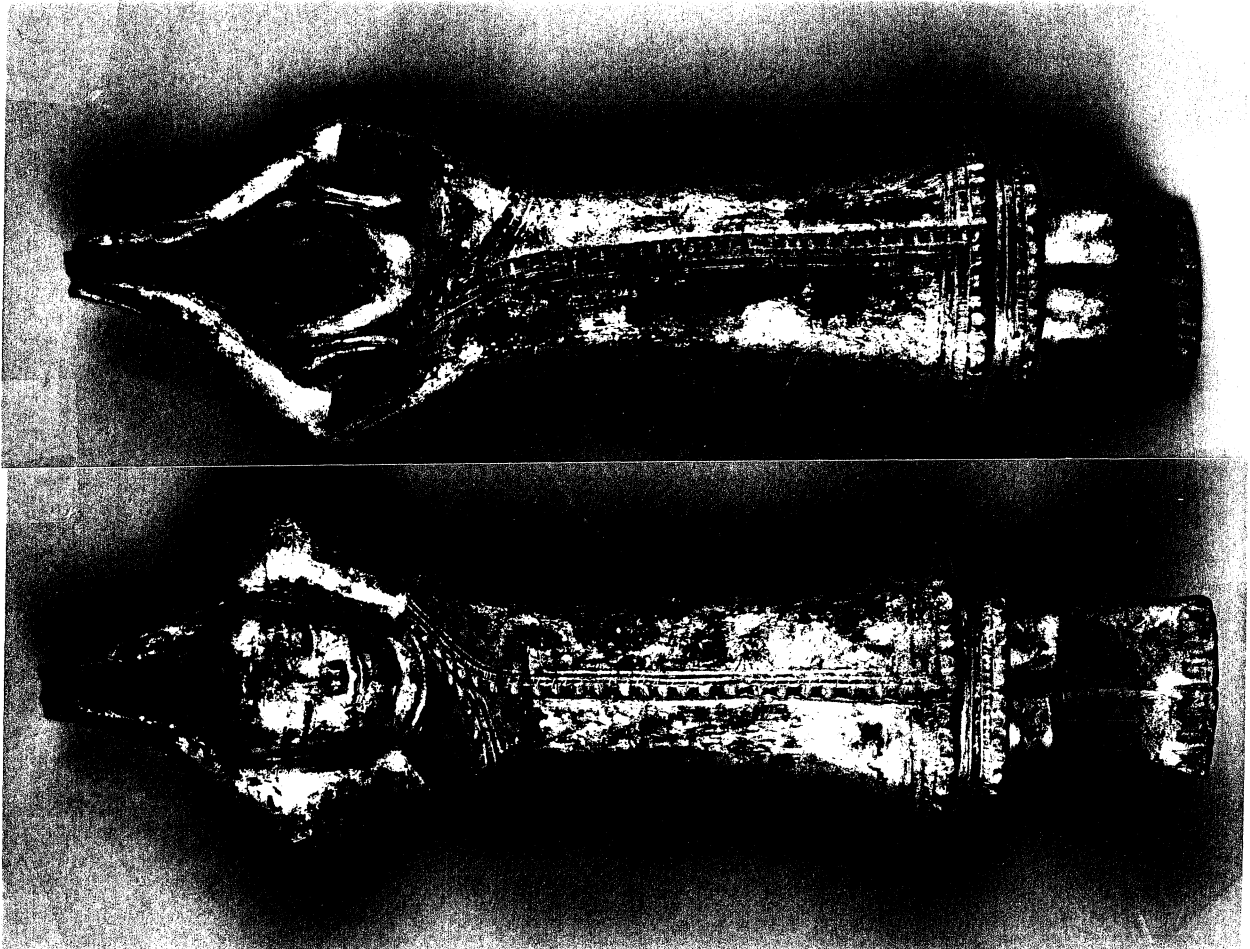


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***BULLETIN OF THE  
BURMA  
STUDIES GROUP***

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**Sumedha: The First Incarnation of Śakyamuni**

***Number 60***

***September 1997***

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## BURMA STUDIES GROUP

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A business meeting of the Burma Studies Group was held on Friday, March 14, 1997, from 9:00-11:00 p.m. at the Sheraton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

F. K. Lehman, President, called the meeting to order. There was no set agenda. Elections were held for positions in which the incumbent's terms were expiring. F. K. Lehman was re-elected as President.

Announcements: The last issue of *Burma Press Summary* was published in December 1996. Subscriptions had fallen to less than 50 and it was too difficult to secure current Working People's Daily to continue publication. The selective news is now available on web sites. No viable solution was found to continue the publication or to place its contents on Internet. Hugh MacDougall was heartily thanked for his long years of selfless effort in selecting, condensing, and reprinting this information so that Burma scholars could be kept abreast of current events in Burma.

Richard Cooler reminded the group that the next Burma Studies Colloquium would be held at Northern Illinois University on October 2-4, 1998, and that it was not too early to begin thinking about topics and panels. A program committee was elected: Mary Callahan (chair), Sun Lai Chen, Michael Charney. An announce-ment of the Conference and a Call for Papers will be sent out as soon as possible. (Richard Cooler, ex officio)

It was announced that the various aspects of our up-coming Conference were discussed. Southeast Asia Council is going to set up a web page, as an information clearing house. Michael Aung-Thwin requested the scholars present to briefly discuss their present research interests. Long discussions ensued. The meeting was adjourned at 10:30 p.m.

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## SUMEDHA (SUMATI), THE SPIRITUAL PRECURSOR OF ŚĀKYAMUNI BUDDHA: AN ICONOGRAPHIC TYPE UNIQUE TO BURMA

Richard Cooler

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The hermit Sumedha is depicted by this gilded wooden image on the occasion when he prostrated and spread his long hair before him so that Dipankara, the first of the 28 Buddhas, could tread on his hair and avoid soiling his feet. Dipankara noticed Sumedha and halted his journey to prophecy that in a future life Sumedha would be reborn as Gautama Buddha.

This image was recently donated to the Burma Collection in honor of Konrad Bekker by Dr. Sarah Bekker, a member of the Board of Directors of the Burma Studies Foundation and a major benefactor of the Burma Collection.

I would like to thank Dr. Bekker on behalf of the Center for Burma Studies and Burma scholars generally for this lovely and unusual image.

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## FOREIGN RELATIONS OF BURMA IN THE PYU PERIOD

By Chen Yi-Sein  
Tr. by Anonymous

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[This manuscript was found among the Bennett's pamphlet files, donated to the Burma Studies Foundation. The files are housed at the Southeast Asia Collection, Founders Memorial Library at Northern Illinois University. It is the only article that has ever been translated from Burmese into English. The original article in Burmese was first appeared in *Researches in Burmese History* 4 (1979): 1-39.]

A good deal has been written about the Pyu. However, not much is to be found in these writings about Pyu foreign relations and neighboring countries, except for the reception of Indian culture and the establishment of relations with China and dispatch there of an embassy including musicians and dancers in the 9th century A.D. Contemporary sources referring to Pyu foreign relations are very scanty, and to the extent that they exist are mainly Chinese records. However, these Chinese records have not yet been fully exploited (with respect to Pyu foreign relations).

This article is intended to describe the foreign relations of Burma during the Pyu period. It contains numerous matters not discussed by earlier writers on the Pyu. I must acknowledge that these matters are not fully discussed herein; in future they will be dealt with in more detail and the present article revised.

### Neighbors of the Pyu

Before dealing with the foreign relations of the Pyu kingdom, or rather of Burma during the Pyu period, it is necessary to explain from Chinese records the origins of the Pyu kingdom. The earliest source is the Ch'iu T'ang Shu compiled in 946 A.D.

*The Pyu kingdom is more than 2,000 li south of the former Yung-ch'ang commandery (1). It is 14,000 li from the (T'ang) capital (at Ch'ang-an). This country is 3,000 li from east to west and 3,500 from north to south. It is bordered on the east by Chen-la and on the west by eastern India. The ocean is on the south, and on the north it adjoins So-lo city of Nan-chao. Yang-ch'ü-mieh (2) lies 6,800 li to the northeast (3).*

The T'ang Hui Yao, compiled in 961, says: (Text same as CTS with addition of following:)

*It exchanges embassies with Chia-lo-p'o-t'i (4) and some twenty other countries (5).*

The Hsin T'ang Shu, completed in 1060, states: (Text same as CTS with addition of following:)

*To-ho-lo is to the southwest (of the Pyu kingdom) (6).*

Neither Asian nor Western scholars have been able to explain the term "Chen-la" used in the foregoing contemporary sources. I have showed elsewhere (7) that the word comes from a Thai expression meaning "submerged region." Chen-la is the present-day Cambodia. The Thai peoples of south China called Cambodia Chiang Lap, or "the submerged region," whence the Chinese Chen-la (8). At that time the Khmers occupied a considerably wider area than

today, and the Khmer and Pyu kingdoms were adjacent to one another, as explained below.

It appears from the Chinese sources that, beginning in the latter part of the 6th century A.D., Chen-la was divided into a northern region called Land Chan-la and a southern region called Water Chen-la. The Chinese term To-ho-lo is a transliteration of Dvāra; one passage of the Ch'iu T'ang Shu calls this country To-lo-po-ti (Dvāravatī) (9).

From the 6th to the 9th century A.D. the Pyu and Khmer kingdoms were neighbors with Dvāravatī lying between, southeast of the Pyu kingdom. It might be thought that the Hsin T'ang Shu reference to a kingdom of To-ho-lo (Dvāra = Dvāravatī) lying southwest of the Pyu kingdom is to the region of Dvāravatī in the area of Sandoway, but the scholars have accepted it as meaning the kingdom of Dvāravatī in the Menam valley. "Southwest" in the Chinese source should therefore be corrected to read "southeast" (10). In the middle of the 8th century A.D. the power of Nan-chao expanded westward across the Salween River to the Irrawaddy and on to the Kamarupa (ancient Assam). Therefore the Hsin T'ang Shu speaks of the Pyu kingdom as bordered on the north by Nan-chao. The western neighbor of the Pyu was eastern India. On the south the Pyu kingdom was bordered by the city-states of the Malay peninsula and by the ocean, and communicated with them by water.

We shall now explain the earliest relations between the Pyu and Khmer kingdoms.

### **The Expansion of Fu-nan (Ancient Cambodia)**

The Chinese knew ancient Cambodia as Fu-nan (11). Scholars believe Fu-nan was established in the 1st century A.D. in the

lower Mekong valley. Before the 3rd century, the Annamese, now called Vietnamese, established the kingdom of Nam Viet in Northern Viet-Nam and Kuantung province of south China; the Annamese and the neighboring Khmer and Mons were already living in Southeast Asia before the beginning of the Christian era. The expansion of the Khmer at the beginning of the 3rd century from the original Fu-nan in the lower Mekong valley is of interest. Like other Southeast Asian countries, Fu-nan was influenced by Indian civilization.

According to the Liang Shu, King Hun P'an-huang of Fu-nan died at the age of 90 and was succeeded by his second son P'an-p'an. After his accession, P'an-p'an delegated the administration of the kingdom to his general Fan Man (12). Modern historians of Southeast Asia have dated Hun P'an-huang's reign to the second half of the 2nd century A.D. Beginning some 60-70 years ago, historians believed the name Fan was a transliteration of the Sanskrit "varman," but more recently it has been held to be an indigenous name (13). A majority of scholars, however, still take Fan to be "varman." After P'an-p'an had ruled for three years, he died and the people of the country chose Fan Man as their king, according to the Liang Shu (14). The Nan Ch'i Shu calls Fan Man Fan Shih-man (15). Professor Coedes has stated that Fan Man or Fan Shih-man was called Śri Mara, on the basis of an inscription of modern Vo-can, near Nha-trang. Linguistically, Chinese "shih" is equivalent to Sanskrit "Śri" (Burmese "Thiri"), and Chinese "man" to "Mara." There are also scholars who reject Professor Coedes' view as well as some who support it (16). Scholars have calculated that Fan Man's reign was from A.D. 205 to 225.

Fan Man was a great strategist and general who subdued many neighboring

countries. As a result of this expansion of Fu-nan he took the title "Great Ruler of Fu-nan" (17). His earlier conquests were on land, but subsequently his routes of expansion were also by sea. His land conquests included the Pyu kingdom of Peikthanomyo, a subject which will be discussed below.

Wishing to continue the expansion of Fu-nan by sea, Fan Man caused ships to be built, and subjugated some ten maritime kingdoms including Ch'u-tu-k'un, Chiu-ya or Chiu-li, and Tun-sun (18). Thereafter, the geographical extent of Fu-nan was at its greatest and its power most formidable. (Fan Man) then attacked Chin-lin ("Frontier of Gold"), but, falling ill, placed his army under the command of his son Chin Sheng (= Suvarnajiva). Shortly thereafter Suvarnajiva was overthrown in a palace coup (19).

The names of some of the ten kingdoms which Fan Man subjugated from the sea can be determined. Over the last 70 years, some historians have speculated that Tun-sun should be equated with Tenasserim. They have not, however, determined what language the Chinese name Tun-sun is transliterated from. In 1963 the Mon language expert Professor Shorto suggested that Tun-sun is a transliteration of the Mon words Duñ Sun or Sun Duñ (20). The Chinese sources indicate that Tun-sun was ruled by five kings, was subject to Fu-nan, and was an important trade and commercial center with trade routes running both east and west (21). Shorto pointed out that the mention of five kings corresponds to the Mon words Dun Sun ("five-townships"). I agree with Shorto's view. Tun-sun should be localized not merely in Tenasserim, but at the Kra isthmus, at Takuapa. Takuapa appears as Ta-kwa in the first part of a Pagan period inscription of 1196 A.D. of the eastern cave-temple at the Dhammarazika pagoda at Pwasaw village

west (sic) of Pagan (22). Thus it will not be incorrect to look for the remainder of Fan Man's conquest in Tenasserim and the northern part of the Malay peninsula. It also appears that by the time of the appearance of Tun-sun kingdom in the early 3rd century A.D. the Mons had spread to the northern part of the Malay peninsula.

They did not come by sea from the Menam valley, but rather moved southward (by land) after expanding from the lower Menam valley to the lower Sittang valley farther west. We may conclude that by the early 3rd century when there were Mons in the northern part of the Malay peninsula they also occupied the lower Sittang valley. As earlier scholars have concluded, the kingdom of Dvāravatī, known to the Chinese in the 7th century, was inhabited by the Mons; they had not suddenly appeared there but had lived in the area for centuries. While Fan Man was subduing neighboring states, and before his sea-borne attack on the northern part of the Malay peninsula, the Mons in the lower Menam valley were conquering nearby states and incorporating them into Fu-nan. The ancient Chinese knew the Gulf of Thailand as the Bay of Chin-lin, and the name (23) Chin-lin ("Frontier of Gold") for the land at the head of the Gulf of Thailand implies that there was a land route from it to the lower Sittang valley. Scholars are agreed that the name Chin-lin in Chinese sources may be identified with the Sanskrit Suvarṇakudya and the Pali Suvañṇabhūmi (24). It will not be wrong to consider Chin-lin or Suvañṇabhūmi as inhabited by Mons.

Why did Fan Man invade the northern part of the Malay peninsula? His objective may well have been to secure control of the trade route between Rome and China, and by seizing Tun-sun (Duñ Sun) especially to

secure the trade route between south China and the Malay peninsula.

### **Peikthano and Fu-nan**

The Khmer king Fan Man seems to have sought to expand the power of Fu-nan in three stages, as follows:

- (1) Seize control of neighboring countries accessible by land.
- (2) After constructing a fleet, cross the Gulf and occupy the city-states in Tenasserim and the northern part of Malay peninsula.
- (3) From the Gulf of Thailand, attack the mouth of the Sittang River.

The second and third steps in this program have been discussed above; the first remains to be dealt with. The Vo-Canh inscription constitutes evidence that Fan Man invaded Champa and extended his control over modern South Viet-Nam as far as Nha-throng. To the west, he also invaded and annexed the state of Dvāravatī which had emerged in the lower Menam valley, before continuing his expansion northward along the Menam.

Before being able to gain complete control of the Menam valley (i.e. of modern Thailand), Fan Man did not have to move against the northern part of the Malay peninsula, which he planned to do by sea.

After securing the Menam valley, Funan's western border lay very near the Pyu country. Until the 11th century A.D. most of modern Thailand remained under Khmer control. Thus contemporary Chinese sources always refer to the Khmer country as bordering the Pyu on the east.

After expanding into the Menam valley, the Khmers in ancient times established a trade route reaching the Pyu country. In Burma, coins of the type usually called Pyu have been found not only at Peikthanomyo,

Halin, and Śriksetra, but also in the Shan and Kayah States (25), Thailand (26), and the Khmer country (27). Some scholars have stated that for three or four hundred years the Khmers minted the type of coins found especially at the ancient port and city of Oc-éo in Cambodia (sic), which are the same as those found at Peikthanomyo (28). Such coins have not been found in India or the Malay peninsula, but only in Burma, Thailand, and the Khmer country, which in my view indicates that there were close trade links between the ancient neighbouring kingdoms of the Pyu and the Khmers. A map of the find-spots of such coins would indicate how the trade routes ran. We can ascertain from Chinese sources that such routes remained in use up to the beginning of the Ava period (29). From Burmese references it appears that the boundary ran somewhere between modern Toungoo and Chiang Mai (30); it is also referred to in a Pagan inscription and a Chiang Mai historical source (31). At the end of the Pagan period it was by this route that the family of the well-known three brothers of Myinzaing entered and reached the Myinzaing area. This Khmer-Pyu trade route connected with the Sino-Indian trade route at the Pyu capital of Peikthanomyo. We shall further discuss the Sino-Indian trade route.

Peikthanomyo existed from the 1st to the 4th/5th century A.D. The archeological evidence indicates that it was destroyed before being abandoned as the capital (32). Who, during the 1st to 4th/5th centuries, could have invaded and destroyed Peikthanomyo?

The Fu-nan king Fan Man, with his acquisition of the Menam valley, already controlled two-thirds of the Khmer-Pyu trade route. It is likely that he wished to gain control of the remaining third. Only in this way could Fu-nan secure a firm grip on trade

between the Pyu country and Fu-nan. Moreover, Peikthanomyo was the connection to the Sino-Indian trade route; by securing it the Funanese could also control the Sino-Indian and Sino-Roman trade. Being a great strategist and commander, Fan Man well understood the importance of communications and trade. He seems to have wished to secure full control of the land routes and trade passing by way of Peikthanomyo before beginning his career of maritime conquest. Thus the Chinese sources' statement that "Fan Man attacked and subdued all the neighbouring countries" probably includes the Pyu country and Peikthanomyo, its capital. Thus the archeological evidence that Peikthanomyo was destroyed once during the 1st to 4th/5th centuries probably refers to an invasion by the Funanese Empire led by Fan Man. This Funanese invasion may be dated between 205 and 225. The sack of Peikthanomyo at some time between the 1st and the 4th/5th centuries was not due to internal strife among the Pyu.

Peikthanomyo was not the only Pyu population center. They lived also along the Irrawaddy and in Pyinmana and Yamethin districts, but because of its importance as a center for trade routes as well as a political capital the population of Peikthanomyo was greater than that of other areas.

No doubt many people fled from the areas invaded by the enemy to other regions which they believed more secure; some groups ascended the Irrawaddy and others moved down the river.

Today three Pyu cities have been archeologically excavated: Peikthanomyo, Halin, and Śriksetra. Peikthanomyo is the earliest, and the other two are approximately contemporary (32). The culture of all three sites is quite similar, as is the arrangement of the city walls and gates. Peikthanomyo's

enemies did not come from the north or the south, but from the south-east, the direction of the Pyu-Khmer trade route. One group of refugees from Peikthanomyo moved up the Irrawaddy and founded Halin, which is slightly earlier than Śriksetra; a second wave of refugees moved downriver and founded Śriksetra.

### **Lin-yang and Yamethin**

After the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 A.D. China was divided into three kingdoms of Shu, Wei, and Wu. During this period of the Three Kingdoms the northern kingdom of Wei was cut off from the trade routes leading to Western countries, while the southeastern kingdom of Wu was unable to obtain imported goods, especially luxury items, from the West. Only the southwestern kingdom of Shu continued to be supplied with Western goods by means of the trade route through the Pyu country to India. Wu therefore tried to open a maritime trade route to obtain the goods it sought. Four or five years after Fan Man's death, about 231 A.D. (33), an embassy from Wu went to Fu-nan, where it made inquiries about countries having relations with Fu-nan. Upon their return to Wu, the embassy members K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying compiled books incorporating what they had seen, heard, and learned in Fu-nan. Although those books have long since disappeared, quotations and excerpts from them are still to be found in encyclopedias and other writings. From the embassy's reports, the southeastern Chinese learned of a country called Lin-yang to the west (northwest) of Fu-nan. This country was extensive and was inhabited by more than 100,000 households; it was Buddhist by religion (34).

Where was Lin-yang? Professor Luce has suggested both that it was in northern or



central Burma (35) and that it was in central Burma (36), but did not specify an exact location. Saya U Ba Shin has identified it with Peikthanomyo (37). We shall explain why these identifications are inconsistent with the Chinese sources.

The ancient pronunciation of the Chinese characters is Lam-yong, which resembles the word Ramañ (Rmañ) (38). The Chinese heard the Mon country (Ramañ) name in this way.

U Ba Shin's identification of Lin-yang with Peikthanomyo may be accepted. But how did Peikthanomyo come to be known to the Chinese as a country inhabited by Mons?

After the Peikthanomyo area had been evacuated by people fleeing the invasion of Fan Man, Mons from the lower Menam valley may be thought to have entered and settled in the area around Peikthanomyo, either by way of the Khmer-Pyu trade route or by way of the lower Sittang valley. Therefore the Chinese embassy to Fu-nan of 231 heard of this region as a Mon country (Lin-yang). After the Funanese conquest of Chin-lin (Suvannabhumi), a road had been established from Fu-nan to Peikthanomyo. Lin-yang lay to the (north)west of Fu-nan and was distant 2,000 li by road from Chin-lin. It was not accessible by water (i.e. by ocean-going ship), according to a 5th-century Chinese source (39). The road led from the Menam valley to the Sittang valley and then along the Sittang by horse or cart to the Peikthanomyo area.

It must not be supposed that the Peikthanomyo area (Lin-yang or the Ramañ country) had been wholly abandoned by the Pyu. Probably the new Mon settlers were still a minority. But because they controlled an area near Peikthanomyo the Chinese envoys heard of this region in Fu-nan as the Mon (Ramañ) country.

After the latter part of the 5th century A.D., however, the Chinese records do not mention Lin-yang, until it reappears in the 9th century of nine Pyu fortified towns (40). There are two possible reasons for the silence of the Chinese sources after the 5th century about Lin-yang:

- (1) The limited contacts between China and southeast Asia resulting from internal upheavals in China during this period.
- (2) Changes in the situation in the region of Peikthanomyo after the 5th century.

Around the 4th or 5th century the power of the Pyu who had migrated to Śriksetra waxed, and it may be that they moved back up the Irrawaddy to subdue the Mons (Rmañ) in the region around Peikthanomyo. This possibility is suggested by the legend of King Duttabaung's defeat of Princess Pan Htwa of the Pan Htwa country and by the abandonment of Peikthanomyo after the 4th/5th century. The Pyu would seem to have carried off the matriarch of the Mons who had moved to the Peikthanomyo area, Princes Pan Htwa, to Śriksetra, but just as a Pyu who had remained behind under Mon administration had lived peacefully together with the Mons so under the restored Pyu rule the Mons continued to live in peace. It appears that Mons continued to live in this area which came to be called Yamethin (Ramañ-saṅ) down to Ava times; thus the Burmans called Rmañ-saṅ (Mons in association). The early Burmans found Mons in the Yamethin/Peikthanomyo areas when they moved into Burma.

#### **Establishment of Friendly Relations between the Pyu and Chen-la (the Khmers)**

Toward the end of the 6th century A.D. the power of a local chieftain in northern Fu-nan increased and he made himself independent of

Fu-nan. Subsequently Fu-nan itself came under the domination of this principality; thereafter, Fu-nan is referred to in the Chinese records as Chen-la ("the submerged region") (41). The Chinese who were in communication by sea with Chen-la knew the neighboring Pyu country to the west as Chu-chiang kingdom, an abbreviation of T'u-lo-chu-chiang. T'u-lo-chu appears in Kyanzittha's Palace inscription as "Tircul," and in other sources as "Trasūl" or "Dusū" (42). Thus T'u-lo-chu means the Tircul/Trasul or Pyu, and chiang means "river", so T'u-lo-chu-chiang denotes the Tircul or Pyu River, that is to say the Irrawaddy. Chen-la would have known of the Pyu as spread along the Irrawaddy River, and the Chinese would have received information through the people of Chen-la (43). The Sui Shu states:

*There is friendship and, from time to time, royal inter-marriage between Chen-la and Ts'an-pan and Chu-chiang (44):*

The Hsin T'ang Shu says:

*There are constant cordial relations between Chen-la and Ts'an-pan and the Pyu (45).*

These references also make it clear that the Chu-chiang of the Sui shu is the same as the Pyu of the Hsin T'ang Shu. In these passages, Ts'an-pan is a transcription of Chiang Pawn and denotes some locality of Thai (Shan) population (46).

When did this friendship between the Pyu and the people of Chen-la (Khmer) begin? Are there any references to it in sources from Burma?

Since this friendship is mentioned in the Sui Shu, compiled in 643 and covering the period 581-618, it cannot be later than the second half of the 6th century A.D., and might

be dated to the reign of the Khmer (Chen-la) king Bhavavarman I.

The Archaeological Survey of Burma excavated a Dhyana-mudra Buddha image from Wutkhaunggone at Hmawza, on the base of which is an inscription in mixed Sanskrit and Pyu (47). After reading the inscription, the Indian scholar Mr. Dikshit wrote as follows to the Archaeological Survey of Burma:

*The sense of the inscription, as I see it, is to record the erection of this statue (?) by the prince Jayacandravarman. In the first sloka is mentioned the creation in one day of two cities (one of which must be Hmawza) where apparently the venerable Guha or Guhadāpa was preaching, and who was apparently the religious instructor of Jayacandravarman himself. The younger brother of the prince named Harivikrama (who was possibly ruling in the other city) was also associated (in the gift?). There is mention of the increase of the feeling of mutual love probably between the two brothers (and the two cities) under the influence of the teacher. Verse 5 expresses the sentiment that the decendants, relations, etc., will not quarrel. . . In the last verse the hope is expressed that the friendship between the two cities will continue to the end of the world, and the dear younger brother with his sons and descendants etc. is also referred to (48).*

The reference in this inscription to Harivikrama as the "younger brother" and Jayacandravarman as the "elder brother" need not denote kinship, and may reflect the usage of words to denote friendly relations. The inscription appears to reflect the dedication of the image, not by Jayacandravarman in person, but by Guhadāpa as his representative and Harivikrama.

A Vikrama dynasty of Pyu kings ruled in Śriksetra and other localities, and is known from four inscriptions on burial jars, as follows:

1. A relative of Sūriyavikrama died in 35s. (A.D. 673).

2. Sūriyavikrama himself died at the age of 64 in the 5th month of 50s. (A.D. 688).
3. Harivikrama died at the age of 41 years, 7 months, and 9 days in the 2nd month of 57s. (A.D. 695).
4. Sihavikrama died at the age of 44 years, 9 months, and 20 days in the 2nd month of 80s. (A.D. 718). (49).

The Harivikrama of the third inscription may be identified with the Harivikrama of the Buddha-image dedication, who died in 695. Varman dynasties are found in Cambodia, Champa, and Java, etc. We believed the Jayacandravarman of the inscription is to be identified with the Khmer (Chen-la) king Jayavarman I, who in the interests of maintaining and continuing Khmer-Pyu friendship sent Guhadipa to Śriksetra to dedicate a Buddha-image.

Although Jayavarman I's regnal dates are not known, it is known that he was still on the throne between 657 and 681 (50). Professor Coedès calculates that he ascended the throne between 657 and 681 (51). Thus he was contemporary with the Pyu king Harivikrama.

Under Jayavarman I the Khmer empire ruled from the Gulf of Thailand in modern Thailand to Bassac on the Mekong River. Khmer power in the mid-7th century under Bhavavarman II and the later 7th century under Jayavarman I was approximately the same as that of Fu-nan earlier, so the Khmer and the Pyu were neighbors. Thus Khmer-Pyu friendship began in the second half of the 6th century A.D. and continued until the fall of Śriksetra in 832.

### **Pyu Relations with India**

Relations between the Pyu and India flourished because of land and maritime trade.

Under Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (B.C. 246-210) two roads were established from Szechwan province to the kingdom of Tien in eastern Yünnan. However, both fell into disuse after Shih Huang Ti's death. Benefiting trade and commerce, these roads, connected with the highway passing through the Pyu country to India, and thus were links in the trade route between China and the Roman Empire.

At the beginning of the Han, few people in China knew about these routes, but merchants in Szechwan continued to trade with India by way of the Pyu country (52). Under Emperor Wu (B.C. 149-87), the envoy to Bactria, Chang Ch'ien, reported the existence of the trade route from Szechwan to India, and the Emperor was much interested. He attempted to reopen it as a route for trade with Bactria. However, the ethnic groups of western Yünnan, while permitting some trade to pass through their territory, resisted the spread of Chinese influence into it, so that Emperor Wu's efforts were a failure (53).

Under the Eastern Han Chinese authority spread to western Yünnan, and in A.D. 79 Yung-ch'ang commandery (modern Pao-shan) was established and controlled the trade (54). A Roman tributary state called Shan (modern Syria) sent a trade mission in A.D. 97 and another in 121 which followed the Sino-Indian trade route to Yung-ch'ang and on to the Chinese capital (55).

At the same time that the land route was opened a maritime route also existed. Under Emperor Wu, Chinese trade missions sailed from Canton via North Viet-Nam to the kingdoms of Tu-yüan, I-lu-mo, Shen-li, and from Shen-li by land reached the kingdom of Fu-kan-tu-lu (56). They then travelled again by sea to Huang-chih kingdom (57). The exact locations of Tu-yüan and Shen-li are not known, but the French scholar Ferrand

identified Huang-chih with Kañcī (Kañcīpura) in southern India. Some scholars, however, doubt that the name Kañcī was in use in the 2nd century B.C. Ferrand also suggested that Fu-kan-tu-lu might be identified with the later Pagan (58). The land journey from Shen-li to Fu-kan-tu-lu was only ten days, which suggests that it might represent the portage across the northern part of the Malay peninsula. Today the portage at the Kra Isthmus does not require ten days, but in former times, because of the jungles, it may have done so. Thus Fu-kan-tu-lu cannot be Pagan or any place in central Burma. Where, then, did the Chinese derive the name Fu-kan-tu-lu? I propose that it stands for the name Pugāmadvāra (Pugamdvāra), applied by Indians to some locality, which as indicated above may be identified with the Kra Isthmus. South Indians travelling from the Kra Isthmus to Kañcī would have passed the mouth of the Sittang River, and in the Sittang valley would have reached Peikthanomyo and other areas inhabited by the Pyu. Because the Pyu kingdom could be reached from the western shore of the Kra Isthmus, that locality seems to have been called Pugāmadvāra (Gate of Pagan).

After establishment of the Sino-Indian trade route, Szechwanese traders coming from China and North Indian traders proceeding to China would have to pass through the Pyu country. Therefore the Pyu established a trade entrepot at a central point. The central point of the country was Peikthano, while each trading center was known as Pugāma (Pagan); the Pagan of modern maps was the last Pyu center by this name (59).

According to the Ch'ien Han Shu, a Chinese embassy returned from India to China in the 1st century A.D. by way of the Straits of Malacca. At that time, however, Chinese embassies and traders did not continue their

journey (in the Indian Ocean) by Chinese junks, but by the Southeast Asian (especially Malay) sailing ships (60).

While the Malays were trading with sailing ships between China and India, Indians also travelled to Southeast Asia. This maritime commerce also involved luxury goods coming from or going to the West.

We have already noted trade missions from Shan (modern Syria) in the Roman Empire to Lo-yang under the Eastern Han. These missions also used the sea route in 132 and 166, and we hear no more of their following the land route (61). Their routes lay through the Indian Ocean and Straits of Malacca. At that time, however, Chinese embassies and traders did not continue their journey (in the Indian Ocean) by Chinese junks, but by Southeast Asian (especially Malay) sailing ships (60).

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[Various comments on Roman trade in the Indian Ocean in the 1st century A.D., Ptolemy's geography, and the discovery of the monsoons follow. There is a suggestion that Ptolemy's "Besatai" might be Peikthanomyo. Indian voyagers may have been discouraged from reaching the Pyu territory by the presence of cannibal Salon and Malay tribes

around the mouths of the Irrawaddy and Sittang.]

We know from archeological research at Peikthanomyo that its connections with Indian civilization were with the south Indian site of Nagarjunakonda (62). Andhra voyagers from the Kistna delta crossed the Bay of Bengal to reach the Pyu territories, because of Peikthanomyo's location on the Sino-Indian (Sino-Roman) trade route. Because this trade route ran through Peikthanomyo to North India, the South Indians did not benefit from it. [Etc. Pyu contacts with North India were by land, with South India by sea.]

### **Brahmavastu and Pyu-vastu in Chinese Sources**

We have shown above how the Three Kingdoms state of Wu learned of the country of Lin-yang (north)west of Fu-nan. During the Three Kingdoms, Shu continued to make use of the Sino-Indian land route. The Pyu kingdom was known as Brahmavastu (63) or Pyu-vastu (64). These were not Chinese names, but names used by Indians and transcribed by the Chinese. Brahmavastu may be compared with the Bengali name for Burma, Brahmadesh.

Chinese economic relations with the Pyu continued in early Chin times (65). It appears from the Hua-yang Kuo Chih that Pyu and South Indians were residing in Yung-ch'ang commandery (66). These Pyu were probably elements who had not joined in the movement into Burma but had remained behind in the Yung-ch'ang area but formed part of a second migration of Pyu to Śriksetra, U Ba Shin has argued (67). We especially note the linkage in the Hua-yang Kuo Chih of Pyu and South Indians. These were probably North Indians who were not permanent residents of Yung-

ch'ang commandery but were in transit there on the Sino-Indian land trade route.

We no longer hear of the Pyu in Chinese Dynastic chronicles from late Chin to Sui times. Perhaps this was due to the internal violence and confusion of the period in China, especially in Yünnan. However, southwestern Chinese merchants no doubt continued to trade with the Pyu.

We have explained above how the maritime trade route to Chen-la was reestablished in Sui times and how the Chinese again learned of the Pyu. At this time the Pyu principal city was not Peikthanomyo but Śriksetra. However, the Chinese sent no missions there, because of the growing strength of ethnic groups in Yünnan and the obstacles which they posed to Chinese communications to the southwest.

### **The Pyu and Nan-chao**

The most powerful ethnic groups of Yünnan were the Lo-lo and Pai tribes. The Lo-lo originally inhabited an area around Lake Tien, and the principal center of the Pai was the Êrh-hai. By the latter part of the 7th century A.D. the Lo-lo had expanded to the Êrh-hai region and their power grew as they formed the Six Chao. "Chao" appears originally to be a Thai (Shan) word meaning "king." I have explained elsewhere how its use spread from the Thai to neighboring Tibeto-Burman-speaking ethnic groups (68). Among the Six Chao, the southern-most, Meng-shê chao, was the most powerful and was called Nan (southern) chao. It conquered the other five chao during the reign of P'i-lo-ko (A.D. 728-748) (69).

In the mid-7th century the T'ang dynasty sought to reopen the shortest land route to India, and attacked the Pai tribes of the Êrh-hai region pass under Nan-chao rather than

Tibetan control. Emperor Hsüan-Tsung (A.D. 712-755) clearly understood this. The T'ang therefore supported Nan-chao's program of securing control over the Êrh-hai region and the other five chao (72).

P'i-lo-ko was succeeded by his eldest son Ko-lo-feng (A.D. 748-779). Nan-chao relations with China were disrupted by the activities of some T'ang officials. The governor of Szechwan, Hsien-yu Chun-t'ung, sought to resolve the problems by force, but only made matters worse. In 751 Ko-lo-feng's troops annihilated a Chinese army. Ko-lo-feng allied himself with Tibet, and on Jan. 21, 752, the Tibetan king addressed Ko-lo-feng as follows: "Younger brother of the King of Tibet; Ruling King of the South" (73). The Chinese sent another attacking army in 754, and it was again severely defeated. From that period, Nan-chao's relations with China were interrupted (74).

Under Ko-lo-feng's grandfather Sheng-lo-p'i (712-728) Nan-chao had extended its conquests beyond the Mekong River to the western bank (75). Ko-lo-feng was able not only to hold this area but to extend his rule west of the Salween. In the cool season of 762 Ko-lo-feng himself led his troops across the Salween and defeated the a-ch'ang (Ngaw-ch'ang), a Tibeto-Burman-speaking tribe who was part of the Burmese branch. He then extended his conquests to the Irrawaddy, and the power of Nan-chao thus reached as far as Kamarupa (now Assam) (76).

Ko-lo-feng's objective in his westward expedition was to establish a route to Manipur and Assam across T'eng-ch'ung or Momeik, Myitkyina, Mogaung, and the Chindwin River. This was a branch of the Sino-Indian trade route by land leading more directly from Nan-chao to India.

At the same time the Pyu became tributary to Nan-chao, either through coercion

or because of their concern over the power of Nan-chao on their northern and eastern borders (77).

The areas subdued by Nan-chao west of the Irrawaddy included the territory of the Kadus, apparently. This region is referred to in the Chinese sources as the "Big Ears Country" (78). Professor Luce has noted of a "Kadu Big Ears" in the early Burmese inscriptions (79).

### **Pyu Border Fortresses - Halin and Hsipaw**

Of the nine fortified Pyu towns in the 9th century, the two most important were located in the north and northeast. One, Halin, bordered the territories acquired by Nan-chao west of the Irrawaddy. Apparently Ko-lo-feng's troops invaded the Pyu country in 763 and destroyed Halin. The other was Hsipaw. Although we do not know who was holding Halin in 802, we do know that in that year the Pyu king's son Sunanda was governing Hsipaw (80). Prince Sunanda was approximately a contemporary of Ko-lo-feng's grandson I-mou-hsün. That he governed Sîri, one of the nine fortified Pyu towns, appears from the Hsin T'ang Shu (81). Sîri had been established on the Sino-Indian trade route and was near the Pyu-Nan-chao border, as we know from Chia Tan's itineraries (82). This means that it could only have been somewhere in the vicinity of Hsipaw. That Halin was also a Pyu fortified town appears from the fact of its destruction by a Nan-chao force from the region west of the Irrawaddy. It does not follow that either place was directly on the border, merely that they were near it.

In spite of his conquests across the Irrawaddy, Ko-lo-feng does not seem to have attacked the Pyu; rather, he invaded Khmer territory (83), in northern Thailand or north Laos. Probably Prince Sunanda's father the

Pyu king was well aware of this, and placed his son Sunanda in charge at Sīri (Hsipaw) instead of other persons for strategic and commercial reasons.

Ko-lo-feng was predeceased by his eldest son Feng-chia-i and thus was succeeded by his grandson I-mou-hsün (779-808), during whose reign the Pyu remained under Nan-chao suzerainty.

### **Pyu Trade with Nan-chao**

Between the Pyu and Nan-chao principal centers ran a segment of the Sino-Indian trade route which passed from Lung-ling via Wan-t'ing/Kyugok to Hsipaw. It then ran via Kyaukme, Kyaukse, Thazi, Peikthano, etc., to Śriksetra, then up the Irrawaddy and Chindwin and over the Chin Hills to Assam. The Lung-ling-Śriksetra segment was also a Nan-chao-Pyu trade route, just as the Śriksetra-Assam segment was a Pyu-Indian trade route. Another branch, as discussed above, ran from Lung-ling via T'eng-ch'ung, Myitkyina, Mogaung, and the Chindwin River to Mogaung and Assam. It was the shortest Sino-Indian trade route.

Each Pyu embassy to the Nan-chao capital of Ta-li was accompanied by a trade delegation. Pyu exports to Nan-chao included porpoises, white cotton, and metal and glass consumer goods; the latter two were re-exports from the West. The best-known export from Nan-chao to the Pyu was silk cloth (84).

### **Pyu-Chinese Relations**

Relations between Nan-chao and Tibet gradually worsened after the accession of I-mou-hsün. (85).

In 785 the T'ang Emperor Te-Tsung (779-805) appointed Wei Kao governor of

Szechwan. Wei Kao was a man of great foresight, and from the time of his appointment concentrated on frontier policy. He sought to win over the ethnic groups in the frontier regions to the Chinese side and to reduce Tibetan power, and with Te-Tsung's permission implemented such a policy (86).

Wei Kao first sought to consolidate Chinese amity with ethnic groups on the Nan-chao frontier. From the Nakhi and Shan he learned details of Nan-chao internal affairs. When he learned of I-mou-hsün's resentment at Tibetan domination he sought to stir up friction between Tibet and Nan-chao (87).

Eventually I-mou-hsün was reconciled with the Chinese and sent three embassies to the T'ang court. The three missions were sent because he feared that a single mission might fail to arrive (88). Subsequently Nan-chao joined with a force commanded by Wei Kao to attack the Tibetans (89).

Toward the end of 799 I-mou-hsün again sent an embassy to Ch'ang-an. It returned in February 800. This embassy was accompanied by a musical group (90). Learning that Wei Kao was interested in music, and wishing to show him some that he had never seen, I-mou-hsün asked the Pyu king for a Pyu dancing and musical troupe (91).

Such a group, of 35 performers, was then sent to Ch'ang-an under the leadership of the Pyu king's son Sunanda, and the ministers Nākyakuñca and Mahāsena (92). It reached Ch'ang-an on February 13, 802 (93), after seven months' travel from Śriksetra.

After the return of the Pyu troupe to Śriksetra, in the cool season of 802, Emperor Te-Tsung sent a Chinese embassy bearing gifts to Śriksetra. It reached Śriksetra about June 803 (94). After this establishment of direct relations between China and the Pyu,

the Chinese sources contain much fuller information about the Pyu kingdom (95).

China also established relations with the kingdom of Mi-ch'en, to the south of the Pyu. Mi-ch'en is a transcription of the Mon name Lbīr-cin. Its capital appears to have been at Kyonsein, near modern Moulmein. A Chinese source describes Mi-ch'en as located on the seacoast (96).

After I-mou-hsün's death his successors on the throne of Nan-chao maintained cordial relations with China, but cut off Chinese relations with the Pyu and the Mons. Relations between China and Nan-chao were again strained under I-mou-hsün's grandson Ch'uan-feng-yu (823-59). In 829-30 Ch'uan-feng-yu's troops invaded Szechwan, looting and pillaging as far as Ch'eng-tu, and carrying off many skilled workers and silk textile specialists (97). Thereafter the silk industry of Nan-chao developed further. In 832 the Nan-chao army took and destroyed Śriksetra and carried off three thousand people who were resettled in Che-tung (modern K'un-ming). In 835 Nan-chao attacked and destroyed Mi-ch'en at the mouth of the Salween, carried off two or three thousand people, and resettled them along the upper Irrawaddy to pan for gold (98).

### **Pyu Relations with Other Countries**

The Pyu maintained relations with other countries in Southeast Asia. On this subject, the Chiu T'ang Shu says:

*(The Pyu kingdom) has communications and diplomatic relations with Chia-lo-p'o-t'i and some 20 other countries (99).*

The same information, not listing the names of these countries, is contained in the T'ang Hui Yao (100) and the T'ai-p'ing Huan

Yü Chi (101). However, the Hsin T'ang Shu includes Chia-lo-p'o-t'i in a list of Pyu vassal states, as follows:

*There are 18 countries subject to (the Pyu). They are Chia-lo-p'o-t'i, Mo-li-wu-t'ê, Chia-li-chia, Pan-ti, Mi-ch'en, K'un-lang, Chieh-nu, Lo-yü, Fo-tai, Ch'ü-lun, P'o-li, Ch'ieh-t'o, T'o-kuei, Mo-i, Shê-wei, Chang-p'o, and Shê-p'o (102).*

The names above are listed according to the modern pronunciation of the characters. The following list shows the HTS name and its restoration:

Chia-lo-p'o-t'i	Kalāvati (?Kalasapura)
Mo-li-wu-t'ê	Malli/Orda (Oda)
Chia-li-chia	Kālikā (vartha)
Pan-ti	Pannai (=Pane)
Mi-ch'en	Lbīr-cih (Elephant Sea)
K'un-lang	(original name uncertain)
Chieh-nu	(T'reng) ganu
Lo-yü	Luat
Fo-tai	Sri Vijaya (Palembang)
Ch'ü-lun	(original name uncertain; east of Sri Vijaya)
P'o-li	Bali
Ch'ieh-tó	Kataha (=Kedah)
T'o-kuei	Takua (=Takuapa)
Mo-i	Mait
Shê-wei	Sewat (=Srāvasti)
Chan-p'o	Champa
Shê-p'o	Java

Although HTS mentions 18 states under Pyu suzerainty, it names only 17. Previous researchers did not seek to explain this discrepancy, which arises because the second name on the list, Mo-li-wu-t'ê (Mallī and Oda



or Orissa), is divided into two parts by the Chinese character [-]. Thus two places are named and the total on the list returns to 18.

To what extent were these places subject to Pyu suzerainty? We know that Pyu power did not reach across the sea to Srivijaya, Srāvasti, Champa, and Javadīpa. What about the other 14 localities?

[A name-by-name study follows, of which the significant portions are:] Kālikāvartha is Vrindavana (Brindaban), six miles north of Mathura. Malli represents the Rajmahal Hills (103). Kalasapura is the modern Twante. Luat is modern Johore. Pane is on the east coast of Sumatra (104). Mait is an ancient name for Mindoro, but here probably denotes the Philippine archipelago as a whole (105). K'un-lang appears to represent a Mon state in Lower Burma. Ch'ü-lun is probably to be identified with I-Tsing's Chüeh-lun.

We may conclude that the list of the HTS does not represent countries tributary to the Pyu, but countries with which the Pyu had relations. We may also speculate that the Pyu also dealt with at least two more countries, making up the total of 20 mentioned in the CTS, and that these were Cūlabrahmaṇa (modern Manipur) and Mahābrahmaṇa (modern Assam).

#### Notes

- (1) Yung-ch'ang commandery was founded under the Eastern Han with its seat at Yung-ch'ang, the modern Pao-shan. It no longer existed in T'ang times and so is referred to as the "former" Yung-ch'ang commandery. In Konbaung times Yung-ch'ang (Pao-shan) was known to the Burmese as Yonzin or Yonshan.
- (2) Modern Ta-li.
- (3) Ch'iu T'ang Shu ch. 196 p. 10a (Pai-na edition).
- (4) Ka-lo-p'o-t'i = Kalavati.

(5) T'ang Hui Yao p. 1794 (Chung-hua edition, 1955).

(6) Hsin T'ang Shu ch. 222C p. 5b (Pai-na edition).

(7) Chen Yi-sein, "Chu-po k'ao" (Note on Chu-po), *J. SEAsian Researches* (Singapore) 6:100 (1970).

(8) Chen-la in ancient Chinese was pronounced "tsiën-lâp."

(9) CTS ch. 197 p. 2b.

(10) This subject was first discussed by Prof. Paul Pelliot. G.H. Luce, "Countries Neighboring Burma," *J. Burma Res. Soc.* 14(2):178-179 (1924).

(11) Ancient Chinese "B'iu-nam" = ancient Khmer Bnam. This was not originally a Khmer word, but the Khmer kings were called "Kuruñ Bnam" ("Kings of the Mountain").

(12) Liang Shu ch. 54 p. 8 (b) (Pai-na edition).

(13) R. Stein, "Le Lin-yi," *Han-Hiue* 2 (1947).

(14) LS ch. 54 p. 8b.

(15) Nan Ch'i Shu ch. 58 p. 11a (Pai-na edition).

(16) G. Coedès, "The Date of the Sanskrit Inscription of Vocanh," *Indian Hist. Quarterly* 16(3):487 (1940). Accord: E. Gaspardone, "La plus ancienne inscription de l'Indochine," *J. Asiat.* 241:477 (1953). Contra: K. K. Sarker, "The Earliest Inscription of Indo-China," *Sino-Indian Studies* 5(2):77 (1956); K. Bhattarharya, "Précisions sur la paléographie de l'inscription dite de Vo-canah," *Artibus Asiae* 24:219 (1961).

(17) Liang Shu ch. 54 p. 9a.

(18) The Liang Shu gives this name as Tien-sun.

(19) Liang Shu ch. 54 p. 9; Nan Ch'i Shu ch. 58 p. 11a.

(20) H. L. Shorto, "The 32 Myos in the Mediaeval Mon Kingdom," *Bull. School of Oriental and Afr. Studies* 26:583 (1963).

(21) Liang Shu ch. 54 p. 7a.

(22) *Inscriptions of Burma* vol. I pl. 19, line 7; L. 154(a).

(23) T'ung Tien ch. 188 p. 8b (T'u-shu-chi-ch'eng-chu ed.); T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan ch. 788 p. 7a (Ts'ung-shan-t'ang ed.).

(24) L. Petech, *Northern India According to the Shui Ching Chu* p. 27 (Rome, 1950).

(25) Arch. Survey India 1930-34, pp. 1-2, 332-35, and plate CLIV; G. H. Luce, "The Ancient Pyu," *J. Burma Res. Soc.* 27(2): 246 (1937).

(26) R. Le May, "The Coinage of Siam," *J. Siam Soc.* 18(3): 1924; U. Guehler, "Further Studies of Old Thai Coins," *J. Siam Soc.* 35(2):175 and plate X(2)a-b (1944).

(27) Louis Malleret, *L'archéologie du Delta du Mekong* t.3 pl. XLV (Paris, 1962).

(28) *National Geographic* 139(3):301 (March 1971).

(29) Chen Yi-sein, "Ming-ch'u Chung-mien kuan-hsi" (Sino-Burmese relations during the early Ming period), part II, *Shiroku* (Kagoshima Univ., Japan) 4:22 (1970).

(30) *Hmannan Yazawin* vol. 2, p. 167 (Mandalay, 1957).

(31) G. H. Luce and Ba Shin, "A Chiengmai Mahathera Visits Pagan (1393 A.D.)," *Artibus Asiae* 24(3/4):332 (1961).

(32) Aung Thaw, *Excavation at Peikthanomyo* p. 61 (Rangoon, 1968).

(33) According to Professor Pelliot, this mission took place between A.D. 245 and 250. Professor Hsü Yun-ch'iao disagrees with this view, and has shown that the date cannot be later than 231. See Hsü Yun-ch'iao, *Nan-yang shih* (History of the South Seas) vol. 1, p. 76 (Singapore, 1961).

(34) T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan ch. 787 p. 5b.

(35) "Countries Neighbouring Burma," p. 154.

(36) G. H. Luce & Pe Maung Tin, "Burma Down to the Fall of Pagan, an Outline, part I," *J. Burma Res. Soc'y* 29(3):267 (1939).

(37) Ba Shin. "Peikthanomyo-haug hnin

thamaing amyin" (Views on the History of the Ancient City of Peikthanomyo), *Tekkatho Pyinnya-padetha Sa-saung* 1(3):211 (1966).

(38) The first version is Raman, from the 7th-century Khmer inscription of Snay Pol. G. H. Luce, *Old Burma - Early Pagan* vol 1, p. 68, n.131 (New York, 1969).

(39) *Shui-ching-chu* ch. 1 p.7b. The mention of Lin-yang appears in the 5th-century *Fu-nan chi* (Records of Fu-nan), which is no longer extant; quotations from it appear in the *Shui-ching-chu*.

(40) Professor Luce showed some 50 years ago that Lin-yang may be identified with the (Tao-) lin-wang of the list of Pyu fortified towns. "Countries Neighbouring Burma," p. 154. However, it cannot have been to the north of Hsi-li-i (Siri or Hsipaw) as stated by the Hsin T'ang Shu, so the HTS list of nine fortified Pyu towns does not run consecutively from north to south.

(41) *Sui Shu* ch. 82 p. 5 b (Pai-na edition).

(42) Luce, "The Ancient Pyu," *J. Burma Res. Soc'y* 27(2):241-242 (1937).

(43) Chen, op. cit. supra note 7, p. 103.

(44) *SS* ch. 82 pp. 6a-6b.

(45) *HTS* ch. 222c p. 3a.

(46) Chen, op. cit. supra note 7, p. 101. Chuchiang was previously identified with the Pyu country by Prof. Hiroaki Ogiwara of Kagoshima University.

(47) *Arch. Survey of India* 1927-28, pp. 128, 145, pl. LIV(9).

(48) Luce, "The Ancient Pyu," pp. 243-244.

(49) C. O. Blagden, "The Pyu Inscriptions," *Epigraphia Indica* 12(16):127-132.

(50) G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia* p. 227 (London, 1967).

(51) *Ibid.*

(52) *Shih Chi* ch. 116 p. 2b (Pai-na Edition). I have previously shown that the Tien-yüeh of this work should be read P'iao-yüeh or Pyu-vastu. Chen, op. cit. supra note 7, pp. 88-89.

- (53) Shih Chi ch. 116, pp. 4a-4b.
- (54) Hou Han Shu ch. 2 p. 18a (Pai-na edition).
- (55) HHS ch. 4 p. 15b, ch. 5 pp. 22b-23a.
- (56) The ancient pronunciation of Fu-kan-tu-lu was Piu-kam-tuo-luo.
- (57) Ch'ien Han Shu ch. 28 pp. 37a-37b (Pai-na edition).
- (58) G. H. Luce, "Fu-kan-tu-lu," J. Burma Res. Soc'y 14(2): 89-90 (1924).
- (59) The Hsin T'ang Shu mentions a Pyu population center called Tan-po (\*Tam-b'ak, which may be identified with Tamba(dīpa). HTS ch. 222C p. 6a. While Śriksetra was flourishing, Tamba(dīpa) was well known as an original center of the Pyu, and it continued to be inhabited by Pyu after the fall of Śrikestra.
- (60) CHS ch. 28 p. 37b.
- (61) HHS ch. 6 p. 9b, ch. 7 p. 23b.
- (62) Aung Thaw, op. cit. supra note 32, pp. 64-66.
- (63) P'an-yüeh = \*B'uan-viet = Brahmavastu.
- (64) P'iao-yüeh = Pyu-vastu.
- (65) San Kuo Shih ch. 30 p. 32a (Pai-na edition). This work through a copyist's error reads Han-yüeh for P'iao-yüeh. The Hua-yang Kuo Chih has P'iao-yüeh.
- (66) Ch. 4 pp. 11a-11b (Chung-hua Book Co. edition).
- (67) Op. cit. supra note 37, pp. 212-213.
- (68) (Chen) Yi-sein, "She-haung Tibet-Myanma-mya hnin Yin-to shwe-pyaung-lagethi langyaung-mya" (The Ancient Tibeto-Burmans and Their Migration Routes), Mandalay Arts and Sciences University Annual Volume, no. 2, p. 122 (1969-70).
- (69) HTS ch. 222A p. 3a.
- (70) Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien pp. 6255-56 (Ancient Text Printing House edition, Shanghai, 1956).
- (71) Id. p. 6396.
- (72) Ma Ch'ang-shou, *Nan-chao kuo-nei te*

- pu-tsu-tsu-ch'eng ho nu-li chih-tu* (The Tribes of Nan-chao and Her Slave System) p. 66 (Shanghai, 1962).
- (73) We know of this from an inscription by Ko-lo-feng. Tibetan sources refer to this king as Kag La Pong, which is very close to the ancient Chinese \*Kak La B'iung; see B. Karlgren, "Grammata Serica Recensa," Bull. Mus. Far East. Antiq. no. 29 (Stockholm, 1957), nos. 766 (f), 6(a), 625(j), pp. 202, 22, 166. At that time the Lo-lo language evidently possessed final consonants which like Burmese it has now lost.
- (74) HTS ch. 222A pp. 3a-3b.
- (75) Hsiang Ta, *Man Shu chiao-chu* (The Man Shu edited with annotations) (hereinafter Man Shu) p. 100 (Peking, 1962).
- (76) Id. pp. 242, 324-325.
- (77) Id. p. 233; HTS ch. 222A p. 3b.
- (78) Man Shu p. 242.
- (79) G. H. Luce, "Note on the People of Burma in the 12th-13th Century A.D.," J. Burma Res. Soc'y 42(1):58 (1959); G. H. Luce, "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans," J. Burma Res. Soc'y 42(1):87-88 (1959).
- (80) HTS ch. 222C p. 9a calls him the Pyu king's younger brother, but Po Chü-i in his "Pyu Musical Troupe" poem calls him the Pyu king's son. Since Po actually saw the group, his version is to be preferred.
- (81) Ch. 222C p. 6a.
- (82) HTS ch. 43B pp. 17b-18a.
- (83) Man Shu p. 245. We believe Nan-chao's attack on the Khmer in north Thailand took place under Ko-lo-feng, although the Man Shu does not give a specific reign.
- (84) Id. p. 223; HTS ch. 222C p. 6b.
- (85) Id. ch. 222A pp. 4a-4b.
- (86) Id. ch. 222A p. 4a.
- (87) Tzu-chih-t'ung-ch'ien pp. 7515-16.
- (88) Id. p. 7547. One embassy arrived July 30, 793, at the capital (modern Hanoi) of the

Chinese Protectorate General of An-nan. The report of Protector, Chao Ch'ang, is dated 10/21 Chan-yüan 9 (Aug. 2, 793). The Man Shu, however, places the arrival of the Nan-chao embassy on 10/21 Chen-yüan 10 (July 19, 794). This cannot be correct, although Hsiang Ta did not notice the mistake in editing the Man Shu.

(89) Tzu-chih-t'ung-ch'ien pp. 7552-53.

(90) Chiu T'ang Shu ch. 13 p. 17b.

(91) HTS ch. 222A pp. 7a, 9a.

(92) Tzu-chih-t'ung-ch'ien p. 7599; T'ang Hui Yao p. 1794; Po Chü-i, *Po shih ch'ang-ch'ing chi*. (A Collection of Po Chü-i's Works) vol. 1, sec. 8, sub-sec. 53, p. 70a (Ancient Text Publishing House edition, Peking, 1955).

(93) CTS ch. 13 p. 19b.

(94) (Chen) Yi-sein, "A.D. 802-khu-hnit Tayok nainggan-yauk Pyu than-aphwe" (The Pyu Embassy to China of A.D. 802), *Researches in Burma*. Hist. no. 3., p. 62.

(95) Id. p. 65.

(96) Man Shu p. 231.

(97) HTS ch. 222B p. 1a.

(98) Man Shu p. 232.

(99) CTS ch. 197 p. 10a.

(100) p. 1794.

(101) Ch. 177 p. 14a (Wan-chih-t'ang edition).

(102) HTS ch. 222C pp. 5b-6a.

(103) S. M. Satri, *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India* p. 429 (Calcutta, 1924).

(104) Id. p. 583.

(105) Mo-i = \*Mua-iai, representing Mait, from Arabic sources.

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## BOOK REVIEW

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Singer, Noel F. *Burmese Dance and Theatre*. Images of Asia Series. xii + 94pp, 17 color plates, 29 black-and-white illustrations, end-

paper maps, select bibliography, index. Oxford, Singapore, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. ISBN: 967-65-3086-7. \$22.00 hardback

Noel Singer has done it again. In the slim format of the Images of Asia Series, he has produced a book of outstanding interest and originality. Particularly valuable are the first two chapters on Burmese historical sources, mostly not previously available to Western scholars. Of special interest to this reviewer are the references to the ritual and magical uses of instruments, particularly drums. Drums were not only essential in dance and music, they were also of crucial importance ceremonially. In war, drums which were ritually prepared could dispel attacks when beaten and a vanquished enemy's drums were perforated to destroy their magical power. When the King went on tour he was accompanied by five auspicious drums, each having its own name. Records of the Konbaung dynasty relate that a special drum was placed so that the King's subjects could attract his attention to report a grievance. This intriguingly recalls the inscription of King Ram Khamhaeng of Sukhothai and makes one wonder if such a recourse for kingly justice or mercy was widespread throughout Southeast Asian courts.

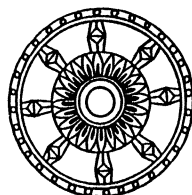
The major part of this copiously illustrated book is devoted to the current practice of Burmese dance and drama. Historical as well as contemporary photographs, supplemented by meticulous line drawings, document the development of theater and dance from both court and popular forms to the present decade. Fortunately, enough nineteenth century records remain to illustrate dance and theater at court and the history of twentieth century popular "stars"

are reminiscent of Hollywood in the same decades.

References to the influences of other cultures on Burmese music, dance, and theater cast doubt on the view of Burma as traditionally isolationist. The existence in the Burmese repertoire of "Yodaya" (Ayutthaya) forms is generally assumed to have come from the captured court artists brought from Siam in the late eighteenth century, after the fall of Ayutthaya. The author presents the likelihood of sixteenth century influence under Bayinnaung as the strong point of contact with Ayutthayan music and dance. The Burmese court always took a special interest in the performing arts, beginning with the fall of Thaton under King Anawrahta. In 1785 A.D., Shwetaung Min, the Crown prince, sent a mission to Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Java to record the dances, music, and plays of these kingdoms. According to Singer, 54 volumes of these findings are still preserved at the University in Mandalay.

The many currently existing types of dance and theater are discussed and illustrated, including the Burmese masked version of the Ramayana, the puppet theater, and even the *nat-pwe*, the spirit ceremonies for invoking and propitiating the Thirty-Seven Lords. It is clear that Noel Singer is fully at home with beloved material in this publication; the photograph of himself dancing as a Kinnaya (mythical bird-man) gives proof of his affection for this world of theatrical arts.

Sarah M. Bekker  
Arlington, Virginia



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## NEWS FROM U.S.

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### VIPASSANA RESEARCH INSTITUTE- PALI PUBLICATION PROJECT

The Vipassana Research Institute was established in 1985 for the purpose of conducting research into the technique of Vipassana meditation. This research has two main objectives: the publication and translation of Pali literature, which is the source material for Vipassana, and research into the application of Vipassana in daily life.

Soon after it opened, VRI set itself the task of entering into computer in Devanagari script the entire Pali canon and all the commentarial literature. Their source material for this project was the edition that had been published in Yangon (Rangoon), Myanmar (Burma), in 1956 at the time of the historic Sixth Buddhist Council, or Chattha Sangayana. Previously these texts have only been printed in Burmese script and in quite a small printing, so they have been very rare and generally not accessible to scholars outside Burma.

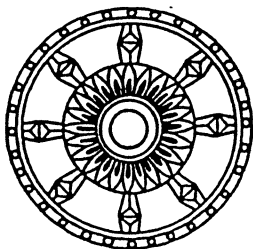
After training a team of Indian typists to read the Burmese script, the process has been to enter each text twice, using two different typists, then compare the two versions by computer so that any discrepancies could be corrected. After that a team of Indian Pali scholars work over the texts to check for remaining errors. Again each text is read twice, by different scholars, comparing the text against the original Burmese script edition. Indices, table of contents, etc. are created at the same time.

The final step is another reading, this time by a team of learned Bhikkhus and lay Pali

scholars back in Yangon. Only after this final reading are the texts considered accurate and ready for press. To date VRI has printed the first four Nikaayas of the Sutta Pitaka, complete with all the commentaries and sub-commentaries, and the first set, of four, of the fifth Nikaaya (Khuddaka Nikaaya). They are hardbound volumes, 18.5 cm by 24 cm, with a burgundy-red cover and gold-leaf printing on the cover. Each volume contains a key-word index and a verse index. Page references of the Pali Text Society Roman-script edition are given as footnotes. The currently printed books total 55 in all.

This past year VRI has entered into a co-publishing partnership with the Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation of Taiwan to complete the printing of the rest of the Tipitaka. Since the Educational Foundation has agreed to print and distribute this valuable edition free of charge it has allowed us to now offer the already printed books free of charge also. The total donation will comprise about 140 books. In addition to the five sets now available, the rest of Sutta Pitaka (31 books) is at the press in Taiwan and the remainder of the texts will be prepared for publication by mid-summer 1997 and shipped to Taiwan for printing and distribution.

More information is available on the print and the CD editions of the Chattha Sangayana Tipitaka on the website: [www.tipitak.org](http://www.tipitak.org)  
Vipassana Research Publications of America  
P.O. Box 15926  
Seattle, WA 98115



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## NEWS ABROAD

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### TIPITAKA CD PRESENTED TO THE SANGHA IN MYANMAR

On July 11, 1997 S.N. Goenka joyfully presented a prototype of the *Tipitaka CD* to the summer meeting of representatives of the Sangha in Yangon, Myanmar. The modern journey of the *Tipitaka* had come full circle. From Myanmar—the country which had carefully preserved the Buddha's practice and scriptures—Goenkaji carried the *Tipitaka* in print form to India, where the Buddha taught the Dhamma two and half millennia ago. Twenty-eight years later, he brought the *Tipitaka* back to Myanmar, this time in the form of a small CD-ROM, containing the entire Pali Canon in three digitalized scripts: Burmese, Devanagiri and Roman.

In 1969 S. N. Goenka left his homeland, Myanmar, carrying with him the jewel of the Dhamma. He brought Vipassana, the essence of the Buddha's teaching, back to India, its land of origin, where it had been lost. He also carried with him the many bound volumes of *Chattha Sangayana* (Sixth Council) *Tipitaka* in Burmese script.

Although Goenkaji intended to stay outside of Myanmar only a short time, his "visit" to India stretched to decades, as the demand for Vipassana meditation courses grew, first in India, and then throughout the world. Now, nearly three decades later, the ardent hope of his teacher, Sayagyi U Ba Khin—that Dhamma would be returned to its land of origin, and from there, around the world—has been realized. Dhamma has been reintroduced in its two aspects, *patipatti* (practice) and *pariyatti* (theoretical teaching).

In 1986, S. N. Goenka inaugurated the Vipassana Research Institute (VRI) in Igatpuri, India, adjacent to the international meditation center, Dhamma Giri. The two primary purposes of the Institute are publication and translation of the Pali texts, and research into the application of Vipassana. After many years of dedicated efforts by teams in Myanmar and India, one of the Institute's main goals is about to be accomplished—the publication of the *Chattha Sangayana Tipitaka* on CD-ROM.

In Yangon, a congregation of 47 high monks received the *Tipitaka* CD presentation with great interest and enthusiasm. The meeting took place in the Mahawizaya Dhamma hall, just south of the historic man-made Mahapasana Guha cave where the *Chattha Sangayana* (Sixth Buddhist Council) was held in 1954-56. The *Chattha Sangayana* was the sixth and most recent time since the Buddha's *Mahaparinibbana* that the Sangha has assembled to recite the teachings of the Enlightened One. It is the *Chattha Sangayana* version of the *Tipitaka* which is being published in the VRI CD-ROM.

In 1954-56, over 2,400 monks from Myanmar and 145 monks from Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos gathered in Yangon (Rangoon) to continue the august tradition of twenty-five centuries—to recite and review the teachings in the entirety, in order to preserve them for generations. The recitations went on for two years until the completed review of the three collections of the *Tipitaka*—*Vinaya-pitaka*, *Sutta-pitaka*, *Abhidhamma-pitaka*—was accomplished. After the redacted Pali canon had been adopted, the Sixth Council proceeded with the review of the extensive commentarial literature. Several committees, starting with the Primary Redaction Committee and proceeding to the Final Redaction Committee, worked diligently

to complete the work of producing the *Chattha Sangayana Tipitaka*.

More recently, in December 1979, the Minister for Religious Affairs toured Myanmar to consult with leading monks on the desirability of convening a congregation of all orders of the Sangha.

Their purpose would be to consider the dissemination of the pure *sasana* (teaching of the Buddha). The result was the first congregation for the purification, perpetuation and propagation of the *sasana*. It was held on May 26, in the Mahapasana Guha on the World Peace Hill in Yangon.

The congregation was composed of one thousand Theras (leading monks) representing over 120,000 monks. They were elected by all of the Sangha throughout the districts, towns and villages of Myanmar. Since then, elections for the congregation have taken place every five years. The fourth and most recent congregation was held in May 1995. On the first day of each congregation, a central regulative body of 300 is elected from the one thousand members. This body in turn elects the Sangha Maha Nayaka committees. This body, which consists of 47 members, governs all the affairs of the Sangha.

The Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee elects 15 members to serve as an executive committee, who are in residence at the Jabudipa Hall in Yangon, attending to the day-to-day affairs of the Sangha. The larger Sangha Maha Nayaka body of 47 meets regularly every four months, in July, November and March. In early July, all 47 members of the Sangha Maha Nayaka committee assembled for their thrice-annual meeting. The three days of deliberations were attended by the Minister for Religious Affairs, the Deputy Minister, and the heads of the departments in the Ministry. Representatives of various religious

associations also participated, in order to pay respects to the assembled Sangha and make offerings of alms-food and other requisites for the *bhikkhus*. The meeting of the Sangha Maha Nayaka committee is a time when the laity come to pay respects to the many well-known and highly revered *Mahatheras* who have gathered from all parts of Myanmar. It was during this auspicious occasion that the historic presentation of the *Tipitaka* CD-ROM took place. On this occasion the learned head of the Pariyatti University of Bhikkhus in Yangon was also present. He and the Sangha Maha Nayaka committee were presented with copies of *Chattha Sangayana* CD for their review and comments.

### CHIN HILL COLLECTION

Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library is anxious to expand its holdings of papers relating to the Chin Hills and it has therefore decided to establish a **Chin Hills Collection** as part of its European Manuscripts Section.

The Chin Hills (now the Chin state) situated in a tract of hills forming part of the western frontier of Burma (now known as Myanmar) with India is the homeland of a group of tribes known as the Chins. During the Burma campaign in World War II they fought loyally alongside their British and Indian colleagues in resisting and ultimately defeating the Japanese aggressor.

Those who served there, either in the Burma Frontier Service, the Burma Civil Service, the Chin Hills Battalion, the Chin Rifles, or in any other capacity - or their descendants - who have in their possession papers relating to their life in that area, for which they would like to find an appropriate home, are invited to donate or bequeath them by Will to the **Chin Hills Collection**. Letters

home, diaries and photographs may all be of interest to future scholars and researchers as well as copies of official documents.

If you would like to donate any papers to the **Chin Hills Collection**, please contact:-

John Whitehead (tel:01584 841298) or  
The Coach House,  
Munslow,  
Nr Craven Arms,  
Shropshire, SY7 9ET  
David Blake (tel:0171 412 7833)  
Head of European Manuscripts Section  
Oriental and India Office Collections  
British Library,

197 Blackfriars Road, London  
SE1 8NG

### The European Manuscripts Section

The European Manuscripts Section collects the private papers of statesmen, soldiers administrators, scholars, missionaries, businessmen, planters and others, who served in India and Burma during the British period. The Section is maintained alongside the even more extensive India Office Records, comprising the official archives of the East India Company, the Board of Control, and the India and Burma Offices. Donors to the **Chin Hills Collection** will therefore know that their papers will be joining those of many former colleagues or predecessors in the British community in Burma. Papers accepted for the **Chin Hills Collection** will be permanently preserved and made available to future scholars and researchers.

### Conditions of deposit

- It is regretted that only gifts or bequests, not loans, can be accepted.
- European Manuscripts Section must retain the right to decline material which it judges to



be of insufficient historical interest, but 'historical interest' will be interpreted flexibly.

- European Manuscripts Section will catalogue the donations in due course, though staff shortage may mean this cannot be done at once. The immediate need is to provide a place of deposit for papers relating to the Chin Hills.

- Photographs may be accepted if dated and captioned. They will be stored and catalogued in OIOC's Prints, Drawings and Photographs Section, but a note of them will be kept in the **Chin Hills Collection**.

- It is regretted that artifacts cannot be accepted. They should be offered to a Museum.

#### **THE BRITAIN-BURMA SOCIETY NEWS**

See the website at  
[www.britainburma.demon.co.uk/](http://www.britainburma.demon.co.uk/)

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#### **GREAT CLASSICS OF THE PAST!**

Compiled by Leedom Lefferts

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An initial, partial listing of historical reprints concerning Burma, from Kiscadale, White Lotus, and White Orchid Presses, were culled from the catalogs of these three publishers. This is the first in a series of listings of these publications. More reprints and more publishers will be listed as information becomes available.

Bigandet, Paul Ambroise. *An Outline of the History of the Catholic Burmese Mission from the Year 1720 to 1857*. Original 1887, White Orchid reprint 1996, \$15. ISBN: 974-89219-1-3.

Clifford, Hugh. *Further India*. Original 1904, White Lotus reprint 1990, \$30. ISBN: 974-8495-25-6. "A history of European exploration of Burma, Malaya, Siam, and Indo-China from the earliest times."

*Gazetteer of Burma*, Vol. I & II. Original 1880, reprint 1987. Available through White Lotus, \$112 for 2 vols. ISBN not given. ". . . (a) masterpiece of 'administrative detail' and organized purposeful research . . ."

Gilhodes, A. *The Kachin, Religion and Customs*. Original 1922, White Lotus reprint 1996, \$18.50. ISBN: 974-8496-51-1. ". . . (a) record of the myths and tales of the Kachin peoples of Burma."

Grant, Colesworthy. *Rough Pencillings of a Rough Trip to Rangoon in 1846*. Original 1853, White Orchid reprint 1996, \$20. ISBN: 974-89219-7-2. ". . . (T)his report with (its) pencil drawings has long been unavailable."

Hall, Harold Fielding. *The Soul of a People*. Original 1898-1911, White Orchid reprint 1996, \$18. ISBN: 974-89219-5-6.

Hallet, Holt S. *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States*. Original 1890, White Lotus reprint 1989, \$30. ISBN: 974-8495-27-2. "Presents an excellent overview of the topography, economy, peoples, customs, legends, and local histories of Northern Thailand in the latter part of the 19th century."

MacGregor, John. *Through the Buffer State: Travels in Borneo, Siam, Cambodia, Malaya, and Burma*. Original 1896, White Lotus reprint 1994, \$19.50. ISBN: 974-8496-25-2. ". . . (A) lively account of a medical doctor with a wide scope of interests."

Maugham, W. Somerset. *The Gentleman in the Parlour*. Original 1930, White

- Orchid reprint 1995, \$16. ISBN: 974-89220-0-6. ". . . not only a sharp-eyed observer of human nature but writes about his encounters with a good deal of empathy . . ."
- O'Connor, V. C. Scott. *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past in Burma*. Original 1907, White Lotus reprint 1996, \$37.50. ISBN: 974-8495-17-5. ". . . (T)his book is still an important source of information for all who are curious about this fascinating country which is only now in the process of change."
- O'Connor, V. C. Scott. *The Silken East: A Record of Life and Travel in Burma*. Originally published in 1904. Kiscadale Publications reprint of 1928 Third Edition in 1993, British pounds: 35. ISBN: 1-870838-21-1. "The most lavish and enduring of all travel books about Burma . . .", sumptuously reprinted.
- Oertel, F. O. *Note on a Tour in Burma in March and April 1892*. Original 1893, White Orchid reprint 1996, \$20. ISBN: 974-89219-6-4. "This almost forgotten report on Burma contains a detailed survey of historical sites and includes photographs not previously published."
- "Oolay." *Ballads of Burma*. Original 1912, White Orchid reprint 1997. ISBN: 974-89273-7-7.
- Sangermano, Vincenzo. *The Burmese Empire a Hundred Years Ago*. Original 1838, 1885, White Orchid reprint 1995, \$20. ISBN: 974-89219-2-1.
- Scott, James George. *Burma: A Handbook of Practical Information*. Original 1906, 1910, 1921, White Orchid reprint 1997. ISBN: 974-89219-4-8.
- Symes, Michael. *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava Sent by the Governor-General of India in the Year 1795*. Original 1800, White Orchid reprint 1996. ISBN: 974-89271-2-1. (Boxed with Symes, Journal . . .)
- Symes, Michael. *Michael Symes: Journal of his Second Embassy to the Court of Ava in 1802*, ed. with introduction and notes by D. G. E. Hall. Original 1955, White Orchid reprint 1996. ISBN: 974-89271-4-8. (Boxed with Symes, An Account . . .)
- Symns, J. M. *Horace in Burma*. Original 1896, White Orchid reprint 1996. ISBN: 972-89275-3-9.
- Taw Sein Ko. *Burmese Sketches*. Original 1913, White Orchid reprint 1997. ISBN: 974-89273-3-4.
- Temple, Richard Carnac. *The Thirty Seven Nats: A Phase of Spirit Worship Prevailing in Burma*. Original 1906, White Orchid reprint 1996. ISBN: 974-89229-8-7.
- Wheeler, Talboys. *Journal of a Voyage up the Irrawaddy to Mandalay and Bhamo*. Original 1871, White Orchid reprint 1996, \$14. ISBN: 974-89219-9-9. ". . . (c)ontaining an official report on a visit up the Irrawaddy . . . a decade before the last part of Burma was incorporated in the British empire . . ."

