

From Yunnan to Assam  
—A New Exploration of the History of Tai Peoples

何平 著

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云南大学民族学文库

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——傣—泰民族历史再考与重构

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何 平 著

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## 前 言

当我们跨入 21 世纪的门槛时，对逝去的 20 世纪颇有恋不舍的深情。20 世纪是民族学在云南传播、发展的世纪。50 年代，民族学以扎实可靠的研究成果为云南省的民族识别、民主改革，提供了重要的科学依据。可以毫不夸张地说，云南省民族识别与民主改革的成功，与广大民族学工作者实事求是、认真严谨的科学研究是分不开的。90 年代，民族学为云南民族文化大省的建设提供精神力量、智力支持、人才保障做出了重要贡献。事实表明，民族学在多民族的云南省是一个不可或缺的学科。

云南大学的民族学在为云南少数民族地区的社会改革、经济发展、文化建设等方面做出贡献的同时，学科建设、科学研究、人才培养也取得显著成绩，形成了优良的学术传统。

云南大学民族学科的建设与发展得益于有优秀的学术领导人。方国瑜、杨堃、江应梁三位教授有不同的研究方向与学术特长，在各自的学术领域中都取得国内外公认的成就。作为学术领导人，他们是具有国际水准的学术权威，这固然是他们成为学术领导人的重要条件，但更重要的是他们具有杰出的科学研究的组织能力。他们长期立足于本学科前沿，洞察学科的发展趋势，能够总揽全局，制定正确的学科发展战略，不断开拓出有发展前途的研究方向。作为学术领导



人，他们并没有权势，权势和职位虽然可以带来“权威”，但不能带来智慧；他们的权威在于自身人格的感召力和凝聚力。民族学的研究需要学术上的献身精神，以及对本专业发自内心的挚爱。三位教授坚韧执着的敬业精神和严肃正派的学者风范，以及对本专业学术价值的认识，使一个学术群体自觉自愿地团结在他们周围。这个群体淡泊名利，潜心学问，为学科的建设与发展孜孜不倦地奋力拼搏。其中的每一个人都有对本专业的神圣使命感、一往无前的社会责任感和对自己钟爱的学科的强烈自豪感。

求真务实，严谨治学，不淹没前人，要努力胜过前人，是云南大学民族学学科的优良传统。尽管学术造诣有高低，学术观点有同异，但本学科的成员有一个共同的特点，就是淡泊宁静，甘于寂寞，安贫乐道，以踏实对浮躁，以静穆对喧嚣，以清醒对狂热，以求真对作伪，兢兢业业、勤勤恳恳地把学术一步一步地向前推进。钱钟书有句名言：“大抵学问是荒江野老屋中，二三素心人商量培育之事，朝市显学，必成俗学。”在云南大学从事民族学研究的人大都是钱钟书先生所说的“素心人”。“素心”正是保持高尚人格操守和独立学问品格的基石。失去“素心”，面对精彩纷呈的花花世界，不免心动神摇，趋炎附势，摧眉折腰，急功近利，难以保持卓然高洁的人品。失去做人的尊严，又何谈做学问！

云南大学民族学科在继承优良学术传统的基础上，新人辈出，成果丰硕，成为国家“211工程”的重点建设项目。经过几年的建设，又取得新的科研成果。我们把这些成果汇集起来，以“民族学文库”为名出版。我们希望这套丛书的出版，能为中国民族学的学科建设、科学研究与人才培养尽



绵薄之力。我们真诚地期待学者和读者对这个文库提出建议与批评。任何批评都是我们所热诚欢迎的，因为这正是我们前进的动力之一。

20 世纪在我们眷恋的深情中离去，21 世纪在我们希望的渴求中来临。国内外的民族问题将会是新世纪的热点之一，民族学将在研究民族问题的过程中证实自己的学术价值、开拓自己的学术空间、展现自己的学术魅力，以一批批里程碑式的创造性成果实现新世纪的辉煌。

**林超民**

于 21 世纪第一天

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## 序 言

本书是对今天分布于中国云南和境外中南半岛及印度东北部地区被人们称为“傣—泰民族”（Tais 或 Tai peoples）这个群体中一部分支系的综合研究。傣—泰民族有着共同的渊源，随着历史的发展，古代的傣—泰民族逐渐分化成了傣、老、泰、掸、阿洪姆等新的民族群体，分布在今天中国、老挝、越南、泰国、缅甸、印度等国，形成了一种独特的跨国境分布格局。在傣—泰民族的分化过程中，泰族和老族分别发展成了今天泰国和老挝的主体民族，而傣族、掸族和阿洪姆人则成了中国、缅甸和印度等国的少数民族。

近年来，在泰国、中国及一些西方国家的学者和有识之士的推动下，“泰学”已经发展成了当今世界上的一个热门学科，原先不为人所知的资料被不断整理出来，新的成果也不断涌现，人们对傣—泰民族的历史的认识也不断深化。然而，在这个方兴未艾的“泰学热”中，由于历史和现实的原因，人们的研究重点目前主要还是集中在泰国的历史、政治、经济和文化方面。我国学者虽然在对中国境内的傣族的研究方面取得了不少成果，但是，总的说来，对于西部傣族和境外东南亚的傣—泰民族，特别是对于缅甸掸族和印度阿洪姆人这些傣—泰民族的西部支系的研究还显得十分薄弱。而且，过去这些研究都是分散进行的，即我国学者的眼光主要还是局限于中国境内的傣族方面，对境外与傣族有着亲缘



关系的民族或支系的情况以及国外对他们的研究状况了解不多，甚至毫无了解；同样，国外研究这个民族群体的学者的眼光主要集中在境外傣—泰民族方面，对中国傣族的情况及中国学者的研究状况了解也不多，甚至连有关的中文史籍和文献都读不懂。中国云南的傣族和境外的傣—泰民族，特别是缅甸掸族和印度的阿洪姆人关系极为密切，他们在历史上曾属于同一个民族，且有着共同的经历，甚至在今天有时还被一些人认为是同一个民族。然而，在对这样一些关系极为密切的民族群体进行研究时，我国学者和国外学者还缺乏必要的互相了解和沟通，在研究中往往出现各吹各的调的情况，以至过去的一些问题还未解决，又弄出了一些新的讹误。这在关于傣—泰民族的起源和他们的早期历史的研究方面尤其如此。

因此，对于国际“泰学”研究领域这个薄弱且又存在有许多有争议的问题乃至讹误的环节，必须打破过去那种局限，把傣族和境外傣—泰民族看成一个整体，充分利用国内外的资料和研究成果来对之进行更深入的研究。对中国学者来说，尤其要充分利用国外的资料和参考外国学者的成果，在肯定过去取得的成绩的同时，更要正视这个领域内还存在的问题，以实事求是的态度对这些民族群体的历史重新考察，既要批判以西方学者为主的外国学者在傣—泰民族起源和早期历史的研究中的一些错误观点，也要纠正我们自己过去由于资料的原因乃至政治的原因而导致的一些不符合实际的讹误，只有这样，才能将我国的傣族史和傣—泰民族史乃至更广义的泰学的研究深入下去。也只有这样，才能使我们在国际泰学研究领域中居于主导地位，拥有更大的发言权。



本书最具学术意义、最具特色和最有创新的地方也就是充分利用了目前国内外在傣—泰民族，特别是在中缅傣掸民族和印度阿洪姆人研究方面的最新研究成果和发掘整理出来的最新资料，尤其是近年来发掘整理出的已翻译成汉文的傣族文献和翻译成英文的缅甸掸族与印度阿洪姆人的历史文献，对国内外一些学者在这个领域中的讹误予以纠正，并在此基础上，对傣—泰民族的起源和后来傣掸民族和阿洪姆人的形成及其历史发展提出自己的看法。

当然，本书还仅仅只是一块引玉之砖，所希望的只是能够进一步推动我国的傣族乃至傣—泰民族这个跨国境民族群体的历史的深入研究，最终使我国的泰学或傣—泰学研究走向世界。

何 平

2001年4月于昆明

## Introduction

This book is a study on the origin and the historical development of the Tai peoples in China, Southeast Asia and India.

Actually the term "Tai" for the peoples mentioned above is not accepted by all the scholars without any controversy, some scholars use the term "Thai" to call these ethnic groups, but as the term "Thai" has been used to call the majority people of Thailand or Prathet Thai in most cases, it is easily confusing to still use it to call the whole ethnic groups (sometime including Zhuang and Li etc.) stretching from southern and southwestern China through mainland Southeast Asia to northeastern India, the region where they are living is much more larger than Thailand. Some scholars use the term "Tai" to call these ethnic groups, especially the Tai peoples in southwestern China and mainland Southeast Asia, but in Chinese, the term "Tai" has the similar pronunciation with the term "Thai", the two terms are usually transliterated into the same Chinese character "泰", it is still a confusing word to choose the term "Tai" to call these big ethnic groups rather than the country Thailand, so, in China, most scholars prefer to use the term "Dai-Tai peoples" or "Tai-Dai peoples" to call these ethnic groups, for the alphabet "T" in the term "Tai" is pronounced T by Lao, Black Tai, White Tai and the Tai peoples in central and southern Thailand, they call themselves Tai. The T, however, is pro-



nounced “D” among the Yuan in northern Thailand, Lue and Na, of whom most in China, and the Khun, Yuong in the Shan States, Burma (Myanmar now), they just call themselves “Dai” rather than “Tai” .

In order to avoid confusion, I’d like, on the one hand, to use the term “Dai-Tai peoples”, in Chinese, to call the whole Tai ethnic groups in this region and the terms “Dai”, “Shan” and “Ahom” to call the main Dai-Tai ethnic groups in southwestern China, northern and northeastern Burma, and northeastern India respectively as most Chinese scholars do, although it may be still a controversial choice.

On the other hand, as these ethnic groups not only have the same origin and, in a very long historical course, their own common history and culture, but also have been keeping very close relations till now, especially between the western Dai-Tai peoples, e.g. the Dai-Shan peoples in western Yunnan and northern and northeastern Burma, the relations between them are so close that even the Dai people in western Yunnan are still called “Chinese Shan” by Burmese and the Shan in Burma called “Burmese Dai” by the Chinese near the border today, actually they are almost still regarded as the same ethnic group in some cases although they have been separately ruled by their own master governments respectively in different countries, so I, sometimes, in this book, prefer to use the term Dai-Shan peoples to discuss and talk about the issues concerning their common history.



As the concrete conditions in which the different Tai groups live are different, their fate and status in the course of later historical development are quite different, the Thai, as they are called now, and the Lao became the majorities in both today's Thailand and Laos and built their own national states respectively since modern time while the other branches of them, however, became the ethnic minorities in other states where the other ethnic groups became superior politically, economically and culturally, such as the Tai in Vietnam, the Dai in China, the Shan in Burma and the Ahom in northeastern India.

Owing to the difference of the status of the branches of the Tai ethnic groups in different states or countries, the attention people paid to them respectively is different. In last decades, Tai studies have become a very important subject and fruitful results have been harvested in this field thanks to the efforts by the scholars in Thailand, China and the other countries. Generally speaking, however, the international Tai studies till stay in the stage of Thai studies or Thailand studies rather than the real Tai studies, the studies on the other Tai ethnic groups are far inferior to the studies on the Thai in Thailand. And, furthermore, there are still a lot of problems to be resolved even if in the field of Thai Studies, for example, on the origin of Thai and Tai the agreement has not been reached by the scholars yet.

Reviewing the history of international studies on the whole



Tai ethnic groups, the studies on the western branches of them, e.g. the Dai in China, the Shan in Burma and the Ahom in northeastern India are weaker, although a lot of academic achievements have been gained in the field of studies on Dai in China owing to scholars', especially Chinese scholars' hard work, comparing with the fruits in the field of Thai or Thailand studies, the achievements on Dai-Shan-Ahom peoples in the field of international studies are relatively scarce. Furthermore, unfortunately, owing to different reasons, the studies on Dai-Shan-Ahom peoples, who are very closely related historically with each other, have been being taken separately, the history of Dai-Shan-Ahom peoples as a whole is not quite clear yet and even some mistakes made before by some western scholars and Asian scholars out of China in their articles or books on the issues concerning the common history of these groups have not corrected yet because they have not got or even can not read the Chinese materials and Chinese scholars' articles and books on these ethnic groups, there are a lot of records on the history of Tai peoples kept in many ancient Chinese chronicles!

At the meantime, in China, the scholars' studies on Tai peoples mainly focus on the Dai in today's Yunnan, the materials they used are mainly those written in Chinese, most Chinese scholars studying the Dai have not paid much attention to the other Tai peoples beyond China and the research results on these ethnic groups written by their foreign colleagues in Eng-





lish and other languages till now, so, as a results, not only have some mistakes made by the Chinese scholars before not been corrected yet, but also some new mistakes, in my opinion, appeared in last decades, and worse than all, some mistakes are being inherited by younger scholars in their articles and books now.

This book, therefore, will try, by correcting the main mistakes made by some Chinese scholars, and their foreign colleagues to present my own views on the controversial issues concerning the origin and the historical development of the Tai peoples in Yunnan, China, mainland Southeast Asia and northeastern India, especially on the issues concerning the early history of Dai-Shan-Ahom peoples in today's western Yunnan, northern and northeastern Burma and northeastern India in the context of their history as a whole, and to redraw a true picture of the history of these ethnic peoples. My discussion will focus mainly on these mistakes and controversial issues.

For example, "Dianyue", a kingdom or some ethnic groups mentioned in ancient Chinese chronicles, is regarded as an early Tai kingdom or an early Dai - Shan kingdom by almost all Chinese scholars in their articles and books. "Dianyue" is first mentioned in his Shiji when Sima Qian describes the ethnic groups in western Yunnan: "There is no king amongst the Kunming peoples, they like plunder, and dare kill the envoys of Han at their will, so the road to the west through them had not been opened yet, but it is said that there is an 'Elephant