

APPENDIX I.

Table of Pong Kings¹

	A.D.	Succession	Remarks
1. Khool-liee	80	1st	
2. 11 kings			
3. Murgnow	667- 777	13th	
4. Sookampha	777- 808	14th	Son of 3 and brother of Samlongpha the conqueror.
5. 10 kings	808-1315		
6. Soonganpha	1315-1334	25th	Together with 1st son Sookeepha. Taken away by Chinese.
7. 2nd son			Reigns for 3 years' (?)
8. 3rd son			" " 28 " (?)
9. Soo-oop-pha	1364-		4th son of 6
10. Soohoongpha	-1445		Nephew of 9
11. Sooheppha	1445-1512/13		Title: Soohoongkhum or Chowhoomo. Alliance with Manipur.
12. Soopengpha	1512/13-1568		Attacked by Ava.
13. Sookopha	1568-1587		"Invades" Siam ² . Captured by Burmese.
14. Chowkalkhum	1587-1592		Killed in battle with Chinese
15. Chowoongkhum	1592-1596		Title: Soohoongpha.
16. 10 years interregnum			1596-1606 (?)
17. 4 rulers	1617-1662		
18. Son of Ava King	1662-1672		
19. 5 rulers	1672-1734		Of Pong Lineage.
20. Chowmokhum			Mongpo, installed by Guraeb Nawaz.
21. Chowkhoolseng			Kyathon. Rise of Alaungpaya.

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1. cf. 1 to 6 with table of Mau Kings, and 12 to 21 with that of Mogaung.
 2. Bayinnaung's army in his invasion of Siam had Mogaung contingents (assuming that Pong is Mogaung from 1334 onwards - see text)

APPENDIX II.

THE STORY OF MUNG-MAU.

Though the Mau Shans trace their existence as a nation to the fabulous and comparatively recent source of the heaven-descended kings, Kun-Lung and Kun-Lai, as will be seen below, still as a race they appear from the Burmese books, to have a legend assigning their origin to the earliest period of Burmese history, and indeed to a common parentage with the latter people. That this is not an original tradition of their race, but one imported in the course of Buddhist teachings, there can be little doubt, but it is remarkable that no other appears to exist, either in their own or Burmese writings! The legend is probably the one briefly referred to in the opening lines of Chap. II of Yule's Mission to Ava, and of which the author justly remarks that it is one "of equal value and like invention to that which deduced the Romans from the migrations of the pious Aeneas, the ancient Britons from Brut the Trojan and the Gael from Scots, daughter of Pharoah".

However, as the story is not produced in any English writings that I am acquainted with, except insofar as it refers to the Burmese,¹ it may be worth while to give an epitome of it as derived from that section of the Burmese history known as the Tagaung Raza Weng.

About 300 years before the birth of Gaudama, or 923 B.C., and 1491 years before the descent of Kun-Lung and Kun-Lai, a Sakya prince called Abhi Raja arrived from Kapilavastu² by way of Arakan and founded the city of Pagan (called Thindue³ in some accounts) on the left bank of the Irrawaddy. He had two sons, whose Burmese names were Kang-gyi and Kang-ngei (elder and younger Kang), and at his death the former retired to Arakan and became king of that country, whilst Kang-ngei succeeded his father at Pagan, and in his turn was succeeded by thirty-one of his lineal descendants, whose names are given in the Burmese record, but no dates. The last of these, or the 33rd from Abhi Raja, was one Beinaka, who reigned, roughly speaking, about the commencement of the religious era, or partly during Gaudama's lifetime. In the course of Beinaka's reign a Chinese⁴ army invaded his country, captured

1. See Colonel Burney in J.A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 157, et seq.

2. Or Kapilanagara, the birth place of the last Buddha identified by General Cunningham with Nagar on the Upper Manurama or Coanee tributary of the Gogra. (Ancient Geography of India)

3. Also Thantaya Myo.

4. Mr. Mason ("Burma", p. 37) says "the people who destroyed Tagaung came from Kandahar, the modern Candahar, and were, therefore, the Khanadrin of the Greeks", but as we know the Buddhistical name

Pagan, destroyed it, and obliged him to take refuge at Malei on the right bank of the Irrawaddy and nearly opposite the present ruins of lower Tsampanago.⁴ Here he shortly afterwards died, and his people became broken up into three divisions. One of these remained at Malei under Beinaka's queen Naga Seing, a second wandered towards the south and was absorbed by the Piu, a section of the Burmese proper, while the third migrated eastward and became Shans, forming the nineteen original Shan districts or states.

Of these districts or states no names are given, and probably the number is an imaginative one; but it is remarkable that the legend of the Pwons⁵ derived from an entirely different and original source, carries us back to this same event - the first fall of old Pagan. These people pretend that they are descendants of the elephant drivers whom the Chinese conquerors pressed into their service to conduct the elephants captured in the city back to China; that they escaped thence, and wandered westward to the third defile (Kyaukdwen) of the Irrawaddy where they are still settled.²

After the Chinese had retired from Pagan, one Dhaja Raja, another prince of Kapilavastu, came from India, married the widow Naga Seing, and rebuilt the capital immediately beyond the north wall of the old city. This was the Tagaung³ of the Burmeses and the Tai-Tung-Kung of the Shans, and the date of its foundation given by the Burmese is the 20th year of the Rel. Era (523 B.C.), and by the Shans the 24th year (519 B.C.). After this there are no dates, or numbers of generations, recorded with any certainty, but Dhaja Raja's dynasty appears to have ruled at Tagaung until Kun-Lung displaced it and put his son, Ai-Kun-Lung, on the throne at some date probably within one generation posterior to the year 568 A.D. (see Table "Kun-Lung's posterity") if, indeed, it occurred at all.

applied to China is Gandala (a form of Candahar), and as the name used in the Burmese text of this legend is frequently "Tarouk Gandala Rit", there can be no doubt that China is meant.

In Colonel Burney's translation, above quoted, he says "the Chinese and Tartars came from the country of Tsein, in the Empire of Gandalareet".

1. Champa-nagara (?).
2. The Pwons, I am informed, do not speak the Tai language, but it is said that they write it, their own language never having been reduced to writing. They are closely allied to the Kadus on the borders of Munnipur both in language and customs, and are probably of one origin with the latter, whether the above tradition be true or not.
3. In Colonel Burney's text (J.A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 163) the older city is called Tagaung, and the one rebuilt by Dhaja Raja, Pagan or Pinjala-rit or Pinja Tagaung. Dr. C. Williams visited the ruins in 1863 and made plans of the walls (partly from inspection and partly from the information of the local officials), which will be found in the 33rd vol. of the J.A.S.B., p. 194.

It is, however, with the Mau Shans rather than with Tagaung that we are concerned, so let us pass on at once to their earliest national legend, which is told in all the Shan histories with, apparently, little variation, thus:-

In the year of Religion 1111 or 568 A.D., two sons of the gods, named Kun-Lung and Kun-Lai, descended from heaven by a golden ladder and alighted in the valley of the Shuei River. They were accompanied by two ministers, Kun-Tun and Kun-Bun, one of whom was descended from the sun and the other from the moon; they were also attended by an astrologer descended from the family of Jupiter, and by a number of other mythical personages. On arriving at earth they found men who immediately submitted to them as rulers sent from the gods, while one of the mortals called Laun-gu or Chau-Ti-Kan offered to become the servant of the two brothers. Before leaving heaven, the god Tenkam¹ had given them a cock and a knife and had enjoined them, immediately on arriving at earth, to kill the cock with the knife and to offer up prayers to him at the same time; when the ceremony was over, they were to eat the head of the bird themselves and give the body to their ministers and attendants. It was found, however, that by some mistake the cock and the knife had been left behind and Laun-gu was sent to heaven to bring them down. He went and returned with both, but reported that the god Tenkam being angry with the brothers for their carelessness in leaving these things behind, had sent a message that after duly sacrificing the cock, the brothers were to eat a portion of the body only and give the rest to their attendants. In this way Laun-gu managed to secure for himself the head! He then asked the brothers to confer upon him some reward for the service he had rendered in regaining the sacrificial objects from heaven, and they gave him the country of Mithila² to govern! Having eaten the head of the cock he became a wise and powerful Chinese ruler, while the heaven-descended brothers, only having eaten of the body, remained ignorant Mau Shans!

Laun-gu, on arriving in Mithila, founded the capital Mung-Kyei and commenced his rule in 568 A.D. He died after 60 years' reign in

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1. Regarded by the Shans as the son of Indra! See Garnier (p. 173, Vol. I) where Phva Then is spoken of as the Laos god who created heaven and earth.
 2. The Pali or classical name for Mung Kyei or Mung Chei, which properly speaking is the Shan name for China generally, but in reality Yunnan only, is meant. Garnier mentions M. Tche as the Shan name for Yunnan (I, p. 474), and the Chinese as a people are known to the Shans as Kyei or Chei. (See also Yule's Ava, p. 308; Dr. Anderson, "Expedition to Yunnan", p. 4; and Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, IV, p. 765.) On Colonel Yule's map of Burma, 1855, the classical name for Yunnan is given as Wideharit; this, however, implies Mithila, for Vidcha or Vaideha was but another name for the ancient Mithila (see Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 444. Also Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary).

6288 and was succeeded by his son Chau-Pu, who also reigned 60 years, and was followed in his turn by his son Sek-Ka in 6888. This last, with his lineal descendants, it is stated, ruled for two hundred years when a relation (of the same race) named Fwei-No-Ngan-Maing succeeded to the throne, and, together with his descendants, retained it for 150 years or to A.D. 1038. Further than this the Shan records do not follow Laun-gu alias Chau-Ti-Kan.

Shortly after their descent to earth Kun-Lung and Kun-Lai quarrelled on the subject of precedence, and the former determined to abandon his claim to the kingdom in the Shueli valley and to found a new one for himself. With this view he packed the two images of his ancestors, one male, called Sung, and one female, called Seng, into a box² and started towards the west, carrying the box upon his head. He crossed the Irrawaddy and shortly afterwards arrived at a place near the Uru (Ooro) tributary of the Kyendwen, where he established himself and founded a city called Maing-Kaing Maing-nyaung,³ and whence he sent forth his sons, or relations, to become rulers of neighbouring states. Of these there appear to have been seven, but whether sons or not is uncertain; however, it is of little importance, as from the following list it will be seen that this part of the record has hardly yet emerged from the domain of fable:-

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1. Can this be the original tradition of Nanchao? The term 60 years so often used in these half mythical writing is, I suspect, merely a way of indicating roughly a considerable length of time and means about one cycle.
 2. This box, still containing one of the idols, is said to have been in the possession of the Asamese prince Parundur Sing when he took refuge in Bengal in 18188
 3. Sometimes called Mung-Kung, but must not be confounded with Mo-gaung (M. Kaung). The position is difficult to define exactly. There is said to be a modern town of M. Nyaung on a small left tributary of the Kyendwen below the Uru, but above the town of Kendat, and another called Maing-Kaing on the left bank of the Uru. The whole district is perhaps meant.

Distribution of Kun-Lung's posterity (i.e., his seven sons or descendants):

1. Aing Kun-Lung King of Tai-tung-kung or Tagaung!
2. Kun-pha King of Mo-nyin (Mung-nyaung)! He was appointed in consideration of paying Kun-Lung a yearly tribute of ten lakhs of horses. (A large number of horses is probably meant.)
3. Kun-Ngu King of Lamung-Tai; i.e., Labun near Zim-mei in Siam. Yearly tribute, 300 elephants.
4. Kun-Kwot-pha King of Yun-lung or Mung Yong (probably Garnier's M. Yong, I, p. 473)! He was the origin of the Taipong race of Maus. Yearly tribute, a quantity of gold.
5. Kun-La King of Mung-Kula or Kalei on a west tributary of the Kyendwen! Tribute, water from the Kyendwen!
6. Kun-Tha King of Ava - sic, but probably Momiet is meant, especially as a ruby mine is said to have existed at his capital! Tribute, two viss (about 7 lbs.) of rubies yearly.
7. Kun-Su King of modern Mung-nyaung on or near the Uru tributary of the Kyendwen, at which place his father (Kun-Lung) had also reigned.

Kun-Su	reigned	for	25	years,	viz.,	from	608	to	633	A.D!
Chau-Sen-Sau	(a son)	19	"	"	"	633	to	652	"	"
Chau-Kun-jau	"	15	"	"	"	652	to	667	"	"
Chau-Kun-jun	"	11	"	"	"	667	to	678	"	"

During the reign of this last, his son Kham-pong-pha went to reside at Mung Ri Mung-Ram, and afterwards reigned there as King of Mung-Mau. (See No. 3 of Mung-Tau Table,

Thus Kun-Lung and his posterity reigned at M. Kaing M. Nyaung for 110 years, and meanwhile Kun-Lai had founded a capital called Mung-Ri Mung-Ram at a short distance from the left bank of the Shueli, and supposed to be some eight or nine miles to the eastward of the present city of Mung-Mau! Here he reigned for 70 years, and was succeeded by his son Ai-dyep-that-pha, who ruled for 40 years, but who died without issue in 678 A.D.,¹ and consequently in the fortieth year of the Burmese era. The son of Chau-Kun-Jun, mentioned in the above list, was then created king, and in his person Kun-Lung's line became

1. See Table, for all the Mau kings to follow.

supreme among the Mau. The length of his reign is not known, but he was followed by his son, during whose rule the capital M. Ri M. Ram declined, and became of secondary importance to the town of Ma-Kau Mung Lung (or Ka-Kao-Mung Lung),¹ which was situated on the right bank of the river and believed to be some six or seven miles west of the capital. This king was succeeded by his younger brother, Kam-Sip-pha, who ascended the throne in 703 A.D. and established his court at Ma-Mau Mung-Lung, thus finally abandoning Mung-Ri Mung-Ram.

During the next 332 years Kam-Sip-pha and his descendants appear to have reigned in regular succession, while nothing worth recording is to be found during the whole of this period. The succession, however, was broken at the death of Chau-Lip-pha in 1035, and a relation of the race of Taipong of Yun Lung² was placed on the throne in that year. He was called Kun-Kwot-pha³ and signalled the change in the succession by establishing a new capital, called Cheila, on the left bank of the Shueli and immediately opposite Ma-Kau Mung-Lung. He is also said to have incorporated Bamo with his dominions.

At this period the dominant power in all these regions was that of the king of New Pagan, Anauratha, and in the history of M. Mau it is recorded that Kun-Kwot-pha's son and successor gave his daughter in marriage to the Pagan monarch, thus almost implying that he acknowledged him as liege lord, though it is also stated that he never went to the Pagan court, as a true vassal must have done.⁴

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1. See Hannay (Sketch of Singphos, &c., 1847, p. 54) where the name of Kai Khao Mau Loung, the great and splendid city, is given as the capital of the Pong Kingdom on the Shueli. The word Mau is significant, though my informants make it "Mung". At p. 55 Hannay gives Moong Khao Loung as the old name for the present Mogaung; in both these names Khao probably means city.
 2. See list of Kun-Lung's posterity No. 4, p. vi.
 3. It may be remarked here that the word Kun means King, and is nearly equivalent to Chau Pha or Tsaubwa; thus Chau Lip Pha, or King Lip, the middle syllable being the name, the others the royal title. In modern English documents relating to Siam it is generally written Chow-fa or Chau-Phya (e.g. in Aitchison's Treaties, vol. I, p. 324, &c.).
 4. Sir Arthur Phayre, in his translation of the Maha-Radza-Weng, says of King Anauratha during his return journey from China: "While passing through Shan, a Chinese Province of Mau, he married Tsau-Nwun-hla, the daughter of the Prince of the Province". (J.A.S.B., XXXVII, pt. I, No. 11, 1868, p. 94). At p. 107 also, he remarks that Anauratha is represented as having married a daughter of the king of Weithali, but rightly observes that the ancient kingdom of Weithali), situated to the north of the present Patna, could scarcely have been in existence at this time. But the adopted Buddhistical name of Asam was (and is to the present day) Weisali; thus the lady whom Anauratha married may have been an Asamese (i.e. Kamrup) princess of the then reigning dynasty.

But however this may have been during Anauratha's lifetime, certainly the succeeding kings of Mau were entirely independent, and they appear to have reigned in peace and unbroken succession until the death of Pam-Yau-Pung in A.D. 1210, when a third influx of Kun-Lung's posterity occurred in the person of Chau-Ai-Mo-Kam-Neng, of the race of Kun-Su of Maing-Kaing Maing-Nyaung. And it is remarkable that this new influx took place while Pam-Yau-Pung's younger brother was actually in power in the neighbouring state of Momiet, where he had just previously founded the capital and commenced an almost independent reign, as will be seen in the note on Momiet and Asam!

Chau^u-Ai-Mo-Kam-Neng reigned for ten years and had two sons, Chau-Kwam-pha (or Chau-Kam-pha, the Soo-Kam-pha of Pemberton) and Sam-Lung-Kun-Maing (or Sam-Lung-pha), the latter perhaps the most remarkable personage in the Mau history! The first succeeded to the throne of Mung-Mau at the death of his father in 1220 A.D., but Sam-Lung-pha had already, five years previously, become Tsaubwa of Mung-Kaung or Mogaung, where he had established a city on the banks of the Nam Kaung¹ and had laid the foundation of a new line of tsaubwas, tributary only to the kings of Mau. He appears to have been essentially a soldier and to have undertaken a series of campaigns under his brother's direction or perhaps as Commander-in-Chief of his army.² The first of these campaigns began by an expedition into Mithila when he conquered Maing-ti (Nan-tien), Momien and Wan Chang (Yung Chang) and from thence extended his operations towards the south, Kaingma, Maing-Maing, Kiang-Hung, Kaing-Tung and other smaller states, each in turn falling under the Mau yoke. With Theinni an amicable arrangement was come to, in virtue of which the tsaubwa of that state became so far a vassal as to engage to send a princess, periodically, to the harem of the Mau king.

Immediately on Sam-Lung-pha's return to Mung-Mau he was ordered away on a second expedition to the west, and on this occasion crossed the Kyendwen river and overran a great portion of Aracan, laying the capital in ruins, and establishing his brother's supremacy in a number of towns on, and beyond, the right bank of the Kyendwen.

A third expedition was then undertaken to Munnipur with similar success to the two last, and again a fourth to Upper Asam, where he conquered the greater portion of the territory then under the sway of the Chutya or Sutya kings.³

1. See note on Mogaung.

2. The number of Sam-Lung-pha's army is not given, but when the whole was assembled it was tallied by each man dropping one Yuei seed (*Abrus precatorius*) into a basket, when 3-3/4 baskets were filled.

3. See separate note on the Sutya.

While on his return from this expedition Chau-Kwam-pha being jealous or fearful of his brother's influence decided to put him to death, and with this end in view left his capital on the Shueli and proceeded to meet him at Maing-pet-Kham¹ on the Tapeng river. A great ovation was given to the successful general, but after the lapse of some time, according to the most trustworthy account, his brother succeeded in poisoning him, or according to another account, he failed in the attempt, and Sam-Lung-pha made good his escape to China.

This was probably the period of greatest extension reached by the Mau kingdom, and certainly if their own account be accepted, their country now formed a very respectable dominion. The following is the list given by the Shan historians of the states under the sovereignty of the Mau kings immediately subsequent to Sam-Lung-pha's conquests, but a mere glance at the names of some of them, such as Aracan, Tali, &c., will show it to be greatly exaggerated, though it is possible that at one time or another some portion of all the places named may have fallen under their power:-

1. Momiet, comprising seven maings, viz., Bhamo Molai,² Maing-lung, Ungbaung, Thibo, Thungzei, Singu, Tagaung.
2. Mogaung comprising ninety-nine maings, among which the following were the most important: Mung-lung (Asam); Kassei (Mun-nipur); part of Aracan; the Yaw country; Kalei; Taungthwot (Sum-jok); Maing-Kaing; Maing-Yaung; Maing-Kwon; Sankring Khamti³; Maingli (Khamti proper); Monyin; Mautshobo; Kunung-Kumun (Mishmi country); Khang-sei (Naga country); &c., &c.
3. Theinni, comprising thirty-nine⁴ maings.
4. Monei.
5. Kaingma.
6. Kyain Sen (Kiang-Tsen on the Cambodia?)
7. Lansan (Linzin).
8. Pagan.
9. Yun (Zimmei).
10. King-lung (said to be Kiang Hung, Kiang-Yung-gyi or Chœili).
11. King-laung (said to be a district north of Ayudia).
12. Mung Lœm:l
13. Tai-lai (Tali-fu ?)
14. Wanchang (Yung-chang-fu).
15. The Palaung country (Taungbain, &c.).
16. Sang-pho (the Singpho country ?)

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1. Probably Hentha sometimes called Shue-Hentha-myo near old Bamo, which is the exact meaning of the Shan words Kham-pet-maing, viz., golden-duck town.
 2. Said to be southeast of Bamo, and probably near the present Nam-Kam.
 3. Sometimes known as Kham Nyang.
 4. Sometimes called the forty-nine maings.

17. The Karen country.
- 189 Lawaik.
19. Lapyit.
20. Lamu (?)
21. Lakhaing (Aracan - meaning probably that portion not under Mogaung)"
22. Langsap (?)
23. Ayudia (Siam).
24. Yunsaleng"

During the two reigns following that of Chau-Kwam-pha, the capital of Mung-Mau remained at Cheila or at the opposite town of Ma-Kau Mung-Lung, but in 1285 one Chau-Wak-pha became king, and though, apparently of unbroken lineal descent, a new capital was founded called simply by the name of the country, Mung-Mau, and situated, as far as can be ascertained, on the site of the present town of Mung-Mau - certainly this is the last change of capital recorded.

Chau-Wak-pha died after a reign of thirty years in 1315, and for nine years subsequently the throne of Mung-Mau was vacant. Eventually, however, a natural son named Ai-Puk was elected to fill it, but he proved profligate and incompetent to discharge the duties of a ruler, and after six years was deposed by the ministers, when a second period of nine years ensued, during which no king could be found to assume the direction of affairs.

Eventually in 1339 a relative of Chau-Wak-pha named Chau-Ki-pha, otherwise known as Tai-Pong, was crowned, and with him an era of wars with China appears to have commenced, which was destined, finally, to end in the fall of the Mau kings as independent sovereigns.

The first record of Chinese invasion is an unimportant one, and merely states that in the fifth year of Chau-Ki-pha's reign (Lakli Plek-Singa, 55=705 B.E. = 1343 A.D.) an army arrived in Mau territory from Mithila for the purpose of reconnoitering, but that no fighting ensued. The next occasion was just fifty years subsequently, during the reign of Chau-Ki-pha's son Tailung, when a Chinese force appeared and attempted the conquest of the country; it was defeated, however, by the Shans and returned after suffering great losses"

Tailung, after a reign of fifty years, was succeeded by his son Chau-Tit-Pha, or Tau-Lwei, as he was also called, who appears to have carried on certain negotiations with the Chinese during the early part of his reign, and in the 16th year of it (Rai-ngi 3=773 B.E. = 1411 A.D.) to have gone on a visit to the governor of Yunnan. The Shan history indeed chronicles that he went to Mung-Kyei, the capital of Mithila, to consult with the Emperor, and that during an interview with the latter" in which he was accompanied by his son Chau-Ngan-Pha, he was given a cup of spirit to drink, which so completely intoxicated him that the Emperor, at the instigation of

a Minister named Maw-pi, obtained from him his royal seal and thus rendered his country tributary.¹ In Plek-si 5, or two years after this event, Chau-Tit-Pha returned to Mung-Mau, and in the next year a party of Chinese with 130 mules came down from China. Each mule was loaded with silver cut into small pieces, and on arriving in the neighbourhood of the capital, those in charge led them into the bamboo jungle that surrounded the city, and scattered the silver among the trees. The party then returned to China, and the inhabitants of Mung-Mau cut down the jungle in order to find the silver. The sequel of this story is not given, but the inference is that the ruse was practised by the Chinese to clear the environs of the city of the jungle in order to attack it the more easily.

In the following year Chau-Tit-Pha died and was succeeded by his son Chau-Ngan-Pha, the events attending the latter part of whose reign are well known from Burmese history. He had two brothers named Chau-Si-Pha,² and Chau-Hung-Pha, with whose assistance he invaded and subdued the Shan states to the east and south-east of his country, and then marched on to Tai-lai, which state he also conquered. Here he was reinforced by the armies of all the chiefs he had subdued so far, and decided, with this enormous host,³ to attempt the conquest of Mithila. He started accordingly from Tai-lai, but was met by a Chinese force under the walls of the capital (Mung-kyei) and was defeated; he then fell back on Tai-lai,⁴ afterwards on Wan-Chang (Yung-chang), and eventually retired into Mau territory, followed by the inhabitants of all the places he had subdued, who preferred to cast in their lot with his, rather than endure the vengeance of the Chinese. On arriving near his capital, he found the inhabitants panic stricken and flying to Ayudia and in many other directions; his army broke up and joined in the flight, whilst he himself, accompanied by his brother Chau-Si-Pha, (Chau-Hung-Pha had died just previously) sought an asylum at Ava. The Chinese followed however, took up a position north of the city of Ava and demanded the surrender of Chau-Ngan-Pha from the Burmese king. The latter replied that one of his nobles called Ming-ngei-kyo-dwen was in rebellion at Zei-mei-thin (Yemethen

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1. We have already seen that the capital of Mithila is Yunnan-foo, and here the minister's name, according to the Shan record, is Mawpi, so that possibly it may have been he who, as governor of Mithila, was visited by Chau-Tit-pha, and not the Emperor, whose residence was at that time at Nan-King, and whose reign was known as that of Cheng-tsu-Wen-ti. (See Puathier, *Chine Moderne*, I, p. 188.)
 2. See Table of Mogaung line, No. 10.
 3. This force tallied in the same way as Sam-Lung-pha's army is said to have been represented by four baskets of yuei seeds.
 4. This Tai-lai would certainly appear to be Tali-foo, though Garnier gives the Shan name of the latter as "Mung-Koue" (Vol. I, p. 479).

near Enlay), and that if the Chinese commander would first subdue and bring this rebellious noble to the capital, he would deliver to him the Mau king. The Chinese general consented and despatched a portion of his army to Zai-mei-thin¹. The place was surrounded, and Ming-ngei-kyo-dwen captured and brought into Ava, but on hearing of his arrival Chau-Ngan-Pha finding his end inevitable took poison and died². His body nevertheless was given up to the Chinese commander, who had it disemboweled and dried in the sun, and immediately afterwards returned with it to Yunnan (B.E. 807 or 1445 A.D.).

Chau-Si-Pha was then placed on the throne of Mogaung, and Chau-Ngan-Pha's queen went at the same time to Khamti with her two children, Chau-Hung II, aged 10, and Chau Hup, aged 2; on arrival there a third, named Chau Put, was born, and one of these three became Tsaubwa of Khamti¹.

For three years after Chau-Ngan-Pha's death, Mung-Mau was again without a king, but at the end of that time an uncle² of the late Chau-Wak-Pha, called Chau-Lam-Kon Kam-Pha, and nearest remaining relative to Chau-Ngan-Pha, was placed on the throne (Rai-saw 40=1448). In the fourth year of his reign a large force from China invaded his country, defeated his troops, and compelled him to take flight or seek³ a refuge with the Burmese at Ava. After five years of exile he returned to his country and died in Rai-si 53=1461 A.D.⁴ He was succeeded in the same year by his son Chau-Hum-Pha, who was assailed almost immediately on his accession by a Chinese army of great strength, which however he defeated and drove back within the border of their country after eighteen days of continued fighting⁵. But at a later period of his reign (viz., about 844 B.E.=1479 A.D.) the Chinese returned and this time routed the Maus, Chau-Hum-Pha, like his predecessor, flying to Ava for protection⁶. After four years he returned to his capital, and seven years later died there. His death however did not terminate the wars with China, for in the sixth year of the reign of his son and successor, Chau-Kaa-Pha, (1495 A.D.) the enemy again came down in force and invaded the Mau territory. Some fighting occurred of which no particulars are given further than it proved adverse to the Shans, though not absolutely disastrous, but still sufficiently humiliating to the pride of Chau-Kaa-Pha to cause him to abdicate and make over the government to his son, Chau-Pim-Pha, while he himself retired to Ai-Kham, the northern division of Khamti, and afterwards to Mogaung, of which state he became Tsaubwa.

Chau-Pim-Pha appears to have been permitted by the Chinese to remain in peace for twenty years, when a force from Yunnan under a general named Li-Sang-Fa, attempted an invasion of the country, but was repulsed. Li-Sang-Fa, however, only retired to a short distance within his own border, and shortly afterwards conceived the idea of taking Mung-Mau by means of a ruse. He constructed a number of rafts,

1. See note on Mogaung under "Chau-Kaa-Pha".

2. Probably a descendent of an uncle is meant.

placed a goat on each, and set them floating down the Shueli; the Shans on seeing the goats approaching from the side of China exclaimed "Kyei-poi-pei-ma" - the Chinese goats are coming floating down - a cry that quickly spread through the town as "the Chinese are coming floating down", and caused a general panic. The citizens, together with the army, fled in all directions, and Chau-Pim-Pha,¹ who was ill at the time and unable to move, died as the enemy entered his city.

The causes of these wars are never mentioned, and it is almost impossible to believe that the Chinese were always the aggressors, unless some provocation had been previously given by the Shans; still the next and last two Chinese wars are described by the Shan chroniclers, to be, like all the previous ones, purely unprovoked movements on the part of the enemy - before these took place however the Maus were destined to experience what I believe was their first and only war with the Burmese.²

Chau-Pim-Pha was followed in 1516 by his son Chau-Hum-Pha II, who reigned for the extraordinary period of 88 years, and administered his country so successfully that it enjoyed a state of prosperity it had never before attained. Whether it was that this condition of prosperity excited the cupidity of the Pegu king, or whether he attacked Mung-Mau in the course of a general plan of conquest of the Shan states, it is impossible to say, but probably some cause other than that assigned by the Burmese chroniclers³ is to be looked for. These pretend that shortly before 1560 the Maus had seized some villages within the borders of Momiet, and that the tsaubwa of the latter place had appealed to the Burmese for aid, but as Momiet had up to within a year or two of this time been a part of the dominion of the Mau kings, and the Burmese had been steadily advancing their conquest of the Shan states from south to north, it is scarcely necessary to look for any special cause for quarrel. In any case, during the year 924 B.E. 1562 A.D., the king of Pegu is reported to have sent an army to Mung-Mau, numbering 200,000 men, under the command of his son, the heir-apparent, and three of his younger brothers, rulers respectively of Prome, Tongu, and Ava. They appear to have commenced the campaign with an incursion into the northern tsaubwaships and to have burned Sanda, Maing-La, and other neighbouring towns, and afterwards to have descended on the capital, where after little or no fighting they compelled Chau-Hum-Pha to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Pegu king, and to send him a princess in token

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1. He was surnamed Kyei-poi-pei-ma on account of the above episode.
 2. There had previously been several wars between the Burmese and dependent portions of the Mau country, chiefly Monyin in which, from its position, was perhaps more accessible than other parts, to the Burmesel
 3. See the Burmese account translated by Colonel Burney (J.A.S.B.] VI, p. 125) where however the date is placed about two years later.

of homage. When the Burmese army retired the city was spared, and teachers of Buddhism were left there to instruct the Shan priests in the worship of Gaudama and to convert the rulers and people.

Some twenty years after these events (viz., in Mung-siu 54=944 B.E. =1582 A.D.), and apparently during a time of peace between China and Burmah, the Maus were again attacked by a Chinese army numbered, in the usual inflated style, at 300,000 men. Three great battles were fought, none of which were decisively in favour of either party, but eventually the Chinese sued for peace, and when accorded by Chau-Hum-Pha, their army retired to Yunnan. Another twenty years of tranquillity then ensued, but in Kat-mau 16=966 B.E. =1604 A.D., a Chinese general named Wang-sang-su with a considerable force made a descent on the borders of Mung-Mau, and Chau-Hum-Pha being old and feeble decided to make over the government of his country to his son Chau-Po-Reing, then the reigning tsaubwa of Theinni. He had scarcely done so when he died, and at the same time the Chinese army commenced its march on the capital. The Shans appear to have made but a feeble resistance, if indeed any at all, for Chau-Po-Reing, a few days after his accession to the throne, abdicated and fled on the Chinese being reported to have arrived above the capital at the crossing of a certain tributary of the Shueli. He made for Mogaung with a part of the Chinese pursuing him, and reached Kakyo-Wainmaw, on the left bank of the Namkiu (Irrawaddy), where his followers mutinied, and in despair he drowned himself in the river. The Kakyo-Wainmaw pawmaing recovered his body and buried it, subdued the mutinous followers, and sent them to Ava, where they petitioned the king to grant the grandson, and only remaining descendants, of Chau-Hum-pha, a territory to reign over, as Mung-Mau was now in the permanent occupation of the Chinese. This prince was called Chau-Tit-Pha, and he was relegated to Mogaung, where a certain line of tsaubwas had just then become extinct (see under Mogaung).

Table of Mung-Mau Tsaubwas

Number	Name	Relationship to the preceding	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN			Length of reign years	Capital	Remarks
			Name of Shan year or Lakli	Burmese era	A. D.			
1	Kun-lai	...	Kap-saw 1	*	568	70	Mung-Ri-Mung-Ram ⁹	*Religious era 1111 or 70 years previous to Burmese era.
2	Ai-Dyep-That-pha.	Son	Kaa-raw 10	1	638	40	Do	Religious era 1181 Died heirless.
3	Kam-Pong-pha	...	Kaa-plaw 50	40 ⁺	678	+	Do	⁺ Sic. Son of Chau-Kun-Jun (see list of Kunlung's posterity, p. vi).
4	Kam-Sap-pha	Son	+	Do	⁺ The reigns of Nos. ⁺ 3 & 4 are said to have aggregated about 25 years, but no date is given for No. 4.
5	Kam-Sip-pha	Younger brother.	Plek-ngi 15	65	703	50	Ma-Kau-Mung-Lung.	
6	Ni-Fa-maung	Son	Plek-si 5	115	753	40	Do	
7	Chau-Khun-pha.	Do.	Plek-sau 45	155	793	44	Do	
8	Chau-Kai-pha	Do.	Kat-plaw 26	196	834	34	Do	
9	Chau-Han-pha	Do.	Kaa-kiu 60	230	868	33	Do	
10	Chau-Tau-pha	Do.	Rai-san 33	263	901	32	Do	
11	Chau-Pwot-pha.	Do.	Plek-si 5	295	933	27	Do	
12	Chau-Won-pha	Do.	Dap-mut 32	322	960	23	Do	
13	Chau-Hon-pha	Do.	Plek-singa. 55	345	983	12	Do	
14	Chau-Hau-pha	Do.	Khut-singa. 7	357	995	19	Do	
15	Chau-Lip-pha	Do.	Kat-plaw 26	376	1014 ⁺	21	Do	⁺ This date is uncertain to about three years.
16	Khun-Kwot-pha.	Relation.	Khut-mit. 47	397	1035	15	Cheila	Of the race of Tai-pong of Yun-lung (see Kunlung's posterity, p. vi).

Table of Mung-Mau Tsubwas (Continued)

Number	Name	Relationship to the preceding	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN			Length of reign years	Capital	Remarks
			Name of Shan year or Lakli	Burmese era	A. D.			
17	Chau-Tai-pha	Son.	Dap-plaw 2	412	1050	12	Ma-Kau-Mung Lung, and or Cheila.	
18	Chau-lu-lu	Do	Mung-plaw. 14	424	1062	19	Do.	
19	Chau-Sang-mwun.	Do	Rai-san 33	443	1081	15	Do	
20	Chau-Sang-yaw.	Do	Rung-kin. 48	458	1096	7	Do	
21	Chau-Tai-pha.	Younger brother.	Plek-singa. 55	465	1103	9	Do	
22	Chau-Shen-Nga	Son	Mung-mau 4	474	1112	11	Ma-Kau-Mung-Lung, and or Cheila.	
23	Chau-Lu-Chu	Younger brother?	Plek-ngi 15	485	1123	14	Do	
24	Chau-Nga-Chu	Do	Taw-si 29	499	1137	8	Do	
25	Chau-Khun-ming	Son	Khut-saw 37	507	1145	18	Do	
26	Chau-Khun-Kum	Do	Plek-sin-ga. 55	525	1163	8	Do	
27	Chau-Tai-Pum	Do	Rai-ngi 3	533	1171	17	Do	
28	Chau-Tai-Lung	Do	Kaa-mut 20	550	1188	15	Do	
29	Pan-Yau-Pung	Son	Plek-mit. 35	565	1203	7	Do	His younger brother, Fu-San-kang, became Tsubwa of Momiet and founded the Asam line of Tsubwas.
30	Chau-Ai-Mo-Kang-Neng.	Relation.	Dap-siu 42	572	1210	10	Do	A descendant of Kwun-Su of Maing-Nyaung (see No. 7 Kunglung's posterity, p. vi).

Table of Mung-Mau Tsaubwas (Concluded)

Number	Name	Relationship to the preceding	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN			Length of reign years	Capital	Remarks
			Name of Shan year or Lakli	Burmese era	A. D.			
31	Chau-Kwam-pha	Son	Dap-mau 52	582	1220	30	Do	The Soo-Kam-Pha of Pemberton. His younger brother was Sam-Lung-Kung-Maing or Sam-Lung-Pha, the conqueror.
32	Chau-Piu-pha	Do	Dap-raw 22	612	1250	32	Do	
33	Tai-Peng or Chau-Kam-pha.	Do	Mung-siu 54	644	1282	3	Do	Probably the founder of the present town of Mung-Mau.
34	Chau-Wak-pha.	Do	Khut-san 57	647	1285	30	Mung-Mau.	
35	<u>No King</u> Ai-Puk	.. Son of 34	Khut-nyi 27 Kat-kiu 36	677 686	1315 1324	9 6	Do Do	
36	<u>No King</u> Chau-Ki-pha or Tai-Pong.	.. Relation	Dap-siu 42 Kap-nyi 51	692 701	1330 1339	9 7	Do Do	
37	Tai-Lung	Son	Rung-raw 58	708	1346	50	Do	
38	Tau-Lwei or Chau-Tit-pha.	Do	Rung-kin 48	758	1396	19	Do	
39	Chau-Ngan-pha	Do	Khut-sin-ga. 7	777	1415	30	Do	
40	<u>No King</u> Chau-Lam-Kon-Kam-pha.	.. *	Khut-saw 37 Rai-saw 40	807 810	1445 1448	3 13	Do Do	
41	Chau-Hum-pha	Son	Rai-si 53	823	1461	29	Do	Surnamed <u>Kyle-poi pei-ma.</u>
42	Chau-Kaa-pha	Do	Dap-raw 22	852	1490	6	Do	
43	Chau-Pim-pha	Do	Rung-mau 28	858	1496	20	Do	
44	Chau-Hum-pha	Do	Rung-kiu 48	878	1516	88	Do	Of Theinni
45	Chau-Poreing	Do	Kat-mau 16	966	1604	..	Do	