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# A Study of the Diplomatic and Martial Relations between Burma and China in the 15th and 16th Centuries A. D.

OHNO toru\*

## Introduction

According to the Chinese sources, Burma was regarded for a long time as one of the vassal states of China like Annam, Laos and Siam. It it to be noted, however, that Burma was different from Annam and Korea regarding her response toward China. Since the foundations of their states, Annam and Korea have received direct influences from China, politically and culturally, and continued to pay tributes annually to China. Though Burma was directly connected with China geographically, she had not always close contact with China as Annam and Korea. It may be pointed out that Burma had rather for her background Indian institutions politically and culturally. Burma's tributes to China were carried out mere intermittently in Han (漢) period, Tang (唐) period and Song (宋) period. It is mentioned in certain annals of China that during the reign of the Emperor, Ning-Zong (寧宗) of the Song dynasty, white elephants were presented to the Emperor from Mian (緬) and Bo-Si (波斯). During the reign of the Emperor, Chen-Zong (成宗=Timur) of Yuan (元) period, the Emperor appointed the native chief of Pu-Gan (蒲甘) as the King of Mian (緬王) and recognized Mian as one of his tributary states. The Chinese Emperor changed his policy toward Mian in 1308, when the Ming (明) dynasty had raised instead of Yuan (元) dynasty and set up the Local

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Governorship for Mian.

During the reigns of three Emperors from Hong-Wu-Di (洪武帝), the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty, to Yong-Le-Di (永樂帝), the third Emperor, it is reported that eighty-nine Local Governors (宣慰使) were appointed in the frontier area between China and Mian. We can not find any trustworthy evidences that the Mian Governor paid money and foodstuff to Chinese court as his tributes. The local Governorship invested by Chinese Emperor with Mian kings seems to have been mere nominal.

It is found that the Toungoo period in Myanmar history was correspondent to the late half of the Ming (明) period in Chinese history. It is, therefore, necessary for us to study the descriptions of the Ming-Shi (明史) along with other contemporary sources like Ming-Shi-Lu (明實錄), both written in Chinese. The former is the authentic history of the Ming dynasty, which was begun to compile by the royal order and completed in 1723. The latter is the official records of the events taken place during the reigns of the respective Emperors of Ming dynasty.

The descriptions of the accounts of Mian and neighboring states were arranged chronologically by the author of this paper.

**(1) Chronological Accounts of Burma and Adjacent States described in Chinese Sources, Ming-Shi and Ming-Shi-Lu.**

year	Accounts
1368	The Emperor, Hong-Wu-Di (洪武帝) asked Mian (緬) to offer tribute to him.
1369	The royal envoy headed by Tien-Yan (田巖) could not reach Mian because of the difficulties to travel there and returned China without success. The State of Mian is said to have located in the southwest of Yunnan and bounded on the States of Ba-Bai (八百)

and Zhan-Cheng (占城).

- 1382 Si-Lun-Fa (思倫發), the native chief of Lu-Chuan (麓川), was afraid of the military campaign by Chinese troops and surrendered.
- 1393 An mission from Ba-Bai (八百=Chiang Mai) submitted a report to the Chinese Emperor stating that Mian is their neighboring state but far distant from there geographically. Accordingly Mian failed to send her mission to China. The Emperor sent his envoy to the Governor of Ba-Bai and ordered to Mian to send a tributary mission to him. Mian sent a mission headed by Ban-Nan-Su-La (板南速刺) to China and offered the tributes for the first time. The Emperor accepted them cordially and gave them rewards.
- 1394 The Emperor set up a Local Governorship of Mian and appointed the native chief of Mian, Bu-La-Lang (卜刺浪), as the first Local Governor (宣慰使).
- 1395 Bu-La-Lang sent his mission, Sang-Qi-La-Cha (桑乞刺查), to China, offered his tributes and appealed to the Emperor accusing of the invasions of Si-Lun-Fa (思倫發) of Lu-Chuan against the territory of Mian.
- 1396 The Local Governor of Mian sent his mission again and made complaint of Si-Lun-Fa's raids to his territory. The Emperor sent his envoys to Mian and Lu-Chuan respectively and expostulated about the invasions by Si-Lun-Fa stating that both states had to evacuate their armies from the border. Having heard the royal expostulation, Si-Lun-Fa felt ashamed, prostrated himself before the royal' envoy and apologized for his faults.
- 1403 Na-Luo-Tha (那羅塔), the native chief of Mian, sent his mission and offered his tributes to the Emperor. The mission confessed that Mian had desired to submit to China for a long time, but could not reach China because of plenty of hindrances such as Mu-Bang (木

邦) and Meng-Yang (孟養) in the course of their journey from Mian to China. The Emperor granted a coronet, dresses and seal to Na-Luo-Tha and appointed him as the Local Governor of Mian. Dao-Mu-Dan (刀木旦), the Local Governor of Meng-Yang, was killed by Mu-Bang. Waiting for an opportunity, Xin-Jia-Si (新加斯), the native chief of Mian, killed the Local Governor of Mu-Bang. As Si-Lun-Fa (思倫發) of Lu-Chuan, died, his son, Si-Xing-Fa (思行發) succeeded his father. After the death of Si-Xing-Fa, his younger brother, Si-Ren-Fa (思任發) became the Local Governor of Lu-Chuan. Si-Ren-Fa was cunning and had no intention to pay his annual tribute to Chinese court.

- 1404 The Chinese Emperor sent his envoys to the Local Governors of Lu-Chuan, Pin-Mian, Lao-Guo and Mian.
- 1407 Na-Luo-Tha (那羅塔) of Mian sent his mission to China and offered his apology for his misconduct to interfere with a dispute between Meng-Yang (孟養) and Jia-Li (戛里), murdered Dao-Mu-Dan (刀木旦), the Local Governor of Meng-Yang, and his son, and occupied their territory. The Emperor sent his envoy to Na-Luo-Tha and expostulated with him about his behavior. Na-Luo-Tha was extremely ashamed and seized with fear to the royal condemnation. He returned the occupied territory immediately. The Emperor remitted him and ordered him to offer periodical tribute once per three years. Ma-Zhe-Su (馬者速), the younger brother of Na-Luo-Tha (那羅塔), sent his emissary to the Chinese Emperor and accused his elder brother of his illegal conduct. He insisted that their father, Bu-La-Lang (卜刺浪) had divided his state into two divisions and gave the majority to his elder son, Na-Luo-Tha, and the minor portion to his younger son, Ma-Zhe-Su. When Bu-La-Lang had passed away, Na-Luo-Tha seized the territory of his younger brother by

force and deported thousands of population from there. The Emperor expostulated with Na-Luo-Tha brothers about their dispute and ordered them to live amicably.

1408 The Local Governors of Mian and Lu-Chuan sent their ministers to China and offered horses and other tributes to the Emperor.

1409 Na-Luo-Tha sent his mission again to the Emperor to apologize his fault and offered tributes. The Emperor granted him with a golden seal.

1410 Na-Luo-Tha of Mian and Si-Xing-Fa of Lu-Chuan sent their missions to China. Na-Luo-Tha sent his minister Mang-Zhi (忙只) to China and offered horses to the Emperor. Han-Bin-Fa (罕賓發), the Local Governor of Mu-Bang, sent his mission consisted of forty men and headed by his minister, Tao-Meng-Li-Bu-Da (陶孟力不答), to China and offered elephants, horses, gold and silverware to the Emperor in order to express his gratitude to have been appointed as the Local Governor. Tao-Meng-Li-Bu-Da appealed to the Emperor that Na-Luo-Tha enticed Han-Bin-Fa repeatedly to revolt against Chinese court. Han-Bin-Fa did not consent to Na-Luo-Tha's request and took on oath that he should join with the Chinese army if the Emperor would send his punitive army against Na-Luo-Tha.

1411 Na-Luo-Tha of Mian sent his tributary mission to China.

1413 Na-Luo-Tha sent his mission to China and offered elephants, horses, gold and silverware to the Emperor who granted golden embroidery to Na-Luo-Tha.

Si-Xing-Fa (思行發) sent his tributary mission to China and petitioned to replace his post with his younger brother, Si-Ren-Fa (思任發). The Chinese court approved it and appointed Si-Ren-Fa as the Local Governor of Lu-Chuan.

1414 Na-Luo-Tha of Mian sent his mission to China and laid a complaint

- to the court that Mu-Bang (木邦) invaded and plundered the territory of Mian. The Emperor sent his envoy to Mian to persuade him so as to establish friendly relations with neighboring states.
- 1425 Xuan-De-Di (宣德帝), the new Emperor of China, sent his envoy to Mian to ask him to participate in the ceremony of his accession.
- 1426 The Emperor sent royal envoys to the Local Governors of Mian and Lao-Guo (老撾=Laos) and granted high quality of clothes.
- 1427 It was reported that Xin-Jia-Si (新加斯), the Local Governor of Mian, was killed by Mu-Bang (木邦) and his descendants were dispersed. Mian installed Mang-De-La (莽得刺), as their new leader of Mian. The Emperor approved him as the new Local Governor. The mission from Mian signed Mian-Dian (緬甸) instead of mere Mian (緬).
- 1428 The Viceroy of Yunnan reported to the Emperor that Si-Ren-Fa (思任發) of Lu-Chuan invaded Nan-Dian and Teng-Yue. He urged to despatch the royal army consisted of fifty thousand soldiers from Yunnan(雲南), Gui-Zhou (貴州) and Si-Chuan (四川) in order to subjugate Si-Ren-Fa.
- 1430 Mang-De-La (莽得刺) of Mian-Dian, Si-Ren-Fa (思任發) of Lu-Chuan and Han-Men-Fa (罕門法) of Mu-Bang sent their missions to Chinese court and offered elephants, horses and other valuable gifts.
- 1433 Mang-De-La sent his mission to China and offered his tribute to the Emperor. The Emperor sent his envoy to Mang-De-La, warning him not to invade the territory of Mu-Bang.
- 1441 The Emperor of China granted the Local Governor of Mian-Dian with a golden seal. When Si-Ren-Fa (思任發) of Lu-Chuan had risen in rebellion against China, the Emperor ordered the Local Governor of Mian-Dian to raise warriors and make offensive operation against Si-Ren-Fa.

1442 Wang-Ji (王驥), the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, reported to the Emperor that according to an information obtained from Han-Gai-Fa (罕蓋法), the Local Governor of Mu-Bang, the rebel's forts of Bang-Han (板罕) and Gong-Zhang (貢章), were attacked and occupied by the military forces led by Tao-Meng (陶孟) and Dao-Lang (刀琅). The royal army pursued the rebels to Meng-Meng (孟蒙) and took seven women of Si-Ren-Fa as the prisoners along with thirteen elephants. Si-Ren-Fa and his sons had been forced to cross the river Jing-Sha-Jiang (金沙江) i.e. the river Irrawaddy and flee to Meng-Guang (孟廣). Bu-La-Lang, the Local Governor of Mian-Dian, levied his army and attacked Si-Ren-Fa.

Mu-Ang (沐昂), the chief Minister for Yunnan Government, reported to the Emperor that Si-Ren-Fa had fled to Mian-Dian. Han-Gai-Fa (罕蓋法), the Local Governor of Mu-Bang, levied soldiers from Gan-Yai (干崖), Nan-Dian (南甸) in order to seize Si-Ji -Fa (思機發) brothers. Lu-Chuan military forces led by Si-Ren-Fa was defeated by Mian forces led by Mang-De-La. Si-Ren-Fa could flee to nowhere. The Emperor enticed Mang-De-La stating that if he could capture Si-Ren-Fa alive, he should be granted the territory of Lu-Chuan. Si-Ren-Fa was captured by Hun-Meng-Ping (混孟平), the native chief of Mian-Dian.

1443 Wang-Ji (王驥), the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, reported to the Emperor that Ma-Ha-Xing-Yi-Su-La (馬哈省以速刺), the native chief of Mian-Dian, had captured Si-Ren-Fa (思任發) already and occupied the territory of Lu-Chuan, saying that he was granted there in accordance with the pledge of the Chinese Emperor. Wang-Ji requested that the Emperor should order to send the royal army immediately to take sanction against Mian-Dian. A great number of the Chinese punitive army had recruited at Teng-Yue. The chief of



Mian-Dian was requested to surrender Si-Ren-Fa before winter. Wang-Ji sent his Adjutant Li-Yi (李儀), along with a few contingents. They passed through Nan-Ya-Shan (南牙山 = a mountain standing out to the north of Mu-Bang) in order to receive Si-Ren-Fa. Nobody, however, appeared to the border to bring Si-Ren-Fa.

1444 Wang-Ji encamped with his army at the upriver. Meanwhile the army of Mian-Dian defended their camps firmly at the downriver. They patrolled with their flotilla, descending and ascending along the stream, and inquired the situation of the Chinese troops. Wang-Ji instructed his commanders to send divers to the enemy's flotilla secretly and burn hundreds of boats simultaneously. The army of Mian-Dian fled in disorder. Wang-Ji perceived that the army of Mian-Dian could defend their camps relying upon the steep, precipitous topography, recruit new soldiers from various bandits. On the contrary, his army confronted with many difficulties including physical weariness of soldiers caused by a long expedition and scarcity of provisions

1446 Wang-Ji sent an emissary to the chief of Mian-Dian persuading that disaster would be avoided if he should surrender the chief of the rebellion. The chief of Mian-Dian consented to Wang-Ji's suggestion, brought Si-Ren-Fa and his family consisting of thirtytwo. The captive Si-Ren-Fa abstained from taking any food on the way to China and was starved to death. The Mian surrendered the corpse of Si-Ren-Fa to China.

1447 The Chinese Emperor granted a coronet, threads of insignia of nobility and a seal to the chief of Mian-Dian. He recognized Ma-Ha-Xing-Yi-Su-La (馬哈省以速刺), as the new Local Governor of Mian-Dian. Yi-Su-La demanded the territories of Meng-Yang (孟養) and Ga-li (戛里), and asked a great deal of Chinese troops to assist

him, because he was forced to confront with a huge army led by Si-Ji-Fa (思機發), the son of Si-Ren-Fa. The Emperor ordered Yi-Su-La not to fight with Si-Ji-Fa, but seize him alive. The rebellion would be dispersed and their territory would be obtainable without difficulty.

- 1449 The third expedition led by Wang-Ji crossed the river Irrawaddy. He thought that it would be difficult to conquer the rebellion. Eventually he authorized the sovereignty of Si-Lu (思祿), the son of Si-Ren-Fa, over the territory of Meng-Yang (孟養), and approved the river Irrawaddy as the demarcation between Meng-Yang and Mian-Dian.
- 1451 Though Bu-La-Lang-Ma-Ha-Xing-Yi-Su-La (卜刺浪馬哈省以速刺) of Mian-Dian did not surrender the captive to China even if he had captured Si-Ji-Fa (思機發) already, the Emperor granted a letter of credential and a golden seal to Yi-Su-La. The Emperor obtained an information that Si-Bu-Fa (思卜發) could return to his territory of Meng-Yang safely.
- 1454 The army of Mian-Dian came in search of Si-Bu-Fa. The Chinese general gave the territory of Yin-Jia (銀戛) to Mian. Ultimately Bu-La-Lan (卜刺浪), the Local Governor of Mian-Dian, brought Si-Ji-Fa (思機發) and his six family to the river Irrawaddy and surrendered them to Chinese army. They were sent to the Chinese capital as the prisoners. The Emperor ordered the Mian that it would not be necessary to pursue Si-Bu-Fa since he had fled far away. He granted valuable clothings and other rewards to Bu-La-Lang-Ma-Ha-Xing-Yi-Su-La (卜刺浪馬哈省以速刺) praising that Bu-La-Lang had carried out his duties as the Local Governor of Mian-Dian with great efforts.
- 1471 The Chinese Commander, Gong-Zhang (貢章), reported to the

Emperor that the Governor of Mian asked the territory of Meng-Yang as his fief. The Emperor gave his instruction that the Local Governor of Mian was approved to rule both the territories of Mu-Bang (木邦) and Long-Chuan (隴川). The territory of Meng-Yang (孟養) was actually possessed and governed by Si-Hon-Fa (思洪發), the grandson of Si-Ji-Fa (思機發). It was not the territory belonging to Mian-Dian. The territories where the Mian requested were those where the former Emperor had recognized. The mission from Mian could pass through there without any hindrance. The Emperor ordered to Si-Hon-Fa not to obstruct the crossing of the Mission from Mian-Dian to China.

- 1474 Nang-Han-Nong (囊罕弄) of Meng-Mi (孟密), where was originally governed by Mu-Bang as their dependency, invaded and plundered Long-Chuan (隴川). Nang Han-Nong was the daughter of Han-Die-Fa (罕蝶法), the Local Governor of Mu-Bang, and married to Si-Wai-Fa (思外法), the native chief of Meng-Mi, where was a rubby mine. When Han-Die-Fa died, his grandson, Le-Fa (落法) succeeded. Nang-Han-Nong could not enjoy luxurious life. In the middle of 15th century, she revolted to Mu-Bang, banished the Governor and raided the frontier areas. The military power of Long-Chuan and Meng-Yang grew more formidable day by day. She claimed herself to have been the Celestial Lady (天娘子). Her son, Si-Bing (思柄) also claimed to be the Governor. Nang-Han-Nong desired to have diplomatic relation with Jiao-Zhi (交趾=Vietnam) and threatened the territories of Mu-Bang and Ba-Bai (八百=Chiang Mai). The Minister for Military Affairs of Chinese Court held a council to discuss the matter and decided to send an envoy to Meng-Mi to appease Nang-Han-Nong, since Meng-Mi and Mu-Bang were in opposition for a long time and could never be reunited.

- 1482 Mu-Cong (沐宗), the commander-in-chief of Yunnan army, reported to the Emperor that his commander returned from Lao-Guo (老撾) and died at Meng-Gen (孟艮). Pa-Ya-Sai (怕雅賽), the Local Governor, carried an official letter written in Burmese scripts with him, stating that as they were attacked by Jiao-Zhi (交趾), they requested to the Chinese court to send the royal army to assist them. Si-Bing (思柄) of Meng-Mi (孟密) sent his tributary mission to China. The Emperor accepted them though Si-Bing was not the authorized Local chief. Meng-Mi appealed that the political stability had been lost around Mu-Bang and the Governorship should be set up at Meng-Mi. Nang-Han-Nong sent her emissary through Yunnan to Chinese court, offered jewels and golds. She requested to set up a separated Local Governor for Meng-Mi. Eventually the Chinese court decided that the Governor of Meng-Mi should be appointed on condition that the occupied areas by Meng-Mi would be returned.
- 1486 The Yunnan Government reported to the Chinese court that official letters written in Burmese scripts were brought by the mission from Lao-Guo (老撾) and Ba-Bai (八百). The letters mentioned that Jiao-Zhi (交趾) forces withdrew and returned to their native country.
- 1488 The Local Governor of Mian-Dian sent his tributary mission to China and appealed that Annam (安南) raided the frontier area of Mian-Dian.  
The Emperor sent his envoy to Annam and ordered the king of Annam to retreat from Meng-Yang (孟養), of where the native chief had a grudge against Mian-Dian, since they had once seized Si-Ren-Fa.
- 1522 Si-Lu (思陸), the chief of Meng-Yang (孟養), and his son, Si-Lun (思倫), attacked Mian-Dian in alliance with Mu-Ban (木邦) and Meng-Mi (孟密). They murdered Mang-Ji-Sui (莽紀歲), the Local

Governor of Mian-Dian, and his family and divided his territory among them. The Mian-Dian appealed to China to take action toward them but in vain.

- 1527 Mang-Ji-Sui (莽紀歲) had a son (an illegitimate child) named Rui-Ti (瑞體), who had fled from A-Wa (阿瓦), to his mother's home in Dong-Wu (洞吾) when he was infant. The native chief of Dong-Wu fostered the boy as his adopted son. He became grown-up already. At the south of Dong-Wu, located the state of Gu-La (古刺) faced to the ocean. A dispute concerning the possession of a territory took place between the elder and younger brothers of Gu-La. Rui-Ti reconciled them. They offered the territory of dispute to Rui-Ti. Rui-Ti sent a letter of palm-leaf to Chinese Empereor and claimed himself as Da-La-Rui-Ti (達刺瑞體). He blocked the passage of transportation to Gu-La so as to unable to convey the provisions, killed the Gu-La brothers and occupied their territories. The native chiefs of neighboring states were subjugated to Rui-Ti.

When Mian-Dian destroyed Zhe-Mu (者木), Si-Ge (思箇) had controled the up-stream of Meng-Yang. Han-Ba (罕拔) of Mu-Bang (木邦) recruited his army. He met Yue-Feng (岳鳳) at Long-Chuan and attacked Meng-Mi.

- 1532 Mang-Ying-Li (莽應里) conquered the various states around Bai-Gu (擺古). Dao Nuo-Meng (刀糯猛), the Local Governor of Che-Li (車里=Kang Hung), was forced to accept the Mian's suzerainty over them.

- 1568 Han-Ba (罕拔) succeeded the native ruler of Mu-Bang (木邦). As no salt could be obtained at all, he begged Mian-Dian to support him with salt. In compliance with his request, Mian-Dian supported him with five thousand baskets of salt. Thanks to his favor, Han-Ba offered gold and precious stones, elephants and horses to Mang-Rui-

Ti (莽瑞體) of Mian-Dian. Mang-Rui-Ti was also delighted to get the gifts and formed an alliance with him like as father and son.

1573 Mian-Dian army invaded the territory of Long-Chuan. Yue-Feng (岳鳳), the brother-in-law of Duo-Shi-Ning (多士寧), the Local Governor of Long-Chuan, slaughtered Duo-Shi-Ning and his family. He pretended as the native of Mian, in spite of a native of Jiang-Xi (江西), province of China, and was approved by Mian as the Governor of Long-Chuan. Han-Ba of Mu-Bang conquered Meng-Mi in collaboration with Si-Zhe (思哲). The Chinese Emperor granted the cloth of gold, box of ivory to Rui-Ti, who claimed himself as Mang-De-La (莽得刺), assumed the title of the Lord of the white elephant and the golden building of Southwest (西南金樓白象王). Han-Ba of Mu-Bang invited Dao-Pa-Wen (刀怕文), the native chief of Gan-Yai (干崖), and persuaded him to act as a substitute for his elder brother. Dao-Pa-wen rejected his suggestion and waged a war against him. Mang-Ying-Li (莽應里) of Mian-Dian marched along with his army consisted of two hundred thousand soldiers and succeeded to separate Long-Chuan and Gan-Yai. Dao-Pa-Wen was defeated and fled away. Yong-Chang (永昌), the Government of Yunnan, occupied the territory of Gan-Yai, gave the seal of Gan-Yai to Han-Ba, and promoted his sister as a female attendant to the Governor of Yunnan. Yong-Chang appointed Zhao-Meng-De (召孟達) as the Governor and Dao-Si-Guan (刀思管) as his deputy and defended Gan-Yai. All the states of Mu-Bang (木邦), Man-Mo (蠻莫), Long-Chuan (隴川) and Gan-Yai (干崖) paid allegiances to Mian-Dian. Meng-Yang (孟養) only could not be conquered by Mian-Dian. Si-Ge (思箇) of Meng-Yang alone rejected allegiance to Mian-Dian. The Chinese Emperor sent his deputy to Meng-Yang to encourage him. Mian-Dian attacked Meng-Yang with a great deal of

army. Si-Ge informed their serious situation to Chinese deputy who sent a reinforcement. The native Chief Ma-Lu-La-Song (馬祿刺送) led over ten thousand of soldiers, blocked the road to transport the provisions to Mian army, lured them deep into Jia-Sa (戛撒) mountain. Si-Ge attacked the front forces of Mian. The reinforcement from Long-Chuan attacked the rear forces of Mian army. Mian army suffered heavily from deficiency of their provisions so that they killed their horses and elephants for their foods. Rui-Ti (瑞體) fled in secret from the narrow Pass. Si-Ge pursued him. Mian army was defeated completely.

- 1578 The Chinese Emperor sent his envoy to Meng-Yang and instructed Si-Ge (思箇) to return the war captives together with their elephants to Mian.
- 1579 Commander Feng (鳳) of Yong-Chang (永昌) sent his emissary to Meng-Mi to purchase elephants. Si-Zhong (思忠) seized Feng alive and sent back him to Mian. Mian attacked Meng-Yang and took revenge for their defeat at Jia-sa in 1577. Si-Ge had no reinforcement for this time and fled to Teng-Yue. He was captured on his way and sent to Rui-Ti, who executed him and took the territory of Meng-Yang.
- 1580 The Chinese Emperor sent an envoy to invite Rui-Ti to Chinese court. Rui-Ti rejected the royal invitation. .
- 1582 Yue-Feng (岳鳳) led the Mian army, attacked Gan-Yai, captured him and his family and took the seal of Han (罕). Liu-Shi-Hui (劉世會), the Secretary for Province, asked the Emperor to send reinforcement from Nan-Jin. The Emperor sent Liu-Ting (劉綰) and Deng-Zi-Long (鄧子龍) along with five thousand of soldiers respectively. The Mian invaded Yao-Guan. Ting and Zi-Long defeated them and pursued the remnants of the defeated Mian troops. They

decapitated more than ten thousand of Mian captives during six months from October of 1582 to April of 1583. The Chinese army led by Ting and Zi-Long went expedition even to Awa through Long-Chuan and Meng-Mi. The Mian General, Meng-Zhuo (猛勾), the younger brother of Rui-Ti (瑞體), visited Ting and surrendered himself. Having heard the news, Rui-Ti was enraged in wrath and attacked his brother who fled to Teng-Yue. Rui-Ti, the king of Mian, died abruptly. His son, Mang-Ying-Li (莽應里), succeeded his father. Yue-Feng (岳鳳) instigated Mang-Yin-Li to kill Han-Ba of Mu-Bang (木邦) and carried away numerous captives. He persuaded Mang-Yin-Li to rise in revolt against China along with hundred thousand of Mian army.

- 1583 Mian army plundered and burnt down the city of Shi-Dian (施甸). Nang-Wu (囊烏), the son of Yue-Feng (岳鳳), led sixty thousand of military forces and besieged the fort of Meng-Lin-Sai. The General-Commander of China and commander of a Division fell fighting in battle. The Adjutant asked to send reinforcement urgently of no effect. The fort fell and Dao and his family were executed. Mian army was ready to proceed even to the cities of Teng-Yue (騰越), Yong-Chang (永昌), Da-Li (大理), Meng-Hua (蒙化) and Jing-Tong (景東). The entire forces consisted of Long-Chuan, Meng-Yang and Man-Mo fled in disorder. Yue-Feng (岳鳳) and all his sons were executed. The Chinese army occupied Long-Chuan. Consequently Mang-Ying-Li was forced to return to his own state. His son, Si-Dou (思斗) guarded A-Wa (阿瓦). Mian army attacked Meng-Yang and Man-Mo once again stating that they intended to take vengeance. The Adjutant Li-Cai (李材) was sent as the reinforcement from Teng-Yue. He defeated Mian army in the battle at Zhe-Lang and captured five thousand of Mian soldiers with their elephants.



- Li-Cai sent his emissary to Si-Hua (思化), the chief of Man-Mo, who surrendered in compliance with his persuasion.
- 1584 The Chinese army defeated Mian army at Yao-Guan (姚關). They set up Qin (欽) as the new Chief, but he died soon. His uncle, Han-He (罕榑) attacked Mian in collaboration with Xian-Luo (暹羅 = Siam).
- 1591 Mang-Ying-Li (莽應里) besieged Man-Mo (蠻莫) with his army once again. Si-Hua informed it urgently to China. Wan-Guo-Chun (萬國春), the Commander of Chinese Army, instructed to his soldiers to run holding numerous torches with horses. Having seen the sight, the Mian army was afraid of a large force awaiting them and retreated in haste.
- 1594 Chen-Yong-Bin (陳用賓), the Secretary of Yunnan Province, set up Eight Barriers (八閘) on the frontier area and encamped his army at Teng-Yue. He recruited new soldiers, attacked Mian in collaboration with Xian-Luo (暹羅 = Siam) and defeated Mian. The Mian instructed Duo-An (多俺), the chief of Meng-Mao (猛卯), to guide them to the eastern bank of the river Lu-Jiang (潞江 = Salween). Han-Qin of Mu-Bang seized Duo-An and executed him. The China constructed a fort at Meng-Mao and encamped there. Si-Ren (思仁), the General Commander of Mian army, invaded Man-Mo (蠻莫), but was defeated by the Chinese forces.
- 1595 Mang-Ying-Li (莽應里) requested two chiefs of Meng-Lian (孟連) and Meng-Gen (孟艮) to offer tributes to him. Having heard the news, the Governor of Yunnan sent his duty officer, Li-Jing-Gui, to Meng-Lian and Meng-Gen with silver sheets. Both of Meng-Lian and Meng-Gen rejected to receive the royal order.
- 1600 A-Wa (阿瓦) attacked Bi-Gu (秘古) and conquered it. Since then, the political stability continued for one hundred and forty years in

- Myanmar until Bi-Gu rebelled against A-Wa and seized the king of A-Wa alive.
- 1603 Yong-Han (雍罕) of A-Wa together with Han-He (罕檣), the son of Han-Ba, sent their tributary missions to China. The military power of Mian declined year by year. She suffered from military assaults by Xien-Luo (暹羅=Siam) and De-Leng (得楞=Talaing) every year. Xien-Luo and De-Leng killed Man-Ji (莽機), the eldest son of the Mian king, and occupied Gu-La. Since then, Mian ceased to invade territory of China. The minor parincipalities in the neighborhood of Mian, however, accepted Mian's suzerainty.
- 1606 Mian besieged Mu-Bang with three hundred thousand soldiers. The fort could not be fallen, but Han-He (罕檣), the chief of Mu-Bang, was captured.
- 1620 Mian ceased to offer tribute to Chinese court.
- 1644 Si-Jian (思縣) of Man-Mo (蠻莫) guarded the Mian from China. When Yong-Ming-Wang (永明王=永曆帝), the last Emperor of Ming (明) dynasty, sought refuge in Man-Mo, assisted by Li-Ding-Guo (李定国) of Yunnan (雲南), Si-Jian (思縣) informed the incident to Mian immediately. Mian sent envoy to receive Yong-Ming-Wang. Wu-San-Gui (吳三桂), General Commander of Qing (清) army, pursued Yon-Ming-Wang with his army consisted of eighteen thousand soldiers. Jiang-Guo-Tai (江國泰), sent his emissary to Li-Ding-Guo and attacked Meng-Gen (孟艮) from both sides.
- 1659 Yong-Ming-Wang fled to Yong-Chang (永昌) through Kun-Ming (昆明) in Yunnan.
- 1660 The Qing (清) army of China attacked Yunnan. The Ming army led by Li-Ding-Guo upon whom Yong-Ming-Wang had depended was defeated at the river Lu-Jiang (潞江=Salween). Yong-Ming-Wang fled via Nam-Dian (南甸) far to Nang-Mu-He (囊木河). His

attendants decreased to only one thousand. Yong-Ming-Wang was accepted by A-wa and stayed in a grass-roofed hut at Zhe-Gen (赭經=Sagain).

- 1661 The younger brother of the King of Mian killed his elder brother and claimed himself as the new monarch of Mian. The Viceroy of Yunnan marched to Mandalay with his army consisted of twenty thousand soldiers and requested the new king of A-Wa to surrender Yong-Ming-Wang. The King of A-Wa complied with his request and Yong-Ming-Wang was surrendered to Qing (清) army of China. Li-Ding-Guo (李定国) died bearing a great resentment against A-Wa.
- 1662 Yong-Ming-Wang was executed at Kun-Ming (昆明) in Yunnan (雲南). Since A-Wa had surrendered the refugees to China, the southwestern states of Mian lost their reverence to Mian. They did neither homage nor offer tributary to Awa.

## **(2) The Kings of Awa and Toungoo dynasties described in Chinese sources in comparison with those in Burmese sources**

It is needless to say that Burmese kings and their accounts described in Chinese Sources should be compared with those stated in Burmese chronicles in order to examine the facts. Strictly speaking, the names of Burmese kings, the years of their ascendings to the throne and the years of their deaths mentioned in the Chinese sources are not always identical with those in Burmese Chronicles. In this chapter, the Local Governors of Mian described in Chinese sources are to be examined in comparison to those described in Burmese chronicles, such as Maha Yazawindawgyi compiled by U Kala in 1724 and Hmannan Yazawindawgyi compiled by the royal order of King Bagyidaw in 1829.

1. Bu-La-Lang (卜刺浪), whose name appeared for the first time in Chinese

sources in 1395 when he was appointed by the Chinese Emperor as the Local Governor of Mian, is undoubtedly "Minkyiswasawke", who governed from 1368 to 1401 as the second monarch of Awa dynasty. This view is supported by Ogiwara. Bu-La-Lang seems however, to have been generic term for Burmese king meaning the Bodhisattva (Hpayalaung). Chen Yi Sein (陳孺性) expresses quite similar comprehension about Bu-La-Lang. The Chinese sources did neither mention the year of his ascending to the throne nor the year of his death. Concerning Ban-Nan-Su-La (板南速刺) who was sent by Bu-La-Lang to Chinese court, Chen Yi Sein suggests that Ban-Nan-Su-La denotes Pañña Sura meaning the hero of wisdom. Ogiwara points out that Ban-nan, the front part of the name, might have been Bañña in Mon language and denotes the name of Mon chief.

2. Na-Luo-Tha (那羅塔), whom the Chinese Emperor appointed as the Local Governor of Mian in 1402, was the eldest son of Bu-La-Lang. He is corresponding to "Minhkaung" who ruled Awa from 1401 to 1422. Ogiwara also comprehends that Na-Luo-Ta was identical with Minhkaung. According to the Chinese sources, Na-Luo-Ta had a younger brother named Ma-Zhe-Su (馬者速). Na-Luo-Tha seized his brother's territory and was reproached by the Chinese Emperor regarding his unfair conduct.
3. Xin-Jia-Su (新加斯), slain by the Shan chief of Mu-Bang (=Hsenwi) in 1427, seems to have been the son of Minhkaung "Thihathu" who reigned Awa for four years from 1422 to 1426. Burmese sources state that Thihathu was poisoned to death by his mother-in-law in 1425.
4. Mang-De-La (莽得刺), who was elected to the throne of Mian and subsequently appointed by the Chinese Emperor as the Local Governor of Mian-Dian in 1427, seems to have been "Mohnyin Thado", who came to the throne in 1427 and died in 1440. It is evident that the name

Mang-De-La was not a personal name but the general term for Burmese king "Mintaya".

5. Bu-La-Lang-Ma-Ha-Xing-Yi-Su-la (卜刺浪馬哈省以速刺), was appointed as the Local Governor of Mian in 1447. He captured Si-Ren-Fa (思任發) of Lu-Chuan alive in 1443, but did not surrender him at first to China. Therefore he confronted with the punitive expedition of Chinese Emperor and was forced to surrender the captive together with his family in 1447. He seized Si-Ji-Fa (思機發), the son of Si-Ren-Fa, too in 1451. Bu-La-Lang-Ma-Ha-Xing-Yi-Su-la was reluctant to surrender the captive to China, but was obliged ultimately to surrender him in 1454. It is obvious that Bu-La-Lang-Ma-Ha-Xing-Yi-Su-la was identical with "Narapati" who ruled for twenty-six years from 1443 to 1469 at Awa. "Bu-La-Lang", the front part of the king's name, was considered to denote the general name for the Burmese king, "Hpayalaung" like the case of Minkyiwasawke. It appears certain that Si-Ren-Fa, who had been surrendered to China by Bu-La-Lang, was "Thonganbwa" in Burmese history.
6. Mang-Ji-Sui (莽紀歲) was, according to Chinese sources, murdered by Si-Lu (思陸) of Meng-Yang (=Mohnyin) in collaboration with Mu-bang (=Hsenwi) and Meng-Mi (Momeit) in 1521. It indicates that Min-Ji-Sui murdered by Si-Lu of Meng-Yang was probably "Shwenan Kyawshin", who was described in Burmese sources to have ascended the throne of Awa in 1502 and fell fighting against Sawlon of Mohnyin in the battle in 1527. Yao-dan (姚丹) and Xu-yu (許玉) also submit the similar proposition in their book.
7. Rui-Ti (瑞體) was described as an illegitimate son of Mang-Ji-Sui in Chinese sources. He had fled from Awa to Dong-Wu (=Toungoo) where he was fostered by the chief as his adopted son. After his growth, he settled a dispute taken place between the elder and younger brothers of

Gu-La (=Mon kingdom) regarding their territory. Later he killed the brothers and seized their territory by force in 1527 and became the powerful ruler of Gu-La, assuming himself, Da-La-Rui-Ti, that is to say, Taya Shwehti. He launched to conquer not only the surrounding states but also petit States of Shans, located on the frontier area between Mian and China, such as Mu-Bang (Hsenwi), Man-Mo (Bamo), Long-Chuan, Che-Li (Kang Hung) and Gan-Yai. A large number of Shan chiefs, with exception of Meng-Yang (=Mohnyin), came to offer their allegiances to Rui-Ti in 1572. He could not subdue Meng-Yang until 1579 when he murdered Si-Ge (思箇), the chief of Meng-Yang. He died abruptly in 1582. From the standpoint of phonological view, the name Rui-Ti denotes "Shwe Hti", the rear portion of Tabin-shwehti. Judging from the period of his reign, however, it is evident that Rui-Ti in Chinese sources was correspondent to two kings of Toungoo dynasty, Tabinshwehti (1531-50) and Bayinnaung (1551-81). The Chinese Annals did not discriminate Tabinshwehti and Bayinnaung. The latter was described in Burmese sources as the brother-in-law of Tabinshwehti. This proposition is supported by Yao-dan and Xu-yu (1958), and also by Chen-Yi-Sen (1969, 1970).

The ruler of Gu-La (=Mon kingdom) slain by Rui-Ti was obviously Takayutpi, Binnya-ran's successor. The Chinese annals state that Meng-Zhuo (猛勺), who surrendered himself to Chinese Commander-in-Chief was Rui-Ti's brother. Under the circumstances, the author of this paper can not identify yet who Meng-Zhuo was.

8. Mang-Ying-Li (莽應里) was described in Chinese sources as the son of Rui-Ti. Since he succeeded to the throne in 1582, it is agreeable that Mang-Ying-Li corresponds to "Nandabayin" (1581-99) of Toungoo dynasty. This view is supported by Yao-dan and Xu-yu (1958). Nothing has been known, however, about the death of Nang-Ying-Li in Chinese

sources. The eldest son of Mang-Yin-Li, Mang-Ji (莽機), who was described to have killed by Xien-Luo (=Siam) and De-Leng (=Talaing) in 1603, was probably Minkyizwa.

9. The name of the younger brother who killed his elder brother, the king of Mian, in 1661 was not revealed in Chinese annals. The Burmese chronicles describe that Pindale, the king of Nyaungyan dynasty, was killed by his younger brother, Pye, in 1661. It was, according to the Burmese chronicles, King Pye who surrendered Yun-Li, the last Emperor of Ming dynasty, to Chinese army of Qing dynasty.

### (3) A Comparison of Place Names described in Chinese Sources

It is not so difficult to identify the names of places found in Chinese sources because almost all the names are still extant in twentieth century either in Burma or in China with the exception of a few cases. An alphabetical list of the names of the places found in Chinese sources is arranged by the author of this paper as follows.

#### Names in Chinese

A-Wa (阿瓦) =Awa or Inwa, the Capital of Awa dynasty, founded in 1364 A. D. by Thado Minbya. It lies at the junction of the Myit-Nge with the Irrawaddy.

Ba-Bai (八百) =Chiang Mai, a city situated in Northern Thailand.

Bai-Gu (罷古) =Bago or Pegu, the capital of Mon dynasty from 13th Century to the late 15th Century. In 16th Century, it was the capital of a united Burmese Kingdom. It is located on the Pegu river in Lower Burma.

Bi-Gu (秘古) =Another script for Bai-Gu.

Che-Li (車里) =later called Kiang-Hung (江洪) or Jing-Hong (景洪) in Yunnan.

De-Leng (得楞) =Talaing, Chinese designation to Mon people.

Dong-Wu (洞吾) =Toungoo, the capital of the Burmese kingdom from the late 14th Century to the first half of the 16th Century. It is located on the western bank of Sittan river.

Gan-Yai (干崖) =said to be distant 480 Li Southwest of Yong-Chang.

Gu-La (古剌) =Another designation to Bai-Gu.

Jia-li (戛里) =Burmese name Kale.

Jia-Sa (戛撒) =Katha, a place located at the western bank of river Irrawaddy.

Jing-Sha-Jiang (金沙江) =Chinese designation to Irrawaddy river.

Jiao-Zhi (交趾) =Vietnam. Chinese Emperor Yong-Le-Di (永樂帝) sent his army there and annexed it to China in 1407. After Annam regained her independence in 1427, China called her Jiao-Zhi or Annam.

Lao-Guo (老撾) =Laos. It was called Lang-Chang since 14th century A. D.

Long-Chuan (隴川) =Another name for Lu-Chuan (麓川).

Lu-Chuan (麓川) =Another name of Lu-Chuan-Pin-Mian (麓川平緬). It was located between Shweli (瑞麗江) river and Tai-Ping (太平江) river. It was contiguous to Ba-Bai (Ching Mai) in the South and Mien (Burma) in the southwestern direction. Jiang (江應梁) states that Bai-Yi is identified as De-Hong autonomous state of Tai and Jinghpaw (德宏泰族景頗族自治州). The inhabitants of Lu-Chuan were called Bai-Yi (百夷) in Chinese sources and Maw-Shan in Burmese sources. They appear to have been a branch of Tai race and were distinguished from main race of Tai, called merely Shan in Burmese sources. Chen-Yi-Sein pointed out that Bai-Yi was the Chinese designation to Shan



(珊族) living in Yun-nan Province (雲南省).

Lu-Jiang (潞江) = Chinese designation to Salween river. It is called Nu-Jiang (怒江) in contemporary Chinese. It rises in Eastern Tibet, flows east through Sikang, then south through western part of Yunnan (雲南省) Province of China, and continues south through the Shan State of Burma.

Man-Mo (蠻莫) = Bhamo. It is the second biggest city in Kachin State, situated at the eastern bank of Irrawaddy river.

Meng-Gen (孟艮) = Mong Kawng, Signifying "Town of Drum" in Shan language. Burmese name is Mogaung. It is one of the towns in Kachin State, situated on the left bank of Mogaung river and is bounded by the Myitkyina along the eastern side. Mogaung and Mohnyin lie at the opposite extremities of the same broad valley of Nam Yang.

Meng-Lian (孟連) = Mainglin, one of towns in Yunnan Province, located at the south of Shun-Ning (順寧).

Meng-Mao (猛卯) = Maingmaw, one of the towns in Yunnan Province, located at the right bank of Shweli river (瑞麗江), opposite site of Namkham.

Meng-Mi (孟密) = Mong Mit Signifying "town of Dagger" in Shan language. Burmese name is Momeit. It is One of the towns in Shan State. It lies between the Nam-Maung and Nam-Meik streams, which, after joining, flow into the Shweli river (瑞麗江) at Myitson, about eighteen miles below Mo-Meik. It is bounded on the south by Mogok township and on the west by the Tagaung subdivision.

Meng-Yang (孟養) = Mong Yang Signifying "Town of Egret" in Shan language. Burmese name is Mohnyin. It is situated on the eastern bank of Mohnin stream, one of tributaries of the river

- Irrawaddy, and about twenty miles east of Lashio.
- Mian (緬) = Chinese designation for Burma in Yuen dynasty and the first half of Ming dynasty.
- Mian-Dian (緬甸) = Chinese designation for Burma in the late half of Ming dynasty and Qing dynasty.
- Mu-Bang (木邦) = 別名、孟邦. a classical name for Hsenwi or Theinnni, signifying "Place of Lakh" in Shan language. It is bounded on the north by various Shan-Chinese states of the province of Yunnan, China. The Nam-Mao or Shweli river forms a well-marked physical boundary on the north. Hsen-wi is situated on the bank of the Nam-Tu or Myit-nge valley.
- Teng-Yue (騰越) = a city located in Yunnan Province, China.
- Xian-Luo (暹羅) = Chinese designation for Siam or Thailand.
- Yong-Chang (永昌) = located at the western part of Yunnan province, China.

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