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HISTORY OF BURMA; A.D. 1300-1400.\*

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by Than Tun

SINCE JANUARY 1959, three of us - Dr Yi Yi, U Tin Hla Thaw and myself have been working on the inscriptions of Burma belonging to the period A.D. 1300 to 1600 and the object evidently is to write the history of medieval Burma and as a preliminary report we expected that each of us would be able to write a paper towards the end of the year. Roughly the early part - 1300 to 1400 was assigned to Dr Yi Yi and the middle part - 1400 to 1500 to U Tin Hla Thaw and the last part - 1500 to 1600 to me. Unfortunately in July Dr Yi Yi was called upon to do no less an important task of collecting material on the Anglo-Burmese relations at London and therefore I have to do the reporting on her behalf and I shall have to warn you all that what I said just now is subject to correction by her latter. Some of you would remember that at one of the Kanthasanelai Geatherings I read a paper on the History of Burma A.D. 1000-1300 and next week U Tin Hla Thaw will read the History of Burma, A.D. 1400-1500. So for the sake of continuity I have to take up 1300-1400. The Burma Historical Commission has almost all the rubbings of the inscriptions we used and had it not been for the good and kind help rendered to us by the staff of that institute and the permission to use the rubbings, our researches in the medieval history of Burma would have been impossible. On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I would like to express our thanks to the Commission and its staff. I have a microfilm copy of the readings made by Professor G. H. Luce of the inscriptions of Burma and when decipharing the inscriptions we have to use it wherever we are in doubt and that is fairly frequent. For all that and for being our teacher in Burnese epigraphy, we owe him much gratitude.

It is from the fall of Pagan that we are to begin our story now. Pagan civilization broke up 'under attacks from without and centrifugalism within' and the details of this tragic scene are most admirably told by Professor G. H. Luce

\* Read at the History Session held on the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the Kanthasanelai Group on 20 Setember 1959 with Professor G. H. Luce in the Chair.

in several of his papers<sup>1</sup> but allow me to repeat very briefly some important parts of the story. A nominal kingship was revived at Pagan in the person of Klawcwā<sup>2</sup> who was anointed king on Monday 30 May 1289<sup>3</sup>. He was formerly Tala Sukri - the Headman of Dala (Twante) and as king he was known as Rhuynansyañ<sup>4</sup> - the Lord of the Golden Palace. His regnal title was Siri Tribhawanāditya-pawarapandita dhammarāja<sup>6</sup>. To make himself secure on the throne he was in great need of help and so early in 1297 he sent his son and heir Singhapati to Peking<sup>7</sup>. On 20 March 1297 the Mongol Emperor granted an official appointment to Klawcwā as the king of Burma. In spite of that, by 17 Dec 1297, he was mentioned as Nankla Mañ<sup>8</sup> - the dethroned king. Professor Luce pointed out that according to the Chinese his dethronement and removal to Myinzaing occurred only in June-July of 1298<sup>9</sup>. Perhaps the reason of this contradiction of statements is that the usurpers took special care to delay all information of a vassalage in reaching the ears of the suzerain as long as possible and in the meantime to do all mischief in the name of the unfortunate vassal so that the overlord would be only too glad to hear his fall. This also explains why the Mon envoys to China were arrested in Klawcwā's name in March-April 1298. The Burmese account given in an inscription

1. See G. H. Luce: "The Early Syān in Burma's History" JSS, XLVII, ii, August 1958, pp. 137 follg.; G. H. Luce: Pagan Dynasty II, A.D. 1174-1301 mimeographed and privately circulated by DSHRI, Sept. 1956; etc.

2. Pl. 580a<sup>3</sup>, S. 655

3. Pl. 282<sup>1</sup> / Sakarac 651 khu Cay nhac Mlwaytā l-chan 12 ryāk 2 niy phurhālōñ apisip kham ruy...

4. Pl. 392<sup>16</sup>, S. 663.

5. Pl. 287a<sup>4,9,10</sup>, S. 659, Pl. 394<sup>1</sup> S. 664, Pl. 417<sup>2</sup>, S. 650.

6. Pl. 276a<sup>3</sup>, S. 654.

7. E. Huber: "La fin de la Dynastie de Pagan", BEFEO, IX, p. 670; G. H. Luce: "The Early Syān in Burma's History", JSS, XLVI, ii, p. 155.

8. Pl. 286<sup>2</sup>, S. 659.

9. Luce: "Syān". JSS XLVI, ii, p. 156.

from the Thatyapyissi monastery. Myinzaing, leaves no room for any doubt. It says:

// Sakrac 659 khu Mruikkasuiw nhac Plasuiw l-chan 13 ryak 5 niy Uryan Nankla  
Man Kwan Prok Kri Thwak taw mū so man mat Satyāpicañ pan rakā Kroñnan Krā  
nhāñ riy cāñ taw khla e' man mat krī Asāñkhyā le pan pā ruy riy cāñ taw  
khla pā e'<sup>10</sup>

On 17 December 1297 the Dethroned King came to the Great Variegated Hall and as the minister Satyāpicañ had requested, he poured the royal pure water from a kroñnan jar. The great minister Asāñkhyā had his permission also to pour the royal pure water.

This pouring of water by a king or an ex-king or a king-to-be, in recognition of somebody giving certain lands to the Religion, should not, I think, be taken as a religious function attached to the kingly estate.<sup>11</sup> The growing increase of the religious lands was a serious threat to the royal treasury as the king could not collect revenue from these lands. So starting with Klacwā, it was the policy of late Pagan kings to check this growth.<sup>12</sup> A confiscation of monastic land might cause an uneasiness in the relation between king and monks. So very tactfully,<sup>13</sup> the kings had evolved a system which requires their prior knowledge of all dedications or their presence in all dedication ceremonies so that they could withhold some good lands from becoming tax-free while at the same time they would be seen pouring the libation water and announcing publicly anunodana - the appreciation. One might also have noticed that on such occasions more of mliyi cim<sup>14</sup> - waste land, taw cim mle<sup>15</sup> - forest waste land; to ruin mle<sup>16</sup> - forest wild land; tau mrun<sup>17</sup>

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10. Pl. 286<sup>1-4</sup>, S. 659.

11. Luce: "Syām", JSS, XLVI, ii, p. 156.

12. Pl. 90<sup>16-26</sup>, S.597; Pl. 296<sup>11-16</sup>, S.689; Pl.521<sup>1</sup>, S. 720; U64<sup>7-24</sup>, S. 748.

13. Pl. 417<sup>2</sup>, S. 650.

14. Pl. 416b<sup>2, 3-4</sup>, S.677; Pl.474<sup>8</sup>, S.706.

15. Pl.518<sup>40</sup>, S.718, Pl. 519a<sup>4</sup>, S.718; List 682<sup>12</sup>, S. 737; U73a<sup>14</sup>, U73b<sup>11</sup>, S.760.

16. U87a<sup>2</sup>, U87b<sup>5</sup>, S. 769.

17. Pl. 472<sup>19,22</sup>, S. 705.

- forest ? barren land, and mily khrok<sup>18</sup> - dry land, were dedicated than some good cultivable land. This also gave the monks a useful work of claiming waste lands under crop and quicken the economic development of the country after many years of war. At the same time checkings were made as to the authenticity of the religious lands<sup>19</sup> from time to time. Thus, I believe, Klawcwā continued attending a dedication ceremony at Myinzaing together with Asaṅkhyā — the eldest of the three brothers who were in real power then. They put him to death on 10 May 1299.

The three brothers were mentioned in an inscription dated 13 February 1289 as Asaṅkhyā Rājāsaṅ kram Sihasu<sup>ra</sup>/amat kri suṃ yok - the three great ministers Asaṅkhyā, Rājāsaṅkram and Sihasura<sup>20</sup>. But it is interesting to note that they were not present at Klawcwā's coronation in May of that year. From the time when the Mongols threatened invasion to the time when Klawcwā became king there was a period of nearly five years and it seems that these three brothers had taken advantage of the disturbances happening in those years, in consolidating their hold on the Eleven Kharuīn area of Kyaukse, which was the chief granary of the Pagan kingdom. Perhaps Klawcwā had the control over the six Kharuīn area of Minbu, which was of course, of less importance than Kyaukse. Thus a king at Pagan found it necessary to try and get the friendship of the masters of Kyaukse in such a troubled time and he had to pay a high price for this friendship. He became a nominal ruler. Because in an inscription dated 16 Feb 1293, the three brothers claimed themselves to be the equals of the Pagan king and also the generals who had defeated the Taruk army<sup>21</sup>. They were now the actual rulers of the Central Burma. Although they were of Shan origin, unlike the Northern Shans, they were Buddhists and as they left all their inscriptions in Burmese, it seems that they were thoroughly Burmanised. They got help from Chieng Mai in the occupation of Kyaukse and on the strength of an inscription of the Kudwetawya monastery, near Hpaloppedaw and Singun villages, Sama, Paukyaing, Kyaukse,<sup>23</sup> Professor Luce

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18. Pl. 475<sup>9</sup>

19. Pl. 521<sup>1</sup>, S. 720.

20. Pl. 417<sup>2-3</sup>, S. 650.

21. Pl. 276a<sup>4-5</sup>

22. Luce: "Syam", JSS, XLVI, ii, p. 153.

23. Pl. 293 S. 661.

suggests that after Klawcwā's dethronement, one Sirirājā, probably a member of the old Burmese aristocracy, made a stand against the Shan occupation of Kyaukse with some temporary success on the west side of the Panlaung in about the later half of the year. 1299<sup>24</sup>

Siri Tribhavanā dittryā pawaradhammarāja Mañ Lulan (Tsou Nieh) was the next king at Pagan<sup>25</sup> and he gave his first audience on 8 May 1299. He had the support of the three brothers together with other important ministers like Sinkasū, Takkhanā, Caturāṅkapiṇṇa, Akkapatiy, Intapaccarā, Puñña, Sūpharac, Phyakkasū and Mahāsaman.<sup>26</sup> His rival claimant, another son of Klawcwā known as Kumarakassapa<sup>27</sup> escaped into Yunnan, in September 1299 to invoke the help of the Mongols. But it was the three brothers who started the hostilities. In January 1300 Asaṅkhyā invaded Cheng-mien i.e. Burma north of Mandalay, and took Nga Singu and Male. On 22 June 1300, Kumara Kassapa was declared by the Mongol Emperor as the rightful king of Burma. It was only on 15 January 1301 that the invading army reached Male. The enemy under the command of Mangu Turumish was not 1,200,000 strong as maintained in an inscription of A.D.1334.<sup>28</sup> It had less than 12,000 soldiers.<sup>29</sup> While the army marched to Kyaukse, Kumara Kassapa went to Pagan. He came to be known as Taruk prañ la so Taktaumū maṅkri<sup>30</sup> the king who came from the land of the Turks and ascended the throne. He entered Pagan without difficulty but he went back with the Mongols when they retreated. The invaders reached Myinzaing on 25 January 1301 but were persuaded to go back and so the retreat begun on 6 April 1301. To avoid further invasions, envoys were sent with tributes to China.<sup>31</sup> On 4 April 1303, the province of Cheng-mien was

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24. Luce: "Syam", JSS, XLVI, ii, pp.153 and 158.

25. Pl.290b<sup>2-3</sup>, Pl.390<sup>5,16-17</sup>, S.661

26. Pl.290b<sup>10-13</sup>

27. See Y.S. ch.20; Luce: "Syam", JSS, XLVI, ii, pp.158-9.

28. Pl.454a<sup>9</sup> and Pl.454b<sup>7</sup>

29. Luce: "Syam", JSS, XLVI, ii, p.161.

30. Pl.396a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.396b<sup>1</sup>, S.664.

31. Envoys sent on 27 July 1301, 16 September 1301, 4 November 1301, 6 October 1303, 1 February 1308, 3 August 1308, 27 December 1312, 31 July 1315 and 20 July 1319. See Luce: "Syam", JSS, XLVI, ii, pp.163-4.

abolished.

Of the three brothers the youngest Sīhasūra I was the most ambitious. He assumed the title of Chanphlūsyān - the Lord of the White Elephant,<sup>32</sup> by 1295 and maṅkri<sup>33</sup> the great king, by 1296. He was not to be confused with Maṅ Lulan of Pagan who also had the title of Chanphlūsyān.<sup>34</sup> As a matter of fact he was the direct opposite of Pagan Chanphlūsyān who very meekly submitted to the foreign suzerainty. He and his brothers led the 'resistance movement' and claimed that they fought and conquered the Taruk army. In 1306 he was no longer a simple Sīhasūra. He became Anantasihasūrajeyyadeva.<sup>35</sup> On 20 Oct 1309 he had had his coronation with the regnal title of Siri Trilhawanādityapawarasihasūradhammarāja.<sup>36</sup> and as usual with the kings he gave away lands to various religious establishments.<sup>37</sup> It seems that he never failed to seize the opportunity of making public the fact that it was they who saved the country from the foreigners. When the eldest brother died, it was recorded as:

Sakarac 672 khu Phussa nhac Kachun la plañ niy lwai 25 phlwā 2 lā niy  
Asaṅkhayā Rājā Sinkasū mañ 3 yok ma khlok ma khlyā prañ tuiñ kā kuiw matun  
ma lhup up sa rhaw khā akuw mlat cwā Asaṅkhayā nat(rwā lā)khay Rājā Siñ-  
ka-sū atu prañ kri up rac e' /<sup>38</sup>

On 13 April 1310, when the exalted Asaṅkhayā, the elder(brother) of the three kings Asaṅkhayā Rājā and Siñkasū who had firmly controlled the country and capital without being timid and frightened died, Rājā and Siñkasū together continued to control the great capital.

Here I would like to point out that the version given in the Hmannan<sup>39</sup> as Rājā died in 1305 and Asaṅkhayā was poisoned by Sīhasūra in 1310 is wrong. According to the above inscription, Asaṅkhayā died in 1310 and the two younger brothers continued to rule the country firmly to the advantage of the people in general. He built a new capital at Pinya in 1312<sup>40</sup> and called it Wijayapūra.<sup>41</sup> He was also

32. Pl.389c<sup>8</sup> S.657, Pl.406a<sup>19</sup>, S.669; Pl.428<sup>13</sup>, S.662

33. Pl.285<sup>5</sup>, S.658.

34. Pl.390<sup>5</sup>, S.661.

35. Pl.403a<sup>3,6</sup>, S.668.

36. Pl.487<sup>4</sup>.

37. Pl.501<sup>1</sup>, S.671.

38. Pl.412a<sup>2</sup>, S.610.

39. The Hmannan Yazawin, I, p.407.

40. L.446<sup>4</sup> S.674; Hmannan I. p.407.

41. Pl.487<sup>7</sup>, Pl.488b<sup>4</sup>.



known as Tacisyan<sup>42</sup> - the Lord of One or Chanphlū taci asyan<sup>43</sup> - the Lord of One White Elephant. His chief queen was Ratanāpun.<sup>44</sup>

Tacisyan was succeeded by his son Uccanā<sup>45</sup> in 1324.<sup>46</sup> This Uccanā was contemporary with Uccanā<sup>47</sup> the governor of Pagan. There was a great flood in 1331 and that must have done great damage to the cultivation of the country.<sup>48</sup> He built one big pagoda at Manklañtim<sup>49</sup> another one at Santon in 1332<sup>50</sup> and still another at Mrankhuntuin in 1335.<sup>51</sup> Lastly he built a big kū in 1340 at the place where he lived before he became king.<sup>52</sup> Apart from these meritorious deeds we know nothing else about him. Next ruler was Mrañcuin Cañsū who became king on 1 September 1340.<sup>53</sup> There is no mention of this king in the chronicles. His queen was Caw Thwat<sup>54</sup> with whom he got two daughters, viz. Caw Kri and Caw Im Kri Sañ. Caw Kri was married to his nephew - the next king Sīhasūra II.<sup>55</sup> Sīhasūra II or Chanphlū 5 ciaskhi - the Lord of Five White Elephants, succeeded his uncle and father-in-law on 29 March 1344.<sup>56</sup> He was popularly known as Nāciasyan<sup>57</sup> and his regnal title was Pawarapanditasīhasūradhammarāja.<sup>58</sup> Aplontau. Co Mañ Nai<sup>59</sup> was one of his concubines. We know by name a few of his children. They were: Uccanā<sup>60</sup> who was married to Co Calā,<sup>61</sup> daughter of Klacwā the King of Cakuin; Cañsū Nātonmyākri<sup>62</sup> whose sister gave birth to Muiwñan Satuiw<sup>63</sup> who became king in Ava later; Mañ Pulai<sup>64</sup>, Klaucwā I<sup>65</sup>, Sinkasū<sup>66</sup>, and Sīhasūra III.<sup>67</sup> Of these Klaucwā I succeeded him on 12 December 1350<sup>68</sup> as King Sri Tribhawanā-dityapawaradhammarāja.<sup>69</sup> One remarkable thing done during his reign was that on

42. Pl.499c.<sup>9</sup>

43. U 34a<sup>10</sup>, S.739; U 73a<sup>1</sup>, S.760; U 87a<sup>1</sup>, S.769.

44. Pl.436b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.445b<sup>8,27</sup>.

45. U 87a<sup>1</sup>, S.769.

46. U 87a<sup>1</sup> says he was Sīhasūra's younger brother.

47. Pl.451<sup>1</sup>, S.696.

57. L.696b<sup>9</sup>.

48. L.608b<sup>1</sup>, S.729.

58. L.446<sup>4-5</sup>, L 396<sup>10</sup>.

67. L.606<sup>10</sup>.

49. Pl.445a<sup>1</sup>, S.692.

59. L.696b<sup>1-2</sup>.

68. Pl.486a<sup>1-3</sup>, S.712.

50. Pl.446a<sup>1</sup>, S.694.

60. Pl.494<sup>21</sup>.

69. Pl.487<sup>9</sup>, S.712.

51. Pl.455a<sup>1</sup>, S.697.

61. L.688<sup>14</sup>.

52. Pl.459a<sup>1</sup>, S.702.

62. U.200b<sup>24</sup>.

53. Pl.461a<sup>3</sup>, S.702.

63. U.161a<sup>2</sup>.

54. Pl.483b<sup>2</sup>.

64. Pl.507a<sup>16</sup>.

55. Pl.488b<sup>2</sup>, S.712.

65. Pl.494<sup>3</sup>.

56. Pl.470a<sup>1</sup>, S.705.

66. Pl.494<sup>21</sup>.

12 March 1359, some lithic inscriptions were collected to make a check on the religious lands.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps it was done on a similar line with what King Bodawpaya had done on 24 July 1793<sup>71</sup> and one could imagine that a certain amount of damage must have been done to the inscription stones. It was also during the last year of his reign i.e. 1359 that the Syan came and destroyed much of his land.<sup>72</sup> He died on 19 March 1359<sup>73</sup> and was succeeded by his brother Sihāsura III. This Sihāsura is also not mentioned in the Chronicles. We know two of his queens, viz. Nannamay<sup>75</sup> and Acawmlat.<sup>76</sup> In 1362 the Syan came again to disturb the country.<sup>77</sup> I think he was never able to subdue them and with him ended the Panya line of kings. He probably died in 1360<sup>78</sup> and the disturbances in his land remained unchecked until 1368. It was recorded as:

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70. Pl.521<sup>1</sup>, S.720.

71. Konbaungzet, 1905, p.662

72. L.642<sup>4</sup>.

73. L.642<sup>1-2</sup>, S.721; ?Pl.530<sup>1</sup>, S.722.

74. U.50<sup>11</sup>.

75. Pl.540b<sup>1</sup>.

76. L.606<sup>10-11</sup>.

77. U.50<sup>17</sup>.

78. L.800a<sup>6-7</sup>, S.762.



// phurā mlat mwan nibban lwan pri sasanā 1012 nhac Sihasū nat rwā la ka amvā  
ā khyan'kway khrañ nhac phak ruk rak prañ thāi sai sai tryā Asaṅghayvā  
mlok bhak rwā kuiw up lhā cī nhañ man mū lhyan<sup>79</sup>

After the death of Sihasūra III, in A.B. 1912, (A.D.1368), families were broken up on both sides as there was much disturbances within the capital, (a descendent of) the just Asaṅghayvā conquered the northern villages and became king.

When the country was restored to normal conditions again the granddaughter of Asaṅghayvā, - the Queen of Tryāphvā III of Aya started a sort of religious and literary movement in about 1373 by inviting both Brahman and Sinhalese teachers to the country<sup>80</sup>.

Sagaing was also a contemporary capital and its kings were the descendants of Pinya Tacisyan. A comprehensive list of its kings is given in an inscription dated 1408 and it is best to reproduce it here.

<sup>631</sup>  
<sup>1408</sup>  
/ Sakarac 770 Phalakuin nhac Tapon l-chan tac chai nā ryak Sokkrā ne lhyan  
rhwe lak rum tau ā phlañ Mraṁma prañ Tanluin prañ Kulā prañ aluṁm akun  
cūṁm kuiw acuiw ra so Śri Tribhawanādityapawavapanditadhammarāja hu so re mle  
asvañ phlac so phurā rhañ Anoratthamañcau e' myoksa tau phlac so ton miphurā  
cau sañ kā miphurā mañ gā ma hut phuiw loñ tau mañkri Taciasyan // Tac-  
iasyan lwan lhyan Taciasyan sā Cackuin Mañkri Asaṅkhayvā / Asaṅkhayvā lwan  
lhyan mañkri Tryāphvā kri / Tryāphvakri lwan lhyan Mañkri Rhwetontak /  
Rhwetontak lwan lhyan Mañkri Klacwā / Klacwā lwan lhyan Mañraitauthwak /  
Mañraitauthwak lwan lhyan Mañkri Tryāphyānai / Tryāphyānai lwan lhyan Mañkri  
Mañ Plan mañ phlac e' / Mañ Plan lak dhak Phwatau Guiw Man Kuiw Tau Kri  
miphurā mlok e' miphurā kā nhac pā ma hi Guiw Man Kuiw Tau Kri sāte / Mañ  
Plan lwan lhyan sātau Satuiw Mañphvā gā mi mi e' rhwe lak rum tau ā phlañ  
Mraṁma prañ thak tu phak kañ ruy rai khrañ alwan khwan ā dhan ruy ran man  
khapaṁm kuiw ... c 3 nhac te nhim nañ nuin pri so nat rwā lā khai / Tryāphvā  
kri mañ mlok e' Tryāphvā kri lak thak phwatau nima acma ton miphurā mlok  
miphurā mlok e' nan thak 35 nhac ne e' / Tryāphvā kri lwan lhyan sā tau

79. L. 698a<sup>9-11</sup>, S. 739.

80. L. 698a<sup>24-26</sup>, S. 739.

Trvāphvā mañ mlok e' / Trvāphvā nat rwā lwan lhvañ Trvāphvā kri sā Aniratthā-  
cau mañ phlac e'<sup>81</sup>

On 28 February 1409, the living lord Anoratthāmañ-cau who by the golden might of the hand ruled all of the lands of Mramma, Tanluin, Shvañ and Kulā and who was called Sri Tribhawanāditvapawarapanditadhammarājā had as a consort the South Queen Cau who was not a mere queen. (She was) a descendant of Taciasvañ. After the death of Taciasvañ, his son Asaṅkhavvā the great king of Sagaing, after Asaṅkhavvā the great king Trvāphvākri; after Trvāphvā-kri the great king Klacwā; after Klacwā (there was) Mañraitauthwak; after Mañraitauthwak the great king Trvāphvāñai; during the time of Mañ Plan, the royal grand mother Cuiwmañ Kuiw tau kwi was made queen and as queen there was no one else except Cuiwmañ Kuiw tau kri. After the death of Mañ Plan, his son Satuiw Mañphvā by his own golden might of the hands became unrivaled in the land of Mramma in respect of bravery and strength. In 3 years' (time) he was able to crush all opposition. Then he died. Trvāphvākri became king. Trvāphvā made my grandmothers - the two sisters, north queen and south queen and lived on the throne for 35 years. When Trvāphvā kri died, Trvāphvākri's royal son Aniratthācau became king.

Now, in this list of kings from Cakuin, Asaṅkhvā ruled from 1315 to 1327 and this Cakuin house as he was a junior son of Sihasūra I of Paṇya. Therefore I would like to call / the junior branch of the Sihasūra dynasty. Asaṅkhvā's queen was Kuiw Taw Kri<sup>82</sup> When he died he was succeeded by his brother called Trvāphvā I, who became king on 5 February 1327<sup>83</sup>. His mother was Queen Ratanāpum and she left an interesting inscription recording repairs at the Krakyak ceti said to be famous throughout the land from Taruk kingdom in the north to Muttama in the south.<sup>84</sup> The same inscription mentions her son's accession to the Cakuin throne as:

/ Sakkarac 688 khu Tapon la plan 5 niy lhvan / khransey kham sa rhuy ton nan thak tak kha pri sa Sihasūra hā amān than sa (Chānphlu)-asyan mān (khransiy) e' (akri) phlac tha so Cackuin mānkri Trvāphvā....

Trvāphvā the great king of Cackuin, who was the <sup>senior</sup> son of the Lion King called Sihasūra, the Lord of the White Elephant, ascended the lion throne on 5 February 1327.

The date in the Chronicles is four years earlier. He became king when his step brother Asaṅkhayvā died. The Thamantaza Pagoda inscription dated 1343 give us another interesting detail in connection with the next two kings of Cakuin, viz. Rhwetontak (1335-1339) and Klacwā (1339-1348). The inscription begins with Cansu II of Fukam. King Cansu personally came to this place in Liysan in A.D. 1194 to make a dam and ordered one thousand Lawa to look after it. When the works on the dam failed one Mānkala Sīnkha was sent by the king to build a baddasīma on the site. Then in 1255 a rich man from Macchimadesa known by the name of Smancatā came and settled there. He built a brick mohastery to the east of King Cansu's sīma. He also made a big image of Buddha sitting under the hood of the King of Serpents. In addition to this a large estate was given to this establishment. Various donors appeared to add more land to this estate. Then:

Sakarac 705 khu Klacwā Māntum twān pun so mānkri Rhuytoṇtak thuiw ruy sum vū hha e' / Samancatā phurā atham tau nhuik taitan mū ruy / yokpha Satuiw kri / Klacwā mai Kuiwtaucri Klacwā mān khriy tau anā hi ruy phurā tham tau suiwa

82. Pl. 472<sup>15</sup>

83. Pl. 436b<sup>1</sup>

84. Pl. 436b<sup>4-5</sup>, S.688.

wañ tat rakā sā tau e' phyañ tau le phurā kuiw lhwam e' / na sā Klacwā asak  
le ma siv anā le pyo ruv mañaphlac rok mū kā / kri cwā so koñmhu mū añ hu  
pan nak e' / toñ so chu atuiñ mañkri mlok e' /

In 1343 Klacwā was hidding at Mantum when the great king Rhuytontak attacked and took him captive. On the way, they stoped at the pagoda. His brother-in-law Satuiwkri and his mother Kuiw Taw Kri went to the pagoda and spread his cloth on his behalf and his mother said: "Because of bad legs Klacwā could not appear before the Presence. But his cloth is spread here. If Klacwā's live long and his legs cured and became king, we promise to bring about a big dedication". As it was asked, he became king.

The chronicles give the other part of this interesting story. Rhuytontak or Anorathā I<sup>85</sup> imprisoned his father Tryāphvā I and made himself king. Klacwā and his brother and brother-in-law fled to Mindon. But they were captured by Rhuytontak and brought back to Sagaing. In the meanwhile Tryāphvā I organised a conspiracy and got Rhuytontak killed. But Tryāphvā I was also killed and thus Klacwā, being the next heir to the throne, became king without taking part in any of these conspiracies. One of his queens was Cau Pa Uiw<sup>86</sup>, daughter of King Uccanā (1325-1340) of Pañva. From this union, <sup>was born</sup> Co Calā<sup>87</sup> who was married to Uccanā, the son of King Sihāsura II (Nacirasyn). Klacwā was succeeded by his brother Mañrai Tauthwak or Anorathā II<sup>88</sup> in 1348. He was again succeeded by a brother Tryāphvā II<sup>89</sup> in 1350. Their sister Quiw Mañ Kuiw Taw Kri<sup>90</sup> married twice. With her first husband Satuiw Kri<sup>91</sup> she gave birth to Satuiw Mañhya<sup>92</sup> who later became the founder of Awa in 1364. Satuiw Mañhya's two sisters became the South queen and the North Queen of his successor Tryāphvā III at Awa. Quiw Mañ Kuiw Taw Kri's second husband known as Mañ Plan<sup>93</sup> became the successor of Tryāphvā II on

85. Pl. 472<sup>19</sup>.

86. L. 696b<sup>3,10</sup>.

87. L. 688<sup>14</sup>, L. 696b<sup>3,11</sup>, U34a<sup>6,10</sup>, U87a<sup>23</sup>.

88. U92a<sup>5,5</sup>, U95<sup>4,12</sup>.

89. Pl. 507a<sup>27</sup>, U 92a<sup>5,5-6</sup>.

90. U 92a<sup>6,7</sup>

91. Pl. 472<sup>15</sup>

92. U 92a<sup>7</sup>.

93. U 94b<sup>1</sup>.

23 February 1352<sup>94</sup>. He is also known as Sihapati<sup>95</sup> and he reigned until 1364 when his capital Cakuin was destroyed by the northern Syam.

Satuiw manphya became king in 1364<sup>96</sup> and he was the first founder of Awa<sup>97</sup> and his regal title was Siri Tiribhawanatittvarawaradhammaraja<sup>98</sup>. He was a warrior king and in an inscription dated 1365 we have one reference to his coming back from war. It says:

// Satuiw mankri Caku thuiw khle ruy plan taw mu lac so akha Kukhan aran  
nhuik cac sukri Asankhya simhak nhuik tay taw mu sa akha nhuik nwa ta khu  
wak ta khu krak pon 5 khu se aklok ta chay thaman apghan ta chai han  
apghan ta chai / i mhya sa lakchon chak ruy<sup>99</sup>...

When the great king Satuiw returned from subduing Caku, he stopped at a sima of the General Asankhya at a place called Kukhan. He was given one ox, one pig, a total of 5 fowls, ten jars of liquor, ten pots of rice and ten pots of curry.

Satuiw Manphya was succeeded by his brother-in-law Tryaphya III. He became king on 5 September 1367<sup>100</sup>. He was Namansan Man<sup>101</sup> before he became king and popularly he was known as Mankriwa<sup>102</sup> - the Exalted Great King. He ruled until 1400, i.e. for 33 years<sup>103</sup>. As it was a period of trouble and most of the kings ruled for only short periods, his long reign was exceptional and therefore he was also known as Saktawchan<sup>104</sup> - the Long Life. Although there were some disturbances<sup>105</sup>

94. U 92a<sup>6-7</sup>

95. Pl. 497<sup>28</sup>.

96. Pl. 543b<sup>1</sup>, S. 726, Pl. 544a<sup>12</sup>, Pl. 544b<sup>6</sup>.

97. U 60a<sup>2</sup> S. 746 and Pl. 543b<sup>1,8,9,9-10</sup>, S. 726.

98. U 33<sup>2-3</sup>, S. 729.

99. L. 630a<sup>18-21</sup>, S. 727.

100. L. 770<sup>5</sup>, L. 647<sup>2,6</sup>.

101. Pl. 499b<sup>14</sup>, L. 698b<sup>4</sup>.

102. U 58<sup>2,14,19</sup>.

103. U 92a<sup>9</sup> says 35 years.

104. U 63<sup>11-12</sup>.

105. L. 705<sup>1</sup>.

he managed to have a fairly quiet reign since 1386<sup>106</sup>, enjoying life with many queens. We know a few of them. They were: Cau Nanda<sup>107</sup> daughter of Cau Calā; Ton Miphurā Caw<sup>108</sup>—the South Queen Caw: Mlok Miphurā Caw<sup>109</sup>—the North Queen Caw: Cau Cacton kuiw Taw<sup>110</sup>; Caw Umma<sup>111</sup>; and Svan Rhuy<sup>112</sup>. The last mentioned one was a wife he married at the age of 22 when he was a petty chief of Talun. He took the titles of Assanatinarapatibhawanātitvāpawaradhammarāja<sup>113</sup> and Siri Tiri-pawanādittvāpawarapanitadhammarāja<sup>114</sup>. During his reign, a great earthquake was recorded to have done much havoc on 28 November 1372. In 1400 he was succeeded by his eldest son Trvāphvā IV. His reign was short. His step-brother Man Khon I or Ancrathā III or Trvāphvā V became king on 25 November 1400.

It was indeed a period of war. Due to foreign invasions cultivable lands were left untended and soon they relapsed into jungle. One inscription dated 1386 gives the following account.

Mahāmatimā dhañ ā / Uccanā Maṅkri sañ saṁsarā chaṇṇav kuiw krok cwa so kroṇ  
Pankley tuik twañ cū caṁ lat ruy Sakarac 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapon l-chañ 13 r  
rvak 5 ne mle 1500 Cayvasatthiv tuik twañ lhu taw mū e' / akhā tapā Taruk  
phvak ruy tau ati phlac khai / akhluiw ka: skhiñ tuiw ā paccañ phlac e'<sup>115</sup>  
 Great King Uccanā, being afraid of the miseries of the Saṁsarā made enquiries in Pankley tuik and on 8 February 1256, gave 1500 (pay) of land from Cayvasatthiv tuik to Mahāmatimāthera. Because the Taruk once plundered (the said lands) became full of jungle. Of these lands, some relapsed into jungle and some remained in support of the Lords.

This extract referred to the Mongol invasions and how they effected agriculture of those days. Nearly a century had passed but the effect of the war was still felt in some parts of the country. We find here that the field abandoned at the time of the invasions were left untouched until 1386. After the Taruk, there came the

106. U 64<sup>14</sup>,

107. U 34a<sup>5,6,7,10</sup>

108. L. 682<sup>14</sup>

109. L. 682<sup>18,18</sup>

110. U 55a<sup>4</sup>, U 58<sup>2,14</sup>

111. L. 800a<sup>19</sup>

112. L. 770<sup>3</sup>

113. U 58<sup>1,14</sup>

114. L. 682<sup>3-4</sup>

115. U 64<sup>7-11</sup>, S. 748



Syam. A record of 1342 mentions that the Lord of the Elephant had to wage wars against the Syam and he won.<sup>116</sup> In another record we find:

/ Sakarac 718 khu Kratuik nhac Man Sinkapaty / man mu so kha lhan  
Khamwan sukri kuiw Khyantwan cac thuiw le ce e' cac on khlyiy ra ka nhac  
sak lan cwa lhan mu ruy Maw kuiw wan e' chu pe e'...<sup>117</sup>

In 1356 when Prince Sinkapaty was in control, he let the headman of Khan-  
mwan to fight the battle of Khyantwan. As he won the battle, (the Prince)  
 was pleased. Maw was besieged. (I am not sure of the translation here).

Rewards were given.

The widow of Tonnu Man in 1375 said:

na lan nat rwa la pri cwa mahkri cac 3 krin tak lac so rahan punna lu taka  
tuiw san mwat so akha nhuik wak kyak 37 pa acim apa 200 na pe ra e' lu tuiw  
mwat ruy se so kha lu mya kuiw na kuiw nhan thap tu lhan sana cwa ruy lhu  
so tham ka ta ne so akhwak na chai 2 na nak ma prat lhu ra e' cac mak phlac  
so skhin tuiw kyan man san hi so le ma kyan a rak paccan 4 pa cum on lhu  
ra e'...<sup>118</sup>

After the death of my husband, when the great king of Aur marched thrice to  
 do battle, all men, monks and Brahman starved. Then I gave alms to 200  
 monks with 37 varieties of food including pork, fowl, etc. When men died of  
 starvation, I had a compassion on them as I had on myself, (and therefore)  
 I had 50 khwak of rice cooked twice - night and day, daily and gave them  
 away. When the Lords (of the Religion) became uncomfortable due to the wars,  
 I made <sup>them</sup> comfortable by giving them complete sets of the four requisites.

This clearly indicates that war evacuees found their way to Taungoo which was late:  
 to become a rival of Aur.

Another inscription dated 1375 make a comparison of the Syam ravages in Burma to  
 that of the Cola attacks at Ceylon<sup>119</sup>. It says:

/ phura sikhah nippan lwan pri sasanā 1918 nhac so akha nhuik / Sakarac  
736 khu Pisyak nhac Tapon 1-chan 8 ryak satan 2 nly a / 900,000 so Khan

116. Pl. 465b<sup>16</sup>, S. 703.

117. Pl. 519a<sup>1-3</sup>, S. 718.

118. List 686b<sup>8-10</sup>, S. 737.

119. Luce: "Syam" JSS, XLVI, 11, p.198, n. 199.

maṅkri e cac sañ tuiw kuiw lak rumm tau ā phlan òn lac ruv Mraṇṇā prañ Svām  
a lum cum kuiw acuiw ra so Sīhasūra mañ so Chaṇḍhū Sikhā trvā maṅkri e'  
mle tau phlac tha so / Siritiriphanāditdvāpawarapanitadhammarājā phun tap  
khuiw kvak sariy ne la kai suiw tok pa cwa tha so / Mahādhammarājā rhu<sup>i</sup>y klon  
e' tāyakā alwan trvā satthā cwa tha so / Chaṇḍhū Skhin maṅkri Tryāphvā sañ  
phurā sāsanā tok pa cwa tha so / Sinkhuiw klwan kuiw micchādithi Klan ti  
ñak 2 phyak phi pri so thuiw klwan Sinkhuiw Sikri Bruhmā Catulokapālā /  
Phummārukka / ā-kāsanhañ yakkha dewā / con ma pā ruv ta kvak ta phan phurā  
mwan e sāsanā kuiw tok pa ce tat cwa tha so / phurā mlat cwa Mitrvā e' lakvā  
rañ hu pyatit kham ra so Aphayaduthakāmani maṅkri kai suiw / Camputit thak  
phurā sāsanā tok pa cwa so / Mraṇṇā prañ kuiw dithi Svām myā thwā 2 ñak 2  
phyak phi sañ kuiw lak rum prañ tau ā phlan Svām dithi kuiw nhip nañ nuiñ  
ruv rhe so thak che thak amwan sāsanā tok pa ce lyak dāna sila ne ña ma kwan  
alvañ con ruv rahan punnā mina yokvā sumvā tuiw e' aci aphwā khvamsā tuiw  
kuiw rhā pe tat cwa tha so / Mraṇṇā prañ aluñ kun òn cum kuiw acuiw ra sañ  
phlac ruv Tawatinsā nat e' prañ nhañ tū lha kyañ tha so / Awa prañ<sup>120</sup>

Just as in<sup>the</sup> Island of Ceylon where the Religion shone, (and where also) the heretics Klan had completely destroyed the land, that Island Ceylon revived and the Religion shone again through the blessings of Sakra, Brahma, and all the deva and through the effort done by the great king Dutthagamani who was the repentent of the prophecy that he would become the right hand disciple of Maitrya, on the Jambudipa where the Religion shone bright, the country of Mraṇṇā was also completely destroyed by the heretic Svām and yet through the might and wisdom of Siri Tiriphanāditdvāpawarapanitadhammarājā, who is powerful, majestic and shines like sun and moon, who is a great just king, the donor of the golden monastery and who has a great faith in the Religion, (also known as) the great king Tryāphvā, Lord of the white Elephant, the

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120. L. 682<sup>1-10</sup>, S. 737.

grandson of the great just king Sihasura, Lord of the White Elephant who ruled over all Mramma and Syam lands after conquering the 900,000 Khan soldiers, the heretic Syam were suppressed and the Religion shone again so that the monks, the Brahmans and the laity both men and women could observe restraint and charity and work for their own prosperity so that Ava capital of the Mramma land became as pleasant as the Tavatimsa (7 Feb 1375).

Although Burma had experienced a century of unrest and war featured by foreign invasions and warring chiefs of petty states, there was some pleasantness coming back as alluded to in the above inscription. Towards the end of the century, with the growth of Ava, the kings shew more concern to restore peace and encourage agriculture. We also find that the monks

too took a major part in this endeavour to restore peace and grow more food. The monks of the forest monasteries took the lead in reclaiming waste lands under crop.<sup>121</sup>

A few months ago I read a paper on "Mahākassapa and His Tradition" at an ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society and that was on one of the important aspects of the period under survey. So leaving the details, I would like to repeat some of the salient points I discussed then.

The 14th century was the time when the Buddhist sect of 'forest dwellers' were most active in Burma. Their leader Mahākassapa was born in A.D. 1169<sup>122</sup> and his original name was Na Pon, Lon, San. He was the native of Parinna in Myaung township, Sagaing district.<sup>123</sup> He was extremely well in the knowledge of the Pitaka and his moral conduct was exemplary. He established a forest monastery firstly at Kyaukyit. He then extended his monastic establishments to Parin, Annan and Anin. By A.D. 1215 he came to Pagan. His name first appeared in the Pagan inscriptions in A.D. 1225.<sup>124</sup> He had his lieutenants chosen from the choicest of the monkhood and such persons like Anātakundañ<sup>125</sup> or Mahānātinā<sup>126</sup> in his following helped much the propagation of his sect. Such leaders of the sect came to be known as Saṅgharāja.<sup>127</sup> They had the power to control the monks and they exercised much influence over the kings of the Awa period. The kings gave them the authority to use the Kanakkatan White Umbrella. Some of them like Mahāsaṅgharāja<sup>128</sup> and Pitū Saṅgharāja<sup>129</sup> became quite famous. It is remarkable to note that there was one female leader called Rhe klon Saṅgharāja In Ton Ruiv.<sup>130</sup> Their power declined only after 1500.

During the Pagan period they had their rivals in the person of Dharmasiri and Subhūticanda,<sup>131</sup> but they did not have any rival worthy of note during the period under survey. As a matter of fact, they were the most popular of the Buddhist sects current then. Although they were staying at Araññawasi tay klon,<sup>132</sup> most of them never

121. List 891<sup>9-24</sup>, S.791.

122. U 199a<sup>9</sup>, S.750.

123. Pl.474<sup>7</sup>, S.706.

124. Pl.123<sup>5,6,7,12</sup>, S.587.

125. U 45a<sup>5</sup>, S.733.

126. U 64<sup>6,7</sup>, S.748.

127. List 891<sup>9</sup>, S.791, etc.

128. List 845<sup>2</sup>, S.774.

129. List 891<sup>11</sup>, S.791.

130. List 834<sup>2</sup>, S.770.

131. Pl.302

132. Pl.465a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.583a<sup>20</sup>, etc.

lived alone in the forest to observe the Arāṇṅgaṇi as their name suggests. They lived in great monastic establishments, owned vast estates and allowed certain lapses in the observance of the Vinaya.

They also got lands in gifts but they greatly enlarged their estates by purchase. Most of their purchases were made at the outlying districts where the price of land was cheap.<sup>133</sup> In such land transactions, it was usual to give grand feasts to gain the public recognition of the new ownership.<sup>134</sup> Officials in connection with the land were given cloths of various kinds as gifts.<sup>135</sup> The price of land nearly always included siy phuiv sã phuiv<sup>136</sup> - the price of liquor and meat, and both men and monks were invited to enjoy pri siy pri sã<sup>137</sup> - the finishing liquor and the finishing meat. One could imagine how much people would come to a feast where one big bull, one big pig, and over 30 pots of liquor were consumed.<sup>138</sup> Sometimes the monks would mention their feast as saṅghika cit ta khu se thamān nham may cā pe e,<sup>139</sup> - one goat commonly owned by the monks was eaten with liquor-rice and meat. Of the meat eaten, beef was the most popular and pork was the next favourite. Of the liquor there were than rañ<sup>140</sup> or yamaka aphyaw<sup>141</sup> - the toddy palm juice, pe rañ<sup>142</sup> - the palmyra palm juice, and arak<sup>143</sup> - the distilled or foreign liquor. We find the mention of one Queen Cow dedicating one ponkan of arak in 1379.<sup>144</sup> Special pavilions were sometimes built for holding these feasts.<sup>145</sup> But usually a feast would be held at any convenient place not excepting a mahāthara's residence.<sup>146</sup> A copy of an inscription found at Nandamāna in Ajjagana enclosure of Minnanthu, Pagan, mentions that provisions were left to cook rice and curry for the morning and evening meals of the monks.<sup>147</sup> This practice of feasting and passing gifts in connection with land transactions began to appear by A.D.1200 and it continued beyond A.D.1500.

133. Pl.268

134. Pl.224<sup>10-11</sup>, S.630.

135. List 682<sup>25-8</sup>, S.737.

136. Pl.231a<sup>5</sup>, S.632, etc.

137. Pl.543a<sup>25</sup>, S.726.

138. U 58<sup>12</sup>, S.745.

139. U 125b<sup>6</sup>, S.802.

140. List 952b<sup>8</sup>, S.852.

141. Pl.233<sup>14</sup>, S.738.

142. U 71b<sup>29</sup>, S.760.

143. List 891<sup>5</sup>, S.791.

144. Waklak Thitseingyi Kyeung Inscription  
Obverse<sup>23</sup>, S.741.

145. List 636<sup>17</sup>, S.732.

146. List 671a<sup>12</sup>, S.735.

147. List 277<sup>20-1</sup>, S.610. See also G.E.

Harvey: History of Burma, p.60.

With the exception of drinking liquor, eating evening meals and encouraging the slaughter of cattle, etc. these monks were very much the same with other monks. As stated above they had among them quite venerable monks. Apart from their religious duties, these monks took the lead in claiming more land under cultivation and thus they must have been quite useful to the community in those days.

In conclusion we find this period as the most troubled period of the Burmese history. Yet thanks to the 'forest dwellers' and the kings of the later period, we find that the foundations were laid for the political and cultural progress that Burma made in the 15th and 16th centuries.

7.45 a.m.

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