

Sipsongpanna's Perception of Other Tai Principalities in 1837:
The Tai Principalities in Present-day Northern Thailand and Other Principalities
in Sipsongpanna's Surrounding Area

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Abstract

Sipsongpanna was a Tai state that was located at the southernmost part of present-day Yunnan Province of People's Republic of China which borders on Myanmar and Laos. It consisted of approximately thirty principalities called moeng (muang) and the lord of Moeng Cheng Hung (Muang Chiang Rung) also held the position of supreme ruler of all of Sipsongpanna. Sipsongpanna had paid tribute to Chinese dynasties at least since the end of the fourteenth century and to Burmese dynasties since the latter half of the sixteenth century. In addition, in the 1840s and 1850s, Sipsongpanna made contact with the Rattanakosin Siam.

This paper discusses Sipsongpanna's perception of the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand, – the so-called 'Lan Na' –, which were also Siamese tributaries, and other Tai principalities in Sipsongpanna's surrounding area in 1837 by analysing historical sources such as the historical documents written by the government or the Prime Minister of Sipsongpanna in 1837 and Captain McLeod's 1837 Journal.

It was found that in the historical documents written by the government and the Prime Minister of Sipsongpanna in 1837, Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand were described as invaders and enemies. They had attacked Sipsongpanna and its neighbours at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The government of Sipsongpanna was anxious that they would attack Sipsongpanna again. At that time, Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand had little contact with Sipsongpanna both politically and economically. In addition, according to Captain McLeod's Journal, people from Sipsongpanna could not move freely through Chiang Mai's territory and Chiang Mai prevented communication between Sipsongpanna and British India.

On the other hand, Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, Muang Yawng, and to some extent also Moeng Lem and Langsang, which were Tai principalities in the present-day Shan States of Myanmar, Yunnan of China, and Laos, had friendly relationships with Sipsongpanna. Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng, and probably also Muang Yawng, sent delegates and a small force to Cheng Hung to prop up Suchawanna's regime. The government of Sipsongpanna expected to form alliances with the above principalities to prepare for fighting with Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand in case they threatened to invade again.

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1 Introduction

Sipsongpanna was a Tai state located at the southernmost part of present-day Yunnan Province of People's Republic of China¹, which borders on 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)'. The lord of Moeng Cheng Hung (Muang Chiang Rung)³ also held the position of supreme ruler of all of Sipsongpanna and had to be a man of correct bloodline in Moeng Cheng Hung's royal family.

Sipsongpanna had paid tribute to Chinese dynasties since at least the end of the fourteenth century and to Burmese dynasties since the latter half of the sixteenth century. The supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna was given the official titles of 'governor' or 'monarch' of Sipsongpanna by both the Chinese and Burmese Dynasties⁴.

In addition, in the 1840s, Sipsongpanna first made contact with the Rattanakosin Siam. Suchawanna ascended to be the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna and was officially appointed as the monarch of Sipsongpanna by the Qing China in 1834. From 1837 to 1850, other members of the royal family intermittently attempted to seize the throne. In 1848, Suchawanna's mother, his younger brother named Arammautha (the viceroy), and Mahachay (the Lord of Moeng Phung⁵) moved to Bangkok, the capital of Rattanakosin Siam, where they remained for several years. Sipsongpanna's new relationship with Siam could possibly have influenced the position of Sipsongpanna which had been balancing between China and Burma since the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Most previous studies argue this implies that Sipsongpanna relied on the Rattanakosin Siam and sought help in internal warfare against the usurper [Natcha 1998: 87-89, Yangyong and Ratthanaphon 2001: 86, 151]. However, there is not yet sufficient evidence to prove this [Kato 2006: 24-25]. Therefore, I examined a record of Mahachay's



The shaded area indicates present-day Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture of Day Nationality
 -----: borders between present-day nation states

Fig.1 Map around Sipsongpanna

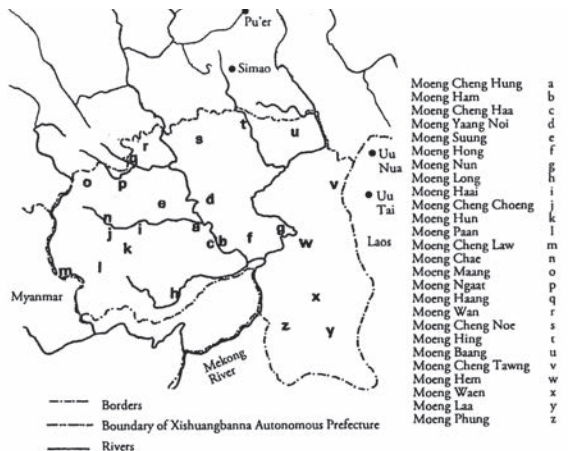


Fig.2 Map of Sipsongpanna

statement (Kham Hay Kaan) made at Bangkok in 1852 [PCR]⁶ and found that Sipsongpanna's deepening relations with Siam could not be interpreted to mean that Sipsongpanna willingly asked for help from Siam. Instead, a better interpretation is that Sipsongpanna was forced to establish tributary relations with Siam because of the aggressive leadership of Nan and other Tai principalities in what would be present-day northern Thailand or the so-called 'Lan Na'⁷, which were northern tributaries of Siam at that time [Kato 2006].

If so, how did Sipsongpanna perceive the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand before this chain of events? In contrast, how did Sipsongpanna perceive the other proximate Tai principalities at that time? This paper discusses Sipsongpanna's perception of the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand and Sipsongpanna's surrounding area in 1837, which was immediately before its direct contacts with Rattanakosin Siam. I will analyse historical sources written in 1837 such as the documents written by the government and Chao Cheng Haa, the 'Prime Minister' of Sipsongpanna, as well as the Journal of Captain McLeod, who visited Sipsongpanna in 1837 as a British envoy⁸.

This paper will proceed as follows. First, I will briefly outline the situation in Sipsongpanna and Moeng Cheng Hung between 1802 and the beginning of 1837. In addition, I will explore Chao Cheng Haa's character and background because he was the writer of one of the principal historical documents and seems to have played a leading role in writing others. Second, I will discuss the historical documents. Third, descriptions in the documents of the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand will be discussed. Fourth, descriptions concerning other Tai principalities that had good relationships with Sipsongpanna will be considered. Finally, in concluding this paper, I will demonstrate that Sipsongpanna's perception of the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand contrasted with its perception of the other Tai principalities in Sipsongpanna's surrounding area in 1837.

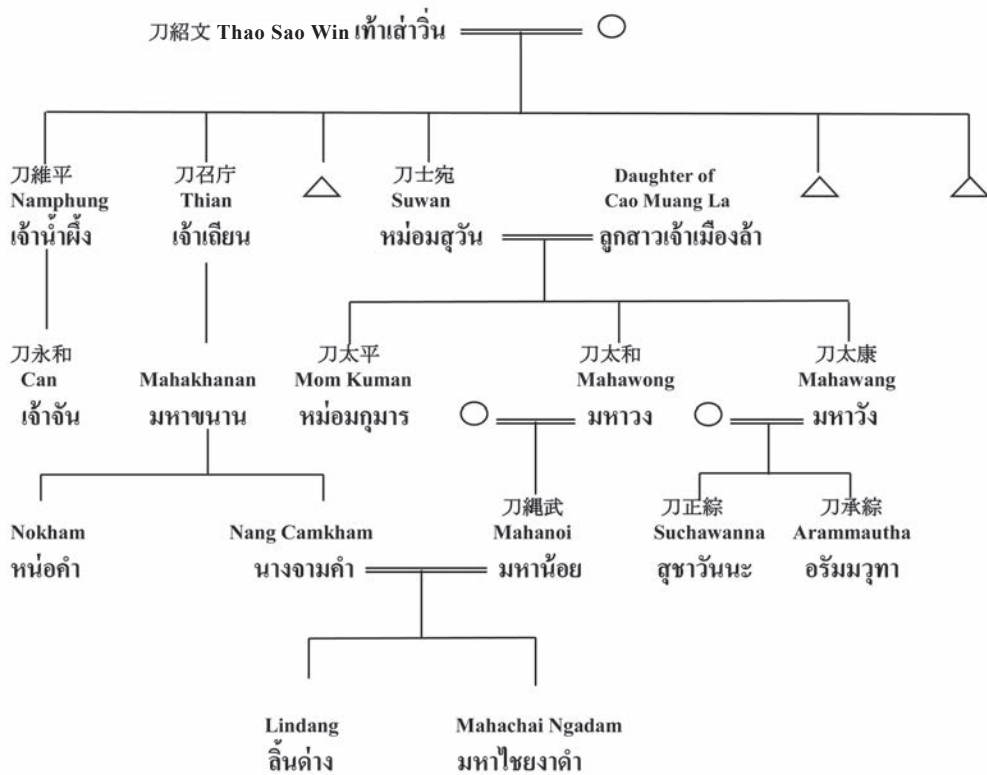
2 Moeng Cheng Hung between 1802 and the beginning of 1837

(1) Sipsongpanna and Moeng Cheng Hung between 1802 and 1836

In 1802, the Cheli Xuanweishi (車里宣慰使, see note 4) named Mahawang (Dao Tai He 刀太和⁹) died, and his son, Mahanoi (Dao Sheng Wu 刀繩武), succeeded to the position of Xuanweishi. Mahawang (Dao Tai Kang 刀太康), who was Mahawang's younger brother, was appointed as the acting Xuanweishi because Mahanoi was still very young [Dao Yong Ming 1989: 172-175] (see Table 1).

The troops of Kawila, the founder of the Kawila (or Chaoctton) Dynasty, which was established in the 1780s in the area of Chiang Mai, Lampang, and Lamphun of present-day northern Thailand¹⁰, attacked Sipsongpanna between CS1165 (AD 1803) and CS1170 (AD 1808). Sipsongpanna was devastated by war. People were either taken into captivity and moved to the area governed by the Kawila Dynasty, or fled to safer locations [Dao Yong Ming 1989: 175; Smith 2013: 38-43]. Mahawang probably had to deal with this situation and rebuild Sipsongpanna after the war. In 1812, Kawila's troops came again to campaign for Dao Yong He (刀永和)¹¹ to be installed as the supreme ruler of

Table 1 Moeng Cheng Hung's royal family :
Descendants of Thao Sao Win (until the first half of the nineteenth century)



Sipsongpanna.

After Mahanoi had grown up and been formally appointed Xuanweishi in 1817, conflict between Mahanoi and Mahawang occurred. In 1834, Mahanoi was dismissed from the post of Xuanweishi by China, and Mahawang assumed real power as the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna. Mahawang's son, Suchawanna (Dao Zheng Zong 刀正綜), who had been born in 1819, was approved to be the heir to Xuanweishi¹² (see Table 1).

Mahawang died on the first day of the waning moon, 12th month, CS1198 [CSL¹³: 582, 350]. It was 26 October 1836 in the Gregorian calendar.

(2) Moeng Cheng Hung at the beginning of 1837

Before Suchawanna's formal coronation, some of the members of the royal family, including Mahakhanan¹⁴, were joined by the Burmese Sitke¹⁵, the resident military officer, in launching a coup d'état in February 1837. They wanted Mahakhanan's oldest son, Nokham or Chao Rattana¹⁶, to be supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna instead of Suchawanna [CMJ¹⁷: 378].

Chao Cheng Haa pretended to join the coup, secretly allowing Suchawanna to cross the Mekong River and flee,

before ultimately succeeding in suppressing the coup [CMJ: 378; CSL: 623-628]. Nokham escaped, but Mahakhanan and Chao Phum, another son of Mahakhanan, were killed [CMJ: 378; CSL: 360].

When McLeod arrived at Moeng Cheng Hung on 9 March 1837, although the coup d'état had already been suppressed, 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 country' [CMJ: 371] and Maha Dewi, the queen, who was Mahawang's first wife, 'was acting as Regent for' Suchawanna, who was the son of another wife of Mahawang [CMJ: 372]. 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 Government¹⁸.

(3) Chao Cheng Haa

'Chao Cheng Haa' means 'the Lord of Moeng Cheng Haa', which was a small moeng near Cheng Hung, but 'Chao Cheng Haa' was also the title of 'Akkamahasena' or the Prime Minister [CSL: 583] of Sipsongpanna¹⁹. McLeod called him not only 'the Minster', but also 'the Talau Tsobua'²⁰, because he was simultaneously the Lord of Moeng Cheng Law or 'Talau' (Taa Law or Moeng Cheng Law, m in Fig. 2)²¹. He might have been appointed Chao Cheng Haa after Mahawang's death [CSL: 614].

Chao Cheng Haa could speak Burmese. According to Chao Cheng Haa, there was not one officer in a hundred who could both speak and write Burmese, and he was the only chief who spoke Burmese [CMJ: 375]. Nevertheless, Chao Cheng Haa was pro-Chinese²² and he was '*the best Chinese scholar amongst them here*' [CMJ: 397].

Even after Suchawanna returned, Chao Cheng Haa had an important role in Moeng Cheng Hung's politics. According to Mahachai's statement in Bangkok [PCR], when Nokham was preparing to fight in 1838, Chao Cheng Haa sent a letter to Mahachai calling for reinforcements, and Chao Cheng Haa himself led 6000 troops to fight Nokham.

3 The Historical Sources

(1) Cheli Xuanwei Shi Shixi ji Liyi Dashiji (車里宣慰使世系及禮儀大事記)

I will move to discuss the historical sources. The main sources are written in Tai in manuscript form. They were transcribed with translation into Chinese, and titled in Chinese 'Cheli Xuanwei Shi Shixi ji Liyi Dashiji (CSL) [Yunnansheng Shaoshuminzu Guji Zhengli Chuban Guihua Bangongshi ed. 1989]. This manuscript was originally kept in Moeng Long (h in Fig. 2) and was provided by Wen Yuan Kai, who worked for the Jinghong Xian Committee of Science and Technology [Yunnansheng Shaoshuminzu Guji Zhengli Chuban Guihua Bangongshi ed. 1989: 3]. Except for the last document, which was written after 1884, all documents in the manuscript were written between 1834 and 1837 (see Table 2).

The first document in CSL concerns gifts given in return for funeral offerings for funeral of Mahawang [CSL: 579-

Table 2 Documents in CSL

	Contents	Year	Pages
1	Gifts given in return for funeral offerings for funeral of Mahawang	1837	pp.579-580
2	Names and durations of Chinese eras from the beginning of the Qing Dynasty		pp.580-581
3	Petition for Suchawanna's succession to Xuanweishi	1834	pp.581-582
4	Pledge to support Suchawanna	1837	pp.582-594
5	Order from Pu'er to Cheng Khaeng	1836	pp.594-597
6	Notice from Simao to Sipsongpanna	1837	pp.597-601
7	Copy of the report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao	1837	pp.601-612
8	Letter from Chao Mahakhanan to Dao Shengwu	1836 or 1837	pp.612-616
9	Document written by Chao Cheng Haa, including a copy of a letter to Chiang Tung	1837?	pp.616-630

580]. It seems to have been written in 1837. The second document is titled 'Chinese emperors' successions': it records the names and durations of Chinese eras from the beginning of the Qing Dynasty [CSL: 580-581]. The durations of the Kangki, Jiajing and Daoguang eras are not recorded correctly in this document. The last three eras noted in this document, Xianfeng, Tongzhi, and Guangxu, are listed without their durations. The third document is the petition for Suchawanna's succession to Xuanweishi. It seems to have been written in around 1834²³ after Mahawang secured real power [CSL: 581-582].

The fourth document is the pledge to support Suchawanna made by the Tai rulers of Sipsongpanna after the abortive coup occurred in February 1837 [CSL: 582-594]. The fifth document is an order from the Chinese authority of Pu'er to Cheng Khaeng in 1836 [CSL: 580-594] and the sixth document is a notice from the Chinese authority of Simao to Sipsongpanna in 1837 [CSL: 597-601]. They seem to be translations from Chinese into Tai. The seventh document is a copy of the report sent from Sipsongpanna to the Chinese authorities of Pu'er and Simao in 1837 [CSL: 601-612].

The eighth document is a letter from Mahakhanan to his son-in law, Mahanoi (Dao Sheng Wu)²⁴ [CSL: 612-616]. It seems to have been written after Mahawang's death and before the coup, i.e. around the end of 1836 or the beginning of 1837. The ninth document was written by Chao Cheng Haa after he suppressed the coup, possibly in 1837, including a copy of another letter sent from Chao Cheng Haa to Chiang Tung [CSL: 616-630] (see Table 2).

(2) Historical sources including descriptions of both the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand and other principalities in Sipsongpanna's surrounding area

Documents 4, 7 and 9 in Table 2 and Captain McLeod's Journal [CMJ] contain descriptions of both the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand and other principalities in Sipsongpanna's surrounding area. Next, I will explore the contents and contexts of these documents.

1) The pledge to support Suchawanna [CSL: 582-594]

This pledge was made by the Tai rulers of Sipsongpanna, who comprised ministers and high-ranking officials of Moeng Cheng Hung as well as lords of other moengs in Sipsongpanna, after the coup was suppressed. Chao Cheng Haa played a leading role in making this pledge. Therefore, this document's depiction of the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand and other principalities in Sipsongpanna's surrounding area was based on the perspectives of the rulers coming to Suchawanna's side, especially that of Chao Cheng Haa.

2) The report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao [CSL: 601-612]

Pu'er Fu (普洱府) was a Chinese administrative unit established in the northern part of Sipsongpanna in 1729. Simao Ting (思茅廳) was a smaller administrative unit established under Pu'er Fu in 1735. Cheli Xuanwei Si²⁵ and most of the moengs of Sipsongpanna belonged to Simao Ting [Daoguang Pu'er Fu Zhi chapter 3: 2-3, 15-16].

This report seems to have been written to explain the circumstances behind Sipsongpanna's turbulence, caused by several conflicts over succession to the title of supreme ruler, as well as the conditions in Sipsongpanna after suppression of the coup. This document is dated the sixth day of the waning moon, the fourth month of CS1198, which was 26 February 1837 AD. Although I could not find out who wrote this report, it is certain that this represented the administration's thinking.

The structure of this document is like a genealogy.²⁶ At first, it shows in brief how the position of Saenwifa had been succeeded since the death of Tao Paeng Mong in 1724. The last part of the document, concerning Dao Sheng Wu (Mahanoi), Dao Tai Kang (Mahawang), and Dao Zheng Zong (Suchawanna), explains the circumstances directly influencing the turbulence in the preceding couple of decades (see Table 1).

3) The document written by Chao Cheng Haa [CSL: 616-630]

This document begins with '*Rulers of Sipsongpanna, from Chao Cheng Haa...*', but at least one page (or possibly several) is missing after that. Chinese translation of this document is titled '*a letter from Chao Cheng Haa to Suchawanna*'. However, it is not a letter to Suchawanna, who was much younger than Chao Cheng Haa, because the word 'laan', which means 'nephew', is used as a first person pronoun indicating Chao Cheng Haa. This should, therefore, be a letter addressed to a person older than Chao Cheng Haa.

The last part of this document is a copy of a letter asking the Lord of Chiang Tung to write in their joint names to Burmese authorities to ask for the dismissal of the Sitke. In this part, Chao Cheng Haa called himself 'laan aao', which means 'nephew of uncle'. In this context, 'laan' indicates Chao Cheng Haa and 'aao' indicates the Lord of Chiang Tung.

4) Captain McLeod's Journal [CMJ]

Captain McLeod, the author of the journal, visited Sipsongpanna in March 1837 as a British envoy, as mentioned above. His journal contained many descriptions of Moeng Cheng Hung's relationships with surrounding countries.

Some of them were observed by McLeod himself and others were gained through other informants.

4 Descriptions concerning the Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand

(1) Descriptions in the pledge to support Suchawanna [CSL: 582-594]

In the pledge, there is a reference to the incursion of Kawila's troops from present-day Northern Thailand:

'Since the year of Kakai, CS1165 (1803), Kawila, who was a person from the south, came up to the north. He disturbed and destroyed in Chiang Saen, Chiang Tung, Moeng Yawng and Chiang Khaeng. Then he came up to Moeng Lem and Cheng Hung and had them decayed. At that time, any two of the governments of the cities with palaces had different ideas. Although a war occurred at the hua muang (head of moeng), they did not cooperate with each other in killing [the enemy]. Although a war occurred at laa muang (bottom of moeng), they did not cooperate with each other in slashing [the enemy]. Although something formidable happened, they did not cooperate with each other in thinking. They left it lay and did not take care of it. Therefore, as a result, they decayed their moengs.' [CSL: 587]

Before this part, it says: *'because rulers of Sipsongpanna are not working as one to think about and treat all things of both inside and outside of it, it is feared that hereafter villages and towns of Saenwifa of Sipsongpanna would be going into decline like the old days'*. The *'old days'* (athita long laeo) [CSL: 587] here means the time when Kawila's troops came up to the north to invade (see 2 (1)). Therefore, in this pledge, Kawila's troops from present-day Northern Thailand are described as invaders that had wreaked havoc in Sipsongpanna and its neighbouring Tai principalities, and that Sipsongpanna and its neighbouring Tai principalities had difficulty in repelling the invaders if they did not help each other.

(2) Descriptions in the report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao [CSL: 601-612]

Near the end of the report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao, there is a description as follows:

'As for Muang Phrae, Muang Nan, Laphun (Lamphun), Lakon (Lampang), and Muang Chiang Mai, these moengs do not league [with Sipsongpanna.]...They do not come to be intimate friends or establish amicable relationships. They have never come to trade. We hope that all of them will not believe lies (bo ri yai sai saw) and will not come into and disturb Sipsongpanna...' [CSL: 611]

This part is followed by petition for protection and orders from Chinese authorities.

To *'believe lies'* (bo ri yai sai saw) might mean to take the side of a usurper claiming the position of supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna. There was a possibility that Nokham or other challengers for the throne would get support from Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand. In fact about fifteen years earlier, in 1812, Kawila's troops from present-day Northern Thailand came to support Dao Yong He (刀永和) to be the supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna (see 2 (1) above).

We can see from this description that, at that time, Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand, i.e. Phrae,

Nan, Lamphun, Lampang, and Chiang Mai, had little contact with Sipsongpanna both politically and economically, and that rulers of Sipsongpanna who wrote this report were anxious that Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand would attack Sipsongpanna again.

(3) Descriptions in the document written by Chao Cheng Haa [CSL: 616-630]

This document is missing the first page (or possibly more) as noted above. The remaining pages begin with the scene of Sitke and a few high ranking officials of Moeng Cheng Hung gathering confederates and readying their forces for the coup²⁷ [CSL: 616-617]. It then states that Sitke asked and was told the date when the new appointment letter would be collected for Suchawanna [CSL: 617]. This is followed by descriptions about their pledging ceremony for the coup and what was decided at their strategy meeting [CSL: 617-620].

Subsequently, a person named Mongsoie, who might have been a Burmese working under Sitke, was sent to Chao Cheng Haa to enquire whether Chao Cheng Haa was willing to join the plot [CSL: 620-621]. Following Mongsoie's visit, Phayalong Konmoeng, one of the ministers of Moeng Cheng Hung, came to persuade and threaten Chao Cheng Haa to join the coup [CSL: 621-622]. Chao Cheng Haa said that he would join and invited Sitke to the meeting of the lords of moeng in Sipsongpanna. Sitke attended the meeting, and all of its participants promised to cooperate with him [CSL: 622-625].

After Sitke left, the rulers and officials of Sipsongpanna continued their discussions in his absence. Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand were referred in this discussion:

'If Moeng Cheng Hung of Saenwifa of Sipsongpanna decays, Chiang Khaeng, Moeng Yawng, Chiang Tung, and Muang Lem, which located on borderlands between both kings (of China and Burma), will also decay. If they become like that, Muang Laphun (Lamphun), Lakon (Lampang), Phrae, Nan, and Chiang Mai, which are our enemies (kha suk) and do not want to fight the kings, will come and decay as they did between CS1165 (1803) and CS1170 (1808).' [CSL: 625-626]

We can see that the Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand were recognised as enemies of Sipsongpanna, and that the rulers of Sipsongpanna, or at least Chao Cheng Haa, were anxious that Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand would attack Sipsongpanna again, as was written in the report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao discussed above.

(4) Descriptions in Captain McLeod's Journal [CMJ]

This historical source is different in character from the other sources, because it was not written by Tai rulers who were the real protagonists in Sipsongpanna's politics, but was instead written by an English visitor. McLeod records some words of the rulers of Sipsongpanna, from which we can infer their thoughts and feelings.

McLeod writes about the first conference in which he participated at the court: *'So soon as I seated, the Talau*

Tsoboa (Chao Cheng Haa) opened the conference, observing, that they had long heard of the English, and were glad to hear from Kiang Tung (Chiang Tung) the object of my visit; that they had long wished to open a communication with us, but that the state of Zimme (Chiang Mai) prevented it' [CMJ: 372]. Here, Chao Cheng Haa considered Chiang Mai as a preventer of communication between Sipsongpanna and British India [CMJ: 379].

Similar descriptions are recorded in other parts of the journal. McLeod writes, '*They (the rulers of Sipsongpanna) assured me, that... as soon as they are assured of a passage being granted them through the Zimme territories, they will send their merchants down...*' [CMJ: 395] It shows that people coming from Sipsongpanna could not go through Chiang Mai's territory freely.

5 Descriptions concerning the Tai principalities having friendly relationships with Sipsongpanna

In CSL, there are also descriptions concerning the Tai principalities having friendly relationships with Sipsongpanna²⁸. Captain McLeod's Journal also referred to delegates being sent to Sipsongpanna from some Tai principalities. In this section, I would like to analyse these descriptions from two viewpoints: (1) Sipsongpanna's thoughts on which principalities should have leagued and should be leaguings with Sipsongpanna; and (2) which principalities actually sent delegates to Sipsongpanna in 1837.

(1) Tai principalities that should have leagued and should be leaguings with Sipsongpanna

1) Descriptions in the pledge to support Suchawanna [CSL: 582-594]

As I already quoted in 4(1) above, the pledge enumerates several principalities that had been attacked by Kawila's troops from present-day Northern Thailand since CS1165 (AD 1803). They were Chiang Saen, Chiang Tung, Muang Yawng, Chiang Khaeng, Moeng Lem and Cheng Hung (see Table 3). The pledge explains that they were decayed because they did not help each other to fight with Kawila's troops [CSL:587]. The context implies that the moengs should have formed alliances when Kawila's troops came to invade.

Just before the descriptions of the attack by Kawila's troops, there is a description of the alliances between some of these Tai principalities:

'Although Bunkhamsomdetphachao (supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna, Mahawang) passed away, he did not take our custom. Honest promises between Sipsongpanna and each government of the cities with palaces of Moeng Lem Long (Big Moeng Lem), Muang Chiang Khaeng, Muang Yawng, and Langsang Rom Khaao (Langsang of white umbrella), which had established friendly relationships and tight connections, have not gone with the body of Chao (Mahawang). All of these are political relations.' [CSL: 586-587]

It explains that there were friendly relationships between Sipsongpanna and 'Moeng Lem Long' or Moeng Lem, Chiang Khaeng, Muang Yawng, and 'Langsang Rom Khaao' or Langsang²⁹ during the reign of Mahawang, and that Sipsongpanna hoped these cordial relations would continue (see Table 3).

Table 3 Polities related to Sipsongpanna

Sources	The pledge to support Suchawanna [CSL: 582-594]			The document written by Chao Cheng Haa. [CSL:616-630]	The report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao [CSL: 601-612]
	Polities that had been attacked by the troops of Kawila (except Sipsongpanna) [CSL:587]	Polities that had friendly relationships with Sipsongpanna during the reign of Mahawang [CSL:586-587]	Polities that were the closest allies of Sipsongpanna [CSL:591-593]	Polities facing the same threats as Sipsongpanna	Polities that sent delegates to Sipsongpanna
	Chiang Tung Chiang Khaeng Muang Yawng Moeng Lem Chiang Saen	Chiang Khaeng Muang Yawng Moeng Lem Langsang	Chiang Tung Chiang Khaeng Muang Yawng Moeng Lem Langsang (mentioned only once)	Chiang Tung Chiang Khaeng Muang Yawng Moeng Lem	Chiang Tung Chiang Khaeng Muang Yawng

If we compare the names of the muangs mentioned as Sipsongpanna's closest allies here with the names of the muangs that had been attacked by Kawila's troops, we can see that Moeng Lem, Chiang Khaeng, Muang Yawng, and Cheng Hung had shared the experience of being attacked by Kawila's troops and were also closest allies to each other. Chiang Tung is not mentioned as one of the closest allies here³⁰, but it was also attacked by Kawila's troops and is described as one of the closest allies of Sipsongpanna near the end of this pledge [CSL: 591-593] (see Table 3). The shared experience of being attacked by Kawila might have led them to perceive the need for alliance.³¹

2) Descriptions in the document written by Chao Cheng Haa [CSL: 616-630]

As I noted in 4(3), we can find the names of Chiang Khaeng, Muang Yawng, Chiang Tung, and Moeng Lem in the discussion by rulers and officials of Sipsongpanna. The document explains that devastation of Sipsongpanna would lead to devastation of these principalities, which were located on the borderlands between China and Burma, and that such a situation would induce Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, and Chiang Mai to attack [CSL: 625-626].

Chiang Khaeng, Muang Yawng, Chiang Tung, and Moeng Lem were depicted in this description as principalities facing the same threats as Sipsongpanna. In addition, they were recognised to be on the borderlands between China and Burma (see Table 3).

(2) Tai Principalities that sent delegates to Sipsongpanna in 1837

1) Descriptions in the report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao [CSL: 601-612]

Before the part I discussed in 4(2) above, there is a description as follows:

'Chao Khamom Long of Muang Khun (ruler of Chiang Tung) appointed Phaya Wangna and Saen Nakaem to come [to Moeng Cheng Hung]. Chaofa Long of Muang Chiang Khaeng (ruler of Chiang Khaeng) appointed Phaya Thanacay to come. Chaofa of Muang Yawng (ruler of Muang Yawng) appointed Phaya Khan to come. From these three muangs, fifty people came to join all officials of Sipsongpanna and Sitke. They will work together to think and protect the court [of Sipsongpanna] and all places of Sipsongpanna on the basis of the promises of friendship. If enemies, regardless whether they are from afar or from close, attack to disturb Sipsongpanna and if the enemy is superior to Sipsongpanna in numbers, Muang Khun will come to help with army 300 strong and Muang Yawng and Chiang Khaeng will come to help with army 300 strong.' [CSL: 611]

We can see that Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Muang Yawng sent delegates and some other representatives to Sipsongpanna (see Table 4), and that Sipsongpanna was expecting these three moengs to send reinforcements to protect Sipsongpanna in time of need.

Just after this description, Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand, i.e. Phrae, Nan, Lamphun, Lampang, and Chiang Mai, are depicted as potential adversaries in contrast to Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Muang Yawng, as mentioned in 4(2).

2) Descriptions in document concerning gifts given in return for funeral offerings for funeral of Mahawang [CSL: 579-580]

There is another document in CSL that implies some moengs had friendly relationships with Sipsongpanna: that is the document concerning funeral gifts and reciprocal gifts after Mahawang's funeral ceremony [CSL: 579-580]³². It

Table 4 Names of the Delegates and Presents given to them from Sipsongpanna

Sources	The report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao [CSL: 601-612]	The document concerning gifts given in return for funeral offerings for funeral of Mahawang [CSL: 579-580]		Captain McLeod's Journal [CMJ]
	Names of the the Delegates:	Names of the Delegates	Presents given to the Delegates	Presents given to the Delegates
	Chiang Tung: Phaya Wangna and Saen Nakaem	Phya Wanna	a spear (hok), one Naag (a piece of cloth?), a container for betel nuts, a silver plate	Chiang Tung: 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
	Chiang Khaeng: Phaya Thanacay	Phya Thanacay	a container for betel nuts, a piece of cloth (Phaa sakalaat), a silver plate, and one Naag	Chiang Khaeng: a silver cup or piece of cloth and the stamped silver
	Muang Yawng: Phaya Khan	Phaya Can of Muang Yawng	a container for betel nuts, a piece of cloth (Phaa sakalaat), one Naag, and a silver plate	Moeng Long (Moeng Yawng?): a silver cup or piece of cloth and the stamped silver

says that Sipsongpanna sent to Phya Wanna, 'a spear (*hok*), one Naag (a piece of cloth?), a container for betel nuts, a silver plate', to Phya Thanacay, 'a container for betel nuts, a piece of cloth (*Phaa sakalaat*), a silver plate, and one Naag', and to Phaya Can of Muang Yawng, 'a container for betel nuts, a piece of cloth (*Phaa sakalaat*), one Naag, and a silver plate' [CSL: 579-580].

The names of the delegates from Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Muang Yawng in this document almost corresponded to those detailed in the report from Sipsongpanna to Pu'er and Simao³³ [CSL: 611] (see 5(2)1) above and Table 4).

3) Descriptions in Captain McLeod's Journal [CMJ]

Captain McLeod's Journal also shows that Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng actually assigned delegates and a small force to Moeng Cheng Hung to prop up Schawanna's regime. McLeod writes,

'There is little doubt...that the Tsobua of Kiang Tung (Lord of Chiang Tung) especially (whose daughter is betrothed to Mahawang's son)³⁴, and those of Kiang Khieng (Chiang Khaeng) and Muang Kheng would give their countenance to the existing state of affairs by the presence of here of their officers. These officers attend all the deliberations which take place, and watch what is passing, besides having a small force at hand to aid the young Tsen wi fua (Saenwifa), if necessary.' [CMJ: 378-379]

They probably left Moeng Chiang Hung at the end of March 1837, because McLeod writes in his journal of 25 March 1837,

'The officers from Kiang Tung, Muang Long, and Kiang Khieng, being about to leave the place, presents for them were likewise laid out. Those for the former ('the officer of Chiang Tung') 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...Each of the others (the officers of 'Moeng Long' and Chiang Khaeng) had a silver cup or piece of cloth and the stamped silver conferred on him.' [CMJ: 395]

We cannot find the name of Mueng Yawng in these descriptions, but Muang Yawng might be miswritten 'Muang Kheng' in the first case and 'Muang Long' in the second case.

We can see from the latter description that the kinds and number of the gifts are also similar to those in the document concerning gifts given in return for funeral offerings for funeral of Mahawang [CSL: 579-580] (see 5(2)2) and Table 4).

We can conclude from above three documents that Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, and Muang Yawng had intimate relationships with Sipsongpanna at that time, with each of them sending delegates and a small force to prop up Schawanna's regime.

Conclusion

It was found that in the historical documents written by the government and the Prime Minister of Sipsongpanna in 1837, Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand are described as invaders and enemies. Kawila's troops from present-day Northern Thailand had attacked Sipsongpanna and its neighbours at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The government of Sipsongpanna was anxious that troops from present-day Northern Thailand would attack Sipsongpanna again. At that time, Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand had little contact with Sipsongpanna both politically and economically. In addition, according to Captain McLeod's Journal, people from Sipsongpanna could not move freely through Chiang Mai's territory, which probably indicates the Kawila Dynasty's territory, including Lampang and Lamphun, and Chiang Mai prevented communication between Sipsongpanna and British India³⁵.

On the other hand, Chiang Tung, Chiang Khaeng, Muang Yawng, and to some extent also Moeng Lem and Langsang, which were Tai principalities in the present-day Shan States of Myanmar, Yunnan of China, and Laos, had friendly relationships with Sipsongpanna. Chiang Tung and Chiang Khaeng, and probably also Muang Yawng, sent delegates and a small force to Cheng Hung to prop up Suchawanna's regime. The government of Sipsongpanna expected to form alliances with the above principalities to prepare for fighting with Tai principalities in present-day Northern Thailand in case they threatened to invade again.³⁶

At that time, Chiang Tung was one of the allies of Sipsongpanna. In addition, both Suchawanna and Arammautha married Chiang Tung's princesses.³⁷ In this situation, Moeng Cheng Hung must have wanted to maintain friendly relations with Chiang Tung. Nevertheless, Sipsongpanna was forced to establish tributary relations with Siam, which was planning to attack Chiang Tung.

However, Sipsongpanna's relationship with Siam deteriorated after Siam's several campaigns against Chiang Tung, which conducted between 1849 and 1854. Sipsongpanna was able to maintain a good relationship with Chiang Tung³⁸ and continued its tributary relationships with China and Burma. This begs the question: Why did Siam fail to keep its relations with Sipsongpanna, or did it not need to maintain these relations? Further research on and discussion of this question are needed.

Notes

- 1 Most areas of Sipsongpanna belong to the present-day Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture of Day Nationality (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), 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 Moeng Phung (Muang Phong) was one of the powerful principalities that belonged to Sipsongpanna. Sucawanna and Arammautha were Mahachai's cousins, because they were Mahachai's mother's brother's sons, and also Mahachai's nephews, because they were Mahachai's sister's husband's sons.
- 6 PCR is the abbreviation of 'Phongsawadan Muang Chiang Rung (Chiang Rung Chronicle)'. The first half of that is a statement of Mahachai in 1852.
- 7 In this paper, the term 'Lan Na' is not used to refer to present-day Northern Thailand because historical documents written in Sipsongpanna do not use this term. Only names of *muangs*, such as Phrae, Nan, Laphun (Lamphun), Lakon (Lampang), and Chiang Mai appear in them.
- 8 I use the version printed in *The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship* [Grabowsky and Turton 2003].
- 9 Tai rulers in Sipsongpanna also had Chinese names.
- 10 Kawila, his younger brothers, and their descendants were appointed hereditary governors of Chiang Mai, Lampang, or Laphun by Siam until the beginning of the twentieth century.
- 11 His Tai name was Can. He was a son of the Xuenweishi named Dao Wei Ping (刀維平), who was the oldest son of Thao Sao Win (Dao Shao Wen 刀紹文), the former Xuenweishi. On the other hand, the third son of Thao Sao Win was Mom Suwan or Dao Suwan (刀士宛), who was father of Mahawang and Mahawang. (see Table 1).
- 12 McLeod said that Burma had also allowed Suchawanna to succeed to the position of supreme ruler of Sipsongpanna, but Burmese Sitke, the resident military officer, withheld the letters of approval from Burma. McLeod writes, '*The Tseitke (Sitke) had some time before this received letters from his court to be presented to Mahawang, appointing his son 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, however, had withheld these despatches to facilitate the ambitious views of his connections...*' [CMJ: 378]
- 13 CSL is the abbreviation of 'Cheli Xuanweishi Shixi ji Liyi Dashiji' (車里宣慰使世系及禮儀大事記). I explain this in detail in section 3.
- 14 Mahakhanan was another grandson of Thao Sao Win, alongside Mahawong and Mahawang. Mahakhanan's father, Thian, was an older brother of Suwan, father of Mahawong and Mahawang (see Table 1).
- 15 McLeod spelled it 'Tseitke'. His daughter was married to Chao Phum (Phom), a son of Mahakhanan [CMJ: 378].
- 16 He was married to a daughter of Mahawang, i.e., a sister of Suchawanna.
- 17 CMJ is the abbreviation of Captain McLeod Journal. I explain this historical source in section 3.
- 18 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].
- 19 'Chao Cheng Haa' was also called 'phaya saen Cheng Haa' [CSL: 597, 614, 616] and formally called 'Chao ton pha pongmawongsa sihaaraacha saen Moeng Cheng Haa' [CSL: 584, 616].
- 20 McLeod used the Burmese term 'tsobua' to indicate the lord of *muang*. 'Tsobua' may be etymologically derived from 'chao faa' in the Shan language.
- 21 It was a moeng located on the route to Chiang Tung and on the present-day border between China and Myanmar.
- 22 There are many descriptions in McLeod's journal of Chao Cheng Haa and other Tai rulers praising China. For example, McLeod writes, '*The minister spoke in terms of praise of the Chinese; that they are upright and just as a nation, though very particular in insisting upon every fraction due to them being paid; yet they never exacted more than they were not entitled.*' [CMJ: 375]

- 23 It is because the document says that Suchawanna was born on the day of the full moon in the third month CS1181, which corresponds to the beginning of AD 1819, and he was fifteen years old at that time.
- 24 Mahakhanan's daughter, named Naang Caamkham, was married to Mahanoi (see Table 1).
- 25 See note 4.
- 26 In the Chinese translation, this document is titled '*the genealogy of Cheli Xuanweishi*'.
- 27 Some descriptions were not written from Chao Cheng Haa's experience, so this document might include some guesswork and fiction.
- 28 Three of them are just before or after the descriptions related to Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand discussed in section 4.
- 29 Its centre was located at Luang Phabang.
- 30 The reason Chiang Tung was not mentioned as one of the closest allies in this instance is not clear.
- 31 Langsang was listed as a closest ally in some places, but it was not attacked by Kawila. On the other hand, Chiang Saen was attacked by the troops of Kawila, but was not mentioned as one of Sipsongpanna's closest allies. This might be because Chiang Saen became part of the domain of the Kawila Dynasty after the attack.
- 32 It is '*Gifts given in return for funeral offerings for funeral of Mahawang*' mentioned in section 3(1). It begins with the list of presents from McLeod.
- 33 Phaya Can [CSL: 580] here may be the same person as Phaya Khan [CSL: 611].
- 34 The words in the brackets are written by McLeod.
- 35 It appears that northern Siamese tributaries prevented communication between Sipsongpanna and British India. At this stage, however, it has not been possible to discover evidence that proves that Siam or the Tai principalities strove to prevent such communication.
- 36 As it has been mentioned in section 3, most descriptions of the Tai principalities in present-day northern Thailand and other principalities in areas surrounding Sipsongpanna were based on the perspectives of the rulers who supported Suchawanna. We should explore other sources that show the perspectives of rulers who opposed Suchawanna.
- 37 Mahachai's statement shows that Suchawanna and Arammautha had a conflict with Mahachai concerning Chiang Tung.
- 38 Smith explained the background of the campaigns, described the process of the battles, and analysed the conclusion of these events [Smith 2013].

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