

Changes in Sipsongpanna in the Eighteenth Century : focusing on 1720s-1730s

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Introduction

Sipsongpanna is a Tai Lue “kingdom” or political league which existed until the Chinese Communist Liberation in 1950. Most of the old territory now belongs to Sishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture of Dai Nationality (西双版纳傣族自治州), Yunnan Province of People’s Republic of China. Maekhong River (Nam Khong in Tai Lue, Lancang Jiang in Chinese) runs from the north to the south through the center of Sipsongpanna (see the map). According to Tai Lue chronicles, it consisted of twenty-odd principalities or autonomous political units called “moeng” (muang)⁽¹⁾ since the latter half of the sixteenth century at the latest. Each muang was governed by its own prince called “Chao Moeng” (Chao Muang)⁽²⁾, which was usually a hereditary position. The prince of Moeng Cheng Hung (Muang Chiang Rung) also had the position as the “king” of all of Sipsongpanna, and he was referred to as “Chao Phaen Din”, “Chao Faa” or “Chao Saenwi Faa”.

Sipsongpanna and the neighbouring Tai “kingdoms” or powerful muang, while having their own political power, had also had to pay tribute to China and/or Burma. In return, they were given official titles as governors to these “kingdoms” or muang. The king of Sipsongpanna was given the title of “Xuanweishi” 宣慰使 from China during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. The position is for the head of “Cheli Xuenweisi” 车里宣慰司⁽³⁾ and was given to a new king when he came to the throne. Similarly, Burma, from the latter half of the sixteenth century, also sanctioned the status of the new king.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss changes in Sipsongpanna after 1728 mainly from the political and economic points of view. A particular focus will be placed on the background of changes brought on by the Qing Government of China.

In the eighteenth century, the Qing Dynasty of China apparently made attempts to exert more political influence over Sipsongpanna. Hasegawa referred to various

changes as follows [Hasagawa, 1982: 132-136].

(1) Establishing new administrative units ruled directly by Chinese officials⁽⁴⁾ around and in Sipsongpanna. In 1729 (Yong Zheng 雍正 7), “Pu'er Fu” 普洱府 was established in the eastern part of the Maekhong River in Sipsongpanna. In 1735 (Yong Zheng 13), smaller administrative units called “Ning'er Xian” 寧洱県 and “Simao Thing” 思茅庁 were put under Pu'er Fu.

(2) Giving Chinese official titles of administrative heads to Chao Muang of eleven muang in Sipsongpanna in 1724, 1728, 1729, and 1732 (Yong Zheng 2, 6, 7, 10).

(3) Taxing the muang in Sipsongpanna in the way similar to that of China. Hasegawa cites the exact amount of silver as tax after 1735 (Yong Zheng 13). According to Hasegawa, these steps taken by the Qing Government aimed at governing Sipsongpanna more pragmatically.

These points raised by Hasegawa are very interesting and I am in absolute agreement with him. Hasegawa, however, made no attempt to illustrate the whole picture. Factors such as economic background, conditions existing in neighbouring Tai “kingdoms” and other significant events of that time were left untreated in his analysis. This paper will take these factors, left untackled by Hasegawa, into consideration and present Sipsongpanna as it existed in the years 1928-35.

Some Chinese researchers have also made references to changes in Sipsongpanna during the eighteenth century [Dao Yong Ming⁽⁵⁾, etc.]. Most of them are interested in ascertaining “facts” by comparing several texts of chronicles and Chinese documents, without directing their attention to the prevailing condition of that time. Their works, however, are of great value, especially when documents having several versions are used.

We will discuss the history of Sipsongpanna in 1720s and 1730s as follows. In chapter I, we will analyze a rebellion called the White Head Rebellion (“Soek Ho Khaao”) and the relative rise in position of some muang. In chapter II, we will examine the taxing system. Finally, we will try to illustrate the background of these changes in and around Sipsongpanna.

As main sources of information, we will use Tai chronicles, such as Chiang Hung Chronicle⁽⁶⁾ and Moeng Laem Chronicle, and such Chinese documents as Qing Shilu 清実録 (Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty) and Pu'er Fu Zhi 普洱府志 (Records of Pu'er Fu).

1 The White Head Rebellion and the relative rise in position of some muang

1-2 Events written in Cheng Hung Chronicle

According to Cheng Hung Chronicle, the White Head [Lao] Rebellion (Soek [Lao] Ho Khaao⁽⁷⁾) took place in the beginning of the Eighteenth century, during the reign of Thaa Paeng Moeng, in which, Ho Khaao fought against China [CHC2: 254, 436]. Cheng Hung and some other muang of Sipsongpanna took Ho Khaao's side and supported the rebellion [CHC4: 339, 563-564]. In response, the head of Moeng Sae (Kunming, Yunnan's capital) ordered the Chinese troops to put down the rebellion and Ho Khaao was defeated [CHC2: 254, 436; CHC4: 339, 564]. It was in 1728 (Yong Zhong 6) that the Chinese troops came [CHC4, 339, 567]. Thaa Paeng Moeng, Chao Phaen Din of Sipsongpanna was arrested, taken to the north and killed [Dao Yong Ming: 143]⁽⁸⁾ A lot of people also had to run away [CHC2: 254, 436; CHC4: 339, 564].

While some muang, as shown above, had given support to Ho Khaao, there were other muang in Sipsongpanna, namely Moeng Chae, Moeng Ngaat, Moeng Him (Puteng 普藤 or Puwen 普文) and Moeng Laa (Simao 思茅) that did not take Ho Khaao's side [CHC2: 254, 436; CHC4: 339, 567⁽⁹⁾].

For not siding with Ho Khaao, Chao Moeng Chae (Chao Muang of Moeng Chae) was given the position of Xuenwushi⁽¹⁰⁾ [CHC2: 254, 436; CHC4: 317, 528]. He was given "Chum Yin"⁽¹¹⁾ in 1728 (Yong Zhong 6) [CHC4: 317, 528]. In addition to this, Ho Thung (hill area) [CHC2: 254, 436] and the other muang on the west side of the Maekhong River came to be placed under his care [CHC4: 317]⁽¹²⁾. Chinese emperor elevated the status of Moeng Chae to that of "Shoe Fu" (Shou Fu 首府, the central city). China also gave sixteen hawnglang (liang)⁽¹³⁾ of silver to Moeng Chae and ten hawnglang of silver to Moeng Ngaat every year as annuity [CHC4: 339, 565]⁽¹⁴⁾.

It is also important to note the new native titles or the new ways of referring to Moeng Laa (Si Mao) and Moeng Chae. According to the chronicle, Saam Muun Rai, which means thirty thousand rai of land, came into the possession of Moeng Laa [CHC2: 254, 436]. The chronicle states that since that time, these two muang came to be referred to as "Saam Muun Rai (Moeng Laa), Sii Muun Naa Moeng Chae" [CHC2: 254, 436]. Sii Muun Naa means forty thousand naa of land. This new form of reference conveyed the meaning that both the muang were quite big consisting of a large area, as thirty thousand rai or forty thousand naa.⁽¹⁵⁾

As to the people in the hill area called Sipsong Khwaen (twelve khwaen)⁽¹⁶⁾, six khwaen came under the rule of Moeng Laem [CHC2: 254, 436], three khwaen under Moeng Chae, and one khwaen under Moeng Ngaat [Dao Yong Ming: 143].

Another version of the chronicle has it that Chao Phaen Din of Sipsongpanna ordered, Moeng Chae to take care of four khwaen and Moeng Ngaat to take care of two khwaen that were in the southern and western part of the west side of the Maekhong River. The northern part on the east side of the Maekhong River was placed under the care of Moeng Laa (Si mao). The other khwaen came under the care of Chao Moeng Paan [CHC4: 564]⁽¹⁷⁾.

From the above information, the following summation can be made:

- (1) A rebellion of a considerable size took place around 1728 and some muang in Sipsongpanna, including Moeng Cheng Hung, took the rebellion's side.
- (2) After the rebellion was suppressed, the muang which did not side with the rebellion were rewarded with official titles as native governors and/or the right to govern part of the hill areas and/or annuity from the Chinese government.
- (3) Among the muang which did not take the side of the rebellion, the rising of political and economic position of Moeng Chae was particularly emphasized. Moeng Ngaat, Moeng Laa (Simao 思茅) and Moeng Him (Puteng 普藤) were shown as the muang which benefited for not siding with the rebellion. Moeng Laem, which was a powerful muang outside Sipsongpanna, might have been given the right to govern a part of the hill areas which had been under Sipsongpanna's rule.

1-2 Events written in Chinese documents

According to Pu'er Fu Zhi, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, rebellions often occurred in the northern part of Sipsongpanna. China rewarded those who helped to suppress the rebellions by giving them official titles as native governors [Pu'er Fu zhi vol.3: 14-15].

Around 1728-9, the Qing government also started establishing new political and military bases inside Sipsongpanna, and gave titles as native governors to Chao Muang in Sipsongpanna at the same time [Pu'er Fu zhi vol.3: 15-16]. One assumption we can make is that a number of rebellions took place as the result of the Chinese invasion. After suppressing the rebellions, native chiefs were brought into the Chinese official political system under the pretext of gratitude for their contribution in sup-

pressing the rebellions or, for not taking the side in the rebellions.

According to Cheng Hung Chronicle, as we have seen in the preceding section, Moeng Chae, Moeng Ngaat, Moeng Him (Puteng), and Moeng Laa (Simao) in one version [CHC2] (see note 9), did not take the side of the White Head Rebellion. Let us now try to find descriptions about these muang in Pu'er Fu zhi.

In 1728 (Yongzheng 6), Li Aaxian 李阿先, a native leader of native Kanlanba 橄欖壩 (Moeng Ham) rebelled but was put down. Because of the assistance given in the suppression of the rebellion, Chao Muang of Puteng was given the title of "Tu Shoubei" 土守備⁽¹⁸⁾ and Chao Muang of Moeng Baang and Moeng Uu were also given the title of "Tu Bazong" 土把總.

In 1729 (Yongzheng 7), because of their contribution to suppress the same rebellion, Chao Sii Muun Naa (Chao Muang of Moeng Chae) was given Tu Shoubei 土守備, while Chao Muang of Moeng Ngaat was given Tu Qianzong 土千總. That same year, Chao Muang of I'nguu 易武 and Chao Muang of Moeng Long received the titles of Tu Bazong 土把總 and Tu Qianzong 土千總 respectively. All this took place in the same year that the Qing government established Pu'er Fu, which controlled the east side of the Maekhong River of Sipsongpanna.

Helping to suppress a rebellion in Pusi 普思, (but not for the rebellion in Kanlanba), Chao Muang of Moeng Laa (Simao) was given Tu Qianzong 土千總 in 1732 (Yongzheng 10). As suppressors of the rebellion in Pusi, Chao Muang of Yipan 倚邦 also received Tu Qianzong 土千總 in 1729 and Chao Muang of Zhengdong 整董 received Tu Bazong 土把總 in 1732 respectively [Pu'er Fu zhi vol. 3: 15-16].

In Pu'er Fu zhi, we can find Moeng Chae, Moeng Ngaat, Moeng Him and Moeng Laa, which did not take Ho Khaao's side, as explained in Cheng Hung Chronicle, were given the titles of Tu Shoubei 土守備, Tu Qianzong 土千總, Tu Shoubei 土守備 and Tu Qianzong 土千總 respectively as suppressors of rebellions⁽¹⁹⁾. Viewed in this light, it appears that the White Head (Ho Khaao) Rebellion and the rebellion in Kanlanba were one and the same, or else, the rebellions in Kanlanba and in Pusi were a part of the White Head Rebellion.

The title of Moeng Chae was not Xuenwushi 宣撫使 but Tu Shoubei 土守備 in Pu'er Fu zhi, a lower title than the one cited in Chiang Hung Chronicle. Nevertheless, the increase of Moeng Chae's power in Sipsongpanna is noted in another Chinese document as well as in Cheng Hung Chronicle. In 1729, the year that Moeng Chae was

given the position of Tu Shoubei, Thaa Kin Pao (Cheli Xuanweishi at that time) died. As Thaa Sao Win, who had the right to ascend Cheli Xuanweishi, was still a child, China conferred upon Thaa Sii Munn Naa (Chao Muang of Moeng Chae) the right to govern Sipsongpanna instead, until 1734⁽²⁰⁾ [Qing Shizong Shilu 清世宗実録 vol. 101: 3, 13; Dao Yong Ming: 149]. It is interesting to note here the fact that Chao Muang of Moeng Chae actually governed Sipsongpanna at that time.

2 Taxing system and relationship among muang

2-1 Silver taxing viewed from the side of Sipsongpanna

According to the Cheng Hung Chronicle, silver taxing system began in Sipsongpanna in 1728, the same year that the White Head Rebellion took place. [CHC1: 49-53]. The chronicle shows that after the attack by Sutthothammaracha, a king of Burma [CHC1: 49; CHC4: 317, 528]⁽²¹⁾, the land in Sipsongpanna became wild. In addition to this, Sipsongpanna was confronted with the problem of depopulation [CHC1:49]. As a result, it was not able to give a tribute of rice (kha laang) [CHC1: 49; CHC4: 317, 528-9] and by mutual consent a tribute of silver (ngoen laang) was given instead [CHC1: 49; CHC4: 317, 529]. Each muang's share is stated in the table, on page 8.

Moeng Chae and the other eight muang on the west side of the Maekhong River were taxed as one group and could decide the share amongst themselves. The eight muang are Moeng Hun, Taa Law, Moeng Haai, Cheng Choeng, Moeng Ngaat, Moeng Khaang, Moeng Maang, Moeng Ngaam Laang Noe (see the map)⁽²²⁾. This document also says that these eight muang were under the control of Moeng Chae.

Regarding these nine muang, this document refers to other kinds of tax, namely, ngoen kaa jin yin (silver as money as well as gold and silver), ngoen (kaa) thaeopaen (條丁銀 Tiaoding Yin), ngoen (kaa) faw khao (火耗銀 Huohao Yin). We can also find other kinds of tax; ngoen jinkhaang (正項銀 Zhengxiang Yin), ngoen choemin (折明銀 Zheming Yin), ngoen chicha (紙札銀 Zhizha Yin).

According to CHC4, a revision of tax distribution had to be made because new kinds of tax, ngoen kaafoei (解批銀 Jiepi Yin) and luikungkuu, were introduced. Furthermore this group of muang had to assist Taa Law to pay ngoen choe ming cha (折明銀 Zheming Yin). Therefore in the year of Kap Sii which was probably 1784⁽²³⁾, taxes were shared once again. Here we also find new names of taxes; ngoen pu (chikhaang) (補正項銀 Bu Zhengxiang Yin, supplementary tax) and ngoen paa (銀袋

銀) [CHC4: 319, 531-532].

2-2 Tax seen from Chinese side

Hasegawa has rearranged the information about tribute or tax to China after 1735 (Yong Zheng 13) written in *Pu'er Fu Zhi* [*Pu'er Fu Zhi*, Vol. 18: 4-19; Hasegawa: 135]. There were three kinds of tax; *Tiaoding Yin* 條丁銀, *Huohao Yin* 火耗銀 and *Zhezeng Qiuliangmii* 折徵秋糧米. It is sure that *Tiaoding Yin* and *Huohao Yin* were taxes paid in silver. The unit for *Zhezeng Qiuliangmii* was "Shi" 石, which is a unit of rice⁽²⁴⁾.

According to Hasegawa, taxation in Sipsongpanna at that time was similar to that of China and that the percentages of these three kinds of tax among the muang were almost the same. For example, for each kind of tax, while fifteen percent was accounted for by *Moeng Cheng Hung*, *Moeng Chae* accounted for fourteen percent. Hasegawa makes the assumption that the difference in power among the muang can be estimated from these tax ratios.

He also refers to the newly formed relationship established under the orders from China, whereby some muang were under the control of other muang. One interesting relationship among the muang is the one with *Moeng Ngaat* at the center. Here, *Moeng Ngaat* was the head and *Moeng Hun*, *Taa Law*, *Moeng Haai* and *Cheng Choeng* were the "followers". *Moeng Ngaat* had the title of *Tu Bazong* and the other four muang had the title of *Tu Bianwei*, a lower title than *Tu Bazong* (see note 18) [*Pu'er Fu Zhi*, Vol. 18: 4-19; Hasegawa: 135]. Hasegawa thinks that the Qing government was also aiming for a more pragmatic rule in Sipsongpanna by using political dynamics in forming new relationships and ranking them hierarchically.

2-3 Comparison of the group of muang in taxing: Chinese document and *Tai Lue* document

The information from *Pu'er Fu Zhi*, the Chinese document and one from the *Tai Lue* chronicle is different from each other. The relevant difference here concerns the group of muang in taxing on the west side of the *Maekhong River*.

According to *Cheng Hung Chronicle*, in imposing tax, *Moeng Chae* was the head for the eight muang on the west side of the *Maekhong River*. The eight muang were *Moeng Ngaat*, *Moeng Hun*, *Taa Law*, *Moeng Haai*, *Cheng Choeng*, *Moeng Khaang*, *Moeng Maang*, *Moeng Ngaam Laang Noe*. We can find this group of muang under the

Table Kinds and numbers of tax to China in Sipsongpanna

Rearranged from [Phu'er Fu Zhi, Vol. 18: 4-19; Hasegawa: 135] and [CHC1: 49-53; CHC4: 317-321, 529-536]

1-A		Ngoen Laang unit: hawng (Liang Goen unit: liang) [CHC4: 317] [CHC1: 49-50]	Zhezheng Qiuliangmii unit: shi [Phu'er Fu Zhi]	
Year	?	1728	1735	
		a	b	a/b
Cheng Hung	593.7482	593.7482	261.5	2.27
Moeng Hin (Puteng)	164.3588	19.4835		
Moeng Ham?		464.3588	209.5	2.216
Cheng Tawng	360.6748		(105.5 or 68.1)	
Moeng Baan	33. ?	33.871	15	2.25
Phukaw	6.947	16.9478	7.5	2.260
I'nguu	12.1798	28.1798	60.2	0.468
Moeng Baang	48.8888	48.8824	21.6	2.26
Moeng La	39.4835		98.0	
Yipang	397.8798	397.8798	185.7	2.143
Moeng Chae (and 8 Moeng)	559.6902	559.6922	271.3*	2.06
Moeng Long	339.1082?	339.1182	124.5	2.724
Si'mao and Liushun		227.6748	33.5 (Liushun only)	
Moeng Wan		20		
Uu Noe			135.4	
Uu Tai			150.7	
Total (silver)		2749.8365 liang		
Total (rice)	(1084 shi)	(1084 shi)	1725.7 shi	
		(1 shi =2.5367 liang)		

**Including 22.5 of Moeng Ngaat

I-B Tax from Moeng Chae and the eight moeng

	1728	1735
[CHC4: 317]	[CHC1: 49-50]	[Phu'er Fu Zhi]
Ngoen Laang (Liang Ngoen)	Liang Ngoen	Zhezhen Qiuliangmii
559.6902 hawng(liang)	559.6922 liang	271.3 shi
Ngoen Kaa Thaeopaen (Tiaoding Yin)	Tiaoding Yin	Tiaoding Yin
188.581 (169.4*) hawng(liang)	194.75 liang	188.5 (205.6**) liang
Ngoen Kaa Faw Khaao (Huohao)	Huohao	Huohao Yin
37.7162 (32.977*) hawng(liang)	38.95 liang	37.7 (41.1**) liang

* Total of six muang (without Taa Law and Moeng Maang)
after the year of Kap Sii (1724 or 1784)

** Including the number of Moeng Ngaat

leadership of Moeng Chae both in 1728 [CHC1] and in the year of Kap Sii (1784) [CHC4].

On the other hand, according to Pu'er Fu Zhi, Moeng Ngaat was in the position of the head for Moeng Hun, Taa Law, Moeng Haai and Cheng Choeng. It makes no reference to Moeng Khaang, Moeng Maang, Moeng Ngaam Laang Noe and Moeng Chae. Moeng Hun, Taa Law, Moeng Haai and Cheng Choeng, as we have seen, had the title of Tu Bianwei while Moeng Ngaat had the higher title of Tu Bazong [Pu'er Fu Zhi, Vol.18: 4-19; Hasegawa: 135]. Moeng Chae, which had an even higher title of Tu Qian-zong (see note 18), did not seem to form a part of the group in taxing.

This difference may be caused by the difference in Chinese policy between 1728 and the year after 1735. It is possible that only after 1735, Moeng Chae began to pay tax itself and was no longer associated with the other eight muang. But it seems that the Tai people in Sipsongpanna, at least the people in this particular group of the muang, still regarded Moeng Chae as head for the other eight muang [CHC4].

Background of changes in Sipsongpanna in 1720s-1730s : some perspectives and tentative conclusion

Among the muang which received benefits after the rebellions and organized into the groups of muang in paying taxes mentioned above, Moeng Chae received the highest benefit and was in a special position within the group of muang in paying taxes.

In 1728, Chao Muang of Moeng Chae was given the highest title on the west side of the Maekhong River, that is, if we exclude Cheng Hung. It was probably at that time that Moeng Chae became the head of the nine muang in the paying of taxes. The position of Moeng Chae as head was apparently not limited to the sphere of tax payment only [CHC4: 317, 528].

Moeng Chae's high position, however, did not last long officially. In 1735, China decided to down-grade the title when Chao Moeng Chae became the next successor. The position as the head of the taxation group also seemed to have been lost officially.

Nevertheless, the superiority of Moeng Chae remained unchanged. Regarding the title, Moeng Chae still had the highest one among the muang of the taxation group, because the titles of the other muang were also down-graded (see note 19). In addition, since around the year 1728, Chao Muang of Moeng Chae had a new native title, Chao Sii Muun Naa (chief of fourty thousand naa of land, see 1-1). According to CHC4, Moeng Chae continued to be the head of the taxation group.

The question of why China needed to raise Moeng Chae's position now arises. According to Pu'er Fu Zhi, China up-graded Moeng Chae's position because of its contribution in suppressing a rebellion. Despite the fact that Moeng Chae did not side with the rebellion⁽²⁵⁾, the above stated reason cannot be taken as anything but a pretext. The most probable reason we can attribute is China's desire to weaken the power of Cheng Hung. We can support this with the evidence that China had Thaa Sii Munn Naa (Chao Moeng Chae) govern Sipsongpanna from 1729 to 1734 instead of Thaa Saa Win [Qing Shizong Shilu vol.101: 3]. In addition, in 1766-7 (Qianlong 31-2), China had Thaa Saa Win resign from Xuanweishi under the pretext that he lacked the ability to protect Sipsongpanna from Burma.

However this still does not explain why Moeng Chae, and not the other moeng, became the head of the taxation group. One explanation for this may be that Moeng Chae had been playing an important political role in Sipsongpanna [Kato 1996]. In

addition to this, Moeng Chae was the biggest muang in Sipsongpanna [Kato 1994a] and had the potentiality to produce a substantial amount of rice. Moeng Chae, as we have mentioned before, had also won access to one third or one fourth of the hill area called Ho Khwaen in 1728. As a result, Moeng Chae was able to receive forest products as tribute from Ho Khwaen. In the case that Cheng Hung could not be the head, and given the native context, it was natural for Moeng Chae to be the head of the muang on the west side of the Maekhong River, because it had more power or the potentiality, both politically and economically, than the other muang.

There remains a second question : why China chose Moeng Ngaat as the head of the taxation group of the five muang. Moeng Ngaat was not a large muang and did not play so important a role in Sipsongpanna [Kato 1994a ; 1996]. Given these weakness, it was obvious that Moeng Ngaat could not afford to be the head by itself.

Let us now attempt to extend the observation and examine the possible profit China could have gained from making Moeng Ngaat the head.

It can at least be said that Moeng Ngaat was not so small a muang [Kato 1994a : 29, table 1] and that it had the right to govern one sixth or one twelfth of Ho Khwaen, from which forest products could be received as tribute. In other words, Moeng Ngaat has the potentiality from which China could extract a relatively large amount of tax.

We have however to keep in mind that China needed silver as tax. As far as we know, there has been no silver mines in Sipsongpanna. The muang in Sipsongpanna had to get silver from outside if they needed silver. We can be fairly certain that taking part in trade activities either directly or indirectly was a common way of getting silver from outside.

The most important route in Sipsongpanna which connected China with Southeast Asia was through Simao 思茅 to Cheng Hung on the east side of the Maekhong River. In the south of Cheng Hung, this route split into two. The main route going to Southeast Asia was through Moeng Haai, Moeng Hun, Moeng Paan, Taa Law. This route went down to Chiang Tung (see the map), which is now located in the Shan States of Myanmar (Burma) and was an important muang exerting political power to some smaller muang in the area⁽²⁶⁾. Accordingly, we can summarize that these muang could have obtained silver by (1) taking part in trade (through the sale of some commodity) (2) imposing a toll and (3) selling rice to either traders or outsiders.

We should take note of the fact that, among the five muang, only Moeng Ngaat was far from the route, while the other three muang, Moeng Haai, Moeng Hun, Taa

Law were on the route. Chiang Choeng was also very near the route. This means that, among the five muang, only Moeng Ngaat had difficulty in obtaining silver. The distribution of tax among the five muang shows that Moeng Ngaat had a smaller share than either Moeng Hun or Moeng Haai although Moeng Ngaat was the leader with a higher title. In addition, according to Cheng Hung Chronicle, China gave ten liang of silver to Moeng Ngaat as annuity [CHC4: 339, 565].

Viewed in this light, it is possible to assume that China tried to support Moeng Ngaat through manipulating its position as the head of the taxation group. It seems reasonable to suppose also that with a superior position to the other four muang, Moeng Ngaat could seek assistance and cooperation from them by requesting the sale of rice or forest products. If Moeng Ngaat derived profit from these trade activities and gained silver, China would have been in the position to extract a part of the silver as tax.

The same may be said of the case of Muang Chae. In the nine muang group with Moeng Chae as the head, Moeng Chae was not on the main route, while Moeng Haai, Moeng Hun and Taa Law were on the route. According to Cheng Hung Chronicle, China not only gave ten liang of silver to Moeng Ngaat but also gave sixteen liang of silver to Moeng Chae as annuity [CHC4: 339, 565]. Although China gave this annuity on the pretext of gratitude for the suppression of a rebellion, it is possible to assume that it was part of China's strategy to support Moeng Chae, the muang at the most disadvantage position to get silver, economically.

Taking a broader perspective, we would have to consider the conditions in Moeng Laem, a powerful muang in the west of Sipsongpanna (see the map). In Moeng Laem, around the beginning of eighteenth century, and before 1709, a silver mine was discovered. In 1709 Thaa Faai Tin was given the position of Xuanwushi with the contract to pay silver 600 and 48 liang to China as a tribute every year [Dian Nan Zhi Lue, Moeng Laem Chronicle: 6-7, Chinese Translation 9-10]. After that the rebellion of Ho Poek (Ivory-white Head) took place. Ho Poek went to Cheng Hung in Sipsongpanna. With the departure of Ho Poek from Cheng Hung, Moeng Laem and Moeng Lam succeeded in killing the head of Ho Poek. In 1730, the amount of silver tax decreased from 600 to 300 liang, because Moeng Laem had contributed in suppressing the rebellion. [Dao Yong Ming 1989: 278-284].

It is worth noting that a new silver mine was discovered near Sipsongpanna around the beginning of eighteenth century. This may have instigated China into

thinking about imposing silver tax to Tai area around Sipsongpanna. Given that the rebellion of Ho Poek and the White Head (Ho Khaao) Rebellion were the same, the reason for placing six khwaen under the rule of Moeng Laem as stated in Cheng Hung Chronicle [CHC2: 254, 436], becomes self-evident, that is, a reward for the suppression of the rebellion. It will not be fetching too far to assume, that China made the decision to decrease Moeng Laem's tax to that of silver 300 liang because it was able to get more silver from Sipsongpanna since 1728.

In conclusion, let me summarize the main points that have been made.

(1) The discovery of a silver mine in Moeng Leam gave rise to a greater circulation of silver in and around Sipsongpanna. This enabled China to extract silver tax from Sipsongpanna.

(2) Both Moeng Ngaat and Moeng Chae, which had the potentiality to pay tax but had difficulty in obtaining silver, were given some silver by China every year, while paying silver as tax at the same time. Flowing access to silver was made possible when China made them heads of the respective taxation groups.

(3) The changes in 1720s and 1730s raised the position of Muang Chae. China raised Moeng Chae's position in order to weaken the power of Cheng Hung. Also, within the native context as explained earlier, it was natural for Moeng Chae to become the head of the muang on the west side of the Maekhong River.

These are but tentative conclusion which we have arrived at in this paper. More Chinese documents will need to be analyzed in detail in order to have a better interpretation of these movements by China. Our analysis has so far shown that the movements in Sipsongpanna during 1720s and 1730s, such as giving official titles to native chiefs, imposition of silver tax and formation of taxation groups, can be better understood, only if we analyze them within the political as well as economic context.

(1) The word "muang" means town or city, and sometimes means country or political unit. It is generally used in Southwestern Tai dialects, although there are several variations in pronunciation, tone and notation. It is also spelled moeng, muong, meng, mong etc. in English. In this article, I will use "muang" as the general word and "moeng" as the Tai Lue word.

(2) In fact, there was a muang council called Kuan Moeng for governing. Most members of the muang council were relatives of Chao Moeng.

(3) The Yuan dynasty had also established Cheli Qunminzongguanfu 車里軍民總管府 [Dao Yong Ming 1989: 17-18., and so on].

(4) It was called Gaitu Guiliu 改土歸流, which means abolishment of native rule and the beginning of rule by Chinese officials.

(5) Dao Yong Ming himself, after reading and comparing thirteen kinds of Cheng Hung Chronicle, explains the outline of this chain of events [Dao Yong Ming: 143].

(6) In this paper, “Moeng Cheng Hung” is sometimes called “Cheng Hung” (without the word of “Moeng”).

Among several versions of Cheng Hung Chronicle which describe the relative rise of positions of some muang and/or silver taxing system in the eighteenth century, two versions are available in the original Tai Lue letters. One refers to history from 1180 to 1953 [CHC2]. The other refers to history from 1160 to 1470 and from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century, with reference to Moeng Chae Chronicle including the description of the boundary of Moeng Chae and so on [CHC4]. Both these versions are from Moeng Haai [Dao Yong Ming: 3]. In describing these events, the latter seems to take a stand which is similar to that of the Chinese government.

Dao Yong Ming says there are two other versions which refer to these events [Dao Yong Ming: 143].

(7) Lao Ho Khaao (Lao Hua Khaao in Central Thai) was called Chao Ton Buun [CHC2: 436]. Dao Yong Ming adds that another version of the chronicle (version of Sheng Zheng Xie) says this war was a rebellion by the hill people [Dao Yong Ming: 143].

(8) Dao Yong Ming thinks the person (s) killed, is Thaa Paeng Moeng although in both versions of the original Tai Lue document available now, this sentence lacks a subject. Furthermore, Xuanweishi in 1728 was not Thaa Paeng Moeng but Thaa Kin Pao.

(9) This version (CHC4) does not refer to Moeng Laa (Si mao).

(10) This is not true. See 1-2.

(11) I guess its original Chinese word is “Jin Yin” 金印 which means gold seal.

(12) This information is from the Chinese translation, not from the original Tai Lue document. It is not clear what this part of the original Tai Lue document means. In the next part, which refers to the silver tribute to China, we can find that the eight muang on the west side of the Maekhong River were under Moeng Chae’s control. CHC1 says that it is by the order of Chao Phaen Din that the eight muang on the west side of the Maekhong River came under the care of Moeng Chae [CHC1: 48].

(13) This probably refers to the unit in silver, Dao Yong Ming and Khanaan Chooi translate it into Liang 兩 in Chinese.

(14) This continued at least until the time of Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 [CHC4: 340, 565].

(15) Naa means paddy field or unit of paddy field, while rai means ordinary arable land.

(16) They called the hill area in Sipsongpanna “Sipsong (Ho) Khwaen” and the people living the hill area “kha”. “Khwaen” is a kind of administrative unit and Sipsong Khwaen means twelve “khwaen”.

(17) It is not clear but it is possible to understand from this version that some khwaen were left for Cheng Hung [CHC4: 564].

(18) The ranking of the titles of native governor referred to in this paper is as follows:

1. Xuanweishi 宣慰使 2. Xuanwushi 宣撫使 3. Tu Shoubei 土守備 4. Tu Qianzong 土千總 5. Tu Bazong 土把總 6. Tu Bianwei 土便委

(19) It is noteworthy that in fact not only the four muang (Moeng Chae, Moeng Ngaat, Moeng Him and Moeng Laa) but also several other muang were given titles from China on the same occasions.

In 1735, China decided to down-grade the titles of Chao Muangs. Title of Moeng Chae and Puteng changed from Tu Shoubei to Tu Qianzong. Title of Simao-Liukun 思茅六困, Yipang and Moeng Laa changed from Tu Qianzong to Tu Bazong [Qing Shizong Shilu 清世宗實錄 vol.107: 7-8; Dao Yong Ming: 1]

(20) Usually, if a son of the previous “king” succeeded to the throne, one of his uncles or his mother, who belonged to Cheng Hung’s royal family, became a temporary governor.

(21) This happened in 1627 [CHC1: 28 etc.].

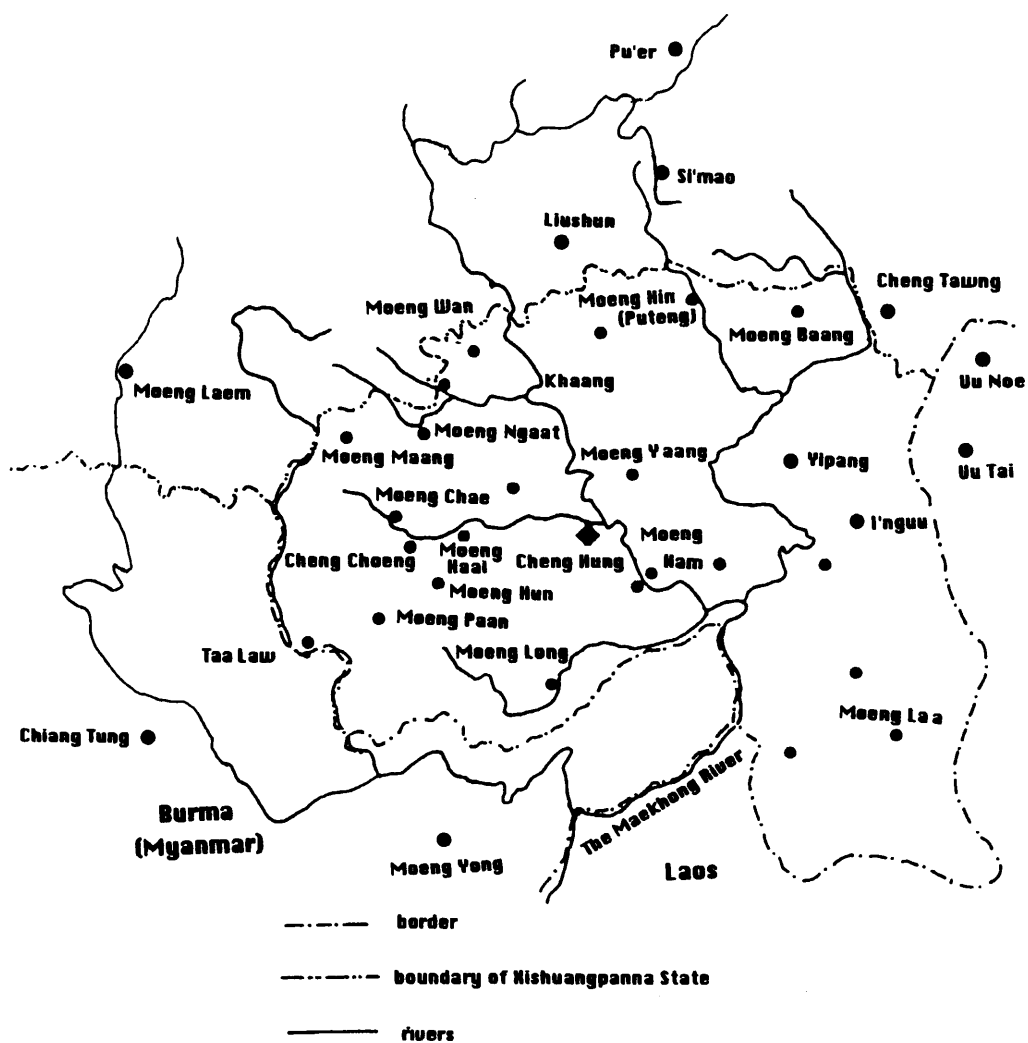
(22) I cannot find where Moeng Ngaam Laang Noe was.

(23) Kap Sii is one of the sixty cyclical year names. The translators explain that it is 1664. There is a possibility that it was 1723.

(24) There is a possibility that the two kinds of tax, ngoen laang and Zhezhenq Qiuliangmii 折徵秋糧米 were similar, although the former was shown by the amount of silver and the latter by the amount of rice.

(25) We can guess the most probable reasons why Moeng Chae, Moeng Ngaat, Moeng Long, Moeng Baang, Moeng Uu and Inguu did not take the rebellion’s side [Pu’er Fu zhi, vol.3: 15-16] that 1) Chinese policy of extending power did not have a direct influence on the muang. 2) They had little political and economic relationship with Moeng Ham, where Kanlanba Rebellion or the White Head Rebellion took place. On the other hand, Cheng Hung, which had estates producing rice in Moeng Ham at the latest in the middle of the twentieth century, might have had some kind of economic relationship with Moeng Ham at that time and as such could not help giving a hand in the rebellion.

(26) The other route goes through Moeng Long, Moeng Yong, and so on. Moeng Yong is also located in the Shan States and was also an important muang. These routes might not have been the most important routes between Yunnan and Southeast Asia but had a certain level of importance in some ages.



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