

BURMA DOWN TO THE FALL OF PAGAN.

BURMA DOWN TO THE FALL OF PAGAN.

An Outline, Part I.

By G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin.

Burma today lies off the mainroad of world commerce, which goes by sea past Singapore. It was otherwise at the beginning of our era, when mountains and tropic jungle were less dreaded than long sea voyages. Our earliest information, from Chinese and Greek sources, is largely concerned with ancient trade-routes between China, India and the West. The overland route across the north of Burma was used as early as c. 128 B.C., when Chang Ch'ien discovered in Bactria some textiles and (square?) bamboo walking-sticks which he recognised as products of Ssich'uan; they had come, he was told, from the south-east, from India.¹ Steps were taken to develop this route; but it was not until 69 A.D. that the Chinese, crossing the Mekong, founded Yung-ch'ang prefecture, the headquarters of which lay east of the Salween, some sixty miles from the present Burma frontier. The people living in these parts were called the Ai-lao. Over half a million, under 77 "district princes", submitted to China. They are not stated to have had dealings with India, but much that we read about them gives us this impression. They bored their noses and loaded their ears so that the lobes reached down to the shoulder. They had various kinds of dyed and embroidered textiles, some of silk; also amber, glazed ware and oyster-pearls. They revolted in 76-77; but a century of peace followed, and embassies from beyond begin to be recorded. Thus in 94 two kings of the Tun-jên-i (**tun-nien-yet*) beyond the frontier presented rhinoceros and elephant. In 107 "the Lu-lei (**liuk-lywi*) and other pigmy tribes beyond the frontier, over 3,000 persons, submitted to China." These tribes may well have been settled in the north of Burma. But the Tan or Shan (**d'an*, **dian*), who also arrived at Yung-ch'ang in 97, and again with a troupe of conjurers in 120-1, had come all the way from Ta-ch'in or the Roman East, possibly from Tanis at the east of the Nile delta. Their king was Yung-yu-tiao (**yong-yu-d'ieu*—query Augustus?). Their route in 97 is not stated; but in 120 they had "traversed the shifting sands, and crossed the Hanging Passes" between Tashkurghan and Gilgit. They came again, in 131-2, but this time by sea to Tongking; and later envoys from Ta-ch'in—those of Marcus Aurelius in 166, and the merchant Ch'in Lun in 226—all followed the sea-route.²

It is not until the 1st century A.D. that Greek and Roman authors begin to write of Transgangetic India and the Sinai or Thinai (S. China). Much of their information about Burma remains obscure; but at least it corroborates the Chinese evidence about trade-routes across the north of Burma as well as by sea; and both

agree in placing, in or near Burma, dwarfish and white-skinned peoples. Pomponius Mela (c.50) is the first to mention Chryse and Argyre, the islands of gold and silver beyond the Ganges. Substantial evidence is found in the *Periplus of the Erythran Sea* (latter half of the 1st century). The anonymous author had seen in the ports of S. India some vessels "called *kolandiophônta*, very large, which hoist sail for Chryse and the Ganges." Chryse is described, now as "the easternmost mainland", now as an ocean-island over against the Ganges, producing the best tortoiseshell. Through the port Gangês passed "*malabathron* and Gangetic nard and byssus and those most excellent muslin stuffs (*sindones*) called Gangetics. And there are said to be gold mines also in those parts, and a coinage of gold called *kaltis*." Beyond Chryse, to the north, he heard of "a very large inland town named Thin", from which silken fabrics were "borne on foot to Barygaza (Broach) across Bactria, or again to Limuria (the Dravidian country) *via* the river Ganges. But it is not easy to reach this country; for rarely do men come thence, and those but few." He continues with a story of the trade in *malabathron* (perhaps a cinnamon); from which the noblest Roman unguent was extracted) between Thin and India, through the unconscious mediation of the wild Sêsatai, "a people stunted in body and very broad-faced." These people, who were carriers on the Chinese border, then certainly Yung-ch'ang, may perhaps be placed in the north of Burma, between China and Assam.

The first extant description of Further India as a whole is found in Ptolemy (2nd cent.). He gives, as usual, place-names in abundance, and his latitudes and longitudes have a certain air of finality. But a perusal of his first chapter, and a glance at a map of Indo-China drawn up in accordance with his *data*, suffice to show how uncertain they really are. The number of ascertained points is still very small. On the one side is the mouth of the Ganges; on the other the port of Kattigara, the terminus of the sea-route to the Sin (*i.e.* Thin, China), probably not far from Hanoi. From China there was "not only a route to Bactriana *via* the Stone Tower" *i.e.* through Central Asia, "but also to India *via* Palimbothra" (Pāliputra). The *data* about N.W. Indo-China are plainly the least inaccurate. Ptolemy's coastline as far as the Gulf of Sabara roughly approximates to the form shewn in our maps as far as the Gulf of Martaban. What follows is still a mystery, though there are reasons for placing the port of Takôla near the Isthmus of Kra. The country of Argyra ("Silver land"), whatever we are to make of the alleged silver mines, would fit the situation of Arakan. The cannibals of Bésynga would seem to have occupied a rivermouth in the neighbourhood of Moulmein. Neighbour to Bésynga was the "country of Chryse" (but it is also said to lie above, *i.e.* north of, Argyra); "it abounds in goldmines, and the inhabitants are said to

be whiteskinned, hairy, stunted and snubnosed." This Chryse, it seems, is to be distinguished from Ptolemy's Chryse Chersonesos, which appears to mean the Malay Peninsula. Boats sailed to it from a point in Maisolia in India. The description of the interior suffers from various mistakes. By making the Ganges flow from north to south, Ptolemy thrusts into Further India some parts of India north of the Ganges. His mountain-range Maiandros (*Skt. Mandara*) runs certainly N.W.—S.E.; but his confusion of the Shan Hills and the Arakan Yoma leaves the courses of his rivers (except their mouths) vague, and renders uncertain the location of his inland towns. Of these, "Mareura metropolis, also called Malthura" is the most likely to have been in Burma, lying nearest as it does to the north of the Gulf of Sabara. Among the inland tribes to the north he mentions "the Piladai above Maiandros—a name they give to the Saesadai, for they are stunted and broad and hairy and broadfaced, whiteskinned however. Above Kirrhadia, in which the finest *malabathron* is said to grow, the Gameraï cannibals extend along Mt. Maiandros." Ptolemy's Saesadai should be the Sésatai of the *Periplus*. There are variant readings of many of the above names.³

Some of these names doubtless appear in Indian texts, though generally in lists of semi-mythical geography which leave their situation vague. *Chryse* has its counterpart in the vague *Suvanna-bhami*. The latter, in Jataka stories, is a sort of Eldorado across the sea for Indian merchants; in hagiography, it is notably one of the countries to which Buddhist missionaries, Soṇa and Uttara, were alleged to have been sent after the Third Council, 247 B.C.; this mission is not recorded in the Rock-Edicts of Asoka. The ports *Takkola* and *Vesunga* seem to correspond to Ptolemy's *Takōla* and *Bésynga*. *Malabathron*, as Garcia da Orta recognised, is doubtless a corruption of *tamāla-patra*, "the dark leaf".⁴

On the collapse of the Later Han dynasty, the Minor Han of Shu (Ssüch'uan) for a time maintained their influence in Yünnan. In 226 their minister, Chu-ko Liang, led an expedition, famous in story, as far at least as Yung-ch'ang.⁵ Even at the end of this century, we learn from I-tsing, more than twenty Chinese monks found their way, "by the Tsang-ko road in the province of Shu", to the court of Śrī Gupta, founder of the Gupta dynasty.⁶ But already China had relaxed her hold of the Burma frontier; in 342 A.D. Yung-ch'ang *chün* was abolished; and for the next few centuries Chinese records confine themselves to the sea-route. There were two possible courses, one by the Straits of Malacca, the other involving transshipment at one of the narrower points of the peninsula. The former—a route troubled by pirates—rose in importance with the rise of the island-kingdoms of Java and Sumatra; the latter route seems to have had the preference at first, and for long remained

the rival of the former, even in the 9th century when it had passed under the control of Palembang. Ere this, a series of small Indianised states along the peninsula had had their periods of prosperity. Several must have been on the border of Tenasserim, but it is not certain if any were actually in it. It must here suffice to allude to them as centres of civilisation for Lower Burma.

Early in the 3rd century Fan Shih Wan, king of Fu-nan of the Lower Mekong, "caused great ships to be built" and conquered "more than ten kingdoms" on the Malay Peninsula, probably near the Isthmus of Kra. "Then he wished to subdue the kingdom of Chin-lin; but he fell ill . . ." These were flourishing ports, noted for scented woods; by the middle of the 3rd century they were crowded with Indian merchants and Brahmans who settled there, converting the natives and intermarrying with them; there were also, it seems, a few Buddhists; many of the natives were of white complexion. Chin-lin, also called Chin-ch'ên (the first element in each case meaning 'gold'), was a populous kingdom rich in silver and elephant-ivory, situated on a big bay over 2,000 *li* west of Fu-nan; 2,000 *li* inland beyond it, in a wide plain, was the kingdom of Lin-yang (**liem-yang*) with an ardent Buddhist population of over 100,000 families, including several thousand monks; 2,000 *li* beyond Lin-yang was Nu-hou, the kingdom of "the descendants of slaves", over 20,000 families, conterminous with Yung-ch'ang.—In spite of some discrepancies in the texts it seems probable that Lin-yang was somewhere in Central Burma, perhaps near the overland route to India; if so, it is clear that by the middle of the 3rd century Buddhism had made great progress here, in contrast with Brahmanism in the South.⁹

We are not told what people inhabited Lin-yang. Several early works, some dating from the 4th century, refer, more or less fancifully, to the tribes living S.W. of Yung-ch'ang. In the mountains astride the frontier there were the wild and troublesome P'u (**b'uok*) tribes, whose land produced rhinoceros, elephant, tortoiseshell, jade, amber, cowries, gold, silver, salt-wells, cinnamon and cotton trees, hill-paddy and panicked millet. They tattooed themselves, wore armour of monkey's hide, and used bows and arrows; some were cannibals and went naked.¹⁰ Beyond them, 3,000 *li* S.W. of Yung-ch'ang, there is mention of a civilised people, the P'iao, where "prince and minister, father and son, elder and younger, have each their order of precedence"; they used gold to make their knives and halberds; their products were a white cloth made of a kind of tree-cotton, cowries, cloves and various perfumes.¹¹

The P'iao of the Chinese are evidently the Pyu, the early inhabitants of Burma of whom local memory survives. The name

is written *Prū* by the modern Burman; but in older writers and early inscriptions it is written *Pyū*¹²; and the Chinese *P'iao* (**b'iaū*—a slightly different character is used from the 8th century onwards) proves that the *r* is not correct. "P'iao was formerly *Chu-po* (**tsiu-pua*") says the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*; "in Chinese they are called P'iao. They call themselves T'u-lo-chu (**t'ust-lā-is'iu*). The Javanesse call them T'u-li-ch'ü (**d'uo-lyi-k'iuet*"). Both these variants may perhaps be connected with the ethnic term *Tircul*, occurring in an early Mon inscription side by side with *Mirmā* (Burmese) and *Rmeñ* (Mon)¹³; and also with a large kingdom called *T'sūl* or *T.sūl*, mentioned in 9th-10th century Persian works as a hostile neighbour to China (? *Nan-chao*), inhabited by dark-skinned cotton-clad people.¹⁴ Stories of the *Pyu* are rife from *Halingyi* in *Shwebo* district down to *Prome*; and inscriptions thought to be *Pyu* have been discovered in both places, dating from the 7th century or earlier.¹⁵ They are found chiefly at *Old Prome*; and the presence here of these and other ancient remains, differing markedly from the earliest known styles of the *Mons* and *Burmans*, justifies us in accepting the tradition that they are *Pyu*, and that *Old Prome* was once the capital of the *Pyu*. It is probably the *Pyu* kingdom, under the name of its capital *Śrīkṣetra* (*Old Prome*), which is mentioned by *Hsüan-tsang* in 648, and *I-tsing* about 675.¹⁶ The brief urn-inscriptions elucidated by *Dr. Blagden* reveal to us a *Vikrama* dynasty, using "Pyu" script and language, and reigning at *Śrīkṣetra*, at least from 673 to 718:—*Sūriyavikrama* died in 688 at the age of 64, *Harivikrama* in 695 at the age of 41, *Sihavikrama* in 718 at the age of 44. The dates are provisional, for the era is not certain; if it is the ordinary "Burmese Era", dating from 638 A.D., it would appear that this era, of which the origin is obscure but which seems to date from a moment when the beginnings of the solar and lunar years almost coincided,¹⁷ was in origin a *Pyu* era, perhaps inaugurated by the *Vikrama* dynasty. Contemporaneous with the *Vikramas* of *Śrīkṣetra*, at a neighbouring and rival city, was a *Varman* line, including *Śrī Prabhuvarma* (and his queen *Śrī Prabhudevī*) and *Jayacandravarman*: the latter is mentioned in a *Sanskrit* inscription as a "younger brother" of *Harivikrama*, reconciled to him by his teacher *Guhadipa*.¹⁸ *Śrīkṣetra*, or *Old Prome*, modern *Hmawza*, is the only *Pyu* site hitherto excavated.¹⁹ Here massive city-walls, roughly circular, of large brick, and traces of broad moats are still impressive. Outside the walls are three stupas, in shape markedly archaic. The *Bawbawgyi*, which is the best-preserved, is a cylinder of plastered brick, over 150 ft. high, with a hollow shaft in the centre, crowned with a flattened cone. Belonging possibly to a later date, are several small vaulted chapels—the *Bèbè*, *Lemyethna*, *Zegu*, etc., prototypes of the *Burmese* temples at *Pagan*; all are of brick, and the pointed arch is usual; as at *Pagan*, the bricks of the *voussoir* are laid flat against the face of the arch.

Detached images, except for figurines in gold, bronze or stone, are rarely found; instead, we have large stone *Buddhist* sculptures in relief, betraying *Gupta* influence; sometimes there is a lower panel with a "Pyu" inscription. Hundreds of terracotta plaques are found, occasionally with brief "Pyu" epigraphs on the back, or *Sanskrit* legends in *Nāgari* character stamped on the front. There is clear evidence of *Mahāyānism*—bronze statuettes etc. of *Avalokitesvara*. *Vaishnavism* is also witnessed by numerous stone sculptures of *Viṣṇu*; the city and the suburb, indeed, are sometimes known as "Viṣṇu city." The signs of *Shaivism* which some scholars have detected are more questionable; and it is certain that the *Hinayāna* flourished, as evidenced by *Pali* inscriptions—the two gold plates of *Maunggan* (7 miles S. of *Hmawza*) and the *Bawbawgyi* stone, containing *Buddhist* formulas and texts from the *Abhidhamma*.²⁰ The curiously archaic script or scripts, like those of the oldest inscriptions of *Java* and *Camboja*, are similar to the 5th century *Kadamba* script of *N. Kanara* in *W. India*; the centre of *Pali* culture in the 5th century, however, was at *Kāñcipura*. The *Pyu* of *Prome* burnt their dead and stored the ashes in urns; hundreds of earthenware urns have been discovered, with white pebbles and protective iron nails or knife-blades near at hand; also a few stone urns, for royalty, with "Pyu" epigraphs. One urn contained five silver coins; these, and a round clay seal with strange markings, are strikingly similar to some coins found at *Halin* and also in the *Shan* and *Karen* States, and partly resemble the *Candra* coins of *Arakan*.²¹ The main key to the "Pyu" language is the quadrilingual *Myazedi* inscription of *Pagan* (1113 A.D.), written in "Pyu", *Mon*, *Burmese* and *Pali*. On the basis of this, *Dr. Blagden* has fixed the sense of about fifty words: but even the script, though based on *S. Indian* models, is peculiar and still offers many problems. The language—a rather distant cousin, it seems, of *Burmese*—is mainly monosyllabic, not tolerating closed syllables; it appears to have had, in notation, a developed tonal system. It contained words derived from *Sanskrit*, and at least one word (*tha*, gold) common to *Mon*.

Chinese influence was felt, momentarily, on the *Burma* frontier, in 692-3, when the *Yung-ch'ang* chieftain "brought 20,000 tribesmen to submit to *China*".²² But in the 8th and 9th centuries *Nan-chao* dominates *Upper*, and even *Lower*, *Burma*.²³ Its history need not here be recapitulated. It claimed descent from the *Ai-lao*; and up to 739 the original *nan-chao*, southernmost of the six princes, lived at *Meng-shé*, east of *Yung-ch'ang* and south of *Ta-li*. Predominantly *Tai*, it included in the north tribes such as the *Mo-so*, speaking *Tibeto-Burman* languages. Early in the 8th century *Shêng-lo-p'i* had crossed to the west of the *Mekong* and subdued the warlike *Wang-chü*, whose cavalry forms thereafter the vanguard of the *Nan-chao* armies.²⁴ His successor, *P'i-lo-ko*, turned his

ambition northwards; but Ko-lo-fêng (748-779), having thrown in his lot with the Tibetans and twice defeated the Chinese, in 755-7 made a remarkable progress along the Tibetan marches, from the heart of Ssich'uan right down into Burma. In Khamti Long he built a fortress and left a garrison for a year; a line of walled forts N.W. of Yung-ch'ang led in 60 stages up to Kuang-tang town on the Tibetan border.²⁵ He crushed the Hsün-ch'uan²⁶ tribes dwelling in these parts, from the Upper Yang-tzū down into Burma, and also the Wild or Naked Barbarians²⁷ living scattered in hill-caves to the west of them. About the latitude of Bhamo he "opened communications with" the Pyu; according to one version he "subdued" them; in any case we may accept the statement of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* that Nan-chao, "on account of its nearness and its military power, has always held the Pyu under bridle and control." On the Mo-ling or Ch'i-hsien Mts., overlooking the plains of the Irrawaddy, he or his successors built a fortress and stationed their most reliable officers, charged with the control of all the various tribes.²⁸ These tribes were mostly martial; and they were forced to enlist in the Nan-chao armies; many of them were present at the siege of Hanoi in 862-3. There were the barefoot Hsün-ch'uan with bamboo helmets and belts of porcupine-skin; the chieftainless barkclad "Naked Barbarians"; the Wang Man or Wang-wai-yü,²⁹ N.W. of Yung-ch'ang, all slung with cowries and holding bucklers, lances and wooden bows with poisoned arrows; west of Yung-ch'ang, the tall and valiant P'u (*b'uok),³⁰ wearing blue cotton trousers, and using bucklers and lances in battle, and bamboo bows to shoot flying mice in the forest; their cousins, the Wang-chü, lancers and halberdiers, both men and women, riding bareback in coats of mail and helmets with plumes of yak hair; the Sêng-ch'i³¹ (? negroites), dependent on Mogaung (?), but "all governed by Nan-chao"; the numerous Mang³² tribes of Hsenwi, in blue-green trousers and belts of cane or bamboo and turbans of thin red silk; and other trouser-clad tribes to the south of Yung-ch'ang, who on occasions of ceremony plated their teeth with gold or silver, or lacquered them black, or tattooed their legs or faces.³³ It was Ko-lo-fêng's campaign, we may be sure, which re-opened the road to India; its stages are given by the minister Chia Tan between 785 and 805.³⁴ One route led due west from Yung-ch'ang to T'êng-yüeh, and thence approximately by Waingmaw (Li-shui town)³⁵, Mogaung (An-hsi)³⁶ and the Tuzu gap to Gauhati and Magadha; the other went S. W. to the Pyu capital, and so to Gauhati by the Chindwin (Mi-no *chiang*³⁷) and Manipur. It was a time of development for the north of Burma. Gold ore was sought in the mountains of the 'Nmai Hka (Lu-tou *chiang*)³⁸; seven or eight-tenths were exacted by the officials, and the miners were exempt from further taxation or military service. Gold dust was washed from the sands of the Irrawaddy (Li-shui³⁹), criminals and prisoners of war being sent

for the purpose. Amber was mined in the mountains "18 stages W. of Yung-ch'ang". Salt wells were worked at Mei-lo-chü,⁴⁰ between Myitkyina and Mogaung; also in Hsenwi and the hills near the 'Nmai Hka; lump salt of fixed weights was used as the medium of exchange. Horses were bred plentifully around T'êng-yüeh by the P'u and Wang-chü, long-horned oxen by the Wang-wai-yü, elephants for ploughing by the Mang of Hsenwi, yaks (? zo) on the Upper Chindwin. Lychee, areca-nut, myrobalan, coconut, sago palm, jack fruit, melons, Job's tears, species of tree-cotton, wild mulberry for bows, rhinoceros leather, cowries, wax, realgar, various textiles, woods with medicinal and other properties—are named as products of these regions.⁴¹ The western boundary of Nan-chao is said to have adjoined Magadha; this doubtless goes too far; but it seems clear that it exercised direct control up to the Irrawaddy and its sources above Bhamo; and that west of this, over the "Little Brahmans"⁴² of the Hukong Valley and the "Ta-ch'in Brahmans"⁴³ of Manipur, its influence was paramount up to the passes into Assam. In 794 K'o-lo-fêng's successor, I-mou-hsün, attacked the Mang tribes.⁴⁴ At the request of Wei Kao, the Chinese governor of Hsi-ch'uan, he sent a troupe of musicians, including Pyu, which appeared at the T'ang court early in 800. This led the Pyu king, Yung-ch'ang or K'un-mo-chang, to send in 801-2 a formal embassy to China *via* Nan-chao; it included his younger brother (or son) Sunandana, lord of the city of Sri, and also 35 musicians. Chinese texts give many details of the mission, and the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* in particular has a long description of Pyu music.⁴⁵

The bulk of Chinese references to the Pyu go back clearly to this embassy. The Pyu capital is described in some detail, but it remains doubtful where it was. Various reasons, of which Chia Tan's itinerary is perhaps the chief, incline the present writers to place it, no longer at Promé, but further north, in the dry zone. "It was traditionally supposed to have been the city of Sariputra"—a tradition easily understood if its name was Rajagṛha. The walls were a day's march in circuit; the population, of several myriad families, all lived within. They were good Buddhists, peaceful and decorous, men of few words. Astrologers were numerous. There were over a hundred monasteries where boys and girls were educated. Lawsuits were decided by silent meditation in front of a colossal white image; criminals, except murderers, were mildly treated. There was a silver (and gold?) coinage, "shaped like the half-moon". The Pyu traded with Nan-chao in river-pigs, textiles and glazed earthenware jars. The area of the kingdom is variously given as 3000 *li* from E. to W., and 3500 or 5000 *li* from S. to N. On the east it adjoined Camboja, on the south the sea, on the south-west (? south-east) Dvaravati,

on the west E. India, on the north Nan-chao. The Pyu claimed to have 18 subject kingdoms, mostly to the south of Burma; but as the list includes Palembang, Java, Śrāvastī, Chamba etc., it is largely an empty vaunt. Lists of 8 or 9 garrison-towns, and of the 32 most important among the 298 tribes or settlements, are also given; the names seem totally different from the Burmese names of the 11th century and onwards. The last we hear of the Pyu in these texts is that in 832 "Man rebels", i.e. Nan-chao or tribes under Nan-chao, "plundered the Pyu kingdom (or capital) and took captive 3000 persons altogether; they banished them into servitude" at Yünnan Fu, where "their sons and grandsons still eat fish and insects. These are the remnants of their tribe."⁴⁶

The Chinese are not nearly so well-informed about Lower Burma. Here, in spite of contradictions, must probably be placed the kingdom of Mi-ch'ên⁴⁷ (a polite and jovial people, without walled towns, home of the "big-bellied" areca-nut), and the *k'un-lun* states of K'un-lang and Lu-yü near Mo-ti-p'o,⁴⁸ from which one sailed to Palembang and Java. The Pyu claimed them as subjects, but the tie was probably slight; for in 805, as the result of an embassy from Mi-ch'ên, the Emperor of China gave formal recognition to (Lo-)tao-wu-li, its hereditary king. In 835 it was sacked and destroyed, and several thousand prisoners transported to wash gold on the Upper Irrawaddy; it seems that Mi-ch'ên, like the Pyu in 832, fell a victim to invasion from the side of Nan-chao. The word *k'un-lun*, in a restricted sense, means Mon.⁴⁹ The Mons (Old Mon *rmeñ*, whence the classical name *Ramaññadesa*), or the Talaings as known to the Burmans (Old Burmese *tanluñ*), are an older nation than the Burmans. Their first inscriptions, dating from about the 8th century, are found, not in Burma, but at Lopburi in Siam. From these, and not from Pyu, is derived Talaing, and hence Burmese, script. The kingdom of Dvāravatī;⁵⁰ in these parts was at its height in the 7th century. On the west it "bordered the ocean": from which it would appear that it controlled a part of Tenasserim. To the north it colonised Lamphun (Haripuñjaya); and it was possibly this *k'un-lun* kingdom which succeeded, like its eastern neighbours in Camboja, in repelling the Nan-chao invasions which overwhelmed the Pyu and Mi-ch'ên. It appears that relations are henceforth close between the Mon kingdoms of the triangle between Lamphun and the Gulfs of Siam and Martaban. The name *rmeñ*, *rmeñ*, is found in Javanese inscriptions of 1021.⁵¹

The period 850 to 1050 is almost a blank except for the poor evidence of the late Burmese Chronicles; but the chief event must certainly have been the coming of the Burmans (*myanmā*) and the developing of their national consciousness. The Chinese do not mention their name (*mien*) before 1273; a Mon inscription of about

1102 first gives the name *mirma*.⁵² The evidence points to the region between the Nmai Hka and the Salween as their line of entry into Burma, and to Kyaukse district (the 11 *kharuñ* of *Mlacsā*) as their first home in the plains. In the 9th century the Chinese probably included them (though they are not mentioned) among the Mang tribes—so called because they styled their kings *mang* or *mang-chao*. The first unquestionably Burmese king, Aniruddha, has a name frequently suffixed with just these titles, half-Burmese and half-Shan. The legend of Pyü-co (or man)-thi⁵³ has spread to Burma from Yünnan Fu; the names of his descendants, where they are not those of the Nan-chao legend, are still constructed on the Nan-chao method of patronymic. In 849, if we are to trust the Chronicles, king *Pyāñpyā*: or *Pyāñpra*: founded the city of Pagan⁵⁴; the first occurrence of the name, curiously enough, is in a Cham inscription antedated to 1050.⁵⁵ Its classical name in the inscriptions is *Arimaddana*⁵⁶ ("trampler on enemies"): the kingdom was *Tambradīpa*⁵⁷ ("land of copper"): the region *Tattadesa*⁵⁸ ("the parched country"). Mt. *Turan*,⁵⁹ 8 miles east of Pagan, was probably an early centre: here *Caw Rahan*,⁶⁰ the only king before Aniruddha mentioned in the inscriptions, built a Buddhist *sima*. In the 10th century the *Arañ* (Ari) heretics are said in the Chronicles to have flourished near Pagan. Various theories are proposed about their origin: inscriptions barely mention them.⁶¹ Some Tāntric frescoes have been discovered near Pagan, both at Myinpagan and Minnanthu⁶²; it is doubtful if they have anything to do with the Ari. The name *Arañ* may be merely *Ariyā*, "the noble ones" or Buddhist clergy (usually written *Aryā* in Old Burmese). It is perhaps slightly more difficult to derive it from *Araññika* or *Araññwasi*, "dwellers in the forest"; but this sect was numerous in 13th century Burma, as in 13th and 14th century Siam⁶³; this is clear from frequent mentions of "jungle monasteries" (*taw kloñ*⁶⁴) in the inscriptions. In the 10th century Pagan was probably enclosed to the N. W. by Brahmanic kingdoms; the Mons, and big Brahmanic trading settlements, cut it off from the coast. It seems unnecessary to search in India for the explanation of young Burman heresy.

(To be continued).