those nobles of her Court to be murdered who could not approve of her conduct. There were also certain disturbances at this time in the northern Provinces of the kingdom.

All these serious internal troubles produced such instability of the Siamese Government that Tabin Shwe T'i saw in it a good opportunity to strike and annex that country to his dominions and be the master of the white elephants. He therefore marched on Ayut'tia with an army of 30,000 foot-soldiers, 2000 cavalry and 300 elephants. He was joined in the expedition by the king of Prome and the Governor of Bassein. The army followed the route through the frontier outpost of Three Pagodas.

341 Ibid. p.60.
Entering the Siamese territory Tabin Shwe T'i attacked and captured Kanchanaburi (Kamput) and learnt from the local officers that Somdet Phra Maha Chakrapat Rajatirat (Maha Chakrabarty Rajadhiraj) had ascended the throne of Siam and that there was peace and order throughout the kingdom under him. At this news, he hesitated to proceed further, but as he had already advanced so far, he decided to move forward. He next attacked and took Muang Sup'amburi and then reached Lump'li in A.D. 1530, a date earlier by several years, and then marched to the vicinity of Ayuthia. The Siamese King became ready to meet him. But the Burmese King, finding the fortifications of the city too strong, preferred to retire. The Chronicle says that he 'remained in camp for three days and having seen the walls of the city and the royal palaces inside it, he broke camp, and returned by the same route by which he had come'. 342 This invasion is not mentioned in the Mannar history. Harvey and Wood also make no reference to it in their works.

H.R.H. Prince Damrong in his Our Wars with the Burmese, Ayutthia Period, gives two invasions of Siam by Tabin Shwe T'i, but his account of the first invasion says that it took place during the reign of King Phra Jai Rajatirat in Cula Sakkarañ 900 (A.D.1538), when the two monarchs met at Chieng Kran, a place identified by H.R.H. Prince Damrong himself as 'the modern Oyaing in the Amberst district'. As already said, Chieng Kran

belonged to Siam, but when the Burmese King made aggression upon it the Siamese King recovered it by defeating the Burmese. It was only an incident of encroachment when Tabin Shwe T'i was engaged in the conquest of the kingdom of Pegu.

Early in the year 1549 Tabin Shwe T'i made a grand preparation for a second invasion of Ayuthia and then marched for attack with a huge army of 300,000 men, 3,000 horses and 700 elephants. He proceeded with the king of Prome, who was his grandson, and the Governors of Bassein, Toungoo and other provinces by way of Martaban, Kanturi and Sup'an and by June encamped himself in the neighbourhood of Ayuthia. In the meantime, some six months earlier the usurper K'un Worawongsae and his wife, the notorious Queen Regent, had been beheaded by the nobles, and Prince T'ien, the younger half-brother of King P'rajai, was crowned king with the title of Somdet Phra Maha Chakrathat Rajadhirat or Maha Chakrabarty Rajadhiraj (1549-69). During his twenty years of reign there was much improvement in the internal political situation and the country enjoyed comparative peace and was better organized for defence.

Tabin Shwe T'i laid siege to the capital, which, according to Pinto, lasted for nearly four months. The Burmese repeatedly delivered fierce assaults on the capital, but were repulsed every time. It is of historic significance that in this war the Siamese Queen Suripot'ai and one of her daughters fought

343 who is usually referred to in the Chronicle as the King of Hanthawaddy (Hamsavati; Pegu).
valiantly wearing men's dress side by side with the men against the Burmese and laid down their lives leaving behind immortal fame for both heroism and patriotism.\(^{344}\) Having failed to break through the defences of Ayutthia the Burmese had to retire as their provisions had run short and the army was so badly equipped that it suffered untold distress and privations. Further reasons for the retreat of the Burmese army were that Phra Maha T'ammara (Mahadhammaraja), the vassal king of P'itsanulok, who was also the son-in-law of the Siamese King, was about to descend and attack it with a large force\(^{345}\) and also that there were reports of disorder in the Burmese kingdom itself. Hence His Burmese Majesty, first to avoid the routes vulnerable to Siamese attacks during retreat and secondly, to seize the food stocks collected for Maha T'ammara's army, decided to proceed northwards along the bank of the river Menam and fight the northern army at Chainat where it was encamped. As the Burmese left in that direction King Chakrapa't at's two sons, Phra Amnesuan and Phra Mahint'rat proceeded to attack them in the rear which was guarded by Bayin Naung, called Maha Uparaja, in the Siamese Chronicle. Maha T'ammara failed to resist the numerically

\(^{344}\) The description in the Chronicle is that, in going to rescue her husband from a bad position in the fighting, Queen Suriot'ai was thrown off her balance and her head and body fell back supine when the elephant, she mounted, was pierced with the tusks through the throat by that of the king of Prome. In this situation the king of Prome cut her with his long-handled sword, and the blow was delivered with such force that the weapon cut through the shoulder and reached the breast. According to Wood the Queen and her daughter were both pierced through by Burmese spears (which may have followed the sword stroke).

\(^{345}\) Maha T'ammara mobilised a force of 50,000 men from the five northern Huangs, namely, P'itsanulok, Sewank'alok, Sukhot'ai, P'ichai and P'ichit.
superior Burmese army and both Phra Ramesuan and Phra Mahint'rat were captured by Beyin Naung by an adroit manoeuvre of the rearguard. Later they were released on request by the Siamese King, who gave in exchange two white elephants as desired by the Burmese King. These elephants, however, had to be soon returned being uncontrollable. The Burmese returned to Pegu by way of Kamp'angp'et and Melamo. 

Tabin Shwe T'î, after his retreat from Siam, fell under the influence of a Portuguese, named Diego Suarez and became a confirmed drunkard and debauchee. While yet a young man of thirty-six only his evil association and vices caused such a breakdown of his morals that he became absolutely unfit to govern the country and left the conduct of affairs to others. He was assassinated in A.D. 1550.

After the death of Tabin Shwe T'î Burma was thrown into confusion. Beyin Naung, the brother-in-law of Tabin Shwe T'î, was the next aspirant to the throne. But the Burmese chiefs of Toungoo and Prome refused to recognize his claim. One Smim Sawhtut, said to be a Mon prince who procured the murder of Tabin Shwe T'î, became a patriot and liberator in the eyes of the Mon people. He was at once accepted by the Peguese as their ruler. Another Mon leader became strong at Martaban. Thus Burma was once again split up into a number of independent States. At the same time another prince of the old line, Smim Htaw, became

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346 "Intercourse between Siam and Burma": JERS, XXV, II, 1935, pp. 75-82; Wood: op. cit., p. 113.
348 also called Maung Naung.
the leader of a Mon rebellion against the Burmese rule. He marched on Pegu and eliminated his rival Smim Sawhtut in A.D. 1551.

In face of this disintegration of the dominions of Tabin Shwe T'î, Bayin Naung seized Toungoo and proclaimed himself king. His immediate task was to recapture the Mon country from Smim Htaw. In A.D. 1551 he marched on Pegu with a mixed army of Burmese, Mon and Portuguese mercenaries and fought a battle outside the walls of the capital. Smim Htaw was defeated and the Mon resistance collapsed. Smim Htaw fled to Martaban, where he was later searched out and killed. But his memory is venerated by the local people as a great patriot. He was the thirty-seventh ruler of Wareru's line. After the victory Bayin Naung was crowned at Pegu 'with the grandest ceremonial'. He also built there a magnificent capital city where he established his Court and built his palace.

Burmese Conquest of Shan States:

Bayin Naung was one of the foremost leaders of the Burmese and, as Harvey puts it, "the greatest explosion of human energy ever seen in Burma". Four years after the re-establishment of his rule in Pegu he directed his attention to the north with the determination to conquer the Shan country. With that object in A.D. 1553 he sent up the Irrawaddy an army of observation. The Shan chiefs took it to be a definite precursor of an invasion of their States by the ambitious and powerful Burmese King. This caused them to give up their mutual quarrels and spirit of hostility and unite to meet the common danger.
Bayin Naung was conscious of the strength of Shan resistance that he would meet with. He, therefore, raised the largest force he could muster for the purpose and decided first to subjugate Ava before invading the Shan States. With that object, late in A.D. 1554, he launched simultaneously a two-pronged attack on Ava from the bases of Toungoo and Pagan. The city fell in March, 1555 and opened up the way for a drive farther north. He next annexed Bangyi in Monywa district and Myedu in Shwebo district, both under Ava.

In April, 1556 he invaded the Shan States of Hsi-Paw and Unghaung (Shan: Ong Pawng), both being Sawbwaships of Hsi-Mit (Monet), the parent State. These Shan States were conquered and Long-Mit became feudatory to Burma. The State of Hsi-Mit, previous to its conquest by the Burmese, exercised sway over the following eight minor Sawbwaships, namely, (1) Baao; (2) Malai (to the southeast of Bhamo); (3) Unghaung; (4) Maing-lung (Long-Long); (5) Thonggi; (6) Hsi-Paw (Thibo); (7) Taung; and (8) Singu. He next attacked Long-Nai (Monet) and subdued it. The States claimed by Long-Nai as its dependencies were: (1) Myaung-Yuei; (2) Mobyi; (3) Yauk Saik; (4) Lego; (5) Tigyit; (6) Kyaing-Taung; (7) Maing-Seik, and sometimes the Hse-Lap Shang.

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349 Burmese Thibo, Shan Tai-Po and Pali Thiri-Rata (Sri Rata). It was founded by a local chief named Udina in 423 B.C., and in the thirteenth century captured by the Mao-Sheng. The city of Hsi-Paw consisted of three forts or walled compounds joined together. See N. Elias: op. cit., p.55.
350 Some two miles to the westward of Thibo and an oblong city on the Nam-po 600 ta by 300, containing three gates on each face, or twelve in all.
351 N. Elias: op. cit., pp.54-56; Hall: A History
Conquest of Chieng-mai (Lan-Na-T’ai) :
Temporary Subjugation of Ayuthia :

He then pushed on towards Chieng-mai352 to conquer that kingdom, then under Maharaja Mekut’i, a Prince of Mong-Mai. Bayin Naung found an excuse to attack Chieng-mai and it was that its ruler Mekut’i had been helping the Shans of Burma against him. He, with his huge army, besieged Chieng-mai and took it in April, 1556 without having to face any serious resistance. Mekut’i was reduced to submission and compelled to acknowledge the Burman Majesty as his suzerain and to agree to pay an annual tribute of elephants, horses, silk and other products of his kingdom. Thus the independent Tai kingdom of Chieng-mai or Lan-Na-T’ai, established in A.D. 1296 by king Mengrai, once master of almost the whole of North Siam, fell never to rise again. Further, between A.D. 1563 and 1570 Bayin Naung twice invaded and seized Ayuthia and made its rulers surrender. He also twice attacked the Laos kingdom. With the seizure of Ayuthia Siam had to remain under Burma for an interval of fifteen years.

Mong-Mao Reduced to Vassalage :

In his general plan of conquest of the Shan States Bayin Naung did not spare Mong-Mao, which was then a prosperous

352 Burmese Zimme.
country, but showing a cause of Burmese invasion of Mong-Mao the Burmese chroniclers, "pretend", as pointed out by Ney Elias, "that shortly before 1560 the Mao had seized some villages within the borders of Mong-Mit, and that the Sawbwa of the latter place had appealed to the Burmese for aid, but as Mong-Mit had up to within a year or two of this time been a part of the dominion of the Mao Kings, and the Burmese had been steadily advancing in their conquest of the Shan States from south to north, it is scarcely necessary to look for any special cause for quarrel". 353

It appears that Bayin Naung, with Chiang-mai as his ultimate objective, did not go so far north as to invade Mong-Mao. The actual invasion of Mong-Mao took place, according to the Burmese Chronicles, in the year 924 B.E. or A.D. 1562, and hence during the interval between the conquest of Chiang-mai and the invasion of Ayuthia in A.D. 1564 by the Burmese king, Sao Hom-Hpa 354 was then the king (1516-1604) of Mong-Mao. Bayin Naung, the Burmese king of Pegu, is reported to have sent an army to Mong-Mao, numbering two hundred thousand men, under the command of his son, Nanda Bayin, 355 who was heir-apparent to the throne, and three of his younger brothers, rulers respectively of Prome, Toungoo, and Ava. 356 They attacked the

354 He was the 44th Sawbwa of the Mong-Mao line of Mao-Shan rulers and is to be distinguished from Sao Hom-Hpa, the 41st Sawbwa.
355 Also called Nanda Bhureng.
Hong-Hao territories from the north, burning and destroying the Sawbwa ships of Santa, Mong-La and other neighbouring towns in the valley of the Nam-Tapeng, and then moved south entering the Nam-Mao (Shweli) valley and attacking the capital, where, after little or no fighting, reduced to submission the ruling Sawbwa, Sao Hom-Hpa, and made him accept the status of a vassal chief under the Burman Majesty. Sao Hom-Hpa had also to send the Burmese King a princess in token of homage.

Bayin Naung's reign (1551-81) was crowded with wars and expeditions. After a long struggle with the Shans since the fall of Pagan in A.D. 1237 for supremacy over Burma, the Burmese, from their new centres in Lower Burma, succeeded gradually in pressing northwards and, under the leadership of Bayin Naung, firmly establishing their suzerainty over the Shan States of Upper Burma. There was henceforward no recovery of Shan power over Upper Burma or any part of it. In Lower Burma, though Bayin Naung relentlessly crushed all Mon opposition for establishing his authority, yet, on the whole, like his predecessor, he treated them with respect. His commander-in-chief, Binnya Dala, and a number of other principal officers of State were Mon.

Bayin Naung was a devoted disciple of Pali Buddhism. He built pagodas in many places, distributed Buddhist scriptures and promoted the study of Dhammatha. Though he was a

357 Ibid., p.24.
great killer of human beings, yet his conscience revolted against animal sacrifices. He even prohibited such practices as the killing of goats by the Muhammadans in celebration of Bakr ID, offering of white animals to the Mahagiri spirit on Mount Popa in Myingyan district and the burial of slaves, elephants and horses at the death of Shan Sawbwa along with his body. He sent offerings from time to time to the famous Tooth of the Buddha at Kandy in Ceylon and also lights and brooms made of hair of his own head and that of his chief queen to be used there. He wished to be connected matrimony with the house of Ceylon with the result that he received a princess and a tooth, claimed as genuine, from Raja Dhammapala of Colombo. The tooth was enshrined in a jewelled casket beneath the Mahazedi Pagoda, which he had founded at Pegu. After the conquest of Hong-Mao Nanda Bayin did not destroy the city, but, on the other hand, 'teachers of Buddhism were left there to instruct the Shan priests in the worship of Gaudama and to convert the rulers and people'.

In A.D. 1881 Nanda Bayin succeeded to the throne of Pegu only to see the whole empire from Ava to Moulmein bristling with rebellions. "Bayin Naung had sown the wind", as Hall aptly remarks, "his son reaped the whirlwind". But for the time he quelled all rebellions with a stern hand. The most powerful revolt was led by his brother-in-law, Thadomsaw, ruler (Governor) of Ava. It arose from a private family affair.

The Burmese Crown Prince Min Chit Swa, married a daughter of this Prince of Ava, but very much maltreated her. The latter complained to her father of the maltreatment. The Prince of Ava was upset at the report and determined to revolt against Nanda Bayin and wrote to the Governors of Prome and Toungoo seeking their joint action aiming at independence. When this was made known to Nanda Bayin he proceeded to attack Ava in A.D. 1584 leaving the Crown Prince as Regent at Pegu (Hanthawadi). He fought a duel with the Prince of Ava on elephants and defeated him and suppressed the revolt ruthlessly. He also ordered mass execution of those of his Court nobles and their families who were found to be in collusion with Ava. A Venetian jeweller, named Gaspardo Balbi, who was an eye witness of the ghastly execution, gives a vivid description of it, an English translation of which was published by Richard Hakluyt in his Principal Voyages.

While Nanda Bayin was busy trying to put his father's empire in order, Siam found in P'ra Naret a very brilliant young Crown Prince, called also "Black Prince", who played a glorious role in liberating Siam from the Burmese yoke. It was he who declared Siam independent and hit back with devastating effect the Burmese attempts to subdue that country.

359 Wood: op. cit., p.142.
360 Wood: *Ibid.*, p.151; Hall: *A History of South-east Asia*, p.219. According to Hall the Prince of Ava, Thadominsaw, was Rayin Naung's brother and hence Nanda Bayin's uncle, but Wood mentions that he was Rayin Naung's brother-in-law. Ney Mias's statement is that the rulers of Prome, Toungoo and Ava were respectively the younger brothers of the king of Pegu (Rayin Naung). - See *op. cit.*, p.24. From the matrimonial relations between the two families Wood appears to be correct.
He was the elder son of king Maha T'amma Raja and had to spend a part of his early life as a hostage in Burma. As a king he was given the title of Naresuen the Great, which he eminently deserved. This part of the Siamese history is described elsewhere.

With the death of Bayin Naung in A.D. 1581 and outbreak of rebellions in his empire, the Burmese control over the northern Shan States ceased to become real and from the extent accounts it appears that the northernmost kingdom of Mong-Mao became virtually free. The Shan land was like a buffer State between China and Burma and hence had to bear the brunt of both Chinese and Burmese pressure. The Shans, too, were a vigorous race but, being divided into many small principalities, had to form confederations from time to time to organize resistance against the powerful Chinese in the north and east and Burmese in the south. Yet for over two centuries and a half after the destruction of Pagan in A.D. 1287 the Shans held a predominant position in Burma except the Sittang valley about Toungoo, Arakan and, for a period, Ava. The Shans were in friendship with the Mongol rulers of China and collaborated with the latter in destroying and driving off the the Burmese rule at Pagan. But when the Mongols declined the Shans asserted their independence and threw off their allegiance to China. With the coming of the Ming the old alignment changed and both the Chinese and the Burmese turned against the Shans who had to fight on two fronts maintaining their almost constant pressure on the Burmese until A.D. 1556 when Bayin Naung, for the first time, started subduing the Shan States.
But soon after the accession of Handa Bayin and some twenty years after the first conquest of Mong-Hao in A.D. 1562 by the Burmese king Bayin Neung, that is, in A.D. 1582 (Shan date Mong Hszu 54 = B.E. 944 = A.D. 1582) and apparently during a time of peace between China and Burma, but with the latter's power of control over the northern Mao-Shan States gone, the Mao were again attacked by a Chinese army of three hundred thousand men, a figure which may well have been exaggerated. Three great battles were fought without any decisive result and the Chinese are said to have sued for peace, an indication of Chinese reverse at the last moment. The Mong-Mao king, Sao Hom-Hpa, acceded it and the Chinese army returned to Yun-nan. There is no mention of the Burmese in this war.

After this Sino-Shan peace settlement Mong-Mao remained undisturbed for the next twenty years. But in A.D. 1604 (Shan Kat Mao 16 or B.E. 966), when Sao Hom-Hpa became very old and had just made over the government of the country to his son Sao Foreng (or Sao Foreng), the then reigning Sawbwa of Hsun-Wi, a Chinese general named Wang-Sang-Su, with a large force, appeared on the borders of Mong-Mao. At this time Sao Hom-Hpa died, but the Chinese army commenced invasion of his country. The Shans could not put up any effective resistance and Sao Foreng fled to Mogaung with a party of Chinese pursuing him. At a place called Kat-Kyo-Wing-Maw on the left bank of the Nam-Kiu (the Irrawaddy) his followers mutinied, in consequence of which he, in despair, ended his life by drowning himself in the river. Since then Mong-Mao remained in the permanent occupation of the Chinese. At Mogaung
the last independent Sawbwa, Chao Hum-Hpa, died leaving no son to succeed him. The next Sawbwa chosen was then Sao Ti-Ti-Hpa,\textsuperscript{361} the grandson and only remaining descendant of Sao Hom-Hpa.\textsuperscript{362}

With Sao Pareng's death the Mao-Shan kingdom came to an end. About that time also the Burmese for the first time came to exercise authority over Hseen-Wi. The kings of Burma had been, of course, controlling successions to the Sawbwas in the Southern Shan States from a much earlier date and used to receive tribute from them.\textsuperscript{365} Thus the northern Shan country was divided between China and Burma.

Since then the power and prosperity of the Tai principalities steadily declined. They were worn down not only by the aggression and rapacity of the Burmese and Chinese, and by the intestine wars, in which there is abundant proof that they always indulged, but by the advances of the Kachins.\textsuperscript{364} It may be noted that the pressure of the Chinese, Burmese and Kachins drove the Tai from much territory between China Proper and Burma, until Shan names of mountains, streams, and villages are the only remaining witnesses of former occupation. It is recorded in the Upper Burma Gazetteer that the once powerful States west of the Irrawaddy now only possess a meagre and much Burmanized population, while the border principalities to the east from Hsun Hsai to Yawng Hwe,\

\textsuperscript{361} surnamed Chau-kaa-maing.  
\textsuperscript{362} N. Elia: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 25.  
\textsuperscript{363} \textit{GUESS}, I, I, pp. 280-81.  
\textsuperscript{364} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 231.
and in a lesser degree even to Houg Nai, have suffered almost as much from the deliberate policy of the Burmese Kings and have only survived because they had the mass of their fellow-countrymen behind them. The policy of Burmanization, followed by the Ava Kings, ruined the Shan politically and culturally. "The sons or brothers of the ruling Sawbwas were always kept at the Ava Court, not only as hostages for the good behaviour of the Chief of the State, but that they might be reared under Burman influence and withdrawn from sympathy with those of their own race, so that when they in time came to rule, their loyalty to the suzerain might be ensured; moreover, the policy was to foster feuds between the different Sawbwas, and rival aspirants were left to settle their claims to the succession in a State by force of arms. The victorious claimant might be confirmed as Sawbwa by Royal patent, but he would not be, unless he was able to pay for it, and when the civil war was over, his forces were too exhausted to permit him to resist Burman demands. 365

Rev. Father Sangermano, who was at Ava and then at Rangoon from A.D. 1785 to 1807, says that from the time of Alaungpaya (1752-1760) all the Sawbwas were subjects and tributaries of the Burmese, but 'the cruel despotism, the continual vexations and oppressions of their masters have forced many of them to rebel; all of whom have leagued themselves with the Siamese'. 366

365 Ibid.
366 Sangermano: The Burmese Empire. (John Murray) 1833, p. 34.
The first Anglo-Burmese war ended with the Treaty of Yandabo, which was ratified on 24 February 1826. Under the Treaty His Majesty the King of Ava had to give up Arakan, Tenasserim, Assam and Manipur, together with the payment of an indemnity which was equivalent to one million sterling. Early in 1836 the whole of Upper Burma, including the Shan States, was declared to be a part of British India. As the eastern frontiers of the Shan States of Burma were not well-defined the British government had to carry on prolonged diplomatic negotiations with France and Siam before they could be finally settled. By Section 3 of the Upper Burma Laws Act, 1836, the local Government was empowered, with the sanction of the Governor General in Council, to define the Shan States from time to time. Before the passing of the Shan States Act, 1839, the only way in which enactments could be extended to the Shan States was by notification under the Upper Burma Laws Act. The Shan States Act came into force on the 1st February 1839. By it the civil, criminal, and revenue administration of every Shan State is vested in the Chief of the State subject to the restrictions specified in the said Act to him. The Act respected the customary law of each State so far as it was in accordance with justice, equity and good conscience, not opposed to the spirit of the law in the rest of British India. On 17 October 1947, a treaty was signed by which the Republic of the Union of Burma was recognized by the British government as a fully independent State and on 4 January 1948 the republic's first president.
Sao Shwe Thaik, the Shan Swabwa of Ywaung, assumed charge from the military governor Sir Hubert Rance.