A HISTORY OF BURMA
down to the end of the Thirteenth Century

by

Than Tun

FOREWORD

It is with fear and trepidation I write this foreword to Dr. Than Tun’s "History of Burma down to the end of the Thirteenth Century". Since I was an undergrad in 1950 Dr. Than Tun has been my mentor. Writing a foreword to one's mentor's work is not very comfortable. One must be able to forget one's emotion for him and one's bias. Even if one is able to do so, one is likely to be accused of being very partial. To be impartial and impersonal is my watchword.

Dr. Than Tun is a Master of Arts and a law graduate of the University of Rangoon. After getting his first degree, he joined the Department of History in the same University, the Department to which he still humbly belongs. Later he migrated to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He submitted his thesis "THE BUDDHIST CHURCH DURING THE PAGAN PERIOD" to the University of London, and he was duly awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. On the merits of his epoch-making thesis he was awarded the B.C. Law Prize for the year 1955-56. The B.C. Law Prize was founded in 1946 by Dr. Bimala Churn Law of Calcutta and is awarded annually to a student of distinction from among those studying such Asiatic languages as Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Burmese and Sinhalese at the University of London. His principal sources were the epigraphs, both in Mon and Burmese, of that period. While in London he read two papers to the School; firstly, "Slaves of Burma during the Pagan period" and secondly, "Administration Under the Burmese Kings during the Pagan period".

There has been a loud acclamation lately that Burma is truly democratic. I certainly do not endorse this view. I am amused. But my sense of humour must be very peculiar. Is there freedom of conviction in Burma? Decidedly no. Dr. Than Tun was pushed out of the Defence Services Institute by the then Defence Minis-
INTRODUCTION

The Writing of Early Burmese History

INSCRIPTIONS provide all the material for writing the Burmese history of the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century. When compared with other countries of South-East Asia, Burma is very rich in inscriptions especially for the period concerned. For our period, there are more than five hundred inscriptions, mostly engraved on stone. Some are written on the walls of the hollow-pagodas (ku). Most of these inscriptions are found in such places known in olden days as Sunaparanta (സുനാപരമ്പറയ്) and Tambadipa (തംബദിപ്പ) which are the lands north of the Irrawaddy and south of the Irrawaddy respectively. (The big river in the middle of Burma runs east to west and hence this northern and southern division.)

In old Burmese these places are called kharuin (കാരുഈ) and tuik (തുഈക്ക്). Kyaukse district has eleven Kharuin and Minbu district has six Kharuin. Kharuin formed the original home of the Burmese people. Perhaps it would be more suitable to call them 'nurseries' because the Burmese expanded their settlements from these Kharuin into tuik later and from tuik into nuinnam (努偃) —the empire. Very roughly kharuin and tuik areas form the Dry Zone of Central Burma and nuinnam extended from Takon (သാകണ്ഡ) and Nachonkyhym (နാചോൻ‌ക്യുഹ്യം) in the north to Taluiinsare (താളുഈൻ‌സാരെ) and Taiaw (тай‌ও) in the south and from Maucchaki (മച്ച‌കി) —the Chin Hills, in the west to Salwan (സലുവണം) —the Salween River, in the east. Burmese inscriptions are fairly distributed throughout this vast country, most of them in the 'nurseries'.

The earliest inscriptions, of our period, yet discovered are the 'seals' of Aniruddha (ංණිරුශ්‍ය). They are all on terra-cotta votive tablets and bear the name of Aniruddha in Sanskrit or Pali (Anuruddha in the latter case). The northernmost place where these seals are found is at the Shwe-in-Tawngaw junction and the southernmost place at Tawante. After these we have Mon inscriptions of Kyanzittha (A.D. 1083-1113) edited by C.O. Blagden and published in the Epigraphia Birmanica. The Ananda pagoda had hundreds of glazed plaques depicting scenes from the Jataka with Mon legends. As a matter of fact, Mon seems to be the official language of the early part of our period. There are also thirty-five tablets from Taungby, east of Ananda, Pagan. Names of some fruits and trees are written on them and judging by the script and spelling, they are considered the earliest writing in Burmese. In all probability they must have survived the period A.D. 1113-1174, when Burmans started writing their own language using Mon script. The Tatkal Pagoda Inscription (Pl. 12, A.D. 1192) gives us a good example of the script, spelling and style of old Burmese. The script originally belongs to Pallava (Conjeeveram) of South India. Inscriptions became more numerous towards the end of the Pagan Dynasty. Rubbings of these inscriptions—over five hundred altogether, should be taken first. Then they should be deciphered and transcribed. When this is done, another important part of the strenuous work is to card-index faithfully the material that they afford. Once this is completed, one is ready to write the history. (The Burma Historical Commission is now collecting the rubbings of inscriptions found in Burma and its collection will soon be complete and ready for scholars to decipher and check the readings with rubbings. Inscriptions of Burma in five portfolios published by the University of Rangoon are the photographic reproductions of the rubbings of over five hundred inscriptions of our period. One should start reading the inscriptions with these photographs and check the readings with rubbings available at the Burma Department, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; the Burma Department, University of Rangoon; the Burma Historical Commission and the Department of Archaeological Survey, Burma. When in doubt, the final decision should be made only after having a look at the inscription stone itself. A book on old Burmese by Professor G.H. Luce will soon be published by the Burma Historical Commission and many of his old pupils are eagerly awaiting its appearance).

Compilers of chronicles were aware of the fact that they should use the material from the inscriptions to check the authenticity of certain statements in the Chronicles written before them. U Kala who compiled the 'Great Chronicle' in about 1720 was the pioneer in this respect: but Twinthin Mahasithu who produced the 'New Chronicle' in about 1790, was the first person to make a serious attempt to check history by means of inscriptions. When the 'Glass Palace Chronicle' was compiled in 1829 eleven inscriptions were used to check the old statements (see GPC pp. 65, 68, 70, 71, 90, 129, 129, 129, 130 and 130) in connection with our period. But their use of epigraphic evidence was very little. None of them had made a real attempt to write the history entirely depending on the inscriptions which the modern scholar considers the only possible and correct method. When Silavamsa wrote the 'Celebrated Chronicle' in about 1520, he had only a few sentences to write on the story of Pagan but U Kala had it enlarged to more than two hundred pages. He used local legends and many Jataka stories for this purpose and evidently these stories have little or no historical value. Why were these stories incorporated? Because of the desire to describe a given episode with a similar and better known story from the Jataka or the misinterpretation of the old records. When two brothers quarrelled and the younger won, part of the Mahajanaka story where the brothers fought is retold. When a son of a junior queen was given the throne superseding the sons of senior queens, part of the Ramayana where Dasaratha appointed a junior son as heir to the throne was retold. mutatis mutandis When they misread or misinterpreted old records, they invented new stories to explain them. The name of a king Thaktawshe—Long Life—was misread Chaktawshe—Long Navel Cord—and as a result, the story that the king, when young, cried incessantly so as to cause inflammation of the navel cord and had thus acquired the nickname of Long Navel Cord (see GPC pp. 106 and 111) is given. Another name Nadaung-mya—Lord of many Ear Ornaments—was
misread Nandaungmya—For Whom It Was Made Many Entreaties For the Throne—and a relevant portion of the Ramayana is retold (see GPC p. 141). Certain unimportant kings would be omitted in the first instance but when inserted again two kings would appear as one and in a wrong place. Thus Man Yan (1256) and Narasingha Uccana (1231-5) became Minyin Naratheinkha of 1171-4 in the Chronicles.

Apart from these mistakes in genealogy and names, we also find that the Chronicles had made grave errors in the history of Buddhism and the history of law and public administration in Burma. Regarding religion, epigraphic evidence shows that (1) Buddhism that Aniruddha introduced from lower Burma was not pure as alleged; (2) the Arana sect was not a debased form of Buddhism as generally believed; (3) it was never officially suppressed; (4) it even prospered during the fall of the Pagan Dynasty; and (5) Bhikkhuni—the female ascetics—were present in the Buddhist Order throughout the period under survey. These discoveries are very important and they are, as everybody knows, just the opposite of what the tradition has to say. But we shall have to bear it in mind that they are facts which have documentary evidence. Regarding law, old Burmans had the right of testamentary alienation of property which a modern Burman Buddhist is denied. The civil code Dhammasac as well as the criminal code seen to have been compiled out of the customary law and practice, not in the early part, but only in the latter part of the dynasty. Regarding public administration, the popular belief that the Huttaw came into existence during the reign of Natohmya (A.D. 1211-31) is absurd. The king, his ministers and judges administered law from Kwan Prok (Variegated Hall) and Kwan Saya (Pleasant Hall). Thus the reader of this history will find very often that some of the time-cherished stories told by the chroniclers will sometimes be either ignored or refuted.

The purpose here is to write the history of medieval Burma entirely in the light of epigraphic evidence.

Sakarac (Burmese Era) and Anno Buddae (Buddhist Era) would be given in Anno Domini (Christian Era, Julian) and the conversion is worked out from the tables by Sir A. Irwin: “The Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A.D. 639-1752”, Indian Antiquary, 1910, pp. 289-315. Old Burmese names are Romanized in accordance with the table given. A new list of kings with identification and corrected regnal years is also given.

**CONSONANTS**

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**COMBINATIONS**

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**LIST OF KINGS**

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<td>?Thihathu</td>
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Fig. 1 — SRI KSETRA — The City of Splendour built in A.D. 638
CHAPTER I

Burma before the Burmans Came

WE KNOW VERY LITTLE about Burma before the Burmans came. Into the country in the 9th century A.D. The earliest people we know of, who at one time lived in Burma, were the Negritos. From the north-west of Burma they moved south and passed into the Malay Peninsula. After them peoples of the Austric family appeared. It was during the 1st millennium B.C. that the Tibeto-Burma group, who were already at the Burma-China border by the middle of the 1st millennium or earlier.

By the use of irrigation, they turned Kyaukse into a cultivable land long before the Burmans came to settle there. They had to stay away from the banks of the great river Irrawaddy because the more militant Pyu (Tircul) of the Tibeto-Burma group, who were already at the Burma-China border by the middle of the 3rd century A.D., had moved further south and occupied the whole river course from Shwebo to Prome.

One urn inscription (Pl. 354a) mentions that Harivikrama (not the founder of the dynasty) died at the age of 41 years, 7 months and 9 days on the 24th day of the 2nd month in the year 57 (A.D. 695).

In plan, the city was almost circular (see Fig. 1) and it used large bricks for its wall. The area enclosed is about 18 square miles, i.e. larger than Pagan. It seems that the northern half was meant for paddy fields and this arrangement was strange. Ordinarily cultivation should be outside the city wall. Perhaps the city was planned to withstand a long siege in times of war.

So to-day, when a person looks for historical sites within the city wall, he should concentrate his attention only on the southern half, i.e. on the south of the railway line which almost bisects the city site. Streets and gates are not discernible now. Present breaks in the wall may or may not coincide with the old gates.

The palace site (Sri Ksetra) has its own wall and moat. A brick platform of 210 square feet seems to be the place where once the palace stood. (Thayettaw—the old museum, is on the south of this palace site and Kyaukka Thein Gon—the new museum, is on its north. Thayettaw Museum is not in use now and its exhibits will soon be completely transferred to the Kyaukka Thein Gon Museum which houses the larger finds of various 'digging' since 1907. Many of the smaller and finer pieces found were sent to the Archaeological Office at Mandalay and to the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

The Maunggan gold plates are at the British Museum—OR. 5340a. The Kyaukka Thein Gon Museum has six great stone reliefs, one with a Pyu inscription together with royal urns and many carved fragments in stones and clay. Images of Gupta style are from the Udeinna Natsin...
Fig. 4—Halingyi, the later Capital of Pyu (8th - 9th Century A.D.) destroyed by Nan-Chao in A.D. 832.
Buddhas and four disciples found at Khin Ba’s mound, we get three more names, Suryavikrama, Suriyavikrama who died in A.D. 688, Harivikrama who died in A.D. 695 and Sihavikramawho died in A.D. 718. The fall of Sri Kṣetra as mentioned in the great Shwe Zigon inscription of Pagan, (Ep. Birm. I, ii, 125) in A.D. 656 is definitely wrong. It must be in the last half of the 8th century that the city fell, due perhaps to the invasions of Cakraw. From the cemeteries, we learn that the Pyu burnt their dead and stored the ashes in urns. Usually earthen urns were for the commoners, bronze or copper for the nobles and stone for royalty. The epitaph would be written either on the urn itself (Pl. 354abcd, see Fig. 2) or on a tombstone (Pl. 357a, Stone 96 of Pagan Museum, see Fig. 3). White pebbles, nails and iron pins, hooks, knife-blades, rods, some ornaments, etc., are often found with the ashes. With the exception of big stone urns of the kings, (one big urn is 38” high with a 26” diameter) an average urn is six to nine inches high. Thanks to these urns, in addition to such names as Harivikrama (Pl. 365a) the founder of Sri Kṣetra, Jayachandaravaranman (Pl. 365a) the founder of Vishnu City, Prabhuvarma and his wife Prabhudev—donors of a gilded silver casket of four

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Fig. 5 a

Fig. 5 b

Fig. 5 c
Encased pagodas which were much more popular with the later age were also to be found then. Small vaulted-hollow-pagodas like Bebe, Laymethna and East Zegu are the prototypes of Pagan temples constructed in the plan of a Greek cross with four halls, a corridor around and a cell with central pier. In these buildings, the Pyu used ‘radiating arch’ and this was passed on to the people of Pagan.

The religious thoughts and beliefs of the Pyu were many and varied. The presence of Vaishnavism is certain, though the presence of Shaivism is doubtful. Mahayanaism also flourished, but Hinayanism was most popular. Extracts from Abhidhamma are found copied on gold plates, and it is a good proof that Pali literature was flourishing in about the seventh century in lower Burma. But curiously enough many of the loanwords in Pali are Sanskrit in origin. The city was also mentioned as Buddhistic by Hsuan-tsang in 648 and I-tsing in about 675. Chinese accounts also mention the Pyu of Halingyi as ‘good Buddhists, peaceful and decorous’.

In language, Pyu was the distant cousin of the Burmese. It was mainly monosyllabic and had a well developed tonal system, using dots to denote them in writing. When writing Pali they used ascript similar to the Kadamba script of western India. But when writing purely Pyu as late as the 12th century, they used the subscript ‘anchor’ Y () which was no longer used in India from the 5th century. Sri Kṣetra fell in the last half of the 8th century and Halingyi rose to become their later capital until it was destroyed by Nan-chao in 832. The same enemies destroyed the Mon in 835. Thus their falls made it easy for the Burmans to enter Burma in the 9th century and conquer the plain. When Burmans settled in central Burma, it seems that the Pyu mixed freely with the Burmese so that they were quickly absorbed.

Suggested References:
8. G. H. Luce: “Coming of the Burmans”, one of the three lectures given at the Annual Conference of the Defence Services, 1956 and privately circulated.

CHAPTER II

City of the Parched Land

BURMANS ARE MONGOLOID by race and their language is akin to both the Classical Tibetan and the Archaic Chinese. They possessed quite an advanced Neolithic culture in about 2000 B.C. In fact they were “equals of the Chinese in civilization” then. Many of their beautiful clay urns with geometrical patterns (see Fig. 9 a,b,c,&d) still survive. Their original home until the contrary is proved, is at the T’ao river valley, some 50 miles south of Lan-Chou, the capital of Kansu Province. They lived in the valley, but they carried their dead to hilltops for burial. One of these graves was discovered by J. G. Anderson in June 1924 (see Fig. 10). It is known as the Pien Chia Kou grave. A skeleton of a man (of about 40 years of age) is found lying on his left side in ahacker position and twelve beautiful clay urns (five of them shown here in Fig. 9) are ranged around it. The people who lived and died in that T’ao valley were supposed to be ancestors of the Burmans. Their occupation was more pastoral than agricultural, because they were known to their Chinese (then called Shang) neighbours as the Ch’iang—western barbarians who raise sheep or goats. These western Ch’iang were often
disturbed by the Chinese who expanded west and therefore they left their original home and moved south. For two centuries they roamed about finding 'no real resting place' until they reached the plains of Burma. During these two thousand years of unrest, they lost most of their Kansu Culture (also known as Yang Shao Culture). Some of them reached the northern Shan states early in the 8th century.

Nanchao, in that early 8th century, rose to become a power to take part as a third party in a series of conflicts between China and Tibet since 663. The western frontiers of China from Kansu to Yunnan were in constant trouble. From their centre at Meng-she, Nanchao made military campaigns in all directions bringing the trouble down to northern Burma, where many tribes including proto-Burmans were living. The proto-Burmans were the P'u, the Wang-chu and the Mang tribes. Their land stretched from the Nmai Hka—Salween watershed in the north to about Hsenwi in the south.

They wore thin red silk turbans, cane bamboo waistbands and blue trousers. They were warlike and many of them were enlisted in the Nanchao army. It was also a time of development for northern Burma. Gold was either mined or washed, amber was mined and salt wells were worked near Myitkyina and Hsenwi. Salt in lumps of fixed weight was used as the medium of exchange.

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Fig. 7. — Pyu type stupa (in relief on the lid of a relic chamber).

Fig. 8. — Bodhisattva and lay devotees—probably Pyu, in high relief found at Halingyi.
Fig. 11. — The Eleven Villages — The First Home of the Burmans in Burma
Fig. 9. — Urns of beautiful geometric patterns made by the ancestors of Burma.
Fig. 10. — The Grave of an Ancestor of the Burmans 4,000 years ago.

CORRIGENDA

Page 11, 2nd Column

1st Paragraph, Line 8
For “with” read “where”

3rd Paragraph, Line 7
For “Nachonkyam” read “Nachonkhyam”

4th and last Paragraph, Line 11
For “few” read “fewer”
ch’en, another kingdom in Burma. They captured Hanoi in 863. In all these campaigns, conscripts of the Pyu, the proto-Burmans and various other tribes of northern Burma and Yunnan had to take part. These wars exhausted the Nanchao very much so that their power declined rapidly towards the last quarter of the 9th century. Taking advantage of this weakness of the Nanchao power, the Burmans came south and entered the plains of Burma. It was a pity that these Burmans who were used to cold highlands and green forests had had no time to get acclimatized when coming down suddenly into a burning lowland of scrubs.

In the plains, Kyaukse district was their first home. They probably entered the district from the south-east by the Natheik Pass and seized the land from the Mon. Their first eleven villages known as the eleven kharuin (§S^cr^8) were spread all over the irrigated part of that place. They were from south to north (1) Pahlay Tuik (c^cS), (2) Tamut (ooSoo^o^), (3) Miasa (ooSoo), (4) Ranun (oo^c8), (5) Mrankhuntuin (oo^c8^oo^c8), (6) Panan (oo^c8), (7) Tamut (ooSoo^o^), (8) Santon (oo^c8^oo^c8), (9) Makkharā (w^g^8), (10) Taplaksā (oo^c8^oo^c8), and (11) Khamhù (oo^c8) (see Fig. 11). The last village is actually the Mon settlement. Next they crossed the Irrawaddy and settled in the Salin-Sagu area of the modern Minbu district. This area came to be known as the six kharuin of Mapinsaya Lekaing and the second home of the Burmans. There was another place called by the name of kharuin and it was Tonplun (ooSoo^c8) on the north of Mandalay. It was from these places that the Burmans spread fanwise and occupied the plains of central Burma which was to become the tuik (ooS^S^)

In the north, the tuik includes the lands between the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy south of Tagaung. From south to north, there were Latuy Tuik (ooSoo^c8), Muchuikhum Tuik (ooSoo^c8), Muchuiphuiw Tuik (woos^c8), Pancal Tuik (ooSoo^c8), and Namsa Tuik (ooSoo^c8). Beyond the Chindwin was the Pankli 10 Tuik (ooSoo^c8). Far up the Yangon was the Tamakha Tuik (ooSoo^c8). On the borders of the six kharuin were Pucaw Tuik (ooSoo^c8) and Munton Tuik (ooSoo^c8). The tuik also included the riceelands of Taungwin and its southern limit was the Prantawā Kiwan (ooSoo^c8^ooSoo^c8) (Kyundaw Island) in the Irrawaddy 4 miles below Myaungmyae (see Fig. 12). The Burmans did not go beyond the tuik at first. It was only in the eleventh century that they conquered the lands beyond and built up the nuiñām (9^8^).

We must bear in mind that when the Burmans came into Burma, they found the country already occupied by various other peoples. In the first instance, Lawa (coo) and Ponlon (9^9^) were almost anywhere on both banks of the Irrawaddy. Rmen or Mon occupied the south-eastern portion of Burma including the Kyaukse district, because they had to leave the Irrawaddy valley to the more warlike Pyu.

When the Burmans entered the Kyaukse district the Mon were split into two and the larger group withdrew south while the remnants went north and settled at the Myitnge-Zawgyi junction (9^9^). It seems that the Burmans could not have any difficulty in occupying the plains because, as mentioned in Chapter II, the Nanchao forces had destroyed the power of the Pyu as well as the Mon in the second quarter of the 9th century. From the northern portion of Shwebo district up to Myitkinya district was the land of Kantù (coo).

The Sak (coo) lived further south and, after the fall of the Pyu, they became powerful in the Dry Zone. A peak eight miles to the south-east of Pagan was called Mount Sakcuiw (9^9^) — the ruler of the Thets. Around Tabayin lived the Saw Kantù (coo). The Kares were in lower Burma and they fell deeply under the Mon influence. The Kakraw (coo), mentioned in old Burmese, were probably one branch of the Kares and they, together with the Ponlon (9^9^) were living in the six kharuin when the Burmans entered it. The Khyan (qc) were left in peace by the Burmans in the Chindwin valley. It was the Maw Shans who drove them up the hills in the 14th century. Thus, with the exception of the Khyan (qc), the Burmans fought with the T'et, the Kadi, the Mon, the Karen, the Shan and the Wa-Palaung and took their lands and turned them into their kharuin and tuik.

While they were expanding like this to occupy the river valleys of the Irrawaddy, the Chindwin, the Mu, the Yaw, the Kyaw, the Salin and the Mun, they must have chosen a place on the Irrawaddy as their ‘advance-base”. But why Pagan in the semi-desert was the choice was a mystery. Perhaps it was within easy reach of all places by the river route. The land around Pagan was known to the Mon as Tattadesa—the Parched Land. It was certainly not a place with much rain as suggested by J. C. Mackenzie in his article “Climate in Burmese History”, JBR5, III, pp. 40-6.

He based his theory on the fact that there were many ‘wet-cultivation’ fields near and around Pagan and he got this information from an imperfect English translation of the Inscriptions of Pinya and Ava published by the government in 1199. Professor Luce says: “So far as I am aware, no paddy-cultivation on more than a very modest scale is mentioned in the old inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Pagan. The traditional date of A.D. 849-50 as the founding of Pagan is too early. But the existence of Pagan was known to its eastern neighbours before the middle of the 11th century. The classical name for Pagan is Arimaddanapura, the Crusher of the Enemies, and the country which it controlled was mentioned in A.D. 1283 as Tambadipa — the Land of Copper. We do not know the meaning of its native name, Pagan. The Mon mentioned it as Pokám, Pukam and Bukam and the Burmese spelled it Pukam (yc^c^c^c^c) or Pukam (yc^c^c^c^c)

The existing walls of the city show that it was not a big city and unlike the Pyu it did not include cultivable lands within the city walls. The city is roughly a square with perhaps no wall on the west as it stands right on the river bank. This City of the Parched Land became the centre of the expansion in the 11th century when Aniruddha became māndera — the chief king of all the Burmans. (Figures I and II are reproduced from Burmese History, III, pp. 40-6. The two maps are drawn after Professor G. H. Luce.)

Suggested References

Fig. 12. — Map of Burma showing Khariun (û³û³) and Tuik (ô³ô³)
A History of Burma
down to the end of the Thirteenth Century
by
Than Tun

Chapter III
Expansion South

ANIRUDDHA popularly known as Anawrahta is in power by the third quarter of the 11th century. Except for the chronicles we have no means of knowing the exact dates of his reign, and the chronicles do not agree with one another. Perhaps we could work it out like this: We know definitely that Thilu Min or Kansisitha became king in A.D. 1084. The Rajakumar inscription gives us that date. He succeeded Man Lulan or Sawlu who reigned seven years. Jatapurii Rajakumar (KoSiskaPOst) is another. Perhaps we could work it out like this. We know definitely that Aniruddha who, Jatapurii says, reigned thirty three years. Thus we get A.D. 1044-1077 as the period of Aniruddha's reign.

Aniruddha was the greatest of the kings of Burma. He was the first to unify the Burmese and extend their control over the plains of Burma. In recognition of his service to Burma, he was known to his successors as the Universal Monarch (Cakravatin — Pl. 912, 94a4, 160a6). But unfortunately we have no evidence to show his greatness except for the pagodas alleged to have been built by royal orders and some terra cotta plaques commonly known as the 'seals of Aniruddha'.

One of the seals shown here (fig. 13abc) measures 5½ x 7 x 2 inches. The obverse has the image of Buddha in relief sitting in the 'earth-touching' pose with a lotus throne under him and a stupa canopy above. He is surrounded by ten stupas and ten sitting Buddhas of the same pose in relief. A beaded frame encompassed all these figures. A legend of Ye dhamma hetupabhava in the Nagari Script was written at the bottom. It means:

The Lord has told us the causation and effect of everything. He also told us the way to annihilate the matter and mind. This is His way.

It seems that the moulds to make these 'seals' were imported from India. On the reverse, another legend of mixed Sanskrit and Pali was written, in rough handwriting, perhaps at the time when the 'seal' was made (see fig. 14). It says:

Desiring that he may be freed from Sarrisara, the great prosperous king Aniruddha himself made this (image of the) Lord.

Note carefully that he used a pure Sanskrit form for his title Sri Aniruddha-deva. In Pali it would be Sāri Aniruddha-deva. The spread of the 'find spots' of these 'seals' throughout Burma supports to some extent the legend that the king was warlike and he had expanded the Burmese empire greatly.

The seals were found at several places around Pagan and they were found mostly at the pagodas alleged to have been built by Aniruddha. They are the Shwesandaw, the Lokananda, the (West) Petleik, the Myinpyayu (not by Aniruddha), a small ruined pagoda near Mingalazedi, the Kyazin (post-Aniruddha), an encased pagoda near the Seinnyet, a site near the Itomi, a site near the Dhammayangyi, and an unknown site near Pagan.

The most important thing, however, is to know the 'find-spots' outside the first and second homes of the Burmese, so that we may infer from these finds, the limits of his empire. So far, the spot furthest north is at the four old pagodas of Nwa-tale Ywazo, a mile from Nga-O on the Shweli River. This place is well known as Tagaung which was the centre of Kantu (Kadu) and therefore we are inclined to think that Aniruddha had forced his way up the Irrawaddy river up to about Katha fighting first against the Kantu and secondly against the Nanchao, who on the authority of Manshu written in A.D. 863, were having an administrative centre on Mo-ling or Chi-hsein Mts. overlooking the plains of the Irrawaddy. This success over a Nanchao fortress in Burma — perhaps below Katha — probably gave rise to the Chroniclers' story that the mighty king Aniruddha invaded Gandharalaj (PAOOCPOAO) and 'tamed' King Udiwra (Sk., Udaya — Lord of the Sunrise). Other seals were found at the Shwezigon pagoda of Tagaung, Sameikshe near Thazi in Meiktila district, Paunglin of Salin township in Minh Ba district, the Bawbawgyi pagoda of Old Prome and the Maung Di pagoda near Sanjwa in Twante township. The seal found at Twante proves that he came south against the Mon and had established his authority over Lower Burma. The seals do not always have the figure of Buddha exclusively. One found near the Seinnyet pagoda has Padmapani (a form of Bodhisattva) in the centre. Some seals have two bodhisattvas (Meitrey and Avalokiteśvara) flanking the Buddha and sitting in the 'pastime' (lalita mudra) pose. These strongly support the fact that the king was not the champion of the Hinayan Buddhism as alleged by the chronicles although he might have taken special interest in the propagation of the Buddhist Religion in both forms.
Of his expansions north and south, the drive south is the more important. The hordes of Nanchao had devastated the plains of Burma in the second quarter of the 9th century: since then, southern Burma was divided under petty chiefs. The Mon were also fighting among themselves. Thaton, Pegu, Ligor (Nagara Sri Dharmaraja), Lopuri (Dvaravati) and Lamphun (Haripunjaya) were all quarreling among themselves. Then the Krom (Khmer) of Kambuja (Cambodia) moved west at the cost of the Mon. This brought about a fresh set of troubles in the 11th century. The Khmer were Shaivites at first and then they became the followers of Vaishnava Buddhism where the Buddha is taken as a reincarnation of Vishnu. This struggle between Sanskrit Shaivism and Pali Vaishnava Buddhism was felt throughout the ‘Monland’. It gave the best of opportunities to Aniruddha who was bent upon conquering other lands. Thaton was under Makuta (Crown of Kings) who was wise and able and had been elected by the people. The chronicles mention him as Manuha. The Krom after conquering the Kingdom of Dvaravati invaded northern Siam and Lower Burma. Lamphun was still independent and an ally of Pegu. It seems that Thaton stood alone while Pegu invited the Burmese to fight against the Krom invaders. With the Burmese help the invaders were decisively repelled. The Mon, however, lost their independence to the Burmese. The King of Pegu submitted himself to a subordinate alliance to Aniruddha but Makuta of Thaton lost his throne and was taken captive to Pagan. He was allowed to retain a semblance of kingship at Myinkaba near Pagan. The Burmese chronicles mention this episode as two separate campaigns, i.e. Aniruddha capturing Thaton in A.D. 1056-7 and Kyanzittha and three others helping the King of Pegu against the Krom invaders; but the Mon chronicles treat these as phases of one campaign. The earliest known record of these events was made in A.D. 1480 by King Dhammaceti (i.e. in the Kalyāṇi inscription of Ramañcippati) whose main interest was the Religion—its rise and development in Burma. Therefore the motive of Aniruddha’s conquest of the south was not purely religious and the religion of Thaton that he introduced at Pagan was not exactly the Theravada Buddhism as alleged. In spite of the popular belief that Aniruddha received Theravada Buddhism from Thaton, archaeological remains there show that there was only a mixed type of Buddhism which was influenced to a large extent by Vaishnavism. There is also evidence to show that the Buddhism at Pagan before the Conquest of Thaton was not a very debased form and that the so-called Ari sect was not in existence then. There are several theories regarding the Ari sect. Some maintain that the term Ari is derived from Ariya and wish to connect them with Tantric Buddhism. They are perhaps misled by the traditional accounts that the Ari practised jus primae noctis (øk. ásççç) and some wall paintings of Nandminnya, Payathonzu and Abeyadana pagodas at Pagan were thought to be obscene. All we can say is that starting with Dhammaceti, people who wrote about the religious works of Aniruddha were over-anxious to give more credit than was his due to the first national hero and in order that his religious achievement might be given a grand setting they gave a very bad picture of the Ari. But we are in favour of taking the Ari as a term that derives from Arannavasi meaning the ascetics who live in seclusion in the forest, at least 500 ta (ôsi) away from any human habitation. These ‘forest-dwellers’, of course, modified that idea and had huge monastic establishments just outside big cities and towns and they grew in number in the 13th century. Their leader was one Mahakassapa who died between A.D. 1272 and A.D. 1278. They were popular and were supported by even the royalty. It is wrong to connect them with Tantricism and we are quite sure that they were never officially suppressed, at least, in the Pagan period. Thus, we must correct the old theories in view of the following facts:
1. That the Burmese were Buddhists long before Aniruddha's conquest of Lower Burma;
2. That the Buddhism he introduced from Lower Burma was not exactly Theravada as alleged;
3. That the Cola (Tamils) for attacking the south was not religious;
4. That the Ari as a popular sect was not in existence during the early half of the Pagan period;
5. That when it appeared in the latter half of the dynasty, it was not a debased form of the Order, even though they may have been unorthodox;
6. That it got a popular support; and
7. That it was never officially suppressed. Like Burma, Siam had 'forest-dwellers' in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The conquest of Lower Burma had two important results of great consequence. In the first instance, the Burmese came into closer contact with Mon culture and thus for the next half century the Mon had a great cultural influence over the Burmese. In the second instance, a direct contact with India and especially with Ceylon, was opened. Vijaya Bahu (Sirisinghabodhi, 1065-1120) of Ceylon was engaged in a desperate struggle with the Cola (Tamils) who were in control of half of the island. Being a Buddhist king himself, he expected help from another Buddhist King across the Bay of Bengal as he took his struggle against non-Buddhist enemies to be of some religious nature. He needed supplies and Aniruddha was not slow in sending them to him in about A.D. 1060. When lightnings were over and Vijaya Bahu had established himself firmly on the Sinhalese throne, he wanted to revive Buddhism in his country. He again needed help from Burma and Aniruddha promptly sent him monks in A.D. 1071 to carry out a religious reformation. Out of gratitude, the Sinhalese king sent him a replica of the tooth relic of the Lord, which he enshrined in the Shwezigon pagoda. These dealings with Ceylon were important as they marked the beginning of a close religious alliance between Burma and Ceylon which was interrupted only for a short while in the reign of Mawawsoy (Kalagya, 1165-74). We must also take note that at this time, it was Burma which helped to purify the religion in Ceylon. This was reversed in later times when Burma had to follow the Sinhalese form in the organization of the Order until the time of Bodawpaya in the late 18th century.

In his imperialistic designs, it is not improbable that Aniruddha also went as far as the Salween river in the east. But we do not think that he ever attacked Arakan. In the south, he controlled the entire delta and he must have had intentions of going further into Tenasserim, because his son continued his policy and left a fine Pali inscription at Mergui (Pl. 548a) proving that he did succeed in getting there. That son, popularly known as Sawlu, was mentioned in the inscriptions as Man Lulan — the Young King. He assumed the regnal title of Sri Bajrabharana — the Victorious Bearer of the Thunderbolt. In the inscriptions of Thilun Man, there was a vague suggestion of troubles in the Burmese empire. There is mention that the enemies took away the people as war captives down the stream (Ep. Birm, I, ii, p.l16, n.11). This is probably a rebellion of the Mons who had been subjugated by Aniruddha nearly three decades ago. This may have been the first time that the Mons rebelled against the Burmese but unfortunately they failed. The chronicles put it down as the Ngayamankan rebellion when the Burmese king was killed and Thiluin Man was popularly elected to succeed him in A.D. 1084.

So far we have seen that the Burmese people, as a young nation, had established themselves firmly in the plains of Burma into which they started to enter in the 9th century. By the middle of the 11th century they became masters of the whole of central Burma. Then there appeared an ambitious and capable man in the person of Aniruddha who was a usurper according to the chronicles. He extended the Burmese empire from the Shweli Valley in the north to the Irrawaddy delta in the south and from the Chin Hills in the west to the Salween valley in the east. He wanted to go further south but he died before he accomplished it. His son carried out his designs and reached Mergui. Then a Mon revolution broke out and the Burmese King was killed. At this crisis the Burmese were very wise in allowing the most capable man of the times to take the helm. Thilun Man was popularly elected king of Pagan and he restored peace and order in the empire.

Suggested References.

N.B. We have great pleasure to announce that in the next two issues we will be publishing Dr. Than Tun's Notes on Burmese Regalia with illustrations.—Ed.
The Burmese Municipality Delegation

Nikolai Bobrovnikov, Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet of Working People's Deputies, gave a reception in honour of the Delegation.

*From left to right: U On Nyunt, U Maung Maung, Nikolai Bobrovnikov and the Burmese Ambassador, U Kyin.*

Professor A. Shabanov, senior doctor of the Botkin Clinical Hospital, gives medical aid to one of the delegates.

The delegates inspect the ambulances of the Hospital.

The delegates inspect the drawing and model of a heavy industry exhibition hall to be built in Rangoon.

Photos by courtesy of the Soviet Embassy.
Upper Burma Diary

I was glad to find on my return journey from Mandalay that the military authorities had slackened their enthusiasm in searching passengers baggage to mere enquiries. When I went up-country a few weeks ago, the train stopped for over an hour in Togyuangdale and in came military personnel in battle dress and fully-armed to look through all luggage thoroughly. In one carriage, they probably suspected the College co-eds returning home of being in liaison with the "communist line" and they were asked to unroll all their bedding. Naturally, no arms, illegal or otherwise were found. In one carriage, a middle-aged scholarly-looking gentleman had all his papers searched. The soldier sieved through all the letters, biding time up against the light and trying his best to read the address on the envelope. I escaped rather lightly, but I was wondering what would be the passengers’ feelings at the time. Even if they could excuse the change as expedient and necessary, yet what would they feel about these personal humiliations?

I calculated the whole business in terms of profit and loss, and I am afraid I came to the conclusion that this aspect of their vigilance constitutes a loss of prestige and sympathy to the Army. I imagined if any letter were to be addressed to Thakin Than Tun, it would not be written under his own name but under a pseudonym. If under a pseudonym, say U Tha Din, his assumed name in the underground, in English, will our illiterate-looking soldier be able to decipher it, I wonder?

Although it is true that this country is suffering from all kinds of maladies, yet it is undeniable that somewhere in the country some construction work is going on. I recalled the "100 days in the Union of Burma", a Russian film when I saw a dam under construction in Upper Burma. I was rather bewildered when I saw the Russian picture and it suddenly dawned upon me that everything was not so bad after all and it was really worth living. It is indeed gratifying to watch the dam under construction, a constructive work against the background of political turmoil and personal recriminations, accusations and counter-accusations of our "leaders" and the generally destructive attitude prevalent in the country.

In one Sub-divisional Officer’s Court I visited, I watched an interesting case playing in the court. The defendant father wore a sad expression on his face, perhaps out of his words trying to find the required forty kyats. After a few questions by the Sub-divisional Magistrate, the defendant asked whether the amount due could not be reduced, and he started bargaining with the magistrate from twelve kyats, slowly rising to fifteen, and to twenty. When the Magistrate told him firmly that unless he paid up forty five kyats (i.e. including the current month), he would be locked up, the defendant gave up his bargaining and pleading unemployment, made arrangements to pay twenty kyats during the next fortnight and the remaining twenty five kyats in the following fortnight. Two features struck me deeply while watching the proceedings. First, the poverty of people to whom a sum of five kyats per mensem means so much. It amounts to 17 pyas per day—less than the cost of a cup of tea in town. Second, the irresponsible attitude and the degeneration of moral standards. I sometimes wonder what can be the solution.

The truth of the word "downtrodden grass" came vividly to light in my visit to a few villages in Upper Burma. They were afraid of everybody—the Army, Police, Civil authorities, Pyusawthys and all kinds of insurgents. In one village, they are now paying all government taxes yet on the other hand they still have to "donate" towards the fund of an organisation who previously levied taxes while they held sway over the land. Of course, there are also a few fortunate villages which escape both taxes—of the insurgents who have just left and the government who have not come in yet. As well, the villagers are afraid to live in any good wooden-houses in case robbers think they are rich. Thus solid timber houses were left to waste and decay with about a quarter of an inch of dust when we moved in for a rest. I sometimes wish there were a law to force all our warring leaders to live in these villages for six months each. The bankruptcy of the leadership of all parties has never been more vividly shown in the villages who furnish the wealth of the country but they themselves live in ignorance and in fear of death, poverty and disease.

T. L.
THE CONQUEST OF LOWER BURMA offered the Burmese an opportunity of having a closer contact with the Mon and their way of life including art, architecture, and religious thoughts and beliefs. Since then these had a profound influence over the Burmese. Thiluwin Man (を与える) made a deliberate effort to introduce Mon civilization to the Burmese who were more vigorous but comparatively less cultured. Culturally the conquerors were conquered. History affords many parallels of such happy results. A large number of inscriptions belonging to the period after Anruddha are in the Mon language. The Burmese learnt the art of writing from the Mon. In architecture, most of the pagodas of that time the Patathamya, Nagayone, Abeyadana, Gubyaukgyi and Nanpaya, are all in the Mon style. The proto-type perhaps goes back to Pyu times but the Mon had developed it so that it became worthy of being copied. A Mon temple is always an artificial cave of one storey with small windows and dark passages leading to an image of the Lord in the centre which is dimly lit by a small hole in the roof (see fig. 19.) There is also another type called stupa like the Shwezigon (see fig 16) which is an improvement on the Pyu type. Thus we are justified in saying that after A.D. 1057, until the time of Cansu II (与える) A.D.1174) the Burmese culture was more or less a copy of the Mon. The period between 1113 and 1174 is one of transition. This adoption of a foreign culture quickened their cultural progress and it was Thiluwin Man who made this possible.

Thiluwin Man or Thiluwin Syan (を与える) was the chief of Htilaing, a village some 30 miles north-east of Meiktila. We must note that it was on the fringe of the Mon area of those days and this partly explains Thiluwin Man's love for the Mon culture. He is popularly known as Kyanzitha, but in all his inscriptions he is mentioned only by his regnal title of Sri Tribhuvanadiityadhammaraj — the Fortunate Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds. He was the first of the Burmese kings to adopt this regnal title and it was followed by almost all the later kings of Burma. According to the Prome Shwesandaw inscription dated 3 June 1093, he belongs to adicca-vamsa — the solar race in paternal descent. His mother is of the 'Bael-fruit stock'. We know this is impossible. It is however certain that he was not a son of Anruddha as alleged. He was a minor chief whose ambition prompted him to try his luck at the capital where he finally became king after many vicissitudes. But to cover up his obscure origin he invented a Buddha-prophecy saying that he was a sage called Bisma (Visnu) at the time of Buddha's death and that with the help of Gavampati, Indra, Bissukarma and Katakarma, he built the city of Sriksetra. After that he passed away to be born again in the 'solar race' and become the famous king Sri Tribhuvanadiya of Arimaddanapura (Pagan). He became king in 1084 and his coronation took place in 1086. This delay in the coronation was due perhaps to a Mon rebellion which broke out even before he was made king. After that was duly suppressed he carried out the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation. When peace was restored, with the help of a mahathera, he administered justice and extirpated heresy.

By heresy, he did not mean non-Buddhist but non-compliance to the tenets of any religion. He tolerated the existence of other beliefs, especially Vaishnavism and Naga worship. Yet he was personally an ardent Buddhist and the principal religion practised in his kingdom was Buddhism. On 3 June 1093, at Prome he issued an order enumerating and recording his meritorious deeds.

Note that this Burmese king issued an order in the Mon language from the old Pyu capital. According to this order, it was he who alone built the famous Jayabhumi, popularly called Shwezigon (fig. 16). He collected and purified the three holy Pitaka which had become obscure, sent men, money and material to effect repairs at the holy temple of Sri Brajastra (Bodh Gaya), offered the four necessities (i.e. shelter, robes, food and medicine) to the monks very often and converted to Buddhism a Coli (Tamil) prince who visited Pagan. That prince in gratitude presented him with a virgin daughter. He dug tanks, made dams and improved the irrigation system in order that the yearly agricultural produce may increase and his kingdom prosper. It also meant an increase in the revenue and the king aroused mass-enthusiasm by holding festivals, shows, etc. in the time of tax paying. He created game sanctuaries as he was a great lover of birds and animals. He built the Mraikan Lake at the foot of Mt. Tuvin to the east of Pagan and the stone library in Mon style near the lake. On 16 April 1098 he caused the repair of Kyak Talan (与える) at Ayethema and the 'great relic of Satith (与える)' north of Taungzun in the Mon country near Thaiton.

After having reigned for seventeen years he felt that he needed a new palace. It was built entirely of wood — this is usual with the Burmese — and therefore nothing of it remains today. We are told
that it was magnificent with flamboyant Makara and Sri pediments. There was a special apartment for prayer where the images of Buddha and Gavampati were kept. The king must have been powerful and wealthy to have the resources to build such a grand palace in a comparatively short time. The building started in December 1101 and it was completed in April 1102. The inscription that records the building of this palace describes the ceremonial aspect in detail and it is interesting to note that a great deal of importance was attached to Vaisnavite rituals and that places of honour were given to Mon notables. There was ‘a mixed ceremonial proceeding under the very eye of the mahathera Arahān’ and the whole affair was left in the hands of the Brahman astrologers who were versed in housebuilding except for 4,108 Buddhist monks who were invited to bless the site by reciting the paritta—a Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Even then the water used for the occasion was carried by the Brahmans and the conch which is the symbol of Vishnu was used to hold the water. This shows that the Buddhism of that day, was much influenced by Vaishnavism though Thiluin Man claimed that he had purified it with the help of Arahān. A Vishnu temple now called Nat Hlaung Kyaung still stands close to the palace site.

He was a good administrator, just and humane and he ruled conscientiously and well. He promised to act as the chief bull ever leading the herd to better and sweeter pastures. He also recognised the ancient rights of all local chiefs. His attitude towards his subjects is beautifully described in the following extract from his Shwezigon inscription.

Of those who were parted from their dear ones, of those who were sick at heart, by a course of benefits, with water of compassion, with loving kindness which is even as a hand, he shall wipe their tears, he shall wash away their snot. With his right hand rice and bread, with his left hand ornaments and clothing, he shall give to all his people. Like children resting in their mother's bosom, so shall the king watch over them and help them.

The King had a son called Rajakumar born of Queen Tiloka-atamsika and why he was not made heir is a mystery. The Glass Palace Chronicle gives this answer. Man Lulan (Sawlu) on the advice of his counsellors recalled Thiluin Man (Kyanzitha) soon after his accession. Thiluin Man left Thambula who was pregnant, commanding her to bring him the child when born if it was a boy. Thiluin Man later became king and married his dauther by another wife to Sawyun, son of Man Lulan. A young prince was born of this union and the king being unaware that he already had a son, made that grandson his heir. The son appeared two years after his accession and therefore he had to be content with a mere governorship. Now, Thiluin Man became king in 1084 and therefore the son appeared in 1086. But we know definitely that the grandson Cansu I or Alaungsithu was born only in 1088. Therefore the above story is not true. It seems that Cansu was made heir not by accident but after careful consideration. To understand this we must go back to the time when Thiluin Man became king. Professor G.H.Luce gives the following suggestion.

The rebel (Nga Ramankan) led an army and warboats up the Irrawaddy and overwhelmed the king at the battle of Prantaŭwa khwan, Kyunda Island above Thayetmyo, where the site is still remembered. He advanced to Myinkaba and besieged Pagan, meantime raiding as far north as Ava. At this moment Aniruddha's chief general, the king of Itilaing, nowadays called Kyanzitha, then in disgrace and exile, was called in as the one man able to retrieve the situation. He defeats Nga Ramankan in a series of battles and drives him headlong.
At the height of the crisis, when the rebel was at the gates of Pagan, what did the Mon royalty do? — Makuta himself and also his son were now dead. From certain later inscriptions it appears that Makuta’s grandson did not side with the rebel, but fled to Mt. Popa with part of the Pagan regalia, the royal boat, meaning to start a rebellion on his own. In approval, the dying king said: Thic a thic a — Well done! Well done!

Cansu I (Alaungsithu) became king in 1113 and had a long reign. His name Cansu is the burmanised Jayasura meaning the Victorious Hero. His other names are Saktawrhan — Long life, Rhuykudayaka — Donor of Shwegu Temple, and Sri Tribhuvanadityapavaramdaraparamaratja — Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law. He left a very important record in the form of a Pali-Sanskrit inscription of two faces set in the wall of the Shwegugyi pagoda of Pagan. Except for the date which is written in Sanskrit, the rest of the inscription is in Pali verse of poetical merit. The dates were given in the Saka Era of A.D.78. The building began on Sunday 17 May 1131 and was completed on Thursday 17 December 1131. The king is alleged to have been a great traveller even visiting places far beyond Burma by land and sea, but we find no mention of his travels in the inscriptions. He probably lived for seventy seven years and died in 1165 and was succeeded by his son Intaw Syan (──) — the Lord of the Royal House, or Kalagya — he who died at the hands of the Indians.

Fig. 18: Sitting Buddha, Ananda. Late 11th century.

down the river of his death. In 1084 A.D. Nanda of Hilaing ascended the throne of Pagan, receiving ceremonial anointing two years later.

If this is true, Thiluin Man must be considered as the most statesmanlike of all the Burmese kings. He used Mon as the official language of his kingdom and with this, he hoped that the Burmese and the Mon would soon forget their racial difference and become a single nation as Saxons and Normans mixed freely and became the English nation. He also used Mon art and architecture for all his religious buildings. The Mon usually had wall-paintings inside their temples with terracotta plaques of relief figures on their exteriors. The Myinkaba Kubyaukkyi, the Nagayon, the Abeyadana, the Alopye, the Pathothamya, the Ananda and the Damarayangyi are examples of this style.

The Rajakumar Inscription, wrongly called the Myazedi, gives us the last scene of Thiluin Man’s life. It was in 1113 and Thiluin Man was on the verge of death. The disinherited son, remembering many great favours with which the king had nourished him, made an image of Buddha in gold, built a ku — hollow pagoda, to enshrine it and dedicated three villages of slaves to it. He then approached the father’s death-bed and reported the meritorious deeds done on his behalf. In approval, the dying king said: Thic a thic a — Well done! Well done!

Fig. 19:

Ananda
Pagoda:
plan, section and perspective.

Suggested References
1. C.O. Blagden: Epigraphia Birmanica, I, ii and III, i.
Chapter V

Burmanisation

IMTAW STAN means the Lord of the Royal House, but the name does not apply to all kings of old Burma as Pharaoh—the Great House, is used for all kings of ancient Egypt. Imtaw Syan here is the son and successor of Cansu I. He was assassinated in that year. His oppressive rule must have been sufficiently long for him to have been noted for treachery, cruelty and injustice. It is also said that he died at the hands of foreigners from Patikkara, in Tipperah north of Chittagong. The Sinhalese chronicle called Culavamsa (Ch. 76) supports the fact that he indeed was cruel and stupid but it goes further and claims that it was the Sinhalese who put an end to his unworthy life. This agrees with a contemporary inscription of Devanagala in Kegalla district, some 10 miles east of Kandy (see fig. 20). The relevant portion of the inscription (lines 15-22) translated says:

On the tenth day of the waxing moon in (the month of) Poson in the twelfth year when His Majesty was enjoying the royal splendour (in the noble city of Pulastiy), Whereas, a person named Bhuvanaditta, lord of Aramana, when reigning, said “We shall not contract a treaty with the island of Lanka”, and whereas, when His Majesty had commanded “Put men on board thousands of vessels, send (them) and attack Aramana,” and Kit Nuvaragali (in pursuance of the said command), had taken by storm a town called Kusumiya and when...for five months, the Aramanas sent envoys saying ‘We shall contract a treaty’...

Here the date is 1165. Just before the monsoon in May and June Parakkama Bahu I (1153-86) ordered a campaign against Aramana i.e. Rainama with its extended meaning including all Burma. The commanders of the expedition were Damiladhikarin Adicca and Kittinagara. Thousands of ships were said to have been used to convey the troops. Kitti took Bassin (Kusumiya) by storm. Bhuvanaditta may have been Pagadagvet but we prefer to identify him with Imtaw Syan the successor of Cansu I.

Culavamsa, the Burmese king severed all trade relations with Ceylon which was especially interested in buying Burmese elephants. He stopped the sale of elephants by asking exorbitant prices and cancelled the old custom of giving an elephant to every vessel bringing gifts. The Sinhalese envoys were no longer entertained as state guests and some of them were imprisoned in Malaya. No Sinhalese vessel was allowed to touch any port of Burma under penalty of death. He also seized a Sinhalese princess on her way to Cambodia. These made Parakkama Bahu I very angry. He decided that the Burmese king must be either captured or killed and assigned the task to Adicca and Kitti. At the port of Pallava-vanka, a fleet of ships many hundreds strong was built within five months. A year’s provision of food and an abundant supply of weapons, including armours and iron-tipped arrows were given. The last were effective against elephants and this shows that the Sinhalese army expected fighting against elephant-troops in Burma. They also expected poisoned arrows from the Burmese archers, and malaria from the swamps of lower Burma which was counted upon as one of the dreaded enemies: they brought with them pincers to extract arrow-heads, antidotes against poisoned-arrow wounds and medicines against infected swamp water. Doctors and nurses formed another important part of the troops. The armada looked like a swimming island. Some were lost in the storms and some drifted away from the marked ports. One landed at Crow’s Island (? one of the Andamans) and took away many captives. Kittinagara, one of the commanders mentioned in the inscription quoted above, landed at Bassin with five ships and devastated the countryside. Adicca, the chief com-

![Fig. 20](image-url)
mander of the campaign, landed at Papphala (not identified) and proceeded to Ukkama (? Pagan) which he took with a surprise attack and killed its king. Then by the beat of drums, he proclaimed a formal annexation of Burma by the Sinhalese. This invasion, though recounted in the Sinhalese chronicle with some exaggeration, seems true. The Burmese sent messengers to the Sinhalese Bhikkhu to intercede and it was perhaps largely through their good offices that peace and friendship was restored after a lapse of nine years.

This interregnum from 1165 to 1174 had a profound influence over the Burmans. The Sinhalese influenced them both culturally and politically and brought about great changes in the history of Burma. Thiluin Man's policy of giving preference to the Mons was set aside. Burmese-Mon kings of his line were ousted from the throne of Pagan and Aniruddha's line was restored in the person of Cansu II, popularly known as Narapatisithu. Mon cultural influence receded giving place to a steady growth of Burmese art and literature under Sinhalese patronage. Vaishnava-Buddhism also disappeared quickly as the Burmans began to favour Sinhalese Buddhism. Nevertheless the Burmans were at this stage advanced enough to absorb a foreign culture and naturalize it as quickly as possible. As a matter of fact a burmanising movement started with full force.

The language of the inscriptions which was formerly Mon now became Burmese. With the change in language came an entirely different style of writing. Burmans used Mon letters but at first they wrote simple short sentences. The following literal translation of an inscription is a good example of the new style.

Fig. 21

Thatpyinnyu: plan, section and perspective, the earliest specimen of the Burmese type of temples.

(Henry Permentier: L'Art Architectural Hindou dans l'Inde et en Extreme Orient, Plate XXI).

Fig. 22: Htilominlo: typical Burmese temple.

(Lu Pe Win: Pictorial Guide to Pagan, Illustration No. 9).

Having built a monastery, I, Uhw, Klaw San, on 11 February 1199 dedicated (to the Religion) three monasteries, two complete sets of monastic robes, two robes, a padesa and a cow. Wheresoever I wander in samsara I wish not misery like hell. May (it) be fulfilled. I wish nirvana at the end of samsara. May all the workers share my merit. I gave a thousand oil lamps, kathina robes, forty needles, twenty jars, four cups, an almsbowl, a bell, twenty khri nhaps. My capital is small; my wants infinite.

The last sentence is remarkable: the lady wanted the best of rewards, with the least of efforts. She gave away a few things in charity and prayed for the boon of nirvana.

There was a change in the architectural style too. Temples of the Mon type had dark interiors while the Burmans used large doorways letting in an ample amount of sunlight. The Pathothamya, Nagayon, Abeyadana, Kyaukkyi (Myinkaba) and Nanpaya are typically Mon while the Shwegugyi, Thambula and Laymyethna (Minnakhtu) are Burmese. This change-over is easily seen in the
Ananda (fig. 19) and Damayangyi which are of the intermediate form. The Shwegugyi and Thatbyinnyu (see fig. 21) are the 'earliest specimens of the Burmese type' which becomes well-defined in the Sulamani, Hititominlo (see fig. 22) Gawdawpalin. For interior decoration, the Burmans had their walls painted as the period of 1165-74 by inserting a borrowing Ananda (fig. 19) and Damayangyi which cation.

23). Mons used pediments over their make their buildings look tall and there­ fore they used 'flame pediments' (see fig. 24). Mons did but they used brighter colours. In outward appearance, they loved to spreading sideways rather than flaming upwards (see fig. 24).

The Burmese chronicles made a grave mistake in trying to explain the interim period of 1165-74 by inserting a borrowed fable of Weluwadi; and her admirer Minyin Naratheinhka was just a fabric­ ation. Manyan appeared in 1256 and Narasingha Uccana was king from 1231 to 1235. The chronicles omit them in their respective places and combined the two names into one and use it as the name of the king who reigned from 1171 to 1174. The order of kings until now should be revised as follows:

(1) Thilain Man (Kyanzitha), a pro­ Mon king who usurped the Pagan throne in 1084 from Aniruddha's descendants.

(2) Cansu I (Alaungsithu), first: Burmese-Mon king who ascended the throne in 1113.

(3) Intaw Syan (Kalagya), second Burmese-Mon king who was assassinated by the Sinhalese in 1165.

(4) An Interregnum of 1165-74 when Mon influence receded and a burmanisation movement set in under Sinhalese patronage.

(5) Cansu II (Narapatisithu), whose ascendency in 1174 marked the restoration of the Aniruddha Line.

Cansu II married a Sinhalese princess called Vatamsika (U-Chok-Pan) and their son Rajasu described his father as 'born in the line of Universal Monarchs, Anuruddhas, was the chief of men, Jeyyasura.' But Cansu II had many other queens, viz., Tonphlan San the South Queen, Macphlan San — the North Queen, Caw Mrakan San the Queen of the Emerald Lake, Caw Alhwan — Queen Paragon, and Weluwati — Queen Gift of Bamboo; and including Fatamikka — Queen Ornament of the Head, there were six altogether. Caw Mrakan San was the most important of them all. She was the mother of Natommya, wrongly called Nantaungmya, who became the next king. Here again we are unable to accept the popular story that Natommya was the youngest of the king's sons and his mother was only a junior queen. The king's whitlow and the queen's tender care of it was another borrowed fable. We know certainly that Natommya was not the youngest son of his father, and his mother topped the list of the queens. His half brothers Rajasu Gangasu and Pyamkhi were his juniors. Their mother being a princess from Ceylon, they thought they had a better claim to the throne than Natommya and though expediency kept the other two submissive, Pyamkhi rebelled when Natommya succeeded the throne and was therefore executed. This refutes another popular story of the origin of Hluttaw. It says that the four elder brothers of the king met regularly to help him in the affairs of the state and thereby they became his four chief minis­ ters and the place where they usually met came to be known as Hluttaw — the King's Council. Now we have epigraphic evidence to show (a) that Natommya was one of the elder brothers; (b) that he had five ministers; (c) that none of these ministers were his half brothers; (d) that they met at the Kwan Prok to administer state affairs; (e) and that not all his half brothers tacitly accepted his ascension to the throne. We will deal with these points in detail in the next chapter.

Suggested References
2. Culavaamsa, II, Chapter 76, pp. 64-70.
8. S. Paranavitana: "Devanagala Rock­ Inscription of Parakramabahu I", Epigraphia Zeylanica, III, vi, pp. 312-25. Figure 20 is Plate 37 of this book.
9. Henri Permentier: L'Art Architectural Hindou dans l'Inde et en Extreme-Orient. Figure 21 is Plate XXI of this book.
10. Lu Pe Win: Pictorial Guide to Pagan. Figure 22 is Illustration No. 9 on p. 25 of this book.

Corrigendum
The last sentence of Chapter IV should be: "Though he lived long, we do not know how and when he died, but we know that he was succeeded by his son Intaw Syan — the Lord of the Royal House, also called Kalagya as he was assassinated by the Sinhalese in 1165":

Fig. 23: Flame Pediments (Gawdawpalin) (JBRS, X, iii, Plate II).

Fig. 24: Mon Pediments (Nanpaya) (JBRS, X, iii, Plate III).

PLATE III. PEDIMENT OVER ONE OF THE WINDOWS OF THE NANPAYA TEMPLE

(11TH CENTURY A.D.) PAGAN.
A HISTORY OF BURMA

by

Dr. Than Tun

Chapter VI

Final Conquest of The North and Internal Affairs.

THE BURMANS ENTERED BURMA through the Northern Shan States. The Hpun who represented the westernmost wing of the movement reached as far as the Irrawaddy where they met the Kantu (Kadu) and were forced to stop at the second defile. The Kantu were supreme in Northern Burma and the Sak (Thet) in the Dry Zone. Thus, when the Burmans established their first and second homes they had to subdue the Sak. This is suggested by the presence of a mount called Sakkhui (Ruler of the Thets) near Pagan and of the title Mahasaktithi (Great Terror of the Thets) being conferred on some ministers by the Pagan King. When they built their empire they had to fight against the Kantu in the north. Aniruddha temporarily occupied Takon (Tagaung) which was also known as Santhway Pran, the capital of the Kantu. This is supported by the fact that we find one of his 'seals' at the Tagaung Shwe-thets (Thet) near Pagan and of the title this marked the end of troubles in the north until the Mongol invasion in 1283. It seems that non-Burmans were used for these frontier services though there were Burmese officers appointed over them.

Natonmya or Naton Sakhin means the Lord of the Ear Ornaments, and the chroniclers misread his name as Nandaungmya — Many Entreaties for the Throne. That was why they had to introduce the fable of the king's whithlow and a junior queen's tender care of it. There is also no truth in the other story of how he came to be known as Htilominlo — The Choice of Umbrella and King. The mistake in reading the king's name, however, was not made by all chroniclers. Such works as Jambudipasucemon, Jambawankhya and Sasasanavacatatam give his name correctly. He ascended the throne on Thursday 18th August 1211 and reigned for twenty years. As mentioned in Chapter V he was not the youngest son of the last king. It is proved by the following episode. During the time of Klacwa a royal commission was appointed to enquire into the authenticity of some religious lands and two of its members, viz., Rosasu and Gansasu were described as manaphathuy — the king's father's younger brothers, i.e. Natonmya's juniors. It has also been explained above that not all his half-brothers agreed to his succession. Singhapian, Pyamkhi and his son, together with the king's son himself (Klacwa) rebelled. But they failed and the two senior princes were executed though Pyakmi's son and Klacwa were pardoned.

The king is also known as Uccana, a name adopted for the first time by a Pagan king. This name probably is derived from Uccanatha — the High Protector. His regnal title is Sri Tribhuvanandisayapavaradhamaraja — the Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law. He had a younger sister known as Princess Acow Mon Lha and in their youth both were tutored by a monk on whom he conferred the title of Dhammarajaguru when he became king. This monk was a native of Molana, a village to the east of Dala in Lower Burma. He was a monk by race, which is not unlikely, it is important to note that Mon still remained teachers and advisers at the Court of Pagan though we have seen that the earlier tendency was to forget all Mon influence.

It was during the early years of his reign that there were succession disputes and frontier troubles. Lakkhana Lakway made himself known as a successful general in the north. In addition to him, the king had to rely much on his five ministers in quelling the rebellions. They were Asakhyya, Anantasu, Asawat, Rajasankram and Caturanagussu. When the troubles were over all of them were handsomely rewarded. They were given 700 pay of land each. The minister Anantasu was Mahasampati — the Commander in Chief, of Natonmya. He left a big monastic establishment at Minnanthu to the east of Pagan. The inscriptions recording his good deeds throw much light upon the social and economic life of those days. They also give us in some detail the life of the big monastic establishments where many casan students, came for Buddhistic studies. The minister Asawat (?Astarithama) was the aslam tan som anat — the Royal Registrar. An inscription left by his widow is of great importance as it gives comparative prices of the various commodities of those days. Another minister known as Rajasankram was a prominent judge of the reign and he became the Chief Minister towards the close of the dynasty. The minister Caturanagussu was also a judge. Judges of the various Courts were K扦athan Mat, Baccrapati, Pathana and Mahaway. These judges were called by the name of sanphama. Of the Bullyrya — the Lower Court, there were Mahasam, Kankaphar, Awinaswa and Narintasu. Sambyan Jeyyapati, donor of the Zeyaput pagoda, East Pwazaw, Pagan, was also an important officer of the reign. The monks of the religious establishment that he supported, had courage enough to oppose the king in 1235 when he confiscated their lands; the king wisely gave in. This Jeyyapati, in one of his inscriptions, gave the exact dates as to when Natonmya and Klacwa became kings. His fellow officers were Satya, Cankray, Krammahpat and Siri Indrapasam. It seems that Sambyan is an officer next in importance only to amatya — the minister.

Since the time of Cansu II, Sinhalese Buddhism had a great deal of influence in Burma. Religious missions were sent to Ceylon taking with them novices to
study in Ceylon and bringing back some Sinhalese theras to start educational centres on Sinhalese lines at Pagan and elsewhere in Burma. All these theras and their disciples wanted the purification of the Buddhist Order on Sinhalese lines, i.e. to promote rigid observances of the Vinaya — the rules of monkhood. In opposition to this camp, Nattonmya’s reign saw the rise of another camp known as ‘forest dwellers’ or arananvati tawu klon. They were not so eager for reforms and they allowed certain lapses in the observance of the Vinaya. From the time of Nattonmya until the fall of the dynasty, this new sect which was in fact the revival of the old practices, became very popular. After Nattonmya they became well organised and therefore well respected under the able leadership of Mahakassapa who originally came from Myinnu in Sagaing district. I think they were the Aran of whom the chroniclers mistakenly spoke very poorly. We shall deal with them in more detail when we come to the next chapter.

Nattonmya was succeeded by Narasingha Uccana. Here again we have to correct another mistake of the chroniclers. They say that Nantaungmya was succeeded by Kyawza. Epigraphic evidence shows that Narasingha Uccana was king in 1231 when he made a dedication sharing his merit with his younger brother Klacwa. Then Klacwa became king in 1235. Another inscription dated 3rd August 1261 is more precise in its statement that Narasingha Uccana was the successor of Nattonmya.

Princess Acaw Lat, daughter of Narasingha Uccana who was son and heir apparent of the great king Sri Tribhavanadityapavavaradhammaraja-dhirajadunapati — the Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Lawa, King of Kings, Lord of Charity. He had two queens both known by the name of Caw. The first Queen had two sons, Singapati and Tryaphya and a daughter Acaw Lat. The second Caw was the mother of Uccana who became king after Klacwa. She came to be known as Phwa Jaw — Grandmother Saw, when her grandson Tarukpliy — King who Fleed from the Taruk, became king. She was a very proud woman and the evidence given by her regarding the royal line is conclusive. In 1272 she said:

The reward of the good deeds thus done by me — may my most excellent husband lord the king, lord of water and land; my son the king; my grandson the king, — may these three kings and all the kings to come hereafter, get it equally with me.

Her husband the king was Narasingha Uccana, her son the king was Uccana, and her grandson the king was Tarukpliy.

Klacwa ascended the throne on 19th July 1235. His mother died young and he was brought up by his aunt. He was also known as Caw Kri. As mentioned above he appeared to be an usurper, and was very ambitious. Though he was not a rightful heir to the throne he had once rebelled against his father Nattonmya but was pardoned. This king made himself king in 1235 and he ruled efficiently. It was unfortunate that his reign was short. There is no truth in the chroniclers’ story that he was a very pious king who took great delight in reading and writing Buddhist works and treatises. When he took the throne there was some opposition. The Minwaing inscription records a rebellion in the year following his accession. It says:

On 9th June 1236 when Sirivadhana sinnera (i.e. rebelled), his elder brother Singaphikram was involved in the sin. Our Lord Cow Kri (i.e. Klacwa) was sitting in the Kwon Peak Nay — the Small Variegated Hall when the wife of Singapikram said: “Your servant’s husband — let him, I pray, be allowed to remain here at Pagam. My slaves, paddy lands, and gardens — I would ask my lord to take them.” (The king allowed Singaphikram) so remain at Pagan (but confiscated his estates).

He also had some trouble with the monks soon after his accession. He was much annoyed by the loss of revenue owing to the great increase of religious lands. Therefore he attempted to confiscate some of them. One record says:

On 19th July 1235 the great king’s son Prince Klacwa ascended the golden mountain and after that all mahadaana lands of up-stream and down-stream he took.

This also implies that he was not as religious as the chronicles said. A few monks raised an objection and therefore the king appointed a commission to look into the matter. It reported in favour of the monks. Thus Klacwa had to relinquish some of his claims over the religious lands. On the other hand tradition also required him to give away lands, etc. in charity soon after his coronation. It was during his reign between 1237 and 1248 that a mission led by Subuticanda and Dhammasiri went to Ceylon for educational purposes. A religious purification movement possibly started in earnest after their return from Ceylon. The most important person of the reign was Mahasannam who was the chief minister as well as the governor of the north with centre at Koncan.

Klacwa also tried to improve administration and ensure peace within his kingdom. An edict dated 6th May 1249 was directed against all dishonest people of the realm. It was to be engraved on stones and put up in every village which had more than fifty houses. It reads:

On Thursday, 6th May 1249 our lord Cawkri (i.e. Klacwa whose regnal name is Sri Tribhavanatityapavavaradhammaraja) ordained thus. Those desiring prosperity in this life and in lives hereafter should obey my words with respect and belief and listen attentively. Because I do not speak in my own words or wisdom but I speak after the words of the most excellent and omniscient Lord.

Kings of the past punished thieves by divers tortures starting with impaling. I desire no such destruction. I consider all beings as my own children and with compassion towards all, I speak these words. That is why I say that my words should be obeyed with intense reverence. Listen to my words with attention because they are spoken after the words of the most excellent Lord. Obedience will give one prosperity, in this life and in lives hereafter without fail. With attention, listen! Do those who live by thieving think that they gain this way? They acquire prosperity by destroying other
people’s villages, wives, children, goods and chattels. Gains thus acquired will be the very cause of their own destruction in the end. Do consider whether these acts are really beneficial or not.

When caught, a thief is to be punished with one or the other of these punishments. He is impaled. His breast is split open with the axe. He is roasted. His intestines are taken out. His legs and limbs are cut off. He is skinned alive from the neck to the hips, so that the skin falls in strips round the body; having the head nailed to the ground by a spike through both the ear-holes and then being dragged round and round by the legs; being pounded till the whole body is as soft as a straw mattress; having the body curled into a bundle and tied with rope; having cuts made all over the body and salt or alkali rubbed into the gashes; having bits of flesh cut off while alive and given to the dogs; being beheaded and wrapped with rubbish and baked alive. These are the punishments that a thief has to suffer.

Besides, in the next existence, he will be cooked in the Tapano hell. In this hell, the whole body, both inside and outside is burnt all day and night without intermission for one hundred thousand years which is the equivalent of ten millions and... years of our human world. When born to mankind again, he is born blind, and will live in great poverty. Great calamities will frequently visit him. I speak these words...

Thus it is essential to lead a good life. As a reward, one will enjoy wealth and prosperity. Make donations and practise piety. In the next existence...

In order to get prosperity, one should not steal but live a life of goodness. May this good deed be an attribute to the attainment of nirvana. May all beings enjoy prosperity. May the rain and wind be also good. May the capital be prosperous.

444 inscription stones must be made. A pavilion is to be built (to shelter each inscription) placed under a grand canopy. All villages without exception must have these inscriptions. Villages having more than 50 houses must have this inscription set up. On full moon days, all villagers must assemble round this pillar with music and offerings. The village headman must wear his ceremonial robe and read aloud this inscription before the assembly. People from small villages where there are no such pillars must come to a nearby big village to listen to the reading of this inscription.

These punishments are described in such works as the Majjhima Nikaya, Anguttara Nikaya and Milinda Panha. The king is traditionally attributed to have written a philosophical work called the Paramathabindu, but we find that he has been translating the terrible and dire punishments as described in the Pal texts. He meant to rule with a firm hand wiping out dacality which was ‘always the curse of Burma’. Thus Kalinga was taken to be the ablest of the later kings of Pagan. Unfortunately he died soon after this and his successor Uccana obviously did not intend to continue his good work.

So far we have seen that the Burmans first settled in the Khorun area viz. Kayauke, Minbu, and part of the Mandalay districts. Then they spread fanwise and established the Tuak which roughly corresponds with the area we call the Dry Zone. After having established these first and second homes, they expanded and built up Nuinnav — the Empire in the 11th century. They took advantage of political dissensions in the south among the Mon and took all the deltaic region together with Tenasserim and went as far south as the narrow of the Malay Peninsula. This gave the Burmans control of the trade route from India and Ceylon to all lands in the Far East. Eventually it led Burma into serious trouble with Ceylon and ultimately the Burmans abandoned their claim to the Malay Peninsula. On the east they went as far as the bank of the Salween river. On the west they did not go beyond the Chin Hills. Towards the north, they fought against the Thets and Kadyus and possibly the remnants of the Nanchoa power. Anuradha’s northern drive was a failure but all his successors tenaciously carried on this policy and the conquest of the north was completed by Natommya who had an administrative centre at Konkan opposite Bhamo with a fortress called Nachonkhyam situated four miles north of it to guard the frontier. The empire thus built enjoyed a fairly long period of peace until the time when the Mongols attacked and captured Nachonkhyam on 3rd December 1283.

Suggested References

A HISTORY OF BURMA

by

Dr. Than Tun

Chapter VII

Rival Sects of the Religion

(PART I)

SASANA is a Pali loan word used by the old Burmese for religion, especially that of the Buddha and for the year of the religion reckoned from the death of the Buddha. There are traces of many other religions besides Buddhism. Of the many types of Buddhism which existed, the one which modern Burmans call the 'pure' Theravada, was the most popular. As a matter of fact, Buddhism in those days was far from pure if we still insist on using the word 'pure'. Buddhism during Buddha's life time would be considered the religion reckoned from the death of the Buddha. There are traces of many religions of the Buddha and for the year of the Buddha's life time would be considered the religion counted from the death of the Buddha and for the year of the Buddha's life time would be considered the religion reckoned from the death of the Buddha.

Unfortunately the Rock Edicts of Asoka (V and XIII) do not mention references to other religions as well. The Three Gems which were called Kula Nat and Ramanna, are also made to Indra. The Naga worship was also performed. Gavampati—a Shaivite deity, was placed side by side with the image of the Buddha. There are also other vestiges of Brahmanic influence at Pagan. The chief icon in the Nanpaya built by Makuta is Brahma. A temple of Vishnu known today as Nathlaung stands next door to Pahothamy. Even in the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the later half of the dynasty we find traces of Brahmanic influence. A village named Lintuin (Linga) mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1235 suggests the presence of a Brahmanic worship at one time. Another village called Kula Nat in an inscription of A.D. 1256 also suggests that the villagers once worshipped an Indian deity. God Mahapinnai, (Mahavinyaka or Ganasa) is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1279. Gavampati is mentioned together with Buddha and his two chief disciples in an inscription of A.D. 1179. These facts enable us to say that Buddhism in the 11th Century was very much a mixture and at least it had to tolerate the popular existence of Vishnavism. After Thiluin Man, the Mon influence receded. Perhaps the Brahmanic influence also receded though such a thing as the Kalasa pot was retained in architectural designs, perhaps until the end of the dynasty.

The Three Gems which were called Ratnakay in Thiluin Man's time became Ratana sum pa in the later period. They were one of their early religious preceptors in Buddhism. Gold leaf manuscripts unearthed at or near the site of Srikseltra strongly suggest that the Pyu's knowledge of Pali Buddhism was by no means slight. One might even assume that Pali Buddhism had thrived at Srikseltra and that after its fall towards the close of the 8th Century the centre moved north to Halinjyi which again fell early in the 9th Century. Thus it was left to the Burmans to foster it a century or two later. It seems that the Pyu and the Burman mixed freely until the Pyu were absorbed. Excavations at the Petlaik Pagoda, which is generally attributed to Aniruddha, revealed some mouldings of older structures beneath. It shows that Buddhism buildings existed at Pagan before Aniruddha and a considerable portion, if not all, of the Burmans were already Buddhists before the said conquest of Thaton. From the inscriptions of Thiluin Mon's reign (A.D. 1084-1112), we know the extent to which Buddhism was modified to fulfil the requirements of the time and how tolerant it was of the existence of other beliefs and practices.

In the great Shwezigon inscription we have the eulogy of the king who shall rule Pagan after A.B. 1630 (A.D. 1086). According to it the principal religion then practised was Buddhism, but there are references to other religions as well. The king professed himself to be a Buddhist, but he allowed himself to be declared a reincarnation of Vishnu. Evidently this is due to the influence of Brahmanism. With the help of Mahathera Arakan, the king tried to restore Buddhism to its original form, that is to say, to have it conform as much as possible to the scriptures. The inscription says that Buddhism prospered but it is interesting to note that orthodoxy went side by side with religious tolerance. To them 'heretical' did not mean non-Buddhist as a modern Burman thinks, but it only means non-conformity with one's own scriptures, whether Buddhist, Brahmanistic or otherwise. The king's religious zeal is also explained in another inscription.

He built Jayabhumi on the northeast of Pagan; collected and made perfect copies of the Pitaka; sent men, money and material to effect repairs at Bodh Gaya; offered the four necessities to the monks often and converted a foreign prince (Cola) to Buddhism. In spite of his religious zeal shown above, his palace inscription of A.D. 1101-2 shows a mixed ceremony under the very eye of the Mahathera Arakan. The whole affair was left in the hands of the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building. The Buddhist monks were invited only to bless the site reciting the Paritta—a Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Even then the water used for the occasion was drawn and carried by the Burmans and the conch which is the attribute of Vishnu was used to hold the water. Although the presence of 4,108 monks is mentioned in the inscription, one gets the impression that the Brahmanas were the more important. They were found leading in every step of the construction. Therefore it is natural to assume that the worship of Vishnu proceeded all important ceremonies. Offerings are also made to Indra, the Naga worship was also performed. Gavampati—a Shaivite deity, was placed side by side with the image of the Buddha. There are also other vestiges of Brahmanic influence at Pagan. The chief icon in the Nanpaya built by Makuta is Brahma. A temple of Vishnu known today as Nathlaung stands next door to Pahothamy. Even in the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the later half of the dynasty we find traces of Brahmanic influence. A village named Lintuin (Linga) mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1235 suggests the presence of a Brahmanic worship at one time. Another village called Kula Nat in an inscription of A.D. 1256 also suggests that the villagers once worshipped an Indian deity. God Mahapinnai, (Mahavinyaka or Ganasa) is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1279. Gavampati is mentioned together with Buddha and his two chief disciples in an inscription of A.D. 1179. These facts enable us to say that Buddhism in the 11th Century was very much a mixture and at least it had to tolerate the popular existence of Vishnavism. After Thiluin Man, the Mon influence receded. Perhaps the Brahmanic influence also receded though such a thing as the Kalasa pot was retained in architectural designs, perhaps until the end of the dynasty.
were Purha — the Lord, Trya — the Law, and Sasana — the Order, and Sasana — the Religion of the Lord, should last for 5,000 years. But to a man like Lord Cakukri, much advanced in thinking than the general, the life span of the Religion would equal that of the earth itself. Princess Acankwram also expected it might stand for a period of one hundred asankheyya (10,000,000,00). Even today in Burma, with the exception of a few people, believe that the Religion would last for only 5,000 years and no more. We cannot blame them as it is a tradition that comes down from the Pagan times. An old Burman, just as his modern counterpart, blindly believed that the Religion would last for only 5,000 years and that it was his duty to support it to the end. To fulfill these duties meant working for one’s own attainment of nirvana. The Religion taught him that nothing in this world is permanent, and that even though one accumulates wealth in this life-time, one cannot buy longevity and when he dies he leaves everything behind. Thus to give away one’s own property in charity in an unlimited and not asankheyya manner would be equal to the creation of the earth itself. The Religion taught him that he would reap the fruits of his good deeds after death and that he would be born a man believing in the Buddhist religion. A such a person must necessarily meet Maitreya to receive a prophecy from his very lips as to the time he would become Buddha and so they were all anxious to meet the Boddisatva. Practising charity, observing restraint and meditating on love and mercy and at home, just as a king with his throne after supper, chews his betel as he listens to the strains of music.

This anthropomorphism of Buddha worship is still preserved in Burma.

Most donors prayed for nirvana with no specifications but I have mentioned that there were also a few who prayed for Buddhahood. Kings did that, e.g. Sri Tribhuvanditya, Thiluin Man, Cansu I and Natommya. Actually all kings styled themselves as purha loka — the future ‘purha’ or ‘purha rhan taw’ — the living Buddha. Some early Burmans and Buddhist scholars too asked for Buddhahood. Such a person must necessarily meet Maitreya to receive a prophecy from his very lips as to the time he would become Buddha and so they were all anxious to meet the Bodhisatva. Practising charity, observing restraint and meditating on love and mercy and at home, just as a king with his throne after supper, chews his betel as he listens to the strains of music.

Trya in its broadest sense means the law and it is not necessarily the law of Buddha. It included all laws — moral, legal or religious, and thus it embraced also the customs, the proverbs, the prescribed conduct for everybody either ecclesiastical or lay as the Sanskrit dharma implied. In the period under survey, trya is used to mean Tipitaka, to mean the sermons, to mean a law suit, to mean the judges themselves and to describe a natural phenomenon such as death, trya is used again as atan may so trya — the law of impermanence. The old Burman therefore used the word trya in connection with all applications of law or discipline ranging from kluiw trya — a petty theft case, to akwart trya — the attainment of nirvana. We do not know the derivation of this very useful word. Perhaps it is the Sanskrit rita sparsened. But if it were to be loaned the more familiar dharma should have been the chosen word. As a matter of fact Mon inscriptions use dharma and it is only when Burmese was used for inscriptions that the phrase buddha dhamma sangha had been changed into purha trya sangha. Trya therefore became analogous with dhamma with only one exception where the dharmasattva — the civil code is retained in its original form up to this day. Sometimes trya is suffixed or prefixed to man — the King, to form either mantray or trya man and this is the only case to connect trya with the Sanskrit trai meaning protector. Then the combination would mean the King Protector. But we know that the combination is the direct translation of dharmaraja — the just king.

In connection with Buddhism, trya is Tipitaka and to donate a compilation it is used together with the word apum — the heap. The whole phrase would be pitaka sum pon su trya apum — the three heaps of pitaka, (i.e.) the heap of Law. Donors often caused the whole set to be copied and kept at monastic libraries. But the monastic library was the only place where religious works were kept. Thiluin Man’s new pagoda was completed in
A.D. 1102 had a separate apartment where the statues of Buddha and Gavampati together with the Tipitaka were kept. He insisted that the copies should be made perfect. A minister called Caturangapaccaya is said to have been a person well versed in the Tipitaka and therefore it may also be expected that such persons would have been used to store the works. But they were very expensive. In A.D. 1273, a set is said to have cost 3,000 ticals of silver. At a time when a tical of silver could buy one pay of land one could have bought with that money an estate of 5,250 acres. It was so costly because all 84,000 dhamma khandha were to be copied by hand with a stylus on palm leaves and good scribes would certainly have been scarce as the art of writing was then still in its infancy with the Burmans. There would be a separate building in a monastic establishment for a library and rhyu tala — a gilded case, would be used to store the works. As it was expensive, few pitaka dayaka — donors of the Law, could afford a complete set. In that case they gave just what was needed at a particular library or the copies they thought would be of better use. An inscription of A.D. 1223 gives us a list of works given to a library. Such Sinhalese books like the Mahavamsa, Thupavamsa and Anagatavamsa were also popular. Some donors made it a special point to give Vinaya texts to monastic establishments and the growing demand for them was the result of the increasing number of monks and the growing lxiety in the observance of the Vinaya among the monks in general. To some donors, Adhisthamma works seemed to be of more importance perhaps because they form the essence of Buddhism.

Most of the libraries were attached to learning centres. Young monks devoted their time largely to pariyatti — learning, and so there were called casan and monasteries devoted to learning were called casantuik or casan klon — educational institutes. Such institutes also provided free board and lodging to the students and some institutes had as few as two students while some had as many students to fill twenty big buildings within a compound serving as hostels for them. These students used pby — palmleaves, and stylus for their writing material with a view to longevity. In this case they bound their finished pby with klam — wooden boards, usually of lakpana and stored them up in tala — cases, made of wood or in catuik — cabinets, which were sometimes so profusely decorated that one would cost as much as 215 ticals of silver. Sometimes they used parabuli — a single long sheet of paper folded backwards and forwards to form a book, to be written with Kamkuchchhu — soapstone pencil, kept in a Konkutuntham — cylindrical case specially made for those pencils. For classroom use they had miyphu — chalk, and sanphun — blackboard.

Having built the library, the donor's next concern is to provide it with attendants and necessary funds so that repairs to the building, preservation of the manuscripts, and new acquisitions to the library would be possible. These works are known as tya wat duties towards the Law, and to fulfil these purposes, the donor dedicated lands, slaves, including scribes, sometimes elephants, palmyra-palms and sesamum from which oil is extracted for lighting, to the Law. The duties towards the Law also included the offering of daily food in the same way as to the Lord and the Order. Tya means the sermon whereby the monk tries to explain some part of the teachings of Gotama to his congregation. To give such a sermon is known as tya haw and to listen to it would be termed tya na and a sort of honorarium called tya chu is given to the preacher. The form of honorarium varied from arica-nuts and loin-cloths to paddy and paddy fields. Usually sermons were given weekly on each satan — sabbath day, during the wa — lent. In some monastic buildings preaching was heard twice every sabbath, i.e. once in the morning and again at night. Big monastic establishments generally had a separate building called the dhammasa or tya im or tya klon — hall of the Law, where most of the preaching was done. In such a hall there usually was a sort of pulpit called tya panlan which is sometimes gilded. Some of these have a golden umbrella and canopy too for the preacher. From the seat, the preacher would address the congregation on such subjects as Dhammacakka — the wheel of Law, Patilacsamuppana — the Working of Cause and Effect, Rathavita Sutta the Seven Acts of Purity, and Satipatitana Sutta — the four Methods of Meditation. The listeners thus become well acquainted with the methods with which to obtain for themselves the patsambhida — analytical knowledge, and the four sacce — truths, that would ultimately result in their becoming araha when Maitreya attains Buddhahood or in other words in attaining akhaw tya — the knowledge that would help one to achieve nirvana. Jataka stories quoted to illustrate some points of the Law would certainly attract a considerable portion of the audience to the sermon. Some buildings have scenes from these stories painted on the walls and we may safely assume that these paintings directly aimed at giving some information on Buddhism to the illiterate. People also found much satisfaction in the supposed attributes of paritta to ward off various evils, physical and moral. Thulun Man had it recited at his new palace by 4,108 monks in A.D. 1102. Singhasula he had it recited at an occasion for enshrining relics in a pagoda in A.D. 1190. On a similar occasion in A.D. 1261, Princess Acaw Lat had seven bhikkhu and one bhikkhuni to recite the paritta.
A HISTORY OF BURMA
by
Dr. Than Tun
Chapter VII
Rival Sects of the Religion
(PART II)

The last of the three Gems is the Sangha which is the Pali Sangha meaning the multitude or the assembly, and Pyu Sagha and old Mon Sangha. Roughly monks were divided into two groups, viz., Klon nity so sangha — monks living in monasteries, and taw mlatkri, taw skhin and taw klon sangha — the lords of the forest, who would otherwise be known as bhunkri’, bhunkri ewe. As King Klacwa, Prince Rajasu and Minister Anantasu were called Skhin Klacwa, Skhin Rajasu and Skhin Anantasu respectively, so the lords of the Order were addressed as Skhin Winenduhir, Skhin Mahakassapa, etc. Even in cases where the monk is known by the lay name, which is not infrequent, he is sure to get the honorific skhin as e.g. Skhin Na Mlat Khac. But these skhin of the monasteries were by comparison pagodas or monasteries to their counterparts in the administration as they were defined as sankham so skhin — the patient lords, or nirn nity so skhin — the quiet lords. Sariputta and Mogallana, the two chief disciples of Gotama were also known as Skhin Sariputra and Skhin Mokkalan and this shows that the people considered their ecclesiastics as venerable as those of Gotama’s life time. This perhaps also leads them to define their monks as purha skhin tape sa ariva sangha — the noble monks, sons and disciples of the Lord, purha tape, sa rahan sangha — the worthy monks, sons and disciples of the Lord. The word tape would be freely translated as pupil though its origin in Pali tapassin and Sanskrit tapasvin would mean an ascetic. Tape again is usually suffixed with sa — the son, and to be a tape sa of somebody is to be attached to that person as apprentice to undergo a training from the master and it is believed that the master would teach his pupils as he would teach his own sons. In a religious sense, it means disciple. Tape, sa kri is clearly aggasavaka and therefore tape, sa is savaka. The monks were also called ariya sangha and rahan sangha meaning the nobles who had reached Perfection. Although not all the monks had reached arahattana — the last and highest of the Path, they were called rahan as it was assumed that they were on the right path. Thus sangha is synonymous with respectful, pious, wise and celibate. We have only once originally which does not coincide with this general description. It says that sangha is well versed in the use of the harp. Perhaps this monk was in charge of the musicians who were dedicated to the pagodas. In another reference we find that a thera — senior monk, was invested with three duties, viz., to look after the lands of the pagoda, to do repairs at the pagoda whenever necessary and to take charge of the pagoda slave musicians. It seems that the monasteries also gave some sort of a musical course: training certain young slaves of the pagoda or monastery in singing or playing musical instruments.

There were other names used to signify the monks. The old Mons sometimes shorten sangha into san or supplement san with ariya to become san ariya. But more often they used their own word gun lon. The old Burmans also used san for all the monks and Sankri for senior monks and Sanlyan for junior monks. The Pyu word for sankri is tr: ba: — a forest dwelling monk is mentioned once as san aran and like the old Mons they also used the combination san arya. The word bhunkri, (bhun kri) for a monk was not in use even though a very similar one phun san — the possessor of merit, was sometimes used as an honorific to a monk’s name. But the term phunsan was also applied to some lay devotees. Next to sangha, the most popular term for a monk was sa kri, the teacher of a certain prominent person among his lay devotees. For example, the king’s preceptor came to be popularly known as ma: sa kri and the queen’s preceptor as Cau Palay May Charya, the minister’s preceptor as Amatkri Sirtwathana Charya and so on. As a matter of fact, even the Lord is mentioned as lu nat taka charya — the teacher of all men and deva, or sunlu charya — the teacher of Men. Deva and Brahma. It would be interesting to know the reason why a monk called Ratanauechi was known as Nat Charya Mlat ewa so skhin Ratanauechi — the Most Reverend Lord Ratanauechi, the teacher of Deva. Another therawda was Nat thaman ra so akhin thampa — Lord Thampa, receiver of Deva’s food.

Another equally popular prefix to a monk’s name is sukkha (su: kha) which derives from araha — a person who arrives at the fourth and last stage on the way to nirvana. But to the old Burmans the term rahan had no such specification because they used rahanata for those who had acquired arahattaphul. Therefore rahan simply means monk and to become one is termed rahan mu. Only adults of over twenty would be ordained monks or nuns. Deacons or novices were called Samaniv which is the Pali samanera. The word kri — novice, was not in use then. The word san or ariya from which perhaps kri is derived does not mean a novice but a monk with the exception when ayan was applied to royalty as ayan mokkalan — the liege lord, the great king. Monks addressed each other as na san or na ariya — my lord. They were also mentioned as panca panca which literally means a pure flower and the spelling does not permit it to be connected with pancanga — the five attributes, or the burmanised pancan as the modern Burman believes.

As the Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend and Most Reverend are used before the names of the clergy, the old Burmans used such terms as phunmlat so or mlat so for senior monks, mlat cwa so or mlat kri for the most senior monks and mlat kri cwa or phun mlat kri cwa for the exceptionally respected monks who were royal preceptors, etc. But such terms as therav, sangha therav and maha therav were equally popular. A senior monk was also called charya — the teacher. Very often a monk would be addressed as the teacher of a certain prominent person among his lay devotees. For example, the king’s preceptor came to be popularly known as ma: charya and the queen’s preceptor as Cau Palay May Charya, the minister’s preceptor as Amaktir Sirtwathana Charya and so on.
Among the followers of a prominent monk, casan — the students, formed the most important group. They devoted their time to pativratti — learning, while there were others who were devoted to patipatti — practice. Big monastic establishments were endowed with funds to enable them to become Buddhist schools. Some donors gave fields, etc. specifically to students alone of a certain establishment. The student population, in those days seems to have been considerable and people took care to encourage and support them. The lay devotees were known as upasaka or more popularly as satan san who would also dedicate lands and slaves to the monastery as the ayak. There were also people who looked after the comfort of the monks, first and foremost came the theras who would also dedicate lands and slaves to the monastery as the ayak. Some donors gave fields, etc. specifically to the monks when dealing with the outside world. They would be asked to represent the monastery in law suits or to act as agents in buying things needed by the monastery. Perhaps the kappika and theorika — the funds of the Order, would be used for these transactions.

There were also slaves who attended to the needs of a monastery. The total number of them might vary from a whole village to one or two slaves. Usually the theras would control these slaves but sometimes some monks were assigned with the special duty of looking after the land and slaves.

Among the articles of daily use given to the monks, first and foremost comes food. They called it niccapat — the constant food, i.e. they made it their duty that the monks would have some portion of their food to the monks when they came begging for it once everyday. This duty is termed wat and Samput. Wat layan or wat khyan — nut cracker, and than phu — phials of chunam were also given to the monasteries. Chewing betel seems to have been one of the four necessities of the monk. It would only mean an indirect giving of the robe to the one that must be received only by a chapter that immediately follows Wat. The Lent, the monks were given Kathin robe which must be received only by a chapter of five monks and it was given to the one in that five who was in sore need of a robe.

Among gifts to a monastery chim — oil lamps, came next in importance to food. Oil for lighting is extracted from sesamum and it is mentioned that fifty measures of sesamum yielded twenty tanak of oil. There were special nights when chim than — one thousand lamps, were lit. But usually monks did not care to have good lighting at nights as their only duty after dusk was for the younger ones to repeat from memory what they had learnt from the Pali text during the day and for the older ones to find a secluded corner and meditate. Next to light, a donor's care was to provide a monk with the betel quid or the necessary ingredients for making one. The betel leaf was called sammhu and the areca nuts were measured in kadun. Some appurtenances of betel chewing like kwam ac and kwam khyap or kwam kap — betel boxes, kwam khyam — nut cracker, and than phu — phials of chunam were also given to the monasteries. Chewing betel seems to have been very popular then and one who did not chew the quid must have been a very rare exception. We find a monk called with the name of matkriti cwa kwam matprat — betel leaf and betle-Eat-Betel. As a matter of fact, this kwam comes under the category of food which is one of the four necessities of the monk. The necessities were known as paccan le pa among which chyi wa — medicine was the most important. Vinaya prescribed five and standard medicines, viz., thawpiy — unclarified butter, thawpat — clarified butter, chi — oil, ppa — honey and tanglay — molasses. Some monasteries had thawpaki — storehouse for clarified butter. Some donors made it a point to mention that medicine would be provided for the sick and firewood for the dead. Since then it seems dead monks were always cremated. Sankan the robe, is the next necessity. The word comes from the Pali Sanghati — the outer garment. Sakkham or krhraykham is the inner garment and sampuin for the nether part. Tuyan, tanak and chimi thon were the robes of the monastic robes but unfortunately we cannot identify them. The monks could also pick up pansaku — the dusty robe, for themselves. As there is mention however, that pansaku was given, we gather that the original idea of monks taking for themselves the dusty rags discarded by the people was already modified. It would only mean an indirect giving of the robe by leaving it on the way the theras would have. But there was another group of monks who were not so eager for reforms. They were known as ‘forest-dwellers’ and they allowed themselves certain lapses in the
observance of the Vinaya. As the practice of arannakangam is one of the thirteen Dhutangam, it is not a compulsory practice for all the monks, but it seems that from the time of Natunma until the fall of the empire, this practice became very popular so that many a donor built arannavasi taau klon — forest monastery, and the dwellers in such places became almost a different sect of the Order. Originally a monk went out alone into the forest withdrawing himself from the communal life of the monks in a monastery to practice arannakangam but this original ideal of a lonely monk as a forest recluse was much modified. Big monastic establishments called taw klon appeared with hundreds of monks living in them under taw mlatibri — the Most Reverend Lord of the Forest. Minnathu and Pwazaw to the east of Pagan, Myinmu in Sagaing district and Anein in Monywa district were the centres of these forest monasteries. They were not confined to the forest areas alone. Some of them appeared even quite close to the capital city of Pagan. These so-called forest-dwellers lived in big monasteries with big estates to support their establishments. The way they enlarged their estates and their connoissements at the drinking of intoxicants were by no means in keeping with the Vinaya. They received enormous gifts of land. Still they added to it by big purchases. Among these forest-dwellers the most frequently mentioned therâ was Mahakassapa who perhaps was the leader of this new group in the Order. His name was first mentioned in the inscriptions in 1225. He was then already a famous therâ at Myinmu in Sagaing district. Perhaps Myinmu was then the centre of these ‘forest-dwellers’ and Mahakassapa was their leader on account of whose piety they received much support from important people of the period. Probably he attempted with success to open a branch close to the capital. The establishment at Minnathu was founded in 1233 and that at Pwazaw in 1236. He extended further and reached Kyaukse area by 1242. In the meanwhile he became more popular with the royal family. His organisation was new and therefore he felt the need of supporting it by a landed interest. Therefore he made a series of land purchases from 1247 to 1272. It seems that he died between 1272 and 1278. Largely through his personality the forest-dwellers grew in number and popularity to practice arannakangam and they considered a major force almost equal in strength to the orthodox group who at that time fervently tried to maintain their ground with help from Ceylon. Time alone decided who was to win and it took two more centuries to have a clear cut answer in favor of orthodoxy. Although the evidence is meagre it is possible to connect these arannavasi or forest dwellers under Mahakassapa who bought lands in outlying districts to strengthen their position and who accepted for themselves yamaka aphyaw — a sweet liquor from palm juice, and allowed their devotees to indulge in grand feasts where liquor and meat were plentiful, with Aran or Ari of whom the Chronicles thought poorly. Burma was not alone in having these Arannavasi monks during the 13th and 14th centuries. Inscriptions of Rama Ganhen (1298) and Vat Pa Ten (1406) bear witness to the existence of arannavasi monks during those centuries at Sukhodaya (Siam) too. Some connect them with Tantric Buddhism. Although these Ari allowed certain lapses in the Vinaya, they were definitely not as debased as the Chronicles allege. There is no evidence of anything unusual in their practices that the orthodox monks would not have done in those days except for the fact they allowed some drinks at their feasts. The last point to be mentioned about them is that they were never officially suppressed during the Pagan dynasty. There is another important point in Buddhism during the period under survey. That is the presence of Bhikkhuni in the Order then. According to tradition there were no more female ascetics in the Buddhist Order since A.D. 456. But we find epigraphic evidence assuring their presence even in the 13th century. The following are a few popular names of the Bhikkhuni. Phun mlat so Uiw Chi Taw, Skhin Uiw Kram Pan San, Sankadhi Uiw, Kram San, Uin Chi Up Ni, Skhin Brahmacari, phun mlat so Uih Tan San and Skhin Uiw Pam. The last name of the dignitaries of the Order is Syan Disapramuk, leader of the peace mission to Peking in 1275.

In conclusion, I shall have to repeat that the Burmans were Buddhists long before Aniruddha’s conquest of Lower Burma; that the Buddhism Aniruddha introduced from Lower Burma was not exactly the Theravada Buddhism as alleged; that it was much influenced by Vaishnavism and the native Naga worship was also maintained; and that the motive for attacking the south was not purely religious. In addition to these four very important points, we also find that the Buddha was worshipped as God — the Creator to some extent and there was the anthropomorphic devotion of the Buddha which is still preserved in Burma. Regarding the Law, all the four score and four thousand sections of the pitaka with their many commentaries were known and big scholastic establishments were maintained in many parts of the kingdom. The study of the Vinaya was found to be very popular with the Pagan Burmans and as it requires a sound knowledge of grammar for correct interpretation of the said texts, it supports the tradition that they were excellent Pali scholars. The Order in our period was divided into two camps and they existed side by side in peace. There were also bhikkhunis right down to the end of the empire. Of the aforesaid camps, one was for orthodoxy, influenced by Sinhalese Buddhism and the other was of a very much burmanised form showing such characteristics as allowing laxity in discipline. In spite of the first group’s endeavour to counteract the growing popularity of the latter by sending missions and study groups to Ceylon, and bringing back Sinhalese therâ and monks to Pagan, we find that the arrannavasi were able to get popular support. Perhaps it was so because they represent indigenous thought appealing direct to Burmese nationalism or perhaps their tenets were easier to follow.

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