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## V

### TIRCUL, PYŪ, P'IAO (I)

EARLY mentions of the Tircul or P'iao (Pyū) of Burma occur in Chinese texts.<sup>1</sup> The earliest, so far as I know is in the [81] *Hua-yang-kuo-chih* of [17] Ch'ang Ch'ü,<sup>2</sup> who lived in the middle of the fourth century AD. He mentions the [179] P'iao (ch. 4, f. 16r) in a list of tribes apparently on the Burma frontier. Other Chinese texts,<sup>3</sup> including some attributed to the [264] Tsin dynasty (265-420 AD), now lost but surviving partly in quotation, mention the wild and troublesome P'u (\*b'uk, or \*p'uk) tribes of the frontier, very likely ancestors of the Burmans;<sup>4</sup> and beyond them, 3,000 *li* SW of Yung-ch'ang, a civilized people, the P'iao, where 'prince and minister, father and son, elder and younger, have each their order of precedence.'

*Names of the Pyu.*<sup>5</sup> The section on [181] P'iao in the New T'ang History (AD 1060)<sup>6</sup> begins as follows: 'The P'iao were formerly [54] Chu-po (\*tsju-pwâ). In Chinese they are called P'iao. They call themselves [270] *t'u-lo-chu* (\*t'wet-lâ-tsiu). The Javanese call them [269] *t'u-li-ch'ü* (\*d'uoyi-tsiwät).'

Early Perso-Arab authors<sup>7</sup>—Ya'qūbī (AD 880), Mas'ūdī (AD 943), Marvazī (c. AD 1120), and the anonymous Hudūd al 'Ālam (AD 982)—mention T.sūl or T.rsūl as one of the three kingdoms bordering 'China', i.e. Nan-chao. 'These three countries are at war with China, but the Chinese come out stronger.'

In AD 1102, among the ceremonies at the building of the palace at Pagán, we read in Kyanzittha's Old Mon inscription<sup>8</sup> that there was 'Burmese singing (*jiñjeh mirmā*), Mon singing (*jiñjeh rmeñ*), and Pyu singing (*jiñjeh tircul*).'

From these three separate references we may infer that the peoples to the north of Burma—Chinese, Nan-chao, and Proto-Burmans—called the kingdom 'Pyu', while the southerners, Mon and Javanese, used a name approximately 'Tircul'. Since the Pyu themselves used the latter name, I think it should be adopted in preference to 'Pyu'.

*Śrī Kṣetra.* These people founded, very likely in AD 638—the beginning of the so-called 'Burmese Era' in Burma—its first great Buddhist capital, *Śrī Kṣetra*. This was the large walled city 4 miles east of the Irrawaddy

at modern Hmawza, near Prome (still called *Prañ*, 'the capital'). It stands just above the head of the Irrawaddy Delta, about 150 miles from the sea between the Dry Zone to the north and the Wet Zone to the south. Its present yearly rainfall is about 47 inches.

It is first mentioned as a Buddhist capital and kingdom by Hsüan-tsang<sup>9</sup> about AD 643 and I-tsing<sup>10</sup> about AD 680. Neither of the two great Chinese pilgrims came nearer to it than (roughly) Chittagong, or *Samataṭa* as it was then called, 'the level country' of East Bengal. Hsüan-tsang places it (or at any rate the road to it) *north-east* from Samataṭa, 'beside the great sea, in a valley of the mountains'.<sup>11</sup> I-tsing places beyond the east frontier-kingdoms of India 'the Great Black Mountains which should be the southern frontier of Tibet. They are said to lie south-west of [210] Shu [W. Ssüch'uan]. It is more than a month's march to reach these mountains. To the south, the country borders on the sea: it is the kingdom of Śrī Kṣetra.'

Unless Hsüan-tsang made a mistake in his directions, the Śrī Kṣetra kingdom seems to have been strong in Upper Burma, with a road leading to it through Manipur. This is borne out by the main Chinese texts about the Pyu, dating from about AD 800. Chia Tan's itinerary to Magadha in India via the Pyu capital<sup>12</sup> (then probably Halin, south of Shwébo, in Upper Burma), 280 miles north of Śrī Kṣetra, shows the boundary of the Pyu kingdom with Nan-chao, west of the Salween, to have been roughly where the Sino-Burman frontier runs today. At both capitals Pyu inscriptions, in their peculiar south-west Indian script, are found. For the dating of Śrī Kṣetra, apart from Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing, we rely on the brief stone urn-inscriptions of the Vikrama dynasty there, brilliantly read and edited by the late Dr C. O. Blagden in *Epigraphia Indica*.<sup>13</sup> The era used by the Pyu he held, doubtless rightly, to be the 638 Era. On this assumption the four chief urns supply the following information:

- (i) In 35<sup>s</sup>/AD 673 a relative (?) of *Sūriyavikrama* died.
- (ii) In 50<sup>s</sup>/AD 688, 5th month, *Sūriyavikrama* himself died, at the age of 64.
- (iii) In 57<sup>s</sup>/AD 695, 2nd month, 24th day, *Harivikrama* died, aged 41 years, 7 months, and 9 days.
- (iv) In 80<sup>s</sup>/AD 718, 2nd month, 4th day, *Sihavikrama* died, aged 44 years, 9 months and 20 days.

[see Plates 5, 6, 7]

It seems probable that the 638 Era was created at Śrī Kṣetra by the Vikrama dynasty, and quite possible that its creation coincided with the

founding of the capital. The relative (?) of Sūriyavikrama may well have been the founder. Sūriyavikrama was born in AD 624, and reigned, it seems, for fifteen years (673-88). Harivikrama, possibly his son, was born in 654, and reigned seven years (688-95). Sīhavikrama, possibly his son, was born in 674, and reigned for twenty-three years (695-718). How long the kingdom lasted after AD 718 is quite uncertain. When we read of the Pyu again in Chinese sources towards the end of the century, it is sufficiently clear that the capital was now moved to the north, probably Halin.

Pyu royal names are normally prefixed with the words *tā: hā:*, 'His Majesty'. Blagden once suggested that this title may have been corrupted into 'Duttaabaung',<sup>14</sup> the Burmese name for the legendary founder. Śrī Kṣetra is often called 'Yathé-myo', 'city of the Hermit'. The oldest form of the legend is given, as a Buddha-prophecy, in Kyanzittha's first Old Mon inscription,<sup>15</sup> dated AD 1093, at Prome Shwéhsandaw pagoda, four miles north-west of Śrī Kṣetra; and several of his other inscriptions eke out the details. In the very year of the *parinirvāṇa* (544 BC, according to Burma reckoning), the hermit Bisnū (Viṣṇu, of whom Kyanzittha claims to be an avatar) shall join 'my son Gavāmpati ['Lord of cattle', the patron saint of the Mons], Indra [King of the gods], Viśvakarma [the celestial architect], and Katakarma ['Doer of the Deed'], king of the Nāgas [representing the ancient Earth-cults], in building the city of Śrī Kṣet (or Sisit), which is to stand 1200 years (that is, till about AD 656). This latter date, for the fall of the city, is 60 years at least too early. The date of the founding is fabulous. There is something archaic about Pyu script, notably the interlinear Brahmi (not yet explained) in the older inscriptions; otherwise, there is little yet found at Śrī Kṣetra which one would need to date earlier than the seventh century.

It is normal in Burma legend to trace old cities, with origins lost in the mist of time, back to Viṣṇu, or 'Peikthano' as Burmans call him. Nearly a hundred miles north of Śrī Kṣetra, at Kōkkōgwa twelve miles west of Taungdwin-gyi along the road to Magwé, there is a 'Peikthano-myo' with large square enclosure walls, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  miles each side except on the west, which is guarded by swamps. Legend has it that king Duttabaung, hearing of the prosperity of Peikthano-myo under its ruler, Queen Pan-htwa, made war on it, and captured the lady and married her, though he lived to regret it. And still today, just south of the walls of Śrī Kṣetra, there is a small moated enclosure known as 'Peikthano-myo', and north-north-east of it the hillock 'Peikthano-mibaya-thingyaing', 'Cemetery (or Grave) of the Queen of Peikthano'.<sup>16</sup> U Aung Thaw,<sup>17</sup> the present Director of Archaeology in Burma, published in 1959 his expert *Preliminary Report on the*

*Excavation at Peikthanomyo* (Kôkkôgwa), and subsequent work in his yearly archaeological reports. His first excavation was of a 'massive brick structure of secular use, most likely double-storeyed with cultural equipments dateable 5th to 8th century A.D.' But apart from elaborate brick buildings with moonstone entrances, urns with ashes, ironwork, and a few coins and beads, there is little to connect the site with Śrī Kṣetra: no megaliths, no Viṣṇu temples or images, no Buddhism, and meagre evidence of Indian culture. At Śrī Kṣetra, on the other hand, almost every mound excavated provides evidence of Buddhism or Vaishnavism.

There are other smaller sites, a hundred miles south-east of Śrī Kṣetra on the way to the sea, which should be worth exploring. About AD 1050, when the Pagán king Aniruddha marched south, he first occupied Śrī Kṣetra, and then went on to occupy the rich region west of the *Lhuiñ* river-mouth, a dozen miles west of Rangoon. Here are the moated walls of Khabin (Old Burm. *Krapañ*)<sup>18</sup> near which he stopped to build one of his large pagodas, now attributed to the legendary fisherman, Maung Di. Seven miles further west is the old city of *Tala* (modern Twante), which during the latter part of the Pagán dynasty replaced *Krapañ* as the local capital. All this part was, and still is, famous for its pottery. One large pot, with stupa-shaped lid and stencilled lotus-pattern round the neck, Aniruddha took back to Pagán and filled with votive tablets stamped with his name. A similar pot has been dug up at Twante. I suspect that hereabouts was 'the City of Pots', Kalaśapura, mentioned in Indian texts as well as Chinese. Here was the great temple reached by the shipwrecked merchant on his way to Suvarṇadvīpa, in the story told by Somadeva in his *Kathā-saritsāgara*;<sup>19</sup> also [31A] Chia-lo-shê [Kalaśa]<sup>20</sup> of the Chinese dynastic histories [176] *Pei-shih* and [221] *Sui-shu*, which sent an embassy to the Sui court in AD 608; also the [31B] Chia-lo-shê-fo, Chia-lo-shê-fu, placed north of Dvāravatī in the Old and New T'ang Histories; also the [91] Ko-lo-shê-fên placed west of Dvāravatī in the New T'ang History and the [263] *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* (AD 1013), where it is said to have an army of 20,000 men, and to have sent another embassy to China in AD 662. All these names stand for Kalaśa or Kalaśapura. The T'ang Histories mention a score of 'dependent' kingdoms with which the Pyu were in constant communication. The first of these is [30] Chia-lo-p'o-t'i.<sup>21</sup> If we may assume the loss of one character, *shê* or *sha*, in the middle, this also could be restored as Kalaśavati.

There is also early evidence that the Pyu very likely controlled the south of Arakan. U Tha Myat<sup>22</sup> has published a 'true copy' of a stone inscription seemingly Pyu (four lines with interlinear Brahmi), found at Tondaw

village, 30 miles south of Sandoway, not far from the mouth of the Salu Chaung [Plate 54]. The site should be about 80 miles south-west of Śrī Kṣetra.

*Vikrama* is not the only dynastic title found at Śrī Kṣetra. A large round hollow casket of silver-gilt repoussé, with a Bodhi tree lid—the chief piece in the Khin Ba Gôn relic-chamber—shows the four seated Buddhas of the present kalpa each identified in Pyu with his disciple; and at the base there is a line of Pyu naming the royal donors—Śrī Prabhu Varma and Śrī Prabhu Devī.<sup>23</sup> There is also the long Kan-wet-hkaung-gôn inscription in mixed Sanskrit and Pyu, partly legible, on the four sides of the pedestal below a beautiful, but headless, stone Buddha.<sup>24</sup> Dikshit, Blagden, and other scholars have tried to read it; and the sense is partly intelligible, but they have not published their results. It seems (but I cannot vouch for the accuracy) that two cities, founded on one day (one presumably Śrī Kṣetra), had quarrelled. Jayacandravarman ruled in one city, and his 'younger brother' Harivikrama in the other. The former's guru, Guhadīpa, had made peace between them, and the reconciliation was sealed by the setting up of this image [Plates 28, 29].

How and why Śrī Kṣetra fell is a moot question. The Chronicles say that the last king went on expedition to *Kam:yañi* kingdom<sup>25</sup>—possibly North Arakan Mahāmuni. It was about the time when Vajrasākti,<sup>26</sup> king of the local Vaiśālī, was initiating the great change there, from Shaivism to Mahāyānism. If the Pyu king became enamoured of the beautiful Maitreya bronze found in the Mahāmuni relic-chamber,<sup>27</sup> I (for one) cannot blame him. It is still perhaps the loveliest image in Burma [see Vol. II, frontispiece]. It seems that while he lingered there, his road of return (via Minbu district?) was cut by rebels in his rear. I have suggested in a previous chapter that these may have been the *Cakraw*<sup>28</sup> (Sgaw Karens?) who had descended from the eastern hills, crossed the Irrawaddy, and joined the Pālaungs already irrigating the 'Six *Kharuñ*'. Later, in the Pagán dynasty, we find them settled on 'The *Cakraw* island to the west of Prome'.

Towards the end of the eighth century [28] Chia Tan's itinerary, leading south-west from Yung ch'ang, entered the P'iao kingdom boundary' and passed through [73] Hsi-li[-i] city and then [271] T'u-min city, before reaching the Pyu capital. Hsi-li[-i], sc. Śrī city, was the second city of the Pyu, governed by the king's younger brother.<sup>29</sup> It seems probable that the route crossed the Northern Shan States much as the railway from Lashio to Mandalay crosses it today. If so, Śrī may well have been (approximately) Hsen-wi,<sup>30</sup> T'u-min city Hsipaw, and the Pyu capital Halin. In

his magistral work, 'Deux Itinéraires',<sup>31</sup> Pelliot was led astray by his assumptions that the Pyu capital in AD 800 was still Śrī Kṣetra, and that the route to it led down the Irrawaddy. [61] Fan Ch'ò, in his [133] *Man-shu* (AD 863), details the course of that river, with the names of cities on its banks,<sup>32</sup> but neither Hsi-li-i nor T'u-min is among them. If the capital in AD 800 had still been Śrī Kṣetra at the head of the Delta, surely the route thence to Magadha would have continued by sea, and not by painful regress up the Irrawaddy, up the Chindwin, over the mountains to Gauhati and Cooch Bihar?

Return awhile to Śrī Kṣetra. The city walls where they survive,<sup>33</sup> were high and strong, with megalithic Devas or Bodhisattvas guarding the gates, as well as flanking outworks and bastions [see Plate 4, Vol. II]. The city was also magically protected by three great stupas outside the walls, the Bawbawgyi to the south, the Payama to the north-east, the Paya-gyi to the north-west [see Plates 18, 19]. The area within the walls is enormous, 2 to 2½ miles across, far larger than the area at Pagán, where the walls were barely 1 mile square. The difference is that at Śrī Kṣetra half the area, especially the north and east, was reserved for rice-fields, to feed the inhabitants in case of siege. The Nawin Chaung<sup>34</sup> flows down from the north, and was probably diverted to fill the moats around the walls, especially on the low eastern side. My impression is that the Pyu were here an alien people from the north-east, who had been converted to Buddhism, and pushed their way south to open and maintain contacts, both with India and the already Buddhist Mon countries of Rāmañña and Dvāravatī.

Signs of a megalithic cult, doubtless older than Buddhism but mixed with it, are prevalent—large plain slabs of stone (or rarely laterite), sills or lintels, angle-pieces, huge stone urns or basins, sometimes with lids [Plates 10–15]. One of the royal urns is over 3 ft. high and nearly 9 ft. in circumference. Inside are charred bones and white pebbles. They are finely engraved with a line of Pyu writing under the rim below the lid, or many lines under the round base. The largest urns, without writing, are at the Viṣṇu Queen's cemetery,<sup>35</sup> some arranged in squares on a brick bed, each urn in sections—a thick flat bottom, basin above, and two stone collars nicely interlocking—the whole totalling 5½ ft. in height. Others measure over 13 ft. in circumference, 4 ft. in outside diameter, 2 ft. 5 in. in inside. Whether all were used to hold ashes of the dead, is open to question. The close-grained stone of nearly all these megaliths has been identified by geologists<sup>36</sup> as calcareous glauconitic sandstone of marine origin, obtainable locally along the Prome ridge and Irrawaddy foreshore. The general

similarity to the larger and older stone urns of the Plaine des Jarres in Laos,<sup>37</sup> is obvious [Plate 11, (c), (d)].

Other notable megaliths are broken segments of circular and squared thrones, found in places miles apart,<sup>38</sup> the sides elaborately recessed and carved [Plates 10, 11]. Duroiselle, the archaeologist, estimated that if the Hsin-ma-ko-wun-din throne was a full circle when entire, it would have been nearly 10 yards in circumference [Plate 10]. Note that both the *Man-shu* and the *New T'ang History* mention (presumably at Halin) 'a great white image, seated in the open air, over 100 ft. high, opposite the gate of the palace'.<sup>39</sup>

The earlier Buddhist sculpture at Śrī Kṣetra seems subsidiary to the megalithic. The whole stone may stand over 10 ft. high, 7 ft. broad, 2½ ft. thick: the relief only six or seven inches. The megalith remains; but is given a Buddhist facing: usually a Triad, or a set of three Triads facing another set of three, some fifty yards apart<sup>40</sup> [Plates 12, 13]. The Buddha sits in the centre of each Triad, sometimes awkwardly crosslegged, right leg on left, right hand or left touching earth; or else in *dhyaṇamudrā*, with or without alms bowl. He is flanked by Stupas, or standing Deva-Bodhisattvas, or disciples seated or standing. At the base there may be a predella with a long Pyu inscription. Rarely the megalith shows a Bodhisattva.<sup>41</sup> Among the later, more normal late-Gupta scenes of the life of the Buddha, is one, plainly Mahāyānist, where the earth-touching Buddha sits with the crowned earth-touching Bodhisattva Maitreya on his left, both on one throne, both square and frontal.<sup>42</sup> The latter has the looping *upavīta* and star-like stomacher characteristic, both here and at Pagán, of the Pyu Maitreya. At Halin (Tagantha), the only extant megalithic sculpture<sup>43</sup> is the large predella below an earth-touching giant (perhaps a Bodhisattva), showing over fifty seated worshippers with realistic heads and hairdress, typically Pyu. Above, the short Pyu inscription has been worn away by knife-sharpeners [Plate 53].

The Pyu, like the Southern Chins and the Old Burmans, burned their dead. The Pyu stored the ashes carefully in urns usually of earthenware, packed close in receding brick terraces in large cemeteries outside the walls [Plate 8, 9].<sup>44</sup> Often the urn was embedded in a layer of white pebbles.<sup>45</sup> Gold rings or star-shaped flowers, gold and silver leaf with writing, silver coins, or jadeite<sup>46</sup> are sometimes found with the ashes; but above all, protective iron,<sup>47</sup> whether nails, pins, hooks, knife-blades, or rods (barbed or carved at one end, and flat or pierced at the other). Two separate tombs had each a large six-sided iron plate, studded with 43 nails, 7 to 11½ inches in length, including a knobbed pin [Plate 9 (d), (e), (f)]. Like the Irish



tramp in J. M. Synge's *Shadow of the Glen*, left alone mending his rags near the supposed corpse, they must have murmured 'There's great safety in a needle!'

The best preserved of the larger pagodas at Śrī Kṣetra is the Baw-bawgyi,<sup>48</sup> a tall cylinder of notched brick, 240 ft. in circumference, coated with lime plaster  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick [Plate 19]. It stands 150 ft. high above its broad platform. On the north side, towards the city, was the single stairway, eleven steps of megalithic blocks, with two stone lions (only the paws remain) seated at the base. Above the platform are two round narrow terraces buttressing the main cylinder, which is somewhat pinched at the waist. A rough hole in the west side allows one to crawl into the interior, which is largely hollow, but not arched. The floor is littered with votive tablets, including two signed by Aniruddha;<sup>49</sup> so the hole was possibly made by Aniruddha himself, about AD 1050 when he removed the Frontlet relic within.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps the most original feature of Tircul art is the remarkable variety of small vaulted chapels at Śrī Kṣetra: the Bèbè,<sup>51</sup> with its monolithic Triad and Tircul inscription [Plate 21]; the Lémyet-hna<sup>52</sup> with its vaulted corridor and the three remaining monoliths against its central pier [Plate 22]; the East Zégu,<sup>53</sup> with its hall and shrine, beautifully constructed, and its sculpture of the First Sermon [Plates 23, 24, 25]; and the massive Payataung,<sup>54</sup> with its treble-vaulted entrances, 16 ft. in span, now blocked [Plate 26]. The vaulting is of Indian type: the bricks laid parallel to the arch-face, not at right angles to it as in the Chinese Han dynasty tombs of Tongking.<sup>55</sup> But I do not know of any vaults so old in Eastern India. Here are the small prototypes of the great temples of Pagán. There remain, often buried, several other vaulted chapels at Śrī Kṣetra, more or less in ruin, each one different in plan from every other. We still know but little of this extraordinary people. There is plenty more to be discovered. And there will be surprises. For whether in architecture, in sculpture or in metalwork, these brilliant artists seem unwilling to repeat themselves.

The subject of one of the largest sculptures, on Hpo-gaung-gan mound,<sup>56</sup> may be Indra's visit to the Buddha in Indraśaila Cave [Plate 15(a)]. It recalls the Gandharan relief from Loryān Tangai.<sup>57</sup> A small but elaborate sculpture from one of the Nyaungnibin mounds is in four tiers, and seems to combine the scenes of both the Twin Miracle and the First Sermon<sup>58</sup> [Plate 46]. One Triad from Léyindaung hill shows a dancer, harpist, clapper and four musicians below the Buddha seated in *varadamudrā*.<sup>59</sup> The sculpture recalls some of the Kyôntu terracotta medallions north-east of Pegu<sup>60</sup> [Plate 47 (f), 81]. Another sculpture from the octagonal pagoda

at Kan-wet-hkaung mound shows the Buddha again seated in *varadamudrā*, with two figures sunk two deep on either side. Duroiselle, no doubt rightly, says they represent the four *Lokapāla* Mahārājas presenting alms bowls at the time when Trapuṣa and Bhallika offered rice-cakes and honey<sup>61</sup> [Plate 48].

Images of the 'Fat Monk' (Gavampati?) appear at Śrī Kṣetra,<sup>62</sup> as at the Kyaik Dé-ap (Bo-ta-taung pagoda), Rangoon, Pegu, and many of the older cities, both of Burma and Siam. Four images (three bronze, one gold), all in double *vitarkamudrā*,<sup>63</sup> recall the many standing images in this pose in Dvāravatī. Three of our four are seated, one standing: this last wears a massive crown—the only 'Jambupati' (I think) yet found at Śrī Kṣetra, apart from one fine votive tablet from a field south of Taunglônnyo village, where the three Buddhas, illustrating the Twin Miracle, are all crowned<sup>64</sup> [Plate 43 (b)]. A good many images, gold, bronze, and terra-cotta, are Mahāyānist, illustrating Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, or Tārā. The finest is the standing bronze recovered from the Bawbaw<sup>65</sup> [Plate 31 (b)]. It probably represents Avalokiteśvara, with Amitābha in his head-dress; but the *mudrā* of the latter figure is not clear: so Dr Ray proposed Mañjuśrī with Akṣobhya. But no certain image of Mañjuśrī has yet, I think, been found in Burma. A damaged gold-plate image of the six-armed Avalokiteśvara,<sup>66</sup> seated in *lalitāsana*, has been found on the north bank of Yindaikkwin. Among the many votive tablets, there is one half-broken from Kywè-gyaung-gôn, with an interesting four-armed Bodhisattva seated sideways.<sup>67</sup> The small tablets from Myinbahu pagoda showing four-armed standing Bodhisattvas, are doubtless Padmapāṇi<sup>68</sup> [Plate 56]. The remarkable bronze Bodhisattva found near Paya-gyi<sup>69</sup>—only head and torso—dressed as a monk, but with high *jaṭāmukuta* faced with a *caitya*, can only be Maitreya of the North Indian type, not the Pyu. Ten tablets found at a mound south of Nga Shin Kan, Mahtaw village,<sup>70</sup> show the slender haloed figure of the Green Tārā, standing on a throne between stupas, her right hand drooped in *varadamudrā*, her left holding a lotus stalk [Plate 56 (a)]. A bronze earth-touching Buddha at Pagán Museum, throned against an elaborate reredos of *kīrtimukha* foliations, resting on *Mahāra*, *Vyāla* and elephant superposed, is dated by Coomaraswamy to the twelfth century.<sup>71</sup> I think it may be older: for its prototype is also found at the Bawbaw, Śrī Kṣetra.<sup>72</sup>

Vaishnava sculptures and fragments, in considerable number and variety are also found at Śrī Kṣetra [Plates 49, 50]. There is the austere four-armed standing *Viṣṇu*, lotus-rimmed, found at Kalagangôn.<sup>73</sup> At the same site was found the lotus-rimmed group-sculpture of *Viṣṇu Anantaśayana*<sup>74</sup>—the

first of a series of six found in Burma—including two found at Thatôn, one at Kawgun Cave, and two at Early Pagán.<sup>75</sup> A delicate statue of the four-armed Viṣṇu standing on Garuḍa, with the two-armed Lakṣmī standing on lotus to his left, both headless,<sup>76</sup> was found by General de Beylié in the garden of the Deputy Commissioner at Prome [Plate 49 (a)]. And fragments of similar groups have been found at East Zégu, Pogaung-kan, and Pokungôn (Śrī Kṣetra);<sup>77</sup> probably also at Pagán. Dr Ray says that sculptures of Viṣṇu standing on Garuḍa, and standing side by side with Lakṣmī, are 'up till now found in Burma alone'.

There are many other points of interest at Śrī Kṣetra. Note the variety and charm of the carved terracotta tablets, 14 to 30 in. square, lining walls and terraces at Gwébindet<sup>78</sup> and Kinmunchôn<sup>79</sup> mounds: riders on horse or elephant; Indra perhaps on Airāvaṇa, or Viṣṇu's riders on the Valāhaka stormclouds; or those of Khin Ba Gôn,<sup>80</sup> mostly broken, but showing perhaps a standing Buddha (rare at Śrī Kṣetra), a king on lion-throne, hairy Rishis, women, harnessed horses, maned lions, studies of lotus-plants [Plates 38-41]. Duroiselle thought one of these might illustrate a Jātaka; but the evidence stands alone and unconvincing. The Khin Ba Gôn treasure-trove<sup>81</sup>—one of the few as yet unrifled—was Duroiselle's great discovery, with its carved stone lids of relic-chambers, silver dvārapālas, silver coins, gold and silver images, gold leaf manuscript, etc., to which we must recur in the next chapter [Plates 27-34]. The great awakening in religion, art, life, and letters, heralded already perhaps in Dvāravati and Rāmaññadesa, has surely come to pass at Śrī Kṣetra; and, thanks to a drier climate, has left a richer harvest here.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For early Chinese references to the [180] P'iao or P'iao-jên, see *JBRs*, xxvii, 3 (Dec. 1937), 240-1 n. 2; xxix, 3 (Dec. 1939), 267, 277-8 n. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Sstü-pu-t'sung-k'an edn., No. 44 (12 chs., 3 vols.).

<sup>3</sup> e.g. the [96] Kuang-chih of [101] Kuo I-kung, and the [163] *Nan-chung-pa-chün-chih* (see *JBRs* xiv, 2 (Aug. 1924), 118 n. 1, and 121-2. Fragments of the *Kuang-chih* have been collected in the *Yü-han-shan-fang-chi-i-shu* of Ma Kuo-han and Chang Tsung-yüan (1774), 600 chüan, (Lang-hsüan-kuan edn., Ch'ang-sha, 1883) (Index, f. 34<sup>v</sup>). For other references, see especially the great Sung encyclopaedia, the [236] *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* of [106] Li Fang, AD 983.

<sup>4</sup> The first character used by Fan Ch'ò (c. AD 863) for his [191] P'u-tzū Man (*Man-shu* ch. 4; transl. p. 39), who were undoubtedly proto-Burmans, is (apart from the radical) the same as the characters [190] denoting the wild P'u (\*b'uk, p'uk) from the fourth century onwards. For the old pronunciation, see B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica* (Stockholm, 1940), No. 1211.

<sup>5</sup> Names of the Pyu: see 'Names of the Pyu', *JBRs* xxii, 2 (1932), 90; 'The Ancient Pyu', *ibid.* xxvii, 3 (1937), 239-53.

<sup>6</sup> *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, ch. 222c. [54] Chu-po. [270] T'u-lo-chu. [269] T'u-li-ch'ü.

<sup>7</sup> *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, transl. by V. Minorsky (London, 1937), 87, 242-3; *Marvazi*, transl. by V. Minorsky (London, 1942), 49, 149; J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde, rédigée en 851 A.D.* (Paris, 1948), 54, para. 30 n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Epig. Birm.* vol. iii, part i 10, 42 (Old Mon Inscr. IX, Face B, l. 42).

<sup>9</sup> [78] Hsüan-tsang. [227] *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi* ch. 10, 7<sup>v</sup> (Ssü-pu-ts'ung-k'an edn.)

<sup>10</sup> [85] I-tsing: *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-chuan*, ch. 1 (Jap. Tripitaka, ed. Takakusu, liv 205 (No. 2125). See Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 9-10; ed. Chavannes, *Religieuses éminents*, 58.

<sup>11</sup> Hsüan-tsang continues: 'Further to the south-east, in a corner of the great sea, is the kingdom of [32] Chia-mo-lang-chia' [Kāmalāṅka = ? Rāmaññadesa]. 'Further to the east is the kingdom of [259] To-lo-po-ti' [Dvāravatī]. I-tsing continues: 'South-east of [Śrī Kṣetra] is the kingdom of [105] Lang-chia-shu. Further east is the kingdom of [201] Shê (? = tu)-ho-po-ti' [? Dvāravatī].

<sup>12</sup> [28] Chia Tan's itineraries, towards the end of the 8th century, are given in *Hsin-t'ang-shu* ch. 43B. See f. 29<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> C. O. Blagden, 'The "Pyu" Inscriptions' (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xii, No. 16, pp. 127-32. Reprinted in *JBRs* vii, 1 (April 1917), 37-44. Cf. U Tha Myat, *Pyu Reader* (Rangoon, 1963), 47, 50-1. The urns were found buried some 70 yards south of the Paya-gyi, Śrī Kṣetra.

<sup>14</sup> *tdaḥāḥā*: /Duttabaung: *ASI* (1911-12), 147.

<sup>15</sup> *Epig. Birm.*, vol. i, part ii, Inscr. No. VI, ll. 16-20, pp. 149-51. For the date of the founding of Śrī Kṣet (544 BC), see *ibid.*, Inscr. No. III, Face C, ll. 3-6, pp. 135, 141. For the duration of the city (1,200 years), see *ibid.*, Inscr. No. I, Face F, ll. 14-15, pp. 106, 125. For the later Duttabaung legend, see *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (transl.), 14-20.

<sup>16</sup> For maps of Śrī Kṣetra, see *ASI* 1909-10, Pl. XLVI; *ASB* 1925, Pl. I.

<sup>17</sup> For accounts in English of U Aung Thaw's admirable labours at Kōkkōgwa, see his *Preliminary Report on the Excavation at Peikthanomyo, 1959*, and *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano* (Rangoon, 1968). The later volume has many plates, one showing a full human skeleton (Pl. XXXVII), burial urns with lids, iron nails and sockets, a copper bangle and rattles, stucco lions and other ornament, clay and stucco figurines (*deva*, *kinnari*, demons, and a praying woman), and a number of silver coins (Pl. LVIII) similar to those of Śrī Kṣetra.

<sup>18</sup> Khabin, Twante: See *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, i, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Kathāsaritsāgara: Tawney's transl., vol. i, p. 530 (N. M. Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, 10 vols., 1924-8).

<sup>20</sup> Kalāsapura. For references in Chinese texts, see *JBRs* xiv, 2 (1924), 179-85 (50th Anniv. Publ. No. 2, 280-6).

<sup>21</sup> Chia-lo-p'o-t'i: [48] *Chiu-t'ang-shu* ch. 197; [77] *Hsin-t'ang-shu* ch. 222C sections on P'iao.

<sup>22</sup> *Pyu Reader*, 78, with references. A copy, it seems, was sent, with a letter dated 29 Oct. 1894 from A. R. Bricks, Officiating Commissioner, Arakan Division, to Dr D. E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist, Madras.

<sup>23</sup> Śrī Prabhu Varma: *ASI* 1926-7, 175-6, and Pls. XXXVII(d), XXXVIII(c).

<sup>24</sup> Inscribed stone Buddha of Kan-wet-hkaung-gon: *ASI* 1927-8, 127-9, 145, and Pl. LIVh, g. Arch. Dept. phot. 3025-34 (1927-8). *IB*, Pl. IV 356a, Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* (Calcutta, 1936), 19-20.

<sup>25</sup> Fall of Śrī Kṣetra: see U Kala, Mahāyazawin-gyi (*BRS* edn., Rangoon, 1960), i, 132-4; Hmannan Yazawin (Susodhita edn., Rangoon, 1922), i 185-8; *Glass Palace Chronicle* 26-8.

<sup>26</sup> See E. H. Johnston, 'Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan', *BSOAS*, vol xi, part ii (1943), 357-85 (especially 370-2).

<sup>27</sup> 'Copper image discovered in the foundations of Mahamyammuni, 1784' (Max and Bertha Ferrars, *Burma* (edn. 2, London, 1901), 206, fig. 451. It passed into the possession of the Burma Research Society at its founding in 1910, and is described by U Maya, in 'Our Museum', *JBRs* iv, Pl. i (a, b), and pp. 219-20. Arch. Dept. phot. 1296, 1297 (1913-14).

<sup>28</sup> *Cakrawa*: *JBRs* vol. xlii, 1 (June 1959), 1-2, 60-1, 86-7.

<sup>29</sup> In the 'Rites and Music' section of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (ch. 22, f. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>), it is also said that in the 17th year of *chêng-yüan* [AD 801], [298] Yung Ch'iang, king of [181] P'iao kingdom, sent his younger brother, [211] Shu-nan-t'o, ruler of the city of [73] Hsi-li-i, to offer his kingdom's music.

<sup>30</sup> In my article 'The Ancient Pyu', *JBRs* xxvii, 3 (Dec. 1937), 249 I thought Śrī city might be Bhamo or Tagaung. I now think this wrong.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Pelliot, 'Deux Itinéraires', *BEFEO* iv 131-83.

<sup>32</sup> *Man-shu*, ch. 2 (transl. p. 20). The [112A] Li-shui, 'Beautiful Water', is clearly the Irrawaddy; the [124] Lu-tou-chiang its main eastern source, the 'Nmai Hka 'Li-shui city' should be approximately Waingmaw, opposite Myitkyina. [262] Ts'ang-wang might well be in the neighbourhood of Bhamo. [146] Mi-no-tao-li stockade was above the junction with the [144] Mi-no chiang, sc. the Chindwin. Between it and Ts'ang-wang was [243] 'Tao-wu river-valley of the king of [241] Tao-shuang', probably in the Ava region. No mention of Hsi-li-i or T'u-min, which Pelliot thought might be Tagaung and Pagán.

<sup>33</sup> For a photograph of the West Gate of Śrī Kṣetra, taken in 1925, see Arch. Dept. Neg. 2611, 'Remains of the west old city wall—east view'.

<sup>34</sup> The Nawin Chaung now bends west, through a gap in the hills, to join the Irrawaddy at Prome. The end of the ridge is now crowned with Prome Shwehsandaw pagoda. The move from the old city to the new was gradual; for the Burmese, who had founded their own capital at Pagán, still continued to call it the Capital, *Prañ* (modern Prome). The move was apparently complete by AD 1100 for all three of Kyanzitha's Mon inscriptions were set up at the Shwehsandaw (*Epig. Birm.* i, part ii, Inscrs. VI, VII, VIII (pp. 147-68). Inscription VI is dated 455<sup>s</sup> [3 June, 1093].

<sup>35</sup> L. de Beylié, *L'Architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient*, 248; *Prome et Samara*, 87. *ASI* 1912, pp. 147-8. *ASB* 1920, pp. 13-14, Arch. Dept. phot. 7501, 7502 (1957-8). Arch. Dept. drawing 233 (1911-12).

<sup>36</sup> Dr Tha Hla and Dr Nyi Nyi, 'Report of the Field Work at Hmawza (Śrī Kṣetra) and Prome', *JBRs* vol. xli (Dec. 1958), 83-97.

<sup>37</sup> See Mme Colani, *Mégalithes du Haut Laos*, 2 vols. (Paris, EFEO 1935); G. Coedès, *Les Peuples de la péninsule indochinoise* (Paris, 1962), 26-7.

<sup>38</sup> (1) *Ledatpyin pagoda*. Arch. Dept. phot. 777 (1909-10). The large segment of the throne is now sunk in the ground 10 yards east of the pagoda, on the present Prome golf-course. It measures nearly 10 ft. long, 2 ft. 3 in. high, and 7ft. 3 in. across the plain top surface. Another carved throne, six- or eight-sided, now at the Kyaukka Thein shed, came from a site 15 yards south of the pagoda. (2) *Hsin-ma-ko-wun-din* mound, SSE of the Bawbawgyi. Four fragments. Arch. Dept. phot. 2648-51 (1925-6). *ASB* 1926, Pl. III and pp. 21-3, *ASI* 1925-6, 120 and Pl. LV(e). Duroiselle thought it 'must have served as the pedestal of a huge statue.'

<sup>39</sup> *Man-shu*, transl. p. 90.

<sup>40</sup> *Triads*: at Kyaukka (or Settaing) Thein, Hmawza. See De Beylié, *Prome et Samara*, 82-4 and figs. 56 (plan) and 57 (sketch of a stone); *Arch. Hind.* 240-1 and fig. 193 (sketch of fretted seat-back). *ASB* 1908, 20; 1914, 9-10 para. 30. *ASI* 1910, p. 120 and Pl. L, figs. 1, 2, 3. Arch. Dept. phot. 417, 423, 424 (1906-7). For megalith Triads at East Hmawza monastery, see Arch. Dept. phot. 774 (1909-10).

<sup>41</sup> Bodhisattva megaliths: Arch. Dept. phot. 776 (1909-10) from near Kanbyin Gate, *ASI* 1927, p. 183, from Natyaukkyā-gôn; Arch. Dept. phot. 2886 (1926-7).

<sup>42</sup> Gautama and Maitreya: *ASB* 1939; Appendix F, p. xii, No. 82; Arch. Dept. phot. 4127 (1938-9). From Shwényaung-bin ridge.

<sup>43</sup> Halin (Tagantha) megalith: *ASI* 1929-30, pp. 154-5 and Pl. XLI(b). Little but the predella of the sculpture remains, measuring 4 ft. × 4½ ft. × 6 in.

<sup>44</sup> Tircul urn burials: *ASI* 1910, 118, 123 (Kanthônzindaung); 1911, 90 and Pl. XLVII fig. 3; 1912, 146, 147; 1926, 118; 1927, 182; 1937, 79. *ASB* 1926, 19-20, *ASI* 1924, 83-4, and Pl. XXXI(c, d) (Yahandagan); 1925, 106-7; 1928, 134-5; 1930, 156 (Mahtaw); 1937, 79 (Theindaung). For rare urns of gilded bronze or copper, see *ASI* 1928, 134-5 and Pl. LVI(c, e).

<sup>45</sup> White pebbles: *ASI* 1912, 147; *ASB* 1926, 16, para. 20.

<sup>46</sup> Gold, silver, jadeite: *ASI* 1912, p. 146; 1911, 90 and Pl. XLVII, figs. 3-8; 1911, 90.

<sup>47</sup> Iron: *ASI* 1910, 123, fig. 5; 1924, 83-4 and Pl. XXXII(a, b) (Yahandagan); 1930, 156 (Mahtaw), *ASB* 1924, 26-9 and Pl. IV (Yahandagan).

<sup>48</sup> Bawbawgyi: See especially *ASI* 1910, Pl. XLV(2) and p. 115 (Taw Seinko); *ASB* 1924, 21-6 and Pls. I, II (Duroiselle).

<sup>49</sup> Aniruddha's votive tablets: *ASI* 1908, 41-2; 1912, 144 and Pl. LXVIII, fig. 2; *ASB* 1912, 13.

<sup>50</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle* (transl. pp. 86-7).

<sup>51</sup> Bèbè: 17 ft. square. *Prome et Samara*, Pl. VII, figs. 1 and 70 (p. 98). *ASI* 1909-10, 120-1, fig. 3 and Pl. XLV(4).

<sup>52</sup> Lémyet-hna—22½ ft. square. *Prome et Samara*, 99-101 and Pl. VII figs. 3, 72, 73 (pp. 100, 101). *Arch. hind. en E.-O.* 245-8 and fig. 197. *ASI* 1909-10, 120-1 and Pl. XLVII, figs. 3, 6; 1922, 35; 1924, 44; 1925, 107-8 and Pl. XXXIV figs. e, g; 1937, 159. *ASB* 1908, 21, 24; 1913, 21; 1924, 6, 17-18; 1925, pp. 26-7 and Pl. III, fig. 2.

<sup>53</sup> East Zégu. *ASI* 1907-8, 42; 1909-10, 116-17 and Pl. XLVII, fig. 4. *ASB* 1908, 6, 14; 1909, 10; 1911, 23. Henri Marchal, *BEFEO* 1940, fasc. 2, 425-31 VIII. 'Notes d'architecture birmane. 1°. Zégu Est', and figs. 31 (plan), 32 (north face), 33 (section), 34 (niche-vaulting), 35 (capital and base of pilaster), and Pl. XLIVA, B (phot. of interior and east face).

<sup>54</sup> Payataung: *Prome et Samara*, 104-5 and fig. 77. *Arch. hind. en E.-O.*, 248-9 and fig. 202. Fergusson and Spiers, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1910), ii 353.

<sup>55</sup> Tongking vaulting: see, e.g. G. Coedès, *Les Peuples de la péninsule indochinoise* (Paris, 1962), Pl. v (facing p. 56); O. R. T. Janse, *Archaeological Research in Indo-China* (Harvard, 1947), i, Pl. 7 (2).

<sup>56</sup> Hpogaungkan megalith: *Prome et Samara*, pp. 85-6 and fig. 59. *ASI* 1909-10, Pl. XLVII(1) and p. 117. Arch. Dept. phot. 620 (1908-9). Over 9 ft. high, 6 ft. 2 in. broad, and 1 ft. thick.

<sup>57</sup> Loriyān Tangai relief. Sir John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (Cambridge, 1960), 91-2 and fig. 118 (Pl. 83).

<sup>58</sup> From Nyaungnibingôn (perhaps the one east of Thauungbyégôn, west of Khin Ba Gôn) *ASI* 1928, 131-2 and Pl. LV (10). *Memoirs ASI* lvi. Pl. II(2) and p. 5. Arch. Dept. phot. 2975 to 2977 (1927-8).

<sup>59</sup> From Léyindaung hill (east of the Pada pagodas). *ASI* 1928, 132. Arch. Dept. phot. 3002 (1927-8).

<sup>60</sup> Kyōntu medallions: *ASI* 1935-6, pp. 72-3 and Pl. XXXII(d); 1936-7, 80-3, and Pls. XXXI-XXXIII.

<sup>61</sup> Kan-wet-hkaung-gôn relief: *ASI* 1927-8, 128-9. Arch. Dept. phot. 3038, 3039. The scene is shown on a Gandharan relief from Sikri: see Marshall, op. cit. 58 and fig. 77. For a discussion of the incident, see André Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha*, (Paris, EFEO, 1963), 116-20.

<sup>62</sup> 'Fat Monk': *ASI* 1928-9, 106, from north of Yindaikkwin; 1936-7, 159. *ASB* 1939, App. F xii (80), from south of Taunglōnnyo village (Arch. Dept. phot. 4125). For other evidence see *Old Burma—Early Pagan* i 206-8, and ii, iii Pls. 90, 91.

<sup>63</sup> Double *vitarka-mudrā*: (i) *ASI* 1928-9, Pl. LI(g) and pp. 106-7 (from Tharawady Gate; gold; Arch. Dept. phot. 3097, 3098. (ii) *ASI* 1927-8, Pl. LIV(b) and p. 129(c), from Kan-wet-hkaung-gôn; bronze; Arch. Dept. phot. 3040. (iii) *ASI* 1928-9, 105, item 5. From north of Yindaikkwin. Bronze. Arch. Dept. phot. 3055. (iv) *ASB* 1939, App. F. p. xii, no. 79. From Shwe-nyaung-bin. Crowned standing bronze. Arch. Dept. phot. 4124. Discussion at *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, i 144-5.

<sup>64</sup> Tablet with three crowned Buddhas: *Memoirs of ASI* lvi, Pl. II(3) and p. 5. Arch. Dept. phot. 3171 (1929-30).

<sup>65</sup> Bawbawgyi standing bronze: *ASI* 1911-12, 143-5, and Pl. LXVIII fig. 6. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* fig. 1 and 41-2, 111. Arch. Dept. phot. 973 (1911-12).

<sup>66</sup> Six armed Avalokiteśvara. *ASI* 1928-9, 105 (ix) and Pl. LII(a, c); 1936-7, 159. Arch. Dept. phot. 3059, 3060 (1928-9). A 'damaged bronze image of a Bodhisattva' lost below the waist, was also reported from the same site. Probably this is Arch. Dept. phot. 3052.

<sup>67</sup> Kywē-gyaung-gôn Bodhisattva. *ASI* 1926-7, 182-3 and Pl. XLII(c).

- <sup>68</sup> Myinbahu Bodhisattvas: *ASI* 1934-5, 46-7, and Pl. XXII(b, c).
- <sup>69</sup> Paya-gyi Maitreya: *ASB* 1958, 66, fig. 19.
- <sup>70</sup> Nga Shin Kan Tārā: *ASI* 1927-8, 131 and Pl. LV, fig. 8; 1936-7, 175. Arch. Dept. phot. 2973 (1927-8). Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, 46.
- <sup>71</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), Pl. CIV, fig. 315 and p. 250.
- <sup>72</sup> Bawbawgyi prototype: *ASI* 1911-12, Pl. LXVIII fig. 5 and p. 143.
- <sup>73</sup> Kalagangôn Viṣṇu: *ASB* 1920, Pl. I, fig. 2, and pp. 22-3. Arch. Dept. phot. 2066. *ASI* 1919-20, 31. Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (Calcutta University, 1932), Pl. III(3) and pp. 27-8, 89.
- <sup>74</sup> Kalagangôn Viṣṇu Anantaśayana: *ASB* 1920, Pl. I, fig. 3, and pp. 22-3; Arch. Dept. phot. 2067, Ray, *Brahmanical Gods*, Pl. IV(4), and pp. 28-30, 89.
- <sup>75</sup> See *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, i, 217-20. A new specimen from Pagán has also been reported.
- <sup>76</sup> Viṣṇu on Garuda with Lakṣmi: *Prome et Samara*, 87, Pl. VII fig. 2. *ASI* 1937, 160. Arch. Dept. phot. 4504 (1940-1), 7524 (1957-8). Ray, *Brahmanical Gods*, 24-7, 41, 89, and Pl. II(2). Mr Alex Griswold tells me that 'images of Viṣṇu standing on Garuda are fairly common in Khmer and Khmerizing art'.
- <sup>77</sup> East Zégu fragment: Arch. Dept. phot. 3765 (1934-5). Pogaungkan: Arch. Dept. phot. 621 (1908-9). Pokungôn: Arch. Dept. phot. 784 (1909-10). Cf. fragment found at Pagán, Shwegugyi, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* ii, iii Pl. 417(b).
- <sup>78</sup> Gwébindet mound: *ASI* 1927-8, 134. Arch. Dept. phot. 2942-5.
- <sup>79</sup> Kinmunchôn mound: *ASI* 1924-5, Pl. XXXIV(d) and p. 108. Arch. Dept. phot. 2461 (1924-5), 2605-10 (1925-6). *ASB* 1925, 16-18 and Pl. II, fig. 2. There is another at Kyaukka Thein, measuring 14½ in. square.
- <sup>80</sup> Khin Ba Gôn terracottas: *ASI* 1926-7, 172-4 and Pl. XL(a, b, d). Arch. Dept. phot. 2875-85 (1926-7); 7510 (1957-8).
- <sup>81</sup> Khin Ba Gôn trove: *ASI* 1926-7, pp. 171-81 and Pls. XXXVII(c), XXXVIII(c, d), XL, XLI, XLII.

## VI

### TIRCUL, PYŪ, P'IAO (II)

THE first Tircul antiquities (I suspect) were discovered by Indian coolies in the early seventies of the last century. They were building the railway (180 miles) from Rangoon to Prome. The work was done at a rush in three years, and cut across the walls of Śrī Kṣetra from south-east to north-west. One trembles to think how many Pyu sculptures lie buried in the permanent way. Between 1882 and 1885 the German Professor of Pali at Rangoon, Emil Forchhammer, reported on the site.<sup>1</sup> In 1897, at Maung-gan or Lèbaw village, 7 miles to the south, two gold plates were found, inscribed with Pali texts in Pyu writing.<sup>2</sup> My wife's uncle, U Tun Nyein, then Government Translator, edited the texts in *Epigraphia Indica*; and they are now among the treasures of the British Museum. Early in the present century the Burma Archaeological Department was created; but serious excavations at Hmawza only began in January 1907, when the French scholar, General de Beylié,<sup>3</sup> at his own initiative and cost, joined Taw Sein Ko, then Government Archaeologist, in a most fruitful search. Their results were published in the General's *Prome et Samara* (a delightful story) and *L'Architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1907); and, from 1907, a long series of notices by Taw Sein Ko, Charles Duroiselle, U Mya, U Lu Pe Win, and others in the annual archaeological reports, both of India and Burma. When fragments of a Pali stone inscription in Pyu writing were discovered at the Bawbawgyi, it was Louis Finot who first read and edited it in *Journal Asiatique*.<sup>4</sup> And among other French scholars who have helped research in Burma, one mentions with honour Henri Marchal,<sup>5</sup> the old Conservator of Angkor, who has left us a beautifully illustrated record of that neglected masterpiece, the East Zégu temple, and much besides. Henri Parmentier<sup>6</sup> has also left us a valuable chapter on Burma's architecture.

The Khin Ba Gôn treasure-trove<sup>7</sup> was Duroiselle's great discovery in 1926-7, with its wealth, not only of terracottas, but of all manner of fine work in gold, silver, bronze, glass, coins, beads and precious stones [Plates 27-34, 37]. Perhaps the chief treasure was a gold leaf Pah manuscript<sup>8</sup> incised with clear Tircul lettering, twenty numbered leaves within gold



covers. It comprises eight excerpts from the Pali *Tripitāka*, which have all been carefully edited by Lu Pe Win in the 1939 Burma Report. Thiripyanchi U Mya, the veteran archaeologist, has made tracings of Tircul numeral symbols found on each page, which roughly agree with many markings already found on Pyu bricks [Plates 35, 36].<sup>9</sup> Arabic symbols do not come into use in Burma until the Pagán dynasty. The Tircul of Śrī Kṣetra,<sup>10</sup> unlike the Burmans of Pagán, had a distinctive silver coinage of their own in various sizes, engraved with Conch, Nāga, Vardhamāna, Svastika, and other auspicious signs, similar to the Rising Sun coinage of Halin,<sup>11</sup> less similar to the Candra dynasty coins of North Arakan,<sup>12</sup> with their Vaishnava Conch and Shaivite Nandi additions and royal names. The earliest Śrī Kṣetra coins seem to have shown the Conch [Plate 3].

Let us now turn to the Pyu (Tircul) inscriptions proper, first read and edited by Charles Otto Blagden. A pioneer of genius, Dr Blagden began in 1909-10 by deciphering and editing the Old Mon faces<sup>13</sup> of the quadrilingual inscriptions (two duplicate pillars) wrongly called the Myazedi. The Myazedi is a modern stupa built within the precincts of the old Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi temple, a mile south of Pagán. The temple was built in or about AD 1113 by Prince Rājakumār, shortly after the death of his father King Kyanzittha. The Burmese and Pali faces were edited by Duroiselle.<sup>14</sup> The script of the Mon, Pali, and Burmese faces is identical, similar to modern Burmese. But Mon is quite a different language; and Old Mon (very unlike Modern) had never been read until Blagden showed us the way. As for Tircul, both script and language were unknown. In 1911 Blagden went on to interpret it.<sup>15</sup> The script, south-west Indian in type,<sup>16</sup> is peculiar and archaic. We need to remember that the earliest extant (Tircul) writing dates from the seventh century AD, the latest from the end of the thirteenth. It is found in three capitals, Śrī Kṣetra, Halin, and Pagán, the former two some 280 miles apart. Over seven centuries it changed but little; and by Indian standards it was archaic from the first.

One curious feature of the older forms of Tircul, as found both at Śrī Kṣetra and Halin, is the insertion of lines in Brahmi character between the lines of Tircul. No one, I think, has yet explained this phenomenon, which should (I hope) be not too difficult a task for an Indianist.

There are still some letters doubtfully identified. If you compare my readings with Blagden's, you may find, for example, that I sometimes read *l* and *k* where he reads *d* and *r* (e.g. *le/de* = month). I daresay he is right: he usually is. How did he identify the letters? Mainly by comparing the proper names, and Sanskrit or Pali borrowings, in the four faces, which he

assumed to contain the same or similar information. On my Chart M I have entered most of these. The comparison enables one to grasp some key-features of the language. It was already in an advanced state of decay, like Eastern Lolo rather than Old Burmese. This is another evidence of the eastern origin of the Tircul. No final consonants appear to be shown in the script. Instead, we find an elaborate system of dots or circles, various combinations of *anusvāra* (°), *visarga* (:), and Burmese 'a-myt' (◦). Blagden regarded them as tonal marks. I agree with him. If we may assume that the *-i* vowel loop will push out an *anusvāra* to the right, not less than eight types of tonal marks can be distinguished. Possibly there were glottal stops; but there is no clear evidence of this. From such spellings as *sagha* for *saṅgha*, I infer that no nasal finals are implied. If we may assume that words with no tonal mark were of medium pitch, perhaps those with *anusvāra* (often ending with *-i*) were of high pitch, and those with 'a-myt' (often ending with *-u*) were of low pitch. Those with *visarga* (which means 'release') may have been in the falling tone, medium pitch; in the high-falling tone or the low-falling tone if the *visarga* is combined with the *anusvāra* or the 'a-myt' respectively. There is one instance where all three are combined: *tvā*: 'to elapse'. I can only leave that, I fear, to the reader's imagination. It seems worth while, as a basis for comparison, to sort out on Chart M, under these tonal marks, the words to which we can assign, more or less certainly, a meaning; and to add possible comparisons with Old Burmese.

The total number of Tircul words with meanings identified by Blagden hardly exceeds 100. Nearly all are included on the Chart. Roughly half of these, perhaps, are less than certain. Still, they make a broad and useful door into this important language, which shares with Classical Tibetan the claim to be the founder-fathers of Tibeto-Burmese literature. The vocabulary appears to have most in common with Old Burmese: but the tonal pattern differs widely, so it cannot be called a member of the Burma Group. 'It is not strictly monosyllabic, but largely so', as Blagden accurately says. Of non-Burmese words, the most striking are *tpū* 'twenty', *tdū* 'water', and *phvū* 'day'. *tdū* 'water' is nearest to Mru and Chin *tui*; *phvū* 'day' to Karen [my] 'sun'. As for *tpū* 'twenty', though the word occurs four times, there is still some doubt about the consonants, especially the *t*.

Like many of our older languages, Old Mon, Northern Dai, Southern Chin, and Southern Karen, Tircul had two *bs*: the usual labial sonant, and (probably) the pre-glottalized *b* [β], which counts as a surd. The word for 'Buddha' is usually, but not always, written with the latter, *ḅ*. Of the twelve songs sung by the P'iao at the T'ang Court in AD 802, the

first was entitled 'The Buddha's Seal'<sup>17</sup> (I suppose his footprint). In Chinese the sound is transcribed \*muət-d'â-myie; so presumably the *ḥ* sounded to the Chinese ear like an *m*. Compare *mat'aw* 'pagoda', the older spelling of Old Burmese *put'uīw*, from Sanskrit *vastu*, 'site, reality.'

The spellings on Chart M indicate that the Tircul did not ordinarily distinguish short or long vowels, except in the case of *-u*; nor did they distinguish aspirate and non-aspirate initial consonants. They were apt to confuse surd and sonant in the body of a word, generally preferring the latter. With the exception of *siri* at the head of the inscription, Indo-Aryan terms are taken from Sanskrit rather than Pali: *stau* from Sanskrit *stūpa*; *bradima* from Sanskrit *pratimā*; *tra* from Sanskrit *dravya*; *stabana* from Sanskrit *sthāpana*. Tircul had one word, at least, in common with Mon: *tha*/Old Mon *thar*, 'gold'. Perhaps Old Mon was here the borrower: for gold was then being mined and washed in the far north of Burma;<sup>18</sup> and the earliest Chinese texts about the P'iao say that they 'used gold in the making of knives and halberds'.<sup>19</sup> Tircul *ma* in the last line of Rājakumār's inscription may have its usual negative or privative sense, as in Old Burmese and Tibetan; but elsewhere it seems to be used as a relative pronoun, much as in Old Mon, but placed at the end of the clause instead of the beginning.

When Blagden went on in 1913-14 to study the Tircul Urn inscriptions,<sup>20</sup> he faced a task seemingly impossible. 'When one is invited to decipher and interpret inscriptions . . . which, unlike the 'Myazedi' one, are not accompanied by translations in other languages, one finds oneself face to face with the difficulty of not knowing how to begin.' He was living alone in Highgate when I became his first pupil. One day I presumed to ask him how, in fact, he began. His reply went something like this: 'I was always alone at breakfast, and usually read the newspaper. I thought, instead, I would pin up the "Pyu" inscriptions, and get used to looking at them, with a pencil handy to note whatever I thought I could read. And day by day, as I filled in line by line the names as they occurred, I began to get some idea what it was all about, as the gaps got smaller and smaller.' This plan worked well with the 'Myazedi'; but in the short urn-inscriptions there were few clues. 'Our best chance of interpreting these records is to ascertain what is . . . "common form" in them, so as to be able to distinguish it from what is accidental or individual.' Each of the four selected inscriptions began with *tdā: bā:*, generally followed with *u hi*. He knew already that *tdā: bā:* meant 'His Majesty', and *hi* might mean 'to die'. They mostly ended *tdā: bā: u ru (kb)e: yā*, which might mean 'these are the . . . bones of His Majesty.' The inscriptions were presumably epitaphs.

Then followed the dynastic names: *Harivikrama*, *Sihavikrama*, *Sūriyavikrama*—the last name on two of the urns. 'No man requires more than one coffin': so one must be that of a close relative. The word *sni:* occurs many times, and he knew that it meant 'year'. 'It is reasonable to assume that it would be closely associated with numerals, and I note that that is the case here . . .' 'As *sni:* means 'year', it seems reasonable to suppose that *de* (or *le?*) and *phvu* stand for other divisions of time, probably "month" and "day" respectively: for they also are followed by numerals.' It was not long before Blagden had completed his set of primary Tircul numerals, including *tpū* 'twenty', and could reconstruct the chronology of the Vikrama dynasty. It all looks so simple, but it needed a Sherlock Holmes to do it.

Since Blagden's death in 1949, little progress has been made in Tircul epigraphy,<sup>21</sup> though new inscriptions have been found and reported, and there is a good deal of material awaiting investigation. It would take too long to list all the Tircul inscriptions, many of which are short, fragmentary, or illegible. But may I mention a few in particular, not yet edited, worthy of attention?

### I. From Śrī Kṣetra

(i) Bilingual stone inscription, Sanskrit and Tircul, on the four sides of the pedestal of the headless Buddha of Kan-wet-hkaung-gôn.<sup>22</sup> Dedicated jointly, after a quarrel, by Jayacandravarman and Harivikrama. The latter died in AD 695 [Plates 16, 17].

(ii) Clear stone inscription, eight lines of Tircul interlining eight of Brahmi, engraved on the bottom of the earliest dated stone urn, that of the relative of Sūriyavikrama who died in AD 673.<sup>23</sup> Found some 70 yards south of the Paya-gyi [Plate 6(a)].

(iii) One clear line of Tircul engraved on a small earthen urn found about a yard south west of the above.<sup>24</sup>

(iv) A rather faint stone inscription from Kyanigan mound, eight lines of Tircul with eight interlinear lines of Brahmi, below a relief carving showing the Buddha seated in *dhyānamudrā*, between two standing figures adoring him<sup>25</sup> [Plate 15(b)].

### II. From Halin

(v) A recently found stone inscription, horse-shoe shaped, with seven Tircul lines interlined with seven of Brahmi. Arch. Photo. 67/01297(a) of 1963-4.<sup>26</sup> Line 2 contains royal titles beginning *śrī trivigrama* . . ., but

my reading (based on a small photograph: see Plate 51) needs to be checked by rubbings.

(vi) Funerary stone tablet, two clear lines of Tircul interlined with two of Brahmi.<sup>27</sup> Found south of the SE corner of the city-wall. Now Stone 96 at Pagán Museum. Similar in content to Blagden's urn inscriptions [Plate 52(b)].

(vii) Small stone slab with sun and crescent moon carved at the top, and eight short lines of Tircul below (no Brahmi).<sup>28</sup> Found west of Nagayôn lake. It mentions (in ll. 3-4) the *mahadevi sri jatra*, i.e. Queen Candradevī [Plate 52(a)].

(viii) Small stone fragment with seven Tircul letters, also mentioning *Srī Jatrādevī*.<sup>29</sup> Found at Halin. Now at Pagán Museum [Plate 52(c)].

### III. From Pagán

(ix) Short inscription of six clear lines of Tircul on the reverse of a terracotta votive tablet from the relic-chamber of Shwe-hsan-daw pagoda, built by Aniruddha c. AD 1060. Dedication of *Srī Bañano* (? line 3).<sup>30</sup>

What do we know of the later history of these people? [61] Fan Ch'ò, author of the *Man-shu*, says: 'In [AD 832] *Man* [sc. Nan-chao] rebels looted and plundered P'iao kingdom [sc. Halin]. They took prisoner over three thousand of their people. They banished them into servitude at [21] Chê-tung [approx. Yünnan Fu], and told them to fend for themselves. At present their children and grandchildren are still there, subsisting on fish, insects, etc. Such is the end of their people.'<sup>31</sup> Fan Ch'ò knew what he was talking about; for in April 862, less than a year before Nan-chao's capture of Hanoi (28 Feb. 863), he had been sent on a vain and dangerous mission to these parts, to negotiate with the rebels.<sup>32</sup>

I suspect that many of the deportees escaped *en route*, and settled on the banks of the Upper Ta-p'ing river, nearer home, but just within the Chinese border. This seems to be borne out by the fact that in the geographical section of the *Yüan-shih* (end of ch. 61), the P'iao are still mentioned as one of the tribes of 'Gold Teeth Comfortership', south-west of Ta-li, east of [148] Mien (Burma), and west of the Mekhong. On the north bank of the Ta-p'ing was [183] P'iao-tien ('Pyu native district'), on the south bank [182] P'iao-shan in [184B] P'ing-mien Road.<sup>33</sup>

If these P'iao had been settled in these parts previous to the general Tircul migration into Burma, one would have expected mention of the fact in T'ang sources.

In Pagán inscriptions the word 'Pyu' rarely occurs. In Nātoñmyā's inscription of AD 1207,<sup>34</sup> some '*Kantū* (and) *Pyū* upland' is mentioned as

one of the land-boundaries, perhaps in Shwébo district. In an inscription of 1242<sup>35</sup> there is mention of a female slave of a *Pyū moñma* (royal concubine); the latter has an ordinary Old Burmese name. In 1301 there is mention of a *Pyū thañ sañ* (seller of firewood).<sup>36</sup> The most striking mention, in an Ava Ya-kyi monastery inscription dated as late as AD 1369,<sup>37</sup> is of rice-lands, probably in Kyanksè, of 'a large *Pyū* village' and a 'small *Pyū* village', totalling 134 *pè*, say 234 acres.

One other Tircul inscription at Pagán, now Stone 3 at Pagán Museum, was found near the Tharaba Gate and (probably) the Palace site. It is a thin two-faced stone, Tircul on one face, Chinese on the other.<sup>38</sup> The Tircul face has about 25 lines, faint and damaged in parts, but not illegible; much the same is true of the Chinese face. Mr Chen Yi-sein,<sup>39</sup> Reader in Chinese at Rangoon University, has succeeded in reading some eighty characters on the Chinese face. 'A striking feature of this inscription' he says, 'is that the text runs horizontally from left to right—a Burmanized way of writing.' He has succeeded in establishing that the Chinese face, at any rate, dates from the closing years of the thirteenth century, about 1297, when the Mongols were in strength at Pagán, with the Chief Secretary Ch'ieh-lieh ('the Käräit') probably reading the imperial edict confirming Klawcwā as king of Mien, and his son Singhapati as heir-apparent, and "warning the border-generals in Yünnan and other places not to raise arms (against you) without the Emperor's authority . . ." Probably it was Ch'ieh-lieh who set up this inscription at the main gate of the city of Pagán, proclaiming that "(We shall) not destroy the Mien kingdom." In view of the fact that an archaistic term 'P'iao kingdom' is applied to Pagán in the biography of Ch'ieh-lieh in ch. 133 of the *Yüan-shih*, and that a Pyu inscription is on the reverse side of the Chinese text, Prof. Luce wonders whether Ch'ieh-lieh "encouraged the nationalists by seeking to revive the Pyu language." <sup>40</sup>

While the Emperor conferred a Tiger Tally on Asañkhayā, the eldest and least disloyal of the three Shan Brothers, his younger brother, Simhasūra, had already declared himself king at *Mrañcuñ* (Myinzaing in Kyauksè) in 1296).<sup>41</sup> I strongly suspect that the Tircul face of Stone 3 at Pagán Museum will be found to be the counterpart, if not the translation, of the Chinese face. If so, it will prove that the written language survived down to the fall of Pagán. Not that [148] Mien, the Chinese name for Burma, seems to make its first appearance here, and in the subsequent dynastic History of the Mongols (*Yüan-shih*, AD 1369-70).

One other Old Burmese inscription dated AD 1298,<sup>42</sup> found (and lost) at Bodhgayā, has long (since 1833) been alleged to contain mention of

'one hundred thousand Pyu', apparently living under their prince or king in that neighbourhood in India. It was perhaps the first genuine Old Burmese inscription to come under close scrutiny by scholars, Burmese (at Ava), Sinhalese and English (at Calcutta); and it is not surprising that mistakes were made. In an article now in the press, in honour of Professor D. G. E. Hall, I have attempted to set the record straight; and have found that the proper reading is not *Pyu-ta-sin-maṇi* but *Putasin maṇi*, applied to a local Rāja at Bodhgayā, probably named Buddhasena.

Chinese texts about the P'iao mostly relate to the two Tircul appearances at the T'ang Court ([15] Ch'ang-an) in 800 and 801-2 AD. The latter was a formal embassy sent by the Pyu Mahārājā, [298] Yung-ch'iang (\*ywoŋ-k'iang), surnamed [100] K'un-mo-ch'ang (\*k'uən-muət-t'iang), and headed by his younger brother [211] Shu-nan-t'o (\*śy'o-nān-d'a), Governor of the City of Śrī ([73] *Hsi-li-i*). A troupe of 35 musicians, wearing [98] K'un-lun (sc. Mon) dress, accompanied the embassy. Apart from technical (and very valuable) details about their instruments given in the long account in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, I gave (with generous help from the late Arthur Waley) a summary translation of the main texts in the two T'ang histories, in my article 'The Ancient Pyu'.<sup>43</sup> But I omitted the long lists of towns, subject kingdoms, and tribes, as well as the titles of the twelve songs sung by the musicians, with their transcriptions in Chinese. Though most of the names are still obscure, and some may be corrupt, they ought, I think, to be on record for future research, with such poor comment as I am able to offer. There is also the section on P'iao in the *Man-shu* (transl. 90, 91), which dates from about AD 863. All these texts appear to relate to the northern Tircul capital, presumably Halin (Old Burm. *Hanlani*).

#### EXTENT OF P'IAO KINGDOM

3,000 *li* from E. to W., 3,500 *li* from S. to N. (*Chiu-t'ang-shu*).

5,000 *li* broad, 3,000 *li* long (*Hsin-t'ang-shu*).

#### CAPITAL

Over 2,000 *li* S. of Yung-ch'ang. 14,000 *li* from Chinese capital (*Chiu-t'ang-shu*).

2,000 *li* S. of Yung-ch'ang. 14,000 *li* from Chinese capital (*Hsin-t'ang-shu*).

75 day-stages S. of Yung ch'ang (*Man-shu*).

#### ROUTES

([28] Chia Tan). 'From Yung-ch'ang westwards, crossing the [166] Nu-chiang [Salween], 200 *li* to the fort (or city) of [53] Chu-ko Liang. Then southwards,

200 *li* to [116] Lo fort (or city). Then, entering the P'iao kingdom's boundary and passing through eight tribes, [277] Wan-kung etc., 700 *li* to [73] Hsi-li [Śrī] city. Then passing through [271] T'u-min city, 1,000 *li* to the P'iao capital. Then westwards, crossing the [68] Black Mountains, 1,600 *li* to [33] Chia-mo-po [Kāmarūpa] kingdom of Eastern India [sc. Gauhati in Assam.]

'By another road, from Chu-ko Liang's fort westwards, 200 *li* to [247] T'êng-ch'ung city [T'êng-yüeh]. Then westwards, 100 *li* to [142] Mi-ch'êng (or Mi-fort). Then westwards, crossing mountains, 200 *li* to [112B] Li-shui *ch'êng* ['Irrawaddy city', probably Waingmaw]. Then westwards, crossing the [112A] Li-shui [Irrawaddy] and [127] Lung-ch'üan Shui ['Dragon Source Water', sc. Mogaung River], 200 *li* to [8] An-hsi city [Mogaung? Kamaing?]. Then westwards, crossing the water of the [144] Mi-no *chiang* [Chindwin river], after 1,000 *li* one reaches [229] Ta-ts'in P'o-lo-mên [Brahman] kingdom [? Singkaling Hkamti or the Hukong valley]. Again(?) westwards, after crossing a big range of mountains, 300 *li* to reach [92] Ko-mo-lu [Kāmarūpa] kingdom, the northern frontier of Eastern India . . . Then south-westwards, after 1200 *li* one reaches [177] Pên-na-fa-t'an-na [Puṇḍravardhana] kingdom of the NE boundary of Central India, where one joins the road which goes from P'iao kingdom to the [188] P'o-lo-mên [Brahmans].' (*Hsin-t'ang-shu*).

#### BOUNDARIES

East: [23] Chên-la kingdom [Cambodia]

West: Eastern India ([256] T'ien-chu)

South: the Ocean

North: [214] So-lo city (or fort) of Nan-chao [cf. Chia Tan's 'Lo fort']

South-West [added by *Hsin-t'ang-shu*: a mistake for SE]: [258] To-ho-lo [Dvāravatī]

North-East: [288] Yang-chü-mieh city [capital of Nan-chao] [*Chiu-t'ang-shu* gives the distance as 6,800 *li*—a great exaggeration: According to Chia Tan it should be 2,400 *li*]

'Coming and going', says the *Chiu-t'ang-shu*, it is in close communication with 20 kingdoms, [30] Chia-lo-p'o-t'i [? Kalaśavati] etc. Its dependencies are 9 cities, [240] Tao-lin-wang etc. The *Hsin-t'ang-shu* give the full list:

#### NINE GARRISON CITIES

[240] Tao-lin-wang (\*d'âu-liəm-ywan)

[73] Hsi-li-i [Śrī]

[195] San-t'o (\*sâm-d'â).

[146] Mi-no Tao-li (\*myie-nâk d'âu-liəp)

[271] T'u-min (\*t'uat-mien)

[250] Ti-chieh (\*tiei-g'iät)

[231] Ta-li-mou (\*d'ât-lyi-mieu)

[87] Kan-t'ang (\*kân-d'ân)

[156] Mo-p'u (\*muât-p'uo)



*Comment:* Hsi-li-i [Śrī] was doubtless the main Tircul strong-hold to the north-east facing Nan-chao. Its governor was the king's younger brother. Its slightly abbreviated name, Hsi-li, is given by Chia Tan as 700 *li* (say 140 miles ?) S. of Lo, So-lo, Mo-so-lo, the corresponding frontier post of Nan-chao. This post should have been (approximately) modern Lungling; Śrī (possibly) Hsenwi, T'u-min (possibly) Hsipaw. Mi-no Tao-li is mentioned in the *Man-shu* (transl. p. 20) as a stockade on the west bank of the Irrawaddy above its junction with the [144] Mi-no *chiang*, i.e. the Chindwin. Whether the Chindwin mouth was then where it is now, or further east, I do not know. One notes that *Tao* is prefixed to a number of Tircul places on the Irrawaddy in Central Burma.

### TRIBES (*pu-lo*)

'Eating its territories' says the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 'are 290 tribes (or settlements?), [118] Lo-chün-ch'ien (\*lâ-kiuən-dz'ïäm) etc.' 'Their tribes number 298' says the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, of which the most important are the following 32:

- [277] Wan-kung (\*mywΛn-kuŋ) [in the modern N. Shan States: see Chia Tan's Routes]  
 [58] Ch'ung-jo (\*ts'iuŋ-ńzya)  
 [118] Lo-chün-ch'ien (\*lâ-kiuən-dz'ïäm)  
 [143] Mi-ch'o (\*myie-ts'iak)  
 [241] Tao-shuang (\*d'âu-shoŋ) [on the Middle Irrawaddy: see *Man-shu* (transl. p. 20)]  
 [242] Tao-wêng (\*d'âu-ʔuŋ)  
 [243] Tao-wu (\*d'âu-miuət)  
 [291] Yeh-pan (\*ja-puân)  
 [189] Pu-wu-to (\*piəu-ʔuo (or ʔäk)-d'uât)  
 [158] Mo-yin (\*muo (or mâk)-ʔiəm)  
 [39] Ch'ieh-lung-shan (\*g'ia-lywoŋ-d'âm)  
 [2] A-li-chi (\*ʔâ-lyi-kiet)  
 [4] A-li-shê (or tu) (\*ʔâ-lyi-tuo or zia)  
 [3] A-li-mang (\*ʔâ-lyi-mân)  
 [232] Ta-mo (\*d'ât-muâ)  
 [49] Ch'iu-p'an (\*g'ïəu-p'uân)  
 [198] Sêng-t'a (\*səŋ-tâp)  
 [253] T'i-li-lang (\*d'iei-lyi-lân)  
 [282] Wang-t'êng (\*mywaŋ-d'əŋ)  
 [237] Tan-po (\*tâm-b'äk)  
 [125] Lu-wu (\*luk-ʔuo)  
 [60] Fa-mao (\*b'ywAp-mâu)  
 [197] Sêng-chia (\*səŋ-ka)  
 [252] T'i-chui (\*d'iei-twi)

- [5] A-mo-lo (\*'â-muât-lâ)  
 [208] Shih-yüeh (\*'ziäi-jiwat)  
 [248] T'êng-ling (\*'d'əŋ-liəŋ)  
 [169] Ou-mieh (\*'əu-mie)  
 [56] Chuan-lo-p'o-t'i (\*'tsiwän-lâ-b'uâ-d'iei)<sup>44</sup>  
 [126] Lu-yü (\*'luk-jiu) [in Lower Burma]  
 [121] Lou-man (\*'ləu-mwan)  
 [154] Mo-ti-p'o (\*'muâ-d'i-b'uət) [in Lower Burma]

EIGHTEEN DEPENDENT KINGDOMS (*Hsin-t'ang-shu* names only 17: some obviously *not* 'dependent')

- [30] Chia-lo-p'o-t'i (\*'ka-lâ-b'uâ-d'iei) [?Kalaśavati]  
 [153] Mo-li-wu-t'ê (\*'muâ-liei-<sup>o</sup>uo-d'ək)  
 [29] Chia-li-chia (\*'ka-lyi-ka)  
 [174] Pan-ti (\*'puân-d'i)  
 [141] Mi-ch'ên (\*'myie-zien) [in Lower Burma]  
 [97] K'un-lang (\*'k'uən-lân) [in Lower Burma]  
 [36] Chieh-nu (\*'g'iät-ńzywo)  
 [119] Lo-yü (\*'lâ-yuet) [cf. I-tsing's [155] Mo-lo-yu = Jambi]<sup>45</sup>  
 [64] Fo-tai (\*'b'iuət-d'âi) [cf. I-tsing's [63] Fo-shih = Śrī Vijaya = Palembang]  
 [59] Ch'ü-lun (\*'g'iwo-luən) [I-tsing's [95] K'u-lun]  
 [187] P'o-li (\*'b'uâ-lyi) [Bali? [186] P'o-li of I-tsing]  
 [37] Chieh-t'o (\*'g'iät-d'â)  
 [257] To-kuei (\*'tâ-kywei)  
 [152] Mo-i (\*'muâ-yäi)  
 [203] Shê-wei (\*'sia-jiwäi) = Śrāvasti  
 [11] Chan-p'o (\*'tsiäm-b'uâ) = Champa (or Chamba?)  
 [204] Shê-p'o (\*'zia (or tuo)-b'uâ) = Java.

#### LOWER BURMA ITINERARY (*Hsin-t'ang-shu*)

'After [141] Mi-ch'ên one reaches [97] K'un-lang (\*'k'uən-lân), where there is the [98B] Little K'un-lun tribe. The king is called [136] Mang-hsi-yüeh (\*'mân-siet-jiwat). The customs are the same as those of Mi-ch'ên. After K'un-lang one reaches [126] Lu-yü (\*'luk-jiu), where there is the kingdom of the [98A] Great K'un-lun king. The king's name is [216] Ssü-li-po-p'o-nan-to-shan-na [Śrī Bhavānantasena?]. The river-plain is larger than at Mi-ch'ên. From the abode of the Little king of K'un-lun, half a day's journey brings one to [154] Mo-ti-p'o (\*'muâ-d'i-buət) stockade. Going by sea, after five months one reaches [64] Fo-tai [Śrī Vijaya?]. . . . Cross the sea, and you reach [204] Shê-p'o [Java].'

*Comment:* Mi-ch'ên appears to have been the chief Mon kingdom near the coast of the Gulf of Martaban. Fan Ch'o, who had never been nearer Burma than Yünnan Fu, begins his final chapter (transl. p. 90) with a short section on 'Mi-no and Mi-ch'ên kingdoms'. Mi-no is his name for the

Chindwin river (transl. p. 20), which he mistakenly says 'flows due east past Mi-ch'ên kingdom, and to the south enters the sea'. For reasons stated in the next chapter, I think Mi-no kingdom should be returned to the Chindwin; and that Mi-ch'ên may possibly be located near the old mouth of the Pegu River, some 20 miles NE of Pegu, where remarkable terracotta medallions with Kadamba numeral markings have been excavated. Fan Ch'o says (transl. p. 61) that from [285] Wei-yüan city (in S. Yünnan, E. of the Mekhong) 'the water-route descending to Mi-ch'ên kingdom is 30 stages.' I suppose this was down the Salween. According to the [239] *T'ang-hui-yao* of [279] Wang P'u (AD 961; ch. 100), in AD 804-5 the Emperor confirmed [117] Lo-tao-wu-li (\*lak or ɲok-d'âu miuet-liei) as hereditary king of Mi-ch'ên kingdom. Fan Ch'o says that in AD 835 Nan-chao destroyed Mi-ch'ên; but Wang P'u says that in AD 862 it sent envoys to China. 'West of P'iao' he says (ch. 33) 'there is the separate kingdom of Mi-ch'ên. Their music and dancing are similar. They especially cultivate this talent for music.'

It seems likely enough that the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* itinerary ended, so far as Burma was concerned, at Martaban (Old Burm. *Muttama*, AD 1326), from which one sailed to Palembang and Java. In between Kyôntu and Martaban there are many old (pre-Pagán) sites,<sup>46</sup> with remains native, Brahmanic, and Buddhist: Old Pegu (east of the Hamśa ridge);<sup>47</sup> Mt. Kelāsa (Suvanṇabhūmi);<sup>48</sup> Zôkthôk (Juk-sok),<sup>49</sup> with its laterite pagoda (Kyaik Kalôk-dak) and carvings, its long carved laterite wall ('Hsindat Myindat'), and Muthin fortress at the mouth of the Bilin River; Thatôn (formerly Rakṣapura);<sup>50</sup> Kawgun Cave,<sup>51</sup> etc. In these parts the coastline has changed greatly over the centuries, the land gaining on the sea.<sup>52</sup> But it is not easy to reconcile details with the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* itinerary.

## TWELVE P'IAO SONGS

On their way to the capital, the P'iao embassy passed through [26] Ch'êng-tu, the capital of Ssüch'uan. The governor, [283] Wei Kao, took note of their songs, and considering their dances and musical instruments to be of unusual interest, made pictures of them to send to Court. The twelve songs were all on Buddhist themes. Their P'iao titles are given phonetically in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, with their meaning in Chinese. But 'they have come to us through five interpreters', without official checking:

1. 'Buddha's Seal', *P'iao* [157] *mo-t'o-mi* (\*muæt-d'â myie)
2. 'Praise of the Sāla flower', *P'iao* [129] *lung-mang-ti* (\*lywoŋ-maŋ-d'iei)
3. 'The White Lark' (or 'Wagtail'), *P'iao* [230] *ta-tu-mei* (\*tâp-tuo-mywi)

4. 'The White Crane's rambles', P'iao [219] *su-man-ti-li* (\*suo-muân-tiei-lyi)
5. 'The Fighting Goat's Victory'/'Victorious Power', P'iao [102] *lai-nai* (\*lâi-nâi)
6. 'Dragon-head single Lute', P'iao [147] *mi-ssü-mi* (\*myie-si-myie)
7. 'Peace of Dhyāna', P'iao [22] *ch'é-lan* (\*ts'iai-lâm)
8. 'Sweet Sugarcane King', P'iao [168] *o-ssü-lüeh* (\*'ât-si-liak)
9. 'Peacock King', P'iao [244] *t'ao-t'ai* (\*d'âu-d'âi)
10. 'The Wild Goose' [P'iao name not given]
11. 'Banquet Music', P'iao [130] *lung-ts'ung-kang-mo* (\*luŋ-ts'uŋ-kâŋ-muâ)
12. 'Cleansing annoyance'/'Reed-organ dance', P'iao [80] *hu-na* (\*yuo-nâ)

In view of the consonantal endings suggested by several of these titles, I wonder whether some, at least, of these songs were Old Mon rather than Tircul. The musicians, we know, wore 'K'un-lun' dress. Perhaps they were Mon, not Pyu.

As for Wei Kao's detailed description of P'iao (and K'un-lun?) musical instruments, this is, I venture to think, a worthy subject for study by an expert, not only in Chinese, but in the history of music.

#### *Recent excavations at Halin*

U Aung Thaw, Director of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, and his Assistant Director U Myint Aung—well-experienced and careful archaeologists—have recently, for at least three years, been conducting excavation at Halin: see *Archaeological Reports* (in Burmese, but with many illustrations) for 1963, 1964, and 1965 (I have not had access to any later ones). On p. 61 (1963 Report) and p. 45 (1964 Report) are plans of the roughly quadrangular walls of the city, and on p. 11 (1964 Report) attention is drawn to the thickness of its foundations: 29½ ft. thick, as compared with Mandalay's 10 ft.: and to the size of the enclosed area: 2 miles long, 1 mile 2 furlongs broad, as compared with the Kôkkôgwa old city 1 mile 6 furlongs square, and Mandalay 1 mile 2 furlongs square. On p. 14 of the 1965 Report the Director notes that he has as yet found no evidence of glazed brick in Halin city-wall: a few signs of burning, blades of dachs, spears and arrowheads, but not as much as one would expect in a city sacked by enemies. Altogether, he admits some doubt as to whether the P'iao capital of the T'ang histories and the *Man-shu* is Halin; but suspends judgement, pending further excavations.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Emil Forchhammer, *Report on the Administration of British Burma*, Part ii (1882-3), 155; (1883-4), 94-5; (1884-5), 70.

<sup>2</sup> Maunggan plates. Tun Nyein, 'Maunggun Gold Plates', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. v

(1898-99), no. 11, 101-2; *ASI* 1907-8, 41; 1909-10, 115; U Tha Myat, *Pyu Reader* (Rangoon, 1963), 44-6.

<sup>3</sup> L. de Beylié, *Prome et Samara* (Paris, Leroux, 1907); *L'Architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient* (Paris, Leroux, 1907).

<sup>4</sup> Louis Finot, 'Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme birman', *Journal Asiatique*, 10th series, xx (July-Aug. 1912), 121-36; 'Le plus ancien témoignage sur l'existence du Canon Pāli en Birmanie', *ibid.* 11th series (July-Aug. 1913), 193-5. Cf. U Tha Myat, *Pyu Reader*, 35-6.

<sup>5</sup> Henri Marchal, *L'Architecture comparée dans l'Inde et l'Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1944), 91-117; 'Notes sur la Birmanie', *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*, xxv, 2 (1950), 3-11.

<sup>6</sup> Henri Parmentier, *L'Art architectural hindou dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient* (Paris, Van Oest, 1948), 132-49.

<sup>7</sup> Khin Ba Gôn trope, Charles Duroiselle, *ASI* 1926-7, 171-83, and Pls. XXXVII(c), XXXVIII(c, d), XL, XLI, XLII.

<sup>8</sup> Gold leaf manuscript: Duroiselle, *ASI* 1926-7, 179-80, 200-1, and Pl. XLII(g, h); Lu Pe Win, *ASB* 1939, 12-22, and Pls. IV(c), V, VI. For other Pali fragments on gold plate, see Duroiselle, *ASI* 1929, 107-9 and Plate LIa.

<sup>9</sup> Numeral symbols. For numeral symbols on bricks, see *ASB* 1924, Pl. III and pp. 26, 29. For U Mya's tracings, both of Tircul numeral symbols and of many alphabets from Aśoka onwards, see large chart in pocket of *ASB* 1958. These and other charts have been issued in a separate publication by the Burma Archaeological Department (Rangoon, 1961).

<sup>10</sup> Śrī Kṣetra silver coins. For specimens of the 45 coins found at Khin Ba Gôn, see *ASI* 1926-7, Pl. XLII(e, f) and p. 179. See also *ASI* 1910-11, 90; 1911-12, 36, 144; 1915, 26; 1934-5, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Halingyi silver coins: Arch. Dept. Negatives 3154, 3155 (1929-30); 3701, 3702 (1933-4); Duroiselle, *ASI* 1929-30, pp. 153-4; U Mya, *ASI* 1930-4, Part 2, 331-5 and Pl. CLIV(d); *ASB* 1905, 35; 1915, 27; 1926, 31, 57. The *Hsin-t'ang-shu* says: 'Their money is of gold and silver, shaped like the half moon, and called [246] *têng-ch'ieh-t'o'*—a term probably derived from the Sanskrit silver *ṭaṅka*, the usual word for silver or money in Sak, Chin, and Mru. I do not know of any gold coins hitherto found in Burma.

<sup>12</sup> Early coins of kings of Arakan. E. H. Johnston, *BSOAS* vol. xi, part 2 (1944), Pl. V and 383-5.

<sup>13</sup> Rājakumār's inscription; Mon faces: *JRAS* 1909, 1017-52; 1910, 799-812. See also *Epigraphia Birmanica* i, part i, 53-8.

<sup>14</sup> Burmese and Pali faces: Duroiselle, *Epigraphia Birmanica* i, part i 1-52.

<sup>15</sup> Tircul faces: *JRAS* 1911, 365-87. See also *Epig. Birm.* i, part i 59-68; Thiri-pyanchi U Tha Myat *Mraceti Pyū kyokcā* (Rangoon, 1958).

<sup>16</sup> Finot, who saw at once that the script was South Indian, compared it with alphabets shown in Bühler's *Paleographie*, and found it nearest to Old Kanara-Telugu, especially to Kadamba script (*Journal Asiatique* (July-Aug. 1912), p. 132). Note that Duroiselle, on the upper rim of terracotta medallions he excavated at Kyōntu, Waw, NE of Pegu, twice noticed 'numerical signs—used as mason's marks—of the Telugu-Kanara alphabet, closely resembling the Kadamba type' (*ASB* 1937-8, 11; *ASI* 1936-7, 80).

<sup>17</sup> 'Buddha's Seal'. Pyu pronunciation: [157] *mo-t'o-mi* (\*muat-da-mye). See *Hsin t'ang-shu* ch. 222c, section on *P'iao* (towards the end).

<sup>18</sup> See *Man-shu* (transl. pp. 70-71)

<sup>19</sup> *JBRs* xxix, 3 (1939), 267, and 277-8 n. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Urn inscriptions: C. O. Blagden, 'The Pyu inscriptions', *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xii, no. 16, 127-32. Reprinted in *JBRs* vii, 1 (Apr. 1917), 37-44. For other plates compare *IB* Portfolio IV, Pl. 354(a, b, c, d).

<sup>21</sup> See, however, Robert Shafer 'Further Analysis of the Pyu Inscriptions' (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vii, 4 (Sept. 1943), 313-66; and U Tha Myat's Burmese booklets mentioned in notes above, which are finely illustrated and valuable on the epigraphic side.

<sup>22</sup> *IB* Pl. IV 356a. Arch. Dept phot. 3025-34 *ASI* 1927-8, 128, 145 and Pl. LIV(g, h). U Tha Myat, *Pyu Reader*, 41-3 with tentative readings.

<sup>23</sup> Blagden's 'D2': *IB* Pl. IV 355a; Arch. Dept. phot. 1168, 1169 (1912-13); *ASB* 1913, 14 and 41 (App. G, No. 2) and Pl. I; *ASI* 1912-13, part i, 29. Blagden transcribed this inscription, but never published his readings. U Tha Myat (op. cit. 49) also shows the plate.

<sup>24</sup> *IB* Pl. V 570b; *ASB* 1913, 14-15. Tentative reading: *bā: va bā: me: t̄a: s̄a: to t̄a: ta b̄a: hi* [*bā:* is honorific; *hi* = to die]. Arch. Dept. phot. 1174-6.

<sup>25</sup> *IB* Pl. V 569; Arch. Dept. phot. 3766. *ASI* 1934-5, 45-6 and Pl. XXII(a).

<sup>26</sup> *ASB* 1964, 59 and Pl. 25. Arch. Dept. phot. 67/01297(a) of 1963-4. Yearly Burma reports (in Burmese) for 1960, 1963, 1964, and 1965, have many illustrations of recent work, both at Śrī Kṣetra and Halin. *ASB* 1964, 45, Pl. 1 gives an up-to-date plan of Halin city and neighbourhood.

<sup>27</sup> *IB* Pl. IV 357a. Arch. Dept. phot. 2299. *ASI* 1929-30, 152 and Pl. XLI(e). *ASB* 1904-5, pp. 8-10, 35 and 'Plan of Halengyi'. Tentative translation: 'These are the bones of the Honourable Rū-ba deceased, son of the Honourable Ḷa-wi: ni' mli, grandson of Nga-kno.' Cf. U Tha Myat, *Pyu Reader*, 21.

<sup>28</sup> *IB* Pl. IV 357b. Arch. Dept. phot. 3148, 3149. *ASI* 1929-30, 152-3, 182 and Pl. XLI(a). Cf. U Tha Myat, *Pyu Reader*, 22.

<sup>29</sup> *ASI* 1930-4, part I, pp. 246-7. Measures 13 in. × 10 in. × 3 in.

<sup>30</sup> *ASI* 1926-7, 164 and Pl. XXXIX(b, e). Arch. Dept. phot. 2732, 2733. U Mya. *Votive Tablets of Burma*, part i, Pls. 29, 30 and pp. 23-4. *Old Burma—Early Pagan*, vols. ii, iii, Pl. 34; i, 99-100. For U Tha Myat's reading and interpretation, see *Pyu Reader*, 77.

<sup>31</sup> *Man-shu*, transl. p. 91. [21] Chê-tung.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 34-5, 41, 98-9.

<sup>33</sup> *Yüan-shih*, ch. 61. See *J. Siam Soc.* xlvi, 2 (Aug. 1958), 128, and 176 n. 29. [183] P'iao-tien. [182] P'iao-shan. [184B] P'ing-mien Road.

<sup>34</sup> Nātoṃyā's inscription: *IB*, Pl. I 31<sup>7</sup>, 569<sup>5</sup>/AD 1207. From Khemavana pagoda (?). Now Stone 50 at Pagán Museum.

<sup>35</sup> *Pyū moṃma*: *IB* Pl. II 144<sup>23</sup>, 604<sup>5</sup>/AD 1242. From Éng-ya-gyaung (Ngā-myet-hna) pagoda, Pagán. Now Stone 35 at Pagán Museum. The *moṃma*'s name was Ui' Thak Plaṅ ('Full up').

<sup>36</sup> *Pyū thaṅ saṅ*: *IB* Pl. IV 393<sup>3</sup>, 663<sup>5</sup>/AD 1301. Stone II in West Pwazaw inscription-shed. Two lines above, at the beginning of the face, there is mention of 'Pyu toddy-palms'.

<sup>37</sup> *List* 767 a<sup>32-7</sup>, b<sup>5</sup>. Ava, Nan-ya-kyi or Ya-kyi monastery, SE corner, largest stone. Date 731<sup>5</sup>/AD 1369.

<sup>38</sup> Pagán Museum, Stone 3: *IB* Pl. V 555 (Tircul face, East), 556 (Chinese face, West). For references, see Index of Plates.

<sup>39</sup> Chen Yi-sein, 'The Chinese Inscription at Pagán', *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission*, vol. i, part ii, 153-7.

<sup>40</sup> Chen Yi-sein makes a number of references to my article 'The Early *Syām* in Burma's History', *J. Siam Soc.* xlvi, 2 (Aug. 1958), 123-214, and Supplement *ibid.* xlvi, 1 (June 1959), 59-101, which he himself had carefully checked before publication (see my acknowledgement on p. 214 of the main article). The biography of Ch'ieh-lie is translated on pp. 73-6 of the Supplement. For the surprising mention of '[181] P'iao kingdom' for Pagán (?), and my comment, see n. 455, [38] Ch'ieh-lieh.

<sup>41</sup> See *IB* Pl. III 285<sup>1, 2</sup>. Myinzaing Kalágyaung inscription of *Siṃhasūra maṅkri* dated Sat., seventh waning of Nadaw, 658<sup>5</sup> (Sat., 17 Nov. 1296).

<sup>42</sup> Bodhgaya inscription: *IB*, Pl. III 299, 660<sup>5</sup>/AD 1298. See ll. 9-10. There is no doubt whatever about the reading *Putasin maṅ*; and the reading of date 660<sup>5</sup> in l. 12 is also sure. For early readings, see *J. Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii, May 1834, 214-15; Col. H. Burnay, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, part i (Calcutta, 1836), 161-89; Alexander Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 75-7, etc.

<sup>43</sup> *JBRS* xxvii, 3 (1937), 239-53. Reprinted in *BRS Fiftieth Anniversary Publications* ii (Rangoon, 1960), 307-21.

<sup>44</sup> *var lect.* [185] Po-lo-po-t'i. See *JBRS* xiv, 2 (Aug. 1924), 178, n. 5.

<sup>45</sup> For I-tsing's list of countries in SE Asia of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school of Buddhism, see *JBRS* xiv, 2 (Aug. 1924), 203-4, based on Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 8-13. But the Lo-yü of the P'iao list might alternatively be Chia Tan's [120] Lo-yüeh

(\*la-ywāt), approximately Johore (see *JBRS* loc. cit., 185-7). For [187] P'o-li (= Bali?), see *ibid.* 175.

<sup>46</sup> Old sites: see F. O. Oertel, *Note on a Tour in Burma in March and April, 1892* (Rangoon, 1893); Taw Sein Ko, 'Notes on an Archaeological Tour through Rāmaññadesa', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxi (1892), 377-86; R. C. Temple, 'Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa', *ibid.*, vol. xxii (1893), 327-66; Emil Forchhammer, *Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst Shwegyin and Pegu Districts* (Rangoon, 1892).

<sup>47</sup> J. A. Stewart, 'Excavation and Exploration in Pegu' (*JBRS* vii, 1 (April, 1917), 13-25 and Pls. I-VII).

<sup>48</sup> Mt. Kelāsa (Suvaññabhūmi): *Epigraphia Birmanica* iii, part ii, pp. 185-7.

<sup>49</sup> Zōkthōk (Juk-sok): U Mya. *ASI* 1934-5, 51-4 and Pl. xxi, 1935-6, pp. 30, 152.

<sup>50</sup> Thatōn (*Rakṣapura*)—*IB* Pls. IV 385<sup>4</sup>, 359<sup>1</sup>. U Mya, *ASI* 1930-4, part i, 204; part ii, Pl. CXII(d).

<sup>51</sup> Kawgun Cave—*IB* Pl. IV 355b.

<sup>52</sup> *Burma Gazetteer, Pegu district*, vol. A (Rangoon, 1917), 9; *ASB* 1919, 41, para. 73.