

Chinese and Burmese Involvements in the Politics of Sipsongpanna in 1837: Descriptions in Captain McLeod's Journal

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Sipsongpanna was a Tai pre-modern state located at the southernmost part of present-day Yunnan Province of China. Sipsongpanna paid tribute to both the Chinese and Burmese dynasties. This paper illustrates how China and Burma were involved in the politics and culture of Sipsongpanna in 1837 by analysing Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal as a main source of information.

It was found that the court of Sipsongpanna was influenced by Chinese culture, especially the costume and language. The court had Chinese clerks and a secretary who took minutes of official meetings and prepared dispatches for China. However, there was no institutionalized high position for Chinese in the court of Sipsongpanna. On the other hand, the Burmese Sitke, the resident military officer, was treated as one of the highest-ranking persons in the court. He had rights to participate in formal meetings and parties at the court. The Sitke and his followers were supplied by Sipsongpanna with provisions. The Sitke also regularly received considerable amounts of money from tolls levied on crossing the Mekong River. The Sitke was able to exert a strong influence on the decision-making and behaviour of the rulers of Sipsongpanna.

Keywords: Sipsongpanna, China, Burma, Sitke, McLeod

I Introduction

Sipsongpanna was a pre-modern Tai state located at the southernmost part of present-day Yunnan Province of the People's Republic of China¹, which borders Myanmar and Laos (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). It consisted of approximately thirty principalities or autonomous political units called 'moeng (muang)²', each of which was governed by its own lord called 'Chao Moeng (Chao Muang)'.

Sipsongpanna paid tribute to both the Chinese and Burmese dynasties since the latter half of the 16th century. The lord of Moeng Cheng Hung (Muang Chiang Rung)³, who also held the position of the supreme ruler of all of Sipsongpanna and had to be of the correct bloodline in Moeng Cheng Hung's royal family, was given the official titles of 'governor' of Sipsongpanna both by the Chinese and Burmese dynasties⁴.

In one of my previous papers, I showed the tributary relationship of Sipsongpanna with China and Burma in 1837 [Kato 2015]. Neither China nor Burma had priority right to nominate a new supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna, but China could gain tribute in the form of a fixed weight of silver⁵ and duty of grain from Sipsongpanna, whereas Burma requested tribute of more symbolic forms. In addition, Moeng Cheng Hung was the end of a Chinese line of command, which ran from Yunnan⁶, Pu'er, and Simao.

Being based on these results concerning tributary relationships, which were formal



Fig. 1: Map around Sipsongpanna

The shaded area indicates present-day Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture

-----: borders between present-day nation states

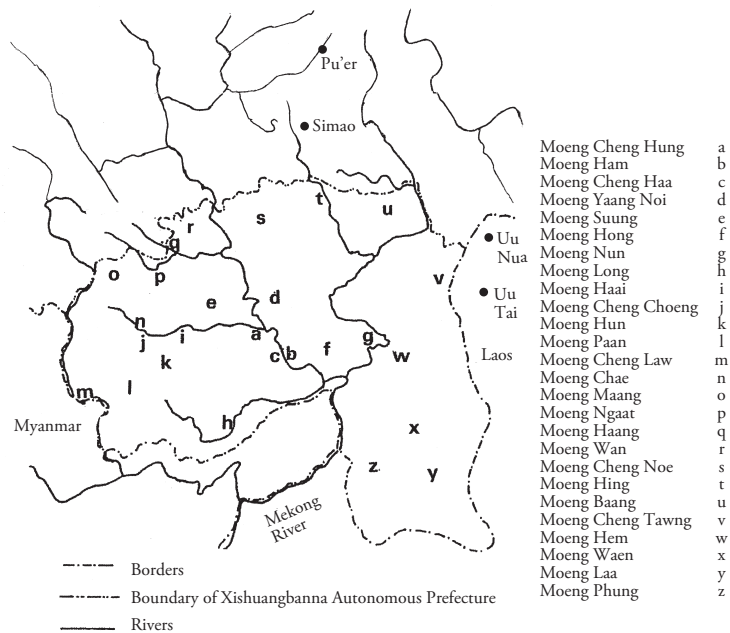


Fig. 2: Map of Sipsongpanna

connections with Chinese and Burmese authorities outside Sipsongpanna, the next step should be a discussion of Chinese and Burmese influence within Sipsongpanna.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how China and Burma were involved in the politics and culture of Sipsongpanna in 1837 by analysing Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal (CMJ)⁷ as a main source of information.

Captain McLeod, the author of the journal, visited Sipsongpanna in 1837 as a British envoy and planned to proceed to China in order to open 'a commercial intercourse with the traders of' China⁸. His journal contained many descriptions of Chinese and Burmese elements found in Moeng Cheng Hung. They also include Chinese and Burmese involvements in the politics of Sipsongpanna⁹.

This paper will proceed as follows: Firstly, I will briefly explain how China and Burma had been building relationships with Sipsongpanna until 1837. Secondly, I will provide a description of the Chinese people living in Moeng Cheng Hung¹⁰. Thirdly, Chinese elements in the court and palace of Sipsongpanna will be discussed. Fourthly, Burmese involvement in the politics of Sipsongpanna will be shown. Finally, as a conclusion of this paper, the differences between Chinese and Burmese involvements in the politics of Sipsongpanna will be discussed.

II Background: How China and Burma had been dealing with Sipsongpanna

II-1 Establishment of Tributary Relationships with China and Burma

The first Chinese office established in Moeng Cheng Hung was Cheli Junmin Zongguanfu (車里軍民總管府), which was established by the Yuan Dynasty in 1296¹¹. During the Ming Dynasty, Cheli Junmin Xuanweishi Si (車里軍民宣慰使司) was established in 1386, and the lord of Moeng Cheng Hung or the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna was given the title of Cheli Xuanweishi (車里宣慰使). Sipsongpanna often sent tributes to Ming Dynasty although Sipsongpanna sometimes defied the Ming Dynasty¹².

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Sipsongpanna was attacked by the Taungoo Dynasty of Burma and was defeated. From this time onwards, Sipsongpanna became subordinate to Burma as well as to China. Tao Inmoeng, who became the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna in 1569, married a Burmese princess. Sipsongpanna first sent tribute to Burma on the occasion of her visit to her home country¹³.

II-2 Establishment of Pu'er Fu and Conferment of Official Titles on the Lords of Moengs in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century

In one of my previous papers, I showed the changes that were brought about in Sipsongpanna by the Qing Dynasty in the 1720s and 1730s [Kato 1997]. In 1728, 1729, and 1732 (Yougzheng 雍正 6, 7 and 10), after suppressing rebellions in Sipsongpanna, the Qing Dynasty conferred Chinese official titles, such as Tu Shoubei (土守備), Tu Qianzong (土千總), and Tu Bazong (土把總)¹⁴, on the lords of moengs of Sipsongpanna who had aided the suppression or had not sided with the rebellions. The Qing Dynasty also established Pu'er Fu (普洱府) in the

northern part of Sipsongpanna in 1729 (Yong Zheng 7), as well as Simao Ting (思茅廳) under Pu'er Fu in 1735 (Yougzheng 13). Cheli Xuanwei Si (車里宣慰司, see note 4) and most of the moengs of Sipsongpanna belonged to Simao Ting¹⁵. [*Daoguang Pu'er Fu Zhi* (PFZ) chapter 3: 2–3, 15–16] Around the same time, the Qing Dynasty started to impose taxes, defined as a precise amount of silver, on Sipsongpanna.

In 1837, even after about a hundred years, these institutional frameworks remained essentially unchanged.

II–3 Destabilization and Intermittent Warfare in Sipsongpanna until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

Being within the framework mentioned above, Sipsongpanna experienced destabilization and intermittent warfare in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Because both China and Burma could give sanction to the succession of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna, the Sino-Burmese war from 1765 to 1769 and the continuous rivalry between China and Burma brought instability to Sipsongpanna. Succession conflicts for the position of supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna arose and continued intermittently until 1850. Some candidates asked Burma for support and others asked China. Occasionally Chiang Tung, Chiang Mai, Nan, Luang Phabang, and some other Tai polities located to the south of Sipsongpanna also became engaged in Sipsongpanna's succession conflicts¹⁶.

II–4 Moeng Cheng Hung in 1837

When McLeod stayed in Sipsongpanna in 1837, it was enjoying a brief period of peace. Maha Wang or Dao Tai Kang (刀太康)¹⁷, who ruled Sipsongpanna, had just died¹⁸ and China had agreed to his young son, Suchawanna or Dao Zheng Zong (刀正綜), becoming the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna¹⁹. However, before his formal coronation, some of the members of the royal family, joined by the Burmese Sitke, the resident military officer, launched a coup d'état. Chao Cheng Haa, the prime minister of Sipsongpanna²⁰, pretended to join the coup, allowed Suchawanna to cross the Mekong River and flee, and, finally, suppressed the coup²¹. It appears that China also delivered reinforcements²².

When McLeod arrived at Moeng Cheng Hung on 9 March 1837, although the coup d'état had already been suppressed²³, Suchawanna was still in Simao, where he had fled to ask the Chinese office there for help. [CMJ: 372, 379] In Moeng Cheng Hung, Chao Cheng Haa transacted all the business of the country²⁴ [CMJ: 371] and Maha Dewi, the queen, who was Maha Wang's first wife, 'was acting as Regent for' Suchawanna, who was the son of another wife of Maha Wang²⁵. [CMJ: 372] Chao Cheng Haa was pro-Chinese²⁶. In spite of having been one of the members plotting the coup d'état, the Burmese Sitke remained at Moeng Cheng Hung, because he had been formally dispatched by the Burmese Government²⁷.

III Chinese People in Moeng Cheng Hung

III-1 Chinese People in the Town of Cheng Hung

There are several descriptions concerning the Chinese people who lived in Moeng Cheng Hung in Captain McLeod's Journal.

On the first day that McLeod arrived at the town of Cheng Hung, he noticed that there were 'great many houses belonging to the Chinese' along the main street of the town²⁸. [CMJ: 371] It shows the town of Cheng Hung had a certain number of Chinese at that time. What kind of people were they, and what were they doing in Cheng Hung?

The first possibility is that they might have been involved in commercial activities. If they were in Cheng Hung to conduct their commercial activities, it would have been useful to have their houses along the main road of the town, where it was easy for people to visit and trade with them. McLeod writes, 'Though there are Chinese merchants still here, the principal ones have left the place in consequence of the disturbances. I have, however, seen many of them, and they are as anxious as all the others to visit Moulmein.' [CMJ: 382] This explains that there were many Chinese merchants at that time, and before the disturbances, there were many more²⁹.

McLeod also writes about Chinese women, 'There are several Chinese women here who have been clandestinely brought out of their country. Some of them came to see me, and the only thing remarkable was their insisting on prostrating themselves, with their heads touching the ground, three or four times, and standing with their arms crossed in a most respectful manner, and their deformed small feet.' [CMJ: 383] We are not sure what exactly 'clandestinely' meant, but they might have been prostitutes.

III-2 Chinese People in the Court of Sipsongpanna

Apart from Chinese merchants and Chinese women, McLeod writes about Chinese officials working in the court and the palace of Sipsongpanna.

During his first interview with Sipsongpanna's rulers, McLeod saw Chinese officials:

'... in front of it (the throne) stood two tables together; at one end of these the Minister [the Talau Tsóbuá] (Chao Cheng Haa), the Muang Lóng Tsóbuá, a nephew of the late Tsóbuá's, and the Burmese Tseitké (Sitke)³⁰, were seated; opposite to them at the other end of the tables a chair was placed for me; and at one side of the tables, facing the throne, two Chinese officials were seated, with writing materials before them; ...' [CMJ: 372]

This description shows that there were two Chinese officials who would write something during the meeting. They would have probably been doing clerical work.

When Sipsongpanna's court was preparing to send a dispatch for China, 'the Chinese Secretary' was working on it.

'While my (McLeod's) writer was with the Talau Tsóbuá to-day, the Chinese Secretary brought the despatch for China, with a translation of the Commissioner's letter, to be

stamped with the Kiang Húng (Cheng Hung) seal, which is kept by the minister.’ [CMJ]: 380] This ‘Chinese Secretary’ had an important role in writing a dispatch for China. On the other hand, Maha Dewi’s palace also had ‘a room fitted up in the Chinese style, with marble tables for the use of the Chinese clerks.’ [CMJ]: 386]

There is no information about whether the ‘two Chinese officials’ working at the meeting of the court and ‘the Chinese clerks’ working at the palace were the same persons or what ‘the Chinese Secretary’ had to do with the ‘two Chinese officials’ or ‘the Chinese clerks’. At least, we can say that there were Chinese people who did official work as secretaries or clerks at Sipsongpanna’s court³¹.

IV Chinese Elements in the Court of Sipsongpanna

IV-1 Chinese Costume

There are many descriptions of Tai people wearing Chinese or half-Chinese costumes at the court of Sipsongpanna.

When McLeod was invited to the court of Sipsongpanna to meet ‘the Minister’ or Chao Cheng Haa and ‘the petty Tsóbuas’ or the lords of moengs in Sipsongpanna for the first time, he ‘was received in the great hall by the assembled officers, who were all dressed in costly Chinese costumes.’ [CMJ]: 371–372] ‘The assembled officers’ here might have included Chao Cheng Haa and the lords of moengs. Attendants who served refreshments were also dressed ‘in Chinese dresses.’ [CMJ]: 374] They also ‘walked about with their shoes and hats on.’ This could not have been a Tai custom but possibly a Chinese one. [CMJ]: 374]

McLeod explained in another part of his journal about the clothes of the chiefs of Sipsongpanna.

‘... many of the chiefs, indeed, are descendants of Chinese parents either on the father’s or mother’s side. The chief’s dress, on particular occasions, is entirely Chinese, the upper garment of silk, worked and ornamented with various figures and devices in gold and silk, reaching the ground, with a conical light hat with the button of rank on it, shoes, &c. The hair being permitted to grow long behind, is plaited into a tail. At other times they are habited in a mixture of Chinese and Shan dresses....’ [CMJ]: 392]

From the above, we can see that on the formal occasions, the Tai chiefs, officials, and attendants wore Chinese costumes.

On the other hand, McLeod also refers to the Tai lords’ Chinese costumes in the description of the farewell ceremony held in his honour.

‘At about 12 I was requested to proceed to the palace, where I was received by all the Tsóbuas, in their full dress. ... To me they presented, in the young Tsen wi fuá (Saenwifa, the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna)’s name, a very handsome worked Chinese dress of ceremony, similar to those worn by themselves, ...’ [CMJ]: 395]

This description shows that the Tai lords were wearing Chinese costumes as the full dress or the dress for ceremony at the court of Sipsongpanna at that time.

As for the costumes of Tai women in the palace, McLeod recorded his observations when he visited Maha Devi at her palace.

‘Shortly after taking my seat on a chair placed for me close to the Talau Tsóbuá, Mahá Dewi entered, accompanied by Maha Wang’s sister; they took their seats on chairs, while the train of ladies following them took theirs on the floor. They, too, were richly, though to me, fantastically dressed, in a mixture of Shan and Chinese costumes; their attendants were dressed in the same style.’ [CMJ]: 385]

McLeod writes that the women were dressed in a mixture of Shan and Chinese costumes, the same as male costumes ‘at other times’ except ‘on particular occasions.’ [CMJ]: 392] It is not certain what kind of mixture of Chinese and Shan costumes they were, but McLeod recognized them as costumes having Chinese features.

IV–2 Presents of Chinese style

As I mentioned above, McLeod was presented a Chinese dress of ceremony during his farewell ceremony. Actually, this ceremony was also for delegates from Chiang Tung, Muang Yawng³², and Chiang Khaeng as well as for McLeod himself. McLeod observed the presents for the delegates.

‘On two tables covered with red cloth were laid out the presents, arranged so as to make a show. The officers from Kiang Túng (Chiang Tung), Muang Lóng (Muang Yawng?), and Kiang Khieng (Chiang Khaeng), being about to leave the palace, presents for them were likewise laid out. Those for the former consisted of a spear cased in silver, a small silver cup, a piece of blue cotton cloth, and a thin sheet of silver plate stamped with Chinese characters, which was suspended on his breast. This last is an honorary distinction borrowed from the Chinese, and intended as a mark of favour and friendship. Each of the others had a silver cup or piece of cloth and the stamped silver conferred on him.’ [CMJ]: 395]

A silver plate stamped with Chinese characters was sent to each of the delegates; this was ‘an honorary distinction borrowed from the Chinese.’

Similarly stamped silver was presented to McLeod’s people.

‘To my (McLeod’s) writer, interpreter, and cooly gong (foreman of the porters), they (the Tai lords) gave a small silver chunam box (container for betel chewing), a piece of blue cloth, and a piece of the stamped silver.’ [CMJ]: 395]

The presents to McLeod himself were as follows:

‘To me they (the Tai lords) presented, in the young Tsen wi fua’s name, a very handsome worked Chinese dress of ceremony, similar to those worn by themselves, a Chinese dress hat, and stamped piece of gold plate; and a silver cup, from Mahá Dewi, two pieces of tinsel gauze, a pony, and an old Shan hat. From themselves, a fur jacket of the huli skin, a silver

cup, and some tea. They insisted upon my putting on the Chinese dress and suspending the gold plate on my breast, which I did, much to their satisfaction.’ [CMJ]: 395]

The presents given to McLeod in the name of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna were ‘a very handsome worked Chinese dress of ceremony’ plus a Chinese dress hat, stamped piece of gold plate, and a silver cup. The Chinese dress hat might have been intended for wearing with the Chinese costume. The ‘stamped piece of gold plate’ might have been a superior version of the silver plate stamped with Chinese characters, both of which were supposed to be worn on the chest. If so, this gold plate was also ‘an honorary distinction borrowed from the Chinese and intended as a mark of favour and friendship.’

We can see that the court of Sipsongpanna selected objects of Chinese style such as Chinese costumes and silver or gold plates stamped with Chinese characters to be a part of the formal presents for guests coming from outside Sipsongpanna.

IV-3 Chinese Language and Other Chinese Elements

McLeod quotes Chao Cheng Haa to show how many among the higher classes of Sipsongpanna could speak and write the Chinese, Shan, and Burmese languages well respectively.

‘He (Chao Cheng Haa) tells me (McLeod) that there is not one officer in ten who can speak and write the Shan language well, and not one in a hundred the Burmese, Chinese being the language in use amongst the higher classes. He is the only chief who speaks Burmese.’ [CMJ]: 375]

It seems that it was quite common for ‘the higher classes’ of Sipsongpanna to acquire Chinese language skills, while there were only a few people who could speak Burmese.

Moreover, Chinese elements were found in the interior decoration of the palace.

‘I (McLeod) accordingly proceeded to her (Maha Dewi’s) abode, a high wooden building at the back of the reception hall; having ascended by a handsome carved wooden staircase, I entered a capacious apartment, the walls of which were covered with gilding and coloured papers; the posts supporting the roof were decorated with festoons of red and gold, and the room ornamented with Chinese lamps and pictures.’ [CMJ]: 385]

Although we do not know whether other decorations were of Chinese style, McLeod found that the lamps and pictures were Chinese.

McLeod says that the dinner of the welcome party for McLeod was also Chinese style. McLeod writes, ‘The dinner was entirely Chinese, and served up by attendants in Chinese livery.’ [CMJ]: 374]

V The Burmese Sitke

V-1 The Sitke’s Position and Precedence at the Court of Sipsongpanna

Compared to various Chinese elements in the court of Sipsongpanna, we cannot find concrete

Burmese elements there. However, the Burmese Sitke seems to have had some influence on the politics of Sipsongpanna. I will examine the Sitke's influence from descriptions of McLeod's journal.

The Sitke participated in the first interview and the welcome and farewell parties for McLeod. [CMJ]: 372, 374, 396]

McLeod described the first interview as follows:

'... in front of it (the throne) stood two tables together; at one end of these the Minister [the Talau Tsóbuá], the Muang Lóng Tsóbuá, a nephew of the late Tsóbuá's, and the Burmese Tseitké, were seated; opposite to them at the other end of the tables a chair was placed for me (McLeod); and at one side of tables, facing the throne, two Chinese officials were seated, with writing materials before them; ...' [CMJ]: 372]

We can see that the Sitke was sitting at the same end of the table as Chao Cheng Haa or the prime minister of Sipsongpanna, who faced the seat meant for McLeod, the main guest of the meeting. This shows that the Sitke participated in the meeting as someone who held the same rank as the highest-ranking rulers of Sipsongpanna. On the other hand, as we have already seen in III-2, two Chinese officials also were at the same tables, but they seem to have been working as clerks.

At the welcome party for McLeod, the Sitke also was at the same table as the prime minister and the main guest, McLeod.

'At about two o'clock I was requested to proceed to the palace, where all the officers were assembled in the great hall to meet me again. A number of square tables were here standing; three of these were high, with chairs placed near them.... The three tables were for the Tsóbuas; I (McLeod) was placed at the one with Talau Tsóbuá (the prime minister), and those of Muang Hám, Muang Lóng, and Muang U, and the Tseitké. ...' [CMJ]: 374]

This description also shows that the Sitke was treated as one of the highest-ranking persons in the court of Sipsongpanna.

V-2 The Sitke's Influence on the Politics of Sipsongpanna

The Sitke was related to some of the members of the royal family by marriage. Chao Phum (Phom), the younger brother of Nokham who was the 'usurper' in the coup, was married to the daughter of the Sitke. [CMJ]: 378]

The Sitke was described in McLeod's journal as the very man that had incited his relatives to launch the coup d'état against Suchawanna. McLeod describes the situations as follows.

'The Tseitké had some time before this received letters from his court (Burmese court) to be presented to Mahá Wang, appointing his son (Suchawanna) Chou Phung Amig-she meng, Lord of eastern house, a title which confers on the holder not only extraordinary power and authority, but also the right of succession to the throne. That officer (the Sitke), however, had withheld these despatches to facilitate the ambitious views of his connexions.' [CMJ]: 378]

Chao Cheng Haa also says, 'He (the Sitke) is a mischievous old man, and has been the cause of all the disturbances and bloodshed here³³; had he done his duty even to his own king, without reference to the son of the man to whom he is under the greatest obligations (Mahakanan, the father of Nokham and Chao Phum), nothing would have occurred.' [CMJ: 396]

McLeod also offers Chao Cheng Haa's words as follows;

'From your remarks, I think you know who was the cause of the stiff reception we gave you at our first interview; you are right in your surmise; though the Tseitké is a bad man, he had adroitness enough to work on our credulity, propagating many absurd and untrue reports, and describing the character of the English different from what we had heard and have seen ...' [CMJ: 396]

From the above descriptions, we can see that the Sitke had a significant influence on the decision-making and behaviour of the rulers of Sipsongpanna.

V-3 The Sitke's Livelihood

McLeod writes about tolls levied for crossing the Mekong River as follows:

'In crossing the Me Khong at the ferry, one-quarter of a tical is levied on each mule or pony, which goes to the Tsen-wi-fuá (Saenwifa or the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna), likewise three-quarters of a tical on entering the Kiang Húng (Cheng Hung) territory ... On their return one-quarter tical is likewise collected; this is the only regular and acknowledged perquisite that the Burmese Tseitké receives; he with his followers, however, are supplied by the Tsen-wi-fuá with provisions.' [CMJ: 386-387]

This description shows that the Sitke and his followers were supplied by Sipsongpanna with provisions and, in addition, Sitke received part of the tolls regularly. Sitke could collect one-quarter of a tical for each mule or pony, whereas the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna could collect 1 tical for each mule or pony. It shows that Sitke's gains were one fourth as much as that of the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna.

McLeod also wrote, 'The usual number of mules passing through this place annually is about 5000.' [CMJ: 387] If the Sitke received tolls from 5000 mules, he would have collected 1250 ticals per year.

We can conclude that Sipsongpanna provided a financially stable life to the Sitke as well as entitled him to participate in formal meetings and parties at the court.

VI Conclusion

I would like to summarise the discussion above in terms of the Chinese and Burmese involvements in the politics of Sipsongpanna.

There were a large number of Chinese people in the town of Moeng Cheng Hung. The court of Sipsongpanna also had Chinese clerks and a secretary who took minutes of official meetings and prepared dispatches for China. The court and the palace of Sipsongpanna

were heavily influenced by Chinese culture, especially in the case of their costume and language. However, there was no institutionalized high position for Chinese in the court of Sipsongpanna. In other words, there was no person in the court who actually had a big influence on the politics of Sipsongpanna.

On the other hand, Burma had sent a resident military officer, the Sitke, to the court of Sipsongpanna. The Sitke had rights to participate in formal meetings and parties at the court as someone who held the same rank as the highest-ranking rulers of Sipsongpanna. The Sitke was able to be related to some of the members of the royal family by marriage. Therefore, the Sitke was able to exert a strong influence on the decision-making and behaviour of the rulers of Sipsongpanna. In addition, Sipsongpanna had to provide a financially stable life to the Sitke. He and his followers were supplied by Sipsongpanna with provisions. Moreover, the Sitke regularly received a considerable amount of money from tolls levied for crossing the Mekong River.

Notes

- 1 Most areas of Sipsongpanna belonged to the present-day Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture (西双版纳傣族自治州).
- 2 I write Tai words of Sipsongpanna by using spellings that are closer to the pronunciations of Tai in Sipsongpanna. For some words, spellings showing Thai pronunciation are added in parentheses when they first appear so that they can be related to Thai words used in previous studies. On the other hand, Tai place names outside Sipsongpanna are written in spellings showing Thai pronunciations.
- 3 Moeng was named using the format 'Moeng' followed by a proper name, e.g. 'Moeng Cheng Hung'. If the proper name had more than one word or syllable, it was sometimes called only by the proper name without 'Moeng'. I also sometimes follow this system to indicate the names of moengs, such as Cheng Hung, Chiang Tung, and Chiang Khaeng.
- 4 The Chinese title was Cheli Xuanweishi (車里宣慰使), which translates as 'Saenwifa' in Tai. The title was also known as 'Chao Phaen Din', which means 'the lord of the land or the earth'. He was the chief of a Chinese office named Cheli Xuanwei Si (車里宣慰司) during the Qing period, which was usually located at Moeng Cheng Hung. When the one appointed as Saenwifa was forced by another with a claim to the throne to leave Moeng Cheng Hung, the Cheli Xuanwei Si also moved to the place where the Saenwifa relocated.
- 5 However, 'they are not obliged to pay their tax to China in silver; it may be paid in anything they please....' [CMJ: 394]
- 6 It means the capital of Yunnan Province.
- 7 I use the version printed in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship* [Grabowsky and Turton 2003].
- 8 The document attached to the copy of McLeod's journal when it was submitted to 'the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company' in 1838 states that 'he (Mr Commissioner Blundell) had deputed his assistant, Captain McLeod, on a mission to the Shan States tributary to the Siamese, instructing him to penetrate to the frontier towns of China, with a view of opening a commercial intercourse with the traders of that nation.' [Grabowsky and Turton 2003: 249]
- 9 Some of them were observed by McLeod himself and others were gained by other informants. We should consider the credibility of each piece of information that McLeod included in his journal and think about how we can use or not use the information. Some of them were observations by McLeod himself, others were words of the rulers of Sipsongpanna, and still others were provided by other informants, and sometimes we cannot ascertain who they were.
- 10 On the other hand, we cannot find concrete description about Burmese people in Moeng Cheng Hung.
- 11 Yuan Shi (元史History of Yuan), Benji (本紀Imperial biographies) vol. 19.
- 12 Ming Shi-lu (明實錄Veritable Records of the Ming), Taizu Shilu (太祖實錄) vol. 164.
- 13 Some versions of the Cheng Hung Chronicle have descriptions about such relationships with Burma at that time. For example, see 'Chokoe Chaophaendin Saenwifa Sipsongpanna (Genealogy of Chaophaendin Saenwifa of Sipsongpanna).' [Dao Yong Ming 1989: 416–430]
- 14 They were Chinese official titles given to non-Han indigenous leaders. These ranks were lower than the rank of Xuanweishi.

- 15 Pu'er Fu contained four smaller administrative units, namely, Ning'er Xian (寧洱縣), Simao Ting, Wei Yuan Ting (威遠廳), and Talang Ting (他郎廳) in the Daoguang period (1821–1850). The government office of Ning'er Xian was located in the same town as the government office of Pu'er Fu. Five moengs of Sipsongpanna belonged to Ning'er Xian, while all the other moengs belonged to Simao Ting. [PFZ chapter 1: 4–7, 16, chapter 3: 2–3]
- 16 These succession conflicts were described in some versions of the Cheng Hung Chronicle. You can see them, for example, in 'Choekeo Chaophaendin Saenwifa Sipsongpanna (Genealogy of Chaophaendin Saenwifa of Sipsongpanna).' [Dao Yong Ming 1989]
- 17 Tai rulers in Sipsongpanna also had Chinese names.
- 18 A Tai manuscript says he died on the first day of the waning moon, the 12th month, cs1198. [Dao Yong Ming 1989: 582, 350] It was 26 October 1836 in the Gregorian Calendar.
- 19 McLeod said that Burma also allowed Suchawanna to succeed. [CMJ]: 378]
- 20 'Chao Cheng Haa' means 'the lord of Moeng Cheng Haa', which was a small moeng near Cheng Hung, but actually 'Chao Cheng Haa' was the title of the prime minister of Sipsongpanna. McLeod called him 'the Minster' or 'the Talau Tsóbuá'. 'Tsóbuá' here means Chao Moeng or lord of the moeng. The prime minister at that time was also the lord of Moeng Cheng Law or 'Talau' (m in Fig. 2), which was a moeng located on the route to Chiang Tung and on the present-day border between China and Myanmar.
- 21 A document written by Chao Cheng Haa describes the process of this coup from the viewpoint of Chao Cheng Haa. [CSL: 616–630]
- 22 McLeod wrote, 'A force of 2,000 men from the province of Yunnan only left this three or four days before my arrival.' [CMJ]: 375]
- 23 McLeod wrote that the Sitke told McLeod's people that McLeod's 'arrival had allayed the ferment here to a great extent; that before it, armed parties were hourly parading the streets, persons were apprehended, several executed, and numbers banished to other towns.' [CMJ]: 381]
- 24 This was written in a descriptive style without reference to informants or the origin of the information.
- 25 This information was given to McLeod by the rulers of Sipsongpanna, including Chao Cheng Haa.
- 26 There are many descriptions in McLeod's journal of Chao Cheng Haa and other Tai rulers praising China.
- 27 However, there were people who wanted to remove the Sitke. We can find the following description: 'He (Sitke) told them (some of McLeod's people) that he is in constant dread of losing his life; that there is a party against him in particular, who wish for his removal; that the Shans are not, he thought, over partial to the Burmans....' [CMJ]: 381] Chao Cheng Haa also wrote a letter requesting the lord of Chiang Tung to help him remove the Sitke. [CSL: 628–630, 370–371]
- 28 'This place (the town of Cheng Hung) is not fortified; there is one wide road running from one end of it to the other, and along this there are great many houses belonging to the Chinese, very poor in their appearance ...' [CMJ]: 371] McLeod said that they were very poor in their appearance, but he felt the same about Chao Cheng Haa's house. [CMJ]: 381] We cannot say the houses were really very poor only on the basis of this subjective view.
- 29 McLeod also wrote about many Chinese he had met in other moengs of Sipsongpanna on his way to the town of Cheng Hung. [CMJ]: 361–369]
- 30 McLeod spelt it as 'Tseitké'.
- 31 They might not have had any formal connections with Chinese authorities. They might have been hired by Sipsongpanna itself. Nishikawa points out the existence of Chinese clerks hired by Non-Han rulers in Yunnan during the Qing period. [Nishikawa 2015: 168–170]
- 32 McLeod wrote 'Muang Lóng', but it could be Moeng Yawng. Muang Long was one of the moengs in Sipsongpanna.
- 33 In another document written by Chao Cheng Haa, the Sitke was also described as the instigator of the coup. [CSL: 616–630]

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