

SINO-BURMESE OVERLAND TRADE UNDER DUAL-
OVERLORDSHIP SYSTEM IN QING DYNASTY WITH
SPECIAL FOCUS ON TEA TRADE IN SIPSONG PANNA



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การความสัมพันธ์ทางการค้าทางระหว่างระหว่างจีนและพม่าภายใต้ระบอบการปกครองแบบ
สองกษัตริย์ในสมัยราชวงศ์ชิง โดยเน้นที่การค้าชาในเขตฉานเป็นพิเศษ



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชาเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา สหสาขาวิชาเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา
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จี้ลี่ ไป : การความสัมพันธ์ทางการค้าทางบกกระหว่างระหว่างจีนและพม่าภายใต้ระบบการปกครองแบบสองกษัตริย์ในสมัยราชวงศ์ชิง โดยเน้นที่การค้าชาในเขตฉานเป็นพิเศษ. (SINO-BURMESE OVERLAND TRADE UNDER DUAL-OVERLORDSHIP SYSTEM IN QING DYNASTY WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON TEA TRADE IN SIPSONG PANNA) อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก : ศ. ดร.สุเนตร ชุตินธรานนท์

การค้าทางบกมีบทบาทสำคัญในการปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างจีน เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ และเอเชียใต้มานานหลายศตวรรษ แม้ว่าการค้าทางทะเลที่เกิดขึ้นในศตวรรษที่สิบห้าจะดึงดูดความสนใจจากนักวิชาการอย่างท่วมท้น แต่เส้นทางบกก็ยังมีห่างไกลจากสิ่งที่ไม่สามารถพิจารณาได้ การมีความสัมพันธ์เชิงพาณิชย์ภาคพื้นทวีปส่งผลกระทบต่อประชากร การเมือง และความทันสมัยของประเทศจีนตอนใต้และเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้แผ่นดินใหญ่ในวงกว้าง ในช่วงศตวรรษที่ 17 ถึงต้นศตวรรษที่ 20 การค้าระหว่างชายแดนจีน-พม่ามาถึงจุดสูงสุดอีกครั้งนำโดยตัวแทนจากรัฐฉานหลายรัฐ สินค้าขนาดใหญ่ที่บรรทุกโดยกองคาราวานถูกลำเลียงไปยังอาณาเขตของผู้นำรัฐฉาน จาก การส่งส่วยไปยังศาลทั้งในจีนและเมียนมาร์ทำให้ผู้นำรัฐฉานได้รับการยอมรับจากทั้งสองฝ่าย ซึ่งช่วยให้พวกเขาได้รับตำแหน่งสำคัญในการค้าขายระหว่างดินแดน ในวิทยานิพนธ์นี้ผู้เขียนได้พยายามอธิบายรายละเอียดว่าระบบการปกครองท้องถิ่นที่ไม่ปกติในภูมิภาคนี้ทำให้สถานะทางการค้าที่โดดเด่นของรัฐฉานในการค้าจีน-พม่าเป็นอย่างไร รวมถึงบทบาทของผู้นำรัฐฉานในกิจกรรมทางธุรกิจท้องถิ่น

นักเขียนในฐานะชนพื้นเมืองจากรัฐฉาน สิบสองปันนา เห็นว่าการค้าชาเป็นตัวอย่างที่น่าสนใจซึ่งต่างจากงานเขียนก่อนหน้านี้ โดยถือเอาการค้าชาเป็นตัวอย่างที่น่าสนใจ โดยไม่ได้ถือเอาทั้งมุมมองของจีนเซนทริกและยุโรปเซนทริกในการวิเคราะห์การพัฒนาและวิวัฒนาการของการค้าขายในภูมิภาคนี้ โดยจากการศึกษาค้นคว้าของผู้เขียนจะเห็นว่า ระบบการปกครองแบบสองกษัตริย์ที่นำมาใช้บริเวณชายแดนรัฐฉานทำให้ภูมิภาคนี้มีระบบนิเวศทางเศรษฐกิจที่น่าสนใจ ซึ่งทำให้เป็น "พื้นที่กลาง" ที่ได้รับการตอบรับที่ดีจากพ่อค้า นอกจากเส้นทางธุรกิจของชาแล้ว เรายังสามารถเรียนรู้วิธีดำเนินการค้าขายภายใต้ระบบการปกครองแบบสองกษัตริย์ตั้งแต่ชาวไร่ชาวนาชนกลุ่มน้อยไปจนถึงเจ้าฟ้าผู้มียศสูงสุดในท้องถิ่น จนถึงชาวฮั่นหรือพ่อค้าชาวมุสลิม ตลอดจนเจ้าหน้าที่ชาวจีนและพม่า สินค้าโภคภัณฑ์ถูกลำเลียงมาไกลจากประเทศจีนและอินเดีย เช่น โลหะและเครื่องเทศซึ่งถูกขนส่งโดยคาราวานแบบดั้งเดิมหรือการขนส่งทางน้ำ จากนั้นจึงนำมาขายอีกครั้ง ชา ฝ้าย และสินค้าพื้นเมืองอื่นๆ ถูกส่งออกไปด้วยวิธีเดียวกัน วัฒนธรรมและเทคโนโลยีเป็นผลพวงจากการค้าขายและถูกรวมเข้าไว้ด้วยกัน

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Overland trade had played a significant role in the interactions among China, Southeast Asia and South Asia for centuries. Though maritime trading raised in fifteenth century overwhelmingly attracts more attention from scholars, overland route was far from inconsiderable. Continental commercial intercourse essentially affected the demography, politics and also modernization process of Southern China and mainland Southeast Asia to a large range. During 17th to early 20th century, represented by several Shan states, Sino-Burmese frontier trade reached another peak. Enormous commodities carried by caravans shuttled on Tai leaders' domains. By tributing to both China and Myanmar courts, Tai leaders received recognition from both sides, which helped them won unique position in cross-border trading. In this thesis, combining historical materials from China, British early explorers' records and also local chronicle, author tried to elaborate how unusual local administrative system in this region led to Shan States' distinguished commercial position in Sino-Burmese trade, also to explore the role of Tai leaders in local business activities.

Differ from previous works, taking the tea trade as an interesting example, author as an indigenous people from Shan state Sipsong Panna, hold neither Sinocentric nor Eurocentric perspectives to analyze the development and evolution of trading in this region. Revealed by author's studies, Dual-overlordship system adopted in these frontier Shan states brought this region an interesting economic ecology, which made it a welcomed "middle ground" for merchants. Along with the business journey of tea, we can learn how trade was conducted under Dual-overlordship system, from the ethnic planter to local highest ruler Chaofa, then Han or Muslim merchants, as well as Chinese and Burmese officials. Commodities come far from China and India like metal and spice were transported by traditional caravans or river transport, then re-distributed traded here; tea, cotton and other local merchandise were sent out by the same way. Culture and technology followed commerce met and merged here.

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Student's Signature
Advisor's Signature

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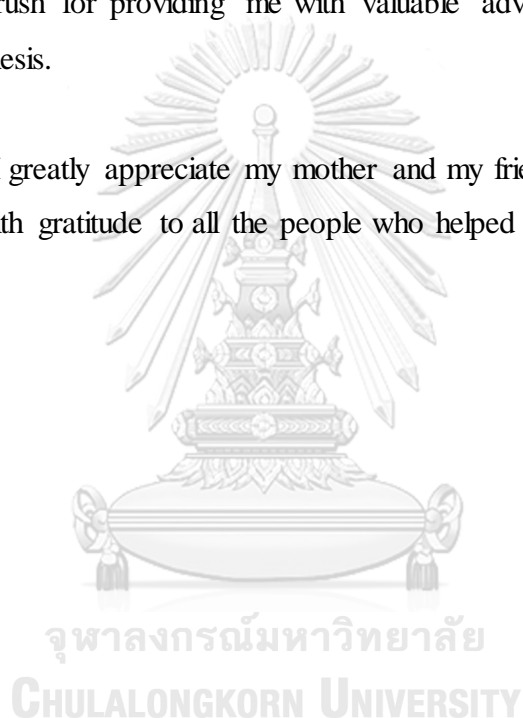


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INTRODUCTION

Background

As Constance Wilson and Lucien Hanks state in the introduction to *The Burma-Thailand Frontier Over Sixteen Decades*, people often overpay attention on conflict happening on those dynamic borders but neglect their possible ecological and societal significance.¹ Even though the dynamics of borderline among Indochinese Peninsula is a very grand research topic that cannot be ignored, it is also interesting to investigate other distinctive ecological matters in this multi-cultural land. In nearly every case, the frontier society, with its anomalous political networks and complex population composition, constituted a difficult part of the problem. Considering these common features, author would like to reconstruct an invisible conceptual socio-geographic entity beyond the boundary of nation-states. Author cut unnecessary territory concept and used the most primitive geographical features to outline this region with glory trade history. The diverse socio-economic network and the distinctive commercial intercourse grew from a special borderland political system will be the major topic discussed in this thesis.

Research question

1. How did the basic Sino-Burmese commerce pattern look like in borderland in Qing Dynasty
2. How did the dual lordship system emerge and lately develop in Sino-Burmese borderland during the Qing Dynasty
3. What kind of causal relationship exists between the Dual-overlordship system and

¹ Constance M. Wilson and Lucien M. Hanks, *The Burma-Thailand Frontier* Ohio 1985 P1

the development of cross-border trade in the Sino-Burmese borderland.

Objective of the thesis

- a. To explore Sino-Burmese commercial intercourse in borderland
- b. To explore chaofa and other frontier indigenous people under Dual-overlordship system
- c. To trace tea trade in Sino-Burmese borderland

Hypothesis

Dual-overlordship system implemented in Sino-Burmese borderland dramatically facilitated the development of cross-border trade within this region by providing a middle ground between China and Myanmar. Meanwhile, indigenous people played significant roles in regional cross-border trade. The fusion and collision of local ethnic political system, Dual-overlordship system and complex regional social background led to a distinctive borderland commerce ecology.

Methodology

Literature analysis method: literature method is a method to understand and prove the object of study by consulting literature. Through the accumulation and selection of literature, and by making notes and other ways, we focus on collecting the parts of literature related to our own research topics, and analyze and synthesize the literature, so as to form a scientific understanding of the problem itself. For example, all kinds of historical materials are quoted to illustrate the author's point of view. In this thesis, for comprehensive analysis the structure and influence of administration system of China and Myanmar in Sino-Burmese borderland, author referenced resource from Burmese

records, Chinese historical materials, Sipsong Panna's local chronicle and Shan scholar's outstanding work on their own history. Multiple sources allowed author and readers to better understand the dual-overlordship system and Sino-Burmese frontier economic ecology from different perspectives.

Case analysis method also known as case analysis method or typical analysis method, it is a scientific analysis method to conduct in-depth and thorough research on representative things (phenomena) so as to obtain a general understanding. When we discuss a problem in our composition, it is not enough to fill in the data and make a comprehensive analysis. The citation of cases provides a strong persuasion and proof for our rational analysis. In this thesis, we adopted case analysis when we took a look at Sipsong Panna's tea business.

Literature Review

In ancient Chinese literature, there are a lot of documents about Myanmar. It mainly comes from official history, official memorials, travel notes, records, historical and geographical works, local chronicles, etc. Dr. Sun's "Chinese historical materials on Myanmar" introduces 135 kinds of ancient Chinese books from Han Dynasty to the end of Qing Dynasty. In the collection of Chinese ancient books on Myanmar edited by Professor Yu Dingbang, 146 kinds of ancient books were collected from which more than 80,000 words were extracted. However, these two achievements do not cover all the ancient Chinese books about Myanmar. It is estimated that there are no less than 200 kinds of ancient Chinese books involving Myanmar. Although these records are not the results of scientific research, they are very important and valuable for the study of

the history of Myanmar and the history of Sino Myanmar relations.

There are many historical materials in Qing Dynasty, especially a large number of memorials, imperial edicts and so on. Therefore, in terms of research, we should first pay attention to the memorials of the generals of the border areas, especially those of Yongchang, Shunning and Pu'er. In addition, the memorials of the governor of Yunnan and Guizhou, as the chief executive, economic and military officer of the whole Yunnan region, cannot be ignored. As a first-hand material, the memorial can accurately reflect the mentality and thoughts of the people at that time. It can not only understand the thinking and views of China on the situation at that time, but also reflect the thinking and attitude of Myanmar at that time. Secondly, as a reflection of the attitude and decrees of the central dynasty, the imperial edicts also the focus of attention. In addition, the tribute list of Myanmar envoys cannot be ignored. Due to the lack of documents in Myanmar, especially the records of border chieftain and tributaries are very important. Burmese historical materials are mainly recorded in "Glass Palace Chronicle", "the history of Burmese" by Harvey Bobasin respectively. A large number of detailed records about Burmese area are mostly kept in the travel notes and diaries of British and French missionaries and envoys. However, as records of Myanmar, its importance cannot be ignored.

The British Empire began its colonial expansion in Southeast Asia at the end of the 18th century. In the second half of the 19th century, parts of Shan State in Myanmar became British colonies. In order to strengthen its political and economic rule over Shan state, the British colonial authorities organized a group of scholars and colonial government

officials to conduct a series of political, economic, human geography and mineral resources investigations in Shan state. In addition, the Royal Academy of Sciences also invited some British ethnologists and anthropologists to carry out a series of ethnological and anthropological fieldwork on the Shan nationality in Shan state, which set off the first climax of comprehensive research on the Shan nationality in history. Since then, Western ethnologists and anthropologists have published some valuable Shan papers, ethnographic works and research monographs, such as Scott, Cochrane, Lacouperi, Milne and Leslie., Dodd Seidenfaden and Erikand so on. After World War II, with the rise of the Asian national liberation movement and Myanmar's independence from the British colonial rule, western scholars' research on the Tai people gradually entered a low ebb, which has been up to now.

There are several theories about the origin of Shan race. Dodd pointed out that the Shan race originated in the temperate plateau area of northern China and it was the elder brother of the Chinese (Han nationality) who moved from the upper reaches of the Yellow River (now in Gansu Province of China) to the plateau area of northern China under the oppression of the ancestors of the Tatar people.² In the plateau area of northern China, the Shan race was forced to gradually move from the northern temperate plateau area of northern China to the Central Plains due to constant conflicts with the Han nationality. Since sixth Century to eighth Century, it moved from central China to the South and moved from southern China to the peninsula. Seidenfaden and Erik think that the Tai people did not migrate slowly from the north to the low-lying modern

² Dodd, W. C. . (1923). Tai race, elder brother of the Chinese: results of experience, exploration and research of william clifton dodd.)

residence in the south of Yunnan and they moved from the tropical lowlands of South China, first from Guangdong and Guangxi provinces to the South and West, and lived in the tropical areas suitable for their lifestyle.³ Scott proposed that the southwest of China is the place where the Shan race originated or evolved into an independent nationality.⁴

In the early stage of the study of the relationship between Southeast Asia and China, historians came to the conclusion that Southeast Asian countries were often forced to be included in China's suzerain vassal system because of their weak culture, territory and military power, on the contrary, Chinese culture, territory and military power were strong, that is, China was a suzerain power, and Southeast Asian countries were small vassal states. Because the vassal states had to pay tribute to the suzerain state regularly to show their obedience, this kind of relationship is also called "tributary relationship" or "tributary system". The whole theory is also called "China Centered Theory". However, with the deepening of research, a group of historians have found that the maintenance of this "tributary relationship" is not necessarily due to the strength of the territory and military power of the two sides. To a large extent, it is driven by trade, that is, Southeast Asian countries are eager to obtain a lot of economic wealth in their contacts with China, which makes this so-called "tributary relationship" inevitable can appear and maintain. He discussed in detail the debate between China and Britain about whether Myanmar is a tributary of China, and pointed out to the opinion: "as the focus of the Sino British debate, how Myanmar determines its status is a very critical issue,

³ Seidenfaden, & Erik. (1935). Cultural and geographical observations made in the Tali (Yunnan) region with special regard to the Nan-Chao problem. The Siam Society.

⁴ Scott, J. G. , & Hardiman, J. P. . (1903). Gazetteer of upper burma and the shan states by j. george scott; j. p. hardiman. Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, 35(4), 420.

especially how to identify China's claim that Myanmar is a tributary country."⁵ Finally, the author concludes that there is a misunderstanding in the so-called "tribute relationship" between China and Myanmar. As far as China is concerned, China thinks that it is the kingdom of heaven. Foreign countries come to China to admire the prestige of the emperor and the vastness of China, and they are willing to belong to China. As for Myanmar, its contribution to China is opportunistic political speculation. It attempts to make good relations with China and use China's strong political and military strength to deter neighboring countries, so as to stabilize its own political, economic and national security. From the perspective of a Burmese, Chijiyekenu et al. examines the history of Sino Burmese exchanges and believes that Sino Burmese exchanges are based on reciprocity.⁶ In describing Sino Burmese exchanges, the author always highlights a problem: China first sends envoys to visit Myanmar, and at the same time presents many valuable gifts to the king of Myanmar; then the king of Myanmar shows friendship and also sent his own important ministers to visit China with Chinese envoys.

Dual-overlordship system is a kind of official political system. According to the special situation of minority areas in Southwest China, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties, the central dynasty canonized the leaders of minority areas as hereditary local officials according to local conditions. Through their management of the local ethnic groups, the purpose of strengthening the rule of minority areas was achieved. According to the common view in the academic circles, the system of dual lordship originated in the Yuan Dynasty, and continued and improved in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Gu

⁵ He Xinhua. (2006). An analysis of the vassal status of Myanmar in Qing Dynasty. Historical archives, 000 (001), 72-77. In Chinese.

⁶ Chijiyekenu, Li bingnian, & Nanzhen. (1983). Chinese newspapers in Myanmar in four periods. Southeast Asian Studies (02), 96-103. In Chinese

studied the tribute types of Yunnan local officials, as well as the identity, number and time of the tributaries.⁷ The author believed that the tribute played a positive role in promoting the political and economic exchanges between Yunnan and the mainland, between the local and the central government, between ethnic minorities and the Han nationality, and was conducive to the consolidation and strengthening of the rule of Yunnan by the Ming Dynasty. Yu thinks that the implementation of dual lordship system marks a significant change in the thought and way of the central dynasty governing the southern minority areas, and also a significant change in the local administrative system, which plays a significant positive role in the development of a unified multi-ethnic country.⁸ Cheng introduced the contents and research methods of the political culture of the dual lordship system in detail, and used this theory to study dual lordship system, which is totally different from the previous scholars' research, including its region, city's changes, city's geographical distribution, architectural layout, interaction with the central dynasty, family political culture, ways of life, government institutions and their functions, administration system, and so on, a lot of new areas have been studied.⁹ Herman and Tian studies the dual lordship system in Southwest China from the perspective of the relationship between the central government and the local chieftain and the local power of the chieftain.¹⁰ They believe that the fundamental reason for the reform of the chieftain system in Emperor Yongzheng reign is to stabilize the local and strengthen the centralization of power. Zhang discussed the formation and

⁷ Gu Yongji. (1993). Commentary on the tribute of Yunnan local officials in Ming Dynasty. *Ideological front* (01), 43-48.

⁸ Yu Ling. (1997). On Tusi system. *Journal of Central South University for Nationalities: Humanities and Social Sciences* (4), 76-80.

⁹ Cheng Zhenming. (2008). *Tusi research in Qing Dynasty: A Historical Anthropological Observation of political culture*. China Social Sciences Press.

¹⁰ Herman, John E. and Mingxin, Tian (2001). The chieftain system in Southwest China and the reasons for its reform in the early Qing Dynasty. *Guizhou ethnic studies*, 21 (001), 133-136.

development of the system of local officials and chieftains in Southwest China in Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties, the dual structure of the official system in southwest minority areas and its characteristics and functions, as well as the return of the land in Southwest China.¹¹



¹¹ Zhang Xiaosong (2005). On the system of chieftain officials of southwest ethnic minorities in Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties and the reform of the chieftain system. A study of the history and geography of China's Frontier (02), 80-86 + 149-150.

CHAPTER I

SINO-BURMESE BORDERLAND AND ANCIENT COMMERCIALACTIVITY

1.1. Southern Silk Road and Sino-Burmese Intercourse in History

Historically, the Southern Silk Road refers to a network of cross-border roads in Yunnan recognized collectively as the Southern Silk Road. As a native of Sipsong Panna, the author has been told numerous traditional tales involving Yunnan and ancient central China since childhood. As part of national education, these tales invariably make the rather Sinocentric claim that Yunnan has been intimately connected with central China since the 2nd century BCE, and they overly idealize the relationship between ethnic minorities and the central court. Legendary overtones are common in indigenous folktales, which generally aim to reinforce a positive portrayal of ethnic peoples and their history. In the legend of the origin of Pu-er tea, for instance, a prominent historical figure, Zhu Geliang¹² brought tea seeds to Sipsong Panna and cured sick soldiers with tea soups. Later on, Zhu Geliang popularized tea plantations in the Sipsong Panna region in an effort to assist the local ethnic population. However, according to historical evidence, Zhu Geliang and his army never reached Sipsong Panna, and there is no evidence that Yunnan was part of China at the time. Even though the story is less credible, there are abundant records indicating frequent trade between ancient China, Southeast Asia, and India as early as the 2nd century BCE.

The earliest historical record about exchange of merchandise can be found in the

¹² Zhuge Liang, courtesy name Kongming, was a Chinese statesman and military strategist. He was chancellor and later regent of the state of Shu Han during the Three Kingdoms period (from 220 to 280 AD)

Chinese chronicle *Shi Ji* wrote by Sima Qian¹³. According to his statement, it was Zhang Qian during his mission to the Western Region (138 BCE–126 BCE) who suspected the existence of an existed commercial corrido connecting today's China, Myanmar and India. Zhang Qian reported that he found Sichuanese items:

It was at Daxia that I first witnessed Qiong's bamboo canes and Shu's fine garments. When I queried the locals about how they acquired such items, they said, "Our traders purchase them at Yandu's marketplaces." Yandu is located a few thousand li to the southeast of Daxia. Their traditions closely resemble those of Daxia. The location is reportedly scorching and humid. When entering combat, the dwellers ride on elephants. The location of the kingdom lies on a large river. We are aware that Daxia is about 12,000 li to the southwest of China. Therefore, if the kingdom of Yandu is located a few thousand li to the southeast of Daxia and acquires Shu commodities, it appears that Yandu is not too distant from Shu. Likewise, if we dispatch an emissary to Daxia through Qiang land, they will be seized by the Xiongnu; if we send them even farther north, they will be killed by the Qiang. The path via Shu would be the most straightforward and enemy-free pathway.¹⁴

When the Emperor heard Zhang Qian's account, he despatched four envoys to search for the passageway. They were unable to locate the trail, but they did come back with information on the indigenous people outside central China, in the region of modern-day Yunnan. These early documents by Sima Qian provide us with important but unclear knowledge of the Southwest Silk Road. The South Silk Road spanned Southwest China, Tibet, Southeast Asia, and South Asia, and consisted of four major

¹³ Sima Qian was a Chinese historian of the early Han dynasty (206 BC – AD 220). He is considered the father of Chinese historiography for his *Records of the Grand Historian*, a general history of China in the Jizhuanti style covering more than two thousand years beginning from the rise of the legendary Yellow Emperor and the formation of the first Chinese polity to the reigning sovereign of Sima Qian's time, Emperor Wu of Han.

¹⁴ *Shi Ji*, juan 123, in YNSLCK 1: 10

branches and several subbranches. The Chinese termed the first route Chuan-Dian-Mian-Yin (Sichuan/Yunnan/Burma/India) or Shu-Yandu (Sichuan-India). Owing to its immense importance, some researchers refer to this branch as the South Silk Road. Nevertheless, other pathways also led to the development and functionality of the South Silk Road. One linked Vietnam to Yunnan; another brought Yunnan to Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia; and a third linked Yunnan, Tibet and India, occasionally through Sichuan. This pathway was dubbed Dianzang Chama Gudao since tea and horses had been the principal goods sold along with it (ancient road of tea and horses between Yunnan and Tibet). Due to the historical and geographical complexity of these portions of the South Silk Road, a succinct review is required to provide a general understanding of the characteristics of these diverse pathways. The Sichuan-Yunnan-Burma-India Route was a significant segment of the South Silk Road.¹⁵ It began in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan and an emblem of the established Shu culture, which was just as influential as the Shang civilization. Less than 100 kilometers away from Chengdu, at the location of the renowned Sanxingdui relics, a complex bronze civilization flourished, which may have had a significant impact on Southeast Asia¹⁶ From Chengdu through Kunming to Dali, the latter two being major commercial and cultural centers of Yunnan, there were two roads. The northern one passed the following cities: Chengdu–Linqiong (Qionglai)–Lingguan (Lushan)–Zuodu (Hanyuan)–Qiongzhu (Xichang)–Qingling (Dayao, entering Yunnan)–Dabonong (Xiangyun)–Yeyu (Dali). Because the Ling Pass (Lingguan) had to be used, the northern route was called the

¹⁵ Bing Yang (2008), *Between Winds and Clouds The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)* Columbia University Press <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heh.99032>

¹⁶ Fang Guoyu (2001), 4: 370-83; Yan Gengwang, "Hanjin Shidai DianyueTongdao Kao" (A study of the communication between Yunnan and Vietnam during the Han and Jin Dynasties), *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the University of Hong Kong* 8, no. 1 (1976), 24-38;

Road of Lingguan (Lingguan Dao). The southern one went through the following cities: Chengdu–Yibin–Zhuti (Zhaotong)–Wei County (Qujing)– Dian (Kunming)–Anning–Chuxiong–Yeyu (Dali). So the two roads joined in Dali connecting the Road of Bonan (Bonan Dao), so called because it crossed the Bonan Mountain. The Road of Bonan passed through Yongchang and Tengyue to Burma and India.

Vietnam was the location of the second branch of the South Silk Road, which extended from Yunnan. The Hong River connected Yunnan and northern Vietnam, which explains certain similarities between the Dong Son cultures of Yunnan and Vietnam. The pathway used a portion of the Yuan River (Hong River). It began at Miling of Jiaozi and traveled through Jinsang and Fengu to Dali, where it joined the Bonan Road.¹⁷ Therefore, Jia Dan (730–805) of the Tang Dynasty designated it as Annan Tong Tianzhu Dao (the route connecting Annam and India).

Sun Laichen termed the forementioned three portions of the South Silk Road "Sino-Southeast Asian overland interactions," which formed half of the Sino-Southeast Asian communications.¹⁸ Yunnan clearly served as the center of these overland connections. Before discussing the relationship between Yunnan and Tibet, the Tang-era Chinese texts that depict the dynamics of the three southbound routes that traversed through Yunnan shall be first explored.

¹⁷ Yen Keng-Wang, "Tangdai Dianyue Tongdao Bian" (A study of the communication between Yunnan and Vietnam during the Tang Dynasty), *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the University of Hong Kong* 8, no. 1 (1976): 39-50; Paul Pelliot, *Jiaoguangyindu Liangdao kao* (Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe Siècle), trans. Feng Chengjun (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1955)

It is interesting that two famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Xuanzang¹⁹ and Yijing²⁰, both described the road between India and Sichuan in full details. Their accounts of distances and times were quite similar, indicating that the route was well-known at the time.²¹ Fan Chuo, a Tang China army commander who served in the Annam Protectorate, also noted these routes in his *Man Shu* (Records of the barbarians, compiled c. 863) too.²² However, Jia Dan's contributions to the discussion were much more detailed than those of his peers. Jia Dan was a Tang court premier who offered the emperor volumes documenting Sino-foreign interactions in 801, *Xin Tang Shu* (New history of the Tang Dynasty), published in the 10th century, retained a chronicle of the seven pathways he identified that connected China with the "barbarians" of four directions, despite the fact that his volumes are today gone. Sixth connected Annam to India (Tianzhu). This road began in Tonkin and proceeded via Yunnan, Prome, and Magahda²³ According to Jia Dan's archives, there were two routes to travel from Tonkin to Dali: by water or by land. After reaching Dali, the roads converged and continued on to Burma and India. Again, there were two pathways from Yunnan to India: the southern one from Dali to Yongchang, passing across the Pyu Kingdom, Prome, the Arakan Range, and Kamarupa before reaching India; and the western one across the Irrawaddy and Mogaung rivers, the Chindwin River to India, and further. This western path was

¹⁹ Xuanzang, also known as Hiuen Tsang, was a 7th-century Chinese Buddhist monk, scholar, traveler, and translator. He is known for the epoch-making contributions to Chinese Buddhism, the travelogue of his journey to India in 629–645 CE

²⁰ Yijing (635–713 CE), formerly romanized as I-ching or I-tsing,[1] was a Tang-era Chinese Buddhist monk famed as a traveller and translator.

²¹ Fang Guoyu, *Hanjin Shidai DianyueTongdao Kao*, 338-369

²² Fan Chuo, *Man Shu*, (Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju Press, 1962) f

²³ *Xin Tang Shu* (hereafter, XTS), juan 43, in YNSLCK 2: 240. For the discussions of this route, see Pelliot 1955, Yan Gengwang 1976a-1976b, and Fang Guoyu 2001, 2:657-684; 2001, 4: 338-369. G. H. Luce, a pioneering sinologist in the early twentieth century, has utilized Chinese records to discuss countries/city-states around Burma. See Luce, "Countries Neighboring Burma," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 14, Part II (1924): 138-205

about 3,200 li longer than the southern path, which was 5,600 li. The southern path appeared overly circuitous, though it was crucial since it not only connected Yunnan and Burma, but it also linked the Maritime Silk Road and the SSR, which explains why traders bothered to travel this lengthier and more circuitous path.²⁴ Due to the fact that all of the aforementioned references were documented by the Chinese, and many of them were referenced from official and pro-official histories, it was not surprising that academics were able to construct a reasonably straightforward chart of the South Silk Road inside the boundaries conceived by the Chinese. In fact, one of the limitations of the current study is the portion linking Burma, Assam, and Indian states.

From Burma to Assam and westward, mountainous terrain dominates the landscape. These parallel south-north mountains serve as natural impediments to interaction. Thankfully, there are a great number of crossings, which are likely used by people on both sides, but locals had left us with no early records. Nevertheless, current accounts may assist us in retracing the pathways of the past.



1.2. Prosperous Triangular Trading Land

Many scholars have done a lot of outstanding research on the Southern Silk Road or the Tea-Horse Road and recognized the prosperity of this commercial route connecting China, South Asia, Southeast Asia and even Middle East in ancient time. There are extensive documentations to prove that in today's China-Burmese frontier area was not only the hub, but also an important commodity distribution center on the Tea-Horse Road. But as Bin Yang described in his book, this region that borders Southeast Asia,

²⁴ Walter Liebenthal, (1956) "The Ancient Burma Road—A Legend? Journal of the Greater India Society 15, no. 1: 10

India, Tibet and China had a dynamic frontier.²⁵ In this land that has been scattered with different ethnic regimes and entangled by border conflicts since ancient times, it is difficult for us to make a comprehensive definition for this old land by a specific regime, or single ethnic group. Therefore, after a careful analysis of the economic activity characteristics in the region, author believes that the most reasonable method to define this region is based on geographical features. Author would like to distinguish the region researched in this thesis by a huge Triangular, hereinafter referred to as the “Triangular Trade Land”. This triangular area is culminated in the closest point of the Irrawaddy, Salween, and Mekong rivers in Tibet, the east and west vertices extend to the estuaries of the Hong River and the Irrawaddy River respectively.

This Triangular Trade Land bounded by the east and west of the river is high in the north and low in the south, with an average elevation of more than 1,000 meters, and most of them are located between 10° and 22.5° north latitude. The northwest is the extension of the Tibetan Plateau, and many mountain ranges extend from south to north. The elevation gradually decreases from east to west with a huge relative drop, and the lowest river estuary is only 76.4 meters above sea level. There are many rivers in the region, such as the Irrawaddy River, Salween River, Chao Phraya River, Mekong River, Hong River and countless tributaries surging from north to south. numerous mountains and rivers give the region a variety of natural conditions, including mountains, rivers, canyons, plateaus, river valleys, basins, forests, and lakes. The region has a typical tropical monsoon climate with distinct dry and rainy seasons. Abundant rain and red soil bring sufficient agricultural resources to the region. Teak, rubber, rice, sugar cane,

²⁵ Yang Bin, *Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan*, 11

tea are all common crops in the region. In addition to agricultural resources, this Triangular Trade Land contains a large number of non-ferrous metal deposits, like zinc, silver, antimony, copper, tin, tungsten and other minerals.

Although the rugged mountain roads and the muddy roads in monsoon season caused many inconveniences to long-distance travel and trafficking, as the intersection of Southeast Asia, South Asia and Central Asia, and the certain convenience of river transportation brought by the river, this Triangular Trade Land still became an important business hub in history. Such as Bamo, Yongchang, Tengyue, Kungtung and so forth are all historically important business distribution centers in this area. We can find records of frequent intercourse and trade happened on this land since ancient times in both Chinese and Burmese historical documents. In 94 and 97, Shan and other ethnic leaders outside Yongchang Fu sent envoys to Han Dynasty to offer elephants, rhinoceros and treasures, and the emperor of Han Dynasty also gave valuable rebats. In 120 years, the leader of Shan Kingdom sent artists who were proficient in illusion and dance music as tribute.²⁶ Well-known Myanmar scholar Maung Htin Aung also mentioned in his masterpiece *A History of Burma* that the center of political power of the Pyu people was in Pyay area near Irrawaddy River, and a convenient trade route connecting Pyay and southwestern Yunnan allowed ships to avoid long and dangerous voyages around the Malay Peninsula. After the navigation of this trade route, Roman envoys and merchants reached China through this route four times in AD 97, 120, 131, and 166, respectively. And Chinese goods were also transported to India and the far

²⁶ Fan Ye et al ,*Book of the Later Han-Treatise on the Nanman, Southwestern Barbarians Volume 86* 5th century

west along this trading route.²⁷ From the earliest commercial activities in this region that we can find to modern times, although with the rise and fall of several surrounding hegemonic regimes, the ruling power of this region has changed hands several times, and wars have occurred from time to time, but the commercial activities and long-distance trade had never really been interrupted.



²⁷ Maung Htin A History of Burma (Columbia University Press; 1967)

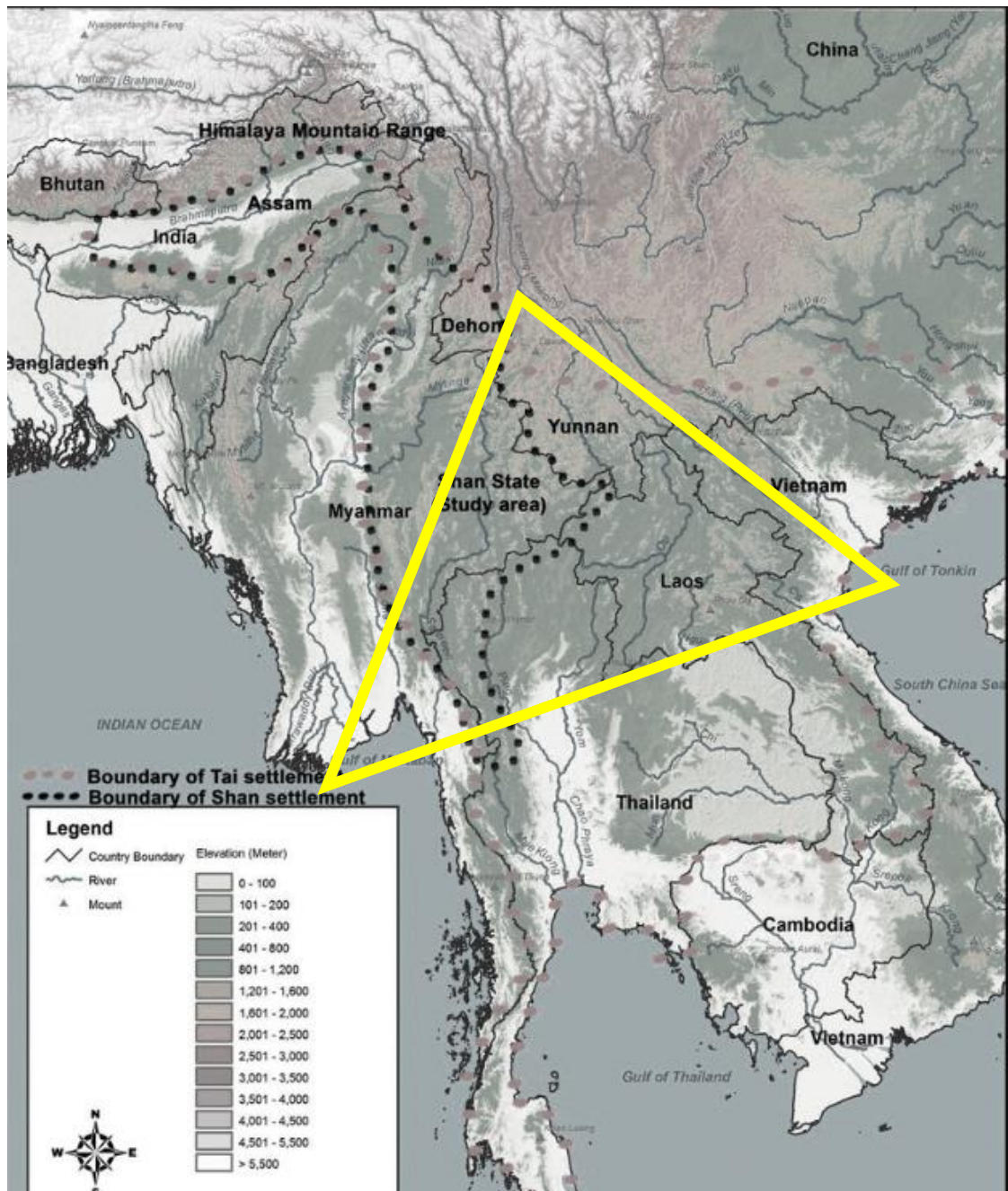


Figure 1. Concept Map of the Triangular Trade Land²⁸

²⁸ Oranratmanee, Rawiwan. (2018). VERNACULAR HOUSES OF THE SHAN IN MYANMAR IN THE SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CONTEXT. *Vernacular Architecture*. 49. 99-120.

1.3. The Complex and Diverse Border Communities

This small triangular piece of land in the northwest corner of the Indo-China Peninsula is one of the most culturally, ethnically, and religiously diverse areas. A considerable number of native small regimes and principalities had been scattered all over this land since time immemorial. Willem van Schendel once used the word Zomia in the Mizo-Kuki-Chin language to refer to the vast area from northeast India through Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam to the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau of China.²⁹ On the other hand, James Scott gave this geographical concept a cultural interpretation. He proposed that the term Zomia also means "the social state of mountain peoples outside the government of the plains and lowlands".³⁰ Additionally, some scholars use hilltribes and highlander/uplanders to refer to these ethnic groups who live in highland jungles and rely on mountain agriculture for a living and are not the leading ethnic group in the host country.

The mountain ethnic groups in this area mainly include Shan, Akha, Kachin, Karen, Lahu, Lisaw, Yao, Homeng, Wa, Jinuo and so on. Most of these ethnic groups have their own languages, and some of them developed complete writing system. According to the language pedigree, they should be divided into the Mon-Khmer language family belonging to the Austroasiatic language family and the Tibeto-Burman, Miao-Yao nationality in the Sino-Tibetan language family, as well as the Kra–Dai languages family. These peoples mainly live on the traditional agricultural planting, gathering, fishing, and hunting. A large proportion of the mountain peoples living in the higher

²⁹ Schendel, Willem van. "Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Jumping Scale in Southeast Asia." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20, no. 6 (December 2002): 647–68. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d16s>.

³⁰ Scott, J. G. , & Hardiman, J. P. . *Gazetteer of upper Burma and the Shan states*, 420.

altitude areas exploited the arable land using the method of crop rotation. Because of their favorable agricultural geographical advantages, the Tai people living in the relatively flat river valleys on agriculture gradually became local leading group with privilege on population size and development.

From 13th to 14th century, the inevitable Mongolian army swept whole China Central Plain and part of Southeast Asian and change regional geopolitics dramatically. Since then, because of the southwestward expanding of China's influence, the southwest frontier of China alters largely. As the outpost of Empire's influence for both China and Pagan, because the significant geopolitical value, the Sino-Burmese borderland keep involving into bloody conflicts and confrontations repeatedly. During this period, once uncivilized land to Chinese Court, many ethnic tribes and ethnic principalities gradually are summoned or lured to submitted to China by military force or by granting official positions. Lacking a formal and unified name in early Chinese historical records, this triangular borderland region, covering from present northeastern Myanmar to part of southwestern Yunnan province, began to show in Chinese historical annals with higher frequency since Yuan Dynasty and it is usually referred as *Jinchi* 金齿 region or *Jinchi Baiyi* 金齿百夷³¹ named after *Jinchi Man* 金齿蛮, the ethnic people who dominated there. Today, it is widely confirmed by scholars that *Jinchi* is predominated by Tai ethnic group and their descents spreading over upper Myanmar, western and southern Yunnan are identified as various Tai groups, such as Tai Yai, Tai Lue, Tai Khun, Tai Nua. The Tai Yai branch in Myanmar nowadays is called as the Shan. In western and

³¹ See Appendix I

southern Yunnan, their cognates Tai Nua³² and Tai Lue are put under the name Dai by Chinese people. From the collapse of Chinese Song Dynasty to the end of Ming Dynasty, over four hundred years, these Tai people migrant, raise and fall driven by multiple historical factors, and they leave their footprint in Chinese historical annals which allow contemporary people to look closer to this ethnic group who actively influence the area from western upper Myanmar to Hong River valley hundreds of years.

Except for the Tai ethnic group, the main ethnic group in the region have a strong belief in Buddhism. Before the colonial period, most indigenous highlanders believed in Animism based on nature. They believed that everything in the universe has a soul. This is embodied in their worship of natural elements such as rivers, forests, mountains, and ancestors. This spiritual belief is ubiquitous and plays an important role in tribal life. However, animism is not a single theory; its forms are complex and diverse among different tribes. Even local people living in different villages in the same area can have their own unique and complete philosophical understanding of the world. These various religious beliefs deeply influenced the class and political system within the local tribes. Take the dominant Shan and Aka groups as an example of the region. The Tai people's internal class division and ruling system have a strong shadow of Buddhism. But Aka, who advocates Animism, has primitive reproductive worship. Such a complex religious system combined with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds created many small and scattered regional regimes.

³² Tai Nua or Tai Neua, the Myanmar call them Shan-Chinese or Shan-Tayoke.

Summary

Even though commercial intercourse between Tai people and its vicinities probably existed from remote time as Shan area locates on the hub of three advanced civilizations China, India and Tibet, Tai was not prominent on this trading route until thirteenth century. Before that, the earliest and most prosperous section of the Southern Silk Road in Chinese historical records happen between Tibet and Yunnan. During Tang and Song dynasty, there were merchants from Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms led pony caravans from Dali across the Gaoligong range to the Tengyue area, then went into Myanmar or Tibet.³³ Thus, it is very likely that tea was traded by multi volumes to Tibet and Myanmar or even much further places. By then, the complementary trade of tea and horse came into being and it is the bud of the Southern Silk Road, a much huger trading network in later days. Looking through the history of the Southern Silk Road, Tai people absolutely took prominent roles on maintaining commercial activities along the Sino-Burmese economic corrido.

³³ C. Patterson Giersch. 2006. P169

CHAPTER II

DUAL-OVERLORDSHIP SYSTEM IN SINO-BURMESE BORDERLAND

2.1 The Dual-overlordship system

Reputed as the Mandala political model, the deterrence and influence of regional hegemony radiate outward from the political center in the absence of a clearly defined territory, as is the case today. It was not uncommon for vassal states to show allegiance to two or even three overlords in territories where the spheres of influence of multiple regional hegemonies overlapped. To achieve power constraint, they maintained tributary relationships with multiple regional overlords. The Triangular Trading Land along the Sino-Myanmar border was a classic Dual-overlords system exemplification. A complete dual administrative system from the top down was in place in the local community. This pattern persisted until the late 19th century, and it is felicitously expressed as "The Chinese are our father, the Burmese are our mother."³⁴ The economic ecology, social system, and even social culture of this region were overwhelmingly shaped by this dual-overlord system. Therefore, a thorough understanding of the connotation and implementation of the dual-overlordship system is necessary before pursuing research into the economic ecology and economic activities of the region.

The dual-overlordship system is a type of borderland political system where the spheres of influence of two hegemonies overlap. China and Myanmar constituted the hegemonies in this study. Some indigenous leaders were simultaneously canonized as hereditary

³⁴ Foon Ming Liew-Herres, Volker Grabowsky, and Renoo Wichasin, *Chronicles of Sipsong Panna: History and Society of a Tai Lü Kingdom Twelfth to Mid-twentieth Century* (Mekong Press, 2012) 49.

local officials of the central courts of China and Myanmar, which is the essence of this system. They utilize their considerable local influence to administer the populace on behalf of the imperial court. They became the borderland representatives of the empire's deterrence by exchanging legitimacy for loyalty. Although the indigenous leaders retained some degree of autonomy and practically absolute authority over the society of their domain, the empire's influence was pervasive. In nature, under the dual-overlordship system, the chieftain's management of the frontier communities was authorized and supervised by the overlords; consequently, they were obligated to adhere to directives issued by central courts.

According to the author, the dual-overlordship system grew more systematically in the 14th century with the introduction of Mongolian cavalry and continued to evolve over several subsequent centuries. The intensity of Chinese and Burmese influence in the Triangular Trading Land fluctuated over hundreds of years due to the expansion of the Yuan Dynasty and Ava Empire, as well as the rise of the Toungoo Dynast led by Bayinnaung. The frontier is on the outskirts of the empire's radiant influence, but at the heart of the struggle for imperial territorial expansion. This center-periphery antagonism keeps the frontier in a subtle political situation. A dual-overlordship system emerged as a consequence of protracted conflict in order to maintain the stability of the frontier ethnic areas and thereby consolidate the rule of the empire. This multilayered system maintained "connection" between the border regions and the center. It enabled the center to maintain some measure of control over the "peripheries." The chieftain was also required to leverage his position as a representative of the orthodox empire in order to consolidate authority within his domain.

From the perspective of the composition of the dual-overlordship system, it includes ancient Myanmar and China's governance policies and administrative systems for their borderland. Myanmar's central dynasty refers to the local rulers of the Sino-Burmese border as Myothugyi, while they consider the native Shan lord as Sawbwa³⁵. The central court established official positions in border regions. After the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese central court collectively referred to the indigenous leaders who displayed loyalty and tribute to the imperial court as Tusi³⁶. Under the Tusi system, officials were separated based on their rank and the nature of their affairs. Historical evidence suggests striking similarities between the Myanmarese Myothugyi system and the Chinese Tusi system in terms of their rituals, forms, and historical development.

2.2 Tusi System in Chinese History

Tusi system or Native Chieftain System is a governing system of ancient Chinese feudal administrative system in frontier non-Han ethnic regions for consolidating governors' control and expanding influence. The form of Tusi system was feudal dynasties' central governors granted hereditary official positions to ethnic leaders. These leaders enjoyed hereditary dominion, territory, and people. The primitive concept of native chieftain system sprouted in Qin Dynasty, but as a specific term for political institution to administer newly acquired territories, Tusi was firstly established during the Yuan dynasty. After going through the formation phase in Yuan Dynasty and the peak time in Ming Dynasty, native chieftain system quickly shrunk with the decline of Ming Dynasty. As the heyday of native chieftain system, the governance over chieftains was

³⁵ Chaofa in Burmese

³⁶ In order to be not confused, in this thesis Tusi is generic official title referring to local indigenous leaders in Sino-Burmese borderland .

strengthened, especially in the southwestern frontier, its influence even covered today's Myanmar. Meanwhile, because of the need of centralization, Ming Dynasty gradually framed "inside" and "outside" or "interior" and "outer" layered frontier governing system along its southwestern frontier.

The trace of Tusi system in Chinese history can be traced back to the Qin Dynasty. After Qin achieved unification by conquering the other six nations, within this nation, a new ethnic distribution structure of the Han-dominated Central Plains surrounded by non-Han ethnic groups with diverse cultural background was initially formed. The Qin Dynasty at that time set up administrations and institutions "*dianke* 典客" and "*dianshubang* 典属邦" at central court to govern ethnic groups situated around. Locally, in the gathering places of ethnic groups, Qin Emperor had "*dao* 道³⁷"³⁸ as local administration made up by ethnic people themselves.

During the Han Dynasty, based on retaining *dianke* and *dianshubang* system of Qin, the central court saw surrender ethnic leaders and their territories as "vassal states"³⁹ Han Dynasty levied certain taxes in ethnic areas which were relevantly under strong influence of central court. For those rulers or upper-class members of ethnic groups who proactively surrender or present their loyalty to the dynasty, they would be conferred peerage titles or official positions as reward.

³⁷ On administrative level it equals to county

³⁸ Si Maiqian, Shiji, Volume 6 Book 4 (Beijing Chinese Literature and History Press, 2022) pp2933-2934.

³⁹ Si Maiqian, Shiji, Volume 11 Book 9 (Beijing Chinese Literature and History Press, 2022) pp2933-2934.

A more rapid development of frontier ethnic management happened in Tang Dynasty, during which “Jimi 羁縻” system was created. The central court appointed the loyal ethnic leaders as hereditary "ducishi 督刺史" and "xianling 县令". One sentence in recorded that: “部落列置郡县，其大者为都督府，以其首领为都督，刺史，皆得世袭。”⁴⁰ It means establish county-level administrative agency at common tribes, establish “dudufu 都督府” to govern independent ethnic regimes or highly important ethnic tribes. Different from the loose govern of Jimi system in Han period, native chieftain system had much stronger control and stricter regulations in terms of inheritance, tribute, and requisition policies.

Turn to 13th century, the invasion of Mongolian army changed the distribution of Chinese ethnic groups dramatically. As a non-Han regime itself, Yuan Dynasty brought much more ethnic people to participate in their governing system. At that time, the Yuan Dynasty had an astonishing vast territory, at its northeaster frontier, there were Mongolia and Jurchen. Hamili 哈密立⁴¹”, Uighur 畏兀儿, Hacilu 哈刺鲁”and other nomads ethnic groups live in the northwest. In the Midsouthern region, it was the residence of Hmong, Yao and so forth. Bai Man 白蛮, Tubo 吐蕃, Lolo, 禾泥, Xunchuan Man 寻传蛮⁴²”, Jinchibaiman 金齿百蛮 and so forth live around the Southwest

⁴⁰ Local administrative agencies generally use a state power or ethnic tribe as a governor's office, and the king or chief serves as the governor. In the Tang Dynasty, the power was supervised lightly. Although the name of the envoy was held, it did not really give the festival. Jing Yun used He Tingyan to serve as the governor of Liangzhou in the second year. Since then, he has replaced Dudu as the highest military chief in the region. Among them, twenty-two persons in charge of the prefectures and prefectures in charge of ethnic minority areas “do not set up business strategies” in the governor's office to handle the ethnic affairs of the prefectures under the jurisdiction of the prefecture.

⁴¹ 《史集》记载，哈刺鲁与畏兀儿是同一个族源。哈刺鲁，意为“雪人”。

⁴² The ethnic group in the western border of Nanzhao in the Tang Dynasty were named after the place where they

frontier. In order to govern such a huge empire with various ethnic groups well, Yuan set up Royal Preceptor⁴³, “Xuanzheng Yuan宣政院⁴⁴” to specially administer frontier ethnic affairs. Apart from that, there were also some officials and departments at Libu 礼部 (Ministry of Rites)⁴⁵ and Bingbu兵部(Ministry of War)⁴⁶ were responsible to special ethnic affairs.

In order to strengthen the control over ethnic leaders, Yuan Dynasty established two categories of official positions Liuguan流官 and Tuguan土官. Liuguan usually were served by both Mongolian and ethnic people, but Tuguan were mainly served by ethnic leaders. As historical materials records, according to the difference of executive level, Tuguan were separated into Zongguan总管, Tufu土府, Tuzhou土州, Tuxian土县 and so on. For Tusi, under the jurisdiction of it, it had “Xuanwei Si宣慰司”, “Xuanfu Si宣抚司”, “Anfu Si安抚司”, “Zhaotao Si招讨司”, “Zhangguan Si长官司” and so forth. The detailed hierarchical division represents the official starting point of Tusi system. Recorded inside the Yuan Chronicle, Xuanwei Si was the administrative agency between Xingsheng行省 provinces and Junxian 郡县counties for information transmission. ⁴⁷

lived and searched. Mainly distributed in the upper reaches of the Lancang River to the northeast of Gangao Mountain in Kachin State, Myanmar. Some of them form the modern Achang people.

⁴³ Basiba 八思巴

⁴⁴ Xuanzheng Yuan宣政院 literally: 'Court for the Spread of Governance') was a government agency and top-level administrative department set up in Khanbaliq (modern Beijing) that originally supervised Buddhist monks in addition to managing the territory of Tibet during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) established by Kublai Khan.

⁴⁵ The Ministry or Board of Rites was one of the Six Ministries of government in late imperial China. Along with religious rituals and court ceremonial, the Ministry of Rites also oversaw the imperial examination and China's foreign relations.

⁴⁶ The Ministry of War was one of Six Ministries under the Department of State Affairs in imperial China.
47 Yuanshi, vol 91, Bai Guan Qi, reel 41, book 8 (Beijing, Zhonghua Shu Ju Press, 1976) pp230-2318.

In addition to the specific official positions and baronage title, compared to previous dynasties, Yuan Dynasty granted ethnic leaders Gaochi诰敕, seals, “Hufu虎符, Yichuanxishu驿传玺书, gold or silver round tokens and something else as the token of formal appointment. Gaochi is the voucher of appointment given by central court to native officials and their families. Seals are the authority symbol for native officials and leaders. With seals native officials can issue orders to their people. Hufu literally means tiger tally that had significant function as credential of requisition troops and military supplies, thus usually it was only granted to those Tusi with garrison and military duties.⁴⁸ In case of emergency, postal-delivering sealed brochure with gold or silver round tokens together worked as necessary official passport to ensure the court and the ethnic areas can communicate smoothly⁴⁹.

Tuguan and Tusi must perform the duties of tribute, tax collection and supply military needs. As the Gongfuzhi贡赋制(system of tribute and taxation) formulated by Yuan Dynasty required that Tuguan needed made tribute to the central court every or two or three years. For ensuring taxation go smoothly, those native officers must establish household registration within their dominion and collect tax by that. The tax could be gold, silver, food, indigenous products, livestock and so on. If there was war happening, it was also Tusi’s duty to supply necessary military supplies, such as provisions, forage, horses and even soldiers.

⁴⁸ In 1335 A.D, the 38th Volume of the Chronicle of Yuan Dynasty recorded that, “all the officials are not capable of wearing golden tiger tally, but the military officers.” 《元史》卷三十八载，后至元年（公元1335）诏：诸官

⁴⁹ In 1331 A.D, the 24th Volume of the Chronicle of Yuan Dynasty recorded an order: “please do not give golden round token to the any emissary, but the one has urgent military affair.” 《元史》卷二十四载，至大四年（公元1311）敕：诸使臣非军务急速者，勿给金字圆牌。

Through the implementation of Tusi system, Yuan Dynasty achieved effective governing over its peripheral ethnic regions, which was never achieved by any previous Chinese Dynasties. The effectiveness of Tusi system obviously inspired Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of Ming Dynasty. In 1363, emulating the policy of Yuan, for persuading more regional leaders to pay allegiance to him, Zhu Yuanzhang showed his mercy to those regional ethnic officers, scilicet Xuanweisi, Anfusi, Zhangguansi and other Tusi by promising original official positions for them.⁵⁰ Later, after Zhu Yuanzhang successfully founded his own dynasty, he kept his words and successively re-established native chieftain system in Huguang, Guizhou, Sichuan, Yunnan, Guangxi and Guangdong.

With the expansion of the influence of Ming Dynasty, the practice of Tusi system was extended to more ethnic regions. Apart from following the policy and administrative structure of Yuan, Ming further refined it. And the central government govern on Tusi was unprecedentedly strengthened. Tusi enjoyed the right to be promoted based on their military merits, loyalty, taxation, and contributions. For Tusi who broke the law or regulations, Ming dynasty would punish them by demotion, deposition, exile and even execution. It was noted in Tusi Zhi of Mingshi that :“有相仇者，疏上，听命于天子” .⁵¹ The English translation: In principal, grievances and hatred between Tusi must be reported to the emperor and listen to the adjudication made by emperor.

⁵⁰ Gongyi in Zhongguo Tusi Zhidu Shi,(Chengdu: Sichuan People Press, 2012) p128

⁵¹ Ibid.131

Although the hereditary power of the Tusi was acknowledged by Ming Dynasty, hereditary position would not be legitimated until they were recognized by the central court: The succession shall follow the order of the dynasty, despite they are thousands of miles away, they shall go the central court to be granted formally. (袭替必奉朝命, 虽在万里外, 皆赴阙受职⁵²) In order to ensure the succession of hereditary under the supervision of central court, Ming Dynasty ordered all Tusi to determine the successor and report it to the court before his death.⁵³ About qualified successor, the regulation was fairly loose: Tusi could pass his privileges and status to any his preferred heir like wife, daughter, nephew and someday else”(其子弟族属妻女若婿及甥之袭替, 胥从其俗)⁵⁴ However, those people who ever launched insurgency, entered into marriage relationships across provinces, and especially those who had contact with foreigners privately were excluded from the list of candidate.⁵⁵ Obviously, Ming Court regarded Tusi as a part of Ming's bureaucracy. Standing on the military perspectives, Tusi was also strictly constrained by central court. As imperial Tusi with important military functions, part of Tusi still could their own retain the army. Under the direct command of the Tusi, the indigenous army must fully obey imperial court's call. Furthermore, the indigenous army was strictly forbidden to be used for resolve conflicts among Tusi themselves.

In the early Qing Dynasty, the ruling measures of the Shan ethnic area on the Sino-Myanmar border still extended the Tusi system of the Ming Dynasty. After occupying

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.134

⁵⁵ Ibid.154

central China, the Manchu army began to march to the southwest frontier in 1646. Part of the remnant Ming army united with the local Tusi and continued to fight against the Manchu cavalry in the southwest. While marching into the southwest, the rulers of the Qing Dynasty realized the importance of controlling and influencing the minority areas in the border areas. Therefore, the central court of the Qing Dynasty stepped up efforts to appease the local ethnic lords. In 1658, when Wu Sangui led his army on the expedition to the south, Emperor Shunzhi specifically instructed to reward and attract the indigenous lords in the borderland to submit to the Qing court with official positions and other generous awards. However, with the social and economic development of the Sino-Burmese border, the Tusi system has been unable to meet the needs of the Qing Dynasty to expand the scope of centralization. In 1732, at Emperor Yongzheng's behest, the central court launched a meticulously planned frontier reform policy -" Gai Tu Gui Liu ". "Gai Tu Gui Liu" aimed to replace the original Tusi with officials dispatched by the imperial court in rotation, set up Liu Guan in politics and military, strengthen the garrison, and relocate the Han people to assimilate indigenous inhabitants. This move undoubtedly significantly weakened the autonomy of Tusi in the border areas and supported the management and influence of the central government. Since then, the Tusi system in the Sino-Burmese frontier gradually declined.

2.3 Myothugyi and Burmese King

Different from the institutional development recorded in detail in the Chinese Chronicles, due to the lack of continuity and unity in Burmese historical records, we can only piece together the social forms that emerged from the Sino-Burmese borderland at that time from the summaries of various Burmese historical materials and

scholars. Different from the centralized political system in which the Chinese court was obsessed with unifying the administrative system of the border areas, the records of the Burmese central court emphasized the connection between the central court and the border lords, such as marriage, tribute, tax payment, etc.

Burmese influence over this the Triangular Trade Land was mainly raised in the 16th century, the Toungoo Dynasty period. Toward the ideology of Chakravartin⁵⁶, King Bayinaung started his aggressively expansion. After King Bayinaung quelled the Mon regime in the south, he led his army north to conquer the Shan Plateau. In 1555 the Burmese army captured Ava. From 1556 to 1557, they conquered Muang Ying, Hsipaw, Muang Mit, and other places, and the local Tai people surrendered one after another. Turn to 1581, the Toungoo Dynasty had as many as 51 vassals.⁵⁷ At this time, the Toungoo Dynasty controlled not only the Shan State in Myanmar, but also part of the today's Thailand and Laos. When King Bayinaung died in 1581, the Shan chieftains rebelled and joined the Ming Dynasty. During the reign of Nyaungyan Min (1599-1605), the Toungoo Dynasty's rule and influence in the Shan area was restored, and a fierce contest for influence and control was launched with the Ming Dynasty in the Triangular Trade Land.

After blind expansion, King Bayinaung promoted the reforming on administrative machinery that establishing a systematic and firm relation between the center and peripherals by introducing a certain measure of legal uniformity. ⁵⁸ Throughout the

⁵⁶ The world conqueror in Buddhist Ideological world.

⁵⁷ He Shengda, Kong Peng Li Tangying ,(Myanmar, Social Sciences Academic Press(China) 2018),80

⁵⁸ U-Thayaw, Filling The Power Vacuum: The Rise And Fall OfThe Shan In Central Myanmar J. (Myanmar Acad.

period of the Toungoo Dynasty, the feudal state administrative and judicial organs Hluttaw, the council of ministers in the king's court were strengthened and developed. The supreme ruler of the Toungoo Dynasty is still known as the "Lord of Water and Land" and holds supreme power. The whole of Myanmar was administratively divided into three dimensions. The first circle was the area centered on the capital Ava, with developed irrigated agriculture, which was directly under the control by the king. The second circle was the more economically developed areas outside the central area, such as the Sittaung River Basin and the downstream area of the Irrawaddy River, etc. The king sent officials Myoywun to govern these areas. The third circle was the mountainous areas inhabited by ethnic groups in Upper Myanmar, including Shan, Kachin, and Karen States.⁵⁹ The chieftains in these areas enjoyed great extent independent and maintained good relations with the central court by paying tribute and providing soldiers and manpower. The fiefdoms of the dynasty such as Myosa and Myoywun⁶⁰ had local administrative and taxation powers, but their appointment and dismissal were depended on the King.



During the Konbaung Dynasty, the king's autocratic power was strengthened unprecedentedly, and the feudal administrative system with Hluttaw as the highest institution became much more mature. There are dozens of functional departments in Hluttaw, including military, finance, production, foreign affairs, and religion, all have special departments and officials. The local management was also further strengthened at the same time, and the local administrative system with Myothugyi and Myoyuwn.

Arts Sci. 2018 Vol. Xvi. No. 7 2006)

⁵⁹Ma Mya Sein, *The Administration Of Burma*, Oxford University Press. 1973 pp31-32; Brown, R. Grant.. *Burma as i saw it, 1889-1917*, by r. grant brown. Frederick A. Stokes Co.: Methuen. 1926. p64

⁶⁰ Myo literally means town and city ; Sa means eat; Yuwn means official

During Burma's division period, an administrative organization called Myothugyi appeared in lower Burma. Myo is a complex of villages or a town, ranging in area from a few square kilometers to several hundred square kilometers. The Toungoo Dynasty promoted Myothugyi system in the main part of Myanmar. As Ma Mya Sein stated in his book that the origin of Myothugyi system is still a mystery and it probably is an irregular and accidental feature of the system resulting from boundary and succession quarrels.⁶¹ In this thesis, author uses it as a unified appellation to refer all indigenous ethnic leaders in the Triangular Trade Land. Myothugyi played the role of regional highest leader. Although Myothugyi is hereditary, the appointment of the new Myothugyi must be approved by the king. In Chinese Chronicles that there are more than 4,600 Tusi in Myanmar, many scholars think the Tusi here refers to the Myothugyi.⁶² The main responsibilities of Myothugyi for Burmese King were: investigate and grasp the situation of residents according to the requirements and orders of the central court; collect taxes; apportion welfare services; maintain local law and order, provide soldiers other military aid to the King in wartime. They were in charge of the affairs of land and water in their jurisdiction and enjoy great local political and economic privileges.

The Burmese scholar Sai Aung Tun concluded 27 titles bestowed on the chieftains by King Mindon Min (1808-1878) and King Thibaw (1878-1885), among which Chaofa received 16 titles. They are the lords of Chiang Rung, Keng Tung, Mong Nai, Hsenwi, Yawng Hwe, Muang Pai, Muang Mit, Muang Pan and other 8 Shan states.⁶³ The Tai leader had clear class division: Chaofa, Myosa, Ngwekunmu, and so on. Among these

⁶¹ Ma Mya Sein, *The Administration Of Burma*, Oxford University Press. 1973 45

⁶² He Shengda, Kong Peng Li Tangying, *Myanmar*, Social Sciences Academic Press(CHINA) 2018 80

⁶³ Sai Aung Tun, *History of the Shan State*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009, pp.116-117.

titles, Chaofa was at the highest level, with the widest control area and the greatest influence among the Burmese chieftains.

As an extension of the Myothugyi system, Chaofa's commissions, appointment and lineage must be confirmed and issued by the king. On the premise of being loyal to the king, The Chaofa and Myosa of subordinate states had to come to the royal capital to pay homage to the king on the new-year day and at the beginning and end of the Buddhist Lent. At the ceremony, the subordinate chiefs submitted gold, silver, horses, elephants, etc. They also had to pay annual taxes to the king. In some cases, Shan Chaofa showed their loyalty by submitting voluntary services and supplying contingents in times of war and rebellion. In return, they got sanad, or letter of appointment from the king along with regalia, titles. They were allowed to enjoy the privilege to manage local affairs without the intervention of the central dynasty.⁶⁴ In 1556, when King Bayinaung Muang Mit, he appointed Muang Mit's Chaofa as highest leader and ordered him to pay rubies, gold and silver every year, velvet tax and horse as annual tax. And in 1557 when King Bayinaung conquered Muang Ying, he implemented repeated similar practice over there.⁶⁵ In the period of the Konbaung Dynasty, the records about Chaofa paid taxes and voluntary service to the imperial court were gradually increased in the Hmannan Yazawin Daw.

The status of Shan Chaofa in Myanmar was very prominent. Although the author believes that Chaofa could be as part of the Myothugyi system after the 15th century.

⁶⁴ Ibid p111

⁶⁵ Hmannan Yazawin Daw Gyi Translated by Li Mou.(Beijing The Commercial Press 2007), 665

In actual practice, the Shan Chaofas seems enjoyed higher statues than other Myothugyi in Lower Burma, since they owned fixed fiefs and had more hereditary privileges in administration, taxation, justice, and military affairs. That is because Myothugyi in other were not necessary the overlord of all people and the government of them depended a great deal on the acquiescence of the people. But for Chaofa, they not only acquired a lager share of influence, but they also possess royal legitimacy from religion and their noble blood. Unless the regime was subverted by rebellion or external conquest, Chaofa's lands and people will be passed down from generation to generation. During the Toungoo Dynasty, Chaofa and their troops frequently participated in the expedition of the Burmese king, and there are many such records in the Hmannan Yazawin Daw. Shan Chaofas participated not only in Myanmar Kings' internal warfare but also in the wars against the neighbouring countries. Although the central court established a standing military army, but tthey still needed to rely on the strength of the Tai people, if there is war or conflict, they will send the Shan troop from the nearest Shan state.⁶⁶ During the Tungoo Dynasty and Konbaung Dynasty, with the friendly relationship with Chaofa and the help of the brave Shan army occupying favorable terrain, the Burmese court was able to send troops to conquer neighboring countries and expand its territory to norther Laos, Thailand and even Southern China..When King Myeidu (1763-76) attacked Chiang Mai in 1766, Shan chiefs of Myei-Lat-the lands located between Shan States and Myanmar proper, dispatched 3000 men to the king⁶⁷. In addition to the military service, some Shan Sawbwas from frontier areas participated in the diplomatic relations with the neighbouring countries. For instance, Hsenwi

⁶⁶ Zhao Wenzuan, Qing Shi Gao, Volume 528 Shu Guo, (Beijing Zhonghua Book Press 1977) 14665

⁶⁷ M Maung Maung Tin, U. a, Konbaungzet Maha Yazawindawgyi (The Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty), Three volumes, Yangon, Yabyei Publishing House, Vol 1, 2004280-82, 210

(Theinni) Sawbwas and Bhamo Sawbwa played an active role in the relations of the Kingdom of Myanmar with China.⁶⁸ As the Shan Sawbwas assisted the Myanmar Kings in warfare and diplomacies, the kings in turn gave protection to the Shan Chaofa in case of threats by the outside power.⁶⁹

Tribute, marriage, and dispatch hostage to the central court were three most important means for the Burmese dynasty to control and win over the Shan Chaofas. The purpose of the tribute is to express loyalty. The hostage was intended to contain the chieftain, but the hostages sent by the chieftain of the Tai people to the court were also the link between the royal family and the Chaofa. The hostages fascinated by the Burmese culture could become the messenger of bilingual cultural exchange. Marriage is one of the most common means of alliance between suzerains in Myanmar. Complex network of marriages secures the status of Chaofa and Burmese King. Both Tungoo and Konbaung Dynasty pay significant attention on marriage alliance with rulers dominating borderland. King Ngyaung Ram Meng, King Anaukpetlun, King Thalun of Tungoo Dynasty, and King Mindon Min of Konbaung Dynasty all married the princess of Shan States. Sometimes, for the political consolidation, King even initiative proposed to the Shan princes.

On the whole, the Burmese dynasty's rule over the Sino-Burmese borderland was gradually strengthened, the Myothugyi system has been continuously improved, and the relationship between the central Myanmar and Shan States became increasingly

⁶⁸ Than Tun. f, *The Royal Orders of Burma (AD 1598-1885), Part VI (1811-1819)* Kyoto, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University 1987, 644

⁶⁹ Maung Maung Tin, *U. Konbaungzet Maha Yazawindawgyi* 280-82, 210

close. At the end of the Konbaung Dynasty, in order to cope with the financial crisis caused by the British invasion, King Thibaw increased the tribute and taxes of the Shan chieftains, and the relationship between the central and the border district kept going down. Many Chaofa in Shan State revolted one after another. In December 1885, more than ten Shan Chaofa held a meeting in Keng Tung, announcing the establishment of The "Limbin Alliance", headed by Prince Limbin, who had Burmese royal blood and received a Western-style education at St. John's College in the United Kingdom, tried to replace King Thibaw and lead the people in the anti-British struggle.⁷⁰

Although the Burmese dynasty successfully promoted Buddhism in the Shan area, it did not complete the effective integration of the Shan chieftains in terms of politics, economy, and military. The Kongbung Dynasty strengthened the management of the Shan chieftains and set up an organization in Ava specifically to manage the Chaofa in Shan states. Membership of this organization consisted of bobmu mintba, sitke, nabkan, and saray-dawgyi.⁷¹ Among them, bobmu mintba was dispatched by the king to manage affairs in the Shan area. The official on this position normally resident in Mandalay and only visited their jurisdiction occasionally. Sitke was a prominent position appointed by the central council and be responsible for two-way messaging and inspecting local government. They need to reflect the information that they collected to bobmu mintba regularly. Nakan is the civilian assistant of sitke, and saray-dawgyi's functions like a secretary. Almost all the above-mentioned officials were selected from Burmese, and they were allowed to carry varying numbers of entourages.⁷² From this point of view,

⁷⁰ Sai Aung Tun, History of the Shan State, .129.

⁷¹ Ibid 118

⁷² Ibid 111-114

similar to the Qing Dynasty, in the later period of the Konbaung Dynasty, the Shan area gradually appeared to combine the governance of the indigenous rule and dispatched officials from the central, but the British invasion interrupted the further centralized administrative reform.

2.4 Chaofa and Indigenous Muang Society under Dual-overlordship System

There were striking similarities in the political systems of border management between China and Myanmar. In practice, the central courts of both China and Burma issued Gaochi, seals, official suit, howdah complete with gold printing, tally and other royal appliance to border lords as tokens to authorized them as the representative of court in the borderland. The local leader had dual political roles. On the one hand, Chaofa are subservient to the central court, and their status as courtiers is hereditary. On the other hand, as local rulers, Chao's rulership is also hereditary. If a simple metaphor is used, it is like the epitome of the imperial court. Chaofa's court is the palace. Those nobilities or feudatories who managed muang were the vassal officials, and the director are the local officials who are close to the people. However, due to the complex ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the border areas, the political systems and social structures of the ethnic groups in each region are slightly different, such as the Kachin group's gunsa system researched by Dr. Leach is another. Frontier areas dominated by the Shan ethnic group usually practice a political system centered on the Muang. In the language used by Tai people, muang means district based on basin. Normally, muang has its natural border zones, such as watersheds and mountain ranges, but differ from modern

European understanding of frontier, it has no clear border lines.⁷³

The intensity of the Burmese and Chinese influence in the borderland Shan condominiums fluctuated over the centuries. At the forefront of the frontier confrontation, like Muang Ying, Hsipaw, Muang Mit, Kung Tung and Sipsong Panna, each significant ceremonies should be participated by representatives from both sides. In the Muang Lue Chronicles states at the coronation ceremonies of Chao In Muang, the highest leader of Sipsong Panna, Chao In Muang was proclaimed as new successor jointly by Chinese and Burmese envoys. And he received authorized seals from both Chinese emperor and King Bayinaung.⁷⁴ In general speaking, the Burmese influence prevailed from the middle of 18th century to the early 19th century, but the Chinese side took their regional dominant position again after Myanmar was defeated by Colonial in the first Anglo-Burmese war (1752-1819)⁷⁵

No matter for Burma or China, the purpose of this dual-overlordship system is to appease the border regime, maintain the territory and consolidate the influence of the dynasty in the borderland, so the local leaders enjoy high political and economic autonomy. Taking the area dominated by the Tai people as an example, basically Chaofa only needed to fulfill three obligations to the central court: tribute, tax payment and certain voluntary service, when necessary, like military support when border collision occurred. From: Yunnan Man Si Zhi records that each Chaofa pays more than 2,000 taels of tax and silver each year, and only a few dozen taels less. These taxes and silver are insignificant for the frontier chieftains with vast territory and rich products. Taking

⁷³ Liew-Herres, G., R, W Chronicle of Sipsong Panna, 1

⁷⁴ Ibid 51

⁷⁵ Ibid 51

Sipsong Panna, a major tea trade center, as an example, Cheli Xuanwei Shisi's tax rate is only 50 taels of gold. From this, it can be deduced that what the central court requires from the chieftains of the borderlands is more to maintain and surrender to the central government, rather than material rewards.

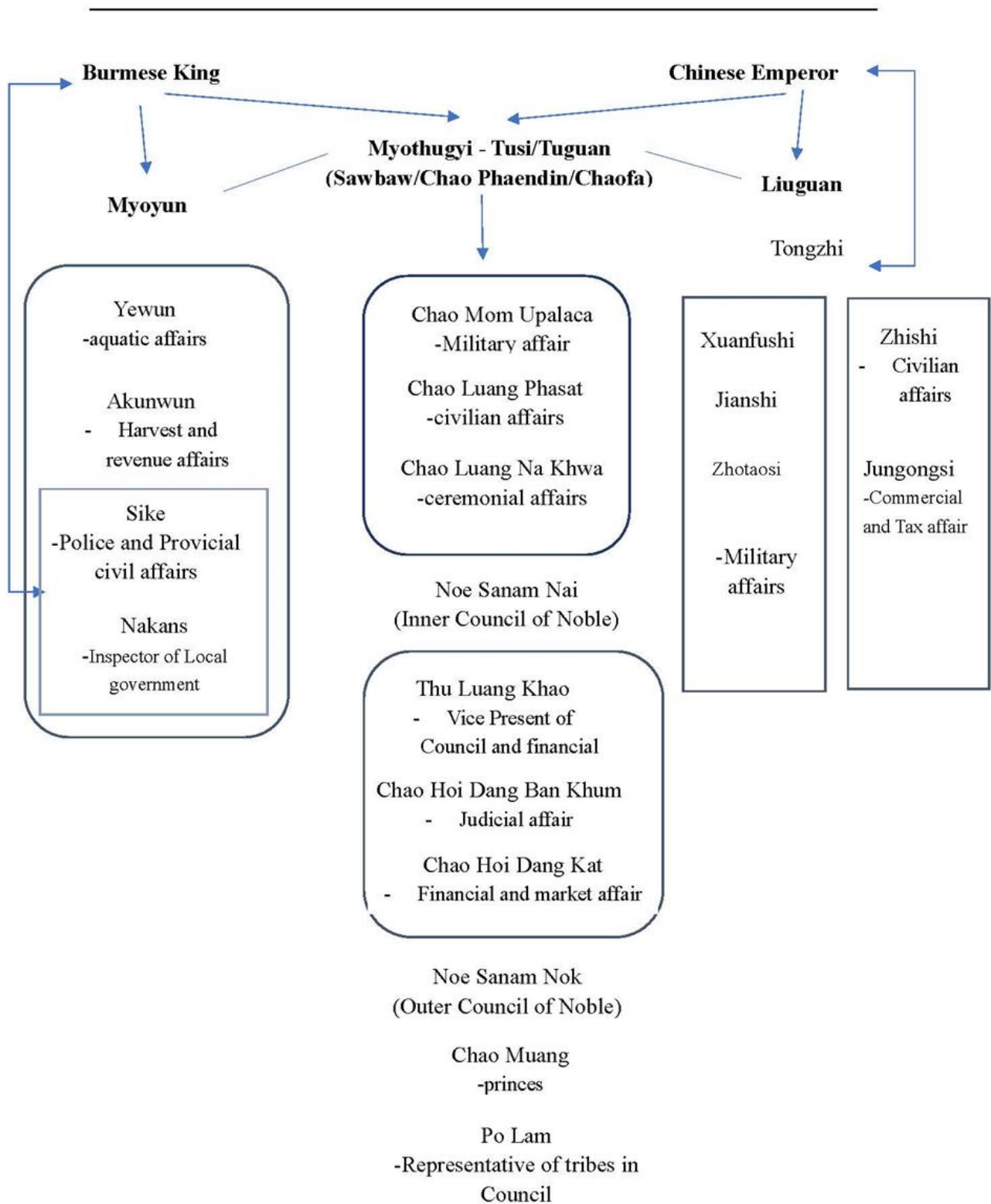
Summary

Through the above analysis and comparison of China's Tusi system and Myanmar's Myothugyi system, we can briefly summarize the dual-overlordship system as a derivative of the Mandala political model. Different from the concept of modern countries, due to the lack of clear national boundaries, in the case of the decentralized states, the suzerain states and the vassal states often maintain relations through a tributary, political marriage or other complex political means. As we know, in the Mandala political system, a powerful regime's sphere of influence radiates from its capital as the centre. The farther it is from the capital, the weaker its ruling power becomes. In the radiated fringes far from the centre of power, the influence of the suzerain often overlaps. The circle of political influence expands as the overlord grows and shrinks as the overlord weakens.

In this study, the Tusi system and Myothugyi system, which have a high degree of similarity, are both the domination strategies adopted by China and Myanmar as suzerain states to maintain their influence in the peripheral areas. The Shan states area on the Sino-Burmese border served as the overlapping area of the influence radiation circle of China and Myanmar maintained a "submission relationship" with the central court of China and Burma at the same time. Meanwhile, at the local level, Shan states

maintain their own miniature Mandala political system - the Baan-Muang system. Tai Chaofas adjusted their political stance as the Burmese and Chinese dynasties rose and fell.





Dual-overlords System Administrative Structure

CHAPTER III

PUER TEA AND QING EMPIRE

History shows that tea cultivation developed during the Tang Dynasty and flourished through Song Dynasty. During Tang Dynasty (618-907), Puer Tea yielded mainly in Sipsong Panna and was transported for sale throughout the empire. Turn to Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368), Puer Tea produced in Sipsong Panna was already an important commodity in the market. Li Jing from Yuan Dynasty points out in his book that Tai people exchange felts, cloth, tea and salt in fairs that take place every five days. The term “Puer Tea” originated from the tea trade among the people and was officially recorded in history during Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The time from Ming to Qing dynasties was a great period of prosperity for Puer Tea because the government appreciated Puer Tea as an article of tribute, subsequently promoting its rapid development.

3.1 The Raise of Puer tea and the Southwestern Expansion of Qing Dynasty

It is well known that tea is a kind of traditional drink for Chinese people with a long history, but it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when the Chinese started drinking tea. We can even find descriptions about tea drinking in Chinese records dating back to BC. In today's China, Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Sichuan and Hubei provinces were all once-famous tea producing areas in Chinese history. In ancient China, as a representative local product, those high-quality teas were often offered to the emperor as a tribute by officials from various places, and these selected teas were called Gong Cha⁷⁶. This

⁷⁶ Gong literally means tribute

system of providing tea is called the Gong Cha System by the Chinese. And just like other tributes, Gong Cha is an important symbol of the monarch's effective rule over the locality in the feudal society, and it is based on the need of the feudal ritual system. At the beginning of the Gong Cha System, local officials in various tea producing areas collected a considerable amount of famous and unique teas as native products to pay tribute to the central. When turning to the Tang Dynasty, Gong Cha System has been further developed. In addition to paying tribute, the emperor has also set up Gong Cha Yuan, the agency responsible for regulating the selected Gong Cha in important famous tea producing areas, which the government directly manages. Gong Cha Yuan carefully refined and supervised the production of various Gong Cha. Taking Tang Dynasty as an example, there were more than 20 kinds of famous tea such as Mengding tea from Sichuan, Tuanhuang tea from Hubei, Longjing tea from Zhejiang, and so forth court fixed as Gong Cha of each year. To a certain extent, in the era of inconvenient transportation in the past, the annual tribute was an important communication between the central court and the locality. The content and quality of the tribute can reflect the harvest in that year, while the feedback from the central court indirectly explains the importance of the place to the court.

The ancestors of the Manchus in the Qing Dynasty were originally a hunting nation in Northeast China, and meat accounted for a large proportion of their diet. In the early days of Emperor Yongzheng's ascension, the Qing court put Pu'er tea originating from the southwestern border area on the annual list of Gong Cha. Pu'er tea's ability to remove greasy and aid digestion has a series of products such as Pu'er tea and Pu'er tea cream deeply popular. The royal family and nobles are favoured. It is fashionable to

drink Pu'er tea in the Forbidden City, either for brewing or boiling milk tea. According to the memoirs of the palace maid, usually, Empress Dowager Cixi would like to drink a cup of Pu'er tea after eating greasy food in winter. The preferences in the court led to the officials and people's following. Ruan Fu recorded the following in his "Pu'er Tea Notes": Pu'er tea is phenomenal all over the whole territory. It has the most delicious taste and was especially welcomed in the capital city." However, as early as the Tang and Song dynasties, the central court and the general public favoured tea from the southwestern border area. At that time, the region called Pu'er was not directly ruled by the central government, and the administrative links between the main court and the southwest borderland were very loose. It was not until the end of the Ming Dynasty that Pu'er tea, named after the origin, appeared in Chinese literature as a proprietary vocabulary representing tea produced in this region. Since the expansion of the territory of the Qing Dynasty, the Qing court set up administrative plans in more and more areas. The establishment of the name of Pu'er tea is an additional product of the rising influence of the Qing Dynasty on the southwestern borderland. Behind the fame of Pu'er tea in the Qing Dynasty, it is the Qing Emperor's ambitious and more centralized central policy on the southwest ethnic region.

In the early Qing Dynasty, after going through the borderland developing policy of Ming Dynasty, the tea economy in Yunnan mainly based on Pu'er tea has reached a considerable scale, and the development of the tea industry in southern Yunnan was remarkably rapid. During the Shunzhi period (1643-1661), as the primary representative producing areas of Pu'er tea, the Six Great Tea Hills produced about 80,000 dans of dry tea annually, and as many as 30,000 dans of Pu'er tea were

distributed to Tibet.⁷⁷ However, Yunnan's major tea-producing areas, especially Cheli (now Sipsong Panna), where the Six Great Tea Hills were located, were still mainly managed by indigenous chieftains, who govern themselves, make their laws, levy taxes, and only pay tribute to the central government. Indigenous leaders enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and had overwhelming influence over the local tea business. Indigenous communities' semi-independence hindered the implementation of various decrees of the Qing government and caused the local rich tea, minerals, forests, and other resources to be regarded as the private property of the chieftain and could not be further developed and utilized by the Qing court. In 1726, Emperor Yongzheng appointed Eertai as the Governor-General of Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi province to vigorously implement Gai Tu Gui Liu, one of the most critical reforms on borderland communities in the Qing Dynasty. The simple explanation of the core of this reform is to abolish the rule of local chieftains and replace them with imperial officials. Through that, it will weaken the power of the indigenous leaders and strengthen the emperor's authority over southwest frontier communities. After taking office, we could briefly understand Eertai's strategy as a combination of the consolidation of the frontier the development of the local economy, including the tea business. He started the reforming from Southern Yunnan, the core tea-producing area, and northwestern Yunnan, the main distributing centre of Puer tea. Patterson Giersch described this reform as a "Tea War" launched by a wilful emperor and aiming at strengthening his authority.⁷⁸ Though author does not think the nature of this reform was outrageous as Patterson Giersch declared in his book, but it was definitely not an effortless move without conflict and

⁷⁷ Zhang Yongshuai, *Jin Dai Yunnan de Kai Fu Yu Kou Ang Mao Yi Yan Jiu*(1889-1937) Phd Thesis, Fudan University April 2011, 18-19

⁷⁸ C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands- The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier*. President and Fellows of Harvard College (Harvard University Press May 15, 2006) 50-52

bloodshed.

The reform and consolidation plan towards southern Yunnan started since the Ming Dynasty through resettlement, reclamation, and garrison. However, these series of measures were far from enough to allow the emperor to manage this vast mountainous region with complicated demographic background powerfully, and the central court didn't lay a solid foundation for local influence and control. Before Eertai took office as Governor of Yunnan, although Emperor Shunzhi successfully established Yuanjiang Prefecture governed Pu'er, Simao and Cheli in 1661, marking the completion of Gai Tu Gui Liu in Yuanjiang Prefecture, regarding the vast and mountainous territory of Sipu and Cheli region, on garrison setting can be said to be useless and weak. Turn to Yongzheng's reign, shortly after Eertai arrived in Yunnan, regarding the governance of Cheli, the largest tea-producing area in Pu'er tea, he proposed his reforming plan Emperor Yongzheng those indigenous chieftains should be appointed as local governors in the area west of the Lancang (Mekong) River. Still, it is better to assign Han officials as governor in the east of the Lancang River."⁷⁹ Soon, his proposal got approved and responded. With permission from the Emperor, Eertai quickly completed the Gai Tu Gui Liu in Jingdong, Jinggu, Pu'er, Simao and Cheli and other surrounding areas in 1727 by adopting recruiting as the primary measure supplemented by the powerful military force to encircle and suppress them.⁸⁰ But in the process, due to the resistance from powerful indigenous chieftains in various places, Eertai had to agree to remain Cheli chieftain and keep the hereditary system. Still, the Six Great Tea Hills must

⁷⁹ Yang Bin, *Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan*, 9

⁸⁰ C. Patterson Giersch. *Asian Borderlands* 50-57

exchange be under the direct jurisdiction of the Qing government. In practice, although the chieftain of Cheli accepted this condition, due to the attractive profits of tea, each group sought to control the production and sale of tea. Eertai's intention on Six Great Tea Hills still suffered heavy resistance, and finally, scrambling over local tea business led to war.⁸¹

The Chieftain (Tusi) system in Cheli has been implemented since the Yuan Dynasty. Hereditary minority aristocrats are deeply entrenched in local ruling power. The jurisdiction of Cheli Xuanwei Si⁸² included the Six Great Tea Hills in Jinghong and Mengla today, and the Six Great Tea Hills are initially ancient tea forests. In the Yuan and Ming dynasties, tea forest was cultivated as tea plantation by indigenous highlanders like Akha and Jinuo. They harvested tea leaves and sold them to Chinese merchants. In 1728, All tensions around the tea business, whether between Highlander and Chinese merchants or between local chieftains and the Qing government, were directly ignited by the death of a Jiangxi tea merchant. According to Sipsong Panna local history record, that Han tea merchant engaged in illicit sexual relations with a highlander woman, local highlanders executed him as a warning to the other merchants and expressed their anger to their Chaofa Kin Pau.⁸³ The death of Chinese merchants gave Eertai an excuse to launch a military operation against the Six Great Tea Hills and bring them under stricter imperial supervision.

To further open up the tea market from southern Yunnan in Tibet, the Emperor endorsed

⁸¹ C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands* P 51

⁸² Xuanwei Envoy Division

⁸³ Foon Ming Liew-Herres, Grabowsky, and Wichasin, *Chronicles of Sipsong Panna*:

Eertai's proposal to re-district Weixi, Adunzi (now Deqin) and other places far from the hinterland of Sichuan Province to under the jurisdiction of Yunnan. To ensure the stability of Tibet and its periphery region, Eertai established Lijiang Prefecture in the following year. This initiative improved the transportation conditions between Tibet and the interior and further expanded Yunnan tea sales in Tibet to a large extent.

After Lijiang Prefecture, Puer Prefecture was set up to replace the previous Yuanjiang Prefecture in 1729, and its jurisdiction included today's Simao, Ninger, Jinggu, Mojiang. The Simao District had jurisdiction over the Six Great Tea Hills. In addition to this, Eertai further refined the administrative areas under Cheli to consolidate the control over tea origin. So far, the Six Great Tea Hills had all been brought under the control of Puer Prefecture⁸⁴

Apart from political and military means, Eertai implemented a series of campaigns to promote the development of southern Yunnan's tea business. Could his core measures into four parts: first, he set up special departments in each tea producing area to supervise the local tea production and trade. In the same year when Pu'er Prefecture was established, the tea head office was set up in Simao, responsible for managing tea trade, taxation and related tribute tea matters. Meanwhile, set up Tongzhi (title of local official)⁸⁵at Youle Hill, the biggest one of the Six Great Tea Hills. Second, encourage more interior Han people to settle down and join the local tea production to break the local indigenous leaders' monopoly on the tea business. Owing to the addition of more

⁸⁴ Li Jing Dian Nan Zhi Lue Volume 3 Puer Fu

⁸⁵ 同知 Tong Zhi was a kind of official position

population and the introduction of Han cultivation techniques, the production area of Pu'er tea has been expanded, and the output has been increased. The most notable move was Eertai formulated the tea tax system Chayin⁸⁶. When Pu'er House was established, like another commodity salt, the tea taxation, Chayin was implemented. At the same time, in order to facilitate the long-distance transportation of Pu'er tea, they expressly stipulated the special packaging and standard weight of compressed round Pu'er tea, which named after its outlook as Qizi Bin. as well as stipulated a suitable packaging and standard weights.⁸⁷ According to historical materials, in the thirteenth year of Emperor Yongzheng's reign, he approved the issue of 3000 official tea trading licenses to Yunnan traders. The unit of tea is one Tong for every seven Bing, the weight is 7.7 taels per Bing and 49 taels per Tong, and the tax is levied three cents and two cents per Tong.⁸⁸ More than that, based on the ancient tea-horse road built in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, stage stations, staging horses, garrison and staging hotels had been continuously added to enhance the convenience of transportation among Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet, making the trade between these places was further accessible. Looking into the statistics of the reign of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty alone, nearly 200 tons of tea was sold to the interior and Tibet from the Yunnan tea area after taxation by the imperial court. This fantastic trade volume continued until the end of the Qing Dynasty. During Emperor Yongzheng's reign, most policies on the southwestern borderlands were more aimed at consolidating and expanding the territory through the economic instrument and population migration,

⁸⁶ 茶引|Chayin is a license for selling tea in ancient China. Tea and salt were introduced in the Song Dynasty, and they were used in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

⁸⁷ Each piece of Qizi Bin tea is 20 cm in diameter, 2.5 cm thick at the center, 1 cm thick at the edge, and has a net weight of 357 grams (about 7.7 taels in ancient times). In Yunnan minority culture, "seven" is an auspicious number, symbolizing more children and more happiness. See attached picture 2

⁸⁸ Zheng Shaoqian, Puer Fu Zhi, Volume 17, Shi Huo Zhi, 1851,375

and there were also coercive measures such as repression and force. However, stimulated by this series of strategies, the scale of the tea trade in border ethnic regions has been overgrown. According to folk and official historical records, at the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China, at least 100,000 tans of Yunnan tea entry Tibet a year. For more than 300 years of the Qing Dynasty, on the Ancient Tea Horse Road, the bells of the caravans transporting tea rang day after day, and it had never stopped.⁸⁹ A Qing officer wrote in his book that the reputation of Puer tea from the Six Great Tea Hills spreads all over the world, and it is an essential product that brings enormous profits to Yunnan. As many as 100,000 people engaged in tea-related business in the Six Great Tea Hills. After the tea, merchants purchased raw tea here and would transport tea to various places for processing and sale, which has brought a lot of economic benefits along the way. From this point of view, we can see how important the tea business is for local people, Yunnan province and the consolidation of the Qing Empire's southwestern borderline.⁹⁰

3.2 The Golden Age of Sino-Burmese Overland Trade

The Sino-Burmese overland trade reached the most prosperous period in the Qing Dynasty. With the influx of a large number of Han immigrants into the borderland area following Emperor Yongzheng's policy, the local social economy, especially the commodity economy, was unprecedentedly bloomed. In this period, cross-border trade has made historic progress in both scale and diversity. Before officially opening maritime trade, commercial intercourse between Yunnan and Southeast Asia was

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⁹⁰ Tan Cui, Dian Hai Yu Heng Zhi, Volume 13(Kunming,National History Research Office, Department of History, Yunnan University, 2019) 121

mainly based on Sino-Myanmar trade. The trade with Vietnam and between China and Laos were far less than the Sino-Burmese one. According to Crawford's estimates, the annual transaction volume of Sino-Burmese trade in the early 19th century was as much as 300,000 to 400,000 pounds.⁹¹ After that, the Sino-Myanmar trade also showed a trend of continuous development. According to records, in 1854, the total trade volume between China and Burma in Bamo alone reached 500,000 pounds.⁹² Some Chinese scholars pointed out that, as the main actor of land trade in southwest China, the Sino-Burmese trade volume through the Triangular Trade Land during the Qing Dynasty accounted for 25 to 30 percent of Myanmar's total volume. Except tea, iron, cloth, yellow silk, salt, satin, cotton, jade, etc. are all important trade commodities.⁹³ Among them, cotton is the main commodity imported from Myanmar to China. In Symes's *An Account of An Embassy to The Kingdom of Ava in the Year 1795*, it was recorded that there was extensive trade between the capital of Myanmar and Yunnan, and the main commodity exported from Ava is cotton. Cotton was transported along the Irrawaddy River to Bhamo, where cotton was exchanged with other commodities to local Chinese traders who will transported the cotton to China by land and water.⁹⁴ According to Henry Yule's estimate, cotton imported from Burma in 1827 was worth about £228,000, and in 1855 the total value of goods from Burma to Yunnan was about £235,000, of which cotton was £225,000⁹⁵At the same time, "silk and silk fabrics produced in Yunnan and mainland China have a broad market in Myanmar. Italian missionary Vincenzo

⁹¹ He Shengda, *History of Burmar*, (Kunming People's Publishing House 2015), P214.

⁹² Albert Fytche, *Burma Past and Present*, Volume2, (TheClassics.us September 12, 2013) 9

⁹³ Yunnan Institute of History, Qi Shi Lu- Yuenan Miandian Taiguo Laowo Shiliao Zaibian, (Kunming Yunnan People's Publishing House 1986,678

⁹⁴ Michael Symes's *An Account of An Embassy to The Kingdom of Ava in the Year 1795*, Gale ECCO, Print Editions (May 28, 2010)

⁹⁵ Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the mission to the court of Ava in 1885*, (New York: Oxford University Press,

Sangermano said that Myanmar's foreign trade targets many countries. Chinese merchants took boats along the Irrawaddy River to Myanmar, bringing Chinese goods such as silk, colored paper, tea, and other miscellaneous goods. When they returned home, they carried cotton, flower salt, bird feathers and a kind of black lacquer.⁹⁶ The commodities imported from China into Burma were raw silk, satin, velvet for making court clothes, tea from frontier area, gold, copper, steel, liquor, ham, mercury for lacquer and a large amount of needle and thread. The commodities imported from Burma to China is mainly cotton. In addition there are bird's nest, salt, ivory, deer antler, bluff and a small amount of precious stones.”⁹⁷ According to Henry Yule's estimate, the total value of silk imported from Yunnan from Burma in 1827 was about £72,000. Turn to 1855, the total trade volume between Myanmar and Yunnan reached about £87,599, of which silk took up £12,000.⁹⁸

Due to the rapid development of trade between the two sides, it had become profitable to levy taxes on business travel in that time. As a result, both China and Myanmar have set up checkpoints on the border to collect various taxes, and the collected taxes have become the main source of local government financial growth. According to the official records of the Yunnan local government, there were five main commercial routes between China and Myanmar in the Qing Dynasty.⁹⁹ The western and southwestern parts of Yunnan are the main areas where Sino-Burmese trade took place, cross-border

⁹⁶ Godfrey Eric Harvey, *History of Burma, from the earliest times to 10 march 1924 the beginning of the English conquest*, Volume III, (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1973,) 548

⁹⁷ *ibid*

⁹⁸ Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the mission to the court of Ava in 1885*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, 334

⁹⁹ Wang Song, *Dao Guang Yun Nan Zai Ji- Volume 6. Bian Yi Zhi*-(Kunming Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, 1995) 318

business and travel were very frequent. In 1789, King Bodawpaya of Konbaung dynasty sent the letter of will propose the opening of trade between the two countries on gold leaves and handed it over to Emperor Qianlong through the envoy and received a positive response from Qianlong.¹⁰⁰ As a result, the border trade between China and Myanmar was officially opened, and the land trade between China and Myanmar was immediately improved and expanded in both scale and quantity. In the report to Qianlong, Zhang Yun, Governor of Yunnan said that all living materials needed by indigenous communities in a wide range depend on cross-border trade. The people of both sides shuttle often between the borders to trade the living materials and food they need¹⁰¹ The content of the memorial text shows that the business activities of the two sides rase to a higher level during this period. Economic exchanges developed from some luxuries to the necessities of people's production and life, and even the transaction of raw materials.¹⁰² Take the cotton mentioned in the letters written by Bodawpaya of Konbaung dynasty as an example. The northern region of Myanmar is the main cotton producing area. Since 17th century, a large amount of cotton has been exported from Myanmar to Yunnan to meet the development of Yunnan's cotton textile industry, and soon cotton has become a major commodity imported into Yunnan. According to Yongchang Fu Wen Zheng's records, cotton is the representative specialty of Ava. Every year and every year in Ava around 100,000 tuo¹⁰³ of cotton were transported from northern Myanmar to Yunnan. The rise of China-Burmese cotton trade not only eased the shortage of Yunnan people's clothing raw materials, but also greatly stimulated the

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¹⁰¹ Fang Guoyu, *Yunnan Shi Liao Cong Kan* Vol 77, (Kunming, Yunnan University Press 2009) 57

¹⁰² Zhao Xiaoping, *Yunnan Foreign Trade and Exprosin of International Regional Market during the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Yunnan University, History Teachin No.4, 2009, 48

¹⁰³ Tuo is a quantifier, referring to the amount of cargo a cow can normally carry

development of Yunnan's textile industry, making Yunnan a major province of China's cotton textile industry. The transitional change in the trading structure of various commodities from daily necessities to raw materials means that the level of Sino-Myanmar border trade exchanges has developed qualitatively. This closer interdependent and complementary production relationship has further prompted Myanmar and Yunnan to take measures to guarantee the smooth flow of cross-border business routes and strengthen the standardized management of cross-border trade. The traditional Sino-Burmese border trade has gradually developed to its peak.

3.3 Caravans and Tea Horse Road

Caravans composed of horses, cattle and mules have been the primary mode of transportation for cross-border trade between China and Myanmar since ancient times. However, before the Mongolian army march south in the 13th century, the Triangular Trading Land was blocked by mountains and rivers. The region's productivity and economic development were backwards compared with other Great River Civilizations. There has been no significant breakthrough in the ancient period, and under such circumstances, the number and scale of caravans are relatively small. However, in the Ming and Qing dynasties, the rapid development of cross-border trade made Yongchang, Dali, Tengyue, Bamo, Kengtung and other frontier cities develop into prosperous trading centers. The rise of commercial trade and merchant groups led to the development of the caravan groups. The trade and transportation of the merchants primarily relied on the combination of caravans and river transportation. This combined carriage method broke through the constraints of the Triangular Trading Land, which is far from the seaport and blocked by mountains and rivers. Combined carriage improved

transportation conditions and expanded the geographical scope of commodity exchange; also, it extensively met the trend of growing long-distance trade. In such a circumstance, major merchant clans had formed caravans to engage in cross-border trade more deeply. Since the Ming Dynasty, caravans of hundreds of cattle, mules, or horses had constantly traversed on the trading route between Bamo and Tengyue.¹⁰⁴

There are three main types of caravans: one is temporary caravans organised by local villagers during the slack time to transport a certain batch of goods; the second is merchant clan-style caravans organised and managed by the clan themselves; The third is professional caravans specialising in the freight business. The commissions from the transportation of goods are deducted from the cost of horse rental and labour costs, and the rest is the profit belonging to caravans. And these Caravans are divided into different gangs according to the routes they take and the goods they sell, such as Zou Chang Bang, Hui Hui Bang, Da Shan Bang, Hong Tong Bang, Beng Long Bang, etc. The goods contracted by these caravans were mainly bulk commodities such as copper mine, salt, tea, cotton, silk, etc. According to records, the annual export volume of Yunnan copper mines reaches more than 10,000 kilograms, and the export of tea leaves exceeds 100,000 kilograms. Caravans entirely carried such a large freight volume.¹⁰⁵

The range of activities of caravans that shuttle across the Sino-Burmese border was extensive. They connected most interior Chinese cities and neighboring countries by commercial interaction. In the book "Yunnan's Foreign Traffic History", Chinese

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, Virginia. "The Chinese in Thailand. By Kenneth Perry Landon. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Xii, 310 p. \$2.50. An IPR Book." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1942): 201–3..

¹⁰⁵ Zhang Yongshuai, *Jin Dai Yunnan de Kai Fu Yu Kou Ang Mao Yi Yan Jiu*, 67-77

scholar Lu Ren detailed that the caravan routes in this area can be summarized into three paths: east, west, and south. The east line connects Sino-Burmese border areas and inland cities in China. The south line goes directly to seaports in Guangxi, Vietnam, and Hong Kong. The west line connects Cheli, Kunming, Tengyue, and Bamo then extends to Lower Myanmar and Tibetan. Similarly, Patterson Giersch also ever concluded that the transporting route related Myanmar as Western and Southern two corridors. Both corridors depart from land port of Yunnan, but Western Corrido connects Bhamo, Kaungton, Katha, Mogaung, Hsenwi, Bawdwin Mine, Ava and Amarapura, while Southern Corrido passes Myanmar's or Siam's suzerain territories like Kengtung, Chiang Mai, Nan, Phrae and even Uttaradit and Moulmein.¹⁰⁶ For the whole long journey of tea, excepting waterway transportation, all transporting works relied on caravans. This western line was the largest and most influential caravan transportation Sino-Burmese commercial route.¹⁰⁷ The caravan goes south along the west line from Tengyue customs to Bamo, Myitkyina and Lashio. Then the goods would be distributed south to Mandalay and Yangon through waterways or north to Ledo, India. At the same time, the two roads connecting Kunming to Ba'an and Kunming to Cheli in the west line were the trade routes for Pu'er tea, foreign cotton goods, local goods and so on. The Pu'er tea grew in Cheli, processed, and distributed in Simao, entered Tibet via Kunming or Dali, and then arrived in Chamdo via Zogang. This part of the west line is also called "Tea Horse Road" and the Sichuan-Tibet Ancient Road.

The ancient Tea Horse Road originated from the ancient tea-horse market in the

¹⁰⁶ C. Patterson Giersch. *Asian Borderlands* 170

¹⁰⁷ Lu Ren, *Yunnan Dui Wai Jiao Tong Shi*, Yunnan Nationality University (Kunming, Yunnan Nationalities Publishing House, June 1997) 394-395

southwest. It flourished in the Tang and Song Dynasties and reached a peak in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The main component of the diet in Tibet is meat, and people need tea to take necessary vitamins. However, tea in Tibetan areas is extremely scarce, but the central plains, rich in tea, need high-quality horses from Tibet Plateau as the needs of folk life and war. Therefore, the supply and demand of both sides complement each other, and the complementary "Tea-Horse Market" came into being. According to the research of experts, the Tea Horse Road is a group of roads that can be called one in terms of direction. There are many local routes, just like rivers' main veins and tributaries. The main veins of the Tea Horse Road are the Sichuan-Tibet Ancient Road, and the Yunnan-Tibet Ancient Road mentioned above as part of the west line. The Sichuan-Tibet Ancient Road starts from Ya'an, Sichuan, and goes to Chamdo through Kangding, Batang. The other route goes through Kangding, Ganzi, and Dege and finally reaches Chamdo. From the west of Chamdo, the Sichuan-Tibet Ancient Road and the Yunnan-Tibet Ancient Road integrated. After this, the road continues westward to Lhasa after Lhorong, Lhari and Gongbo'gyamda. In addition to tea, horses, silk, salt, copper and other commodities were traded with cattle, sheep, leather and restorative materials in Tibetan, which made the villages and market towns along the comical corridor prosperous. The carrier of these materials is caravans. Year after year, the rushing caravans had carved out the trading way connecting the whole region. Along the two main lines, countless sub-branches are intertwined with each other, forming a vast network.

3.4 Cross-border Tear Trade

Before the later of Ming Dynasty, the western Yunnan had been the distribution center within Yunnan, however, frontier wars brought by the rise of Toungoo Dynasty stroke long-distance trade over western Yunnan. The former prosperity of Sino-Burmese trade in western Yunnan was almost burned on the ground, while the gravity of Sino-Burmese tea trade gradually shifted to south Yunnan. As the result of that, the south tea trade route directly from Cheli to northern Myanmar developed so quickly from seventeenth century that it retained blooming after the old commercial passing western Yunnan recovered later. MacLeod noted in his report that Kengtung was a 'great thoroughfare for the Chinese caravans, being the only safe high road from China to other Shan states to the westward of the Salween. What underpinned its impressively growth most was the rapid development of tea industry in this Shan or Tai region.

From the 18th to the 20th century, the trade in the Golden Triangular Trading Zone had an overall trend of transforming from daily necessities to industrial raw materials. This shift in trade trends is reflected in trade data within the region. All cross-border trade among Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, China, Vietnam and even Cambodia had significant changes in the volume of business and the categories of commodities. Among these cross-border trades, the tea business played an important role. As early as the Qianlong period, the Qing court changed the administrative settings of Simao as Tongzhi to replace the Youle Tongzhi established during the Yongzheng period. Simao Tongzhi specially supervised the taxation of tea. Since then, Simao had become a centralized distribution market for tea in the Golden Triangular Trading Zone. From the 80s of the 18th centuries to the early 20th century, traders gathered in Simao and the market

welcomed its glory time. Tibetan and Han merchants travelled between the Six Great Tea Hills. These merchants brought Tibetan medicinal herbs and furs for purchasing Pu'er tea and brought tea back to Tibet. Until the middle of the 19th century, before the United Kingdom developed India as a tea plantation globally, merchants from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Myanmar frequently visited the Six Great Tea Hills and Simao, exchanging goods for tea selling them overseas. Derived by considerable profit, merchant clans in Yunnan and Tengyue even set up their own tea houses in the Great Six Tea Hills area to collect high-quality Pu'er tea. The fierce competition at that time made businesspeople try their best to get close to those highlanders who pant tea and Chaofa, who owned incomparable influence on the local tea trade. Merchants transported grain, salt and general merchandise into the Great Six Tea Hills area and bartered for tea from local growers. After collecting tea in a certain quantity, some merchants would process tea immediately at local tea house. But most merchants chose to convey tea to Simao, where most tea workshops located.

However, as the gravity of the traded commodities had gradually become industrial materials, even though the tea trade occupying an essential position in cross-border trade had risen year by year, its share of the total trade volume in the region had continued to decline since the 20th century. Taking the main Pu'er tea producing area as an example, according to the records of “Dian Hai Yu Heng Zhi”, The Six Great Tea Hills produced about 12,000 quintals of tea annually. Including the surrounding area, the overall annual output of tea was between 19,000 and 20,000 quintals.¹⁰⁸ Although 70% of these will involve cross-border trade, the limited production makes it

¹⁰⁸ Wu Xingnan Yunnan Dui Wai Mao YI Shi, (Kunming, Yunnan University Press May 2002) 201-202

understandable that the proportion of tea in cross-border trade has declined yearly.

In addition to the inefficient traditional farming, heavy taxes are also an important factor limiting the further development of tea business in this region. Since Pu'er tea from production to transportation and sales involved not only the indigenous leaders, but also overlords, such as the Qing and the Konbaung Dynasties' taxation restrictions.

Dual-overlordship system adapted in the Golden Triangular Trading Zone allowed indigenous ethnic leaders to keep their own taxation and enjoy kind of semi-independent status. local tea farmers need to pay certain taxes to the local chaofa who own the land and control local market. In the process of transportation and processing of tea, merchants and caravans also need to pay tolls and trading tax to relevant government agencies authorized by overlords. These taxes also affected the tea market to a large extent. In 1735, Emperor Yongzheng stipulated that every hundred catties of tea as one Chayin¹⁰⁹, and the tax was specified as 3 mace and 2 cents per Chayin. In the same year, there were 3,000 Chayin issued to merchants, and a total of 960 taels of silver was collected. Since then, the number of Chayin issued increased year by year. At peak time, there were approximately 10,000 Chayin issued to tea merchants and annual tax collection reached 3,200 taels of silver. However, turn to the late Qing Dynasty, the court added tea officials to control tea trade and impose more taxes, Luodi Lijin¹¹⁰ on tea merchants. 2 more cents of tea worth every tael of silver were laid on merchants. Tea farmers and tea merchants were overwhelmed by the tax, gradually the

¹⁰⁹ Chayin 茶引, It refers to the transportation and sales license issued by the official department after the tea merchants paid taxes in the old days.

¹¹⁰ Lijin 厘金 was one of China's domestic trade taxation systems from the mid-19th century to the 1930s. It was originally a local method of raising salaries, also known as donations.

heavy burden pushed merchants to engage in other more profitable bulk commodities, like cotton and copper.

Summary

The popularity of commodities such as Puer tea and cotton after the 15th century is closely related to geopolitics. Sino-Burmese had a long history of economic and trade exchanges, and its communication modes mainly included tributary trade, mutual market between border residents, smuggling trade and other forms. Due to the long border line between the two countries and the poor road traffic, economic exchanges involve both government and non-governmental activities. The economic relationship between China and Myanmar had a very prominent feature, which is carried out through the relationship between Myanmar, frontier vassal ethnic states and China's trilateral tribute. Although the formation of a stable and regular tribute trade system between China and Myanmar came as late as the Qianlong period of the Qing Dynasty, compared with the formation of the tribute trade system of China and its other Southeast Asian neighboring countries, it is relatively late, but this tributary relationship had played an significant role on maintaining the development of bilateral relations. Political exchanges, trade exchanges and cultural exchanges between China and Myanmar could basically be carried out within the framework of the tributary system, even during the period of war.

Under such a relatively stable framework, the commodities in the economic and trade exchanges between China and Myanmar in the Qing Dynasty increased significantly. In addition to silk and tea, the commodities exported from Yunnan to Myanmar via

Shan state include copper, iron pots, mercury, paper, salt, magnetic ware, cowhide, needles, threads, medicinal materials, and other daily necessities. In addition to jade and cotton, the commodities imported from Myanmar to Yunnan and transferred to the mainland via Yunnan also had bird's nest, deer antler, ivory gemstones, spices, and foreign goods re-exported. There were many types of commodities in mutual trade, and the majority was the daily life necessities of the people. Economic exchanges were no longer limited to some luxury goods, which showed that Sino-Burmese's commercial activities reached a golden developing age in that time.



CHAPTER IV

SIPSONG PANNA-THE CRADLE OF PUER TEA

4.1 Sipsong Panna and It's Lords

The present Sipsong Panna¹¹¹ used to be referred as Mueang Lue, Cheli or Chiang Rung in historical records. It is one of the main inhabited areas of Tai Lue people, a branch of Shan. Chiang Rung was the short form of Chiang Rung Ho Kham (景咙金殿国)¹¹², it can also refer to Mueang Lue region with Chiang Rung as its political center. The name Mueang Lue came from the geographic characters of this region, a land with basins and valleys divided by mountains and rivers. According to the records of Lexi Shuangbang (လစ်ဆာဗဟုသုတ)¹¹³, historically Sipsong Panna comprised many small mueangs. Sipsong Panna on contemporary map is located at the southwestern part of Yunnan Province. On the southeastern side, it connects to Myanmar and there is Laos next to its southern border. In the ancient time, the territory of Sipsongoanna was connected and even overlapped with the territory of Mangrai dynasty from time to time. In the peak time of Sipsong Panna, it had a broad influential area. Its north border reached current Simao District, Puer City; its south stretched to the northern part of Thailand; its influence in western side covered Chiang Tung in current Myanmar and the east territory extended to Son La Province in Vietnam. Geographically, because of the southern extension of Hengduan Mountain, the main geological feature of Sipsong Panna is mountainous landform, so it is surrounded by mountains and hills. On the north, there is the tail of Ailao Mountain. Wuliang Mountain across the east part of

¹¹¹ Represent as စဝ်း စဝ်း ဂွမ်ဂွမ် ဘာသာ ဝဲင် ဘွဲ ဝဲင် in Tai Lue language

¹¹² According to the record of Mueang Lue Chronicle, the full name is Chiang Rung Ho Kham (景咙金殿国Jing Long Jin Dian Guo) means Chiang Rung Kingdom

¹¹³ 渤西双邦, လစ်ဆာဗဟုသုတ is the original title in Tai Lue language.

Sipsong Panna. These mountains and hills like natural barriers isolated Sipsong Panna from central China and created difficulties for the communication between Mueang Lue and the outside. Apart from mountains, rivers are another important factor affecting human history of Mueang Lue. Entering from the north side, Lancang River¹¹⁴ runs through Sipsong Panna, its mainstream and tributaries cut and erode the middle part of this land into numerous fertile valleys and basins that nourished Shan civilization.

In Muang Lue Chronicle, it was recorded that around 1180, Phaya Coeng (Ba Zhen)¹¹⁵ united tribes and mueangs in Mueang Lue region and founded Chiang Rung Ho Kham. Phaya Coeng became the first Chao Phaendin^{116,117}Chiang Rung was the earliest recorded united regime of Mueang Lue region. This regime lasted almost eight hundred year before Mueang Lue was transformed to Sipsong Panna Dai Autonomous Region by the government of the People's Republic of China in 1953.

In ancient China, the non-Han people in the southwest land was overgeneralized by central government as *man* (蛮) or *yi* (夷) which means barbarians or tribal people. So, before the establishment of Chiang Rung Jin Dian Kingdom, Sipsong Panna barely showed in Chinese historical materials with its own specific name. Until Tang dynasty, around 738 AD, Sipsong Panna began to be successively included under the political influence of Nanzhao and Dali Kingdom as scattered vassal polities and showed in these

¹¹⁴ Known as Mekong river ins Southeast Asia.

¹¹⁵ Ba Zhen 叭真

¹¹⁶ Present as ອຸເອຂອນຊຽງທິງ in Tai Lue language, it means king. It was spelled as Zhao Pian Ling by Gao Lishi (1984) according to pinyin system.

¹¹⁷ Li Fuyi.. Leshi (Mueang Lue Chronicle) , Collectanea of Southwest Studies, National Yunnan University. (Chongwen shuju) 1947 P1

two regimes' historical records. Turn to the last quarter of the 13th century, Mongolian forced numerous "barbarian" people along the southern fringes of their Empire entering into a tribute relationship by establishing the so-called *Tusi* (土司), the aboriginal Pacification Commissions. As the result of that, Chiang Rung became Cheli Military-cum-Civilian-Route Command (车里军民总管府). Since the Yuan Dynasty, subsequent dynasties have inherited the management system and this system basically had lasted to the end of Qing dynasty, only the name of the local governing body changed. In 1382, Ming court changed Cheli Military-cum-Civilian-Route Command to Cheli *xuanweisi* (宣慰司) and nominated the cao phaendin of Chiang Rung to be *xuanweishi* (宣慰使). Then, in Qing dynasty, Emperor Yongzheng set up regional administrative division *Puer fu* (普洱府) to supervise Cheli *xuanweisi*.¹¹⁸

The local political system in Sipsong Panna is the same as other Shan areas with a Muang-centered political system. Chao phaendin¹¹⁹ or Chaofa is the supreme ruler. There were more than 30 muang under the twelve Panna. And each Muang is ruled by the hereditary prince, Chao Muang, who is blood related to Chaofa. Each muang has two main "Chaos", namely Chao Guan or Chao Muang. The former is the chief executive of the government, and the latter is hereditary lord muang. In the past Sipsong Panna, the Tai people could be roughly divided into two general categories based on parentage: Chao (princes, princes, nobles, rulers, or powerful people) and non-Chao

¹¹⁸ Dao Yongming, *Zhong Guo Dai Zu Shi Liao Ji Yao*, Edition 14 (Kunming, Yunnan Nationalities Publishing House, 1989) 56

¹¹⁹ Present as ອຳເພາະເລີຍ in Tai Lue language, it means king. It was spelled as Zhao Pian Ling by Gao Lishi (1984) according to pinyin system.

¹²⁰ Li Fuyi.. *Leshi Mueang Lue Chronicle* , *Collectanea of Southwest Studies*, National Yunnan University. (Chongwen shuju 1947) P1

(ordinary people). Chao is the ruling class of the Shan society, and the existence of this class is one of the important symbols for the Shan society to maintain its identity.¹²¹ Chao phaendin governs the entire Sipsong Panna area through the Chao Muang of the feudal districts and a group of officials with a clear division of regiment while ruling a Muang by itself. Therefore, the Shan regime of Cheli xuanweisi is a collection of Muangs who are loyal to the Overlords. Under the indigenous administrative regime led by Tai people, Chaofa ruled over other ethnic groups in the region such as Akha, Kachin, Yao and so on. The non-Shan ethnic groups in Sipsong Panna shall not have the status of Chao. Chao phaendin or Chao Muang only grants lower official positions to hill tribe leaders.

The feudal lordship system is the social foundation of Sipsong Panna Shan society. This feudal lordship system had played a key role in Sipsong Panna from the 13th to the 19th century and developed to some extent. In Sipsong Panna, all the land, including cultivated land, pastures, barren hills, forests, minerals, water sources and other living things on the land, all belonged to the chao phaendin the highest leader of Sipsong Panna and who was designated as the Cheli Xuanweishi by the Qing Dynasty. Chao phaendin means "the lord of the vast land" in the Shan language, and this title is the embodiment of the large land ownership system. A Shan proverb "Water and belong to the lord's" also vividly reflects the landform of the large-scale land ownership system. Because the highest feudal lords have proprietary right to all land, so the land cannot be transacted. The serfs who are the main producers can only possess and use the land, which is the main means of production. Therefore, all serfs who cultivate the land must

undertake tax of farming. Even adults who do not farm must bear the burden of feudalism according to regulations, such as "buy water to eat, buy roads to walk, and buy land to live in".

Roughly speaking, before 20th century there were three sets of regimes coexisted in Sipsong Panna: one was the muang society under the leadership of Chao phaendin, and the other two which had a high degree of similarity were administrative system implemented by Myanmar and Chinese central court in their buffer area. Sipsong Panna, Chiang Rung and Cheli Xuanweisi were different names given to the same geographical area by the Tai people, Myanmar the Chinese court. Chao phaendin was recognized as the indigenous supreme ruler, but in a wider geographical scope, the role that Chao phaendin played was under government officials such as the emperor of China, the king of Burma. Both Myanmar and Chinese government also realized the complexity of the relationship between local groups in border areas, and clearly knew that it must rely on the local Shan chieftains and nobles to implement "indirect governance" to control this buffered frontier. Therefore, through the issuance of appointment letters, the collection of taxes and tributary, and the policy of relocation, both Burmese king and Chinese emperor basically recognized the semi-independence autonomy led by Chao phaendin.

4.2 Local Economic life

Basin-based rice cultivation is the economic foundation of each Muang of the Shan ethnic group. , Usually the land management in the area under the jurisdiction of the Tai people presents a kind of primitive tribal ownership system, the land is shared by

the clan, and people outside the clan cannot use the clan's land unconditionally. Land in Shan areas is generally divided into two categories. One is the private land owned by the local clan, and this part of the land is used by the people under the clan's jurisdiction except part of the land is designated for religious purposes. Another type of land is public land, and the local chief has the management right of the land. Since the local chief position in the Shan area follows hereditary system, the right to manage the land is also inherited from generation to generation with the position. In Xishuangbanna, each village has its own fixed area. The land, including cultivated land, residential land, mountains and wasteland, is divided into each village, and the area of several villages is combined into a territory under the jurisdiction of the chieftain. The land belonging to the village is owned by the people of the village. For those who own farming, the management and distribution are the responsibility of the head man, and all those who own the land for farming are responsible for paying taxes in the village.

Although the basin is the center of regional political and commodity activity, mountain products are the main items traded in the "standard market". In William Skinner's classic definition, a standard market linked rural producers to a large regional economy. In the standard market of Sipsong Panna, residents can sell or exchange cash crops or handicrafts with necessities that they need. For instance, highlanders would exchange their prey caught with rice or salt sold by the Shan. Meanwhile, merchants represented by Han and Muslim groups at central markets handled wholesaling, receiving items to be exported from and distributing imported items to the surrounding, including the standard markets.¹²²

¹²² G. William Skinner, Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China, part 1, reprinted from The Journal of Asian

4.3 Local Tea Trade Under Dual-Overlords System

From the 13th to the 18th centuries, Puer tea simultaneously had the dual nature as "tribute " and "commodity". On the one hand, Puer tea was listed as a tribute tea from the distant border to the central government, which is a materialized symbol of the "submission" of the border vassal regime to the empires; The representative cash crop, its production and sales are involved in different groups, its planting, production and sales and the related tax system all reflect the socio-economic ecology under the Dual-Overlords System in the border ; On the other hand, Pu-erh tea, as a representative cash crop in the Sino-Burmese border highlands, its production and sales involved different groups from various social dimensions. Its planting, production and sales and related taxation systems all reflected the socio-economic ecology under the Dual-Overlords System.

Puer tea's consumers were not among the local highlander groups that produce tea but flowed to various market towns in interior China, Myanmar, Tibet, and other Southeast Asian countries through the hands of buyers, wholesalers, caravans, and retailers at all levels. The prosperity of Puer tea was directly related to the frequent interaction among multiple communities. The local Highlanders planted and collected tea, and the local lords who controlled the Puer tea trade cooperated with Han merchants for production, processing, and wholesale. And the caravan to sell Pu-erh tea was dominated by Muslim and Han chambers that had close relations with indigenous leaders or officials. From the perspective of the demand market, the enormous demand for Yunnan tea in Tibet is

the direct reason that stimulated the cultivation and sales of Puer tea in the first place. To meet these nomads' market demand for tea, many merchants purchased tea with chayin, the tea business license, then sold them to Tibet and Southeast Asian countries through Tengyue or Shan plateau. As a result, the marketing network of Puer tea based on the Southern Silk Road mentioned above was gradually formed.

As mentioned above, although Puer tea leaves were cultivated and collected by border Highlander communities, Highlanders had not mastered the key tea-making technology, so technically it is not feasible for them to directly process raw tea into high-quality tea. The acquisition of tea was monopolized by indigenous rulers in the Six Great Tea Hills.

The Puer tea industry in Sipsong Panna is roughly composed of two parts: "production" and "sales". "Production" mainly including cultivating tea trees and collecting fresh leaves, which refers to the direct sale of fresh leaves by tea farmers, or the preliminarily processed raw tea and then sold to tea merchants. This link is mainly controlled by the Chaofa and headman of the hills. The "sell" part refers to the fact that the tea merchants will further refine and process the fresh leaves and raw tea they have purchased, and then distribute through caravans organized by chambers. At first, tea merchants only came to the six major tea mountains during the spring tea season. However, stimulated by the amazing profits, more and more tea merchants chose to station in the Great Six Tea Hills to seize the market opportunity. Thus, purchasing station appeared. With the accumulation of capital, some large tea merchants were no longer satisfied with only buying tea from local tea farmers. They began to set up factories to increase production efficiency. Coming behind factories, some tea specialized chamber with both supply

and sales functions began to appear. Each tea specialized chamber or tea house put pieces of paper printed with their logo of each company in the tea cake to distinguish the tea made by themselves from those of others. It is worth paying attention that these large tea estates are almost all run by Han merchants, but they usually require Shan aristocrats and headmen as intermediaries to mediate and participate in the negotiation and acquisition process.

As mentioned earlier, in the entire production and sales chain of Puer tea, the social ecology at the Six Great Tea Hills could be divided into three dimensions. First, the tea selling part mainly dominated by Han merchants and a few Muslim caravans running long-distance trade. externally. Second, the tribe rulers or Tai leaders acted as middle agents who are responsible for the purchase and collection of raw tea. While the other mountain groups mainly engaged in the production links such as tea cultivation, picking and primary processing. Ann Maxwell Hill suggested that Han merchants with more business acumen and rich experience took leading position in Puer tea market in Sipsong Panna than Shan tribe ruler. In addition to being, the Han people are familiar with the mainland market.

Although Han merchants had many advantages in the market transaction of Puer tea, It's still necessary for them to rely on indigenous leaders as agents in the initial processing and acquisition of tea. After years of border collision between China, Myanmar and local Chaofa, each party realized the irreplaceable role of the Shan ruling class in local governance. Chaofa's appeal and influence among local community are unparalleled. Consequently, the mean of combination was adopted, Chaofa owned de

facto jurisdiction under the inspection of official from the central. On the other hand, Chaofa also well realized that cooperation with the Han merchant and officials can better expand their tea business and gain more profit. Those Han and Muslim merchants relied on Tai leader's local influence and affinity network to guarantees the whole tea business chain from collection to transportation and distribution. Therefore, many Shan tribe leaders or Chaofa with keen business sense won over officials from both China and Myanmar through multilateral marriages or joint ventures to further strengthen the external business network. In actual practice, the process of building commercial trade network throughout the Sino-Burmese Triangular Trading Land was tightly linked to marriage among several Shan noble families, such as Kengtung, Sipsong Panna, Hsenwi and so forth.

Summary

Looking through the Sino-Burmese borderland trade history, Tai people absolutely took prominent roles on maintaining commercial activities along the Sino-Burmese economic corrido. Tai or Shan engaged in this commercial network from the very beginning of Tea Horse Road, Sipsong Panna, the origin of tea to its crucial transfer station Shan states. Despite the fact that it is Han-Chinese or Chinese-Muslim people who monopolized long-distance tea trade between China and upland Southeast Asia,¹²³ benefited from their aristocratic status, local Tai aristocrats intervened with this business chain on each link from growing, conveying to trading. In general, there were several commercial routes connecting Sipsong Panna to Shan area in upper Myanmar and they respectively detour into Myanmar from western Yunnan or directly enter Shan

¹²³Ann Maxwell Hill, Chinese Dominance of the Xishuangbanna Tea Trade: An Interregional Perspective, Sage Publications, Inc. Modern China, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Jul. 1989), pp. 321-345

State from Kengtung by passing Daluo (Mongla) or northern Laos and Thailand. Before the later of Ming Dynasty, the western Yunnan had been the distribution center within Yunnan, however, frontier wars brought by the rise of Toungoo Dynasty stroke long-distance trade over western Yunnan. The former prosperity of Sino-Burmese trade in western Yunnan was almost burned on the ground, while the gravity of Sino-Burmese tea trade gradually shifted to south Yunnan. As the result of that, the south tea trade route directly from Sipsong Panna to Shan State developed so quickly from seventeenth century that it retained blooming after the old commercial passing western Yunnan recovered later. MacLeod noted in his report that Kengtung was a 'great thoroughfare for the Chinese caravans, being the only safe high road from China to other Shan states to the westward of the Salween.'¹²⁴ What underpinned its impressively growth most was the rapid development of tea industry in this Shan or Tai region.

Under the Dual-overlordship and the indigenous Baan-Muang system, the local tea industry chain of Sipsong Panna and its political system were integrated into a set of economic ecology with Sino-Burmese borderland characteristics. Among them, highlanders are the tea growers and raw material processors. Tribes' leaders were usually the direct organizers of production. Chaofa and the local Chambers are the owners of the means of production. They expand the scale of their and quickly realize the accumulation of capital by cooperating with the managers of the market - officials from both sides and other owners of means of production.

¹²⁴ MacLeod, p. 994

CHAPTER V

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN DUAL-OVERLORD SYSTEM AND CROSS-BORDER TRADE

5.1 A middle-ground Created by Dual-overlord System

C. Patterson described the Sino-Burmese Shan region as a meeting place or “middle ground”, which is one of the core theories supporting all discussion in this thesis.¹²⁵

Through all the above analysis, the author identified this area as a buffer zone at three different aspects: Political buffer zone, cultural and commercial buffer zone. The Sino-Burmese borderland where two powers meet functioned as a middle ground under dual-overlordship system, which allowed the “mediator”, Chaofas to be recognized by both sides.

From the Yuan Dynasty's expedition to the Sino-Burmese War, the Sino-Burmese border confrontation lasted for hundreds of years. Although some scholars believe that the dual-overlordship system has brought more instability to the politics of the border Shan state,¹²⁶ the author believes that the border confrontation is an inevitable in each country, however, thanks to trans-frontier ties among Myanmar, Siam, Laos and Chinese Tai communities, the channel of political dialogue in the Sino-Burmese border area has never been completely closed. Within the framework of the Dual-overlordship system, Tai ruler in the Triangular Trade Land often had political links to Myanmar, China, and Siam at the same times. Regional hegemonies competed for the allegiance of the same Chaofa, which gave Chaofa the right to communicate with multiple parties

¹²⁵ C. Patterson Giersch, *Asian Borderlands*:p7

¹²⁶ Foon Ming Liew-Herres, Volker Grabowsky, and Renoo Wichasin, *Chronicles of Sipsong Panna*: 55,

as an intermediary.

The Qing Dynasty is a historical period of epoch-making changes in Shan states local history, as well as the history of Sino Burmese relations. During this period, the vassal system of the Qing Dynasty disintegrated, the Myanmar Dynasty continued to go north to expand the scope of its rule, and the relationship between China and Myanmar transformed from the traditional vassal relationship to the modern state relationship. In this historical period of rapid change, there have been three political forces in the border areas of China and Myanmar: the power of the Chinese central dynasty, the power of the Myanmar Dynasty, and the power of the frontier chieftains. Moreover, the frontier chieftain's strength often exists in the crevice between the two powerful political forces of China and Myanmar, driven by survival instinct and interests. The frontier chieftain often wanders between the two political forces of China and Myanmar, or has dual political positions and political backwardness, showing complex political relations.

In addition to being the middle grand of political mediation, this Triangular Trade Land with multiple influences was also a commercial and cultural middle grand. Under the similar Tusi and Myothugyi systems, local lords often chosen princes and princesses as hostages or envoys to Myanmar and China's central court respectively for etiquette, culture, and language learning. These noble suzerains who are familiar with multiple languages and multilateral cultures have become the representatives and communication links of the border negotiations between the great powers. As C. Patterson Giersch stated in his book that, Shan Chaofa or Shan princes often served as translators and envoys to mediate and pass information for China and Myanmar during

the war time.¹²⁷

For the vast area bordering Yunnan and Myanmar, the ruling period under the dual-overlordship system in Qing Dynasty was an important period of its social and economic development, which laid the foundation for the rise of Sino-Burmese overland trade. From this point of view, the Tusi's rule brought the following effects: first, it provided a stable social production environment for the people to develop production under relatively stable social conditions steadily; second, it organized large-scale immigration to the border areas and properly settled them, which greatly increased the economic growth of the border areas; Third, the development of agriculture, mining and metallurgy, handicraft industry, so that the variety of goods in the region is more abundant. At the same time, the ruling of the dual-overlordship system also created a better trade environment: first, immigration measures to avoid conflicts make the relationship between immigrants and the local situation closer, forming a symbiotic chain of interests so that it is possible to carry out extensive trade activities. The second is to open a number of new transportation lines to ensure the smooth development of overland trade, creating the basic conditions for large-scale commodity freight in the future; the third is to open the market, encourage trade, and promote trade between Yunnan and Myanmar, breaking the original pattern of closed development and forming a good trade atmosphere among the people. It can be said that the dual lordship system did a lot of basic work for the development of land trade between China and Myanmar, and all kinds of policies and measures adopted affected every social level in the Shan states between Yunnan and Myanmar, which played an indispensable role in promoting

¹²⁷ C. Patterson Giersch. *Asian Borderlands*:116

the rise and development of overland trade between China and Myanmar.

5.2 Diversified Economic Ecology

The author believes that, compared with the era before the 15th century, the Dual-overlordship system changed the economic ecosystem of the Sino-Burmese border areas from two levels. The first was to regulate the local commodity trading through policies reform. Before the mature Tusi or Myothugyi system was implemented, the central dynasty had a very weak foundation for local influence and management. The local lords govern themselves, make their own laws, collect taxes, and only pay a small tribute to the central government. The local rich tea, minerals, forests, and other resources were private property of feudal lords, which hindered the free circulation of commodities in the market. Since the 15th century, the central court of Myanmar and China intensified the centralized control of the Sino-Myanmar border, and the central dynasty directly controls the land, population, taxation through Tusi or Myothugyi systems. The mode of appointing officials from the central dynasty to serve in the original indigenous rulers' jurisdiction eliminate the barriers to external communication and broke the traditional local noble class's monopoly.

Secondly, both China and Myanmar continue to strengthen the central government's management of the border areas, including a series of reforms for immigrants stationed in the border areas such as borderland garrison. The influx of a large number of populations broke the composition of the original ethnic-dominated frontier communities. Attracted by the interests of business and trade, considerable Han people migrated to the border areas and even inland areas of Burma This large-scale

immigration appeared a continuous climax after the Minton King reached a trade agreement with the emperor of the Qing Dynasty. Among them, the Triangular Trade Land was the main destination of Han immigrants. The Pu-erh tea producing area was one of the places with the most drastic reforming measures. The Shan Chaofa, who were related to the Burmese king by marriage, was severely still suppressed by the Qing court. The local government of Yunnan established governance bureaus and counties in Sipsong Panna and Muang Mao to replace the Shan Chaofa to access actual political control. In the middle of the 18th century, the Sino-Burmese War broke out and the Han people began to enter the Sino-Burmese border on a large scale with the war. According to relevant recording, during the Sino-Burmese War, more and more Han people migrated to the border areas a highland area was occupied by the Han people, and even the basin area, where the Tai people lived, also had many Han people living there. Around 18th century the trade and handicraft industry in the Tai people areas in the Sino-Burmese border further developed. Merchants, handicraftsmen, and teachers from the interior China continued to enter Triangular Trade Land to engage in business and trade in Myanmar. Many merchants engaged in long-distance trade came here to integrate with residents and become local residents through marriage. At the end of the 19th century, based on the military needs of both sides, the commercial corrido from Tengchong to Bhamo was further expanded and maintained. As a result, the Han people, especially a large number of merchants, continued to flow into this region to run business and trade. Many famous Chamber, such as Sichuan Chamber, Heqing Chamber and Xizhou Chamber were formed in that time. Most of the merchants settled in the towns and villages along the Tengchong to Bamo Avenue, especially close to the Tengchong pass. According to records at that time, there were more than 7,000 local

residents in Nandian in 1890, of which the inflowing Han people accounted for eight percent, and the ethnic minorities dominated by the Tai people only accounted two out of ten.¹²⁸

The influx of a large number of Han people from the inland made the frontier commercial trade increasingly prosperous. By the end of the Qing Dynasty, several important market towns along the trading route from Tengyue Pass to Bamo were full of merchants, commodities, and caravans. Cultural entertainment life is also very developed. These streets and towns, mainly built by the Dai and Han nationalities, have become the accommodation for inland merchants and horses, and are also markets for people of all ethnic groups to trade. The prosperity of the market trade greatly promoted the economic development and accelerated the progress of commodity trading. The local Shan, Kachin and other ethnic groups sold food, fruits and various special products here, and buy the production tools and daily necessities they need. Ploughshares, cloth, shoes, silk grades, silk threads, paper umbrellas, medicinal materials and other items brought by Han and Muslim merchants were also sold here. With the immigration wave of Han people and the continuous expansion of the commodity market, Han people not only ran business in the Shan states around borderland, but also move along the well-established trade route from Tengchong to Bamo to settle in the Central and Lower Myanmar. These Chinese businessmen operated business or farm in Myanmar. By the early 20th century, there were no less than 200,000 to 300,000 Han Chinese in the whole territory of Myanmar who are

¹²⁸ Zhou Xin Yunnan Caravans and their Position in the Intercourse Between Yunnan and Southeast Asia, Master Degree Thesis, Yunnan Kunming, Yunnan University Press, 2010, p37

merchants, industry, and peasants. From Ava below to Yangon, most Chinese people came from Guangdong and Fujian. Thus, it can be seen that with the mass Han-migration, business situation in Sino-Burmese Triangular Trade Land at that time was grand. Due to the rapidly expanding border communities and market caused by mass immigration taxation the original natural economic model of barter in the Triangular Trade Land rapidly developed into a commodity economy.

5.3 The Growth of Indigenous Family Chamber of Commerce

With the rapid expansion of the scale of commerce and trade, after the 18th century, many large Chamber with considerable capital reserve and specializing in commercial wholesale business appeared on the Sino-Myanmar border. These giant business group with strong commercial capital and expanded business scale almost monopolize the overland trade between China and Myanmar, such as the famous Tengyue Chamber, Heqing Chamber, Xizhou Chamber and so on.

Although the rise and development of these business Chamber are mainly based on geography, they also have the characteristics of blood and business field ties. The concept of clan blood ties had been strengthened. Due to the strengthening of this concept, it is beneficial to the development of the business chamber to a large extent, and the cohesion of the Chamber has been enhanced. Moreover, they also prominently show that the industries field they operate were similar. Trans-frontier trade was the main business, and it was engaged in the export of various raw materials and native products, like import of cotton. Thus, reflecting the development model of Yunnan merchant chamber by coordinating geographical, clan and resource advantages

Among them, the big firms in the Tengyue chamber included Maoheng, Hongshengxiang, and Zhongheji; Heqing chamber included Xingshenghe, Fuchunheng and so forth.

But differ from the successful model of the Chamber of Western Yunnan, the Southern Yunnan Chamber was mainly run by local Shan Chaofa, officials, and Han merchants. They primarily expanded their business network through marriages between Shan lords, merchants, and officials. In that the local Shan lords also realized that although Pu-erh tea was profitable because most of the ethnic highlanders did not understand Chinese and they had to rely on cooperation with the Han people to expand the external market. Therefore, some of the Shan lords who are good at business also won over officials and other lords of both China and Myanmar through the multilateral marriage of Han, Shan, and Burma, so that they could further strengthen the external business network. The first tea house in Fohai, Hengchun Tea House was a typical case. Hengchun Tea House was established by Zhang Tangjie, a Han Chinese who got privilege from his father-in-law, a powerful Shan lords in Myanmar. More than that, one of the most famous magistrates of the Six Great Tea Hills, Cao Dangzhai was another classic case. Cao Dangzhai came from a family with Han fathers and Shan mother. His grandfather was a Han Chinese coming to Yibang (one of the Six Great Tea Hills) in the early years of Emperor Kangxi for tea business. At that time, many Han people from the mainland moved to make living on tea bushes plantation. The head man of Yibang felt the disadvantage of not knowing Chinese in the market competition, so he recruited Cao Dazhou, a Han Chinese as his son-in-law. After the death of this head man, his position was inherited by Cao Dangzhai's father. When Cao Dangzhai grew up, he married

daughter of Ye family, the ruling class of Yibang. Cao Dangzhai's identity gave him a huge advantage in competing in the local tea market, as he not only had a sense of Chinese identity, but also had a deep understanding of the local customs, which made he can properly handle the relationship with the indigenous community and Han merchants.

Summary

In the Sino-Myanmar border area, which had always been in wars and territory confrontation, in essence, the mutual market and smuggling trade of border residents in economic and trade activities were the core of Sino-Burmese commercial intercourse. The significance of tributary trade lied more in its political value. Most of the goods exchanged in the mutual market and smuggling trade between China and Myanmar were the local products and items that meet the basic needs of local community. These business activities were diverse and flexible, and not restricted by the time and place of the transaction. They could involve a wide range of areas. Indigenous residents benefit and participate in these trade activities the most. The factors that were not conducive to the in-depth development of the mutual market between the border residents were that the exchanges between the two sides were conducted through land trade routes. Due to the underdeveloped transportation network, natural environment and social factors along the trade route, Myanmar-Burma trade has always been at a low level for a long time. The commercial intercourse along the Sino-Burmese trade route was mainly focus on barter daily goods and the long-distance trade of special products were extremely limited in quantity and scale. However, as the Chinese and Burmese dynasties strengthened the management of the border areas, a large number of Han and Burmese

migrated to the border areas with the garrison. Infrastructure such as transportation networks and post stations were dramatically improved due to military demands. With the strengthening of the administrative management system of the Tusi system and the Myothugyi system, the implementation of the dual-overlordship system provided a platform for the communication and co-existence between officials from two sides. The rapidly increasing population, the improved transportation network and the commodity trading management means introduced by China and Myanmar greatly influenced and promoted the economic and social development and progress of this trading zone. Dali, Yongchang, Tengyue, Bamo, Ava, Myitkyina and other important business towns and commercial distributing centers were born, which has brought a new social style to the Sino-Burmese Triangular Trading Land, which was originally economically closed and backward in traffic. More than that, dual-overlordship system facilitated the contacts between borderland and other regional civilizations, which laid the foundation for future large-scale opening and development. In this sense, the dual-overlordship system had a sustained and obvious effect on the overland trading and regional development.

CONCLUSION

The evolution of the chieftain system of China and Burma has not only achieved an uninterrupted historical lineage spanning dynasties, but also spanned region and ethnicities, and achieved historical inheritance among different rulers. The Myothugyi system of Burma and the Tusi system of the Chinese dynasties both utilized the upper classes of the ethnic group to manage the local people on behalf of the center on the peripheral of the empire. In this way, the local influence of the indigenous lords can be used to avoid risks the central government only manages the border areas as a "mediator" and "supervisor". This system maximizes the deterrence and influence of the center in the border areas at the lowest cost, and finally consolidates the empire's rule over the borderland. The Shan, Kachin and other ethnic rulers were appointed as hereditary indigenous highest lords with autonomy to a big extent, and they were upgraded from vassal states' leaders or small tribes' rulers who had only a title to official Empire's officials with statutory powers. This gave them an advantageous position in the struggles against other local powers, in turn they should obey the ruling authorities, pay taxes, and provide military service to the central court.

The Tusi system and Myothugyi system met at the Sino-Burmese borderland, which has an ancient and prosperous trade history, and bred special Dual-overlordship system. This Triangular Trade Land on the Sino-Burmese border had been an important trade channel connecting civilizations and regimes since ancient times. Its special geographical location makes it an important part of the trade routes between China and Myanmar, Yunnan and Tibet, China and India, and even Central Asia. The Dual-

overlordship system has brought numerous influences on trans-frontier commercial intercourse in Triangular Trade Land by changing the political system and social composition.

In the first aspect, the Dual-overlordship system brought a more mature trade system to the region, breaking the feudal lordship social system where resources were monopolized by local lords. On the second level, China adopted immigration and assimilation policy for taking control over border areas. Consequently, mass migration made up by Han soldiers and businessmen influx into this region, which greatly changed the social structure of the borderland, and brought a lot of agricultural production technology to the local communities. Under the stimulation of new technology, capital and huge population, scale of market and production capacity expanded fast.

As a Shan area closely linked to both China and the central court of Burma, Sipsong Panna and its tea trade had clear traces of being influenced by the Dual-overlordship system. Sipsong Panna had always maintained a closer relationship with the Chinese court in the terms of political system, and even after the reform of Gai Tu Giu Liu in the late Qing Dynasty, it was directly under the jurisdiction of Manchu or Han officials appointed by the Qing Court, especially for the taxation and administrative affairs of the Six Great Tea Hills. However, in history Chao Phaedin of Sipsong Panna had the tradition of marrying princesses from the central court of Myanmar or other powerful Shan state, from which Chao Phaedin of Sipsong Panna got the support of central Burma or other Shan lords. In such an environment, the taxation and system of tea trade

in Sipsong Panna were completely controlled by the Qing court and were deeply influenced by the Han merchants and caravans. But in the local tea business chain, the influence of Chao Phaedin, Chao Muang and other Shan Lords in Myanmar had an irreplaceable role in the acquisition, processing of fresh leaves and long-distance transportation through Myanmar.

However, the Dual-overlordship system gradually declined with the invasion of Western colonists after the 19th century. After the Third Anglo-Burmese War, Myanmar was completely occupied by the British colony. The policy of colonial aggression and partition implemented by the British not only interrupted the momentum of communication and integration between the central Burmese and the Shan State, but also complicated the ethnic issue in Myanmar. Under the British divide and ruling policy, Shan State was isolated from the interior of Myanmar, which strengthened the Tai people's sense of nationality and independence. At the same time, after the Second Opium War, the Qing Dynasty's national power weakened rapidly, and it finally could not effectively resist the encroachment of western colonists on the land trade in the southwest. In the end, as the clear territory was drawn in the unfair treaties made by the Western colonists, the Dual-overlordship system that existed in the blurred borderland ultimately ended.

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