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.

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<td>5. Myanmar - History - King Sawhnit, 1298 - 1312</td>
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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 Klawewā 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 Rhyunansyan—the Lord of the Golden Palace. His regnal title was Siri Tribhawanādiḥyapawarapanditaḥhammaraja. To make himself secure on the throne he was in great need of help and so early in 1297 he sent his son and heir Singhapati to Peking. On 20 March 1297 the Mongol Emperor granted an official appointment to Klawewā as the king of Burma. In spite of that, by 17 Dec. 1297, he was mentioned as Nankla Man—the
dethroned king. Professor Luce pointed out that according to the Chinese his
dethronement and removal to Myinzaing occurred only in June - July of 12989.
Perhaps the reason of this contradiction of statements is that the usurpers
took special care to delay all information of a vassalage in reaching the ears
of the suzerain as long as possible and in the meantime to do all mischief in
the name of the unfortunate vassal so that the overlord would be only too glad
to hear his fall. This also explains why the Mon envoys to China were arrested
in Klawewa'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 Mrukkasuw nhac Plasuw i-chan 13 ryak 5 niy
hyan Nankla Man Kwan Prok Krî thwak taw mü so mañ mat Satyâpicañ
pan rakâ Kroînan Krâ nhâñ riç cañ taw khla e' mañ mat kri Asañkhyaâ
le pan'â ruy riç cañ taw khla pâ e'10

On 17 December 1297 the Dethroned King came to the Great Variegated
Hall and as the minister Satyâpicâñ had requested, he poured the royal
pure water from a Kroînan jar. The great minister Asañkhyaâ 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 king's 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 Klawewa,
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 miy cim14 waste land,
taw cim mle15 forest waste land, to ruiñ mle16 forest wild land, tau mrun17
forest? barren land, and miy khrok18 dry land, were dedicated than some
good cultivable land. This also gave the monks a useful work of claiming
waste lands under crop and quicken the economic development of the country

10. Pl. 286-1-4, S. 659
12. Pl. 90 16-26, S. 597; Pl. 296 11,16, S. 689; Pl. 521, 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 9, S. 706
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. 4759; S. 707
19. Pl. 521, S. 720
after many years of war. At the same time checkings were made as to the authenticity of the religious lands\(^9\) from time to time. Thus, I believe, Klawewä continued attending a dedication ceremony at Myinzaing together with Asaṅkhyā—the eldest of the three brothers who were in real power then. They put him to death on 10 May 1299.\(^9\)

The three brothers were mentioned in an inscription dated 13 February 1289 as Asaṅkhyā Rajasankram Sīhasūra amat kri suন yok—the three great ministers Asaṅkhyā, Rajasankram and Sīhasūra.\(^10\) From the time when the Mongols threatened invasion to the time when Klawewä 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 Kharui area of Kyaukse, which was the chief granary of the Pagan kingdom. Perhaps Klawewä had the control over the six Kharui 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.\(^21\) 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 Chiang Mai in the occupation of Kyaukse and on the strength of an inscription of the Kudawetawa monastery, near Hpaloppeaw and Singun villages, Sama, Paukmyaing, Kyaukse.\(^22\) Professor Luce suggests that after Klawewä’s dethronement, one Sirirāja, 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.\(^23\)

\textit{Sīri Tribhavanādittrīyāpawaradhāmarāja Mañ Lulañ} (Tsou Nieh) was

\(^{19a}\) Luce: \textit{Pagan Dynasty II} (1174 to 1301), p. 12

\(^{20}\) Pl. 417 2, S. 650. Professor Luce points out that they were not present at Klawewä’s coronation on 30 May 1288 and he suggests that it was probably a slight. (Luce: \textit{Syam}, p. 150) But the inscription which mentions the said coronation (Pl. 282) gives no description of the occasion except that \textit{Jeyyasathiy}, formerly a sāhgyaan, was made \textit{sathiy} (? King’s Banker) then and received 150 \textit{pay} from Khanti. There was nothing unusual about the inscription and the fact that \textit{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 \textit{Jeyyasathiy} 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

\(^{22}\) Luce: “\textit{Syam},” JSS, XLVI, ii, p. 153

\(^{23}\) Pl. 293, S. 661

\(^{24}\) Luce: “\textit{Syam},” JSS, XLVI, ii, pp. 153 and 158
the next king at Pagan and he gave his first audience on 8 May 1299. He had the support of the three brothers together with other important ministers like Siṅkasū, Takkhanā, Caturāṅkapicañ, Akkapatī, Īntapaccarañ, Puñña, Sūpharac, Phyakkasañ and Mahāsamañ. His rival claimant, another son of Klaweñā known as Kumāarakassapa 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 Aṣaṅkhyā 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. It had less than 12,000 soldiers. While the army marched to Kyaukse, Kumāra Kassapa went to Pagan. He came to be known as Taruk prañā so Takaumā marñkar-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. On 4 April 1303, the province of Cheng-mien was abolished.

Of the three brothers the youngest Śhāsañā I was the most ambitious. He assumed the title of Chaṅphālīṣyāñ the Lord of the White Elephant, by 1295 and mankri- the great king, by 1296. He was not to be confused with Mañ Lutan of Pagan who also had the title of Chaṅphālīṣyāñ. As a matter of fact he was the direct opposite of Pagan Chaṅphālīṣyā 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 Śhāsañā. He became Anantasiha-sūrajeyyadeva. On 20 Oct 1309 he had his coronation with the regnal title of Siri Tribhawanādityapawarasasīhasurāradhammarājā and as usual with the kings he gave away lands to various religious establishments. 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:

25. Pl. 290b 2-3, S. 661; Pl. 390 5, 16-17, S. 661
26. Pl. 290b 10-13, S. 661
27. See Y.S. ch. 20; Luce: “Śyām,” JSS, XLVI, ii, pp. 158-9
28. Pl. 454a 9 and Pl. 454b 7, S. 696
29. Luce: “Śyām,” JSS, XLVI, ii, p. 161
30. Pl. 396a 4, Pl. 396b 1, S. 664
31. Envoys sent on 27 July 1301, 16 September 1301, 4 November 1301, 6 October 1303, 1 February 1308, 3 August 1308, 27 December 1312, 31 July 1315 and 20 July 1319. See Luce: “Śyām,” JSS, XLVI, ii, pp. 163-4
32. Pl. 389c 8, S. 657; Pl. 406a 19, S. 669; Pl. 482 13, S. 662
33. Pl. 285 5, S. 658
34. Pl. 290 5, S. 661
35. Pl. 403a 3, S. 668
36. Pl. 487 4, S. 734
37. Pl. 501 1, S. 671

JBRs, XLII, ii, Dec. 1959.
Sakarac 672 khu Phussa nhac kachun la plañ niy lwai 25 phlawā 2 lā niy Asankhayā Rājā Siṅkasā man 3 yok ma khlok ma khlyā prañ tuin kā kuīw ma tun ma lhup up sa rhaw khā akuīw mlat cwā Asankhayā nat (rwā lā) khay Rājā Siṅkasā atu prañ kri up rac e’38

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

Here I would like to point out that the version given in the Hmannān39 that Rājā died in 1305 and Asankhayā was poisoned by Sihasāra in 1310 is wrong. According to the above inscription, Asankhayā 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 Tacisyān42- the Lord of One or Chanphū taciy asyān43- the Lord of One White Elephant. His chief queen was Ratanāpūn.44

Tacisyān was succeeded by his son Uccanā VI45 in 1324.46 This Uccanā VI was contemporary with Uccanā V47 the governor of Pagan. There was a great flood during his time and it was recorded as:

/// Sakarac 693 khu Āsin nhac nhuk nīy rū mlok ruy kū kloñ le pruiw e’ puthuiw purhā le mlyaw 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 Manklāntim49, another one at Santi in 133250 and still another at Mrāṅkhuntuīn in 1335.51 Lastly he built a big kū in 1340 at the place where he lived

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before he became king. Apart from these meri-torious deeds we know nothing else about him. The next ruler was Mraucain Canšu or Canšu V who became king on 1 September 1340. There is no mention of this king in the Chronicles. His queen was Caw Thwai with whom he got two daughters, viz. Caw Krj and Caw Im Krj Sañ. Caw Krj was married to his nephew the next king Sihasura II. Sihasura II or Chaiaphli 5 ci askhìn the Lord of Five White Elephants, succeeded his uncle and father-in-law on 29 March 1344. He was popularly known as Náciasyañ and his regnal title was Pavarapangitasihásuradhammarājā. Aploita Co Man Nai was one of his concubines. We know by name a few of his children. They were: Učcanā who was married to Co Calā, daughter of Klaucwā II the King of Cakuin; Canšu Nātoñmyākri whose sister gave birth to Muinwañ Satuñ who became king in Awa later; Man Puła, Klaucwā II, Sinhkasā, and Sihasura III. Of these Klaucwā II succeeded him on 12 December 1350 as King Sri Tribhavanāditapavardhammarājā. 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 Sayan came and destroyed much of his land. He died on 19 March 1359 and was succeeded by his brother Sihasura III. This Sihasura is also not mentioned in the Chronicles. We know two of his queens, viz. Namamay and Acawmat. In 1362 the Sayan 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 1360 and the disturbances in his land remained unchecked until 1368. It was recorded as: 

// phuruł mlat mwan nibban iwan pri sásaná 1912 nhac Sihasu nat rwá la ka amyá sá khyañ kwá khoña nhac phak ruk rak prañ thai sai sai tryá Aşanghaya mlok bhak rwá kuw up lhá cí nhañ man mú lhyañ

After the death of Sihasura III, families were broken up on both side as there was much disturbances within the capital, the just Aşanghaya

52. Pl. 459a1, S. 702
53. Pl. 461a3, S. 702
54. Pl. 483b2, S. 709
55. Pl. 488b2, S. 712
56. Pl. 470a1, S. 705
57. L. 696b9, S. 739
58. L. 446 4 5, S. 674, L. 696b10, S. 739
59. L. 696b12, S. 739
60. Pl. 494 21, S. 714
61. L. 696b12, S. 739
62. L. 688 14, S. 737
63. U. 200b 24, S. 769
64. L. 696b12, S. 739
65. Pl. 507a 16, S. 716
66. Pl. 494 21, S. 714
67. L. 606 10, S. 723
68. Pl. 486b1, S. 712
69. Pl. 487 21, S. 712
70. Pl. 5211, S. 720
71. Konbaumziet, 1905, p. 662
72. L. 642 4, S. 721
73. L. 642 12, S. 721; Pl. 530 1, S. 722
74. U. 50 11, S. 739
75. Pl. 540b 1, S. 725
76. L. 606 10, 11, S. 723
77. U. 50 17, S. 7398
78. L. 800a 6 7, S. 762
79. L. 698a 9 11, S. 739

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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 Asañkhayā who was the Queen of TryāphyāIII 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 Tacisyān. 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 Tapoñ l-chan tac chai nā ryak Sokkrā ne lhyān rhwe lak ruñm tau à phlañ Mrañma prañ Taniñ prañ Kula prañ alunim akun cuññ kuiv acuiv ra so S'rī Tribhawanādityapawaraṃḍita-dhammarājā htu so re me asyañ philac so phurā rhañ Anoraththāmañca e' myoksā tau philac so toc miphurā Cau sañ kā miphurā mañ gā ma hush phuiv lōn tau mañkri Tacisyān i/ Tacisyān lwan lhyān Tacisyān sā Cackuñ Mañkri Asañkhayā/ Asañkhayā lwan lhyān mañkri Tryāphyā krī/ Tryāphyākri lwan lhyān Mañkri Rhvetonīkā/ Rhvetonīkā lwan lhyān Mañkri Klacwā/ Klacwā lwan lhyān Mairaitauthwak/ Mairaitauthwak lwan lhyān Mañkri Tryāphyāñati/ Tryāphyāñati lwan lhyān Mañkri Mañ Plan mañ phlac e/ Mañ Plan lakan dhak Phwātaw Cuiw Mañ Kuiw Tau Krī miphurā mlok e' miphurā kā nhac pā ma hi Cuiw Mañ Kuiw Tau Krī sā te. Mañ Plan lwan lhyān sā tau Satuiw Mañphyā gā mi mi e' rhwe lak ruñm tau à phlañ Mrañma prañ thak tu phak kañ ruy rai khrañ awan khwan ā dhan ruy ran man khapsim kuiv... e 3 nhac te nhim nañ nuñ pī so nat rwā lā khai/ Tryāphyā krī mañ mlok e'Tryāphyā krī lak thak phwātaw ņma acma toc miphurā mlok miphurā mlok e' nan thak 35 nhac ne e'/ Tryāphyā krī lwan lhyān sā tau Tryāphyā mañ mlok e'/ Tryāphyā nat rwā lwan lhyān Tryāphyā krī sā Aniratthācau mañ phlac e'81

On 28 February 1409, the living lord Anoraththāmañcau who by the golden might of his strong arm ruled all of the lands of Mrañma, Tanhuñ, Shyañ and Kula and who was called S'rī Tribhawanādityapawaraṃḍitadhammarājā had as a consort the South Queen Cau who was not a mere queen. (She was) a descendant of Tacisyān. After the death of Tacisyān, his son Asañkhayā the great king of Sagaing; after Asañkhayā the great king Tryāphyakri; after Tryāphyakri the great king Klacwā; after Klacwā (there was) Mairaitauthwak; after Mairaitauthwak the great king Tryāphyāñati; during the time of Mañ Plan, the royal grand mother Cuiwmañ Kuiw Tau Krī was made queen and as queen there was no one else except Cuiwmañ Kuiw Tau Krī.

80. L. 698a 24-6, S. 739
81. U 90a 1-10, S. 783
After the death of Mañ Plan, his son Satuiw Mañphyä by his own golden might of his strong arm became unrivalled in the land of Mrañma in respect of bravery and strength. In 3 years (time) he was able to crush all opposition. Then he died. Tryāphyäkrī became king. Tryāphyäkrī made my grandmothers—the two sisters, north queen and south queen and lived on the throne for 35 years. When Tryāphyäkrī died, Tryāphyäkrī's royal son Aniratthācau became king.

Now, in this list of kings from Cakuñ, Asañkhayyâ ruled from 1315 to 1337 and he was a junior son of Sīhasūra I of Pañya. Therefore I would like to call this Cakuñ house as the junior branch of the Sīhasūra dynasty. Asañkhayyâ's queen was Kuiv Taw Kri. When he died he was succeeded by his brother called Tryāphyâ I, who became king on 5 February 1327. His mother was Queen Ratianpûni and she left an interesting inscription recording repairs at the Krakyak cetâ said to be famous throughout the land from Tuwuk kingdom in the north to Mutumâ in the south. The same inscription mentions her son's accession to the Cakuñ throne as:

Sakkarac 688 khu Tapon la plañ 5 nty loyai kharâsîy kharâsî sa phuy toâ nan thak tak kha pri sa Sīhasūra hû amañ than sa (Chañphlu) asyañ mân (kharâsîy) e' (sâkri) phlaç tha so Cakuñ mân kri Tryāphyâ... Tryāphyâ the great king of Cakuñ, who was the senior son of the Lion King called Sīhasūra, 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 Asañkhayyâ died. The Thamantaza Pagoda inscription dated 1343 gives us another interesting detail in connection with the next two kings of Cakuñ, viz. Rhvetoñtak or Anorathâ II (1335-1339) and Klacwâ II (1339-1348). The inscription begins with Cañsû II of Puñain. King Cañsû 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 Mañkala Sîkha was sent by the king to build a baddasîna on the site. Then in 1255 a rich man from Mâcchimadesa known by the name of Smancata came and settled there. He built a brick monastery to the east of King Caisi's sîma. 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:

Sakkarac 705 khu Klacwâ Mañtuñi tîwâ pun so mañkri Rhuyentoñtak thuiv ruy suñ yu khu e'/Smancata phurâ athai tâu nhuïk tâu mû ruv'yokpha Satuiw kri / Klacwâ maui Kuivtauñkri Klacwâ mañ khrîy tâu anû hî ruy phurâ than tâu suiv ma wan' tâ rakâ sâ tâ e' phyan tâu le phurâ kuiv

In 1343 Klacwā was hiding at Mauntuṅ when the great king Rhuytoṅtak attacked and took him captive. On the way, they stopped at the pagoda. His brother-in-law Sanuikrī and his mother Kuṅ Taw Kṛī 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 I\(^{55}\) 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 Uiw,\(^{86}\) daughter of King Uccanā VI (1325-1340) of Paṇya. From this union was born Co Cālā\(^{87}\) who was married to Uccanā, the son of King Sihusūra II (Naccisaya). Klacwā II was succeeded by his brother Manrai-tauthwak or Anorathā II\(^{88}\) in 1348. He was again succeeded by a brother Tryāphyā II\(^{89}\) in 1350. Their sister Cuṅ Maṅ Kuṅ Taw Kṛī\(^{90}\) married twice. With her first husband Satuṅ Kṛī\(^{91}\) she gave birth to Satuṅ Maṅphyā\(^{92}\) who later became the founder of Awa in 1364. Satuṅ Maṅphyā’s two sisters became the South Queen and the North Queen of his successor Tryāphyā III at Awa. Cuṅ Maṅ Kuṅ Taw Kṛī’s second husband known as Maṅ Plan\(^{93}\) became the successor of Tryāphyā II on 23 February 1352\(^{94}\). He is also known as Sihapati\(^{95}\) and he reigned until 1364 when his capital Cakuṅ was destroyed by the northern Syanī.

Satuṅ Maṅphyā became king in 1364\(^{96}\) and he was the first founder of Awa\(^{87}\) and his regnal title was Siri Tiribhawanātityapawaradhamaṃraja\(^{98}\). He was a warrior king and in an inscription dated 1365 we have one reference to his coming back from war. It says:

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55. Pl. 472 19, S. 705
56. L. 606b 3, 10, S. 729
57. L. 688 14, S. 737; L. 696b 3, 11, S. 739; U. 34a 6, 10, S. 729; U. 87a 23, S. 769
58. U. 92a 5, 5, S. 783; U. 95 4, 12, S. 785
59. Pl. 507a 27, S. 716; U. 92a 5, 5-6, S. 783
60. U. 92a 6, S. 783
61. Pl. 472 15, S. 705
62. U. 92a 7, S. 783
63. U. 94b 1, S. 785
64. U. 92a 6-7, S. 783
65. Pl. 497 28, S. 714
66. Pl. 543b 1, S. 716; Pl. 544a 12, Pl. 544b 6, S. 726
67. U. 60a 2, S. 746; Pl. 543b 18, 9, 9-10, S. 726
68. U. 33 2-3, S. 729.
Whe the great king Satuíw returned from subduing Caku, he stopped at a sîma of General Asănkyâ 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.

Satuíw Mañphyâ was succeeded by his brother-in-law Tryâphyâ III. He became king on 5 September 1367. 100 He was Ramañsâñ Man101 before he became king and popularly he was known as Mañkricewâ 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 Saktawrañ 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 Cacton Kuiv Taw 110; Caw Ummâ 111; and Syâî 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 Assapatinarapatibhawanâtityapawara-dhammarâjâ 113 and Siri Tiripawanâditidyapawara-pa-nitadhammarâjâ 114. A great earthquake was recorded during his reign. It says:

On 28 November 1372 there was a great earthquake, in that some year Lady Micaranrâ 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 Man Khon 1 became king on 25 November 1400.
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 ā Uccanā Maṅkri sañ sansarā chañray kuwi krok ēw so krozen Pankley tuik twañ cū cañ lat ruy Sakarac 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapon l-chan 13 ryak 5 ne mle 1500 Cayyasatthiy tuik twañ lū taw mū e’ akhā tapā Taruk phyak ruy rau ati phlac khai e akhluw ka: skhiñ tuiw ā paceñ phlac e’

Great King Uccanā, being afraid of the miseries of the Sansarā made enquires in Pankley 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 abondoned at the time of the invasions were left untouched until 1386. After the Taruk, there came the Syain. A record of 1342 mentions that the Lord of the Elephant had to wage wars against the Syain and he won. In another record we find:

Sakarac 718 khu Krauki nhac Mañ Sinkapatiyi mañ mū so khā lhyan Khañmwan sükri kuwi Khyañtwañ cæ thuwi le ce e’ cac ōn khliiy ra kā nhac sak lañ ēwā lhyan mū ruy Maw kuwiw wan e’ chu pe e’...

In 1356 when Prince Sinkapatiy was in control, he let the headman of Khañmwan to fight the battle of Khyañtwañ. 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:

na lai nae ēwā lā pri Awa mañkri cæ 3 kwiñ tak lac so rohan puñāna lu takā tuiw sañ mwat so akhā nhuk wa kyak 37 pā acim apā 200 nā pe ra e’ lū tuiw mwat ruy se so khā lū myā kuwi na kuwi: nhan dhap tu lhyan sañ ēwā ruy lū so thaman kā cā pe so akhwak nā choi 2 na nak ma prat lū ra e’ cac akhoa phlac so skhiñ tuiw kyan mron sañ hi so le ma kyan ce rak paceñ 4 pā cuñ oñ lhu ra e’

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 T-11, S. 748
116. Pl. 465b 16, S. 703
117. Pl. 519a 1-3, S. 718
118. L. 686b 8-10, 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 Syan ravages in Burma to that of the Coła attacks at Ceylon. It says:

/ phurê sikhañ nippan iwan pri sajañ 1918 nhac so akhê nhuik / Sakarac 736 khu Piysak nhac Tañ-oñ 1-chan 8 ryak satañ 2 nyä ë / 900,000 so Khan mâniñê e cac sañ tuw kuw lêk runim tâu ä phluañ oñ lac ruy Mrañma prañ Syanñ a ën cuñ kuw acuiw ra so Sihäsüra mañ so Chañphlu Sikhañ tryä mâniñê e’ mile tau phlac tha so / Síri Tiriphañ añitidityäpawarañapita- dhammarajä phun tan kuwï kyak sariy ne la kai suiw tok pa ëwâ tha so / Mahâdhamañaramañê rhuiy kloñ e’ tayakâ alwan tryä satthâ ëwâ tha so / Chañphlu Sikhiñ mâniñê Tryä phyä sañ phurä sajañ tok pa ëwâ tha so / Sînhikuw klwan kuw micchäditthi Klâñ tì ënak 2 phyak phi pri so thuïw kìwâ Siñhikuw Sikri Bruhmä Catulokapâlâ / Phummarukkha / ëkisa nhan yakkha dewâcoñ ma pâ ruy th kyak th phan phurâ mwan e sajañ kuw tok pa ce tat ëwâ tha so / phurä mlut ëwâ / Miträyä e’ lakyä ram hu pyäitt khâm ra so Aphayaduñkhamanê mâniñê kai suiw / Caniputit thak phurä sajañ tok pa ëwâ so / Mrañma prañ kuw ëthti Syan myä thuïw 2 ënak 2 phyak phi sañ kuw lêk runim prañnañ tâu ä phluañ Syan ëthti kuw nhip nañ nuïñ ruy rhe so thak cha thak amwan sajañ tok pa ce lyak dänä sîla ne ëña ma kovn ayäcoñ ruy rañan puñma míma yokyä su myä thuïw e’ aci aphwâ khyaññä tuw kuw rhy pe tat ëwâ tha so / Mrañma prañ alùñ kun oñ cuñ kuw acuiw ra sañ phlac ruy Tawa- tinsä nat e’ prañ nhan tì lha kyanñ tha so / Awa prañ.

Just as in the Island of Ceylon where the Religion shone, (and where also) the heretics Klâñ 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 Duttthagamanê who was the recipient of the prophecy that he would become the right hand disciple of Maitrya, on Jamhudipä where the Religion shone bright, the country of Mrañma was also completely destroyed by the heretic Syanñ and yet through the might and wisdom of Síri Tiriphañ añitidityäpawarañapita- dhammarajä, who is powerful, majestic and shine like sun and moon, who is a great just king, the donor of the golden monastery and who

119. Luce: “Syam” JSS, XLVI, ii p. 198, n. 199
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 Sihasūra, Lord of the White Elephant who ruled over all Mranmā and Syāṁ lands after conquering the 900,000 Khan soldiers, the heretic Syāṁ 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 Mranmā land became as pleasant as the Tavatimsa (7 Feb 1375).

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 show 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.121

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.121a

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. 1169122 and his original name was Na Poṁ, Loṁ, Saṁ. He was a native of Pa-rimma in Myaung township, Sagaing district.123 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 Parim, Aṃraṇ and Anim. By A.D. 1215 he came to Pagan. His name first appeared in the Pagan inscriptions in A.D. 1225.124 He had his lieutenants chosen from the choicest of the monkhood and such persons like Aṅnātakundaī125 or Mahāmatimā126 in his following helped much the propagation of his sect. Such leaders of the sect came to be known as Saṅgharāja127. 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 Mahāsaṅgharāja128 and Pitū Saṅgharāja129 became quite famous. It is remarkable to note that there was one female leader called Rēk loṁ Saṅgharāja Im Toṁ Ruṁ.130 Their power declined only after 1500.

During the Pagan period they had had their rivals in the persons of

121. L. 891 9, S. 791
121a. See above pp. 81–98 and 99–118
122. U. 199a 9, S. 750
123. Pl. 474 7, S. 706
124. Pl. 1235 5, S. 587
125. U. 45a 5, S. 733
126. U. 64 6, S. 748
127. L. 891 9, S. 791, etc
128. L. 845 2, S. 774
129. L. 891 11, S. 791
130. L. 834 2, S. 770

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Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda\textsuperscript{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 kloon\textsuperscript{132}, most of them never lived alone in the forest to observe the Araññakālogaṃ 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.\textsuperscript{133} In such land transactions, it was usual to give grand feasts to gain the public recognition of the new ownership.\textsuperscript{134} Officials in connections with the land were given cloths of various kinds as gifts.\textsuperscript{135} The price of land nearly always included siy phuiw sā phuiw\textsuperscript{136} - the price of liquor and meat, and both men and monks were invited to enjoy pri siy pri sā\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{138} Sometimes the monks would mention their feast as saṅghika cit ta khu se thamañ nhañ may cā pe e\textsuperscript{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 rañ\textsuperscript{140} or vanmaka aphyaw\textsuperscript{141} - the toddy palm juice, pe rañ\textsuperscript{142} - the palmyra palm juice, and arak\textsuperscript{143} the distilled or foreign liquor. We find the mention of one Queen Cow dedicating one ponkan of arak in 1380.\textsuperscript{144} Special pavilions were sometimes built for holding these feasts.\textsuperscript{145} But usually a feast would be held at any convenient place not excepting a mahañāla's residence.\textsuperscript{146} A copy of an inscription found at Nandamañña in Ajagona enclosure of Minnathu, Pagan, mentions that provisions were left to cook rice and curry for the morning and evening meals of the monks.\textsuperscript{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 meals and

\textsuperscript{131} Pl. 302 (no date)
\textsuperscript{132} Pl. 465a\textsuperscript{3}, S. 703; Pl. 583a 20, S. 620, etc.
\textsuperscript{133} Pl. 268, S. 643
\textsuperscript{134} Pl. 224 10-11, S. 630
\textsuperscript{135} L. 682 25-8, S. 737
\textsuperscript{136} Pl. 231a 5, S. 632, etc.
\textsuperscript{137} Pl. 543a 25, S. 726
\textsuperscript{138} U. 58 12, S. 745
\textsuperscript{139} U. 125b 6, S. 802
\textsuperscript{140} L. 952b 8, S. 852
\textsuperscript{141} Pl. 233 14, S. 738
\textsuperscript{142} U. 71b 29, S. 760
\textsuperscript{143} L. 8915, S. 791
\textsuperscript{144} Wetlet Thitseingyi Min gala Kyaung Inscription Obverse\textsuperscript{24} S. 742.
\textsuperscript{145} L. 636 17, S. 732
\textsuperscript{146} L. 671a12, S. 735
\textsuperscript{147} I. 77720-1, 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:

BEFEQ Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême-Orient
DSHRRI 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.
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, Kyaungdwin Dhammayon four faces inscription. S. 729
U 35 Amyin, Minye Kyaung small two faces inscription. S. 733
U 50 Tada-u, Tedawya, Shinbinthalyaung one face inscription. S. 739
U 55 Sagaing, Ywathitgyi, Pagan Kyaung two faces inscription. S. 743
U 58 Monywa, Hsalingyi, Khuntha, Myalatu 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 Aein, Taungyaung, Shwegu Stone 2 two faces inscription. S. 748
U 71 Monywa, Myaung, Kyaukyi, Shwepaunglaung pagoda two faces inscription. S. 760
U 73 Sagaing, Htupayon W. Shed Stone 15 two faces inscription. S. 760
U 87 Amyin, Kyauksa, Shwegyin (Chanthgyi) Kyaung two faces inscription. S. 769
U 92 Sagaing, Htupayon W. Shed Stone 15 two faces inscription. S. 783
U 94 Sagaing, Tilokaguru gyaung, Zediha two faces inscriptions. S. 785
U 125 Aein, Taungyaung, Taung Min Khaung pagoda two faces inscription. S. 802
U 161 Tada-u, Kyanigan, two faces inscription. S. 878
U 199 Monywa, Myaung, Kyaukyi, Shwepaunglaung four faces inscription. S. 750
T 200 Tada-u Thamaunggan, Yan-aungmyin pagoda small two faces inscription. S. 769

YS Yian-shih

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