BURMA DOWN TO THE FALL OF PAGAN.

An Outline, Part I.

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Burma today lies off the main road 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 Ssach’uan; they had come, he was told, from the south-east, from India. 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 bore 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 began to be recorded. Thus in 94 two kings of the Tun-jeh-ti (*tsen-tien-yot) beyond the frontier presented rhinoceros and elephant. In 107 “the Li-jei (*lî-lei) and other pigmy tribes beyond the frontier, over 3,000 tribes, submitted to China.” These tribes may well have been settled in the north of Burma. But the Tan or Shan (*tan, *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-chin or the Roman East, possibly from Yen-lu at the east of the Nile delta. Their king was Yung-yu-taio (*yung-yu-tn-tou—quay Augustus?). Their route in 97 is not stated; but in 120 they had “traversed the shifting sands, and crossed the Hanging Passes” between Tashkurgan and Gligit. They came again, in 131-2, but this time by sea to Tongking, and later envoy from Tan-ch’i, those of Marcus Aurelius in 166, and the merchant Ch’in Lun in 226—all followed the sea-route.

It is not until the 1st century A.D. that Greek and Roman authors begin to write of Transgangetic India and the Sinai or Thaï (S. China). Much of their information about Burma remains obscure; but at least it corroborates the Chinese evidence about grade-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.30) 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 Erythraean Sea (latter half of the 1st century). The anonymous author had seen the ports of S. India some vessels “called kolangpokhanta, 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 Ganges passed “malabathron and Gangetic nard and byssus and those most excellent muslin stuffs (sidonion) called Gangeides. And there are said to be gold mines also in those parts, and a coinage of gold called koliti.” Beyond Chryse, to the north, he heard of “a very large inland town named Thin”, from which silken fabrics were “borne on foot to Barygza (Brahos) across Bactria, or again to Limuria (the Dravidian country) viae 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 Sstaitai, “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 reality. 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 Cina there was “not only a route to Bactria via the Stone Tower” (i.e. through Central Asia), “but also to India via Palimbothra” (Paibaltura). 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 shown 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 Takola 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 canals of Besanga would seem to have occupied a rivermouth in the neighbourhood of Moulmein. Neighbour to Besya 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 white-skinned, hairy, stunted and snub-nosed." This Chryṣ, it seems, is to be distinguished from Ptolemy's Chryṣ̄ Chersonêsos, which appears to mean the Malay Peninsula. Boats sailed to it from a point in Māsūla 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 Māṇḍrās (Skī. 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, "Mārura metropolis, also called Mālitha" is the most likely to have been in Burma, lying nearest as it does to the north of the Gulf of Sāhara. Among the inland tribes to the north he mentions "the Pīlada above Māṇḍrās—a name they give to the Sāsāsādā, for they are stunted and broad and hairy and broad-faced, white-skinned however. Above Kīrrhada, in which the finest Malahatthram is said to grow, the Gamatrī cannibals extend along Mt. Māṇḍrās." Ptolemy's Sāsāsādā should be the Stataii of the Periplus. There are variant readings of many of the above names.5

Some of these names doubtless appear in Indian texts, though generally in lists of semi-mythical geography which leave their situation vague. Chryṣ̄ has its counterpart in the vague Swamap-bhāsa. The latter, in Īātaka 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, Sānti, and Uṭura, were alleged to have been sent after the Third Council, 247 B.C.; this mission is not recorded in the Rock-Editas of Aṣaka. The ports Tukhola and Venāga seem to correspond to Ptolemy's Tukhola and Bīryaga. Malahatthram, as Garcia da Orta recognized, is doubtless a corruption of tama-cliita, "the dark leaf".6

On the collapse of the Later Han dynasty, the Minor Han of Shu (Sāsā-chuan) for a time maintained their influence in Yūnán. 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 1-tsing, more than twenty Chinese men found their way, "by the Täng-ko road in the province of Shu", to the court of Śrī Gupta, founder of the Gupta dynasty. But already China had relaxed her hold of the Burma frontier; in 342 A.D. Yung-ch'ang-chū 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 transhipment 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-kingsdoms 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 Fù-nan on 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..." 7 These were flourishing ports, noted for scented woods; by the middle of the 3rd century they were crowded with Indian merchants and Brahmins 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'in (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 Fù-nan; 2,000 li inland beyond it, in a wide plain, was the kingdom of Lin-yang (*lien-yang) with an ardent Buddhist population of over 100,000 families, including several thousand monks; 2,000 li beyond Lin-yang was Nu-hout, 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; pens below the river; 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.8

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 (*p'wo) tribes, whose land produced rhinoceros, elephant, tortoise-shell, jade, amber, cowries, gold, silver, salt-wells, cinnamon and cotton trees, hill-paddy and paniced millet. They tattooed themselves, were armour of monkey's hide, and used bows and arrows; some were cannibals and went naked. 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.9

The P'iao of the Chinese are evidently the Pyu, the early inhabitants of Burma of whom local memory survives. The name
is written Pyu by the modern Burman; but in older writers and early inscriptions it is written Pūy. 12 In the Chinese P'iao (*Hsū — a slightly different character is used) — a rai — the name of a related character is used (O. raia). In Chinese they are called P'iao. They call themselves T'ou-li-ch'u (*T'ou-lu-tu-tu). Both these variants may perhaps be connected with the ethnic term T'ruul, occurring in an early Mon inscription side by side with Mirma (Burman) and Rmesi (Mony). 13 And with a large kingdom called T'ral or T'ol, mentioned in 9th-10th century Persian works as a hospitable neighbour to China (7 Nan-chao), inhabited by dark-skinned cotton-clad people. 14 Stories of the Pyu are rife from Halanging in Shwebo district down to Prone; and inscriptions thought to be Pyu have been discovered in both places, dating from the 4th or 5th century. They are found chiefly at Old Prone; and the presence here of these and other ancient remains, differing markedly from the earliest known styles of the Mings and Burmans, justifies us in accepting the tradition that they are Pyu, and that Old Prone was once the capital of the Pyu. It is probably the Pyu kingdom, under the name of its capital Sri Setra (Old Prone), which is mentioned by Hsuan-tsang in 648, and I-taing about 675. 15 The brief uran-inscriptions elucidated by Dr. Blagden reveal to us a Vikrama dynasty, using "Pyu" script and language, and reigning at Sri Setra, at least from 675 to 718. — Suryavikrama died in 685 at the age of 64, Harivikrama in 695 at the age of 41, Shavikrama in 718 at the age of 44. The dates are provisional; for the era is not certain; if it is the ordinary "Burman Era", dating from 373 A.D., it would appear that this era, of which the origin is obscure but which seems to date from the beginnings of the solar and lunar years almost coincided. 16 It was, perhaps, an era, perhaps inaugurated by the Vikrama dynasty. Contemporaneous with the Vikramas of Sri Setra, at a neighbouring and rival city, was a Varman line, including Sri Prabhavarma (and his queen Sri Prabhudevā) and Jayacandraravarman; the latter is mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription as a "younger brother" of Harivikrama, reconquered to him by his teacher Guhadipā. 17 Sri Setra, or Old Prone, modern Hmawza, is the only Pyu site hitherto excavated. 18 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 Bōb, 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 voursoir 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" epigrams on the back, of Sanskrit legends in Nagari character stamped on the front. There is clear evidence of Mahayana-bronze statuettes etc. of Avalokiteshvara. Vaishnavism is also witnessed by numerous stone sculptures of Vishnu; the city and the suburb, indeed, are sometimes known as "Vishnu city." The signs of Shaivism which some scholars have detected are more questionable; and it is certain that the Hinayana flourished, as evidenced by Pali inscriptions — the two gold plates of Maunggan (7 miles S. of Tirmawza) and the Bawbawgyi stone, containing Buddhist formulas and texts from the Abbhistarama. 19 The curiously archaic script or scripts, like those of the oldest inscriptions of Java and Cambodia, are similar to the 5th century Kadamba script of N. Kanara in W. India; the centre of Pali culture in the 3rd century, however, was at Kaśagura. The Pyu of Prone 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. 20 The main key to the "Pyu" language is the quadrilingual Myan inscription of Pagan (1113 A.D.), written in "Pyu", Mon, Burmese and Thai. On the basis of this, Dr. Blagden has fixed the sense of some fifty words: but even the script, though based on S. India models, is peculiar and still offers many problems. The language is 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 contains 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 tribemen to submit to China." 21 But in the 8th and 9th centuries Nan-chao dominates Upper and, even Lower, Burma. 22 Its history need not here be recapitulated. It claimed descent from the Ai-iao; and up to 739 the original nan-chao, southernmost of the six princes, lived at Meng-sha, east of Yung-ch'ang and south of Ta-i. Predominantly Tai, it included in the north tribes such as the Mo-so, speaking Tibeto-Burman languages. Early in the 8th century Sheng-lo-pi had crossed to the west of the Mekong and subdued the warlike Wang-ch'i, whose cavalry forms thereafter the vanguard of the Nan-chao armies. 23 His successor, P'i-lo-ko, turned his
ambition northwards; but Ko-lo-feng (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 Szechwan south 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. He crushed the Hsin-ch'uan tribes dwelling in these parts, from the Upper Yang-tze down into Burma, and also the Wild or Naked Barbarians 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-cho, on account of its nearness and its military power, has always held the Pyu under bridle and control.' On the Mo-ling or Chi-haien 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. These tribes were mostly martial; and they were forced to enlist in the Nan-cho armies; many of them were present at the siege of Hanoi in 862-3. There were the barefoot Hsin-ch'uan with bamboo helmets and belts of porcupine-skin; the chiefless barkclad 'Naked Barbarians'; the Wang Man or Wang-wai-yü, 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 Pyu ('b'ubok'), wearing blue cotton trousers, and using bucklers and lances in battle, and bamboo bows to shoot flying arrows in the forest; their cousins, the Wang-chu, lancers and halberdiers, both men and women, riding bareback in coats of mail and helmets with plumes of yak hair; the Steng-ch'ü (? negroes), dependent on Mogaung (?), but 'all governed by Nan-cho'; the numerous Mang tribes of Hienwi, in blue-green trousers and belts of cane or bamboo and turbans of thin red silk; and other truster-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. It was Ko-lo-feng's campaign, was a good one to be sure, which re-opened the road to India; its stages are given by the minister Chia Tan between 785 and 805. One route led due west from Yung-ch'ang to T'ang-yüeh, and thence approximately by Wangmaw (Li-shu town), Mogaung (An-bai) and the Tzuo ghat to Gauhati and Magadha; the other went S W. to the Pyu capital, and so to Gauhati by the Chindwin (Mi-no-chiang) and Manipur. It was a time of development for the north of Burma. Gold ore was sought in the mountains of the 'Nnai Hka (Lu-tou chiang);' 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-shui), 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, between Myitkyina and Mogaung; also in Hsinwi and the hills near the Nnai Hka; a lump salt of fixed weights was used as the medium of exchange. Horses were bred plentifully around T'ang-yüeh by the Pu and Wang-chu, long-horned oxen by the Wang-wai-yü, elephants for ploughing by the Mang of Hienwi, yaks (?'20) on the Upper Chindwin. Lychees, areca-nut, myrobolan, coconut, sago palm, jack fruit, melons, Job's tears, species of tree-cotton, wild mulberry for bows, rhinoceroses' leather, cowries, wax, realgar, various textiles, woods with medicinal and other properties—are named as products of these regions. The western boundary of Nan-cho 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 Brahmanas' of the Hukung Valley and the 'Ts'a-ch'un Brahmanas' of Manipur, its influence was paramount up to the passes into Assam. In 794 K'o-lo-feng's successor, I-mou-hsun, attacked the Mang tribes. 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 891-2 a formal embassy to China etc. Nan-cho; 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.

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 Prome, but further north, in the dry zone. It was traditionally supposed to have been the city of Sāriputra':—a tradition easily understood if its name was Rajagha. 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. Lawuits 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-cho 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 Cambogia, on the south the sea, on the south-west (?) south-east Dvaravati,
on the west E. India, on the north Nan-choa. The Pyu claimed to have 18 subject kingdoms, mostly to the south of Burma; but as the list includes Palembang, Java, Sravasti, 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-choa or tribes under Nan-choa, "plundered the Pyu kingdom (or capital) and took captive 3000 persons altogether; they banished them into servitude" at Yunnan Fu, where "their sons and grandsons still eat fish and insects. These are the remnants of their tribe."148

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'ên 47 (a polite and jovial people, without walled towns, home of the "big-bellied" areca-nut), and the 1'mu-hun states of K'un-lang and Lu-yü near Mo-ti-p'o,146 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-)tiao-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-choa. The word 1'mu-hun, in a restricted sense, means Mon.149 The Mongs (Old Mon r'mei, whence the classical name Ramaiaiades), or the Talangs as known to the Burmese (Old Burmese tanla), are an older nation than the Burmese. 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 Talang, and hence Burmese, script. The kingdom of Dvaravati148 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 Lampun (Haripunjaya); and it was possibly this 1'mu-hun kingdom which succeeded, like its eastern neighbours in Camboja, in repelling the Nan-choa invasions which overwhelmed the Pyu and Mi-ch'ên. It appears that relations are henceforth close between the Mon kingdoms of the triangle between Lampun and the Gulf of Siam and Martaban. The name r'mei, r'mi, is found in Javanese inscriptions of 1021.151

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 Burmuns (mranmu) and the developing of their national consciousness. The Chinese do not mention their name (min) before 1273; a Mon inscription of about

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1102 first gives the name mirma.152 The evidence points to the region between the Nmai Hka and the Salwens as their line of entry into Burma, and to Kyaukze district (the 12 kharu of Mlata) 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-choa. The first unquestionably Burmese king, Aniruddha, has a name frequently suffixed with just these titles; half-Burmese and half-Shan. The legend of Pyu-co (or ma) 153 has spread to Burma from Yunnan Fu; the names of his descendants, where they are not those of the Nan-choa legend, are still constructed on the Nan-choa method of patronymic. In 849, if we are to trust the Chronicles, king Pyaiphya: or Pyaipra: founded the city of Pagan;154 the first occurrence of the name, curiously enough, is in a Cham inscription anterior to 1050.155 Its classical name in the inscriptions is Ariraddana156 ("trampler on enemies"); the kingdom was Tanbradpa157 ("land of copper"); the region Tatadana158 ("the parched country"). Mt. Tura,159 8 miles east of Pagan, was probably an early centre: here Cauk Raman 159 the only king before Aniruddha mentioned in the inscriptions, built a Buddhist stupa. In the 10th century the Ari (Ari) heretics are said in the Chronicles to have flourished near Pagan. Various theories are proposed about their origin: inscriptions barely mention them. Some Tantric frescoes have been discovered near Pagan, both at Myinpyang and Minnanthu;152 it is doubtful if they have anything to do with the Ari. The name Ari may be merely Arya, "the noble ones" or Buddhist clergy (usually written Araya in Old Burmese). It is perhaps slightly more difficult to derive it from Araišaka or Araišakavi, "dwellers in the forest": but this sect was numerous in 13th century Burma, as in 13th and 14th century Siam;155 it is clear from frequent mentions of "jungle monasteries" (law khon)156 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).