

Muang Polities in Sipsongpanna: A Comparison of the Categories of Land and People among the Muang

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Introduction

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Introduction

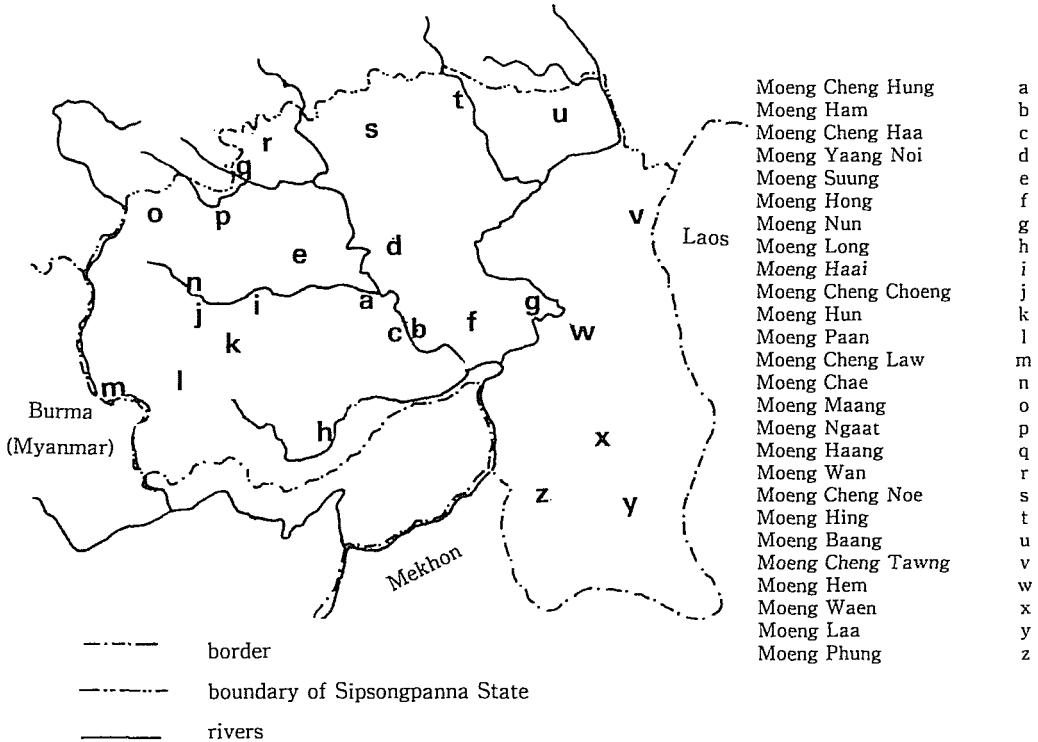
Sipsongpanna is the Tai Lue “kingdom” or political league which existed until the Chinese Communist Liberation in 1950. It consisted of twentyodd principalities or autonomous political units called *moeng* [məŋ¹] (*muang*)⁽¹⁾ (See the attached map). Each muang was governed by its own hereditary prince called *Chao Moeng* [tsau³ məŋ⁴] (*Chao Muang*). The prince of *Moeng Cheng Hung* [məŋ⁴ tseŋ⁴ huŋ¹] (*Miŋang Cheng Rung*) also had the position as the overall “king” of Sipsongpanna, called *Chao Phaen Din* [tsau³ phɛn² din¹] or Chao Faa [tsau³ fa:⁶].

The purpose of this article is to compare and classify the domestic political systems of the muang of Sipsongpanna in the “Pre-liberation” period. In addition, I will illustrate the distinctive features of the domestic political systems of Moeng Cheng Hung as the “capital” muang of Sipsongpanna.

I will analyze, in particular, the amount and categories of arable land as well as numbers and categories of villages, because they were closely related with two main things that the political power obtained from the people, that is, rice and service (see chapter I). In order to find features to classify the muang, it is very useful to observe the conditions of “taxation”, the economic base of muang polities.

There are some researchers referring to political systems in Sipsongpanna during the “Pre-liberation” period. Most of them were Chinese researchers. They described not

Map of Sipsongpanna



only the general or “ideal” type of the muang’s domestic political system but also the whole structure of the political system of the Sipsongpanna “kingdom”. But they did not pay attention to characteristics of each muang’s domestic political system. The Chinese researchers have not been interested in the *muang* as separate units.

As a result, it can be said that only a general or “ideal” type of the muang’s political system was discussed in the research works that have been written up until the present, as if the muang shared a common political system. The general type may explain similarities among all the muang. But nobody has adduced sufficient evidence of its community to all the muang. Some of the former works seem to only analyze the case of Moeng Cheng Hung and apply the result to the other muang without analyzing details. We need to verify whether all the muang had similarities to the general type.

In addition to this, we have to know whether there were any differences among muang’s political systems and, if any, what kind of differences there were. If we analyze

how different from each other the political systems were, we will be able to understand the structure of Sipsongpanna as a league of muang more clearly.

I will use the reports of the investigations by Chinese institutions in the 1950's as main sources of information in this article, just as most of the Chinese researchers used them⁽²⁾. These reports give us concrete information on social and economic aspects of muang, because the investigations were conducted in order to know basic and necessary circumstances for land reformation. Unlike the former works, which omitted analyzing the details of each muang, I intend to analyze the information in the reports as inductively as possible in order to compare all the muang in Sipsongpanna with each other.

I. What the political power obtained from the people: rice and service

In Sipsongpanna, the two main things the political powers got from the people were rice from estates and service by subordinate people. I will refer, accordingly, to the land systems and land taxation first. Then I will refer to categories of peasants and the kinds of corvée imposed on each category of peasants.⁽³⁾

Land systems and land "taxation"

In Sipsongpanna, Chao Phaen Din, theoretically, was the unique owner of all the land of his country [Lemoine, 1987: 121, Yunnan Diaochazu 1958:254, etc.], and in fact, he had his own "estates" called 'Naa Long Chao' [na:⁴ loŋ¹ Tsau³] (*Naa Luang Chao*, Chao Phaen Din's estates). Chao Moeng and high-ranking officials also had "estates" attached to their posts in their own muang, which were called 'Naa Chao Moeng' (*Naa Chao Muang*, Chao Moeng's estates) and 'Naa Paw Laam' [na:⁴ po:¹ la:m¹] (estates of high ranking officials called Paw Laam). Headmen of villages also had *Naa Thao Hun* [na:⁴ thau³ xun⁴] (*Naa Thao Khun*, Headmen's land). Lands which belonged to ordinary peasants comprised 'Naa Hakun' [na:⁴ xa³ kun⁴] (*Naa Khakun*, family land), 'Naa Baan' [na:⁴ ba:n³] or 'Naa Thaang' [na:⁴ tha:ŋ] (village land or duty [service] land) 'Naa Sin' [na:⁴ sin] or 'Naa To' [na:⁴ to:¹] (*Naa Tua*, private land)." [Ma, 1950:4]⁽⁴⁾.

Those who cultivated the estates of Chao Phaen Din, Chao Moeng and high ranking officials were demanded to pay a certain amount of rice according to the number of naa⁽⁵⁾, which was, in general, 20 haaps⁽⁶⁾ per 70 naas or 30 haaps per 100 naas [Lemoine, 1987:123, etc.]. In some of Chao Phaen Din's estates, all of the harvests had to be given to Chao Phaen Din, that is, the estates were cultivated by corvée⁽⁷⁾.

Categories of peasants and kinds of corvée⁽⁸⁾

We can divide the Tai people in Sipsongpanna into two main categories, that is, kings of the “kings” (Chao Phaen Din and Chao Moeng) and the others. The people who were not relatives of the “kings” were divided into **Tai Moeng** (or Kun Phoen Moeng, Kun Moeng) and **Kun Hoen Chao**. Kun Hoen Chao were further classified into several different kinds⁽⁹⁾. A village generally consisted of only one specific group of people — Tai Moeng or one of the groups of Kun Hoen Chao. They could not intermarry with other groups of people, either.

“Tai Moeng” means “(free) people of muang”. Tai Moeng were regarded as the people whose ancestors had been the initial Tai inhabitants. They generally had more arable land than Kun Hoen Chao⁽¹⁰⁾. Tai Moeng’s land, in particular, consisted of more peasant land (village, family and private land) than official land. They had a major share of the corvées as public works, which were called Kaan Moeng (muang’s affairs).

“Kun Hoen Chao” means “people of the master’s house”. Most of them originally emigrated from other places, some voluntarily, some as captives, some as presents from other “kings”. They made villages where the muang’s political power ordered them to settle themselves as soon as they migrated from other places. Some Kun Hoen Chao had been working in kings’ or high ranking officials’ houses before going out to settle villages by the order of their masters. In either case, Kun Hoen Chao villages had a close relationship to their patron when they had established themselves as communities⁽¹¹⁾.

The arable land belonging to Kun Hoen Chao was generally less than the Tai Moeng’s as mentioned above. Kun Hoen Chao’s land had a higher proportion of the official estates than the peasant’s own land. The Kun Hoen Chao were mainly engaged in domestic service and corvée labor for their master’s house. Their labor was called Kaan Nai Hoen Chao (affairs in master’s house).

If the king and high ranking officials in a muang had more estates, the muang had more rice from the people. Having more Kun Hoen Chao people in a muang, the king and high ranking officials could get more labor for their convenience easily. In addition to this, we can say that the estates and Kun Hoen Chao were related to each other, because Kun Hoen Chao’s labor perhaps included clearing land to make estates and cultivating the estates. The estates and Kun Hoen Chao, which brought rice and labor to the political powers, were important for the economic basis of muang polities. Hence, in chapters II and

III, I will try to state the conditions concerning arable land and categories of village.

II. Amount and categories of land

In this chapter, I will compare all muang in Sipsongpanna to each other from the viewpoint of the amount of arable land in them. In particular, characteristics of Moeng Cheng Hung as the “capital” muang will be shown in comparison with those of other muang.

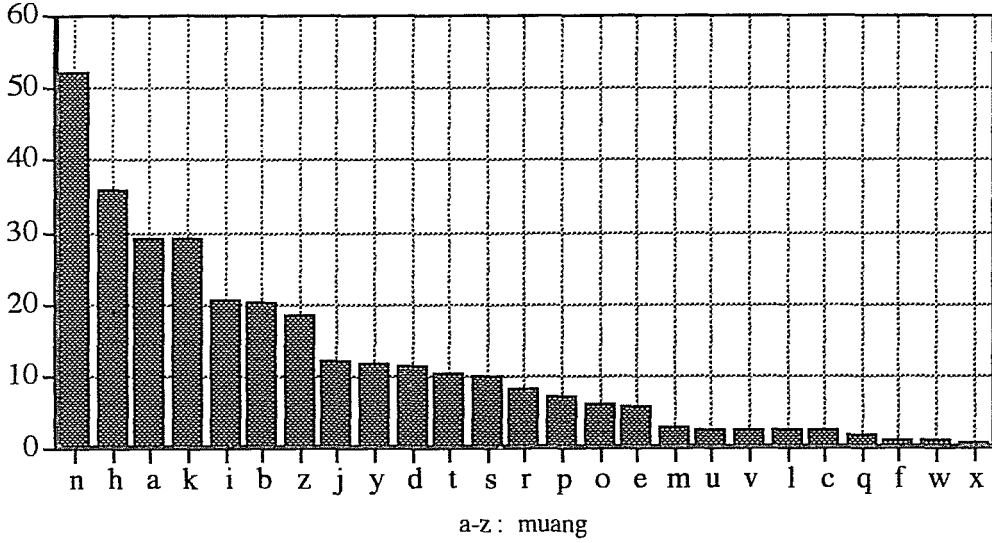
Total Amount of Land

First I would like to compare the total amount of land. Table 1 shows the amount of land (paddy field) in each muang. In graph 1-1, the amount of land in each muang is shown in the form of a bar chart. The circle chart in graph 1-2 shows the percentage.

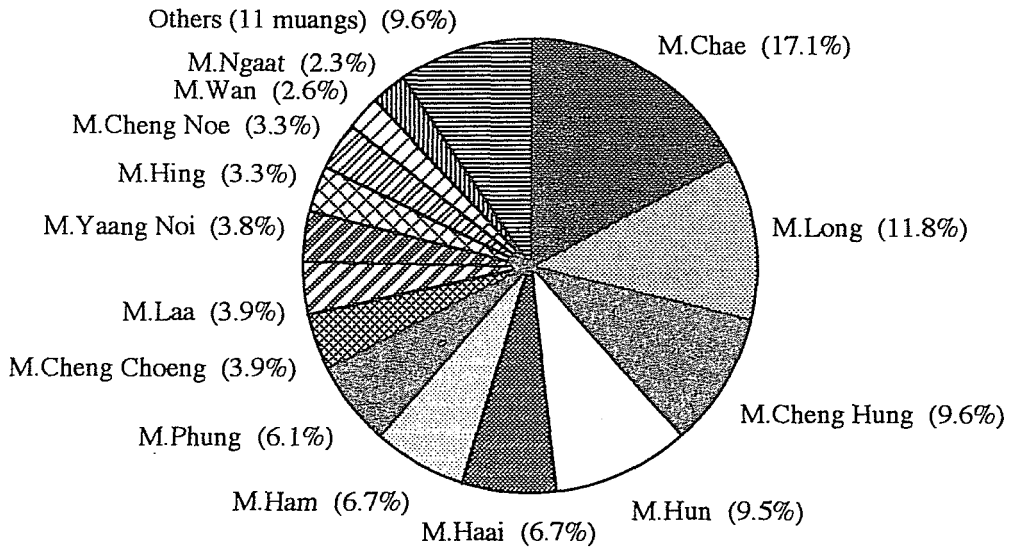
Among the 25 muang which had a concrete number of amounts of land in the reports, **Moeng Chae** [məŋ⁴ tse :¹] (n) had the largest amount of land (about 52,198 muu⁽¹²⁾, 17.1

Table 1: Amount of land unit: muu

Names of muang		Total (muu)	Percentage (%)
Moeng Chae	n	52198	17.1
Moeng Long	h	35924	11.8
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	29213	9.6
Moeng Hun	k	28942	9.5
Moeng Haai	i	20427	6.7
Moeng Ham	b	20361	6.7
Moeng Phung	z	18571	6.1
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	11914	3.9
Moeng Laa	y	11779	3.9
Moeng Yaang Noi	d	11448	3.8
Moeng Hing	t	10128	3.3
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	9942	3.3
Moeng Wan	r	8073	2.6
Moeng Ngaat	p	6942	2.3
Moeng Maang	o	5940	1.9
Moeng Suung	e	5503	1.8
Moeng Cheng Law	m	2980	1.0
Moeng Baang	u	2654	0.9
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	2639	0.9
Moeng Paan	l	2400	0.8
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	2366	0.8
Moeng Haang	q	1755	0.6
Moeng Hong	f	1228	0.4
Moeng Hem	w	916	0.3
Moeng Waen	x	828	0.3
Total		305071	100.0



Graph 1-1: Amount of Land
unit: 1000 muu



Graph 1-2: Amount of land

percent). **Moeng Long** [məŋ' lɔŋ'] (h, about 35,924 muu, 11.8 percent) followed Moeng Chae. **Moeng Cheng Hung**, the capital muang (a, about 29,213 muu, 9.6 percent) had only the third largest.

The fourth was **Moeng Hun** [məŋ' hun'] (k, about 28,942 muu, 9.5 percent). About half of all the paddy fields in Sipsongpanna were distributed among these 4 muang (graph 1-2). The three following muang, **Moeng Haai** [məŋ' ha:i'], (i) **Moeng Ham** [məŋ' ham'] (b) and **Moeng Phung** [məŋ' phu:ŋ] (z) also had land more than the average (about 12,203 muu).

It is notable that there are two other muang which had more land than Moeng Cheng Hung. The biggest muang, Moeng Chae had about 1.7 times as much land as Moeng Cheng Hung had. If we compare the total amount of land, we can see that the capital muang was not in a superior position as regards land.

Peasant Land⁽¹³⁾

Next I will examine the condition of peasant land and analyze how different it is from the case of the total land mentioned above. In table 2, I have shown the amount of Naa Baan (village land), Naa Hakun (family land), Naa Sin (private land) and Naa Thao Hun (village headmen's land) together with the total amount of peasant land. Two graphs are added for showing the total amount and percentage of peasant land visually (graph 2-1, 2-2).

Moeng Chae (n) and **Moeng Long** (h) also ranked first and second in total amount of peasant land as well as the total amount of land in general. But the third one was not Moeng Cheng Hung. **Moeng Hun** (k) and **Moeng Haai** (i), the fourth and fifth ones in terms of general total amount, moved up to the third and fourth (table 2). These four muang accounted for about 50 percent of all peasant land in Sipsongpanna (graph 2-2).

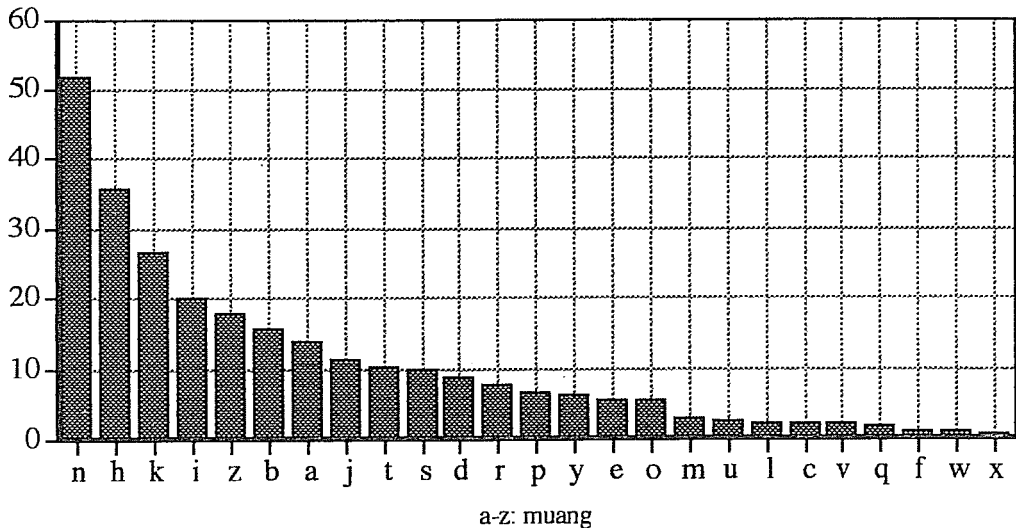
Following them, **Moeng Phung** (z) and **Moeng Ham** (b) ranked fifth and sixth; in other words, they have changed places with each other. At length, we can find **Moeng Cheng Hung** (a) in the seventh rank. **Moeng Cheng Choeng** [məŋ' tseŋ' tsəŋ'], which ranked eighth, is the last one that has land more than the average (about 10,833 muu.)

The eight largest muang on peasant land are identical to those ranked as the eight largest ones on general total amount, if we take no thought of the order. But once considering the order, it is remarkable that only Moeng Cheng Hung has changed its position very much, that is to say, it has gone down from third to seventh.

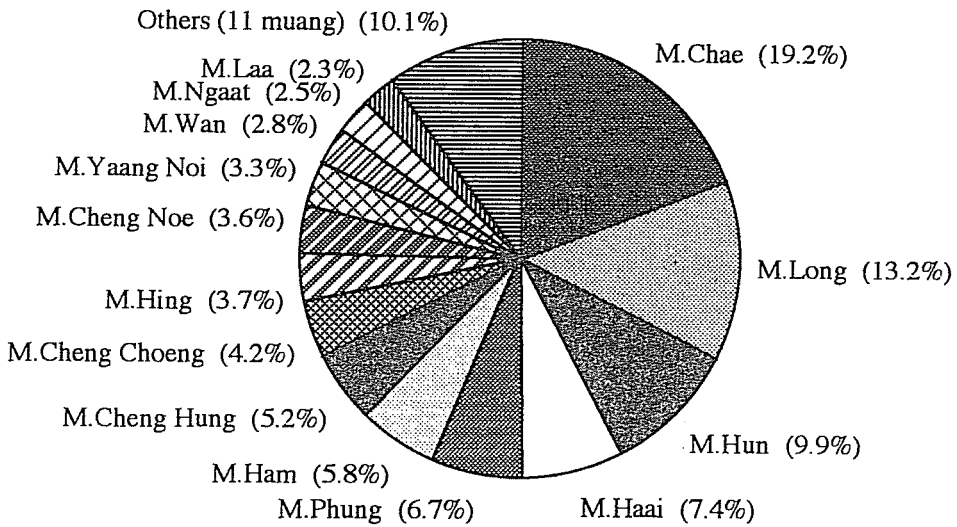
Table 2: Peasant land unit: muu

Names of moeng		Naa Baan	Naa Hakun	Naa Sin	Naa Thao Hun	Total peasant	Percentage (%)
Moeng Chae	n	31544	12982	7123	389	52038	19.2
Moeng Long	h	18763	?	16977	86	35826	13.2
Moeng Hun	k	14706	11480	602	12	26800	9.9
Moeng Haai	i	16096	0	3285	612	19993	7.4
Moeng Phung	z	5032	2159	10750	88	18029	6.7
Moeng Ham	b	11650	1136	1900	1091	15777	5.8
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	9594	1356	1894	1229	14073	5.2
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	7820	0	3590	76	11486	4.2
Moeng Hing	t	10122	0	0	0	10122	3.7
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	8680	0	666	431	9777	3.6
Moeng Yaang Noi	d	7564	0	971	379	8914	3.3
Moeng Wan	r	6160	0	490	1004	7654	2.8
Moeng Ngaat	p	6652	0	0	4	6656	2.5
Moeng Laa	y	6034	0	0	246	6280	2.3
Moeng Suung	e	3801	0	1568	134	5503	2.0
Moeng Maang	o	4104	0	602	650	5356	2.0
Moeng Cheng Law	m	2508	0	272	0	2780	1.0
Moeng Baang	u	2469	0	0	0	2469	0.9
Moeng Paan	l	2190	0	78	54	2322	0.9
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	2110	0	72	100	2282	0.8
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	1253	0	919	7	2178	0.8
Moeng Haang	q	1727	0	0	4	1731	0.6
Moeng Hong	f	1160	0	0	0	1160	0.4
Moeng Hem	w	916	916	0	0	916	0.3
Moeng Waen	x	480	0	30	196	706	0.3
Total		183135	12982	51788	6792	270828	100.0

Note: Naa Baan of Noeng Yaang Noi includes Naa Hamaa 6600 muu.



Graph 2-1: Peasant land unit: 1000muu



Graph 2-2: Peasant land

Official Land

Last I will discuss the characteristics of the other category, official land, based on the data shown in table 3 and graph 3-1, 3-2. 'Official land' here includes Naa Chao Phaen Din and Naa Chao Moeng.

The capital muang, **Moeng Cheng Hung** (a) ranked first in this case, and accounted for nearly 50 percent by itself at that (table 3, graph 3-2). **Moeng Ham** (b) ranked second and accounted for about 14.6 percent, while in the cases of total and peasant land it only ranked sixth. The third and the fourth, **Moeng Laa** [məŋ˧˥ laː˧˥] (y) and **Moeng Yaang Noi** [məŋ˧˥ yaːŋ˧˥ noi˧˥] (d), are not found among the best in the previous two cases. Next we find **Moeng Hun** (k) as the fifth, falling from fourth and third positions on total and peasant land. It is the last one that has more than average (about 1,258 muu).

On the other hand, the other muang ranking with the best in the cases of total and peasant land were not in such high positions any more. In particular, Moeng Chae and Moeng Long, which previously ranked first and second in both cases, only rank sixteenth and seventeenth among twenty-five muang and only accounted for 0.38 percent and 0.31

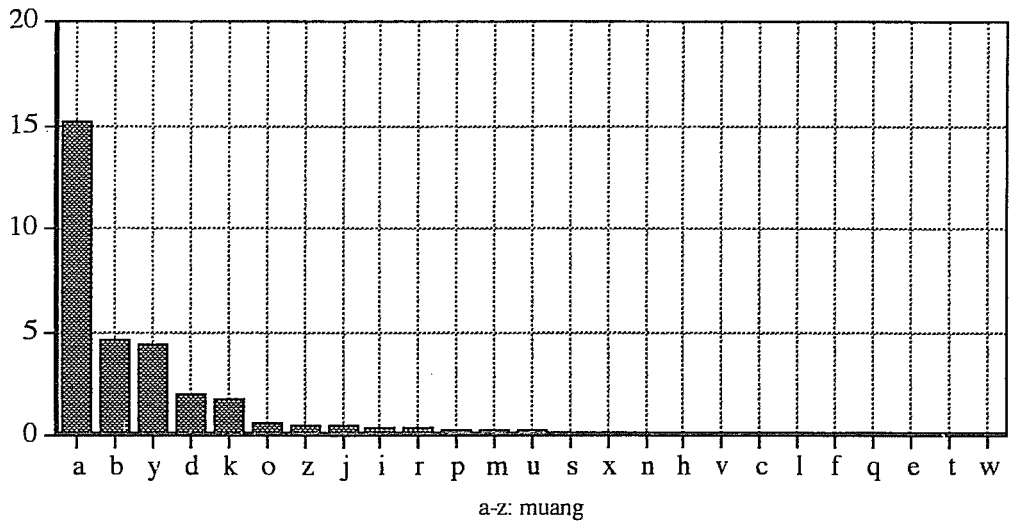
percent respectively.

In this case, it is found that Moeng Cheng Hung was superior on official land overwhelmingly. In fact, Moeng Cheng Hung had its own official land in other muang, too: Moeng Cheng Hung has 4,584 muu of Naa Paw Laam in Moeng Ham, 1,784 muu in Moeng Yaang Noi, 84 muu in Moeng Cheng Haa and has 410 muu of Naa Chao Phaen Din in Moeng Cheng Choeng and 264 muu in Moeng Haai. They are included in the figure of each muang in table 3 and graph 3-1, 3-2. It is notable that all the official land of Moeng Ham (b), Moeng Cheng Haa (c) and Moeng Cheng Choeng (j), and most of the official land (all of Naa Paw Laam) of Moeng Yaang Noi (d), in fact, belonged to Moeng Cheng Hung. If we try adding these lands (7,126 muu) to the official land in Moeng Cheng Hung, the total becomes 22,266 muu, 70.8 percent.

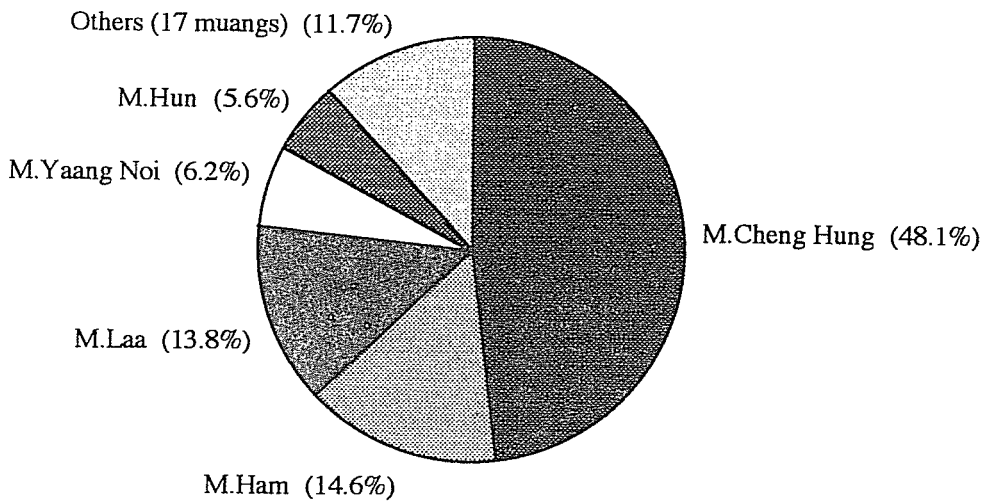
Table 3: Official land unit: muu

Names of muang		Naa Chao Moeng	Naa Paw Laam	Total official	Percentage (%)
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	2487	12653	15140	48.1
Moeng Ham	b	0	4584	4584	14.6
Moeng Laa	y	2194	2158	4352	13.8
Moeng Yaang Noi	d	150	1784	1934	6.2
Moeng Hun	k	1766	0	1766	5.6
Moeng Maang	o	286	288	574	1.8
Moeng Phung	z	330	152	482	1.5
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	410	0	410	1.3
Moeng Haai	i	356	38	394	1.3
Moeng Wan	r	346	0	346	1.1
Moeng Ngaat	p	282	0	282	0.9
Moeng Cheng Law	m	200	0	200	0.6
Moeng Baang	u	185	0	185	0.6
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	124	0	124	0.4
Moeng Waen	x	122	0	122	0.4
Moeng Chae	n	120	0	120	0.4
Moeng Long	h	50	48	98	0.3
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	86	0	86	0.3
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	0	84	84	0.3
Moeng Paan	l	48	30	78	0.2
Moeng Hong	f	0	60	60	0.2
Moeng Haang	q	24	0	24	0.1
Moeng Suung	e	0	0	0	0.0
Moeng Hing	t	0	0	0	0.0
Moeng Hem	w	0	0	0	0.0
Total		9566	21879	31445	100.0

Note: 'Naa Chao Moeng' includes 'Naa Chao Phaen Din'.
 'Naa Paw Laam' includes land of 'Paw Laam' which belonged to Moeng Cheng Hung.



Graph 3-1: Official land
unit: 1000muu



Graph 3-2: Official land

Proportion between official land and peasant land

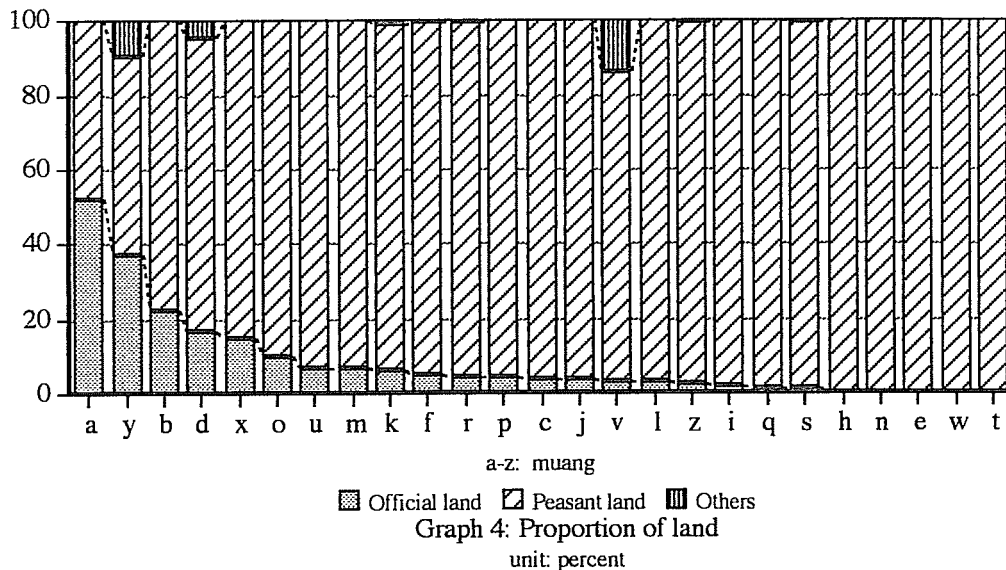
In order to know the characteristics of each muang more clearly, we will compare the proportions of official land and peasant land in each muang. In table 4, the percentage of official land, peasant land and other land are shown. I give a graphic representation of them in graph 4 for comparison among the muang. The data is arranged according to the percentage of official land.

It is only **Moeng Cheng Hung** (a) that had more official land (51.8 percent) than peasant land (48.2 percent). **Moeng Laa** (y) had the second biggest proportion of official land (36.9 percent). **Moeng Ham** (b) and **Moeng Yaang Noi** (d) ranked third and fourth. But these two muang had peasant land which accounted for nearly eighty percent and, in addition to this, all or most official land did not belong to the muang but to Moeng Cheng Hung, as mentioned above. In **Moeng Waen** [məŋ⁴ vɛn⁴] (x), the fifth, peasant land accounted for 85 percent. The percentage of peasant land in the other muang was more than 90 percent.

On the other hand, we can ascertain here that Moeng Chae(n) and Moeng Long(h), which had more land than Moeng Cheng Hung (see table 1), have very little official land

Table 4: Proportion of land

Names of muang		Official land (muu)	Percentage official (%)	Peasant land (muu)	Percentage peasant (%)	Others (muu)	Percentage others (%)	Total
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	15140	51.8	14073	48.2	0	0.0	29213
Moeng Laa	y	4352	36.9	6280	53.3	1147	9.7	11779
Moeng Ham	b	4584	22.5	15777	77.5	0	0.0	20361
Moeng Yaang Noi	d	1934	16.9	8914	77.9	600	5.2	11448
Moeng Waen	x	122	14.7	706	85.3	0	0.0	828
Moeng Maang	o	574	9.7	5356	90.2	10	0.2	5940
Moeng Baang	u	185	7.0	2469	93.0	0	0.0	2654
Moeng Cheng Law	m	200	6.7	2780	93.3	0	0.0	2980
Moeng Hun	k	1766	6.1	26800	92.6	376	1.3	28942
Moeng Hong	f	60	4.9	1160	94.5	8	0.7	1228
Moeng Wan	r	346	4.3	7654	94.8	73	0.9	8073
Moeng Ngaat	p	282	4.1	6656	95.9	4	0.1	6942
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	84	3.6	2282	96.4	0	0.0	2366
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	410	3.4	11486	96.4	18	0.2	11914
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	86	3.3	2178	82.5	375	14.2	2639
Moeng Paan	l	78	3.3	2322	96.8	0	0.0	2400
Moeng Phung	z	482	2.6	18029	97.1	60	0.3	18571
Moeng Haai	i	394	1.9	19993	97.9	40	0.2	20427
Moeng Haang	q	24	1.4	1731	98.6	0	0.0	1755
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	124	1.2	9777	98.3	41	0.4	9942
Moeng Long	h	98	0.3	35826	99.7	0	0.0	35924
Moeng Chae	n	120	0.2	52038	99.7	40	0.1	52198
Moeng Suung	e	0	0.0	5503	100.0	0	0.0	5503
Moeng Hem	w	0	0.0	916	100.0	0	0.0	916
Moeng Hing	t	0	0.0	10122	99.9	6	0.1	10128



(0.23 percent and 0.27 percent) and had an overwhelming percentage of peasant land (more than 99 percent).

It seems that, except for Moeng Cheng Hung, peasant land is more than official land in a muang. Particularly, in Moeng Chae and Moeng Long, peasant land accounted for nearly one hundred percent. This suggests that the superiority of these two muang in total amount of land and amount of peasant land may not be directly related to the economic superiority of the ruling groups.

III. Numbers and categories of villages

It is essential to know the population of Tai Moeng and Kun Hoen Chao in a muang for analyzing political conditions of each muang. There is not enough information, however, on the population of every muang. In Sipsongpanna, each village consisted of Tai Moeng or one sub group of Kun Hoen Chao, as mentioned in chapter I. Hence I will count and analyze the numbers of villages instead of the actual population.

Total Numbers of villages

Table 5 and graphs 5-1, 5-2 show the number of villages in each muang. The ranking of the muang is as follows. Both **Moeng Cheng Hung** (a) and **Moeng Chae** (n) had rank first (each one had 89 villages, about 14 percent of all the villages of the Sipsongpanna). Following the two muang, the third is **Moeng Long** (h, 62 villages, 9.9 percent), the fourth is **Moeng Ham** (b, 54 villages, 8.6 percent), the fifth is **Moeng Phuung** (z, 45 villages, 7.2 percent). These 5 muang had about 54 percent of the total percentage (graph 5-2).

Moeng Laa (y, 32 villages, 5.1 percent), **Moeng Haai** (i, 30 villages, 4.8 percent), **Moeng Hun** (k, 29 villages, 4.6 percent) and **Moeng Cheng Choeng** (j, 28 villages, 4.5 percent) follow the first five muang.

It is notable that Moeng Cheng Hung ranked first on numbers of villages, while it was the third on total amount of land. But we should also pay attention to the fact that Moeng

Table 5: Number of villages

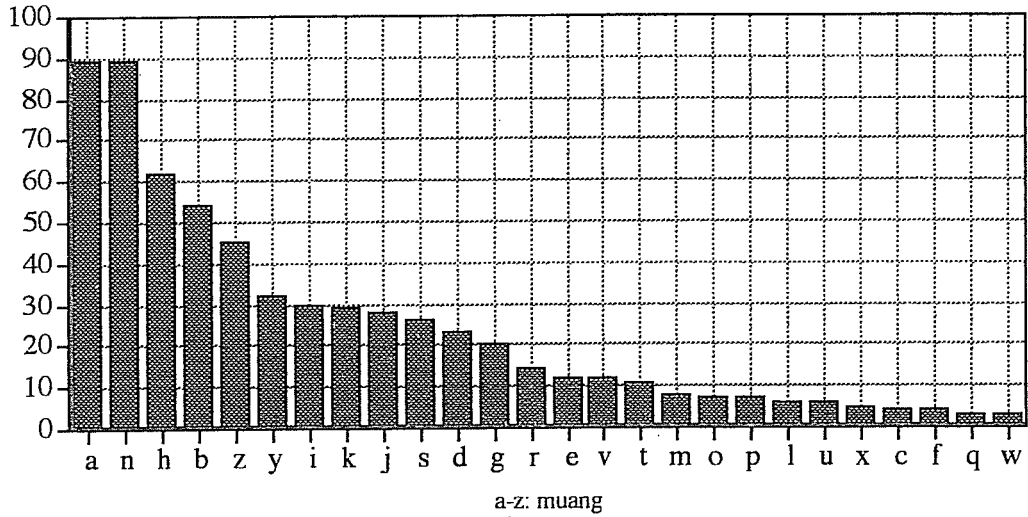
Names of muang		Tai Moeng	Kun Hoen Chao	Royal family & posterity	Total	Percentage (%)
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	17	60	12	89	14.1
Moeng Chae	n	56	31	2	89	14.1
Moeng Long	h	52	10	0	62	9.9
Moeng Ham	b	28	26	0	54	8.6
Moeng Phung	z	25	17	3	45	7.2
Moeng Laa	y	18	9	8	32	5.1
Moeng Haai	i	14	14	2	30	4.8
Moeng Hun	k	21	8	0	29	4.6
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	12	16	0	28	4.5
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	12	14	0	26	4.1
Moeng yaang Noi	d	8	14	1	23	3.7
Moeng Nun	g	8	12	0	20	3.2
Moeng Wan	r	9	5	0	14	2.2
Moeng Suung	e	0	12	0	12	1.9
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	8	4	0	12	1.9
Moeng Hing	t	?	?	?	11	1.7
Moeng Cheng Law	m	7	1	0	8	1.3
Moeng Maang	o	6	1	0	7	1.1
Moeng Ngaat	p	6	1	0	7	1.1
Moeng Paan	l	4	2	0	6	1.0
Moeng Baang	u	6	0	0	6	1.0
Moeng Waen	x	3	2	0	5	0.8
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	0	4	0	4	0.6
Moeng Hong	f	4	0	0	4	0.6
Moeng Haang	q	2	1	0	3	0.5
Moeng Hem	w	2	1	0	3	0.5
Total		328	265	28	629	100.0

Note 1. In the reports, numbers of villages in the same muang are shown at several different parts, and they are a little different from each other. Table 5 is based on information in report h2: 86-96.

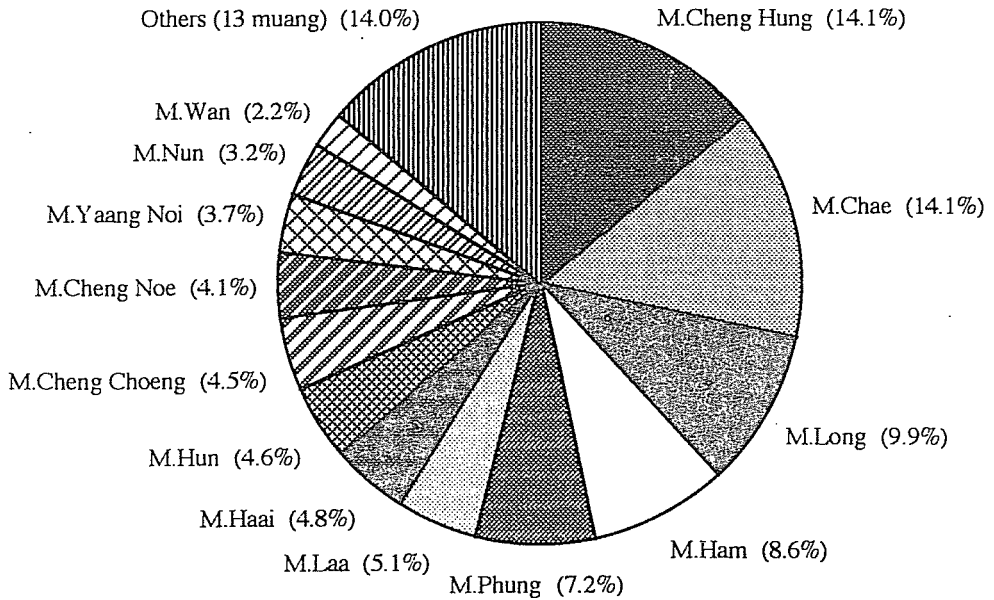
2. Three kun Hoen chao villages in Moeng Laa are in other villages as if they are part of the villages. These three villages are not counted in total numbers.

3. Actually, Moeng Baang has more than six villages, according to other descriptions in the reports.

Chae took rank with Moeng Cheng Hung.



Graph 5-1: Number of villages



Graph 5-2: Number of villages

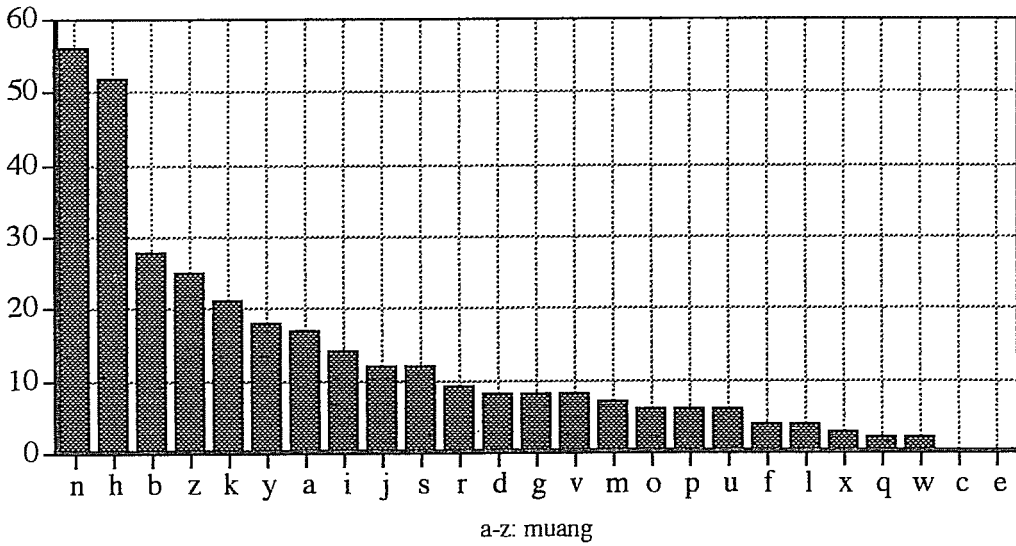
Tai Moeng villages

The number ranking of Tai Moeng villages is as follows (see table 6, graph 6-1, 6-2). The first is **Moeng Chae** (n, 56 villages, about 17.1 percent of all Tai Moeng villages of Sipsongpanna), the second is **Moeng Long** (h, 52 villages, 15.9 percent), the third **Moeng Ham** (b, 28 villages, 8.5 percent), the fourth is **Moeng Phung** (z, 25 villages, 7.6 percent), the fifth is **Moeng Hun** (k, 21 villages, 6.4 percent). the sixth is **Moeng Laa** (y, 18 villages, 5.5 percent). Following them, we can finally find **Moeng Cheng Hung** (a, 17 villages, 5.2 percent).

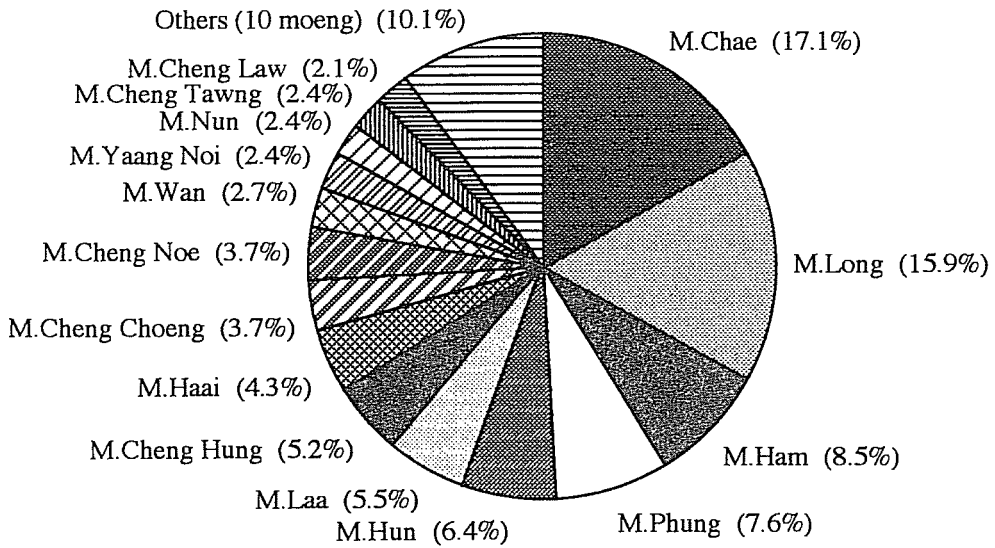
Moeng Cheng Hung, which ranked first in the total number of villages, comes down to seventh place in the number of Tai Moeng villages. This change is similar to the change from the total amount of land to the amount of peasant land. There were no big changes in the ranking order except for Moeng Cheng Hung.

Table 6: Number of Tai Moeng villages

Names of muang		Tai Moeng	Percentage (%)
Moeng Chae	n	56	17.1
Moeng Long	h	52	15.9
Moeng Ham	b	28	8.5
Moeng Phung	z	25	7.6
Moeng Hun	k	21	6.4
Moeng Laa	y	18	5.5
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	17	5.2
Moeng Haai	i	14	4.3
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	12	3.7
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	12	3.7
Moeng Wan	r	9	2.7
Moeng Yaang Noi	d	8	2.4
Moeng Nun	g	8	2.4
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	8	2.4
Moeng Cheng Law	m	7	2.1
Moeng Maang	o	6	1.8
Moeng Ngaat	p	6	1.8
Moeng Baang	u	6	1.8
Moeng Hong	f	4	1.2
Moeng Paan	l	4	1.2
Moeng Waen	x	3	0.9
Moeng Haang	q	2	0.6
Moeng Hem	w	2	0.6
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	0	0.0
Moeng Suung	e	0	0.0
Total		328	100.0



Graph 6-1: Number of Tai Moeng villages



Graph 6-2: Number of Tai Moeng villages

Kun Hoen Chao villages

In the number ranking of Kun Hoen Chao villages (see table 7, graph 7-1, 7-2), **Moeng Cheng Hung** (a) recovered the first position by having 60 villages (22.6 percent of the Kun Hoen Chao villages). It had about twice as many Kun Hoen Chao villages as **Moeng Chae** (n, 31 villages, 11.7 percent). Following these two, **Moeng Ham** (b) ranked third and **Moeng Phuung** (z) fourth. These four muang have more than half of the Kun Hoen Chao villages in Sipsongpanna (graph 7-2).

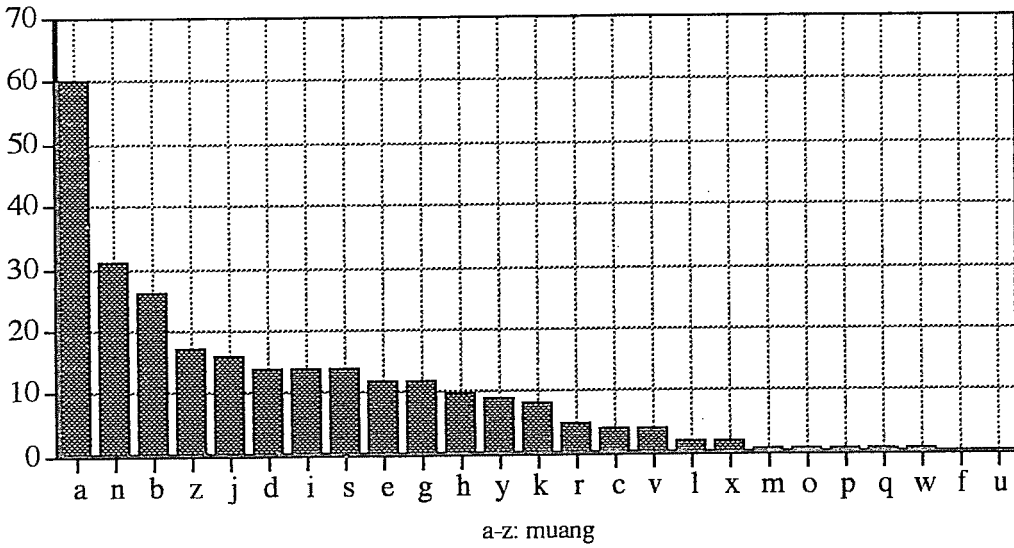
Almost all the muang ranking with the best in terms of the number of Kun Hoen Chao villages also ranked among the best in the total number of villages. The notable differences are that Moeng Cheng Hung had a clear lead and that Moeng Long was not in such a high position as it was in the total number of villages.

The Proportion between Tai Moeng and Kun Hoen Chao

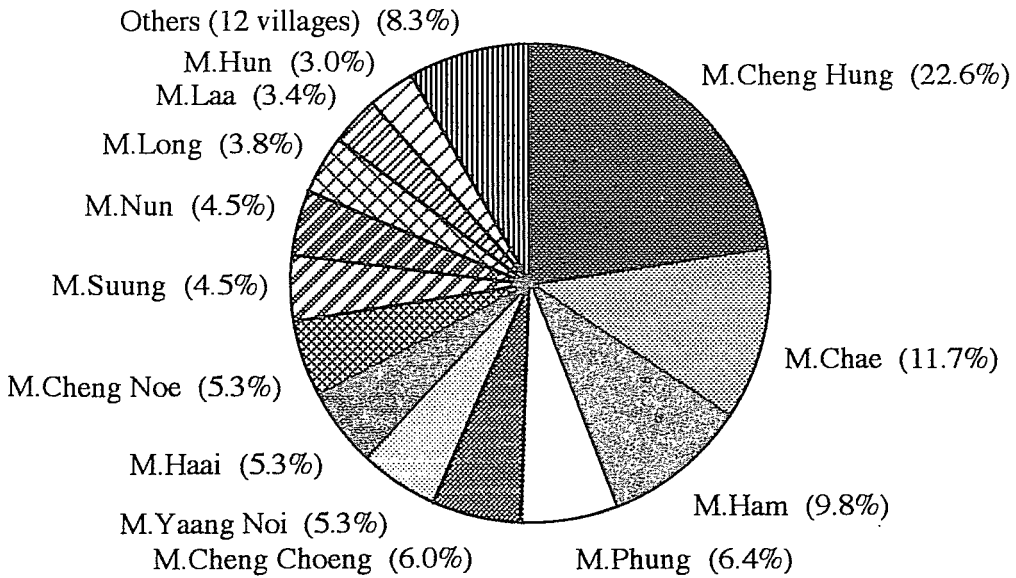
Finally, I will compare the muang with regard to the proportion of Tai Moeng villages and Kun Hoen Chao villages. In table 8, I arrange the muang in order of the percentage

Table 7: Number of kun Hoen Chao villages

Names of muang		Kun Hoen chao	Percentage (%)
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	60	22.6
Moeng Chae	n	31	11.7
Moeng Ham	b	26	9.8
Moeng Phuung	z	17	6.4
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	16	6.0
Moeng Yaang Noi	d	14	5.3
Moeng Haai	i	14	5.3
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	14	5.3
Moeng Suung	e	12	4.5
Moeng Nun	g	12	4.5
Moeng Long	h	10	3.8
Moeng Laa	y	9	3.4
Moeng Hun	k	8	3.0
Moeng Wan	r	5	1.9
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	4	1.5
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	4	1.5
Moeng Paan	l	2	0.8
Moeng Waen	x	2	0.8
Moeng Cheng Law	m	1	0.4
Moeng Maang	o	1	0.4
Moeng Ngaat	p	1	0.4
Moeng Haang	q	1	0.4
Moeng Hem	w	1	0.4
Moeng Hong	f	0	0.0
Moeng Baang	u	0	0.0
Total		265	100.0



Graph 7-1: Number of Kun Hoen Chao villages



Graph 7-2: Number of Kun Hoen Chao villages

of Kun Hoen Chao.

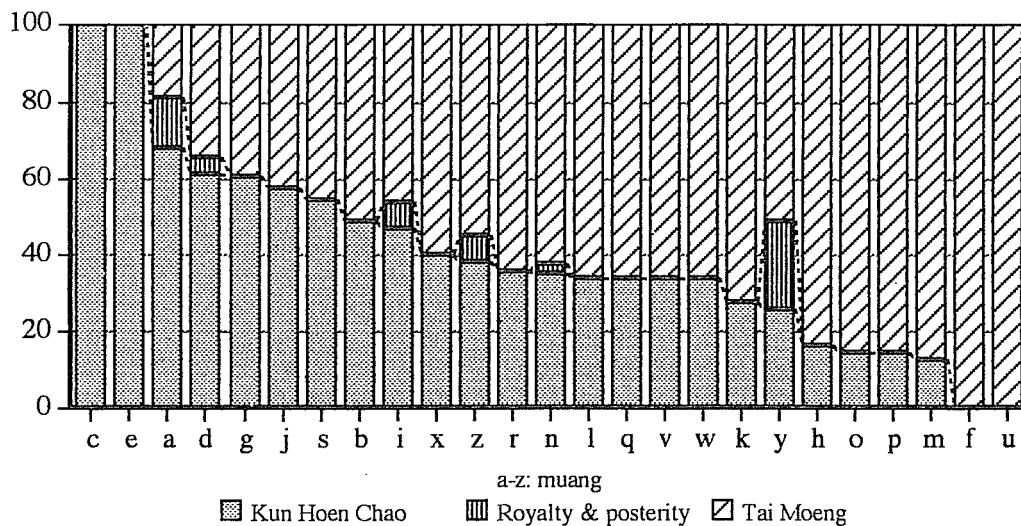
Moeng Cheng Haa [məŋ⁴ tsɛŋ⁴ ha:⁶] (c) and **Moeng Suung** [məŋ⁴ su:^ŋ] (e) had only Kun Hoen Chao villages, but only had a small number of villages (4 and 12 villages). Except for these two muang, **Moeng Cheng Hung** (a) had the highest proportion of Kun Hoen Chao. It had 68.4 percent of Kun Hoen Chao villages and 19.1 percent of Tai Moeng villages. If we omit from our calculations those villages belonging to the royal family and their posterity, Kun Hoen Chao accounted for 77.9 percent and Tai Moeng 22.1 percent.

Following this, we find **Moeng Yaang Noi** (60.9 percent or 63.6 percent excluding royal family and posterity), **Moeng Nun** [məŋ⁴ nun⁴] (60 percent), **Moeng Cheng Choeng** (57.1 percent), **Moeng Cheng Noe** [məŋ⁴ tseŋ⁴ nə:¹] (53.8 percent).

Only in the 7 muang mentioned above, the number of Kun Hoen Chao villages was more than that of Tai Moeng villages, while the number of Tai Moeng's was more than that of Kun Hoen Chao's in the other 18 muang. Moeng Chae was thirteenth here, although it ranked first in total numbers of villages and numbers of Tai Moeng villages and ranked second in Kun Hoen Chao villages. This shows that Moeng Chae had a lot of villages including many Kun Hoen Chao villages, but Tai Moeng villages were much more numerous than Kun Hoen Chao's.

Table 8: Proportion of number of villages

Names of muang		Kun Hoen Chao	Kun Hoen Chao (%)	Royal family & posterity	Royal family & posterity (%)	Tai Moeng	Tai Moeng (%)
Moeng Cheng Haa	c	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Moeng Suung	e	12	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Moeng Cheng Hung	a	60	67.4	12	13.5	17	19.1
Moeng Yaang Noi	d	14	60.9	1	4.3	8	34.8
Moeng Nun	g	12	60.0	0	0.0	8	40.0
Moeng Cheng Choeng	j	16	57.1	0	0.0	12	42.9
Moeng Cheng Noe	s	14	53.8	0	0.0	12	46.2
Moeng Ham	b	26	48.1	0	0.0	28	51.9
Moeng Haai	i	14	46.7	2	6.7	14	46.7
Moeng Waen	x	2	40.0	0	0.0	3	60.0
Moeng Phung	z	17	37.8	3	6.7	25	55.6
Moeng Wan	r	5	35.7	0	0.0	9	64.3
Moeng Chae	n	31	34.8	2	2.2	56	62.9
Moeng Paan	l	2	33.3	0	0.0	4	66.7
Moeng Haang	q	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	66.7
Moeng Cheng Tawng	v	4	33.3	0	0.0	8	66.7
Moeng Hem	w	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	66.7
Moeng Hun	k	8	27.6	0	0.0	21	72.4
Moeng Laa	y	9	25.7	8	22.9	18	51.4
Moeng Long	h	10	16.1	0	0.0	52	83.9
Moeng Maang	o	1	14.3	0	0.0	6	85.7
Moeng Ngaat	p	1	14.3	0	0.0	6	85.7
Moeng Cheng Law	m	1	12.5	0	0.0	7	87.5
Moeng Hong	f	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	100.0
Moeng Baang	u	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	100.0



Graph 8: Proportion of number of villages
unit: percent

IV. Moeng Cheng Hung and Moeng Chae: differences between two important muang

In this last chapter, I will compare two muang, Moeng Cheng Hung and Moeng Chae, because one or other of these two muang ranked first in each category analyzed in chapters II and III (except for the proportions): Moeng Cheng Hung ranked first in amount of official land and number of Kun Hoen Chao villages. Moeng Chae ranked first in total amount of land and amount of peasant land and number of Tai Moeng villages. Both Moeng Cheng Hung and Moeng Chae were in the first place in total number of villages. I will make the characteristics of the two muang clearer by analyzing the information shown in the previous two chapters once again.

Secondly, I classify other important muang in the light of the cases of Moeng Cheng Hung and Moeng Chae.

Moeng Cheng Hung :the capital muang of Sipsongpanna

We find Moeng Cheng Hung to be in first place with regards to official land (table 3,

graph 3-1, 3-2), and overwhelmingly at that. This muang had 48.1 percent of the official land in its own territory. If we add land in other muang' territories, Moeng Cheng Hung had 70.8 percent of the official land. This fact shows us that Moeng Cheng Hung established an economic basis as the capital muang of Sipsongpanna by having official land in other muang as well as in itself.

On the other hand, this muang had less peasant land than the other six muang (table 2, graph 2-1, 2-2). It is also clear that there are no other muang besides Moeng Cheng Hung that had less peasant land than official land. If we add to this Moeng Cheng Hung's official land in other muang, the proportion of peasant land becomes even smaller.

Moeng Cheng Hung also ranked first in numbers of Kun Hoen Chao villages (table 7, graph 7-1, 7-2). Although the superiority is not overwhelming, Moeng Cheng Hung had more than twice as many Kun Hoen Chao villages as the muang in second place had. As mentioned above, Kun Hoen Chao were the principal group of peasants used for reclaiming and cultivating official land, and hence it is natural that Moeng Cheng Hung should have many Kun Hoen Chao villages in addition to much official land. Also, according to table 8, Moeng Cheng Hung had a very small proportion of Tai Moeng villages (the third from the bottom).

Judging from the above facts, we can say that Moeng Cheng Hung was successful in gathering Kun Hoen Chao and making them reclaim official land as well as engage in private works for the king's or high ranking officials' houses⁽¹⁴⁾.

Moeng Chae

Moeng Chae had the largest land of all of the muang in Sipsongpanna (table 1, graph 1-1, 1-2). The amount of land in Moeng Chae was about twice as much as that in Cheng Hung. But 99.7 percent of the land in Moeng Chae was peasant land (table 4, graph 4-1). Moeng Chae had only 120 muu of official land, that is, less than 0.8 percent of official land of Moeng Cheng Hung (15140 muu, see table 3). It shows that Moeng Chae had little economic basis in the form of official land, though it had the most land of all the muang.

On the other hand, there were as many villages in Moeng Chae as in Moeng Cheng Hung. But there was a notable difference concerning the kinds of villages. The muang with the largest number of Tai Moeng villages was Moeng Chae (table 6), while the muang with the largest number of Kun Hoen Chao villages was Moeng Cheng Hung (table 7). Moeng Chae only had half the number of Kun Hoen Chao villages in Moeng Cheng Hung (table 5). In other words, Moeng Chae had only the half number of subordinate peasants

that Moeng Cheng Hung had.

Conditions concerning both kind of land and kind of people show that Moeng Chae, although as big a muang as Moeng Cheng Hung, had not as good a basis to establish strong political power as the capital muang, Moeng Cheng Hung.

Other big muang

Moeng Cheng Hung and Moeng Chae were in a striking contrast to each other as mentioned above, that is, Moeng Cheng Hung with official land and Kun Hoen Chao, Moeng Chae with peasant land and Tai Moeng. Now I will try to compare other big muang with Moeng Cheng Hung and Moeng Chae by way of experiment.

First, I shall try to check the percentages and actual numbers of official land and Kun Hoen Chao villages in seven biggest muang which had more than the average amount of land in each (table 1, 4, 8).

Official land			Kun Hoen Chao villages		
1	Moeng Cheng Hung	51.8% (15140 muu)	1	Moeng Cheng Hung	67.4% (60)
2	Moeng Ham	22.5% (4584 muu)	2	Moeng Ham	48.2% (26)
3	Moeng Hun	6.1% (1766 muu)	3	Moeng Haai	46.7% (14)
4	Moeng Phung	2.6% (482 muu)	4	Moeng Phung	37.8% (17)
5	Moeng Haai	1.9% (394 muu)	5	Moeng Chae	34.8% (31)
6	Moeng Long	0.3% (98 muu)	6	Moeng Hun	27.6% (8)
7	Moeng Chae	0.2% (120 muu)	7	Moeng Long	16.1% (10)

There is no need to say that Moeng Cheng Hung was a peculiar case. But we can also say that **Moeng Ham** had a kind of similarity to Moeng Cheng Hung. Moeng Ham showed relatively high percentages of both official land and Kun Hoen Chao villages, though they were smaller than Moeng Cheng Hung's. The reason why Moeng Ham had a similar composition of land and villages is that it was a kind of colony of Moeng Cheng Hung. Moeng Cheng Hung sent its own subordinate peasants and made them reclaim and cultivate official land in Moeng Ham⁽¹⁵⁾.

On the other hand, **Moeng Long** was similar to Moeng Chae, and in actuality, was a more extreme case of the muang with small proportion of Kun Hoen Chao villages. **Moeng Phung** may also be more similar to the Moeng Chae type than to Moeng Cheng

Hung type. **Moeng Hun** also belongs to the Moeng Chae type, although the percentage of official land is rather large.

As a result, Moeng Cheng Hung is the most extreme case of having a lot of official land and many Kun Hoen Chao villages. This characteristic may relate to the fact that Moeng Cheng Hung was the capital muang of Sipsongpanna.

Conclusion

We have ascertained Moeng Cheng Hung's superiority concerning the basis of 'taxation', namely official land and Kun Hoen Chao peasants. Moeng Chae, in contrast with Moeng Cheng Hung, had little official land, although it had more total land than Moeng Cheng Hung. In addition, Moeng Chae only had half as many Kun Hoen Chao villages as Moeng Cheng Hung, although the two muang had the same numbers of villages. Other big muang, except Moeng Ham, also had a much smaller proportion of official land and of Kun Hoen Chao villages than Moeng Cheng Hung. As a result, we can say that the big muang in Sipsongpanna can be divided into two types: the type of the capital muang, Moeng Cheng Hung, that had much official land and many Kun Hoen Chao peasants, and the type of other big muang which had a lot of peasant land and many Tai Moeng villages. In addition, we can find colony muang of Moeng Cheng Hung⁽¹⁶⁾.

Through observing the conditions of land and people in each muang, we have found some differences in the structures of political systems among the muang of Sipsongpanna. In addition to this, we have observed the peculiarities of the capital muang. This article can make up in part for the shortcomings of former research works that tried to analyze only a general or "ideal" type of muang polity⁽¹⁷⁾.

In some versions of Moeng Cheng Hung chronicles, we find descriptions relating to reclamation and immigration in the muang. The process of reclaiming official land and gathering Kun Hoen Chao villages have to be discussed through further analyses.

Note

- (1) The word "muang" means town or city, and sometimes means country or polity. 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. I show pronunciation and tone, if possible, with each Tai Lue word according to the way Wu and Zhang use them when I refer to the word for the first time. Tai Lue language in Moeng Cheng Hung has six tones which Wu and Zhang show by adding numbers (from 1 to 6). If you divide

voice into five pitches from 1 (the lowest one) to 5 (the highest one), the first tone is shown 5-5, the second is 3-5, the third is 1-3, the fourth is 4-1, the fifth is 3-3 and the sixth is 1-1 [Wu; Zhang 1981].

- (2) Older research works, especially ones written by non-Chinese researchers could only use older sources or second hand sources. Non-Chinese researchers became able to read the reports only after they were published in 1983-1988.
- (3) There are a lot of reports, books and articles referring to these aspects. I will mainly use Ma Yao's report as a source, because he tried to construct a whole image by using information gained in the investigation directly. Criticizing his analyses in this report should be done on another occasion, maybe after further analyses like this article.
- (4) Lemoine said that 'village rice fields, na: ba:n or na: tha:ng, na: vi:ak ('collective land to be divided', 'duty (service) land') were in the custody of the whole village community and were divided among the villagers together with the related duties." [Lemoine 1987: 127]
- (5) "Naa, which means 'rice field', seems to have been used as a kind of unit for imposing "tax" (rice) in a symbolic way disconnected from the actual area of land.
- (6) 1 haap is equal to two baskets of rice. Rice was "carried in two baskets at both ends of a pole carried over the shoulder [Lemoine, 1987: 123].
- (7) Tai Lue in Sipsongpanna engaged in rice cultivation in paddy fields as their economic basis the same as other Tai groups. Ma says that arable lands were divided between lands belong to 'lords' directly and lands under 'peasants' usufruct." [Ma, 1950: 2]
- (8) I have analyzed Moeng Cheng Hung's case on this aspect [Kato 1991].
- (9) Ma said there were Lek Noi, Baao Chaai, Kun Nai, Laan Muun Nai, Hong Haai [Ma 1983: 11-12]. The word "Kun Hoen Chao" may not have been the actual term used in order to refer to the group but may have been a name used for convenience' sake by the Chinese who investigated in 1950's.
- (10) According to Ma's report, the Tai Moeng had more than 16 muu a household and the Kun Hoen Chao had 11 muu.
- (11) The other case occurred when muang political powers changed Tai Moeng people into Kun Hoen Chao because of their crimes or through political necessity.
- (12) I use *muu* as a unit of land, although *naa* is often used in the reports. Muu is the Chinese unit of area of land. 1 muu is equal to about 6.667 are.
- (13) I call land where no rice was sent as tax "peasant land".
- (14) I have explained the case of Moeng Cheng Hung in detail [Kato 1990, 1991].
- (15) For further details, see my master thesis [Kato 1990].
- (16) We can recognize the following muang as colony muang of Moeng Cheng Hung: Moeng Ham, Moeng Yaang Noi, Moeng Cheng Haa and Moeng Cheng Choeng. They had official land of Moeng Cheng Hung but had little or no official land of their own.
- (17) The relationship among the muang should also be analyzed from a historical perspective. There are many descriptions about this in the chronicles. For instance, Moeng Chae and Moeng Cheng Hung warred with each other about the succession of the king of Moeng Haai in the nineteenth century. This is well known as the big war which divided Sipsongpanna into two parts with Moeng Chae and Moeng Cheng Hung as heads. We may be able to use the different characteristics of the two muang as a means to analyze the conditions and causes that led to this

“civil war”.

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