

special. More significantly, modern manuals are largely taken up with predicting an individual's good or bad fortune based on birth date, selecting a good time for any action, and selecting a good name. They are very much geared to the individual and to a search for general good fortune. The early 19th century extract presented here is more geared to events of different kinds, and are rather more specific. For example, if you have some clothing made on the fifth day of the waxing moon, you will gain elephants, horses and cattle.

Over half of the extract on prediction is devoted to marriage. While modern manuals also cover this subject, the early 19th century text is striking for its complexity. Besides the usual systems for choosing partners based on age and animal year of birth, there are more complex systems for divining what will become of the match. For example, if the difference between the partner's ages is 1, 5, or 7 they will love one another passionately, but if 7, 8, or 10 they will kill each other. Multiplying and dividing the ages can predict the number of children, and combinations of birth years predict how much wealth and how many dependents the couple will accumulate, and even which of them will predecease the other. What does this tell us about marriage in early 19th century Siam?

The style chosen for rendering the French in parts seems a little odd. The sentence form is transposed and the vocabulary a little high-flown, such as "Quand ainsi le soleil apparaître, abondantes les pluies seront." Yet the Thai is strikingly plain and simple, with almost no Pali words, and in English would translate as "When the sun looks like this, it will rain heavily." The style is utilitarian rather than poetic.

This is a fascinating publication and we owe a great debt to all those involved. With luck, it will inspire more study of the topics covered, especially of systems of prediction and their importance in old Siam.

Chris Baker

Chronicle of Sipsòng Panna: History and Society of a Tai Lü Kingdom Twelfth to Twentieth Century by Liew-Herres Foon Ming, Volker Grabowsky and Renoo Wichasin (Chiang Mai, Mekong Press, 2012). ISBN 978-616-9053-3-9

The affairs of the Sipsòng Panna Kingdom in Southern Yunnan are entangled with those of other Tai polities in the Upper Mekong basin, particularly Lan Na, Lan Sang, Chiang Tung and Moeng Laem. By rendering into English for the first time four versions of Sipsòng Panna chronicles written in Tai Lü with the Dhamma script, this book has made a significant body of source materials accessible to historians.

It has not been an easy task, because these chronicles bear the imprint of Sipsòng Panna's location within the orbit of the Chinese state and demand from the translators proficiency in Chinese language, script and history in addition to the normal skills required for Tai studies. The situation is further complicated by the

fact that the oldest known version, the History of Moeng Lü (Text 1), no longer survives in the original Tai Lü; that text was apparently lost sometime between 1944 and 1946 (see xix & p.78). For that reason it had to be rendered from the Chinese translation made by Li Fuyi 李拂一 in 1943 (but not published until 1947). Even the translation of Text III had to be prepared from the Tai Lü text published by Li Fuyi in 1947. Though the translators have used Tai Lü texts for three versions, they have closely collated them with Chinese renditions of all four versions by Li Fuyi and Gao Lishi 高立士, and annotated the discrepancies in copious footnotes. It is patently clear that the Chinese translations have played a pivotal role in the compilation of this book. Such heavy dependence on the efforts of Chinese scholars is highly unusual in the study of Tai chronicles, and reflects the intricacy surrounding the preservation and transmission of Tai script manuscripts in Yunnan.

It would be rare to find a single scholar accomplished in all of the necessary expertise, so it is most appropriate and prudent, indeed, that this volume is a collective effort by three extremely competent and experienced specialists. The first author, Foon Ming Liew-Herres, is an authority on the history and historiography of the Ming dynasty,¹ who has in the past collaborated with the second author Volker Grabowsky in translating Chinese sources on Sino-Tai relations in Yunnan and Continental Southeast Asia.² Grabowsky, a leading historian of Lan Na and north-western Laos, advocates writing the history of Tai polities from an indigenous perspective.³ Renoo Wichasin, a philologist and a doyen of Tai manuscript studies, has collaborated closely with Grabowsky in the translation of Tai Lü chronicles before,⁴ and her hand is visible throughout, especially in the sections concerning the characteristics of the Tai Lü language and script (pp. 98–104), and the transcription of Ming dynasty Tai Lü sources into modern Thai.

The principal contents of this book comprise a lengthy ninety-nine page introduction, followed by the annotated translations of the four versions (231 printed pages), and concludes with five appendixes and a detailed bibliography. The appendixes contain a genealogical table of the rulers of Sipsòng Panna, English translations of rare early Ming sources concerning the kingdom, including a bilingual memorial submitted by Tao Sam Pò Lütai (reigned in second half of the 15th century)

¹ Liew-Herres Foon Ming, *Annotated Sources of Ming History: Including Southern Ming and Works on Neighbouring Lands, 1368–1661*, 2011.

² For instance, see her translations of Yuan and Ming sources on Lan Na in Liew-Herres Foon Ming and Volker Grabowsky (in collaboration with Aroonrut Wichienkeo), *Lan Na in Chinese Historiography: Sino-Tai Relations as Reflected in the Yuan and Ming Sources (13th to 17th centuries)*, Bangkok, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2008.

³ Volker Grabowsky, “Chiang Khaeng 1893–1896: A Lue Principality in the Upper Mekong Valley at the Center of Franco-British Rivalry”, in Christopher E. Goscha and Søren Ivarsson (eds), *Contesting Visions of the Lao Past: Lao Historiography at the Crossroads*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2003.

⁴ Volker Grabowsky and Renoo Wichasin, *Chronicles of Chiang Khaeng: a Tai Lü Principality of the Upper Mekong*, Honolulu, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai’i, 2008.

to the imperial court, photographic reproductions of two wooden seals reputedly issued during the Qing and Republican periods, and a Modern Thai transcription and English translation of an inscription at a monastery in Moeng Cae dated 1994. An impressively large amount of first-hand data has been put into English for the first time.

The translation of the chronicles, which forms the main body of the book, recounts the history of the Sipsòng Panna kingdom from 1180 until 1950 through the reigns of forty to forty-four rulers, depending on the version; all rulers seem to have been directly descended from the founder Phaya Coeng (r.1180-1192). Phaya Coeng established the capital in 1190 at a place named Chiang Lan, where a Lua chieftain named Ai Lan formerly resided. The chronicles detail the rulers before the mid 16th century Burmese conquest of the Tai world, include the advent of tributary relations with China during the reign of the second ruler Tao Khai Noeng (r. 1192–1211), and later record vassal ships to Burmese dynasties from the reign of Cao Nò Moeng (r. 1530–1568), after which the kingdom owed fealty to the two dynastic giants. In 1991, Hasegawa Kiyoshi 長谷川清 published a study of the dual Chinese-Burmese overlordship, which pertained until the 19th century, but it has passed unnoticed by the sorrowful mischance of being written in Japanese.⁵ The Chronicles relate the political instability fomented by swearing fidelity to two thrones as well as the duplicity engendered by such an arrangement. Succession was no foregone conclusion, and claims to the throne by rival factions of the ruling house often caused havoc and harm whenever they sought political and military backing from China and Burma for their claimants, a phenomenon most pronounced during the period between 1818 and 1857. The account in Text II takes us up to the last ruler of the Kingdom Cao Mòk Kham Lù (Dao Shixun), who reigned from 1947 to 1950, and contains a narrative of the “Cow Cushion War” of 1913.

The numerous annotations given in the footnotes are immensely valuable because they enable readers to follow the differences and correspondences with other Tai Chronicles, Chinese and even European sources. Though highly readable, general readers may find the scholarly translation heavy going, yet the academic apparatus is absolutely essential to ensure the accurate transmission of fresh information. In fact, the authors should be highly commended for their linguistic juggling from Chinese into Tai Lù and Burmese in their translation of Text I. Since the original text has been long lost, they have had to reconvert back into Tai Lù and Burmese the names of people, official titles and administrative units, toponyms, and myriad other terms from Chinese (see pp. 95–100). The present reviewer

⁵ Hasegawa Kiyoshi, “Chichi naru Chūgoku Haha naru Biruma: Shipuson Panna Ōken to sono ‘Gaibu’ 父なる中国・母なるビルマ—シプソンパンナー王権と其の《外部》(China is our Father, Burma is our Mother: Royal power in Sipsòng Panna and the ‘Outside’)”. In Matsubara Masatake 松原正毅 ed., *Ōken no Isō 王権の位相* (Phases of Royal Power) Tokyo, Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1991, pp. 380–408.

vividly remembers finding the Chinese version of Text 1 laborious to read precisely because the Chinese transliterations of Tai Lü titles and special terms did not always ring bells. Impenetrability has deterred scholars writing in English from using it extensively in the past. By reversion into terminology consistent with normal academic conventions they have rendered great service to Tai studies. Given the complexities, this is truly quite an achievement, which should not be under-rated.

The introduction is most erudite and informative. It provides an overview of the history and society of Sipsòng Panna within the context of the Tai world, and enriches our bibliographical understanding of the chronicles by elucidating details of the four versions translated as well as another nine Tai Lü sources used for corroboration (pp. 88–93). It includes information gathered by ear on the spot in Yunnan. Despite its thoroughness, I feel that the authors have been too reticent in discussing how important material made available by their translation contributes to our understanding of some of the larger urgent issues in the history of the Tai world. One that stands out particularly is the political power of Mon-Khmer ethnic groups and their role in the formation of Tay polities.

The foundation date of 1180 assigns a longer time depth to the Sipsòng Panna kingdom than Lan Na (the authors do not discuss the significance of this fact), but similarities, such as the erection of the capital on the site of a Lua (Lawa) chieftain and the marriage of rulers with Lua women, suggests similar trends at work. In the introduction, the authors carefully note the close relationship between Tai and Kha (hill peoples) in the formation of Tai Lü polities, but they do not discuss these similarities, or even make comparisons with the well-known case of the role of the Lua in the establishment of Lan Na. This issue, raised during the 1990s by Choltira Satyawadhna and Aroonrut Wichienkeo, has gone by the wayside in recent years,⁶ relegated to the realm of myth due to a seeming lack of contemporaneous historical sources. The data presented in this set of translations confirms the active participation of Lua in the creation of moeng, and calls for more serious consideration of the significance of non-Tai participation in Tai polity formation. Given the authoritative line-up of the authors, it is a pity that they have avoided deep discussion of this major issue.

As a rule of thumb, the closer the Tai to Yunnan, the more information we can glean from Chinese sources to verify and supplement the chronicles. Sipsòng Panna is certainly no exception. Throughout the annotations, the authors extensively refer to corroborative Chinese sources, especially for the Ming period, but have overlooked a valuable source that I shall comment on here.

⁶ See Choltira Satyawadhna, “Ethnic Inter-relationships in the History of Lanna: Reconsidering the Lwa Role in the Lanna Scenario”, *Tai Culture*, Vol. 2. No. (December 1997), pp. 6–29; and Aroonrut Wichienkeo, “Lawa (Lua): A Study from Palm-Leaf Manuscripts and Stone Inscriptions”, in Hayashi Yukio and Yang Guangyuan, ed, *Dynamics of Ethnic Cultures Across National Boundaries in Southwestern China and Mainland Southeast Asia: Relations, Societies and Languages*, Chiang Mai, Lanna Cultural Center, 2000, pp. 138–153.

For the 18th and 19th centuries, the authors refer to the *Qing Shilu* (清實錄 Veritable records of the Qing) often for the purpose of verifying the accession and demise of Tai rulers. This is sound procedure, yet memorials submitted to the throne by high ranking Imperial officials in Yunnan, preserved by the National Palace Museum in Taipei, also contain important first hand data not recorded in the chronicles or the *Qing Shilu*. For instance, the memorials document in detail the revolt of 1728 that broke out due to widespread dissatisfaction among hill peoples against malpractices by Han traders who purchased tea in the mountains under the administration of Moeng Ham, a constituent domain of Sipsòng Panna. This revolt shook the political structure of the kingdom to its foundations.⁷ Claiming that incompetence by the incumbent ruler Tao Cin Pao (r. 1724–1729) exacerbated the trouble, the Qing court annexed Sipsòng Panna territory east of the Mekong River and put it under the administration of imperial bureaucrats in 1729. Nothing concerning this event, which surely must have constituted a crisis of state for the kingdom, is recorded in the chronicles. In the end, however, the direct administration proved impracticable, and Tai rulers were left to govern most of their original territory. Nevertheless, the annexation was significant for it launched the polity on the path towards full incorporation into the Chinese state, a long journey that terminated in its final elimination in 1950.⁸

This event preceded by over 180 years the advent of stronger Chinese control over the kingdom in 1913 by the Chinese Resident Commissioner Ke Shuxun 柯樹勳, who was stationed at the capital Chiang Rung (Jinghong). Text III briefly records Ke's introduction of a poll tax and a military campaign (pp. 304, 309), and the authors characterise his regime as "Sipsòng Panna under Chinese Rule" (p. 69). In actual fact, Ke found it impossible to directly govern the kingdom due to the inability of the Tai populace to comprehend administrative directives issued in Chinese and the vastly different structure of their society. This compelled him to allow the paramount Tai ruler and his bureaucracy to govern as before, thus preserving the polity. This marked the second attempt by the Chinese to implement direct rule, and they did not succeed in abolishing the ruler and his bureaucracy until 1950. Counting from the first attempt in 1729, it took 221 years for the polity of Sipsòng Panna to be fully incorporated into the Chinese state!⁹

⁷ For instance, National Palace Museum, ed, *Gongzhongdang Yongzhengchao Zouzhe* (宮中木+當雍正朝奏摺 Secret Palace Memorials of the Yongzheng Period: Qing Documents at the National Palace Museum), Taipei: National Palace Museum Press, 1977–1980, Volume 9.

⁸ Christian Daniels, "Yōsei shichinen Shinchō ni yoru Shipuson panna Ōkoku no Chokkatsuchika ni tsuite; Taikei minzoku ōkoku wo yurugasu sanchimin ni kansuru ichikōsatsu" 雍正七年清朝によるシプソンパンナー王国の直轄地化について—タイ系民族王国を揺るがす山地民に関する一考察 (The Annexation of Sipsòng Panna by the Qing dynasty in 1729; an examination of hill peoples who rocked the foundations of a Tay Kingdom), *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究, 62: 4 (March 2004), pp. 694–728.

⁹ Christian Daniels, "Seinan Chūgoku Shan Bunkaken ni okeru Hikanzoku no Jiritsuteki Seiken;

Memorials presented to the throne sometimes report demographic data and other information concerning Tai society. For instance, in the disturbances of 1728 whole villages in Meong Ham fled south into present-day Laos out of fright. Hao Yulin 郝玉麟, the Yunnan Provincial Military Commander 雲南提督, was forced to abandon brute force and formulate a pacification policy in order to repopulate the area. He absolved Tao Cin Pao of responsibility for the revolt, and restored confidence in the authority of the paramount leader and his regime. This measure proved effective, and by the first lunar month of the seventh year of the Yongzheng reign (1729/30), Hao had already managed to repatriate 8,100 people (1,600 odd households).¹⁰ According to another source, the *Dian Yun Linian Zhuan* 滇雲歷年傳 (A Chronological Record of [Events] in Yunnan) by the scholar Ni Tui 倪蛻, a total of 12,300 odd households, numbering about 20,000 to 30,000 men and women, were ultimately repaired to their homes in Sipsòng Panna.¹¹ Such house-enumeration statistics demonstrate the levels of displacement caused by the revolt.

It is curious that the authors do not discuss the antiquity and implications of the term Moeng Lü, apart from suggesting that it preceded the term Sipsòng Panna. In their introduction they state “*muang* was the older concept” and “*panna* was obviously a later structure imposed on the network of *muang*” (p. 29). They collectively refer to all four versions under the rubric of Moeng Lü Chronicles, a designation that translates the title of the earliest version Text I, which apparently was compiled sometime during the late 19th or early 20th century (pp. 52, 78). The title of the Chinese rendition of Text I is *Leshi* 勒史 (literally the history of the Lü), while that of the original Tay text, according to the compilers of this book, is *Nangsü Pün Moeng Lü* (p. 74). Though the authors do not comment on the first literary reference to Moeng Lü, its long usage can be verified by an early Sino-Tai vocabulary from the Baiyi (Tai) College 百夷 (literally “hundred barbarians”). This College was one of the eight colleges at the Siyiguan 四夷館 (“College of Translators for the Barbarians of the Four Quarters”), set up in accordance with an order issued by the Yongle emperor in 1407 for the purpose of handling the translation of documents submitted by foreign tribute missions. It was inaugurated roughly a hundred years before the establishment by the Ming of the translation college for

Sipsòng Panna Ōkoku no Kaido Kiryū wo Jitsurei ni 西南中国・シャム文化圏における非漢族の自律的政権—シブソンパンナー王国の改土帰流を実例に— (Autonomous Non-Han Regimes in Southwest China and the Tai Cultural Area: an attempt at *gaitu guiliu* in the Sipsòng Panna polity), *Ajia Afurika Bunka Kenkyūjo Kenkyū Nenpō* アジア・アフリカ文化研究所研究年報, No. 34 (March 2000), pp. 56–70.

¹⁰ National Palace Museum, ed, *Gongzhongdang Yongzhengchao Zouzhe*, Vol. 12, pp. 315–316.

¹¹ Ni Tui 倪蛻, *Dian Yun Linian Zhuan* 滇雲歷年傳 (A Chronological Record of [Events] in Yunnan), Kunming 昆明, Yunnan Daxue Chubanshe 雲南大学出版社 1992, pp. 600–601. It was first published in 1846. Its accounts of early Yunnan history are not always reliable, but its records of the 18th century contain data not found in other sources.

Fak Kham script and 170 years before the college for Ayudhya script.¹² The Sino-Tai vocabulary titled the *Baiyi Guan Zazi* 百夷館雜字 (“The Miscellaneous Characters of the Baiyi College”) lists Meng Le 猛勒 (Moeng Lü) as the Tai equivalent of Cheli 車里 (Chinese name for Sipsòng Panna).¹³ The Japanese linguist Izui Hisanosuke 泉井久之助 romanised the Tai equivalent of Meng Le as Möng Löw.¹⁴ Since the extant *Baiyi Guan Zazi* manuscript dates to the 16th century,¹⁵ we can substantiate that the word Moeng Lü emerged in literary sources at roughly the same time as the term Sipsòng Panna, if not earlier. According to the authors, the first reference to Sipsòng Panna in the chronicles occurred during the reign of Cao In Moeng (r. 1569–1598, Text 1; see p. 159 fn 292).

The book comes with nine maps, including two historical maps from Chinese sources as well as one from British archives and another from French archives. They are useful aids, particularly for Tai studies scholars who may be unfamiliar with the historical geography of Yunnan. Unfortunately, there are inaccuracies in the plotting and romanisation of some toponyms which may mislead readers. In Map 2 “Dai (Tai) Settlements in Yunnan”, Ruili and Moeng Mao are marked as separate places, when, in fact, the former is the Chinese name for the latter; from the location on the map Ruili may have been an error for Mangshi (Moeng Khòn), the capital of the Dehong Autonomous Region. On the same map Genma should read Gengma. Map 8 “Eighteen Aboriginal Commissions in the Early Nineteenth Century” also contains imprecise romanisation:

3. Chuqiong should be Chuxiong

15. Wiengmu should be Manmu

16. Wiengding should be Mengding

17. Ganya should be read Gan’ai. The character 崖 now read ya in Mandarin is read ai in Yunnan. Gan’ai is the Chinese name for Moeng La (now Yingjing 盈江). La (or Na in Southern Shan) means face or front.

22. Menglian should be Mengdian.

¹² Christian Daniels, “Script Without Buddhism: Burmese Influence on the Tay (Shan) Script of Mäng² Maaw² as seen in a Chinese Scroll Painting of 1407”, *International Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, Issue 2 (July 2012), pp. 147–176.

¹³ The *Baiyi Guan Zazi* is included in the *Huayi Yiyu* 華夷譯語 (“Translated Words of the Chinese and Barbarians”). No name of compiler, date unknown. Ms. held by the Toyo Bunko 東洋文庫, Tokyo, Japan. It contains the *Zazi* (雜字 The Miscellaneous Characters) and *Laiwen* (來文 Incoming Correspondence) of nine colleges; Dada (韃靼 Tartars or eastern Mongols), Nuzhi (女直 Jurchen), Huihui (回回 Muslims), Xifan (西番 Tibet), Gaochang (高昌), Baiyi (百夷 Tay), Miandian (緬甸 Burmese), Babai (八百 Lanna polity) and the Xuanluo (暹羅 Ayudhya) colleges. Since the latter two colleges were only set up during the 16th century we can assume that this hand-copy was done after 1579 (Wanli 萬曆7) when the Xuanluo College was established.

¹⁴ Izui Hisanosuke 泉井久之助 *Hikaku Gengo Kenkyu* 比較言語學研究 (Studies in Comparative Linguistics) Osaka: Sogensha 創元社, 1949, p. 220.

¹⁵ Christian Daniels, “Script Without Buddhism”, p. 153.

In recent years, interest in the Tai world outside Thailand and Laos has surged, and this high-quality, annotated translation is most welcome because it furnishes us with primary source materials to fill the huge gap in our knowledge about the history of the largest Tai polity in Yunnan east of the Salween River. Of course, the attributes of this path-breaking set of translations far outweigh the minor flaws in the maps and the typos, for it multiplies our ability to make comparisons with other polities in the Upper Mekong basin. Undoubtedly, it will soon assume status similar to that of Sao Saimong Mangrai's translations of the Chiang Tung Chronicles, and David Wyatt / Aroonrut Wichienkeo's rendition of the Chiang Mai Chronicle, garnering plaudits for the authors.

Christian Daniels

The Tale of Khun Chang Khun Phaen: Siam's Great Folk Epic of Love and War translated and edited by Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2010). Hardback: ISBN: 978-974-9511-98-5 (two-volume set); paperback: ISBN: 978-616-215-045-6.

Khun Chang Khun Phaen (KCKP) is a great epic not only of love and war – but also of treachery, violence, magic, romance, sex, male chauvinism, bawdy humor and more, woven into a dense tapestry of colors, flavors, sounds, and emotions. Marveling at the sumptuous milieu of old Siamese customs, beliefs, and practices in which the story takes place, the great Thai linguist William J. Gedney, commented, “if all other information on traditional Thai culture were to be lost, the whole complex could be reconstructed from this marvelous text.”

The epic has long had a wide impact on many aspects of popular culture, including songs, sayings, movies, novels, magical amulets, and even cigarette cards. Its basic plot is a love triangle involving the fair, gentle Phim (who later takes the name Wanthong) and her childhood friends, Khun Chang, who is ugly and uncouth but rich, and Phlai Kaeo (later known as Khun Phaen), who is handsome and dashing, but lacking in wealth. Swept into relationships with each of them at different times for different reasons (romantic love with Khun Phaen, security with Khun Chang), Wanthong in the end is condemned to death because she cannot choose between them.

Along the way, Khun Phaen learns the lore of magic and sorcery which enables him to entice women and defeat his foes, while Khun Chang uses his wealth and wiles to bolster his position in society and win Wanthong. High points in the story include numerous occurrences of the classic Thai “wondrous scenes” or metaphors of tempestuous wind and waves used to describe love-making, Khun Phaen's creation of a spirit son and magical sword, his daring flight into the forest with Wanthong