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## Shanguo is not a Shan Kingdom: To Correct a Mistake Related to the Early History of Tai-speaking Peoples in China and Mainland Southeast Asia<sup>1</sup>

According to Chinese annals, there was a kingdom named Shan-guo (掸国) which sent envoys to China for many times during the first and 2nd centuries. Of the two Chinese characters, the first one “shan” is just the name of this kingdom, and the second one “guo”, means kingdom or state or country etc. so the transliteration of these two characters is *Shanguo*, means Shan kingdom (or state or country etc.). The first group of envoys of the kingdom Shanguo, according to Chinese annals, came from somewhere beyond Yongchang (today’s Baoshan in western Yunnan, China; while farther west of Baoshan, e.g. “beyond Yongchang”, are coincidentally located Dehong, a Dai prefecture in western Yunnan, and the Shan States in Burma). It is that region where many Tai-speaking peoples live today, and, as they are called “Shan” in Burma, some scholars conclude therefore, that the Shanguo mentioned in Chinese annals is located in today’s northeastern Burma and a part of Dehong, and it is a kingdom built by the ancestors of the present Dai-Shan people living there. Some scholars always mention this Shanguo when they talk about the early history of Burma, especially the early history of the Shan in

Burma and the history of Sino-Burmese relations. As part of today’s Dehong is considered to be within this so-called “Shan kingdom”, some scholars studying the history of Dai in Yunnan naturally relate the early history of Dai to the Shanguo mentioned above, it being regarded as an early Dai kingdom and refer to it in their books and articles on the history of the Dai in Yunnan. Some other scholars even conclude that the territory of Shanguo included some parts of present day Laos. The history of Laos is, therefore, also considered to be related to this Shanguo. A few scholars go even further to conclude that the territory of Shanguo includes present day Thailand and Vietnam.

However, more and more materials and results of studies on the history of Tais have shown that Shanguo is neither a Shan kingdom nor any other Dai-Tai kingdom. It is not even in mainland Southeast Asia. This article is just to correct a mistake which has produced a great impact on Tai studies, especially on the Tai studies in China, for a long time.

The original materials on Shanguo are scarce. They are just six pieces of materials recorded in different volumes in *Houhan Shu* (*Annals of*

*Later Han Dynasty*). Of the six records about Shanguo, the earliest one says: "In spring, January, of the ninth year of *Yongyuan*, the envoys of barbarians and Shanguo from somewhere beyond Yongchang came, through several interpretations, to contribute".<sup>2</sup> This is the first group of envoys from Shanguo to China to be recorded in Chinese annals. The ninth year of *Yongyuan* of Later Han Dynasty was 97 AD.

About this visit of the envoys of Shanguo, another record on "southwestern barbarians" in *Houhan Shu* states:

In the ninth year (of *Yongyuan*), the envoys sent by the barbarians and Yongyoudiao, the king of Shanguo, came from outside, through several interpretations, and brought with them the jewelry as the contributions, His Majesty Hedi bestowed gold seals and purple brands to them, all the small chieftains were granted seals, brands, clothes and money etc.<sup>3</sup>

This record only says that the envoys of the barbarians and Shanguo came from "outside". Yongchang is not mentioned. We can, however, judge from the record that they should be the same envoys who came from somewhere beyond Yongchang mentioned in the first record. What is different is the name of the king of Shanguo is in this material.

Twenty four years later, another group of envoys was sent by the king of Shanguo to China. Another record in *Houhan Shu* says:

In December of the first year of *Yongning* (121 AD.), the envoys of Shanguo came from somewhere beyond Yongchang to contribute.<sup>4</sup>

According to the above-mentioned records, most scholars believe that as the envoys of Shanguo came from somewhere beyond Yongchang, the location of Shanguo should be in today's Shan State of Burma and some parts of Dehong. It is this region, just to the west of Baoshan, e.g. beyond Yongchang, where the main residents now are coincidentally Dai-Shan peoples. What seems to be more evident is that the Dai-Tai people living there are called Shan in Burma, so Shanguo should be a kingdom built by the ancestors of Dai-Shan people in

today's Dehong, western Yunnan and the Shan States in Burma.

A problem quickly becomes apparent. If we conclude that the location of Shanguo is in the Shan State of Burma and some parts of Dehong, western Yunnan, based on the above-mentioned records, there is another record in another volume in the same *Houhan Shu* saying:

In December of the fifth year of *Yongjian*, the envoys of Yediaoguo and Shanguo came from somewhere beyond Rinanto to contribute.<sup>5</sup>

There is no doubt that this group of envoys was sent by the king of Shanguo because the time when they came to China was 131 AD. What is noteworthy here is that the direction the envoys came from this time is somewhere "beyond Rinan" (the old name of present day central Vietnam) rather than "beyond Yongchang".

If the location of Shanguo is in the Shan State of Burma and parts of Dehong, why did the envoys of Shanguo travel to China by a longer route rather than the existing ready-made road between Burma and Yunnan? To resolve this problem, some scholars argue that there were two Shan kingdoms in mainland Southeast Asia: one was in the region beyond Yongchang, e.g. in today's Dehong of western Yunnan and the Shan State of Burma while the other was in the region "beyond Rinan", e.g. in present day Laos, which is just beyond central Vietnam from China's perspective. The Laotian people in Laos, in a broad sense, are a branch of the Tai who, it is generally considered, are also related to the Shan in Burma.<sup>6</sup>

Another problem emerges here because while generally thought that the word 'Shan' is just the name given by the Burmese to the Dai-Tai in Burma, the Dai-Tai people there still call themselves Dai or Tai rather than Shan. If Shanguo is a kingdom built by the Tai in Burma and the Dai in Yunnan, why did they call themselves Shan all along rather than their own name Dai or Tai? And why had the Chinese not yet known despite the envoys visits to China that their real appellation was not Shan but Dai or Tai? As for the names of Laos in history, what we can find from ancient Chinese and Vietnamese annals are only those such as

'Ailao', 'Laoya', 'Niuhou', 'Liaocha' and 'Laozhua' etc. None is related to the pronunciation of 'Shan', although the Laotian have the same origin as the Shan in Burma in a broad sense. No appellation pronounced like 'Shan' can be found in contemporary ethnological materials about Laos. So it is even more difficult to argue that there is another Shanguo—a Shan kingdom in the history of Laos.

Other scholars even hold that, "Rinan was the southern-most district of Jiaozhou (e.g. Cochin, in the central Vietnam today), all the foreign envoys coming to China could be met by Chinese officials at Rinan which Shanguo just bordered, so present day Thailand, Laos and Vietnam were also part of the Shan region then".<sup>7</sup> This is a more strained interpretation without any reliable evidence.

It has been suggested that the Chinese character Dianyue (滇越) can be pronounced as 'tan' while 'tan' sounds like Tai, so Shanguo should be pronounced as Tanguo, e.g. Taiguo or Tai kingdom.<sup>8</sup> But this explanation is problematic. Firstly, the Chinese character 滇 can be pronounced as 'tan' but as 'tan' and 'tai' only have the same consonant, the differentiation between the vowels of these two words is obvious. This argument is not tenable. Secondly, and more importantly, as noted above, the term 'Shan' for today's Tai in Burma is the name given to them by the Burmese or by some other ethnic groups around them, they call themselves Dai or Tai rather than Shan. So the term 'Shan' should never be explained as the same term as 'Tai'. Thirdly, even if 'Shan' and 'Tai' can be explained as the same term, the traceable names of the ancient ethnic groups which are believed to be related to early Dai-Tai ethnic groups in the Chinese annals are just only 'Ou', 'Luo', 'Yue' and 'Liao' or 'Lao' etc. There is no character used to describe these early ethnic groups pronounced as Dai or Tai in any annals. In some western literature, the meaning of Tai is given as 'freedom'.<sup>9</sup> If so, as far as we know about the history of mainland Southeast Asia, the term 'Tai' might have appeared during the period when the Tai people had freed themselves from the yoke of Khmer, after the 10th to the 12th centuries. The appearance of the term 'Tai' for today's Thai or Tai could not be earlier than the 10th century AD. In the Chinese annals, the possibly related

terms, such as *Dai Mo*, *Dai Mian* etc. are not mentioned until after the 15th century.

In order to support their view-point, some scholars take *Dianyue* in *Shiji* (*Historical Records*) as evidence. According to *Dawan Liezhuan* (*History of Dawan*) in *Shiji*, there were some ethnic groups called Kunming around Erhai Lake, Dali, western Yunnan in the 2nd century BC. about 1,000 li westward away from the Kunming ethnic groups, there was a "Riding Elephant Kingdom" called *Dianyue*. Of the two Chinese characters *Dianyue*, the character *Dian* can be explained as another simple name for present day Yunnan, while *Yue* is the same character which is generally considered as the name of the ancestors of present day Dai-Tai peoples in China and Southeast Asia. So it seems that *Dianyue* can be explained as *Yue* in Yunnan. Furthermore, present day Dehong Dai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan seems to be about 1,000 li west from Dali, while elephants have been used for transportation by the Dai people in ancient times, so some scholars conclude that *Dianyue* is a Dai kingdom in today's Dehong. Some scholars even conclude that *Dianyue* is just the predecessor of Shanguo, e.g. the first kingdom built by the Dai in Dehong (including the Shan State in Burma). It was called *Dianyue* in the 2nd century BC. and it was called Shanguo during 1st and 2nd centuries AD.<sup>10</sup> Actually, *Dianyue* has already been convincingly proved to be the transliteration of *Danava*, an ancient kingdom in northeastern India famous for its elephant army.<sup>11</sup>

If we examine the early history of Dai-Shan peoples from their own literature, we find that the time they came to the Sino-Burmese border area and northeastern Burma is much later.

For example, *The Chronological Collections of the Historical Materials of Yunnan Province during Yuan Dynasty* of Professor Fang Guoyu quotes a mythological story about the Greater Tai from a French traveler's report on mainland Southeast Asia. It says that God had two sons, the older named Kun Lung, and the younger, Kun Lai. The brothers settled in Shweli Valley in 568 AD, but a quarrel occurred among them and they separated. The elder brother, with his seven sons, went to rule Tagaung, Moue, Lampon, Mong Yong, Kula, Ava and MOUNG KUNG; and the younger brother became the

ancestor of the Tai tribes in Mong Ri and Mong Ram in the valley. Mong Ri and Mong Ram is regarded as today's Ruili (Shweli), a border city in Dehong.<sup>12</sup>

In his *Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans in Upper Burma and Western Yunnan*, N. Elias mentions a story in another version of the legend of the Dai—Shan peoples in Shweli Valley. It says that the ancestors of the Dai—Shan people there are two sons of God named Kun Lung and Kun Lai and the time when they came there is 568 A.D.<sup>13</sup>

In Sao Saimong Mangrai's *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, a story of Mengmao also says that the builder of Mongmao is Kun Lai, the younger of the brothers. The time when Mongmao was built is still given as 568AD.<sup>14</sup>

In another legend about the history of Dai—Shan peoples in Shweli Valley described in a Dai chronicle found in Dehong, the name of the builder of Mongmao is given as Kun Teng and the time when he arrived at Mongmao is put at 762 AD, nearly 200 years later than the date in the other legend.<sup>15</sup>

There are some clearly mythological elements in these stories. For example, Kun Lung and Kun Lai, the ancestors of the Dai—Shan peoples in the Sweli Valley are said to be the sons of God. However, many scholars believe that there is some truth about the early history of Dai—Shan peoples in these stories, including the time they established their kingdom. Even using their own legends and chronicles, the earliest time that the Dai—Shan peoples arrived and settled in the Shweli Valley is not earlier than the 6th century AD.

According to a chronicle of Kengtung, the native of Kengtung is Lva or Va, these Lva or Va were gradually conquered later by the offspring of Mangrai, the northern Tai king who had conquered Hariphunchai, the Mon kingdom in northern Thailand.<sup>16</sup>

Another text mentions a ceremony held in Kengtung when a new Sawbwa ascended the throne: some old men of Va were invited to the Sawbwa's court and were invited to sit on the throne and eat a meal. Suddenly a Shan official called Phya Lai rushed in, abused them and drove them away from the throne. This ceremony continued in Kengtung until the end of the 19th century.<sup>17</sup>

According to the above-mentioned chronicle of Kengtung, the Shan in present-day Kengtung are new comers from other areas. They came to Kengtung as late as the 13th century AD. The time when the Vas were driven away as reflected in the ceremony in Kengtung, in my opinion could not be earlier than the 13th century AD, although no date is mentioned. The Shan people arrived in Kengtung much later than they came to the Shweli Valley.

It is, therefore, erroneous to conclude that Shanguo is a Shan kingdom built and ruled by the Dai-Shan peoples in present day Shan State and the Sino-Burmese border area in the 1st to the 2nd centuries AD, even if Shanguo could be proved to be in today's Dehong of western Yunnan and the Shan States in Burma. There were no Shan people there then.

This leaves the question where is Shanguo and who are the people who inhabited it? As it is untenable to conclude that Shanguo is in the Shan State of Burma and Dehong of Yunnan or in Laos or anywhere else in mainland Southeast Asia, we should not limit our vision to the Sino-Burmese border area or in Burma or in some other countries of mainland Southeast Asia.

If we read the materials about Shanguo in Chinese annals more carefully, we find that the expression 'beyond' in the annals can be misleading. For example, in one of the records about Shanguo in Houhan Shu mentioned above, the envoys of Yediaoguo and Shanguo came from "somewhere beyond Rinan". We know, however, that Yedio is a transliteration of Yavadvipa, it is just in Java, far away from Rinan! So "beyond Yongchang" or "beyond Rinan", is not only the areas bordering Yongchang or Rinan. It seems that we should extend our vision to fix the location of Shanguo.

Where exactly is Shanguo? A clue exists in one of six records on Shanguo in *Houhan Shu*. It has been unfortunately ignored up to now by almost all of the scholars who regard Shanguo as a Shan (or Lao and Tai) kingdom because of their preconceived ideas. In *Chen Chan Zhuan (Bibliography of Chen Chan)*, *Houhan Shu* is recorded a quarrel between Chen Chan and Chen Zhong, two high officials of the Later Han Dynasty, over a performance by musicians and magicians of Shanguo watched by the Emperor Andi and his subjects at the court at the new

year of the second year of Yongning, 121 AD. This record might provide us a key to solve the mystery.

Following is the record about the clue of Shanguo in the *Chen Chan Zhuan of Houhan Shu*:

In the first year of Yongning (120 AD), the King of Shanguo ('of' or 'and') southwestern barbarians came to contribute a performance by musicians and magicians. The magicians could spit out flames from their mouths, untie their own arms and legs from tight bindings and transfer the heads of oxen and horses to each other. On New Year's Day the next year (121 AD), they were invited to perform at the court. His Majesty Andi and all of his subjects at the court were very surprised when they were watching it. Chen Chan suddenly stood up, raising one of his hands, and shouted loudly: 'In the past, there was a meeting attended by the representatives of the kingdoms of Qi and Lu together in a canyon. Confucius killed the representative of Qi when he was playing the music of dwarfs and said 'This is the music of Zheng, it is immoral music which will instigate people to behave immorally. It is not proper to have the music and magic of *Yi—Di* (barbarians) at the royal court'. Chen Zhong, the *Shangshu* (a high official in Han Dynasty, later the title was equivalent to minister in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties—the author), however, rebuked Chen Chan at once and said to His Majesty: 'In the past, many people coming from different barbarian regions played their music and performed their dances to entertain with their sovereign together at the royal court . . . The envoys of Shanguo came to contribute to Your Majesty by crossing over Liusha and Xiandu from 10,000 li away, their music and dance should not be considered immoral like those of Zheng and Wei in the past, and they are not immoral persons who will instigate other people to behave immorally. The actual aim of Chen Chan is to slander Your Majesty, so I beg Your Majesty to imprison him.' His Majesty reduced Chen Chan to a lower rank rather than put him in jail.<sup>18</sup>

What we should note here is, according to Chen Zhong, that the envoys of Shanguo came

"crossing over from Liusha and Xiandu". This is an important clue to determine the location of Shanguo.

Where is Liusha? According to the *Dictionary of the Historical Gazetteer of China*, there are two places called Liusha (Flowing Sands). The first is the a desert in northwestern China and the second is Bailongdui Sands in Xinjiang, along the ancient Silk Road route between China and the West.<sup>19</sup> The explanation about Liusha in *Cihai* (*The Grand Dictionary of Chinese Vocabulary*) also names two places mentioned in *The Dictionary of Historical Gazetteer of China*.<sup>20</sup>

Where is then Xiandu? The explanation in *Cihai* states: 'Xiandu, the ancient name of a mountain, also called Xuandu. According to *Tongdian* (*General Regulations*) Volume 193, it is 400 li away southwest of Kapanda (today's Tarshkurkan, Xinjiang, China). The road there was too narrow so people had to cross over it by hanging on to ropes, so it is called Xuandu (*xuan*, means 'to hang', *du* means 'to cross over'). It was an important mountain route in the west of China'.<sup>21</sup> In his *The History of Minority Nationalities in Frontier Areas of China*, Liu Yitang thinks Xiandu is in Kafirstan in eastern Afghanistan.<sup>22</sup>

All the explanations of Liusha and Xiandu (or Xuandu) mentioned above, in spite of minor differences on the site of Xiandu, hold that they are in the west of China. The envoys of Shanguo who came to pay tribute to China by crossing over Liusha (Flowing Sands) and Xiandu from 10,000 li away, therefore, must have traveled from somewhere beyond the west of China, and not from Burma or other countries in mainland Southeast Asia.

In order to determine the location of Shanguo, another two special place terms "Haixi" (the west of the sea) and "Daqin" (Great Qin) should be noted here. *Xinan Yi Liezhuan* (*Bibliography of Southwestern Barbarians*) in *Houhan Shu* says:

In the first year of Yongning, Yongyoudiao, the King of Shanguo, sent another group of envoys to the Capital to contribute musicians and magicians to His Majesty. The magicians could transform themselves, spit out flames from their mouths, untie themselves from tight bindings,

and transfer the heads of oxen and horses to each other, they could throw nearly 1,000 pellets in endless cycles at the same time. One of the magicians said: 'I am from Haixi (the west of the sea), Haixi is just Daqin. From the southwest of Shanguo one can go to Daqin'.<sup>23</sup>

It is generally thought that both Haixi and Daqin are the names of the Roman Empire. *Xiyu Zhuan (Bibliography of the Western Regions)* in *Houhan Shu* says: "In the ninth year of Yongyuan, under the reign of Hedi, General Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to Daqin. When they arrived at Tiaozhi, they saw the sea. It is said that they wanted to sail over it".<sup>24</sup> Judging from this record, Daqin is west of Tiaozhi, which is present day Syria.

The same bibliography also notes: "In the fifth year of Yanxi (the fifth year of Yanxi is 166 AD—the author), under the reign of His Majesty Huandi, Andun, the King of Daqin, sent envoys to pay tribute with ivory, rhinoceros horns and green turtles etc. The route (from Daqin to China) had been opened since then".<sup>25</sup> The Andun here is the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius. 'Andun' is the transliteration of Antonius.

*Weilue (An Introduction to the Wei Kingdom)* records: "Daqin is also called Lixuan, it is in the west of Anxi, Tiaozhi, and the sea . . . Because it is west of the sea, it is traditionally called Haixi (west of the sea).<sup>26</sup> Are Daqin and Lixuan the same kingdom? It is a controversial issue, but it is obvious, according to the records of *Weilue*, that they are all no doubt in Haixi, west of the sea.

We also know by rechecking the annals that the magicians brought by the envoys of Shanguo to China are 'specialists' from Daqin or Haixi rather than Southeast Asia. For example, *Hanshu, Annals of the Han Dynasty* records:

When the envoys of the Han Dynasty first arrived at Anxi . . . It (Anxi) sent the envoys to go to China together with the returned envoys of Han Dynasty. The envoys (of Anxi) contributed big bird eggs and magicians of Lixuan to the Han Dynasty when they realized that it ruled over a vast land.<sup>27</sup>

*Weilue* also records that Daqin "had a lot of strange magicians who could spit out flames

from their mouth, untie themselves from tight bindings, throw 12 pellets in a circle at the same time, these were very wonderful skills".<sup>28</sup>

Evidently the magicians who came with or were brought by the envoys of Shanguo are from Daqin or Haixi, and what is most important here is the words one of the magicians says: "From the southwest of Shanguo one can go to Daqin".<sup>29</sup> This shows that Shanguo should be north or northeast of Daqin (Roman Empire). And as the envoys of Shanguo had to cross over Liusha (Flowing Sands) and Xiandu or Xuandu when they came to China, the location of Shanguo should be to the west of Liusha and Xiandu (or Xuandu).

It was in consideration of this that the records of Shanguo were excluded from E. H. Parker's *Burma with Special Reference to Her Relations with China*. Parker believed that Shanguo should be somewhere in the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire, but he did not say where it was.<sup>30</sup>

Later Professor Gordon Luce held that the Chinese character 'shan' in the term Shanguo should be pronounced "tan", e.g. Tanguo rather than Shanguo. He regarded Tan as Tanis near the mouth of the Nile River, and Yongyoudiao, the King of Shanguo, as the transliteration of Augustus, the Roman Emperor.<sup>31</sup> But this conclusion is not convincing enough, for it is hard to relate the pronunciation of Yongyoudiao to that of Augustus, and the location of Tanis does not tally with what the annals describe about that of Shanguo either.

In 1991, Chen Yising in his "On Shanguo," noted that Shanguo was Syria. Ancient Syria was called Sham (not Shan, but there is no pronunciation of Sham in Chinese, so Sham was pronounced as Shan) by Arabians. Later on, this Shamguo (not Shanguo) was mentioned in Du Huan's *Jingxing Ji* Actually the real transliteration of both is Sham rather than Shan.<sup>32</sup>

This is a convincing finding. If we check a map, we see that Syria faces west towards Italy over the Mediterranean, e.g. 'From the southwest of Shanguo one can go to Daqin'. And it is when travelling from Syria to China that one has to go "across over Liusha and Xiandu". From Syria, the envoys of Shanguo can travel to China either from somewhere beyond Yongchang along the land route or from somewhere beyond Rinan along the sea route.

There is still a problem here because the famous Silk Route from the Mediterranean to northwestern China dated from the Han Dynasty. As a rule, the envoys of Shanguo traveled to Luoyang, the capital of China during the Later Han Dynasty, after going over Liusha and Xiandu along the Silk Route. Why did they travel the road to China from Yongchang, western Yunnan? Perhaps they were blocked somewhere after going over Liusha and Xiandu and had to go along the "Southern Silk Route" through western Yunnan to the capital of China.

This is a problem still to be answered.

What is certain is that the Shanguo mentioned in *Houhan Shu* is neither a kingdom established by Shan or Dai or Tai people nor a kingdom in Dehong or Burma or Laos or other places in mainland Southeast Asia. It is a mistake repeated by many scholars of Tai Studies, and it is time it was corrected.

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## Note

<sup>1</sup> Tai-speaking peoples include all branches of the Tai and the ethnic groups considered to have the same origin with the Tai, but sometimes, in order to differentiate them from each other, I also use the terms Shan, Dai and Tai respectively to refer to the Tai-speaking peoples in Yunnan and Burma.

<sup>2</sup> *Hei Benji (Bibliography of His Majesty Hedi) Houhan Shu*, vol. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Xinan Yi Liezhuan (Bibliography of Southwestern Barbarians) Houhan Shu*, vol 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Andi Benji (Bibliography of His Majesty Andi) Houhan Shu*, vol. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Shundi Benji (Bibliography of His Majesty Shundi) Houhan Shu*, vol. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Shen Xu, 1986 "Yueshang is just Shan? A New Evidence of Ancient Laos", *Southeast Asia* (in Chinese), no. 4, Kunming.

<sup>7</sup> The Writing Group of Short History of Dai, 1986 *Short Story of Dai* (in Chinese), Yunnan: People's Press of Yunnan, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Chen Xujing, 1962 *The Outline of Ancient History of Shan? Tai Peoples*, self-printed version, p.5.

<sup>9</sup> Sao Saimong Mangrai, 1969 *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

<sup>10</sup> The Writing Group of Short History of Dai, 1986 *Short Story of Dai*, Yunnan: People's Press of Yunnan, pp. 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> Wen Jiang, 1980 "On Dianyue", *The Theses Series Literature and History of China* (in Chinese), no. 2, Shanghai: The Ancient Book Press of Shanghai, pp. 62-65.

<sup>12</sup> Fang Guoyu, 1958 *The Chronological Collections of the Historical Materials of Yunnan Province during the Yuan Dynasty*, Yunnan: People's Press of Yunnan, pp. 23-28.

<sup>13</sup> N. Ellias, 1876 *Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans in Upper Burma and Western Yunnan, Calcutta*, pp. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Sao Saimong Mangrai, 1969 *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, Ithaca: Cornell University, Appendix II, p. iv.

<sup>15</sup> Chaophraya Tammathet, 1988 *The Chronicle of the Kings of Meng Kawsanphi and Mengmao* (Chinese translation), Yunnan: Minority Nationality Press of Yunnan, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> *The Padaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle*, 1981 translated by Sao Saimong Mangrai, University of Michigan, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Sao Saimong Mangrai, 1969 *The Shan States and the British Annexation*, Ithaca: Cornell University, Appendix II, p. vi.

<sup>18</sup> *Chen Chan Zhuan (Bibliography of Chen Chan), Houhan Shu*, vol. 15.

<sup>19</sup> The Editing Committee of the Dictionary of the Historical Gazetteer of China (Fudan University), 1986 *Dictionary of the Historical Gazetteer of China* (in Chinese), Jiangxi: Educational Press of Jiangxi, p. 752.

<sup>20</sup> *Cihai (The Grand Chinese Vocabulary)* 1989, Shanghai: Lexicographical Work Press of Shanghai, p. 1071.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* p. 546.

<sup>22</sup> Liu Yitang, 1966, *The History of Minorities Nationalities in Frontier Areas of China* (in Chinese), Taipei, Taiwan: Publishing House of China, p. 99.

<sup>23</sup> *Xian Yi Liezhuan (Bibliography of Southwestern Barbarians) in Houhan Shu*, vol. 86.

<sup>24</sup> *Xiyu Zhuan (Bibliography of the Western Regions) in Houhan Shu*, vol. 118.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Weilue (An Introduction to the Wei Kingdom), Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Han Shu*, (*Annals of the Han Dynasty*) vol. 96

<sup>28</sup> *Xiyu Zhuan* (*Bibliography of the Western Regions*)  
in *Houhan Shu*, vol. 118.

<sup>29</sup> *Xinan Yi Liezhuan* (*Bibliography of Southwestern  
Barbarians*) in *Houhan Shu*, vol. 86.

<sup>30</sup> E. H. Parker, 1893 *Burma with Special Reference*

*to Her Relations with China*, Rangoon, Burma, pp.  
156–157

<sup>31</sup> G. H. Luce, 1924 “Tan and Ngai Lao,” *Journal  
of Burma Research Society*, vol. XIV, p. 101.

<sup>32</sup> Chen Yising, 1991 “On Shanguo,” *Journal of  
Mainland*, vol. 83, no. 4, pp. 146–147.