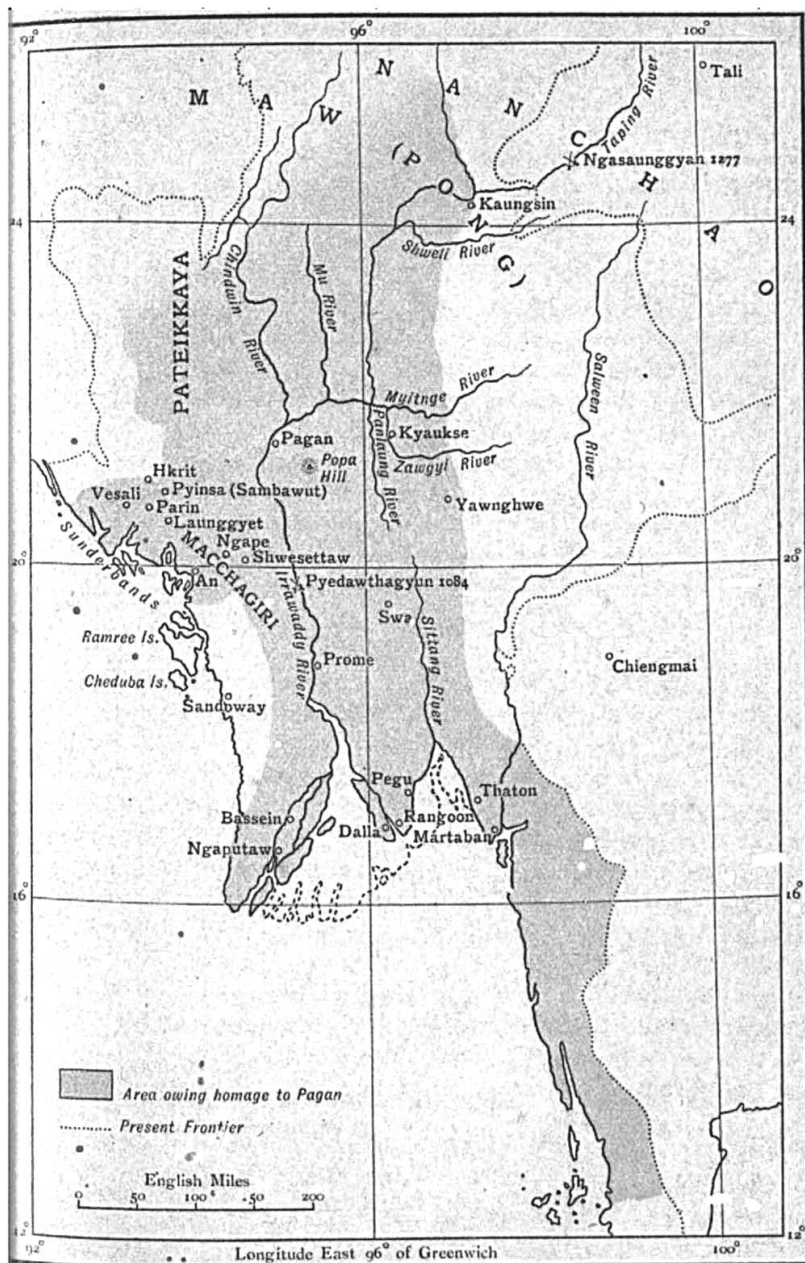


CHAPTER II
THE KINGDOM OF PAGAN OR THE DYNASTY OF THE
TEMPLE BUILDERS 1044-1287

THE KINGDOM OF PAGAN 1044-1287 A.D.



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CHAPTER II

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ANAWRAHTA 1044-77. His first act was to offer the throne to his father and, when he refused it, to invest him with kingly state; the old man lived as a royal monk for four more years, and his women waited on him in his monastery. Anawrahta's sleep was troubled for months with remorse at the slaying of his foster-brother, Sokka-te, until Thagyamin, the King of the Spirits, appeared to him, in a dream saying "O king, if thou desirest to mitigate thine evil deed in sinning against thine elder brother, build many pagodas, caves, monasteries, and rest houses, and share the merit with thine elder brother. Devise thou many weirs, ponds, dams and ditches, fields and canals, and share the merit with thine elder brother."¹

Anawrahta already had a wife and their son was Sawlu. But now, being king, he desired greater state and sent a lord to search the world for a princess to be his bride. The lord found a fitting princess, Panchakalyani, at Vesali in the Indian land (p. 316). Her father consented and sent her away on a palanquin with eighty handmaidens. On the return journey the lord made love to her and then, to remove the witnesses of his guilt, scattered her retinue in remote villages. He waited discreetly until after her marriage with Anawrahta and then worked on his feelings by raising doubts as to whether she could be a genuine princess. Anawrahta saw in the unhappy girl's lack of retinue proof that she was spurious, and banished her to the quiet Sagaing countryside where, at

¹ *Hmannan* I, 234. Cf. Mass for the Dead, and the doctrine that any member of the Communion of Saints can pray that the merit of his good deeds may be transferred to any other member, drawing on the common Treasury of Merit. Another parallel—with this passage in an inscription at Pagan, year 1408 (*Tun Nyin* 34) "Poison cannot be said to be very destructive to life, because it can kill only one; but the poison of the monkhood can destroy all monks and laymen and send them to the *avici* hell," compare Bellarmine's justification of persecution (*De Laicis* III. xxi. 22) "Heretics do more mischief than any pirate or brigand, because they slay souls."

Payeinma on the banks of the Chindwin river, she gave birth to a son, Kyanzittha. Scandal said that Kyanzittha's father was not the king but the lord who went to Vesali. He was brought up under a cloud, and indeed narrowly escaped death at the hands of the king who, hearing from soothsayers that a child was born who should become king, thrice ordered a massacre of children (p. 316): the first time of over seven thousand in the womb, the second time of over six thousand sucklings, the third time of five thousand children of the age of cowboys—hence the name Kyanzittha, "he who survived the search." His youth was passed at a monastery, but Anawrahta, learning that he should be king only in the second generation, relented and employed him as a soldier.

Anawrahta's principality was a small area which remained till the end the homeland of the kings, where their writ always ran. It was barely 200 miles from north to south and less than 80 from east to west, comprising roughly the present districts of Mandalay, Meiktila, Myingyan, Kyaukse, Yamethin, Magwe, Sagaing and Katha east of the Irrawaddy, and the riverine portions of Pakokku and Minbu. To the north lay Nanchao, to the east hills uninhabited save by a few Shans, to the south and west the Pyus, and farther south still the Talaings.

Anawrahta graded every townlet and village according to the levy it could raise, and gathered round him a band of chosen henchmen. Kyanzittha when he grew to manhood, with Nyaung-uhpi the great swimmer of Nyaung-u in Myingyan district, Nga Htwe Yu a toddy climber of Myinmu in Sagaing district, Nga Lon Letpe a ploughman near Popa Hill in Myingyan district—these were the paladins who rode at the head of his levies. Byatta the swift runner was a Mahomedan¹ shipwrecked at Thaton whose chief Manuha oppressed him so that he fled to Pagan. Shwepyingyi and Shwepyingge were the two warrior sons born of Byatta's secret love in the forest at Popa Hill whither he ran daily on magic feet to gather fresh *saga* flowers for the court.

Anawrahta repaired Meiktila lake, and visited the eastern hills, where he founded the Bawrithat pagoda near Yawnghwe

¹ Perhaps an Arab seaman. See note "Byatta" p. 317.

and received the homage of the nearer Shans. The wild scenery of the passes wrought on his feelings as he returned down the Panlaung river. He had seen Shan irrigation, and now as he stood on the summit of Pyetkaywe Hill (Kayutaung), the sight of the waters swirling at the foot of the Shan hills, suggested a work of merit which would atone for the death of his foster-brother Sokka-te; and he constructed the irrigation system which still enriches Kyaukse. When beginning the work, he dreamt¹ one night of three snakes. The southern snake he cut into four—signifying the four weirs and canals (Kinda, Ngalaingzin, Pyaungbya, Kume) which he built on the southern river, the Panlaung. The middle snake he cut into three—signifying the three weirs and canals (Nwadet, Kunhse, Nga Pyaung) which he built on the middle river, the Zawgyi. The northern snake eluded him, without a wound—and all his efforts failed on the northern river, the Myitnge, which is still uncontrolled.

The work, supervised by the king himself, lasted three years and there were many casualties from fever. When, according to custom, a human victim was about to be taken for each weir, one of Anawrahta's queens, sister to a Shan chief, asked whether her death would not suffice for all. So she was slain, and became the guardian spirit of the weirs. Her brother, the chief of Myogyi (Baw in the Myelat), was summoned to do homage. Sooner than drag his people into war, he set out for court; but on the way, horror overcame him, and when he reached the whirlpool in the Zawgyi river, where it enters Burma, he threw himself in and was drowned. To-day you can see little images of the brother and sister in many a wayside shrine.²

Anawrahta peopled the area with villages which, under royal officers, served the canals; known as Ledwin, "the rice country," it became the granary, the economic key of the north country. History shows that he who gained control of Kyaukse became king-maker in Upper Burma.

•Shin Arahān, son of a Thaton Brahman, came to Pagan in

¹ *Ko Hkayaing Thamaing*. GUB II. i. 504 gives a variant. See note "Burmese irrigation" p. 318.

² *Grant Brown* "The Lady of the Weir" and his "Pre-Buddhist religion of the Burmese." GUB II. i 517 gives a variant. See note "Myosade" p. 320.

1056. He was a Talaing monk of the Theravada school of southern Buddhism, who burned to evangelise the heathen land of Upper Burma. He dwelt in a solitary hermitage in a glade near Pagan, until one day a woodman, wondering what this strange being in a yellow robe might be, led him away to court. Anawrahta saw him and realised that here was one whose purity and restrained power were in utter contrast with the leering vacuity of the corpulent Aris. He told him to be seated, and to all men's wonder, Shin Arahan seated himself on the throne. Anawrahta asked "Master, of what race art thou? Whence comest thou? Whose doctrine dost thou follow?" Shin Arahan told him and Anawrahta entreated saying "My lord, teach me somewhat, yea, though it be a little, of the law preached by the Lord, the Master." Before long, the apostle's first step was accomplished: he had won authority to his side.

Anawrahta had long waited for a helper; he had him now, and the power of the Aris was broken. The new thought filtered down to the countryside, bringing release from bondage, for men knew that the court would no longer heed if they ceased to yield their children to the priests. Arahan sent for helpers, and soon missionaries began to arrive from Thaton. The offerings of strong drink vanished and, finding his livelihood gone, many an Ari turned villager and worked for his bread; some were compelled by the king to become scavengers, others conformed to the new fashion. But the greater men, who had wielded power so long, were not minded to yield without a struggle, and fearing for Shin Arahan's life, Anawrahta banished them in numbers; many went to the Shan States, brawling¹ with the royal guards who convoyed them.

Yet they did not die out; although no longer able to impose their yoke on others, they lingered here and there, especially at Popa Hill and at Thamahti near Pagan. Even Shin Arahan in extreme old age went to Tenasserim to fetch a relic for the Nandaminnya chapel built near Pagan just after 1112; and the Nandaminnya, like its neighbour the Payathonzu,

¹Arizingagamyogyi tradition at Thabyewa in Meiktila district. Cf. also traditions in Kyaukse district concerning Sheinkyaw west of Paleik, Yuabo east of Mekkaya, and Minhla reservoir on the Minye canal.

is covered with frescoes which are patently Ari. They are probably the best of such frescoes as exist in Burma, and their technique is of a Nepalese or north Bengali type.

Shin Arahan had brought no sacred books, for writing was still a rare gift. His mission could not thrive without them, and he urged Anawrahta to procure copies from Thaton where there were thirty complete sets of the Tripitaka, the Three Scriptures. Envoys were sent but returned with an insulting refusal. Stung to anger, Anawrahta marched on Thaton with all his men. Kyanzittha, though still in his early teens, rode with the levies. They went down the river, foot, horse, and elephants. The land forces crossed the Sittang river, and the boats went by the Hlaing river and along the coast. Thaton was decaying but any walled town was impregnable save to starvation, and the Burmese had to undertake a three months' siege; moreover, the town was guarded by the spirit of a dead Indian brave and fell only after Anawrahta had exhumed his remains and cast them into the sea.¹

Now the king of Arimaddanapura [Pagan] mustered his army and rode his horse . . . and came to the city of Thaton in the land of Thudammawadi. He compassed it round about and beleaguered it for three months straitly. And those within could get neither food nor drink, and they were exceedingly afamished, and so great was their hunger that they ate one another; and many perished thereby. The four warriors [Kyanzittha, Nyaung-uhpi, Nga Htwe Yu, Nga Lon Letpe] entered the city on their flying horses, and slew many. Then the folk could no longer abide such sufferings; and on the morning of Monday the eleventh waxing of Nayon, the moon being in the mansion of Visakha, in the year 42, king Manuha rendered himself. And the king of Arimaddanapura, having possession of king Manuha, took away the saintly monks, who were full of learning and piety; he took away the monks who knew the Three Scriptures and the Four Books of Divination . . . he took them all to the land of Arimaddana. He chained king Manuha with golden chains and led him captive. From that time henceforth Thaton was desolate, but Pagan that is called Arimaddana flourished like unto a heavenly city. (*Paklat Talaing Chronicle.*)

In the beginning, in the lifetime of the Lord, Thiharaja was king of Thaton. From Thiharaja to Manuha there were eight and forty kings in Thaton, famous and mighty kings, and they kept the faith of our Lord God; and their people followed the command of

¹ See note "Byatta" p. 317.

almsgiving and all other commands of righteousness, and the land was glad and flourished like unto a heavenly city. And Manuha, this great king of so high and joyous and excellent a realm, this lord of thirty-two white elephants, merely because he answered king Anawrahta's messengers in discourteous wise, came to utter destruction, he himself and all the people that were his. (*Hmannan* I. 251.)

This is the end of Thaton as a royal city, and she could not recover her prosperity by sea trade because the receding coastline left her high and dry. Anawrahta rode back in triumph to Pagan. Like some great glittering snake the victorious host uncurled its long length and set out through the Delta creeks with a captive chief and court, all the monks, and an entire population,¹ numbering 30,000; but the pride of the Burmese was Manuha's thirty-two white elephants, each laden with scriptures and relics. On all sides chieftains hastened to make submission to the new power; he razed the walls of Prome and stripped its pagodas of the relics enshrined since the days of the traditional chief, Duttapaung—he would have no rival fortress, he would teach the Pyus to look to Pagan alone for religion.²

After arriving at Pagan, Manuha was at first treated with consideration. At Myinkaba, south of the city, he built the Nanpaya; it contains his throne room and is of good stonework with interesting bas-reliefs in which Hindu deities are so prominent as to leave no room for doubt that Thaton Buddhism was largely Hindu. Feeling anxious as to his future, he looked at the great jewelled ring³ on his finger and thought "It will not be mine for long. They will take this too when they like." So he sold it to a Myinkaba merchant for six cartloads of silver which he spent in building the Manuha temple there. Soon after, his foreboding came true, for Anawrahta dedicated him and his family as slaves to the Shwezigon pagoda, thus rendering them outcaste for ever. To this day the headman of Nyaung-u West village close under the pagoda, is believed by his followers to be of Manuha's line and is treated with unusual deference (p. 351).

The influx of Thaton captives, many of them craftsmen,

¹ See note "List of Captives" p. 321.

² See note "Cholas in the Delta" p. 322.

³ Manuha temple inscription, *Inscriptions* 1913 7. One of his family died of leprosy and became Nyaungyin Nat, the leper spirit, see *Temple* 53.

helped to civilise the north, and there were three immediate results. Firstly, Shin Arahan gained many helpers from the Thaton clergy, and got all the scriptures he wanted, housing them in the Tripitakataik library building which is still to be seen at Pagan. Secondly, Pali supersedes Sanskrit as the normal language of sacred books, and Hinayana teaching supersedes Northern Buddhism. Thirdly, the Burmese adopted the Talaing alphabet and for the first time wrote their language—the earliest inscription¹ in Burmese is dated 1058, the year after the conquest. But none of the great temples of Pagan were built till a generation later (p. 40), and it was not the actual captives so much as the intercourse with the outer world given by the conquest which civilised Upper Burma.

Anawrahta's next conquest was north Arakan (p. 138). He marched over the pass from Ngape in Minby district to An in Kyaukpyu and subjected the prince, whose capital was at Pyinsa in Akyab district. He failed to bring home the ponderous Mahamuni image, probably because he had not sufficient men to furnish relays and to clear a proper road; he contented himself with taking away the gold and silver vessels of the shrine, burying its magical figures and uprooting its magical trees, lest the charms should aid an Arakanese raid into Burma.²

He had received homage from several of the nearer Shan chiefs, but their allegiance was nominal and he had to establish forty-three outposts along the eastern foot-hills; thirty-three still exist as villages, or at least as tract names:—

<i>Bhamo</i>	<i>Kyaukse</i>
Kaungton	Mekkaya
Kaungsin	Ta On
Shwegu	Myinsaing
	Myitha
<i>Katha</i>	
Yinhke	<i>Meiktila</i>
Moda	Hlaingdet
Katha	Thagaya
Htigyaing	Nyaungyan

¹ *Inscriptions* 1913 1. There are earlier ones in Burmese, but this is original, whereas they are copies and their dates are miscopied.

² *JRS* 1912 Chan Htwan Oung "The Mahamuni Shrine," *RSASB* 1918 12. The order of events in Anawrahta's reign is uncertain, no dates being given for the Kyaukse canals or the Nanchao visit. San Shwe Bu at *RSASB* 1919 56 assigns the conquest of Arakan to 1057.

<i>Mogok</i>	<i>Mandalay—concl'd.</i>
Myadaung	Thetkeyyin
Tagaung	Wayindok
Hinthamaw	Taungbyon
Kyanhnyat	Myodin
Sampanago	
<i>Mandalay</i>	<i>Yamethin</i>
Singu	Shwemyo
Konthaya	
Magwetaya	<i>Toungoo</i>
Yenantha	Myohla
Sonmyo	Kelin
Madaya	Swa.

He now made some of those curious expeditions which recur throughout Burmese history, roving about with an armed host to pray or prey as opportunity offered. Thus he visited "the Indian land of Bengal," perhaps Chittagong, and planted magical images of men there.¹

Again, taking his force by land and river, he advanced beyond what is now Bhamo and entered the Nanchao kingdom. The Utibwa² of Nanchao shut the gates of his capital, Tali, against this strange visitor, and Anawrahta sat down outside. After a long pause, the two potentates exchanged presents and conversed amicably. The Burmese went sight-seeing and conversed with the Nanchao primate, asking questions about the great brazen image, a fathom square, of a god called Sandi; the primate explained, "We have two religions, one of this world, the other of the next world. For this life we worship the idol Sandi; for the next life we worship Buddha." But although the Burmese say they made an overwhelming impression on Nanchao, they could not induce the Utibwa to give up a Buddha tooth of which he was the proud possessor, and they had to rest content with a jade image which had come into contact with the tooth. With this trophy Anawrahta returned home, visiting the Shan states on the way and receiving

¹ See note "Byatta" p. 317.

² Utibwa is the name by which the Burmese knew the ruler of Yünnan or China, two areas which they confused. It was actually one of the official titles of the Nanchao kings and is from *udi* = (Pali) *udaya* = rising sun + *bwa* (as in *sawbwa*) = chief, i.e. "King of the East." BEPEO 1904 Pelliot "Deux Itinéraires" 162-4 takes the title to indicate Hindu influence, through Burma, on Nanchao.

the homage of their chiefs. Maw,¹ the largest state, presented a daughter Sawmunhla who had a romantic career as Anawrahta's consort, being driven into exile by Burmese rivals who hated her as a Shan witch. She built the Shwezayan pagoda in Mandalay district and her story is still acted on the stage.

He returned home down the Irrawaddy on a barge of barbaric splendour. While halting near Wayindok in Mandalay district, he built the Taungbyon pagoda and put his henchmen Shwepyinyi and Shwepyinnye to a cruel death because they were remiss in bringing each a brick, as the others did, for the construction of the pagoda. They are now spirits, worshipped at the annual festival there, and the religion of their father (p. 24) is indicated by the fact that nobody connected with the shrine will touch pork.²

In none of the great events of the reign is mention made of Anawrahta's son Sawlu who, born in 1048, wasted his days with a favourite, Yamàn, the son of his wet nurse. Yamàn enjoyed the revenues of Dalla and, being blind in one eye, was called Yamankan.³

Lao Shans from the direction of Chiengmai raided Pegu. The people asked for help, and the king sent Kyanzittha with a small body of men. Seeing how few they were, the people clamoured saying they would not be properly protected. But the detachment were picked Indians, not the ordinary levy; Indians are several times mentioned among Anawrahta's palace troops⁴ but their origin and status is not given. Kyanzittha and his men dazzled the people of Pegu by wondrous feats at practice among the cucumber beds, and then defeated the raiders who flung away their arms and fled, leaving their four leaders to be taken prisoner. After this Kyanzittha was a hero among the Talaings. They sent him home with presents for the king—four hair relics in a golden casket, a *chinthe* gryphon image, and the lady Hkin U, daughter of the lord of Pegu. She was borne in a curtained litter. Kyanzittha rode at her

¹ See note "Pong and Koshanpye" p. 322.

² GUB I. ii. 23 and II. ii. 105; Grant Brown "The Taungbyon Festival" Stewart at Ridgeway 387.

³ The name is, with equal probability, Rahman Khan.

⁴ See note "The Guards" p. 323.

side, and during the long journey they fell in love with each other so violently that the matter had to be reported to Anawrahta.

That was the end of Kyanzittha's career under the great king. He was brought bound into the presence and Anawrahta taunted him for a time until, his anger rising, he hurled his fairy spear Areindama. But Kyanzittha's hour was not yet come. The spear missed, grazing his skin and severing the ropes which bound him. He picked it up and fled from the presence never to return. Sawlu and Yamankan, rejoicing in their rival's downfall, joined in the persecution. His flight over hill and dale still forms a favourite subject on the stage. At one time he was fain to earn his living by tending horses, and finally he found rest at Kyaungbyu (? in Sagaing district); here he wandered into a monastery garden to pluck lime fruit and rest in the heat of the day; Thambula the monk's niece saw him and with her he lived in happy obscurity for the remaining years of the reign.

Ceylon was now undergoing one of its periodic invasions from the Indian mainland during which Buddhism suffered severely from Hindu persecution. Vijaya Bahu I. king of Ceylon sent ships to ask Anawrahta for aid against the Cholas of Madras;¹ but finally he drove them out himself and in 1071, to repair their ravages on religion, he asked Anawrahta for scriptures and monks, since there were so few monks left that it was hard to convene a chapter (p. 56) and make valid ordinations. Anawrahta gladly sent the monks and scriptures, and added a white elephant as a present for the king of Ceylon; in return he asked for the Buddha Tooth of which Ceylon is the proud possessor. His envoys failed to get the tooth but were given a duplicate, for Buddha's teeth possessed the faculty of miraculously reproducing themselves in order to cope with the needs of a growing religion. The duplicate was placed in a jewelled casket and was taken on board ship. The ship

¹Vijaya Bahu I.'s regnal years 1065-1120 are yet another blow at the traditional Burmese chronology for the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, e.g. *Hmannan* assigns his contemporary Anawrahta to 1017-59; but they tally with Jatapon and with the Myazedi inscription (p. 43). *Muller* 61 shows that the date of Vijaya Bahu's request for monks was 1071 or just after. His request for troops was fruitless and Anawrahta sent only costly stuffs instead of men: See *Hmannan* I. 264, *Mahavamsa* LVIII. 8 and LV. 4.

crossed the seas and came up the Irrawaddy to Lawkananda, the landing place three miles below Pagan, where the whole countryside came out to meet it. Anawrahta himself waded into the river up to the neck and bore the casket on his head in solemn procession to its shrine.

His chief monument, the Shwezigon pagoda, begun in 1059 and still unfinished at his death, is a solid pagoda of the kind so common all over Burma; yet it attracts worshippers daily while the finer temples built by his successors are deserted. Its popularity is due to the exceptional sanctity of the relics (Buddha's collar-bone, his frontlet bone from Prome, and his tooth from Ceylon), and to the shrines of the entire pantheon of the Thirty Seven Nat spirits who, as it were, have come circling round in homage to those relics. If anyone doubts the debt Burma owes to Buddhism, or wishes to see what she would have been without it, let him wander here and contemplate these barbarous images of the heathen gods. Asked why he allowed them, Anawrahta said "Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods and gradually they will be won over."¹

The site of the Shwezigon was chosen by setting the tooth in a jewelled *pyathiat* shrine on a white elephant and letting the animal roam; where he rested was chosen as the site. By the same method, sites were chosen for the Tuywin Hill and Lawkananda pagodas in Myingyan district, the Tankyi Hill pagoda in Pakokku district, and the Pyetkaywe in Kyaukse district; all these contain Buddha teeth which, in answer to Anawrahta's prayer, were miraculously reproduced from the Ceylon tooth. For the hair relics presented by Pegu he built the Shwehsandaw (Mahapeinne) south of Pagan. Farther afield he built other pagodas such as Shweyinmyaw, Shwegu, Shwezigon, in Meiktila district.

While in camp² in 1077 he was warned by his soothsayers that he would die before reaching home. He cast them into fetters. He reached Pagan and was actually entering the Saḡabha Gate when a hunter came with news that a wild buffalo was terrorising Myitche in Pakokku district. He turned back and crossed the river to Myitche. There he was

¹ Oral tradition.

² The spot is marked by the Palinbo pagoda in Kyaukse district.

gored to death by the buffalo while his followers fled; his body was never recovered from the jungle.

The first king, as apart from chieftains, to appear in Burma, Anawrahta has passed into legend and many an institution is fathered on him. Bricks bearing his "seal," a Sanskrit text, have been found as far apart as Paunglin in Minbu district and Twante west of Rangoon.¹ His portrait in the chronicles is shadowy and conventionalised, but he must have been a great character. In a single lifetime he established true religion and expanded a petty chieftainship into what was, if not a kingdom, at least an overlordship comprising the main portion of what is now Burma—the Irrawaddy valley from Bhamo to the sea, the nearer Shans on both sides, north Arakan, and north Tenasserim (pp. 44, 57).

SAWLU 1077-84 on ascending the throne married² his father Anawrahta's Talaing queen Hkin U and recalled Kyanzitha from banishment. Kyanzitha heard the summons gladly and rode away leaving Thambula a ring and saying "If thy child be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring ring and child to me." But he did not stay long at court and was soon banished again for renewing his old intimacy with Hkin U; this time he was sent to Dalla near Rangoon. Sawlu did not continue work on the Shwezigon but built two pagodas called Shwesawlu, one at Myogyi in Monywa district, the other at Paunglin in Minbu district.

He gave the town of Pegu to Yamankan. One day he played at dice with Yamankan, and Yamankan won and rose up and clapped his elbows. Said king Sawlu, "Thou hast won a mere game of dice, dost thou arise and clap thine elbows? If thou art a man, rebel with thy fief of Pegu!" "In sooth?" asked Yamankan. "We kings," quoth the king, "Should we utter aught but sooth?" Now Yamankan had been plotting already, and he returned to Pegu. (*Hmannan* I. 278.)

Before long he was back again, but this time it was at the head of his Talaings. Sawlu recalled Kyanzitha and gave him the

¹ *RSASB* 1906 10, 1912 19, 1915 15.

² See note "Married his father's queen" p. 324.

command. They marched south and halted at Myingun in Magwe district where the Shwenanbauk pagoda marks the site of Sawlu's royal camp. Yamankan lay at Pyedawthagyun just below Minhla in Thayetmyo district, on a stockaded island with water on three sides and heavy mud on the fourth and west side. They marched on him. Kyanzittha arrived at sunset and decided that the position was too strong to be attacked.¹ Sawlu, arriving a little later, was furious at the delay and would not listen to the argument that it would be better to wait till Yamankan moved towards the capital, and then fall on his line of march. They attacked at once. Yamankan had erected dummy elephants and soldiers in the most treacherous part of the marsh. The Burmese advanced in the moon-light to the beat of drum, attacking from east and west. Coming in open boats, or sticking in the mud, they suffered severely from the missiles of the Talaings who fought under cover. Sawlu fought at the head of a thousand men with gilded helms and shields. He made no headway. Then, catching sight of a richly caparisoned dummy elephant in the dim light, he mistook it for Yamankan and rode madly up to it. He never came within sixty feet, for his own elephant stuck in the mud while his followers were driven off. Only such of the Burmese as were fortunate escaped.

Sawlu took refuge in a hollow banyan tree and was captured through his own act: being famished he had to beg a woodcutter for food, and in exchange gave his royal ring asking the man to tell nobody. The man showed the ring to every one asking how much it was worth. The Talaings suspected that Sawlu could not be far away, for his elephant was in their hands; they now seized the ring and submitted it to Yamankan who recognised it at a glance. The woodcutter at first refused to say anything but told all he knew when they put him to torture.

As for Kyanzittha, he turned away with rage in his heart at the stupid defeat, crossed the Irrawaddy to Taunghkwin in Magwe district, and rode unattended the sixty-five miles to Pagan in a single night. Behind him lay death and disaster, before him lay complete uncertainty, for a defeated prince usually found his city gates closed against him. He reached

¹ *Pagan Yazawin* hit.

the moat in daylight, anxiously scanning the walls to see what welcome awaited him. The people saw that he was alone, but they knew their man, and the gates rolled open. The ministers met hurriedly. All guessed that the king must be dead. They offered Kyanzittha the crown. But he was obdurate in refusal, saying "Our Lord the King lives yet." The Talaing horde poured on and camped at Myinkaba a mile south of the city.

Kyanzittha determined to rescue the king. He entered the enemy camp at night and found Sawlu. Seated on Kyanzittha's shoulders and well on the way to safety, Sawlu reflected "My father harmed this man, and I also have harmed him. Belike he is stealing me to kill me. Rather will I trust Yamankan, who sucked the same breasts with me as a child. He at least will do me no harm." So he called out "Kyanzittha is stealing me!" The Talaings came hurrying up. Kyanzittha, exclaiming "Then die, thou fool, die the death of a dog at the hands of these Talaing scum!" flung him down and ran for dear life. The nearest way to safety lay in the Irrawaddy. He plunged in and swam out into the darkness. The river at this point is a mile broad even in the dry weather. He could see nothing and was well-nigh exhausted when he heard a *myit-htwe*¹ bird cry on an island. Thus guided, he reached safety, seized a fisherman's canoe, paddled across to the Pakokku bank and rested at Aungtha. His return was cut off, for the Talaings were all round the city. He therefore fled north, crossed the Chindwin near Kyahkat and Waya, turned east, and finally reached Htihlaing (Wundwin) in Meiktila district; but before he was come there Yamankan had executed Sawlu.

KYANZITTHA 1084-1112 though a fugitive became king by the death of Sawlu, for the offer of the court still held good. Yamankan summoned Pagan to surrender but the people refused saying "There cannot be two buffaloes in one wallow. Settle with Kyanzittha before you treat with

¹ *Esacus recurvirostris*, the great stone plover.

us." Unable to do anything against a walled town which his men were too few to blockade, Yamankan drifted north and stockaded himself in the locality where Ava was subsequently built.

Meanwhile men rallied round Kyanzittha so that soon he had a force which required for billets all the eleven villages of Ledwin, the Kyaukse rice area; it was his natural base, for it must have been the most prosperous and thickly populated region in Upper Burma. He called in Shin Popa, a wizard of Htihlaing, who had studied at Chiengmai¹ and was probably an Ari. Shin Popa moved among the levies, reciting incantations and inscribing magical signs of the sun and moon on the elephants' heads, on the horses' withers, and on the warriors' spears and shields.

When all was ready, Kyanzittha marshalled his men and set out for Pagan. The news that he was present in person spread dismay among the Talaings marching eastward to bar his road; they remembered his exploit against the Laos—he had been with them then, he was against them now. They were beginning to tire of the long separation from their fields and families. Kyanzittha left them little time. He had the choosing of his own measures now, and was no longer thwarted by incompetents like Sawlu; his men burned to avenge Pyedawthagyun and free their homes, broke the Talaings at the first rush, and sent them racing back to their stockade. Kyanzittha made it untenable, and they retreated to Myinkaba, but here again he gave them no breathing space and pressed on the attack. This time the Talaings did not wait; saying "Kyanzittha will eat our flesh," they fled before he could bring them to battle. Blazing with gold and gems, Yamankan's barge sped down the Irrawaddy; close to the bank at Yuatha in Myingyan district, he heard the strange call of a bird in a tree, put his head out of the window to look, and fell back dead with an arrow through the eye, for the call was mimicry from the king's archer Nga Singu who had hidden himself in the branches of a *yethahpan* tree.²

Thus ended the Talaing attempt to shake the Pagan

¹ Pagan Yazawinthit.

² *Ficus glomerata*, one of the *Moraceae*, the red swamp fig-tree. Singu in Mandalay district was the archer's home.

monarchy, and after many wanderings Kyanzittha came into his own at last. To share his gladness were Abeyadana who had married him as a young captain, with their daughter Shwe-einthe; Hkindan the bride he had recently taken when campaigning with her father, his right-hand man the Htihaing *myothugyi*; and Hkin U, whom he now hastened to marry. He had twice endured exile because of her, and she now became queen to the third monarch in succession.

He was crowned¹ according to the great ritual in the pavilion of the Lion Throne. Shin Araham the primate led him by the hand, maidens of noble birth bore the holy water, the coronation exhortations were uttered, the white umbrella was held over him, he was fanned with the yaktail, on his head was set the crown, the sword of state was slung to his side, and the golden sandals were bound to his feet. He who had been an outlaw was now king of them all by divine right of birth and the still diviner right of proved capacity. He built a new palace to replace the barbaric wreck which had served Anawrahta, and he set up a series of inscriptions some of which rank as literature—

With loving kindness . . . shall king Kyanzittha wipe away the tears of those who are parted from their trusty friends . . . his people shall be unto him as a child to its mother's bosom . . . he shall soften the hearts of those who intend evil . . . he shall exhort to speak good those who speak evil. With wisdom, which is even as a hand, shall king Kyanzittha draw open the bar of the Gate of Heaven, which is made of gold and wrought with gems. Kings' daughters, fragrant with the fragrance of jasmine flowers, splendid with the splendour of Alambusa, spouse of king In, shall wait upon him. Kings' daughters from seven cities, adorned with gems of divers kinds, shall wait on him, bearing white umbrellas. King Kyanzittha shall sit upon a throne of gold adorned with gems, and he shall enjoy the splendour of royalty. . . . He shall offer treasures of three kinds, with images in a gold reliquary, like a lamp that glows; so brightly shall it shine. (The great Talaing inscription of the Shwezigon pagoda, Pagan, *Epigraphia Birmanica* I. ii 90.)

The language of most of his epigraphs is Talaing, doubtless because scribes were as yet commoner among the Talaings than among the Burmese; he kept a Talaing scholar at court.²

¹ See notes "Coronation and Palace" and "Primate" pp. 325, 326.

² See his Paycinma inscription, *Inscriptions* 1913 18.

Perhaps, too, he liked the Delta folk, and had made friends during his exile at Dalla.

His only child was a daughter, Shwe-einthe. The son of the chief of Pateikkaya¹ came to ask for her hand. Kyanzittha's ministers objected to the match, saying it would deliver the realm into the hands of an Indian prince, and they hastened her marriage to Sawlu's son Sawyun although he was lame. Shin Arahan broke the news to the prince of Pateikkaya, who committed suicide. Before long Sawyun's child by Shwe-einthe was born; it was a boy, Alaungsithu, and Kyanzittha was so delighted that he crowned the infant as king and presented him to the people saying, "Behold your king! Henceforth I reign only as his regent."

While the quaint ceremony was in progress, there arrived Indian prisoners captured in a raid at Thanḡaung and Ngathonpinle;² they were settled in places such as Singu, Ngathayauk, Kalade, Nwahta, and Seiktein, in Myingyan district. Anawrahta's expedition to Arakan affected only the north, and Thetminkadon, a lord of the south, now came raiding the Burmese border villages. Kyanzittha sent a levy with elephants and horses to hunt him down. But Shin Arahan, and the Mahagiri spirit in a vision, counselled the king not to slay him, saying that they, together with the king, Thetminkadon, and little Alaungsithu, had been five friends in a previous existence. Therefore the king recalled his forces after admonishing Thetminkadon; before leaving, they destroyed³ the Mahamuni shrine but could not remove so heavy an image. Kyanzittha believed the Mahagiri spirit to be his patron, who had preserved him through all his miseries, causing Anawrahta's spear to cut the ropes which bound him, guiding him in his desperate ride from Taunghkwin, and speaking to him in the voice of the *myit-htwe* bird when he was nearly drowning.

Kyanzittha had declared the infant Alaungsithu to be his successor because he thought he had no son. He had forgotten the days in quiet Kyaungbyu and was soon to regret his mistake—

¹ See note "Pateikkaya and Macchagiri" p. 326.

² Perhaps Thandaung and Ngapathonpinle in Ramree township, Kyaukpyu district. *Hmannan* I. 284 calls the prisoners Kyekala, i.e. Tamils. See *Carey* 2.

³ *BRS* 1912 Chan Htwan Oung "The Mahamuni shrine," *RSASB* 1918 12.

In the second year of his reign Thambula came to Pagan with her seven year old son. And when she was come to the palace she dared not enter, for the king was granting audience to his captains. And she walked up and down in front of the palace holding her son. Then said the pages "Woman, bide not here. Our Lord the King is about to come forth. Get thee hence." And they drave her forth. But she said "I have a boon to crave. Let me be." And they told the king, and he sent for her. And when he saw that it was Thambula and, her son, he cried aloud "How great is my debt to this lady!" And he called the child and took him to his bosom in the midst of the court and said "Men say that a son cometh first and a grandson last. But I have crowned my grandson, I have made him the first and my son the last." (*Hmannan* I. 286.)

Kyanzittha could not go back on his consecration of little Alaungsithu, but he made Thambula's son titular lord of north Arakan and the Seven Hill Tracts, and he made Thambula herself his fourth queen, with the beloved title U-hsaukpan.¹

Devout Buddhists, fleeing from persecution in India, were now migrating as far as Siam; some came to Pagan,² for its fame as a religious centre was growing. Eight Indian monks were entertained for three months by Kyanzittha who fed them with his own hand and listened to their tale, especially the description of their great cave temple of Ananta in the Udayagiri hills of Orissa. He built the Ananda temple in imitation.

Still in daily use as a house of prayer, the Ananda, with its dazzling garb of white and its gilt spire glittering in the morning sun, is to-day one of the wonders of Pagan. It is the earliest of that series of great temples to which Pagan owes her undying appeal. Such temples are called by the people "caves," and caves they are—masses of brick in which the aisles, pillars, and mysteriously lit recesses are as it were hewn out of some deep hillside. The sun never penetrates there, and in the gloom at the end of the western aisle two life-size statues kneel at the feet of a gigantic Buddha; they have knelt there for more than eight centuries. One is a king, the pious founder Kyanzittha, the other a monk, his teacher Shin Arahān. Here in the stone, large as life, can be seen the clear-cut features and strong chin of the hero-king; his face is not Burmese—his mother was an Indian lady.

¹ See note "Thambula" p. 327.

² *Schiefner* 255.

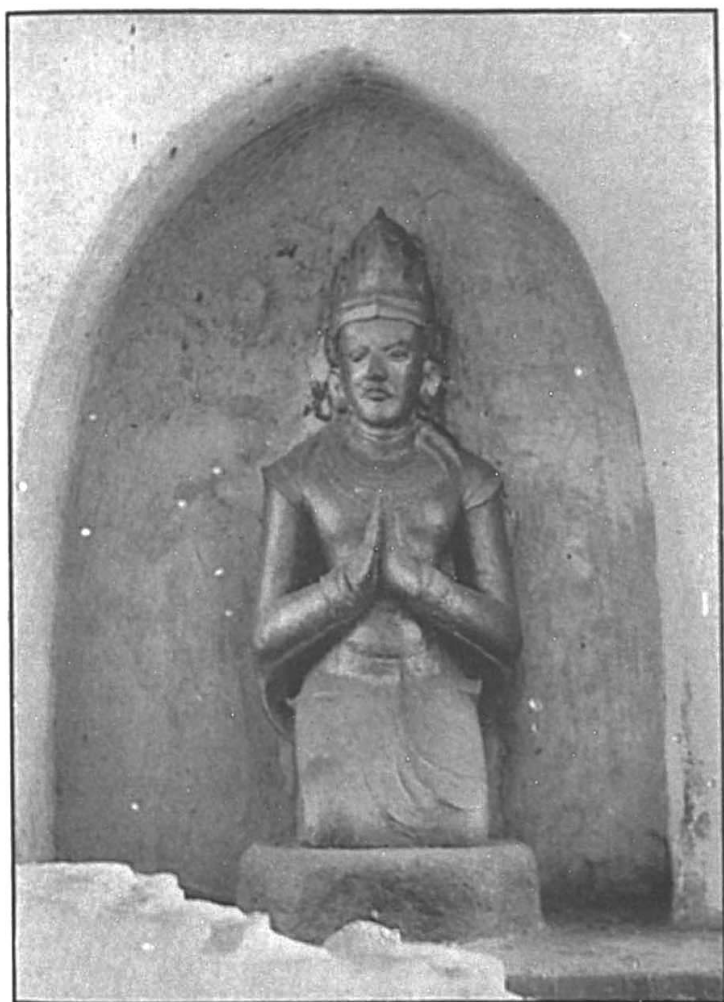


Photo Duraiselle

STATUE OF THE FOUNDER, KING KYANZITTHA,
IN THE ANANDA TEMPLE, 1090 A.D.

On the outside of the temple are fifteen hundred plaques¹ illustrating the *jataka* stories of Buddha's previous existences, each explained by a short inscription in Pali or Talaing. Inside the aisles are eighty niches with sculptures² of Buddha's own life; these, by Indian artists, possibly journeymen imported for the purpose, are of a conventional mediæval type, but a wealth of labour and devotion has been expended on them and the detail is frequently good.

Kyanzittha, riding a white horse at the head of a great procession of monks and people, dedicated the temple in 1090. With its tender beauty, its wealth of sculpture, its mingling of races and languages, the Ananda shows forth the kingship's undivided sway over the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy and the Talaings of the Delta, in the days when Pagan was a religious centre far and wide, and men came even from India to worship at her shrines.

The building so entranced Kyanzittha that he broke the mould by executing the architect.³ At the foundation a child was buried alive to provide the building with a guardian spirit; ⁴ the temple slaves still claim to show the place where the victim's mother rolled on the ground in grief.

Of the six villages he dedicated to the Ananda, four—Payeinma, Kyaukyit, Kyahkat, Waya, all in Sagaing district—are associated with incidents in his career. He built⁵ some forty smaller pagodas such as the Payeinma at his birthplace, and the Shwedwinaung to commemorate his hiding in a pit, in Sagaing district; three at Yesagyo in Pakokku district; and in Myingyan district—the Nagayon, the Hlanpyangyet to commemorate some of his best spearcasts, the Minochantha to contain nine relics sent by a prince of Ceylon, and the Pusittok to commemorate the spot where his mother, when

¹ *Epigraphia Birmanica* II. i. and ii.

² Reproduce⁴ with a full account of the temple in *ARASI* 1913-4 Duroiselle "Stone Sculptures in the Ananda Temple at Pagan." The statues of Kyanzittha and Shin Arahan are probably the only portrait statues in Burma.

³ Oral tradition.

⁴ See note "Myosade" p. 320.

⁵ At Nyaungu the Kyanzittha Onhmin, named after hân and dating from his dynasty, contains frescoes some of which, like those at Minnanthu, appear from their technique to be the work of Nepalese or north Bengali craftsmen. Among the Kyanzittha Onhmin frescoes is one of a Tartar officer in helmet, boots, and uniform with a hawk on his wrist.

brought as a bride to Anawrahta, knelt in homage to the palace. He completed Anawrahta's unfinished pagoda the Shwezigon, using blocks of stone three spans by one quarried at Tuywin Hill from which they were handed to the pagoda by two rows of men lined up all the way. He endowed Shwesettaw in Minbu district; he exhorted a Chola lord¹ to Buddhism; and he was the first Burmese king to restore the shrine at Buddhagaya where grows that Holy Tree in whose shade the Buddha was made manifest:—

King Kyanzittha gathered together gems of divers kinds and sent them in a ship to build up the holy temple at Buddhagaya and to offer lights which should burn for ever there. Thereafter, king Kyanzittha builded anew, making them finer than before, the great buildings of king Asoka, for they were old and in ruins. In this respect no other king is like king Kyanzittha. Thereafter he presented all the Lords of the Church who dwelt in the city of Arimaddanapur [Pagan] with the four necessaries on every occasion. In that respect, too, no other king is like him. Thereafter, many persons from all the provinces came into his presence to attend him. At that time king Kyanzittha heard that a Chola lord had arrived, and he bethought him that apart from the Three Jewels there is no other single thing that can give great happiness in this world or in the worlds to come, or confer Nirvana upon all beings: the Three Jewels alone can give it. Therefore he wrote concerning the grace of the Jewel of the Lord, the Jewel of His Law, and the Jewel of His Clergy, with vermilion ink upon a leaf of gold and sent it unto the Chola lord. Thus hearing of the grace of Buddha, the Law, and the Clergy by reason of king Kyanzittha's sending word unto him, the Chola lord with all his retinue cast off his adhesion to false doctrine, and adhered straight away to the true doctrine; he saw, he was pleased, he was happy. And he came to offer unto king Kyanzittha pearls, an awning of pearls, a *padeitha* tree adorned with the seven kinds of gems, together with a virgin daughter of his who was perfect in form and with ornaments of divers kinds, who was shaded by a white umbrella, a peacock umbrella, a peacock set with the seven kinds of gems. And of these things, too, no other king possesseth the like. (Third Talaing inscription at the Shwehsandaw pagoda, Prome, *Epigraphia Birmanica* I. ii. 153.)

The Chola lord was probably travelling on some mission, for the Chola dynasty of Madras fostered maritime trade. The conquest of Kedah in the Malay states brought them into subordinate relations with their own colony, the flourish-

¹ See note "Cholas in the Delta" p. 322.

ing Hindu kingdom of Palembang in east Sumatra. Therefore when their envoys attended the Chinese court in 1077, they were addressed only on strong white paper in a plain silk envelope, instead of the gold-flowered silk used for a sovereign power such as Palembang whose envoys were present on the same occasion. When Burmese envoys appeared at the Chinese court in 1106, they appear to have insisted on precedence, for the Board of Rites, after inquiry, reported that Pagan was a sovereign state entitled to superior ceremony.¹ Previous missions, the earliest recorded, from Pagan to China were in 1103-4 but they do not appear to have gone further than Yünnan, and they presented elephants which the Chinese regarded as tribute. Conceivably these missions, and Anawrahta's relic quest to Tali, were intended to facilitate overland trade, which probably revived after 866 when Nanchao subsided in defeat and was no longer in a position to block the road.

The long romance of Kyanzittha's life now drew to a close. He was nearly seventy, and as he lay dying it was his only son, the love-child born in exile, who made solemn offerings and set up the inscribed stone post, still in its place, at the Myazedi pagoda south of Pagan. Its chronological and linguistic importance is considerable. It fixes the dates of the early kings of the Pagan dynasty, which were previously doubtful. Bearing on each of its four faces the same matter in a different language—Pali, Talaing, Pyu, Burmese—it has enabled us to decipher Pyu which until 1911 was an unknown tongue; and it shows that this numerous tribe, who have left so few traces, were not identical with the Burmese.

Glory and honour be to Buddha! In the one thousand six hundredth and twenty-eighth year of religion [A.D. 1084] Kyanzittha became king in this city of Arimaddanapur [Pagan]. The beloved wife of this king was named Thambula, and she had a son named Yazakumar. The king gave unto her three villages of slaves, and after her death he gave her ornaments and the three villages of slaves unto her son Yazakumar. Now the king having reigned twenty-eight years, fell sick unto death. Then Yazakumar the queen's son, remembering the benefits wherewith the king, had nourished him, made a golden Buddha and went into the presence and showed it to the king saying "This golden Buddha have I, thy

¹ *Chau Yu-kua* 59, *Sainson* 101, *Gerini* 624 and 819.

slave, made to assist my Lord. The three villages of slaves which my Lord gave unto me, I now dedicate unto this Buddha. May my Lord approve!" Then was the king well pleased and said "Well done! Well done!" And in the presence of the image, of the Primate, of the Venerable Lords Muggaliputtatissa, Sumedha, Brahmamal, Brahmadiw, Son and very learned Sanghasena; in the presence of all these Venerable Lords the king made offering of poured water. When it was done, the son of the beloved queen made this cave-temple with a golden spire and enshrined therein the golden Buddha. And in dedicating this shrine and Buddha, the queen's son brought up the men of Sakmunalon, one village, Rapay, one village, Henbuiy, one village, all those three slave villages, and made offering of poured water for the gold Buddha and the shrine wherein he had enshrined it; and thus he prayed "May this act of mine be unto me for the attainment of divine wisdom! If any hereafter, be it my son, grandson, kinsman, or any other, oppress the slaves whom I have dedicated unto this Buddha, may he never behold the most high Buddha Arimittiya!" (Myazedi inscription, A.D. 1112, *Epigraphia Birmanica* I. i. A duplicate is in the museum at Pagan.)

ALAUNGSITHU 1112-67 spent his early years quelling rebellion in places such as Bassein. In 1114 dacoits, numbering over a hundred, raided his palace, and when they were cut down the throne room resembled a shambles. Levies had to be sent once more against Thetminkadon, lord in south Arakan, who was again raiding the border villages; he was caught and his head was sent to Alaungsithu. The Mahagiri spirit appeared to Alaungsithu and blamed him for permitting the death of one who in a previous existence had been a fellow worshipper; therefore Alaungsithu begged pardon of the head and placed it in a jewelled casket on the top of Tuywin Hill where people worshipped it in annual festival. He had to suppress a rising in Tenasserim himself: a Pali inscription¹ set up in Mergui by one of the Pagan kings shows that the dynasty ruled there.

It was just after Alaungsithu's return from this Tenasserim campaign that Shin Araham died at the age of 81, about the year 1115.² His eyes had witnessed much since the days when,

¹ *RSASB* 1919 25, footnote 9.

² *RSASB* 1919 23.



THE MYAZEDI INSCRIPTION, 1112 A.D.
The Pyu face.

a youth with his vows still fresh upon him, he had dwelt alone in a woodland hermitage near Pagan. He was now primate of a kingdom, the acknowledged head of a thousand monasteries whose network spread religion over many a land and many a people. He had seen a chieftainship expand into the wide dominion of Pagan. He had been the trusted adviser of four sovereigns and had assisted at the coronation of three. He had witnessed and directed the overthrow of the dread Ari and their abominations, while in their place sprang up a purer faith and a people liberated from the bondage of dark creeds. He had seen the glittering spire of the Ananda soar to heaven, heralding the new movement which inspired the age's highest art and pressed it into the service of religion. The great work he had done was speeding beyond him, but he could go to his rest knowing that the light he had kindled would never die, that the work no longer depended on the thread of a single life, for devoted disciples stood ready to take the torch from his failing hands.

• In Kyanzittha's reign a usurper had seized the throne of north Arakan and the rightful heir with his son and daughter fled to Pagan. There he lived several years, and died charging his son Letyaminnan to recover his throne. To attract attention Letyaminnan wore his hair at the back, after the Arakanese fashion, during Alaungsithu's head-washing ceremony.¹ Alaungsithu, saying "Showest thou scant ceremony at a time of ceremony?" dragged him forth to slay him, but relented on hearing his story, and arranged to re-instate him. He sent levies, Burmans by land, Talaings by sea. The Talaing warboats were severely defeated, for the Arakanese were as usual better at sea, and in consequence the Burmans also had to withdraw. Alaungsithu reinforced them and sent them back. Finally in 1118 they were successful, executed the usurper, and pillaged the Mahamuni shrine. The Burmese set the image on fire with a pair of bellows and stripped the gold off its back; the Talaings took away a leg and were drowned at sea for their impiety; the remaining portion of the image fell into neglect for fifty years.

¹ Cf. *Shway Yoo* 351. The kings of Persia and the Mauryan kings of ancient India also washed their heads ceremonially once a year, Herodotus ix 110, Strabo xv 69. The head is a great taboo, *Fraser* "Taboo and the Perils of the soul" 252.

Letyaminnan was restored to the throne of his fathers and in gratitude asked what he should do; Alaungsithu told him to render thanks by repairing the shrine at Buddhagaya; therefore, under guidance from Panthagu, son of the lord of Seinnyet, who had succeeded Shin Araham as primate, he sent an envoy with funds to Bengal, and on the stone at Buddhagaya may be read to-day, inscribed in antique characters, how "the lord of a myriad Pyus" repaired the holy place, keeping troth with his liege. Owing to this and subsequent Burmese missions, the detail of the Buddhagaya temple, especially in the basement images, is unmistakably Burmese.¹

In his pride, Alaungsithu thought himself the greatest of kings, greater than his ancestors even. For this sin of impiety he was bereft of sight until he cast golden images of his ancestors and bowed down before them; then alone, in that moment of humility, his sight returned.²

One reason why Alaungsithu was troubled with rebellions was that he spent much of his time travelling. A king felt secure only so long as he stayed inside the ramparts of his palace city; if he stayed away too long, he ran a risk of finding somebody else in possession when he came back. Alaungsithu built works of merit wherever he went, for instance :—

<i>Minbu</i>	<i>Shwebo</i>
Shwepanmyaing	Shwegugyi
Shinbinkuni	
Paungdaw-u	<i>Monyua</i>
<i>Thayetmyo</i>	Shwedaung-u
Payabaw	<i>Mandalay</i>
Paungdaw-u	Nandagan and
<i>Mogok</i>	Maungmagan lakes
Paungdaw-u	Shwemale pagoda.

He worshipped at Shwesettaw and restored Kyaungdawya in Minbu district. But his chief claim to gratitude is the

¹ *Rajendralala Mitra, Fergusson I. 78, RSASB 1911 18, JBRB 1912 Chan Htwan Oung "The Mahamuni shrine." Letyaminnan calls himself the lord of a myriad Pyus because till the thirteenth century the Arakanese called the Burmese "Pyus."*

² See note "Ancestor worship" p. 327.

noble Thatpyinnyu temple, built in 1144, which dominates all others at Pagan in majesty of line. Nearby is the Shwegu temple in which he was destined to die ; it was built in seven months, and on its walls may still be seen the inscription containing his great prayer in Pali verse :—

By this my gift, whatever boon I seek,
 It is the best of boons, to profit all ;
 By this abundant merit I desire
 Here nor hereafter no angelic pomp
 Of Brahmas, Suras, Maras ; nor the state
 And splendours of a monarch ; nay, not even
 To be the pupil of the Conqueror.
 But I would build a causeway sheer athwart
 The river of Samsara, and all folk
 Would speed across thereby until they reach
 The Blessed City. I myself would cross
 And drag the drowning over. Ay, myself
 Tamed, I would tame the wilful ; comforted,
 Comfort the timid ; wakened, wake the asleep ;
 Cool, cool the burning ; freed, set free the bound.
 Tranquil and led by the good doctrines I
 Would hatred calm. The three immoral states,
 Greed, hate, delusion, rooted all in self,
 O may they die, whenever born in me !
 Won not by oppression may my wealth remain
 Nor yield to fire nor robbers, life by life.
 Longing of sense for all delicious things,
 Sound, sights, and touches, odours, relishes,
 Pregnant of immorality, begone !
 May sense of shame, fear of reproach (declared
 By the Sun's kinsman Guardians of the world)
 Cover me alway ! As the best of men
 Forsaking worldly wealth and worthless fame
 Fled, for he saw their meaning . . . so would I
 All worldly wealth forsaking draw me near
 Religion and the threefold course ensue.
 I would fulfil hereafter, great and small,
 Those rules the Teacher gave for our behoof.
 Bone through the elements the spotless moon
 Outdazzles all the constellated stars :
 So I delighting in the Master's lore,
 The saint's religion, virtuously yoked,
 Would shine among disciples. I would know
 Sutta, and Abhidhamma, Vinaya,
 The Master's mind, his ninefold doctrines fraught
 With words and meaning. By the Conqueror's Law

I would do good to others and myself.
 What the Great Sage forbids I would not do.
 May I be always conscious and aware
 Of kindness done me. Union of ill friends
 Be far from me. Beholding man's distress
 I would put forth mine energies and save
 Men, spirits, worlds, from seas of endless change.
 By merit of this act I would behold
 Mettayya, captain of the world, endued
 With two and thirty emblems, where he walks
 Enhaloed on a rainbow pathway fair
 Like Meru King of mountains, and sets free
 Samsara's captives by his holy words.
 There might I hear good Law, and bending low
 Offer the four things needful to the Lord
 And all his monks, till clad in virtues eight,
 Informed by such a Teacher, I become
 A Buddha in the eyes of spirits and men.

(JbRS 1920 Mg Tin and Luce "The Shwegugyi pagoda inscription, 1141.")

Sailing from Bassein, Alaungsithu journeyed to Malaya, to the isles of Arakan, and to "the Indian land of Bengal" where he found the images set up by Anawrahta (p. 30). Men said he even went to the Zambuthabyebin, the fabulous Rose Apple Tree which groweth at the World's End; in its shade came Thagyamin, King of the Spirits, bearing celestial gifts, and the rustling of the wind through the leaves, the plash of the fruit falling into the sacred rivers, suggested new notes which Alaungsithu introduced into Burmese music.

He made five images of the holy wood given him by Thagyamin, and enshrined them in five pagodas; four are in the neighbourhood of Pahkangyi in Pakokku district, the fifth and most picturesque is at the Thihadaw on an Irrawaddy island in Shwebo district. The Shinhla and Shinpyu images given him by Thagyamin he enshrined at Sagaing. All these pagoda sites were chosen by the wandering of the white elephant or by the flight of birds.

He hunted elephants in the Mahton, Pandaung, Talok and Ngasaunggyan forests of Bhamo district. In 1115 he sent an embassy offering gold and silver flowers, rhinoceros horns, and elephant teeth, to Nanchao;¹ and later himself wandered

¹ Sainson 102.

there with a great host, seeking in vain to obtain the Tooth. He tried to introduce uniformity of weights and measures by fixing the tical, the basket, and their subdivisions (p. 171). The rulings given at his court, perhaps by himself, once existed in a collection, the Alaungsithu *pyatton*.

The chief of Pateikkaya¹ paid him the tribute of a daughter, and she became the delight of his old age. One day his three sons, coming to pay their respects, saw that she remained seated by their father's side after their entry. The face of the eldest, Minshinzaw, lowered, and exclaiming "Shall this foreign wench remain seated in my presence?" he strode from the room; he was sent for but pleaded indisposition. Again, the king gave a robe, such as princes of the blood wore, to a certain lord's son; one day the youth arrayed himself in it and attended a council. Minshinzaw stripped it off him, saying "Thou art not of the blood." For this act the king placed him under arrest. The queen and ministers entreated but the king said "If he is like this while I am alive, what will he be when I am dead? He will be like a cat among you chickens." Again they entreated and at last he yielded, saying "So be it. But he has sulked in my presence. Let him abide not here." Minshinzaw was given back his revenues and his retinue, and was sent to live at Htuntonputet, east of where Mandalay now is; there he ruled in state, building the Shwekyimin pagoda and reaping three harvests a year, for he constructed the Aungbinle and Tamokso lakes with a system of irrigation channels. His brother Narathu became the king's deputy.

But now, in his eighty-first year, king Alaungsithu fell sick. Narathu was not the man to hesitate, least of all when everything was in his favour. Minshinzaw might be senior, but he was in his province ninety miles away. Narathu held the palace, with the court and the Guards under his immediate orders. He had the dying king removed to the Shwegu temple, and set about securing the throne. But the peace of the temple revived Alaungsithu; he regained consciousness and, looking round, said "This is not my palace. Where am I?" A handmaid answered "My lord, thou art not in thy palace. Thou art in thy holy temple, the work of thy hands." He

¹ See note "Pateikkaya and Macchagiri" p. 326.

asked shortly "Whose trickery is this?" and on learning that it was Narathu's command he burst out in anger—his whole body burned like fire. Nearby in the palace, Narathu heard that his father was recovering. Fear seized his heart—he had not allowed for this, it meant the end of all his dreams, it was unthinkable. In haste he went to the temple. He found his father sitting up; the old man's anger had vanished; his face was calm, his dim eyes seemed to linger on golden spire and sacred portal, on the beauty of the buildings he had dedicated to religion; he looked very frail. What difference would it make? He could not live much longer in any case; to speed his going would not be such a very great sin, for his last thoughts were holy; and if he recovered, though only for a few days, there would be utter ruin, there would be no forgiveness from the princes. Narathu hesitated for a moment and then, seizing the bedclothes, held them down firmly and smothered the gentle face.

NARATHU 1167-70. Minshinzaw marched on Pagan with all his men. Narathu thought for a while. Then he approached Panthagu the primate, saying "Make peace betwixt my brother and me. Tell him I will yield the throne. Let him come alone, with only his horse and his sword." Panthagu answered "Bethink thee well. I am a monk and may not meddle with falsehood. What if he come and thou abide without raising him to the throne?" Then said Narathu "I speak truth. Make him believe me"; and he swore a great oath "Freely will I set him on the throne and bear his sword in the crowning." So Panthagu went to the camp where Minshinzaw lay amidst his men, and told him all; and Minshinzaw, having the archbishop's word and trusting his brother, came alone in a boat to Pagan. And Narathu met him, and bore his sword, and set him on the throne. But that same night Minshinzaw the king died of a poisoned dish.

Next day Narathu received the homage of the court. But there was one who would pay no homage. Although past seventy, an age when most men let things slide, Panthagu was

primate and the direct successor of Shin Araham. He came before the king and said "Thou foul thing! Thinkest thou thy body shall not wax old, thinkest thou to escape the doom of eternity?" Narathu stirred on his throne, but he answered coldly "Sir monk, I have kept my troth with thee. I swore to carry my brother's sword and to set him on the throne. Have I not accomplished these things?" But Panthagu was beside himself, and exclaiming "A king more damned than thou there is not in all the world!" he strode from the palace; and after a little time, unwilling to abide in a blood-stained realm, he departed to Ceylon.

Narathu did not find the crown so light to wear as he had expected. Men shunned him. He had a simple remedy for that. Princes and queens, secretaries and kinsmen, he slew them day after day. He ground the poor and persecuted the monks, pressing them into the levies regardless of their vow to spill no blood. He killed the lady of Pateikkaya because, being used to Hindu ablutions which he disregarded, she grew disgusted and would live with him no longer.

Then remorse seized him. To the loneliness of power was added the loneliness of sin. To make amends he built the Dammayan temple, the largest pile at Pagan. Its grim mass slowly towered aloft. The workmen complained of the noonday heat, of the torrential rain which made the bricks slippery. He hounded them on. Yet for all his haste he would have no imperfect work. Men say he executed master-masons because a needle could be inserted between two of the bricks and this much is true that the brickwork is among the finest in Pagan. The temple is built on the same ground-plan as the Ananda, but has nothing of its serenity or grace; the building's whole soul is sullen.

Yet all his prayers, his mighty masonry, were in vain. He had scarcely reigned three years, and retribution was already at hand. It came from the dead lady of Pateikkaya's father, the chieftain of Pateikkaya. Calling for volunteers, he selected eight of his best guards, made provision for their families, and sent them over the hills with secret orders. They entered Narathu's palace dressed as Brahmans. He sent for the holy men to receive their blessing. They drew near in a circle round his throne, with arms outstretched in benediction; but

once within striking distance they drew concealed daggers from under their robes and plunged them into his body. Then— for they were but common men, and had spilt the blood of a consecrated king—they carried out their master's final orders and killed each other where they stood.

NARATHEINHKA 1170-3. Narathu was succeeded by his son Naratheinhka one of whose three queens, Taung-pyinthe, was great-granddaughter of Anawrahta's paladin Nyaung-uhpi.

And again, the king saw his brother's wife, how fair she was to look on, and his soul was dazed, and he could not stand upright. And he thought on this wise "I will cause mine heir to march, telling him that war hath broken out in Ngasaunggyan [in Bhamo district]. When he hath set forth, I will take his wife and raise her to the throne." So he put words into the mouth of a minister and caused him to come saying "War hath broken out in Ngasaunggyan!" And the king called Narapatisithu and commanded him to march to Ngasaunggyan.

Now his brother Narapatisithu was a prince of nimble wit and discernment, and he commanded Nga Pyi his equerry saying "If any ado arise in mine house, take the horse Thudawsin and come quickly!" Then he marshalled his men by land and water, and went up country with his councillors and captains, circle and village headmen, and all his host. When he reached Thissein [in Shwebo district], lo! there was no trouble soever at Ngasaunggyan; and he weighed the matter in his heart saying "My brother hath duped me with a false excuse." And he gathered and conferred with his councillors and captains, his circle and village headmen, and bound them with a solemn oath. And his councillors and captains said "Minyin Naratheinhka is without a son, verily he hath made his brother Narapatisithu heir." The more gladly, therefore, with one heart they leagued with Narapatisithu.

When Minyin Naratheinhka heard that his brother had reached Thissein, he took his sister-in-law and raised her to the throne. Nga Pyi the equerry crossed over to Aungtha [in Pakokku district] at the stroke of the morning bell and rode his horse at a soft and easy pace. It was not yet noon, they say, when he reached Chindwin Payeirna [in Sagaing district]. Crossing to Payeinma he made straight for Halin [in Shwebo district] and reached the stream of Ngapat [in Shwebo district] at sunset. And because night was drawing on and the royal horse was tired, he watered it and fed it with grass and slept that night at Myinhli Hill [unidentified].

Now when the horse Thudawsin had rested, he neighed loudly, for he scented his master. And the prince knew his horse's neigh and could not sleep saying "Verily it is the sound of mine horse, neighing." Then he made a solemn vow and said "If it is indeed the sound of my horse neighing, may this pillow be pierced with a hole, and fail not!" And he struck the royal pillow with his hand, and lo! a hole was pierced. The place is still known as Malwe-onpauk [in Shwebo district]. . . . When Nga Pyi the equerry had slept and it was early morning, he came at the stroke of morning bell and told all his tale. And when he heard that matter prince Narapatisithu was in high dudgeon and waxed wroth and cried "My beloved queen Veluvati! My brother hath taken and raised her to the throne!" Then he asked Nga Pyi the equerry "Where didst thou sleep yesternight?" "I slept," said Nga Pyi, "at the stream of Ngapat, for the horse was tired and I refreshed it." "What!" said prince Narapatisithu, "Thou didst sleep not far from the place where I lay. Didst thou well to sleep? We princes might accomplish much, had we hours to plan it." And in his royal pride he slew Nga Pyi. The place is still known as Kuttawya [unidentified].

Then the prince cried "Our enemy is behind us!" And he called minister Aungswa-nge and commanded him saying "Bear my yoke though it cost thee thy life! See thou catch my brother unawares and slay him. When that is done I will make thee great and give thee whom thou wilt of my three sisters-in-law." So Aungswa-nge chose four score mighty men of valour and took them in a fast *hlawga* boat and went in furious haste, not knowing day and night.

Prince Narapatisithu marshalled his men by land and water and came downstream. When he reached Kyetyet [Shwekyetyet pagoda in Mandalay district] he made a solemn vow saying "If my brother shall verily be slain, at the moment I spread this cloth at the pagoda in the south, may the Lord himself bow down and take it!" And when he spread the cloth, behold! the image of the Lord himself bowed down and took it. When he saw that thing he came downstream marshalling his troops by land and water.

But the body of Nga Pyi whom he had slain floated not far from the royal raft. And the prince saw it and asked "Whose body is it?" His ministers answered "The body of Nga Pyi whom thou hast slain." And he commanded them saying "Bury the body at the head of yon island, and let it be worshipped by all people in this place. See that ye build a goodly spirit-house." So the ministers did as the prince commanded, and built a spirit-house. The isle where Nga Pyi was buried is still known as the isle of Shwepyishin. The village headmen are fain to worship there.¹

¹ There is a Shwepyishin at the mouth of the Mu river, and nearby is Aungzwa village. Nga Pyi is Myinbyushin Nat, the spirit Rider of the White Horse, see *Grant Brown* "The Lady of the Weir" and *GUB* II. i. 518.

When Nga Aungswa-nge, the royal servant sent by prince Narapatisithu, reached the palace, he entered with his four score mighty men of valour hugging sword in scabbard. Now it so befell that Minyin Naratheinhka was entering a privy; and Nga Aungswa-nge followed after as far as the privy. And the king asked him "Who art thou?" He replied "Thy servant, Nga Aungswa-nge. O king, thy brother sent me." And the king looked, and lo! he was hemmed in by white and gleaming blades. And he besought them saying "Slay me not! Let me only serve my brother as his watcher of crows, his scarer of fowls!" But Aungswa-nge replied "O king, my lord thy brother hath not so ordained it." And he slew him even in the privy, and he died. A ruby earring that he wore fell from the privy to the ground. Thirty-two years in the nether house, three years he flourished; he passed at the age of thirty-five.

[NARAPATISITHU 1173-1210]. His younger brother Narapatisithu became king. He was anointed with his queen Veluvati.¹ When his sisters-in-law heard that he would give them to Aungswa-nge, they clasped his knees and besought him with meek and piteous words "O king, are we women known to covet so many husbands? We have done no sin. We are not mere sisters-in-law. We are all daughters of thine aunts, Chit-on and Eindawthi. We are all wives of a king." So the king called Aungswa-nge and commanded him saying "Nga Aungswa-nge, I made thee a promise indeed, but if I were to give thee one of my sisters-in-law it would be held a sin against my grandsires and great-grandsires. I will make thee great, and give thee a daughter of a great nobleman." "Pish!" said Aungswa-nge. And the king slew him² saying "He hath braved me to my face."

Then he seized Anantathuriya, tutor to his brother Minyin Naratheinhka and gave him over to the executioners to slay him. Now Anantathuriya was of a brave and constant heart; about the time of his death he spake four stanzas of *linka*, and gave them saying "Offer them, I pray thee, to the king." Nevertheless the executioners tarried not but slew him, and afterwards gave the writing to the king. These are the four verses of that *linka* :—

Yes, he is one who, wealth attained,
Shall pass away and disappear;
'Tis Nature's Law.
Within his golden palace hall,
Surrounded by his lords in state,
He sits serene.
But kings' delights, like eddies small
On ocean's face a moment seen,
Are but for life.

¹ She built the Shwethabeik pagoda in Myingyan district.

² Nga Aungswa-nge is the Aungswawamagyi Nat, see *Temple*, and is confused with the Myinbyushin Nat, Nga Pyi.

Should he show pity, and not slay,
 But set me free, my liberty
 Is Karma's work.
 Of mortals here the elements
 Last not, but change and fall away;
 It is the Law.
 The sure result of suppliant acts
 Or prayers, I wish not to transfer
 To future lives :
 T' escape this fate, past sins' result,
 Is my desire. Calmly I'll wait.
 My heart is firm.
 Thee, gentle lord, I blameless hold,
 Freely to thee I pardon give,
 'Tis not thy deed.
 Danger and death are constant foes
 And in this world must ever be :
 It is the Law.

Now when these four stanzas were read before the king and he heard them, he commanded saying "Set him free." But the executioners spake into his ear and said "The deed is done." And the king slew those executioners saying "Ye should have offered the writing before ye killed him ; but behold, ye killed him first and offered the writing after." Now when he heard the writing the king had great remorse. Again and yet again he gasped and swooned away. Ever afterwards he refrained and checked his anger ; and he commanded the chief executioner, kinsman of the king, saying "Hereafter when I am wroth, though I give thee the order to slay a man, keep him alive for a month of weeks and look to the matter. Let him die only when he ought to die. If he ought not to die, release him;" (*Hmannan* I. 316. Verse translation by R. F. Andrew St. John.)

The reason why Panthagu, when shaking off the dust of Narathu's kingdom in 1167, had chosen Ceylon as his refuge was that religion there was once more flourishing after yet another Hindu persecution. He returned home soon after Narapatisithu's first regnal year 1173 and was treated as primate ; he was then ninety and did not live much longer.

His successor as primate was the Talaing monk Uttarajiva, who attained fame by his pilgrimage to Ceylon in 1180, earning the title "First Pilgrim of Ceylon." Panthagu's visit shows the importance of Ceylon as a religious centre, and Uttarajiva's title suggests that this importance was new. The island no longer had a rival in Conjeveram (p. 7) where Brahmanism had at last triumphed. Uttarajiva sailed from

Bassein with many other monks, and after a comparatively short stay they returned. But one of them, Chapata, a Talaing novice, born near Ngaputaw in Bassein district, received ordination in Ceylon and stayed there ten years; he returned to Burma in 1190 and was known as the "Second Pilgrim of Ceylon." He brought with him four learned foreign monks, also ordained in Ceylon; one was Ananda, a native of Conjeveram, and another was a prince, son of the king of Cambodia. All five of them settled just north of Pagan, building at Nyaung-u the Chapata pagoda which is of Cingalese pattern. It takes five monks to form a chapter *pañcavagganā* able to perform valid ordination *upasampadā* and all other rites; and that is why Chapata brought four other monks with him, as he was minded to regard the ordination of the Burmese clergy as invalid, saying it was not in accordance with canon law, *Vinaya*. He and his companions refused to perform the duties of the Order with the Burmese clergy, and in 1192 set up a schism or rather three schisms, for they disagreed among themselves as to the precise nature of holiness, and one of them even had to be expelled for losing his heart to a dancing girl. The original Burmese clergy, who derived their succession from Shin Arahan and Thaton, were called the Former Order; others who derived from the newcomers and Ceylon, were called the Latter Order.

Narapatisithu was impressed by the foreign lore of these monks who had gone all the way to study in Ceylon, and he encouraged their ordinations. The mission of the two Talaings, Uttarajiva and Chapata, is of great importance, for whether the Burmese doubted the validity of their own orders or not, they took to meeting the new movement on its own ground and sent clergy to Ceylon for ordination by the monks at the Mahavihara (p. 119); and such intercourse led to the establishment of Ceylon as the chief foreign influence on Burmese religion. Thaton Buddhism, probably from Conjeveram, had been just one and a third centuries in Upper Burma when in 1192 Ceylon Buddhism was introduced and finally predominated to such an extent as to obliterate even the memory of Conjeveram.

It is not stated in what ships the intercourse took place, but there was an appreciable volume of seaborne trade all

round the southern coast of Asia from China to Egypt and Madagascar. Most of it was in the hands of Arab ship-masters, but Chinese junks predominated east of Malaya and still went as far west as Ceylon.¹

Doubtless it was in connection with such trade that the Cingalese king kept what seems to have been a resident agent in Burma, probably at Bassein, then the most important port. The Burmese, as was the custom in several eastern countries, supplied him with rice and quarters. But Narapatisithu stopped the grant of these supplies, forbade the export of elephants to Ceylon save at exorbitant rates, ceased giving the customary present of an elephant to every ship which bore royal gifts, imprisoned Cingalese merchants, seized their goods, flung the king of Ceylon's envoys into prison or drove them out to sea in a leaking ship, and finally carried off a Cingalese princess on her way to Cambodia. To avenge all this, the king of Ceylon despatched an expedition in 1180. It suffered from storms and several ships were wrecked; but one ship reached Crow Island near Moulmein and carried off the inhabitants, while five reached Bassein, and others landed elsewhere, killing a governor, burning villages, massacring the inhabitants and carrying off a number into slavery. The Burmese then sent a conciliatory message to Ceylon through the monks, and friendly relations were resumed.²

Narapatisithu founded the Guards.³ His greatest works are the superb Gawdawpalin and Sulamani temples at Pagan, with the Mimalaunggyaung, Dammayazika, and Chaukpa'a nearby. His lesser pagodas are the Myatheindan and Swedaw in Thayetmyo district, Zedihla in Monywa, Paungdaw-u in Kyaukse, and Shwetaza in Shwebo town; the Zetawun in Mergui district, and a Talaing inscription⁴ he erected at the Shwe-indein pagoda near Yawnghwe in the Shan states, show the extent of his rule. Others, such as the Shinbinsagyo in Myingyan district, were each built from the value of gold weighed against one of his sons, according to the widespread Hindu custom.⁵ He built the Kyaukse weir at Kyaukse, started the Mu canals in Shwebo district, and tried to make a

¹ See note "Eastern shipping" p. 310.

² See note "The Guards" p. 323.

³ See note "Cingalese raid 1180" p. 328. ⁴ RSASB 1920 16.

⁵ See note "Tula-dana" p. 328.

canal system on the Mon in Minbu district, but had to abandon the project after repeated failures.¹

He made Nadaungmya, greatgrandson of Nyaung-uhpi, chief justice; but the office is not mentioned elsewhere and may have been personal. His chief minister was Anantasuriya, a mighty man of valour, who continually hunted dacoits and even presented them alive to the king. Anantasuriya built the Lemyethna temple at Minnanthu near Pagan, inscribing a curse on all who should injure his dedication. Such curses are usual in Burma as elsewhere, but this particular curse is so dreadful that it is still used as the oath-book in law courts throughout Burma.

The king had a *hkuna* whitlow on his hand, and one of the lesser queens used to keep her mouth on the spot to lessen the pain; once while he was sleeping she swallowed the humour rather than wake him, and in gratitude he made her son Zeyatheinhka his heir.² Though Zeyatheinhka was the youngest son and he was born of a lesser wife, his elder brothers acquiesced, and the white umbrella confirmed the selection by miraculously inclining towards him alone out of all his brothers. Therefore, when he came to the throne, he was called Htilominlo, "He whom the umbrella wished to be king." Narapatisithu died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign and the seventy-fourth of his age. On his death-bed he placed the hands of his five sons on his bosom and enjoined them to rule with mercy and justice and to live together in brotherly love.

HTILOMINLO 1210-34 was also called Nantaungmya, "many entreaties for the throne," because his mother had so often entreated that he might succeed to the throne; and a collection of the judicial rulings made at his court was called the Nantaungmyamin *pyatton*. It is not likely that these rulings were his own, for, like some of his successors, he was happier praying at a pagoda than ruling a realm. One reason why his

¹ See note "Burmese irrigation" p. 318.

² See note "The Whitlow" p. 329.

brothers loyally accepted his succession was that he virtually abdicated all power into their hands. The four of them met daily and transacted the affairs of the kingdom. Thus was founded the Hluttaw Yon, the Court of the Royal Commission, which remained till the end the council of the ministers.¹

The king built the Sittana pagoda near Pagan on a Cingalese pattern, completed the Gawdawpalin which his father left unfinished, and built the Mahabodhi and Htilominlo temples. The Mahabodhi is a second-rate piece of work but possesses interest as being a copy of the temple at Buddhagaya. The Htilominlo, a magnificent creation built on the spot where the white umbrella had bowed down before him as a youth, is the last of the series of great temples at Pagan, although smaller ones of merit, such as the Thambula, built in 1255, continued to be constructed for a generation or so.²

Though built in brick, a material of fatal facility, these temples are among the noblest monuments in Indo-China, and they are the one positive contribution Burma has made to humanity. There was indeed in places such as the Kyaukku Onhmin at Pagan a crowded monastic life which, especially after the Ceylon mission in 1180, produced voluminous Pali treatises on grammar and prosody and a law-book, the *Dhammavilasa dhammathat*,³ by a pupil of Ananda (p. 56). But, like later Burmese writings, this monastic literature was not creative, and fares poorly in comparison even with other clerical literatures. Thus, it contains nothing like the constructive thought of the mediæval Catholic writers, notably St. Thomas Aquinas, to whose powerful advocacy human freedom owes so much.

KYASWA 1234-50 succeeded his father Htilominlo and was even more devout. He resigned all business to his son Uzana and spent his hours with the monks memorising the Tripitaka scriptures and writing devotional works for the palace

¹ See note "Hluttaw and Kingship" p. 329.

² See note "The Temples and their Builders" p. 330.

³ *Dhammavilasa* was a Talaing of Dalla. His law-book, the first in Upper Burma, was in Pali and it was based on Talaing or Pali sources attributed to Manu (p. 111). It does not survive but quotations show that it was similar to the *Wareru dhammathat*, see *Forchammer "Jardine Prize"* 35-6.

ladies. The following, however, indicates that even under so pious a king religion retained Ari survivals :—

The minister commanded that these things be dedicated to the monks . . . two potfuls of rice, two baskets of betelnut betel leaf, one and a quarter *viss* of meat, one 10 quart pot of long-fermented liquor. . . . This offering was made in the presence of my lord the king. (Inscription dated 1248, Itzagawna monastery near Pagan, *Inscriptions* 1892 251. See note "Drink" p. 314.)

At Sagu in Minbu district he built a monastery for Sihamaha-pali who had succeeded Uttarajiva as primate. There is a poem, Myagan-bwe-linga, about the Myagan, the "Emerald Lake" which he made; it was famed for its crystal water, and on its shore you can still see a crumbling inscription and a stone building, probably his own retreat :—

He dammed the water falling from the foot of Tuywin Hill, and made a great lake. He filled it with the five kinds of lotus and caused all manner of birds, duck, sheldrake, crane, water fowl, and widgeon, to take their joy and pastime there. Near the lake he laid out many cultivated fields; men say he reaped three crops a year. Hard by the lake he built a pleasant royal lodge, and took delight in study seven times a day. (*Hmannan* I. 339.)

UZANA 1250-54 succeeded his father Kyaswa. He was a merry person, given to jesting, to liquor, and to hunting elephants at Dalla near Rangoon. One of his favourite wives was a village girl whom he found when ascending Popa Hill to hold the annual Mahagiri spirit festival; another was a village carpenter's daughter. He went to see a kheddah capture, riding his Katha elephant, but the captured elephant was must, ripped the girth ropes of the royal elephant, and trampled the king to death.

NARATHIHAPATE 1254-87. The late king left a son Thingathu by a queen and one other, Narathihapate, by a concubine. The latter had no conceivable claim against a queen's son. But Thingathu was not acceptable to the chief minister Yazathinkyan, a descendant of Ariawrahta's paladin Nyaung-uhpi. Once he had come walking behind Yazathinkyan who did not notice him and so failed to pay proper respect.

Thingathu thereupon spat betel on Yazathinkyan's sleeve. Yazathinkyan said nothing but went home and laid by the jacket carefully without cleaning it. Now that the king was dead he summoned a large meeting of ministers and headmen and held up the soiled jacket before them all. At his bidding they decided that a man who while yet a prince behaved like that to his elders, would be unbearable as a king, and they made Narathihapate king instead.

Yazathinkyan the king-maker looked forward to a long spell of power, as Narathihapate was only sixteen years old. But he grew up and showed a will of his own. Yazathinkyan was inexpressibly shocked, and so far forgot himself as to twit the king with the fact that his mother was not a queen but a village carpenter's daughter. At once the king rounded on him :—

“Grandfather, when they crown a pagoda with a spire, wherewith do they raise it?” He replied “Son of my Lord, they raise the spire by first making a scaffold.” Said the king once more “When the spire is set on the top of the pagoda what do they do with the scaffold?” Yazathinkyan replied “Son of my Lord, when the spire is set on the top of the pagoda, it is not graceful until the scaffold is destroyed.” Then said the king “I am as the spire, Yazathinkyan as the scaffold. As the spire reaches the top of the pagoda, so have I reached kingship. And the spire will not appear graceful until the scaffold, that is to say Yazathinkyan, be destroyed. Ho! ministers, seize his office, his elephants and horses, his minions and retinue, and off with him to Dalla town!” And they did as the king had ordered and sent him away.

As Yazathinkyan journeyed a great wind arose, and lo! the big trees brake and split, but the waterplants only leaned and swayed, and so brake not. And seeing it he was taken with remorse and said “I, a servant of the king, have not been as wise even as a waterplant. Because I have acted as a big tree it has come to this!” When his escort returned the king asked what words Yazathinkyan had spoken. So the escort reported them “O Lord of glory, a great wind arose and the big trees brake and split, but the waterplants only leaned and swayed and so brake not. And when Yazathinkyan saw it he said ‘I have not been as wise even as a waterplant.’” And the king abode in silence. (*Hmannan* I. 344.)

Martaban and Macchagiri¹ revolted. The king sent levies against Macchagiri and, at the advice of Saw his queen,

See note “Pateikkaya and Macchagiri” p. 326.

recalled Yazathinkyan to deal with Martaban. Yazathinkyan speedily crushed the rebellion there, set up a governor, Aleimma, and returned to Pagan. But the levies sent against Macchagiri fled back to Minbu in panic; therefore the king ordered the commanders to be executed. But Yazathinkyan gained them a reprieve, pacifying the angry king by producing a long string of Martaban prisoners. Then he took over the Macchagiri campaign himself, quelled the rising, and sent the leading men to Pagan where they repented and were pardoned. But he himself never returned. He died at Dalla, worn out with faithful service at the age of sixty-two; and "when the king heard thereof, he recalled all that Yazathinkyan had done of old, and now in the latter days, and his heart was stricken."

The king made a concubine splash Sawlon, one of his queens, while they were bathing in the river from the palace wharf. Therefore Sawlon nursed a grudge and tried to poison him. The attempt failed and he ordered her to be burnt alive. The executioners made an iron frame. She bribed them to wait seven days and when the seven days were accomplished, she ascended the burning fiery furnace, telling her beads. Thrice the flames died down, and only when she desisted from prayer were they able to burn her. Not long after, the king would shriek her name aloud in his sleep, crying "Sawlon, come and watch beside me!" The primate told him not to publish his remorse thus, lest men should laugh at him. So he restrained his grief and issued instructions that his death sentences should always be suspended for a fortnight to allow his anger to cool.

He made his sons live in the palace, fearing lest they should rebel if they were left to themselves in the provinces. He ate together with them, and used to distribute the food, a pig's hind trotters to his son Thihathu, lord of Prome, and front trotters to the elder sons. Thihathu's mother took this as an insult and paid the cook to give her son a front trotter, leaving hind trotters to the other queen's sons. When the king discovered this, he punished the cook and continually teased Thihathu, calling him "son of a stealer of pig's trotters." Thihathu therefore nursed malice. The king built the Mingalazedi pagoda and set up this inscription:—

King Narathihapate, styled Siritribhavanatityapavaradhammaraja, the supreme commander of a vast army of thirty-six million¹ soldiers, the swallower of three hundred dishes of curry daily, being desirous of attaining the bliss of Nirvana, erected a pagoda. In it he enshrined fifty-one gold and silver statuettes² of kings and queens, lords and ladies, and over these he set up an image of Gaudama Buddha in solid silver one cubit high, on the full moon of Kahson 636 [A.D. 1274]. A covered way was made from the palace to the pagoda, with bamboo matting, whereon were laid rush mats, and on these again were spread pieces of cloth each twenty cubits in length, and at each cubit's distance on the way there was a banner. During the ceremony the princes princesses and lords cast pearls among the statues. (Mingalazedi pagoda inscription near Pagan, year 1274, *Inscriptions* 1892 199.)

The pagoda took six years to build, because work was not continuous. After it was started, a prophetic rumour spread abroad, "The pagoda is finished and the great country ruined!" Soothsayers confirmed the rumour, saying "When this pagoda is finished, the kingdom of Pagan will be shattered into dust." Therefore the king abandoned the work. But the primate upbraided him, saying that this life is transitory, nor could the kingdom abide for ever even if the pagoda were not built. So the pagoda was completed, a large stupa of the sort so common all over Burma. Its coarse execution seems to symbolise the exhaustion of a realm: it was built in blood and sweat. For two centuries Pagan had witnessed the spectacle of a whole population filled with a passion for covering the earth's surface with pagodas, and now she was perishing to the drone of prayer.

The kingdom had been in existence two and a quarter centuries, a long time for any government which is purely dynastic. Narathihapate was a pompous glutton who boasted three thousand concubines, and for generations his predecessors had been self-indulgent nonentities, unlike the founders of the dynasty. Yet, although the Shans were beginning to migrate southwards, the kingdom, left to itself, might have endured for some time, for the people were placid, vast stretches of country were uninhabited, and the scattered population in remote areas had no need to rebel against a rule which was little more than nominal. But the kingdom could not expect to be left to itself for ever.

¹ See "Numerical Note" p. 333.

² See note "Tula dana" p. 328.

The Tartar hordes swept across Asia from Mesopotamia to the China Sea. They boasted, not without truth, that they had wiped out the cities of Russia and Poland in 1241 so utterly that they could gallop over the sites without encountering an obstacle big enough to make their horses stumble. Had they tried, they could probably have overrun Christendom, for she was rent asunder by the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy; and although they were deficient in constructive ability, so that their rule inevitably collapsed as quickly as it arose, yet the splendour of their court so amazed European travellers that it has passed into a fable. This was the power which the Burmese monarchy persisted in insulting.

In 1253 the Tartars annexed Yünnan. In 1271, under instructions from the Emperor Kubla Khan, the Yünnan government sent envoys to the Burmese demanding tribute as paid by Narathihapate's predecessors (pp. 14, 43, 48). This was not a summons to surrender, for, provided they paid nominal tribute, the Tartar empire often left its remoter vassals alone. Narathihapate deigned not to grant the envoys an audience, and kept them waiting long at the beck and call of subordinates, but finally sent them back with one of his lords to express friendly sentiments and to worship a Buddha tooth at Peking. In 1273 an imperial ambassador, First Secretary to the Board of Rites, with three colleagues, came to Pagan with a letter from Kubla Khan. In the letter, Kubla Khan, after pointing out that he himself had received the Burmese envoy, says—

If you have really decided to fulfil your duties towards the All-highest, send one of your brothers or senior ministers, to show men that all the world is linked with Us, and to enter into a perpetual alliance. This will add to your reputation and be in your own interests; for if it comes to war, who will be victor? Ponder well, O king, upon Our words.

As the ambassadors who bore this letter refused to take off their shoes¹ sufficiently often, Narathihapate ordered their immediate execution. The minister Anantapyissi, who still retained his senses in that atmosphere of insane adulation, remonstrated, saying "Sire, protest at Peking against their lack of ceremony, but do not slay them. The kings of old were

¹ See note "The Shoe Question" p. 336.

never went to slay ambassadors." But Narathihapate would not listen, and the ambassadors with their numerous retinue were executed.

The Yünnan government reported to Peking that the embassy did not return, the Burmese evidently had no intention of submitting, and the only way to bring these people to their senses was to make war at once. The order the Emperor passed on this was that the case should come up again later. But in 1277 the Burmese proceeded to invade the "Gold Tooth" state of Kanngai, on the Taping river, seventy miles above Bhamo, because its chief had submitted to China. He asked for protection, and Kubla Khan thereupon sanctioned early action.

What follows was in Burmese eyes a titanic war in which the whole resources of the Chinese Empire were strained to the uttermost, pouring in millions of men to destroy Burma. But it was really a frontier affair, disposed of by the Yünnan government. The Emperor had his hands full of other campaigns, some of which ended disastrously; the matter was not of sufficient importance to require a headquarters expedition, and in any case he had no intention of invading Burma. From start to finish the affair was left to the provincial garrison, with such levies as they could raise among the Chinese Shans. But the native levies did not count: the real work was done by the regular garrison—Mahomedans of Turkish race, the race which time after time has stood up to European troops and held its own. They proceeded to clear the intruders out of Kanngai in a battle which the Burmese call the Battle of Ngasaunggyan 1277. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who served as a Privy Councillor on the Emperor's staff, doubtless heard the tale from officers who took part in the action:—

The king of Mien [Burma] had, let me tell you, 2,000 great elephants, on each of which was set a tower of timber, well framed and strong, and carrying from twelve to sixteen well-armed fighting men. And besides these, he had of horsemen and of footmen good 60,000 men. In short, he equipped a fine force, as well befitted such a puissant prince. It was indeed a host capable of doing great things.

And what shall I tell you? When the king had completed these great preparations to fight the Tartars, he tarried not, but straightway

marched against them. . . . And when the Captain of the Tartar host had certain news that the king aforesaid was coming against him with so great a force, he waxed uneasy, seeing that he had with him but 12,000 horsemen. Nevertheless he was a most valiant and able soldier, of great experience in arms and an excellent Captain; and his name was Nasr-uddin. His troops too were very good, and he gave them very particular orders and cautions how to act, and took every measure for his own defence and that of his army. And why should I make a long story of it? The whole force of the Tartars, consisting of 12,000 well-mounted horsemen, advanced to receive the enemy in the Plain of Vochan, and there they waited to give them battle. And this they did through the good judgment of the excellent Captain who led them; for hard by that plain was a great wood, thick with trees. And so there in the plain the Tartars awaited their foe. Let us then leave discoursing of them a while; we shall come back to them presently; but meanwhile let us speak of the enemy.

After the king had halted long enough to refresh his troops, he resumed his march, and came to the Plain of Vochan, where the Tartars were already in order of battle. And when the king's army had arrived in the plain, and was within a mile of the enemy, he caused all the castles that were on the elephants to be ordered for battle, and the fighting men to take up their posts on them, and he arrayed his horse and his foot with all skill, like a wise king as he was. And when he had completed all his arrangements he began to advance to engage the enemy. The Tartars, seeing the foe advance, showed no dismay, but came on likewise with good order and discipline to meet them. And when they were near and nought remained but to begin the fight, the horses of the Tartars took such fright at the sight of the elephants that they could not be got to face the foe, but always swerved and turned back; whilst all the time the king and his forces, and his elephants, continued to advance upon them.

And when the Tartars perceived how the case stood, they were in great wrath, and wist not what to say or do; for well enough they saw that unless they could get their horses to advance, all would be lost. But their Captain acted like a wise leader who had considered everything beforehand. He immediately gave orders that every man should dismount and tie his horse to the trees of the forest that stood hard by, and that then they should take to their bows, a weapon that they know how to handle better than any troops in the world. They did as he bade them, and plied their bows stoutly, shooting so many shafts at the advancing elephants that in a short space they had wounded or slain the greater part of them as well as of the men they carried. The enemy also shot at the Tartars, but the Tartars had the better weapons, and were the better archers to boot.

And what shall I tell you? Understand that when the elephants felt the smart of those arrows that pelted them, like rain, they turned tail and fled, and nothing on earth would induce them to turn and face the Tartars. So off they sped with such a noise and uproar

that you could have trowed the world was coming to an end ! And then too they plunged into the wood and rushed this way and that, dashing their castles against the trees, bursting their harness and smashing and destroying everything that was on them.

So when the Tartars saw that the elephants had turned tail and could not be brought to face the fight again, they got to horse at once and charged the enemy. And then the battle began to rage furiously with sword and mace. Right fiercely did the two hosts rush together and deadly were the blows exchanged. The king's troops were far more in number than the Tartars, but they were not of such metal, nor so inured to war ; otherwise the Tartars who were so few in number could never have stood against them. Then might you see smashing blows dealt and taken from sword and mace ; then might you see knights and horses and men-at-arms go down ; then might you see arms and hands and legs and heads hewn off ; and besides the dead that fell, many a wounded man, that never rose again, for the sore press there was. The din and uproar were so great from this side and from that, that God might have thundered and no man would have heard it ! Great was the medley, and dire and parlous was the fight on both sides ; but the Tartars had the best of it.

In an ill hour indeed, for the king and his people, was that battle begun, so many of them were slain therein, and when they had continued fighting till midday the king's troops could stand against the Tartars no longer ; but felt that they were defeated, and turned and fled. And when the Tartars saw them routed they gave chase, and hacked and slew so mercilessly that it was a piteous sight to see. But after pursuing a while they gave up, and returned to the wood to catch the elephants that had run away, and to manage this they had to cut down great trees to bar their passage. Even then they would not have been able to take them without the help of the king's own men who had been captured, and knew better how to deal with the beasts than the Tartars did. The elephant is an animal that hath more wit than any other ; but in this way at last they were caught, more than 200 of them. And it was from this time forth that the Great Khan began to keep numbers of elephants. (*Yule* "The Book of Ser Marco Polo" II. 99. See note "Ngasaunggyan 1277" p. 336.)

The Chinese advanced with 3,800 men to Kaungsin in Bhamo district, and having destroyed a large number of abandoned stockades, found the heat excessive and returned. But the Burmese were unteachable, and again raided the frontier. Therefore the Chinese advanced in 1283, and smashed a Burmese army at Kaungsin, inflicting 10,000 casualties and leaving garrisons in the area.

Such events made a deep impression on the Burmese, who

record that the very gods fought in heaven, and that, long before mortal messengers could arrive, the guardian spirits of the city gates, bleeding from arrow wounds, wakened the sleeping palace with the news of doom. Narathihapate had pulled down hundreds of pagodas to build defences for the capital. But he did not wait to see whether the Chinese were really coming or not. He fled in panic and is therefore known as Tarokpyemin, "the king who fled from the Chinese." There were not sufficient boats to accommodate the whole palace, and he ordered the slave-women to be bound hand and foot and thrown into the river lest they should fall into the enemy's power; but the primate protested, so they were allowed to stay and take their chance. The court fled to Dalla and thence to Bassein, where the king's eldest son, Uzana, loyally received them. The rest of the country south of Prome was openly in revolt, and the outlying vassals such as Arakan paid no more worship to a setting sun. The Tartars, of course, did not advance on Pagan, for the Emperor consistently refused to sanction an invasion; Narathihapate might have saved himself the trouble of running away and ruining whatever little prestige he had left; and when he sent a celebrated monk of Thitseingyi in Shwebò district to Yunnan admitting defeat and offering humble submission, he received a sympathetic reply.

And the King took counsel with Queen Saw and others saying "Shall we go up to our royal city of Pagan, or shall we tarry here and collect our armies?" Queen Saw spake into his ear "'Tis easy to say, we shall go up: but how are we to go? Consider the state of the realm. Thou hast no folk nor people, no host around thee. If thou enter thy city without them, it will go hard with thee if thou fall into the enemy's hand. Thy country men and country women tarry and will not enter thy Kingdom. They fear thy dominion; for thou, O King, art a hard master. Therefore I, thy servant, spake to thee of old. . . . Bore not thy country's belly—that is, cast not reproach upon the rich when they are guiltless, for they are as the belly of thy Kingdom. Seize not nor spoil them of their goods and gold and silver. When rich men died, though they had sons and daughters to inherit, they gat not their inheritance. To seize their goods and squander them till all is gone, this is to bore thy country's belly. Abuse not thy country's forehead—that is, deal not harshly in thy reckless choler with thy chief counsellors, thy faithful captains, who are as thy country's forehead. Fell not thy country's banner—that is, wax not wroth nor rage blindly against the wise men, monks and hermits, who are as thy country's banner. Pluck not out thy country's

eye—that is, be not wroth and furious as a devil, without let or thwarting of thine anger, against thy wise chaplains learned in the Pitakas and Vedas, who are as thy country's eye. Break not thy country's tusk—that is, do not chafe and fume, regardless of the future, against the members of thy family, who are as thy country's tusk. Sully not thy country's face—that is, take not by force another's son or daughter who are as the mirror of their parents, their husbands, or sons, for such are as thy country's face. Cut not thy country's feet and hands—that is, kill not in anger, regardless of the future and the present, thy soldiers who are as thy country's feet and hands." And the King said "My Queen, thou didst not tell me all these things before!"

And the Queen continued saying "O King, this is not all. Even now Thihathu hath reached Prome, his province. Doubt not but Thihathu will be thy bane." But the King said "Nay. Did I not alone save his life? When his brother held him in iron fetters and led him away to die, I took and saved him alive. He at least will do me no harm. I will get me to Prome and gather mine army, and thence will I go up to my royal city of Pagan."

So they went upstream in disarray, without union or order. And when they reached the port of Prome, Thihathu stopped the royal raft, and putting poison in food he offered it and said "O King, eat!" But the King wist that there was death in the dish, and he would not eat. When Thihathu heard it he caused three thousand soldiers to go and stand around the royal raft with gleaming swords unsheathed within their hands. And Saw the Queen spake into his ear "O King, all this hath befallen because thou wouldst not hearken to my words of old. And now it is nobler for thee to eat of the poisoned dish and die, than to meet a fearful death with thy blood gushing red at point of sword and lance and weapon." Then he took the ring from off his finger, and poured libation of water over it, and gave it to Queen Saw. And he made a solemn vow saying "In all the lives wherein I wander through eternity until I reach Nirvana, may I never have man child born to me again!" And he took the food and ate; and even as he ate, swift death seized him and he passed beyond. (*Hmannan* I. 361.)

Now that Narathihapate was murdered and the country was in disorder, the Yunnan commanders would no longer be balked of their prey. They had living among them, to strengthen their disregard of imperial orders, Kubla Khan's spirited grandson, and with him at their head they fought their way down to Pagan with a loss of 7,000 men, occupied the city, and received the homage of the kingdom, sending out detachments one of which reached Tarokmaw below Prome.

Thus perished Pagan amid the blood and flame of the Tartar Terror. Her wide dominions were parcelled out into Shan satrapies owing fealty to China and Siam, her kindly

peace fled before the advancing shadows of internecine strife. If the men whose day-dreams became incarnate in the temples of Pagan were also swarthy tyrants whose peevish frown spelt death, whose harems were filled with slave-women, that is only to say they were as other kings of their time. But whatever they were, the legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I., they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahmanism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants build themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. It is a mistaken sentiment which contrasts the old-time splendour of Pagan with the mat huts of to-day. Then as now hut jostled temple and housed even the great; the two were not antithetic but correlative: these men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life. Those who doubt the reality of a populous city given up to the spiritual, should read the numberless inscriptions of the period, richly human and intensely devout; contemplate the sixteen square miles at Pagan, all dedicated to religion; contrast each separate brick from the depths of a great pile with the rubble of Norman pillars; reflect that each temple was built not in generations but in months; remember how short was the period when Pagan was inhabited; think of the literary activities of the Kyaukku Onhmin; add to all this our natural preconception of the conditions necessary to the production of great religious art; and then say whether those campaigns for a tooth, those heart searchings over the loss of a white elephant, at which we smile, are not rather possessed of a significance as deep to men of the age as the quest of the Holy Grail had for Arthurian knights.