

Map 1: Overall map of Myanmar with the location of Mon state [Adapted from drawing courtesy of Thazin Kaing].

Sampanago: “City of Serpents” and Muttama (Martaban)

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Introduction

The discourse between riverine and maritime sites in lower Myanmar during the late first and early second millennium CE has received little attention, with literature focusing on single sites and their dependence upon upper Myanmar [Map 1]. However, as we explain in this essay, it was the variety and fluctuations between a series of sites that sustained the economic and religious significance of this area.

Our argument is epitomised by the archaeology and chronicles of Sampanago (Campānāga) or “City of Serpents” (16°40′5.91″N, 97°35′46.90″E) [Figure 1]. Artefacts recovered inside and around Sampanago, 15 kilometres north of Muttama (Martaban, 16°32′13.92″N, 97°36′6.67″E), date occupation to *circa* the seventh to the eighteenth century. This longevity is supported by five successive toponyms situating Sampanago with a network of sacred and mercantile sites on the lower reaches of the Thanlwin (Salween) river [Map 2]. The artefacts and continual “naming” are concentrated along a relatively short span of the Thanlwin, suggesting that “Muttama” did not, as previously suggested, spread all along the coast from the Thanlwin to the Isthmus of Kra under Sukhothai and Ayutthaya control from the late thirteenth–sixteenth century (Gutman 2001: 111).

The names, such as Muttama-Dhañyawaddy and Sampanago-Lakunbyin, instead reflect a distribution of loosely linked towns over a 45 kilometre stretch of the river from Muttama to Pa-an (Hpa-an, 16°52′45.42″N, 97°38′28.77″E) and thence inland to Lampang (18°17′25.54″N, 99°30′37.43″E) and Phrae in Thailand (18°9′0.75″N, 100°9′12.67″E). We compare this riverine-maritime configuration to the Lampang-Phrae and U Thong-Nakhon Pathom-Khu Bua networks to highlight the synergy of maritime, riverine and overland interchange between lower Myanmar and Thailand (Dhida 1999: 46).

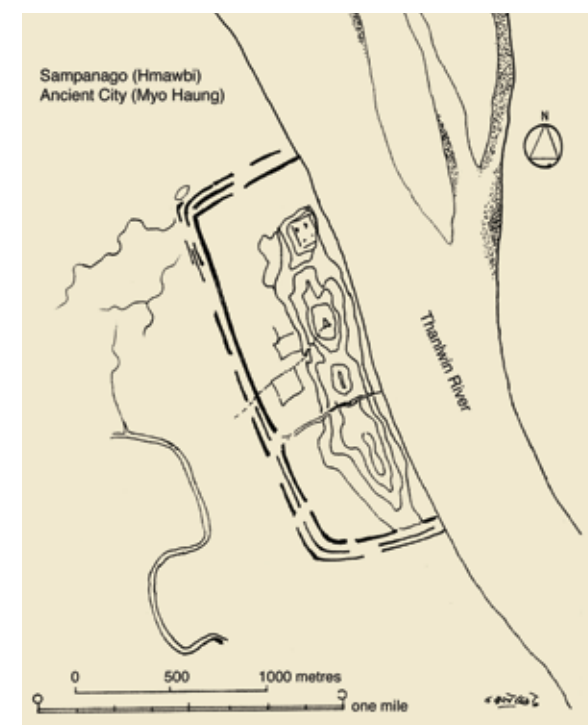
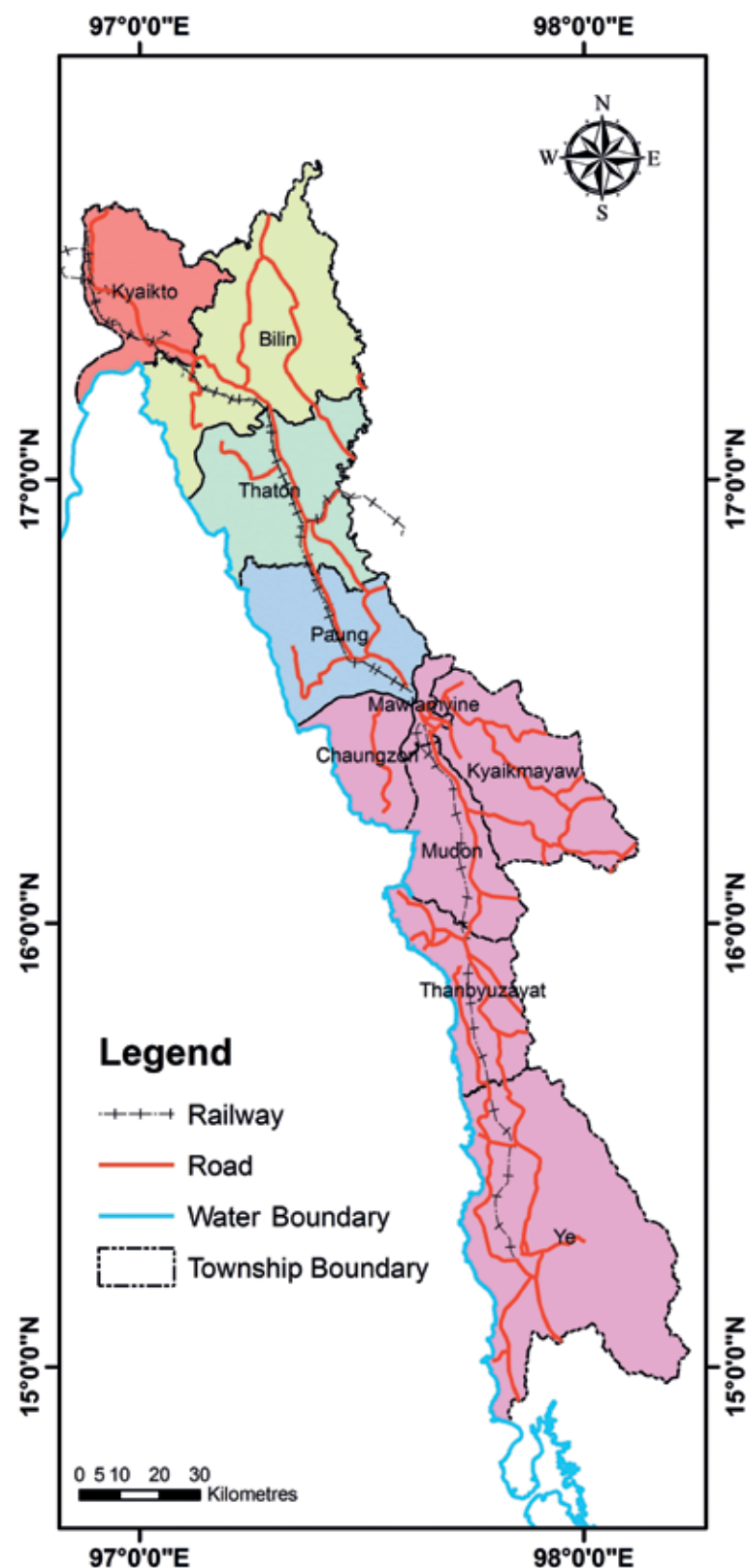


Figure 1: Walled site of Sampanago, aerial view [Drawing courtesy of Aung Myint 2542: 256].



Five River Confluence: Geographical Context

The ecological niche of Sampanago, called Puñjaluin in Mon is striking and a vital factor in understanding its longevity. The site is safely guarded from the drop into the Gulf of Muttama (Martaban), adjacent to the confluence of the Thanlwin, Attaran, Jaing, Dontami and Hlaingbwe rivers. The area is hilly, pocketed with swamp and flood areas. River meanders are common along this lower stretch of the Thanlwin with isolated limestone hills and caverns scattered along the ravine such as Kaw gun, Yathebyan, Pa-gat and Bingyi caves.

The surrounding hills are a continuation from those at Thaton, which stretch southward into two ranges [Map 3]. The eastern chain stretches from north to south-southeast to the confluence of Thanlwin and Dontami rivers at Sampanago. The southern more westerly range starts from Zimkyaik (Zingyaik) just south of Thaton and Kalama taung, summits with an average height of 914 metres. It continues south as the “Martaban hills,” connecting to the Taungnyo hills of Mawlamyaing (Moulmein) and the Ye area opposite Muttama. The end of this chain is rocky terrain called Muh Tamo’ in Mon (Muttama in Myanmar language) where chronicles record that King Wareru (r. 1287-96) founded the city Ratanapura in 1287.

Between two ranges is the alluvium of the lower Thanlwin valley with cultivation of various crops in a region of stream beds, meanders and islands.¹ As these details highlight, Sampanago was part of a vital nexus near to egress into the bay. The area was fertile, and not being directly on the tip of the landmass. “Kin Ywa” or revenue village, 3 kilometres upriver from the walled site, was probably a fortified way station for goods prior to shipment by sea or overland.

Walled Site Description

Sampanago is isolated, with no tarmac roads or railways near and around the city. The population consists of a small village at the west foot of the central hill, Dhat taw ywa, inhabited by Kayin (Karen) people but the rest of the site is covered with thick forest and bamboo glades. It is 19 kilometres east of Paung, the township headquarters, 38 kilometres south from Thaton, the district headquarters and 22 kilometres north from the capital of Mon state, Mawlamyaing. The site is easily accessible by boat from Mawlamyaing and Pa-an, the capital city of Kayin state, 23 kilometres north along the Thanlwin. It can also be reached overland via village tracks along the west bank of the river. The nearest sizeable town is Natmaw village, a ferry and local administration head-quarters 3.2 kilometres north at the confluence of Thanlwin and Dontami rivers.

The east wall of Sampanago is the Thanlwin (Salween) river with newly deposited sandbanks on the opposite side indicating erosion of the west bank. The walled site, first documented by Aung Myint from aerial photography, remains well preserved (2542: 255-261). Three ramparts (15-25 metres wide, 2-4 metres high) and moats enclose the site, best preserved on the inner wall on the southwest side [Figure 2]. The wall measures 620 metres in length on the north, 2000 metres on the west and 500 metres on the south (126 hectares). A long earthen hill on the east side near the river is said by villagers to be an ancient reclining

Opposite Map 2: Mon state and Ye township [Drawing courtesy of Thazin Kaing].

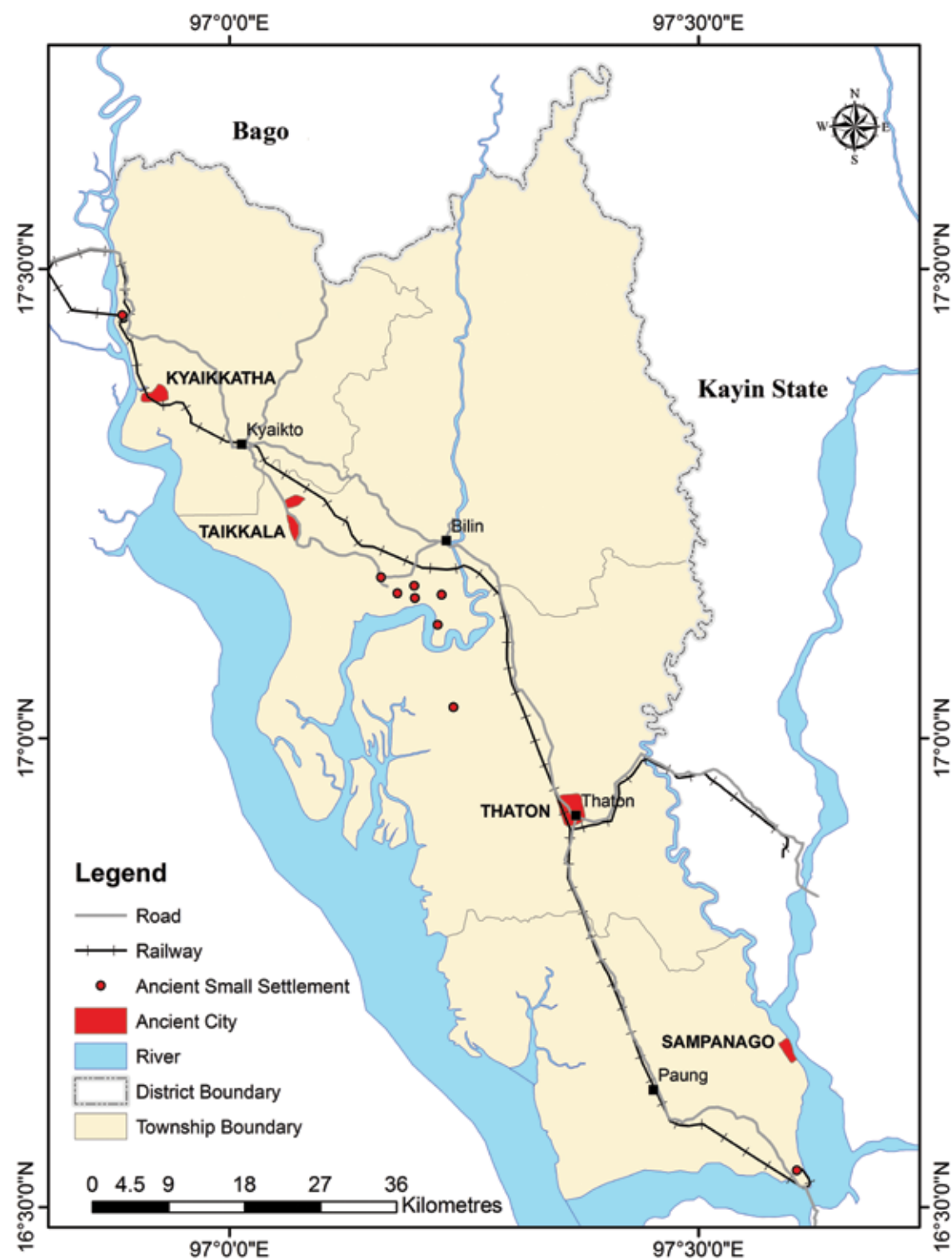


Figure 2: Moat on southwest of site
[Photograph by San Win].

image of the Buddha, with scattered laterite carvings around the site including a seated image of the Buddha (66 cm. height). The earthen and laterite ramparts are mixed with large (46 x 23 x 8 cm.) burnt bricks, including a number with finger-markings (Berliet 2011: 85; San Win 2530 and 2556) [Figure 3]. There are also brick reinforcements of later historical periods. Notably, however, large finger-marked bricks pointing to first millennium CE habitation have been found *in situ* throughout this area, including Kin Ywa to the north and Kyauksarit to the west.

The use of the moats to control water to flooded rice fields is seen on the southwest of the site where cultivation of *mayin* (summer paddy) has flattened the enclosing walls. The river comes close to the foot of the small range (ca 2.4 km.) within the walls that runs parallel to the river. This accounts for the slight widening of the site at points and the obtuse rounded angle of the southwest corner with possible remnants of a walled guard post extending to the southwest. The rectangular site is divided by a partition wall crossing from east to west two-thirds of the distance from the north to the south that may mark the limit of the original site subsequently extended south.

Ground Survey

The elevated area traditionally called the “palace site” and principal *stūpa* are in the northern part on a flattened area of about 0.4 hectares on the summit of the hill (40 metres) [Figure 4]. Six ruined *stūpas* were found on the summit during 2012 survey of the site, the largest, Dhat taw hpaya (relic *stūpa*) having been repaired in 2000 during one of the author’s previous trips to the site. From one *stūpa* on the southern hill of the complex under repair, a baked tablet (*mye-bon-hpaya* or “terracotta earth sacred image”) (7.6 x 5 cm.) was recovered from

Opposite Map 3: Ancient city sites mentioned in text [Drawing courtesy of Thazin Kaing].



Figure 3: *Dhat taw hpaya* or stūpa, “Palace” site within the walled site [Photograph by San Win].

a relic chamber that had been destroyed by treasure hunters.² The tablet was broken in the top portion by the looters, showing a seated image of the Buddha on the front while on the back a name “Shyan Mi” (*shan mi*) was inscribed, probably a monk who donated the tablet. Although only one tablet was found in the ruined stūpa, this type of tablet is seen in large numbers on the walls of Kaw gun cave where they are dated to the fifteenth to seventeenth century. The script on the back is Middle Mon probably dating to the fifteenth-sixteenth century era of the Muttama 32 *myos* or cities (Aye Kyaw 2514: 141-145; Shorto 1963).

At the foot of the hills, where the plains spread to the west walls, are the *ledawya* or royal rice fields. A number of beads dated to the early to middle first millennium CE were collected by one of the authors from surface survey, including barrels, short barrels, cylindrical ring and cylindrical examples made of bone, carnelian, agate and amber. The colours ranged from orange-yellow, orange and black, brown to yellow, bluish, and brown banded. Some had evenly spaced black and white line decorations although others were plain [Figure 5]. One large barrel-shaped bead, closely comparable to a bead from U Thong, had a black mid-section and orange ends (45 mm. in length, 12 mm. at mid-diameter with an end diameter of 6 mm.) (Dhida 1999: 99; Moore & Aung Myint 1993: fig. 58) [Figure 6]. Another was zoomorphic, a carnelian lion in a jumping or crouched position in orange colour about 40 mm. long with a hole penetrating the neck and tail. A villager in this area, U Chit Aye, reported recovering iron objects and ten stone beads at a depth of 1.8 metres from a well in front of his house, which he gave to the township office in Paung township. U Khin Shwe from this office showed one of the authors the beads but these were unfortunately lost during 1988 riots in Paung township. Similar beads are kept at the Ministry of Culture Museum in Mawlamyaing, some recently looted examples, and comparable from upper Myanmar include sites such as Maingmaw (Pinle), Taungdwingyi, Halin, Srikssetra and Beikthano. Other parallels can be seen in beads from central and southern Thailand, including Thung Tuck on the west coast (Boonyarit & Rarai 2552).

A significant number of pottery finds were also made during surface survey. These include an intact jar, 40 cm. high with a tall neck, flaring body and flat base (Naw Yuzana Win 2009) [Figure 7]. While the rim of the jar has broken, in form, decoration and finish, it closely recalls an unglazed stoneware baluster jar (52 cm.) dated to the fourteenth to fifteenth century Sukhothai or Ayutthaya period from the Ban Bang Pun kilns, Suphan Buri province, western-central Thailand kept in the Freer-Sackler collection.³ Larger glazed “Martaban” jars have been found in nearby regions, one over a metre in height, with its glaze well preserved, and recent documentation of a road cut exposing numerous vessels and an associated kiln structure [Figures 8-9]. Other surface finds from survey in 2012, yielded a mixture of similar ironware and thinner, red-orange pottery incised with curvilinear wave and V-shaped designs [Figure 10]. These recall Dvāravatī wares from Khu Mueang, Sing Buri province (Phasook 2528: figs 16, 17, 20). The dating of a terracotta model of an elephant, however, remains open to discussion [Figure 11]. The 6 cm. model, decorated with rows small circular and tear-drop shaped stamped motifs on the back and flank recalls similar zoomorphic figures documented at Thung Tuck and in the



Figure 4: Finger-marked bricks from area of Sampanago [Photograph by San Win].

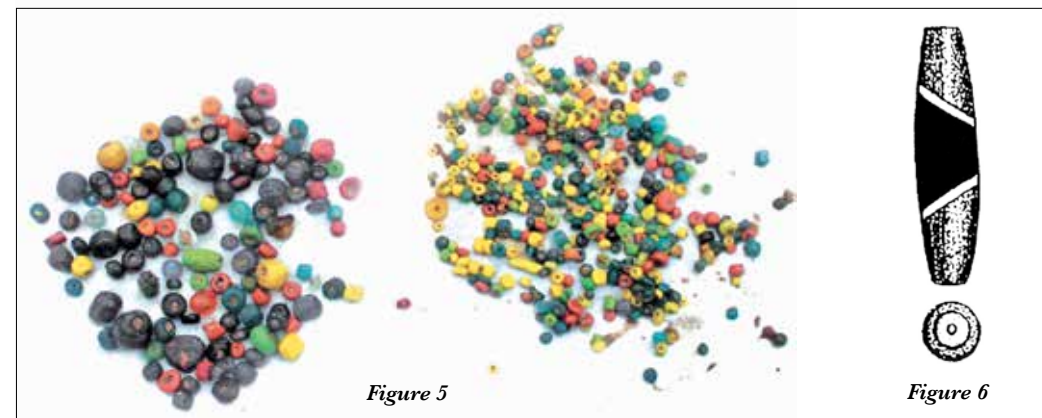


Figure 5

Figure 6

U Thong National Museum where elephants of comparable size decorate the top of covers or lids for pots (Boonyarit & Rarai 2552; Podjanok Kanjanajuntorn, pers. comm.).

Figure 5: Recent bead finds at Mupun, Mawlamyaing/Moulmein [Photograph by San Win].

Figure 6: Barrel bead from Sampanago, black mid-section with orange ends separated from middle section by a white line; 45 mm. length, mid-diameter 12 mm., end diameter 6 mm. [After Moore & Aung Myint 1993: fig. 58].

Comparison with Other Walled Sites

Thailand

The form of Sampanago is similar to the Dvāravatī sites of Khu Bua (13°29'30.72"N, 99°49'56.36"E) and U Thong (14°22'32.00"N, 99°53'32.00"E) although neither is on a river and neither encloses substantial upland area (Dhida 1999: 61, 96-97). However, small artefacts such as beads and the elephant terracotta model mentioned above are common at Khu Bua and U Thong, with links between the brick architecture of these sites to structures such as Winka near Sampanago (Moore & San Win 2007). As discussed below, there are historical links to the later cities of Lampang and Phrae although the moats, walls and topography again differ in enclosing a flat rather than hilly area.

The strongest comparisons, however, are with other sites in lower Myanmar which like Sampanago were designed to cope with the strong variations in the seasonal monsoons. These include the closely distributed walled sites of Muttama, Thaton, Don wun, Winka, Ayetthama, and Bago (Pegu).

Muttama

Muttama (Martaban, 97 hectares) is located on the east part of the 152 metre high Martaban range mentioned earlier. The town site faces the river on the east, while the west wall runs along the hillocks with Kyaikphyinku “pagoda” on the south-west. The only visible portion of the wall is that running from the mountain to the river on the north, today known as the Sezon quarter. However, on the northwest the corner is visible and Kyaik Kalunpun stūpa sits on the southwest edge of a 0.5 kilometre long oval-shaped rampart. While Muttama is widely known for trans-shipping of large “Martaban” glazed jars, the origins of the city



Figure 7: Baluster jar with line decorations on shoulder from the site compared with 14th to 15th century jar from central Thailand [Photograph courtesy of Yuzana Win].



Figure 9: Section of road cut near Mawlamyaing showing in situ vessels [Photograph courtesy of Thazin Kaing].



Figure 8: Glazed jar found at In-yar, Paw-kyu-kone, near Mawlamyaing [Photograph courtesy of Nan Kyi Kyi Kyang].



Figure 10: Sherds and pot [Drawing by San Win].

are hazy. It has also been proposed that Sampanago was the Kalaśapura or “City of Pots” referred to in a seventh century CE Sanskrit inscription found at Śrīkṣetra. References to Kalaśapura and its king, Śrī Parameśvara, hint at a southern port for the Pyu (Gutman 2001: 109, n. 1).

Thaton

Thaton (286 ha., 16°54'30.46"N, 97°22'8.16"E) is laid out on the escarpment of laterite high ground or *myenigon*,⁴ red-earth soil which is slightly elevated from the surrounding rice fields. The site naturally fortified on the east by the 2.4 kilometre long Myathabaik hills with the lowland swamp of Leik-in (Tortoise-lake) on the west, perhaps remnants of the Old Thaton harbour. This may have connected with the Sa Chaung or Thaton river, an old canal parallel to the railway which extends 16 kilometres to the northwest. Numerous small town sites such as Hsin Phyu Kyun (16°56'16.56"N, 97°20'29.14"E), Mayangon (16°59'7.26"N, 97°15'6.71"E), Seik Kyun (17° 0'1.66"N, 97°14'47.10"E), Kadaikgyi (17° 2'2.59"N, 97°14'20.40"E) and Kadaikgaleh (17° 3'18.26"N, 97°13'49.18"E) are located on isolated mounds of laterite high ground 80-160 metres above the surrounding rice fields on the west of this canal with artefacts such as pottery, beads and *mye-bon-hpaya* tablets dating to the first millennium CE.

Don Wun

Don wun (17° 8'35.26"N, 97°16'30.09"E), 16 kilometres north of Thaton, dates to the fifteenth-sixteenth century Hanthawaddy period of the “32 *myos*” or cities, but the site is linked to Thaton and Muttama, referred to in the *Chronicle of the Mons* as “Wun” and the trader Makuta who befriended the king of Sukhothai and eventually became Wariraw of Muttama (“Rock Slab City”) (Tun Aung Chain 2010: 32-46).

Bago and Other Sites

Similar artefacts have been recovered in Taikkala (Ayetthama, 17°14'39.48"N, 97° 3'44.24"E and Winka, 17°13'34.42"N, 97° 4'16.07"E), Kyaikkatha (269 ha.), another of the 32 *myos* (satellite towns) of the sixteenth century kingdom of Hanthawaddy, Sittaung (72 ha., Kyaikkalun Pon Hpaya) and its sentinel site, Kawhtin (16 ha.).

The outer wall of Bago (Ussā-Hanthawaddy) (17°20'2.97"N, 96°30'42.38"E, 120 ha.) located adjacent to the northeast wall of Bayinnaung's sixteenth century city, encloses a hillock approximately 1,500 x 800 metres called Hinthagon (“resting place of goose”) [Figure 12]. The length of the hillock is similar to that at Sampanago but its height, at 28 metres, is only 10 metres above the surrounding terrain while that at Sampanago, 39 metres is twice that of the surrounding area. It is however, the only site paralleling the unusual topography of Sampanago. The Bago “pagoda,” the Shwemawdaw *Thamaing* or chronicle history dates the city to 825 CE with a line of seventeen kings linked to Sampanago starting from Thamala, Wimala and Assakumma.⁵



Figure 11: Model of elephant (6 cm.) from Sampanago [Photograph by San Win].



Figure 12: The near square 16th century palace enclosure at Bago with the remains of the earlier oblong city of Ussā-Hanthawaddy to the east [Photograph courtesy of Williams-Hunt Collection (SOAS); geo-referenced by S. Lertlum].

Site Distribution

In short, Sampanago was part of a network of walled sites extending for some 100 kilometres from northwest to southeast, their form primarily determined by the coastal region terrain between the Sittaung and Thanlwin rivers. Thaton, Hsin Phyu Kyun, Don wun and other sites parallel Sampanago's proximity to water transport routes.

Walled enclosures reflecting the lateritic landscape are seen throughout the area, including Kyaikkatha, Sittaung and Kadaikgyi while the construction of ramparts around a markedly elevated area is seen at Ussā-Bago. Within this network, sites of different sizes and shapes profile a distinct regional adaptation, fluctuating site hierarchy and chronology of at least the middle to late first millennium CE. Combining this archaeology and chronicle records, Sampanago may have been the successor of Thaton and immediate predecessor of Ussā-Bago. This is supported by the size of the site, as Sampanago-Lakunbyin (126 ha.) is larger than others of the Muttama 32 *myos* such as Wagaru (2,000 metres circumference) or Don wun and larger than Sittaung (72 ha.) although smaller than Kyaikkatha (369 ha.) and Thaton (259 ha.) with their well-developed central palace site.

The most viable context within which to understand the long chronology and multiple names referring to Sampanago, however, is that of an inter-linked trade and pilgrimage network linking this lower part of the Thanlwin both to the sea and overland to Thailand.

Origins of Sampanago

The name "Sampanago" is thought to derive from the Pāli element "sampa" (*sappa*) (Htoke Sein 1978: 640). Pronounced as "thampa" in Myanmar, it is distinct from words such as *zabegī*, boa constrictor and *zabaoun*, python (Myanmar Language commission 1993: 103). At present, written references for Sampanago are limited in two chronicle tales, one of a *nāga*-queen, the mother of princes Thamala and Wimala, the founders of Bago and the other of a Khmer *nāga*-princess who comes to Bago. In both cases the accounts are understood here as not an actual reptile but reference to a local female lineage and fecundity, possibly associated with serpent veneration.

In the first of these, it is said that when King Theinnaginga was ruling in Dhañyawaddy (Old Muttama) he mated with a maiden, the queen, who was born from an egg laid by a female *nāga*. She gave birth to two sons, the twin brothers of Thamala and Wimala, founded Hanthawaddy city. Another traditional account holds that prince Assa, the successor of King Wimala at Bago (Ussā, Ussī)⁶ was famed as a warrior in fighting with Indian merchant groups. His renown spread to Khmer regions and in due course, a Khmer princess of the same *nāga* race as prince Assa, came to Bago to be married to this prince (British Burma Gazetteer 1879; Tin Gyi 1931).

It has been argued that the Assa story is a later tale, but the relevance here is the repeated use of the *nāga* metaphor in relation to the Muttama-Sampanago and Bago (Aung-Thwin 2005: 94). Notably, the Sampanago name survived into the colonial era, mentioned as a deserted village circle (Tsampa-na-go) in the Martaban (Muttama) township, Amherst (Moulmein, Mawlamyaing) district. The location is correct for Sampanago, lying on the right bank of the Thanlwin (Salween) below the Bheng Laing or Dontami river with a population of 4,402 in 1877-78 being assessed for the British capitation tax for Rs. 4,327 and land revenue was Rs. 3,893 (British Burma Gazetteer 1879: II, 834). After that the village was deserted and the population shifted to nearby villages with only the name Sampanago remaining on the British One Inch map of Burma (No. 94, H, 10) between Nathmaw village in the north and Hmawbi in the south.

Written accounts combining Sampanago with "Lakunbyin" occur in 1783 and 1874 orders of King Bodawpaya (Badon), the *Muttama 32 myos siltan* (The Revenue Inquest of King Bodawpaya for Muttama 32 *myos*) where one of the palm leaf manuscripts notes that:

[...] lakunbyin town being set up a palace (for kings), (it was called), "Sampanago-Lagwanprañ" and by the Mon they called it as "Lakunbyin," King Sitta ruled over it. (Yangon, National Library Palm-leaf manuscripts, no. 2272, "ku" leaf, back face; lines 8-9)

From citations such as these, we suggest that Sampanago and Lakunbyin refer to the same place, with the former being the original name and the latter an additional one. Further, as discussed below, the name "Lagwanprañ" or "Lakunbyin" recurs in the later alleged Mon migration of Haripuñjaya.

Origins of Lakunbyin

The name “Lakunbyin” (Laganphen in Mon) is also given to a site near Hlegu in Bago with both possibly connected with the often-cited Mon migration from the Haripuñjaya Mon kingdom of Queen “Samadevi” (Cāmadevī) in the tenth or eleventh century (Woodward, this volume). This migration is best known from the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, a northern Thai chronicle written some time between 1410 and 1417 by a monk named Bodhiramṣī, who noted as follows:

At that time the early tenth century the people of Haripuñjaya suffered from a widespread cholera epidemic [...] the remaining population of Haripuñjaya, in order to save their own lives, fled to a city named Sudhamma [Thaton] and settled there. The city of Haripuñjaya consequently fell into decline and was abandoned [...]. The king of Pukam [Bagan or Pagan] observing the masses of weak and starving people, was moved to pity and out of his compassion restored the city of Sudhamma for them to occupy. Unable to bear their suffering any longer, the people of Haripuñjaya left Sudhamma [Thaton] and went to Hamsavati [Bago or Pegu] [...] where they continued to live. At that time the king of Hamsavati seeing the [needs of the] people of Haripuñjaya, [...] gave them many necessities, including clothing, jewelry, paddy, rice, various salty and sour foods, and dwelling places. (Swearer & Sommai 1998: 105-106)

There are many ambiguities in this statement such as why the people left Thaton for Bago. However, while the account has been queried due to the later date of extant copies it is generally agreed that the migration came from the area of Lamphun, Lampang and Phrae in upper-central Thailand (Aung-Thwin 2005: 92).⁷ Their route would have taken them across the Thanlwin at Dakwin near Pa-an and continued along the upper reaches of Bilin river and valley of the Yanzalin river that joins the Thanlwin near Myaing-gyi-ngu opposite Kamamaung in Kayin state. From there, they could easily reach Sampanago-Lakunbyin. Accepting the traditional occupation of Thaton by Aniruddha in 1057, we postulate that the city may have been governed by an appointee of Bagan [Pagan], mentioned in the legend of Queen Cāma as the “king of Pukam.” The presence of a Bagan governor and depopulation from the occupation may have made Bago (Hamsavati) a more secure and prosperous refuge for the Mons from Haripuñjaya:

The inhabitants of Haripuñjaya and of Hamsavati came to know and love each other. Even their languages were the same [...]. When the disease was brought under control those who want to return to Haripuñjaya departed and dwelt again in the city [...]. The people of Hamsavati, who still love their friends and relatives in Haripuñjaya often, visited them bearing many letters. (Swearer & Sommai 1998: 105-106)

In brief, the name Lakunbyin at Bago and Muttama (Thaton) may derive from this Mon migration from central Thailand with “lakun” recalling Lamphun and “byin” for Phrae. In any case, the name

survived into later records, at times paired with Sampanago and at others mentioned as Lakunbyin. For example, in a royal order dated 10 February 1806, “[...] Ychthinbala, the servant of Sakaingmin, is appointed to be Myosa, Governor of Lakunbyin, in Muttama confederation” which suggests that Lakunbyin was a satellite town or in the revenue circle of Muttama.

In the *Muttama 32 myos sittan* revenue inquest of Bowdawpaya noted above, dated the eighth waxing day of Nattaw in 1145 (Myanmar Era = 1783 CE)⁸ soon after he had ascended the throne on the fourteenth waning day of Tapotwe, Monday, in 1144 (1782 CE) the names of the 32 *myos* included Lakunbyin (Pinnya 2462-81: 28).⁹ Lakunbyin appears again in Aye Kyaw’s work (2514: 141-145), where he divided the Muttama region into two parts, west and east of the Thanlwin. Lakunbyin, although not exactly located, is included in the western group.

A different name is given in Nai Pan Hla’s editing of the *Rajādhiraj Ayedawpun Kyān*, where he notes it as “Lagwanbyin” in Myanmar and “Dun Laganphen” in Mon. The importance of the site in this work was its strategic position in the connections between Muttama and Zimme (Chiang Mai) and Bago (Hanthawaddy or Hamsavati) in the fourteenth century. Three years after the accession of King Banya-Oo (r. 1348-1383), father of Rajādhiraj, the rebellion of Saw-ai-dit and Baw-kray broke out in Don wun. When the rebels were defeated they fled to Chiang Mai for asylum but returned to attack Muttama with the help of Chiang Mai. Although the attack failed, many lesser towns along the way to Muttama such as Sittaung, Taikkala, Don wun, Yinnyain and Lakunbyin were destroyed by the rebels (Nai Pan Hla 2541: 48-49). Taking this order in its geographical context, Lakunbyin was not far from Muttama.

Again, fifteen years into Banya-Oo’s Muttama reign another rebellion broke out. The king, in distress because of the death of his white elephant, went up to the forest in search of good elephants, taking his ministers, armed men and family. This time, the rebel leader was his brother in law, Brat Htaba, the governor of Muttama to whom he entrusted guardianship of his throne. Brat Htaba had three brothers, Eiprabun, the governor of Lakunbyin, Lokphya, the governor of Myaungmya and U-lo, the governor of Mawlamyaing. They also armed their towns against Banya-Oo. As King Banya-Oo could not defeat this rebellion, he abandoned Muttama and lived in exile in Don wun for six years before re-establishing Bago (Hanthawaddy) in 731 (1369 CE). During his stay at Don wun (Ton Wun) his chief queen Śrī Māyā (Medaw) gave birth to a son Apason or Banya Nwe, later who become King Rajādhiraj (Nai Pan Hla 2541: 68).

As soon as Rajādhiraj became king in 745 (1383 CE) in Bago he attacked his rivals in the lower Myanmar 32 *myos* and started to fight Don wun, Tayai, Thanmaung and Lakunbyin. In the battle of Lakunbyin, Rajādhiraj ordered the whole town to be set on fire. As the governor of Lakunbyin, Baw-la-gun, was busy fighting a fire on his elephant’s back, Rajādhiraj’s men cut him down and killed him on the spot. Rajādhiraj then occupied the town, made Lakunbyin his base to attack Muttama and conquered Muttama, Mawlamyaing and all the 32 cities in the region. A similar event occurred in a battle of Muttama during the reign of King Tabinshwehti of Taungoo (Toungoo, 1530-1550 CE). In 899 (1537 CE), soon after becoming the king of Hanthawaddy (Bago),

Tabinshwehti marched on the Muttama 32 *myos*. The *Maharajawanthit* (“The Great New Chronicle”) compiled by Maha-sithu U Tun Nyo records the name of Lakunbyin (Lakwnphyan, Lawan) upstream of Muttama (Kyaw Win 2551: 39, 60).

The Muttama defence lines were strong with walls made along the sides of the hills. On the river side were seven ships armed with cannons that destroyed the troops of Tabinshwehti. Tabinshwehti’s fleet as well, some 3,000 war boats and 130,000 armed men, could not manage to advance. The siege lasted for two months with attacks by river and land until at last, Tabinshwehti appointed Thamañ Maru as his admiral and made Lakunbyin his headquarters. The admiral ordered his men to build a bamboo raft measuring 189 metres in length and 91 metres in width, on which they piled firewood up to a height of 9 metres. Another bamboo raft was built bigger than the former measuring 549 metres in length and 110 metres in width on which they built a stockade higher than the walls of Muttama. They arranged battlements, railings and cannons on the stockade and after setting fire to the piles of firewood on the raft, set the two bamboo rafts afloat upstream from Lakunbyin so they would move downstream to Muttama at dawn when tidal current started to retreat. As a result, all seven ships at Muttama harbour were burnt, and as there were no ships to guard the river side on the east of Muttama, the raft with the stockade approached the city and fired its cannons. The troops guarding the city fled from their defence lines and Tabinshwehti occupied Muttama (Kyaw Win 2551: 34-35). As all these accounts underscore, Lakunbyin was an ideal military base as it was only a short way from Muttama with its defences sustained in subsequent centuries.

Dhañyawaddy and Du’Wop

With Dhañyawaddy and Du’wop, we bring Kaw gun cave into the Sampanago-Lakunbyin network. The link is vital as Kaw gun, the most significant archaeological and religious site in this region, probably stood more closely to Sampanago-Lakunbyin than Muttama. It is not only Kaw gun for there are further caverns of note less than 3 kilometres to the northwest, at Yathebyan (16°50’28.83”N, 97°33’50.70”E) with further caves in the area at Hpa-gat, Bingyi (Bayinnyi) and Dhatkyaik. Finger-marked bricks (46 x 41 x 5 cm.) recorded from Kaw gun suggesting a first millennium CE date supported by the iconography of many of the *mye-bon-hpaya* tablets and carvings in the cave as well as palaeographic dating of the epigraphy.

All the caves in this area have long been a matter of study, with the first British visit in 1827 by the envoy John Crawford. At Kaw gun, the entire outer and inner surface of the walls and ceiling are covered with *mye-bon-hpaya* tablets of Sukhothai style dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth century CE [Figure 13]. Over time, they have been arranged symmetrically to make terraces and spires, many painted brown and golden colours (Nai Pan Hla 2007: 68). The plaques and other carvings in stone bear many images of Buddha in regalia seated in meditation or with legs pendant (Than Tun 2002: 23-24). There are also images of the reclining Buddha, all framed with floral designs and arches and pediments as well as dancing half-bird figures (*kinnarā-kinnarī*). One standing image of the Buddha is in the fearless



hand gesture (*abhaya mudrā*), others flanked by royally dressed figures, or ones bearing a human head on a lion body or two lively *yakṣas*. It is within this cave that several significant early inscriptions for our study of Sampanago-Lakunbyin are found, one including the phrase “*dun du’ wop*” that we connect to Dhañyawaddy.

The compound-word “Dhañyawaddy” derives from the Sanskrit *dhānya* for rice or paddy and *vatī* for town site. It was a common name for any site with suitable or arable rice lands. So while in Myanmar this name is often linked to the Buddhist walled site in Rakhine state (Arakan), it may also be a reasonable referent to the walled site north of Muttama, Sampanago-Lakunbyin. The name is used for the Muttama region in the Mon chronicle, as “Dhaññavati-Mottama” linked with “Suvannabhūmi-Sudhammavati” (Thaton) and Hanthawaddy (Hamsavati or Bago/Pegu) through the Gavampati tradition of the Buddha’s visit to the Mon lands (Tun Aung Chain 2010: xxviii).

Dhañyawaddy may also be connected to the name Du’wop, mentioned in an Old Mon inscription engraved on the inner hem of the adorned so-called “Jambūpati Buddha” found in Kaw gun cave, 17 kilometres north of Sampanago. Scholars agree that Mon phonology, grammar and lexicon changed considerably over time, some contending a linguistic evolution which is unparalleled elsewhere in Southeast Asia (Shorto 1971: ix). In this context, we suggest that “Du’ wop” in Old Mon comes from the Sanskrit *dhānya* or Pāli *dhāṇṇa* and *vatī*, with the first changing to “*du*” and the second to “*wop*” to accord with local pronunciation and scripts. Nai Pan Hla has noted a similar pattern of shortening in Indic words when brought into Old Mon (2007: 107-110) [Appendix 1].

Figure 13: Overhang at Kaw gun cave showing the reliefs and images donated by pilgrims over the centuries [Photograph by San Win].

The inscription, as seen below, also mentions Sampanago (Campānagara or Campānāga) with Nai Pan Hla (2007: 70) connecting Du'wop to this site:

The name of the city given in the Old Mon inscriptions engraved on the inner hem of the Jambupati Buddha found in Kaw gun cave is entirely unknown. We cannot trace the name of a city called Du' Wop in any Mon chronicles. The nearest city name known as Campānagara [Campānāga] is located about five miles north of Martaban [Muttama] and some 25 miles south of Kaw gun cave.

The Kaw gun image, described by Nai Pan Hla as Jambūpati, may in fact depict the descent of the Buddha from Tāvatiṃsa, with a second similar image also found at Kaw gun having been identified in this manner (Naw Yuzana Win 2009: 51; San Win 2556: 89).

Remarkably, there is a duplicate of the Kaw gun inscription at Thaton, like the Kaw gun example, not bearing a date (Chit Thein 2509: 9-10). A duplicate of it was placed in the *dharmayon* of the Thaton Shwesayan “pagoda” by Taw Sein Ko in the early twentieth century and still kept in an inscription shed in the “pagoda” compound. Thus, even though we are not able to give a precise date, the similar palaeography temporally pairs Kaw gun and Thaton while the inscription itself puts Sampanago into the same timeframe and site network. The inscription, according to Nai Pan Hla (2007: 70), reads as follows:

This image of Lord Buddha, it was I, queen Muh Tah residing in the city of Du'wop who carved and made this Holy Buddha. Stone and clay Buddha situated either in this city or outside the kingdom were made by one together with my followers who were skilled in carving stone images. Many other teachers and craft men appear to carve Buddhas of stone!

The Old Mon inscription from Kaw gun is dated by Nai Pan Hla (2007: 68) to the tenth century, correlating it with a Hindu *trimūrti* stone relief bearing similar Mon writing identifying the piece as Viṣṇu. Moreover, a three line old inscriptions referring to Śrī Parameśvara is inscribed on the wall of the Kaw gun cave audience hall in Sanskrit mixed with Mon. Palaeographically, this undated inscription is ascribed in the seventh century (Nai Pan Hla 2007: 67).

As noted above, along with the proper name, queen Muh Tah, the inscription also contains a place name, “Don du'wop,” where we follow Nai Pan Hla in connecting to Sampanago-Lakunbyin not later than tenth century. Many scholars have long debated the location of Du'wop, with Gordon Luce locating it near Pa-an in Kayin state (1953: 5 and 1985). Michael Aung-Thwin included it in a table of forty urban, sacred/mythical and natural sites in lower Myanmar all of which he dates to the eleventh-thirteenth century.¹⁰ Du'wop, despite Luce's identification as an urban site, is estimated as fourteenth century in reference to the reign of an unnamed queen. As the inscription described above is without a written date, he postulates that queen Muh Tah was the fifteenth century Shin Saw Bu (Aung-Thwin 2005: 59, Table 1).¹¹

Conclusion

While problems have been raised on drawing connections between Thaton, Muttama and Bago (17°18'34.77"N, 96°29'41.73"E), the Myanmar landscape we describe is more complex, drawing in Kaw gun caves (16°49'36.59"N, 97°35'8.85"E) and Winka (17°13'34.79"N, 97°4'16.07"E) to the northwest of Sampanago (Aung-Thwin 2005: 79-103). We bring together legends and artefacts to define the trading networks of the Mon state in the late first millennium and early second millennium CE. An ancient town site of Sampanago-Lakunbyin may also have been called Dhañyawaddy, a name derived from Du'wop in Old Mon. Because it is built beside the rocky mountain it was also called Muh Tamo' or Muttama (Martaban), a name well-known in the thirteenth century.

The site thus appears to have been referred to as Sampanago-Lakunbyin, Muttama, Dhañyawaddy and Du'wop. Each reflects the different conditions, with Sampanago and Lakunbyin for example, perhaps different groups of Mon-Khmer speaking people. Dhañyawaddy, a Sanskrit-derived word, recalls the local ecology and appears to have survived in inscriptions such as those at Kaw gun cave as Du'wop, a Mon derivation of Dhañyawaddy. Recalling their mother's *nāga* lineage, Thamala and Wimala, the legendary founders of Hanthawaddy-Bago are said to have migrated from Sampanago, the “City of Serpents,” in the sixth century. The next Mon influx would have been from Haripuñjaya or Lamphun with its associations to the name Lakunbyin. Other chronicles and traditional stories call it Dhañyawaddy (blessed place) with Sanskrit origins, Muttama and Du'wop, the last possibly a Mon derivation of Dhañyawaddy.

Artefacts from ground survey supporting a sixth to ninth century culture include coins, beads and finger-marked bricks paralleling finds from Khu Bua, U Thong and other early sites in Kanchanaburi, Thailand. Sampanago's location on the Thanlwin thus facilitated trade eastwards as well as to the north, west and to the coast. Sampanago-Lakunbyin did not exist in isolation, with artefacts, sculpture, chronicles and inscriptions from Thaton (Sudhamma) and Kaw gun (Kotgon) cave defining the significant role of the Mons in lower Myanmar in the second half of the first millennium CE.

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Appendix 1: Glossary of Place Names

Amherst: Headquarters of a district in the Tenasserim division of lower Myanmar (14° 56’-17° 2’ N, 97° 27’ - 98° 51’ E). It is called Kyaik-kha-mī in Mon with the Myanmar name the same. The city was named in honour of Lord Amherst (1773-1857 CE), the British Commissioner who first governed in Kyaik-kha-mī.

Attaran: A tributary entering the Salween (Thanlwin) at their confluence, which Mon people call “bīkatat” meaning the river where fishes spawn.

Ayetthama (Ayassma): A village located on the north of Mt Kelāsa, Bilin township, Mon state, lower Myanmar. Ayetthama and Winka are traditionally considered part of the first “Suvannabhūmi” later shifting to Thaton.

Bago: Myanmar pronunciation for Pegu which was formerly known as Hamsavatī (“City of the Brahman Ducks;” see Hinthagon). The Mons also called Upéku, carrying the sense of being helped by a stratagem (*upāya* in Pāli means stratagem) and Ussā (after Orissa in India). Thamala and Wimala, the twin sons of Theinnaganga, the legendary king of Dhañyawaddy in 592 CE, who were exiled from their father’s kingdom when it was discovered that their mother was of *nāga* parentage, traditionally founded the city.

Bheng Laing: The upper reaches of Dontami river near Sampanago are called “Bhan-luin” in Mon. There was an old town site with the same name.

Bingyi: A limestone cave in the Kaw gun group near Thaton with numerous Buddha statues inside dated to be Muttama period of the thirteenth century CE onwards.

Dhañyawaddy: In Pāli *dhañña* meaning uncooked grain, in Sanskrit *dhānya*, to bring in or bestowing wealth and good fortune; auspicious, virtuous. An old name of Muttama, also known as Sampanago-Lakunbyin.

Dhatkyaik: A limestone cave near Thaton called Thuim-dhāt-kyāk in Mon meaning the “cave enshrined with the Buddha relic.” Finger-marked bricks have been found in that cave indicating its use in the first millennium CE.

Dhat taw ywa: A village of Kayin people located inside the walled site of Sampanago on the western slope of the central hill where a *stūpa* called Dhat taw ceti is located.

Dontami (Tontami): A river named after a town site called Dun-tam in Mon, which means the new town. It flows into the Thanlwin (Salween) north of Sampanago.

Don wun (Tonwun): An old town site near Thaton. “Donwān” in Mon means “Laterite City” from *don* meaning town or city and *wān* meaning laterite.

Du’wop (Du’wop’): A short form of Mon probably derived from Dhañyawaddi, the old Muttama town site probably at Sampanago.

Hinthagon: A small hillock located inside the walled site of Hanthawaddy. The word derives from “Hamsa Hill” where according to the chronicles the two Brahman ducks, male and female, rested one on top of the other, at the time of Lord Buddha who foretold that on this spot Hanthawaddy city would be built.

Hlaingbwe: “Lhuin blai” in Mon, used to designate a river and an old town site near Thaton now located in Kayin state.

Hmawbi: Derived from *mhow bī* in Mon, meaning river ferry port, now a small village on the west bank of Thanlwin (Salween).

Hsin Phyu Kyun: From *tka’ cin btān* in Mon meaning the island of the white elephant, located on the north-west part of the walled site of Thaton.

Jaing: A river joining together with Thanlwin (Salween) called “Bigrān” in Mon.

Kadaikgaleh: This ancient site is called “Little Kadaik” in Myanmar and “Katak tot” in Mon. (*kata̰k* means a shark-like fresh water catfish and *tot* means little). It is a village built on laterite high ground surrounded by walls and a moat located on the east bank of Bilin river.

Kadaikgyi: A village 1.6 kilometres east of Kadaikgaleh called “Kata̰k jnok” in Mon (“Big Kadaik”). The ancient site is built on a large area of laterite high ground surrounded by walls and a moat.

Kalama taung: The name means “Mountain of Indian Lady” (914 metres in elevation), the highest place in the Thaton-Muttama region and a continuation of Mt Zingyaik (797 metres in elevation). First millennium CE habitation sites have been documented on its slopes and summit.

Kaw gun (Kotgon): A celebrated Buddhist limestone cavern near a village called Kaw gun located on the west bank of Thanlwin (Salween) in Kayin state. Other caverns of the same type are found in the area including the group of Pagat, Yathebyan, Bingyi, and Dhatkyaik.

Kyaikphyinku: This site name refers to a *stūpa* known in Mon as “Kyāk plan pau” which is built on the peak where the Buddha and his Arahats first came during the Buddha’s journeys to Suvannabhūmi (Thaton) related in the Mon Chronicle. The *stūpa* is located in the southwest corner of the present Muttama old city.

Kyaik Kalunpun: This refers to a *stūpa* called “Kyāk klam ban” in Mon, said that to have been built on the spot where the Buddha and his Arahats were prevented from continuing their journey by a hundred ogres

standing with their hands clasped. The name means the “pagoda” embraced by a hundred ogres with their outstretched arms located in the northwest corner of the walled site of old Muttama.

Kyaikkatha: The name of a *stūpa* located in a village of the same name after the legendary hero Smañ Assh of the Bago (Pegu-Hamsāvatī) dynasty with remains of the earlier Old Mon (Thaton) period.

Kawhtin: This site is known as “Ko’ hteiñ” in Mon, which is a village and a small walled town site just south of Kyaikkatha.

Kyauksarit: This place name is “Tmo’ krah” in Mon, meaning “pebble.” It is a small river joining the Dontami and the name of a village located southwest of Sampanago. A brick structure with finger-marked bricks indicating its antiquity was found at Kyauksarit village.

Lakunbyin (Lagunbyin): One of the historically documented “32 *myos*” or towns of Muttama which was built on the site of the Mon Sampanago-Dhañyawaddi town of the later Mon period (thirteenth century CE).

Mayangon: The village of Mayangon (in Myanmar) means a high ground where the Mayan trees (*Bouea burmanica*) grow located close to Kadaikgyi and Kadaikgaleh. The Pāli for Mayan is *muragan̐*. The Mons call it “Maruiksabum.” In 2006, 137 Neolithic polished stone implements were documented at the village following dredging works.

Mawlamyaing: This site was known as Moulmein in English, now the capital city of the Mon state. The Mons call it “Mat ma Luim” and in Pāli it is Rammāvati.

Muttama: This site is Martaban in English, “Muh Tamo” in Mon and the Myanmar call it “Madama,” meaning “Rock Slab City.” The *Chronicle of the Mons* (Tun Aung Chain 2010: 7-8) states that “the Lord Buddha, [...] then went [flying] through the sky with 500 arahats, and, in the seven cities of Dhaññavati, Kasavati, Pupphavati, Hanthawaddy (Hamsāvatī), Rammavati, Karanaratthavati and Rock Slab City where he arrived, he attained the achievement of fruition (phalasamāpatti) and foretold that the religion would be established there [...].”

Nathmaw: A village located on the west bank of Thanlwin north of Sampanago. The Mons call it “Nehah mhoaw” meaning ferry port.

Pa-an (Hpa-an): This place name is “Bhā añ” in Mon, meaning the monastery built of wood (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*) and in Pāli, *pāvana* (Pinnya 2471: 106). It is now the capital city of Kayin state on the east bank of Thanlwin river, lower Myanmar.

Puñjaluin: This word is a combination of Pāli, *pañca* meaning five and Mon, *luin̐* (Mon) meaning to flow. It is the name of the confluence of Thanlwin in its estuary, which ends into the Gulf of Muttama (Martaban) where five rivers join together: the Thanlwin, Jaing,

Attaran, Hlainbwe and Dontami. A small island at the mouth is also called “Ko’ (kaw) puñjaluin” (Gaung hsay kywan in Myanmar) referring to its traditional use by the Muttama kings for boat races and the Head-washing ceremony.

Ratanapura: A name derived from Śrī Ratanapura, the formal title of Muttama old city founded by King Wareru (Makadu) in 1287 CE.

Sa Chaung: The meaning of this name in Myanmar is a salty-creek or channel use for salt production. It flows north to south (not east to west like the natural streams of the local landscape) connecting Thaton to the mouth of Bilin river. It may have been an outlet or waterway for the port of Thaton in earlier centuries. The *Thaton Chronicle* mentions it as the Musarani or the Thaton river.

Sampanago: A walled site and village recorded in the *British Burma Gazetteer* (1879) located near Muttama. It is referred to as Campānagara or Campānāga in Pāli/ Sanskrit, in this essay as “City of Serpents.”

Seik Kyun: This means “ferry-port island” in Myanmar, located near Mayangon village in the Kadaikgyi group of sites.

Shwesayan: “Shwesayan” in Myanmar is a common name for a *zedi* (*ceti*) or *stūpa* with this example located at the ancient site of Thaton. The *Chronicle of the Mons* noted that the Buddha, at the request of Venerable Gavampati, visited Thaton (Suvannabhūmi) during the winter of the year 111 Mahā Era (507 BCE?), and had first given his hairs for worship to hermits who dwelled on various mountains and to Siharāja, king of Thaton. Then, when he entered the Final Decease in Kusinara (in India) the Mahāthera Gavampati took four teeth from the wooden casket to give to Siharāja. It is said that King Siharāja built Shwesayan to enshrine the Hair Relic and Tooth Relic for veneration (Shwe Naw 1931).

Sittaung: This is also known as Sittagaun, the name of a river, an old town site and a village within the old walls located north of Kyaikkatha.

Taikkala: This is an ancient site of archaeological significance in Bilin township, Mon state, which lasted until the British occupation of lower Burma (Myanmar). Excavations were made during 1975-78 CE at the site of Mt Kaletha (Kelāsa) to document ancient Taikkala (Suvannabhūmi) 40 kilometres northwest of Thaton.

Thaton: A district of Mon state in lower Myanmar. This is the historical site of so-called Suvannabhūmi where King Aniruddha of Bagan (Pagan) is said to have attacked and occupied in 1057 CE. The ruins of Thaton can be traced in and around the modern Thaton town.

Ussā: This is one of the names of Bago (Hamsavatī) following the example of Orissa in South India. (see Bago).

Winka: This is a town site of ancient “Suvannabhūmi” (Thaton-Thudhammavātī), excavated during 1975-78 by U Myint Aung. The name “Win Ka” in Mon means the “lagoon for fish.” It is located at the southeast foot of Mt Kelāsa in Bilin near many ancient sites of archaeological interest, such as Kyaikhtizaung, Hsindat-Myindat, Zokthoke and Muthin. It was also called Taikkala (Winka) within the documented ancient laterite culture of lower Myanmar.

Endnotes

- 1 Makyi-Kyun, Mainmahla-Kyun, Kappli-Kyun, Dawe-Kyun, Pat Kyi-Kyun, Kula-Kyun, Khaung-hse-Kyun, Zweya-Kyun with Mon names such as Kaw-Lamu, Kaw-Hla, Kaw-Min, etc. (*kaw* is island in Mon).
- 2 A monk staying in a monastery on top of the hill where Dhat taw hpaya was under repair reported that he found a stone box when they dug up the relic chamber of the ruined *stūpa*. The box contained two human figures resembling a king and queen, the man being stout and fat. However, the box was re-buried again in the repaired chamber. Whether apocryphal or fact, the anecdote highlights the absence of records on artefacts found during successive “pagoda” repairs at the site.
- 3 Southeast Asian ceramics collection (inv. no. S2005.238). See the collection online: <http://seasianceramics.asia.si.edu>.
- 4 A Myanmar name for red-earth or laterite soil found on high ground. Most of the settlements in lower Myanmar are located on this type of red-earth elevated land in a region where the heavy rainfall and tidal activity are common.
- 5 Another Mon chronicle gives the date of 592 CE for the founding of Bago by Thamala and Wimala.
- 6 Odradeša, “land of the Orissans.”
- 7 Michael Aung-Thwin notes that the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* does not mention the language of the Sudhamma population but only that of Hamsavātī and cites various locations for Sudhamma including Haripuñjaya (2005: 91).
- 8 Here and after in the chronicles, the dates are traditionally given in Myanmar or Burmese Era starting in 638 CE.

Zimkyaik (Zingyaik): This mountain is called “Zingyaik” in Myanmar referred to a mountain peak and a large village at the foot of it. The Mons refer to it as “Kyāk brañ nab,” the pagoda of the female *nāga* which was built on the peak. It is said that the legendary King Siharāja of Thaton and his foster father, the hermit Tissa, built this *stūpa* to enshrine the Buddha’s sacred hair relic, which was given to the hermit for veneration.

- 9 Kon Myo, Zaya Myo , Banhlaing Myo, Wakharu Myo, Mawlamyaing Myo, Wanyaw Myo, Lakunbyin Myo, Ye Myo, Tonwun Myo, Kyait Myo, Tontami Myo, Kaw Myo, Bilukywn Myo, Attaran Myo, Myaing Myo, Winyaw Myo (16), Eibric Myo, Zami Myo, Taung bo’ Myo, Taikkala Myo, Dharai Myo, Thagaing Myo, Zweya Myo, Htakyaing Myo, Yannyein Myo, Ei’we Myo, Hlaing Bwe Myo, Yin-On Myo, Kaw’ Pain Myo, Lamaing Myo, Myawaddi Myo, Paung Myo (32). With the addition of Muttama, the capital, the number becomes 33 *myos*.
- 10 Of these, Bassein, Bilin, Du’wop, Bago, Sittaung and Thaton are urban; Kelatha is called natural and Kyaik Tālan and Kyaik Te sacred/mythical. Thaton is given an estimated date of 1479 CE in reference to Dhammazedī’s Kalyāṇī inscription (Aung-Thwin 2005: 59, Table 1).
- 11 Aung-Thwin qualified this, noting the link Luce had made to the queen as ruler of Muttama living in Du’wop and suggests that if Muttama dates to 1176 CE rather than 1326 as Luce cites then it could have been contemporaneous (Luce 1953: 5 and 1969). He also suggests that it may have existed in 1292 CE, although his argument relates to evidence to support a kingdom and concludes with the Shin Saw Bu identification: “Du’-wop may have existed in 1292 if the Rāma Gamheri [Ramkhamhaeng] inscription’s identification of Martaban with the Tai ‘Mo an ...n’ is correct, in which case Du’-wop could not have emerged earlier than 1292.” (Luce 1969: 2 and 1985: 1372; Department of Archaeology of Myanmar 2516-31: I, 345).

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