HSENWI STATE CHRONICLE

by

Sir James George Scott

From this month we are serializing little known work of Shway Yoe entitled “Hsenwi State Chronicle”. It was written by him in 1897, fifteen years after publishing his classic: “The Burman: His Life and Notions”.

Sir James George Scott (Shway Yoe) was born in 1851 and died, in his 83rd year, in 1935. He devoted his life to the British Civil Service and was involved with Burma on and off for 35 years. He first came to Burma in about 1875 and while in Burma he taught school and wrote articles for both local and English newspapers and magazines.

In 1881 he returned to England to spend several years in study for admission to the Bar. He was unsuccessful in this attempt, but was later called to the Bar in 1895 or 1896. Consequently, he was in England when his first and best-known book, The Burman, appeared in 1882.

In 1886, Scott joined the Burma Commission, returned to Burma and became involved in administration—for the most part in the Shan States—until his retirement in 1910.

He was appointed Superintendent for the Northern Shan States in 1891 and Political Agent and Superintendent for the Southern Shan States in 1902, the post he occupied until his retirement.

The credit for unearthing this piece of treasure goes to our contributor Shan Swe.

With this summary by Mr. Ney Elias may be compared the following history of Hsen Wi now first translated. It is pieced together from two manuscripts, one furnished by the Northern Hsen Wi State, the other by the Southern, a division which dates from the British occupation. Both chronicles are modern compilations.

Hsen Wi Chronicle

The chronological history of the ancient governors (Mahathamada Min) of the Shan States from the beginning of the fourth cycle of time when fire, water, and wind separated and formed the earth and the four Dats; from the coming into existence of the world called Buddha; from the commencement of the reign of Hkun Lu and Hkun La (called in Mr. Elias’ history Kun Lai) to the present day.

In former days the golden town of Hsen-se Man-se Me-mong, mother of countries, had no governors and was administered by four Paw Mong or elders. These were-

Hao-Mong Hao-lek of Ho-tu
Hao-Mong Hao-Kang of Mong Ton

Hao-Mong Hao-Kang-Hawp of Hsen-se
Hao-Mong Hao-Kang-Hawp of Htu mo.

These elders ruled over the country in harmony with one another and laid the foundations of the history of the Shan States.

The Hsen Wi Hsi-hso, Hsen Wi Hso-pa-tu, Hso-an-hpu, Hso-an-wu, Hso-mo (That is to say, the “Four Tiger Country.” What difference there is between Pa-tu, An-hpu, An-wu, and Mo tigers is a refinement which appears to have been now lost.), Kaw-sampi, the country of white blossoms, may be briefly described as follows.

The Country of white blossoms and large leaves was the name given to Mong Kaw-sampi, the country which lies near the golden Hpaw-di (the Ficus religiosa) in the Myitsoma country, where the Buddha was born.

In Mong Kaw-sampi there lived a queen named Ekka-Mahehsi Dewi, who was great with child, and one day she lay wrapped in a red shawl in the sunshine on the terrace of the palace. There a monstrous bird, the Tilanka, saw her and took the red shawl for a piece of raw flesh. He stooped down and carried her off beyond the reach of mortals into the depths of the Hma Wunta, the centre of the 3,000 forests. There he settled on a great Mai Nyu tree and would have devoured her, but the Dewi cried aloud and the Tilanka was afraid and flew away. The queen was then delivered of a male child on the tree and the cries of the infant attracted the attention of a Rath, a holy man who lived in the wilds and was at the time repeating his doxologies. He came to the tree; the queen told how she had been carried off from Mong Kaw-sampi and he made a ladder for her and helped her down and she and the child went and lived with him in his retreat.

When the boy was 14 or 15 years of age the Thagyas came down from the skies and presented him with a harp, whose strains subdued all the elephants of the forests, and the boy was then known by the name of Hkun Hseng U Ting from the word ting, a harp.

Then Hkun Hseng U Ting gathered together all the elephants of the forest with the sounds of his harp and marched to the country of Kaw-sampi. There he found that his
father, the king, was dead, and he succeeded him on the throne and went back to the place where his mother was, and there he built a city called U Ting, afterwards known as Mong Ting, on the spot where the Thagyas gave him the harp. The spot where the queen had lain in the sun and had felt the wind raised by the wings of the Tilanka was called Mong Mao from the word Mao (to be dizzy), and it retains that name to the present day, and the country of the 3,000 forests, the Hema Wunta, was known from the time the Hso-an wu, the Hso-an-hpu, the Hso-mo, also called the country of white blossoms, the province of Siri wilata Maha Kambsawa Sengi Kawasami, even to the present day.

In the year 1274 after Buddha's nirvana, corresponding to 92 B.E. (A.D. 730), there lived in Man Se, a country near Mong Mao, an aged couple on the banks of a lake called Nawng Put. They had a son named Hkun Ai, who used to go out daily with the other to guard the cattle as they grazed near the Nawng Put lake to the North of the town of Man Se. Hkun Ai was 16 years of age, and one day a Naga Princess came to him in the shape of a human being and entered into conversation with him. The conversation ended in love and they went together to the country of the Naga dragons. The Princess made Hkun Ai stay outside the town till she had explained the situation to her father, the King of the Dragons. In consideration of his son-in-law's feelings, the King ordered all the nagas to assume human form and the princess and her husband then lived very happily together in the palace which the Dragon King assigned to them. In eight or nine months' time, however, came the annual water festival of the nagas and the king bade his daughter tell Hkun Ai that the naga must then assume their kraken form and disport themselves in the lakes of the country. She told her husband to stay at home during the festival days and she herself went and joined the rest of the nagas in their festive gambols. Hkun Ai cimbed on to the roof of the palace and was discomposed to find the whole of the country and the lakes sound filled with huge sportive naga dragons. In the evening they all assumed human form and went home again. The princess found Hkun Ai very downcast when she came back and abruptly asked him what was the matter with him. He replied that he was home-sick and wanted to see his old father and mother again. Accordingly they went back to the country of men and arrived at Nawng Put Lake. There the Naga Princess told him she would lay an egg from which a child would be hatched, and this he was to feed with the milk which would ooze from his little finger whenever he thought of her. If ever he or the child were in danger, he was to strike the ground three times with his hand and she would come to his aid. Then she laid the egg and went home to the country of the nagas. Hkun Ai covered over the egg with hay and dead leaves on the bank of the Nawng Put lake and then went home to his parents, to whom he related all his adventures, but told them nothing about the egg, of which he was very much ashamed. They were in great joy at his return, but they noticed that every day after his meals he went away to the lake.

So one day they followed him secretly and found him nursing a child in his lap on the brink of the lake. Then he told them that this was his son by the Naga Princess and how he had hatched the egg under dry leaves (tung). So they called the child Hkun Tung Hkam and took him home with them and brought him up. From the day when the child entered their house they thrived and prospered and they became great people in Man Se.

When Hkun Tung Hkam was 15 or 16 years old, Sao Wong Li was King of Meiktita (Mithila is the classical name for Mong Che, which to the Shan means rather Yunnan than the whole of China. The Meiktita here referred to, notwithstanding the title Sao Wong-Ti (Hwang-Ti, the Emperor of China), is evidently Yunnan-sen and not either Peking or the Meiktita of Upper Burma), and he had a daughter, the Princess Pappawadi, 14 or 15 years of age, who was very famous for her beauty. There were so many suitors for her hand from all the countries of the earth that the king had a golden palace built for her in the middle of the lake near the town and hung up in it a gong. He then announced that whoever got to the palace dry-ship without the use of bridges, boats, or rafts and struck the signal gong should have the princess to wife. Hkun Tung Hkam heard the news and marched from Mong Mao with a large following. He found the lake surrounded with the camps of kings and princes who had come to sue for Princess Pappawadi and were holding great revelry, but had not devised means of getting to the golden palace. Hkun Tung Hkam went to the edge of the lake in the evening and struck the ground three times with his hand. His mother, the Naga Princess, appeared and made a bridge across the lake with her body, over which he walked and appeared before the princess Pappawadi. She was greatly struck with his bearing and they immediately fell in love with one another and struck the signal gong. Sao Wong Ti had brought them to his own palace and there asked Hkun Tung Hkam who he was and whence he came. When he was told that the mother of the suitor was a daughter of the King of Nages and his father a descendant of the ruling house of Hsen Wi Kawasami, the country of white blossoms, he was much gratified and the marriage ceremony was carried out immediately.

Then Sao Wong Ti, with all his ministers, marched back with the newly married couple and built a great palace for them to live in Mong Mao, and the town where the palace was built was called Tung Hkam. In the year 125 B.E. (A.D. 763) Hkun Tun Hkam and the Princess Pappawadi became governors of the country and they had a son named Hkun Lu, who was elected king (Thamada Min) upon the death of his father, Hkun Tung Hkam, in the year 197 B.E., after a reign of 72 years. Hkun Lu reigned for 80 years and was succeeded by his son Hkun Lai as Thamada Min in the year 277 B.E. (A. D. 915). Hkun Lai reigned for 36 years and died at the age of 87 in the year 313 B. E. (A. D. 951).
province of Siriwilata Maha Kambawsa Sengni Kawampi.

After the death of Hkun Lai the country was left without a ruler for five or six years and all the eight Shan States agreed to be bound and governed by the decisions of the elders of the ruling family who remained. These were the four Hao-mongs; Hao-Mong Htao Lek of Ho Tu, who was elder brother of Hao-Mong Hkun Kang of Mong Ton and Hao-mong Kang-hawp of Hsen-Se, who was uncle of Hao-Mong Kang-hawp Wing Tu.

To these four the people rendered their homage with presents of gold and silver and other precious articles every two or three years.

The names of these eight Shan States under the four Hao-mongs were:

On the East

Mong Mao, Mong Na, Mong Hon, Mong Htate Se Hpang, Mong Wan, Mong Ti, Mong Yang, Mong Kawn.

On the West

Mong Leng, Mong Kung Kwai, Mong Kawng, Mong Yantare, Lampalam, Mong Maaw.

On the South

Mong Hsi Paw, Lai Hka, Keng Hkaw, Mawk Maaw, Mong Pawn, Yaw Hwe, Sam Ka, Mong Kung, Keng Tawng, Mong Nai, Mong Si, Nawng Wawn, Hsi Kip, Mong Pal.

On the North

Mong Ting, Mong Ching, Mong Lem, Mong Lon, Kung Ma, Mong Mong, Mong Him.

All these States rendered homage to the four Hao-mongs.

In the time of the first Maha Thamadamins, Hkun Lu and Khun Lai, the boundaries extended to Mong Lo, Mong Hi, and Mong Ham in the banks of the Mekhong. There was there a Chief named Hkun Lu, who had many sons overned under him in the province of Keng Mai. The four Hao-mongs found the burden of affairs very great and, therefore, on the eighth waning of the fourth month (March), in the year 316 B.E. (A.D. 954), they went, with representatives of the people, to the Chief of Mong Hi and Mong Ham, on the frontier of Mon La in the province of Keng Mai, on the banks of the Mekhong, with presents of twenty-one viss of silver and three viss of gold and other valuable articles, to ask Hkun Lu Hkam to give them his sons for their governors. The Chief consented and gave his five sons, Hkun Tai Hkam, Al Hawn, Hkun Hkam Sen, Tao Hla, and Wi, to and Hkun Hkam Hsen, together with eight others of different parents, Hkun Hkam Pawng Hpa, Hkun Hseng Pawng, Hkun Tao Hseng Hkam, Hkun Tao Ao Kwa, Hkun Tao Nga Rung, Hkun Hpa Wun Ton, Hkun Tao Lu Lo, and Hkun Pan Hsaw Long, all of them descendants of the house of Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, to go with the Hao-mongs and to be rulers over the Cis-Salween States. Accordingly they all returned together and arrived at Mong Tu in Hsen Wi on the day of the full moon of the seventh month (June) of 317 B.E. (A.D. 955).

In the following year the four Hao-mongs summoned all the people together to receive their respective rulers and then they and Sao Hkun Tai Hkam appointed them as follows:

Hkun Tao Ao Kwa was appointed Sawbwa of Mong Nai, Keng Hkam, Keng Tawng, and Mawkmai, as far as the Siamese borders.

Hkun Tao Hseng Hkam was appointed Sawbwa of Yawng Hwe, Mong Pawn, Hsi Hkaw, Htao Tung, Maw Lai Myaw, Nawng Wawn, Lai Sak Sam, Yaung Yang, and Mong Pal.

Hkun Tao Nga Rung received Mong Mao, Mong Na, Se Hpang, Mong Wan, Mong Ti, Mong Hkao, and Mong Kawn.

Hkun Hpa Wun Ton received Mong Tin, Mong Ching, Kung Ma, and Mong Mong.

Hkun Tao Lu Lo received Mong Ham, Mong Yawng, and Mong Hkattr.

Hkun Pawng Hpa received Wing Hso.

Hkun Hseng Hpa received Mong Kun Kwoi and Lampalam.

Hkun Pan Pso Long received Mong Kut, Mong Long, and Hsaw Hsai.

Hkun Hkam Hsen received Keng Lao, Man Maw, Keng Leng, Mong Yang, and Mong Kawng.

Tao Hkun Wen became Sawbwa of Mong Yawng, Mong Yin, Mong Maw, Mong Tai, and Mong Ham.

In the year 319 B.E. (A.D. 957) Sao Hkun Mai Hkam appointed his son Hkun Al Hawn to be the governor of Mong Tu, with his headquarters in Hsen Wi town, and in the same year Sao Hkun Tai Hkam and his son Sao Hkun Hkam Hsaw Hpa proceeded to establish the city of Hsen Se, which was to be the capital of all the Shan States, where State affairs were to be settled.

The newly appointed chiefs then left Hsen Wi Hsi-hsao, Hsen Wi Hso-an-wu, Hsaw-pa-tu, Hsaw-mo, the country of white blossom, in the province of Siriwilata Maha Kambawsa Kawampi and went to their respective States, where they built towns and palaces.

Mong Hsi Paw, Mong Hko, Mong Lao, Lawk Sawk, Mong Nawng, Mong Sang, Mong Lon, Mong Mong, Mong Khun, Lai Hka, Mong Peng, Mong Hsaw, Mong Hu and Mong Pat were declared to be under the direct control of Sao Hkun Tai Hkam of Hsen Se.

Mong Se Memong, Mong Maw, Mong Hiam, Mong Ya, Mong Ko, Mong Wan, Mong Kek, Mong Si, Mong Hka, Ko Kang, Mong Paw, Mong Lawng were placed under the direct control of Hkun Al Hawn of Mong Tu in Hsen Wi.
Mong Yuk, Mong Tiat, Mong Mao, and Mong Nai were placed under the direct control of Tao Hkun Wen of Wing Nan Mong Yin.

Tao Hkun Wen of Mong Yin had a son named Hkun Tao Pa Pawng, and Hkun Tao Pa Pawng had a son named Hkun Tai Pawng. Hkun Tao Pa Pawng died under the reign of his father.

The History of Mongmit, Keng Lao, is as follows:—The Sawbwa Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa had three sons Ta Ka, Hku Yi Awng, and Hkun Sam Hso. Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa appointed the middle son to be governor of Mong Yang (Mohnyin), Mong Kawng (Moguang), and Man Maw (Bhamo).

Hkun Hkam Pawng Hpa of Kare Wing Hso died without issue and consequently his ministers applied to Sao Hkun Tai Hkam of Hsen Se for a ruler and Hkun Sam Hso, the youngest son of Sao Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa, was appointed.

Hkun Sam Hso also died, but left a son Hkun Ting, who succeeded him.

In the year 429 B.E. (A.D. 1068) Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa of Mong Mit and Keng Lao died and his eldest son Sao Hkun Ta Ka succeeded him as Sawbwa and in the following year removed his capital from Keng-lao to Sung Ko (Singu). He had a son, Hkun Kom, who succeeded him on his death in 547 B.E. (A.D. 1165) Hkun Kom had one hundred wives, but none of them bore him a child. He therefore ordered them to pray to the nats for the gift of a son. One night a nat appeared to him to hold pines for seven days and seven nights on the banks of the Nam Kiu (the Irrawaddy) with all his wives and all of his people. Gold dust would come floating down the river and, if one of the queens swallowed this, she would bear a son. Hkun Kom told his dream and made arrangements for the holding of the seven-day feast. But a very violent storm burst and the river rose in flood and Hkun Kom and his queen returned to the town without seeing any gold dust. On: queen with a few attendants remained behind and kept a careful watch. Her servants found a strange fruit floating on the river and she ate it and went back to the palace. In a few months she was delivered of a child. But the other queens were jealous and dropped the baby over the palace wall and told the mother that it was still born. The baby did not die of the fall, so the queens had it placed in the middle of the road where the cattle were daily driven past. Next day when the cattle were let out, a large spotted cow protected the child, took it up in her mouth, and carried it with her to the grazing-ground, where she fed it with her own milk and took it back with her every night to the cattle pen. This went on for eighteen months and then the queens discovered that the child was not dead, but went to the fields every day any when any man came near, hid itself in the mouth of a large spotted cow. They therefore resolved to have all the spotted cows in the country killed and persuaded the doctors to tell the Sawbwa that it was necessary to sacrifice them to the nats, in order that he might have a son.

The spotted cows were all slaughtered, but the protector of the little prince had handed him over to the care of a cow buffalo, with whom he now stayed. When the queens heard this they determined to kill all the cow-buffaloes, but the one who watched over the prince fled to Kare Wong Hso and joined the herd that belonged to the Princess I Pawm, the daughter of the Sawbwa of Kare Wong Hso. The princess heard of it, questioned the boy, and was told everything. She went and told her father, Sao Hkun Ting, who said that the Sawbwa of Sung Ko (Singu) was of the true line of the Maha Thamadamin and that therefore, since the little prince had been riding on a buffalo, he must be called Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam and must come and stay in the Hwai with him.

The news soon came to the ears of Sao Hkun Kom of Sung Ko and he sent his ministers to bring back his son, whom he received with great delight and acknowledged as his heir. Soon after the Golden Buffalo Prince married the Princess I Pawm and the Thagyias came down from the skies and presented him with a double-edged sword.

Tales about the prince spread abroad and reached the ears of Sao Wong-ti (Hwang-ti) is the title of the Emperor of China, as used in Treaties and in reference to deceased sovereigns, like the Latin Divus, who sent an Embassy to invite him to the Gem Palace in China. Therefore the prince went there with a great retinue in the year 663 B.E. (A.D. 1302). The emperor received Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam with great honour and proposed that he should go as an emissary to Hshapadi, the King of Pukam Pawk Kan (Pagan), to demand the payment of the tribute of four elephants, eight viss of gold, and eighty viss of silver which had been paid by his ancestors every three years or every nine years. One hundred Chinese therefore accompanied Hkun Yi Hkam on his return. Fifty of these stayed with him in Sung Ko and fifty went on to King Hshapadi of Pukam Pawk Kan. The King of Pagan refused to pay the tribute, put forty of the Chinese to death, and sent back the remaining ten to the Sha Wang-ti that he was prepared for war. Upon this the Emperor of China sent an army and asked for support from Sung Ko under the command of Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam. Contingents came from Se Hpang, Mong Hko, Mong Hkam Mong Yang, Mong Na, Santa, Mong Ti, and Mong Wan, and all the other Shan States under the Chief Sawbwa, Sao Tai Pong, and placed themselves under the leadership of Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam. It was in 639 B.E. (A.D. 1277), (there is a mistake of twenty-one years) that Sao Wong-ti declared war against Hshapade, King of Pu Kam Pawk Kan. The Chinese forces with the Shan army invaded Pagan and drove the King and his son Hisir Kyawzwa to Pyama Mong Myen. (See Marco Polo's Kingdom of Mien. Male was the place, according to the Burmese histories). This was in the year 641 B.E. (A.D. 1279) and in the following year Hkun Yi Hkam carried the head of Hisir Kyawzwa to the Chinese Emperor, and the troops returned to their own country.

In those days Sao Tai Pong governed the whole of the Shan States except Mong Mit, Mong Yang (Mohnyin), Kare Wong Hso, Mong Kung Kwai Lam, Mong...
Kawng (Mogaung), and Man Maw (Bhamo), which were independent of him and were governed by Sao Hkun Kom af Sung Ko.

In the year 318 B.E. Sao Tao Nga Run left Hsen Wi and began to develop Mong Nam and Mong No and lived in the town of Wing Mao of Mong Mao as the Sawbwa of these States. Sao Nga Run had a son named Hkun Tum, who was chosen by the people as their Sawbwa after the death of his father and subsequently took the name of Sao Hom-Mong. He had a daughter named Sao Mon La and a son named Sao Kaw Leng. In the year 419 B.E. (A.D. 1057) the King Nawrahta Mangsaw of Pagan went up to Mong Wong in search of the five relics of Buddha, and on his way back he stayed at Mong Mao and Mong Nan and met the Sao Hom-mong there and married his daughter Sao Mon La.

The descendants of Sao Hkun Nga Run failed in 457 B.E. (A.D. 1095) and Mong Mao was left without a ruler for some time, but the ministers went to the Sawbwa, Sai Tai Pong of Hsen Se, and asked him to appoint someone. He accordingly sent them his youngest son, Hkun Hpaing Hkam, who left Hsen Wi in 458 B.E. (A.D. 1096) and went to Mong Mao, where he built himself a capital at the town of Wing Wi. It was during his reign that one of the younger daughters of the Sao Wong-ti of the Gem Palace in China was killed in her own chamber by a huge tiger. The Chinese followed up the tiger's tracks and sent notices to the Sawbwa of the Shan country on both banks of the Nam Kong. The tiger measured twelve cubits high and travelled so fast that he passed through three mongs in the days and seven mongs in the nights. He crossed the Chinese frontier and came to Mo Kang Hso in Mong Loo territory. The Sawbwa of Mong Loo then devised chain traps along the banks of the Nam Kiu (the Irrawaddy; evidently the Salween is meant). The tiger was thus caught in an attempt to jump across the river at a place which has ever since been known as Ta Wu Kiu-hso-wen, from the tiger's leap.

(continued)

THE PARROTS SHE HAS BRED

ANONYMOUS

(16th century Nursery Rhyme)

Translated by Kenneth Ba Sein

Five little parrots
The maid has bred,
Under the wicker cover:
Soon—one will fly
To perch on the mountain-edge:
One to the mountain's base
Will descend:
One on the mountain crest
Will sleep:
One will cross
The mountain-top:
And—one, yes—one!
With the fair young maid
And her beloved
Will stay to talk the human tongue:
The little parrot the maid has bred,
Unceasingly will chatter,
Babbling, prattling,
Prating, jabbering,
Non-stop like rice-pounding:
This fair maid's companion
Since young, is verily
A gentle, genial little bird!

Wicker cover—A high, conical, open-work cover of bamboo with an aperture at the top, used to catch fish or cover poultry.
THE people took the tiger (in the South Hsenwi Chronicle it is said to be a white tiger) to the Sawbwa of SamparAli in Mong Lon, and he sent it across the Nam Kiu to his cousin, the Sawbwa Hkun Hpak Hkam. They went by way of Man Kat, Mong Po, Ho Ya, and Mong Sit and called at Kalo, Man Se, La Hseo, Ho Pok, and Loi Kyu and so arrived at Mong Li (these places are all in Hsen Wi, so that the Nam Kong, the Salween, and not the Nam Kiu, the Irrawaddy, is meant). Hkun Hpak Hkam heard of the coming of the tiger and sent his minister to meet it at Mong Li and bring it to Wing Wai. Hkun Hpak Hkam took it himself from his capital to the Sao Wong-ti, who was greatly pleased and presented Hkun Hpak Hkam with a State seal and also with a Passport Seal, which authorized him to tax all who passed through his country, and he also conferred on Hkun Hpak Hkam the title of Governor of Mo Pong Hse Pong (this no doubt the name Mu Pang by which Hsen Wi is known to the Chinese and an allusion to the Chinese Seal, which was used by the Sawbwa of Hsen Wi). The South Hsen Wi version says that nine Hsit-hte (publicans) came with the seals and established nine tolls at different places in Hsen Wi and collected duties, a portion of which were sent to the Sawbwa of Mong Lon because he caught the tiger. Hkun Hpak Hkam, on his return from China in 470 B. E. (A.D. 1108), moved his capital from Wing Wai to Nam Paw, South of Hpak Hkam in the country of Mong Mao, and there he built a large town and made it the capital of all States (this is no doubt the ruined city of Hpak Hkam near Se Lan on the Nan Paw). Hkun Hpak Hkam ruled over Mong Mao, Mong Wan, Mong Na, San Ta, Mong Yi, Mong Ham, Se Hpak, Mong Kwan, Mong Ya, and Mong Hkat-ta-raj. He had four daughters named Nang Ye Hkam Long, Nang Ye Hkam Leng, Nang Ye Hseng, and Nang Am Aw, but he was growing old and he had no son to succeed him. He therefore prayed daily to the Yokka-so nat that he might have a son. One day he entered the chamber of his youngest queen, who was so discomposed by his sudden arrival that his suspicions were aroused. Accordingly a watch was set on the queen's chambers and one night the guard announced that the Yokka-so nat was with her. An attempt was made to capture him, but the nat settled on the palace roof and told the Sawbwa that he was the spirit of the last Sawbwa, Sao Hom-mong, and would give Hpak Hkam a son, but only if he fell down and worshipped him in the shape of the shoe which he threw down.

Instead of worshipping the shoe, Hkun Hpak Hkam turned the queen out of the Palace and she wandered about begging her food from door to door until one day she gave birth to three sons on the banks of the Nam Paw, at the foot of a bill.

They were named Hkun Ai Ngam Mong, Hkun Yi Kang Hkam and Hkun Sam Long. The first of these died in his infancy, and when the Sawbwa died, Hkun Yi Kang Hkam was too young to succeed. There was some doubt as to the appointment of a successor, but a vision appeared to the Chief Minister in the night and revealed to him that the second Princess should be chosen, her elder sister was betrothed to Sao Wong Kiang, who lived at Keng La O in China. Accordingly in the year 489 B. E. (A.D. 1127) Princess Ye Hkam Long was appointed ruler and ruled a city, which was called Wing Nam I Mi of Nam Paw, the Paw river.

Meanwhile in Sung Ko the Sawbwa Sao Hkun Kom was dead and was succeeded by his son Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam, who died leaving no issue in the year 670 B. E. (A.D. 1308). The Ministers therefore went to Hsen Se to ask for a ruler and the Sawbwa Sao Long (Tai Long) gave them Sao Hkun Hpo Hsang Kang to rule over Mong Mit Sung Ko. He had four sons Hkun Tai Hkon, Hkun Tai Hkat, Hkun Tai Yao, and Hkun San Awa. Sao Hpo Hsang Kang only reigned two years and Hkun Tao Hkon was elected by the people as his successor. He had a daughter and a son named Ye Hkon and A Pu Hkam.

When Sao Long Tai Pong, the Sawbwa of Hsen Se, had appointed Hkun Hpak Hkam, his youngest son, to be Sawbwa of Mong Mao in 458 B. E. (A.D. 1096), he himself gave up the Sawbwa-ship to his second son Sao Hkun Tai Long and went into retirement. He lived sometimes in Mong Mit Sung Ko, sometimes with his son Hkun Hpak Hkam in Mong Mao, and sometimes with Sao Hkun Tai Long in Hsen Se. He died in Mong Mit Sung Ko at the age of three hundred and died in 468 B. E. (A.D. 1106).

During the reign of Sao Hkun Tai Long, Mong Na, and Mong Yin were annexed to the State of Hsen Se, which was then the chief of all the eight Shan States. These were at this time:

Hsen Wi, Tung Lao, Lai Hka, Keng Hkam, Wang Kawk, Nawng Wawn, Hsi Hkik, Hsa Tung, Maw La Myeng, Mong Nai, Mong Him, Kung Ma, Mong Mong, Hsi Paw, Mong Kang, Keng Tawng, Hsa Hsu Tawng, Mawk Mai, Wawng Hwe, Sam Ka, Yan Kong, Pu Kam, Mong Lon, Mong Ting, and Mong Ching.

Sao Long Tai Long appointed Sao Tai Paw to the charge of Wing Nan and Mong Yin. Tai Paw had three sons, Tao Noi Che, Tao Noi Myen, and Sau Pan Noi.

Sao Hkun Tai Long reigned for one hundred and twenty-three years and died in the year 670 B. E. (A.D. 1308).

His grandson Tao Noi Che was chosen as his successor by the
people and reigned for forty-two years and died at the age of seventy-three. Sao Hkun Loi Hsen Hpa, a son of Sao Pan Noi, was then elected by the people to be Sawbwa of Hsen Se.

In Mong Mao, while Princess Ye Hkam Leng was ruler of the State, the two children Hkun Yi Kang Hkam and Hkung Sam Long lived with their mother at a village Kay Maw at the foot of Loi Lao and grew up at cultivators. One night the Yok-ka-so nat appeared to Hkun Yi Kang Hkam and told him that, if he wished to prosper, he should go and remove a large stone which he would find to the north of his farm. Below it there was a seal which he was to take home with him. Next day Hkun Yi Kang Hkam took his brother, and the next day they went and found the seal, which they took home with them and gave it to their mother for safe keeping. From that day they prospered and became wealthy.

Nang Ye Hkam Leng reigned for sixteen years and died in 514 B.E. (A.D. 1152) and the ministers then chose Hkun Yi Kang Hkang to be Sawbwa of the Mong Mao country.

He assumed the title of Hso Hkam Hpa because one day a tiger had tried to bite him, but was driven away by the sound of his voice. He first built the town of Wing Se Hai, but in 516 B.E. (A.D. 1154) he moved from there and built the town of Sung Ko. He doubted the present Se Lan, the Cheills of M. Elia) and fortified it with strong walls and deep moats. When he had established himself there he summoned Hkun Tai Paw of Mong Yin, Tso Noi Che of Hsen Se, and all the rulers of Hsen Wi States to make their submission to him. They flatly refused, so he gathered together an army and invaded Wing Nan, Mong Yin, and drove out Hkun Tai Paw and his three sons. They fled to Wing Ta Pok in Hsi Paw and from there made terms with Hso Hkam Hpa and gave him the Princess Nang Ai Hkam Hpawng in marriage.

In 517 B.E. (A.D. 1155) Hkun Kang Hkam Hso Hkam Hpa summarily beheaded the brothers So Tai Hkun, Sao Tai Hkai, Sao Tai Tao, Sao Tai Ting, and Sao Hkam Awn of Mong Mit, Keng Lao, and Sung Ko to submit, but they killed seven of his messengers and sent back the other three to bid him defiance. Hso Hkam Hpa therefore attacked them with a large army and defeated them. Sao Tai Hkton refused to surrender and was executed at Sung Ko. The others submitted and Sao Tao Hkai was appointed Sawbwa by Hso Hkam Hpa, first of Sung Ko and afterwards of Mong Mit also.

Hso Hkam Hpa carried off Sao Tai Hkton's wife Nang Am Hkawng, with her daughter Nang Ye Hkong and her son Ai Pu Hkam, to Mong Mao and proposed to marry her but his mother forbade it, because they were cousins. Hso Hkam Hpa therefore gave her to a Paw Mong, Tao Kang Mon, who had been prominent in the war.

In the year 520 B.E. (A.D. 1118), Sao Hso Hkam Hpa gathered a large army and marched against the Se Sung-Tu of China. (The South Hsenwi Chronicle says that the Chinese had attacked Sz Ran, but were driven back.) While he was away his ministers invaded Kung Ma, where they captured the Sawbwa and put him to death at Tima. Hso Hkam Hpa conquered the Se Sung-Tu and advanced to Mong Se Long (this is the Shan name of Yunnansen: Sung-tu is no doubt the Tsung-tun or Governor-General of Yun-Kuei) with a force of four hundred thousand men. Thereupon the Sao Wong Ti enquired what he wanted and surrendered Mong Se Yong, Sang Mu, and Aw Pu Kat, and this ended the war with China in a 521 B.E. (A.D. 1159). As soon as he reached Sz Ran the Sawbwas raised another army and invaded Lung Sang, Keng Hsen, Keng Hung, Keng Tung, La Song, La Pang, La Hkong, Mong Hwung, and Hpaesa Tawng, east of Keng Mai, and conquered them all, and demanded an annual tribute of twenty-four viss of gold, three-hundred viss of silver, and twenty-two elephants, which was agreed to. Then he marched up to Hsip Hwang Panna of Mong Yon, which was without resistance, and then he returned to Mong Mao, where he heard that his Chief Minister Tao Kang Mon was dead. He appointed Hkun Pu Hkam in his place and gave him the title of Tao Kang Mong and made him Sawbwa of Mong Tu. About the same time the Sawbwa Sao Tai Paw sent a present of gold and silver and asked for the hand of Nang Ye Hkun for his son Hkun Sau Pan Noi. They were married and had a son and daughter named Noi Hsen Hpa and Nang Hom Mong.

After this Hso Hkam Hpa ordered an army of nine hundred thousand men to march against Mong Wehsali Long (Assam) under the command of his brother Hkun Sam Long (this is the Sam-Sung Pha of Elias) and the ministers Tao Hso Han Kai and Tao Hso Yen. When they reached Wehsali Long, some cowherds reported the arrival of the army from Kawsumi, the country of white blossoms and large leaves and the ministers submitted without resistance and promised to make annual payment of twenty-five ponies, seven elephants, twenty-four viss of gold, and two hundred viss of silver every three years. Hkum Sam Long accepted these terms and commenced the march back. The two other generals, Tao Hso Yen and Tao Hso Han Kai, sent out messengers to Hso Hkam Hpa with a story that Hkun Sam Long had obtained the easy submission of Wehsali Long by conspiring with the king of that palace to dethrone Hso Hkam Hpa. The Sawbwa believed the story and sent poisoned food to his brother, which Hkun Sam Long ate at Mong Kong (Mogaung), where he died and was transformed into a nat.

About the same time Nang Hkam Hsau, the wife of Hso Hkam Hpa and daughter of the Sawbwa of Mong Long, left him owing to some quarrel and went to China, where she gave birth to a son named Ai Pu Hkam, who married and had a son named Ai Pu.

In 562 B.E. (A.D. 1200) Hso Hkam Hpa ordered another expedition against Mong (Burma) and gave the command to his two sons Sao Sau Puen Hpa and Sao Ngok Kok Hpa, together with the General Tao Hso Yen, Tao Hso Han Kai, and Tao Hpa Prao, who invaded the country and first of all captured Wing Takawng (Tawang). The ruler of Tawang fled Wing Hsaching (Sagalin) and put himself under the protection of Sao Yun, who was called also Hsato Ming-nya. The Shan army advanced on Sagaling and Hsato Ming-nya fled immediately and was followed by Sao Hlaiapadi of Takawng, whom they put to death. The Shan troops then crossed the Nam Kiu (the Irrawaddy) and took Pin Ya and its
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Ruler called Nalasu, whom they termed off as prisoner to Mong Hkan, to where he was afterwards called Mawpamying. It was in the year 563 B.E. (A.D. 1210), that Hso Hkan Hpa's army conquered Burma. (The dates and facts are hopelessly wrong here).

Two years after this Chinese fortune-teller came and settled in Wing Seran and became notorious. Hso Hkan Hpa sent for him and asked him to show his wisdom.

The fortune-teller said the capital was to be moved from Seran to a place three miles north of Nam Mao (the Shweili), where a capital would be found built on gold and silver fields. Accordingly Hso Hkan Hpa began building a new capital at a place called Ta Hsup-u in the year 566 B.E. (A.D. 1204) and while it was being built many gold and silver pots were found there, where they had been placed by the fortune-teller.

(This new capital was no doubt the present Mong Mao, the manuscript is not at all clear, but the meaning seems to be that the desire was to persuade the Sawbwa to move the capital to the Chinese side of the river. According to Ney Elias's version the Chinese sent down a party of 130 mules loaded with silver. This was scattered about among trees which surrounded the site of Mong Mao. The sequel of the story is not given in this case either, but the inference is that the Chinese wanted the people to cut down the jungles round Mong Mao, so that they might attack it the more easily.)

Sao Hso Hkan Hpa was a very powerful ruler and he obtained the submission of the following States and received tribute from them to the end of his days:

Mong Se-yung, HsangMu-kwa Hsi-pa tu-hso (query: the Chinese Tusu), Mong Hkon, Meung Yawn, Kawi Yolara, Hpa-hsa Tawng, Labon, Lakawn Lang Sang) this is what the Burmese called Leng Zeng and is no doubt the Chinese Lan-tsing; it was probably Wing-chang (Vienchan) or Luang Prabang, whichever was for the time the new State of the Lao. Luang Prabang has outlasted Wing Chang as capital, Wang Kawk, Mawk Mai, Hisp Hsawng Panna, Keng Hung, Chen Kang, Hsang Hsen, Cheng Mai, Pii-ko (Pegu), Pang-ya (Pinya), Eng-va (Avva), Hsa Tung, Van-kong, Maw Lam-yen, besides Hsa-ching (Sagaiu), and Wehsai Long (which is almost certainly Assam, with a Buddhistical name, Weisai). He reigned for fifty-three years and died at the age of seventy-three in the year 567 B.E. (A.D. 1205) and was succeeded by his son Sao Hso Pem Hpa, who assumed the title of Sao Hso Peam Hpa and reigned for two years and was succeeded by his son Hkun Ta Peam Hpa, who assumed the title of Sao Hso Wan Hpa. He was a tyrant and was put to death by his people for his cruelty and oppression.

Hkun Ngok Chyo Hpa was then brought up from Mong Eng wa (Avva), and became Sawbwa under the title of Sao Hso Sung Hpa, but died insane in about six months' time in the year 571 B.E. (A.D. 1209).

The country then remained for a time under the administration of the ministers Tao Hso Yen, Tao Hpa Praw, and Tao Hso Han Kau, while enquiry was made as to what had become of Nang Kang Hkam Hsau, Hso Hkan Hpa's queen, who had quarrelled with him and gone to live in China, while great with child. The reputation reached Mong Se Yung-song (probably Yung Ch'ang) and found that the queen was dead, but had left a son named Hkun Pu Hkam, who had a son Hkun Pu Kaw (called Ai Pu above). Hkun Pu Hkam was offered the Sawbwsah, but he refused it and suggested his son Hkun Pu Kaw, who was accordingly elected and on his accession in the year 636 B.E. (A.D. 1274) assumed the name of Sao Hso Hom Hpa and took up his abode at Wing Ta Hsup U (the modern Mong Mao).

In the following year the new Sawbwa summoned all the tributary chiefs to his capital, but they refused to come.

An army therefor was despatched under the command of Sao Hso Yen, Tao Hpa Praw, and Tao Hso Han Kau and it overcame the States of Man Maw, Mong Yang, Mong Hkon, Mong Kung Kwa, Limpuan, Karou Waun Hso, and Mong Yang. A garrison under Tao Hpa Praw was established at Mong Yang and another under Tao Hso Han Kau at Mong Akong.

While these things were happening, Sao Hso Hom Hpa, the Sawbwa, ravished several women in the town and seduced the wife of the minister Tao Hpa Praw. Upon this the Sawbwa Tao Kang Mong of Mong Tu, with a force under the command of Tao Hpa Praw, marched on Wing Ta Hsup U and drove Sao Hso Hom Hpa out of the country and he fled to Mong Nan in Mong Se (Yunnan) and put himself under the protection of the Sao Wong Ti. This was in the year 638 B.E. (A.D. 1276) and at the same time the Sawbwa Tao Kang Hpa appointed his son Sao Hso Yip Hpa to be Sawbwa of Mong Mao.

At the time (it was really more than two centuries earlier) Nawratha Mong Saw of Pu Hkam went to China in search of the five relics of the Buddha, and on his return journey he visited the Song-Tu of Mong Mao (the capital at Yunnan). By the advice of the Song-Tu, Sao Hso Hom Hpa told his story to Nawratha and was referred to the Emperor of China. Accordingly he went to the Song-Tu with a present of four elephants, four viss of gold, and forty viss of silver, and petitioned to be reinstated in Mong Mao. The Emperor thereupon send five hundred men, with reinforcements of three hundred thousand from Mong Se, under the command of the Governor-General, Wang Song-ping to reinstate Sao Hso Hom Hpa in Mong Mao. Tao Kang Mong offered to submit and made a present of eight elephants, eight viss of gold, and forty viss of silver, which was accepted, but shortly afterwards Sao Hso Hom Hpa, with a party of Chineses and soldiers surprised him while he was smoking opium and put him to death. Upon this his son, Sao Hkun Hkam Tep Hpa, with all his men fled to Man Kang in Mong Kyt and Sao Hso Hom Hpa became Sawbwa again in 641 B.E. (A.D. 1279), Hkum Han Tep Hpa retreated before the Chinese and settled at Keng Pa in Keng Tawng, near the mouth of the Nam Teng, which is a tributary of the Nam Kong (the Salween). The Chinese, however, pursued him here also, so he collected a number of men and attacked them and drove them back as far as Mong Tu, where there was considerable fighting.

The Chinese asked for reinforcements and Sao Mong-ti sent them, but afterwards, when he was informed that the Nam Mau (the
Shiwelii was the boundary between Mong Mao and Hsen Wi, he ordered hostilities to be stopped and in 645 B.E. (A.D. 1283) recalled the General, Wang Song-ping, to China. Sao Hso Hom Hpa remained as Sawbwa in Mong Mao and Sao Hkun Tep Hpa returned to Hsen Wi and removed his capital in the year 648 B.E. (A.D. 1286) from Hsen Wi to Loi Song Mong Kung, where he stayed for a year and then moved to Loi Long Pawng Nang. In 650 B.E. he moved again to Wing Ta Puk in Hsi Paw and built a large town there and assumed authority over all the Shan States, including Hsa Tung, Yan Kong, Maw La Myenq, Wang Kawk, Hpa Hsa Tawng, Hsip Hsawng Panna, and Mong Pai. His queen was a daughter of the Sawbwa, Sao Sau Pan Noi, and Nang Ye Hkon and he had five sons, Hkun Ai Long, Hkun Hkam Pen, Hku Hkam Pot, Hkun Hkam Hom, and Hkun Hkam Wat and a daughter Nang Hpa Long Hom Mong. He appointed his eldest son Hkun Ai Long to be Sawbwa of Mong Yaw during his life time, and after a reign of fifteen years died in the year 765 B.E. (A.D. 1403). His son Hkun Hkam Pen Hpa succeeded him as Sawbwa. He removed to Mong Hko and remained there for two years and then shifted his capital to Mong Keng. Where he died in the year 767 B.E. (A.D. 1405) without leaving issue. His brother, Sao Hkun Hkam Pot, succeeded him as Sawbwa of Hsen Wi. He had two sons, Hkun Hkam Hseng and Hkun Hkam Wai, and then moved to Hsen Wi and took over the territory. He died there in the year 770 B.E. (A.D. 1408) while removing his capital from Mong Keng to Wing Hkam Kai north of Se U. In the year 771 B.E. (A.D. 1409) Meng Pu Hkam (the King of Pagan) raised an army and invaded Hsen Wi. In the same year Meng Kyawzwa became the king of Ava and joined Meng Pu Hkam in the attack on Wing Hkam Hkai Kai. In the year 780 B.E. (A.D. 1418) the two countries signed a treaty and the Burmese returned to their own territory. According to the South Hsen Wi Chronicle this is the date of the overthrow of Hsen Wi. Sao Long Hkam Hkai Hpa had three sons—Hkam Hwii, Hkam Yawi, and Hkam Lat. Hkam Hawt was ordered to remain in the capital with his father, but was appointed Sawbwa of Wing Hkum. Hkam Lat was appointed Sawbwa of Kung Ma. On the death of his father, the second son Hkam Yawi became Sawbwa and moved his capital to Wing Leng.

He had a son and daughter—Hkun Wat and Nang Han Hkot Saw—and in the year 806 B.E. (A.D. 1444) Hkun Wat succeeded on his father's death and moved the capital to Hsip Hlo Se U, on the banks of the Nam Tu (the Myitnge). His sister, Nang Han Hkot Saw, was carried off and married by the King of the Nagas.

Sao Hkam Wat reigned fifteen years and was succeeded by Sao Long Hkam Hpa Hpa in the year 821 B.E. (A.D. 1495). In his time the Hsip Hsawng Panna rebelled against his brother, who was in charge and Hkam Wat marched there and restored order and also visited Mong Yon, Mong Ping and Keng Ma, where he discovered an image of Buddha and carried it off to Wing Se U. (The South Hsen Wi Chronicle says that the expedition against Chienmai was made under orders from the King of Burma and adds that Hkam Hpa Hpa captured the Chief of Chienmai, Saphe Hsawng, Mong, also known as Parashi Heng-ka, and brought him a prisoner to Hsen Wi). Shortly after his return he shifted his capital to Wing Ai, owing to a famine which prevailed. He reigned sixty-three years and in the year 884 B.E. (A.D. 1518), Sao Long Hkam Hpa Hpa Absn Hpa Kyi of Mong Mit became Sawbwa and reigned for three years. He was succeeded by Sao Long Hkam Hpa Hpa, who was succeeded in five years' time by Sao Long Hkam Pak Hpa. In the year 903 B.E. (A.D. 1541) Sao Long Hkam Hsen Sung became Sawbwa of home and reigned till the time of Mengtara Rase Mong Saw. When that king became ruler of Ava he appointed the nephew of Sao Long Hkam Hpa Hpa of Mong Ko to be Sawbwa of all the Shan States. In the year 923 B.E. (A.D. 1561) Sao Long Hkam Hpa Hpa moved his capital from Wing Se U to Kung Ma and thence to Wing Tawng Kang Se Pak. In this year he reigned only twenty-four years. In the year 932 B.E. (A.D. 1570) Sao Long Hkam Hkot Hpa Hpa succeeded and moved the capital from Se Hak to Wing Se U again.

In the year 953 B.E. (A.D. 1593) during the reign of Nyawng Rap Keng Kyi Kyaw in Ava, the Sawbwa of Hsawng Panna, rebelled and consequently the Sawbwa Hkam Hpa Hpa sent troops to aid the king in suppressing the revolt. They were commanded by Sao Tap Hsawng and he took Long Pawng and captured the Sawbwa Saw Hsa Kau Hpa.

In the same year Mong Ping, Nam Patu, Yawng Hwe, and Nawng Mon rebelled, but were immediately suppressed.

In the year 961 B.E. (A.D. 1599) Hkam Hso Hkam Nan rebelled and seized Wing Se U and held it for a year, but Hkam Hkai Noi Sao Kyu, who at first took refuge in Yotara. Kawi collected men in the Hsip Hsawng Panna and in Yotara (Siam) and drove out Hkam Hso Hkam Nan.

In the year 967 B.E. (A.D. 1605) Sao Kyu and the Hppa of Mong Pawng rebelled against Mengtara Nyawng Sawr. That Prince got reinforcements from Srop Hpa Yasa and from Sao Hso Hm Hpa, the Kyem-mong of Mong Mit, and invaded Mong Pawng and Wing Se U. Sao Kyu Hkam Hkai Noi had to flee, first to Wing Keng Hn in China and from there he was driven back to Kawi Yotara. After his flight the people sent Sao Tap Hsaawng Hkam with presents to the King Mengtara Naying Sarap and he accepted the submission of the country and assumed the administration. This was the end of the history of Hsen Wi Long, the country of white Brokasses and large leaves, in the province of Siril Wilata Maha Kambaw Kawsampi. It had twenty-five rulers, who were the descendants of the generation of Sao Hkun Tai Hkam and were as follows:


(To be continued)
The GUARDIAN

HSENWI STATE CHRONICLE

(Continued from last month)

by

Sir James George Scott

They ruled over twenty tributary States as follows (these are really the names of the various capitals):

Hsen Wi Hsen Se, Wing Wai, U Ting, Mong Mao, Se Hai, Wing Nawng I, Wing Nang Hkai Hkmk Pnwng, Se Ran, Long Kwai, Ta Puk,

Pu Hkm, Nawng Hpo Me, Keng Hin, Keng Lon, Wing Hko, Wing Keng Hkmk Kai, Wing Leng, Wing Ai, Se Hak, and Se U, and maintained their sovereignty for a period of six hundred and one years.

In 968 B.E. (A.D. 1606), after the flight of Sao-Hkm Kyu, Sao Long Mengtara Nawng Sarap and Sao Upa Yasa appointed Sao Hso Hung Hpa, the Kyemmong of Mong Mit, to be the ruler of Hsen Wi Long. He was the son of Sao Hom Hpa, the Sawbwa of Mong Mit, who was a descendant of Sao Long Hkmk Hken Hpa. (The South Hsen Wi Chronicle places the accession of Sao Hso Hung Hpa in 1651, but this must be a mistake and is no doubt due to a miscomprehension of the Shan system of counting by cycles. This is hardly understood now south of the Nam Marn, so Shewlriver. We now know from recent history, where Mengtara Nawng Sarap is called Nyaung Ram Meng by Sir Arthur Phayre, that the Northern Shans were subdued in 1604. The Shan date given here is therefore no doubt substantially correct).

Hsen Wi Long became a dependent State of Mong Man Mong Men (i.e. Burma). Wing Se U was the capital of Sao Hung Hpa and he reigned for thirty-nine years. He had four sons Sao Kyemmong Hso Hung, Sao Hpaya Hso, Sao Hso Hong, and Sao Hsom Huu. The Kyem-mong died in Pai ko (Pegu) and left a son named Hkmk Nawn Nai Hkmk Kaw Hpa. Sao Hpaya Hso died in Ava and Hsom Hpu died in Mong Kawng.

In the year 1666 B.E. (A.D. 1644) Hkmk Nawn was appointed Sawbwa with the title of Sao Hso Hsen Hpa and lived in Wing Se U. He lived there for six years and was then put to death by Sao Long Mengtara and Sao Hso Hung Hpa was appointed Sawbwa. He had two sons Hso Hung and Awk Hkmk and a daughter Nang Han Hpa Hkmk Hong.

Hso Hung Hpa collected an army and invaded Mong Mao, Mong Wan, Se Hpang, Mong Na, San Ta, Nong Kawn, and Mong Ti, and conquered the whole of the States near the Nam Kong which had formerly belonged to Siao Hso Hung Hpa. Wing Se U remained his capital and he reigned for thirty-three years. He was succeeded in 1046 B.E. (A.D. 1684) by his daughter Nang Han Hpa Hkmk Hong, who reigned for four years and died in Wing Se U. The country then remained for nine years without a ruler and then in 1059 B.E. (A.D. 1697) Sao Long Hkmk Hsawng Hpa was named Sawbwa and lived for eleven years in Wing Se U. He then removed his capital to a place called Man Kao Htwe Mong Pang Pnwng and built Wing Ying Tal, but stayed for only twelve months and then built a new capital Wing Pang Pnwng, also called Wing Hsawng Pang Pnwng.

While he was still at Wing Se U, a person named Ku Ma of Lan Sang Mong Yotara (Luang Prabang) came with his family to Hsen Wi Long and settled at Hsawng Pnwng, and built there the Wat Se Kyu, which was afterwards called Hsawng Pnwng Se U Long.

The Sawbwa Hkmk Hsawng Hpa reigned for twenty-three years, eleven years in Wing Se U and eleven years in Wing Hsawng Pang Pnwng, besides one year at Wing Ying Tal.

The names of the Sawbwas of Wing Se U were:


Wing Se U remained the capital for a period of 101 years. Hkmk Hsawng Hpa had four sons—Hkmk Ho, Hkmk Hung, Hkmk Leng and Hkmk Kawk and a daughter named Han Hpa Nang Na Hsawng.

Hkmk Ho, who was born of a minor Queen, Nang Aun, died young, but left a son named Hkmk Li. Hkmk Kawk was the son of the Queen Nam Mong Na, and died in Ava, leaving a son and a daughter named Hkmk Hsawng Hpa and Nang Han Hpa Hkmk Hong. The daughter Han Hpa Nang Na Hsen was the daughter of the Chief Queen Nang Han Hpa Meng Hko Hkmk Long.

Sao Hkmk Li was ordered by the King of Ava to invade Chieng Mai. On his return he was appointed Sawbwa of Hsen Wi and reigned for five years, when he was murdered by dacoits as he was on his way to worship at the pagoda Keng Tayng. Hkmk Hsawng Hkmk Hwaw, a son of Hkmk Hsawng Hpa who was with him at the time, was also murdered.

At the same time the Sawbwa of Meng Kang wished to marry Nang Hsawng Hpa, but she fled to Mong Chhang.

In the year 1076 B.E. (A.D. 1714) therefore Sao Hkmk Leng was appointed Sawbwa. He was a brother of Hkmk Ho and took the title of Sao Hsaawng Hpa. In the fourth year of his reign Kung Ma rebelled against him, and at the same time, his son, the Kyem-mong, Pu Sao Htmwun Lo, also rebelled. He was however, captured immediately and put to death, but very soon, afterwards, on the fourth waxing of the fourth month, his daughter, Nan Hsawng Hsawng Hpa, rebelled and murdered Sao Hsaawng Hpa in his palace in the middle of the night.

She was confirmed in charge of Hsen Wi by the King Mengtara Nanta Yasa and reigned for
years, when she was succeeded in 1650 B.E. (A.D. 1728) by her brother Sao Long Hkam Hng. He married Nang Tu Sum of Mong Mao and had four sons and five daughters. (He is apparently the Hseng Hong of the South Hsien Wi Chronicle, which states that he received his appointment order in Ava and returned to the Shan States by way of Yawng Hwe, where he married Nang Hseng Pu, a niece of the Sawbwa).

During the time of the Sawbwa Hkam Hong the Hwi Meng, the country of the Kwi (this is the country of the Kwe-kia), the Gwe Shang, whom G. Parker places in Madaya, near Mandalay, rebelled, and the King of Burma ordered Hkam Hong to march against them. He sent his son Hkam Wat Hpa, who drove the Kwis as far as O Hpo O Meng and then returned to Hsen Wi. Shortly after his arrival the Chinese army went into revolt. The Chinese in rebellion and seized Maw Pang Hpok and from there threatened to invade Hsen Wi. Sao Hkam Wat, however, drove them from Kyu Wing Ká, back to China. But disturbances caused by the Chinese continued in the Kwi Meng at Maw Pang Yang, and at Mong Pat and Ye La, and Hkam Hong sent another army against them under Sao Mang Ti, who drove the Chinese rebels as far as Hsi Paw, where the Burmese troops fell upon them and captured the Sawbwa of Mong Pat, who was rescued by his own people as he was being carried down to Ava. Ko Hseng Hsi Kang Rase was the General in command of the Burmese troops in the Kwi Meng and he fell in battle there at O Hpo O Meng. Upon this Sao Mang Ti went to the assistance of the Burmese army and fought both the Kwi and the Chinese. While he was still there Sao Long Hkam Hong died at Pang Pawng after a reign of twenty-four years. Sao Mang Ti, his brother, returned in 1151 B.E. (A.D. 1753) the South Hsien Wi Chronicle gives the date as 1750) and was chosen Sawbwa by the people at Mong Mot, when he took the title of Hso Um Hpa, He had three sons named Sao Naw U Mong, Hkun Hseng Yi, and Hkun Hsam Hpo and two daughters Nang Hseng Hlun and Nang Hseng Hikam Mong, who were married to Sao Hkam Ho and Sao Hkam Leng. (The South Hsien Wi Chronicle says that Sao Mang To confiscated all his brother's property and consequently the dowager Nang Hseng Pu returned to Yawng Hwe and gave birth, there to a son called Hkun Nu, who afterwards became Sawbwa with the title of Sao Hswe Cheng. The account given of Sao Mang Ti's reign also differs considerably. The Burmese Government, it is said, persisted in demanding heavy tribute and levies of fighting men from Hsen Wi. Sao Mang Ti built a pagoda and dreamt that, if its spire inclined towards Ava, Hsen Wi was to be always under Burmese authority; if it remained upright, the State was to be independent, but, if it bent towards China, that country was to be the suzerain.

Next morning he found the top of the Pagoda learnt towards Burma. He therefore abandoned Hsen Wi and went to live at Mong Khn in Chinese territory. He was followed there by his son-in-law Sao Hkam Hu, who had been fighting for the Burmese in Karen. The King summoned both to Ava. Sao Mang Ti refused to go and died shortly afterwards in Mong Ka. Sao Hkam Hu went to Ava and died immediately after his arrival. His brother Sao Hkam Leng remained in Chinese service and was active in invasions of Hsen Wi and held the town for three years. Hkun Hseng Awng Tun also commanded a Chinese army and invaded not only Hsen Wi, but also Mong Nai, where he maintained himself for 17 years.

Maw Pang Yang again gave trouble and occupied Nawng Mon Lá-hso. The Burmese sent an army under Bo Hsang Kang, and Sao Mang Ti gave the command of his forces to Sao Hkam Leng and they drove the Chinese out of Nawng Mon Lasheo and then marched down to Ava. In 1118 B.E. (A.D. 1750), while Sao Hkam Leng was in Ava, his wife, the Sawbwa's daughter, took another husband. In the same year Prince Hswe Tawng (Shwe-daung) rebelled and had to take refuge in Hsen Wi under the protection of Sao Mang Ti, where he settled in Ting Yit, but had to remove to Kun Long. Sao Mang Ti supported the Shwe-daung Prince in his rebellion against King Awng Zeya (Alaung-paya) in 1120 B.E. (A.D. 1758) and was driven to Kung Ma, where he built a pagoda, and shortly afterwards died.

Awng Zeya died in 1122 B.E. (A.D. 1760) and was succeeded by Sao Mengtara Nawng Lok (Naung-dawgyi), and in the same year the chief of Kwe Meng again rebelled and established himself in Hsen Wi. A Burmese army under Meng-Kyi, Kyaw Ma Ting, came up and invaded Kung Kang, Mong Pat, and Mong Hko Mong Ka. The Kwi Meng Sawbwa fled to Maw Noi Mong Lem, where he put the Sawbwa to death and settled in Mong La.

Shortly after this the Meng-Kyi, Kyaw Ma Ting, came and established himself in Hsen Wi. He recalled Sao Hkam Pot from Mong Kawn and set him up as Sawbwa, and having brought in Sao Hkam Ho from Se Hpang, took him down with him to Ava.

But afterwards Kung Ma rebelled and the Meng-Kyi returned and drove the Chinese back to Kyu Hsin and built a bridge over the Nam Kong (Salween). In the year 1125 B.E. (A.D. 1763) Sao Hsam Kyap Me Tu (Sinbyushin) became King of Ava, and on the fourth day of the eleventh month of that year he appointed Sao Hkam Leng to be Sawbwa of Hsen Wi and he established himself under the name of Sao Long Hkam Hswng Hpa. In 1127 B.E. (A.D. 1765) troops from Ava came up under the command of Teng Kyaw Bo Myawg, Wang a Bo Meng Kawn and with reinforcement from Hsen Wi under the command of Sao Hkun Hseng Awng Hkun marched to Mong Lem and Hsip Hswng Hpa (Keng Hng). The Sawbwa of these States fled to the Sao Wong Ti, who sent an army from China, which drove the Burmans and Shans back to Hsen Wi. The Chinese army then in the following year 1128 B.E. (A.D. 1766) invaded the whole of the eight Shan States on both banks of the Nam Kong. Sao Hkun Hswng Hpa surrendered to the Chinese General at Mong Myen (Mien Ning), and was brought by him to Mong Pawa, where he was established as Sawbwa with a Chinese title. He reigned for three years and died of cholera soon after receiving his insignia and was succeeded by Sao Hkam Pot.

There was a Chinese Governor at this time living at Tim and Sao Hkam Pot went to see him and was well received and sent, with two
elephants as a present, to live in
Wan Teng.

Hsen Wi was again utterly de-
stroyed and the Chinese General
summoned the States of Mong Myen.
Kung Ma, Mong Ching, Mong Ka,
and Mong Tung to meet him at
Hsen Wi.

But in the first month of the next
year a Burmese army under the
Myauk Wang Bo came up and
expelled the Chinese from Hsen Wi
and drove the Chinese Tajen to
Mong Na and settled in Mong Sa.
But the Chinese' troops under the
Tajen of Mong Wan attacked him
and he retreated to Mong Na and
afterwards to Mong Yek and Mong
Yin.

The Chinese troops then took
possession of Wing Se U, but the
Myauk Wang Bo gathered five
thousand troops and drove them
back and with support from Sao
Hkun Hkam Pot, drove the Chinese
beyond Se Hpang, Mong Ching,
and Kung Ma.

At the same time another Burmese
army marched through Maw Nai,
Mong Lem, and drove the Chinese
from the Hsip Hawng Mong (Keng
Hun).

In the following year, however,
the Chinese Tajen came through
Mong Ko and Mong Si by way of
the Nam Lan and occupied Man
Saw Se U and appointed Wu Kung
Ye Governor of the Shan States,
and drove the Burmese from Hsen
Wi to Hsi Paw and later from
Hsi Paw also. Wu Kung Ye then
went to live in Loi Long. (This
Wu Kung Ye is probably the
Burmese Thukhu Ye and the "Duke
Fuheng, the Manchu Generalissimo,
and Viscount of the Empire," of Mr.
Parker.)

A Burmese army under the Kaw
Bo and the Myauk Wang Bo then
came up and drove the Chinese
from Hsen Wi through the upper
defile of Ho Kiu and then expelled
Wu Kung Ye from Loi Long
(Tawng Fong) and drove him to
Mong Yin, where he died. (Mr.
Parker says 'he reached Peking
only to die there.') Another
Chinese force came from Kang Hso,
but was repulsed and driven back
from Mong Yaw. The Chinese
carried off some Chiefs and one
hundred and thirty house-holds
with them to Ta Ri (Tali-fu) and
kept them there.

The South Hsen Wi Chronicle
gives the story differently, according
to this version, the Chinese General
Sao Wong Kantari came in 1129
B.E. (A.D. 1767) with a large army,
built a bridge over the Nam Tu at
Ta Te above Hsi Paw and placed
garrisons in Hsam Hsai and other
places towards Burma. A Burmese
army from Pegu and Martaban
drove them back to Wing Hkau
Hsan (Lashio), where the Chinese
had a formidable fort. The Burmese
fortified themselves on the south
side of the Nam Yao at Lashio
village and waited until the Myauk
Win Bo marched up through Mong
Lem and Mong Ma and attacked
the Chinese from the east. The
Chinese were then driven from
Wing Hkau Hsan (the ramparts of
which still remain). Then succeeded
a series of Wuns and Sikkes in
Lashio as to which the two chroni-
cles are at variance).

In the year 1137 B.E. (A.D. 1775)
the King of the Mengar Long
appointed U Ting Hpo to be
Sawbwa of Hsen Wi and he remov-
ed his capital to the Nam Yao
near Lashio, and therefore Lashio
was formerly called Wing U Ting
Hpo, after the Sawbwa who reigned
there for seven years and was
succeeded by the Kyaikse Wun,
who remained in charge for three
years and was then replaced by Sao
Hswe Hking of Ton Hkam, who
came from Yawng Hwe. He was the
son of the Sawbwa Hkun Hseng
Hsong. Sao Shwe Hking took the
title of Hso Wai Hpa and moved
the capital to Wing Hsung Pung
Pawng. He reigned for twenty-
three years and died in 1162 B.E.
(A.D. 1800).

(Hsi Paw invaded Mong Tung in
the second year of his reign (A.D.
1780), but was repulsed. The South
Hsen Wi Chronicle gives further
details. King Patung (Bodawpaya)
succeeded Simg Mu (Maung
Maung) in A.D. 1781 and summon-
ed the Sawbwas of Kawsumpi to
his capital. Eight of them went. Sao
Hswe Hswe Cheng did not, and the
other Sawbwas said that he was
preparing to rebel. Sao Hswe Cheng
was therefore arrested by the Set-
taw Wun and the Dambyu Wun
and taken to Ava, where he was
sentenced to death. The Aweyauk,
in whose charge he was, interested
the Queen-mother in the prisoner.
She represented the matter to the
King, with the result that the Wuns
were executed and Sao Hswe Cheng
was restored to his site. This was
in the year before the foundation of
Amarapura and two years before
the arrival of the Arakan image in
boats built specially for the purpose
by the King. During the Sawbwa' reign it is noted that in 1786 the
Sawbwas of Hsi Paw and Mong Loi built capitals on new sites. In 1787
the Chinese sent messengers with valuable presents to Hsen Wi, Hsi
Paw, and Lawk Sawk, and 1788 the Sawbwas of all the Shan States
united to build a fort at Mong Nai because of an eclipse which happen-
ed in that year, while, the year
after, a new hi was mounted on the
Shwe Maw Daw in Pegu apparently
for the same reason.)

The Sawbwas of Mong Mao
Mong Ting, Hsi Paw, Mong Sit
San Ka, Keng Tawng, Nam Hck
Nawng, and Yawng Hwe attended
Sao Hswe Cheng's funeral. He left
seven sons and two daughters. One
of the daughters, Nang Hsen
Santa, was married to the King
Mengara Long and had a son
named Long Mang-lu, but he
died young. In the year 1161 B.E.
(A.D. 1801) the King of Burma
appointed Hkun Hseng Hong, the
eldest son, to be Sawbwa of Hsen
Wi with the title of Sao Hso Kaw
Hpa, in 1171 B.E. (1809), Mong
Ht went against him and four years
later, when he was on a visit to
Mong U, there was a general rising.
He was summoned to Ava to explain
how this had happened and from
there was sent back by way of
Mong Na', Mong Nawng, and the
Kawn Tau, but he died before he
reached his capital. He built a
bridge over the Nam Tu and reigned
for fifteen years and he left a son,
Sao Hswe Pawng, by a Burmese
wife, but the King appointed a
General named Hsir Rasa Hsang
Kyam of Mong Kawan to take
charge of the State, which he held
for three years and then died. He
was succeeded by his brother
Navrahta, who, he
recalled to Ava in twelve months
later. Then, in 1181 B.E. (A.D.
1819) King Patung, (Bodawpaya),
died and his nephew, the next
Burmese King, appointed Sao Naw
Mong, a son of Hso Wai Hpa, to be
Sawbwa of Hsen Wi with the title of
Sao Long Hso Hom Hpa.

He died within the year at Mong
Nai, where he had gone to see the
Sikte, having only reigned five
months (the Southern Chronicle
says two years). The King then appointed
his brother Sao Hkam Kawi with
the title of Sao Long Hso Hmung
Hpa. He was Sawbwa for two
years and died at Mong Nai, whither he had been driven by the
rebels Ching Long Hsung Hko
The deceased Sawbwa left a son Hkun Hseng Mawng Hpo, who joined the Ava army, and Heng Hkam Hong of Man Wa. They fought the English at Rangoon. Heng Hkam Hong was killed in the fighting. The Ava forces took possession of the town.

In 1193 B.E. (A.D. 1831) Sao Hswe Mawng, a son of Sao Hso Hpa, was appointed Sawbwa of Hsen Wi with the title of Hso Wai Hpa. He died in a year and was succeeded by his son Hkun Hseng Hkan Nang, who then died in his way up to Hsen Wi.

In 1215 B.E. (A.D. 1853) the whole State of Ava was very disturbed and the Ava forces were unable to suppress the disorders and disturbances. In that year, the Ava army was sent to suppress them. They were sent to Hsen Wi and they were sent to the Khrong of Hkun Hseng Hson Ta. The Ava army was sent to suppress them, but they were sent to Hsen Wi and they were sent to the Khrong of Hkun Hseng Hson Ta. The Ava army was sent to suppress them, but they were sent to Hsen Wi and they were sent to the Khrong of Hkun Hseng Hson Ta. The Ava army was sent to suppress them, but they were sent to Hsen Wi and they were sent to the Khrong of Hkun Hseng Hson Ta.

In the following year the Ava army was sent to suppress them, but they were sent to Hsen Wi and they were sent to the Khrong of Hkun Hseng Hson Ta. The Ava army was sent to suppress them, but they were sent to Hsen Wi and they were sent to the Khrong of Hkun Hseng Hson Ta.