it is with great sorrow that we extend our condolences to the families and friends of those murdered on the fourth of june in tiananmen square and on subsequent dates and other places. we grieve with the chinese people. there can be nothing but condemnation for the perpetrators of these massacres and the repression that has followed.

CONTENTS

Classifications and Origins  2
The Soviet View on Southeast Asia  2
Chinese Names for Tai  5
Tai Names  6
Ethnic Groups in Yunnan  8
Black Thai-White Thai  10
Rock art of Zuojiang River valley  11
Translations
  Relations between ancient Xishuangbanna and Lanna  12
  Economic development in Xishuangbanna  21
News  24
Correspondence  24
Southeast Asian Legal Texts  24
Tang Administration of non-Han  25
About the Newsletter  26
The Prince and the Moulmein Market Girl  26
Map of Yunnan (notice)  28
This issue contains documents prepared for a two day seminar held by the project, concerned with the problems of 1. the classification of the Tai in Southeast Asia and the PRC, and 2. the classification of minority nationalities in Yunnan Province. This seminar was preceded by a discussion organized by the Thai Studies Group of the ANU on Tai origins. Part of the material presented at the earlier session will appear in a volume in Thai edited by Cholthira Satyawadhna and published by Muang Boran. Other presentations were made by A. Diller, B.J. Terwiel and Xie Yuan Zhang.

Of the many interesting matters for consideration coming out of the session on Tai origins, two perhaps need stressing. Terwiel drew attention to the long history of migration, settlement and forced settlement in what is now Central Thailand; thus the necessity for awareness of historical complexity as well as the conceptual clarity required for even contemplating questions of 'origins'. The other matter we may mention here was dramatically presented by Diller. Without unduly anticipating its publication, we may mention that the paper sets out the difficulties of establishing a vocabulary which is unique to any of the major language families of the region.

The documents prepared by Xie and Li, we hope, will prove a handy and useful reference for scholars working on the region.

* * *

The Soviet View on Southeast Asia  
(1951)

T.H. Rigby

In order to establish the background of current Soviet views on this country, it may be useful to recount briefly the history of imperialism in Thailand, as Soviet writers see it.

Imperialist infringements on Thailand's sovereignty are held to have proceeded along two lines - annexation of sections of her territory, and binding her by unequal treaties.

The 'treaty of friendship and commerce' forced on Thailand by Britain in 1855 provided that British subjects would have the right to trade and travel freely in the country, and would be under the jurisdiction of British consular officials. The following year saw
similar treaties imposed by the United States and France, in 1868 by Holland, and in 1898 by Japan and Tsarist Russia.

The year 1855 also saw the British acquisition of the Malay states of Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Pahang and Perak, which were formerly under Thai suzerainty. In 1909 Thailand was obliged to recognize British authority over four more Malay principalities - Trengganu, Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis.

Meanwhile, the French, advancing from Annam, seized the eastern part of the Thai protectorate of Cambodia in 1867, and in 1893 they forced Thailand to renounce her claim to the right bank of the Mekong, and to make other concessions. This French penetration disturbed the British imperialists, who forced their rivals in 1896 to recognize the 'independence' of Thailand, which was to serve as a buffer between British Burma and French Indo-China. This was followed in 1904 by an agreement defining the spheres of influence of the two countries, which set the Menam as the western limit of French economic penetration. These agreements, however, did not prevent the French from making fresh territorial acquisitions. In 1904 they took from Thailand further areas of Laos on the right bank of the Mekong, and in 1907 the western part of Cambodia.

Nevertheless, it was the British who ultimately got the upper hand in this imperialist struggle for control of Thailand's natural resources. They won valuable timber and tin concessions and up to the thirties dominated the country's foreign trade. Sixty-seven per cent of Thailand's imports came from British territories, and up to eighty per cent of her exports. The Thai government was at this period a puppet of the British imperialists.

The thirties saw British interests in Thailand threatened by new rivals - the United States and Japan. The latter supplied three and a half per cent of Thailand's imports in 1925, and thirty per cent in 1937. The rise of Japanese influence in Thailand was associated with changes taking place in the balance of class forces within the country itself. The beginnings of a local manufacturing industry were accompanied by the emergence of a national proletariat and a national bourgeoisie. A bourgeois-nationalist party was formed, which in 1932 overthrew the British-dominated feudal regime and set up a constitutional monarchy. The anti-European slogans of the Japanese were responsible for the pro-Japanese orientation of the Nationalist Party leaders. Not only did Japanese products begin to replace Western ones in Thailand's markets, but her nationals began to supersede Englishmen and Frenchmen as advisers to the Thai government. This process culminated in the military alliance with Japan of 1941, and the declaration of war on the United States and Great Britain in January 1942.

Anglo-American imperialist rivalries were reflected in conflicting policies towards Thailand during and after the Second World War. The 'peace agreement' represented a compromise under which the British regained their pre-war privileges, but 'control' over the chief items of Siamese exports - rice, tin, rubber, copra and other commodities - is now exercised not by the British authorities, but by an Anglo-American committee specially set up for the purpose in Washington.

Since the war American penetration has undermined Britain's domination in Thailand. American trade with Thailand has increased
five-fold. Although Britain retains the tin monopoly, new American investments in the banking, transport, hydro-electric and other fields far outweigh the British. The cause of American economic and political control was advanced by the advent to power of the military clique headed by Pibul Songgram, who since the defeat of his old masters, the Japanese imperialists, has acted consistently as an American puppet. A further step towards the colonial enslavement of Thailand was taken in September 1950, with the signing of an agreement on 'economic and technical assistance' with the United States. The significance of this agreement is that 'Thailand will in future be converted into a raw-material appendage of the U.S.A. and a sales market for dumping American commodities'. Just as Thai foreign policy had long been under the control of the American adviser Patton, now the regulation of Thailand's exports and imports was vested in an adviser of the American legation in Bangkok.

The signing of this agreement was the signal for the country to be flooded by all kinds of American advisers and experts, seeking to gain control of sources of raw materials in various parts of the country, 'interfering in the work of the local administration and virtually behaving like masters in the areas where they are located'. At the same time, the Americans, in view of Thailand's situation between Burma, Indo-China and Malaya, accord Songgram considerable importance in the struggle against the national-liberation movements in these countries. The agreement on 'economic and technical aid' was followed a month later by one on military aid. As well as providing for military credits, this agreement involved the sending of large numbers of American advisers and instructors. Thailand is rapidly being militarized at American direction and under American supervision. The Songgram regime has recognized the puppet government of Bao Dai in Vietnam, and sent troops to participate in America's aggressive war in Korea.

The vast majority of the people of Thailand are firmly opposed to the reactionary policies of the Songgram government, which are converting their country into a colony of the United States, and the government has accordingly stepped up its campaign against democratic organizations and progressive leaders. Thailand's Chinese, comprising about a quarter of the country's population, have come in for special attention. A considerable number of their schools have been closed, and many prominent Chinese citizens arrested.

However, supression has not quelled the people's opposition to their country's subjection to the American imperialists, and 'the fight of the people of Thailand for national sovereignty and political independence is being linked ever closer with the struggle for the safeguarding and consolidation of peace'. The working class of Thailand is in the vanguard of the fight for peace and for the political rights and economic interests of the people. The war saw a great increase in the size of the proletariat, the number of wage-earners reaching almost a million in 1947. During the war the first trade unions were organized. The strike movement has been widespread and has enjoyed considerable success. In 1949, the democratic trade unions, representing 60,000 workers, joined the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Under the conditions of political repression prevailing in Thailand, the Communist Party is compelled to work underground. 'But
despite persecution, it continues to fight, urging the working people to resist the reactionary forces and set up a united national front of struggle for democracy, for Siam's independence and liberation from the yoke of foreign imperialism.'

It will be noticed that the claims made for Thailand's 'national-liberation movement' are very moderate ones. It is not by accident that Soviet writers almost always link their discussion of this movement with comment on the country's Chinese community and the relations of this community with the government of Thailand. For the Communist Party of Thailand and communist front organizations, as well as the so-called 'democratic' trade unions are recruited almost exclusively from the Chinese population. The bulk of Thai workers belong to the government-sponsored Thai National Trade Union Congress, which is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. When one considers that the Soviet assertion of the dependent state of Thailand's economy is incontestable, the lack of interest of the people of Thailand in their national-liberation movement seems to contribute fresh evidence in favour of the view that it is 'formal state independence', broadly understood, whose absence produces 'anti-imperialist' revolution in Asia. To draw this conclusion in such simple terms would be to ignore other important factors contributing to Thailand's comparative calm amid the political confusion and violence of present-day Southeast Asia, and economic factors are not the least important. But it can at least be said that these economic factors do not produce the political effects which Soviet writers claim they do. If the Soviet view that economic dependence on foreign capitalist states inevitably leads to mass revolution against imperialism and home reaction' is contradicted anywhere, it is in the case of Thailand, where even in this era of the 'deepening of the general crisis of capitalism', the bulk of politically conscious Thais appear to feel their national interests to be most threatened by the very forces which claim to be working for national-liberation'.

Mention of the Chinese draws attention to the fact that the Soviet account is silent on the role of the Chinese in the economy of Siam (as of every other country in the area). We read of the Chinese as peasants and workers, never as shop-keepers, middlemen or moneylenders. Yet it is in the latter capacities that the Chinese impact on Siamese life has been most marked, and their activities in this field have determined the attitude of the Siamese masses to the whole Chinese community. Foreign control of marketing (exercised almost exclusively by the Chinese) is an important aspect of Thailand's economic dependence, and a considerable focus of mass resentment. A revolutionary movement, it would seem, should not ignore it, but should exploit it, seeking to direct the mass attitudes on it into general anti-imperialist channels. The Soviet position on this point cannot wholly be explained in terms of a reluctance to risk diverting revolutionary sentiment from the Western arch-villains of imperialism onto their Asian junior partners, since no such diffidence is manifested over the Indians in Burma, who perform there a partly analogous role to that of the Chinese in Siam. It would seem to arise principally from an anxiety to keep the reputation of the Chinese community in Southeast Asia as clean as possible in view of the likely role of this community as a centre for the propagation of communism.
There is much in the above statement of Soviet views on Thailand which should gain nearly universal agreement. Few would deny, for instance, that Thailand would scarcely have retained her independence if it had not have been for Anglo-French rivalries. In the same way, it is quite clear that the coup-d'etat which led to the establishment of the constitutional monarchy, far from signifying the emancipation of the country from dependence on foreigners, merely heralded the changing of old patrons for new. Nor can it be denied that American influence is dominant in Thailand today, even if the forms Soviet writers represent this as taking may appear a little ludicrous. What the Soviet writers fail to explain is how the Siamese manage to change their 'imperialist masters' so readily. If the government of the absolute monarchy was such a faithful puppet of the British, why did the latter permit it to be overthrown by avowedly anti-Western forces? If imperialist domination means anything, surely it means the power to keep out rivals. Britain evidently did not have that power in Thailand. National independence is a relative quality in the world of today. If Thailand can keep 'imperialist' penetration to present limits, and continue to keep a balance of rival imperialist influences (at present, American and British), then she would appear to have a good chance of maintaining as much independence as is possible for a comparatively small and backward country. Meanwhile, there is educational and social progress - very slow, it is true, slower in many of its aspects than in the true colonial areas of Southeast Asia, but still, progress along Siamese lines, growing awareness of the tasks and possibilities the modern world presents them will cause Siamese nationalists to prize the 'formal' independence which facilitates their meeting this challenge in their own way.

[Note on sources:
Original footnotes omitted. The most substantial source used was V.Y. Vasil'eva, Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba  v  stranakh iugo-vostochnoi Azii (Moscow 1949). On the earlier period I made use of S.N. Rostovskii et. al., Novaia istoriia kolonial'nykh i zavisimykh stran (Moscow 1940).

Other relevant material was found in general works and magazine articles, e.g. L.V. Alarin, 'V Siame: putevye zametki', Vokrug Sveta (Moscow), No. 3, 1950.
T.H.R.]

***
Chinese names for Tai

from a document prepared by

Xie Yuan Zhang

B#ai-y°i (white shirt) Name for Yunnan Tai in Chinese documents from Tang to Song Dynasties (AD 618-1279). Some scholars, however, believe the name refers to the Bai or Min Chia who were later to establish the Nan Chao-Tali kingdom. The evidence however
is very weak.

Bő-yêi (Bő barbarians) The terms Bő was used to refer to the ancestors of the Bai or Min Chia. Li Yuan Yang, who, during the Ming Dynasty, compiled 'Documents of the Yunnan region: Wan Li reign edition (AD 1573-1620)' transcribed the name B<ei-yêi (hundred tribes of barbarians) as Bő-yêi, which led people to believe that the Tai were called by the same name as the Bai or Min Chia - increasing the confusion.

B<ai-yêi The name used to refer to the Tai of Yunnan and the Shan States during the Qing Dynasty (AD 1644-1912) and the Kuomintang period (1912-1949). The first Chinese character means 'to sway', but here has the pronunciation of either 'Bǎi' or 'B<ei' which were only used in previous periods. There is no relation to the meaning of the character.

B<ei-yêi (hundred tribes of barbarians) Name which developed out of the previous one, and referred to the Tai of Yunnan and Burma. Found in Chinese documents of the Yuan to the Ming dynasties (AD 1260-1644). Further divided into the greater (Dâa) and lesser (Xi<ao) B<ei-yêi - the former the Tai of the De Hong area and the Shan States, and the latter Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna). This may have arisen from the fact that the De Hong and Shan states Tai called themselves Tai Luang (great Tai).

Di%an-yu!e (yu!e Yunnan) from the Chinese document 'Sh²i-yêi'. Name for 'State where the elephant was ridden' which lay about a thousand li west of Talifu some two thousand years ago. It is hypothesized that they were Tai, but there is no firm evidence.

H!an B<ai-yêi (Han B<ai-yêi) The Chinese called the northern Tai who lived in the Salween valley in Yunnan and among whom Chinese influence was greater than among the LÝ (for instance they built their houses at ground level, not on piles, and who used Chinese-style surnames) 'ChineseB<ai-yêi'. This term was used in conjunction with 'water B<ai-yêi' distinguishing the former from the LÝ and the people of Muang Mao.

H!an-d<ai = Chinese Tai. After the change of government in 1949, the use of the term B<ai-yêi was forbidden - the term is therefore equivalent to the former H!an B<ai-yêi.

H%an B<ai-yêi (land or dry B<ai-yêi) Some Chinese interpreted the distinction between 'water Tai/Chinese Tai' as one between 'water Tai' and 'land or dry Tai' (i.e. 'h%an' were averse to water). This was incorrect.

H%an-d<ai = land Tai (replaces H%an B<ai-yêi).

H%ei-chêi (black teeth), H%ei-zu²i (black mouth) Name from documents of the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-906). The theory is that
they were Tai, but they could well have been Mon-Khmer speakers such as the Wa or Bulang, who also chew betel and blacken the teeth as an aid to beauty.

Huə-a-yao B<ai-y£i (patterned waist B<ai-y£i) Chinese refer to the Tai Ja and the LY of Muang Hing (a town of Xishuangbanna) by this name because the women wear blouses with bright designs and stripes.

Huə-a-yao d<ai = paterned waist B<ai-y£i (replaces Huə-a-yao B<ai-y£i)

Ji%u-l#ao. Name used for Tai in documents of the Wei to Jin Dynasties (AD 220-420). But there are those who put forward the theory that it could refer to a Mon-Khmer-speaking group, the Gelao.

J²in-ch²i (gold teeth) Name for Yunnan Tai in Chinese documents from Tang to Ming Dynasties (AD 618 - 1644). Refers to the De Hong region in the Salween valley. During Ming times the J²in-ch³i Xi%an F<u S£i (Chao Saen Fu Faa Gold Teeth) was still appointed (by the emperor).

M#ang-m#an (M#ang barbarians). Appears in documents of the Tang Dynasty and is widely thought to refer to Yunnan Tai. But others, including the writer, think it more likely that it refers to a Mon-Khmer group.

Sh%an-gu#o (The State of Sh%an). The ancient pronunciation is D²an. Appears in documents of the Eastern Han. It says about four thousand years ago they lived outside the southern imperial boundaries of Yunnan. Most Chinese scholars are of the opinion that the term refers to Tai (of the modern day Thai-Burmese region), but Professor Ji%ang Y!Áing-li#ang of Yunnan University and the author do not believe they were Tai.

Shu²i B<ai-y£i (water B<ai-y£i) The daily life of the Tai is closely associated with water and their habitation was usually near water (rivers, streams). The Chinese thus gave this name to the Tai, and came to refer to the Tai LY and the Northern Tai of Muang Mao.

Shu²i-d<ai. Replaces Shu²i B<ai-y£i (water Tai).

Xi!u-jii<ao (tattooed legs), Xi!u-mi!an (tattooed face) From documents of the Tang Dynasty, believed to refer to Yunnan Tai. But other ethnic groups have similar tattoos and the Tai are not known ever to have tattooed the face.

Y’n-ch’ (silver teeth) Name for Yunnan Tai in Chinese documents from Tang to Song Dynasties (AD 618 - 1279).

Translated from the Thai by Gehan Wijeyewardene
Tai Names

from a document prepared by

Xie Yuan Zhang

Aásaám  The Kachin in Yunnan and Burma call the Tai by this term or laásaám (no tones represented).

Ááts¹á  The Akha in Yunnan, Burma
Mits¹á  and Thailand call the Tai by these
Bits¹á names.

Chinese Shan English name for H!an B<ai-y£i, translated into Thai as ch<án cián or thai cián. Also may be referred to as tai kh<é or kh<áá, from the word used by northern Tai for 'Han'. The Burmese term is chaán tajok (no tones indicated).

Laáw cia» The northern region of Thailand, formerly the kingdom of Lanna, was for a time designated the monthon of Law Chiang.

Laáw phuan In northeast Thailand, during the Laáw kaáw period of administrative
Laáw klaá» divisions into monthon, the northern part, Udon, was known as Lao Phuan, the eastern part, Lao Kaw, and the Nakhorn Rajasima region, Lao Klang. The word 'kaáw' is a dialectal variant of käáw, an old Tai term for Vietnamese.

Laáw phu» dam (in the literature as 'black-bellied Lao') A derogatory name for Khon Muang, because of the tattooing on stomach and upper legs.

Laáw phu» kh<áá (in the literature as 'white-bellied Lao') A derogatory name for the Lao of Laos, because, though the Lao used tattoos, they did not tattoo the region of the waist.

Laáw s>oá» (Lao Song) Black Tai who were forcibly resettled by the the Thai from Laos and Sipsongchu tai. Because they wore Chinese-type trousers called 'song' the Thai called them 'Tai song'. Some Lao Song in Phetburi still speak the Chinese dialect of Kwangsi and still have Chinese surnames such as W#ei and Hu#ang, which suggests the possibility that their ancestors were Zhuang of the Taái, Phu Tai or Nong branches.

No» (or ná», no» j<án, no» r<án, tai no») Nong, a branch of the Xhuang, who do not call themselves 'Tai'.

* * *
P>¹á» A name used for the Tai Jai by the LŸ, after an old kingdom, Muang Pong.

Ph>uá tai A group similar to the Lao Song who migrated from Laos and now live in northeast Thailand.

Phuan Xieng Khouang in Laos is still known as Muang Phuan. The Lao of Xieng Khouang are known as Phuan or Tai Phuan.

Pit s¹á The Musser in Yunnan, Burma and Thailand call the Tai by this name.

Siam Cognates of this term appear to be used by many, if not all Mon-Khmer-speaking groups for the Tai, Thai.

t!aái Tay (in Vietnamese usage) Tho (th!oá, th>óá, tai th>óá, th!oá j´án, th!oá r´án) in north Vietnam. It is hypothesized that they are of Zhuang ancestry. Unlike the Tai Dam and Tai Khaw they do not call themselves 'Tai'.

Tai cu» cia (Dai Zh!ong-jia) Name for the B!u-y°i (p>uá jiá) of Gui-zh%ou in former times, but they do not call themselves Tai. 'zh!ong' is cognate with 'zhuang' in Gu<ang-x°i, and 'jia' means 'household'. Thus 'Zh!ong-jia', 'Zhuang' and 'B!u-y°i' are the same people. It should be emphasized that the Zh!ong (of Gui-zh%ou) today prefer to be known as 'B!u-y°i'.

Tai dam A group of Tai living in northern Laos and Vietnam who migrated from the Black River valley in Yunnan. The language and writing system appears to be the same as that of the Tai Jai and Northern Tai of Yunnan.

Tai d¹ái (Hill Tai) The term Tai Doi is used for hill peoples who have recently 'become' Tai. Thus in L#an C%ang district of Yunnan, there is a village known as Chiangmai (th!yan l>a chia»m!ai) inhabited by Tai Doi who were formerly Bulang - a Mon-Khmer-speaking group.

The LÁi on Hainan island. The Hainanese dialect pronounces the word 'l!¹ái'. They are known in the literature as Doi, and some foreigners refer to them as Tai Doi but they do not use the word Tai for themselves.

Tai däá» (Red Tai) Some sources report a group with this name - after their red clothes. But this seems to be a misunderstanding - There are no Red Tai or Yellow Tai.

Tai j!ai (great, greater Tai) Includes the northern Tai of Yunnan, the Tai Jai of the Shan State(s), the Tai of Assam (but excludes the LŸ, the KhŸn and the Yorng[j¹á»]) i.e. the Tai of the Salween and Bhramaputra rivers.

Tai j#/ái Foreign missionaries used this name for the B!u-y°i (p>uá jia) of Gui-zh%ou province in China. It is sometimes written 'Tai Dioi'. They do not call themselves Tai.
Tai j<á Tai in the county of Yu#an-ji%ang on the Red River in Yunnan. The Tai name for the county is Muang Ja (j<á) or Chung (cu»), hence the people are Tai Ja or Tai Chung.

Tai j¹á» The Tai of Muang Yorng. The spoken and written language are like that of the LŸ, and in the past has been part of Sipsongpanna. They consider themselves to be LŸ, but those who were resettled in Lampang, Lamphun and Chiangmai are likely to consider themselves 'Yorng'.

Tai keá Tai in the district of Muang Ke in Yu#an-ji%ang county. These two groups together are referred to as Tai Yu#an-ji%ang.

Tai kh<aáw (White Tai) in north Vietnam and in Muang La of Ji-p£ing county of Yunnan, near the Vietnamese border. Also known as Tai J²in-p£ing.

Tai kh<yán (Tai Khoen). The Tai of Chiangtung (Kengtung) after the river Khoen, the city is also called Muang Khoen. The name is spelled 'kh<án' but in the local pronunciation is 'kh<yán'. The language and culture is close to that of the Khon Muang and the LŸ, but there is Tai Jai influence from the Shan.

Tai kh>ai h<ua This name seems to be an interpretation given by some observers. It comes from the the town in southern Yunnan, K%ai-yu<an, which was formerly called K%ai-hu!a. The town was a fort, or administrative post within the jurisdiction of which lived Zhuang, Phu Tai and other Tai. The name Tai Khai Hua was thus attached to them.

Tai l#yá (Tai LŸ) The Tai of Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna). Sipsongpanna was formerly known as Muang LŸ.

Tai l<uang (great Tai) The Tai Jai call themselves by this name.

Tai n#ái (lesser Tai) Comprises the Thai (Siamese), the LŸ, the KhÝn, the Yorng and Khon Muang (Yuan) i.e the Tai of the central Me Khong river valley.

Tai n<ya (northern Tai) The tai of De Hong and other muang near the Tai Jai of Shan State.

Tai saái Tai of M!o-sh%a (Muang Sai in Tai) in X°in-p£ing county on the Red River in Yunnan. Also known as Tai X°in-p£ing »£iaw A name used for Tai Jai in the past by the Thai. Derogatory. The word means 'snake' and may have originated in the fact that snakes were included in tattoo patterns.

Translated from the Thai by Gehan Wijeyewardene
When Dr. Sun Yat-Sen founded the Republic of China in 1912, he defined it as a "Republic of Five Nationalities", the Hans, the Manchus, the Mongolians, the Huis and the Tibetans. Ethnologists thought otherwise, but no ethnic identification was possible under the circumstances.

The People's Republic of China, inaugurated in 1949, committed itself to ethnic equality as a basic tenet. Many minority groups, long oppressed by Han chauvinism openly stated their indentities and proposed names for themselves. By 1955 over 400 names had been registered with the government authorities. At that time, the problems faced by the Central Government were: How could a People's Congress allocate it seats to deputies from different nationalities without knowing what nationalities there were? And how could the nation effect regional autonomy for the nationalities without a clear idea of their geographical distribution and population?

Beginning in 1953, extensive field work was carried out to ascertain the claims. To date the State Council has confirmed and announced the nationality status of 57 ethnic groups, including the Kemu nationality in Yunnan which was confirmed in 1987.

The most complicated ethnic situation is found on the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau in China's southwest. Among the high mountains and deep ravines criss- crossing the plateau, residents in some of the secluded villages lived in such isolation that generations were born and died without any knowledge of dynastic changes in the country. Of the 400-plus names of nationalities registered with the government in early 1950s', Yunnan accounted for more than 260. It is surpassed by no other region in the number of ethnic units and the complexity of their sub- divisions.

The guiding ideology of ethnic indentification in China is the definition of 'nation' by Stalin. It is: "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." Over more than 40 years' work, ethnic indentification in China has been based on two main points: common language and the feelings of the minority.

To date the State Council has confirmed the status of 25 ethnic groups in Yunnan Province.

The national minorities of Yunnan speak many kinds of languages. According to the views of Chinese scholars they mostly belong to two language families, the Austroasiatic and the Sino-Tibetan. The languages of the Austroasiatic family belong to the
Wa sub-branch of Mon-Khmer branch. The languages of the Sino-Tibetan family can be divided into several sub-branches of Tibeto-Burman, Zhuang-Dong and Miao-Yao branches.

Sino-Tibetan family -- Tibeto-Burman branch languages speaking nationalities are:

Sino-Tibetan family
Tibeto-Burman branch
Yi sub-branch 7 minorities 6 million pop. Spread all over the province.

- Yi: 3,500,000, 10.24%. 750,000 in Honghe Hani-Yi AP and 500,000 in Chuxiong Yi AP. Rest throughout province. Dialects: Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern, Central and Southeastern. Two writing systems in the past - syllabic and Miao alphabetic-type (used in Luquan County). Now use syllabic writing.

- Hani: 1,112,000, 3.29%. Most of them live in Honghe-Hani-Yi AP (More than 500,000), Xishuang Panna Tai AP and Simao P. Dialects: Haya, Bika, Haobao. A kind of Kaduo alphabetic writing in the past. Now Hani writing and Bika dialect writing.


- Jinuo: 15,000 in the Jinuo mountains near Jinghong. No dialect division, no writing system.

- Mongolian: 9,000 in Tonghai County of Yuxi Prefecture.

Bai sub-branch

- Bai: 1,172,000, 3.44%. Most in Dali Bai AP, rest in Lijiang and Baoshan prefectures. Dialects: Dali, Jianchuan and Bijiang regional. In the past Bo characters, not standardized nor commonly used. Now a form of alphabetic writing is being tried out in Jianchuan County.

Jingpo sub-branch

- Jingpo: 100,000 in Tehong Dai-Jingpo AP. Dialects Jingpo and Zaiwa. In Zaiwa there are 4 sub dialects: Zaiwa, Leqi, Langvu and Bula. There was Latin alphabetic Jingpo and Zaiwa writing as well as capitalised Latin writing of Zaiwa in the past. There is now reformed Jingpo writing and newly formulated Zaiwa writing.

- Dulong: 5,000 in Gongshan and Fugong counties of Nujiang Lisu AP.
Some scholars believe Dulong language belongs to Sino-Tibetan family, Tibeto-Burman branch, Jingpo sub-branch. Had Latin alphabetic Riwang writing in past but now trying a kind of alphabetic Riwang writing.

Achung sub-branch

- Achang: 22,000 mostly in Longchuan County of Dehong Dai-Jingpo AP. Dialects: Fusa, Nongqui and Gaobentian. No writing.

Nu sub-branch

- Nu: 24,000 in Nujiang Lisu AP. Dialects: Bijiang and Fugong. No writing.

Zang sub-branch


Qiang sub-branch


Sino-Tibetan family

Zhuang-Dong (Kam-Tai) branch

- Zhuang: 935,000 in Wenshan Zhuang-Maio AP. Dialects: Nong and Sha. Imitated Han character in the past but now have Latin alphabetic Zhuang writing used in Guangxi and are also trying a Nong syllabic writing system.

- Tai (Dai): 900,000 mostly in Xishuangbanna and Dehong Prefectures; the rest in Lingchang, Baoshan, Simao, Honghe and Yuxi Prefectures. Dialects: Xishuangbanna and Tehong. In the past had Tai Lu, Tai Na, Tai Beng, Jinping Tai and Xinping Tai writings. Now have Xishuangbanna and Tehong Tai writing.

- Dong-Shui sub-branch

- Shui 4,300 in Fuyuan and Luoping counties. In the past they had pictographic but not now.

Miao-Yao branch

Miao sub-branch

- Miao (Hmong): 800,000 in Wenshan Zhuang-Maio AP and Zhaotong Prefecture. There are Green, White and Flower Hmong in Yunnan. Dialects: Shichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan and Northeastern Yunnan regional. In the past they had Northeastern Yunnan alphabetic writing and an alphabetic notation writing. Now they have a new Shichuan-Guizhou-Yunnan sub-dialect writing, reformed Maio alphabetic
writing and newly formulated Latin alphabetic writing of Northeastern Yunnan sub-dialect.

Yao sub-branch

- Yao: 155,000 in Wenshan, Honghe and Xishuangbanna Prefectures. Dialects: Mian and Bunu. Did not have own writing in past but now have Yao writing.

Austroasiatic family
Mon-Khmer branch
Wa sub-branch

- Wa: 318,000 in Lincang and Simao Prefectures. Dialects: Burao, Awa, Awara and Wa regional. Had Latin alphabetic Wa writing in past but now have formulated Latin alphabetic writing.


- Deang 14,000 mostly in Tehong Prefecture, the rest in Licang and Baoshan Prefectures. No other dialect or writing.

Problems remain with this classification.

First, the conditions under and the speed with which the investigation was carried out during the 'Great Leap Forward' period led to many inconsistencies. For example, in Guizhou there was a minority known as the 'Chong Jia'. They did not like this name, preferring 'Pu Yi'. They speak the Zhuang language and are quite similar to Zhuang. The Central Government recognized them as a minority. In Guangxi the Zhuang were also recognized as a national minority. Are they then two different national minorities?

Second, at that time Soviet theories of anthropology and ethnology were completely accepted, while Western theories, including anthropological theories were criticized. Since the 1980s Stalin's theory of the 'four features of a nation', the guiding ideology for ethnic identification over the last forty years, has been disputed by Chinese ethnologists. New theories and methods are now being sought to complete the task.

Third, the strict adherence to Marxist theory sometimes affected the reliability of the materials collected and records were not a true reflection of the minorities concerned. These faults may be seen in some of the series which were published on the society and history of nationalities.

Fourth, Chinese ethnologists depended on language as a major point of ethnic identification, but theory and method in the study of language was weak. Not much attention was paid to developments abroad.
It is hoped that recent developments, economic, political and academic will help sort out materials collected in the early 50s, promote anthropological research and help save the excellent cultures of the minorities.

References

Fei Hsiao Tung Towards a People's Anthropology New Word Press. 1981
National Minorities of Yunnan People's Publishing House 1983
Yunnan Yearbook 1986

* * *

Black Thai - White Thai and the distribution of the ancient Tay-Thai populations in Vietnam

Tran Quoc Vuong & Cam Trong

[These extracts are from a paper written in June 1987. They are presented here, particularly to be taken in relation to the definitions of Tai names presented by Professor Xie elsewhere in this issue. We particularly draw attention to his comments on 'Land- and Water-Tai'. In the original paper the authors 'wish to acknowledge the helpful advice and materials kindly given by Candidate-Doctor Hoang Luong (White Thai ethnic group) lecturer in the discipline of Ethnology, Hanoi University.' Some very minor editorial changes have been made. Apparent inconsistencies in spelling appear in the original. Ed.]

As is generally known, though sharing the same fundamental cultural and linguistic characteristics, the ethnikon Thai in Northwest Vietnam has always been traditionally differentiated into two lines:

- White-Thai (Thay Khao) and
- Black-Thai (Thay Dam)

While presenting the same geo-cultural feature which consists in rice-planting in valley areas ... the White Thai always think they are rather in the vicinity of water and the Black Thai always consider themselves rather as landsmen. This Water Thai/Dryland Thai differentiation corresponds to the traditional one observed in the cultural-social zone beyond the Vietnam-China frontier (Yunnan-Kwangsi) after which the ethnikon Paiji branches out into:

- Dryland Pai-ji (corresponding to Dryland-Thai) and
- Water Pai-ji (corresponding to Water Thai)

The traditional Black/White differentiation does not confine itself to the Thai in Northwest Vietnam.

The Tay in the basins of the tributaries of the Red River, from the Bach hac-Viet Tri fork upstream (the Thai call this region Nam Tao Nam Dang meaning 'Red-Water Thao River Area) also differentiates into Black Tay (dam) and White Tay (khao).
Though also clad in indigo, that traditional colour of woodland, the Tay in Viet Bac style themselves Can Slua Kha meaning 'white-clad people' and call their neighbours Nung Can Slua Dam, meaning 'black-clad people'.

So as we view it, the Black/White differentiation goes beyond the distinction by two colours, especially two colours of clothing (the Black Thai are dressed in black and the White Thai in white. It should be remarked however that in some places where the White Thai practise the cult of ancestors, xen cha, xen muong, they also wear black clothes). Black and White thus become two symbols both opposite and concordant as two elements of a unified Thai origin. Unified and at the same time dual like Heaven/Earth, Father/Mother.

The BlackThai line takes the snake as its symbol - ... (ngu hau in Thai). As early as the XIth century, Vietnamese annals mentioned the ngu (ngun) hong branch in the neighbourhood, which was similar to the Lao branch. Quam To Muong (Telling about my village), a sort of annals of the Black Thai in the Northwest, speak of Lo Let, surnamed Ngu Hau, a Black Thai patriarch in the XIVth century.

The White Thai line takes the bird as its symbol - 'swallow' or 'phoenix'. The Thai Lu in northwest Vietnam, Upper Laos and Yunnan (China) consider themselves as descending from 'the white cock' - and in Thai Lu lu also means white (Lu khao).

* * *

the investigation and study of the rock art of the zuojiang valley in guangxi

Qin Shengmin Qin Cailuan
Lu Minfei Yu Ruyu

We publish below excerpts from the English summary of a book in Chinese published by the Guangxi Research Institute for Nationalities and the Guangxi Publishing House for Nationalities (August, 1986). Guangxi is outside our immediate area of interest. Nevertheless, this number does draw attention to the question of Tai origins and the authors of this book credit the rock paintings discussed to the Zhuang, who, in the Chinese system of classification are linked linguistically and ethnically to the Tai in a Zhuang-Dai category (see above). The claims made in this volume should be made widely known and evaluated - not only for their significance in relation to questions of Tai origins. [Small editorial changes have been made in the translation.] Ed.

The Zuojiang River, belonging to the Pearl River system, is situated in the southwest of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. It flows from the southwest to the northeast ... joining the Youjiang River in the northwest of Yongning County...

[It] runs through a mountainous area, where karst landforms have developed. The main topography of the river region are clusters
of peaks, while in the lower reaches there are many isolated peaks...

The Zuojiang River Valley is rich in subtropical animals and plants and vegetation grows luxuriantly because of the warm and hot weather and abundant rainfall.

Before the Qin Dynasty the Zuojiang River valley was one of the places where the Ouluo people of the Yue Nationality lived in ancient times...

[Though] archaeological investigations ... are not sufficient a number of relics of the Stone Age have been discovered...

Records of rock art of the Zuojiang River appeared in 'Records of Strange Things' written by Zhangmu in the Ming Dynasty. 'The Collected Materials about Huashan Rock Art was the only collection published in the 1960s before this investigation...

All the rock art was drawn on steep cliffs. The distance between the bottom of the rock art and the ground or the surface of water is usually about 20 to 80 metres [in some case up to 120 metres]. [Each location has] 3 to 1800 images. All the images are of different degrees of reddish brown color. There are different kinds of images, such as human figures, dogs, bogs, birds and implements, such as swords, bels and bronze drums; besides, there are images of boats and sexual intercourse. Most of the images have big bodies. The biggest figure is 2.41 metres tall. The typical combination of the images is that in the centre is a tall figure with a knife and a sword by his waist. Under his feet there is an animal like a dog. Beside him or between his legs there is a bronze drum with a bright star. On both sides of the figure there are smaller figures without swords or a line of figures in profile who seem to dance for joy...

... the rock art of Huashan in Nangming County is the biggest, most magnificent and most typical. On the cliff 210.05 metres in width and 40 metres in height there are many images, especially at the lower part of the cliff... 1819 images can still be seen. There are different kinds of images, among which images of boats and sexual intercourse that are seldom discovered in other places.

... According to the images of implements with age features, archaeological materials and c-14 testing, we hold that the rock art of the Zuojiang River was drawn in the times between the early period of the Warring States and the Easter Han Dynasty...

According to the historical records, the Zuojiang River valley was one of the places where the Oulio people and their offshoot, the Niaohu people, lived in compact communities from the Warring States to the Eastern Han Dynasty. They did not move to other places in great numbers and other peoples did not move in great numbers into the Zuojiang River valley. There is an ethnic relation between the Ouluo people and the Zhuang people who now live in the Zuojiang River valley, so we can say that the nationality who drew the rock art were the ancestors of the Zhuang people.

... According to the characteristics of the rock art and the local conditions, there are about four kinds of instruments used for drawing: first, bamboo brushes ... secondly, grass brushes made of tough grasses; thirdly, brushes made of the feathers of birds and fowls; fourthly ... fingers dipped in colour.

...
All the rock art of the Zuojiang River is in reddish brown. After chemical analysis, we learn that the main elements of the colours are Fe₂O₃ with animal glue.

... Guangxi, Yunnan, and Sichuan are neighbouring provinces, where minority nationalities have lived since ancient times. They are similar in economy, culture and ideology...

... The rock art of the Zuojiang River Valley is the precious cultural heritage left by the ancestors of the Zhuang people. The grand scale of the rock art, its stylistic characteristics and the hardships and the dangers the painters had to brave in drawing the rock art are seldom seen. The rock art has great academic values in history, nationalism, archaeology and the history of religion and fine arts. It is natural that academic circles differ about some questions at present. We are confident that the differences will be reduced with the development of scientific research.

Translated by Wei Desan.

Translations

A Study on the Origin of the Zhao-shu-tun
With an account of close relations between ancient Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lan-na

Xie Yuan Zhang

This paper comprises two parts: The first investigates the origin of the Zhao-shu-tun [caw suthon] and Nan-ma-nuo-la [nang manohara], a famous local story common among the Dai minority in China, and also found in Thailand, Laos and northern Burma. The first part contains nine sub-sections:

1. The Zhao-shu-tun [caw suthon]in Xi-shuang-ban-na
2. The Pai-su-tun [phra suthon] in Thailand
3. The Nuo-la [nora] in south Thailand
4. The Tao-xi-tun [thaw sithon] in north-east Thailand
5. The Ban-ya-sa-she-tuo-jia (Pa—asa-jataka) in Chiang-mai
6. The Ban-ya-sa [Pa—asa] in countries neighbouring Xi-shuang-ban-na
8. The Shu-tun-a-bo-tuo-na (Sudhana Avadana) in Tibet
Part two of this paper is translated below:

How could the Su-tun-ben-seng Scripture (Sudhana-jataka) and the Ban-ya-sa (Pa-asa-jataka) be introduced into Xi-shuang-ban-na from Lanna (Chiangmai), and what were the conditions for cultural change between Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna which favoured such a transfer? To answer these questions, we must examine the close relationship between Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna.

1. Lanna as the Ba-bai [Eight-hundred]

Lanna was a kingdom which existed from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries AD and was centred on present-day Chiangmai in northern Thailand. In Chinese historical records it is referred to as Ba-bai Xi-fu (the 800 wives) or Ba-bai Da-dian (the 800 fields). In modern times Thailand has termed it Lanna Tai to emphasise its close relationship with the ancient kingdom. Lanna translates literally as "the million na of rice-fields". Its direct predecessor was the ancient kingdom of Yonaka which was founded in Chiang-mai during the eighth century AD and shared its northern boundary with Meng-le (Xi-shuang-ban-na). The people of Lanna were a branch of the Tai, and were also called Tai-yuan, Yuan being the abbreviated form of Yonaka. Their language resembles Dai-IY and the Lanna script (also called Yuan or Dai-yuan script) uses the same characters as Dai-IY. Lanna and Xi-shuang-ban-na also shared the same religion and customs.

Lanna was founded by King Mangrai in 1296 (The second year of the Yuan-zheng era, Yuan dynasty)(1). The Yuan dynasty established the Prefectures of Mu-an and Meng-jie and the marshal headquarters of the High Commissioner of Pacification at Meng-qing in 1327 (the fourth year of the Tai-ding era, Yuan Dynasty)(2). The marshal headquarters of the High Commissioner of Pacification was established in Ba-bai in 1331 (the second year of the Zhi-shun era, Yuan Dynasty)(3). The Ming Dynasty established two High Commissioners of Pacification in 1404 (the second year of the Yong-le era, Ming Dynasty), one at Ba-bai Zhe-nai-er and the other at Ba-bai Da-dian(4). These were later amalgamated as Ba-bai Da-dian. In 1557 (the thirty-sixth year of the Jia-qing period of the Ming Dynasty) King Mang-ying-long [Bayinnaung, Burenong] from the Burmese Kingdom of Dong-yu [Toungou] and his army occupied Chiangmai and Lanna became a dependency of Burma(5). The people of Lanna struggled against Burmese colonial rule for over 200 years and Chiangmai was finally recovered by the Xian-luo [Siamese] army of King Zheng [Taksin] in 1774 (the thirty-ninth year of the Qian-long era, Qing Dynasty)(6). Lanna was formally incorporated into the Bangkok Xian-luo [Siam] Kingdom in 1804 (the ninth year of the Jia-qing era, Qing Dynasty)(7).

Most areas which once belonged to Lanna are now divided among seven states in northern Thailand; Chiangmai, Chiangrai, Payao, Nan-ben [Lamphun], Nan-bang [Lampang], Phrae and Nan. Exceptions are the areas of Jing-dong [Chianttung, Kentung] and Meng-yong [Muang Yorng] located in the south Shan states of Burma.

2. Fraternal relations between Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna
Meng-le and Lan-na were not merely close neighbours but also enjoyed fraternal relations (Ban phi muang nong) from 1237, on the eve of Lanna's establishment. Tao-long Jian-zi, the third Zhao-pian-ling [Cawphaendin](Lord of the Land) in Meng-le, permitted his daughter Niang-kang-kai to marry King Lao-ming of the Kingdom of Qing-sheng-en-yang [Chiangsaen], predecessor of Lanna(8). D. G. E. Hall, a famous historian of South-east Asia, has referred to this as "the chiefs of Jing-Hong and Qing-sheng in the upper reachs of the Mekong River becoming allies by marriage"(9) ['... the T'ai chiefs of Chieng Rung and Chieng Sen on the upper Mekong made a marriage alliance' Hall 1966: 159; ed.]. Two years later, Niang-kang-kai bore a son named Mangrai who later succeeded to the throne and used military might to unite the tribes and finally establish Lanna with a capital at Chiangmai. The Cawphaendin Tao-long Jian-zi gave Long-pu-ka and Meng-ba as a dowry on the marriage of his daughter(10) and Mangrai reciprocated by bestowing land to his grandparents as their fief (tang-mu-ji). Each year the two kingdoms also exchanged presents as a gesture of goodwill(11).

Mangrai promulgated the famous Laws of King Mangrai in 1292. These are the earliest Laws found among the Tai, Dai, Shan, Lao and other ethnic groups of the Tai language family. The code was introduced into Xi-shuang-ban-na where it had a profound influence on the laws and organisations through which political power was exercised at local level. The semi-military "Huo-xi" [hua sib] administrative system for instance, has its direct origin in the Laws(12). The Dai of Xi-shuang-ban-na regarded the Code as an ancient and revered document(13).

Xi-shuang-ban-na was originally called A-la-wei [Arawi] Kingdom (or Meng-le). In 1570, Dao Ying-meng, the Lord High Commissioner of Pacification in Che-li, divided the area into 12 ban-na [phanna in Central Thai pronunciation] as an administrative unit for tax and other feudal tribute, resulting in the area becoming known as Xi-shuang-ban-na(14); Xi-shuang meaning twelve in Dai and na being a unit of measurement for land. Ban-na means a thousand na of land and Lan-na a million na of land. Lan-na adopted Ban-na as an administrative unit and this is confirmed by historical records. For instance, in the tenth century, Kuen-en-leng, the twelfth leader of the Kingdom of Qing-sheng-en-yang [Chiangsaen ngern yang] (Yonaka)5, installed his second eldest son, Kuen-zhuang-tan, as Magistrate of Po-yao [Phayao] Prefecture. Po-yao was then divided into 36 Ban-na(15). Qing-sheng [Chiang Saen] was also divided into 65 Ban-na and Qing-lai [Chiangrai] into 27 Ban-na during the thirteenth century(16). The system of administrative division using Ban-na was probably created by Lanna as Meng-le only undertook such division after Lanna. This system of divisions lasted until the early seventeenth century when the Burmese kingdom of Dong-yu [Toungou] appointed a chief in Chiangmai called Pi-ye-za-man-chiang-mai to be "White Crow King of the Seventy-five Ban-na in Qing-sheng"(17). The documentary evidence cited above indicates that Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna shared a close political and legal relationship from early times.
3. Neighbours for 600 years

Despite occasional conflict and war, Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna generally enjoyed peaceful relations from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. King Mangrai, founder of Lanna, harassed the Xi-shuang-ban-na boundary in the late thirteenth century (Da-de era of Ming Dynasty) and the ninth Cawphaendin [Lord of the Land], Dao Xian-da, led the Dai army with Ming Dynasty troops commanded by Xi-ping, Marquis of Mu-sheng, to attack Lanna in 1405. The headmen of Meng-long and Meng-hun in Xi-shuang-ban-na appealed to Zhao-di-lo-u-ge-la [Caw Tilokaraj] (who was called Zhao-meng-lu in Ming-shi-lu (History of Ming Dynasty) and Ba-de-ci-ga in Le-shi (Le History), King of Lanna, for armed support to resist the thirteenth King Shan-bao in Jing-long. Caw Tilokaraj subsequently invaded Xi-shuang-ban-na in 1462 and Dao-qi, the headman of Meng-a and Meng-kang took this chance to flee with some of the Dai people to Lanna where he station troops in Meng-yong [Muang Yorng] and opened-up wasteland. Conflict occurred again in the nineteenth century when Ga-yu-la [Kavila] from Chiangmai, invaded Xi-shuang-ban-na in 1806 and 1822 at the request of some Cawphaendin in Xi-shuang-ban-na who sought to gain power with support from the Siamese military. Kavila also fought the Burmese army in Xi-shuang-ban-na.

In general however, Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna have enjoyed 600 years of peaceful co-existence. They jointly resisted submission to the Yuan Dynasty and also joined in presenting tame elephants and local produce as tribute to the Yuan Dynasty. According to the Yuan-shi (History of the Yuan) bandits had disrupted daily life in Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna during 1309 and 1311. The Yuan Emperor dispatched an army to suppress the unrest and Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna responded by sending emissaries with gifts of tame elephants and other items to the Yuan capital in 1312. Kings of Lanna occasionally used military force to meddle in the internal power struggle of Xi-shuang-ban-na during the reigns of Zhao-xian-meng-ma [Caw Saen Muang Ma], Zhao-san-feng-jian [Caw Sam Fan Kaen] and Zhao-di-lo-u-ge-la [Caw Tilokaraj], the tenth, eleventh and twelfth rulers of the Mangrai Dynasty of Lanna (1380s'-1480s). Relations were generally good however and the heads of Lanna and Xi-shuang-ban-na visited each other frequently. Friendly exchanges during the period were as follows: According to the Records of Yonoka, Caw Saen muang Ma (also called Dao-ban-mian in Ming-shi-lu and who ruled from 1364 to 1402) and his wife spent almost seven months travelling to each Meng of Xi-shuang-ban-na during 1398. After returning to Ban-na Meng-jian [Muang Kaen?] in Lanna the couple were blessed with a child which they named Caw Sam Fan Kaen. Travel from Lanna to China necessitated travelling through Xi-shuang-ban-na. It is recorded in Ming-shi-lu (The Historical Record of the Ming Dynasty) that 21 delegations were dispatched from Lanna to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor during the reign of the eleventh King, Caw Sam Fan Kaen (also called Dao-zhao-san in Ming-shi-lu (1402-1442)), and the twelfth king Caw Tilokaraj (also referred to Zhao-meng-lu in Ming-shi-lu (26) and who ruled from 1442 to 1488 (27)). Eight of these trips were undertaken jointly with
Spread of Buddhism

The Buddhism of Xi-shuang-ban-na came from Lanna. It is necessary to understand the history of Buddhism in Lanna before attempting to analyse its spread into Xi-shuang-ban-na.

No final conclusion has yet been reached on the exact time when Buddhism was introduced into Lanna (or its predecessor Yonaka). Yonaka was established in the eighth century and it is said that its third King, Achutaraj, who reigned from 921 to 1021, was presented with the holy Buddha's bones by the two elders Jia-ye-po and Jia-zhan-yan. Achutaraj built two pagodas called Lei-dong and Lei-gu-jiao. Anuruddha who reigned from 1044-1077, became the King of the Pagan Kingdom in Burma during the eleventh century and it is said that he brought Hinayana Buddhism of Pagan to Yonaka with the spread of his power. However, none of this is supported by historical documents or archaeological studies and historians remain divided in their opinions.

It is recorded in the Chronicle of Hariphunchai that Princess Chamathewi of Lawo Kingdom travelled northward and founded the Hariphunchai Kingdom to the south of Chiangmai. This event is also recorded in the Chinese historical records Man Shu (The History of the Southern Barbarians) and Yuan-shi (The History of the Yuan Dynasty) which named Hariphunchai Nu-wang-guo or Kingdom of the Queen. Princess Chamathewi was accompanied by 500 Buddhists who began temple-construction and mission-work in Hariphunchai. This is the earliest and most reliable description of the spread of Buddhism in northern Thailand. Hariphunchai was then an independent Kingdom, not a subordinate of Yonaka and there is no documentary evidence to support the contention that Buddhism spread to Yonaka from Hariphunchai. Buddhism became the religion of Lanna only after King Mangrai of Lanna conquered Hariphunchai in 1292. A Sukhothai stone tablet records that King Ramkamhaeng of Sukhothai (1277-1317) invited an eminent monk of Hinayana from Nakhorn Sri Thammarat (Luo-kun) to head the monks in Sukhothai and promote the Lankawong [Lankawamsa] branch of Buddhism. It is said that Lankawamsa Hinayana was introduced to Lanna from Sukhothai during the thirteenth century as a result of the close relationship between Mangrai and Ramkamhaeng.

Lankawamsa Buddhism did not become popular in Lanna until the latter part of the fourteenth century. A Fifteenth century document from Lanna, Zong-jiao Ben-yuan-zhi [This probably the Mulasasana] (History of the Religious Origin), records that the nineteenth King of Lanna, KÝna (1356-1386), asked the fifth King of Sukhothai, King Litai, to invite the Buddhist-elder Sumana to spread the Lankawamsa Hinayana which he had brought from Burma to Lanna. King KÝna renovated a temple named Pai-ren [Pa jyun (?) in Lamphun in 1369 to provide a temporary residence for the Venerable Sumana and his nephew, the monk Jia-yie-po. Two years later, he ordered a Buddhist temple called Wa-sun-nuo [Wat Suan Dork] to be erected in his imperial garden at
Chiangmai and invited the two missionaries to reside there. He also raised the elder to the status of Sumana Suvannaratana Maha Swami(36). Wa-su-nuo (Wat Suan Dork) afterwards became the font of Hinayana "Bai-sun" [gamavasi]. During the reign of the eleventh Lanna King, Caw Sam Fan Kaen (1420-1442), eighteen monks led by the Fa-shen elder (Tang-kang-pi Dharma Gambhira), Zuo-hui Elder (Mie-tang-guan Medhanka), Xiang-zhi Elder (Yia-na-meng-gun Yana Mangala) and four other senior monks (in total, 25 people) from Lanna went to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1424 to study Lankawong Buddhist scripture(37). They invited the Sri Lankan monks Ying-wan-bi-qiu (Vikronbahu) [probably should be Vikramabhikkhu] and Shang-hui-bi-qiu (Uttma-panna) to accompany them to Lanna when they left Ceylon in 1430. This group promoted "Bai-ba" [ara—awasi] Hinayana, a more strict form of Buddhism than "Bai-sun", from their base at Ba-liang Temple in Chiang-mai. Both "Bai-sun" and "Bai-ba" originate in the Hinayana Buddhism of Sri Lanka. "Bai-sun" is a more mundane branch based on "urban proselytising" (Gamavasi), whereas "Bai-ba" is more esoteric and favours seeking hermitage in the mountains and forests (Arannavasi). Da-si-pai (Mahavihara) was generally termed Lankawong in Thailand and Lanna, resulting in Gamavasi being called Lankawong and Arannavasi New Lankawong.

Some documents from Xi-shuang-ban-na state that monks from the Sun-nuo temple were sent to Jing-long (now in the south Shan states of Burma) where they established the temples Wa-fa-jiao and Wa-fa-gang, and extended the Lankawong Buddhism of "Bai-sun" into areas such as Jing-hong, Meng-han, Meng-la, Meng-bang and Meng-wang. The New Lankawong faction ("Bai-ba") also used Jing-dong [Chiangtung, Kentung] as a relay-point and undertook temple construction and proselytising in areas such as Meng-hun, Meng-hai, Meng-zhe and Bu-lang-san(38). The American missionary W.C. Dodd writes in his book (The Tai Race) that the son of King Mangrai of Lanna and a monk from Chiangmai constructed temples to expand Buddhism in Jing-dong after the Wa had been suppressed and the area occupied(39). This point supports the statement that Jing-dong was a staging-post in the spread of Buddhism.

We can conclude from the above discussion that Buddhism was introduced into Xi-shuang-ban-na not earlier than the thirteenth century because only then did Buddhism become popular in Lanna. The "Bai-sun" and "Bai-ba" branches of Hinayana reached Xi-shuang-ban-na shortly after they were first expounded in Chiangmai during the late fourteenth century and the first part of the fifteenth century. Buddhism existed in Xi-shuang-ban-na for several centuries.

Origin of the Lanna Script

The Dai-le script of Xi-shuang-ban-na and the Lanna script (also called Yonaka script or Tai-yuan script) possess only subtle differences in usage and in the forms of some characters which have resulted from centuries of separate development. The scripts of each area are mutually comprehensible(40) and this has permitted these two languages to act as an important medium for cultural exchange and friendly relations between Xi-shuang-ban-na and Lanna. When and where did the characters of these language originate?
Textual research by George Coedes proves that the scripts of Cambodia, Thailand, Burma and Laos all relate to the spread of Brahmanism and Buddhism from India. The scripts of the Tai, Lao, and modern Khmer emerged from old Ji-mie (Khmer) script and those of Burma, Shan, Le (Lanna) and Ahom Tai, from old Mon (De-leng) [Talaing] script. Both the Old Khmer and Old Mon scripts originated from Ke-luo-na-tuo script [Grantha](41).

It is plausible to state that Le (or Lanna) script emerged from the Old Mon script. The two share great similarity in character shape, word order and pronunciation. Moreover, the stone tablets written in Old Mon script support this conjecture. Some scholars have assumed that Le script originated from the Burmese script because of their resemblance, but these scholars have failed to appreciate that such similarity is due to a common origin. George Coedes was correct in suggesting that Le script stemmed from Burmese, but he did not resolve when and where this occurred. Coedes assumed that the Tai had adapted the "original Tai script", a derivative of Mon, from the Mon people themselves during a southern migration into what is now present-day Thailand but was then a region neighbouring Mon territory. Coedes considered this occurred before the Tai were subjugated by the Khmer in the tenth century. The "original Tai script" evolved into the scripts of Le, Ahom Tai and Dian-bian Dai in addition to exerting some influence on the Ramkamhaeng Tai script(42). Was there really then an "original Tai script"? No-one has proved so since Coedes presented this proposition.

It is important to clarify the situation of southeast Asian scripts before undertaking a study of precisely when the Le script was created. Textual research on the excavated Fa-lun [Dharma] indicates that Hinayana was introduced into the Mon Kingdom of Dvaravati some time before the Christian era(43). The spread of Buddhism necessarily led to the import of Old Indian script; the Old Indian epigraphs of the sixth or seventh century which have been found in peninsular southeast Asia are all written in south Indian Grantha script(44). It is not clear when Grantha script evolved into Mon and Old Khmer script. We only know that the earliest epigraph found so-far in Mon script is Lopburi stone stele completed around 507 AD(45) and the earliest epigraph in Khmer is one found in the Meng River Valley which was probably constructed in 609 AD(46). The Ramkamhaeng inscription of 1292 (number 1) states that in 1283 Ramkamhaeng invented Tai script and this was based on the cursive forms of Old Khmer(47). The Burmese invented the Burmese script, using the forms of Old Mon, during the reign of the Pagan King A-nuo-lu-tuo [var.sp. Aniruddha, Anawratha] in the eleventh century. The earliest inscription in Burmese was engraved in 1058(48).

Another task we face is to resolve whether Le (Lanna) script was invented in Xi-shuang-ban-na or Lanna. It is evident that Le (or Lanna) script originated in Old Mon script. There was no direct exchange between Xi-shuang-ban-na and the Mon nationalities (Leng in Burma and Meng in Lanna and Sukhothai) due to geographic barriers and no historical documentation or epigraphs relating to the Mon...
nationality have been found as yet in Xi-shuang-ban-na. So Xi-shuang-ban-na could not be the site where Mon script was transformed into Le. Let us now turn to the situation of Lanna. The Mon established kingdoms such as those of Gotarapura, Pegu, Dvaravati, Lawo and Hariphunchai in the Tennaserim region of Burma and along the middle-reaches of the Mekong River in Thailand. All of these kingdoms were closer to Lanna than to Xi-shuang-ban-na. Historically, Lanna had direct links with Hariphunchai, Pegu and De-leng (Ta-tong, from where the Hinayana of Mahavihara spread across Thailand, Burma and Lanna) and finally absorbed the kingdom in 1292.

The more advanced Mon culture (including Buddhism) necessarily promoted development in Lanna following its incorporation of Hariphunchai. I consider that the characters of the Lanna script were developed from the Hariphunchai script. It is recorded in the Chronicle of Hariphunchai that the Mon people fled from Hariphunchai to Ta-tong to escape a cholera epidemic. They then escaped to Pegu when Ta-tong was subjugated by King Aniruddha of Burma. When the cholera epidemic ended six years later, the refugees returned to their home Kingdom in the company of some Mon people from Pegu. These fellow travellers brought the Pegu Mon Script to Hariphunchai(49). Three inscriptions engraved during the early thirteenth century were found in Hariphunchai their script is identical to early Mon writing found in Burma(50). It was probably Old Meng script which came from Pegu. The late Mr Chen Xu-jing attached great importance to the spread of the Mon script over Hariphunchai and stressed that "this is an important record because even now the scripts of north-west Laos and north Siam closely resemble Mon script"(51). The Mon script which emerged in Hariphunchai, only a short distance south of Chiangmai, favoured the invention of Lanna script. One scholar of Tai social history has proposed that because Lanna was close to Hariphunchai, it may have used Mon script(52). It is worth mentioning that the motive for inventing Lanna script may have increased with the spread of Hinayana into Lanna and with the growing power of the Kingdom.

On the basis of my reading, I consider that the formative period of the Lanna script should post-date invention of the Burmese script in the eleventh century, but precede the emergence of Sukhothai Tai script in 1283.

1) Dao Shi-xun of the Research Institute of Anthropology at the Yunnan Academy of Anthropology has seen one sheaf of hand-written notes in Xi-shuang-ban-na Dai script. This states that the Dai did not possess writing and so all Buddhist scripture was committed to memory. A monk named Du-ying-da first wrote scripture on palm-leaves in the 639th year of the Dai calendar (1277). Thereafter, Buddhist scriptures were able to be stored and disseminated(53).

2) A Tai named Zhuang-Nuan-ta-tan announced in 1967 that he had found a palm-leaf scripture engraved in Pali using Lanna script at the Lai-xin Temple of Ge-ka County, south Bang State, which had once been an outlying area of Lanna. This document was written before the year 1800 of the Buddhist calendar (1257)(54). If this document is reliable, then Lanna script should have emerged during the early wars of unification undertaken by King Mangrai.
In his book *The Tai Race*, the American missionary W. Dodd quotes the *History of Yonaka* which states that the son of King Mangrai and a monk from Chiangmai built a number of Buddhist temples and expounded Lanna script in Jing-dong [Kentung] after first suppressing the indigenous Wa during the mid-thirteenth century. If this statement is accurate, it provides important evidence to illustrate that the Lanna script and Buddhism were introduced from Lanna through Jing-dong into Xi-shuang-ban-na (see above). It is regrettable that historic documents concerning Lanna, such as the *Chronicle of Yonaka* and *The History of Sinhonnavatukumarn* describe events such as the subjugation of the Wa nationality of Jing-dong by Mangrai in 1262; the appointment of his grandson Zhao-nan-tong as Magistrate of Jing-dong Prefecture in 1291; and the construction on Nan-tong Temple as the tomb of Zhao-nan-tong, but not that a descendant of Mangrai and some monks preached Buddhism and popularised the Lanna script in Jing-dong. This statement requires verification through further research.

Dodd also stated in *The Tai Race* that he had collected a palm-leaf scripture that was engraved before that in the Lanna script (1300). This proves that Lanna script was invented before the end of the thirteenth century.

*Zhao-pu-zong-lu* (The Complete Records of Zhao-pu) states that Hun-qi-lan (Kun-ke-lan) second-eldest son of Mangrai, dispatched his younger brother Hun-qi-lou (Kun-ke-le) with four officials as emmisaries accompanying the Bai-yi-wen zou-zhang (a memorial from the Bai-yi) and a gift of two elephants to the Yuan Emperor. I contend that the *Bai-yi wen zuo-zhan* was written in Lanna script because several documents from Lanna listed below support the claim that the Sukhothai script was only introduced into Lanna in 1369 by the Venerable elder (Xu-mo-na Sumana).

I mentioned in the section discussing the spread of Buddhism that the ninth King of Lanna, King KỲna, invited an eminent monk from Sukhothai to Lanna in 1369. The Venerable Elder engraved the first inscription in the Ramkamhaeng Tai script on the stone stele of Pai-ren [pajyyn] Temple, Lamphun in 1370. The Sukhothai Tai script of Ramkamhaeng was influenced by Lanna script and the form of its characters changed after the Tai script was introduced into Lanna. This variant Tai script was called "tua fak kham" (meaning characters shaped like a tamarind fruit) in Xi-shuang-ban-na. The inscriptions, engraved on a stone at the rear of the great hall of Pai-xin [phra jyyn] Temple, [and] in the Chiangman Temple of Chiangmai and in the Nan-bang-luan-pai [Lampang luang chai] Pagoda of Lampang are all written in the "tua fak kham" Tai script. This factor also proves that Lanna had its own script before the introduction of Tai script.

From the above evidence it may be concluded that Le (Lanna) script may have originated from the Old Mon script of Hariphunchai and was modified in Lanna during the late thirteenth century and then introduced into Xi-shuang-ban-na along with the spread of Buddhism, whence it became known as Le or Dai-le script.
Xi-shuang-ban-na has enjoyed fraternal links with Lanna over a long period. Dai-le and Tai Lanna (those of the Lanna Tai nationality) belong to the same language family of Dai (Tai). These two branches are closely linked and share the same origin, religion (the Theravada branch (Lankawong) of Hinayana), script and a mutually comprehensible language. The homogenous Dai culture is a result of the closeness between these two groups. The heritage of the Dai-le and Tai-lanna is a matter requiring further research, which will also promote deeper understanding between Thailand and China.

ENDNOTES

(2) Yuan Shi (History of the Yuan Dynasty) Vol. 30 p.682

(3) (ibid) Vol. 35 p. 785

(4) Tai-zong Yong-le Shi-lu (Historical Record of the Tai-zung Emperor of the Yong-le Era) p. 6


(6) COR p. 1116

(7) ibid p. 1134

(8) Le-shi (History of the Le) trans. Li Fu-yi, 1947 Vol. 1; COR p. 1015: According to this account Mang-lai was born in 1240, but the Le-shi dates this event as 1239.


(10) Le-shi (History of the Le) Vol. 2

(11) ibid Vol. 1. Mengrai presented his grandfather with gold and silver banner-poles, gold-crafted gourds, and 20 mattresses and 20 sheets. Tao-long-jian-zi gave his grandson 20 horses, 20 cows, 20 felt blankets 20 knives of steel, etc.


(13) Quan-guo Ren-da Min-we Min-gong-shi (Office for Minorities, National Congress), 1958 Xi-shuang-ban-na She-hui Jing-ji Shi-liao Yi-cong (A Translation of Historical Socio-economic Documents of the Xi-shuang-ban-na Dai Minority) p. 27; Zhang Gong-jin, 1980: Dai-zu de Wen-zhi he Wen-xian (Script and Documents of the Dai Minority) (mimeo) Beijing: Central College of Anthropology p.3; Ba-se-na-na-kong, 1980:
Preface to the Laws Of King Mangrai.

(14) (op. cit.) (draft) p.40

(15) COR p. 1010

(16) Sinhonnawatkumarn Chronicle in Collection of Historical Documents Vol. 61, p. 8013

(17) (ibid) p. 8044

(18) Yuan-shi Vol. 19 p. 413; Zhao-pu Zong-lu), on Che-li and the 800 wives see Yuan-wen Lei (Yuan Documents) Vol. 41

(19) Tai-zong Yong-le Shi-lu Vol. 39 p. 4

(20) Le-shi Vol. 1 ; COR p.1084 states that Zhao-di-luo-ge-la attacked Meng-hun and Meng-long in 1455 and attacked Meng-zhe the following year, but the author(s) gives no reason for these actions. The Chronicle of these events differs from that given in the Le-shi)

(21) ibid

(22) Le-shi Vol. 2; COR p. 1135-6 records that the army of Chiangmai invaded Xi-shuang-ban-na in 1805, but offers no explanation for this invasion. The invasion of 1822 is unrecorded.

(23) Yuan-shi Vol. 23 p. 518; Vol. 24 p. 542

(24) ibid Vol. 24 p. 542, 553

(25) COR p. 1069

(26) Ying-zong Zheng-tong Shi-lu Vol. 157 refers to it as Zhao-meng Lu Vol. 201 refers to it as Dao-meng Lu The character 'yu' may have been misread as 'meng'.

(27) In determining the reigns of the rulers Caw Saen Muang Ma, Caw Sam Fan Kaen and Caw Tilokaraj we have relied on The Past Territory of Thailand 1979 p. 455, by the Thai archaeologist Nikhom Musikama.

(28) Tai-zong Yong-le Shi-lu Vol. 128 p. 8; Xuan-zong Xuan-de Shi-lu (The Historical Record of the Xuan-zong and Xuan-de periods) Vol. 42 p. 11, Vol. 110 p. 2; Ying-zong Zheng-tong Shi-lu) Vol. 71 p. 3; Ying-zong Shi-lu (Historical Records of the Ying-zong Period) Vol. 201 Jing-tai Appendix no. 17 p. 22; (ibid) Jing-tai Appendix no. 71 p. 9; Xian-zong Cheng-hua Shi-lu (Historical Records of the Xian-zong ?? ) Vol. 34 p. 5, Vol. 204 p. 29.

(29) When it was founded Yonaka was referred to as Nagaphansinghonnavatnakhorn or Qing-sheng (Jing-xian) Chiang Saen]. The Sinhonnawatkumarn records that Yonaka was established in 691 AD. but this is incorrect. A History of the Laos by Manich Jumsai gives the date of establishment as 773 and we will follow suite. The The
Past Territory of Thailand dates the founding of Yonaka as 615 and the publication *Where is the Golden Land?* by Manich Vallibhotama gives AD 18

(30) Sinhonawatkumarn see The Collection of Historical Documents) p. 7918-21

(31) COR p. 1008 states that Aniruddha introduced Buddhism to Yonaka but provides no evidence. The Tamnan Phraphutthacedi (Buddhist Pagoda Chronicle) written by Prince Damrong in 1926 confirms this event. The Past Territory of Thailand p. 444 states that Chiang Saen (Yonaka) may have embraced Pagan Hinayana Buddhism under the guidance of Aniruddha.

(32) The Tamnan Phraphutthacedi p. 129 states that the pagodas of Lanna were built after Hinayana Buddhism was introduced to Lanna in the thirteenth century. Alexander B. Griswold considers that Buddhism was not common among the Tai people before the Sukhothai period (thirteenth to fourteenth century) see Tamnan Phraphutthacedi p. 135. The Past Territory of Thailand p. 403 states that the people of Yonaka believed in spirits before the tenth century. They converted to Buddhism during the twelfth century. Prince Suphatradis (son of Prince Damrong) expounded on the Tamnan Phraphutthacedi and called for further research to determine what extent Aniruddha controlled the territory of Thailand Tamnan Phraphutthacedi p. 103)

(33) Chamathewiwamsa; Chronicle of Hariphunchai) (1973 Thai translation) pp. 83, 89, 126

(34) COR pp. 452-4

(35) The Past Territory of Thailand p. 467


(37) Zong-jiao Ben-yuan Zhi p. 353; Sha-yuan-chu-su-ka-la, 1955: Bei-fang Zhi-shu (Chronicle of the North) p. 448; Xi-shuang-ban-na Dai-zu Xiao-sheng-fu-jiao Ji Yuan-shi-zong-jiao De Diaoa-ca-cai-liao) p. 13 states that "Tang-pi-na" and other monks were appointed as Buddhist elders in "Meng-lan-ga" and they returned to Chiang-mai to expand "Bai-ba" Buddhism.

(38) Xi-shuang-ban-na Dai-zu Xiao-sheng-fu-jiao Ji Yuan-shi-zong-jiao De Diaoa-ca-cai-liao) p. 3, 13

(39) W.C. Dodd, 1923 The Tai Race Iowa, USA. p. 207 of the Chinese language edition

(40) Wen-chui-xi-sa-wa, 1955: The Tai in Xi-shuang-ban-na Vol. 2
(41) George Coedes History of the Tai Script see Coedes 1964 History of the Tai Script: A History of Buddhist Portraits: Excavation in Peng-de and its Importance for Ancient Thai History: Sukhothai Arts: The Early Capitals of Thailand) Teachers' Association Commercial Institution, pp. 5-17

(42) ibid pp. 10-11

(43) Prince Damrong, Fu-ta Zhi p. 98

(44) George Coedes, The History of the Tai Script p. 516 states that tThe Ye-da-mo Scriptures were engraved in the Fo-tong Pagoda, Thailand around 557-657 AD. Three pieces of gold engraved with Buddhist scripture in 507-607 were found in Burma. Buddhist inscriptions which were engraved in 607 were also found in Cambodia.

(45) Chai Liang-xin, 1980: A History of Ancient Tai Society Before the 25th Century of the Buddhist Calendar p. 69. This inscription is number 18


(47) Sukhothai No. 1 Inscription see National Library of Thailand, (Collection of Historical Documents) Vol. 1 p. 146.

(48) G.E. Harvey, The History of Burma p. 63

(49) Zhan-ma-dai-wei-weng: Chronicle of Hariphunchai) p. 195

(50) Chen Xu-jing, 1979: Meng-zu Zhu-guo Chu-kao (Preliminary Research on the Meng Kingdoms) in Dong-nan-ya Shi-lun Cong (A Collection of Historical Studies on South-east Asia) Institute of South-east Asian History, Chung-shan University Vol. 1 p. 33

(51) ibid p. 35

(52) Chai Liang-xin: A History of Ancient Tai Society Before the 25th Century of the Buddhist Calendar p. 32.

(53) Dao Shi-xun, 1980: "Xi-shuang-ban-na Dai-yu" (The Dai Language of Xi-shuang-ban-na) Min-zu Yu-wen (Language and Literature of the Minorities) No. 1

(54) Zhuang-nuan-ta-tan then wrote an article which was broadcast by the Air-force Radio Station, Chiangmai. I have quoted this article from Sa-yuan-chu-su-ka-la, 1979: Tai-yuan: Kun-meng (Indigenous inhabitants)] p. 246

(55) W.C. Dodd, 1923 The Tai Race Iowa, USA. p. 207 of the Chinese language edition, but unfortunately Dodd did not cite his source.
Economic development in the Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Xi-shuang-ban-na

Li Bing-rong,
Prefectural Administration

Basic Conditions
The Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Xi-shuang-ban-na is located in South-west Yunnan between longitude 21 degrees 10 mins and 23 degrees 40 mins and latitude 99 degrees 55 mins and 101 degrees 50 mins. In the south-east it shares a 677.8 km border with Laos and to the south-west a 288.5 km border with Burma. The Prefecture has an area of approximately 19,220 sq kms and is situated between 477 m and 2,429 m above sea level. The entire area has a warm and humid climate with average annual temperatures of between 18-22 degrees C, an average annual rainfall of 1,200-1,900 mm and a relative humidity of around 80 per cent. Instead of four seasons, this Prefecture experiences dry, wet and misty seasons.

Xi-shuang-ban-na Prefecture was founded in 1953 and is divided into three Counties; Jing-hong, Meng-hai and Meng-la. There are 37 districts and three district-level market-towns (Zhen), under which are 233 rural administrative areas (Xiang). Seventy-nine of these are minority-group Xiang, 13 Xiang-level Zhen and four Xiang-level administrative offices (Ban-shi-chu). The Prefecture also contains 11 County-level State Farms and five National and Provincial-level organisations, namely, the Tropical Plant Research Institute, the Tropical Crop Institute, the Medicinal Plant Institute, the Tea Science Research Institute and the Research Institute for Primate Animals. In 1984 the population totalled 677,161 persons, of which minorities comprised 70.7% (478,733 persons). Of the minority
component, the Dai population numbered 236,002 (34.85%), the Ha-ni 116,665 (17.23%), the La-gu 34,587 (5.11%), the Bu-lang 29,930 (4.42%), the Ji-nuo 13,546 (2%) the Yao 11,570 (1.71%), in addition to smaller numbers of Wa, Yi, Hui, Jing-po, Ku-cong and Ke-mu, of which the latter two remain to be classified as ethnic groups. Of the total population in the Prefecture, males comprise 339,644 persons (50.16%) and the urban population 93,637 persons (13.83%). Xi-shuang-ban-na contains major deposits of salt, iron, copper, manganese, cobalt, gold, lead, tin, tungsten, antimony, arsenic, mercury, rare earths, nitre, brown coal and oil-shale. Of these, salt is the most plentiful, with reserves of over 40 billion tons. Known iron-ore reserves comprise 118 million tons, of which 34,720,000 tons are high grade deposits. Of the rare earths, phosphorus and yttrium are the most important, with over 2,800 tons of D level reserves, and 300 tons of zircon deposits. There are 690 tons of high quality brown coal and over 21 million tons of lower quality material. Copper deposits exceed 10,000 tons and 149 mineral springs have been discovered to date. The flora of the Prefecture comprises about 5,000 species, of which 3,890 have been appraised. There are 51 species of rare plants and plants in risk of extinction. Over 1,200 species of commercial plants are also found in the Prefecture. 16,550,000 mu [1,103,322 ha] of Xi-shuang-ban-na is vegetated, of which 8,590,000 mu [572,660 ha] is virgin forest, and there are five nature reserves with a total area of 3 million mu [200,000 ha]. The fauna of the Prefecture comprises 539 species of land vertebrates, 399 species of birds, 47 species of amphibious reptiles and 68 species of reptiles. Nineteen of these species are listed as nationally-protected animals of the first order, 19 as second-order and 24 species of the third order. Xi-shuang-ban-na has 2,762 rivers, all of which belong to the Lan-cang Jiang [River] system and these total 12,177 kms in length. Potential hydro-electric power amounts to 4,370 megawatts. The water area of the Prefecture with potential for use is 2679,000 mu [178,598 ha], and that currently utilised comprises a further 44,900 mu [2,993 ha]. Pastures total 8,501,900 mu [566,788 ha], of which 2.25 million mu [150,000 ha] is suitable for grazing. The total cultivated area is 1,408,500 mu [83,899 ha], comprising 638,400 mu [42,560 ha] of paddy-fields and 770,100 mu [51,339 ha] of non-irrigated land. Major areas suitable for agriculture comprise 39 montaine terraces (ba), with a total area of 1,467,000 mu [97,900 ha]. A criss-cross network of streams and plentiful rainfall make these areas the major grain-source for Xi-shuang-ban-na. Of the Prefecture, 6.02 million mu [601,330 ha] of land is located below 800 m above sea-level and 20.23 million mu [1,348,653 ha] between 800-1,300 m above sea-level. High temperature and rainfall favour production of a variety of commercial crops including rubber, tea, sugar-cane, fruits, nan-yao (a herb) and spices. 1.53 million mu [102,000 ha] are suited to rubber production, of which first and second grade production sites constitute 1.52 million mu [101,332 ha]. Grain (predominantly paddy but also swidden), maize and soy-beans are major agricultural products. Rubber, tea, sugar cane, sha-ren (a curry condiment), camphor, coffee, tropical fruits and spices are key economic crops. Pigs (both improved indigenous and small-eared varieties) cattle, water-buffalo, chickens, ducks and geese are the major types of livestock.
Major achievements after 1949

In 1949 total grain output for the Prefecture totalled a mere 133,930,000 jin (66,965 tons), and tea production was less than 2,300 dan (115 tons). There was not even a highway and transport was entirely by mule or human labour. The Prefecture was without a hospital and there were only 6 primary schools with an enrollment of some 240 students. The Dai and Bu-lang used Dai script, which resulted in religion and education being combined. Other minorities made records by carving in wood.

After 1949, the entire Prefecture underwent great change.

AGRICULTURE: Development of the irrigation system was rapid. 296 storage projects (capable of storing 140 million cubic metres of water) and 8,694 diversion projects were undertaken. The area made irrigable by these schemes totalled 460,000 mu [690 ha] which accounts for 32.67 per cent of total cultivated area and 72 per cent of all paddy-fields. There are 382 large and medium-scale tractors, 2,210 power-tillers, 98 trucks and a number of machines for processing grain and pumping water. Agriculture developed rapidly and total grain production increased 2.89 times over the 1949 figure, an annual average growth rate of 8.26 per cent. The Prefecture grows 774,400 mu [51,626 ha] of rubber, making it the second most important area of rubber production in the country. Xi-shuang-ban-na is also home to "Pu-er" tea and contains a planted area of 161,400 mu [10,760 ha].

Tea production has increased 24 times over the 1949 figure, an average annual increase of 68.6 per cent. 39,800 mu [2,653 ha] are planted with sugar-cane, 38,600 mu [2,173 ha] of tropical fruits, 3,300 mu [220 ha] of sha-ren (a curry condiment) and 5,152 mu [343 ha] of spices. 253,679 head of draught animals and 390,000 pigs are raised.

INDUSTRY: Xi-shuang-ban-na has 188 industrial enterprises, of which 62 are publicly-owned and produce 30,000 tons of coal, 14,000 tons of cement, 30,800,000 kw/hrs of electricity and 4,300 tons of sugar, 1,998 tons of refined tea, 1,423 tons of machine-made paper, 1,574 tons of salt, and 107,400 cubic metres of timber in addition to bricks and small-scale agricultural machinery.

TRANSPORT: 866 km of highway and 1,914 km of local highways and have been constructed. All forty districts in the Prefecture are connected by highways and 199 Xiang of the total 250 are linked to this transport system, as are 68 per cent of cun [villages]. There are 1,469 freight carriers of various types, 376 passenger vehicles and 5,107 tractors which are used for transport. Annual haulage amounts to 1.27 million tons and the rotation value of goods transported is 107,200,000 ton-kms.

COMMUNICATION: There are post-offices at County-level and smaller post-offices and authorised postal agencies at district level. The Prefecture is serviced by 948 km of postal routes and 2,233 telephones, of which 1,387 are in rural areas. 250 Xiang have access to a telephone.

EDUCATION: Xi-shuang-ban-na contains three polytechnics with an enrollment of 715 students (419 from minority groups). There are three senior high-schools and 25 junior high-schools with a combined enrollment of 23,243 students (of which 6,924 are from minority groups) and 1215 primary schools with 80,337 students (51,549 from minority groups). There are 71 teachers in the polytechnics (4 from minority groups), 1,360 high-school teachers (244 from minority
groups) and 31,756 primary school teachers (1,644 from minorities). The ratio of children entering school to the total school-age population is 82.1 per cent and that for children from minority groups is 81.6 per cent.

HEALTH: There are 239 medical and health facilities in the Prefecture, of which there are 14 County hospitals (or those of a similar level) and 36 district-level clinics, three health clinics dealing in prevention and cure of special diseases, four pharmaceutical testing centres and three medical research institutes. There are 2,773 hospital beds, of which 2,539 are in rural medical centres. There are 3,270 medical practitioners of which 558 are from minority groups. There are 2,459 health workers in rural areas.

CULTURE: Three institutions are charged with activities relating to historical preservation, libraries and popular culture. There are 198 film troupes.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: There are 6,612 workers in institutes of science and technology, of which 2,702 are from minority groups. There are 118 engineers, agronomists, associate researchers, lecturers, chief practitioners, statisticians and accountants.

Economic development in 1984
Total industrial and agricultural output in 1984 reached 377.16 million yuan [ren-min-bi]; a 12.6 per cent increase over 1983. There have been bumper harvests of grain over the last four years and this continued in 1984 with a gross output of 520.73 million jin [260.37 kg] being achieved, a 5.6 per cent increase over 1983. Average yield per unit area was 417 jin/mu, a 9.16 per cent increase over the 1983 figure (382 jin/mu).

AGRICULTURE: The value of grain production was 32.85 per cent of total agricultural production value for the Prefecture in 1984. This represented a 2.86 per cent decline from the 1983 figure. The production value of forestry was 48.39 per cent, an increase of 3.67 per cent over 1983. The production value of pasture was 11.82 per cent, an increase of 0.6 per cent. The production value of sideline activities was 6.06 per cent, a decline of 1.29 per cent. The production value of fisheries was 0.88 per cent, an increase of 0.14 per cent. Agricultural production for the market comprised 57.16 per cent of all production, a 1.67 per cent decline over the 1983 figure. Grain production for the market comprised 38.61 per cent of all production, a 3.93 per cent increase over the 1983 figure.

INDUSTRY: Total local industrial output in 1984 reached 61.8 million yuan, an increase of 15.7 per cent over the 1983 figure. Light industry output reached 45.64 million yuan or 73.85 per cent of the total. Heavy industrial production reached 16.6 million yuan, being 26.15 per cent of the total. Profits from publicly-owned enterprises totalled 6.56 million yuan, an increase of 33.96 per cent over 1983. Profits and tax paid to the State totalled 4.92 million yuan, a 76.75 increase over 1983.

TRANSPORT: 291 kms of highway were constructed or improved in 1984. Passenger traffic totalled 537,000 with a passenger rotation value of 28.03 million persons/km, an increase of 77 per cent over 1983. 100,500 tons of freight was transported, having a freight rotation value of 20.01 million ton/km, an increase of 11.2 per cent over 1983.

FINANCE: Total income of the Prefecture was 18.61 million yuan in 1984, an 11.8 per cent increase over 1983. Of this, enterprise income
totalled 1.65 million yuan, industrial and commercial taxation totalled 11.39 million yuan and agricultural taxation, 4.96 million yuan. Expenditure in 1984 totalled 66.07 million yuan, an increase of 36.66 per cent over last year. Of this, expenditure on basic construction totalled 4.23 million yuan; expenditure on production in industry, commerce and transport 7.18 million yuan; on agriculture, 12.9 million yuan; on administration, 14.48 million yuan; on social, cultural and educational items, 19 million yuan, and expenditure on other items 3.14 million yuan. Annual cash income totalled 235.32 million yuan, a 20 per cent increase over 1983. Annual cash expenditure totalled 276.05 million yuan, an increase of 26.5 per cent over 1983. Bank transactions produced a year-end savings surplus of 79.52 million yuan from rural and urban areas, a 33.15 per cent increase over 1983. Ready cash totalled 39.25 million yuan, a 1.9 per cent decline from 40 million yuan at the start of 1984.

COMMERCE: Almost 84.01 million yuan was spent to purchase goods from outside the Prefecture during 1984. Commodities allocated from other Provinces were valued at 4.6 million yuan and those allocated from other Prefectures in Yunnan were valued at 71.11 million yuan, making a total allocation of 159.18 million yuan, a 14.39 per cent increase over 1983. The total volume of retail sales was 172.95 million yuan, a 7.48 per cent increase over 1983. The volume of business in towns and rural markets was 22.11 million yuan, a 39.7 per cent increase over 1983.

STANDARD OF LIVING: 30,677 persons are employed in the public sector or in collectives, earning wages and salaries totalling 30.42 million yuan, an increase of 20 per cent over 1983. According to survey results, the per capita annual living expenditure of households with members working in the public sector or collectives was 550 yuan, a 6.6 per cent real increase over the 1983 figure after inflation was taken into account. The average income per capita in rural households was 270 yuan, a 34.3 per cent increase over 1983.

Future prospects
1) The level of culture, science and technology among the people of the Prefecture must be increased dramatically. Great attempts must be made to improve the quality of education and the structure of middle school education must be reformed to expand professional training opportunities. Education among minority groups must also be improved.
2) Projects for improving transport and energy provision should be accelerated. A number of hydro-electric power stations with a generating capacity of 65 megawatts are planned and these will boost total generating capacity to 100 mw. One second-grade airport will be constructed in Xi-shuang-ban-na during the Seventh Five-year Plan. 443 km of highway connecting counties and districts will be improved to fourth-grade highway status in order to link all Xiang with roads of the same quality by 1990. We hope to link most villages into this road system by 2000.
3) We will continue to support specialised household production in order to re-structure agriculture. Development of collectively-owned Xiang and Zhen-level enterprises will be encouraged and small and medium-sized cities and towns will be given special attention.
4) We will develop tourism and attempt to develop economic cooperation and mutual assistance with relatively-advanced areas in other parts of China.
5) We will continue to conserve forest resources and attempt to achieve increases in grain production. This will be undertaken while also attempting to develop key production areas for rubber, tea, fruits, sha-ren and spices. By the year 2000, the Prefectural administration aims to achieve a 245 per cent increase in industrial and agricultural output over existing levels, or 1.16 billion yuan.

From She Zheng-yi (ed.) Zhong-guo Shao-shu Min-zu Di-qu Jing-ji Fa-zhan Gai-kuang (shang) (Conditions of Economic Development in Minority Areas of China) (Part One).
Translated by Irene Bain.

* * *

News

Recent publications

Cornell: Southeast Asia Program Studies on Southeast Asia No. 5. May, 1989 175 pp. US$15
[The publishers say 'It will be an indispensable check for the dates given in chronicles and inscriptions'.]

Readers interested in the above may also find use for:

Tawi Swangpanyangkun Sakaraat thiab hon Thai (Tables for computing equivalences in various Asian calendars and cycles.) Chiangmai University: January, 2531

Acknowledgements

We have had many gifts of publications for the Project collection.

By far our most important benefactor has been the Yunnan Institute of Southeast Asian Studies which has gifted substantial Chinese language material. Most of the translations in the Newsletter have been from this source.

From Mr. Geoff Wade, Hong Kong
Yao Studies: a collection of essays (Chinese)
Miao studies: a collection of essays (Chinese)

From Dr. Harald Bæckman, Universitetet I Oslo
Tai-Domenet Sipsong Banna I Yunnan -Historie, politik og samfunn.
Occasional Papers No. 4, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Oslo 1983.

Correspondence

Dr. Harald Böckman writes 'I am engaged in research on the early state formation and ethnohistory of Southwest China.' Dr. Böckman's thesis is 'a brief history of Sipsong Banna and its social formation ... the main research took place and was finished by the end of the seventies, that is all the basic source material that I knew existed but had no access to started to be published by the Chinese immediately after my thesis was finished.'

Dr. Korn-Riedlinger was doing research in the PRC resident in Beijing but has now returned to Bonn. She writes of her thesis (see above) '... concerning the question of ethnic affiliation of the people of Nanzhao ... neither the rulers nor the majority of the population were Thai ... but members of tibeto-burman ethnic groups'.

Geoff Wade, in addition to the books listed above, has sent us very useful bibliographical material and suggestions. Of the draft bibliography he writes,

'I. It is very difficult for someone interested in a particular subject to find relevant material. Is the final version to be divided by subject or just by author? If the latter is the case, perhaps a supplementary subject index could be compiled. 2. The scope of the bibliography is very difficult to assess ...'

We appreciate his comments and will welcome other comments and criticisms.

It is clear that we need to rethink and clarify the bibliography project. The bibliography was seen as part of a larger data-base primarily existing as a series of Hypercard stacks.

Above is a sample card. At the moment the stack contains only bibliographical items. The circulated draft bibliography contains information from the 'Reference' field.

Mrs. Maria Cigliano of the Instituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli has sent us two papers in Italian, one on minority law in China during the modern period and the other on the administration of non-Han populations during the Tang dynasty (summary published below). She writes that she is studying relations between Han and South-West minorities in Imperial and contemporary China.

***

Southeast Asian Legal Texts

Andrew Huxley

A recent review by Andrew Huxley in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (LI (3) 1988: 609-10) of The Laws of King Mangrai (Canberra) and Lan Na Literature (Chiangmai University, catalogue) has some important comments on Southeast Asian texts which
we reproduce as they will be of interest to many of our readers.

How does the newly revealed Lan Na legal literature compare with that of its Theravada neighbours? It seems quite different from the legal genres of the western neighbours, Burma, Arakan and Ramannadesa, which predate it. At the same time it has little in common with the southern and south-eastern texts produced by the Siamese Thai and the post-Angkor Theravada kingdoms of Cambodia. These, which we know through the Three Seals Code and AdhŽmard Leclre's collections, may well post date the sixteenth century; the more scholarly attention is paid to the earlier portions of these texts, the more suspect the claimed dates appear. One other Northern Thai law text is available in translation (Raquez and Tournier's version of the code of Vientianie), and this shares some similarities with the Lan Na literature. Both traditions draw on a common well of folk judgment tales to illustrate legal rules and procedure. Of the eight tales quoted in s. 77-87 of the Nan text [The Laws of King Mangrai pp. 54-65], four are also found in Laotian collections (and one was reported in 1847 from a Siamese expatriate in Penang!), but no overlap occurs with the Burmese judgment tales. The Burmese and Siamese-Khmer traditions share the myth of Manu the Law Bringer, the wise counsellor of King Mahasammatta, and also shows traces, (which have been much exaggerated) of an 18-fold classification of actions. Manu is conspicuous by his absence in the Northern Thai works translated; the Lan Na preference was for the king rather than his counsellor, and three works in the catalogue are ascribed to Mahasammatta himself. Two of the Lan Na texts enumerate (different) 16-fold classifications, but this does not appear to have been used as an organizational principle in any texts. The name of Manu, and the 18 chapters of the law, are the two strongest arguments of those who argue for Hindi influence on the law texts of the Burmese and the Siamese-Khmer traditions. Their absence from translated Lan Na and Laotien works indicate that these were produced locally, drawing only on the Tipitaka and non-canonical Jataka as source material.

* * *

tang administration of non-han populations: the jimi system

Maria Cigliano

Origins of an autonomous government for the areas inhabited by non-Han groups date back to the Tang Dynasty. The establishment of the institutional system called jimi fu zhou belongs to the 7th century. It was applied not only in a larger border area, but also in some inner Southern and Southwestern regions of China.

Through analysis of the main features of the system (self-management of internal affairs, hereditary offices as a factor of the continuity of political power, lack of direct control, differentiated fiscal onus, etc.), of the structure, of the distribution on the territory, of the regional differentiations, motivations that have determined its birth can be drawn:
a. geographical motivations: inner areas of South and Southwest, inaccessible, inhabited by less pugnacious populations, more backward from the socio-economic viewpoint and therefore politically less dangerous for the steadiness of imperial power; no necessity for more direct control;
b. economic motivations: emerging needs of Tang expansionism and of commercial development especially with Central Asia;
c. political motivations: loyalty obtained through collaboration with local ruling classes by making them responsible while acknowledging their status.

The close link between level of sinicization and institution of jimi is shown by the same flexibility of the system. Jimi fu zhou could be transformed into regular zhou and fu, had local populations adopted the 'civilization' and culturally transformed themselves. The shift to a regular administration was therefore the acknowledgement of achieved sinicization, of cultural assimilation to the rulers.

* * *

ABOUT THE NEWSLETTER

The publication and circulation of the Newsletter has been financed by the Research School of Pacific Studies and the Department of Anthropology; this includes our translators' salaries. For as long as possible we will continue to circulate the publication without charge to those interested. However, we have run out, or are close to running out, of some back numbers and these need to be photocopied when requested. We have no objection to readers photocopying back numbers themselves and passing these on to other interested scholars.

Please note that we are now making a flat $10 charge for Numbers One, Two and Three (in advance please).

* * *

The Prince and the Moulmein Market Girl

Gehan Wijeyewardene

The elliptical style of the Charan Manophet 'folk song' is well illustrated in his telling of the tale of Sukasem, the son of a prince of Chiangmai, and the Moulmein market girl. It is a song of allusions which ultimately depends on the prior knowledge of his listeners. What follows is a fairly literal translation of the Thai.

Ma Mya was a market girl from the city of Moulmein,
As beautiful as the moonlight.
They came to woo her, bemused with love of her.
But Ma Mya loved none of them.
She gave her heart to a noble youth,
The son of a lord of Chiangmai.
When his student days were done, must he then abandon Ma Mya?
It was like a knife through the heart, like a sword.
Secretly she followed her love.

He was the son of a prince,
She a woman of Burma.
Tradition would not allow it, and they must part.
Oh, that day when he must send her home!
The prince ordered a caravan of elephants
And bade her farewell with tears.
With leaden heart, Ma Mya lowered her head
And anointed his feet with her hair.
She said farewell to him, and to this world.
The Prince soon died of a broken heart.
Ma Mya ended her days as a nun.

Oh, Love is often like that.

When first released the song was sung by his partner, Sundari,
whose voice, in his early collections, enriches the Northern Thai
lyrics, like veins of honey through a treacle cake. Some of his fans
think the quality of his songs and of his performance never recovered
when, on her marriage, she left the partnership and the country.
Charan says the song gave immense trouble at its recording, as Sundari
could scarcely contain her tears while singing it. He also says he
rarely performs it at concerts because of the emotion it generates in
the singer.

There is pathos in the story, but why does it somehow seem
more than any other story of frustrated love? Perhaps we need to
reconstruct the circumstances in which those pathetic characters
fulfilled their destiny. But can one really imagine the Moulmein of
that period? It was not so long ago, but it is also aeons away.
Moulmein was a sleepy fishing village on the Gulf of Martaban which
the British turned into an administrative town after the first Burmese
war in the 1820s. The British imposed harsh conditions on the Burmese,
and Arakan in the west and Tenasserim in the southeast passed into
their hands. The new provinces were administered from Calcutta, and
Moulmein became an outpost of Empire, largely because it lay at the
mouth of the Salween, the conduit for the teak of Upper Burma and the
principalities of northern Siam. Moulmein was originally, probably,
inhabited by Mon, for this is an area in which Mon and
Karen-speakers predominate, but early in the nineteenth century the
Burmese presence must have become quite considerable. We have however
no idea as to Ma Mya's ethnic affiliations. The Thai accounts treat
her as Burmese, and they have no doubt that the language she shared
with Sukasem was Burmese.

Kipling was once on a ship that made a brief call at Moulmein,
and out of that visit came the sentimental 'Road to Mandalay'. Kipling
never went to Mandalay, and there are no flying fishes four hundred
miles from the sea. But by a stretch of the imagination the old
Moulmein pagoda might be thought of as the beginning of that road,
even though time may have dimmed his memory and put the town on the
wrong side of the bay. By all accounts it is a beautiful location, but

Virgil Shah
it was a little town, and at the time of Kipling's visit, not of great importance.

During the latter part of the 19th Century the French and British colonial empires stood like the jaws of a nut cracker, ready to break open the north west dominions of the Bangkok kingdom and make an insignificant meal of the kernel. When the British took Ava and laid claim to the territories of the deposed king, there were some, like the American Presbyterian missionaries, who looked with mixed feelings on the possibility of an Anglo-French boundary on the Chao Phraya river. European colonization would greatly further their attempts at missionization - the British had given more or less carte blanche to their fellow American Baptist allies in Burma, but the French sometimes seemed to look none too kindly on heretical protestants. During this time the weak princely rulers of Chiangmai had been all too willing to make the most of the teak trade, in fact they sometimes sold leases many times over, giving the British the excuse to threaten intervention in protection of their economic interests. In the 1870s Bangkok began to tighten its grip on the control of the northern principalities, and after the Shan revolt of 1902, the last traces of autonomy began to disappear. The Shan were mostly British subjects and the British Consul's intervention to bring the revolt to an end, could not in the long run have given the court in Bangkok much comfort.

Sukasem was the nephew of the ruling prince, his younger brother's son. Sukasem's father was to be the last recognized prince but no one was yet to know that. Moulmein was throughout the 19th century Chiangmai's most convenient link with the outside world. In the 1850s and 60s, missionaries made the arduous journey up the Chao Phraya and the Mae Ping rivers to Chiangmai, first Roman Catholics, who did not stay long, then the bearded Scottish-American Presbyterians, McGilvary and his companion Jonathan Wilson. Periodically the prince and his court made the reverse journey down to Bangkok, to drink the waters of allegiance to the monarch. But as early as 1820 British officials from Moulmein were visiting Chiangmai and the other princedoms of the north, cattle trains were trading with the British, the trade in cattle between Moulmein and Chiangmai, became a matter of state importance, and it was hoped the Chinese caravans would soon travel to the British-Burmese port as well. It seems that in the early years of the 19th Century, the still powerful King of Ava discouraged trade, by his subjects or by the caravans which passed through his dominions, with either the British or Bangkok. Until the railway finally came to the north, first to the town of Lampang, the most convenient means of communication with the outside world was through Moulmein. Though the missionaries travelled through Bangkok and were provisioned through Bangkok, their mail came via Moulmein.

So Chiangmai had long-standing links with Moulmein, and it seemed that members of the nobility from time to time sent their children to be educated in the British schools of that time. Which school Sukasem went to is not known, perhaps it was St Patricks, said to be an old school, now perhaps operating under another name? So at the age of ten or so, this great-great-grandson of Kawila, the liberator of Chiangmai from the Burmese, went to learn about the big world outside to a school in colonial Burma.
We do not know how he spent his years there, where he lived and what he learned. All we do know is that he fell in love with a teenage girl, the daughter of a tobacco merchant, who sold her father's wares in the market. Her name was Ma Mya, a common Burmese name meaning 'Emerald'. When he returned to Chiangmai he was sixteen, Ma Mya, fourteen.

Members of the court met the young prince at the border, and are said not to have been too surprised that he had brought a young school friend with him. They spoke to each other in Burmese, which none of the court, or servants, could understand. On reaching the palace the two young people retired to the prince's rooms and locked themselves away from everyone for a number of days. But the secret could not be long hidden, and the palace soon knew that Sukasem had brought back a young Burmese girl whom he said he was going to marry.

Sukasem's family was not only the ruling family of Chiangmai, and every other northern principality of Siam, it was connected by marriage to the Cakri dynasty, for Dara Rasmi was one of Chulalongkorn's queens. Dara Rasmi was the sister of the reigning prince and of Sukasem's father. Photographs convey her appeal to us over the years, her erect posture, her round, attractive, unsmiling face, full lips and disdainful eyes. She was married very young and entered the harem in Bangkok. It was from all accounts a dreadful experience. It was a society of intriguing women, who, because the newcomer was young and favoured, did all they could to make her life miserable. She was disdained as a country bumpkin and subject to all kinds of petty indignities such as having smelly condiments, pickled fish, associated with the food of the provinces, hidden in her sleeping apartments. She had one child, who died young. She was forbidden to return home for many years, being held hostage for the good behaviour of her princely relatives in Chiangmai. She is now much revered in Chiangmai, but it seems she also grew up into a hard and imperious lady.

The Princess Dara Rasmi is thought to have been most adamant that no marriage between Sukasem and Ma Mya be recognized. To allow such a union would be to present the heir to the princedom into the hands of the British consul. The latter might even claim the prince as a British subject on the strength of the marriage. Under old northern law, a man on marriage owed service to the feudal master of his wife, not to his own, if the two were not the same. Of course, of the family, Dara Rasmi was probably in a better position than any other to assess the views of the Bangkok court and the diplomatic consequences of the marriage.

So the teenage lovers were parted, and the story goes, when Sukasem bade goodbye to his Ma Mya at the Hai Ja gate, now known for its silver shops, she knelt and bathed his feet in her hair. But the reason the story captured the imagination was the way in which the two people pursued their lives, each in his and her own way apparently renouncing any real compromise with the world.

Ma Mya was ordained a nun, a Buddhist nun, and spent the rest of her long life in the order. Sukasem was sent to Bangkok where he was married to a childhood acquaintance. He died at the age of about thirty, never, it seems, coming to terms with his society or his time. The story also goes that Ma Mya was informed of his approaching death and returned to Chiangmai, but was not allowed to see the dying man.
It is a simple tale, but it has worked its way into common discourse. Charan says that mothers admonish their sons, 'Don't fall in love with a Burmese or a Shan. All you'll get is a broken heart like Sukasem'. The people of Chiangmai think Burmese women are particularly beautiful. In a world besieged by the sentimental, songs, films and television, the story of Ma Mya and Sukasem is easily slotted into a familiar niche. But the story comes from a time before that sentimental onslaught and perhaps there is something more than a love song. Perhaps there is an appreciation of a passive rebellion. Rebellion in that a pair of teenagers could decide that nothing in life was worth more than their commitment to each other, passive, because they bore the costs of rebellion themselves, with no attempt to defy the institutions of the society that demanded the sacrifice.

Note: The two Thai sources of the Ma Mya story which are reasonably accessible are an interview of Charan Manophet Yy Ca Ca .. Caran Manophet (Rock-a-bye, Charan Manophet) by Siray and Chan, Bangkok: P.M. Publishing, 1984 and Chiwit Rak Caw Chiangmai (Loves of the Princes of Chiangmai) by Prani Sirithorn na Pathalung, Chiangmai: Sahanavkit Press 1980.

I am grateful to Roy Hudson and his A Magic Tour of Burma for information on Moulmein, and for his comments on Kipling's visit.

MAP OF YUNNAN, PRC

An up-to-date map of Yunnan Province on a scale of approximately 1:1,785,000 (1cm equals 17.85 km has recently been published in English for the Thai-Yunnan Project, ANU.

The map measures 62 cm x 45 cm and is printed in black, red and blue. It shows roads, railways, rivers, prefectural and county boundaries, and more than 1000 towns and cities.

The map is based on a map of Yunnan published in 1985 by the Bureau of Land Survey, Yunnan Province. Names have been translated by Mr. Li Xiang Yang of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Kunming (and currently a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies), using the Pinyin system for transliteration.

The map is produced by the Department of Geography, Faculty of Science, with some financial support from the Richard Davis Fund. It is printed at the Central Printery.

Copies may be purchased (US$5.00 for mailing outside Australia; Aus$5.00 in Australia and New Zealand) from The Secretary, Department
All cheques should be made payable to 'The Australian National University' (in advance, please).

1 This is the second extract from a Master's degree thesis submitted to the University of Melbourne in 1951.
2 In conjunction with this and the following article readers are referred to an appendix, 'Tai languages: varieties and subgroup terms' in a forthcoming book on 'Thai Grammar' by Preecha Juntanamalaga and Anthony Diller. Among terms not covered by Professor Xie is Ai-lao which is glossed by themas 'An ethnonym in Han-dynasty sources sometimes linked by (folk-)etymology to 'Lao', and hence taken to refer to ancestors of the Tai people, but convincing evidence for this interpretation has yet to be adduced.'
3 Population figures and percentages for Yunnan Province.
4 This paper was written by Professor Xie for a Chinese scholarly audience. It is hoped it will form the basis of a social history of Sipsongpanna and its relations with Lanna. Our translator, Irene Bain, originally rendered names directly into Pin Yin. Most Thai names (in particular) have been altered into a form more recognizable to English-speakers, though some original Pin Yin has been retained. Ed.
5 The Thai form of the twelfth ruler's name is uncertain. The name given by the Phonsawadarn Yonok is quite different.
6 One of these monks is Kassapa, which is the only name given by Phongsawadarn Yonok. Ed.

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------

end of file