The author chronicles the kings and rulers of later Bagan and explains how they described the Myinsaing, Sagaing and Pinya dynasties. The many references used for this article are all drawn from the inscriptions. This period is described as the most troubled in the Myanmar history. Nonetheless, forest dwellers (monks) and the kings of the later period laid the foundation for the political and cultural progress Myanmar made in the 15th and 16th centuries.

1. Myanmar - History - Bagan period, 1044 - 1287
2. Myanmar - History - Pinya period, 1312 - 1324
3. Myanmar - History - Sagaing period, 1315 - 1364
4. Myanmar - History - King Kyawswar, 1287 - 1298
5. Myanmar - History - King Sawhnit, 1298 - 1312
6. Myanmar - History - King Thihathu, 1312 - 1324
7. Myanmar - History - King Ngarsishin, 1343 - 1350
8. Myanmar - History - King Narathu, 1359 - 1364
9. Myanmar - History - King Uzana, 1364
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 deciphering 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 Burmese 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 in several of his papers but allow me to repeat very briefly some important parts of the story. A nominal kingship was revived at Pagan in the person of Klawewa who was anointed king on Monday 30 May 1289. He was formerly Tala Sukri—the Headman of Dala (Twante) and as king he was known as Rhuyansyan—the Lord of the Golden Palace. His regnal title was Siri Tribhawanadiyapawarapanditadhammaraja. 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 Singapati to Peking. On 20 March 1297 the Mongol Emperor granted an official appointment to Klawewa as the king of Burma. In spite of that, by 17 Dec. 1297, he was mentioned as Nankla Man—the

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

3. Pl. 282 1/ Sakarau 651 khu Cay nhac Mìwaytì 1-chan 12 ryák 2 nıy à phurhåloñ apisp kham ruy... 4. Pl. 392 16, S. 663
5. Pl. 287a 4,9,10, S. 659, Pl. 394 1, S. 664, Pl. 417 2, S. 650 6. Pl. 276a 3, S. 654
dethroned king. Professor Luce pointed out that according to the Chinese his
dethronement and removal to Myinzaing occurred only in June - July of 1298. 
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 envos to China were arrested in 
Klaewâ's name in March-April 1298. The Burmese account given in an 
inscription from the Thatapyissi monastery, Myinzaing, leaves no room for 
any doubt. It says:

// Sakrac 659 khu Mruikkasuiw nhac Plasu-w I-chan 13 ryak 5 niy 
thyä Nankla Man Kwan Prok Krî thwak taw mû so mañ mat Satyâpicañ 
pan rakâ Kroânan Krânhâan ri-y cañ taw khla e' mañ mat krî Asańhyâ 
le pan pâ ray riy cañ taw khla pâ e'10

On 17 December 1297 the Dethroned King came to the Great Variegated 
Hall and as the minister Satyâpicañ had requested, he poured the royal 
pure water from a Kroânan jar. The great minister Asańhyâ 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 recogni-
tion of somebody giving certain lands to the Religion, should not, I think, 
be taken as a religious function attached to the kingly estate.11 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 Klaewâ, 
it was the policy of later Pagan kings to check this growth.12 A confiscation 
of monastic land might cause an uneasiness in the relation between king 
and monks. So very tactfully,13 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 should be seen pouring the libation 
water and announcing publicly anumodanâ-the appreciation. One might 
also have noticed that on such occasions more of mîiy cim14- waste land, 
taw cim mle15 forest waste land, to ruîn mle16- forest wild land, tau murâ17 
forest? barren land, and mîiy khrok18- dry land, were dedicated than some 
good cultivable land. This also gave the monks a useful work of claiming 
waist lands under crop and quicken the economic development of the country.

10. Pl. 286.1-4, S. 659
11. Luce: "Syâm," JSS. XLVI, ii, p. 156
12. Pl. 90 16.26, S. 597; Pl. 296 11.16, S. 689; Pl. 521.1, S. 720; U 64.7.24, S. 748
13. Pl. 417.2, S. 650
14. Pl. 416.b.2, 3.4, S. 677; Pl. 475.8, S. 705
15. Pl. 518.40, S. 718; Pl. 519a.4, S. 718; L. 68212, S. 737; U 73a.14, U 73b.11 
S. 760
16. U 87a.2, U 87b.5, S. 769
17. Pl. 472.19.22, S. 705
18. Pl. 475.9, S. 707
19. Pl. 521.1, S. 720

after many years of war. At the same time checkings were made as to the authenticity of the religious lands from time to time. Thus, I believe, Klawewá continued attending a dedication ceremony at Myinzaing together with Asankhyá—the eldest of the three brothers who were in real power then. They put him to death on 10 May 1299.198

The three brothers were mentioned in an inscription dated 13 February 1289 as Asankhyá Rajasanikram Sihásura amat kri sum yok—the three great ministers Asankhya, Rajasanikram and Sihásura. From the time when the Mongols threatened invasion to the time when Klawewá 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 Kharaun area of Kyaukse, which was the chief granary of the Pagan kingdom. Perhaps Klawewá had the control over the six Kharaun 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 February 1293, the three brothers claimed themselves to be the equals of the Pagan king and also that they were the generals who defeated the Taruk army. 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, Paukmyaing, Kyaukse. Professor Luce suggests that after Klawewá's dethronement, one Sirirajá, 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.

Siri Tribhavanadittryapawaradhammaraja Mañ Lulañ (Tsou Nieh) was

20. Pl. 417, 25, S. 650. Professor Luce points out that they were not present at Klawewá's coronation on 30 May 1289 and he suggests that it was probably a slight. Luce: Syam, p. 150 But the inscription which mentions the said coronation (Pl. 282) gives no description of the occasion except that Jeyyasathi, formerly a saṁghya, was made sattiyi (? King's Banker) and received 150 pay from Khanti. There was nothing unusual about the inscription and the fact that Jeyyasathi failed to mention the names of other officers and ministers does not necessarily mean that they were not at the coronation. On the contrary, it is more likely that all officers of importance in the realm not excepting the brothers were there and one cannot expect Jeyyasathi to give a list of ministers while his primary concern was to give a list of his meritorious deeds.
21. Pl. 276a 4.5, S. 654
23. Pl. 293, S. 661
the next king at Pagan\textsuperscript{25} and he gave his first audience on 8 May 1299. He had the support of the three brothers together with other important ministers like Siūkasū, Takkhanā, Caturāṅkapīcān, Akkapatī, İntapaccara, Puñna, Sūpharač, Phyakkasū and Mahāsamaṇ\textsuperscript{26}. His rival claimant, another son of Klawewā known as Kumārakassapa\textsuperscript{27} 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 Asonkhyā invaded Cheng-mien, i.e., Burma north of Mandalay, and took Nga Singu and Male. On 22 June 1300, Kumāra 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\textsuperscript{28}. It had less than 12,000 soldiers\textsuperscript{29}. While the army marched to Kyaukse, Kumāra Kassapa went to Pagan. He came to be known as Taruk praṅ lā so Takaumū mankri\textsuperscript{30}-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\textsuperscript{31}. On 4 April 1303, the province of Cheng-mien was abolished.

Of the three brothers the youngest Sihasūra I was the most ambitious. He assumed the title of Chaṇphūsyaṅ- the Lord of the White Elephant,\textsuperscript{32} by 1295 and mankri\textsuperscript{33}- the great king, by 1296. He was not to be confused with Maṅ Lulaṅ of Pagan who also had the title of Chaṇphūsyaṅ\textsuperscript{34}. As a matter of fact he was the direct opposite of Pagan Chaṇphūsyaṅ 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 Sihasūra. He became Anantasisa-sūrajeyyadeva\textsuperscript{35}. On 20 Oct 1309 he had his coronation with the regnal title of Siri Tībhawanaṇīdityapawarasisihasūradhammarājā\textsuperscript{36} and as usual with the kings he gave away lands to various religious establishments.\textsuperscript{37} 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:

\textsuperscript{25} Pl. 290b 2-3, S. 661; Pl. 390 5, 16-17, S. 661
\textsuperscript{26} Pl. 290b 10-13, S. 661
\textsuperscript{27} See Y.S. ch. 20: Luce: “Syām.” JSS, XLVI, ii, pp. 158-9
\textsuperscript{28} Pl 454a 9 and Pl. 454b 7, S. 696
\textsuperscript{29} Luce: “Syām.” JSS, XLVI, ii, p. 161
\textsuperscript{30} Pl. 396a 4, Pl. 396b 1, S. 664
\textsuperscript{31} Envoys sent on 27 July 1301, 16 September 1301, 4 November 1301, 6 October 1301, 1 February 1308, 3 August 1308, 27 December 1312, 31 July 1315 and 20 July 1319. See Luce: “Syām.” JSS, XLVI, ii, pp. 163-4
\textsuperscript{32} Pl. 389c 8, S. 657; Pl. 406a 19, S. 669; Pl. 482 13, S. 662
\textsuperscript{33} Pl. 285 5, S. 658
\textsuperscript{34} Pl. 190 5, S. 661
\textsuperscript{35} Pl. 403a 3-6, S. 668
\textsuperscript{36} Pl. 487 4, S. 734
\textsuperscript{37} Pl. 501 1, S. 671


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Sakarac 672 khu Phussa nhac kachun la plañ niy lwai 25 phlaw 2 là niy Asankhayà Ràja Sinkasù man 3 yok ma khlok ma khlyà prañ tuin kà kuiw ma tun ma hup up sa rhaw khà akuiv mlat cwà Asankhayà nat (rwà là) khay Ràjà Sinkasù att prañ kri up rac e’38

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

Here I would like to point out that the version given in the Hmannàn39 that Ràjà died in 1305 and Asankhayà was poisoned by Sìhasura in 1310 is wrong. According to the above inscription, Asankhayà 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 131240 and called it Wijayapura.41 He was also known as Tacisyàn42, the Lord of One or Chanphli tacì ayàn43 - the Lord of One White Elephant. His chief queen was Ratanàpun.44

Tacisyàn was succeeded by his son Uccanà VI 45 in 1324.46 This Uccanà VI was contemporary with Uccanà V 47 the governor of Pagan. There was a great flood during his time and it was recorded as:

// Sakarac 693 khu Æsin nhac nhuik ri yà mlok ruy kà kloñ le pruiw e’ puthuiv purhà le myiyaw e’48

In 1331 a mad water i.e. a great flood rose (and consequently) the hollow - pagodas and monasteries fell and the solid pagodas were swept away.

Although there was no mention of other destructions, a flood that caused brick buildings to fall and to have been carried away in the flood would certainly cause much destruction to other civil buildings and the cultivation of the country as well. He built one big pagoda at Manklañtin49, another one at Saníon in 133250 and still another at Mrankhuntuin in 1335.51 Lastly he built a big kà in 1340 at the place where he lived.

38. Pl. 412a 2, S. 672
39. The Hmannàn Yazawin, I, p. 407
40. L. 446 4, S. 674; Hmannàn I, p. 407
41. Pl. 487 7, S. 734, Pl. 488b 4, S. 712
42. Pl. 499c 9, S. 71(S)
43. U. 34a 49, S. 739; U. 73a 1, S. 760; U 87a 1, S. 769
44. Pl. 436b 3, S. 688, Pl. 445b 8, S. 694
45. U. 87a 1, S. 769
46. U. 87a 1 says he was Sìhasura’s younger brother.
47. Pl. 451 1, S. 696
48. L. 608b 1, S. 729
49. Pl. 445a 1, S. 692
50. Pl. 446a 1, S. 694
51. Pl. 455a 1, S. 697


before he became king. Apart from these meritorious deeds we know nothing else about him. The next ruler was Mrancutin Cañsū or Cañsū V who became king on 1 September 1340. There is no mention of this king in the Chronicles. His queen was Caw İhwat with whom he got two daughters, viz. Caw Krī and Caw İm Krī Sañ. Caw Krī was married to his nephew – the next king Sihasūra II. Sihasūra II or Cihanphlū 5 ci askhin—the Lord of Five White Elephants, succeeded his uncle and father-in-law on 29 March 1344. He was popularly known as ʿNāciṣasyān and his regnal title was Pavarapənğitasīhasūradhammarāj. Aploita Co Mañ Nai was one of his concubines. We know by name a few of his children. They were: Ućcanā who was married to Co Culā, daughter of Klaucwā II the King of Cakuin; Cañsū Naṭonmyākrī whose sister gave birth to Muiwāna Satuī who became king in Ava later; Mañ Pulai, Klaucwā II, Stīkāsī, and Sihasūra III. Of these Klaucwā II succeeded him on 12 December 1350 as King Sri Tribhavanādiyapavaradhammarāj. One remarkable thing done during his reign was that on 12 March 1359, some lithic inscriptions were collected to make a check on the religious lands. Perhaps it was done on a similar line with what King Bodawpaya had done on 24 July 1793 and one could imagine that a certain amount of damage must have been done to the inscription stones in the course of collecting. It was also during the last year of his reign i.e.1359 that the Syain came and destroyed much of his land. He died on 19 March 1359 and was succeeded by his brother Sihasūra III. This Sihasūra is also not mentioned in the Chronicles. We know two of his queens, viz. Nammamay and Acavmlat. In 1362 the Syain came again to disturb the country. I think he was never able to subdue them and with him ended the Pañya line of kings. He probably died in 1367 and the disturbances in his land remained unchecked until 1368. It was recorded as:

"Phurā mlat mwan nibban lwan pri sāsanā 1912 nhac Sihasū nat rwā la ka amyā sā khyañ khway krañ nhac phak ruk rak prañ thai sai sai tryā Asanghaya mlok bhak rwā kuīv up lhā ci nhañ mañ mū lhyañ"

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

When the country was restored to normal conditions again the granddaughter of Asāṅkhayyā who was the Queen of Tryāphyā III of Awa, started a sort of religious and literary movement in about 1373 by inviting both Brahman and Sinhalese teachers to the country.80

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

[Sakurac 770 Phalakuin nhac Tapoi l-chan tac chai nā ryak Sokkrā ne lhyān rhwe lak ruṁ tau ā phlai Mraṁma praiñ Tanluin praiñ Kulā praiñ akun cuim kuiw acuiv ra so S'ri Tribhawanādityapawaratapaṇḍita-hammarañā hu so re me asyan phlai so phurā rhañ Anoratθhamaṅcaē e' myoksā tau phlai so toñ miphurā Cau sañ kā miphurā mān gā ma hut phuiv lōn tau maṅkri Tacisyaṅ / Tacisyaṅ lvan lhyān Tacisyaṅ sa Cackuṅ Maṅkri Asāṅkhayyā / Asāṅkhayyā lwan lhyān maṅkri Tryāphyā kri / Tryāphyākri lwan lhyān Maṅkri Rhwetōṅtak / Rhwetōṅtak lwan lhyān Maṅkri Klacwā / Klacwā lwan lhyān Mairaitauthwak / Mairaitauthwak lwan lhyān Maṅkri Tryāphyānai / Tryāphyānai lwan lhyān Maṅkri Maṅ Plan maṅ phlai e' / Maṅ Plan lāk dāhkh Phwātāu Cuiw Maṅ Kuiw Tau Kri miphurā mlok e' miphurā kā nhac pā ma hi Cuiw Maṅ Kuiw Tau Kri să te / Maṅ Plan lwan lhyān să tau Satuṅ Maṅpyā gā mi mi e' rhwe lak ruim tau ā phlai Mraṁma praiñ thak tu phaṅ kāi ruy rai khraṅ alwan khwan ā dhan ruy ran ma khapsin kuiw... e 3 nhac te nhim nañ nuin prī so nat rwā lā khoi / Tryāphyā kri maṅ mlok e' Tryāphyā kri lak thak phwātāu ūna acma toñ miphurā mlok miphurā mlok e' nan thak 35 nhac ne e' / Tryāphyā kri lwan lhyān să tau Tryāphyā maṅ mlok e' / Tryāphyā nat rwā lwan lhyān Tryāphyā kri să Aniratθhācāu maṅ phlai e'81

On 28 February 1409, the living lord Anoratθhamaṅcāu who by the golden might of his strong arm ruled all of the lands of Mraṁma, Tanluṅ, Shyanī and Kulā and who was called S'ri Tribhawanādityapawaratapaṇḍita-hammarañā had as a consort the South Queen Cau who was not a mere queen. (She was) a descendant of Tacisyaṅ. After the death of Tacisyaṅ, his son Asāṅkhayyā the great king of Sagaing; after Asāṅkhayyā the great king Tryāphyakri; after Tryāphyakri the great king Klacwā; after Klacwā (there was) Mairaitauthwak; after Mairaitauthwak the great king Tryāphyānai; during the time of Maṅ Plan, the royal grand mother Cuiwmaṅ Kuiw Tau Kri was made queen and as queen there was no one else except Cuiwmaṅ Kuiw Tau Kri.

80. L. 698a 24-6, S. 739
81. U 90a 10, S. 783
After the death of Mañ Plan, his son Satuiw Manphyā by his own golden might of his strong arm became unrivalled in the land of Mrauma in respect of bravery and strength. In 3 years (time) he was able to crush all opposition. Then he died. Tryāphyākri became king. Tryāphyākri made my grandmothers—the two sisters, north queen and south queen and lived on the throne for 35 years. When Tryāphyākri died, Tryāphyākri’s royal son Anirattha ṭau became king.

Now, in this list of kings from Cakuin, Asankhaya ruled from 1315 to 1337 and he was a junior son of Sīhasura I of Pañya. Therefore I would like to call this Cakuin house as the junior branch of the Sīhasura dynasty. Asankhaya’s queen was Kuiw Taw Kri.82 When he died he was succeeded by his brother called Tryāphyā I, who became king on 5 February 1327.83 His mother was Queen Ratanaupun and she left an interesting inscription recording repairs at the Krakyak cetā said to be famous throughout the land from Twuk kingdom in the north to Muuttama in the south.84 The same inscription mentions her son’s accession to the Cakuin throne as:

\[\text{Sakkarac 688 khu Tapon la płañ 5 ny liyañ khrānsey khāñ sa rhuī toñ nan thak tak kha pri sa Sīhasura hū amañ thañ sa (Chaṇphlu)asyan mañ (khrānsey) e' (sākri) plac tha so Cakuin māṅkri Tryāphyā...}\]

Tryāphyā the great king of Cakuin, who was the senior son of the Lion King called Sīhasura, 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 Asankhaya died. The Thamantaza Pagoda inscription dated 1343 gives us another interesting detail in connection with the next two kings of Cakuin, viz. Rhwetoṇtak or Anorathā II (1335-1339) and Klačwā II (1339-1348). The inscription begins with Caṇsā II of Pakain. King Caṇsā personally came to this place in Liyson in A.D. 1194 to make a dam and ordered one thousand Lava to look after it. When the works on the dam failed one Mankala Sīnka 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 monastery to the east of King Caisi’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:

\[\text{Sakkarac 705 khu Klačwā Mañtuṁ iwañ pun so maṅkri Rhuytonṭak thuīw ruy sūṁ yū kha e'! Smancatā phurā athāṁ thau nluuk tāī tāu mū ruy/yokpha Satuiw kri / Klačwā mai Kuivtaukri Klačwā mañ khriy thau anā ḥī ruy phurā thāṁ thau suīw ma wañ tā rakā sā tāu e' phyañ tāu le phurā kuīw} \]

83. Pl. 472, S. 705 84. Pl. 436b 4-5, S. 688
In 1343 Klacwā was hiding at Maṅtuṅ when the great king Rhuytoṅtak attacked and took him captive. On the way, they stopped at the pagoda. His brother-in-law Sanuiwkrī and his mother Kuīw Taw Krī went to the pagoda and spread his cloth on his behalf and his mother said: “Because of sores on his feet Klacwā could not appear before the Presence. But his cloth is spread here. If Klacwā lives long and his feet are 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. Rhuytoṅtak or Anorathā II imprisoned his father Tryāphyā I and made himself king. Klacwā II his brother and brother-in-law fled to Mindon. But they were captured by Rhuytoṅtak and brought back to Sagaing. In the meanwhile Tryāphyā I organised a conspiracy and got Rhuytoṅtak killed. But Tryāphyā I was also killed and thus Klacwā II, being the next heir to the throne, became king without taking part in any of these conspiracies. One of his queens was Cau Pa Ùw,86 daughter of King Uccanā VI (1325-1340) of Paña. From this union was born Co Cailā87 who was married to Uccanā, the son of King Sihusūra II (Naciasyan). Klacwā II was succeeded by his brother Manrai-tau-thwak or Anorathā III88 in 1348. He was again succeeded by a brother Tryāphyā II89 in 1350. Their sister Cuīw Maṅ Kuīw Taw Krī90 married twice. With her first husband Satuiw Krī91 she gave birth to Satuiw Manphyā92 who later became the founder of Awa in 1364. Satuiw Maṅphyā’s two sisters became the South Queen and the North Queen of his successor Tryāphyā III at Awa. Cuīw Maṅ Kuīw Taw Krī’s second husband known as Maṅ Plan93 became the successor of Tryāphyā II on 23 February 135294. He is also known as Sihapati95 and he reigned until 1364 when his capital Cakuṅ was destroyed by the northern Syain.

Satuiw Maṅphyā became king in 136496 and he was the first founder of Awa97 and his regnal title was Siri Tiribhawanātītītyapawaradhammarāja98. He was a warrior king and in an inscription dated 1365 we have one reference to his coming back from war. It says:

85. Pl. 472 19, S. 705
86. L. 696b 3, 10, S. 729
87. L. 688 14, S. 737; L. 696b 3, 11, S. 739; U. 34a 6, 10, S. 729; U. 87a 23, S. 769
88. U. 92a 5, 5, S. 783; U. 95 4, 12, S. 785
89. Pl. 507a 27, S. 716; U. 92a 5, 5, 6, S. 783
90. U. 92a 6, S. 783
91. Pl. 472 15, S. 705
92. U. 92a 7, S. 783
93. U. 94b 1, S. 785
94. U. 92a 6-2, S. 783
95. Pl. 497 28, S. 714
96. Pl. 543b 1, S. 716; Pl. 544a 12, Pl. 544b 6, S. 726
97. U. 60a 2, S. 746; Pl. 543b 1, 8, 9, 10, S. 726
Satuiw Mañkri Caku thuìw khle ruy plan taw mú lac so akhâ Kukhan arap nhuik cac sukri Asañkhyâ sim thak nhuik tay taw mú sa akhâ nhuik nwâ ta khu wak ta khu krak poñ 5 khu se aklok ta chay thamañ aphyan ta chai hañ aphyan ta chai / imhya sa lakchoñ chak ruy 99

When the great king Satuiw returned from subduing Caku, he stopped at a sîna of General Asañkhyâ 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 Mañphyâ was succeeded by his brother-in-law Tryâphyâ III. He became king on 5 September 1367. 100 He was Ramañsan Man 101 before he became king and popularly he was known as Mañkriew 102—the Exalted Great King. He ruled until 1400, i.e., for 33 years 103. 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 Saktawhañ 104—the Long Life. Although there were some disturbances 105 he managed to have a fairly quiet reign since 1386 106, enjoying life with many queens. We know a few of them. They were: Cau Nandâ 107 daughter of Cau Calâ; Toñ Miphurâ Caw 108—the South Queen Caw; Mlok Miphurâ Caw 109—the North Queen Caw; Cau Cactoñ Kuìw Taw 110; Caw Ummâ 111; and Syan Rhuy 112. The last mentioned one was a wife he married at the age of 22 when he was a petty chief of Talup. He took the titles of Assapatinarapatibhawanâtityâpawara-dhammarâjâ 113 and Siri Tiripawanâtityâpawara-pañadhammarâjâ 114. A great earthquake was recorded during his reign. It says:

Satuiw 734 khu Plasuiw l-chan 4 ryak Krâsapate ne mahyan kri lup c’ thuìw sa nhac ihyañ Pañya miphurâ athin tau phiaç tha so mañ Micaranirâ sañ Kula kloñ toñ pâ kloñ thon ut phuiw pru ruy ... 114a

On 28 November 1372 there was a great earthquake, in that same year Lady Micaranirâ who was a stewardess of Pañya Queen, made a brick kiln at the corner just on the south of the brick monastery.

Evidently new bricks were required to do repairs at the religious buildings that were either shaken badly or destroyed during that earthquake. In 1400 he was succeeded by his eldest son Tryâphyâ IV. His reign was short. His step-brother Mañ Khonî I became king on 25 November 1400.

99. L. 630a 18-21, S. 727
100. L. 770 5, S. 755 L. 647 2,6, S. 730
101. Pl. 499b 14, S. 715 L. 689b 4, S. 739
102. U. 58 3,14, S. 745
103. U. 92a 9 says 35 years.
104. U. 63 11-12, S. 745
105. L. 705 1, S. 742
106. U. 64 14, S. 748
107. U. 34a 5,6,7,10, S. 729
108. L. 682 14, S. 737
109. L. 682 18,18, S. 737
110. U. 55a 4, S. 743 U. 58 2,14, S. 745
111. L. 800a 19, S. 762
112. L. 770 3, S. 755
113. U. 58 1,4, S. 745
114. L. 682 3-4, S. 737
114a. Pl. 48719,20, S. 734


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The period under survey 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 āl Uccanā Maṅkri sañ sañsarā chañray kuìw krok ewa so kroñ Pañkley tuik twañ cū cañ lat ruy Sakarac 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapon b-chan 13 ryak 5 ne mle 1500 Cayyasatthiy tuik twañ lhū taw mū e' akhā tapā Taruk phyak ruy taw ati phlac khai akhluw ka skhiīn tuiw ā paccañ phlac e' 115

Great King Uccanā, being afraid of the miseries of the Sañsarā made enquiries in Pañkley tuik and on 8 February 1256, gave 1500 (pay) of land from Cayyasatthiy tuik to Mahāmatimā thera. 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 invasion 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 Syañ. A record of 1342 mentions that the Lord of the Elephant had to wage wars against the Syañ and he won116. In another record we find:

j Sakarac 718 khu Kruuk nhac Mañ Siñkapatiy mañ mū so khā lhyan Khāñwnu sükri kuìw Khyańtwañ cac thuiw le ce e' cac ōñ khlyiy ra kā nhac sak lañ ewa lhyan mū ruy Maw kuìw wan e' chu pe e'117...

In 1356 when Prince Siñkapatiy was in control, he let the headman of Khāñwnu to fight the battle of Khyańtwañ. 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 Toññu Mañ in 1375 said:

nā lañ nañ ruwā lā pri Awa mañkri cac 3 kriñ tak lac so rahan puñīnā lu takā tuiw sañ mawat so akhā nhuk wāt kyak 37 pā ācimapā 200 nā pe ra e' lu tuiw mawat ruy se so khā lū myā kuìw na kuïw nhan dhop tu lhyan sanā ewa ruy lhū so thānā kā cā pe so akhwak nā chai 2 ā nak ma prat lhū ra e' cēc mak phlac so skhiīn tuiw kyan mroñ sañ hi so le ma kyan ce rak paccañ 4 pā cuñ oñ lhu ra e' 118

After the death of my husband, when the great king of Awa marched thrice to do battle, all men, monks and Brahman starved. Then I gave

115. U. 64 7-11, S. 748
116. Pl. 465b 16, S. 703
117. Pl. 519a 1-3, S. 718
118. L. 686b b.10, S. 737

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cooked food to 37 monks and uncooked food to 200. 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 them comfortable by giving them complete sets of the four requisites.

This clearly indicates that war evacuees found their way to Taungoo which was later to become a rival of Awa. Another inscription dated 1375 makes a comparison of the Syam ravages in Burma to that of the CoJa attacks at Ceylon\textsuperscript{19}. It says:

/ phurā sikhān nippan 1wan pri sāsanā 1918 nhac so akhā nhuik / Sakarac 736 khu Pisyak nhac Taño 1-chan 8 ryak sato 2 nij ā / 900,000 so Khan mantri e cac sañ tuw kuw lak rumim tau ā phlañ oñ lac ruy Mrañmā prañ Syam̄ a huin cuw kuw acuiw ra so Sihāsura mañ so Chañphlū Sikhañ tryā mantri e' nile tau phlac tha so / Siri Tiri phavanādityāpawarapanīta dhammarājā phun tan kuwī kyak sariy ne la kai suiw tok pa cwā tha so / Mahādhammarājā rhuiy kloñ e' täyakā alwantrya satthā cwā tha so / Chañphlū Skhiṁ mantri Tryā phyā sañ phurā sāsanā tok pa cwā tha so/Sinkhuiw klaw kuw nicchādithī Klāñ ti ākā 2 phyak phi pri so thuwe klaw Sinkhuku Sikī Bruhmā Catulokapālā / Phummarukkha ākusaha nhan yakkha devāṅcoñ ma pā ruy ta kyak ta phan phurā mwan e sāsanā kuw tok pa ce tat cwā tha so / phurā mlat cwā Mitryā e' lakāy rañ hu puātīt kham ra so Aphyavudāhakāmāni mantrī kai suiw / Camputin thath phurā sāsanā tok pa cwā so / Mrañmā prañ kuwī dicti Syam myā thwā 2 ŋak 2 phyak phi sañ kuwī lak rumī prañāñ τau ā phlañ Syam dicti kuwī nhip nañ nuñ ruy rye so thak cha thak amwan sāsanā tok pa ce lyak dāna sīla ne ṅa ma kwen alvañ coñ ruy rahan puṁī mima yokya sa myā tuw e' aci aphwā khoaṁsa tuwī kuwī rhu pe tat cwā tha so / Mrañmā prañ alun kun oñ cuw kuw acuiw ra sañ phlac ruy Tawa ŭnāsānā nte e' prañ nhan tū lha kyañ tha so / Awa prañ\textsuperscript{120}

Just as in the Island of Ceylon where the Religion shone, (and where also) the heretics Klāñ had completely destroyed the land so that the Island of Ceylon could revive and the Religion shine again only through the blessings of Sakra, Brahma, and all the deva and through the effort done by the great king Dutṭhagamaṇī who was the recepient of the prophecy that he would become the right hand disciple of Maitrya, on Jambudīpā where the Religion shone bright, the country of Mrañmā was also completely destroyed by the heretic Syam̄ and yet through the might and wisdom of Siri Tiri phavanādityāpawarapanītadhammarājā, who is powerful, majestic and shine like sun and moon, who is a just king, the donor of the golden monastery and who

\textsuperscript{19} Luce: "Syam" JSS, XLVI, ii p. 198, n. 199

\textsuperscript{120} L. 682 1-10, S. 737
has a great faith in the Religion, (also known as) the great king Tryāphyā, Lord of the White Elephant, the grandson of the great just king Sīhasūra, Lord of the White Elephant who ruled over all Mraññā and Śvaṁ lands after conquering the 900,000 Khan soldiers, the heretic Śvaṁ 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 Awa capital of the Mraññā land became as pleasant as the Tavatimsa (7 Feb 1376).

Although Burma had experienced a century of unrest due to foreign invasions and internal discord, there was some pleasant-ness coming back as alluded to in the above inscription. Towards the end of the century, with the growth of Awa, 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.  

A few months ago I read a paper on “Mahākassapa and His Tradition” at an ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society and have mentioned that reclaiming the wasteland was on one of the important aspects of the period under survey. I would like to mention briefly here 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 and his original name was Āna Poṁ, Loṁ, Saṁ. He was a native of Paṁrimma in Myaung township, Sagaing district. He was extremely well versed in the knowledge of the Piṭaka and his moral conduct was exemplary. He established a forest monastery firstly at Kyaukyit. He then extended his monastic establishments to Paraṁ, Aṁrañ and Aniṁ. By A.D. 1215 he came to Pagan. His name first appeared in the Pagan inscriptions in A.D. 1225. He had his lieutenants chosen from the choicest of the monkhood and such persons like Aṅātakaṇḍa or Mahāmatimā in his following helped much the propagation of his sect. Such leaders of the sect came to be known as SaṅgharaṈa. 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 MahāsaṅgharaṈa and Pīṭṭa SaṅgharaṈa became quite famous. It is remarkable to note that there was one female leader called Ṛhe kloṅ SaṅgharaṈa Im Toṁ Ruṁ. Their power declined only after 1500.

During the Pagan period they had had their rivals in the persons of
Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda\(^{131}\), 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 taw klon\(^{132}\), most of them never lived alone in the forest to observe the Araññakāyasī 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 at the outlying districts where the price of land was cheap.\(^{133}\) In such land transactions, it was usual to give grand feasts to gain the public recognition of the new ownership.\(^{134}\) Officials in connections with the land were given cloths of various kinds as gifts.\(^{135}\) The price of land nearly always included sīy phuiv sā phuiv\(^{136}\)—the price of liquor and meat, and both men and monks were invited to enjoy pri sīy pri sā—\(^{137}\) the finishing liquor and the finishing meat. One could imagine how many people would come to a feast where one big bull, one big pig, and over 30 pots of liquor were consumed.\(^{138}\) Sometimes the monks would mention their feast as saṅghika cīt ta khu se thamaṅ nhaṅ may cā pe e—\(^{139}\) 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 raṅ\(^{140}\) or varinaka aphyaw\(^{141}\)—the toddy palm juice, pe raṅ—\(^{142}\) the palmrya palm juice, and arak—\(^{143}\) the distilled or foreign liquor. We find the mention of one Queen Cow dedicating one ponkan of arak in 1380.\(^{144}\) Special pavilions were sometimes built for holding these feasts.\(^{145}\) But usually a feast would be held at any convenient place not excepting a mahaṅthera’s residence.\(^{146}\) A copy of an inscription found at Nandamaṅña in Ajagone enclosure of Minnanthu, Pagan, mentions that provisions were left to cook rice and curry for the morning and evening meals of the monks.\(^{147}\) 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.

With the exception of drinking liquor, eating evening meal's and

\(^{131}\) Pl. 302 (no date)

\(^{132}\) Pl. 465a\(^{3}\), S. 703; Pl. 583a \(^{20}\), S. 620, etc.

\(^{133}\) Pl. 268, S. 643

\(^{134}\) Pl. 224 \(^{10-11}\), S. 630

\(^{135}\) L. 682 \(^{25-8}\), S. 737

\(^{136}\) Pl. 231a \(^{5}\), S. 637, etc.

\(^{137}\) Pl. 543a \(^{25}\), S. 726

\(^{138}\) U. 58 \(^{12}\), S. 745

\(^{139}\) U. 125b \(^{6}\), S. 802

\(^{140}\) L. 952b \(^{8}\), S. 852

\(^{141}\) Pl. 233 \(^{14}\), S. 738

\(^{142}\) U. 71b \(^{29}\), S. 760

\(^{143}\) L. 8915, S. 791

\(^{144}\) Wetlet Thitseingyi Mingala Kyaung Inscription Obverse\(^{24}\), S. 742.

\(^{145}\) L. 636 \(^{17}\), S. 732

\(^{146}\) L. 671a\(^{12}\), S. 735

\(^{147}\) I. 27720-1, S. 610. See also G. E. Harvey: History of Burma, p. 60.
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, those monks took the lead in re-
claiming more land and thus they must have been quite useful to the
community in those days.

In conclusion we find that this period is 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.

Note: Abbreviations used are:

BEFEO Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient
DSHRI Defence Services Historical Research Institute
JSS Journal of the Siam Society
L List number in C. Duroiselle: A List of Inscriptions found in Burma.
Part I. Rangoon. 1921.
P1 Plate number in Professors P. M. Tin and G. H. Luce: Inscriptions of
S Sukarac to which 638 is usually added to get Anna Domini.
U Unlisted inscriptions i.e. inscriptions that are not included in P. M. Tin
and G. H. Luce: Inscriptions of Burma and C. Duroiselle: A List of
Inscriptions found in Burma.

U 33 Amyin, Minye Kyaung small one face inscription. S. 729
U 34 Pakokku, Pakhangyi, Kyayngdwin Dhammayon four faces inscription. S. 729
U 35 Amyin, Minye Kyaung small two faces inscription. S. 733
U 50 Tada-u, Tadawya, Shinbinthalyaung one face inscription. S. 739
U 55 Sagaing, Ywathitgyi. Pagan Kyaung two faces inscription. S. 743
U 58 Monywa, Hsalingyi, Khunhua, Myalzu one face inscription. S. 745
U 60 Sagaing, Htupayon E. Shed Stone 12 two faces inscription. S. 746
U 63 Sagaing, Hpaungdaw-u (Loka-yan-aung) pagoda inscription. S. 745
U 64 Anein, Tawgyayang, Shwego Stone 2 two faces inscription. S. 748
U 71 Monywa, Myaung, Kyaukkyi, Shwepaunglaung pagoda two faces inscription.
S. 760
U 73 Sagaing, Htupayon W. Shed Stone 15 two faces inscription. S. 760
U 87 Amyin, Kayaksa, Shweygin (Chanthagy) Kyaung two faces inscription. S. 769
U 92 Sagaing, Htupayon W. Shed Stone 15 two faces inscription. S. 783
U 94 Sagaing, Tilokaguru gyang, Zadihla two faces inscriptions. S. 785
U 125 Ancin, Tawgyayang, Taung Min Khaung pagoda two faces inscription. S. 802
U 161 Tada-u, Kyanigan, two faces inscription. S. 878
U 199 Monywa, Myaung, Kyaukkyi, Shwepaunglaung four faces inscription. S. 750
T 200 Tada-u Thamaunggan, Yan-aungmyin pagoda small two faces inscription.
S. 769
YS Yian-shih