

THE BUDDHIST CHURCH IN BURMA DURING THE PAGAN PERIOD

1044 - 1287.

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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by

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## ABSTRACT.

Buddhism as introduced from Rāmaññadesa to Pagan after Aniruddha's conquest of lower Burma in A.D.1057 has been believed to be a pure Theravāda form. Using largely epigraphic sources, this thesis proves that theory false. It also produces some evidences as to the presence of bhikkhuni - female ascetics - in the Order right up to the end of the Pagan dynasty whereas the tradition in Burma says that no woman was allowed in the Order since A.D.456. It also tries to solve the problem of the Ari whom the chronicles allege to practise jus primae noctis. Dr. C. Duroiselle connects them with Tantric Buddhism. The Ari sect or Āraññavāsi came into existence only in the second quarter of the thirteenth century and it was never officially suppressed. In fact it gained popular support right till the end of the Pagan dynasty. The orthodox group sought assistance from Ceylon to arrest the sweeping success of Mahākassapa and his Āraññavāsi monks. This thesis also gives the architectural style of the period as described in the inscriptions. Slaves figured as an important social group in those days and therefore a chapter is entirely devoted to them. On the political aspect of the period, an almost completely new picture of the Pagan monarchy is given here. The names of the kings are in Old Burmese forms but identified. The administrative system of the period is described as fully as possible. These form chapters one, two and three.

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

- A Original Inscriptions Collected by King Bodawpaya in Upper Burma and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura.
- ASE Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma.
- ASI Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India.
- B I & II Inscriptions copied from the Stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda. Volumes I and II.
- BEFEO Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.
- Ep. Birm. Epigraphia Birmanica.
- Ep. Ind. Epigraphia Indica.
- GPC Glass Palace Chronicle.
- GUBSS Gazetteer of Upper Burma and Shan States Part I, Volumes 1 and 2; Part 2, Volumes 1,2 and 3.
- Hmannan The Hmannan Yazawin compiled in 1829.
- IA Indian Antiquary.
- JA Journal Asiatique.
- JBRS Journal of the Burma Research Society.
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- List. A List of Inscriptions found in Burma.
- Pl. Plate in five portfolios of Inscriptions of Burma.  
Pl.100<sup>10</sup> means Plate Number 100 of Portfolio I,  
Inscriptions of Burma, line 10.

- PPA           Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava.
- PTS           Pali Text Society.
- REO           Revue de l'Extrême-Orient.
- SIP           Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan.
- TN            U Tun Nyein's Translation of PPA.
- UB I & II    Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Volumes  
              1 and 2.

TRANSLITERATION TABLE.<sup>1</sup>

1. Consonants.

က	ka	ခ	ca	င	ta	တ	ta	ပ	pa	ယ	ya	ဆ	sa	
	ခ	kh	ဆ	cha	ငှ	tha	ထ	tha	ဖ	pha	ရ	ra	ဟ	ha
ဂ	ga	ဇ	ja	ည	da	ဒ	da	ဗ	ba	လ	la	မ်	m̄	
ဃ	gha	ဈ	jha	ဃ	dha	ဓ	dha	ဘ	bha	ဇ်	la	အ	a	
င	ña	ည	ña	ဏ	na	န	na	မ	ma	ဝ	wa			

For various forms of sa : ခ်, ဗဝဝသ်, န, ဝဝဝသ်, သာ sa.

2. Vowels.

အ	a	အာ	ā	အိ	i	အိ	ī	ဥ	u	ဥ	ū
ဧ	e	ဧ	e'	ဧ	e						
ဩ	o	ဩ	ó	ဩ	ò	ဩ	ô				

3. Combinations.

ဝ	i	ဝ	ī	၂	u	၂	ū	၂	e	၂	o	ဝ	ui
၂	ai	၂	au	၂	y	၂	r	၂	w	၂	h	၂	h
က	k	က	ñ	ခ	c	တ	t	ပ	p	န	n		

4. Numerals.

၁	1	၂	2	၃	3	၄	4	၅	5	၆	6	၇	7	၈	8	၉	9	၀	0
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

4. Other signs (frequently used for land measure).

<<	$\frac{1}{2}$	ကျိ	khwai
+	$\frac{1}{4}$	ကျိ	cit
၂	$\frac{1}{8}$	ကျိ	carwat
၃	$\frac{3}{4}$	ဟ-ဖ	hu or phu
၆	$\frac{1}{16}$	ပြည်	prañ
၆	$\frac{1}{32}$	လမယ်	lamay

1. See also JERS, IV, ii, p. 136; JERS. VI, ii, pp. 81-90 and Ep. Birm

INTRODUCTION.

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Attempts had been made to check Burmese history by means of inscriptions as early as the eighteenth century. U Kala when compiling the Great Chronicle soon after the accession of King Tanninganwe (1714-1733) was the first to use them and Twinthin Mahasithu followed suit. Twinthin produced the New Chronicle in the late eighteenth century. In 1829, a committee of scholars compiled the Glass Palace Chronicle and eleven inscriptions are mentioned in connection with our period. Their use of epigraphic evidence, however, was so meagre that it was almost negligible. When Silavamsa wrote the Celebrated Chronicle in ? 1520, he had only a few sentences on the Pagan dynasty but U kala wrote nearly two hundred pages on it and the Glass Palace Chronicle was almost a copy of U Kala's chronicle. Of course they used local legends known as "thamaing" and many stories from Jataka to enlarge Silavamsa's account on Pagan. Naturally these incorporated stories have little or no value as history. Perhaps, the reason for such incorporation was the desire to describe a given episode with a similar and better known story from the Jataka or the misinterpretation of the old records. For example, when a son of a junior queen was given the throne superseding the sons of senior queens, part of the Ramayana where Dasaratha appointed a junior son as heir to the throne was retold mutatis mutandis. When they misread or misinterpreted old records, they invented new stories to explain them. The name of a king Thaktawshe - Long Life - was misread Chaktawshe - Long Navel Cord - and as a result the story that the king when young cried incessantly so as

to cause inflammation of the navel cord and thus acquired the nickname of Long Navel Cord. As all interpreters could not agree on all points of these stories, there were many stories with various versions so that as the popular saying goes, it becomes expedient to have a big stick near at hand when discussing Pagan history; serious disputes and quarrels are bound to arise which often end in fights. Thus a new approach to medieval Burmese history is a long felt need.

The tendency of a modern scholar is to base everything on epigraphic evidence and to reconstruct the history of Burma 1044-1287 entirely on the strength of this evidence and in the course of this endeavour, to ignore, refute or support the time cherished stories told by the chroniclers wherever and whenever necessary. The wisdom of entirely relying on epigraphy might be challenged as epigraphs deal largely with religious matters and they only contain chance references to political, social and economic sides of life in those days. One should remember, however, that these stray references are contemporary and therefore much more reliable than the stories that come down to us through the ages by word of mouth until they were committed to writing in comparatively recent times. Thus there is the need of writing the history of medieval Burma in the light of epigraphic evidence.

The purpose of this thesis is to fulfil, in a small way, part of that task. The first three chapters deal with the political history where an entirely new picture of the Pagan monarchy is given. Early in his reign King Aniruddha conquered lower Burma and opened his country to a direct contact by sea with India. Mon culture was copied more or less slavishly

at Pagan. Politically Mons lost their independence but culturally they were masters at Pagan. Their language was the official language at the Burmese court. Burmans must have been Buddhists long before Aniruddha's conquest of the delta but this conquest resulted in the import of Buddhism as practised in lower Burma. It is, however, very important to bear in mind that Buddhism thus imported was not exactly the Theravāda Buddhism as popularly alleged. It was far from pure. As Buddhism has nothing comparable with Brahmanical rituals for such occasions as coronation and palace construction, Burmans felt it necessary to adopt some Brahmanical rites through the Mons. Their monks tolerated this adoption. There is no truth in the story that the Order was all for orthodoxy and that the king helped them by suppressing the heretics called Ari. As a matter of fact, the Ari sect appeared only in the latter half of the Pagan dynasty and it was never officially suppressed. To counteract their growing popularity, the orthodox monks allied themselves with the Sinhalese Order and strove to purify the Religion on Sinhalese lines which had naturally a very slow progress at first so that they achieved success only towards the end of the fifteenth century. The Ari sect was not as debased as described in the chronicles and it had nothing to do with Tantric Buddhism. Perhaps, it is to offset the purity of orthodoxy that the Ari were depicted as black as black can be. Early in the reign of Kyanzittha, the Mons made a futile attempt to regain independence. The wise king offered a compromise by marrying his daughter to a scion of the fallen Mon royal family promising to make an heir of the off-spring of that union. After Kyanzittha, Mon influence waned. A burmanization movement set in and by the reign of Cakkasū II

(Narapatisithu, 1174-1211) Burmese became the official language of the country. Architectural style also changed. Mon type of pagodas have cave-like hollows, dark and gloomy. Burmans put up wide windows, tall doors and shortened the passage leading to the interior so that the buildings had better light and sanitation. The Pagan Empire was at its zenith under Caṅsū II. It extended from Ngachaunggyan in the north to Tavoy in the south and from the Salween River in the east to the Chin Hills in the west. It had a well organized form of government under five ministers who had to perform both civil and military duties. It seems that the Mons of the south were quite contented under the Burmese rule at least until the time of Tarukpliy (Tayokpyamin). The dangers of the empire always came from the north and therefore the chief minister himself had to look after the northern frontier. Caṅsū II was succeeded by Nātoṅmyā (Nandaungmya) who was definitely not the youngest son of the king as mentioned in the chronicles.

Narasīṅha-Uccanā (Naratheinhka) was the next king. He was placed by the chronicles about sixty years earlier than his actual reign as predecessor of Caṅsū II. After him, his brother Klacwā (Kyaswa) became king. He was not a weakling as suggested in the chronicles. He made a unique attempt to suppress crimes in his realm by issuing an edict against thieves, and to increase his revenue he confiscated much of the religious lands in his country. His successor Uccanā (Uzana) was not his son but his nephew. Uccanā died at Dala, probably he was assassinated. His elder son and successor Mañ Yan (Min Yin) also met the same fate. Tarukpliy, his half-brother finally became king.



When the Mongols came, he took refuge in the hills west of Prome. Syañ Disāprāmuk (Shin Dithapamauk), a reverend monk was sent on a peace mission to Peking in 1285. Disāprāmuk was able to persuade the Great Khan to withdraw the invading army and so the king returned to Pagan but was killed on the way. This is the political aspect of Burma during 1044-1287 in the light of epigraphic evidence.

The Buddhism as practised in those days was in general very similar to the one as practised in Burma to-day with the exception that the Brahmanical influence was more felt than at the present day. When tracing the rise and development of the Buddhist church, some facts have been observed which upset some of the traditional beliefs of Burma. As mentioned above, the Ari sect appeared only in the latter half of the dynasty and it was not a very debased form of religion as alleged. Another point of great interest is the presence of bhikkhuni - female ascetics - in the Order in those days. Most Burmese to-day maintain that women were not allowed in the Order since A.D.456. The thesis ends with the architectural and social aspects of the period under survey in chapters nine and ten which are also of much importance as they aid the better understanding of the Religion in those days.

CHAPTER IHISTORY OF BURMA 1044-1174.

Pagan is the first of the Burmese capitals if we accept that Śrīkṣetra belongs to the Pyu and Santway Prañ<sup>1</sup> or Pagaung to the Saw Kantū (Thaks)<sup>2</sup> peoples, therefore it is of great importance and interest, to trace the history of its existence. The city wall of Pagan is assumed to be the oldest extant monument of Pagan and Mr. C. Duroiselle dated it at A.D.850. He said:-

"... the date of this wall is about 850 A.D., the year of the foundation of Pagan, it is still clearly visible, together with the moat, on three sides of the ancient city; the fourth side, which ran along the river bank, has disappeared owing to the encroachment of the river; on this side, a kind of bastion can be seen quite near to the Circuit House, and a few traces of the wall are seen here and there. Shin Mahākassapa, a celebrated thera, in the thirty stanzas concluding his Sahassaranisi Tikā, a commentary on the Mahābodhivaṃsa, which he wrote in 1174 A.D., gives a graphic description of Pagan; among other things he mentions that the walls had twelve gates, only one of these, the Sarabha

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1. All old Burmese words from the inscriptions are spelt in accordance with the rules of transliteration given in page iii and underlined.
  2. G.H.Luce: "The Peoples of Burma 12th, 13th Century A.D." Census of India, 1931, Vol.XI, i, App. F. pp.296-306.

gate is now extant."<sup>1</sup>

There is also evidence of religious buildings before A.D.1044.

Many of the pagodas at Pagan are obviously post-Aniruddha but there certainly were monuments, etc. which had been in existence since the foundation of the city. Excavations at the Patlaik pagoda, which is generally attributed to Aniruddha revealed some mouldings of older structure beneath. In this respect, Sir John Marshall remarked:

"This fact is of some interest, because it confirms a supposition already formed on other and stronger grounds that Buddhist buildings existed at Pagan before the reign of Anawrata and that that monarch was responsible not for the introduction but for the development of that religion in Upper Burma."<sup>2</sup>

Pagan is said to have been quite ancient even before the advent of Aniruddha.

The statement that Pagan was standing two centuries before the appearance of Aniruddha entirely depends on the chronicles. No inscription in Burma has been found yet to tell of the foundation of Pagan. The Hnannan Yazawin states that King Pyinbya (A.D. 846-878) built Pagan in A.D.849<sup>3</sup> but King Thamoddarit settled as early as

1. Chas. Duroiselle: "The Nat Hlaung Kyaung, Pagan."

ASI.1912-13, p.136, n.3.

2. J.H.Marshall: "Exploration and Research", ASI 1906-7, pp.38-9.

3. Hnannan para.124; G.P.G.p.55.

A.D.107 at Yonhluakkyun:<sup>1</sup>

"identified with a site, now covered with cultivation, to the south of Taywindaung hill and about twelve miles to the south east of Pagan"<sup>2</sup>

He incorporated nineteen villages in the neighbourhood into his settlement. Unfortunately, except for the village of Nyaung-u we find no mention of the names of the other eighteen villages in the inscriptions. The fifteenth century Celebrated Chronicle of Śīlavamsa has a different story. According to him Burma was divided into two parts, viz. (i) Sunāparanta<sup>3</sup> being lands north of the Irrawaddy and (ii) Tambadīpa, south of the Irrawaddy.<sup>4</sup> Buddha, in his life time visited Sunāparanta and stayed at a sandalwood monastery for seven days. During these seven days' sojourn he succeeded in converting 84,000 people. Henceforth Buddhism flourished in Burma.

1. Hnannan para.112; GPC.p.28.

2. ASB. 1915, p.12.

3. "Sunāparanta is probably identical with Aparanta; the Burmese, however identify it with the country on the right bank of the Irrawaddy River, near Pagan (Sāsanaṃsa, Introd. p.ix)<sup>18</sup>."

Malalasekera: Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, II, (1938), p.1211.

4. This north and south division is due to the fact that the Irrawaddy river, though its general course is from north to south, flows from east to west in the middle of Burma. North of the Irrawaddy apparently means the right bank of the great river, whereas the south is the left bank.

The city of Śrīkṣetra was founded in 444 B.C. and it stood for six hundred years having twentyfive kings. Then in A.D.156, Arimaddanā (Pagan) was founded and it stood for one thousand one hundred and twentyeight years, i.e. until A.D.1284 and it had fifty kings before the Chinese invasion and five kings after it.<sup>1</sup> This story invites much criticism. The foundation of Pagan after the fall of Śrīkṣetra in A.D.156 is too early. The Great Shwezigon Inscription (A.D.1186) mentions that Śrīkṣetra was founded soon after the Lord's attainment of Nirvana and it stood until A.D.656.<sup>2</sup> Still, this date for the fall of Śrīkṣetra and the rise of Pagan is early. According to the five-urn-inscription<sup>3</sup>, a Vikrama dynasty was ruling at Śrīkṣetra as late as A.D.718 (if we assume that S.80 mentioned there is of the era that starts in A.D.638). Three names, Sūriyavikrama, Harivikrama and Sihavikrama are mentioned successively as if to denote that they were grandfather, father and son occupying the throne of Śrīkṣetra in lineal descent. Unless they were local chiefs and just vassals of Pagan, as some might suggest, Pagan could not have been in existence in A.D.718. Even as late as A.D.801-2 a formal embassy to China via Nan-chao was sent by the Pyu king.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly we may

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1. Sīlavamsa: Yazawingyaw (Celebrated Chronicle), pp.75-87.
  2. "The Great Shwezigon Inscription": Ep. Birm., I, ii, 1. F<sup>14</sup> (p.125).
  3. C.O. Blagden: "The "Pyu" Inscriptions", JBRS. VII, ii, pp 37-44.
  4. Tin and Luce: "Burma down to the fall of Pagan":  
JBRS. XXIX, iii, pp.264-282.

infer that whether the Pyus were by that time centred either at Hnawza or at Halingyi, they were still very important and had not been overshadowed by the Pagan kingdom. The Chinese references to the Pyu are largely about this embassy of A.D.801-2. The Pyu capital is described in detail save one important point - that of its location. Probably this Pyu capital was not Hnawza but further north in the dry zone. This capital and kingdom was destroyed in A.D.832 by "Man rebels" who could be Nan-chao people themselves or some tribe under Nan-chao. There were further raids by these people into lower Burma in A.D.835. Professor G.H.Luce says that in a list of Pyu towns and settlements in A.D.802 (given by the Chinese) Pagan is not mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore it is probable that Pagan was established sometime after the Nan-chao raids of A.D.832-5. Thus, until we have evidence to prove the contrary, we may accept the traditional date of A.D.849-50 as the year in which Pagan was built. It is possible that Pagan was known to her eastern neighbours even in those far off days. A Chinese account (Ch'ien Han Shu) of the first century A.D. according to Gabriel Ferrand mentioned a place called "Fu-kan-tu-lu" which he thinks is Pagan. He explains that "Fu-kan" is the phonetic equivalent of the "P'u-kan" in the later Chinese accounts like the Ling wai tai ta, the Chu fan chih and the Sung shih. But we must also bear in mind that the text<sup>2</sup> speaks of the kingdom of "Fu-kan-tu-lu" (not "Fu-kan") and

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1. JBR.S. XXIX, iii, pp.264-282.

2. JBR.S. XIV, ii, pp.97-99, English translation of the text.

that the kingdom was in contact by sea with China. On this point, Professor Luce says:

"It would remove one of Ferrand's difficulties in this identification if for Fu-kan-tu-lu kingdom we read 'the kingdoms of Fu-kan and Tu-lu'. Indeed Shih-ku's gloss seems to indicate that he regarded them as two distinct places. On the other hand the theory has against it whatever weight we choose to attribute to the Burmese chronicles, which place the founding of Pagan, by King Pyinbya in 849 A.D."<sup>1</sup>

Two Cham inscriptions, which can be safely dated anterior to A.D.1050 mention "Pukan" (?) slaves. The Po-Nagar Inscription<sup>2</sup> says that slaves of such nationalities as Cham, Khmer, Chinese, "Pukan" and Siamese, totalling fiftyfive were dedicated to the Goddess Kāmyā. The first four lines of the Lomgocou Inscription<sup>3</sup> "refer to the donations made to a temple, viz., utensils and Chinese, Siamese and Paganese slaves."<sup>4</sup> Border raids were frequent in those days and

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1. G.H.Luce: "Fu-kan-tu-lu", JBRB. XIV, ii, p.94.

2. Aymonier: "Première étude sur les Inscriptions Tchames", J.A. Jan.-fév. 1891, pp.28-9; Finot: "Notes d'Épigraphie", BEFEO, III, p.633.

3. Finot: Op.cit., p.634.

4. R.C.Majumdar: Champa III, p.209.

probably some Burmans were captured and taken away to Champa to become slaves there. This evidence tells us, at least, that even in times anterior to A.D.1050, the name of Pagan was known to its eastern neighbours. It is of interest to know the various names under which Pagan was known.

The variety of names for Pagan in the inscriptions give an interesting picture of Pagan and the lands immediately surrounding it. The classical name for Pagan is Arimaddanapura - The City of the Enemy Crusher and early Mon and Burmese inscriptions frequently refer to the city by this name. It is also called by its native name which the Mons mentioned as Pokām<sup>1</sup> or Pukām<sup>2</sup> or Bukām<sup>3</sup>. The Burmese way of spelling this name is either Pukañ or Pukam. The earliest mention of the name was in A.D.1093 in connection with Thiluiñ Mañ.

"He shall become King of the Law in the city  
of Pokām that is (otherwise) named Arimaddanapūr  
...." <sup>4</sup>

- 
1. Ep.Birm.I, ii, VI<sup>25</sup>, tx 150, tr.151; VIII A<sup>2</sup>, tx 156, tr.163; VIIIA<sup>10</sup>, tx.157, tr. 164; VIII B<sup>14</sup>, tx.161, tr.167; VIII B<sup>20</sup>, tx.162, tr.168.
  2. Ibid., III, i, IX F<sup>15</sup>, tx.19, tr.51; IX G<sup>19</sup>, tx.22, tr.54.
  3. Ibid., XI<sup>4</sup>, tx.71, tr.72.
  4. Ibid., I,ii, VI<sup>25</sup>, tx.150, tr.151.



Of the land that surrounds Pagan, the Mons gave it the name of Tattadessa<sup>1</sup> - the Parched Land, which is the Dry Zone of Upper Burma or "at least the part thereof in which Pagan stands."<sup>2</sup> This name suggests that Pagan and its neighbourhood were, just as they are today, semi desert land of thorny scrub. This rain shadow area in the middle of Burma cannot have been a wet forest land thick with undergrowth until the great temple builders appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries who completely deforested the area as their brick kilns demanded enormous supplies of firewood and turned it into a semi desert waste.<sup>3</sup> The monk Disāprānok who led the peace mission to China from Pagan in A.D.1283 called his country ~~his country~~ Tambadīpa - Land of Copper.<sup>4</sup> Pagan ultimately became the core of the Burmese empire.

In the time of its power and splendour during the reign of Caṅsū II<sup>5</sup> (1174-1211) the empire was recorded to extend as far as the River Salween in the east, Mount Macchakiri (Chin Hills) in the west, Takon (Tagaung) and Nā Choñ Khyān (Ngasaunggyan) in the north and

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1. Mo. Birn., I, ii, I F<sup>16</sup>, tx.106, tr.125; I F<sup>21</sup>, tr.125; I F<sup>34</sup>, tr.125-6; I G<sup>25</sup>, tr.127; H<sup>2</sup>, tr.128.
  2. Ibid. I, ii, p.125 n.7.
  3. G.E.Harvey: History of Burma, p.16. See J.C.Mackenzie: "Climate in Burmese History", JBR.S. III, pp.40-6, and also JBR.S. XXX, i, p.289-90, n.33 on p.307-8.
  4. Pl.271<sup>27, 30</sup>. (1285).
  5. Narapatisithu of the chronicles.

Salañ Kre (?), Sacchitani (?), etc. in the south.<sup>1</sup> Probably the outlying districts of the empire broke away as the central government lost grip for Disāprāmok told the Taruk king (?) Kublai Khan that his country Tambadīpa, was small and therefore of little importance save that Buddhism flourished there.<sup>2</sup> It is of importance to note that the Pagan expansion started only in the eleventh century.

The empire grew in this way. At first local chiefs ruled the neighbouring villages of Pagan and were addressed as mañ (king).<sup>3</sup> Kyanzittha before he became king of Pagan was mañ of Thiluiñ, a village in Wundwin township. From among these mañ, it seems that the mañ of Pagan rose to power and made all other mañ subject to his control. Thus he became mañkrī - The Supreme King. After the subjugation of the immediate surroundings, it was but natural for the mañkrī of Pagan to expand and acquire a nuimam - the lands of conquest. The first mañkrī who started the programme of expansion was Aniruddha. There are no inscriptions of Pagan dated anterior to Aniruddha and therefore it would not be far too wrong to begin the dynastic history with him.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Pl.19a<sup>6-9</sup> (1196). It is very unfortunate that places in the south cannot be identified yet.

2. Pl.271<sup>30-31</sup> (1285).

3. Pl.143a<sup>16</sup>.

4. The only king before Aniruddha mentioned in the stone inscriptions was Caw Rahan whom Professor Iuce identified with Taungthugyimin or Nyaungu Sawrahan of the Chronicles. He does not seem to have been a heretic, as he was labelled in the chronicles; he built a Sīma on Mt. Turañ Pl.36<sup>1</sup> (1212).

Aniruddha (?1044-21077) although he was popularly known as Anawrathaminsaw gave his regnal title in pure Sanskrit form Mahārāja Śrī Aniruddhadeva.<sup>1</sup> Seals of Aniruddha on terra-cotta votive tablets found in a wide range of area throughout Burma give a rough idea of the extent of his power. Therefore it is of no mean importance, to go into a close study of these seals here.

A great number of seals were unearthed and very roughly they fall into two categories; (i) seals having Sanskrit inscriptions without mention of Aniruddha and (ii) seals bearing the name of Aniruddha. There is a strong suggestion that group one seals were imported from India and group two seals were made locally.<sup>2</sup> Regarding this Dr. Sten Konow's views<sup>3</sup> are worthy of note.

"Some votive tablets with a bilingual inscription in Sanskrit and Pali were also brought to light. They are evidently imitations of similar tablets deposited in Buddhist temples in India, especially

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1. Pl. 568a<sup>1-2</sup>.

2. ASB. 1915, p.16, para 43.

3. L. Finot however refused to accept this view and explained the improbability of the moulds having been imported from India.

Finot: "Un Nouveau Document sur le Bouddhisme Birman",

JA. juillet-août, 1912, p.130, n.1.

in Bodh Gaya. The Burmese tablets are caste from a mould and the Sanskrit legend, which states that the tablet has been prepared by King Aniruddha must have been incised on the mould. On the lower rim of the tablet a Pali legend to the same effect has been incised by hand. The whole arrangement leads us to infer that the moulds have been prepared, with the Sanskrit legend, in India and that the Pali inscription has been subsequently added because Sanskrit was not understood. The tablets cannot, at any rate, be used to prove that Sanskrit was the language of the Buddhist Church in Burma before Pali was introduced. It has been urged that the form of the name Aniruddha instead of the usual Pali Anuruddha points in that direction. But supposing that the mould for the tablets was executed in India, Aniruddha would be the only possible form and the king's name, Anawrata, which can only be derived from Anuruddha and not from Aniruddha, proves, if anything, that the knowledge of Pali had penetrated sufficiently to influence the coining of personal names."<sup>1</sup>

The next point of discussion would be the description of these seals.

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1. Sten Konow: "Epigraphy": ASI, 1905-6, p.170.

The seal has, generally a

"Buddha seated cross-legged with the right hand in the bhūmisparsā-mudrā and the other lying in the laps, palm upwards, on a lotus-throne under a foliated arch supported on pillars and surmounted by a hti. Some leaves, picturing the Bo-tree, may be seen on each side on the crown of the arch beneath the hti; there are also, on each side of the Buddha, two stupas with an elongated ringed finial, ... which has become the distinctive finial of Burmese pagodas for well nigh a thousand years."<sup>1</sup>

Below this, is a Sanskrit (sometimes a mixed Pali and Sanskrit) inscription which runs:-

"Me - Aniruddhadevena kritam Sugata(ñ) chchakam.  
tena Maitreya sambodho lebheyannivritto padam".

"By me, King Aniruddha, this mould of Sugata (Buddha) has been made; through this (good deed) may I obtain the path to Nirvana, when Maitreya is (fully) enlightened."

There are also some terra-cotta votive tablets with the seal of Aniruddha and the relief figure of Buddha flanked on either side by Avalokitesvara

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1. Chas. Duroiselle: "Excavations at Pagan", ASI, 1926-7, pp.162-3.

and Maitreya.<sup>1</sup> These seals, vary slightly in size and some details but all bear the name of Aniruddha. They are found in and around Pagan<sup>2</sup> and in places as far north as Nwa-te-lè Rwaso of Mongmit State and as far south as Twantè.<sup>3</sup> They are also found at Tagaung,<sup>4</sup> Meiktila,<sup>5</sup> Minbu<sup>6</sup> and Promè<sup>7</sup>. A tablet found in the relic chamber of the Shwesandaw pagoda has an inscription in Pyu in addition to the name of Aniruddha and therefore it is thought that when Pagan power spread over Lower Burma, Aniruddha removed the relics from some old pagodas of Śrīkṣetra to be reenshrined in his new pagodas. Anyhow, the wide extent of the find-spots of these seals of Aniruddha strongly supports the fact that he was a king of great imperialistic designs and his power extended from places as far north as Mongmit to the mouth of the Irrawaddy. In an inscription dated A.D.1207, he was mentioned as Cakkrawatīy Anuradhā<sup>8</sup> - the Universal Monarch Anuruddha, which also shows that even in the

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1. Tablets found at Sameikshe, Meiktila; ASI, 1921-2, pp.90-1.
  2. ASI 1912-3, p.89; ASB, 1913, p.16; ASB, 1922, p.44; ASI, 1926-7, pp.162-3, 169; ASI, 1928-9, p.111; ASI, 1930-34, pp.177, 178, 188; ASB, 1940-1, p.32.
  3. ASB 1915, pp.14-7.
  4. ASB 1916, pp.37-40; ASI 1927, pp.62-3.
  5. ASB 1920, pp. 23-4; ASB 1922, p.10; ASI 1936-7, p.165.
  6. ASB 1905-6, p.10; ASB 1911, p.27; ASB 1912, p.19; ASB 1913, p.16.
  7. ASI 1907-8, pp.38-42; ASI 1911-2, p.144; ASB 1912, p.13; ASB 1913, p.16.
  8. Pl. 160a<sup>6</sup>.

esteem of the Burmans who lived in about a century after his death he was already a great conqueror. But his conquest of the delta is really a problem of much debate.<sup>1</sup>

We have the story of Aniruddha's conquest of Thaton in 1057 thus:-

"In 1601 A.B. and 419 S. (A.D.1057), King Anuruddha, the Lord of Arimaddanapura, brought a community of priests together with the Tipitaka (from Rāmaññadesa) and established the Religion in Arimaddanapurā, otherwise called Pugāma."<sup>2</sup>

So says the Kalyānī Inscription of Rāmādhīpati (Dhammazedī A.D.1480). It also gives a hint that this was possible only because the Mon king Makuta<sup>3</sup>

1. "The Siamese chronicles assert that he attacked Cambodia and ruled over most of what is now Siam, obtaining the Hinayana Buddhism, which he established as the official religion of Pagan, from Nakorn Pat'om. But there would seem to be no historical basis for such assumptions." Professor D.G.E.Hall: A History of South-East Asia p.124. See also H.G.Q.Wales: "Anuruddha and the Thaton Tradition", JRAS, 1947, pp.152-156.
2. Taw Sein Ko: The Kalyānī Inscription, (1892), p.49.
3. Pl.358<sup>5,39</sup>. Professor Luce says: "In old Mon inscriptions and the oldest of old Burmese, the sign for -u- was usually hung from the middle vertical of k and not (as always since) from the vertical on the right. It seems that archaic -ku- was later misread as -no- and king MAKUTA as king MANOHA, a name afterwards corrupted, naturally enough, into Manohari and MANUHA". See also JBRS. XXXII, i, p.89.

(Manohari or Manuhā) was very weak at that time. Unfortunately, no contemporary record is found relating to this memorable episode. The motive of that conquest, the tradition says, was purely religious. But it is also possible that Aniruddha originally marched against some trading settlements (Indian?) in the delta and "the sack of Thaton was an after-thought."<sup>1</sup> Another possible reason was that the Shan Yuns were constantly annoying the Mon country and the Mons had invited his intervention. It seems that he had

"played the role of the lion who, called to intervene between two warring jackals, solved the difficulty by devouring both."<sup>2</sup>

After this conquest, a deliberate effort was made to transplant a culture that was Mon into the centre of a new and vigorous but somewhat raw ethnic group that was Burmese. As such, the results of this conquest were momentous for the Burmese.

The introduction of Mon civilization had a long term effect. Culturally the conquerors were conquered. History affords many parallels of such happy results. A large number of inscriptions belonging to the

1. Ep. Birn. I, i, p.6; C.O. Blagden suggests the existence of "flourishing Indian Settlements" in the delta. In view of the fact that there is no direct evidence to support this, it is very unlikely that there existed Indian settlements in the Irrawaddy delta. The presence of an Indian trading community in some towns is however possible.
2. G. H. Luce: "A Cambodian? Invasion of Lower Burma"; J.B.S. XII, i, pp.39-45.



period, immediately after Aniruddha, are in the Mon language. It is needless to say that the Burmans learnt the art of writing from the Mons.<sup>1</sup> In architecture too, pagodas of that time like the Patothamya, Nagayon, Abeyadana, Gubyaukgyi, and Nanpaya are all of Mon type.<sup>2</sup> Thus it will not be very far from the truth to say that after A.D.1057, for a certain period until the time of Caṅsū II (A.D.1174) or until the death of Thiluin Mañ (A.D.1113?)<sup>3</sup>, allowing the time between 1113 and 1174 as the period of transition, the Burmese culture was more or less a copy of the Mon. In other words, 1057-1113 is the Mon period of Pagan culture. Apart from this Mon culture, there is another important result of this conquest of the

1. G.H.Luce: "The People of Burma 12th - 13th century A.D.", Census of India, 1931, XI, i, App. F. pp.296-306.
2. G. H. Luce: "Burma's Debt to Pagan": JBR XXII, iii, p.121, n.3.
3. Rājakumār (Myazedi) Inscription says that in A.B.1628, Thiluin Mañ became king of Pagan and after a reign of 28 years, he was sick unto death. It seems that he never survived that sickness. This gives us A.B.1656 or A.D.1112 as the last year of his reign. But "List 73 inscription" tells differently. It says that in S.513 Caṅsū I (Thiluin Mañ's successor) was 63 years old and was on the throne for 37 years. Thus, S.450 was the year of his birth and S.476 (A.D.1174) his accession or the end of his predecessor. Professor Luce splits the difference and dates his death provisionally in A.D.1113.

delta by Aniruddha. For the first time it gives the Burmese an opportunity to have a direct overseas contact with Ceylon and possibly India.

These contacts are only mentioned in the chronicles. Desiring to have a tooth-relic to be enshrined in the Shwezigon pagoda, Aniruddha sent a mission to Ceylon to ask for it.<sup>1</sup> The chronicles of Ceylon make no mention of this mission. But a relationship of completely another nature is mentioned in the Gūlavamsa.<sup>2</sup> The king of Ceylon, Vijaya Bāhu (1065-1120) [Sirisinghabodhi] was engaged in a series of wars with the Gōlas of South India and so he sent a fleet with many presents to ask for help from the king of Rāmañña. But by virtue of conquest, Aniruddha was already the lord of Rāmañña and therefore the king from whom Vijaya Bāhu expected help was Aniruddha.<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of the date of this mission or the fulfilment of the request. But it might be sometime between 1060 and 1063 when Vijaya Bāhu was just a minor king trying to expel the Gōla encroachments.<sup>4</sup> Another mission, this time for religious

1. Hmannan, para.135a; GPC. pp.88-91.

2. Wijésinha: Mahāvamsa II, p.81 (1909) and Wilhelm Geiger: Gūlavamsa I, p.202.

3. ASB 1920, p.17, para.34.

4. Wijésinha: Op.cit. pp.89-90. The date 1071 is fixed on the authority of Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon edited by Müller, p.61. See also Epigraphia Zeylanica II, pp.246, 253-4; Rásanáyagan Mudaliyár: "Vijaya Bāhu's Inscription at Polannaruwa", Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXIX, 1924, p.274; Wijésinha: Op. cit., pp.89-90 and Geiger, Op.cit., p.214.

purposes, was sent in 1071 when Vijaya Bāhu asked Aniruddha to send monks to carry out a religious reformation in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> This is worthy of notice as it opens for the first time a close religious alliance between Burma and Ceylon which was to become more important towards the end of the Pagan dynasty. King Aniruddha was succeeded by his son Mañ Lulāñ i.e. Sawlu in A.D.1077?-1084.

Sawlu of the chronicles is recorded in the inscriptions as Mañ Lulāñ - the Young King. An inscription dated S.573, Waxing 9 of Naṅkā, Tuesday<sup>2</sup> (21 July 1211) mentions Mañ Lulāñ ordering an enquiry into a religious dedication. Another Pali inscription not dated, found at Mergui<sup>3</sup>, bears the name of a king of Pagan and judging from the type of script, it belongs to the early period of Pagan. The regnal title of the donor mentioned in it is entirely different from the form of titles adopted by Thiluin Mañ and his successors. Thus, a suggestion arises that this title Śrī Bajrābharantribhūpati - The Victorious Bearer of the Thunderbolt, Lord of the Three Worlds, might belong to Mañ Lulāñ. It was in the time of his reign that the Mons whom his father probably

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1. Wljesin̄ha: Op. Cit. / <sup>pp.89-90</sup> See footnote 4 on page 17.

2. Pl.60a<sup>3</sup>. All dates in the Christian Era (Julian) are worked out from the tables by Sir A. Irwin: "The Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A.D.639-1752" Indian Antiquary, 1910, pp.289-315.

3. Pl. 548a<sup>1</sup>.

subjugated, tried for the first time but unsuccessfully to free themselves from the Burmese rule. It was probably the Ngayamankan rebellion.<sup>1</sup> This Mañ Iulañ was succeeded by Thiluiñ Mañ in 1084.<sup>2</sup>

A great deal about this great king is known from inscriptions belonging to his reign which are in the Mon language. The name Kyansittha seems to be the modernized form of Kalancacsā<sup>3</sup> - the Warrior Kalan.<sup>4</sup> But in the inscriptions he is Thiluiñ Mañ - the King of Thiluiñ or Thiluiñ Syañ - The Lord of Thiluiñ. His regnal title is Śrī Tribhuvanādityadharmarāja - The Victorious Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds. The Great Shwezigon Inscription<sup>5</sup> says that in A.B.1630, Śrī Tribhuvanādityadharmarāja became king in Arimaddanapura and upheld the Buddhist religion to its utmost benefit. That great personage,

1. Ep. Birm. I,ii,p.116,n,11. It is only a vague information but as there was no instance of enemies threatening the peace of the city (Pagan) during the reigning years of Thiluiñ Mañ, it must have occurred before his accession.
2. The Rājakumār (Myazedi) Inscription<sup>1-2</sup>. Ep. Birm. I,ii,B,pp.96 and 115. The Great Shwezigon inscription gives A.B.1628 as the beginning of Kyanzittha's reign. The difference is explained as A.B.1628 (A.D.1084) being the year of accession and A.B.1630 (A.D.1086) being the year of Abhiseka (coronation).
3. List 33<sup>2</sup> (B II 903) and List 50 (A 19).
4. The title of an officer probably derived from Mon. See "Economic Life of the Early Burman", JBRB, XXX, i, p.305, n.25.
5. Ep. Birm. I,ii,pp.90-129.

before he was king at Pagan, was in a previous existence also the founder of the exalted city of Śrīksetra. He was at that time known as Bisnū (Vishnu), the sage and he received help from Gavaṃpati, Indra, Bissukarṇa and Katakarṇa in building that city. In the words of Gavaṃpati, the inscription gives a lengthy account in praise of the achievements of King Śrī Tribhuvanādīva, the reincarnated Vishnu. This is the royal propaganda, wherein we find some vague suggestions of an insurrection, its suppression, and reconstruction and rehabilitation works carried out by the king after the trouble. Probably, this is about the Ngayamankan Rebellion. The Mahāthera with San Ariy - the Order, helped and advised the king in the administration of justice and the extirpation of heresy. But the panegyric of the king is so high that he almost becomes a mythical hero. The inscription then continues to give the promises of Bisnū. He said that if he ever were to become a king at Pagan, he would rule righteously, conscientiously. That king would act as the chief bull ever leading the herd to better and sweeter pastures. He would also recognise the ancient rights of all local chiefs. Here again, in the words of Bisnū, we find Thiluiṃ Maṃ promising his beloved people that he would be just and humane and he would bring prosperity to all. The Myagan Inscription<sup>1</sup> gives an addition to his regnal title. It becomes Śrī Tribhuvanādītyadhammarājarājādhirāja-paramisvarabalacakkāwar - The Fortunate Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds of Men, Devas and Brahmans, King of Law, Excellent King of Kings, Lord Supreme, Mighty Universal Monarch. This royal bombast is

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1. Ep. Birm. I, ii, pp.131-143.

supported by more laudatory phrases than in the previous inscriptions. The Prome Shwezandaw Inscription (1)<sup>1</sup> dated S.455 waxing .. of Srāwan? (3 June 1093) mentions that Thiluiñ Mañ belongs to the ādiccavaṃsa -- the solar race in paternal descent. Another inscription<sup>2</sup> says that "his mother (being) born of the Vilva line, his father of the Solar race". It is interesting to note that the king never thought of claiming any relationship with Aniruddha though all chronicles and one post-Pagan inscription<sup>3</sup> maintain that Aniruddha was his father. Let us now discuss his acts of merit.

The Myagan Inscription already mentioned records the construction of a reservoir for irrigation purposes by order of Thiluiñ Mañ. It shows how much the King was intent upon the welfare of his people. This record has also a vague suggestion of Thiluiñ Mañ's effort to bring about a revised edition of the Buddhist scriptures. The Alampagan inscription<sup>4</sup> is substantially the copy of the Myagan inscription except that it records the digging of a tank by order of Thiluiñ Mañ. The Ayetthama Hill Inscription<sup>5</sup> records the repair of a pagoda in the Mon country by order of the king.

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1. Ep. Birm. I, ii, pp 143.

2. Ibid. p.167

3. The Hlèdauk Inscription of Taungpyôn, List 50<sup>1</sup>, (A 19), SIP. p.4.

4. Ep. Birm. I, ii, p.143

5. Ibid. pp.143-7; see also JBRIS XXVIII, i, p.92. This inscription, now in the Rangoon University Library has been traced as originally belonging to the Myatheindan pagoda (Kyäk Talon) at Ayetthama Hill (2 1/2 miles from Mayangon Station or Taungsum station on the Moulmein railway line.)

It bears the date of S.460 waxing 13 of Vaisākha (16 April 1098, Friday). Another inscription<sup>1</sup> tells us many interesting things done by the king such as the erection of a religious building, the revision of the Buddhist canon, the sending of a mission to Bodh Gaya to effect repairs at Vajrāsana, the seat of Adamant, the offer of the four necessities to the monks, his friendship with a Cōla prince, his request to all his people to live in accordance with the laws of the religion and his generous treatment to birds and beasts. About a decade before his death, he built a new palace, undoubtedly of wood, as we can find no remains of it now.<sup>2</sup> The king left an inscription giving full details of the construction of his palace.

The Tharaba Gate inscription or the Palace inscription<sup>3</sup> gives precisely the time and date of planning, building and rituals in connection with the building, but no year date is given. According to Dr. Sewell

"the end of the year 1101 A.D. and the early part of 1102 best fit the particulars given."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ep. Birm. I, ii, pp.153-168. The Prome Shwesandaw Inscription (III).
  2. Pagan had a very dry climate and wooden buildings might have been the cause of many fires. Another palace was constructed in 1204 (Pl.27<sup>1</sup>). A great fire that razed the whole city to ashes occurred in 1225 (Pl.122a<sup>2</sup>). The building of palaces in wood is not a practice confined to Burma alone. It is spread all over S.E.Asia. See C. Duroiselle: Guide to the Palace at Mandalay, p.6.
  3. Ep. Birm. III, 1, pp.1-68.
  4. Ibid. p.3.

Probably it extended from December of 1101 to April of 1102. Two interesting things in this account are, firstly, the great importance attached to Vaisnavite rituals at the time when Buddhism in its pure form was supposed to be thriving and secondly, high places of honour given to Mon notables. The Naga worship was mentioned twice.<sup>1</sup> Another point equally interesting is the first mention in the epigraphs of the word Mimā (Burmese)<sup>2</sup> side by side with Rmeñ (Mon) and Tircul (?Pyu).<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately none of these inscriptions mention the king's services as a senior officer of Aniruddha and his love affairs which are quite popular with the chroniclers.

However the Rājakumār inscription<sup>4</sup> gives us the last scene of his Thambula story. It reveals the pathetic act of a disinherited son by his most beloved wife approaching his father's death-bed to report his meritorious deeds done on behalf of the father, who in reply exclaimed thic a thic a - Well done! Well done!<sup>5</sup> Prince Rājakumār or Jayakhetarā, a mere governor of Dhaññavati (Arakan) was the son of Thiluiñ Mañ and Thambula or Trilokavatsāsikā - The Ornament of the Three Worlds. Why Rājakumār was not given the throne after his father's death is a problem

1. Ep. Birm. IX H<sup>10</sup> p.56 and H<sup>15</sup> p.57.

2. Ibid. IX B<sup>42</sup> p.42.

3. Professor G.H.Luce: "The Peoples of Burma - 12th-13th Century A.D.", Census of India, 1931, XI, i. App. F. p.296.

4. Popularly known as the Myazedi inscription, Ep. Birm. I, i.

5. The Rājakumār Inscription Mon face, line 17, Ep. Birm. I, i, p.55.



indeed. The Glass Palace Chronicle gives this answer. Mañ Iulañ (Sawlu) on the advice of his counsellors recalled Thiluiñ Mañ (Kyanzitha) soon after his accession. Thiluiñ Mañ left Thambula who was with child, commanding her to bring him the child when born if it be a boy. Thiluiñ Mañ became king later and married his daughter to Sawyun, son of Mañ Iulañ. A young prince was born of this union and the king made this grandson his heir. The rightful heir i.e. son of Thambula came late (two years after his accession to the throne) and therefore the king could only make him a governor.<sup>1</sup> Without giving the year in which the grandson was born, the story appears quite sound. The epigraphic evidence refutes the story.

The king ascended the throne in A.D.1084 and in A.D.1086 his son Rājakumār who was then seven years old appeared at the court. The grandson, who was made heir, was born in A.D.1088 according to "List 73"<sup>2</sup> inscription. Therefore it is impossible to believe the story that Cañsū I being made heir was accidental. It seems that political expediency required the king to do that deliberately. An inscription<sup>3</sup> the script of which does not seem to be contemporary suggests an altogether new theory. It says that Asawatthammā son of Sudhammarac (? Makuta) planned a rebellion but King Narapaticañsū appeased him

1. Innannen, paras. 138 and 139; GPC, pp. 100 and 108.

2. List 73<sup>1-2</sup> (A 28) mentions that this successor of Thiluiñ Mañ was 63 years old in S.513. Therefore his year of birth was S.450 (A.D.1088).

3. List 346 (A 8). This inscription is dated A.D.1274.

by promising to marry his own daughter Rhweimsañ to Nāgasman: the son of Asawatdhammā. With this marriage tie, he peacefully and wisely averted the danger of a Mon rebellion. To later inscription writers, any king of Pagan can be Narapaticañsū and therefore it is not impossible to take this king as Thiluiñ Mañ. He might have contracted this marriage tie between his daughter and the great grandson of Makuta (Manuha) during the Ngayamankan rebellion and even promised the throne to the offspring of that union so that both Mons and Burmans could accept the next king without question. If that is true, Thiluiñ Mañ must be considered as the most statesman-like of all the Burmese kings. But it was unpleasant for later Burmese patriots to remember this and therefore they probably tried to forget it. Later Burmans also tried successfully to reverse his language policy.

He used the Mon Language in all his inscriptions and this strongly suggests that he used Mon as the official language of his kingdom and with this, he hoped that the two peoples would soon forget their racial difference and become a single nation as Saxons and Normans mixed freely and became the English nation. Anyhow this language policy did not survive for long its patron. There was a transition period from A.D.1113 to A.D.1174 during which time the use of Mon language was gradually replaced by Burmese until the time of Cañsū II (1174-1211) when the Mon language was no longer used. Thiluiñ Mañ was succeeded by his grandson Cañsū I who was popularly known as Alaungsithu.

On the strength of the Asawatdhammā inscription mentioned above,

we consider Cañsū I to be the son of the Mon prince Nāgasman: and the Burmese princess Rhweimsāñ. He was born in A.D.1088<sup>1</sup> and ascended the throne in A.D.1113.<sup>2</sup> His name Cañsū is the burmanised Javasūra - The Victorious Hero.<sup>3</sup> In post-Pagan times, he is usually mentioned as Alaungsithu - The Future Buddha, the Victorious Hero. His other names were Saktawrhāñ<sup>4</sup> - Long Life, Rhwekū Dāyakā<sup>5</sup> - Donor of the Shwegu Temple, and Śrī Trbhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja<sup>6</sup> - Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law. The name Sak Taw Rhañ implies that he lived long but we cannot tell with certainty the year of his death. According to the chronicles he ruled until S.529 (.A.D.1167).<sup>7</sup> But the Dhammayangyi Inscription<sup>8</sup> suggests that his successor reigned from A.D.1165 and therefore his rule terminated probably in A.D.1165. If so, he reigned for fiftytwo years and died at the age of seventyseven. He left a very

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1. List 73<sup>1-2</sup> (A 28) and Pl. 113<sup>1-2</sup>.

2. See Supra. p.16, n.3.

3. Pl. 365a<sup>1</sup>.

4. Pl. 60a<sup>4</sup>.

5. Pl. 311b<sup>18</sup>.

6. Pl. 1<sup>18</sup>; Pl.2<sup>41</sup>.

7. GPC. p.132.

8. Pl. 4 & 5. (1165).

important record.

This most interesting record of Caṅsū I's<sup>reign</sup> is a Pali-Sanskrit inscription of two faces set in the wall of Shwegugyi temple of Pagan (A.D.1131)<sup>1</sup>. Except for the date which is written in Sanskrit, the rest of the inscription is in Pali verse of great poetical merit. Professor Pe Maung Tin's remarks on it are worthy of quotation.

"It is such good Pali. Some verses of the prayer remind us of the canonical Mettasutta, or the Discourse on Love."<sup>2</sup>

The last stanza of the inscription mentions the name of the donor and the dates of the beginning and completion of the shrine.

"Thus the writing on this stone is made by the King Śrī Tibuvanādityadhammarāja, who is endowed with mindfulness, firmness, intelligence, character, who is a seeker of the constituents of Nirvana. Prosperity! The cave<sup>3</sup> was begun on Sunday the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśakha (when the moon was) in

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1. Pl. 1-2.

2. JBRS, X, ii, p.67.

3. The term "cave" used here means an artificial cave and not a "cave-temple" like Ajantā of India. Perhaps, "hollow-pagoda" is a better translation for the Burmese word kū.

See also JBRS. XXVI, i, p.54.

conjunction with the constellation Uttarāśadhaka and (the sun was) in Leo in Śāka year 1053. This cave was completed on the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Margaśira on (Thursday) at the conjunction of the sun with the constellation Vaiśakha in 1053 Śāka year".<sup>1</sup>

This is the one and only instance of the Śāka Era of A.D.78 being mentioned in the Pagan inscriptions. The dates correspond to Sunday 17 May 1131 and Thursday 17 December 1131.<sup>2</sup> The king is alleged to be a great traveller<sup>3</sup> even visiting places far beyond Burma by land and sea but we find no mention of his travels in the inscriptions. As mentioned above, he lived probably for seventy seven years and died in A.D.1165. The Mount Thetso Inscription<sup>4</sup> gives a list of early Pagan kings and thus we are able to tell who succeeded Cañsū I.

It records that on S.573, waxing 9 of Namka (Tuesday 21 July 1211), the daughter of Marhak Sañ Nā Sok Sañ, the clerk of Kaṅkun, poured water and dedicated to the pagoda the land which was exempted from revenue

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1. JERS. XXII, iii, p.151.

2. In checking up the dates and rendering them into equivalents in the Christian Era, with the help of Sir Alfred Irwin's Charts (I.A.1910 pp.289-315), I find that second Tagu is used instead of second Wazo in this intercalary year of S.493.

3. Hmannan, para.141; GPC. pp.113-122.

4. Pl. 60a.

as a result of a legal enquiry of Mañ Lulan. Then it continues:-

...Thiluiñ Mañ lak thak le lwat e' / Sak Tax  
Rhañ lak thak le lwat e' / Īm Tax Syañ - lak  
thak le lwat e' / Narapati lak thak le lwat e' / ...

It was exempted also in the reign of Thiluiñ Mañ;  
 also exempted in the reign of Sak Tax Rhañ (Cañsū I);  
 also exempted in the reign of Īm Tax Syañ (Kalagya);  
 and also exempted in the reign of Narapati (Cañsū II).

True to tradition Nātoimya after becoming king on Thursday 10 waxing of Tuinslan, S.573 (18 August 1211)<sup>1</sup> also granted the same exemption. Thus according to this inscription, Cañsū I was succeeded by Īm Tax Syañ - The Lord of the Royal House.<sup>2</sup> In old Burmese, a palace is called Īm Tax and therefore the name implies that he built a new palace. In the chronicles he is Narathu or Kalagya. We find no epigraphic evidence about his deceit and cruelty or his death at the hands of Indians as mentioned in the chronicles. We cannot also ascertain that being angry with the king, the mahāthera Panthagu went over to Ceylon. But the Sinhalese chronicle Cūlavamsa records charges against the King of Rāmañña.<sup>3</sup>

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1. This date in Pl.60a<sup>9</sup> S.573, waxing .. of Tuinslan Thursday is completed from the date given in Pl.90<sup>1</sup>.
  2. This name does not apply to all kings of Burma as Pharaoh - the Great House, is used for all kings of ancient Egypt.
  3. Wijésinha: Mahāvamsa II, pp.189-192 and Geiger: Cūlavamsa II, pp. 64-70.

It says that the two kingdoms i.e. Lañka and Rāmañña, since they belonged to the same faith, had friendly relations for a long time. Trade between the two countries also flourished. Then suddenly the foolish king of Rāmañña, probably Īm Tax Syaṅ ill-treated the Sinhalese merchants and took exorbitant rates on all exports, largely elephants to Lañka. To avenge this King Parākrama Bāhu I (1164-1197) sent an expedition to Burma under general Ādicca. As a result the Burmese king was killed. It even claims Sinhalese suzerainty over Burma henceforth. Unfortunately no date of it is given. The Burmese chronicles say that Narathu (Īm Tax Syaṅ) died at the hands of Indians from Pataikkhaya. The Dhammayangyi pagoda of Pagan is attributed to him and its inscription<sup>1</sup> is dated A.D.1165. Therefore one wonders whether he was king already in A.D.1165 because the chronicles suggest that he built that pagoda after he became king and that it was left unfinished when he was assassinated<sup>2</sup>. According to the Mount Thetso inscription quoted above, he was succeeded by Cañsū II. Here it is necessary to correct an error of the chronicles.

The Chronicles have one Minyin Naratheinhka (1171-1174) as the king before Cañsū II. This is clearly a mistake because Narasiṅha Uccēnā, whose regnal title was Śrī Tribhavanāditvapavaradhammarājadhiraḥjadanapati was son and successor of Nātoṃvā<sup>3</sup> and not of Kalagya (Īm Tax Syaṅ).

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1. Pl.4 and 5 (1165).

2. Emannan, para. 142; GPO. p.133.

3. Pl. 138<sup>2</sup> and Pl.200<sup>1</sup>.

Nātoṃmyā ascended the throne on Thursday, 10 waxing of Tāauslān, S.573 (18 August 1211)<sup>1</sup> and reigned for about twenty years. We find in an inscription<sup>2</sup> that in A.D.1231, a king (his name is illegible) made a dedication and shared the merit with his younger brother Klacwā. Klacwā ascended the throne on 4 waxing of Nsūkā, S.547 (19 July 1235).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it is possible that Klacwā's elder brother and his predecessor (Narasiṅgha Uccanā) ruled from A.D.1231? to A.D.1235. A law suit recorded in an inscription dated A.D.1259<sup>4</sup> says definitely that from Nātoṃmyā to Tarukpliy there are five kings, perhaps excluding Mañ Yan whose reign was so short that his name was left out of the list. The corrected dynastic table shown below will be of much help to understand this.

KINGS OF PAGAN 1044-1287.<sup>5</sup>

1. <u>Anirudḥa</u>	1044?-1077?	(1. Anawratha, founder of the empire	1044)
2. <u>Mañ Lulan</u>	1077?-1084	(2. Sawlu, son of 1	1077)
3. <u>Thiluin Mañ</u>	1084-1113	(3. Kyanzittha, son of 1	1084)
4. <u>Caṅsū I</u>	1113-1165?	(4. Alaungsithu, grandson of 3	1112)
5. <u>Īmtaw Syan</u>	1165?-1174	(5. Narathu, son of 4	1167)

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1. Pl.90<sup>1</sup>.

2. Pl.67<sup>2,9</sup>.

3. Pl.90<sup>14-15</sup> and Pl.181<sup>1</sup>.

4. Pl.193<sup>7</sup>.

5. Names and dates in parenthesis are from Handbook of Oriental History, (1951), p.131.



			(6. Naratheinkha,	1170)
			son of 5	
6. <u>Cañsū II</u>	1174-1211		(7. Narapatisithu	1173)
			brother of 6	
7. <u>Nātoṃyā</u> , son of 6	1211-1231?		(8. Htilominlo or	1210)
			Nantaungmya, son of 7	
8. <u>Narasiṅgha-Uccanā</u> <sup>1</sup>	1231?-1235			
		son of 7		
9. <u>Klacwā</u> , son of 7	1235-1249?		(9. Kyaswa, son of 8	1234)
10. <u>Uccanā</u> , son of 8	1249?-1256		(10. Uzana, son of 9	1250)
11. <u>Mañ Yan</u> , son of 10	1256?			
12. <u>Tarukpily</u> , son of 10	1256-1287		(11. Narathihapate or	1254)
			Tarokpyemin, son of 10	

1. The chronicles combine this king's name with No.11 King Mañ Yan and thus a fictitious name of King Minyin Naratheinkha appears and he is made the predecessor of Cañsū II.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF BURMA 1174-1287.

While Mon together with such languages as Pali, Sanskrit, Pyu and Burmese was used<sup>1</sup> during the transition period, with the advent of Ceñsū II we come to the Burmese period of Pagan culture as opposed to the Mon period in the first half of the dynasty. It seems that a reaction against Mon influence set in and a burmanising movement, which in the course of the next three centuries influenced Mon much more than Mon had done Burmese, started with full force. With the change in language came an entirely different style of writing. The Burmans started writing their language in a simple and straightforward way. They used short sentences probably because they were less sophisticated and more vigorous than the Mons or the later Burmans. An example of the new style is given below:-<sup>2</sup>

//o// Uiw. Klaw Sañ kloñ plu pri / Sākarec 560 Ta(po)  
la pleñ lhwat (e) kloñ 3 choñ (sa)ñkan achū cum 2 pā  
sañkan 2 ..ñ (p)iy tum .. si pateñsā l pañ nwā ma l  
lhū e / sañsarā (leñ rā rā) chuw ĩray luy nāray ma  
luy (plañ cum sate) ... luy sañsarā achūm nuvraṇan

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1. Ceñsū I's Shwezigon Inscription No. X is in Mon, the Shwegugyi Inscription (Pl.1 and 2) is in Pali and Sanskrit, the Rājākunār Inscription is in Mon, Burmese, Pyu and Pali. The Burmese inscriptions of this transition period are Pl.110, Pl.111 - 112, Pl.113, Pl.3, Pl. 4 - 5.
  2. Pl. 117b.

tuin (khyai e) // lup sū khapañ ra ca pā ci // o //  
chimi dhoñ l(e) piy e kathin le piy e kadhi(n) ..  
so ap 40 ñā cā karā 20 // lum khwak 4 khlap sapit  
ta lum khoñ loñ l chū khri (n)hap 20 nañ cwā rañ  
atuin ma si liw sa te

Having built a monastery, I, Uiw, Klaw Sañ, on 11 February, 1199, dedicated (to the Religion) three monasteries, two complete sets of monastic robes, two robes, a padesa - wishing tree - and a cow.

Wheresoever I wander in samsara I wish not misery like hell. May (the wishes) be fulfilled. I wish nirvana at the end of samsara. May all the workers (on the pagoda) share my merit. I gave a thousand oil lamps, kathina robes, forty needles, twenty jars, four cups, an almsbowl, a bell, twenty khri nhap<sup>1</sup>. My capital is small; my wants infinite.

For the sake of comparison, an extract from a Mon inscription written in praise of Kyanzittha is given below.<sup>2</sup>

/ smin devatāw / dey kāl kimun gna smin Śrī  
Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja goḥ yañ pñāñ c-āñ ma jnok  
kum ci val gabbha tlūñ / yañ nimit jirnah dūmhic naksat  
dūmhic stlūñ ta gna smin Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja  
goḥ / dey kup cinleh gna smin Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja

1. Probably sandals for monks.

2. Ep. Si m. I, ii, i C<sup>15-22</sup>, pp. 118-9.

goh sdūk kseh punrey moy mā nom ku punras row kseh mā  
das nor kirkūl māṭ brey scinleh cī stūm bah row they  
mā tāw kum /

"O king of devas! in the time of the reign of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, if another army should come, a good omen of victory, an auspicious constellation, shall come before King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. In the time of war King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall ride upon a noble steed that has swiftness even as the steeds that are of the breed of the clouds, (and) shall fight (and) shall shine like the noonday sun".

With the change in the language came the change in architecture.

A new style of architecture gradually replaced the Mon type.

Professor Luce gives a very good picture of this change.

"The Burman, in contrast with the Talaing of those days, was an unromantic matter-of-fact person. He wrote in prose and not in poetry. He described simply, without exaggeration - very differently from Burmans of later days. The dim religious light, dark corridors and rich lurid colouring which Mons liked in their temples he disliked. And when he borrowed their style of architecture he soon knocked out big open doorways on all sides of their murky bat-ridden temples, and let in sunlight; and his taste in colour

and design was far brighter and lighter than theirs."<sup>1</sup>

Let us now study the nature of the early Burmese inscriptions.

Largely the inscription pillars were put up to record their dedications. They dedicated lands, slaves and various kinds of commodities to pagodas and monasteries. This is the main form of their investment as they believed that in so giving away their property they would ultimately attain nirvana. They took every care to record what they had given away in charity. The slaves were listed by name, nationality, age and status. The area, class and extent of the lands were given in detail. Witnesses to their good deeds were cited by name and position. Dates were given for all specific occasions. In conclusion they blessed all supporters of their meritorious works, cursed all infringers of them and prayed for the boon of eternal peace. Thus, the inscriptions they left behind are brief in statement but contain historical material and are never dull to read. As the use of the native tongue became popular, it seems that everybody who could afford a dedication would think his work of merit incomplete unless he recorded it on an inscription. Thus, we have more epigraphs in this latter half of the dynasty than in the earlier one. Thanks to these we know more about their kings than we know about their predecessors. Still, little is known of Cañsū II except the date of his accession, how many queens he had, and his children.

The Saw Min Hla Inscription<sup>2</sup> (which is a copy made in Bodawpaya's

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1. JBRS XXII, iii, pp. 121-2.  
2. Copy. List 715<sup>7</sup> (B.II.839).

reign from the one made by Saw Min Hla the apron̄toau<sup>1</sup> - concubine - of Cañsū II) definitely mentioned that "in S. 536 (1174) Cañsū Mañkri ascended the golden mountain" i.e. the throne. Cañsū II has six queens and many concubines. The queens were:-

1. Toñphlānsañ - The South Queen.
2. Mlacphlānsañ - The North Queen.
3. Caw Mrakan Sañ - The Queen of the Emerald Lake.
4. Vatāmsikā (Ūchokpan) - The Ornament of the Head.
5. Caw Alhwan - Queen Paragon.
6. Veluvati - Queen Gift of Bamboo.

Queen Toñphlānsañ<sup>2</sup>, though her name implies that she was Cañsū II's chief queen, was actually not. Probably she had no children.

Queen Mrakansañ's son inherited the throne and therefore she stood next below Mrakansañ in position. The Mahadhi Inscription (1211)<sup>3</sup> gives the names of the donors listed in order of their rank and position and thus we are able to give the names and status of Cañsū II's queens. It says that in S.573 Waning 7 of Santu, the Mahāthara

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1. Apron̄ is the term used for lesser wives in the law books.

See D. Richardson: The Damathat or the Law of Menoo, p.94.

Probably apron̄toau here means "Royal Junior Wife".

2. Burmese kings giving audience face the east with the chief queen on their right side i.e. the south. Therefore the South Queen is the Chief Queen.

3. Pl.34.

Dharmavilāsa dedicated some ornaments, 119 slaves, 14 oxen and 100 pay<sup>1</sup> of land from the Kanplañ region to the Tilomañguir pagoda (Trailok-lubohbuil?— The Great Happiness of the Three Worlds<sup>2</sup>.) After him the great King Cansu II dedicated to the same pagoda 50 pay of land from Waraitut and 30 pay from Mapaṅcara Hurāṇay village. Next, Nātoṃnyā, who was still the Crown Prince at that time, dedicated 100 pay of land from Khamṃnhū. Next, Queen Mrakansañ (Nātoṃnyā's mother) dedicated 50 pay of land from Mapaṅcara lake area. Next, Queen Toṃphlañ Sañ<sup>3</sup> dedicated 40 pay of land from Tbṃplun. Next, Queen Maṅphlañsañ dedicated 30 pay of land from Putak. Next, Queen Uw Chok Pan's three sons were dedicated as slaves to the pagoda by the great King Caṅsū II and he himself redeemed them by dedicating 30 pay of land from Ui Chok Kuiw. Then, Princess Acaw Mañ Lha who was the only sister of Nātoṃnyā, dedicated 30 pay of land from the Calañ area, 20 from Rwā Sā, 20 from Mapaṅcara.

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1. See Appendix I.

2. Ink Inscription Pl.367b, (Burmese)<sup>7</sup> and (Pali)<sup>4</sup>. Bāruclī was the original builder of this pagoda. But he died in 1125 without completing it. Sañ Tra Uil continued the building which was completed in 1217 and he gave the name Tilomañguir (Trailoklubohbuil) to this pagoda in 1223. It is very interesting to note that the name of this pagoda sounds very much like a Mon name and that such a name was given to a pagoda at the time when burmanization was in full force. Probably this name is corrupted into Htilominlo.

3. Pl. 34<sup>8</sup>.

and 10 from Sa Yoi. The land dedicated were therefore 510 pay in total.

The Midwedaw Inscription (1179)<sup>1</sup> mentions that the Queen Toñphlansañ dedicated her slaves and lands of Iak Fai village near Krā Fuiw. Queen Mlacphlansañ, according to the Mahadhi Inscription quoted above, holds a third position<sup>2</sup> among the queens of Cañsū II. In old Burmese, the word mلاعphlan or mلاع ok means the north and later it is shortened to mlok. Usually the north queen occupies a second position. We have another mention of her name in the Laydaunggan Inscription<sup>3</sup> but unfortunately, it is largely illegible except for the blessings and prayers. Queen Caw Mraekansañ, as the mother of Nātonmyā (1211-1231?) the son and successor of Cañsū II, was considered very important, although she was of humble birth.<sup>4</sup> The interesting story of the king's whitlow and her tender care of it<sup>5</sup>, according to traditional accounts, has one weak spot so that we feel reluctant to accept it in full. According to the story, her son Nātonmyā was the youngest among the king's sons,<sup>6</sup> but in token of love, the king promised her to name him his successor. Epigraphic evidence shows that he was not the youngest son.<sup>7</sup> The queen's dedication

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1. Pl. 256<sup>3,20</sup>.

2. Pl. 34<sup>9</sup>.

3. Pl. 342.

4. Hmannan, para.143; GPC p.141.

5. Ibid. para 143; GPC, p.141. See also G.E.Harvey: Op.cit. pp.58, 329.

6. Ibid. para.143; GPC, p.151.

7. Infra. p. 44.



of lands to the Manāthera Dhammarājasuru, tutor of her son (Nātoṃmyā) and daughter (Acaw Mañ Iha)<sup>1</sup> is recorded in the Mahadhi Inscription.<sup>2</sup> It seems that she died some time between 1220 and 1231 as one of her grandchildren in 1239 recorded the dedication of some lands and slaves which originally belonged to the old grandmother Queen Skhiñ Phlwā Marakan Sañ, and had devolved through Nātoṃmyā who died in 1231? to the donor of the Hsimbyushin pagoda.<sup>3</sup> In 1244, when another grandchild Sattvā made a dedication at the Thinganyon pagoda<sup>4</sup>, he expressedly prayed that Queen Marakan Sañ may also get the merit of his good deeds -

... ī suiw nā plu so koñ mhu kā phuxhaloñ Cañsū  
mañkrī amiphurhā Marakan Sañ ra cay sate ...

The last mention of her name in the inscriptions is in a legal case of 1291 when her name is referred to as the original owner of the land in dispute.<sup>5</sup> Queen Vatānsikā<sup>6</sup> also known as Ū Chok Pan - The Ornament of the Head, was fourth in position among the queens of Cañsū II.<sup>7</sup> She was the younger sister of Uiw, Thak Plañ Sañ<sup>8</sup>, The Lady of Tuñ Sañ<sup>8</sup>

1. Pl. 34<sup>11</sup>, 63<sup>7</sup>.

2. Pl. 63a<sup>10</sup>.

3. Pl. 133<sup>26</sup>.

4. Pl. 153a<sup>5-6</sup>, 11.

5. Pl. 272<sup>28</sup>.

6. Pl. 91<sup>5</sup>, 94a<sup>6</sup>, 145<sup>14</sup>. (Uchokpan)

7. Pl. 34<sup>10</sup>. (Uiw Chok Pan).

8. Pl. 143a<sup>7</sup>, Pl. 143b<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 145<sup>13</sup>.

and Sūlāphira<sup>1</sup> husband of Kroṅṭau Sañ.<sup>2</sup> She had three children (or sons?) who were once dedicated to the Tilomaṅguir pagoda by Cañsū II and were later redeemed.<sup>3</sup> The three children were Rājasūra, Gaṅgāsūra and Pyañkhi?<sup>4</sup> who with the exception of the last, figured as the most important persons next the king in the state, during the reigns of Nātonmvā, Narasiṅha-Uccanā and Klacwā. They were given high places of honour, probably because their mother Queen Vatāmsikā came from a very highborn family. We know very little about Queen Caw Alhwan. The Dhammārājika pagoda built by Cañsū II was completed in 1198 and in 1200, Queen Caw Alhwan dedicated slaves to that pagoda.<sup>5</sup> In 1231-2, the queen and her daughter Sattikāmi made another dedication of slaves to the same pagoda.<sup>6</sup> The last queen in our list is Veluvati, of whom the chronicles write a very lovely but quite mythical story.<sup>7</sup> She was found in a giant bamboo "born of heat and moisture" and she had all the attributes of a lovely damsel except that her ears were too big and she was pot-bellied. When brought to the palace she was first offered to King Minyin Naratheinhka who refused to accept her because of her big ears and

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1. Pl. 144<sup>21</sup> (father of Queen Caw), Pl. 145<sup>14, 15</sup>.

2. Pl. 145<sup>15</sup>.

3. Supra. p.38.

4. Rājasūra - Pl.90<sup>20</sup>, Pl.91<sup>6</sup>, Pl.94a<sup>6,21</sup>, Pl.104<sup>14</sup>, Pl.374<sup>30</sup>, Pl.375<sup>9</sup>, Pl.376<sup>9,47</sup>  
Gaṅgāsūra - Pl.90<sup>20</sup>, Pl.186<sup>7</sup>, Pl.374<sup>30</sup>, Pyañkhi - Pl.42<sup>14</sup>, Pl.94a<sup>26</sup>, Pl.186<sup>11</sup>.

5. Pl. 369b<sup>16</sup>.

6. List 163<sup>13</sup> (A 50).

7. Ennannan, para. 143; GPC, p.135.

stomach. The queen-mother cut her ears to the right size, put her on a reducing diet and gave her to Cañsū II who was then the Crown Prince.

"When her ear was cut aright she bore a marvellous beauty insomuch that all men seeing her were dazed and could not stand upright."

It was because of her beauty that Cañsū II quarrelled with his brother (King Minyin Waratheinhka) and eventually the king was killed and Cañsū II succeeded him.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, as mentioned above, epigraphic evidence shows that there was no intermediate king between Īm Taw Syan and Cañsū II. Nor can we find mention of Veluvati's son Jayasūra in the inscriptions. In the Sulamani Inscription (1175)<sup>2</sup>, this Veluvati was mentioned as the donor of the Nadaungtap pagoda. We can trace only two names from among the king's concubines and they were Aprōntōsu Co Mañ: Lha<sup>2a</sup> and Moñma Khañ Mi Nay<sup>3</sup> who made a dedication in 1198. In another dedication dated 1206 this Khañ Mi Nay was mentioned as Co Khañ Mi Nay. She probably was promoted then to queenship because we have many instances in the inscriptions showing that only queens and princesses used the prefix Co. Perhaps she was the king's favourite. Cañsū II must have had many children, of whom we know that Nētōhmyā and Princess Acaw Mañha were born of

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1. Hannan, para 143; GPC, pp.135-6.

2. List 97 (UB, I,173).

2a. List 715 (B, II, 839).

3. Pl. 29<sup>2</sup>.

Queen Mrakan Sañ, Rājasūra, Gaṅgasūra, and Pvañchī ? were born of Queen Vatamsikā and Princess Sattikāmī born of Queen Caw Alhwan. There were three others, namely Kraṁsuiñkrī (father-in-law of Samantasū)<sup>1</sup>, Singhapicañ<sup>2</sup> and the wife of Byaghasūra<sup>3</sup>, but unfortunately we cannot trace the names of their mothers. Cañsū was succeeded by Nātoṅmyā on 18 August 1211.<sup>4</sup>

In the inscriptions, the new king is known as Nātoṅmyā<sup>5</sup> or Nātoṅ Skhin<sup>6</sup> - The Lord of the Ear Ornaments. The Chronicles name him Nandaungmya because his mother made many entreaties to Cañsū II that he might succeed to the throne<sup>7</sup>. This does not hold good any longer. Nātoṅmyā, though his mother was a gardener's daughter,<sup>8</sup> was undoubtedly able and efficient and not the youngest son of Cañsū II as alleged.<sup>9</sup> He succeeded to the throne superseding the three sons of Vatamsikā, who by blood, seem to have had a better claim to

1. Pl. 51<sup>3</sup>, Pl. 83<sup>2</sup>.
2. Pl. 41<sup>10</sup>, Pl. 42<sup>14</sup>, Pl. 74<sup>27</sup>, Pl. 133<sup>16</sup>.
3. Pl. 162<sup>15</sup>, Pl. 182a<sup>9</sup>.
4. Pl. 90<sup>1</sup>.
5. Pl. 31<sup>2-3</sup>, Pl. 34<sup>6</sup>, Pl. 63a<sup>2-3</sup>, Pl. 64<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 86<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 239<sup>11</sup>, Pl. 272<sup>29</sup>.
6. Pl. 41<sup>3</sup>, Pl. 231b<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 273<sup>1</sup>.
7. Probably the chroniclers read Nantoṅmyā: (Nandaungmya) instead of Nātoṅmyā which is quite possible and had to fabricate a story to support their reading.
8. Hmannan, para, 143; GPC. p.141.
9. Ibid. para 143; GPC. p.151.

the throne. Perhaps, Nātoṃvyā's gentleness and affability won their superficial submission.<sup>1</sup> However all or at least one of them i.e. Pyāṃkhī, might have been plotting against him who in their eyes was a usurper. Ultimately in alliance with Prince Sīṅghapicañ, and Prince Klacwā (younger son of Nātoṃvyā who later became king in 1235), Pyāṃkhī rebelled.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly the attempt failed and most probably Pyāṃkhī and Sīṅghapicañ were executed; but the king forgave Klacwā and Pyāṃkhī's son (name unknown) possibly because of their youth. It seems that, Rājasūra and Gaṅgasūra remained loyal to Nātoṃvyā henceforth. When Klacwā ascended the throne, they two together with the ministers Mahāsamanta, Amritta Lakvā, Anantajayapikrama and Mahāsatti were appointed to form a royal commission enquiring into the authenticity of the church lands, especially the Hañ Rām Pa-Ak lands dedicated by Jayapavattati.<sup>3</sup> If the evidence was weak, King Klacwā was intent upon confiscating them as he was very much concerned with the dwindling of the state revenue owing to the ever increasing extent of the religious lands from which he could collect nothing. When appointing the said commission, Rājasūra and Gaṅgasūra were described as mañ phathuy - the king's father's younger brothers i.e. Nātoṃvyā's younger brothers.<sup>4</sup> Thus we come to the conclusion that Nātoṃvyā was, if not the eldest, one of the senior sons and definitely not the youngest son of Cañsū II.

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1. Hmannan, para.143; GPC, pp.150-1.

2. Pl. 42<sup>14</sup>, Pl.186<sup>11</sup>.

3. Pl. 90.

4. Pl. 90.

Likewise another name of the king Htilominlo - The Choice of the White Umbrella as well as his Predecessor - cannot be taken as true.<sup>1</sup> He is also called Uccanā<sup>2</sup> a name adopted for the first time by a Pagan king. Probably, the name is Uccanātha - The High Protector - which has a close resemblance to Uccadeva a name by which Viṣṇu is sometimes known. His regnal title is Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājā - The Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law.<sup>3</sup> As mentioned above, he was Queen Mrakan Sañ's son and his younger sister was Princess Acaw Mañ Iha. In his youth he was educated by a monk on whom he conferred the title of Dhammarājaguru when he became king.<sup>4</sup> This monk was mentioned as a native of Molañā, a village to the east of Dala in Lower Burma. If he was a Mon by race, which is not unlikely, it is important to note that Mons still remained teachers and advisers at the Court of Pagan when the tendency at that time was to forget the Mon influence. We know more about the reign of this king than that of his predecessors.

In the rebellion in the early years of his reign when his halfbrothers Siṅghapicañ and Pyañkhī,<sup>5</sup> rebelled, and his younger son Klacwā sided with his enemies, the king had to depend largely on

1. Tentatively, the name Htilominlo is the corruption of Tilomañguir which also is possibly derived from Trailoklobohbuil (Pl.34<sup>2</sup>, Pl.367b<sup>7</sup>).

See also Supra. p.38, n.2.

2. Pl.36<sup>4</sup>, Pl.42<sup>16</sup>, Pl.78b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.90<sup>1</sup>, Pl.123<sup>3</sup>, Pl.190a<sup>12</sup>.

3. Pl. 31<sup>2</sup>. Identical with the title of Cañsu I.

4. Pl.63a<sup>2-3</sup>, 13-14.

5. Pl.42<sup>14</sup>, Pl.186<sup>11</sup>.

the services of his five ministers to quell it. When the trouble was over, he pardoned his son and the son of Pyañkhī and to his five ministers he gave each seven hundred pay of land as ray chu - the reward for valour. They were Asaikhvā, Anantasū, Asawat, Rājasañkrañ and Caturañgasu.<sup>1</sup> Probably, Pyañkhī's son surrendered to Asaikhvā because, it was the latter who brought the rebel prince back to Pagan and it was to him that the king gave all the former slaves of that prince. The minister Anantasū was the Mahāsenāpati - Commander-in-Chief, of Nātoñmyā. He and his wife built the Laymyakhna pagoda, Minnanthu, Pagan and left a great number of inscriptions recording their deeds of merit. One of these inscriptions<sup>2</sup> records a law suit concerning slaves and tells us an interesting story of how slaves were bought and sold or given away to settle debts. Another of his inscriptions<sup>3</sup> mentioned the procedure of an appeal court which was called Atañ tryā. The appeal court judges mentioned in it were Cañsaphañ Mlat, Baccrapatiy, Pateñsā, and Mahāway. They were officially called sañphama i.e. judges as distinct from ministers and governors. The minister Asawat (Aśvatthāma?) was, in his civil duties, the aklāñ tañ so mañ amat<sup>4</sup> -

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1. Pl. 42<sup>17</sup>, Pl. 190a<sup>12</sup>.

2. Pl. 78b. See also Chapter K.

3. Pl. 79b<sup>17</sup>. See Infra, p. 198 and Chapter III.

4. Pl. 96<sup>6</sup>.

Royal Registrar. His wife built a kū - hollow pagoda - in 1236 to commemorate his death and dedicated slaves to it. The reverse face of the inscription<sup>1</sup> recording this dedication has a detailed account of the building-costs<sup>2</sup> which gives us comparative prices of the commodities in the Pagan period. The minister Rājasaṅkram<sup>3</sup> was a prominent judge of Nātoṃvyā's reign. The chronicles regarded him as the cause of Tarukpīy being made king in 1256, superseding his elder brother.<sup>4</sup> But we do not know how far it is true. It seems that Rājasaṅkram became the chief minister during the reigns of Nātoṃvyā's successors. The minister Caturāṅgasū was also a judge and his associate judges were Mahāsaman, Kaṅkaphirac, Atūlaṅṅsawir and Nārīntasū.<sup>5</sup> Another important officer of the reign was Sambyaṅ Jeyvapwat (Jayapavattati) who built the Zeyaput pagoda, East Pwazaw, Pagan and the inscription of that pagoda<sup>6</sup> gives the exact dates of the accession of Nātoṃvyā and Klacwā, which were S.573 waxing 10 of Tāauslaṅ, Thursday (18 August 1211) and S.597 Waxing 4 of Namkā, Thursday (19 July 1235) respectively. This inscription also gives

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1. Pl. 97.

2. See JBRS XXX, i., p.327, n.105.

3. Pl. 371a<sup>5</sup>.

4. Hmannan, para.147; GPC, pp.158-160.

5. Pl. 125a<sup>2-4</sup>.

6. Pl. 90<sup>1, 15</sup>.



another four associate officers of Jeyvapwat, viz. Satyā, Caṅkray, Kraimaphat and Siri Indrapicañ. Narasiṅha-Uccanā was Nātoṃvyā's successor.

Nātoṃvyā was succeeded in 1231? by his elder son Narasiṅha-Uccanā, whose regnal title was Śrī Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarājadhiraṅjadānapati - The Victorious king, sum of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law, King of Kings, Lord of Charity.<sup>1</sup> Narasiṅha-Uccanā had probably two queens and they were Queen Cāw and Queen Phwā Jaw. Queen Cāw had two sons Siṅghapati and Tryāphyā and probably a daughter Acaw Lat. The North Kūnī Inscription (1241) records the meritorious deed done by Queen Cāw, the wife of Narasiṅha-Uccanā and the mother of Prince Siṅghapati and Prince Tryāphyā.<sup>2</sup> Acaw Lat, wife of Jeyvasaddhiy who served as minister to the king was probably her third child. She left an inscription dated S.623 Waxing 5 of Mlwaytā (3 August 1261) which is of immense historical value.<sup>3</sup> Because of this inscription, we are able to say that Nātoṃvyā was succeeded by Narasiṅha-Uccanā and not by Klacwā directly as the chronicles say.<sup>4</sup> It was written thus:-

// Śrī Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja mañ so maṅkrī  
Sā im rhiy mañ Narasiṅha Uccanā samī Acaw Lat mañ so  
maṅsamī nhañ amatvā krī phlac tha so Jayvasaddhiy mañ

1. Pl. 138<sup>1</sup>.

2. Pl. 138<sup>2, 3</sup>.

3. Pl. 200.

4. Hmannan, para. 145; GPO p.p.154-5. See also JERS XXII, ii pp.100-102.

so dāyaka moñ nham̃ 2 yok sañ // chanawuti rogē //  
kuiw chay khrok oā su anā // battīnsakammā //  
krammā 32 // pañcavisati bhayē // bhuiy 25 pā //  
iy mhya so bhuiy anā // saṃsarā chuiw nray khapañ  
khlup rā arap phlac tha so sabbañu purhā chu kuiw ra  
khlyañ so krom̃ //

Princess Acaw Lat, daughter of Narasiṅgha-Uccanā who was son and heir apparent of the great king

Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarāja (i.e. Nātoimya) and her husband Jeyyasaddhiy, the great minister - these donors husband and wife desire the boon of sabbaññutañāna - Buddhahood, which is the end of samsara and all the miseries like 96 diseases, 32 causes of evil and 25 calamities.

Another important queen of Narasiṅgha-Uccanā was Phwā Jaw.

In the Minwaing Inscription (1272)<sup>1</sup> she called herself the daughter-in-law of Nātoimya<sup>2</sup> but she did not mention the name of her husband. He could have been either Narasiṅgha-Uccanā or Klacwā.

When sharing the merit of her good deed she said:-

// ī suiw lhyañ nā plu so koñmhu akluiw kā // riy mliy  
khapsim so askhiñ phlac tha so mlat cwā so nā lai skhiñ

1. Pl. 234 and 235.

2. Pl. 234<sup>38</sup>.

maṅkrī // nā sē maṅkrī // nā mliy maṅkrī // i maṅkrī  
suṁ yok ca so noṅ lā lat so maṅ khapsim le nā atū ra  
ciy sate //

The reward of the good deeds thus done by me - may my most excellent husband lord the king, lord of the water and land; my son the king; my grandson the king - may these three kings and all the kings to come hereafter, get it equally with me.<sup>1</sup>

Definitely, her son the king and her grandson the king were Uccanā and Tarukpiy. She mentioned Klacwā in her inscription<sup>2</sup> but not as her husband and from other inscriptions<sup>3</sup> we have the names of the queens of Klacwā. She was not among them. Therefore her husband the king most probably was Narasinha-Uccanā. Thus, Narasinha-Uccanā was succeeded by his younger brother Klacwā with whom he had shared his merit on making a dedication on S.593 Waning 1 of Plasuiw<sup>4</sup> (11 December 1231).

Klacwā became king on S.597 Waxing 4 of Nainkā, Thursday<sup>5</sup> (19 July 1235). He was also known as Caw Kri.<sup>6</sup> We do not know the name

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1. Pl. 235<sup>10-11</sup>.

2. Pl. 234<sup>26, 28, 32</sup>.

3. Pl. 246<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 273<sup>20</sup>.

4. Pl. 67<sup>1-2</sup>.

5. Pl. 90<sup>14-15</sup>, Pl. 181<sup>1</sup>.

6. Pl. 234<sup>28, 32</sup>.

of Klacwā's mother. She died when he was very young. The Laymyakhna Inscription (1253)<sup>1</sup> set up by his aunt says:-

// Sakarag 597 khu // Āsin nhac Namkā la chan 4 ryak  
Krāssapativ niy // Klacwā mañ rhuy toñ tak prī //  
ñā mi kuiw kā ñā ma si luik // ñā mithuy muy ruy ñā  
krī e, ñā mithuy lhyañ te ñami e, hu ruy // ĩm plu  
niy piy e, // ĩm thon kywan lay le piy taw mū e, //

On 19 July 1255 Klacwā ascended the golden mountain "I never knew my mother. My aunt brought me up and so I grew. Truly my aunt has been a mother to me". So saying, he built a house and gave it to me to live in. He gave me also household slaves and rice fields.

This aunt built a hollow pagoda and dedicated the slaves and lands given to her by the king to that pagoda in 1253. The house he gave was also turned into a monastery. It is a mystery still why Singhapati and Trvāphyā, the two sons of Narasiṅha-Uccanā by his chief queen, were ousted from the succession by Klacwā and why the succession reverted to the elder branch of the royal family on the death of Klacwā. Probably the sons of Narasiṅha-Uccanā were too young when their father died and therefore their uncle was made king. But there must have been a sort of agreement between the two branches that after Klacwā the succession should revert

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1. Pl. 181<sup>1-4</sup>.

to the elder branch.<sup>1</sup> It seems that there was some opposition to Klacwā's succession. The Minwaing inscription<sup>2</sup> records a rebellion in the year following his accession. It says:-

// Sakrac 598 khu // Kratuik nhac Mlwaytā la chan nā  
ryak Tannhankanuy niy // Sirivadhanā plac sa rhaw ackuiw  
Singhapikram plac pā e, // atuiw Sksiñ Cawkrī Kwan Prok  
Nay nhuik niy taw mū se Singhapikram mayā min e, //  
atuiw kywan lañ Pukam sā // niy ra ciy la siy // nā  
kywan // lay // uyan kā sksiñ yu ciy khlyan hu min e,  
// min taw mū piy rakā Pukam niy ra e, //

On 9 June 1236 when Sirivadhanā sinned (i.e. rebelled), his elder brother Singhapikram was involved in the sin. Our Lord Caw Kri (i.e. Klacwā) was sitting in the Kwan Prok Nay - the Small Variagated Hall when the wife of Singhapikram said: "Your servant's husband - let him, I pray, be allowed to remain here at Pagan. My slaves, paddy lands and gardens - I would ask my lord to take them" (The king) allowed Singhapikram to remain at Pagan (but confiscated his estates).

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1. There was no rigid law for succession but usually the eldest son of the chief queen succeeded to the throne. However there were many exceptions.

2. Pl. 234 <sup>31-34</sup>

Another inscription<sup>1</sup> mentions that two monks were implicated in a rebellion against Klacwā. This is the only instance we have in the inscriptions of our period of monks getting mixed up in politics.<sup>2</sup> The king also had some trouble with the monks in a land dispute.

Klacwā probably was very much annoyed by the loss of revenue owing to a great increase of religious lands and therefore an attempt to confiscate the religious lands was one of the first measures he took after his accession. The Zayaput inscription says:-

// Sakarac 597 khu // Āsin nhac // Nāikā la chan 4  
ryak Krāsapatiy niy ā // maikrī sē mañ Klacwā rhuy  
toñ tak ruy // akrīy añā nhuik te mahādān mliy  
khapsim yū lat te //<sup>3</sup>

On 19 July 1235 the great king's son Prince Klacwā ascended the golden mountain and after that all mahādāna lands of up-stream and down-stream he took.

In the course of this measure he confiscated the Hainrañ Pa-ak lands dedicated by Sainbyañ Jayapavattati to a forest monastery. The monks raised an objection and therefore he had to appoint a commission to look into the matter. The commission reported that the monks were right and therefore the king had to re-dedicate the Hainrañ Pa-ak lands

1. Pl. 102<sup>24-26</sup>.

2. See Infra. pp. 228-9 for details.

3. Pl. 90<sup>15-16</sup>.

to the monastery. Anyhow by this confiscation many pay of land were lost to the Religion for ever. But tradition required Klacwā to make dedications of land etc. during his lifetime and therefore some would be undoubtedly restored to the Religion. Klacwā made a big dedication immediately after his accession.<sup>1</sup> He even gave a hundred pay of land to the Brahmans who probably conducted his coronation.<sup>1</sup> It was in his reign perhaps between 1237 and 1248 that the monks Subhūticanda and Dhannasīri went over to Ceylon for educational purposes.<sup>2</sup> Possibly a religious purification movement started after their return from Ceylon. The most important minister of the reign was Mahāsamanta,<sup>3</sup> who was the chief minister as well as the viceroy of the northern part of Burma. He was sometimes called the Viceroy of Koncañ<sup>4</sup> as he had to take charge of the Koncañ area (near Bhamo) which was probably the northernmost part of the Burmese empire. Klacwā also tried to improve administration and ensure peace in his kingdom.

Towards the end of the reign Klacwā issued an edict against all malefactors dated 6 May 1249<sup>5</sup> and he decreed that his edict must be

1. Pl.102<sup>18</sup>.

2. See Infra. p.270 for details.

3. Pl. 85<sup>24</sup>, Pl.90<sup>20</sup>, Pl.102<sup>7</sup>, Pl.125a<sup>3</sup>.

4. Pl.158<sup>20-21</sup>.

5. The dates of the pillars are not all uniform. Some are dated S.611 Waxing 9 of Kuchun (22 April 1249), and some are dated S.611 Waxing 3 of Kuchun (1 May 1249).

written on stone pillars and every village with more than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of these edict pillars have been discovered. Perhaps there were more than eleven but not so many as the king originally intended. The reason for this may have been that he died before the completion of his orders. The reconstructed text of this edict is given below.<sup>1</sup>

//o// Sekarac 611 khu Kruikkasuir samwachuir // Kuchun  
la chut 8<sup>2</sup> ryak Krāsapatiy niy // Mākā naksat //  
Methun lak // 5 nā rī prī // atuiw purhā Caw Krī Skhiñ  
Śrī Triphavanātittyāpavarapandītatadhammarāja mañ so  
purhā rhañ tew // rhiy<sup>3</sup> thuy tay // nañ alwan so sū mya  
takā tuiw // ū sā thak ā // tañ lhā lañ // nañ lū myā  
takā tuiw // ī lū twañ so khyānsā tamunwen so khyānsā  
kuiw luiw so sū kā // ī nā cakā kuiw ruiw siy so / yun  
so mā ruy / lha ma ook nā thoñ ruy nā ap e, // aphay  
kroñ nhe hū mū kā // akrañ kroñ // īy nā cakā kā /  
mimi kuiw prañā phlañ / krañ ruy chuiw so ma chuiw

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1. Pl. 166ab, Pl.167-9, Pl.170, Pl.173-4, Pl.343 and Pl.345ab are all edict pillars and an almost complete text has been reconstructed out of them by Professor G.H.Luce. See also JBRAS XXVI 1, p.70.
  2. Pl.166ab, Pl.167, Pl.168-9 have chan 9; Pl.170 has chut 3.
  3. Pl.166ab and Pl.168-9 have hū; Pl.170 has rhiy; Pl.171-2 and Pl.173 have hu ruy.



so ma hut cwam // mlac cwā so purhā skhiñ sabbañū cakā  
kuiw mhi ruy chuiw sate //  
thiy lwan so mañ tuiw kā // khuiw cā so<sup>sū</sup> tuiw kuiw kā  
// tamkrahñ lhuiv so ka ca so athū thū so sat khrahñ phrahñ/  
sat kun e, // thuiw suiw so sattawā takā tuiw e / apyak  
aci kuiw ma luiw so kroñ / sattawā takā tuiw kuiw //  
mimi sa kay suiw / ok miy lat ruy // krunā sañ tuik lat  
ruy // chuiw so cakā te // thuiw kroñ rakā / ruiw siy  
so vūā so mū ruy / lha ma cok nā thoñ ruy nā ap e hū so  
te // asuiw mū ruy nā ciy su nhe / o.ī mañkri kā //  
mimi kuiw prañā phrahñ krañ ruy chuiw so ma hut takā //  
mlac cwā so purhā skhiñ // sabbañū cakā kuiw / mhi ruy  
chuiw so cakā te // ī nā cakā kuw luik mūkā / ī lū twañ so  
khyamsā // tamunwan so khyamsā kuiw ma lway ra lyañ so  
tū kā<sup>1</sup> // ī suiw nhac lum mū ruy nā ap e, //  
ī mhya so khuiw ca kun so sū tuiw sañ kā / khyamsā  
ra añ sate hū ruy khuiw ca kun so te // ayañ tuiw /  
khyamsā ra nuiw so sañkā / sū rhok sū rwā sū miyā sū sā /  
sū utcā / apyak aci / anuiñ athak mu ra so kuiw khyamsā  
nuiw pan kyañ so te // thuiw khyamsā hū<sup>2</sup> so sañ-kā /  
kuiw sat 1(a) lam sokhyamsā te / thuiw kā khyamsā te ra  
e' lo / apyak aci kuiw te rok e'<sup>3</sup> lo // thuiw le nañ

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1. Pl. 170 has añ so hut tā.
  2. Pl. 166ab and Pl.168-9 have hut.
  3. Pl. 168-9 and Pl.170 have kun.

tuiw krañ kun (ap e.) //  
kuiw ca so sū tuiw sañ kã / mi lat so le / tañklañ  
lhyuiw so / rañ puchin nhañ pok so / sañkrap nhañ krañ  
so / a - ũ nut so / apoñ alak phay so / myek chan thwac  
so / asã lhī ruy cã piy lã so / ariy chwac ruy (s)ã mã  
so / thip thwañ ruy chí pū swan so / lañ rhuy mlup ruy  
thwañ nhañ thwan<sup>1</sup> so / puyan cañ ruy chañ nañ ciy so /  
sacpañ phak ciy ruy tañsañ nhac so / a(rhãñ ma mluk) so /  
lañ phrat so // ìy suiw so ka ca saphlañ ayañ tuiw kã  
chuiw ñray krī ãrok kun so te // ma mi so krã le / ìp  
so / niy so / ryap so / swã so ka ca saphlañ le // te  
ciy sa lhyañ le ayañ tuiw kã ma khyamsã cwañ te // krok  
lan lyak lhyañ ayañ tuiw kã khañ ce kun sa<sup>2</sup> te //  
im nhuik le ma niy cwañ / niy pū muiw rwã lhyañ khañ  
kyañ so te / ma khuiw cã so sū tuiw sañ lhyañ le /  
bhyuy l khu khu te rok lat mūkã // ìm twañ lhyañ niy  
kyañ<sup>3</sup> mū le / nhanlum kã / chuiw ñray krī cwã so mat  
lo<sup>4</sup> // khuiw cã so sū tuiw sañ kã / aphay hu khi lip nhe /  
vakhañ scan can ka khuiw cã so sū tuiw sañ kã ta yok  
tañ lhyañ le lwat e hū so sañ kã ma hiy phū // krã cwã  
achuñ kã / nhan nhac suñ nhac muiw kã / ma krã phū ma

- 
1. Pl.166ab, Pl.168-9, Pl.170 have tu ik.
  2. Pl.166ab, Pl.168-9, Pl.170 have hi.
  3. Pl.168-9 and Pl.170 omit kyañ; Pl.166ab has salvak.
  4. Pl.166ab, Pl.168-9, Pl.170 have rokt e .

lo // ĩy cakā kā yakhu (chuiw) sã ma hut / tryã twan le  
ĩy suiw min e.<sup>1</sup> // siy lysw ruy khuiw cã so sũ kã /  
ĩray krĩ prittã asũrã tiritchan apay 4 pã so sañ kã  
ayan khuiw sũ<sup>2</sup> ĩm lhyañ mañ e. // siy lhyañ rok liy tum  
tum te hiy e, // ma siy mi lhyañ<sup>3</sup> le / phañ mi lhyañ /  
sũ khuiw hũ ruy<sup>4</sup> / mañ nhup lat e, // mañ le / cam ta  
lañ / khuiw so hũ amañ ma tañ mũ ruy // khuiw mhũ chañ  
khrañ so sũ kuiw piy 2 e. // thuiw sũ tuiw le cit ciy  
miy e.<sup>5</sup> // khuiw so ma hut cam mũ kã / lhwat e. //  
khuiw sa hut cam mũ kã / amunwan cã kuiw phat ciy e /  
amunwan cã twan akrañ sũ khuiw sañ / ĩ mañ so / aplec  
te phlec mũ kã / ĩ mañ so<sup>6</sup> tan piy te piy ap e, hu piy  
e. // mañ sũ khuiw aplec nhañ ĩ munwan cã kuiw nuñ krañ  
ruy / thuiw aplec nhañ tañ ap so tan kuiw mũ e.<sup>7</sup> // ĩy kã  
mañ ta kã amunwan hut-tã //

khuiw sũ tuiw sañ kã ĩ lũ twan le athũ thũ so sat  
khrañ ẽ mk kun e // asuiw sat khrañ nhe hũ mũ kã ariy<sup>8</sup>

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1. Pl.166ab, Pl.168-9, Pl.170 have piy ma lo .
  2. Pl.166ab, Pl.168-9, Pl.170 have sukhuiw .
  3. Pl.170 omits lhyañ.
  4. Pl.166ab, Pl.168-9 omit ruy.
  5. Pl.166ab, Pl.168-9, Pl.170 have cat ruy.
  6. Pl.170 has merely amunwan cã kuiw krañ ruy tan piy te.
  7. Pl.170 omits this sentence mañ sũ khuiw ... tan kuiw mũ e. .
  8. Pl.170 has sariy.

nay sañ chū tap ruy khat so / achū hiy so krim lum  
nhañ khat so / nā lhi so / nhā khon lhi so / khriy  
lak phrat so // thip thwan ruy sañ pū ray ray thañ  
ruy / ū nok kluik 2 chū lyak siy so / khem twan kan  
phi<sup>1</sup> ruy chimi ñhi so ch(sañ) yok (rā) ariy ryan ruy  
cham chon ñañ phi ruy ū riy chwac pri so ū khon khwan  
khlañ sañ lhañ kan nhañ khat so / lakway pukhum /  
lakya pukhum ok suiw puchac kan ariy chwac phi ruy  
ok so ariy kā (a)khriy suiw khla e'<sup>2</sup> / athak so ariy  
kā ū khon suiw lhi lay so / ariy khapañ chwac pri so  
kā atwan riy kā apa suiw thā ruy lhwam so / (m)iy  
ñhap nham ariy kuiw katkriy nhañ ryan so // asā hiy  
rā / khit ruy lhi so // lak tan ton rhiy phrat so<sup>3</sup> /  
khriy puchac rhuay phrat so / sañ khwā 4 khu cwap ruy  
twā ciy so / acon ip ciy ruy nā twan tamsañ nak so<sup>4</sup> //  
khriy 2 phak sun ruy pat 2 lhen so tū nhañ (n)u(p)  
2 thū ruy / kuiw khapsim uiw khyañ suiw khuy khi ruy

- 
1. Pl.168-9, Pl.170 have kst .
  2. Pl.170 has ok so ariy ka thak so lhi liy e.
  3. Pl.170 has atwan riy. kā apa suiw thā ruy // lhwam so. ariy kuiw kat  
kriy nhañ ryan sate // asā hiy rā // khit ruy lhan sate // lak tanton  
rhway phrat so /
  4. Pl.168-9 and 170 have ruy.

lhen̄ so / ariy kuiw sañ thum nham cat ruy / samparā  
chā plā ren̄ swan so / anham lhyān khuiy (cā) ciy so / lañ phmat  
so /  
kuiw lak (khap) an̄ emhuik rec ruy mi phut so // ī suiw  
so sat khrañ sat kun e, //  
thuiw muiw tamunwan le / Tāpana m̄ñ so nray kri  
nhuik le kyak kun e, // thuiw (nray kā) kuiw aluñ lhyān  
[atwan̄ apa (nray cit) olañ lvak] tok (tha) su te // avan̄  
tuiw kā mi acā phlac (tha) su te // niy ha atuiñ (chañ nray)  
kun (rā e, // ī s) uiw klw(i) y (tha) sate (//) nray asak mlan̄  
khrañ kā nray asak  
/(h) ū kū anhaç ta sin te lū nhaç phlan̄ twak [tuñ] mūkā  
akutiy ta ... nhaç hiy e, / khuiw ca lvak e, ma khuiw  
(ca vo) ñ mū so sūchuiw kham̄ khrañ kā / lū phlac ruy /  
aniwan̄ twañ thwak sa kā / lañ ma mrañ ra mu ruy siy so kā  
tac kamphā lhyān kham̄ te / tac kamphā kham̄ pri ruy / lū  
phlac lvak rhañ tuñ so le / kuiw nik-kā wat run̄ cā run̄  
lhyān mrai / chuiw nray kri lhyān phlac sate // uc(c)ā ra  
ñrā tuñ le avan̄ tuiw lak rwan̄ / akrañ akhrañ sañ phlan̄  
(tañ) khlyān so uccā sañ / ma tañ cim so n̄hā<sup>1</sup> // lhiy  
mlok so // im loñ so // ka ca sa phlan̄ phuiy nham 2 phlac<sup>2</sup> e //  
khuiw ca so akyañ kmñ kā / tamunwan so chuiw nray kri  
rok bri ruy // tamunwan so kh(yañ sā) // ī lū twañ so kvañ

- 
1. Pl.166ab and 170 have sate .
  2. Pl.166ab, Pl.170 have kri sañ rok kun .

(sā) ra kroñ aphay (nhe hu) mu kā // akrañ kroñ (hū e ī  
nā cakā) mi 2 ku w prañā phlañ krañ ruy chuiw so ma hut  
cwañ. 1

.....(cha)y

kruy chay / su khlaw saphlāñ lāñkoñ / su ta .. s(ā) lum  
la saphlāñ lāñkoñ / tryā sa phlāñ / asak (muy ap) e / ī  
suiw kyañ mukā / ī lū twañ cañcim khyamsā khway wa so  
phlac añ sate / alhū le piy ap e / satsāñ le suñ ap e /  
.....ap e / thuiw suiw mu pri ū kā/  
tamunwan nhuik .....  
.....k le / Sakrā mañ cañcim / ma lway ra lim  
sate / tamunwan so // ī lū twañ so // cañcim khyamsā ra  
añ so kroñ kā / khuiw so akyañ / ma kyañ ap / koñ so  
akyañ kā kyañ ap e

ī suiw nā mu<sup>so</sup>/koñmhu kluiw kā / niyrapan peccañ le  
phlac ciy sate / sattwā takā le khyamsā ciy sate / muiw  
liy le koñ le ciy sate prañ tay le khyamsā ciy sate /

444 klokcā tuñ chok s(ā) kā niy kyan le phway /  
tanchon plu / pitan chañ cwā kri cut / ta rwā ma lwat chok  
ciy te / rwā ñay cwā achuñ kā a-īm (50) y(hu)y chok ciy  
te ta la ma lwat la plañ satañ niy nhuik rwā sūrok sūkri  
rwā sañ khaon ra so tanchā chañ lyak pok 2 tanchon

1. Pl.166ab, Pl.170 omit so khyamsā ... ma hut cwañ.

(panton) kawthā nhañ pucaw / cañ pasā le ti / ī (suiw mū  
ru)y klok cā tuiñ cā kuiw nā ciy kun sate chok (ū) so  
(purhā Cawkri) cwā mū ciy sate cā phat sa sū le (rwā)  
 .... tanchā chañ ruy [pha]t ciy sate tuiñ ma hiy so rwā  
hay rhok hay tuiñ pañ khaw ruy / tuiñ hiy nā suiw nā  
pā ciy kun (e //)

On Thursday 6 May 1249 our lord Cawkri (i.e. Klacwā whose regnal name is) Śrī Triphavanātittiyāpavarepanditad-  
hamnarāja ordained thus. Those desiring prosperity in this life and in lives hereafter should obey my words with respect and belief and listen attentively. Because I do not speak in my own words or wisdom but I speak after the words of the most excellent and omniscient Lord.

Kings of the past punished thieves by divers tortures starting with impaling. I desire no such destruction. I consider all beings as my own children and with compassion towards all, I speak these words. That is why I say that my words should be obeyed with intense reverence. Listen to my words with attention because they are spoken after the words of the most excellent Lord. Obedience will give one prosperity in this life and in lives hereafter without fail. With attention listen!

Do those who live by thieving think that they gain this way? They acquire prosperity by destroying other people's villeges, wives, children, goods and chattels.

Gains thus acquired will be the very cause of their own destruction in the end. Do consider whether these acts are really beneficial or not.

When caught a thief is to be punished with one or the other of these punishments. He is impaled. His breast is split open with the axe. He is roasted. His intestines are taken out. His legs and limbs are cut off. His eyes are taken out. Patches of his flesh are taken off. He is skinned and smeared with salt. His skull is split open and boiling oil poured in. He is buried in the earth up to the neck and a plough driven over him. He is skewered to the ground and trodden over by elephants. He is pinned alive to a tree. He is buried alive. He is beheaded. Under such tortures he experiences great misery. Even if he goes scot-free he cannot have peace of mind while sleeping, living, standing, going, etc. He does not prosper even in the least degree. He lives in constant terror. He becomes an outlaw and thus he cannot have proper shelter from sun and rain. Even those who live peacefully at home suffer a lot when they are sick. The misery of this homeless man when sick would be unthinkable. No thief has ever escaped punishment until now. Perhaps, he manages to evade the law for two or three years but in the end he is caught and punished. He can never



escape. According to "the Law", after death, four apāva, viz. nirava, tiracchāna, peta and asura will be his abode. There can be no alternative. Before death, when caught, a thief is brought before the king who asks his judges to try him. If the verdict is not guilty, he goes free. If found guilty, amunalwan -- law books (?), are referred to.

Punishment varies with the nature of the offence and he suffers according to the degree of his crime. This is the way of all kings.

The thief shall suffer various tortures such as being flogged with a leather strap with iron thorns; being beaten with a cane with thorns; having his ears and nose cut off; having his legs and limbs torn off; having his skull trepanned and molten iron poured in so that the brains boiled like porridge; having his mouth fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside; being skinned in strips from the neck to the hips, so that the skin falls in strips round the legs; being skinned alive from the neck downwards and having each strip of skin as soon as removed tied by the hair so that these strips form a veil around him; having bits cut out of the flesh all over the body; being horse-shoed and made to walk; having the head

nailed to the ground by a spike through both ear-holes and then being dragged round and round by the legs; being pounded till the whole body is as soft as a straw mattress; having the body curled into a bundle and chopped to pieces; having cuts made all over the body and salt or alkali rubbed into the gashes; having bits of flesh cut off while alive and given to the dogs; being beheaded and being wrapped with rubbish and baked alive. These are the punishments that a thief has to suffer.

Besides, in the next existence, he will be cooked in the Tapano hell. In this hell, the whole body, both inside and outside is burnt all day and night without intermission for one hundred thousand years which is the equivalent of ten millions and ....years of our human world. When born to mankind again, he is born blind, and will live in great poverty. Great calamities will frequently visit him. I speak these words .....

.....

Thus it is essential to lead a good life. As a reward, one will enjoy wealth and prosperity. Make donations and practise piety. In the next existence .....

..... In order to get prosperity, one should not steal but live a life

of goodliness.

May this good deed be an attribute to the attainment of nirvana . May all beings enjoy prosperity. May the rain and wind be also good. May the capital be prosperous.

444 inscription stones must be made. A pavilion is to be built (to shelter each inscription) placed under a grand canopy. All villages without exception must have these inscriptions. Villages having more than 50 houses must have this inscription set up. On full moon days, all villagers must assemble round this pillar with music and offerings. The village headman must wear his ceremonial robe and read aloud this inscription before the assembly. People from small villages where there are no such pillars must come to a nearby big village to listen to the reading of this inscription.

Probably Klacwā copied and translated the relevant portions of the punishments from the sacred texts such as the Majjhima Nikāya<sup>1</sup>, the Anguttara Nikāya<sup>2</sup>, and the Milinda Paññā<sup>3</sup>. Here we have an interesting

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1. Lord Chammers: Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol.I. pp.61-2.
  2. F.L.Woodward: The Book of Gradual Sayings, Vol.I, pp.42-3.
  3. T.W.Rhys Davids: The Question of King Milinda, pp.276-8.

contrast of King Klacwā having written the Paramatthabindu as mentioned in the chronicles<sup>1</sup> as against his translation of such horrible tortures. Most probably he did not mean to be so cruel but just stated the fact that he could be so unless his subjects lived a good life. With this threat, Klacwā intended to keep law and order in his realm. He probably died soon after this edict because we might have had more of these edict pillars if he had lived longer to execute his plan to its fullest extent. His successor obviously did not intend to continue his good work. He was succeeded by Uccanā.<sup>2</sup>

Klacwā was succeeded by his nephew Uccanā in 1249? This Uccanā was the son of Narasinha-Uccanā and Queen Phwā Jaw. His regnal title was Sri Tribhavanādityadhammarājajayasūra. He married Sunlūla, the daughter of Klacwā.<sup>3</sup> He also married a daughter of a turner and the son of this union became king Tarukpliy later. He ruled until 1256 when

... Uccanā mañ akriy lā kha ruy Tala lhyañ pyañ tau tau mū liy kun e,<sup>4</sup>

King Uccanā came downstream and he (together with his retinue) passed away (? was massacred) at Tala.<sup>5</sup>

1. Hmannan, para.145; GPC, p.155.

2. Pl. 164<sup>1-2</sup>.

3. Pl.158<sup>14</sup>.

4. Pl.158<sup>18</sup>. See also Pl.296<sup>5</sup>.

5. The word kun signifies plural and therefore he was not the only one to be killed there. The chronicles mentioned that he was killed in an elephant hunt at Dala (Hmannan, para.146; GPC, p.158).

Therefore Uccanā was also known as Talapyañ Mañ<sup>1</sup> -- the king who died at Dala. He was succeeded by his son Mañ Yan.

Mañ Yan's reign was extremely short. This Mañ Yan was given precedence over Tarukliiy; probably his mother (? Suñlūla) was of royal descent. Probably he was also assassinated. The Shinbinbodhi Inscription<sup>2</sup> records the gifts made by Mañ Yan to his nurse I Poñ Sañ and it goes on to state that after Mañ Yan's death his successor King Cañsū i.e. (Tarukpliyy), followed the steps of his elder brother and made the same gifts to I Poñ Sañ who was his nurse too. Unfortunately, we cannot find anything else about this king Mañ Yan. Now we come to the last king of the Pagan dynasty.

Mañ Yan was succeeded by Tarukpliyy<sup>3</sup> in 1256. The accession is recorded as follows: On 8 February 1256, King Uccanā confiscated the monastic lands at Pañkli in the Chindwin area.

... thuiw yū sa nhac akriy Tala lā rā pyañ taw mū liy  
e' sã Panpwatsañ Mliy rhuy thoñ ra liy e rhuy thoñ ra  
pri Pukañ rok lat te rok pri so khā Sakarac 618 khu  
Āsat nhac Nanyun la twañ ratanā suñ pã rhiy niy ruy...<sup>4</sup>

1. Pl.296<sup>1</sup>.

2. Pl.218a<sup>2</sup>. See also Pl.219b<sup>2</sup>.

3. Pl.233<sup>11</sup>.

4. Pl.296<sup>4-7</sup>.

In the year of confiscation, (Uccanā) went downstream to Tala and died there. (His) son Panpwatsañ Mliy - the grandson of the turner - received the golden mountain. After this receiving of the golden mountain, he reached Pagan. After arriving there, in (May) 1256 he appeared before the Three Gems (and returned the lands to the monks).

When Uccanā went downstream to Dala early in 1256, his two sons Mañ Yan and Panpwatsañ Mliy probably were with him and when he died, Mañ Yan became king, but through some court intrigue he was removed and Panpwat Sañ Mliy finally became king.<sup>1</sup> Then he came back to Pagan. In May 1256 he was already in Pagan carrying out his kingly duties. In about November 1256, he was crowned king.<sup>2</sup> Although he was popularly known by the name of Tarukpliy - the king who fled from the Taruk, the name that he received after the 1287 Mongol invasion, he was called Panpwat Sañ - the Turner - after his maternal grandfather or Uccanā<sup>3</sup> as his father was known or Cañsū<sup>4</sup> as most of the kings of Pagan would

1. The story given in the chronicles is that at Dala hunting lodge Uccanā was killed by a must elephant and though Panpwatsañ Mliy was a junior, son of the deceased, the great minister Yazathingyan removed the rightful heir and placed him on the throne.

Hmannan, para.147; GPC. pp.158-9.

2. Pl.186<sup>8</sup>.

3. Pl.296<sup>5</sup>.

4. Pl.218a<sup>5</sup>.

like to be called after their famous ancestor Caṅsū I. He built a pagoda in memory of his grandfather and therefore he was also known as Panpwat puthuiw tau dāyākā<sup>1</sup> - the donor of the Turner's pagoda. His aunt Ari Caw described him as:-<sup>2</sup>

// asariy hiy so purhā tryā saṅghā ratanā suṅ pā sa  
nhuik // ruiw siy mlat cwā so // cuiw sā maṅsā amattvā  
buil pā chañ phlū ca so ratanā khu nhac pā skhiñ phlac  
so klwan 4 klwan thwan so niy kay suiw ahin jaw aroñ awā  
tok pa cwā so asariy hiy so // Sri Tribhuvanadityapavarad-  
hammarājā mañ so // tryā mañ ...

The just king Śrī Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja,  
the Glorious, who reveres and honours the Three Gems  
of the Lord, the Law and the Order, who is the Lord  
of the Seven Gems such as the sons of administrators,  
the sons of the kings, the ministers and followers and  
the white elephant, and who shines with colour, fame and  
influence like the sun that shines over the four  
islands ...

Apart from this panegyric we know very little about him so that we are not in a position either to support or refute what the chronicles say about his character of being gluttonous, vain and oppressive and about the Mon rebellion in lower Burma during his reign. Fortunately we have

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1. Pl.158<sup>2-4</sup>.

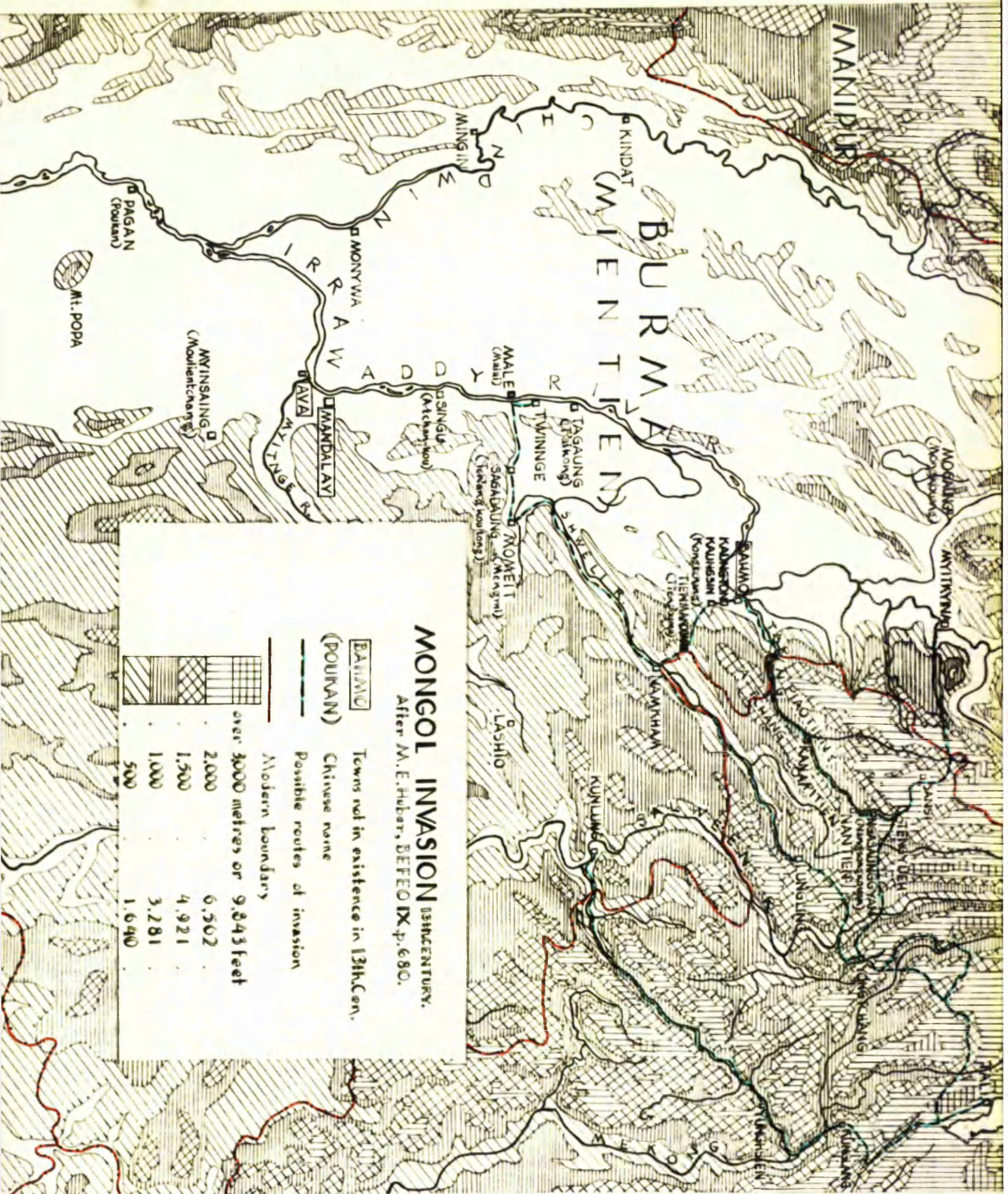
2. Pl.249<sup>18-19</sup>.

an inscription to tell some part of the story of the Mongol invasion<sup>1</sup> during his reign.

Before we discuss the Disāprēmuk inscription on the 1285 peace mission, we will relate very briefly why the Mongols appeared on the scene.<sup>2</sup> The trouble with the Mongols dated back to 1271 when the Yunnan government under instructions from the emperor sent envoys to Pagan demanding tribute. The envoys were not admitted into the king's presence and after much delay they went back carrying no tribute but only friendly words. In 1273, an imperial ambassador with three colleagues appeared again at the court of Pagan. They never returned to China. The chronicles admit that all of them were executed by the king's order in spite of the minister Anantapyissi's remonstrances that "the kings of old were never wont to kill ambassadors".<sup>3</sup> The Yunnan government in 1275 reported this to Peking together with an urgent plea for immediate war. However nothing happened until 1277 when the Burmese proceeded to invade Kanngai on the Taiping river










1. Pl.271<sup>1-37</sup>. For translation see also JRSS XLVI, 1, pp.63-4.
2. For details see Claude de Visdelou: "Mémoires très intéressantes sur le Royaume de Mien", Revue de l'Extrême-Orient, II, 1883, pp.72-88, (British Museum MS Add.16913) and E.Huber: "La fin de la Dynastie de Pagan", BEFEO IX, pp.633-680.
3. Hannan, para.147; GSC, p.173.





### MONGOL INVASION 13th CENTURY.

After M. E. Huber, BEFEO IX, p. 680.

	BAHAMO	Towns not in existence in 13th Cen.
	(POUVAIN)	Chinese name
		Possible routes of invasion
		Modern boundary
	over 3000 metres or 9,843 feet	
	2,000	6,562
	1,500	4,921
	1,000	3,281
	500	1,640



as the result of submission made by the chief of that state to China. This prompted retaliation from the Chinese side. The garrison under General Hu Wu at Tali received imperial orders for an expedition against the Burmese.

Eventually the two armies met in the Nam Ti valley during the spring of 1277 and the battle of Ngasaunggyan was fought where the Burmese experienced a crushing defeat.<sup>1</sup> Taking advantage of this initial success, the Mongols under Nasred-Din came down during the winter of 1277-8 to the Burmese garrison town of Kaungsin and took it. We have a very important and interesting piece of information concerning this period of trouble in our inscriptions<sup>2</sup>:-

// Sakrac 640 // Pisyak nhac // Intapacrā mañ so amat  
krī sañ // mlat krī Mahākassapa arao thera kloñ ma hiy  
rakā / thera kloñ phlac cim hu ruy ryañ e. / kloñ kā  
ma plu ū / tantuiñ plū e. / tantuiñ le ma prī khay /  
Intapacrā le Nāchoñkhyañ mruiw niy ra liy e' prañ tay  
pyak ci sa phlac khay e. // Sakarac 655 khu Sarawan  
nhac tanchoñmhun l-chan 5 raryäk 5 niy lhyañ / amat  
krī Intapacrā plu ruy ma prī sa / thera kloñ kuiw /  
Intapacrā smi nhañ / snak amat Puñā plu e. / tantuiñ  
le chan e. /

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1. For Marco Polo's account of this battle, see H.Yule: The Book of Ser Marco Polo, II, pp.99-104.

2. Pl.277<sup>1-9</sup>.

In the year 1278, the great minister called Īntapacrā made preparations to construct a monastery for the thera as the thera of the Most Reverend Mahākassapa's establishment had no monastery (of his own). Before the monastery was built, the enclosure wall was put up. Even this enclosure wall was not completed. Īntapacrā (was sent) to the town (?fort) of Ngachaunggyam (where) he lived (until) the destruction of (that recently) established prañ -- province-occurred. On 4 October 1293 the thera's monastery which the great minister Īntapacrā built and left unfinished was completed by Īntapacrā's daughter and son-in-law Puñā the minister.

Evidently the minister Īntapacrā had chosen the wrong moment to do a meritorious deed. Before he completed building the monastery the Burmese invasion of Yunnan began and he was called away from the capital on military duty. Probably a fort was built at Ngachaunggyam as a base for the raids into Yunnan and Īntapacrā was in control of it. The phrase prañ tax - establish province - in the above extract strongly suggests that the Burmese had established a province in the Taiping valley and thus made good their ancient claim<sup>1</sup> that the Pagan empire extended to Ngasaunggyam in the north which is about seventy miles away in Yunnan from the modern boundary. As mentioned above the army from Tali came and the battle of Ngasaunggyam was fought and the Burmese were driven back. Most probably Īntapacrā

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1. Pl.19a<sup>9</sup>.

fell in the battle as no more of him was heard again. The troubles continued untill the last decade of the century when there was a pause which allowed good Puñā to finish his father-in-law's monastery. Thus, we find that in A.D.1278, a fort was built at Ngachaunggyan, and put under the command of a minister Īntapacrā and was destroyed soon after its establishment by the Mongols who went as far as Kaungsin near modern Bhamo. But they found the climate too hot for them and retreated. The Burmese tried to re-establish their control in the Taiping valley. So in December 1283 the Mongols under Siang-wu-ta-cul<sup>1</sup> following the Taiping valley appeared again in the Kaungsin area and penetrated further south to Tagaung and captured it in January 1284. Hence Upper Burma became a province of China called Chieng-mien. Then only was the king at Pagan convinced of the Mongol strength and the vulnerability of his capital. He decided to leave it and went to Lhañkla west of Prañ and sent the Reverend Disāprāmuk on a peace mission to Peking. For the following events it is best to quote Disāprāmuk himself.<sup>2</sup>

// // namo tassa bhagawato arahato samma sambuddhassa // //  
Sakarac 647 khu Mrik(kasui)w nheo // Prañ anok phak Lhañkla  
nhuik mañkrī niy thaw mū e' // Anantapicañ Mahāpuiw kuiw  
ñāñ tuiw Taruk e' alā alā kuiw si oñ mū liy hu ciy tau mū e'  
Ananta(pi)cañ Mahāpuiw chuiw e' // ī amhu kā krī owā //  
tum ta pai le lhwat ra sañ ma hi // suwa(nṇa)lip plu  
añ sañ su le ma hi // // Syañ Disāprāmok te pā

- 
1. H.Cordier : Ser Marco Polo , p.87.  
1-37
  2. Pl.271 .

mū kā amhu choñ aṃ / (/) ī suiw hu pan rakā // nā  
kuiw khaw ruymāṅkri ī amhu nbañ e' // Taruk mañ  
chui(w) e' // ī suwannalip kā mañ lhwat e' sañ  
(ma hut // a)mat tuiw lhwat lat so // (su)pannalip  
takā // (ī) sukhamin kā (mañ ciy) .....lhwat te  
(hi) lhañ tha// khaw (khliy) nā sukhamin mū aṃ hu  
khaw e' // Fukāñ (mahārac kā // ma)ñ tuiw kā tanman  
kuiw ma khyup ryā (sū) kuiw lhyañ nā tuiw tanman  
(mū) lhyañ (aṃ hū) ruy // suwannalip plu ruy nā kuiw  
lhwat e' // (Ta)ruk prañ rok liy e' // Taruk mañ  
kā // Fukāñ suiw (puiw) cīm hu ruy // Susuttakī  
mañ sē (su)ray 20000 // Pu(ñadha)mmikā mahāthi  
// (Śrī) Dhammikāsanehāthī // akloñ 70 kā  
Sañ(thwa)y Prañ rok oñ lhyañ khla ruy niy ciy  
sate // (santān) lā e' sañ nbañ aṅī (ra)c cīm  
hu tan ciy sate // nā rok (li)y e' // thuiw nhuik  
tan lāñ so svañ (tui)w sañ nā kuiw lakchoñ laknak  
chak ruy ī suiw chuiw lāñ e' // nā svañ kui(w te)  
mañ toñ ta cwa // mañ le saddhā cwa // Fukāñ  
sāsanā kuiw nā tuiw ma plu ra kyoñ chuiw phi  
la(t piy) // nā le / ī Fukāñ niy so sū tuiw e' //  
ni(y) rā kuiw lhwāñ phi ruy // (Yachañ) lhyañ (wā)  
cimw (li)y e' // Tanchoimhūn kā Taytū tak liy e' //  
Flasuiw rok liy e' // Taruk mañ le nhac luiw cwā  
(hi) ruy amiy amrū cakā) lhyañ chuiw kra e' // prañ

mhu kā ma chuiw ra // achuñ mha kā (prañ) tay cakā  
kuiw chuiw kra lat te // pañdit ī nā su ray 20000  
nhañ mahāthī sañghā thī svañ nhañ sāsana plū liy hu  
nhañ e' // nā (chuiw) luik e' // mahārac ī (sura)y  
(aluñ) // sañghā aluñ capā hi mha (te tañ) krañ añ  
// (capā kā) prañ cañcim anryac ma (lo) // ī suray  
tuiw sañ than kuiw (te cañ) ruy (cā pri) kā (wañ  
nā) ruy (ma) siy kun tha lo (krwañ) so sañghā tuiw  
le prañ twañ ma wañ (wañ // tay) suiw pliy ruy siy  
kun khañ so takā // mañkrī (pri pi) so emhu ma lo //  
uwañ cuik so yokyā kā // riy swan ruy sac pañ kuiw  
kri ciy e' // añwan ma chit takā // sacpañ (sī pri  
kā) te asī cā e' // Tampratik prañ kuiw le riy swan  
ū lat siy nāy mū le sāsana mlat cwā // mañkrī kā  
phurhā chu toñ so sū ma lo // apha Kotama sāsana  
kuiw apyak (ciy) lat siy // nā ka kok mi cuik liy  
ū añ kok pay pri pi so kā wañ // ī suiw chuiw piy  
so te // Taruk mañ chuiw e' // ī cakā twañ nā phuiw  
le pā e' // pañdit lā ruy pliy pliy sa syañ tuiw  
kuiw khaw liy kok pay le cuik liy // pri pi so nā  
kuiw lhwat lat tuñ // ī suiw hū ruy nā lā ra sate //  
emhu le lyā ra lhyañ sate // ī suiw nā klañcū hi  
rakā nā kuiw piy tay mū so // (Ha)ñlañ mliy 400  
Krañtū mliy san muryañ plyuiw khañ cum 400 apañ mliy  
800 kywan nwā aluñ ratanā 3 pā kuiw rañ ruy Panwat  
Rap cetī nhuik lhū e' //

Honour to Him, the Blessed, the Saint, the Fully Enlightened ! In S.647 (1285) Urigasira year, the King was staying at Mañkla west of Prañ (either Trame or the capital city of Pagan). He sent Anantapicañ and Mahāpuiw saying: "Find out about the movements of the Taruk". Anantapicañ and Mahāpuiw said: "This task is a very big one. There is no go-between to send. And there is no one to make the gold address" (i.e. to draft the royal letter ). If only we had Syañ Disāprāmuk with us, we should be able to undertake the task". Thus they petitioned. So the king called me and entrusted this task to me.

At Sacchin and Hanlan we made no stay. Having made the gold address, we sent it to the Taruk king. The Taruk king said: "This gold address is not sent by the king. It is merely sent by the ministers; this gold address. As for this learned man, if the king did not send him (?). . . . . Anyway call him." So they called me as being the learned man.

As for the Mahārāja of Pagan, he made a gold address saying: "Kings should not imprison ambassadors. He is to act as our ambassador." Thereupon they released me. We reached the Taruk kingdom. As for the Taruk king, intending to send (an expedition) to Pagan, he had despatched Prince Susuttaki (with)

20,000 soldiers, the Mahāthera Puñadharmikā, the Saṅghathera Śrī Dhammika, and (the monks of) 70 monasteries to reach the city of Saṅhway (?Tagaung) and caused them to stop there. He caused them to halt there in view of the fact that the monsoon was heavy at the time.

In due course we arrived. Thereupon the monks who were halted there, presented gifts and presents to me and said as follows:- "How the king is longing for you Sir! And the king is a good Buddhist! Please tell him that we could not preach the religion at Pagan (because no body is there)."

As for me, having passed the abode of these persons (due to) stop at Pagan, I spent Lent at Yachañ.<sup>1</sup> In Tachonmhun (November) I went up to Taytu (Peking).<sup>2</sup> In Plasuiw (December) I arrived there.

The Taxuk king was well pleased and we exchanged words and questions, but nothing was said of state affairs. But at the end we talked of state affairs.

"Pundit! these 20,000 soldiers of mine and the

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1. Yachañ is probably Yachi of Marco Polo which is today Kun Ming (M. Collis: Marco Polo, p.97.)
  2. Taydu (T'ai-tu), the Great Capital, also known as Qanbaliq (the Cambuljac of Marco Polo), the Khan's city from 1267. Handbook of Oriental History, p.212.



mahāthera, sanghathera and the monks I am sending to propagate the Religion." I replied: "Mahārāja ! All these soldiers, all these monks, will be steadfast only if there is paddy. Is not paddy the root of the prosperity of the kingdom? If these soldiers continuously eat nothing but minced toddy, will they not all die of pains in the stomach? And the remaining (?) monks, also, durst not enter (?) the kingdom (or capital). And if they run away into the jungle, they are all bound to die! O King! is not your work finished? A man who plants a garden, pours water and make the trees grow. He would never pinch the tips. Only when the trees have fruited, he eats the fruit. First pour water on the kingdom of Tempratit! Small it is, but the Religion is most excellent. O King! are you not one who prays for the boon of Buddhahood? Grant that the religion of Father Kotama be not destroyed! The Kingdoms that you, O King, have conquered are very many and very great. Tempratit kingdom is small, a mere appendage. Because there is the religion, the Bodhisvattva prefer(?) the kingdom. Let not the soldiers enter yet ! As for me, I shall first plant rice and beans. When the rice and beans are full grown, then enter!"

Thus I replied; and the Taruk king said: "In these words my profit also is included. Pundit! Call the monks who were running hither and thither at the time of your coming and plant rice and beans. When they are full grown, then send them onto me!" when he had said thus, I had to go. And there was indeed a respite (? or delay).

Out of gratitude to me for this, the king gave me 400 pay of land at Hanlan and 400 pay of land at Krañtū, including monsoon and dry weather paddy land and nurseryland - altogether 800 pay with slaves and cattle. All these I dedicate to the Three Gems at the ceti of Panpwat rap - the Turners' Quarter.

According to this inscription, when the Taruk came, the king did not go down to Bassein as mentioned in the chronicles<sup>1</sup> but took to the hills on the west of the capital or Prome. On the suggestion of his ministers Anantapicañ (probably the minister who objected to the execution of the envoys in 1273) and Mahāpuiw, he sent Diṣṣorāṃuk to Taytu who arrived there in about December 1285. The Taruk came under command of Prince Susuttaki (?Hsueh-hsuch-ti-chien) and they were twenty thousand strong. Among them there were also monks from seventy monasteries under the leadership of Mahāthera Puññadharmika who were to propagate Buddhism at

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1. Hmannan, para. 147; GPC. p. 175.

Pagan. While negotiations were in progress, the enemy was in occupation of Saithway (Tagaung). Disāprāmok said that he was successful in persuading the Taruk king to recall his army so that the kingdom of Tampratit might revive from the devastations of the invading army and send tribute soon. Everybody concerned at that time might think that the troubles were over. Unfortunately it was only a truce. The king on his way to the capital in 1287 passed through Prome where one of his sons poisoned him and internal troubles followed in the wake of it. The Yunnan government saw opportunities of taking advantage of this internal dissension and so disregarding the imperial orders, came down to Pagan with Prince Ye-sin Timur at its head and occupied the city. But they helped the royal family to re-establish itself. Thus, the next king after Tarukpliy was Rhuynansvan<sup>1</sup> who was anointed king on Monday 12 waxing of Mlwaytā, S.651 (31 May 1289). He was also known as Dhammarac<sup>2</sup> - (Dhammarāja) the just king. He sent his son Singhapati to receive investiture from the emperor, but in A.D.1297, he became nan kla man<sup>3</sup> - the fallen king, i.e. he was dethroned. Perhaps Rhuynansvan and Singhapati were put to death for being in league with the Mongols to enslave the country. In an inscription dated 1302, we find mention of Taruk pran lā so Taktaunū mañkri<sup>4</sup> - the great king Taktaunū who went to the city of

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1. Pl.282<sup>1</sup>, Pl.287a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.417<sup>2</sup>.

2. Pl.274<sup>12</sup>.

3. Pl.286<sup>2</sup>.

4. Pl.396a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.396b<sup>1</sup>.

Taruk, which supports the fact that a scion of the fallen house went to Yunnan as a rival of Sawhrit for the throne of Pagan. Perhaps this Taktaumū is Kumāra Kassapa (Kou-ma-la-kia-chipa-sou-tan-pa-tcho-li) of the Chinese accounts. But the king of Pagan was king only in name. Athinkkaya<sup>1</sup> established himself at Myinsaing, his brother Yazathinkyan at Kekkaya and their youngest brother Thihathu at Pinlo.<sup>2</sup> These three were the real rulers and the king was a mere puppet in their hands. They dethroned Rhuynansvan in 1297 and put Sawhrit on the throne. He was mentioned as Siri Tribhavanādittiryāpavaradhhammarāja Mañ Julan<sup>3</sup> or Talasukri<sup>4</sup> in the inscriptions. Taktaumū was successful in convincing the Mongols that he was a better claimant to the throne of Pagan. So the Mongols came again in 1300. This time the objective was not Pagan but Myinzaing under Athinkkaya and his two brothers who perhaps played upon the nationalist sentiments against Mongol suzerainty and had been able even to take back Singu and Male from foreign control. The brothers were driven to defensive warfare only and their town was besieged. Gold offered by them, and the summer heat of the dry zone of central Burma persuaded the enemies to

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1. Pl. 417<sup>2</sup>.

2. These three places belong to the Eleven Villages. See map. p. 89.

3. Pl. 290b<sup>3</sup>, Pl. 292<sup>28</sup>.

4. Pl. 392<sup>16</sup>.

raise the siege and go back.<sup>1</sup> The province of Cheng-mien was formally abolished on 4 April 1303. Whether it was gold or heat that defeated the invaders, the three brothers put it on record as being due to their military prowess.

/ atu mañ tha so / cac sūkñī phlac so / Siri Asañkhyā  
 / Rāja / Sīhasū mañ so / Taruk cac kuiw nhip nañ nuiñ  
sa / ñī ackuiw 3 yok . . . .<sup>2</sup>

Lords of the War without peer, Glorious Asañkhyā,  
Rāja and Sīhasū - the three brothers who suppressed  
 the Taruk army.

From Aniruddha to Tarukoliy there were eleven kings of the Pagan Empire which at the zenith of its power probably included the whole stretch of land -

/ Pukanñ añā Ñoñ Ū ca so Ñā Choñ Khyamñ tuiñ oñ Pukanñ  
akriy Sariy paccara ca sa kā Taway tuiñ oñ . . .<sup>3</sup>

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1. The popular story about this is that although the commanders of the invading army took the bribe, they did one act of good turn by letting their men help on the Kyaukse irrigation works and thus the Thindwe canal was constructed. (G.E.Harvey: Op.Cit., p.77) Unfortunately we find the mention of Santhway Mroñ in an inscription dated A.D.1197 (Pl.20a<sup>2</sup>) and therefore it is impossible to believe that the canal was only constructed in 1300 by the Chinese. If the Chinese had anything at all to do with the canal it probably was repairing it. See also Infra.

p. 101, n. 2.

2. Pl. 276a<sup>4-5</sup>. See Infra. p. 95.

3. Pl.423<sup>22-23</sup>.

from Nyaung-u to Ngachaunggyam upstream of Pagan and  
from Thayepyitsaya to Tavoy downstream of Pagan.

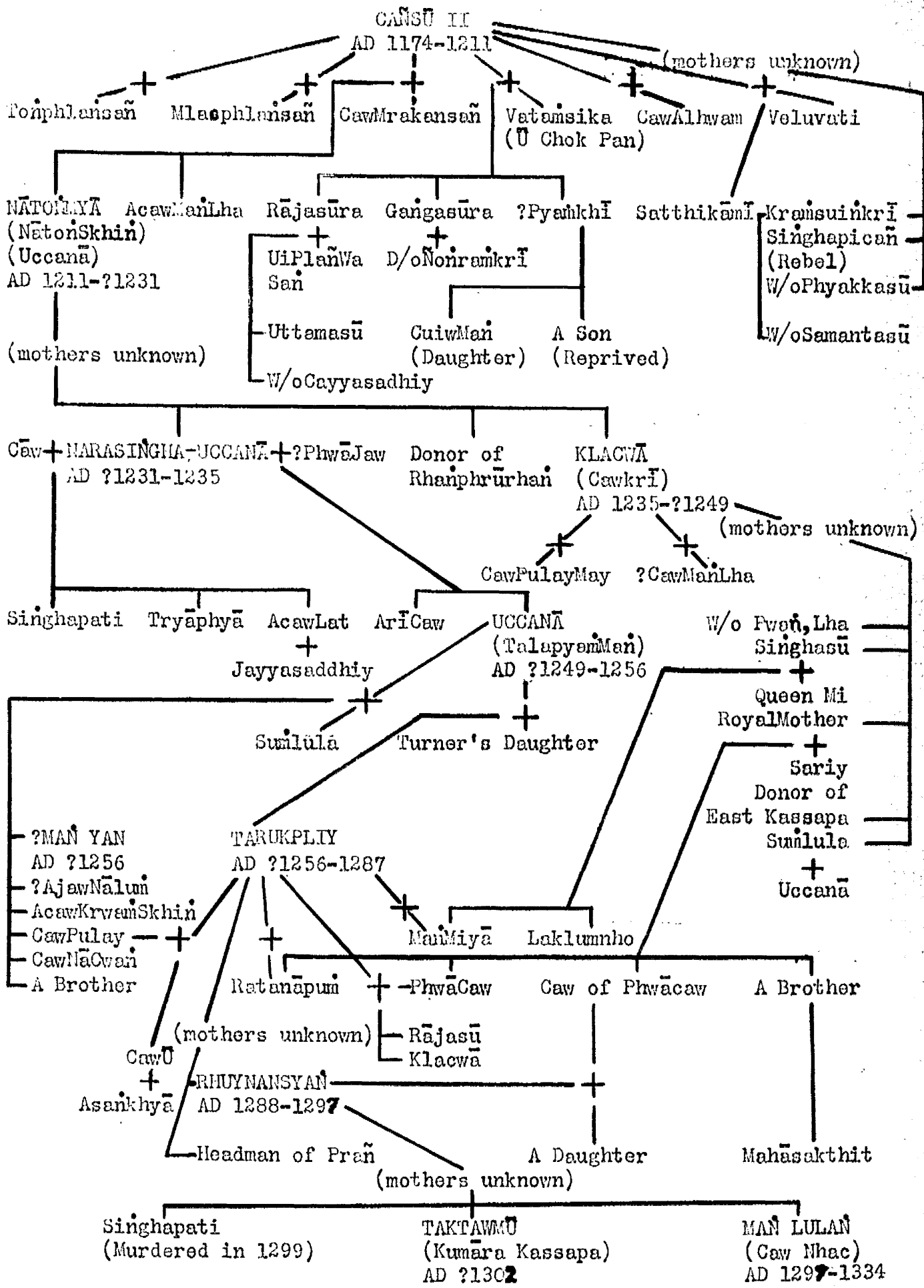
The Salween river was the eastern boundary but in the west, although the chronicles claim that Arakan was in the empire<sup>1</sup> we find no epigraphic evidence to prove it. Probably the lords of Arakan recognized the suzerainty of Pagan. The city of Pagan was supposed to be founded in the middle of the ninth century and it remained the capital city right down to the end of the thirteenth century which is a very long time for a city in Burma. The best days were during the reigns of Cañsū II and Nātoṃmyā. The Mon language was the official language of Burma until the death of Kyanzittha in A.D.1113 and the Burmese culture was just a copy of the Mons in those days. Very aptly Professor Luce calls this early period 'the Mon period of the Pagan dynasty'. Then there was the transition period from 1113 to 1174 where the burmanization movement set in. Therefore, it was only <sup>from</sup> 1174 that the Burmans were supreme both politically and culturally. After Nātoṃmyā the empire began to decline. Probably the central government had lost grip and bandits and robbers infested the countryside. King Klacwā tried to improve the administration and check its downhill run but was not successful. The kings that followed Klacwā were easy going as was wont to happen in a comparatively long dynasty. Mons whom Aniruddha conquered in A.D.1057 made an attempt to revive their national freedom early in the reign of

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1. Conquest of Arakan in A.D.1118. See G.E. Harvey: Op.Cit. p.45.

Kyanzittha but the king's diplomacy averted the danger to the empire. They never tried it again until the time of Tarukpily. The king was inefficient and so internal troubles alone could have destroyed the empire. But the final blow came from the Mongols. They wanted recognition of their overlordship which the Burmans proudly refused. Even when the capital city was occupied, the Mongols tried to help the royal family to re-establish itself but there were no more great kings to weld the empire together again. Thus the story of Pagan ends with the story of a king whose name goes down into posterity as the king who fled from the Chinese.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE LATTER HALF OF THE PAGAN DYNASTY (after Prof. Luce).





CHAPTER IIIBURMESE ADMINISTRATION 1044-1287.

The traditional date for the foundation of Pagan which was to become the centre of the Burmese power in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries is A.D.849 and we have no evidence to prove the contrary. In fact, the Chinese sources which Professors Pe Maung Tin and Luce have used so well in their joint article "Burma down to the fall of Pagan" show that Pagan was not in existence prior to the Nan-chao raids of Burma during the years 832 to 835. Therefore in a negative aspect we come to the conclusion that Pagan was established sometime after the Nan-chao raids. In other words we are happy to accept the traditional date of 849-50 as the year in which Pagan was built.<sup>1</sup>

Before Pagan became the centre of the Burmese Empire which King Aniruddha and his successors built, there were many other Burmese centres or settlements around Pagan which would have had an equal chance of becoming centres themselves as they were all under the rule of local chiefs who in variably enjoyed the title of mai<sup>2</sup> - the king. Subsequently the mai of Pagan became maikri<sup>3</sup> - the great king - and was recognised as the leader of all Burmans. It seems that the Burmans when they entered

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1. See Supra.pp.1-6.

2. Pl. 143a<sup>16</sup>, etc.

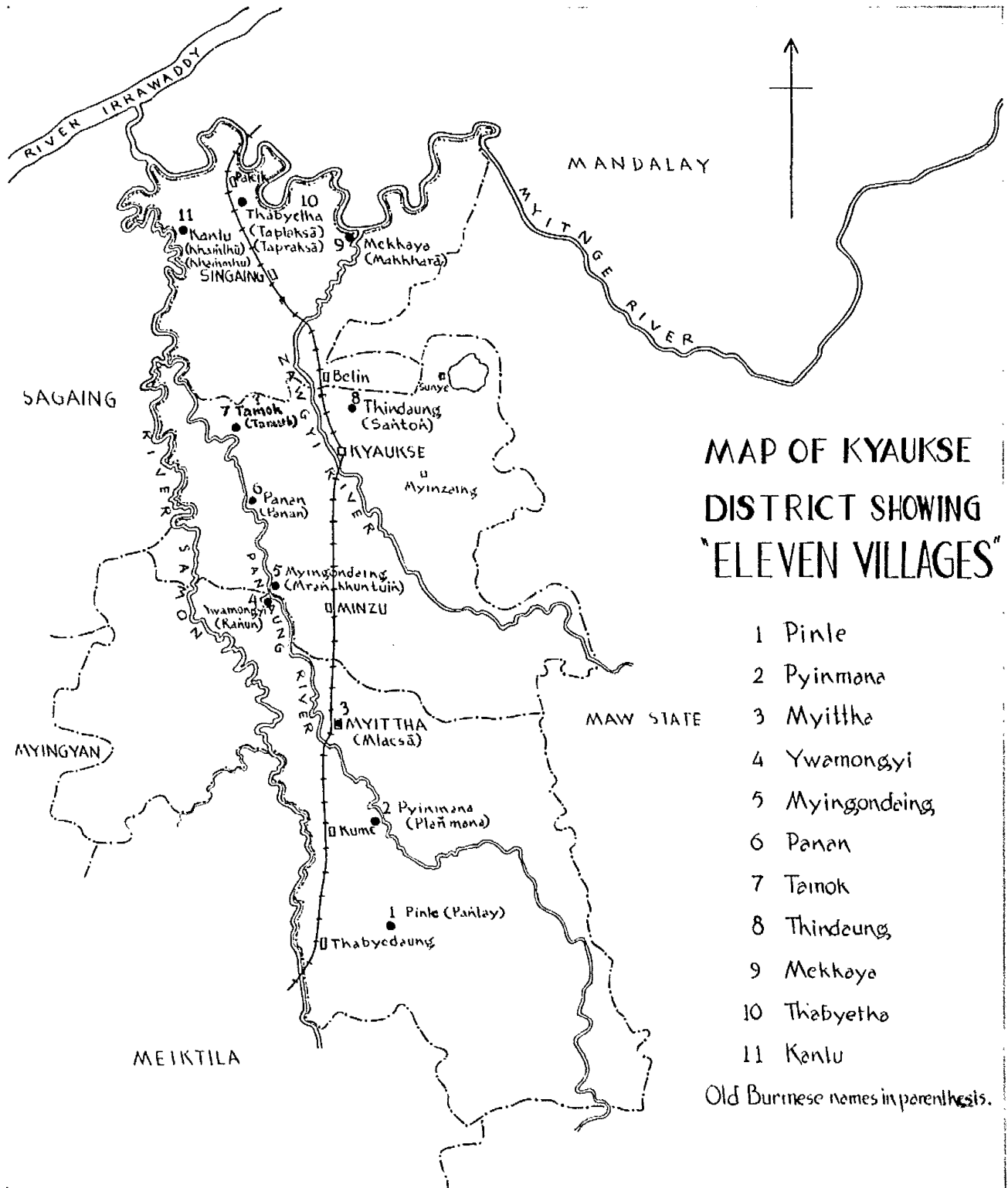
3. Pl.10a<sup>1</sup>, Pl.19a<sup>14</sup>, etc.

Burma settled first in the fertile area called chai ta rwā<sup>1</sup> - eleven villages i.e. the Kyaukse district. These eleven settlements were Pañlay, Plañmanā, Mlacsā, Rañun, Mrañkhuntuiñ, Panan, Panut, Sañton, Makkarā, Taphaksā, and Khañlhū.<sup>2</sup> They spread out fanwise and dominated central Burma. The inscriptions of our period mention very often these first settlements in the Kyaukse area. They used the khruin<sup>3</sup> to denote their first home and tuik<sup>4</sup> and tuiñ<sup>5</sup> for the nearby places where they moved into subsequently. The word nuinman<sup>6</sup> came into use only when Aniruddha and his successors were able to enlarge their power and subjugate the neighbouring more or less alien settlements extending from Koñcsñ in the north to Taluinsare and Tawai in the south<sup>7</sup>. Of Cañsū II (1174-1211) it is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1196<sup>8</sup> that he ruled an empire which extended from Takon and Wachonkhysñ in the north to Salañkre and Sacchitani in the south

*Inscriptions  
1. 1196*

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1. Pl. 164<sup>24-25</sup>.
  2. See map on next page.
  3. Pl. 31 (6 khruin).
  4. Pl. 12<sup>15</sup>, Pl. 20a<sup>12</sup>, Pl. 423<sup>12</sup>.
  5. See JBR, XXX, i, p. 304, n. 14.
  6. Pl. 19a<sup>6</sup>, Pl. 276a<sup>2</sup>.
  7. Pl. 19a<sup>9</sup>, Pl. 276a<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 277<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 423<sup>22</sup>.
  8. Pl. 19a.

*u. 1196 7-8  
S. 1196*



and from Macchakiri (Chin Hills) in the west to the Salwañ (River Salween) in the east. In A.D. 1292 soon after the Mongol invasion King Rhuvnansyañ (Kyawzwa) claimed that his empire had Nachontiwañ in the north and Tawai in the south as its boundaries.<sup>1</sup> This claim was rather of the past. But according to the above mentioned inscription of A.D. 1196 which gives the extent of the empire at the height of its power we find that the Pagan monarchy held sway over an area which is roughly the same as modern Burma with the exception of Arakan in the west and the trans-Salween area in the east but it contained a portion of modern Yunnan.

The King of Pagan was an absolute monarch and his word was law. From Aniruddha down to the last days of Thibaw the idea of absolutism prevailed and therefore Sir George Scott's remark on Burmese monarchy is worth repeating here.

"The King's power was absolute; his only restraints were his voluntary respect for Buddhist rules and precepts, general for all believers or particular to the kingly estate. Otherwise he was lord and master of the life and property of every one of his subjects. No hereditary rank or title existed in the kingdom except in the royal family. Outside of that the king was the source of all honours. Official position was the only sign of rank and all

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1. Pl. 276a<sup>2</sup>.

officials were appointed or dismissed at the king's will. Dismissal usually meant absolute ruin, a step from the court to the gaol. On the other hand, any one, not a slave or an outcast might aspire to the highest offices in the state. The country and people were entirely at the disposal of the king and the only check in misrule was the fear of insurrection"<sup>1</sup>.

The Inscriptions of our period express similar ideas on kingship. King Aniruddha is mentioned as cakrawatīy<sup>2</sup> - the Lord of the Universe. Queen Phwa Jaw when dedicating slaves and lands in A.D.1272 described her husband King Varasiṅgha-Uccanā as

... riy mliy khapsiñ so askhiñ phlac tha so mlat cwā  
so nā lañ skhiñ mañkrī ...<sup>3</sup>

my most excellent husband, lord the king, lord of all water and land.

About her grandson King Varukoliy she said:

// asariy hiy so purhā tryā sañghē ratanā suñ pā  
nhuik // ruiy siy mlat tha so sūtaw takā e, kuiw  
kway rā phlac tha so // alwaiñ so mañtakā nhaiñ ñī  
ñwat tha so // chañ phlū ca so ratanā apoñ apaw  
skhiñ phlac tha so // Jambudip klwan nhuik thwan

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1. G. Scott: GUBSS, I, ii, p.469.

2. Pl.160a<sup>6</sup>.

3. Pl.235<sup>10-11</sup>.

as niy kay suiw ahin caw aroñ tok pa tha so // asariy  
hiy so // Sri Tribhuvanādityāpawaradhamarājā //  
Utcanā mañ so mañkrī //<sup>1</sup>

King Utcanā called Sri Tribhawanādityāpawaradhamarājā  
 the Glorious, who shines with colour, fame and  
 influence like the sun resplendent on Jambudīpa  
 island: who is the lord and comrade of all the  
 jewels headed by the White Elephant; who is at  
 peace with kings spread all over the world; who is  
 the refuge of all good people who revere and honour  
 the Three Glorious Gems

King Klacwā enjoyed even greater praise as he was described as

... Arimattapūra mañ so prañ nhuik // aguiv ra so  
alwan akay phun tan khuiw krī cwā tha so Klacwā  
mañkrī<sup>2</sup>.....

The Great King, an exceedingly powerful Lord of  
Arimaddanapura.

In all these expressions the prevailing idea was that the king was the most powerful person in the state and being the lord of land and water he was also the lord of life and death as land and water were the source of all life. Practically there was no check to this kind of absolutism except the fear of insurrection as Sir George Scott has rightly observed. But in view of the fact that Buddhism was flourishing in those days, religion had an enormous influence upon the kings. A king was always,

1. Pl. 234<sup>1-4</sup> and Pl. 247<sup>2-5</sup>.

2. Pl. 246<sup>1-2</sup>.

*Are  
 however terrible  
 like the Providence  
 of ancient times  
 etc?*

looked upon as purhā lon<sup>1</sup> - a future Buddha - and thus being a Bodhisattva he was supposed to be pious, kind and indulgent. When he was dealing with the clergy, he was wise not to offend them. The following instance will show us how a despot was held in check when he made a false step that aroused the opposition of the Order. There was an Arrañāvāsī sect of Buddhists getting more and more popular during the latter half of the Pagan dynasty. There are many inscriptions<sup>2</sup> recording the monks of this sect as buying up land especially in the Chindwin area and thus increasing the religious land which was a disadvantage to the royal treasury as the king could get no revenue out of these lands. In addition to these, wealthy people and officials were in the habit of dedicating their lands to religious establishments. It seems that King Klacwā decided to stop this loss of revenue by confiscating the religious lands. In A.D.1235, soon after his accession he started taking over these lands and consequently the monks raised an objection which compelled him to appoint a royal commission to look into this matter. The commission decided in favour of the monks and as a result the king had to relinquish his claims<sup>3</sup>. This instance gives us two important facts. Firstly, that the kings of Burma were not always surrounded by mere

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1. Pl.36<sup>3</sup>, Pl.115<sup>3,5</sup>, Pl.143a<sup>9</sup>, Pl.181<sup>5</sup>, etc.

2. Pl.268, Pl.380, Pl.395, Pl.423, etc.

3. Pl.90<sup>15-16</sup>, Pl.231b<sup>6</sup>.

sycophants and opportunists. They used wise people and followed their advice in times of crisis. Appointing a commission to settle a big problem was a usual practice except in the case of a haughty monarch like Harukpily who refused counsel on the eve of the Mongol invasion.<sup>1</sup> In an inscription dated A.D.1291 it is mentioned that in the king's presence there are always sampyañ kalan suñayto hurā smā sukhamin<sup>2</sup> - executive officers, squires, astrologers, doctors of medicine and scholars. On the strength of Kyanzitha's Palace Inscription (A.D.1101-2)<sup>3</sup> we may venture to assume that the astrologers were Brāhmans. Another inscription tells us that immediately after his accession in A.D.1235, King Klacwā gave a hundred pay of land to Brahman astrologers who probably conducted his coronation.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, when confronted with an opposition which might prove fatal, even an ambitious king like Klacwā deemed it wise to yield.

Although the king was the most important figure in the state, he could not possibly run the government alone. As the empire grew he had to appoint ministers and officers to help him in the administration

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1. Hmannan para.147; GPC. p.173.

2. Pl.272<sup>18</sup> .

3. Ep. Birm., III, i, IX.

4. Pl.102<sup>18</sup> .



The ministers were called by the Sanskrit name amātya and the word wungyi for a minister, meaning one having a great responsibility, was not yet in use. Very often amātya was shortened into amat with a suffix kri to denote the chief minister. There was no distinction between civil and military offices and any minister or officer was bound to lead a military campaign when necessary. Thus when making a dedication in A.D. 1223 the donor Anantasūra described himself as amattya // mahāsenāpati<sup>1</sup> - minister and commander-in-chief of King Nātoṃyā. Including this Anantasūra, there were altogether five ministers at Nātoṃyā's court. The remaining four were Asaṅkhyā, Aswat, Rājesaṅk and Caturangasū<sup>2</sup>. Incidentally we have to note here that it destroys the traditional belief in Burma about the Hluttaw - the chief administrative office and its four ministers. This tradition starts with Nātoṃyā's reign when the king, it is said, had four elder brothers who took a great interest in the administration and eventually became four ministers of the king. Epigraphic evidence gives us five ministers and unfortunately none of them are mentioned as having any blood relationship with the king. These five ministers quelled the rebellion headed by Pyāṅkhi and Singhapicañ, the half-brothers of the king and therefore they earned a rich reward of seven hundred pay of land each for bravery when suppressing the rebellion<sup>3</sup>. This also is

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1. Pl.73<sup>1</sup>.

2. & 3. Pl.42<sup>17</sup>, Pl.190a<sup>12</sup>.

clear evidence that there was no sharp demarcation between civil and military duties. There was another trouble in the north (at Tagaung) during Nātoṅmyā's reign and an officer named Lakkhāna Lakway was sent to settle it. He came back in triumph and was richly rewarded<sup>1</sup>. Towards the end of the dynasty, the title cac sūkrī was conferred upon ministers during the time when they were in active service. For example, the three Shan brothers Asaṅkhayā, Sīnhasū and Rājasāṅkraṃ who became popular after the Mongol invasion were usually mentioned as amatkrī or saṃpyaṅ krī<sup>2</sup>. But in an inscription dated A.D.1292 they were addressed as cacsūkrī - generals in the following manner:-

...Pukam maṅkrī e tū phlac tha so / atu maṅ tha so /  
cac sūkrī phlac so / Siri Asaṅkhyā / Rāja / Sīnhasū  
maṅ so / Taruk cac kuiw nhip naṅ nuṅ sa / ṅī ackuiw  
3 yok<sup>3</sup> ...

... nephews of the great king of Pagan, incomparable (in bravery), Lords of the War, Glorious Asaṅkhyā, Rāja and Sīnhasū - the three brothers who subdued the Taruk army.

During Klacwā's reign the chief minister was Manorāja<sup>4</sup> who was probably also called Manurāja<sup>5</sup> which names closely associate with Manu - the law

1. Pl.231b<sup>1</sup>.

2. Pl.274<sup>15</sup>, Pl.282<sup>14</sup>, Pl.291<sup>11</sup>, Pl.297<sup>30</sup>.

3. Pl.276a<sup>3-5</sup>.

4. Pl.231b<sup>6</sup>.

5. Pl.331b<sup>7</sup>.

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giver. It is also possible that he was a noted judge of the time. He held a very important position as being Koncañ Mahāsaman<sup>1</sup> - the Viceroy of Kaungsin and kuiwaku<sup>2</sup> - Commander of the Life Guard. This is also another instance of a combined responsibility for civil and military services in one person.

Next to the ministers, there were sāmpyañ and kalan who were executive officers no doubt but the nature of whose service is not known yet. Kalan seems to be slightly subordinate to the sāmpyañ and sāmpyañ is often found as a term interchangeable with the word amat (minister) in the inscriptions of the latter half of the dynasty<sup>3</sup>. Even the chief minister Manorāja mentioned above, and who was also known as Mahāsaman - the Viceroy - was in one instance mentioned as sāmpyañ Mahāsaman<sup>4</sup>. In the like manner the Commander-in-Chief Anantasūra of King Nātonmyā was also known as sāmpyañ Anantasūra<sup>5</sup>. There were also judges addressed by the name of trivā sāmpyañ<sup>6</sup>. Therefore one wonders whether we should put sāmpyañ on an equal status with amātya though the term today has lost its former importance and means only an official of inferior rank<sup>7</sup>. King Thiluin Mon is popularly known as Kyanzittha and we assume that the name is the corruption of

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1. Pl.158<sup>20-21</sup>.

2. Pl.234<sup>30</sup>.

3. Pl.274<sup>15</sup>, Pl.282<sup>14</sup>, Pl.291<sup>11</sup>, etc.

4. Pl.268<sup>3</sup>.

5. Pl.78b<sup>11</sup>.

6. Pl.78b<sup>9</sup>.

7. Judson: Burmese-English Dictionary, p.180.

kalan cacsā - the Warrior Kalan. If kalan means only a village, headman as is the modern interpretation, we are doing injustice to our popular hero who was supposed to be the son of a great king and in fact was the mañ - king of Utiñlaing before he became mañkri - the great king of Fagan. Kalan must also be an executive officer of a fairly high rank, Professor G.H. Luce gives us a very useful note on these two words.

"SAṆPYAN ; KALAN : These are probably Mon words in origin, though very common in Old Burmese, cāp sūmbaṅ seems to occur as a title in the oldest Mon inscription, found at Lopburi, Siam and dating from the 8th century (see BEFEO, XXV, 186; XXX, 83-4). Sūmben (or sāmbaṅ) and Kalm occur frequently in Kyanzitta Palace Inscription (Ep. Bir. III, i, IX); the former also on Old Mon terracotta plaques found at Tavoy and elsewhere (ASB, 1924, pp. 38-40)<sup>1</sup>.

It seems that these ministers and high officers of the court needed to have a high standard of education though in some cases a favourite

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1. JRS., XXX, i, 305. Mr. H.L. Shorto reasons that saṅpyan and kalan are not Mon in origin as in the Siamese Mon inscriptions quoted; these words are rather names than official posts and although these names occur in Mon inscriptions of Fagan it does not necessarily mean that they are Mon words as Mon was used only to describe scenes in a Burmese court. It is also a possible view.

might rise to a high position. In an inscription dated A.D.1278 the educational qualification of a minister was mentioned as follows.

// pitakat suh pun le tat cwā tha sa // sānsakruit  
dyakāruin hurā snā amhū le tat tha so // Caturāṅgabījay  
mañ so // amat krī sñ plu so klon arap nhuik //<sup>1</sup>

At the place where the monastery built by the great minister called Caturāṅgabījay, who is well versed in the Three Pitaka, as well as learned in Sanskrit, Grammar, Astrology and Medicine, stands ..."

Besides these amat, sāṅyañ and kalan, there were other officers at the court. All of them invariably come under the general term mañkhyāñ<sup>2</sup> - companions of the king - or mañce<sup>3</sup> - servants of the king - or mañlulāñ<sup>4</sup> - youths of the king. There was also another set of courtiers called sūñayto<sup>5</sup> which Professor Tuce translates as squires. Probably they were the king's favourites who grew up with him. In one case sūñaytoan was mentioned together with mūchuiw<sup>6</sup> - the hunters. There were also secretaries and clerks who were mentioned as atwāñruy,<sup>7</sup> -

1. Pl.289<sup>3-5</sup>.

2. Pl.257<sup>6</sup>, Pl.268<sup>10,11,30</sup>.

3. Pl.215b<sup>6</sup>.

4. Pl.290b<sup>2</sup>.

5. Pl.234<sup>25</sup>, Pl.257<sup>6</sup>, Pl.272<sup>18</sup>, Pl.273<sup>18</sup>, Pl.277<sup>21</sup>, Pl.282<sup>14</sup>, Pl.385<sup>15</sup>.

6. Pl.274<sup>16</sup>.

7. Pl.207<sup>15,16</sup>.

cāmron<sup>1</sup>, cākhīpuiw<sup>2</sup> and cākhī<sup>3</sup> who wrote down the orders of the king and passed them on to the executive officers. Incidentally one cākhīpuiw was a concubine of King Tarukpliy<sup>4</sup>. In despatching royal orders to the districts, the king had mrañci<sup>5</sup> - mounted couriers - probably under an officer mrañ sūkri<sup>6</sup>.

As judicial assistants to the king there were sañphama<sup>7</sup>. An inscription dated A.D.1218 gives a clear definition of the word sañphama. It says: rhiy taw niy amu chañ khrañ so sañphama tuiw<sup>8</sup> - the judges of the royal court who try the legal cases. The judges and magistrates had other designations also. They were called tryā sūkri<sup>9</sup> as today or simply tryā<sup>10</sup> which also means a law suit or the legal code or the Dharma. In another case the name amhu cuiw<sup>11</sup> was used to signify a judge possibly of civil suits in contrast to a judge of petty theft cases as khuiw sūkri<sup>12</sup>. The clerk attached

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1. Pl.235<sup>45</sup>.
  2. Pl.232<sup>2,18</sup>.
  3. Pl.268<sup>13</sup>.
  4. Pl.232<sup>2</sup>.
  5. Pl.222b<sup>14</sup>.
  6. Pl.254a<sup>1</sup>.
  7. Pl.161b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.285<sup>17</sup>, Pl.598a<sup>12,22</sup>.
  8. Pl.574<sup>3,6</sup>.
  9. Pl.191b<sup>8</sup>.
  10. Pl.560f<sup>7</sup>.
  11. Pl.421b<sup>17</sup>.
  12. Pl.241<sup>5</sup>.

to a khuiw sukri was called a khuiw tryā cakhi.<sup>1</sup> There were also women judges.<sup>2</sup> As for the officers of the districts there were tuik sūkri<sup>3</sup> to look after the tuik - province, mruiw sukri<sup>4</sup> to look after the town or a fort and rwā sukri<sup>5</sup> to look after the village and kī sukri<sup>6</sup> to look after the King's granaries. In an inscription dated A.D.1260 there is the mention of a woman kliy sūkri<sup>7</sup> - officer who looked after the suburb of the city, and at the same time she was described as a junior queen of the king.

As revenue surveyors, there were pay tuin<sup>8</sup> officers. In an inscription dated A.D.1244 the donor is mentioned as puin sukri Sattya or puil sukri Sattya<sup>9</sup>. We do not know which is the right spelling nor do we know the function of this office. As the rice land of Kyaukse was entirely dependent upon irrigation, there must have been special officers to supervise the irrigation. Unfortunately we find very little mention of the canals in the inscriptions. In an

1. Pl.269<sup>1</sup>.

2. Pl.174<sup>11</sup>.

3. Pl.12<sup>15</sup>, Pl.296<sup>17,18</sup>.

4. Pl.370<sup>23</sup>.

5. Pl.264<sup>2</sup>.

6. Pl.162<sup>24</sup>.

7. Pl.196<sup>5</sup>.

8. Pl.307b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.574a<sup>8</sup>.

9. Pl.153a<sup>2,10</sup>.

inscription of A.D.1220 one officer called Suwannopijāñ is mentioned as the officer in charge of digging a canal.<sup>1</sup> In passing we must note that the Thindwe canal was not constructed by the Mongols in A.D.1301 as the chronicles say because we find the mention of Sañthway Mroñ as early as A.D.1198<sup>2</sup>.

222 To guard the frontiers troops were probably garrisoned at strategic points and these guards it seems were mostly non-Burmans. An inscription of A.D.1248 mentions the presence of Oakraw kañ sañ<sup>3</sup> - Sagaw? guards - at the Chipton (Poison Mountains) outpost, somewhere in the north of Kyaukse district. There was a group of people who used to have kunthañ<sup>4</sup> or bhumma<sup>5</sup> as prefixes to their names and they figured as important people in the sale of land, or in helping the revenue collectors. The actual nature of their duty is not known but it seems that they belonged to the landed gentry. In villages there were also sankrī and sāñlyāñ who were supposed to be elders of the village. Perhaps they were president and vice-president of a local sañ - an association of some sort.

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1. Pl.373<sup>3</sup>.

2. Hmannan, para.150; Pl.20a<sup>2</sup>; Census of India, 1931, XI, i, p.300 n.11; and JBRB, XXIX, i, p.304, n.18.

3. Pl.162<sup>5</sup>.

4. Pl.162<sup>24</sup>, Pl.256<sup>33</sup>.

5. Pl.224<sup>2,6</sup>, Pl.268<sup>6,7</sup>.



Generally they were males<sup>1</sup> but sometimes we find the term being prefixed to the name of a woman like saṅkrī Uiw, Si Sañ<sup>2</sup> but to make the matter more confused, it is also used as a prefix for some monks<sup>3</sup> or as kloṅ saṅkrī<sup>4</sup> - the saṅkrī of the monastery. If the word saṅkrī is used exclusively for the monks we could understand that sañ being the short form for saṅghā - the Order, saṅkrī must mean a chief monk. But unfortunately, it is not the case. At the present stage, all we know about this word is that it means some very respectable person either <sup>a monk or</sup> a lay person and if he be a layman saṅkrī he had some administrative duty in his locality. There were also tuñ saṅkrī<sup>5</sup>, tuñ sūkrī<sup>6</sup> and tuñ sañ<sup>7</sup> whose names were always associated with land transactions and they were employed to put up boundary pillars or inscription pillars recording the dedications. They also figured as very important persons in law suits concerning land and were often ordered by the judges to put up the boundary pillars<sup>8</sup>. To do away with the pillar they set up

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1. Pl.75a<sup>45</sup>, Pl.77<sup>6</sup>, Pl.113<sup>8</sup>, etc.

2. Pl.53<sup>9</sup>, Pl.124a<sup>3</sup>.

3. Pl.6<sup>9</sup>.

4. Pl.367a<sup>8</sup>.

5. Pl.257<sup>32</sup>.

6. Pl.257<sup>31</sup>, Pl.578b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.598a<sup>16, 19</sup>.

7. Pl.257<sup>19</sup>.

8. Pl.387<sup>4</sup>.

was a serious offence. An inscription records that in A.D.1226 a person called Byagghasūra, probably an officer, dedicated five hundred and five pay of land and a sāṃhama or judge of the royal court ordered saṅkrī Ña Phway Sañ and sañlyañ Ña Wam Sā Sañ to put up the boundary stones. Tanluñ Ña Rac and party destroyed them and therefore they were fined one hundred (ticals) of ñuy pyan - pure silver.<sup>1</sup> One can imagine how serious the offence was to be fined one hundred ticals of silver when a tical bought nearly two acres of good paddy land.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that all dedications of land to the religious establishments were to be reported to the king and in one inscription it is mentioned that no less a person than the chief minister Mahāsman recorded it in the royal register.<sup>3</sup> But there must have been a special officer to do this registration. We find that Aswat one of the five ministers of Nātoṇmyā was described as the aklañ tñi so mañemat<sup>4</sup> - the Royal Registrar. In a law suit between Mahākasapa and Cakraw guards of Chiptoñ, the judgment was passed in favour of Mahākasapa because the dedication of the land in question was found recorded in the royal register.<sup>5</sup> Usually in such

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1. Pl.574b<sup>7-8</sup>.

2. Pl.268<sup>5</sup>.

3. Pl.283<sup>15</sup>.

4. Pl.96<sup>6</sup>.

5. Pl.162<sup>8</sup>.

cases, after the judgment was pronounced, the judge ordered it to be put on record. The regular phrase for this order is amūkwan khat ciy.<sup>1</sup> Some times the phrase cā khyup e<sup>2</sup> - to fix by written words was used. One might safely presume that the rulings were written on palm leaves as piy cā tañ lat rakā<sup>3</sup> - being recorded on the palm leaves occurs in some inscriptions. But in certain very important cases, a special record was made. For example an inscription has:-

/ amokwan tañ e' lakpañ klyañ 2 thap akrā than  
rwak cā hi e' //<sup>4</sup>

It is recorded on a toddy palm (*terminalia oliveri*) leaf which is put between two boards of a cotton tree (*bombax malabaricum*) wood.

Anything that should go on record concerning royalty was put in a separate register. The Jayapavattati inscription says that a dedication made by Nātonmyā eight years after his accession was by his orders put on record by four officers in athak carañ<sup>5</sup> - an upper register.

In a law suit, after the judge had pronounced his verdict, if the parties were happy about the judgment, they ate pickled tea

1. Pl. 215b<sup>12</sup>, Pl. 235<sup>37</sup>, Pl. 245b<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 266a<sup>12</sup>, Pl. 598a<sup>21</sup>.

2. Pl. 272<sup>20</sup>, Pl. 274<sup>18</sup>.

3. Pl. 296<sup>25</sup>.

4. Pl. 417<sup>5-6</sup>.

5. Pl. 90<sup>5,11</sup>.

together. That was the custom in Burma before the English came. But when it started is a moot point. We find no mention of such practice in the inscriptions dating up to A.D.1300. There is even no mention of lbhak - pickled tea - in any inscription. Instead of this practice of eating pickled tea together, old Burmans sat down to a feast where a great quantity of meat and liquor was consumed. They did the same thing after every land transaction. Even if one party was a monk, the price of land included siy phuiw sã phuiw<sup>1</sup> - the price for liquor and the price for meat. For example Mahākassapa bought one thousand pav of land from the Sãaw at the price of a tical per pav and at the end of the transaction the Sãaw were given a feast when thamañ phuiw siy phuiw sa phuiw<sup>2</sup> - the price for cooked rice, meat and drink - amounted to fiftyfour ticals. They were not satisfied with that and so they were given two and a quarter ticals again for the price of liquor. Professor G.H.Luce's note on this custom is reproduced below.

"It seems that this custom was strongest in outlying regions and that it became increasingly common after the fall of Pagan. Very likely it was a survival of the old drunken sacrificial rites of pre-Buddhist Burma which still continue in the Chin Hills, Wa States, Karenni and elsewhere."<sup>3</sup>

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1. See Infra.pp. 276-277.

2. Pl.268<sup>8,9</sup>.

3. JBRB, XXX, i, p.324, n.94.

A very interesting law suit in which the rival claimants quarrelled for three generations is recorded in an inscription dated A.1262.<sup>1</sup> The substance of the inscription is given below. In A.D.1187 (i.e. during Intaw Svan or Kalagya's reign) Lord Caku Kri gave some of his lands to the monastery of the Chief Monk called Na Tit San. The chief monk caused a water tank to be constructed and turned the land into a paddy field. It seems that the land was wasteland before this. Lord Caku Kri expressed his wonder at this change and made a solemn vow that the land he had thus dedicated in support of the religion would not be included in his estates that his descendants would inherit when he passed away. Thus the land became dedicated permanently to the monastery where the chief monk Na Tit San was head. Na Tit San enjoyed the produce of the land during his life time. After Na Tit San, Skhin Upacan became head of the monastery. During Skhin Upacan's life time, a devotee called Na Ciñcim San planted toddy palms around the water tank. Skhin Upacan also enjoyed the produce of the land during all his life time. Then Skhin Munton became head of the monastery and it was during his tenure that one Uin Mwan San the granddaughter of Lord Caku Kri claimed the land. When officers Kannāran and Kankabhetrā came for inspecting the villages, the case was brought to their notice. One Na Chan San who was once a monk at the said monastery and who witnessed the occasion when Lord Caku Kri made the dedication was brought before

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1. Pl.381.

the officers. Na Chan Sañ said, "I knew and saw Lord Caku Kri dedicate this land to the religion. I was the very man employed to construct the reservoir and dig the well. If Uin Mwan Sañ wants to say to the contrary, let her say so in the name of Lord Buddha." With this Uin Mwan Sañ refused to comply. Then in order to put more weight on what he had first spoken, he dhat khī piy e<sup>1</sup> - lifted the relics of Buddha - and repeated his knowledge of the dedication. Witnesses to this act were the chief monk Non Cok, the monk Tuin Ma Lup and the wealthy man Na Rok Iway Sañ. Thus judgment was passed in favour of the religion. This was in the year A.D.1220. Skhin Manton was succeeded by Sukhamin Sapon and Buddhapā Sankri subsequently. Then in A.D.1262, Na Phun Rok Sañ and Na Pa Nay, grandsons of Cañsawat, seized the land. Skhin Silakumā, the then head of the monastery complained. Two officers Samantapigañ and Rājapuih took up the case. Twentyfour villagers were summoned to bear witness. All unanimously said that they knew the land having been dedicated by Lord Caku Kri to the monastery of Na Tit Sañ and up to the present chief monk Silakumā, there had been six generations of chief monks enjoying the produce of the land. Thus the officers decided in favour of the religion again.

In this law suit, we know how a case was considered and decided in those days. It is also interesting to note that there were two officers who took equal responsibility in deciding the case and that the witness was to lift the relics of Buddha

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1. Pl.381<sup>17</sup>. See also Pl.78b<sup>7</sup> and Pl.191b<sup>11</sup>.

to affirm the truth of what he said. Another important thing that we come across is that the Pagan inscriptions made no mention of the Dhammasattha<sup>1</sup> - the Code of Law or Rājasattha - the Rulings which were in general use in post Pagan periods. Therefore it is tempting to conclude that there is no truth in the Dhammasattha of Burma claiming antiquity. For example, Dr. Forchhammer says that the date for the Dhammavilāsa Dhammasat is given as A.D.1172.<sup>2</sup> It is said that a Taluin monk called Sariputta compiled this Dhammasāt and as a result he received the title of Dhammavilāsa from King Caṅsū II (1174-1211). The tutor of Nātoṅgyā, son and successor of Caṅsū II was a native of Lower Burma, born at Holañā village to the east of Tala<sup>3</sup> and this monk was given the title of Dhammarājaguru when Nātoṅgyā became king. But Dhammavilāsa cannot be identified with this Dhammarājaguru.

King Klacwā made a unique attempt to assure the peace and tranquility of his subjects by issuing an edict against thieves.<sup>4</sup> The edict is dated 6 May 1249, Thursday. He decreed that his edict must be written on stone pillars and every village with more

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1. Pl.174<sup>14</sup> (A.D.1249). The king ordered four judges to consult the dhammasāt in a land dispute. This is the only mention of the dhammasattha in the inscriptions of our period.

2. Dr. Forchhammer: The Jardine Prize Essay, pp.35-6.

3. Pl.63a<sup>14</sup>.

4. See Supra. pp. 55-67.

than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of the edict pillars have been discovered. He said: "Kings of the past punished thieves by divers torture starting with impaling. I desire no such destruction. I consider all beings<sup>as</sup> my own children and with compassion towards all, I speak these words." Then he continued to give various kinds of tortures all of which were direct translations of the relevant portions on punishments from the Majjhima Nikāya, the Ahuttara Nikāya and the Milanda Paññā, which were exceedingly cruel in nature. In fact, he did not mean to be so cruel but was just stating the fact that he could be so unless his subjects lived a good life. With this threat, he hoped that law and order was best assured in his realm. In this edict, one interesting passage is that the word amunwan is referred to as a sort of guide for the punishments. It says:-

khuiw so hut cañ mūkā / amunwan cā kuiw phat ciy e /  
amunwan cā twañ akrañ sukhuw sañ / ī mañ so /  
aplac te plac mūkā / ī mañ so ten piy te piy ap e,  
hū piy e, //

(When a thief is caught and tried), and found guilty, the amunwan cā is read (or referred to).

In the amunwan cā, what sort of punishment should be given for what sort of crime is mentioned. Then he is punished accordingly.

What this amunwan cā means is difficult to say but we can draw an inference that there was some kind of penal code in those days. ✓



In connection with the revenue administration we know very little.<sup>1</sup> An inscription mentions that land revenue from one hundred pay of land is one hundred pieces of loincloth<sup>2</sup>, and in another case the land revenue for three thousand pay of land is one hundred viss of copper and one hundred pieces of linen or if it is in paddy, the revenue is one basket of paddy for each pay.<sup>3</sup> From a fishery the revenue is ten viss of copper.<sup>4</sup> There is a case recorded in an inscription dated A.D.1260 which tells about a village headman who assessed certain religious land.<sup>5</sup> It was reported to the Mahāthera Jamantabhadra who in turn sent Sūkhamin's son to King Tarukoliy to inform him of the misdemeanour of one of his officers. The King ordered Lahāsman the chief minister to stop the headman by stating that the land should be exempted from all revenue in the future. An inscription pillar was set up bearing this royal order together with a curse by the Mahāthera saying if any government official in future attempted to collect revenue from the said land may he be swallowed by the earth and cooked in the Avīci hell.

Now, let us look into the story of Kluttaw on which we have

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1. Pl.156<sup>18</sup>, Pl.195b<sup>7-8</sup>, Pl.196<sup>2-12</sup>, Pl.212<sup>20</sup>, Pl.215b<sup>9</sup>,  
Pl.214<sup>23,25</sup>, Pl.249<sup>34-35</sup>, Pl.289<sup>16</sup>, Pl.390<sup>50,31</sup>, Pl.392<sup>6</sup>.
  2. Pl.392<sup>3-4</sup>.
  3. Pl.390<sup>30-31</sup>.
  4. Pl.392<sup>6</sup>.
  5. Pl.196.

already passed a few remarks above. Nātoṃvyā is said to be the youngest of the sons of King Caṅsū II, but superseding his elder four brothers he became king. Taking up this story of the chronicle Mr. G.E. Harvey goes <sup>on</sup> to describe the appearance of Hluttaw.

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

As mentioned above, Nātoṃvyā had five ministers and they were not his brothers. The Jayawat Inscription has proved that Nātoṃvyā was not the youngest son.<sup>2</sup> His name was Nātoṃvyā, i.e. the King of Many Bar Ornaments but it was misread Nantoṃvyā meaning "many entreaties for the throne" and a story was invented to explain that name and hence, the story of Hluttaw appears as a by-product. We find no mention of Hluttaw in the inscriptions of our period. Instead, the Pagan kings had many halls under the name of kwan

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1. G. E. Harvey: Op. Cit. p. 54.

2. Pl. 90<sup>20</sup>.

where they granted audiences and did meritorious deeds such as giving alms to the monks or dedicating land and slaves to the religious establishments. The ministers also met at such halls and carried out official duties. These halls were Kwan-Prok<sup>1</sup> - the Variegated Hall, Kwan Prok-Kri<sup>2</sup> - the Great Variegated Hall, Kwan Prok Nay<sup>3</sup> - the Small Variegated Hall, Kwan Sāya<sup>4</sup> - the Pleasant Hall, Kwan Mrañ<sup>5</sup> - the High Hall, Chanrhu Kwan<sup>6</sup> - the Hall of Elephant-review and Cankray Kwan<sup>7</sup> - the Pure Hall. It seems that Kwan Prok was the most important hall and there was always a special caretaker appointed for this hall.

Incidentally one caretaker of the Kwan Prok was mentioned as siy ma sok kwan prok coh<sup>8</sup> - a teetotaler. Probably, the king always used this hall to perform his meritorious deeds. In one case the king poured the water of libation to signify the end of his alms-giving when he was in the Kwan Prok.<sup>9</sup> In another case

1. Pl.79b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.117a<sup>7</sup>, Pl.125a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.228b<sup>18</sup>, Pl.239<sup>17</sup>, Pl.245b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.266b<sup>13</sup>, Pl.270<sup>30</sup>, Pl.274<sup>11,14,17</sup>, Pl.384<sup>16</sup>, Pl.387b<sup>2</sup>.
2. Pl.203<sup>16</sup>, Pl.235<sup>37</sup>, Pl.273<sup>13</sup>, Pl.279<sup>19</sup>, Pl.282<sup>10</sup>, Pl.283<sup>10</sup>, Pl.286<sup>2</sup>, Pl.290a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.290b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.296<sup>7</sup>, Pl.297<sup>28</sup>.
3. Pl.234<sup>28,32</sup>.
4. Pl.54<sup>7</sup>, Pl.125a<sup>1</sup>, Pl.174<sup>3</sup>, Pl.186<sup>5</sup>, Pl.235<sup>43</sup>, Pl.239<sup>11</sup>, Pl.371b<sup>8</sup>.
5. Pl.196<sup>1</sup>, Pl.365a<sup>2</sup>.
6. Pl.186<sup>5</sup>, Pl.239<sup>11</sup>.
7. Pl.234<sup>26</sup>.
8. Pl.270<sup>30</sup>.
9. Pl.274<sup>14</sup>.

it is recorded that after being seated at the top of the Kwan Prok the King made a dedication to the most reverend Mahāthera.<sup>1</sup> In an inscription dated A.D.1275 it is mentioned that all the ministers were present at the Kwan Prok.<sup>2</sup> It suggests that the ministers made it a place where they met and carried out their administrative duties.<sup>3</sup> While King Klacwā was in the Kwan Prok Nay he passed an order to the effect that the Queen Dowager Phwā Jaw should receive 150 slaves and 150 pay of land.<sup>4</sup> The same inscription records that while King Klacwā was holding audience in the Kwan Prok Nay, the wife of Sinhapikram<sup>5</sup> requested the king to forgive her husband who had been exiled from the capital as he took part in a rebellion led by Siriwadhanā which occurred probably soon after Klacwā's accession in A.D.1235.<sup>5</sup> We know that Klacwā belonged to the junior branch of the royal family,<sup>6</sup> and there was a certain group of princes in the court who resented his accession and rebelled. Sinhapikram was one of them. The inscription tells us that he was pardoned but as the price of his

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1. Pl.279<sup>20</sup>.

2. Pl.245b<sup>6</sup>.

3. Pl.234<sup>28</sup>.

4. Pl.234<sup>28-30</sup>.

5. See Supra. p.52.

6. See Supra. P.51.

pardon, the king confiscated his estates. In A.D.1262, on the death of his Queen Ratanāpūm, King Tarukpūy made a series of dedications and monks were invited to the Kwan Prok Krī to receive alms.<sup>1</sup> Regarding Kwan Sāvā we have an interesting story.<sup>2</sup> It is recorded that while Bodhisattva Nātonmyā was at Kwan Sāvā Chanrhu Kwan - the Pleasant Hall, the Hall of Elephant Review - a Cambodian in his service by the name of Nā Pu Tat who had once received one hundred and fifty pay of land as a reward for bravery, was knocked down by an elephant and broke his leg. Nā Pu Tat subsequently sold the land to the Pagan ministers. Thus we know that Kwan Prok - the Variegated Hall - was the place where the kings used to do serious work such as giving audiences and doing meritorious deeds. In contrast to it Kwan Sāvā - the Pleasant Hall - was used for amusement though on some unfortunate occasions as mentioned above, unpleasant things happened. King Cañsū II once did a meritorious deed while he was in the Kwan Mrañ - the High Hall.<sup>3</sup> One might assume that this very High Hall was profusely decorated and became the Kwan Prok - the Variegated Hall. King Klacwā was again mentioned as passing an order giving one hundred and ninety slaves

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1. Pl.203<sup>16</sup>.

2. Pl.186<sup>6</sup>, Pl.239<sup>12</sup>.

3. Pl.365a<sup>2</sup>.

to the Queen Dowager Phwā Jaw while he was at the Caṅkray Kwan - the Pure Hall.<sup>1</sup> Probably, it was a temporary place, as it was the only reference to such a name and the name implies that, being a good Buddhist, the king might be staying there for a religious purpose alone.

It seems that the Royal Registrar had a separate building as his office. Because an inscription dated A.D.1294 mentions that the dedication of land was put in the register kept at the Taṅkup<sup>2</sup> - the Shed. There is also a mention of Taṅkup Rhañ<sup>3</sup> - the long shed where King Rhuynansyañ (A.D.1288-1298) made dedication of land to the Mahāthera Dhammasiri.

We have the following picture of Burmese administration in medieval times. The king stands out as the most important personage in the realm. But he had learned and wise people in his council including Brahman astrologers to point out auspicious times at which he had to start important works. When serious problems arose the king appointed commissions to settle them. To help him in the administration, there were ministers who were more or less well versed in the Buddhist scriptures. One of them would be styled amat krī - the chief minister. There was no distinction between civil and military

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1. Pl.234<sup>26</sup> .

2. Pl.283<sup>15</sup> .

3. Pl.279<sup>12</sup> .

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 duties and therefore at times the chief minister himself may be found leading frontier campaigns. The king found the northern frontier of his kingdom very important and therefore he had a viceroy appointed at Koñ Cañ (near modern Bhamo). It seems that this viceroyalty was usually held by the chief minister. The administrative work was not parcelled out into different divisions among individual ministers and therefore a minister was capable of undertaking any administrative work which his master the king appointed him to do. But the presence of saṃphama as special officers to try law suits shows that Burma in medieval times had a distinct judicial body although it seems that the customary law was not codified then. The word dhammasattha is mentioned only once in an inscription dated A.D.1249. Probably it refers to an Indian law book. In criminal code amunwan cā was used but unfortunately we do not know what that means. To embrace the relics of Buddha and declare that one is telling only the truth was sufficient to back up the authenticity of a statement and refusal to do this means self admittance of guilt. At the king's court there were many secretaries and clerks to take down all the orders either from the king or one of the ministers and there were couriers too who used horses when messages were urgent. It seems that there were fairly good communications between the capital and the provincial administrative centres. The province, the town or the village had their own administrative officers but there is evidence where we find the mention of officers on tour inspecting villages and judging cases if necessary. There were special

officers to look after the irrigation, land assessment and revenue collection. Revenue is received either in cash or in kind and there were the king's granaries dotted throughout the realm to store up the paddy or whatever it was which was collected as revenue. There were people who had kuntham and bhumma as prefixes to their names and they are supposed to have been the landed gentry. The King's relation with the Order is another important factor in the administration of Burma. Buddhist precepts always reminded the king to do only what was just and in some cases, to amend the King's wrong we find the monks intervening in politics. The outstanding instance of how a monk helped to save his country from ruin is clearly shown in Syañ Disāprāmuk's peace mission to Taytu, the Mongol capital in A.D.1285. When the King's interests clashed with those of the monks he usually gave in and this shows that the monks were quite important. The administration of Burma in medieval times in the light of the above evidence shows us clearly that it was a well organized body.



## CHAPTER IV.

SĀSANĀ.

The Burmese Sāsanā is clearly the Pali Sāsana, which means the doctrine of the Buddha but by the word Sāsanā a Burman understands not only the Religion but also the year of the Religion as reckoned from the death of the Buddha which is 544 B.C.<sup>1</sup> according to the Burmese. The Sāsanavamsa - the History of the Buddha's Religion<sup>2</sup> - by Paññāsāmi written in A.D.1861 traces the march of Buddhism as it expanded outside India but its main concern is to describe how it reached Burma. According to this history, it was the Rāmañña country (i.e. Lower Burma) which it reached first. Then in A.B.235, the Sona and Uttara mission came to the part of Rāmañña country known as Suvannabhūmi which is popularly regarded in Burma as the classical name for Thaton. But these are only traditions<sup>3</sup> and Asoka's Rock Edicts<sup>4</sup> which give the list

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1. 483 B.C. according to modern scholars. See E.J.Thomas: The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, p.27, n.1.
  2. Paññāsāmi: Sāsanavamsa, pp.37-39; B.C.Law: The History of the Buddha's Religion, pp.40-44.
  3. Sinhalese chronicles also mention this tradition; W. Geiger: Mahāvamsa, XII, 44, p.86 and H.Oldenbergh: Dīpavamsa (1879) VIII, 1-13, pp.53-54 and translation pp.159-160. W.Geiger in his introduction to Mahāvamsa considers that these Sinhalese chronicles are trustworthy.
  4. Asoka's Rock Edicts Nos.5 and 13. See V. Smith: Asoka (1909) pp. 161-163 and 172-175. See also Dr. R. Bhendakar: Asoka, pp.284-285 and 300-304.

of the countries where the missions were sent do not mention the Sona and Uttara mission to Suvannabhūmi. Anyhow the tradition maintains that henceforth Thaton became the centre from which the Religion spread up country.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of Thaton in 1057 by Aniruddha resulted, it is said, in the introduction of pure Theravāda Buddhism. But unfortunately we find no contemporary evidence in support of this famous episode and all the information we get about this is from various chronicles which are far from being reliable for the period under consideration. Professor G.H.Luce's estimate regarding them is better reproduced here than going into details of comparing and annotating them. He says:

"Already these accounts cancel themselves out:  
Aniruddha goes seeking the Tipitaka now at Thaton now at Ceylon, now at the Khmer capital Angkor. He receives an insolent refusal now at Thaton, now at Angkor. Kyanzittha the general in one case, Aniruddha the king in the other, performs feats of gymnastics "piercing the Cambojans" (krwam: thui:): the scene is now Pegu, now Angkor. Each has magic horses that can fly so fast as to give the impression of an army. Each bows his rival with the spectre of streaks of

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1. Hinannan, para.131; GPC. p.74.

betel-blood: but in one case it is the Khmer monarch, in the other that of Nanchao. Here, scene and villain are alike lost in folktale and history submerged in myth."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the find spot of the seals of Aniruddha, which we have discussed in a previous chapter justifies the fact that with the centre at Pagan, Aniruddha expanded north and south and in this general sweep Thaton was included. But we doubt very much that Thaton was the home of pure Theravāda Buddhism and that it reached Pagan only after the aforesaid conquest.<sup>2</sup>

There are possibilities that Buddhism had been known to early Burmans even before the eleventh century. It is not unlikely that they were influenced in their civilization and religion by the Pyus because as late as A.D.1112-3 a Pagan prince called Rājakumār, the beloved son of Thiluin Mañ (1084-1113) used the Pyu language as one of the four languages to record a dedication that he made on behalf of his dying father.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it would not be out of place here to bring into

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1. G.H.Luce: "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", JBRs, XXXVI, i, p.9.

2. See Hmannan, paras.131-132; GPC, pp.73-77. In a supposed conversation between Arahān and Aniruddha in their first interview, the king talked as if he was utterly ignorant of Buddhism. With this seeming ignorance of the king, the Chroniclers impose the view that Pagan knew nothing about Buddhism until the Lord Arahān appeared there just before the 1057 conquest.

3. See the Rājakumār Inscription, popularly known as the Myazedi Inscription  
Ep. Birm. I, i.

discussion what sort of Buddhism these Pyus understood. Their centre was first at Śrīkṣetra (near modern Prome) and later probably at Halin near Shwebo. Their political entity was destroyed finally by the Nanchao raids of 832-835.<sup>1</sup>

Excavations at Hmawza near Prome unearthed many interesting articles and topping the list is the discovery in 1926 of twenty gold leaf Pali manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> These leaves altogether contain <sup>eight</sup> extracts from the Pali piṭaka texts. The first extract is on Nidāna of Paticca Samuppāda;<sup>3</sup> the second enumerates the seven kinds of Vipassanā ñāna.<sup>4</sup>

1. See Supra, p. 5.
2. ASI 1926-7, p.200 and Plate XLII,g. ASB 1938-39, pp.12-22 and Plates IVc, Vab, and VIab.
3. Majjhima Nikāya, I, pp.261,263-4; III, pp.63-4.  
Saṃyutta Nikāya, II, pp.63-4; III, pp.135; V, pp.388.  
Aṅguttara Nikāya, V, pp.184.  
Vinaya Piṭaka, I, pp.1-2.  
Dhammasaṅgani, pp.229.  
Vibhaṅga, pp.135, 138-9, 165-8.
4. Visuddhi Magga, II, 639. (It gives eight kinds: our text omits the patisaṅkhānupassanāñāna).  
Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha. (It gives ten kinds: our text omits the sammesanañāna, patisankhañāna and anuloma ñāna.)

(contemplative knowledge); the third gives thirty-seven Bodhipakkhiya dhamma<sup>1</sup> (elements of enlightenment); the fourth classifies the four perfections of Buddha<sup>2</sup>; the fifth enumerates again the fourteen kinds of knowledge possessed by Buddha<sup>3</sup>, the sixth is a verse from the Dhammapada<sup>4</sup> telling the best of things in this world; the seventh describes the journey to Rājāgaha by Buddha and his disciples<sup>5</sup>; and the eighth is the praise of Buddha.<sup>6</sup> These gold-leaf manuscripts<sup>7</sup> together with some similar manuscripts found in the same vicinity<sup>8</sup> strongly suggest that Pali Buddhism was known to the Pyus and their knowledge of it was

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1. Dīgha Nikāya, III, 102.

Majjhima Nikāya, II, 245.

Āṅuttara Nikāya, IV, 125-6.

Udāna, 56.

2. Majjhima Nikāya, I, 71-2.

Āṅuttara Nikāya, I, 8-9.

3. Khuddaka Nikāya, I, 133.

4. Dhammapada (Verse 273) (P.T.1914) p.40.

5. Vinaya Pīṭaka, (Mahāvagga, I), 38. Jātakatthakathā, I, 84.

6. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (Dīgha Nikāya).

7. ASB, 1938-9, pp.17-22. Edited and translated by U Lu Pe Win.

8. Maunggan gold plates discovered in 1897. (Ep.Ind.V.pp.101-102 and M.Louis Finot: "Un nouveau document sur le Bouddhisme Birman" JA XX, 1912, pp.121-136); Bawbawgyi stone inscriptions discovered in 1910-11 (ASB, 1924 pp.21-26); Kyundawzu gold plate discovered in 1928-29 (ASI, 1928-29, p.108-9).

not slight.<sup>1</sup> One might even assume that Pali Buddhism had thrived very well at Śrīkṣetra and it spread and reached the Burmans at Pagan. Because there are possibilities that the Pyus after the destruction of their capital mixed freely with the Burmans and were quickly absorbed. There are three inscriptions considered to be in Pyu script at the Pagan Museum viz. No.96, No.3 and Rājakumār Inscription (in duplicate) dated 1112-3. The original site of No.96 is Halin in Shwebo district and therefore it is probably a pre-Pagan inscription.<sup>2</sup> No.3 has two faces, one in Chinese and another in Pyu and it probably belongs to the period between 1287 and 1298<sup>3</sup>. This

1. "Pali as the language of Theravāda Buddhism is known and understood, and Pali canonical texts, at least the more important of them, are studied in their doctrinal and metaphysical and most abstruse aspects (c.450-500 A.D.). Early Buddhology also seems to have been more or less a familiar subject, at least in the Old Pyu capital i.e. old Prome. This point is beyond doubt." N.Ray: Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, p.84.
2. See ASB 1915, p.21.
3. "... Stone 3 at the Pagan Museum, with two faces, Chinese and Pyu respectively, both illegible. It is not certain that the two faces belong to the same date; but if they do, the date is likely to be between 1287-1298, when, following the capture of Pagan by Asan-tamur, Mongol-Chinese influence was paramount at the Burmese capital. If so, the use of Pyu in preference to Burmese may perhaps be attributed to the Chinese love of learned archaism". G.H.Luce: "The Peoples of Burma", Census of India 1931, XI, i, p.296.

scarcity of the Pyu inscriptions during the whole period of the Pagan dynasty is best explained in this way. Though both the Pyus and Mons civilised the Burmans it seems that the Burmans thought the Mons were better teachers as they allowed themselves to be overwhelmed by the Mon culture. During the second decade of the twelfth century a reaction set in against the Mon influence. The inscriptions of the transition period (1113-1174) show the Burmans using the Mon, Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu and Burmese languages<sup>1</sup>. Evidently they were not quite sure which language was to supplant the Mon. Ultimately the Burmese language triumphed over its rivals.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen from the gold leaf manuscripts found at Hmawza that the Pyu knowledge of Buddhism was not slight. Even if the Mon had outrivalled the Pyu, the Pyu element was still probably a strong one as is shown by a Pyu face in the Rājakumār Inscription. Therefore unless the contrary is proved it is possible that the Burmans derived some sort of Pali Buddhism from the Pyus prior to that of 1057 conquest.

We cannot also ignore the fact that there were Mons living side by side with the Burmans in the Kyaukse area even before Aniruddha,

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1. The Shwezigon Inscription (Ep. Birm. III, i, pp. 68-70) is in Mon, the Shwegugyi Inscription (Pl. 1 and 2) is in Pali and Sanskrit and the Rājakumār Inscription (Ep. Birm. I, i) is in Pali, Burmese, Mon and Pyu.

2. See Supra, p. 33.

which certainly proves that the Mon civilization was not new to them when they expanded south and conquered the Mon lands. There is a theory even that the Mons were in the Kyaukse area before the Burmans came<sup>1</sup> and that the Burmese invasion into that area drove them south though some remnants survived in the northwestern corner of the area. The three references in the Burmese inscriptions made between 1211 and 1262 to the "main village of the Talaings" (Taluin rwā ma)<sup>2</sup> probably refers to these Mon remnants and their place is located at Khamlhū or Khabu near the junction of the Samon and the Myitnge.<sup>3</sup> An old Mon inscription<sup>4</sup> "which still stands on the northwest side"<sup>5</sup> of the Kyaukse Hill is quoted below to show that these Mons were Buddhists.

"I, the Chief Monk ..lon, when I came to dwell at Klok-Sa<sup>6</sup>, I informed the Chief Monk of Bukān, I informed the king there, that I was building a baddhasīma. These (are the persons) who together with myself worked (for

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1. G.H.Luce: "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", JBRB, XXXVI, 1, p.3.

2. Pl.38b<sup>6</sup>, 205<sup>12-17</sup> and 212<sup>4</sup>.

3. See Map on p. 89.

4. Ep. Birn., III, i, pp.70-73.

5. G.H.Luce: Ibid. p.3.

6. This Klok-Sa is identified as the two villages of Klok and Sayon (Pl.34<sup>12</sup>, 272<sup>37</sup>, 48<sup>9</sup>, 49<sup>7</sup> and 232<sup>7</sup>) in the neighbourhood of Kyaukse.

See G.H.Luce: "The People of Burma" p.299.



this temple?): the junior monk Mahādew, his father, his mother, his (grandfather?) (..?) the mother of Ña Iwoy, Ya Wāñ, son of Ña Mrik, Ña Gan DE: these I dedicate to the temple, who worked together with myself. The great (donation?) of (measures of ?) arable land, which the kon samben daliñ gave to me, I also give to the temple. (May?) the accumulation of merit, (offering (and) worshipping?) .....  
 ... (conduct ?) for (all beings ?)....."

This presence of a Mon mahāthera in Kyaukse district and his building of a permanent ordination hall together with the fact that he informed a mahāthera resident at Pagan of his meritorious deed clearly shows that the Burmans were in close affinity with the Mons in religious affairs.

Unfortunately the inscription bears no date. Anyhow if we accept the theory that the Burmans took the Kyaukse area from the Mons and that "the victors sat at the feet of the vanquished",<sup>1</sup> we could easily go a step further to imagine that the Burmese got some form of Buddhism from the Mon remnants even before the eleventh century.

It is important to find out what sort of religion the Burmans practised in the early part of the Pagan dynasty which is supposed to be the Mon period (1057-1113) as most of the inscriptions attributed to this period

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1. JBERS, XXXVI, i,3.

are in the Mon language.<sup>1</sup> In the great Shwezigon Inscription<sup>2</sup> of Thiluin Mañ (1084-1113) we have the eulogy of the king who shall rule Pagan after A.B.1630 (A.D.1086).<sup>3</sup> According to it we know that the principal religion practised then was Buddhism. But there are references to other religions as well. Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja (i.e. Thiluin Mañ) the Buddhist King is considered as a reincarnation of Vishnu<sup>4</sup>. Evidently there is some tint of Brahmanism in the Buddhism that they practised. Yet the king has a spiritual adviser who helps him rule righteously and purify the religion.

"A Lord Mahāther, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law, King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja shall make ....., shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahather, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, 'Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha,' thus shall King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja say."<sup>5</sup>

The inscription goes on to say that Buddhism prospers well.

"The city of Arimaddanapūr, which is the dwelling place

1. See Supra. pp.15-16.

2. Ep. Birn. I, ii, pp.90-130.

3. Supposed to be the coronation year of Thiluin Mañ who ascended the throne in 1084. See Supra. p.16, n.3; Ep. Birn. I, ii, p.113.

4. Ep. Birn. I, ii, A<sup>46</sup>, 114.

5. Ibid. p.117.

of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall glow  
(and) glitter with the Precious Gems. King Śrī  
Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall pray desiring  
omniscience.

"All those who dwell in the city of Arimaddanapūr,  
together with King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja,  
shall delight worthily in the Precious Gems, shall  
worship, revere, (and) put their trust in the Lord  
Buddha, the Good Law and all the lords of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

? || But it is wonderful to note that orthodoxy goes side by side with  
religious toleration.

"In the realm of my lord all those who were heretical  
shall become orthodox entirely. All the monks shall  
be full of virtue and good conduct. All the Brahmans,  
who know the Vedas, they shall fulfil all the Brahman  
law."<sup>2</sup>

The king's religious zeal is explained in another inscription<sup>3</sup> as  
he built a monastery on a site called Jayabhūmi to the northeast of  
92 Pagan, collected and purified the three holy Piṭaka as they became  
obscure, sent men, money and materials to effect repairs at the holy

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1. Ep. Birm. I, ii, p. 121.

2. Ibid. p. 127.

3. The Shwesandaw (3) Inscription, Ibid. pp. 153-168.

temple of Śrī Bajrās (Bodh Gaya), offered the four necessities (i.e. shelter, robes, food and medicine) to the monks very often and converted a foreign prince (Colī) to Buddhism. In spite of all these religious enthusiasms of the monarch his palace inscription<sup>1</sup> dated A.D. 1101-2 gives additional evidence that the Buddhism as practised at the court of Pagan was far from pure. This inscription shows "a mixed ceremonial proceeding under the very eye of the mahāthera Arahan".<sup>2</sup> The whole affair was left in the hands of "the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building"<sup>3</sup> except when the Buddhist monks were invited to bless the site by reciting the paritta, a Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Even then the water used for the occasion was drawn and carried by the Brahmans and the conch which is supposed to be the symbol of Vishnu was used to hold the water. The following extract is an evidence of this.

"At sunset, godhulī (being) lagna, the sankrān  
 Brahmans, who carried litters, beat the foremost  
 drum. The Brahman astrologers went (and) drew water

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1. Ep. Birm. III, i, pp. 1-68. This inscription is very fragmentary and Dr. C.O. Blagden arranges the eighteen fragments in an order naming the faces consecutively as ABC up to S. Professor G.H. Luce disagrees with this order. According to him it should be NRSOPQ, BCDA, EFGH and JKLM. I use the revised order because it agrees with the dates of various ceremonies of palace construction arranged chronologically.
2. G.H. Luce: "The Peoples of Burma", Census of India 1931 XI, i, p. 298.
3. Ep. Birm. III, i, p. 64. 0<sup>6</sup>.

for the reciting of the paritta. Having brought the water, they arranged the water (in) vessels of gold, vessels of silver (and) vessels of copper (at each place where ?) the blessing (was to be given?): at the great pavilion and the four cindrow pavilions and the ablution pavilion and the juh dal pillars. Water (in) four thousand earthenware vessels and eight conch shells they arranged at the dwellings of the four thousand lords of the Church who were to recite the paritta outside and throughout the palace (and as for all?) the eight lords of the Church, our lords the monks of the Church (who were to be?) the leaders in reciting the paritta outside, together with the four thousand monks, ..... the dwellings of the eight leading lords of the Church, eight mats, eight (figured?) cloths (and) eight spades, water (in) a hundred and eight vessels and hundred and eight conch shells, they arranged (at?) the dwelling places of a hundred and eight lords of the Church, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who were to recite the paritta within, at the dwelling places of those hundred and eight lords of the Church (they arranged) a hundred and eight mats, a hundred and eight (figured?) cloths (and) a hundred and eight spades."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ep. Birm. III, 1, pp. 36-7, IX, A<sup>12-28</sup>.

The inscription continues to say how the conch came into use in a Buddhist rite. It also mentions that the monks were standing during saranasīla and paritta which would be considered unusual now-a-days in Burma.<sup>1</sup>

"At that time our lord the Chief Monk Arahan stood at the western side facing towards the eastern side (and) holding a right-voluted conch shell, together with water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper (and) earthenware, which they arranged in front of our lord the Chief Monk Arahan.

Then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan gave the saranasīla and all the four thousand one hundred and eight monks remained standing within (and) without, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who was the leader in reciting the paritta blessing."<sup>2</sup>

A special place was made in the new palace as a prayer hall and next to the image of Buddha was placed the image of Gavaṃpati.

1. Perhaps as Dr. C.O. Blagden suggests (Ep. Birm. III, i, p. 38, ns. 8 and 10) the old Mon word tāw is not exactly "to stand." It might simply mean "stayed, remained". Mr. H.L. Shorto prefers the second form. Then, it would mean that the monks stayed at a specified place marked for them, very probably cross-legged and recited the paritta.

2. Ep. Birm. III, i, p. 38, A<sup>40-46</sup>.

"Towards the east side of the front of the great hall, (they) made a sanctuary, furnished with seats, which (they) made fittingly, which (they) decorated (round about?) with white cloth (and which they shaded?) with white umbrellas. Then (they) spread .... rugs on the top of the seats. Then (they) set (thereon) a golden statue of Buddha, a statue of the Lord Gawāmpati, with books of the Vinaya, Sutta (and) Abhidhamma .....

At three pahir (they) sounded the drums.....(and) blew ..... (in honour of?) the golden Buddha, the Lord Gawāmpati and all the four thousand one hundred and eight lords of the Church of whom our lord the Chief Monk Arahan was the leader."<sup>1</sup>

Although the presence of four thousand one hundred and eight monks including the Mahāthera Arahan is mentioned in the inscription one gets the impression that the Brahmans are the more important. In all the eighteen known faces of the inscription the mention of the Brahmans occurs forty nine times.<sup>2</sup> They are found leading all events of the construction. Therefore it is natural that the worship of Vishnu<sup>3</sup> (Nār in the inscription is the Mon word

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1. Ep. Birm., III, i, pp. 37-8. A<sup>28-35</sup>.

2. Ibid., pp. 1-68 (O<sup>6</sup>, P<sup>8</sup>, Q<sup>8</sup>, B<sup>7,10,13,19</sup>, C<sup>3,10,12,18,28,33,40</sup>, D<sup>4,10,23,25,36</sup>, A<sup>13</sup>, E<sup>10,26,30,32</sup>, F<sup>10,11,29,31</sup>, G<sup>3,5,11,17</sup>, H<sup>6,12,14,18,23,31,36,37,43</sup>, J<sup>2,9,14,17,19</sup>, K<sup>9,16</sup>, L<sup>1,19</sup>, M<sup>3,13</sup>.)

3. Ibid., P<sup>8</sup>, B<sup>37</sup>, C<sup>35</sup>, F<sup>30</sup>, G<sup>3</sup>, H<sup>10</sup>, J<sup>14</sup>.

for Nārāyana) precedes all important ceremonies. Offerings are also made to Indra.<sup>1</sup> Another important thing to note is that the Brahmins also perform the Naga worship.

"To the Nāgas (they) made a decoration of plantains (for?) a dwelling place, spread mats, (and set in readiness?) golden flowers (and) altar oblations. ... Then the Brahmin astrologers versed in house-building offered water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they worshipped the Nāgas."<sup>2</sup>

For other evidences of Brahmanical influence it is best to quote Professor G.H.Luce.

"In the Nanpaya of the captured Mon King (Makuta), the chief sculpture left are those of Brahma. Almost next door to Kyanzittha's palace, stands to this day a temple of Viṣṇu, the Nathlaungkyaung. Shiva symbols and statues, though found at Pagan, are rare compared with Vaishnava; but the trident is still to be seen on the old glazed plaques at the Shwezayan pagoda at Thaton."<sup>3</sup>

1. Ep. Birm. III, i, D<sup>29</sup>.

2. Ibid. H<sup>10</sup> and H<sup>15</sup>.

3. G.H.Luce: "The Peoples of Burma", Census of India 1951, XI, i, p. 299.

See also N. Ray: Brahmanical Gods in Burma, pp. 5, 8-9, 23, and 34.



Even in the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the later half of the dynasty we find traces of Brahmanical influence. A village named Lintuin (lina) mentioned in an inscription<sup>1</sup> dated A.D.1235 suggests the presence of phallic worship at one time. Another village called KulaNat<sup>2</sup> in an inscription of A.D.1256 also suggests that the villagers once worshipped an Indian deity. God Mahāpinmai (Mahā Vināyaka) i.e. Ganeśa is mentioned in an inscription<sup>3</sup> dated A.D.1279. As regards Gavaṃpati, Dr. C.O. Blagden describes him as "the patron saint of the Mons" and "the patron saint of Pagan".<sup>4</sup> In the Tainggyut Inscription<sup>5</sup> (A.D.1179) Gavaṃpati is mentioned together with the Buddha and his two chief disciples. Regarding this Professor Pe Maung Tin says:

"It is interesting to note that here the Buddha is attended not only by his two chief disciples but also by Gavaṃpati, the patron saint of the Mons."<sup>6</sup>

The Great Shwezigon Inscription<sup>7</sup> mentions Gavaṃpati as the son (i.e. disciple) of Buddha. Dr. N. Ray sums up as

1. Pl.128a<sup>10</sup>. This inscription is from Hsingut village, Shwebo.
2. Pl.388a<sup>10</sup>.
3. Pl.262<sup>4,6</sup>.
4. Ep.Birm. I,ii,p.87. See also ASB,1913,p.23.
5. Pl.6.
6. JBR.S. XXVI,1,p.56.
7. Ep.Birm. I,ii, A<sup>32</sup>, 114.

"Gavaṃpati, who is represented in Mon records as the son of the Lord Buddha, has rightly been styled as the patron saint of the Mons as well as the patron saint of Pagan, and is evidently a creation of the legendary imagination of the Mons." <sup>1</sup>

But Professor G.H.Luce seems to be a little reluctant to call this deity "the patron saint of the Mons". He says:

"Gavaṃpati, the so-called patron saint of the Mons, is frequently referred to, sometimes as 'my son' by the Buddha; his statue is placed beside that of the Buddha; Anoratha is said to have carved an image of him (List 23,27), but he is really a pre-Buddhist Shaivaitic deity, the 'Lord of Oxen', and perhaps a god of drought and wind." <sup>2</sup>

He seems to have reached a final decision that Gavaṃpati is a pre-Buddhist Shaivaitic deity. But there are many Gavaṃpati: the cow-lord, the lord of the rays, the sun, the name of Agni, the name of a snake demon and lastly but not the least the name of a Buddhist mendicant. <sup>3</sup> Gavaṃpati Thera <sup>4</sup>

1. N.Ray: Brahmanical Gods of Burma, p.17.

2. G.H.Luce: "The People of Burma", Census of India 1931, XI, i, p.299.

3. Monier-Williams: Sanskrit Dictionary, p.351.

4. Malalasekera: Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I, pp.756-758.

The Sāsaniavaṃsa (p.36 ff. of the Text and p.41 ff. of the Translation by B.C.Law) speaks of a thera by this name, at whose request the Buddha went to Suddhāmapura in the Rāmañña country to establish his religion.

was one of the well known disciples of the Lord Buddha and therefore one wonders when mentioning Gavaṃpati whether the scribes of the inscriptions of our period had rather this Gavaṃpati Thera in mind or Gavaṃpati - the Shaivaitic deity. The fact that Buddha addressed Gavaṃpati as "my son"<sup>1</sup> and that his statue is placed among the Buddhist canonical works in one case<sup>2</sup> and in another<sup>3</sup> together with the statues of Sāriputtrā and Moggallāna, it is more likely that the inscriptions refer to Gavaṃpati Thera. Anyhow in view of the above evidences, we are in a position to say that the Buddhism that the Burmans received from the Mons was far from pure however the chronicles claim otherwise.

After the death of ThiluinMañ (1084-1113) the Mon influence gradually receded and therefore we have to turn our attention now to inscriptions which are largely in Burmese (with the exception of a few which are in Pali or Pali and Burmese mixed).

Ratanā sum pā: is the Burmese phrase for the Three Gems, i.e. Purhā - the Lord, Tryā - the Law, and Saṅghā - the Order. They were as important to the medieval Burman as they are to-day. Sāsanā - the Religion was also extremely important to him and he considered himself always responsible for its maintenance. He dedicated lands, slaves, cattle, precious metals, food and various other articles of daily use from a costly robe to a

1. Ep. Birm., I, ii, p. 114.

2. Ep. Birm., III, i, pp. 37-38.

3. Pl. 6<sup>6</sup>.

spittoon, as a means of support to them (rattana 3 pa sa tui e' pacceñ  
phlac cim so nhā)<sup>1</sup> and that the religion of the Lord should last for five  
thousand years (sāsanā anhae 5000 mlok on tañ rac cim, so nhā)<sup>2</sup>. But  
we have some exceptions where the donors indirectly expressed their  
belief that the religion would last more than five thousand years.  
Lord Cakukri in A.D.1167 gave a plot of land to the monastery of  
Saṅghāthera Na Tit Sañ and said that he wished his land to remain a  
religious land for all the length of the age of the earth itself.<sup>3</sup>  
Princess Acawkrwan in A.D.1248 prayed that her religious establishment  
might stand for a period of one hundred asankheyya<sup>4</sup> (10,000,000<sup>20</sup>).  
This indirectly means that the religion would stand for more than five  
thousand years. Anyhow the inscriptions of our period very often  
mention that the Religion of the Lord (Sāsanā) would last for only five  
thousand years after the Lord's parinibbāna, i.e. from 544 B.C. to  
A.D.4456. Even to-day in Burma, with the exception of a few, people  
believe that the religion would last for only five thousand years and  
no more. Due to the lack of any canonical support the late Ādiccavaṁsa  
remarked that

"the Religion would stand for five thousand, six thousand,  
seven thousand (years) or even more without any limit."

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1. Pl.24<sup>13</sup>.

2. Pl.73<sup>29</sup>, Pl.90<sup>14</sup>, Pl.157<sup>7</sup>, Pl.205<sup>5</sup>, Pl.228b<sup>2</sup>, etc.

3. Pl.331<sup>5</sup>.

4. Pl.164<sup>46</sup>.

But he checked himself by saying that it all depends upon the people who believe it and so long as there are believers there is the religion. His remark is very reasonable. Nevertheless he suffered pakāsaniyakamma (excommunication) in 1935 for making remarks that injured popular beliefs.<sup>1</sup> Thus the old Burman just as his modern counterpart blindly believed that the Religion would last for only five thousand years and that it was his duty to support it. To fulfil these duties means working for ones own salvation. The religion taught him that nothing in this world is permanent and that even though one accumulates wealth in this life time one cannot buy longevity and when he dies he leaves everything behind. The only thing that would help him is to spend his wealth in charity and thereby accumulate merit. The following excerpt<sup>2</sup> illustrates this very well.

//Sakarac 653 khu Nanyun l-ghan ll ryak 5 niy Acaw Racasū  
ceti tañ so Skhiñ Racasū mi nhalum thit lan lat rakā / ña  
e' mi pha phiy phuiw tuiw le amuy utcā tuiw kuiw cwan kha  
ruy swā kha kun e' / khyat cwā so ñā sā lha le amuy uccā  
nhañ akwa ñā mi rañ kuiw cwan kha pri kē / ñā le sū ma yū  
nuñ ruy tha kha so amuy uccā kuiw ñā le thuiw suiw lañkon  
ma pā tat so akroñ kuiw si rakā / ñā mi ñā pha ñā sā

- 
1. See Ādiccavañsa : Bhikkhunīsāsanopadesa, pp.19 and 56 and also Bhikkhunī Are: Puñ . Taw Sein Ko also observed that "it is idle to set bounds to the limits of eternity", Burmese Sketches (1913)pp.60-61.
2. Pl.272<sup>31-36</sup> . See also JBERS, XXVI,i,54 and XXVI,iii,137.

amlyuiw khapsim kuiw niyrapan e' paccañ athok apañ phlac  
cim so nhā lhū tum so ...

On 8 June 1291<sup>1</sup>, the founder of Acaw Racasū pagoda - the mother of Lord Racasū was startled at heart and she said: "My parents, my grand parents and my great grand parents had all gone, abandoning their inherited property. Now my beloved and handsome son had gone likewise abandoning his inherited property and myself - his own mother. Knowing that I too cannot take away with me (this) inherited property which they have left behind because they could not take it, I dedicate it so that it may be one of the attributes for my mother, my father, my son and all my relatives attaining nirvana ..."

Thus to give away one's own property in charity without limit or possibility of an equal return (asadisadāna)<sup>2</sup> if possible was believed as one of the means of acquiring merit attributing to the final attainment of nirvana. After every act of merit the donor would pray something like the following prayer.<sup>3</sup>

// īy nā koñhu mū so klañcū phlañ, kañ Mittyā purhāñ  
skhiñ purhāñ phlac sū rhāw āñ arahantā chu ra luiw sū te //

1. Or 9 May 1291 if 2nd. Tagu is not used.

2. Pl.275<sup>12</sup>.

3. Pl.23<sup>10</sup>. See also Pl.246<sup>13</sup>, Pl.253b<sup>10</sup>, etc.

For the benefit of this act of merit I made, may I get  
the boon of arahantship when Maitreya becomes Buddha.

This is the typical prayer one finds in the inscriptions of our period. Donors wanted the boon of nirvana in the form of a mere araha when Bodhisattva Maitreya becomes Buddha. But there are some exceptions to this rule - the most ambitious asks for the boon of Buddhahood. We will consider such exceptions in detail later.

We can safely assume that the Sāsana had had a great influence over the Burmans of our period. What the Sāsana taught them, how they understood it and how it reflected in their daily life is best illustrated in the following inscription<sup>1</sup> dated A.D.1266.

...Mathi luiw mliw // mañ miyā Singhasū sēmi // phlac sa  
chuiw ñray uiw mañ sa chuiw ñray siy so chuiw ñray ma khyat  
sa sū nhañ akwa niy sa chuiw ñray khyat sa sū nhañ kwiw kañ  
sa chuiw ñray luiw ruy ma ra sa chuiw ñray // ñy suiw ka caso  
atuñ ma sī sa chuiw ñray tuiw sañ nhip cak so khandhā kuiw  
cwan thā kha ruy chuiw ñray khapsim kañ so khyamsā cwā so  
mlat so niyraban kuiw lhyañ nā luiw sate hū ruy khyat cwā so  
mlat so rhuy ñuy ka ca so utcā tuiw kuiw cwan ruy plu so kloñ  
twañ niy so satañ samādhi prañā hū so klañ-jū suñ pā kuiw rhā  
so satañ cañ so purhā tape, sā rahan sañghā khyamsā cim so ñhā  
lay uyan kywan khapañ akrwañ may lhyañ lhu e, // ñy nā tuiw  
plu so koñmhu akuiw // atuiw khapsim so kuiw acuiw ra so riy

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1. Pl.216<sup>1-15</sup> .

mliy askhiñ phlac so mañkri le ra ciy e, // iy koimhu anubhaw  
phlan prañ tuiñ kē khapsim so nhuik niy so lū khapsim so e,  
aci apwā khyamsā kuiw rhā piy lyak sak tauw rhañ cwā niy ruy  
iy koimhu kuiw thok pañ ciy sate // amipurhā ca so moimna tauw  
khapsim le ra ciy e, // akhyañ khyañ amyak a-ī ta ciy ma hiy  
khyat sa myak ciy phlan rhu kra ra ciy e, // yakhu hi so non  
phlac lat em so mañkri mañsā amattyā ca so sū khapsim le ra  
ciy sate ariy arañ yū pā ciy sate // Yama mañ ca so sattawā  
khapsim le ra ciy sate // ara ami kuiw luiw so sū kē ara ami  
ra ciy e, // koimhu kuiw mūlui so sū kē koimhu kuiw mū ra  
ciy e, // nā le rañmak kri sa ma roñ ray tat so // amyak kri  
so sū tac thū kuiw ñhan chay tat so prañā ma hiy so muik so  
wantuiw so apiy akañ ma hiy so // saccā ma hiy so plak tat so  
// miy lyaw so o miy ta sa kañ so ma phlac mū ruy rañmak nañ  
so roñ ray lway so // amyak nañ so sanā tat so prañā hiy so  
akroñ kuiw si tat so wan ma tuiw so apiy akañ hiy so saccā  
hiy so ma plak tat so ma miy lyaw so ok miy ta sa hiy so iy  
suiw so klañ-jū tuiw nhañ plañ-jum lyak sañsarā nhuik kyañ  
lañ ruy Mittaryā purhā myakmhok kañkā lhyañ //0 // mlat sa  
aklwat taryā ra luiw sate // 0 //

I, the grand daughter of Mathi Luiw, the daughter of  
Singhasū (one of King Klacwā's sons) and the queen of King  
(Tarukpiy), wish to abandon (this) body oppressed by  
 countless miseries - the misery of birth, old age and death,  
 the misery of living with those one does not love and of



separation from those one loves, the misery of wanting a thing and not getting it. I want the bliss of Nirvana which is the end of all miseries. For the fulfilment of this desire I resign my dear and precious gold, silver and other treasures and build a monastery for the monks - the pupils of the Lord, pure in piety and ever seeking the three graces of self-restraint, self-possession and wisdom. In order that these monks be well provided, I offer (all my) fields, gardens and slaves, excepting none. May the merit of our meritorious deed go (first) to the king, ruler of us all and lord of the land and water. By virtue of this act of merit may he live long, seeking the prosperity and happiness of all those who live in the realm and upholding this foundation. May the queens also, and all the ladies-in-waiting share it. May they look at one another with eyes of love, without one speck of anger or cloying. Starting with <sup>the</sup> present reigning king, the future kings, the princes, the ministers, all of them may also share the merit. May they uphold this foundation. May all beings beginning with King Yama also share it. May those who desire worldly prosperity get it. May those who prefer to do good deeds, do them. For myself I pray that I may never be covetous, insatiate, wrathful, bullying, ignorant, stupid, mean, uncharitable, faithless, frivolous, forgetful, nor ungrateful. But I would cross Samsara full of these good graces - modest in my wants, easily

satisfied, mild of temper, pitiful, wise, conscious of causes, generous, large-handed, faithful, earnest, unforgetful and considerate; and may I win deliverance in the very presence of the Lord Maitreya.

Whether they derived the Sāsana from either the Mons or the Pyus or from both, the old Burmans knew perfectly well that they owed their gratitude ultimately to India. It remains on record<sup>1</sup> that King Thiluin Mañ (1084-1112) sent men, money and materials to effect repairs of the holy temple at Bodh Gaya. Probably, the pilgrims from Burma frequented the places in India associated with the life of Buddha. A queen (mañmyā Cañhīpurī)<sup>2</sup> planted a banyan tree within the enclosure of the monastery which she founded and she claimed that the tree grew from a seed of the very tree at Bodh Gaya which was associated with Buddha's enlightenment. The text<sup>3</sup> and translation of an inscription dated A.D.1298, found at Bodh Gaya would be a fitting conclusion to this chapter on Sāsana.

// // purhē skhīñ sāsana 218 lwan liy prī so akhā nhuik  
Cañputip klwan kuiw acuiw si ra so Siridhammasoka mañ so  
mañkrī cetī hyat soñ 4 thoñ athai nhuik chwam tau phun phiy

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1. The Shwesandaw (3) Inscription. Ep.Birm.I,ii,pp.153-168.

2. Pl.232<sup>2</sup>.

3. Pl.299. See also Taw Sein Ko: Burmese Sketches (1913) pp.90-93.

rā pāyā sa ī then kuw akhā liy mlañ pyak ruy plañ so Skhiñ  
Pañsakū kri ta yok thuiw priy to khyak pyak khay ra kē  
Satuiw mañ plu e' thuiw pri ta khyak pyak khay tum rakā  
Chañ Phlu Skhiñ tryā mañkri mimi kuiw cā chiryā  
Siridhammarājākuru kuiw ciy tau mu lat so akhā nhuik pā  
lat so tape, sē Siri Kassapa sañ lup añ so uccā hi lyak ma  
lup rā tat rakā Wanawāsi Skhiñ thera kuiw chwam khm ciy  
rakā Putasin mañ hu e' lup ciy (m)u Skhiñ Nai kuiw mlat kri  
the kuiw akhwan mu rakā Sakarac 657 khu Plasuiw l-chan 10  
ryak 6 niy plu tum e' Sakarac 660 Tanchoñmhuñ l-chan 8 ryak  
Tanhanñkanū ni lhū ce so tañkhwan kukā tañkhwan myāt tuiw  
kuiw le pucaw e' sañput thoñ chimi thoñ tuiw akrin myā cwā  
lhyañ pucaw e' sē sami hu mhat ruy suñai 2 yok rhuy pan ñuy  
pan khwak puchuiw chway so patañsā le pucaw e' akhā khapsiñ  
lhyañ sañput wat ma prat tañ cim so kroñ mliy kywan nwā tuiw  
kuiw le way ruy lhu khay i nā mu so koñnhu kē nippan paccañ  
athok apañ phlac khyāñ sate /// Myattañ purhā akhiñ lak  
thak lhyañ rahanta chu luiw sate

After the lapse of two hundred and eighteen years of the Religion (i.e. in 326 B.C.) the great king named Siridhammasoka (Asoka), who was the ruler of Jambudīpa island (built) eight thousand four hundred ceti among which one was on the spot where Buddha ate (the milk rice? given him by Sujāta immediately before his enlightenment). Due to the march of time, it was ruined. One Lord Pāmsukūlika

the Great repaired it. When again it was in disrepair king Satuiw made (repairs). When again it was dilapidated, the great just king Chañ Phlu Skhiñ sent his teacher Siridhammarājākuru (to effect repairs) on his behalf. Because Siri Kassapa the disciple who accompanied (Siridhammarājākuru), though he had the required treasures (or funds) would not do it, Wanawāsi Thera had to beg alms (?seek permission from) King Putasin (who) said "(You may) do it" to the reverend thera through Lord Nai. On Friday, 16 December 1295 (they) did it (i.e. started repairs). On Sunday, 13 October 1298 (?when the repairs ended) many flags and streamers which were to be dedicated were offered. One thousand almsfood, (and) one thousand oil lamps were offered several times. Two children treated as (one's) own off-spring, a wish-tree for hanging gold flowers, silver flowers, trays and loin cloths were also offered. That there may be almsfood at all times, land, slaves, cows were bought and dedicated. May this meritorious deed be an attribute for attaining Nirvana in the form of an araha when Maitreya becomes Buddha.

## CHAPTER V.

PURHĀ.

The word purhā means Buddha himself or a pagoda where relics are enshrined. But a king is also addressed as purhā and his queen called by that name with a mi or ami prefix denoting female as mi-purhā and ami-purhā. Thus it becomes a general word for all exalted persons. But to show the difference between the spiritual and the temporal lords, some scribes of old Pagan took special care to say mlat cwā so purhā<sup>1</sup> - the most exalted purhā - when they wanted to signify Buddha and purhā rhañ<sup>2</sup> - the purhā who is living - to denote the then reigning king. The king is also mentioned as purhālon<sup>3</sup> - the Bodhisattva.

Dr. C.O. Blagden's note on this word in the Rājekumār Inscription<sup>4</sup> (1112-3) is worth reproducing here.

"Purhā, now written (bhurā;) but pronounced (phaya) and sometimes still (phra). This is the well-known Burmese expression applied to exalted personages; the Buddha is so called; the king was addressed with this word during the Burmese regime; the monks are still so styled when

1. Pl.18<sup>5</sup>, Pl.28a<sup>1</sup>, Pl.28b<sup>1</sup>, Pl.51<sup>1</sup>, Pl.84<sup>4</sup>, Pl.130<sup>5</sup>, Pl.308<sup>1</sup>, etc.

2. Pl.113<sup>2</sup>, Pl.115<sup>13</sup>, Pl.141a<sup>13</sup>, Pl.174<sup>14</sup>, Pl.194<sup>1</sup>.

3. Pl.36<sup>3</sup>, Pl.90<sup>2,3,6</sup>, Pl.115<sup>3,5</sup>, Pl.135<sup>28</sup>, Pl.143a<sup>9,12,14,15,16</sup>,  
Pl.145<sup>11,12</sup>, Pl.249<sup>28</sup>, Pl.282<sup>2</sup>.

4. Ep.Birm.I,i, pp.26-27.

spoken to; nowadays, it is even used as an epithet when addressing Government officials of a certain standing. The temples, pagodas and statues of the Buddha are also called (phaya). The form purhā as found in the present inscription, appears to be the oldest; it is found subsequently written purahā, bhurhā, phurhā, phurā, and finally bhurāh. But this word is not, as might on the face of it be thought, Burmese in its origin; it is found, under very slightly different forms, all over Indo-China, and even in Java. Opinions still differ as to its derivation; some eminent authorities would derive it from vara, a Sanskrit and Pali word meaning "excellent noble, exalted"; this is the derivation generally accepted. Some years ago, Mr. Taw Sein Ko (Burmese Sketches, p.30) suggested a derivation from the Chinese Fu-ya (now pronounced Fo-yeh). The form Fo-ya does not explain the r in the second syllable of the Burmese word; for there can be but little doubt, if at all, that this letter r, though now it is pronounced y, was sounded according to its original value in old Burmese, as a comparison with the languages most closely related to it - Tibetan, Lolo, Maru, etc. - abundantly shows; the full value of r is still retained in Arakanese, which is but Burmese of an archaic type. The form vara does not seem to explain the Burmese medial vowel u in purhā; but this vowel has been frequently

developed in the first syllable of dissyllabic words when that syllable begins with a labial, but is now practically never pronounced; examples are numerous in Burmese. All evidence tends to show that the Sanskrit word vara is the original of this expression, found under several forms as polai, phola, poula, purahā, phurā, pharā, phrā, phrayā, prah, prah, varah, etc. This seems to be settled by the Phimanakas Inscription, where the old Khmer text has vrah, Īçvara, the modern Cambodian being prah Eisor, and vrah Mahābodhi = prah Mahābodhi."<sup>1</sup>

If vara is the root word for all similar words used all over South-East Asia, the Mon word is an exception to it. In Old Mon "kyek"<sup>2</sup> means any worshipful person or object as well as "a statue of Buddha."

In Old Burmese though the word purhā means any worshipful person or object sometimes the phrase mlat cwā so purhā - the most exalted lord - is used to denote Lord Buddha. As for images, purhā chañpu<sup>3</sup> - the form

1. See also BEFEO XVIII, ix, pp. 9-12; Auguste Pavie: Mission Pavie Indo-Chine 1879-1895, Études Diverses II, Recherches sur l'Histoire du Cambodge du Laos et du Siam (Paris, 1898), p.228, n.2 and p.237, n.1; and Coedès: Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam I, Inscriptions de Sukhodaya (Bangkok, 1924) pp.79-90.
2. Ep. Birm. I, i, p. 57. See also Halliday's A Mon-English Dictionary, p.64, when old Mon "kyek" appears as "kyait" (ကျိတ်) meaning "any object of worship, a god; also used in addressing a superior, lord."
3. Pl.73<sup>15</sup>, Pl.80<sup>13</sup>, Pl.192<sup>12</sup>, Pl.234<sup>8</sup>, Pl.238<sup>8</sup>, Pl.248<sup>17</sup>, Pl.249<sup>22, 23</sup> and Pl.269<sup>6</sup>.

of the Lord - is used together with purhā ryap<sup>1</sup> - standing Buddha - ,  
purhā thaway<sup>2</sup> - sitting Buddha - , purhā tanthiñ<sup>3</sup> - recumbent Buddha - ,  
purhā niyrapan<sup>4</sup> - dead Buddha - , ryaptuiñ purhā<sup>5</sup> - images made to the  
donor's height - and kuiw ryap tuiñ purhā<sup>6</sup> - images made to the donor's  
measurements. Professor G.H.Luce wishes to connect chañpu or achañpu  
with the Pyu word cha:bo of the Rājakumār Inscription<sup>7</sup> where

//dhau pā: Būḍha u cha: bo braḍima tha tū bi: se kya://

is translated as "caused this golden image in the likeness of the Buddha  
to be made." The modern Burmese word for an image is chañ:tu which  
literally means an imitation of an appearance and we do not know why pu  
of chañpu is replaced by tu and becomes chañ:tu today. In old Burmese  
the word chañpu is used for images made of stone or wood and also for  
paintings of Buddha that adorn the walls of hollow pagodas. As many as  
fourteen thousand six hundred and nineteen (14,619) pictures of Buddha

1. Pl.66<sup>21</sup>, Pl.97<sup>16</sup>, Pl.104<sup>8</sup>, Pl.130<sup>3</sup>, Pl.132b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.209<sup>4</sup>, Pl.213<sup>14</sup>,  
Pl.234<sup>9</sup>, Pl.235b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.385a<sup>4</sup>, and Pl.393<sup>21,23</sup>.

2. Pl.130<sup>3</sup>, Pl.153<sup>3</sup>, Pl.213<sup>14</sup>, Pl.229<sup>16</sup>, Pl.234<sup>9</sup>, and Pl.422b<sup>3</sup>. Unless  
otherwise stated purhā thaway - sitting Buddha - is always a cross-  
legged Buddha because the Buddha "sitting Europeanwise" is very rare  
in Burma.

3. Pl.61<sup>7</sup> and Pl.132b<sup>7</sup>.

4. Pl.270<sup>7,13,14</sup>.

5. Pl.130<sup>3,4</sup>, Pl.209<sup>4</sup>, Pl.253a<sup>6</sup>.

6. Pl.209<sup>4</sup>, Pl.229<sup>17</sup>, Pl.253a<sup>6</sup>.

7. Ep. Birn.I,i,p.62; Text A<sup>10</sup>, where Cha: is taken as likeness, having  
a close similarity to old Burmese achañ.



are painted within seventeen days (7 March to 24 March 1237)<sup>1</sup>. In another case four thousand pictures or chañpu of Buddhas were painted on the four walls of a hollow pagoda built by Kaṅgapikraṃ and his wife on 10 December 1253<sup>2</sup>. Naturally Gotama Buddha would be painted or sculptured, but sometimes other Buddhas - the predecessors of Gotama were also included in the paintings or their images would be found among the images of Gotama enshrined in a pagoda. For example, an inscription<sup>3</sup> dated A.D.1274 mentions that images of Kakusankha, Konāgamana, Kassapa, Gotama and Maitreya were made. In a relic chamber near the Thilominlo pagoda at Pagan unearthed in 1928, is found an image of Buddha Vessabhū with a two line Pali inscription (in the same script as the Old Burmese) round the pedestal. It reads:<sup>4</sup>

Yo Vessabhū sarīdharo ca anantabuddhī sattuttamo dasa balo...  
dhamma kāyo lokekacakkuhū asamo sugato anejo vandāmitam  
saridharam atulam munindam ...

The (Buddha) Vessabhū, the Glorious, of Infinite Wisdom,  
the Greatest among beings ... the One Spiritual Eye in the  
world, the Incomparable, the Blessed One, the Desireless;

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1. Pl.105a<sup>6-8</sup>.
  2. Pl.248<sup>16-18</sup>, S.615, 3 Waning of Nattaw.
  3. Pl.249<sup>21-23</sup>.
  4. ASI, 1928-29, pp.110-111, Plate LII(d).

Him I revere, the Glorious, the Admirable, the Chief  
of Sages."

The painted Buddhas are more or less alike and usually the only way of differentiating the one from the other is to give different backgrounds in the form of trees as each Buddha has his own particular tree under which he attains enlightenment. The name of the Buddha and his tree would be written below the painting.<sup>1</sup> The tales of the anterior births of Gotama Buddha known to the old Burmans sometimes as jat nā ryā<sup>2</sup> - 500 stories - and sometimes as jat 550<sup>3</sup> - 550 stories - are also taken as popular themes for painting on the walls of the hollow-pagodas. Actually there are only 547 stories<sup>4</sup>, i.e. according to the Pali texts which are still used in Burma and there are numerous Burmese translations of these stories. But as mentioned above, the old Burmans rounded up this figure 547 to 500 or 550 and even to-day, the Burmans refer to these stories as nā: rā.nā: chay - five hundred and fifty. Strangely enough the Jātaka plaques at West Petleik pagoda, the construction of which

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1. JBRB, XXX, i, pp. 314-321, n. 67, where Professor G.H. Luce gives the full list of 28 Buddhas and their respective trees as found in the fresco-writings (in both old Mon and old Burmese) of some pagodas at Pagan.

See Appendix II.

2. Pl. 73<sup>15</sup>.

3. Pl. 105 a<sup>7</sup>.

4. Fausboll's edition of The Jātakas (7 vols) (Trubner & Co., London, 1877-1897) has also 547 stories.

goes back to the early part of the Pagan dynasty, give 550 stories. The additional three are (1) Velāma jātaka, (2) Mahāgovinda jātaka and (3) Sumedhapandita jātaka.<sup>1</sup> There are six other pagodas belonging to this period which have these jātaka plaques and wherever the number can be ascertained, the number is 547. The six pagodas are:-

1. The East Petleik Pagoda (by? Aniruddha).
2. The Shwesandaw Pagoda (by Aniruddha).
3. The Shwezigon Pagoda (by Aniruddha but completed by Thiluiñmañ).
4. The Ananda Pagoda (by Thiluiñmañ).
5. The Dhammayazika Pagoda (by Cañsū II).
6. The Mingalazedi (by Tarukpliy).

The Ananda Pagoda has nearly one thousand five hundred jātaka plaques<sup>2</sup> and the explanations to these plaques are all in old Mon<sup>3</sup>. The plaques fall under two heads. Firstly, each plaque is assigned to represent one jātaka and secondly, 389 plaques on the last ten anterior lives of Gotama Buddha.<sup>4</sup> These seem to be the most popular subjects for plaques or painting. At the Ananda Pagoda the order of arrangement for these ten stories varies slightly from the Sinhalese order<sup>5</sup> in the following

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1. Chas. Duroiselle: "Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma"; ASI. 1912-13, pp.87-119.
  2. Ibid: p.91, n.1.
  3. These 389 plaques are edited and published : Ep.Birm.II, i and ii.
  4. See also Pl.242<sup>7</sup>.
  5. See Fausboll: The Jātakas, Vol.VI (1896) and Ep.Birm.II,i,Introduction, p.v.

manner.

Ananda.	Sinhalese.
1. <u>Mūgapakkha.</u>	Ditto.
2. <u>Mahājanaka.</u>	Ditto.
3. <u>Sāma.</u>	Ditto.
4. <u>Nimi.</u>	Ditto.
5. <u>Mahā-Ummagga.</u>	<u>Khaṇḍahāla.</u>
6. <u>Khaṇḍahāla.</u>	<u>Bhūridatta.</u>
7. <u>Bhūridatta.</u>	<u>Mahānāradakassapa.</u>
8. <u>Mahānāradakassapa.</u>	<u>Vidhura.</u>
9. <u>Vidhura.</u>	<u>Mahā-Ummagga.</u>
10. <u>Vessantara.</u>	Ditto.

But it agrees with the modern Burmese arrangement except that in the latter Bhūridatta jātika comes before Khaṇḍahāla jātika.<sup>1</sup>

As for the paintings of these tales it is best to study the frescoes

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1. In abbreviated form the order is Te Ja Su Ne Ma Bhū Caṃ Nā Wi We in which Te is for Temi jāti or Mūgapakkha, Ja for Mahājanaka, Su for Suvarṇa Sāma, Ne for Nemi jāti or Nimi, Ma for Maho jāti or Mahā-Ummagga, Bhū for Bhūridatta, Caṃ for Candakumārajāti or Khaṇḍahāla, Nā for Mahānāradakassapa, Wi for Vidhura and We for Vessantara. Even to-day in Burma, to write these ten abbreviated names by stylus on ones ten nails of the hands is believed to prevent all dangers and this sort of preventive is resorted to especially when there are epidemics like plague and cholera.

at the Gubyaukgyi Pagoda<sup>1</sup>, Pagan. C. Duroiselle says:<sup>2</sup>

"The interest attaching to this pagoda does not lie in any peculiarity of its architectural style, but in the fine frescoes painted on the interior walls depicting scenes from the jātakas ... (In these pictures) the ground is chocolate; the hair is painted black; the dress of the personages, as well as the trees, black and white; and the nude parts of the body are coloured in burnt sienna."<sup>3</sup>

The life history of Gotama especially the part when he attained enlightenment is also very popular. The Ananda Pagoda has eighty stone reliefs on this episode.<sup>4</sup>

1. Professor G.H.Luce in JBR.S.XXXII,i, p.85 says that the paintings of the Gubysukgyi at Wetkyi-in are "the pride and triumph of the Burmese painter's art".
2. ASI 1912-13, p.95 and Pl.IX, figures 57, 58 and 59.
3. Frescoes which Mr. Charles Duroiselle believes to be 547 in number are painted half on the southern and half on the northern wall. In 1899, Dr. Thomman, who worked in the interests of the Hamburg Ethnographical Museum, tried to take them away but was stopped. However, out of 547 frescoes only 210 remain. Each Jātaka measures  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " x  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " and the remaining portion of the frescoes on the north wall measures 13'11" x 3'5" and on the south 6'11" x 3'5".
4. C.Duroiselle: The Ananda Temple at Pagan . (Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir No.56) p.11.

In the many niches of the Ananda are enshrined the images of Buddha. Roughly they fall into two types: one seated on a throne in Vyākhyāna mudra - the act of preaching with the hands brought up before the breast - and the other in the common Bhūmisparśā mudra - earth touching attitude. In the middle of the temple stand four colossal images placed back to back and each facing the four cardinal points. The height of the pedestals is eight feet and each image stands thirty one feet high. Starting from the north these images represent respectively the four Buddhas viz. Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama of which only two images, those on the north and south are considered to be the original ones contemporary with the foundation of the temple. They both have their hands raised to the breast in the dharmachakra mudra.<sup>1</sup> The image on the western side i.e. of Gotama has two images flanking its sides. These images are identified as those of Thiluin Mañ and Mahāthera Arahan. The king

"has the usual royal ornaments, viz. a crown, a necklace or breast-plate and anklets. His dress consists of a close-fitting jacket and a lower garment of which the folds are clearly discernible. Shin Arahan is distinguishable by his clean-shaven head and the lack of ornaments."<sup>2</sup>

In the porch of this western face, there are also two Buddha-pāda

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1. ASI, Memoir No.56, Plate VII, figs. 1 and 2.

2. Ibid, p.13.

- Buddha's foot-prints - each bearing the traditional one hundred and eight marks.<sup>1</sup> The Lawkanander pagoda and the Shwezigon pagoda have also similar foot-prints dating back to our period.<sup>2</sup> One inscription dated A.D.1294 mentions a Buddha-pāda being painted with various colours.<sup>3</sup>

Professionals making images of Buddha were called purhāsamā and they were paid either in cash or kind or sometimes both. In one instance a female slave was sold to pay the image-maker.<sup>4</sup> The Sawhlawin Inscription (1236)<sup>5</sup> records that wages for the purhā samā are thirty ticals of silver, one piece of black linen and one horse for making ten purhā ryan - standing Buddhas.

Sometimes the height or the height and weight of a standing Buddha equals the height or the height and weight of the donor and such a one is called a ryaptuiṅ purhā or the kuiw ryaṅ tuiṅ purhā but this is not the same as the "portrait-statutes"<sup>6</sup> of ancient Khmer made for a royal

1. Commentaries like Anāgatavaṃsa - Atthakathā, Samantabaddikā Atthakathā and Jinālanakāraṭṭikā have the full list of these marks.
2. For a full discussion see U Mya: "A Note on the Buddha's Foot-Prints in Burma", ASI, 1930-34, Part 2, pp.320-331.
3. Pl. 283<sup>7</sup>.
4. Pl. 238<sup>19</sup>.
5. Pl. 97<sup>3,16,18,21</sup>.
6. L.P. Briggs: The Ancient Khmer Empire, pp.229-30.

personage who thus enjoys apotheosis. The following extract will show us that a standing Buddha was made equal in height to that of the king (? Klacwā) but it was not the portrait-statue of the king apotheosized as Buddha.

//Sakarac 600 pussa nhac Nañkē la chan 4 ryak

Krassapaty niy, skhin Ui Plañ Wa Sañ kuiw atuiw skhin  
Rājasū piy taw mū so Toñ Nī Nā Chū kywan 73 yok sakā  
mañ aryap taw tuin anok purhā ryap 1 chu skhin Ui Plañ  
Wa Sañ aryap tuin rhuy purhā ryap 1 chū rhuy purhā thaway  
2 chū i purhā 4 chū so kuiw lup klwañ ciy hu lhū sate//<sup>1</sup>

"On 17 July 1238, seventy three slaves (from) Nā Chū of Toñ Nī, given by Lord Rājasū to Lady Ui Plañ Wa Sañ are dedicated to look after four images of the Buddha (namely) a standing Buddha on the west made to the height of the king, a gold standing Buddha made to the height of Lady Ui Plañ Wa Sañ and two gold sitting Buddhas".<sup>2</sup>

There are many instances of these ryaptuin purhā and kuiw ryap tuin purhā. A man named Nā Nuiw Sañ in A.D.1263 made kuiw ryip tuin phurhā - an image equal to his weight and height - and dedicated three slaves to it

1. Pl.130<sup>1-5</sup>.

2. See also JBRB, XXVI,i,p.58.



saying that they must look after the image when he and his beloved wife have passed away.<sup>1</sup> In A.D.1270 two ladies of Sacmatī (near Pagan) who called themselves sukrway ma kri - elder rich woman - and sukrway mañai - younger rich woman - made two images as tall as themselves and dedicated slaves to administer to them.<sup>2</sup> The king's mañ myā moñ - brother-in-law - Nā Mryat Sañ also made an image of his height and weight.<sup>2</sup> The wife of Phun Sañ Jayabhin dedicated slaves in A.D.1276<sup>3</sup> to an image made to her height. Nevertheless there is no indication to consider these ryap tuin purhā as "portrait statues". They are just the images of Buddha except for the fact that they are of the donor's measurements. Perhaps the donor's ambition was the boon of Buddhahood.

To consider Buddha as God would be absurd. But to some early Burmans he was something like God - the Creator. To have infinite faith in Him means long life and happiness. One donor called Jayyasiñ spent ten thousand ticals of silver in A.D.1197 in founding religious establishments leaving aside some treasures for repairs when necessary. Then he said:

// ... mlat cwā so purhā skhiñ e ānūphaw nuik asak rhañ e,  
hū mū kā nā plu lē añ sate // nā asa te mā rhañ mū kā //  
nā miyyā // Skhiñ // Nā Koñ Rhañ Sañ Skhiñ Nā (Thwak) Sañ //  
Skhiñ Non Thon // i mhya so plu añ so hut a //<sup>4</sup>

1. Pl.209<sup>1-5</sup>.

2. Pl.229<sup>17,18,19</sup>.

3. Pl.253a<sup>6</sup>.

4. Pl.18<sup>5-9</sup>.

"If the most exalted Lord wills it I will live long and do the repairs (myself). If I do not live long, let my wife and (my) lords (of the monastery) Nā Kon Rhañ Sañ, Nā Thwak Sañ, and Ñoñ Thoñ do the repairs."

A donor named Singhāsūra considered Buddha as a living deity and dedicated in A.D.1190 musicians like cañsañ - drummers - and pantya - ? singers - for Buddha to enjoy music<sup>1</sup>. Such musicians as pasāsañ<sup>2</sup> - side drummers, saro sañ<sup>3</sup> - violinist, ñhañ sañ<sup>4</sup> - trumpeters, candrā sañ<sup>5</sup> - ? dulcimer players, sikrañ sañ<sup>6</sup> - singers and kakhriy sañ<sup>7</sup> - dancers - were also mentioned in the inscriptions of our period as slaves for Buddha. The wife of Kaṅkasū<sup>8</sup> must have thought that Buddha needed the services of such persons as panpwat -turners, panpu - sculptors, pankhī - painters, puran - masons, cāriy - secretaries, nwāthin - cowherds, panthin - goldsmiths, ūyan sañ - gardeners and kuhā sañ - launderers - when she dedicated them to Buddha in A.D.1242. In the same year Cuiw Mañ dedicated to Buddha slaves as sanryañ sañ - palanquin bearers, kuhā sañ

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1. Pl.10a<sup>16</sup>.

2. Pl.10a<sup>18</sup>, Pl.81<sup>1</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>25</sup>, Pl.138<sup>10</sup> and Pl.387a<sup>3</sup>.

3. Pl.387a<sup>3</sup>.

4. Pl.396b<sup>18</sup>.

5. Pl.85<sup>9</sup>.

6. Pl.3<sup>18</sup>, Pl.421b<sup>4</sup>.

7. Pl.15<sup>12</sup>, Pl.31<sup>4</sup>, Pl.102<sup>23</sup>, Pl.391<sup>4</sup>.

8. Pl.144<sup>4-16</sup>.

- launderers, thī sañ - umbrella bearers, and yan sañ - weavers.<sup>1</sup>

In A.D.1243, Samanta Kumtham, the uncle of King Uccanā (?1249-1256) dedicated an elephant called Nā Khyat Phuy to Buddha and his disciples.<sup>2</sup> Such slaves as muchit rip<sup>3</sup> - barbers, hañ sañ thamañ sañ amay sañ<sup>4</sup> - cooks and kwam sañ<sup>5</sup> - persons to serve betel - were also dedicated to serve Buddha. The following extract from an inscription<sup>6</sup> (A.D.1241) recording the dedications of Cāw, the queen of Narasingha-Uccanā (?1231-1235) gives us an interesting account of how Buddha is served with every day necessities.

// parikkhārā kā // ok purhā sañkan taw tuyañ 1 //  
tankhyat 1 // athak purhā sañkan taw tankyat riy 1 //  
rhuy salawan 1 // imrā taw nak pūcañ tantuin 1 //  
kham tai mwan 1 // khañ nhī ūm acum // kwam khyap 1  
kriy chīmī tuiñ kriy pratuiw, // kriy krā kri 1 //  
khon lon chway so chañ krā 1 // rhuy sapit huy sapit kriy  
pway 2 khu // lanpan 2 khlap khwak 5 up // calon kri 1 //  
narañcrā 8 khlap // nonmañ 9 khlap // khwak khwañ suñ  
chū khyū 3 chū // ... // parikkhārā kā rhuy salawan kri

1. Pl.148b<sup>3-10</sup>.

2. Pl. 152<sup>24</sup>.

3. Pl.395<sup>30</sup>.

4. and 5. Pl.391<sup>30-34</sup>.

6. Pl.138<sup>13-17 and 20-21</sup>.

myak khat 1 // pratuiw 1 // kriy kra khwak khriy  
lanpan nhac khlap // khwak 5 up // calon //

Professor Pe Maung Tin's remark and translation<sup>1</sup> of this extract is reproduced below.

"The anthropomorphism of Buddha-worship is well brought out in L.254 (Pl.138).

"The requisite things are for the lower Buddha his wearing apparel 1 outer robe, 1 inner garment (?tankyat); for the upper Buddha his wearing apparel 1 embroidered inner garment, 1 gold couch, 1 apartment for his dwelling-place, 1 high cot complete with bed-covers and pillows, 1 betel box, copper oil lampstands, copper spittoons, 1 big copper kettle, 1 elephant-lotus from which the bell is hung, golden bowls, silver bowls, 2 pestles, 2 trays, 5 covered dishes, 1 big cooking pot-lid, 8 pieces of narañcara, 9 gongs, 3 cymbals, 3 castanets ... The requisite things are 1 big gold couch studded with gems, spittoon, copper kettle, 2 trays with cup-legs, 5 covered dishes, cooking pot-lid.

"It will be noticed that the lower Buddha is not wearing his royal outer robe (the duyan) as he is represented as being 'at home', just as a king with

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1. JBRIS XXVI, i, p.61.

his robe off might recline on the couch in his state-room after supper, chewing his betel as he listens to the strains of music."

In some inscriptions we find that the donors prayed for Buddhahood. It is interesting because it is exceptional. Most donors prayed for nirvana with no specifications. Only the most ambitious reached for nirvana as Buddhas. A terra-cotta tablet<sup>1</sup> discovered from a hillock on the west of Soemngyi (Pagan) bears a Pali inscription in which a king (most probably of the earlier half of the Pagan dynasty) prayed for Buddhahood. It is as follows:-

Śrī Tribhuvanādityavaradhamma disampatiakāsi

buddhapatimañ imañ sambodhi pattiyāti Sri

Tribhuvanadityavaradhammarājā (dānapati)

Śrī Tribhuvanāditya, the noble and righteous Lord of the Regions, made this image of the Buddha, for the attainment of omniscience. Śrī Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja (the Donor).

The Great Shwezigon Inscription<sup>2</sup> mentions that king Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja (Thiluiñ Meñ) also prayed for omniscience. His successor King Cañsū I after the completion of Shwegugyi temple prayed thus:-

" ... then cried aloud

In strong desire for Buddhahood this prayer;

1. Pl.568b.

2. Ep.Birm.I,ii,15-17, pp. 102 and 121.

As this great Being hath fulfilled the Ten  
Perfections and attained omniscience,  
Releasing all from bondage; so may I  
Fulfil the Ten Perfections and attain  
Omniscience and loose the bonds of all."<sup>1</sup>

In the Khemawara pagoda inscription <sup>2</sup>, it is recorded that King  
Nātoṃyā made a dedication with the desire to attain Buddhahood.

It says:-

// Sakarac 569 khu Jitasā . . saṃwacchir nhae Tankhu  
l-chaṇ l ryak 5 niy ā Sri Tribhawanādityāpawaradhammarājā  
mañ so Nātoṃyā maṅkrī sañ sabbāṇu bhurhā chu kuiw  
luiw khyañ ruy //

On 18 March 1208, the great king Nātoṃyā called  
Śrī Tribhawanādityāpawaradhammarājā, desiring the boon  
of omniscience - Buddhahood (made the following  
dedications) . .

Actually all the kings of the Pagan dynasty prayed for Buddhahood  
and purhālon<sup>3</sup> - the future "purhā" or purhā rhañ taw<sup>4</sup> - the living  
"purhā" - in the inscriptions of this period invariably means the then  
reigning king.

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1. Pl.1 stanzas 31-32. This translation in blank verse is from  
JBRB X,ii,pp.67-74.

2. Pl.31<sup>1-3</sup>.

3. Pl.36<sup>3</sup>, Pl.90<sup>2,3,6</sup>, Pl.115<sup>3,5</sup>, Pl.133<sup>28</sup>, etc.

4. Pl.113<sup>2</sup>, Pl.115<sup>13</sup>, Pl.141a<sup>13</sup>, Pl.174<sup>14</sup>, Pl.194<sup>1</sup>, etc.

Apart from the kings some great ministers and learned scholars too asked for Buddhahood in their prayers. A few extracts given below regarding this particular kind of prayer would give us a good picture of how the people of Pagan esteemed Buddhahood, what was meant by that and what were the means of attaining it.

King Nātoṃyā's minister Sīṅhasū<sup>1</sup> who made a dedication in A.D.1190 said:

... saṅssārā chuiw ṅray khappāy soh kun rā phlac so sabbaññu mañ so // purhā aṅhac kuiw luiw soh kroṅ,...

(I made this dedication) because I want sabbaññu which is also called Buddhahood - the end of all miseries in the chain of rebirths.

Knowing that such a reward would be fulfilled only in a very remote future, he took special care to ask for all good things in the intermediate lives before he got Buddhahood. Perhaps his love of music also compelled him to ask as follows<sup>2</sup>:-

// purhā ma phrac so krā // pañcaṅgatūr mañ so cañ ṅhyañ phlañ nhuiw tha tha so cañcim luiw ra kā // cañ krī pantyā plu so // cañsañ kā //

1. Pl.10a<sup>2-4</sup> .

2. Pl.10a<sup>14-17</sup> . See also JBRs,XXVI,iii,135.

"Meantime, before I become Buddha, I want the fortune of being excited by the five kinds of musical instruments like drums and trumpets. Therefore I dedicate the following players on big drums and singers. The drummers are ..."

One who prays for Buddha should receive the prophecy of the Buddhas about his future enlightenment<sup>1</sup> and therefore he is very anxious to meet Maitrya the next Buddha and to receive a prophecy from his very lips. To this effect one donor in A.D.1182 prayed:-

/ nā kā Mītryā purhā skhiñ thañ byadissa ra r(u)iy  
sattwā khapsim̄ so kūw saṅsarā chuiw ṅray mha kāy pi  
tat so phlac lūw so te, //<sup>2</sup>

May I receive from Maitreya the prophecy (of my future Buddhahood) and become (Buddha) so that I may be able to redeem all beings from the miseries of samsara.

Another donor in A.D.1198 gives us a rough idea of what one must do to attain Buddhahood. He said:-

/īy mhyā so koimhu akluw phlañ // stañ suñ so akluw  
phlañ // byat-tā mū so aklaw phlañ// alhū piy so  
akluw phlañ // purhā chū nā ra luiw so tañ //<sup>3</sup>

1. Mahāvamsa (1950 Reprint) pp.1-2; Pl.8a<sup>6</sup>, Pl.283<sup>24</sup>; Mon V<sup>50</sup>.

2. Pl.8a<sup>5-8</sup>.

3. Pl.21<sup>17-19</sup>.



For the benefit of this amount of merit (namely) the benefit for observing the religious precepts, the benefit for (?meditating on kindness and love) and the benefit for giving away ones property in charity, may I receive the reward of Buddhahood.

Practising charity, observing restraint and meditating on love known as pāramī<sup>1</sup> must be fulfilled in order to reach the highest form of enlightenment, i.e. Buddhahood. What is the extent of time required to fulfil these pāramī? Javasetthe (? son-in-law of King Caṅsū II) in A.D.1197 said that it would require him

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1. Queen Saw in an inscription dated A.D.1291 (Pl.273<sup>34</sup>) mentioned that there are 10 pāramī for those who aspire for Buddhahood. They are:

1. Dānapāramī (the perfection of charity).
2. Sīlapāramī (the perfection of behaviour).
3. Nekkhammapāramī (the perfection of renunciation).
4. Paññāpāramī (the perfection of wisdom).
5. Viriya-pāramī (the perfection of effort).
6. Khantipāramī (the perfection of patience).
7. Saccapāramī (the perfection of truth).
8. Adhiṭṭhānapāramī (the perfection of resolution).
9. Mettāpāramī (the perfection of love).
10. Upekkhāpāramī (the perfection of equanimity).

But according to W. Geiger (Mahāvamsa, p.2, n.1) this idea of 10 pāramī is late as they are not mentioned in the four Nikāya. See also Pl.390<sup>2</sup>, Pl.413<sup>2</sup>.

liṅ saṅgheṃ aṅṅat kaṁbhā taṅ sin<sup>1</sup>

four asaṅkheyya plus one hundred thousand kappa.

Kappa means the life of the earth and asaṅkheyya<sup>2</sup> means incalculable.

Medieval Burmans have coined a very beautiful term of their own for the Pali word sabbaññutañña or omniscience as si caṃ mraṅ nham, - "know wide, see deep".<sup>3</sup> Thus a Buddha knows everything and to obtain such a state of perfect knowledge certainly would require a very long time of practice and piety. Anantasūra, the Commander-in-chief of King Nātoṅmyā gave the reason of his dedication in A.D.1223 as:

ñā le si caṃ mraṅ nham, so sabbaññutañña purhā chu  
kuiṅ luiṅ khlyāṅ so kroṅ<sup>4</sup>

Because I also desire the boon of Buddhahood or sabbaññutañña which is to know wide and see deep.

The famous monk Mahākassapa, whom we believe to be the head of the Araññavāsī - forest dwelling sect<sup>5</sup> - used an almost similar phrase in

1. Pl.15<sup>4-6</sup>. See also Pl.390<sup>2</sup>, Pl.413<sup>2</sup>.

2. "The neuter Asaṅkheyyam is the highest of the numerals, and is equal to 10,000,000<sup>20</sup>, or 1 followed by 140 ciphers." R.C.Childrens:  
A Dictionary of the Pali Language (1895) p.

3. JBRs XXII, i ii, p.126.

4. Pl.73<sup>5-6</sup>.

5. See Infra, pp.272-284.

A.D.1242 when he prayed for omniscience.<sup>1</sup> He said:-

īy nā mū so koṃmhu akluiw phlañ kā si cap mrañ cap  
so sabbaññutaññān purhā chu kuiw lhyañ luiw sate //  
 For the benefit of this merit (that) I made, may I  
 get the boon of Buddhahood-sabbaññutaññāna which is to  
 know wide and see wide.

Lady Caw, the aunt of King Tarukpliy also used the same phrase when she asked for Buddhahood.

Ākarac 622 khu Kratuik samwarechā nhac Nanyun 1 -  
chut 3 ryak Caniy niy phurhā rhāñ tāw arī Caw ī lu twañ  
nhuik atuiñ ma sī satdhā lā nhuy plu so koṃmhu akluiw  
kā riy mliy khapsim so askhiñ phlac so mañkrī ca so  
maññi mañsā mañsami maññhama khapsim amiphurhā ca so  
moṃma khapsim amattyā ca so puilpā khapsim // ok Awīciy  
ca so athak phwak tuñ on atuiw cakkrāwalā ca so atuiñ  
ma sī so cakkrāwalā nhuik niy so lū nat sattawā khapsim  
akrwañ may saphlañ sañsarā chañ nray mha thwak mlok kha  
ruy chaññray may so nirrabban prañ suiw rok ciy khlyañ  
so kroñ // nā le sī cap mrañ nham so sabbaññutaññān  
phurhā chu kuiw luiw so kroñ //<sup>2</sup>

On Saturday 28 May 1260, (Lady) Caw, the aunt of the reigning king (i.e. Tarukpliy) made dedications (as she

1. Pl.140b<sup>22-23</sup>.

2. Pl.194<sup>1-6</sup>.

was) in this life greatly moved by faith (in Religion). As for the benefits of this meritorious deed, may all (the royalty) i.e. starting with the great king who is the lord of all water and land, all the king's brothers, all the king's sons, all the king's daughters and all the king's sisters, all the ladies-in-waiting starting with the queens, all the retinues starting with the ministers, all beings including mankind and deva living in this universe between Avīci below and zenith above and in all other universes without number, be freed from the miseries of rebirth and reach the city of Nirvana where there is no misery. I also want omniscience, to know wide and see deep<sup>1</sup> i.e. the boon of Buddhahood.

Minister Jeyapikrama gave another description of Buddhahood. He said:

... raṃmak 1500 mha kaṃ ruy saccā tryā 4 pā pwaṃ so  
sabbañutaññan prañā ra ruy purhā lhyaṃ phlac luiw  
sate //<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Unfortunately, this si cap mraṃ nham, phrase for omniscience has been a little altered to-day and becomes si mraṃ nham, cap which only means resourcefulness.

2. Pl.175<sup>27-28</sup>

May I become a Buddha endowed with the wisdom of sabbamūtañāna when the Law of Four Truths (within me) and I am free from the one thousand and five hundred desires.

Princess Acau in A.D.1276, after getting permission from the king, built a monastery for Anantapañā on a site to the east of Amanē (Minnanthu) and dedicated one thousand three hundred and sixty six pay of land and one hundred and forty nine slaves to the above religious establishment that she had founded. Then she said:-

// īy mhya lok so uccā kuiw kā nā ma khyac ruy lhū  
sə kā ma hut // īy uccā kuiw khyac so thak-kā purhā  
aphlac kuiw khyac mlat cwā rakā nā lhū sate //<sup>1</sup>

I dedicate so much property not that I do not love it less but that I love Buddhahood the more.

Another Caw, this time a queen of Tarukpliy (probably the famous Queen Saw of the chronicles)<sup>2</sup> prayed for Buddhahood<sup>3</sup> in A.D.1291 .

1. Pl.354b<sup>12-14</sup> .

2. JBRs XXXII, i, p.81 : "... the great Queen Saw (Co) of the chronicles is a medley of at least two Saws of history. Nor did she start as a farmer's daughter, with the lowly if useful function of scratching the king's back when he was itchy: she was, on the contrary, the first lady of the land, sister of the late queen, of royal birth on her mother's side, of high ministerial rank on her father's."

3. Pl.275<sup>12-15</sup> .

/ achuñ cwan so kuiw aphlac nhuik-kā // Mīttarvā  
purhā skhiñ tañ tay khrañ suiw lhyañ tañtay lyak //  
lū nat khapsi so kuiw // sañsarā chuiw ñray mha kay  
piy lyak // niyrapan prañ krī suiw lhyañ choñ piy kun  
lyak // sabbaññuta-ñan purhā chū lhyañ plañ-cuñ khlyañ e, //

In my last life I want sublimity of the same nature as the sublimity of the Lord Maitreya and after helping all the men and deva out of the miseries of samsara and taking all of them to the grand city of Nirvana, (I myself want) the fulfilment of my boon for omniscience - Buddhahood.

As mentioned above, only the ambitious prayed for omniscience.

209 Over and above this there is a case when a man and his wife both prayed for Buddhahood.<sup>1</sup> It is in an inscription dated A.D.1260 when a sukrway - wealthy man - whose name is not legible made a dedication of one hundred ticals of silver and ten slaves after building eight alms houses and planting some banyan trees (*ficus indica*) and he prayed thus:<sup>2</sup>

ñā myā nhañ ñā kā phu rhā chu ma lway ra luiw sate

May I and my wife without fail get the boon of  
 Buddhahood.

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1. See JBRs XXVI,iii,p.132.

2. Pl.213<sup>13</sup>.

It is very unusual, because no such express wish for both man and wife is found mentioned in any other inscription. Due to the fact that there was never a female Buddha before and there will be none in the future, it was thought proper for ambitious women to pray first for manhood in the coming existences and the Buddhahood later. We have mentioned above that Lady Caw, the aunt of Tarukpiliy prayed for Buddhahood but here is an extract in which the same lady prayed for manhood when she made a dedication in A.D.1265 at the Kutha pagoda<sup>1</sup>, north of the Dhammayazika pagoda, Pagan:-

lū nat sattwā tricchan ma krwañ khapañ // sañsarā  
chuiw ñray mha // thwak mlok kha ruy // chuiw ñray  
may so niyraban suiw rok ciy luiw so ñhā // ñā le  
iy miyma aphiac mha lwat kha ruy // lū rwā nat rwā  
kyañ lañ so khā stañ prañña saccā saddhā plañ cun  
cwā so yok-vā phiac ruy //

In order that man, deva and all beings without excepting the animals may be freed from the miseries of rebirth and may attain nirvana where there is no misery and that I also may be freed from this womanhood and in all my wanderings (i.e. future existences) in the village of men and the village of deva, I may be a man who is endowed with piety, wisdom, truth and believe (in the religion of Buddha) ...

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1. Pl.249.<sup>6-9</sup>.

The last point in this prayer is important. In her next existence, she wanted to be a man believing in the religion of Buddha because it was also possible that she would be born a man but an infidel. Only when manhood had been attained would the donor pray for Buddhahood.

In none of the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of the Anekajā<sup>1</sup> ceremony which is very important nowadays. Modern Burmans when they have finished building a pagoda or making an image use the Anekajā without which the pagoda is just a pile of bricks and the image is just another statue none of which are considered worshipful. They must be properly consecrated. The ceremony requires the assembly of men and monks in which the monks recite a formula beginning with Aneka jāti sansaram which is supposed to be the very first words uttered by Gotama Buddha on attaining enlightenment. The formula is:-

Aneka jāti saṃsāraṃ sandhā vissaṃ anibbisāṃ.

Gahakāraṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunāṃ.

Gahakāraṃ ditthosi puna ghaṃ na kāhasi.

Sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭaṃ visaṅkhataṃ.

Visaṅkhāra gataṃ cittaṃ tanhānaṃ khaya majjhagā.

This occurs in the Dhammapada (153,154) and a rough translation of it is:-

"Through worldly round of many births

I ran my course unceasingly,

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1. See Thitkhyaton U Tiloka: Bhurā:Anekajā Taṅ, (Pali and Nissaya)

(Kawimyakman Press, Rangoon, 1926) and also U Ketu: Anekajā Tikā

(Zabumeikshwe Press, Rangoon, 1932).



Seeking the maker of the house:  
 Painful is birth again and again.  
 House-builder! I behold thee now,  
 Again a house thou shalt not build;  
 All thy rafters are broken now,  
 The ridge-pole also is destroyed;  
 The end of cravings has attained."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the people of Pagan thought that such a ceremony was not necessary although they loved much festivity at the end of building pagodas, etc.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence cited above shows that the people of Burma in the twelfth<sup>1</sup> and thirteenth centuries A.D. understood the doctrines of Buddhism very well. They believed in the chain of rebirths, the miseries of life and they followed Buddha's precepts of the way to nirvana. But among many other means of attaining salvation, it seems that the practice of charity was the most popular with them. So great was the number of pay of land dedicated to religion that King Klacwā was forced to confiscate them all, which ultimately led to the appointment of a royal commission<sup>5</sup>. As Buddhists they tolerated the existence of other religions. But the strange thing we have noticed is that some considered Buddha as God or some form of

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1. E.J.Thomas: The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, p.75.

2. See Infra.p.256.

3. See Supra,<sup>pp.</sup>53-54 and 92-93.

living deity and dedicated slaves of all professions and articles of everyday use so that Buddha may enjoy them. The average Burman would say that he takes refuge in the Three Gems - Purhā - the Lord, Tryā - the Law, and Saṅghā - the Order; but Purhā to him means all three.

## CHAPTER VI

TRYĀ.

Tryā in its broadest sense means the law and it is not necessarily the law of Buddha. It includes all laws - moral, legal or religious and thus it embraces also the customary observances or prescribed conduct for everybody either ecclesiastical or lay as the Sanskrit dharmā implies. In the inscriptions of our period we find that the word tryā is used to mean firstly the Buddhist scriptural texts<sup>1</sup> synonymous with the Tipitaka, secondly to mean the sermon<sup>2</sup> whereby the monk tries to explain some part of the teachings of Gotama to his congregation, thirdly to mean a law suit<sup>3</sup>, fourthly the judges<sup>4</sup> themselves and lastly to describe a natural phenomenon such as death, tryā is used again as atañmay so tryā<sup>5</sup> -

- 
1. Pl.27<sup>18</sup>, Pl.50<sup>1</sup>, Pl.75<sup>18</sup>, Pl.194<sup>14</sup>, Pl.102<sup>27</sup>, Pl.234<sup>4</sup>, Pl.249<sup>21</sup>, Pl.251<sup>4</sup>, etc.
  2. Pl.17<sup>3,5,9</sup>, Pl.22<sup>4,5,7</sup>, Pl.27<sup>13</sup>, (Pl.53<sup>18</sup>), Pl.67<sup>11</sup>, Pl.202<sup>25</sup>, Pl.233<sup>13</sup>, Pl.262<sup>38</sup>, Pl.308<sup>25</sup>, Pl.370<sup>18</sup>, Pl.390<sup>16,16,17</sup>, Pl.391<sup>1</sup>, Pl.428<sup>22</sup>, and Pl.581a<sup>18</sup>.
  3. Pl.74<sup>13</sup>, Pl.79b<sup>27</sup>, Pl.117e<sup>2,4,6,9,13</sup>, Pl.120b<sup>17</sup>, Pl.141a<sup>11,16</sup>, Pl.174<sup>15,16</sup>, Pl.272<sup>26</sup>, Pl.381<sup>28</sup>.
  4. Pl.141a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.191b<sup>10</sup>, Pl.307a<sup>1</sup>, Pl.381<sup>27,28,31,37</sup>, Pl.394<sup>5</sup>, Pl.560f<sup>7,10</sup>.
  5. Pl.82b<sup>10</sup>, Pl.182b<sup>18</sup>, Pl.235<sup>33</sup>. Other phrases used in connection with death are nat rwā lā - outward bound to the village of deva (Pl.147a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.428<sup>13</sup>) and pyañ taw mū - the royal return - as if the devaloka is one's real abode and the life in this world of men is only a short visit (Pl.158<sup>18</sup>, Pl.203<sup>2</sup>) and so by death a man is enabled to return to his old place. The phrase mā sā so (Pl.201a<sup>14</sup>, Pl.272<sup>21</sup>, Pl.274<sup>18</sup>) which nowadays means death was in those days only meant to signify serious illness.

the law of impermanence. Thus the medieval Burman used the word tryā in connection with all applications of law or discipline ranging from khuiw tryā<sup>1</sup> - a petty theft case - to aklwat tryā<sup>2</sup> - the attainment of nirvana -. But from where he got this so useful and comprehensive a term is still an open question.

The derivation of the word tryā presents a real problem and no satisfactory solution has as yet been reached. Professor G.H.Luce suggests that it is probably the spoonerised Sanskrit ritā which means law. When Buddhism was first introduced among the Burmans, their language was still in its infancy and therefore they undoubtedly were confronted with the problem of being unable to find suitable words to translate some Indian philosophical terms and thus adopted many of such terms in their entire form. If it be the case they should have adopted the more familiar dharma rather than ritā. In fact they did use the word dharma<sup>3</sup> during the earlier half of the Pagan dynasty when King Thiluin Man (1084-1113) left his inscriptions in the Mon language. But from the reign of King Caṅsū II (A.D.1174-1211) the Mon language was no more used for inscriptions and from that time onwards, the Burmese

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1. Pl.141a<sup>14,14</sup>.

2. (Pl.202<sup>25</sup>), Pl.216<sup>15</sup>, Pl.235<sup>21</sup>, Pl.247<sup>26</sup>.

3. Old Mon: I D<sup>21,23</sup> (saddhamma)<sup>33</sup>, ; I E<sup>9,16</sup> (saddhamma)<sup>25,39</sup> ;  
I F<sup>28</sup>, I G<sup>20,30</sup>, I H<sup>4</sup>, III C<sup>16,21</sup>, VIII A<sup>24</sup>.

used the combination purhā tryā saṅghā<sup>1</sup> as a substitute of buddha dhamma saṅgha for the Lord, the Law, and the Order, and thus tryā becomes the Burmese term for dhamma with only one exception where the dhammasattha - the Code of Law is retained in its original form dhammasāt<sup>2</sup> up to this day. Very often this tryā has been suffixed or prefixed to mañ - the king - to form either mañtryā<sup>3</sup> or tryāmañ<sup>4</sup> and this combination tempts one to imagine that this tryā is the Sanskrit trā which means a protector or defender. Then the mañtryā

1. Pl.13<sup>3,11,15</sup>, Pl.25<sup>3,31</sup>, Pl.42<sup>2,5</sup>, Pl.44a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.69<sup>2,10</sup>, Pl.80<sup>2</sup>, Pl.83<sup>5</sup>, Pl.89<sup>33</sup>, Pl.90<sup>14</sup>, Pl.102<sup>8</sup>, Pl.103<sup>3</sup>, Pl.127a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.131a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.132a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.135<sup>1</sup>, Pl.143a<sup>8,22</sup>, Pl.144<sup>2</sup>, Pl.147a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.147b<sup>20</sup>, Pl.148a<sup>6</sup>, Pl.148b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.152<sup>7</sup>, Pl.175<sup>23</sup>, Pl.186<sup>2</sup>, Pl.190a<sup>12</sup>, Pl.192<sup>9</sup>, Pl.196<sup>20</sup>, Pl.200<sup>16</sup>, Pl.205<sup>5,21,22,24</sup>, Pl.208<sup>2</sup>, Pl.220<sup>1,9</sup>, Pl.229<sup>11</sup>, Pl.232<sup>3,6</sup>, Pl.235<sup>6</sup>, Pl.234<sup>1,11,44</sup>, Pl.235<sup>5,8,44</sup>, Pl.239<sup>2</sup>, Pl.245b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.247<sup>2,12</sup>, Pl.249<sup>1,25</sup>, Pl.250<sup>12</sup>, Pl.254a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.256<sup>25</sup>, Pl.257<sup>2</sup>, Pl.266a<sup>14</sup>, Pl.257<sup>2</sup>, Pl.266a<sup>14</sup>, Pl.289<sup>2</sup>, Pl.308<sup>8,12</sup>.
2. Pl.174<sup>14</sup> (A.D.1228).
3. Pl.141a<sup>10</sup>, Pl.597c<sup>3</sup>.
4. Pl.96<sup>5</sup>, Pl.273<sup>21</sup>, Pl.299<sup>6</sup>, Pl.308<sup>5,8,9,10</sup>, Pl.390<sup>6</sup>, Pl.413<sup>7</sup>.

or tryāmañ<sup>1</sup> would be translated as the King Protector. Unfortunately

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1. Incidentally, this combination of mañtryā or tryāmañ leads to a somewhat strange idea that a king in Burma is considered as the best Buddhist. (See Kyaw Thet: Burma's Relation with her Eastern Neighbours, 1752-1819, ff.3-5), as the king's name is connected with the law which could also be interpreted as the Buddhist law. This idea is further supported by the fact that all Burmese kings took extra care to mention themselves as Bodhisattva. As the good position of a man is attributed to his good deeds in his past existences, a Burman Buddhist would consider the king as a man who had had acquired a considerable amount of merit before but he would not take him as the best Buddhist. For the best Buddhist he would look up to Gotama Buddha himself, who renounced the world and became an ascetic. To him the Sayadaw - the head priest of a monastic establishment is definitely a better Buddhist than the king who lives with many queens and concubines. To quote a popular legend, once King Mindon sent one of his junior amat to go and find out what the Bhamo Sayadaw was doing at his forest retreat in a valley of the Sagaing Hills. The indiscreet officer approached the Sayadaw directly and told him the nature of his visit. The Sayadaw who was famous for his caustic tongue, replied: "Your king must take me as a rebel or perhaps he wants to instruct me in the way of the ascetics. Tell him that a man who lives between the hills does not need instruction from a man who lives between the thighs (of women)." To the great displeasure of the king the officer went back and reported the reply verbatim. Thus even one of the best kings was considered a debauchee. For this amusing story see

these terms happen to be the translation of dharmarāja<sup>1</sup> - the just king - which appears frequently in the panegyric of King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadharmarāja (Thiluin Mah) in the early Mon inscriptions. Therefore it would be too far fetched to connect tryā with trā. The derivation of tryā is thus still a mystery. As dharmā it is the Tipitaka as well as the code of conduct for all people and it would be best to study first how the old Burmans used the word tryā in connection with the Buddhist Law.

Tryā in a religious sense is the Tipitaka and to denote a compilation it is used together with the word apum<sup>2</sup> - the heap. The whole phrase would be pitakat sum puñ so tryā apum le plu e,<sup>3</sup> - "three heaps of pitaka (i.e.) the heap of law are also made" whereby the donor meant that he had caused the copying of the whole set of the pitaka to be kept at the library in the monastery that he had just built. Minister Ananapura<sup>4</sup> in A.D.1223 made a great monastic establishment at a place called Ananā<sup>5</sup> and he took special care to provide it with a set of pitaka. In an inscription dated A.D.1271<sup>6</sup>, Princess Saw, also known as Arī Caw -

1. Old Mon. I G<sup>3,4,22</sup>, III A<sup>4,11,17,24</sup>, III B<sup>5,29</sup>, III C<sup>2,8,11,22,25,27</sup>, III D<sup>4,16</sup>, V<sup>50</sup>, VI<sup>4,25,32</sup>, VIII B<sup>15,23,24</sup>, IX F<sup>22</sup>.

2. Pl.73<sup>18</sup>, Pl.116<sup>3</sup>, Pl.164<sup>5</sup>, Pl.194<sup>14</sup>, Pl.205<sup>4,10,11,12</sup>, Pl.220<sup>8</sup>, Pl.225a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.234<sup>8</sup>, Pl.248<sup>2</sup>, Pl.249<sup>21</sup>, Pl.275<sup>20</sup>, Pl.289<sup>3</sup>, Pl.390<sup>11</sup>, Pl.393<sup>22</sup>, Old Mon. III C<sup>15</sup>, VIII A<sup>3</sup>.

3. Pl.73<sup>18</sup>, Pl.194<sup>14</sup>, Pl.249<sup>21</sup>.

4. Pl.73.

5. Identified with Minnanthu to the east of Pagan.

6. Pl.194.

aunt of King Tarukpily is said to be the founder of a big monastery at Sacmati<sup>1</sup> built in A.D.1250 which she also provided with a set of pitaka as the minister mentioned above had done before her. This is probably the same establishment to which she gave another set in A.D.1265<sup>2</sup>. But it would be wrong to think that the monastery was the only place where religious books would be found in those days. The kings kept them in their palaces too. In A.D.1102, King Thiluin Mah completed building his new palace in which there was a separate apartment where the statues of Buddha and Gavampati together with the Tipitaka books<sup>3</sup> were kept. The king, according to the Prome Shwesandaw Pagoda Inscription<sup>4</sup>, made an attempt to collect and purify the Law which was getting obscure. In the Myagan Inscription<sup>5</sup> a similar statement is made as:

"He shall purify and make straight, write down and establish all the Holy Scriptures."

This statement perhaps leads Dr. C. O. Blagden to remark,

"That is to say, he is to issue a revised edition of the Buddhist Canon."<sup>6</sup>

But as it is part of a panegyric of the king, in all probability, it

1. Identified with Pwazaw, south-east of Pagan.

2. Pl.249.

3. Ep. Birm. III, i, pp. 37-8; (IX.A<sup>31-32</sup> ).

4. Ibid., I, ii, VIII, A<sup>3</sup>.

5. Ibid., I, ii, III c<sup>15-16</sup>.

6. Ibid., I, ii, p.141, n.11.



should be taken as the making of a careful copy of the Tipiṭaka by order of the king for his palace. A minister called Gaturāṅgapaccaya<sup>1</sup> was mentioned as a person well versed in the Tipiṭaka and therefore it may also be expected that such persons would have their own private sets. But they must have been very expensive.

The cost of a set of piṭaka was very high. Princess Acawkrwam<sup>2</sup> in A.D.12(4)8 mentioned that the price she paid for the set of piṭaka was 2027 ticals of silver. Another donor Sampyañ Lak Choñ<sup>3</sup> in A.D.1273 built a monastery at an expense of 2300 ticals of silver and for its library he gave a set of piṭaka valued at 3000 ticals of silver. At a time when a tical of silver could buy one pay of land<sup>4</sup> (1.7434 acres), one could have bought with that money an estate of 2000 acres. This gives us a rough idea of the cost of a set of piṭaka. How complete were their sets and were there any differences between them and those of the present day?

Tipiṭaka when divided into sections according to subjects has eighty-four thousand dhammakhandha or sections and a medieval Burman understood very well that a complete set must contain all these sections. A daughter of King Klacwā, in A.D.1267 said:<sup>5</sup>

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1. Pl.289<sup>3</sup> .
  2. Pl.164<sup>37</sup> .
  3. Pl.243<sup>14</sup> .
  4. Pl.162<sup>28,32</sup> . See Appendix I.
  5. Pl.220<sup>7</sup> .

// purhā hēau tha so nikay 5 pā dhammakhan yvac soñ le  
thoñ thā aṃ so nhā rhuy ..... pitakat sum puṃ le plu e' //

In order to keep the preachings of the Lord - five nikāya,  
 eighty-four thousand dhammakhandha, (I made) a golden  
 (? case). I also made (a copy) of the three heaps of pitaka.  
 Queen Saw, the grandmother of Tarukpiy built a brick monastery, perhaps  
 a separate library building in a monastic establishment in A.D.1265. It  
 was recorded as <sup>1</sup>:

// purhā haw so nikāy nhā pā yhat soñ liy thoñ tryā  
pitakat sum puṃ thā aṃ so nhā Kūlā kloñ le plu e' //  
thuiw kloñ twaṃ muay talā nhañ pitakat le thā e, //

In order to keep the preachings of the Lord - five  
nikāya, eighty-four thousand tryā of the three heaps  
 of pitaka, (I) built a brick monastery. In that  
 monastery the (said) pitaka is kept in a golden case.  
 A minister of Tarukpiy in A.D.1274 built a monastery at Āmanā with a  
 separate library built of bricks where the eighty-four thousand  
dhammakhandha were kept in a golden cabinet. <sup>2</sup> But not all the pitaka  
dayaka <sup>3</sup> - donors of pitaka - were able to give away complete sets.

Some donors, who could not afford the expensive set, gave just  
 what was in need at the particular library to which they wanted to

1. Pl.234<sup>8</sup>.

2. Pl.247<sup>10</sup>.

3. Pl.264<sup>4</sup>, Pl.464a<sup>1</sup>.

contribute or the copies which they thought would be of better use. In an inscription dated A.D.1223,<sup>1</sup> the list of works given to a library was:

1. Viniya - five volumes<sup>2</sup>.
2. Dīghanikāya - nine volumes, text and commentaries<sup>3</sup>.
3. Netti (pakarana) - five volumes<sup>4</sup>.
4. Majjhimanikāya - nine volumes<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Unfortunately this inscription (List.187, B II 171) is only a copy made in King Bodawpaya's reign but in the absence of the original one, we are inclined to accept it as the best material and therefore it is included here.
  2. The five are Pārājika, Pācittiya, Mahāvagga, Cūlavagga and Parivāra.
  3. It forms the first book of the Suttantapitāka and consists of thirty-four sutta, divided into three vagga - the Sīlakkhandha, the Mahāvagga and the Pātheva or Pāṭikavagga. Malalasekera: Dic.of P.P.Names, I, p.1082.
  4. An exegetical work on the pitāka ascribed to Kaccāna. Ibid., II, p.85. There are fifteen texts in the Khuddhakanikāya of the Suttantapitāka but in Burma four additions are made, viz., the Milindapañha, the Suttasaṅgaha, the Peṭakapadesa and the Netti or Nettipakarana. See M.H. Bode: The Pali Litt. of Burma, p.5, n.2.
  5. It is the second book of the Suttantapitāka containing discourses of medium length. It consists of eighty bhānavāra and is divided into three sections of fifty sutta each (pañṇāsa), the last pañṇāsa containing fifty two sutta. Malalasekera : Op. cit., II, p.418.

5. Āṅguttaranikāya - ten volumes.<sup>1</sup>
6. Vissuddhimagga - two volumes.<sup>2</sup>
7. Khuddakanikāya - nine volumes text and commentaries.<sup>3</sup>
8. Milindapañha.<sup>4</sup>
9. Anagatavaṃsa Atthakathā.<sup>5</sup>
10. Mahāvaramaṅjusa Tikā.<sup>6</sup>

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1. It is the fourth book of the Suttantapitaka, consisting of eleven nipāta (sections) and 9,557 sutta. Malalasekera : Op.cit., I, p.21.
  2. "Path of Purity" by Buddhaghosa - an encyclopaedia of Buddha's teachings. Ibid., II, p.906.
  3. The fifth and last of the Suttantapitaka and it contains all the most important collection of Pali poetry. See Supra., p.184, n.4.
  4. The conversation between King Milinda of Sāgala (the Baktrian king Menander) and the Buddhist Elder Nāgasena. Malalasekera : Op.cit., II, pp.636-7.
  5. A poem on the story of Metteyya, the future Buddha by an elder called Kassapa, and inhabitant of Coḷa country. Ibid., I, p.66.
  6. Grammatical commentary or gloss. In the list of 295 names of books given by the Governor of Taungdwin to a library in A.D.1442 (List 934, PPA. 83-6, TN. 39-47, M.H.Bode : Op.cit., 101-109) it is No.227, Mañjūsātīkābyākhyam.

11. Thūpavaṃsa.<sup>1</sup>
12. Bodhivaṃsa - text and commentaries.<sup>2</sup>
13. Mahāvaṃsa.<sup>3</sup>
14. Tathagatuppatti.<sup>4</sup>
15. Kaccāyana.<sup>5</sup>
16. Nyāsa Tikā.<sup>6</sup>
17. Mahāthera Tikā.<sup>7</sup>
18. Gūlasandhi visodhana.<sup>8</sup>
19. Sandhivisodhana Tikā.

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1. A Pali poem written by Vācissara. It has sixteen chapters, the last eight of which contain a description of the Mahā Thūpa by Duttagāmaṇi at Anurādhapura. The work probably belongs to the twelfth century. Malalasekara : Op.cit., I, p.1042.
  2. The history of the arrival of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon, written in about the tenth century probably by Upatissa. Ibid., II, p.537.
  3. The Great Chronicle of Ceylon.
  4. Perhaps written by the thera Nānagambhīra of Pagan. M.H.Bode : Op.cit., p.16.
  5. Probably it means Kaccāyanasuttanniddesa, a grammatical treatise explaining the sūtra (aphorisms) of the Kaccāyana and attributed to Chapaṭa as the author. Ibid., p.18.
  6. Another grammatical work also known as Mukhamattadīpanī, probably written by Mahā Vimalabuddhi of Pagan. Ibid., p.21.
  7. It appears also in List.934 inscription mentioned above (Supra., p.185, n.6) as No.140.
  8. No.159 of the above inscription.

20. Mahājānaka (Jātaka).<sup>1</sup>
21. Mahā Jātaka - seven volumes.
22. Abhidhammā - seven volumes.<sup>2</sup>

This donor therefore gave an almost complete set as all Vinaya and Abhidhamma and some sutta works together with such popular Sinhalese books like Mahāvamsa, Thūpevamsa and Anāgatavamsa were included in his list. Perhaps through the request of the monks some donors gave only the Vinaya books in full.

Some donors made it a special point to give Vinaya texts to monastic establishments probably due to the growing demand for them as a result of the increasing number of monks or to the growing laxity in the observance of the Vinaya among the monks in general. A donor called Suvannapaccaya in A.D.1220 recorded his contributions towards the library at the monastery of Skhiñ Athapatiy as :

// piytakata ū Silakhandhawāsī tac klam // Abhidhammasaṅ-  
gini tac klam Tassa Jat tac klam // Dhammapada tac klam  
Wineñ tac pun le plu kha phlu e //<sup>3</sup>

I have also made one volume of Sīlakhandha - the first book of the pitāka, one volume of Dhammasaṅgani, one volume of the Ten Jātaka, one volume of Dhammapada and one heap of the Vinaya.

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1. Jātaka No.539.

2. The seven being Dhammasaṅgani, Vibhaṅga, Kathāvatthu, Puggalapaññati, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

3. Pl.372<sup>42</sup>.

Out of the three piṭaka, the donor began with the very first book, i.e. the Sīlakkhandha of the Dīghanikāya in the Suttantapiṭaka.<sup>1</sup> Then he added two more popular books of the Suttantapiṭaka, viz. the Dhammapada and the Jātaka of the Khuddakanikāya. Of the Jātaka, he selected the most popular stories which form<sup>2</sup> the last ten anterior lives of Buddha. As for the Vinayapiṭaka he decided to give the whole set of five as the phrase Wineñ tac pum - one heap of Vinaya - implies. Lastly he gave the first book, i.e. the Dhammasaṅgani of the seven of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. There were also donors who gave only the Abhidhamma books, perhaps because they form the essence of Buddhism.

To some donors, Abhidhamma books seemed to be of more importance. A donor called Nē Lat in A.D.1273 gave only a book of the Jātaka but all the seven of the Abhidhamma.<sup>3</sup> We may also include here some donors who gave only a volume of the piṭaka<sup>4</sup> or gave as much as twenty six volumes but

1. Unlike the western scholars who begin with the Vinayapiṭaka (Childers: Dic. of P. Lang., p.507) Burmans count the three piṭaka as Sut, Wineñ: and Abhidhammā, i.e. Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma and therefore the first book of the Suttantapiṭaka becomes the very first book of the piṭaka.
2. In Burma, ten Jātaka always mean the last ten stories of 547.
3. Pl.242<sup>27</sup>.
4. Pl.303<sup>2</sup> (nidān ja le tac klām - one volume of Nidānajātaka) and also Pl.208<sup>19</sup> where the donor gave only one volume of the Jātaka. In Pl.161b<sup>3</sup> a rich lady Uin Nuiñ Sañ gave only the first three books of the piṭaka.

1

would not bother to name them. So far we have discussed triyā in terms of piṭaka and we come to the conclusion that the monasteries of our period must have had libraries with fairly complete set of piṭaka and that the monks were able to find donors who would supply them with the more popular or important texts of the religious books so that their libraries remain always complete with even some extra numbers for those texts of more general use. This leads to the question as to who were the people who used these libraries.

We have shown above that some people who could afford the exorbitant price for a set of piṭaka might have their own libraries, but most of the libraries were attached to the monasteries and therefore the monks formed the majority of the people to use them. Even among the monks, there was a special group more or less in their youth who devoted their time to pariyatti<sup>2</sup> - learning - and were called cāsaṅ<sup>3</sup> - students - and some monasteries which were devoted to learning were called cāsaṅ tuik<sup>4</sup> or cāsaṅ kloṅ<sup>5</sup> - educational institutes. Such institutes also provided free board and lodging<sup>6</sup> to the students and some institutes had as few as two students<sup>7</sup> while some had as many as twenty big buildings within a

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- 24  
1. Pl.308 .
- 26 16-17  
2. Pl.275 ; Old Mon I G .
- 25 26 26 8 1 4  
3. Pl.85 ,Pl.143a ,Pl.144 ,Pl.195b ,Pl.206 ,Pl.365a .
- 23 3 37  
4. Pl.138 ,Pl.205 ,Pl.271 .
- 12 6 15  
5. Pl.105a ,Pl.152 ,Pl.290 .
- 25 23 8 20  
6. Pl.85 ,Pl.138 ,Pl.195b ,Pl.203 .
- 8  
7. Pl.195b .



compound serving as hostels for them. These students used piy - (corypha<sup>2</sup> elata) umbrella-palm-leaves or thanrwak - (borassus flabellifer) palmyra-<sup>3</sup> palm-leaves and stylus for their writing materials with a view to longevity. In this case they bound their finished piy with klam - wooden<sup>4</sup> boards - usually of Lakpañ - bombax malabaricum and stored them up in<sup>5</sup> talā - cases - made of wood or in cātuik - cabinets<sup>7</sup> † which were sometimes so profusely decorated that one would cost as much as two hundred and fifteen ticals of silver. Sometimes they used parabuit - a<sup>8</sup> single long sheet of paper folded backwards and forwards to form a book - to be written with Kaṅkūchān - (steatite) soapstone pencil - kept in a<sup>8</sup> Kaṅkūtāñ kleñ - cylindrical case specially made for those pencils. For<sup>8</sup> daily use, they had mliy phlu - chalk and Ṣaṅphun - blackboard.<sup>9</sup>

Having built the library, the donor's next concern was to provide it

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1. P1.152 .  
38 25
  2. P1.235 ,P1.296 .  
6
  3. P1.417 .  
19 39 27 2 42 6
  4. P1.208 ,P1.235 ,P1.242 ,P1.303 ,P1.372 ,P1.417 .  
6
  5. P1.417 .  
9 38 10
  6. P1.234 ,P1.235 ,P1.247 .  
41 4
  7. P1.164 ,P1.205 .  
30-32
  8. P1.310b .  
27-29
  9. P1.310b .

with attendants and necessary funds so that repairs to the building,  
 1  
 preservation of the manuscripts and new acquisitions to the library would  
 2  
 be possible. These works are known as tryā wat - duties towards the Law,  
 3 4  
 and to fulfil these purposes the donor dedicated lands , slaves (sometimes  
 5 6 7 8  
 including scribes ), elephants , palmyra-palms and sesamum (to extract  
 oil for lighting) to the Law. The duties towards the Law included also the  
 offering of daily food in the same way as to the Lord and the Order. For  
 example, the minister Gaturāṅgapaccaya in A.D.1278 said :

// apōñ lay 3230 kywan 160 // iŷ lay khwan ra so capā twañ  
kā ta niy so purhā chan ta carwat khyak sañput // pitakat  
ta niy so ta prañ khyak sañput // kloñ thera cā so ta la

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- |    |          |           |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
|----|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---|--|
|    | 22       | 5         |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
| 1. | P1.42    | ,P1.365a  | .        |          |          |          |          |   |  |
|    | 28       | 3         | 7        | 18       | 4        | 28       |          |   |  |
| 2. | P1.42    | ,P1.202   | .P1.276b | .P1.293  | ,P1.365a | ,P1.380  | .        |   |  |
|    | 33       | 22,28     | 1        | 24       | 13       | 15,26    | 19       |   |  |
| 3. | P1.23    | ,P1.42    | ,P1.50   | ,P1.85   | ,P1.162  | ,P1.182b | ,P1.194b | , |  |
|    | 10,11,12 | 5,9,18,20 | 18,20    | 5        | 28       | 11       |          |   |  |
|    | P1.205   | ,P1.222a  | ,P1.242  | ,P1.248  | ,P1.265  | ,P1.285  | ,        |   |  |
|    | 6        | 2,5       | 9        | 8        | 4        | 7        |          |   |  |
|    | P1.313a  | ,P1.365a  | ,P1.371b | ,P1.394  | ,P1.396b | ,P1.571b | .        |   |  |
|    | 28       | 6,13      | 26       | 1,15     | 8        | 19       | 17       |   |  |
| 4. | P1.42    | ,P1.122a  | ,P1.152  | ,P1.182b | ,P1.190a | ,P1.194  | ,P1.208  | , |  |
|    | 19       | 3,5       | 4        | 13       |          |          |          |   |  |
| 5. | P1.229   | ,P1.248   | ,P1.251  | ,P1.262  | .        |          |          |   |  |
|    | 28       |           |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
| 6. | P1.42    | .         |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
|    | 15       |           |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
| 7. | P1.182   | .         |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
|    | 3        |           |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
| 8. | P1.202   | .         |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
|    | 22       |           |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |
| 9. | P1.393   | .         |          |          |          |          |          |   |  |

capā 30 // aryā 20 so ta niy chan ta prañ twakaprañ 20 //<sup>1</sup>

The total of 3230 (pay) of land and 160 slaves (are dedicated). Out of the paddy received as rent from these lands, one-eighth basket of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Lord, one prañ (1/16th of the basket) of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Law, 30 (baskets) of paddy are (to be set apart) every month for the chief monk of the monastery to enjoy and twenty prañ of rice at one prañ for each monk are (to be cooked) daily for 20 monks.

Another donor after dedicating 8073 pay of land said :

// ī lay nhuik ra ap so capā tvañ kā cetī saṃput ta niy chan  
1 prañ piṭakat ta niy chan 3 tuṃ purhā ryap saṃput ta niy  
chan 1 tuṃ purhā tanthim saṃput ta niy chan 1 tuṃ nā smī  
pluso kū 4 myaknhā so saṃput ta niy chan 4 tuṃ tañ ciy sate<sup>2</sup> /

From the (yearly) produce of paddy from these lands, one prañ of rice (is to be cooked) daily as almsfood for the cetiya, three tuṃ of rice daily for the piṭaka, one tuṃ of rice daily as almsfood for the standing Buddha, one tuṃ of rice daily as almsfood for the recumbent Buddha, four tuṃ of rice daily as almsfood for the four sided hollow pagoda built by my daughter are to be offered.

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 1. Pl.289 .  
 20  
 2. Pl.393 .

Thus apart from this rite of offering daily food to the law, the medieval libraries of Burma had adequate staffs and funds as a library would have had to-day. But the nature of the collection was mainly religious and a complete set of the Tipiṭaka with commentaries as well would be available there with perhaps even spare copies of some popular texts. Naturally, the majority of the people who used these libraries were young monks whose ambition was to learn by heart the whole of the "three heaps of the tryā" with some of the ṭikā and aṭṭhakathā of the texts. So much for tryā in the sense of Tipiṭaka, we shall now consider tryā as the preaching of the monks.

Tryā also means the sermon whereby the monk tries to explain some part of the teachings of Gotama to his congregation. To give such a sermon is known as tryā haw and to listen to it would be termed tryā nā and a sort of donation called tryā chu is given to the preacher by way of recompense for his pains. It is interesting to note here that the donations vary from areca-nuts and loin-cloths to paddy and paddyfields.

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1. P1.27 .
2. P1.17<sup>3,5,9</sup>, P1.22<sup>4,5,7</sup>, P1.27<sup>13</sup>, (P1.52<sup>18</sup>), P1.67<sup>11</sup>, P1.370<sup>16,17</sup>, P1.392<sup>1</sup>.
3. P1.36<sup>23</sup>, P1.42<sup>21-22</sup>, P1.138<sup>27</sup>, P1.275<sup>22</sup>, P1.289<sup>19</sup>, P1.393<sup>25</sup>, P1.396a<sup>27</sup>.
4. P1.32 .
5. P1.275<sup>22</sup>, P1.393<sup>25</sup>.
6. P1.138<sup>27</sup>, P1.289<sup>19</sup>.
7. P1.42<sup>21-22</sup>, P1.396a<sup>27</sup>.

Usually there was a weekly sermon on every satañ<sup>1</sup> - sabbath day - during the wā<sup>2</sup> - lent. In some monasteries preaching was heard twice every sabbath, i.e. once in the morning and again at night. Big monastic establishments generally had a separate building called the dhammasā<sup>4</sup> or tryā īm<sup>5</sup> or tryā kloñ<sup>6</sup> - hall of the Law - where most of the preaching was done. In such a hall, a sort of pulpit called tryā panlañ<sup>7</sup> - sometimes gilded, with a golden umbrella and canopy above was made for the preacher. From the seat, the preacher would address the congregation on such subjects as Dhammacakka<sup>9</sup> - the wheel of law, Patīccasamuppāda<sup>10</sup> - the working of cause and effect, Rathavinīta Sutta<sup>11</sup> - the seven acts of purity and Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta<sup>12</sup> - the four methods of meditation. The

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|--------|---|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----|
|        |   | 23       | 27       | 22      | 19      |         |         |         |    |
| 1 & 2. | P1.36   | ,P1.138  | ,P1.275  | ,P1.289 | .       |         |         |         |    |
| 3.     | P1.275  | .        |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   | 19       | 8        | 8       | 5       | 4       | 10      | 3       | 18 |
| 4.     | P1.75   | ,P1.102  | ,P1.105a | ,P1.152 | ,P1.185 | ,P1.234 | ,P1.303 | ,P1.366 | .  |
|        |   | 8        | 2        |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        | P1.575  | ,P1.602a | .        |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   | 5        | 7        |         |         |         |         |         |    |
| 5.     | P1.152  | ,P1.164  | .        |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   | 3        |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
| 6.     | P1.68   | .        |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   | 9        | 4        | 13      |         |         |         |         |    |
| 7.     | P1.105a   | ,P1.205  | ,P1.371a | .       |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   | 19       |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
| 8.     | P1.73   | .        |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
| 9.     | Belongs to the <u>Samyuttanikāya</u> of the <u>Suttantapitaka</u> and supposed to |          |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   |          |          |         | 6       | 7       | 25      | 15      |    |
|        | be the first preaching of all Buddhas. P1.6 ,P1.22 ,P1.202 ,P1.209 ,              |          |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   | 14       |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        | P1.249  | .        |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   | 7        |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
| 10.    | P1.6  | .        |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
| 11.    | Twenty fourth <u>sutta</u> of the <u>Mijjhimanikāya</u> . P1.396b .               |          |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |
|        |   |          |          |         | 18      |         |         |         |    |
| 12.    | Tenth <u>sutta</u> of the <u>Mijjhimanikāya</u> . P1.53 .                         |          |          |         |         |         |         |         |    |

listeners thus became well acquainted with the methods with which to obtain  
 for themselves the patisambhidā<sup>1</sup> - analytical knowledge and the four  
<sup>2</sup> sacca - truths - that would ultimately result in their becoming araha<sup>3</sup>  
 when Maitreya<sup>4</sup> becomes Buddha or in other words in attaining aślwat tryā<sup>5</sup> -  
 the knowledge that would help one to achieve salvation. At present in  
 Burma , the preacher usually quotes some stories from the Jātaka as  
 illustration and those stories , so amusing to listen to , attract a  
 considerable portion of the audience to attend the sermon. It is not  
 unlikely that some old Burmans were also attracted to the hall

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1. P1.197<sup>12</sup> .  
 2. P1.390<sup>3</sup> , P1.413<sup>3</sup> .  
 3. Arahattaphuīl (Arahattaphalattha) P1.235<sup>21</sup> , P1.247<sup>26</sup> , Rahantā (Araha)  
 P1.10b<sup>31</sup> , P1.23<sup>11</sup> , P1.194b<sup>49</sup> , P1.144<sup>34</sup> , P1.149<sup>16</sup> , P1.197<sup>13</sup> , P1.206<sup>6</sup> ,  
 P1.209<sup>15</sup> , P1.233<sup>10</sup> , P1.239<sup>29</sup> , P1.240<sup>12</sup> , P1.246<sup>13</sup> , P1.249<sup>15</sup> , P1.253b<sup>10</sup> ,  
 P1.263<sup>11</sup> , P1.299<sup>19</sup> , P1.422b<sup>12</sup> , P1.579<sup>16</sup> .  
 4. P1.2<sup>32</sup> , P1.8a<sup>5</sup> , P1.10b<sup>30</sup> , P1.14<sup>6</sup> , P1.23<sup>11</sup> , P1.44b<sup>18</sup> , P1.94b<sup>50</sup> , P1.122a<sup>15</sup> ,  
 P1.152<sup>35</sup> , P1.164<sup>3</sup> , P1.182a<sup>28</sup> , P1.197<sup>11</sup> , P1.202<sup>24</sup> , P1.206<sup>6</sup> , P1.216<sup>14</sup> ,  
 P1.233<sup>15</sup> , P1.249<sup>9,13,23</sup> , P1.275<sup>11,13</sup> , P1.283<sup>23</sup> , P1.293<sup>4</sup> , P1.299<sup>19</sup> ,  
 P1.331b<sup>12</sup> , P1.334a<sup>15</sup> , P1.364<sup>39</sup> , P1.366<sup>11</sup> , P1.384<sup>8</sup> , P1.558a<sup>7</sup> , P1.572a<sup>15</sup> .  
 5. (P1.202<sup>25</sup> ) , P1.216<sup>15</sup> , P1.235<sup>21</sup> , P1.247<sup>26</sup> .

of law by such stories. They could at least give moral lessons to the listeners and as some buildings had walls painted with these stories<sup>1</sup>, we may assume that these pictures and explanations directly aimed at giving some information on Buddhism to the illiterate. We must also mention here two names of the sermons, viz. Māleñ<sup>2</sup> and Pisamantra which we unfortunately are not able to identify. In full text, they appear<sup>3</sup> as :

// Sakarac 563 // Mruikkasor nhac // Saṅkrī Ñoñ Up  
phun mū so Tankho la chan 14 rak Tannhəṅkunuy niy Māleñ  
nā e, // la prañ Tannhəṅlā niy, kā Pīsaman (tra) nā e, //  
la chut 1 rek Aṅkā niy, kā Dhammacakkrā nā e, //

As for the meritorious deeds done by the Saṅkrī (? leader of the community) of Ñoñ Up, in A.D.1201 (S.563, the Mārgaśīrṣa year), the (tryā of) Māleñ was listened to on Sunday, 19th March,<sup>4</sup> the tryā of Pīsaman on Monday, 20th March, and the (tryā of) Dhammacakkrā on Tuesday 21st March.

The mention of the same Pisamantarā<sup>5</sup> appears in another case in connection

1. Pl.105a<sup>6</sup>, Pl.248<sup>18</sup>.

2. Professor Pe Maung Tin suggests that it could be the dialogue between the thera called Māleyya and the Bodhisattva Maitreya and refers to Shin Malai Wuttu, MS.1450, Bernard Free Library, Rangoon. See JBERS XXVI, i, p.59.

3. Pl.22<sup>1-7</sup>.

4. According to A.Irwin: "Elements of Burmese Calendar," A.I. 1910, pp.289-315, 19 March 1201 is Monday.

5. Pl.308<sup>25</sup>.

with the kāthina<sup>1</sup> ceremony. As part of tryā we must also deal with paritta.

As a modern Burman uses parit-kri: (Mahāparittam) which is a small collection of texts gathered from the Suttantapitaka to ward off "various evils physical and moral",<sup>2</sup> so did the old Burmans. To begin with, in A.D.1102 the Mahāthera Arahan and four thousand one hundred and eight of his following recited the paritta in and around King Thiluin Man's new palace.<sup>3</sup> In A.D.1190 a minister of Cāhsū II, called Singhasūra built a hollow pagoda and on the occasion of enshrining the relics in that pagoda, eight monks came and recited the paritta.<sup>4</sup> Princess Acau Lat, daughter of King Narasiṅha-Uccanā, on a similar occasion in A.D.1261 had seven bhikkhu and one bhikkhunī to recite the paritta.<sup>5</sup> There are eleven selections in the modern parit-kri:<sup>6</sup> and

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1. Pl.23<sup>2</sup>, Pl.99<sup>2</sup>, Pl.117b<sup>7</sup>, Pl.163<sup>17</sup>, Pl.234<sup>1</sup>, Pl.272<sup>12</sup>, Pl.274<sup>7</sup>, Pl.308<sup>25</sup>, Pl.372<sup>36</sup>.

2. M.H.Bode: Op.cit., p.3.

3. Old Mon. IX A<sup>14,19,21,26,39,46,46</sup>, G<sup>7</sup>, D<sup>14</sup>, G<sup>35,36,40,42,44,45,48</sup>.

4. Pl.10a<sup>7</sup>.

5. Pl.200<sup>12,14</sup>. Another mention of paruit appears in Pl.266a<sup>11</sup> but unfortunately a large portion of the inscription is illegible.

6. The eleven are: 1. Māṅgalasutta, 2. Ratanasutta, 3. Mettasutta,

4. Khandhasutta, 5. Morasutta, 6. Vattasutta, 7. Dhajaggasutta,

8. Āṭhānāthiyasutta, 9. Āṅgulimālasutta, 10. Bojjhāngasutta,

11. Pubbāhasutta.



although nothing except the fact that paritta was used is known, it could safely be assumed that these eleven were as popular in those days as they are now. Let us now turn our attention to tryā meaning criminal and civil cases of the law court.

Tryā<sup>1</sup> also means a case dealt with either in a civil or criminal court. The law court probably at the capital was known as tryā kwan sāyā<sup>2</sup> - the Pleasant Hall of Justice. There were law courts called buih tryā<sup>3</sup> perhaps one in each town or big village and the appeal court was known as atai tryā<sup>4</sup>. As a criminal court there was the khuiw tryā<sup>5</sup> - the court for petty theft cases. We have quite a number of inscriptions<sup>6</sup> dealing with law suits especially disputes on ownership of land<sup>7</sup> and slaves<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes, complaints were made by the clergy against the king for the

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1. See Supra. pp.99-100 and 104-108.

2. Pl.54<sup>7</sup>, Pl.371b<sup>8</sup>.

3. Pl.79b<sup>19,27</sup>.

4. Pl.79b<sup>17,27,35</sup>.

5. Pl.141a<sup>14,14</sup>.

6. Pl.74, Pl.78b, Pl.79b, Pl.90, Pl.141a, Pl.162, Pl.174, Pl.191b, Pl.193, Pl.231b, Pl.272, Pl.273, Pl.331a, Pl.371b, Pl.381, Pl.395, Pl.421b, Pl.560, Pl.574b.

7. Pl.54, Pl.90, Pl.141, etc.

8. Pl.74, Pl.78b, Pl.79b, Pl.174, Pl.191b.

confiscation of their lands by royal order.<sup>1</sup> In such cases, a royal commission was specially appointed to deal with it and it is interesting to note that the commission always found the king wrong. The monks sometimes quarrelled among themselves for ownership of land<sup>2</sup> but usually it was the monks against the descendants of the donor who claimed that part of the church land was their inherited property.<sup>3</sup> In A.D.1259 Nā Mwan and son took a certain portion of land belonging to the monastery built by Nā Lap Sañ where Gunagambhi had been the chief monk for over three years. Originally the land belonged to a donor called Nā Cañ Kray Sañ who gave it to the monastery during the reign of King Nātoñmyā (1211-?1231). Now Tarukpiy was king, and thus five kings had passed away; and during all that time the monastery enjoyed the produce of the land.<sup>4</sup> Then suddenly :

... kok si phyak ruy lu ca lat sate hu piy e, //  
Nā Mwan kā nā phuiw Nā Cañ Kray Sañ, may, prī kā  
Saṅkhā ta yok tañ lhyañ ma cā phū hu piy, e, // thuiw  
rhaw sañphama nhac yok cat lat so te ...

... they interfere with the crop, they rob and eat.  
 So says (Gunagambhi). Nā Mwan (replied that) from  
 the time his grandfather Nā Cañ Kray Sañ passed away,

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1. Pl.90, Pl.231b, Pl.296.

2. Pl.54, Pl.371b.

3. Pl.193, Pl.381, Pl.421b, Pl.560f.

4. Pl.193<sup>9-12</sup>.

not even a single monk has been known to enjoy  
(the produce of this land). Then the two judges  
begin their investigation ...

The witnesses, probably living in the village to which the disputing parties belonged, were summoned. Nā Rok Ū, the lawkā sukri - coxswain of the royal barge called Takoñ and Paccarā represented the rwā sañ kriñay - villagers old and young to testify that the land was reputed to be church property. Kaṅkā, another witness, probably the oldest man in the locality said just the reverse. According to him, from the reign of King Nātonmyā up to then, which covered a period of over a quarter of a century, no man except the monks had enjoyed the produce of the land. Not satisfied with mere statement, he took an oath. Unlike the modern procedure, we must note here that taking an oath came only after making a statement, and that only the most important witness took one. The judges decided in Gunagambhi's favour. To be successful in the law suit is termed tryā oñ e'<sup>1</sup> and to be defeated is tryā yhuñ e'.<sup>2</sup> For criminal cases, the judges consulted the amunwan<sup>3</sup> to determine what sort of punishment

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1. Pl.74<sup>10</sup>, (Pl.79<sup>3</sup>), Pl.117a<sup>2,4,6,9,13</sup>, Pl.141<sup>3,9,12</sup>, Pl.174<sup>15</sup>,  
(Pl.331a<sup>11</sup>, Pl.574b<sup>8</sup>).

2. Pl.174<sup>16</sup>.

3. King Klacwā's Edict against thieves. Plates 166ab, 167-9, 170, 173-4, 343 and 345ab. See Supra.pp.55-67.

be given for which crime, etc. For civil cases, the guide book was the dhammasāt<sup>1</sup> but we are not able to say what sort of dhammasattha

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1. Fl.174<sup>14</sup> . Dhammavilasa Dhammasat and Wagaru Dhammasat are believed to be the oldest works on law in Burma. Tradition attributes them to our period; early thirteenth century for the former and late thirteenth century for the later. Originally they were written in Pali and Mon respectively and translated later into Burmese. No originals are now available and therefore we are not in a position to ascertain their claim to antiquity. They codified the customary law and they would be modified and enlarged considerably in the Burmese translation. Probably the translations were made in the sixteenth century or later. The British Museum has a 1749 copy of the Dhammavilasa Dhammasat and Dr. Forchhammer used a 1707 copy of the Wagaru Dhammasat when he translated it. (E. Forchhammer: King Wagaru's Manu Dhammasattham). A fairly recent work on the Burmese law maintains that these two are the earliest works in Burmese legal literature though it is not possible to say with certainty that they belong to the thirteenth century, that both were compiled within a comparatively short interval of each other, and that Dhammavilasa is slightly earlier than Wagaru. (See Shwe Baw: Origin and Development of Burmese Legal Literature, f.86).

was used in those days. We find only one mention of dhammasāt in the inscriptions of the period and it is in an inscription dated A.D.1249. Anyhow it seems probable that the courts used the dhammasāt as the Civil Code and the amunwan as the Criminal Code. In the course of the trial, the witnesses were asked to hold the relics of Buddha<sup>1</sup> or the book of Abhidhamma piṭaka<sup>2</sup> or to take an oath before an image of Buddha<sup>3</sup> in order to affirm that they were telling nothing but the truth. After weighing all evidences, the judges pronounced their verdict which was always cā khvup e,<sup>4</sup> - recorded, and tanchip<sup>5</sup> - the seal of the court - was affixed to the record. Up to this point we have discussed tryā as a law suit. But it also meant a judge.

Tryā then was also used to signify the judges of the court.<sup>6</sup> But, sometimes it was prefixed or suffixed to some other word to mean a judge. For example, there are the combinations tryā saṃpyan<sup>7</sup>, tryā saṃphama,<sup>8</sup>

1. Pl.78b<sup>7</sup>, Pl.191b<sup>11</sup>, Pl.381<sup>17,17,18,19,29</sup>.

2. Pl.78b<sup>7</sup>.

3. Pl.231b<sup>8</sup>.

4. Pl.196<sup>4</sup>, Pl.272<sup>20</sup>, Pl.274<sup>18</sup>, Pl.279<sup>25</sup>.

5. Pl.74<sup>10</sup>, Pl.79b<sup>4,36</sup>, Pl.193<sup>21</sup>, Pl.235<sup>11</sup>, Pl.598a<sup>11</sup>.

6. Pl.56b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.78b<sup>22,34</sup>, Pl.79a<sup>17,20,24,35</sup>, Pl.79b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.191b<sup>10</sup>,  
Pl.381<sup>27,28,31,37</sup>, Pl.394<sup>5</sup>, Pl.560f<sup>7,10</sup>.

7. Pl.78b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.144a<sup>2</sup>.

8. Pl.149<sup>14</sup>.

and tryā sūkrī<sup>1</sup> where the word tryā is prefixed to those words which generally mean 'officer' and thus we have the officers of law. We do not know how they differ from one another although it is almost sure that they deal with law cases. With tryā suffixed, we have the names like khuiw tryā<sup>2</sup>, khuiw tryā cākhi<sup>3</sup> and buih tryā<sup>4</sup> meaning the judge of petty theft cases, a clerk attached to the above and junior judge respectively. It is interesting to note that there were woman judges<sup>5</sup> in those days. Some judges were given such titles as Manūrāja<sup>6</sup> or Manorāja<sup>7</sup>, probably because they were very good judges, as the titles suggest some connection with Manu, the law giver. Incidentally we must mention here three other names for judges which do not have the word tryā in them. They are anhu cuiw<sup>8</sup> - the officer in charge of the case, sāmphama<sup>9</sup> - the judge who administers the law (tryā chañ so)<sup>10</sup>

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1. Pl.54<sup>4</sup>, Pl.191b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.371b<sup>6</sup>.
  2. Pl.141a<sup>14,14</sup>.
  3. Pl.269<sup>1</sup>.
  4. Pl.79b<sup>19,27</sup>.
  5. Pl.174<sup>11</sup>.
  6. Pl.44b<sup>13</sup>, Pl.273<sup>4,6</sup>, Pl.331b<sup>7</sup>.
  7. Pl.231b<sup>6</sup>.
  8. Pl.421b<sup>17</sup>.
  9. Pl.74<sup>13</sup>, Pl.79b<sup>27</sup>, Pl.120b<sup>17</sup>, Pl.141a<sup>16</sup>, Pl.272<sup>26</sup>.
  10. Pl.74<sup>13</sup>, Pl.78b<sup>22-34</sup>, Pl.79b<sup>20,22,27</sup>, Pl.194<sup>14</sup>, Pl.161b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.174<sup>3,4,6,11</sup>.

and khuiw sūkrī<sup>1</sup> - the judge of theft cases. These are all we know about the various shades of the meaning of the word tryā.

As examined above, we understand tryā as the Tipiṭaka, the sermon at the hall of law, the law suit and the judge. We have also shown evidence that, as the Tipiṭaka, the old Burmans' knowledge of the tryā was by no means slight. Although very costly they had complete sets of piṭaka together with commentaries on them. The monasteries had good libraries with ample staff, funds and fine buildings which also served as educational institutes where the youth was given free religious education which was to be committed to memory as much as possible. This monastic education was also considered a very important qualification for those who aspired to high offices in the civil service. As regards tryā in its aspect as sermon, the monks always considered it their duty to instruct their supporters, that is the people in general, in the ways to nirvana. They attempted to explain even the most difficult but important parts of the Buddhist philosophy in as plain words as possible with illustrations from the jāṭaka. These sermons given in special buildings known as dhammasā were always well attended and sometimes were carried out twice - morning and evening - on sabbath days during the lent. Given the method, it was up to the listener to practise and attain nirvana. For tryā in its legal aspects, there were law courts with dhammasāt and amunwan as civil and criminal codes respectively. Kings noted for their justice would acquire the popular name of tryā man - the

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1. Pl.241<sup>5</sup>.

just king. Lastly, tryā meant judges themselves who were undaunted even at the idea of dealing out justice to the king himself if need be.



## CHAPTER VII

SANGHĀ

Sanghā is the loan word from Pali for the Order. It is interesting to note that in the ratana sumi pā<sup>1</sup> - three gems of buddha, dhamma and sangha, this sanghā<sup>2</sup> is the only word for which the derivation is clear since the three gems are known to the old Burmans as purhā tryā sanghā and we are still very much in doubt as to the origin of the purhā and tryā.<sup>3</sup> The old Mons used sanghā<sup>4</sup> and probably the Pyus sagha<sup>5</sup> which are only slight variations in spelling from the Burmese sanghā. The Pali sangha means the assembly or the multitude but the old Burmans affixed some adjectival phrases to that word and therefore it would not be improper here to consider these phrases that came together with sanghā in old Burmese so that

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1. Pl.13<sup>3,11,15</sup>, Pl.24<sup>13</sup>, Pl.25<sup>3</sup>, Pl.42<sup>2,5</sup>, Pl.43<sup>1</sup>, Pl.68<sup>4</sup>,  
Pl.69<sup>3,6,10</sup>, Pl.80<sup>3</sup>, Pl.84<sup>5</sup>, Pl.90<sup>13</sup>, Pl.94a<sup>27,30,32,33,37,47</sup>,  
Pl.94b<sup>12,31</sup>, Pl.102<sup>7,33</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>36</sup>, Pl.127a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.131a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.140a<sup>4</sup>,  
Pl.140b<sup>b</sup>, Pl.143a<sup>5,8,22,29</sup>, Pl.144<sup>2,32</sup>, Pl.145<sup>4</sup>, Pl.147a<sup>5</sup>,  
Pl.147b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.152<sup>7,10,29</sup>, etc.
  2. Pl.10a<sup>27,36</sup>, Pl.13<sup>3,11,14</sup>, Pl.16<sup>6</sup>, Pl.17<sup>5,10</sup>, Pl.21<sup>11</sup>, Pl.22<sup>13</sup>,  
Pl.28a<sup>18</sup>, Pl.28b<sup>22</sup>, Pl.31<sup>5,19,36</sup>, Pl.36<sup>14</sup>, Pl.53<sup>12,22</sup>, Pl.68<sup>4</sup>,  
Pl.72<sup>21</sup>, Pl.94a<sup>16,23</sup>, Pl.99<sup>22</sup>, Pl.100b<sup>18</sup>, Pl.102<sup>28</sup>, etc.
  3. For discussions on purhā and tryā see Supra pp.146-8 and 176-180 respectively. No satisfactory answer has yet been arrived at as to the root words for them though tentatively some take the Sanskrit or Pali "vara" for the first and a spoonerised Sanskrit "ritā" for the second.
  4. Ep. Birm. III, i, IX A<sup>6,18,20,22,34,44</sup>, D<sup>35,42,44</sup> and G<sup>35,42,44</sup>.
  5. Ibid. I, i, The Pyu face of the Rājākumār Inscription line 17.



we might understand what saṅghā really meant to them.

The word saṅghā sometimes appears together with other words and these compounds enable us to understand what this word meant to the old Burmans. For example, we very often come across the phrase kloṅ niv so saṅghā<sup>1</sup> - monks living in monasteries which is to be differentiated from taw mlat kri<sup>2</sup>, taw skhin<sup>3</sup> and taw kloṅsaṅghā<sup>4</sup> - the lords dwelling in the forest - who would be otherwise known as Araṅṅavāsi or Araṅ<sup>5</sup>. Skhin saṅghā<sup>6</sup>, the reverend monk, suggests that the monks occupied an exalted position. They were respected by the people in much the same way as respect was shown to those belonging to the royal family or government officers who were addressed with skhin prefixed to their names. As Prince Rājasūra, the great minister Anantasūra and King Kyazwa were called Skhin Rājasū, Skhin Anantasū and Skhin Klacwā<sup>7</sup> respectively, so that the exalted lords

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1. Pl.10a<sup>27</sup>, Pl.16<sup>6</sup>, Pl.23a<sup>18</sup>, Pl.132a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.216<sup>4</sup>, Pl.291<sup>2</sup>, Pl.599b<sup>6</sup>.
  2. Pl.208<sup>17</sup>.
  3. Pl.223a<sup>8</sup>.
  4. Pl.125<sup>16</sup>.
  5. Infra.pp.272-284.
  6. Pl.94a<sup>16</sup>, Pl.265<sup>3</sup>, Pl.274<sup>36</sup>, Pl.283<sup>18</sup>.
  7. Pl.105a<sup>28</sup> (Skhin Rājasū), Pl.79b<sup>1</sup> (Skhin Anantasū) and Pl.74<sup>25</sup> (Skhin Klacwā).



of the church were addressed Skhin Wineydhair (Vinayadhara), Skhin Mahākassapa, etc.<sup>1</sup> Even in cases where the monk is known by the lay name which is not infrequent he is sure to get the honorific skhin (e.g. Skhin Nā Mlat Khac).<sup>2</sup> But these skhin of the monastery were by nature quite different from their counterparts in the royal family and executive offices as they were defined as saṅkham so skhin<sup>3</sup> - the patient lords or nrim niy so skhin<sup>4</sup> - the quiet lords. Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the two chief disciples of Gotama were also known as Skhin Sāriputtrā and Skhin Mokkalān<sup>5</sup> and this shows that the people of our period considered their ecclesiastics as respectable as those of Gotama's life time. This perhaps also leads them to define their monks as purhā skhin tapesā ariyā saṅghā<sup>6</sup> - the noble monks, sons and disciples of the Lord Buddha or purhā tape, sārāhan saṅghā<sup>7</sup> - the worthy monks, sons and disciples of the Buddha. The word tape would be freely translated as pupil but if it were to be connected with the Pali tapassin or Sanskrit tapasvin as Professor G.H.Luce does, it would simply be another name for an ascetic. Anyhow, tape usually is coupled with sā - the son and to

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1. Pl.152<sup>30</sup> (Skhin Wineydhair), Pl.123<sup>5</sup> (Skhin Mahākassapa).
  2. Pl.385a<sup>7</sup>.
  3. Pl.73<sup>30</sup>, Pl.235<sup>8</sup>.
  4. Pl.385a<sup>2</sup>.
  5. Pl.6<sup>4,5</sup>.
  6. Pl.249<sup>24</sup>.
  7. Pl.216<sup>5</sup>.



be a tape sã of somebody is to be attached to that person as an apprentice to undergo a training on some craft for which he is considered master<sup>1</sup> and it is believed that the master would teach his pupils as he would teach his own sons. In a religious sense, it means disciple. For example, a couple after dedicating five slaves to the pagoda prayed:

purhã skhin Mittañ phlac so khã lakvã ram so tape, sã  
krĩ Skhin Sãriputtrã nã tuiw 2 yok phlac luiw sãte //<sup>2</sup>

When Maitreya becomes Buddha, we two wish to become the right hand or the chief disciple as Lord Sãriputta (was to Gotama Buddha).

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It is left to the imagination as to how both a man and his wife were going to share the one and only existence of such an exalted position, but here tape, sã krĩ is clearly the aggasãvaka and therefore tape, sã would be a sãvaka - the disciple. The monks were also called ariya saṅghã<sup>3</sup> and rahan saṅghã<sup>4</sup> meaning the nobles and the arahants. Although all the monks were not arahants, they were taken to be on the right way to nirvana as the arahants are.

Anantasũra, Commander-in-Chief of Nãtonmyã in A.D.1223 defined

1. Tradition goes further than this. If the master has a beautiful daughter the ablest of the pupils get her hand in marriage and becomes "son" of the master. This explains well the combination tape sã.

2. Pl.558a<sup>7-8</sup>.

3. Pl.21<sup>13</sup>, Pl.162<sup>17</sup>.

4. Pl.31<sup>19</sup>, Pl.216<sup>5</sup>.



saṅghā as:

... sāsanaṁ kamma khamat tvaṁ. sataṁ kvaṁ. so sikkhā ariyaṁ  
tvaṁ, ...<sup>1</sup>

... the noble lords, who practised self restraint for love  
of the Religion ...

But the best descriptive phrase about the monks is given by a queen  
of Tarukoliy in A.D.1266 as:

... kloṇṇaṁ tvaṁ niva so sataṁ samādhi prañā hū so kammaṁ sum  
pā kamma rā so sataṁ caṁ so purhā tape. sā rahan saṅghā ...<sup>2</sup>

... the monks (or) the arhants - the disciples of the  
Lord (who) live in the monastery (and are) pure in piety  
(and) ever seeking the three graces of self-restraint,  
self-possession and wisdom ...

Thus saṅghā is synonymous with respectful, pious, wise and celibate.

We have only one reference which does not coincide with the general  
description where the saṅghā is said to be versed in the use of the  
harp. In a partly illegible/<sup>inscription</sup>dated A.D.1198 a donor dedicated slaves  
and lands and said that some of the lands were for:

... caṁ tat so saṅghā // tenlāṁ lhenā tat so saṅghā // ...  
tat so saṅghā //<sup>3</sup>

... the monks who play the harp, the monks who sweep the  
compound and the monks who ...

1. Pl.73<sup>21-22</sup>.

2. Pl.216<sup>4-5</sup>; see also Pl.181<sup>5</sup> and Supra. p.142.

3. Pl.21<sup>11-12</sup>.



We cannot find out what the third category is, but the first two suggests that they were monks who played musical instruments and monks who did some menial labour. There can be no harm for a monk to sweep the compound of the monastery as keeping a religious place clean and tidy is also considered an act of merit but a monk playing music would be countenanced with disfavour in modern Burma. Even a lay disciple observing aṭṭhaṅgika uposattha on sabbath days is forbidden nacca - dancing, gīta - singing and vādita - playing instrumental music. Perhaps this monk who played the harp was in charge of the musicians who were dedicated to the pagodas. In another inscription we find that the donor invested the thera - senior monk with three duties:

phurhā phuiw kā thera sim̄ civ̄ sate phurhā cut tvañ ra rā  
phā civ̄ sate cañ̄ pantyā̄ kuiw le plu civ̄ sate //<sup>1.</sup>

The thera shall take charge of (the lands) for the pagoda and do repairs at the pagoda (with) whatever he gets (from the lands) and provide cañ̄ (drums) and pantyā̄ (? singing).

As regards the last duty, probably it meant that the thera was to take charge of the pagoda slave musicians. Another inscription dated A.D.1232 mentions that a slave was dedicated to the Three Gems for being given instructions <sup>in</sup> pantyā̄.<sup>2</sup> It seems that the monasteries also gave some sort of musical course - at least training certain young slaves of the pagoda of the monastery in

1. Pl.195a<sup>9-10</sup>.

2. Pl.94a<sup>46</sup>. See also Pl.276b<sup>11</sup>.



singing or playing musical instruments and some monks served as music teachers. From the illustrations we have just mentioned, we have a clear impression of what saṅghā was meant by the old Burmans. Saṅghā belonged to the respected Order of the Buddha, lived in monasteries in the village or in the forest practising piety and were well on their way to nirvaṇa. Of course, there were some saṅghā who had to manage the monastery and see that slaves of the establishment carried out their duties properly, including musical entertainment and teaching music to some slaves. For cleaning the premises, they would sometimes sweep the compound themselves. The study of the word saṅghā with its various adjectival phrases give us this picture. But saṅghā is not the only word used by the old Burmans for their monkhood.

There were other names used to signify the monks. The old Mons sometimes shorten saṅghā into saṅ<sup>1</sup> or supplement saṅ with ariya to become saṅ ariy.<sup>2</sup> But most often they used their own word gumlon.<sup>3</sup> The old Burmans also used saṅ<sup>4</sup> for all the monks and

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1. Ep.Birm.I, ii, I F<sup>43</sup>.

2. Ibid., I E<sup>9</sup>.

3. Ibid., I C<sup>53</sup>, E<sup>29,31,34,38,40</sup>, G<sup>16</sup>, H<sup>16</sup>.

4. Pl.40<sup>5</sup>, Pl.139<sup>17</sup>, Pl.157<sup>10,10</sup>, Pl.223a<sup>8</sup>, Pl.226<sup>29</sup>, Pl.241<sup>27,28</sup>, Pl.365c, Pl.367a. See also Supra, pp.101-2 for other meanings of Saṅ.

saṅkri<sup>1</sup> for senior monks and saṅlyā<sup>2</sup> for junior monks. A forest dwelling monk is mentioned once as saṅ arā<sup>3</sup> and like the old Mons, they also used the combination saṅ arya.<sup>4</sup> The word bhunkri: (pongyi) for a monk was not in use then although a very similar one phun saṅ<sup>5</sup> - the possessor of merit - was sometimes used as an honorific to a monk's name. But the term phun saṅ<sup>6</sup> was also applied to some lay devotees. Next to saṅghā, the most popular

1. Pl.6<sup>9</sup>, Pl.22<sup>2,14</sup>, Pl.41<sup>15</sup>, Pl.113<sup>8</sup>, Pl.157<sup>11</sup>, Pl.260<sup>18</sup>,  
Pl.362<sup>22,23,23,24,24,25,25</sup>, Pl.366<sup>31</sup>, Pl.373a<sup>9</sup>, Pl.381<sup>36</sup>. The  
Mon face of the Rājakumār Inscription (Ep. Birm. I, i, pp. 55-6)  
used this term.
2. Pl.113<sup>8</sup>.
3. Pl.40<sup>5-6</sup>.
4. Pl.285<sup>26</sup>.
5. Pl.118b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.123<sup>14,15</sup>, Pl.134a<sup>18</sup>, Pl.134b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.157<sup>9,9,9,10,28</sup>,  
Pl.253b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.329<sup>4</sup>.
6. Pl.7<sup>4,13,17,20</sup>, Pl.8a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.18<sup>5</sup>, Pl.21<sup>2</sup>, Pl.42<sup>2,4,4,15,16</sup>,  
Pl.43<sup>2</sup>, Pl.44b<sup>2,9,17</sup>, Pl.51<sup>2,11</sup>, Pl.56a<sup>8,8</sup>, Pl.74<sup>9,11</sup>, Pl.78b<sup>3</sup>  
Pl.79b<sup>23</sup>, Pl.122a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.128a<sup>18</sup>, Pl.128b<sup>5,6</sup>, Pl.182b<sup>2</sup> (phunsaṅ  
ma), Pl.214b<sup>11</sup>, Pl.252<sup>2</sup>, Pl.331b<sup>11</sup>, Pl.335b<sup>11</sup>, Pl.373a<sup>3</sup>,  
Pl.377b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.558a<sup>11</sup>, Pl.559b<sup>1</sup>, Pl.563a<sup>12</sup>, Pl.573b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.594a<sup>3,17</sup>  
Pl.599d<sup>2</sup>, Pl.602a<sup>8,10</sup>. Perhaps the term in the latter part of  
our period was used only for the monks and the modern pongyi  
evolves from it.



term for a monk was aryā<sup>1</sup> (ariyā) which originally meant noble and later was extended to include Buddhist monks. Sometimes the combination of aryā sūtau koṇi<sup>2</sup> is used suggesting that to the old Burmans, aryā means a holy man. Next to aryā, they had rahan<sup>3</sup> which derives from arahā - the person who arrives at the fourth and last stage on the way to nirvana.<sup>4</sup> But to the old Burmans the term rahan had no such specification because they used rahantā<sup>5</sup> for those who had acquired arahattaphui<sup>6</sup> (arahattaphalaṭṭha) and therefore

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1. Pl.12<sup>10</sup>, Pl.21<sup>13</sup>, Pl.73<sup>21,22</sup>, Pl.143a<sup>22</sup>, Pl.198<sup>25</sup>, Pl.203<sup>12,16</sup>, Pl.206<sup>1</sup>, Pl.222a<sup>11</sup>, Pl.229<sup>21</sup>, Pl.242<sup>15</sup>, Pl.244<sup>29,30</sup>, Pl.246<sup>3</sup>, Pl.249<sup>24</sup>, Pl.257<sup>39</sup>, Pl.268<sup>27</sup>, Pl.270<sup>28</sup>, Pl.271<sup>48</sup>, Pl.275<sup>29</sup>, Pl.276b<sup>4,7,10</sup>, Pl.280b<sup>11</sup>, Pl.282<sup>21</sup>, Pl.285<sup>26</sup>, Pl.286<sup>15,15,18</sup>, Pl.289<sup>18</sup>, Pl.293<sup>8</sup>, Pl.295<sup>10</sup>, Pl.298a<sup>5,7</sup>, Pl.307c<sup>6</sup>, Pl.373b<sup>23</sup>, Pl.390<sup>12</sup>, Pl.392<sup>36,38,39</sup>, Pl.393<sup>30</sup>, Pl.395<sup>21</sup>, Pl.396a<sup>34</sup>, Pl.396b<sup>7</sup>, Pl.594<sup>7</sup>.
  2. Pl.271<sup>48</sup>.
  3. Pl.3<sup>22</sup>, Pl.7<sup>9</sup>, Pl.31<sup>19,36</sup>, Pl.44b<sup>11</sup>, Pl.147b<sup>20</sup>, Pl.149<sup>16</sup>, Pl.200<sup>22</sup>, Pl.211<sup>3</sup>, Pl.216<sup>5</sup>, Pl.220<sup>9</sup>, Pl.240<sup>4</sup>, Pl.256<sup>7</sup>, Pl.263<sup>9,10,13</sup>, Pl.303<sup>4</sup>, Pl.308<sup>32,33,33</sup>, Pl.331b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.376<sup>4,5,5,9</sup>, Pl.376<sup>11,14,14,15,17,19,28,29,30</sup>, Pl.381<sup>12</sup>, Pl.600b<sup>10</sup>.
  4. The cattāro maggā or Four Paths are four stages of sanctification leading to Nirvana and they are sotāpattimaggo, sakadāgāmi maggo, anāgāmi maggo and arahattamaggo.
  5. & 6. See Supra.p.195, n. 3.

rahan simply means monk and to become one is termed rahan mū.<sup>1</sup>  
 Only adults of over twenty would be ordained monks or nuns.<sup>2</sup>  
 Deacons or novices were called samaniy<sup>3</sup> which is the Pali sāmaṇera.  
 The word kuiraṇ (koyin) for a novice was not in use then and the  
 words svaṇ<sup>4</sup> or asyaṇ<sup>5</sup> from which perhaps the word kuiraṇ (koyin)  
 derives do not mean a novice but a monk with the exception when  
asyaṇ was applied to royalty as asyaṇ maṅkri<sup>6</sup> - the liege lord, the  
 great king. Monks addressed each other as ñā svaṇ<sup>7</sup> - my lord. They  
 were also mentioned as pancaṇ<sup>8</sup> which literally means a pure flower  
~~which literally means a pure flower and the spelling does not permit~~

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1. Pl.220<sup>9</sup>, Pl.308<sup>32,33</sup>, Pl.381<sup>12</sup>.
  2. See JRAS VII, 1875, J.F.Dickson: "Upasampadā-kammavāsā" pp.1-16
  3. Pl.308<sup>33</sup>.
  4. Pl.244<sup>20</sup>, Pl.246<sup>4</sup>, Pl.271<sup>15,16,22,23,51</sup>, Pl.279<sup>16</sup>, Pl.291<sup>13</sup>,  
 Pl.296<sup>8,10</sup>, Pl.380<sup>6,12</sup>, Pl.388<sup>11,21</sup>, Pl.392<sup>36</sup>, Pl.395<sup>21</sup>, Pl.419b<sup>40</sup>, Pl.423<sup>5</sup>.
  5. Pl.368a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.389b<sup>3</sup>.
  6. Pl.24<sup>9</sup>, Pl.68<sup>23</sup>.
  7. Pl.271<sup>16</sup>.
  8. Pl.41<sup>15</sup>, Pl.100b<sup>26</sup>, Pl.113<sup>13</sup>, Pl.128a<sup>14,20</sup>, Pl.149<sup>3,11</sup>, Pl.202<sup>14</sup>  
 Pl.207<sup>14</sup>, Pl.210b<sup>9,13</sup>, Pl.214a<sup>6</sup>, Pl.218b<sup>7</sup>, Pl.224<sup>17</sup>, Pl.226<sup>13</sup>,  
 Pl.232<sup>8,8,9</sup>, Pl.257<sup>16,34</sup>, Pl.268<sup>7</sup>, Pl.279<sup>28</sup>, Pl.284b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.307<sup>7</sup>,  
 Pl.307b<sup>5,5</sup>, Pl.308<sup>33</sup>, Pl.329<sup>13</sup>, Pl.335b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.367a<sup>8</sup>, Pl.370<sup>34</sup>,  
 Pl.372<sup>23</sup>, Pl.373a<sup>15,15,15</sup>, Pl.423<sup>30</sup>, Pl.424<sup>20</sup>, Pl.578b<sup>19</sup>,  
 Pl.579b<sup>6,12</sup>, Pl.602a<sup>15</sup>.

it to be connected with pañcanga , the five attributes of the humanised  
pañcañ : , as the modern Burman believes. Thus we find the use of sañ ,  
sañ ariy and gūñlon among the old Mons for the monks and among the old  
Burmese, sañ , sañkrī , sañlyañ , sañ arañ , sañ aryā , phun sañ , aryā ,  
rahan , samaniy (novice), svañ , asvañ and pancañ. It will be interesting  
also to study the prefixes to a monk's name meaning "the Reverend", etc.

As the Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend, and Most Reverend are  
used before the names of the clergy, the old Burmans used such terms as

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1. The five attributes are connected with the ordination service where  
the perfection of the president of the chapter (to be of ten years  
standing as an elder monk), the perfection of the chapter (consisting  
of ten monks who have been ordained before without any flaw or  
mistake in their ordination services), the perfection of intonation  
during the service on the part of the president and his ten colleagues,  
the same on the part of the candidate and the perfection of the candidate  
as to his qualifications required by the service, are necessary.

The qualifications of the candidate are :-

1. He must not be suffering from such diseases as leprosy, boils,  
itch, asthma and epilepsy.
2. He must be over twenty, a male human being, with full permission  
from parents to become a monk.
3. He must be a free man, free from debts and from military service  
as well.
4. He must have the almsbowl and robes complete with him.



often a monk would be called as the teacher of a certain prominent person among his lay devotees. For example, the king's preceptor came to be popularly known as mañ charyā<sup>1</sup>, and the preceptor of Queen Saw Palemai (queen of King Klacwā) as Caw Pulay May Charvā<sup>2</sup>, the preceptor of a minister as Amatkrī Siriwatthanā Chiryā<sup>3</sup> and so on. As a matter of fact, even the Lord Buddha is mentioned as lū nat takā chiryā<sup>4</sup> - the teacher of all men and deva or sum lū charyā<sup>5</sup> - the teacher of Men, Deva and Brahma. It would be interesting to know the reason why a monk called Ratanāucchi<sup>6</sup> was known as Nat Charyā Mlat Cwā So Skhiñ Ratanāucchi - the Most Reverend Lord Ratanāucchi, the teacher of deva. Punnā<sup>7</sup> - brahman and hurā<sup>8</sup> - astrologer would probably also be addressed as chryā. Another equally popular prefix

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- |  |    |    |   |      |   |    |     |
|--|----|----|---|------|---|----|-----|
|  | 10 | 18 | 2 | 3,24 | 2 | 21 | 9,9 |
|--|----|----|---|------|---|----|-----|
1. Pl.36<sup>10</sup>, Pl.83<sup>18</sup>, Pl.85<sup>2</sup>, Pl.139<sup>3,24</sup>, Pl.182b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.182b<sup>21</sup>, Pl.191a<sup>9,9</sup>,  
     31,34<sup>10</sup>, 24,27<sup>2</sup>, 8,10<sup>3,24</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup>  
     Pl.261<sup>10</sup>, Pl.297<sup>18</sup>, Pl.378b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.581a<sup>21</sup> .
  2. Pl.246<sup>10</sup>, Pl.266b<sup>18</sup>, Pl.384<sup>2</sup>, Pl.395<sup>3,24</sup> .
  3. Pl.244<sup>10</sup> .
  4. Pl.232<sup>10</sup> .
  5. Pl.388b<sup>10</sup>, Pl.421a<sup>18</sup> (3 lū chryā) .
  6. Pl.366<sup>10</sup> . In another case (Pl.228b<sup>3,7</sup>) a monk is called Nat Thamañ Ra  
So Skhiñ Thampā - Lord Thampā, receiver of Deva's food.  
     18<sup>10</sup> 1<sup>18</sup> 11<sup>2</sup> 8<sup>3,24</sup> 7<sup>2</sup> 9<sup>21</sup> 4<sup>9,9</sup> 7<sup>9,9</sup>
  7. Pl.102<sup>10</sup>, Pl.117a<sup>18</sup>, Pl.126b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.186<sup>3,24</sup>, Pl.203<sup>2</sup>, Pl.239<sup>21</sup>, Pl.262<sup>9,9</sup>, Pl.336b<sup>9,9</sup>,  
     5<sup>10</sup>  
     Pl.417<sup>10</sup> .
  8. Pl.44b<sup>10</sup>, Pl.61<sup>18</sup>, Pl.102<sup>2</sup>, Pl.121b<sup>3,24</sup>, Pl.133<sup>2</sup>, Pl.186<sup>21</sup>, Pl.212<sup>9,9</sup>,  
     6<sup>10</sup> 19<sup>18</sup> 4,14<sup>2</sup> 32<sup>3,24</sup> 11<sup>2</sup> 1<sup>21</sup> 17<sup>9,9</sup>  
     Pl.263<sup>10</sup>, Pl.272<sup>18</sup>, Pl.289<sup>2</sup>, Pl.366<sup>3,24</sup>, Pl.428<sup>2</sup>, Pl.567a<sup>21</sup>, Pl.581a<sup>9,9</sup> .

to a monks name is sukhamiṅ<sup>1</sup> - the wise, although some people who were not monks were known as sukhamiṅ<sup>2</sup> too; perhaps they were once monks and continued to be called by that name after they had left the Order as there were taw thwak<sup>3</sup> (monks or nuns who were once married) as well as lū thwak<sup>4</sup> (people who were once monks and nuns). Thus the terms like mlat krī, thera, sanghathera, mahāthera, chryā and sukhamiṅ were the prefixes to the names of senior monks who were regarded by the people with deep respect. As they were learned they gathered around them quite a following who looked upon them as great teachers.

247/2<sup>2</sup>  
266  
Among the followers of a prominent monk, cāsaṅ<sup>5</sup> - the students - formed the most important group. They devoted their time to pariyatti<sup>6</sup> - learning as there were others who were devoted to paṭipatti<sup>7</sup> - practice. In A.D.1243, for the students of the Most Reverend Vinayadhara, the Queen (? of Klācwā) who was the sister of Takākri, and King Uccanā's

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1. Professor G.H.Luce connects this word with the Tibetan mk'yen-pa - to know. Pl.123<sup>15</sup>, Pl.132a<sup>10</sup>, Pl.149<sup>14</sup>, Pl.191a<sup>11</sup>, Pl.238<sup>12</sup>, Pl.251<sup>7</sup>, Pl.268<sup>8</sup>, Pl.271<sup>9,10</sup>, Pl.373a<sup>10</sup>, Pl.381<sup>21</sup>.
  2. Pl.162<sup>9,11,17,27,35,37</sup>, Pl.163<sup>4</sup>, Pl.186<sup>8</sup>, Pl.196<sup>3</sup>, Pl.242<sup>25</sup>, Pl.261<sup>23</sup>, Pl.272<sup>19</sup>, Pl.273<sup>19</sup>, Pl.329<sup>12</sup>, Pl.370<sup>35</sup>, Pl.574a<sup>15</sup>.
  3. Pl.25<sup>2</sup>, Pl.76<sup>21</sup>, Pl.269<sup>11,17</sup>. Literally it means those who renounced the world and seek seclusion in the forest.
  4. Pl.579<sup>18</sup>. It means those who have gone back into the world.
  5. See also Supra. pp.189-190.
  6. and 7. Pl.275<sup>26,27</sup>.

uncle Samantakuntham and wife built as many as twenty monasteries encircling a hollow-pagoda, a library, a monastery and a hall of law, and dedicated three hundred pay of land, thirty slaves and fifty cattle.<sup>1</sup> Thus the thera and his pupils could devote their time on study without trouble for food and shelter. A donor built five school buildings for the students and one monastery for the thera, in one compound in A.D.1236.<sup>2</sup> Krāsawat and wife in A.D.1262, built within an enclosure wall with four gates, a hollow-pagoda, a great spired monastery, a brick monastery, a library, a sīma, a throne of law and eight school buildings and dedicated six hundred and fifty two pay of land and twenty slaves to the whole establishment.<sup>3</sup> Queen Saw in A.D.1299 built a big spired monastery, a sīma and a school building.<sup>4</sup> There were also some donors who took special care to provide the students of such establishments with food, etc. A donor in A.D.1235 said that out of fifty pay he dedicated, twenty were for the pagoda, five for the library, ten for the thera and fifteen for the students.<sup>5</sup> Students exclusively should enjoy the produce of these fifteen pay of land. Queen Saw (of Narasinga-Uccanā), mother of Singhapati and Tryāphyā, in A.D.1241 dedicated three hundred pay of land and one hundred and seventy four slaves to a monastic establishment which had ten school buildings.<sup>6</sup> On the death of

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1. Pl.152<sup>1-10</sup>.

2. Pl.105a<sup>12</sup>.

3. Pl.205<sup>3</sup>.

4. Pl.390<sup>15</sup>.

5. Pl.85<sup>25</sup>.

6. Pl.138<sup>23</sup>.

Queen Ratanāpuṃ daughter of Sariy (20 May 1262), King Tarukpiy built a monastery for the Most Revered Mahā Kassapa and dedicated three hundred slaves and three hundred pay of land of which fifty were for the students. As these illustrations show, the student population in those days was quite considerable and the people were well aware of the fact that these students should be encouraged and supported. They were given all the requisites of a monk so that they could devote their time to learning only. There were also many lay devotees attached to the monasteries.

The lay devotees would be known as upāsakā<sup>1</sup> or more popularly satañ sañ<sup>2</sup> who would also dedicate lands and slaves to the monastery as the dāyakā<sup>3</sup> did. There were also people who looked after the comfort of the thera and they were known as kappikā<sup>4</sup> (kappiya). The kloñ sañ<sup>5</sup> looked after the comforts of all the inmates of the monastery. Perhaps the kappikā and kloñ sañ were the liaison officers used by the monks when dealing with the outside world. For example, in about

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1. Pl.297<sup>20</sup>.

2. Pl.94a<sup>47</sup> (cane satañ sañ), Pl.99<sup>7</sup>, Pl.208<sup>18</sup> (slave).

3. Pl.44b<sup>17</sup>, Pl.101<sup>2,6</sup>, Pl.122a<sup>14</sup>, Pl.123<sup>19</sup>, Pl.197<sup>21</sup>, Pl.264<sup>4</sup>, Pl.265<sup>34</sup>, Pl.280b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.367b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.372<sup>4,14,16,18,45</sup>, Pl.380<sup>16,29</sup>, Pl.578b<sup>8</sup>.

4. Pl.10a<sup>30</sup>, Pl.163<sup>17</sup>, Pl.392<sup>29</sup> (slave). See Infra. p.334.

5. Pl.259<sup>3</sup>, Pl.284b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.290b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.329<sup>15</sup>, Pl.333<sup>13</sup>, Pl.365b<sup>11,12</sup>, Pl.370<sup>3</sup>, Pl.543a<sup>23,26</sup>, Pl.574a<sup>5</sup>.



A.D.1248, when King Klacwā gave kāṭhina robes to monks, he also gave the Most Reverend Mahākassapa an elephant which was sent to Kantū of Chindwin where it got lost. The thera sent his kappikā named Ña Myaṅ Saṅ to look for the lost elephant who subsequently found it in the hands of Ña Kron Saṅ and wife who were brought to the law court by the kappikā to answer for the chaṅkhuiw - elephant theft.<sup>1</sup> When monks bought land, which they often did in spite of the fact that they were frequently given acres and acres of it, such people who were most probably once monks but now lay men, would be used to do the transaction which the monks thought it improper to do themselves.<sup>2</sup> The following illustration will show us the nature of these transactions. Saṅkraṃmasū, great grandfather of the Most Reverend Mahākassapa, dedicated to the religion eightynine pay of land at Surokkha in Santoṅ kharuin.<sup>3</sup> After the death of Saṅkraṃmasū, one of his descendants called Ña Rok Saṅ took the land as if it were his inherited property. Adversity compelled him to sell it later to the Cakraw belonging to the frontier guard at Chiptoṅ - the Poison Mountain. After the death of Ña Rok Saṅ it was discovered that he had no right to sell the land and so the matter was brought before two judges called Caturāṅkapuīl and Acalapharac. The royal register showed that the land originally was given by the king to Saṅkraṃmasū, and probably the judges

1. Pl.163.

2. Pl.162 and Pl.163.

3. See map of the Eleven Villages in the Kyaukse District on page 89.

also believed that Mahākassapa had better claims on the estates of Saṅkraṃmasū than Ña Rok Saṅ. Mahākassapa won the suit. Anyhow Mahākassapa felt pity on the soul of his cousin Ña Rok Saṅ who would then be suffering in hell for his sin of molesting a religious property and therefore he allowed arbitration and ordered lū sukhamin - the lay wise man Dhammabandā to redeem the land at fifteen ticals of silver per pay with money from saṅghika uccā - the fund of the monks. This happened in the year A.D.1244<sup>1</sup>. In the same inscription where the above story is mentioned, there are also five other cases mentioned<sup>2</sup> where the lay wiseman Dhammabhandā was ordered to buy lands with the monks' money. Thus, there were such people known as upāskā, sataṅ saṅ, dāyakā, kappikā and kloṅ saṅ who looked after the comfort of the monks and who carried out the business transactions of the monastery. The daily begging of food and occasional preaching the dhamma are about the only times that a monk usually comes into contact with the villagers. There were also slaves who attended to the needs of a monastery.

Although most of the donors mentioned simply in their inscriptions that so many slaves had been dedicated to the Three Gems, some would go into details as to how many of them were to serve the monks.<sup>3</sup> The total number of them might vary from a whole village<sup>4</sup> to one or two slaves.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Pl.162.

2. Pl.162<sup>11,17,27,37,37</sup>.

3. See Chapter X. Pl.73<sup>30-33</sup>, Pl.114a<sup>7-9</sup>, Pl.127a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.152<sup>24-25</sup>, etc.

4. Pl.127a<sup>3</sup> (Maacsā kloṅ kywan rwā) and Pl.215b<sup>18</sup> (wat khlak rwā).

5. Pl.208<sup>18</sup>.

Sometimes, a donor would leave the monks of a particular monastery to take charge of all the slaves that he dedicated,<sup>1</sup> perhaps giving them the right to determine how many of them should serve the monastery. The thera of the monastery then would have the final say in such cases as he was the head of all the monks in the monastery.<sup>2</sup> However, we have one exception where the donor was the Mahāthera Skhiñ Acala, the preceptor of Queen Saw (Queen of Narasiṅha-uccanā) who dedicated in A.D.1241 one hundred pay of land and five slaves to the pagoda and said that after his death, only two monks - his favourite pupil Guṇañānasithi and his nephew Puñarāsi, were to take charge of the lands and slaves.<sup>3</sup> Some inscriptions give us an idea of the duties of these monastery slaves. In A.D.1255, minister Mahāsman said that the duties of the slaves were "to fetch the water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and to drink; to cook the rice food; and to sweep (the compound) and remove the refuse."<sup>4</sup> Queen Saw (younger sister of Queen Ratanāpuñ and Queen Phwa Caw) in about A.D.1301 mentioned the slaves of the monastery as:<sup>5</sup>

... kloñ nhuik lup kluy so capā thoñ riy khap thoñ  
khuy tanlañ mrak so kywan tuiw ...

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1. Pl.112<sup>16</sup>, (Pl.132a<sup>5</sup>).

2. Pl.143a<sup>26</sup>.

3. Pl.139.

4. Pl.186<sup>27-28</sup>. See also JBR.S. XXVI, i, p.61.

5. Pl.393<sup>32-33</sup>.

... those slaves who serve the monastery by  
pounding the paddy, fetching water, chopping  
firewood and sweeping the compound...

As most of the donors gave away land, cattle and slaves together,<sup>1</sup>  
it is very probable that most of the slaves, including those given to  
the monasteries were used largely as farm labourers either to look  
after the crop or cattle or both. Some slaves were allotted to look  
after the sañthika (sanghika) nwā<sup>2</sup> - cattle of the monks and the  
nuiw ñhat nwā ma<sup>3</sup> - milch cow must be well tended so that

... sañkham̃ so skhiñ tuiw ... nuiw sac nuiw tham̃  
rvak tak thawpiy thawpat arasā ñā pā cā cim so ñhā ...<sup>4</sup>

... the patient lords (of the church) could enjoy  
the five delicacies of fresh milk, sour milk, butter  
milk, unclarified butter and clarified butter ...<sup>5</sup>

The slaves of the monasteries, were sometimes so numerous that they  
alone could form a separate village. When only a few dozen slaves were  
attached to a monastery, very probably they might have their own  
quarters within the monastery compound. Usually, the monks took charge

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1. Pl.20<sup>1,3,6,7,8,10</sup>, Pl.34<sup>4</sup>, Pl.83<sup>6,7</sup>, Pl.91<sup>14</sup>, etc.

2. Pl.202<sup>22</sup>. "Peaceful cow" - JBRs XXX, i, p.331, n.112.

3. Pl.134a<sup>4</sup>. See also Pl.262<sup>23</sup>.

4. Pl.235<sup>9</sup>.

5. See JBRs XXX, i, p.291.

of all the slaves dedicated to the Three Gems. Musical entertainment was one of their major services. Their other duties were to fetch water, to chop firewood, to cook food and to clean the premises. A large portion of their number would be detailed to watch the crop and cattle as the monastery also owned lands and cattle. The milch cow seems to be the prized possession of the monastery as the monks enjoyed all kinds of dairy produce and therefore some slaves were turned into dairymen. This is all we know about the slaves of the monastery. We shall now turn our attention to the lands of the monastery.

As in the case of the slaves, the donors usually mentioned how much of the land they dedicated to the Three Gems was for the monastery<sup>1</sup> and some went even further to state that a certain portion was for the thera<sup>2</sup>, another for saṅghā liyavyaknhā<sup>3</sup> - the monks from four directions, and the rest for the cāsaṅ<sup>4</sup> - students. We also find many instances where monks bought lands<sup>5</sup> for themselves.

1. Pl.42<sup>21</sup>, Pl.50<sup>2</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>30</sup>, Pl.164<sup>12</sup>, Pl.182b<sup>26</sup>, Pl.205<sup>20</sup>, Pl.217<sup>10</sup>, Pl.241<sup>9</sup>, Pl.396b<sup>7</sup>.
2. Pl.12<sup>9</sup>, Pl.85<sup>25</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>34</sup>, Pl.140b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.203<sup>11,12</sup>, Pl.242<sup>14</sup>, Pl.286<sup>18</sup>, Pl.396<sup>4,6</sup>.
3. Pl.162<sup>10</sup>. See also Pl.12<sup>10</sup>, Pl.25<sup>34</sup>, Pl.41<sup>15</sup>, Pl.94a<sup>16</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>30</sup>, Pl.140<sup>9</sup>, Pl.203<sup>12,17</sup>, Pl.205<sup>21</sup>, Pl.222a<sup>20</sup>, Pl.242<sup>15</sup>, Pl.286<sup>18</sup>, Pl.396b<sup>7</sup>.
4. Pl.85<sup>25</sup>, Pl.105<sup>33</sup>, Pl.195b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.203<sup>20</sup>.
5. Pl.162, Pl.163, Pl.268, Pl.380, Pl.395, Pl.423, etc.

These lands were bought with the money they got from their devotees<sup>1</sup> and in some cases they took care to appoint an agent to do the business transaction.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps they did not want to handle money themselves<sup>3</sup> or they knew that they were not shrewd enough for such business which often led to disputes and law suits. For example, in A.D.1277, one thousand pay of land, probably near Tabayin were bought for the monastery at the price of one thousand ticals of silver.<sup>4</sup> When the land was about to be handed over disputes arose and so it was delayed (for nearly four years). In the end, when the land was practically handed over the monastery found that it had spent one thousand eight hundred and thirty ticals and three quarters of silver and fifty three and half viss of copper. These lands of the monastery were usually free from any form of taxation. When King Tarukpaliy was informed that village headmen in mistake taxed the lands belonging to the mahāthera Samantabhadra in A.D.1260, he sent his chief minister Mahāsmen to stop the headmen and declare that the lands were free from taxation then and for ever afterwards.<sup>5</sup> In connection with these monastic lands, we also find instances where disputes over ownership arose between monks and kings or between monks and the laity or even among themselves.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Pl.162<sup>24-27</sup>, Pl.382<sup>18</sup>, Pl.424<sup>b</sup>.

2. Pl.162<sup>9,11,17,27,35,37</sup>, Pl.163<sup>4</sup>.

3. The dasasilam of monks prohibits the handling of money.

4. Pl.268, see also JBRs XXX, i, p.298-300.

5. Pl.196. See Supra., p.110.

6. See Supra., pp.44, 53-54.

A few instances of disputes were as follows. In A.D.1235 King Klacwā and the monks disagreed as to the ownership of certain land in possession of the forest monastery of Jeyvapwat.<sup>1</sup> Again in A.D.1245, King Klacwā was doubtful as to the ownership of some pagoda land under the trust of three senior monks.<sup>2</sup> In A.D.1255, King Uccanā or Talapyāñ Mañ - the king who died at Dala, confiscated all lands at Pañklī of Chindwin<sup>3</sup> and in that confiscation was included one thousand five hundred pay of land belonging to the Reverend Lord Mahāmatimāthe of the Kramtū Niñ forest monastery. In that very year, the king died at Dala - probably he and his retinue were murdered. Panpwat sañ mliy - grandson of the turner i.e. Tarukpliy succeeded him. Then, his father-in-law Sariy whose three daughters were all married to him, mentioned to him while he was giving audience at Kwan Prok Kri - the Variegated Hall, about the unjustified act of Uccanā in taking the lands of Mahāmatimāthe. In all these three cases of 1235, 1245 and 1255, investigations followed and the kings were proved wrong and the lands given back to the monks. Incidentally, we must mention here the single instance<sup>4</sup> we find in all the inscriptions of our period where two monks called Randhip and Bhummabuil were found guilty of having some connection with a rebellion - probably one of those which broke out

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1. Pl.90<sup>14-25</sup> . See Supra. p.53.

2. Pl.213b.

3. Pl.296. See also Supra.p.68.

4. Pl.102<sup>24-25</sup> .

during the early years of the reign of King Klacwā. We do not know how they got into such political trouble. The minister Mahāsaman pleaded on their behalf and consequently they were pardoned by the king. As tanchuiw - price for his labour, the two monks gave the minister one thousand five hundred pay of land at Dhipesyan, and the good minister dedicated them to the monastery. The relevant text is as follows:

... kroñ sañ tuiw plac sarhaw ma siy ma lyaw ciy mū ruy mañkrī kuiw Mahāsaman pan piy ruy lwat rakā Nakkabuil rhiy ruy kroñ siñghā Randhip Bhummabuil tanchuiw piy so añā Dhipesyañ arap Manpuy añ lak akrā nhuik lay 1500 ...

As for the disputes between the monks and the lay men, we have an interesting case in A.D.1259<sup>1</sup> and another in A.D.1262<sup>2</sup>. In both these cases the monks were successful. In A.D.1315,<sup>3</sup> which is a little beyond our period, we find that the teacher of Īm Kri Sañ's monastery sued Sañkrī Chan and party in a civil court for encroaching on his land. Amhu cuiw - the judges - decided in favour of the monk. Then Skhiñ Dhammasiri investigated and gave the same verdict. In spite of these judgments, Sañkrī Chan and party continued encroaching on the land and so Lord Rājasū took up the case and he affirmed the above verdicts. In this record one interesting thing we notice is that Skhiñ Dhammasiri,

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1. Pl.193. See Supra.p.199.

2. Pl.381. See Supra.pp.106-107.

3. Pl.421b<sup>14-21</sup>.



acted as a monk judge who probably intervened in cases where monks were concerned. As it happened just on the fringe of our period, it may not be too far wrong to assume that also in our period in cases where monks were concerned, an elder or a committee of elders among monks were referred to for arbitration. In fact it was the practice until the annexation that the ecclesiastical court had also legal authority.<sup>1</sup> However, the following example - a quarrel between two monks for land is an exception as the case was decided in a civil court. In A.D.1224 two arañ (āraññika) - forest dwelling monks - disputed the ownership of four pay of hill-side cultivation on the hill of Turañ. Akliwhi, Cattaruy, Kaccakāpatiy and Kaccapakrañ - four judges heard the case and gave the land to Arañ Na Cuik Sañ.<sup>2</sup> Thus monks individually or severally owned lands either through donations or by buying and their appearance to claim lands in law courts - both lay and ecclesiastical was not infrequent. As these monastic lands were free from all taxes and as they were continually increasing, some of the kings undoubtedly got greatly concerned at the loss of revenue and where evidence was weak they confiscated them. Unfortunately, in the three cases mentioned above, the kings had to relinquish their seizure and acknowledge defeat. We also have an example where some monks

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1. In Alaungpaya Dynasty, the thathanabaing or a commission of eight elders had jurisdiction in cases under Vinaya, disputes about monasteries, gardens attached thereto, etc. See G.E.Harvey: Op.cit., p.326.

2. Pl.54 (and duplicate Pl.371b).

were accused of treason and they gave lands as fee for their defence. Besides slaves, cattle and land, the donors also gave the monks various articles of daily use.

Among the articles of daily use given to the monks, first and foremost comes food. They called it niccapat<sup>1</sup> (niccabhattan) - the constant rice i.e. they made it their duty that they would never fail to offer some portion of their food to the monks when they came begging for it once every day. This duty is termed wat<sup>2</sup> and samput, chimi, kwam, pan<sup>3</sup> - food, light, betel and flower, all of which came under this heading. Very often wat itself is used in the sense of the Pali vattu - objects of offering like almsfood, etc. Land producing food for the monastery are called wat lay<sup>4</sup> or samput lay<sup>5</sup>. We have also seen that samput khyak kywan<sup>6</sup> or wat khyak kywan<sup>7</sup> or ca chwam nhuik lup kluy so kywan<sup>8</sup> - slaves for

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1. Pl.392<sup>34</sup>.

2. Pl.31<sup>30,31</sup>, Pl.42<sup>28</sup>, Pl.55b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.138<sup>28,29</sup>, Pl.245b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.259<sup>15</sup>, Pl.270<sup>17</sup>, Pl.285<sup>23</sup>, Pl.286<sup>11</sup>, Pl.293<sup>18</sup>, Pl.365a<sup>4,4</sup>, Pl.370<sup>26,30</sup>, Pl.380<sup>1,30</sup>, Pl.382<sup>19</sup>, Pl.383a<sup>9,18,19,21</sup>, Pl.389a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.390<sup>22</sup>, Pl.392<sup>35,36</sup>, Pl.393<sup>18</sup>, Pl.396b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.417<sup>9</sup>, Pl.419<sup>37,42</sup>, Pl.421b<sup>15,21</sup>, Pl.423<sup>44</sup>, Pl.594<sup>8</sup>.

3. Pl.73<sup>30</sup>.

4. Pl.31<sup>30,31</sup>, Pl.55b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.245b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.259<sup>15</sup>, Pl.370<sup>26,30</sup>, Pl.419b<sup>37</sup>, Pl.421b<sup>15,21</sup>, Pl.423<sup>44</sup>.

5. Pl.6<sup>19</sup>, Pl.11<sup>15</sup>, Pl.68<sup>11</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>27</sup>, Pl.365b<sup>9</sup>.

6. Pl.50<sup>22</sup>.

7. Pl.417<sup>9</sup>.

8. Pl.275<sup>28</sup>.

cooking food were dedicated to monasteries. Detailed instructions to them would be given as to how much rice and curry was to be cooked for the thera and monks of the monastery. Two specimens of them are given below - one from an inscription dated A.D.1241<sup>1</sup> and another from an inscription of about the end of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup>

// niy tuiñ khyak so sañput wat tac niy chan 3 prañ //  
capā twak kā chan 3 prañ // hañ phuiw kwañ phuiw khapañ  
cuñ tac niy so capā 18 tañ 3 cit // tac nhac so 225 tañ //

For food offering cooked daily, (cook) three prañ of rice per day. Three prañ of rice are for paddy. The cost for curry and the cost for betel, all complete, in a day is ten prañ of paddy. The monthly (total) is eighteen baskets and three quarters of paddy. Yearly it is two hundred and five baskets.

... kloñ krī coñ so skhiñ sañghā 1 yok kuiw kā 1 niy chan  
1 prañ hañ phuiw capā 2 prañ cā ciy sate ī apa 108 yok so  
skhiñ aryā tuiw kuiw kā 1 niy chan 1 tuñ hañ phuiw capā 1 prañ  
cā ciy sate /

As for the worshipful monk who looks after the big

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1. Pl.138<sup>28-29</sup> .

2. Pl.393<sup>29-30</sup> .

monastery, one prañ of rice and two prañ of paddy as the cost of curry are allowed to be consumed daily. (Each of) the remaining one hundred and eight worshipful monks may consume one tuñ of rice and one prañ of paddy as the cost of the curry daily.

Rice and curry together for the reverend lords is termed chwañ<sup>1</sup> and some donors on the occasion of big dedications invited a large number of monks to a feast.<sup>2</sup> Invitation of one thousand monks was not a rare occurrence.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of our period in some of these feasts the monks were served not only with rice and curry but also with yaimakā aphyaw<sup>4</sup> - sweet liquor made from palmyra palm juice. Perhaps it is to prepare this drink and to make jaggery as a substitute of sugar, and also to make fans the monks used and the leaves as writing material, that these palmyra palms were very often dedicated to the monastery<sup>5</sup> or planted around it.<sup>6</sup> The people of our period made it a daily practice to share a certain portion of their food with the monks. The rich gave cultivable lands for providing food for the monastery and also gave slaves with full instructions to cook it. A feast to commemorate a dedication was general and sometimes as many

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1. Pl.73<sup>31</sup>, Pl.246<sup>4</sup>, Pl.274<sup>36</sup>, Pl.275<sup>25</sup>, Pl.279<sup>17,22,31</sup>, Pl.299<sup>3,9</sup>, Pl.393<sup>18</sup>.

2. Pl.6<sup>8-9</sup>, Pl.17<sup>3,5,10</sup>, Pl.36<sup>14</sup>.

3. Pl.100a<sup>8</sup>, Pl.582b<sup>10,14</sup>.

4. Pl.233<sup>14</sup>. See also JBRIS XXX, 1, pp.321-322, n.69.

5. and 6. Pl.12<sup>10</sup>, Pl.73<sup>7</sup>, Pl.136<sup>12,14</sup>, Pl.202<sup>7,22</sup>, Pl.233<sup>13</sup>, Pl.253b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.372<sup>6</sup>, etc.

as a thousand monks would be invited to such feasts. Palmyra palms were also dedicated to the monastery so that the monks might enjoy the delightful drinks made from the palm juice. Next to food comes Chīmī - oil lamps for lighting.

The oil used for lighting was extracted from sesamum and a donor mentioned that fifty (measures) of sesamum yielded twenty tanak of oil.<sup>1</sup> Probably the same donor dedicated seven hundred and fifty pay of land growing sesamum and millet and said:<sup>2</sup>

/ra so nham nham chi kā piṭakat 3 puṃ so ta niy chīmī 3  
khwak cetī ta khwak / kloṅ ū ta khwak / kloṅ twaṅ ta khwak/  
phurhā ryap ta khwak / ṅā smi plu so kū 4 myaknhā so chīmī  
4 khwak ṅhi ciy sate /

As for sesamum and oil that (the land) produces, three cups of oil lamps are to be lit daily at the Tipiṭaka, one cup at the cetiya, one cup at the porch of the monastery, one cup in the monastery, one cup at the standing Buddha and four cups of oil lamps at the four sided hollow-pagoda built by my daughter.

Professor G.H.Luce remarked: "How dark their nights must be or have been!"<sup>3</sup>

But there were also special nights when chīmithoṅ<sup>4</sup> - one thousand oil lamps were lit. As a matter of fact the monks did not care to have too much.

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1. Pl.390<sup>29-30</sup>.

2. Pl.393<sup>22-24</sup>.

3. JBRs XXX, i, p.293.

4. Pl.117b<sup>7</sup>.

light at nights as their only duty after dusk was for the younger ones to repeat from memory what they had learnt from the canon during the day and for the older ones to find a secluded corner and meditate. But there were always donors to give them sesamum oil for lighting and at times <sup>even land</sup> to grow sesamum. Next to light, a donor's care was to provide a monk with the betel quid or the necessary ingredients for making one.

The betel leaf was called sain mlhū<sup>1</sup> and a donor in A.D.1212 mentioned that he gave the monks ten sain mlhū and forty bundles of areca seeds. We are not told what type of measure that ten was. Probably it was ten viss. As for the areca seeds measure, the old Burmese used kaduī<sup>2</sup> meaning a bamboo tube. Princess Acaṅkrwam in A.D.1248 said that while building the hollow-pagoda she spent among other things two kaduī and 1160 areca seeds and while building the spired monastery 2200 seeds. A donor gave six baskets of paddy to the monastery to cover the expenses of fruit and betel.<sup>3</sup> Another donor for offering food, light and betel to the pagoda throughout the year, gave 117 baskets of paddy and for similar offerings to the thera and the monks he gave 200 and 650 baskets of paddy respectively.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes, betel quid was offered by the thousand,<sup>5</sup>

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1. Pl.36<sup>19,21,23</sup>, Pl.495b<sup>12</sup>, (Pl.559a<sup>11</sup>).

2. Pl.164<sup>35,39</sup>.

3. Pl.138<sup>25</sup>.

4. Pl.226<sup>28-50</sup>.

5. Pl.372<sup>39</sup>.

probably when the donor invited a thousand monks to a feast to commemorate a big dedication. Some appurtenances of betel chewing like kwam̃ ac<sup>1</sup> and kwam̃ khyap<sup>2</sup> or kwam̃ kap<sup>3</sup> - betel boxes, kwam̃ khyam̃<sup>4</sup> - nut cracker or cutter and thun phū<sup>5</sup> - phials of chunam were also given to the monasteries. Kwam̃ cā tuik - "special buildings for chewing betel were even dedicated" to the monks.<sup>6</sup> Seeds of the areca palm, leaves of the betel piper vine, white shell-lime or chunam and catch - the ingredients of making betel quids were constantly supplied together with their containers to the monastery. It suggests that chewing betel was very popular among the monks and one who did not have that habit would be a very rare exception. We find the mention of such a monk by the name of mlat krī cwā Kwam̃macā<sup>7</sup> - the Most Reverend Don't -Eat-Betel. As a matter of fact, this kwam̃ comes under the category of food which is one of the four necessaries of a monk.<sup>8</sup>

1. Pl.135b<sup>12</sup>. Sometimes the betel boxes were made of silver (Pl.312b<sup>8</sup>) or gold (Pl.265<sup>7</sup>) and studded with jewels (Pl.421b<sup>9</sup>).
2. Pl.138<sup>14</sup>.
3. Pl.265<sup>7</sup>.
4. Pl.38b<sup>13</sup>.
5. Pl.265<sup>7</sup>. A gold gourd-phial of chunam together with a gold betel box were given by the wife of Cañsankhā to the Reverend Tāmalin in about A.D.1278.
6. Pl.276b<sup>10</sup>. JBR XXX, i, p.312, n.64.
7. Pl.422b<sup>2</sup>.
8. The four requisites are cīvaram̃ - clothing, pindapāto - food, senāsanam̃ - bedding and bhesajjam̃ - medicine.

Donors of our period were always careful to provide the Order with all of the paccañ le pā<sup>1</sup> (catupaccaya) - four necessaries of a monk. They gave away land so that skhiñ sañghē tuiw kuiw paccañ 4 pā ca so chiy wā athok apan̄ phlac cim so ñhā<sup>2</sup> - the reverend monks get the supply of four necessaries such as medicine, and they gave away slaves so that kuiw cā paccañ 4 pā lup klwañ cim so ñhā<sup>3</sup> - they serve (the monks) with the four necessaries on their behalf. Some donors considered that to provide chiy wā<sup>4</sup> - medicine - was very important although they made no specific mention of the sorts of medicine or medical treatment they used in those days. Perhaps the five standard medicines frequently mentioned in the Vinaya<sup>5</sup> were considered the best for the monks. Because we find the mention of thawpiy<sup>6</sup> - unclarified butter, thawpat<sup>7</sup> - clarified butter, chī<sup>8</sup> - oil, pyā<sup>9</sup> - honey and tañglay<sup>10</sup> - molasses in the inscriptions and

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1. Pl.69<sup>10</sup>, Pl.131a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.152<sup>8</sup>, Pl.190a<sup>12</sup>, Pl.205<sup>23</sup>, Pl.217<sup>8</sup>, Pl.249<sup>25</sup>, Pl.285<sup>18</sup>, Pl.291<sup>7,11</sup>, Pl.293<sup>9</sup>, Pl.307c<sup>6</sup>, Pl.365a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.390<sup>22</sup>.

2. Pl.390<sup>22</sup>.

3. Pl.152<sup>8</sup>.

4. Pl.96<sup>16</sup>, Pl.275<sup>23</sup>, Pl.293<sup>9</sup>, Pl.390<sup>23</sup>.

5. I.B.Horner: The Book of Discipline, II, pp.131-2. The five are sappi - clarified butter, narenīta - butter, tela - oil, madhu - honey and phānita - molasses.

6. and 7. Pl.393<sup>32-33</sup>.

8. Pl.393<sup>22</sup>.

9. Pl.36<sup>18,26</sup>.

10. Ep.Bi.um. II, No.20.



the Jātaka plaques of our period in connection with the monks. We have two instances mentioned, one in A.D.1223 and another in A.D.1240 that a monastery had thawpat ki<sup>1</sup> - storehouse for clarified butter. Queen Saw in A.D.1291 said:<sup>2</sup>

// ñā kloñ twañ niy so skhiñ tuiw səñ phyā nā so le //  
chiy wā // su nā nhañ ap so paccañ kā ra ciy kun sate //  
khandhā lhyañ pyok so le thañ phuiw // lhyā phuiw //  
ma kroñ kra ciy cwañm te //

If the monks who dwell in my monastery fell ill, may they get medicine and things proper for the sick. When the body disappears (in case of death) may there be no anxiety for the cost of firewood and the cost of lhyā.<sup>3</sup>

Incidentally, we find here that the monks cremated their dead and the people took all responsibilities of the funeral as is still the practice in Burma. Thus monks were well supplied with medicines and they did not have to worry about the funeral of their fellow either.

The clothing of the monks is also one of the four necessities.

Saṅkan<sup>4</sup> is the old Burmese word for the robe of a monk and it is derived

1. Pl.94a<sup>35</sup>, Pl.376<sup>34</sup>.

2. Pl.275<sup>23-25</sup>.

3. Unfortunately we are unable to give the meaning of the word nor the idea of the practice.

4. Pl.10a<sup>13</sup>, Pl.17<sup>3,9</sup>, Pl.19b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.21<sup>16</sup>, Pl.30a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.53<sup>19</sup>, Pl.117b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.138<sup>13,15</sup>, Pl.303<sup>4</sup>, Pl.368b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.390<sup>15</sup>, Pl.393<sup>19,28,29,29</sup>, 31, Pl.423<sup>11</sup>.

from the Pali saṅghāṭī - the outer garment but it means all the three robes of the monks.<sup>1</sup> We also find the mention of sakkham<sup>2</sup> or khruy kham<sup>3</sup> as inner garments for the upper part of the body and saṅpuin<sup>4</sup> for the nether part. Tuyan<sup>5</sup> and tankyat are also names for the monastic robes but unfortunately we cannot identify them. Perhaps they are outer robe and inner garment respectively as Professor Pe Maung Tin suggests.<sup>6</sup> Kawthā<sup>7</sup> is another kind of monastic robe which we are unable to identify too. Paṅsaku<sup>8</sup> (paṅsaku) - the dusty robe - was also given to the monks. Perhaps

1. The three are Saṅghāṭī - outer garment, Uttarasāṅgo - upper garment and Antaravāsaka - lower garment - which are in modern Burmese called dukok, kowat and thinpui respectively. While using the robes, a monk is expected to remind himself as: "In wisdom I put on the robes as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun and the touch of serpents and to cover nakedness, i.e. I wear them in all humility, for use only and not for ornament or show." (JRAS, VII, new series, 1875, p.7).

2. Pl.36<sup>25</sup> .

3. Pl.212<sup>14</sup> .

4. Pl.393<sup>19</sup> .

5. Pl.138<sup>13,13,14</sup> .

6. JBRs, XXVI, i, p.61.

7. Pl.372<sup>11</sup> .

8. Pl.23<sup>2</sup>, Pl.372<sup>36</sup> .

it comes from the original theory that the dress of a Buddhist monk should be made of dirty rags taken from a cemetery or a refuse pit and pieced together. But it was never strictly enforced and there were only a few monks who insisted on using only such type of robes. Such monks came to be popularly known as Skhiñ Pañsakū<sup>1</sup>. As it is mentioned in the inscriptions that pañsakū was given to the monks, we gather that the original idea of monks taking for themselves the dusty rags discarded by the people was already modified and it would mean only an indirect giving of the robe by the donor to the monk by leaving it on the way the monks usually passed by.<sup>2</sup> In the month which immediately follows Wā<sup>3</sup> - the Lent, the monks are given kathīn<sup>4</sup> robe which must be received only by a chapter of

1. Pañsakūlika - one who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dust heap. Pl.299<sup>4</sup>, Pl.428<sup>26</sup>. See also Hmannan para.142; GPC p.132.
2. In modern Burma, not necessarily a monastic robe but any object, e.g. coins, umbrellas, hats, etc., left on highways in the dead of night so that the earliest passer-by may get them. This kind of charity is known as "throwing pañsakū". If an article is specially meant for monks, it is left in or around the monastery. Even then the first finder, be he lay or monk, has the right to possession of it.
3. The Lent begins after the full moon day of Wazo (late in July) and ends on the full moon day of Thadingyut (late in October). Pl.138<sup>25,26,27</sup>, Pl.275<sup>21</sup>, Pl.289<sup>19</sup>, (wā suñla), Pl.308<sup>34</sup>, Pl.372<sup>11,12</sup>.
4. Pl.23<sup>2</sup>, Pl.117b<sup>7</sup>, Pl.308<sup>25</sup>, Pl.372<sup>36</sup>.

five monks and it is given to the one in that five who is in sore need of a robe. Although the time permitted for this particular type of offering is one whole month, the first day of it, i.e. the full moon day of Thadingyut or the last day of the month, i.e. the full moon day of Tasaungmon are the most popular days for such an offer. In the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of this offer once on the first day<sup>1</sup> and thrice on the last day<sup>2</sup> of the period. Sometimes various other articles of daily use were also given together with the kathin robe and such articles were usually hung on an artificial tree known as pateñsā pañ<sup>3</sup>. But the following example shows that giving a robe is not confined only to the end of the Lent.<sup>4</sup>

... khrañ ñay sañ kā khrañ wañ ruy yan sañ kā puchuiw rak ruy wāchuiw sañkan l chū wākhoñ sañkan l chū wā klwat sañkan l chū skhiñ thera kui kap ciy sate // ...  
/ skhiñ 108 tuiw kā wāchuiw sañkan l yok l chū phlac -ciy sate //

... Let the spinners spin the thread and the weavers weave the loincloth and give the lord thera one set of monastic robes at the beginning of Lent, one set of monastic robes in the middle of Lent and one set of monastic robes at the end of Lent ... Let it come to pass that each of

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1. Pl.274<sup>7</sup>.

2. Pl.99<sup>2</sup>, Pl.235<sup>1</sup>, Pl.272<sup>12</sup>.

3. Pl.117b<sup>3</sup>.

4. Pl.393<sup>28-31</sup>.

the one hundred and eight lords (also get) one set of  
monastic robes at the beginning of Lent.

Perhaps, the donor wanted to evade the necessity of the kathina which was  
meant only for the needy at the end of Lent. Thus the three kinds of  
garment which made a set of monastic robes was given to the monks  
whenever they were in need of it or by the end of Lent. For the few who  
insisted on adhering to the old idea of wearing only the rags salvaged  
240 from refuse pits, the considerate donor would leave the robe at a place  
quite close to his dwelling so that he might soon find a so-called  
discarded rag practically at his very door. In fact the robe is one of  
eight articles that monks are entitled to possess.

The eight requisites of a monk are known as parikkharā yhaṇe pā<sup>1</sup> and  
usually a candidate about to be ordained a monk must bring all these  
eight with him to the ordination service and an orthodox view would be  
that these eight were all that a monk should have as personal possessions.  
But the people of our period had vastly extended this parikkharā so that  
it even included sanryañ<sup>2</sup> - palanquin, lhiy<sup>3</sup> - boat and chañ<sup>4</sup> - elephants  
for the monks to ride on when they travelled. The following extract gives

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1. Attha parikkhāra consists of patto - almsbowl, ticivaraṃ - three robes,  
kāyabandhanani - girdle, vāsi - razor, sūci - needle and parissāvaṇaṃ -  
water strainer. Pl.390<sup>15</sup>, Pl.422b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.423<sup>11</sup>.

2. Pl.253a<sup>7</sup>, (Pl.421b<sup>8</sup>).

3. Pl.235<sup>2</sup>.

4. Pl.423<sup>11</sup>.

a rough idea of such additional parikkharā.<sup>1</sup>

// kloñ saṅghika watthu kā // salwan 2 chu // sanryan  
3 chū // samphlu mwan hiy, 10 thañ // ... 3 thañ //  
atham 3 cañ // tarwan 3 cañ // mikhat 3 cañ // kriy  
santhun 3 cañ // Ui Tha Nay puchuiw lhi 3 cañ // chok 3 cañ  
// i mhya so kā // kloñ saṅghika wattu te //

The articles exclusively for the monks<sup>2</sup> of the monastery are, two conches, three palanquins, ten very good mats, three ... cloths, three porter's yokes, three axes, three spades, three flints, three copper razors, three cutters of loincloth (?scissors) of Ui Tha Nay, three chisels. These are the articles exclusively for the monks of the monastery.

Such articles as myatkhat<sup>3</sup> - broom, chañ lañ<sup>4</sup> - bell, khwak tac pway<sup>5</sup> - a set of dishes, cākhwak<sup>6</sup> - cup for eating, santiy<sup>7</sup> - bowl, cāloñ<sup>8</sup> -

1. Pl.373b<sup>14-16</sup>.

2. Saṅghika. Pl.113<sup>25</sup>, Pl.162<sup>9,11,17,37</sup>, Pl.163<sup>4</sup>, Pl.202<sup>22</sup>, Pl.373b<sup>14,16</sup>, Pl.375<sup>2</sup>, Pl.382<sup>18</sup>, Pl.398<sup>28,32</sup>, Pl.424<sup>6</sup>, Pl.559b<sup>17</sup>.

3. Pl.138<sup>20</sup>.

4. Pl.182a<sup>11</sup>.

5. Pl.372<sup>26</sup>.

6.,7. and 8. Pl.262<sup>22-23</sup>.

pot cover, etc. were also included in the requisites of the monks. A donor gives a long list of vegetables grown in his garden which was given over to the monastery and he added a long list of articles (partly illegible) given to the monks. The list includes uiw - pots, yap - fan, ñoncoñ - couch, klokpyan - grinding stone, puchin - axe, ckun - mortar, klipwe - pestle, riy mhut - water dipper, tanchon - chandelier, lanpan - tray, tañkhwan - streamer, ip rā → bedding, bratuiw - spittoon, karā - jug, chimikhwak - oil lamp, mliy phlu - chalk, sañpun - blackboard, parabuit - paper folded backwards and forwards for writing, kañkūchān - soapstone pencil and kañkūtāñkleñ - cylindrical case for the soapstone pencils.<sup>1</sup> Of sapit<sup>2</sup> - the almsbowl, we have a record of a donor giving as many as one thousand.<sup>3</sup> Probably, most of these bowls were earthen or lacquer wares but we also find that some were made of copper,<sup>4</sup> some of gold<sup>5</sup> and silver.<sup>6</sup> Thus parikkharā includes all the eight requisites of a monk plus various other things of everyday use in those days.

Another important item in the four necessities of a monk is

1. Pl.310a and b.

2. Pl.117b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.303<sup>5</sup>. Professor G.H.Luce connects this word with the Tibetan bzed.

3. Pl.372<sup>39</sup>.

4. Pl.15<sup>8</sup>, Pl.182a<sup>20</sup>.

5. Pl.65b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.138<sup>15</sup>.

6. Pl.138<sup>15</sup>.

senāsanaṃ - bedding or lodging and in its broadest sense, the old  
Burmese took it as providing the monks with shelter from heat and cold.  
Ari Caw in A.D.1260 said:<sup>1</sup>

// skhiṅ aryā pū so khyāṃ so paṅpan so ṅrim ciṃ so ṅhā  
saṅ takā alay so skhiṅ therā nhaṅ akwa so aryā tuiw niy  
ciṃ so ṅhā kloṅ le plu e, // thuiw Kulā kloṅ kā asaṅ  
araṃ thup lyok akhraṅ amuiw khapaṅ so kuiw le taṅ tay  
cwā so achan akray chiy thaṅ haṅ sapatā tuiw phlaṅ le riy  
e, // <sup>rhuy kyaktanuiw le tap e, //</sup> athak pitaṅ kā rhuy krā nhaṅ nhaṅ taṅ tay cwā aroṅ  
awā le tok pa ciy e, //

In order to relieve the lord ariyā from heat, cold and  
fatigue (and) in order to provide (a place) to live in  
for the Lord therā who is the central person of the  
Order and all the monks, (I) also build a monastery. As  
for this Kulā kloṅ - brick monastery, all of the asaṅ(?),  
araṃ - railings, thup - crossbeams, lyok - pieces  
supporting the rafters, akhraṅ - rafters, and amuiw -  
roof are painted beautifully and wonderfully with  
chiythaṅ - yellow orpiment and haṅsapatā - vermilion. The  
(figure of) Kyaktanuiw<sup>2</sup> (? Sun God) is also fixed (to the  
ceiling). The upper pitaṅ - canopy, is completely (covered

1. Pl.194<sup>14-18</sup>.

2. See Pl.75<sup>13</sup>, Pl.97<sup>15</sup>, Pl.194<sup>17</sup> and Pl.372<sup>40</sup>.



with) golden lotus (pattern) so that its radiant colours would shine beautifully.

What a magnificent monastery it must have been! Another queen made an equally magnificent monastery and the description of it runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>

// satañ samāthi koñ so akyañ nhañ plañ cuñ so ariyā pukkuil  
kuiw rañ ruy ratu 3 pā nhuik ñī hwat cwā so arip sāyā so  
mwañ khoñ ta cwañ so krī cwā so kloñ le plu tāau mu e'  
rhu phray nhañ hi so athū 2 chan kray so chiy le riy e'//

With intention (to provide shelter) for the noble lords who are replete with good practices (of) self-restraint and self-possession, (I) build a very big, fine and high roofed monastery (so that) it would give a pleasant shade agreeable in all three seasons. (I) also let it be painted with various wonderful and admirable (designs).

Every kloñ tāyaka<sup>2</sup> - donor of a monastery would like to build such a grand one though some had to be content with building just a sac ñay muiw kloñ<sup>3</sup> - thatch roof monastery. Anyway, most of them tried hard to construct only tañ tay cwā so kloñ<sup>4</sup> - the goodly monastery or

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1. Pl. 390<sup>11-13</sup> .

2. Pl. 23<sup>15</sup>, Pl. 101<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 280b<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 578b<sup>8</sup>.

3. Pl. 428<sup>28</sup> .

4. Pl. 12<sup>6</sup>, Pl. 285<sup>3</sup> .

sāvā cwā so kloñ<sup>1</sup> -the pleasant monastery.<sup>2</sup> Some donors even turned their houses into monasteries.<sup>3</sup> King Klacwā's aunt desiring to turn her house given by Klacwā into a monastery, said:-<sup>4</sup>

// m̄lat cwā so ñā skhiñ atuiw kywan kuiw plu piy so ñm̄ te  
sā le sā nuiw cwā e, // athuiw kywan tuiw niy so thak k̄ā //  
sañkhā niy so mlay e, hu ruy k̄ū le plu e, // ñm̄ le kloñ rañ  
e, // piy taw m̄ū so ñm̄ thoñ kywan lay le atuiw kywan lhū e,  
// ñā krā rakā mithuy tañ ap nuiw so sañkhā thā lañ hu min  
taw mu e //

"My exalted Lord, the house you built and gave your servant is really very pleasant. But thinking that it would be excellent for monks to live there rather than for us, your servants, I build a hollow-pagoda and intended (to turn) the house (into) a monastery. The household slaves and lands that you gave your servant, I dedicate." When I told this (to the King) he said: "Let my aunt place there a worthy monk."

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1. Pl.69<sup>10</sup>, Pl.73<sup>20</sup>, Pl.220<sup>8</sup>.

219 2. We must bear in mind that not all the kloñ built by the old Burmans were for the Order. There were also purhā kloñ (Pl.66<sup>21</sup>, Pl.389b<sup>3</sup>) - chapels and trvā kloñ (Pl.68<sup>3</sup>, Pl.247<sup>10</sup>) - libraries.

3. (Pl.143a<sup>6,8</sup>, Pl.144<sup>2</sup>), Pl.145<sup>10</sup>, (Pl.147a<sup>7,8,9</sup>, Pl.183a<sup>4</sup>).

4. Pl.181<sup>6-9</sup>. See JBRS XXVI, iii, p.133.

There were also such buildings as tawkloñ - forest monasteries and Kulākloñ - brick monasteries - which we will discuss later. Although Pagan is noted for many pagodas we find that the inscriptions of our period have more mention of the construction of monasteries than of pagodas. Perhaps because the people were told that to build a monastery was one of the most meritorious deeds a man could do, as the following extracts will show. In A.D.1273, Samnyañ Lakchoñ built a monastery at a place called Āmanā and dedicated two hundred and ninety five pay of land and twenty two slaves to that monastery and wished that all those who supported his establishment might also share

... phurhā prañā phlañ ma puññ ma khrā so atuiñ ma sī  
so kloñ akluw ...<sup>1</sup>

... the merits of (building) the monastery (which are) so vast that (even) the knowledge of the Lord could not put a limit to them.

Princess Acawpatañsā, after building a monastery for the Reverend Anantapañā in the same quarter of Āmana also expressed her wish that the supporters of her establishment may share

... purhā nhut taw phlañ ma haw nuññ so kloñ akluw ...<sup>2</sup>

... the merits of (building) the monastery (which are so vast that) even the Lord cannot express them (in full).

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12-13  
 1. Pl.243 .

16-17  
 2. Pl.254b .

However vast and inexplicable the merits were, the monks would often be requested to give kloṅ akluw trvā<sup>1</sup> - a lecture on the merits of building a monastery wherever a donor had finished that kind of good deed.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the old Burmans built monasteries or turned their houses into monasteries, in a sense that they were providing the monks with one of their four necessities and although they originally meant to make just a shelter from heat and cold, their enthusiasm to acquire more and more merit naturally led them to beautify it so that it would look grand and magnificent. Perhaps the donors usually spent more on building these monasteries than the estimates. We find a record where the donor had to sell his horses so that he might continue building the monastery with the proceeds of the

1. Pl.233<sup>13</sup> .

2. Probably the monks used stories from Vimāna Vatthu to augment their speech as their modern counterparts do. Not to speak of the benefits reaped from doing the deed oneself, Vimāna Vatthu gives examples where just a word of appreciation for others work of merit would be rewarded enormously. A lay devotee said a word of appreciation when Visākha had finished building a monastery and as a result of it, after her death, she was reborn a devī and got "a great mansion that could travel through the sky, beautified with many pinnacles, with park, lotus-pond and the like, 16 yojanas in length and breadth and height, diffusing light for a hundred yojanas by its own radiance." (The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part IV, Translation by J.Kennedy and H.S.Gelman, p.76).

sale.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one of the reasons for this enthusiasm was that they believed they were going to get an unlimited amount of merit from building monasteries. The various types of monasteries they built and the cost of construction will be described in detail later. Incidentally, we must mention here that in an inscription dated A.D.1232 we find mention of cane sateñ sañ kloñ<sup>2</sup> - the monastery of those who take sabbath on Saturday. We do not know what sort of religious belief they had and why they had fixed their sabbath on Saturdays. Even after a monastery was built, the donor felt that his duty was not over. He must maintain it.

To maintain a monastic establishment he had just founded, a donor usually dedicated lands and slaves to it. Indirectly, it means that the monks living in the monastery could utilise them to their benefit but with the assumption that when the buildings needed repairs, they would look after them as well. But some donors were more explicit.<sup>3</sup> The wife of Sūpharac in A.D.1245 left thirty pay of land out of six hundred and eighty five mainly for the purpose of repairs at her monastery.<sup>4</sup> Two donors in A.D.1263 bought fifty pay of land and

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1. Pl.270<sup>19</sup> .

2. Pl.94a<sup>47</sup> .

3. See Pl.262<sup>25</sup> , Pl.393<sup>19,32</sup> , Pl.395<sup>19</sup> .

4. Pl.156<sup>19</sup> .

dedicated it to the monastery of Krwañ Skhiñ saying:

// kloñ nhuik niy so skhiñ tuiw ñī riy cā kra ciy sate  
kloñ pyak cī so le ñī ruy plu kra ciy sate // ma plu piy  
mukā phun ma kri asak ma rhañ ñaray khañ ciy sate // <sup>1</sup>

May the monks living in the monastery in unison enjoy (the produce of the land) and in unison do the repairs when the monastery is ruined. If they neglect repairs may they not enjoy glory or long life (but) suffer the miseries of hell.

It is a rare example where the donor puts a curse on the monks if they neglect the repairs of the monastery. Another donor in A.D.1269 dedicated slaves to the monastery and among the slaves he included three carpenters and three blacksmiths to do the repairs when the monastery needed them.<sup>2</sup> Thus, there were some donors who thought it necessary to leave behind certain instructions to effect repairs at their buildings when necessary. Some went further and dedicated skilful artisans to the monastery so that they were permanently employed to look after the building. Perhaps the most effective provision for repairs was to put a curse on the monks if they neglected it. There was also another type of buildings given to the monks called sīma - the ordination hall.

Sim is the old Burmese word for Sīma - the ordination hall. In a Mon inscription believed to be of not later than early 12th century a Mon

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1. Pl.224 <sup>14-16</sup> .

2. Pl.261 <sup>7-8,24-25</sup> .

mahāthere in Kyaukse district is mentioned as the founder of baddhasīma  
 - a permanent ordination hall.<sup>1</sup> But the earliest mention of it in  
 Burmese is in an inscription<sup>2</sup> dated A.D.1212. It runs:-

// Turañ toñ thak Cawrahan sim pyāk kha raka Moñma Nhutchak  
amay / Ui, Pan Ū Sañ cāhipuih / iy 2 krā rakā / purhā loñ  
mañ Ūcinā mañkrī rhuy toñ tak e, (1) nhac so krā rakā /  
mañkrī plu ciy hu rakā / īy sim chok sa kā Sakarac 574 /  
khu Kratuik nhac Nemyun la chan 12 Tannhañkuniy niy  
Amruitta Sut Siñkhā lak akhā // nam nāk ta pahui, ā chok  
sate / īy sim klok samuit sakā / mañ chāryā Dhammasiri  
samuit sate / lup ra so kā Mittrabicañ 1 Pokpo Ramañ 1  
Asak Lhwat 1 Pisūkā Nā Khyañ Sañ 1 //

As the sīma of Cawrahan on the Mt. Turañ fell into ruin,  
 concubine Nhutchāk (Miss Kiss) and mother Ui, Pan Ū Sañ,  
 the chief clerk, these two heard of it. One year after the  
 great king Ūcinā (Nātoñmyā) the Bodhisattva had ascended  
 the golden mountain, the great king commanded (the above  
 two) to do the repairs. The building started at the first  
 stroke (of the clock) in the morning when the lagna was in  
 Leo of the amruitta cut on Sunday, 13 May 1212. The person  
 who put the stone (boundary pillars) was the Reverend  
Dhammasiri, the teacher of the king. The persons who built

1. Ep.Birm. III, 1, pp.70-3.

2. Pl.36<sup>1-13</sup>.

it were Mittrabicañ, Fokpo Ramañ, Asak Ihwat and the architect Nā Khyam Sañ.

Consecration of a sīma and putting the limits to it required a ceremonial as prescribed in the second Khandhaka of the Mahāvagga, Vinayapitaka.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, nothing of this is mentioned in the inscriptions. Sim is also a place where the monks meet twice a month to do the uposatha ceremony and once a year after the Lent to do the pavāraṇā ceremony which is in short meetings where monks made declarations if they had committed an offence mentioned in the Pātimokka. In an inscription dated A.D.1388<sup>2</sup> we have a definition of sim as

// skhiñ sañghā tuw āpattukat ca so aphiac phriy rā sim ...

Sīma where the reverend monks made absolution for such offences like āpatti.

In so far as the inscriptions of our period inform us, we know that sim<sup>3</sup> were built for the monks though not as frequently as the monasteries and a senior monk like the king's teacher would be called upon to put the limits to the sim. Land,<sup>4</sup> slaves<sup>5</sup> and palmyra palms<sup>6</sup> were also

1. See I.B.Horner: The Book of Discipline, IV, pp.137-8. See also Taw Sein Ko: The Kalyāṇī Inscription, pp.ii-iv for the modern ceremony.

2. Pl.390<sup>14</sup>.

3. Pl.36<sup>6</sup>, Pl.205<sup>4</sup>, Pl.214a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.264<sup>14</sup>, Pl.276b<sup>5,5</sup>, Pl.280b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.370<sup>1</sup>, Pl.390<sup>14</sup>, Pl.579<sup>2</sup> and old Mon. XI<sup>6</sup> (Ep.Birm. III, i, pp.70-3).

4. Pl.70<sup>9</sup>, Pl.113<sup>3</sup>, Pl.126b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.134a<sup>15,19,20,24</sup>, Pl.222a<sup>10</sup>, Pl.248<sup>3</sup>, Pl.264<sup>2,12</sup>, Pl.265<sup>43,44</sup>, Pl.287a<sup>2,10</sup>, Pl.370<sup>8,19</sup>, Pl.380<sup>21,22,23,27,29</sup>, Pl.575<sup>4,4</sup>.

5. Pl.134b<sup>15</sup>, Pl.190b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.212<sup>16</sup>.

6. Pl.202<sup>10</sup>.



dedicated to the sin, in as much the same way as they were dedicated to a pagoda or a monastery. It was also the building where monks confessed and sought absolution. Perhaps it will not be out of place here to mention other buildings that the people built for their monks in those days. When building monasteries some donors made it a point to build also a kappiyakuṭī<sup>1</sup> - storehouse attached to the monastery. It was defined as alhū paccañ thē cim so ñhā kappiyakuṭiy - the storehouse for keeping the appurtenances of dedication. As the monasteries owned land, cattle and toddy palms these store houses were also used probably to store butter and jaggery. We have mentioned before that some monasteries had separate store houses for clarified butter. Some donors dug wells and made reservoirs in the monastic compound.<sup>2</sup> The following extract from an inscription dated A.D.1223 gives a good example of it.

// skhiñ ariya tuiw, riy khyañ sā cim, so ñha ut-ti  
phway, so riy twañ le tū e, // ut-ti phway, so 4 thoñ,  
kān le tū e, // arhiy plañ kā kankrī le 2 chañ tū e, //  
riy wañ cim, so ñhā plwan nhañ, talā le atañ atay plu  
e, // riy kān apa wankyañ kā uyan le cuik e, //<sup>3</sup>

In order that the lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank

1. Pl.73<sup>27</sup>, Pl.234<sup>10</sup>, Pl.247<sup>12</sup>.

2. Pl.153a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.249<sup>24</sup>, Pl.303<sup>4</sup>.

3. Pl.73<sup>22-23</sup>.

built of bricks was also dug. To the east a large tank also was dug, with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and basins also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was planted.

In the same monastic compound, some donors built cārap<sup>1</sup> - alms-houses tanchoṅ<sup>2</sup> - resthouses and sataṅ taṅkup<sup>3</sup> - sheds to be used on sabbath days for the lay devotees who frequented the monasteries. Thus we have a rough idea of how a monastic establishment includes the house for the chief monk and houses for his follower monks with lecture halls for the monk students, rest houses for the lay devotees, store houses, wells and tanks within the same compound. We will now consider the ceremonies made in connection with the dedications - the ceremony where the transfer of property from the hands of the donor into the hands of the monk was effected.

Regarding the ceremony where a donor gave away a certain portion of his property to the Religion, the following extract gives a fairly good example. In A.D.1207 Nātoṅmyā (four years before his accession to the throne) copied a set of Tipitaka, built a monastery and dedicated 1050 palmyra palms and 10,000 pay of land to that monastery and the ceremony of this dedication is recorded as:-

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1. Pl.213a<sup>16</sup>, Pl.242<sup>22,22</sup>, Pl.305<sup>3</sup>, Pl.372<sup>41</sup>, Pl.428<sup>10</sup>.
  2. Pl.73<sup>25</sup>, etc.
  3. Pl.372<sup>3,40</sup>.

// ceñ kharā tī ruiy puiwpā amatryā rahan saghā nhañ akwa  
re cañ taw khla e' // krā pā so mañsā amat satthe sūkrwai  
tuiw sañ leñ anumotanā khaw pā kun e' / 1

The drums and the fifes are played and together with the retinue, the ministers and the venerable monks, the royal water of purity was poured. All those princes, ministers, and the rich people who heard and knew it called (aloud) the anumodanā.

In the case of common folk, the crowd that gathered for such an occasion would be different, that is to say there would be no courtiers but the process would be very much the same. Inscriptions often give lists of witnesses to these occasions; they always begin with the names of the monks according to seniority, then the village notables and lastly the villagers. Needless to say, the monks always must be there to receive the dedication and to recite the paritta<sup>2</sup> in order to solemnize the occasion. Pouring the water onto the ground to mark the end of dedication was the general practice and we notice one instance where the water jug used then was broken when the ceremony was over.<sup>3</sup> In another instance, when pouring water, the donors invoked the Great Earth to witness their good act.<sup>4</sup> Kaṅkasū's wife in A.D.1242 said:

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1. Pl.31<sup>19-21</sup>.

2. Pl.10a<sup>7</sup>, Pl.200<sup>12,14</sup>, Pl.266a<sup>11</sup>.

3. Pl.270<sup>33</sup>.

4. Pl.284a<sup>12</sup>.

... mliy krī Asuntariy lhyeñ saksy mū lat ruy alhū riy swān e, // <sup>1</sup>

I poured the water of dedication calling upon the Great Earth Asuntariy to bear witness.

This is the only reference to Vasundharā in the old Burmese inscriptions and therefore it will not be too far from the truth to say that calling upon her to bear witness as Gotama did when Mara attacked him, is exceptional. <sup>2</sup> This leads us to question what they prayed for after these dedications. <sup>3</sup>

All the donors prayed for nirvana although we have observed before that only the very ambitious wanted to become Buddhas before the attainment of nirvana. Anyway some of them knew of nirvana in a slightly different form than the nirvana as described in the scriptures and the monks who taught them the elements of Buddhism should be held responsible for it. In fact nirvana means annihilation and the end but they took it as a place of great peace and enjoyment. The typical

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1. Pl.145<sup>9</sup>.

2. For the strange legend of the Goddess peculiar to South East Asia, see G. Duroiselle: "Wathundaye, the Earth Goddess of Burma", ASI 1921-22, pp.144-146.

3. See also Professor G.H.Luce: "Prayers of Ancient Burma", JBRB XXVI,iii,pp.131-8.

phrase would be "May I reach nippban prañ<sup>1</sup> - the city of nirvana" or nirvana would be defined as nibban mañ so ma siy prañ<sup>2</sup> - the city of no death called nirvana. But this is not universal. There were also those who recognised nirvana as annihilation because they used such phrases as ruñ nañ khluṇ rā<sup>3</sup> - the annihilation of body and soul; amuik amvak rañ mak kun ruy<sup>4</sup> - the end of stupidity, anger, and greed; and saṅsarā achuñ<sup>5</sup> - the end of samsara. Perhaps, these different ideas on nirvana were due to the way that the monks preached. Some would mention nirvana as some form of prosperity as one would enjoy in the world of men or deva as lū cañcim nat cañcim nirabban cañcim<sup>6</sup> - the enjoyments of mankind, the enjoyments of devaloka and the enjoyments of nirvana. To attain this very great reward, the people believed that nothing was too great to sacrifice in support of the Religion and due to these good acts there are many pagodas, monasteries and other buildings in Burma. There were also many important personalities among the monks of our period.

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1. P1.12<sup>4</sup>, P1.73<sup>5</sup>, P1.143a<sup>29</sup>, P1.184<sup>17</sup>, P1.194<sup>5</sup>, P1.196<sup>22</sup>, P1.202<sup>26</sup>, P1.206<sup>7</sup>, P1.235<sup>14</sup>, P1.236b<sup>2</sup>, P1.275<sup>14</sup>.
  2. P1.202<sup>26</sup>, P1.206<sup>7</sup>.
  3. P1.69<sup>27</sup>.
  4. P1.233<sup>15</sup>.
  5. P1.117b<sup>5</sup>.
  6. P1.63b<sup>2</sup>.

## CHAPTER VIII.

SANGHĀ (Continued).

Of the important personalities among the monks of our period, the first for discussion is the Mahāthera Araham who was reputed to be the person who introduced the pure form of Buddhism into Upper Burma.<sup>1</sup> We do not know how much truth there is in the statement that he brought Theravāda Buddhism to Pagan nor how great was his influence over Aniruddha, who eventually conquered Lower Burma in A.D.1057 simply because he wanted a few of the thirty sets of Tipitaka which Araham assured him the King of Thaton had. According to the inscriptions of our period, he was the king's teacher throughout the reign of Kyanzittha. The great Shwezigon inscription<sup>2</sup> mentions that ~~that~~ the king had a mahāthera as an adviser. It said:-

"A Lord Mahāther, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law, King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja shall make (his right-hand man), shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahāther, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, 'Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha', thus shall King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja say."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Hmannan paras. 131 and 133.

2. Ep. Birma I, ii, Old Mon Inscription I.

3. Ibid., I B<sup>42-47</sup>.

The palace inscription identifies this mahāthera of King Kyanzitha as Arahan<sup>1</sup> who had a following of four thousand one hundred and eight monks. It is possible that this Arahan was the same as the Shin Arahan of the Chronicles. Through the initiative of Prince Rājakumār, the king made a death-bed gift<sup>2</sup> in about A.D.1113 and a mahāthera and six other dignitaries of the Order were present to witness it.<sup>3</sup> If this mahāthera was our Arahan he would have been over seventy seven years old then.<sup>4</sup> The chronicles maintain that he died after Cañsū I had suppressed a rebellion at Tenasserim but unfortunately we cannot fix a date

1. Ep.Birm III, i, XI A<sup>6,25,35,43,45</sup>, D<sup>44</sup>, G<sup>21,35,41,43</sup>.
2. A death-bed gift in modern Burma is considered void. See O.H.Mootham: Burmese Buddhist Law, (Oxford 1939), pp.70,135 and Sisir Chandra Lahiri: Principles of Modern Burmese Buddhist Law, (Rangoon,1930), pp. 248-253.
3. Ibid., I, i, the Rājakumār inscription, Burmese text, lines 23-6.
4. If we take A.D.1056 as the year of his arrival at Pagan he would have been there for fifty seven years in A.D.1113 and as no monk could be ordained under twenty, he was at least seventy seven years old then.

for it.<sup>1</sup> Anyhow it is certain that one mahāthera called Arahan was the

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1. Hmannan, para 141. How Mr. W. Ray comes to the conclusion that Arahan died in about A.D.1115 at the ripe age of eighty is a puzzle. (N.Ray: Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, p.106). The reference he gives is no where to be found. Perhaps he takes the hint from Mr.C.Duroiselle who says that in List 227 inscription it is mentioned that "Narapatisithu, otherwise known as Alaungsithu, who ascended the throne in 1112, urged one of his ministers to build (the Nandamanna) temple and the monastery close by; and that he, the king, sent Shin Arahan, the 'Falaing apostle of Pagan to Tenasserim" to collect relics to be enshrined in the new temple. Mr.C.Duroiselle comments on this as follow : "Now, Shin Arahan began his work of evangelization in 1057; supposing him to have then been, at the lowest estimate, twenty years of age, he would, at that date of accession of Alaungsi thu (1112), have been already seventy-five. So his mission to Tenasserim, an arduous journey at that time, cannot have been long after that. Hence the foundation of the Nandamanna can be placed somewhere between 1112 and 1130 at the latest, allowing the venerable monk a span of life of about ninety-five years." Unfortunately the inscription quoted is dated A.D.1248 and it clearly mentions that the mission under Arahan to Tenasserim was sent soon after 1248. Narapatisithu cannot be identified with Alaungsi thu (Cafisū I) as any king of Pagan were called by that name by inscription writers and therefore it is highly objectionable to connect the Arahan of this inscription with our Arahan because even if he lived a very long life, we cannot expect him to live for over two hundred years. Nor can we deduce from that inscription that the Nandamanna was built between A.D.1112-1130 although it was



king's teacher during the reign of Kyanzittha. But we know nothing about him in the time of Kyanzittha's predecessor or successor except the story in the chronicles that it was he who brought the pure form of Buddhism to Pagan in Aniruddha's time and he died during Caṅsū I's reign after that monarch had subdued the Tenasserim rebellion. According to the Hmannan Yazawin the king appointed the elder son of Seinmyeknin to succeed Arahan as Thathanabaing - the chief of the Religion.<sup>1</sup> This leads us to the question whether the office of Thathanabaing existed in our period as it existed in the times of the Konbaung dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

In order to find out whether the office of Thathanabaing or any other office similar to it existed we must scrutinise all mention of maḥāthera, sanghāthera and thera in our inscriptions, because there is no mention of Thathanabaing in all the available inscriptions of our period, although the Hmannan Yazawin asserts that Caṅsū I appointed an elder as Thathanabaing to succeed Arahan.<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly there were mañchāryā<sup>4</sup> or rājaguru

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found near that pagoda. Even if we venture to attach the stone to the pagoda, all we can say is that the pagoda might have been built after A.D.1248

1. Hmannan para. 141; GPC . p.119
2. See note on Primate in G.E.Harvey: History of Burma p.326 and Burma Under British Rule pp.25-29.
3. Pl.36<sup>10</sup>, Pl.83<sup>18</sup>, Pl.85<sup>2</sup>, Pl.139<sup>3,24</sup>, Pl.182a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.182b<sup>21</sup>, Pl.191a<sup>9,9</sup>, Pl.261<sup>31,34</sup>, Pl.297<sup>24</sup>, Pl.378b<sup>8,10</sup>, Pl.581a<sup>17</sup>.
4. Pl.3<sup>1</sup>, Pl.65<sup>2</sup>, Pl.191a<sup>9</sup>, Pl.245a<sup>7</sup>, Pl.272<sup>15</sup>, Pl.274<sup>10</sup>, Pl.279<sup>20</sup>, Pl.299<sup>6</sup>.

- the teachers of the king- but to be the king's teacher does not necessarily mean that such an elder was the head of the Order as Thathanabaing was understood during the Konbaung dynasty. As an elder he would be respected as we find that the king's teacher would also be addressed as mahāthera<sup>1</sup>, thera<sup>2</sup> or skhiñ<sup>3</sup> but in matters of discipline among the Order, any elder well versed in the Vinayapitaka would be approached to intervene even though the king might have greatly desired that his teacher alone should have the final say. Even in the time of the Konbaung kings, some thera ridiculed the idea of appointing a Thathanabaing or a commission of eight Thudhamma Sayadaws to have jurisdiction in cases under vinaya.<sup>4</sup> Although the king meant well, the monks did not need a king's sanction to enforce vinaya among themselves as it was by consent that they kept it.<sup>5</sup> As mentioned above the King's teacher would be called a mahāthera but not all the mahāthera were king's teachers nor was there only one mahāthera or one teacher to the king at a time. An old Mon inscription believed to be of Kyanzittha's reign mentions the existence of two mahāthera, one at Pagan and another at Klok Sayon and the latter informed the former of his good deeds done at his place of residence.<sup>6</sup> In one instance the term mahāthera was applied

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1. Pl.65<sup>2</sup>, Pl.139<sup>3,24</sup>, Pl.245a<sup>7</sup>, Pl.261<sup>31,34</sup>.

2. Pl.297<sup>24,27</sup>.

3. Pl.36<sup>10</sup>, Pl.63<sup>18</sup>, Pl.139<sup>3,24</sup>, Pl.182a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.261<sup>31,34</sup>, Pl.272<sup>15</sup>.

4. See Hsaya Thein: Upamāsamuhāgīrakkama Kyam: I pp.269-274.

5. At the end of the ordination service the ordinand was instructed in the rudiments of the vinaya by the chairman of the assembly and an upajjhāva - tutor - was appointed to teach him the details later.

6. Do.Birm, III, i, XI.

to all the elders who lived in a monastery.<sup>1</sup> An inscription dated A.D.1242 mentions two mahāthera and they were differentiated by the locality wherein they lived as Kuchūīwpuīw Mahāthī and Cañhan Mahāthī.<sup>2</sup> In a list of witnesses to a dedication made by Ña Tuīñ Pañ Sañ and wife in A.D.1258 we find two monks both of whom were addressed as the teacher of the king. As a general rule these lists give the names in order of importance and it is interesting to note that these two teachers of the king are preceded by a mahāthera. The list is as follows:-

// krā pā sakā mlāt so Mahāthī Uttamamati 1 yok // mañ chryā Dhammarāc 1 yok // mañ chryā Pawaradhāmmarājaguru 1 yok // Skhiñ Lhakanakkabrah̄ Chryā 1 yok / Skhiñ Ña Suriñ Sañ Chryā 1 yok // Bidarac 1 yok // Kantasmin 1 yok // Sukhamuñ Moggalān 1 yok // sukrywai Ña Tuīñ Bañ Sañ sā Ña Pañdit 1 yok // ñi Ña Pa Ñay 1 yok // Ña Cañ Sañ 1 yok // ī mhya so skhiñ takā tui, kā ariy arañ yū ciy sate // sakṣiy le phlāc ciy sate //<sup>3</sup>

Those who hear (and see this act of merit) are the Reverend Mahāthera Uttaramati, King's Teacher Dhammarāc, King's Teacher of Lord Lhakanakkabrah̄, Teacher of Lord Ña Suriñ Sañ, Bidarac, Kantasmin, Moggalān the Wise, Ña Pañdit son of Ña Tuīñ Bañ Sañ the Rich, younger

1. Pl.19a<sup>20</sup>.

2. Pl.149<sup>10</sup>.

3. Pl.191a<sup>8-15</sup>.

brother Na Pa Nay and Na Can San. May these reverend lords take care of (my dedications). May they also bear witness to (my good deeds).

It was the same with the sanghāthera<sup>1</sup> and the thera<sup>2</sup> who were mostly heads of monasteries but they did not possess any official status as in a hierarchy. Thus, there were many mahāthera, sanghathera, thera, and pājaguru at any one time and none of them had the same status as the Thathanabaing in later days. We have seen above<sup>3</sup> that in disputes where both parties were not exclusively monks, the verdict of the lay court prevailed although a senior monk would express his view before the final judgment. But for cases that purely concerned the monks, an expert in the Vinayapitaka would be approached. A monk who is versed in the Vinayapitaka is popularly known as Vinayadhara or in its burmanised form as Wineñdhuir. There was one Wineñdhuir whose name appeared fairly frequently in the inscriptions of the thirteenth century.

It seems that the Reverend Wineñdhuir was the head of a great monastic establishment and had a great following. There were also

1. Pl.22<sup>11</sup>, Pl.30a<sup>9</sup>, Pl.53<sup>7</sup>, Pl.60a<sup>12</sup>, Pl.79b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.113<sup>3</sup>, Pl.121b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.127b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.271<sup>13,22</sup>, Pl.280b<sup>12</sup>, Pl.329<sup>4</sup>, Pl.373c<sup>6</sup>, Pl.373d<sup>3</sup>, Pl.381<sup>2,2,3,4,4,8,8,17,36</sup>, Pl.563a<sup>6</sup>, Pl.594<sup>7</sup>.

2. Pl.12<sup>9</sup>, Pl.29<sup>8,19</sup>, Pl.73<sup>20</sup>, Pl.85<sup>25</sup>, Pl.94a<sup>14</sup>, Pl.102<sup>28</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>34,35</sup>, Pl.126b<sup>3</sup>, etc.

3. Supra. p.229, Pl.421b<sup>18-19</sup>.

members of the royal family and ministers among his lay devotees.

Asaṅkhyā the great minister of King Nātoṇmyā was one of them. He received from the king seven hundred pay of land as a reward for quelling a rebellion that broke out soon after the king's accession in A.D.1211.

From the seven hundred pay Asaṅkhyā gave one hundred and fifty pay to the monastery of Skhiṅ Wineñdhuir in A.D.1216.<sup>1</sup> This is the first mention

we find of this reverend monk in the inscriptions of our period. Next he was mentioned as one of the witnesses to the dedication of two

hundred pay of land made by Lakkhanā Lakway, the hero of the Tagaung

battle in A.D.1228.<sup>2</sup> A queen, probably Phwā Jaw, Queen of Narasiṅgha-

Uccanā, and her brother Samantakumbhāṃ also known as the maternal uncle

of King Uccanā, were also devoted to the Reverend Wineñdhuir. They in

A.D.1243 made a large addition of buildings to the monastery of the

reverend monk, and among these new buildings were included a library,

a lecture hall and twenty cāsaṅ kloṅ - probably residential quarters

for the students.<sup>3</sup> This fact alone tells us that the monastic

establishment of Skhiṅ Wineñdhuir was a sort of university where

hundreds of young monks flocked to learn most probably the Vinayapiṭaka

on which he was considered an authority. In order that the monks of

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1. Pl.42<sup>20</sup>, Pl.190a<sup>1,6,24,25,30</sup>.

2. Pl.231b<sup>5</sup>.

3. Pl.152<sup>1-6</sup>.

the establishment might get "the four necessities" with ease, the good donors gave three hundred and eighty four pay of cultivable land, one hundred and eighty seven slaves, a garden, one hundred cattle and an elephant.<sup>1</sup> As a seat of learning would have required many copies of the Tipitaka extra copies were often added to the library of his monastery. An officer Krañ Cañ in A.D.1221 gave him a copy of the Tipitaka, ten slaves for the library staff and twenty pay of land for the maintenance of the library.<sup>2</sup> The same inscription which records the above dedication also gives the names of two more donors who gave lands and slaves to his establishment. Nā Nōñ Sañ in 1234 gave fifty pay of land<sup>3</sup> and Kaṅgapikrañ in 1253 gave four hundred pay of land and ten slaves.<sup>4</sup> Princess Acaṅ Lat, the wife of the minister Jayyasaddhiy and the half-sister of King Uccanā was also devoted to the reverend monk. In A.D.1261 she built a hollow-pagoda and among the eight names mentioned as reciters of the paritta when relics were enshrined in that pagoda, Skhiñ Winēñthuir headed the list.<sup>5</sup> Four hundred and thirty five pay of land<sup>6</sup> and sixty eight slaves<sup>7</sup> were

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1. Pl.152<sup>28-29</sup>.

2. Pl.248<sup>1-6</sup>.

3. Ibid. 6-10.

4. Ibid. 16-21.

5. Pl.200<sup>12</sup>.

6. Ibid. 20.

7. Pl.201a<sup>7</sup>.

also dedicated. In the light of the above evidence, we find Skhiñ Wineñdhuir was a much respected thera who devoted his time to learning and as his name implies, he would advocate orthodoxy, i.e., living strictly according to the rules of Vinaya. He was already a famous thera with many devoted followers in A.D.1216 and he was still a leading monk in A.D.1261. In view of the fact that libraries, lecture halls and residential buildings for the students were frequently added to his monastery and he was given lands and slaves for the maintenance of his establishment within this half century, we might credit him with being the leader of the orthodox group who tried to adhere strictly to the Vinaya and who maintained close contact with Ceylon. This leads us to consider in some detail the purification of the Order on the Sinhalese lines which is said to have begun in about A.D.1180. Pagan's dealings with Ceylon are as follows.

As regards contact with Sinkhuñh<sup>1</sup> or Lañkā<sup>2</sup> (Ceylon), we will first mention all we know about it from the inscriptions of our period. The first reference made to Ceylon was in the Dhammayazika pagoda inscription which mentions that in A.D.1197, King Cañsū II received four relics of the Lord Buddha from the king of Sinkhuñh who had thirty.

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1. Pl.19b<sup>1,2</sup>, Pl.87<sup>13</sup>, Pl.223a<sup>8,12</sup>, Pl.250<sup>29</sup>, Pl.265<sup>20</sup>, Pl.373<sup>9,18,19</sup>,  
Pl.390<sup>33</sup>, Pl.431a<sup>7</sup>.

2. Pl.226<sup>1</sup>, Pl.302<sup>8,14,15,16</sup>.

The king enshrined them the next year in the Dhammayazika pagoda at West Pwazaw, Pagan.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen above<sup>2</sup> Burma and Ceylon had had peaceful relations since the time of Aniruddha though they were broken off for a short while probably during the time of Īmtaw Syaṅ (?1165-1174). He was also known as Kalagya - the king who fell at the hands of the Indians; his assassins probably came from Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, King Caṅsū II must have successfully reestablished friendly relations with Ceylon as the gift of relics evidently bears witness to that effect. The Kalyāṅī Inscription (1480) gives an account of a mission from Pagan to Ceylon in A.D.1170.<sup>4</sup> The leader of the mission was said to be the king's teacher. Although it is not a contemporary account, it supports the fact that King Caṅsū II had tried to open relations with Ceylon and that he was successful. It also seems quite reasonable to consider that the king's motives were largely religious in this affair. As we have seen above, there was Skhin Wineṅdhuir with a large following at his capital, who advocated orthodoxy and purification of the Order on the Sinhalese lines. Naturally these orthodox monks must have persuaded the king to send students to study in Ceylon and to borrow teachers from there to come over and reside in Pagan. the Kalyāṅī inscription

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1. Pl.19b<sup>1-2</sup>.

2. Supra, pp.17-18.

3. Supra, p.30.

4. T.S.Ko : The Kalyāṅī Inscription , pp.50-52; Ep.Birm., III, ii, p.188, n.5. Emannan (para. 143, GPC., p.142) dates this mission in A.D.1180.



mentions that a monk named Chapata stayed in Ceylon for ten years studying and came back to Pagan in A.D.1180 with four learned Sinhalese monks.<sup>1</sup> This is not impossible. An inscription dated A.D.1233 mentions the presence of a teacher from Ceylon called Buddharāmsī<sup>2</sup> who was then already the head of a monastic establishment to which the donor gave land and slaves. Another inscription dated A.D.1248 mentions an educational mission to Ceylon probably between 1237 and 1248<sup>3</sup> under the leadership of Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda.<sup>4</sup> In an inscription dated A.D.1268, a donor claimed that his deeds of merit were witnessed by all the Sinhalese monks.<sup>5</sup> This evidently shows that not only teachers but also

1. The four were Sīvali, Tamalinda, Ānanda and Rāhula.

2. Pl.373b<sup>9,18,19</sup>.

3. The date of the mission is uncertain. But as these two monks were very popular at Pagan as Dhammasiri was mañchāryā - the teacher of the king (Pl.36<sup>11</sup>) and mahāthera (Pl.297<sup>12</sup>) their names appeared frequently in the list of witnesses to dedications made at Pagan; and the name Dhammasiri being absent from the inscriptions after A.D.1237 until A.D.1248 suggests that he was abroad. Thus tentatively this mission to Ceylon is dated between 1237 and 1248.

4. Pl.302.

5. Pl.233a<sup>8</sup>.

a considerable number of monks from Ceylon were settled in Central Burma. Ari Caw in A.D.1274 narrated the story of how Buddhism came to Ceylon and it shows that being in good relationship with Ceylon the people of Pagan were well acquainted with the Sinhalese chronicle Mahāvamsa.<sup>1</sup> In A.D.1278, Dīpaṅkarā sent from Ceylon relics of the Lord to the Reverend Tāmalin<sup>2</sup> who was the head of a big monastery supported by such important persons as Queen Summlula's daughter Princess Acau and her uncle Lord Singasū. Probably he was also a teacher who came from Ceylon. He was one of the popular thera of King Tarukpliy's reign. Thus briefly relations with Ceylon began with the reign of Aniruddha, were interrupted for short period during Intaw Svan's reign, and were reestablished from Caṅsū II's time until the fall of the dynasty. During this second period religious missions were sent to Ceylon from Pagan most probably of the same nature as the mission in A.D.1476 sent by King Dhammaceti of Pagan. Chronicles mention a mission from Pagan in A.D.1170. In the inscriptions we find mention of a mission sent between 1237 and 1248 under the leadership of the King's Teacher Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda. Probably such missions took with them young monks to remain in Ceylon for study and brought back some learned thera from Ceylon to reside at Pagan.

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1. Pl.250<sup>29</sup>.

2. Pl.265<sup>20</sup>. (See also Pl.227<sup>21</sup>, Pl.266a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.266b<sup>13,30,39,43</sup>.)

As a result, the monks educated in Ceylon and monks who received education from Sinhalese thera at Pagan or those thera of Pagan who agreed with the Sinhalese advocated purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that there was also another group of monks who were not so eager for reforms. They were known as 'forest-dwellers'.

Monks of the taw kloṅ - forest monasteries belonged to the group who were not so eager for reforms, or in other words who allowed certain lapses in the observance of the Vinaya. The Vinaya requires these Ārañṇavāsī to observe three restrictions, viz., that a forest dweller must enter a village properly clad; that he must keep in his abode drinking water, washing water, fire, firewood and walking staff; that he should learn the positions of the lunar mansions and should become skilled in the quarters (i.e. in the four parts of the day).<sup>1</sup> As the practice of ārañṇakāṅgaṃ is one of the thirteen Dhutāṅgaṃ, it is not a compulsory practice for all the monks, but it seems that from the time of Nātoṇṇyā until the fall of the empire, this practice became very popular so that many donors began to build taw kloṅ<sup>2</sup> - forest monasteries or

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1. Vinaya Cullavaṅga VIII, I.B.Homer: The Book of Discipline V, p.305.

2. Pl.44a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.68<sup>2</sup>, Pl.89<sup>1,33</sup>, Pl.90<sup>13,17,18,25,28</sup>, Pl.123<sup>15,16</sup>, Pl.132a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.140a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.143a<sup>7</sup>, Pl.143b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.145<sup>10,23</sup>, Pl.147a<sup>8</sup>, Pl.147b<sup>7</sup>, Pl.153b<sup>4,8</sup>, Pl.160b<sup>23</sup>, Pl.163<sup>13,13</sup>, Pl.215a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.226<sup>7</sup>, Pl.246<sup>15</sup>, Pl.268<sup>16</sup>, Pl.296<sup>2</sup>, Pl.297<sup>25,32</sup>, Pl.417<sup>22</sup>, Pl.567a<sup>1</sup>, Pl.582a<sup>2</sup>.

arañāvāsi t̄āau kloñ<sup>1</sup> - and the dwellers in such places became almost a different sect of the Order. Originally a monk went out alone into the forest withdrawing himself from the communal life of the monks in a monastery to practise Āraññakāṅgañ but this original idea of a lonely monk as a forest recluse was much modified. Big monastic establishments called taw kloñ appeared with hundreds of monks living in them under taw mlat kri<sup>2</sup> - the Most Reverend Lords of the Forest. In an inscription dated A.D.1216, the queen's mother built a forest monastery at the Reverend Yañtaw's establishment and dedicated seventy pay of land and twenty slaves.<sup>3</sup> Rājamahāmañkalapatiy built a hollow pagoda at the forest monastery to the east of Prasatā (at Minnanthu) in A.D.1233.<sup>4</sup> Jeyyapwat established a forest monastery (at Fwazaw) in A.D.1236 and dedicated a large number of Burmese slaves<sup>5</sup> and in the next year he again dedicated seven hundred and fifty pay of land.<sup>6</sup> We have seen how the monks had protested and won against King Klacwā when he took the above lands as a sequel to his confiscation of religious lands after his accession.<sup>7</sup> Minnanthu<sup>8</sup> and

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1. Pl.465a<sup>3</sup>.

2. Pl.208<sup>17</sup>, Pl.223a<sup>8</sup>.

3. Pl.44a<sup>3,12</sup>.

4. Pl.68<sup>2</sup>.

5. Pl.89<sup>1</sup>.

6. Pl.90<sup>12-14</sup>.

7. See Supra, pp.53-54.

8. Pl.68<sup>2</sup>, Pl.132a<sup>2</sup>, (Garaptha), Pl.163<sup>13</sup>. (Krak An). This Minnanthu is the same as Sacmati or Thamahti, the stronghold of the Ari mentioned in the chronicles.

Pwazaw<sup>1</sup> to the east of Pagan and Myinmu<sup>2</sup> and Anein<sup>3</sup> in Sagaing district were the centres of these forest monasteries. They were not confined to the forest areas alone. Some of them appeared even in the capital city of Pagan.<sup>4</sup> As mentioned above, we find these so-called forest dwellers were not practising āraññakaṅgaṃ as their name suggests. They lived in big monasteries and had big estates in support of their establishments. The way they enlarged their estates and their connivance at the drinking of intoxicants practices were by no means in keeping with the Vinaya.

The forest monasteries, like any other monastery, received enormous gifts of land from lay devotees, but they added to it by purchase.<sup>5</sup> An inscription dated A.D.1248<sup>6</sup> gives a series of such purchases for the forest monastery of Mahākassapa. Three hundred and thirty pay at Ririñruiñ were purchased in A.D.1242 for seven hundred ticals of silver, i.e. a little over two ticals per pay.<sup>7</sup> Eightynine pay at Sahtoñ and

1. Pl.89, Pl.90.

2. Pl.123<sup>16</sup>.

3. Pl.296, Pl.297.

4. Pl.163.

5. See Supra. p.222.

6. Pl.162-163.

7. Prices of land in kharuñ areas, i.e. in Kyaukse district, were as high as 20 ticals of silver or 8 viss of copper per pay. In tuik areas, i.e. outlying districts like Shwebo and Chindwin the price was as low as 1 tical of silver or  $\frac{1}{2}$  a viss of copper per pay. The average was about 8 to 10 ticals or 2 to 3 viss of copper per pay.

fifty five pay at Mlacsā (both in Kyaukse district) were bought at fifteen ticals of silver per pay in A.D.1244. Two years later, three thousand three hundred and thirty two pay at Thipesyañ (Shwebo district) belonging to Saw Kantū people were bought at a tical per pay. Another one thousand and ten pay from the same people were also bought at the same price. But for another five hundred pay, a hundred viss of copper was the price. In A.D.1248 one thousand pay at Plonpla were bought at two ticals per pay. This inscription also records that the monastery received many more thousands of pay from various donors. When the Reverend Cantimā bought some land (the exact acreage is not given) in A.D.1249 the price was:

... khwak 50 nwā lā ta phag sā nwā ta khu / se khunhac luṃm / awat phyañ nā dhañ lhwam sate /<sup>1</sup>

... fifty (viss of) copper, (only) one (from a pair of) yoke bullocks, one ox (for) beef, seven pots of liquor and five pieces of cloth.

It seems that both parties to the transaction or at least the sellers of the land sat down to a feast when the buying and selling business was over. The feast for which one whole ox and seven pots of liquor were reserved must have been a fairly big one. Probably the feast was in proportion to the importance of the transaction; because when two monks of Mahākassapa's establishment bought fifty pay of land, they spent

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1. Pl.380<sup>6-7</sup>.

only five and a half viss of copper for siy phuiw sē phuiw<sup>1</sup> -- the price of liquor and the price of meat. This practise of a feast being given by the buyer at the end of a transaction became popular from the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the dynasty and according to Professor G.H.Luce "it became increasingly common after the fall of Pagan."<sup>2</sup> Anyhow, the practice became more common in the latter half of the thirteenth century. For example, Narasaṅkraṃ in A.D.1269 bought lands from Pyāṅkla Ṇa Luin Saṅ, Gunāsiddhi and Ṇa Yon Saṅ and at the end of the transaction

// ī suiw Pyāṅkla tuiw kuiw mliw phuiw piy so akhā le  
sāṃpyaṅ kalan sū khapaṅ sa tuiw kuiw lhyaṅ asi amraṅ hū  
ruy ut talā kan puin thak nwā lā saṅ l koṅ siy uiw khak 10  
cā sok piy e, // thuiw rhaw akha cā sok so sū kā Praṅ  
Khwaṅ l yok // Ṇa Canti l yok // Ṇa Canti sē Ṇa Khaṅ Pha  
l yok // Ṇa Kraṅ Saṅ sē akriṅ aṅai cum Saw akriṅ aṅai aluṅ  
hi kun, e //<sup>3</sup>

When Pyāṅkla and party were given the price of the land, all the hearing and seeing (i.e. witnessing) sāṃpyaṅ and kalan (were given a feast) by the side of the brick trough of the reservoir where a gelded bull and ten pots of liquor were eaten and drunk. Among those who ate and drunk were

1. Pl.224<sup>10-11</sup>.

2. JBR.S. XXX, i, p.324, n.94.

3. Pl.395<sup>16-18</sup>.

present Prañ Khwañ, Ñā Canti, Ñā Khañ Pha son of Ñā Canti, both elder and younger sons of Ñā Krañ Sañ and all Saw old and young.

Even when a pay of land was bought (in A.D.1270), the price included a pot of liquor and money for meat.<sup>1</sup> In A.D.1277, the trustees of the property that Minwaing Phwā Jāauw, queen-grandmother of Tarukpliy had dedicated to the Minnanthu monastery bought one thousand pay of land from the Saw (Sāauw). Expenses incurred as thamañ phuiw siy phuiw sā phuiw - the price of cooked rice, the price of liquor, the price of meat given in a feast to the Sāauw was fifty four ticals of silver.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the "forest dwellers" enlarged their estate by buying up land especially in Shwebo district where the price was low. To mark the successful end of their transactions, they gave feasts where intoxicating drinks were amply served. This sort of feast became fairly widespread towards the end of the dynasty. Among these forest-dwellers the most frequently mentioned thera was Mahākassapa who perhaps was the leader of this new group in the Order.

Mahākassapa was first mentioned in an inscription dated A.D.1225 when he received the dedication of land, slaves and cattle made by King Nātoñmyā and his sister Mañ Iha.<sup>3</sup> Mahākassapa was then already a famous thera at Myinmu in Sageing district. Perhaps Myinmu was

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1. Pl.231a<sup>5</sup>.

2. Pl.268<sup>8</sup>.

3. Pl.123<sup>5,6,7,12</sup>.



then the centre of these "forest-dwellers" and Mahākassapa was their leader on account of whose venerableness they received much support from important people of the period. Probably Mahākassapa attempted with success to open a branch of his monastery at the capital city of Pagan, as we have seen above that in A.D.1253 a forest monastery was built at Minnanthu, and another in A.D.1236 at Fwazaw, both on the eastern side of Pagan. By A.D.1237, Mahākassapa's name was mentioned side by side with two other prominent thera of the city as witnesses to a dedication by Mahāsaman, an important minister of the time.<sup>1</sup> The two thera were Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda who were believed to be away in Ceylon between 1237 and 1248. As these two thera undoubtedly desired the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, it is most probable that they were much alarmed at the appearance of Mahākassapa and his new school at the capital and so hastened to Ceylon for inspiration and help.<sup>2</sup> An inscription dated A.D.1242 found among the old pagodas south of Kume in Kyaukse district contains evidence of further activities of Mahākassapa.<sup>3</sup> It said that he established a monastery there. Perhaps he was able to extend his influence in the most prosperous area of the Pagan empire while his two rivals were away in Ceylon. In the meanwhile, he was able to enlist the support of Prince Kaṅkasū, half brother of

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1. Pl.102<sup>8</sup>.

2. Pl.302.

3. Pl.140a<sup>2</sup>.

Nātonmyā. On the death of the prince his wife added a building in memory of her beloved husband to his establishment at Minanthu.<sup>1</sup> According to Fuil sukri (? General) Sattvā's inscription (A.D.1244) which records the construction of a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a sitting image four cubits high at the Mahākassapa establishment, that place must have been just outside arhiy prañ takhā<sup>2</sup> - the Eastern Gate of the City. In that establishment, the Most Reverend Mahākassapa used the monastery built by Princess Mañ Iha<sup>3</sup> as his residence. It was in that year A.D.1244 that Mahākassapa had a land dispute with the Cakraw of the Frontier Guard at Chipton<sup>4</sup> (? on the north east of Kyaukse district). The land originally belonged to Saṅkrammasū, the grandfather of Mahākassapa. We have shown above that from A.D.1248, Mahākassapa began to buy thousands of pay of land mostly in Shwebo and Chindwin districts. His organization was new and therefore he probably must have felt that it needed the support of a landed interest although he received many gifts of land during the years A.D.1247<sup>5</sup> and A.D.1272<sup>6</sup>. It seems that he died between A.D.1272 and A.D.1278.

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1. Pl.143a<sup>6-7</sup>, Pl.145<sup>10</sup>, Pl.147a<sup>7</sup>.

2. Pl.153a<sup>2-3</sup>.

3. Pl.162<sup>2</sup>.

4. Pl.165<sup>5-10</sup>. See also Census of India 1931, XI, i, p.298, n.7.

5. Pl.163.

6. Pl.424<sup>33</sup>.

After 1272 the name Mahākassapa was used only to denote his establishment<sup>1</sup> and in 1278 there was a new thera at his establishment although his name was not mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Thus the life of Mahākassapa from the time when he was already a famous thera in the tuik - outlying districts of Sagaing and Ghindwin in about A.D.1225 to his growing popularity in kharuin - the central districts of Kyaukse, Myingyan and Minbu in about A.D.1235-1240 and his death between A.D.1272-78, clearly shows us how the forest-dwellers grew in number and popularity to such dimensions as to be considered a major force almost equal in strength to the orthodox group who also at that time fervently tried to maintain their ground with help from Ceylon. Time alone decided who was to win and it took two more centuries to have a clear cut answer in favour of orthodoxy. Although the evidence is meagre it is possible to connect these ārañhavāsi or forest dwellers under Mahākassapa who bought lands in outlying districts to strengthen their position and who accepted for themselves yammakā aphyaw<sup>3</sup> - a sweet liquor from palm juice, and allowed their devotees to indulge in grand feasts where liquor and meat were plentiful, with Arañ or Ari of whom the chronicles thought poorly.

Of the Arañ we will first deal with the epigraphic evidence. In an inscription dated A.D.1213 a donor records his deeds of merit as follows:-

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1. Pl.203<sup>2</sup>, Pl.224<sup>12</sup>, Pl.277<sup>2</sup>.
  2. Pl.277<sup>2</sup>.
  3. Pl.233<sup>14</sup>.

// sapit 100 than, ruy, thman thok plañ than, ruy, Arañ  
ē lhū e, // nuy purhā le sañ Arañ tuiw, rhiy, khuiw ciy hū  
ruy piy luik e, // riy twañ l khu thi e, // kan tū e, //  
kathuin pac e, // pañsakū achū 10 piy e, // sā rahan mū  
e taryā ū nā e, // <sup>1</sup>

One hundred almsbowls were filled with cooked rice full to the brim and given to the Arañ. A silver image of the Lord was also given to the reverend Arañ to worship. One well was (dug). One tank was (made). Kathina (robe) was given. Ten pañsakū (robes) was also (given). My son was ordained a monk. We listened to the First Sermon (Dhammasakka).

This is the earliest mention of the Arañ in the inscriptions and unfortunately this extract gives no information as to their beliefs and practices. Another inscription mentions that two Arañ called Na Cuik Sañ and Na Cañ Sañ quarrelled for ownership of land in A.D.1224<sup>2</sup>. That five pay of land at Myingontaing in Kyaukse district were bought with the permission of an Arañ who was also a judge of theft cases is recorded in an inscription dated A.D.1273.<sup>3</sup> We also find one Arañ to be the father of a Pagan slave in an inscription dated A.D.1275<sup>4</sup> and Arañ Picañ's

1. Pl.40<sup>4-9</sup>. See also JBRS, XXVI, i, p.52.

2. Pl.54<sup>2</sup> (and duplicate Pl.371b<sup>3</sup>).

3. Pl.241<sup>5,8</sup>.

4. Pl.250<sup>2</sup>.

brother-in-law was a headman in Shwebo district in another inscription of A.D.1280.<sup>1</sup> This is all we know about the Arañ. Anyhow it supports the theory that the Arañ or Ārañāvāsi taau kloñ<sup>2</sup> monks appeared in the early decades of the thirteenth century in such places as Pagan and Shwebo and Kyaukse districts. Burma was not alone in having these Ārañāvāsi monks during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Inscriptions of Rāma Gamhèn (A.D.1298) and Vat Pā Tèn (A.D.1406) bear witness to the existence of Ārañāvāsi monks during those centuries at Sukhodaya too.<sup>3</sup>

According to the chronicles, the Ari were in existence in the tenth and eleventh centuries at Pagan and were non-Buddhists. Various theories

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1. Pl.264<sup>8</sup>.

2. Pl.465a<sup>3</sup>.

3. See G.Coedès: Recueil de Inscriptions du Siam I, (Inscriptions de Sukhodaya), (Bangkok, 1924) pp.46, 131-9. Professor G.H.Luce and P.M.Tin call attention to the point that the Vat Pā Tèn inscription uses Culasakkarāja (which is the same as the Burmans used) from 705 (A.D.1343) to 768 (A.D.1406) and this corrects the view taken by W.A.R.Wood in A History of Siam, p.127 that Culasakkarāja was introduced by the Burmese after the fall of Ayuthia in 1569 and that the legend of it being used from the time of Ramkhamheng is unworthy of serious consideration.

have been proposed as to their origin. Some connected them with Tantric Buddhism<sup>1</sup> on the strength of finding Tantric frescoes at Abeyadana temple (Myinpagan)<sup>2</sup>, Payathonzu and Nandamañña temples (Minmanthu) and held that "the character of all these paintings tallies exactly with oral tradition ... about the Ari practices." Professor C. Duroiselle uses an inscription<sup>3</sup> found near Nandamañña temple to illustrate the above statement. Unfortunately the inscription is dated A.D.1248 although it mentions that the monks were provided with fermented spirits and morning and evening meals. On this evidence alone we are more inclined to say that the Ari existed not in the eleventh but in the thirteenth century. Although these Ari allowed certain lapses in the Vinaya, they were definitely not so debased as the chronicles allege. We find no evidence of anything unusual in their practices that the orthodox monks would not have done in those days except that they allowed some drinks at their feasts. Therefore it is very doubtful that the frescoes mentioned above have anything to do with the Ari and "it seems unnecessary to search in India for the explanation of young Buman heresy."<sup>4</sup> The derivation of the word Ari offers another problem. Pagan U Tin connected Ari with ariya and therefore is of the opinion that Ari is the general name for all monks and

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1. See C.Duroiselle: "The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism",

ASI, 1915-16, pp.79-93.

2. See U Mya: "Wall paintings of the Abèyadana Temple", ASI,1930-4,pp.181-4.

3. List.277,PPA.250, TN 114-116; see also G.E.Harvey: Op.Cit., p.60.

4. G.H.Luce and P.M.Tin:"Burma Down to the Fall of Pagan",JBRs,XXIX,111, p.273.

G.Duroiselle adopted this view.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ba Han supported them.<sup>2</sup> Professor P.M. Tin contradicted them by connecting Ari with āraññika - forest dweller.<sup>3</sup> As we have noticed above, old Burmans used ariya in its whole form and therefore Ari is not the short form of ariya.<sup>4</sup> It is more likely that it has been shortened from āraññika. But old Burmans were in favour of using taw kloñ rather than arañ to signify forest dwellers. Thus, although we are still unable to give a satisfactory answer as to the existence of Tantric frescoes near Pagan we consider that the Ari of the chronicles are the āraññāvāsī or taw kloñ monks of the thirteenth century and therefore misplaced by the chroniclers in the tenth century and they were by no means depraved. We have followed the rise and spread of this new group of the Order through out the life of Mahākassapa who seems to have been their leader and possibly the founder. Another aspect of the Order which is quite different from the Order in modern Burma is the presence of bhikkhunī.

The Order in Burma to-day allows no woman in it and tradition says that this denial begun from A.D.456 but the inscriptions of our period yield some evidence on the strength of which it is possible to revise the above tradition. Female ascetics in the Order were called bhikkhunī and we find the mention of bhikkhunī among the lists of slaves in two

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1. JBRB, X, i, pp.28-30 and iii, pp.158-9.

2. Ibid., X, iii, p.160.

3. Ibid., IX, iii, pp.155-6, X, ii, pp.82-3.

4. Supra. pp.214-5.

inscriptions dated A.D.1236<sup>1</sup>. The only reason for their presence among the slaves is that they were born of slave parents and though their masters had been kind enough to allow them to be ordained they would become slaves again if and when they left the Order.<sup>2</sup> Very often, we find monks called by their lay names. If it is a bhikkhuni she would in some cases be called by her lay name with a prefix Uiw or its variants Uih, Uin, Uim, Ui and I. In an inscription dated A.D.1196 we find five names of church dignitaries as witnesses to a dedication and among them the name of the Reverend Uiw Pəm, the bhikkhuni comes second.<sup>3</sup> As elders among the monks would be addressed phun mlat so<sup>4</sup> - the most reverend, so we find a bhikkhuni addressed as phun mlat so Uih Təñ Sañ.<sup>5</sup> There was also phun mlat so Uiw Chī Tāw<sup>6</sup> who must have been quite a popular bhikkhuni. When Princess Acaw Lat in A.D.1261 built a hollow pagoda and enshrined relics in it eight church dignitaries were present to recite the paritta and Ui, Chī Tāw was among these eight.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps it was this Ui Chī Tāw who was mentioned in A.D.1279 as the head of a monastery where a certain land

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1. Pl.89<sup>27</sup>, Pl.92<sup>14</sup>.

2. See Infra. p.340.

3. Pl.576a<sup>7</sup>.

4. See Supra. pp.216-7.

5. Pl.559a<sup>14</sup>.

6. Pl.29<sup>7,18-19</sup>. See JBRs, XXV, iii, pp.151-152.

7. Pl.200<sup>14</sup>.



transaction was made.<sup>1</sup> Such names as Lumphanī and Brahmacarī as two witnesses to a dedication in A.D.1265 also suggests that they were bhikkhunī.<sup>2</sup> Another interesting piece of evidence is that in an inscription dated A.D.1267, a donor mentions certain lands as

... ña pha Klacwā mañkrī ña kuiw rahan mū pe so  
akhā nhuik pe so lay //<sup>3</sup>

These lands were given to me by my father the great king Klacwā when he (allowed me to enter) the Order.

This donor perhaps quitted the Order and got married after which a series of dedications including the above lands were made when the donor declared (on the reverse face of the inscription) "After having painted the hollow pagoda my lañ mañsā - husband the Prince, dedicated the following slaves."<sup>4</sup> This strongly suggests that the donor was a daughter of King Klacwā who was once a bhikkhunī. Thus although the tradition says that there were no bhikkhunī since A.D.456, we have evidences of their presence even in the latter half of the thirteenth century. It is a pity that modern Burmans are not as liberal minded as their ancestors of Pagan.<sup>5</sup> The last important personality among

1. Pl.268<sup>16</sup>. The phrase ui, chī taw kloñ here can be interpreted either as Ui Chī Taw's monastery or Ui Chī's forest monastery. Whatever the interpretation it seems that the monastery was under a bhikkhunī head.

2. Pl.214b<sup>9</sup>.

3. Pl.220<sup>9</sup>.

4. Pl.221<sup>27</sup>.

5. See Adiccavaṃsa: Bhikkhunīsāsanopadesa (A Treatise on Why the Order of Bhikkhunī should be Revived). The author was excommunicated for this advocacy in 1935.

the monks of our period is Syañ Disāprāmuk who went to China on a peace mission in A.D.1275.

When we discussed the Mongol invasion<sup>1</sup> of the thirteenth century, we mentioned that Disāprāmuk had rendered his king and country very important service by going over to Peking as an ambassador from Tarukpli and had successfully persuaded the Great Khan to withdraw his forces from Burma. In token of gratitude the king gave him eight hundred pay of land (four hundred at Hanlan and another four hundred at Krañtū) together with slaves and cattle. All these lands, slaves and cattle, Disāprāmuk dedicated to Pañwat rap ceti - the pagoda at the Turner's Quarter (? Mingalazedi). Then he built a great archway to the shrine. He also built a cāsañtuik - school building, which was left unfinished, probably due to the growing political troubles of the time. But the good monk was optimistic. He said that his relatives might be able to finish it with the timber he had got from the queen and other miscellaneous gifts from various donors. As regards his mission to China, it is the first known instance of a Buddhist monk in Burma taking a serious interest in politics. The general attitude was to remain aloof from the political sphere. But as his intervention was in the name of peace and to avert unnecessary bloodshed, and to put a stop to a war, it is possible that his colleagues did not have any serious objection to his "meddling" in politics, which was not the business of

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1. See Supra. pp.71-84.

a monk. His mission was a diplomatic success although short-lived, as further negotiations with China broke down on the assassination of Tarukpiiy. We find the sending of peace missions under monks very often used by later kings of Burma, but we must bear in mind that the achievement of Disāprāmuk in this field was one of the very first of its kind.

In conclusion, we have seen that the Order in our period was divided into two camps, and that they existed side by side in peace. There were also bhikkhunī right down to the end of the empire. Of the aforesaid two camps the first was for orthodoxy and wanted the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, the second was that of the āraññāvāsi who allowed certain lapses in the Vinaya. In spite of the first groups endeavour to counteract the growing popularity of the latter, by sending missions and study groups to Ceylon, and bringing back Sinhalese thera and monks to Pagan, we find that the āraññāvāsi were able to get popular support. Perhaps it was so because they represented indigenous thought appealing direct to Burmese nationalism or perhaps their tenets were easier to follow.

## CHAPTER IX.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS.

In the Middle Ages, as in modern times Burmans<sup>1</sup> were zealous supporters of the Religion and to that end they contributed generously in money, land, cattle and slaves towards the construction and maintenance of religious edifices and subsidiary buildings. Many interesting accounts of Pagan architecture have been written<sup>2</sup> but our primary concern here is to find out how these buildings were constructed as given in the accounts by the donors themselves.

A donor in A.D.1192 selected a site just beside a reservoir at Āmanā and enclosed it with ut-ti plu so tantuin<sup>3</sup> - a wall entirely entirely of bricks - for the construction of a big and pleasant monastery. Another donor spent ten thousand ticals of silver on building a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a wall around them.<sup>4</sup> An inscription of A.D.1248 mentions that the wall alone cost a total

1. See Supra. pp.136-7.

2. A few of them are : G.H.Luce : "The Greater Temples of Pagan",  
JBERS., VIII, iii, pp.189-198.

"The Smaller Temples of Pagan",

JBERS., X, ii, pp.41-48.

W.B.Sinclair : "Monasteries of Pagan", JBERS.,

X, i, pp.1-4.

3. Pl.12<sup>5</sup>, Pl.73<sup>7</sup>, Pl.194<sup>7</sup>, Pl.220<sup>6</sup>, Pl.232<sup>3</sup>, Pl.234<sup>4</sup>, Pl.247<sup>8</sup>,  
Pl.249<sup>16</sup>, Pl.390<sup>9</sup>.

4. Pl.18<sup>1-3</sup>.

of four hundred and thirty two and three quarter ticals of silver.<sup>1</sup> It must have been a fairly large enclosure wall as the establishment contained two monasteries, a library and a hollow-pagoda with four gates. Some of the enclosure walls were circular<sup>2</sup> but usually they were rectangular or square as they are referred to as tantuin 4 myaknhā - four sided walls - complete with tan̄khā muk - doors and gate gateways.<sup>3</sup> These enclosures are essential not only to distinguish the holy place from its surroundings but also to protect the buildings from fire. A donor in A.D.1262 called his enclosure tantuin mika<sup>4</sup> - a fire-proof wall. Perhaps he remembered that as a young man he had seen the whole city of Pagan burnt to ashes in A.D.1225<sup>5</sup> and therefore he must have decided then that if he founded an establishment it ought to have adequate protection from fire. Some donors built tantuin nhac thap<sup>6</sup> - double enclosures. The inner one was for shrines and the outer one was usually for building monasteries. In one case as much as twenty houses were

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1. Pl.164<sup>42-43</sup>.

2. Pl.69<sup>7</sup>.

3. Pl.390<sup>9</sup>, Pl.423<sup>9</sup>.

4. Pl.205<sup>2</sup>.

5. Pl.122a<sup>2</sup>.

6. Pl.73<sup>7</sup>, Pl.152<sup>5</sup>, Pl.194<sup>7</sup>, Pl.283<sup>8</sup>, Pl.390<sup>14-15</sup>.

built for students.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a banyan tree which had been grown from a seed imported from Bodh Gaya would also be enclosed in a magnificent wall.<sup>2</sup> There were also walls made of stone.<sup>3</sup> Within the wall cenkram<sup>4</sup> - a platform - was made as the foundation of a hollow - or solid-pagoda although there were exceptions when it was made merely as a promenade adjoining a monastery since walking to and fro seems to be the only form of physical exercise befitting a gentle monk.<sup>5</sup> Asawat's wife when making a platform attached to her monastery in A.D.1236 said that she used bricks from two kilns at the cost of sixty ticals of silver in addition to twenty two ticals for carting them.<sup>6</sup> For bringing in the timber, probably for the roofing, she spent six ticals more. In the case of a platform for a hollow pagoda, we have seven instances<sup>7</sup> where it is mentioned that the platform is made in the shape of a kalāsa pot. Perhaps this

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1. Pl.152<sup>5</sup>.

2. Pl.232<sup>3</sup>.

3. Pl.390<sup>15</sup>.

4. Pl.73<sup>8</sup>, etc.

5. Pl.97<sup>22</sup>, Pl.102<sup>8</sup>, Pl.126b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.152<sup>5</sup>.

6. Pl.97<sup>22-23</sup>.

7. Pl.73<sup>7</sup>, Pl.80<sup>7</sup>, Pl.194<sup>7</sup>, Pl.220<sup>6</sup>, Pl.234<sup>6</sup>, Pl.247<sup>8</sup>, Pl.249<sup>16</sup>.

See also Daw Mya Mun "The Kalasa Pot", JBRs., XXII, ii, pp.97-98.

refers to the plinth at the base of the platform.

On such a platform was built a kū. The word kū is clearly from Pali guha - a cave and therefore it is a hollow-pagoda made in imitation of a natural cave. Some kū had four gateways and thus acquired the name of kū 4 myaknhā<sup>1</sup>. Inside a four sided kū there were always four images of the Lord<sup>2</sup> placed back to back in the centre, representing the four Buddhas of this present kappa. The centre block around which the images were placed was the relic chamber where sārīradhātu<sup>3</sup> - the bodily relics - were enshrined. The walls of the kū would be painted either with khlyu pan<sup>4</sup> - floral designs or chanpu<sup>5</sup> - pictures of the Lord in one case as many as fourteen thousand six hundred and nineteen<sup>6</sup> or with scenes from the Jātaka.<sup>7</sup> A kū thus painted would be known as kū prok<sup>8</sup> - variegated cave. Athwat - the spires of these kū were usually made of copper<sup>9</sup> weighing from about forty viss<sup>10</sup> to

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1. Pl.50<sup>7,14</sup>.

2. Pl.275<sup>20</sup>, Pl.423<sup>8,29,49</sup>.

3. Pl.17<sup>8</sup>, Pl.19b<sup>2,3</sup>, Pl.73<sup>8</sup>, Pl.78b<sup>7</sup>, Pl.80<sup>10,12</sup>, Pl.191b<sup>11</sup>,  
Pl.194<sup>8</sup>, Pl.249<sup>17</sup>, Pl.265<sup>20</sup>, Pl.279<sup>1,5,7</sup>, Pl.308<sup>21</sup>, Pl.381<sup>17,18,29</sup>,  
Pl.390<sup>10</sup>.

4. Pl.221<sup>26</sup>. See illustration next page.

5. Pl.73<sup>15</sup>, Pl.80<sup>13</sup>, Pl.194<sup>11,12</sup>, Pl.238<sup>8</sup>, Pl.364<sup>16</sup>.

6. Pl.105a<sup>7</sup>.

7. Pl.194<sup>13</sup>, Pl.248<sup>17</sup>.

8. Pl.218a<sup>11</sup>.

9. Pl.80<sup>17</sup>, Pl.97<sup>12</sup>, etc. 10. Pl.73<sup>16</sup>, Pl.80<sup>17</sup>.



FLORAL DESIGN A.D. 1231.

From the top part of an inscription (Plate 157) found at Shinbinbodhi Pagoda, Pagan. It is fairly representative of the floral designs of the period. For a very good collection of such designs see G.H.Luce : "Smaller Temples of Pagan", JERS., X, ii, pp.41-48.



one hundred and thirty<sup>1</sup> and gilded.<sup>2</sup> Above the athwat there was the thī - umbrella - sometimes made of gold and studded with precious gems.<sup>3</sup>

Cetī is another form of pagoda but solid in structure. To build a cetī firstly a platform would be made in much the same manner as for erecting a kū, e.g. one, the plinth of which was in the form of a kalāsa pot.<sup>4</sup> The following extract from an inscription dated A.D.1227 gives us a rough idea of what sort of relics were enshrined in a cetī.

// jetī dhāpanā so akhā kē // // Sakarac 589 khu Māgha  
samvacchuir // Plasuiw la chan 14 ryak Puttahu nuy, ā //  
purhā skhin sarīradhat taw // ñon taw akhak nhan plu so  
purhā // rhuy rāñ swan so purhā // nuy rāñ swan so purhā //  
phan plu so purhā // āhenicway emrutiy plu so purhā //  
tancikū plu so purhā // īy mhya so dhat taw // chanpu taw  
khapsim so kuiw // rhuy camakhan nuy camakhan le khan luik  
e, // rhuy thī nuy thi le choñ luik e, // rhuy pok 2 nuy 2  
// rhuy tanchon nuy tanchon tuiw phlan le pucaw luik e, //

1. Pl.194<sup>13</sup>.

2. Pl.105a<sup>10</sup>, Pl.194<sup>13</sup>, Pl.249<sup>21</sup>, etc.

3. Pl.73<sup>12</sup>.

4. Pl.80<sup>8</sup>.

īv suiw so ratanā phlan̄ dhapanā ruy ut nham̄ phway e, //  
phway pri so kā an̄katiy nham̄ rup nat athū 2 saphlan̄  
achan akray plu e, //<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday 22 December 1227, (the following) are enshrined in the cetiya : the bodily relics of the Lord; the image of the Lord made from the branch of the sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in gold; the image of the Lord cast in silver; the image of the Lord made of crystal; the image of the Lord made of ivory bezoar; and the image of the Lord made of sandalwood. (Underneath) all these relics and images are spread gold cushions and silver cushions and they are covered with gold umbrellas and silver umbrellas. Parched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers are also offered. When these gems are enshrined, the (relic chamber) is closed with bricks. After this wonderful and magnificent figures of deva and various beings are made with stucco.

Another form of pagoda is puthuiw.<sup>2</sup> From such information as we have from the inscriptions, it is difficult to state the difference in shape or style between ceti and puthuiw. It was also a solid pagoda with the same form of spire as kū. The term puthuiw is also

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1. Pl.80<sup>9-17</sup>.

2. Pl.8b<sup>4</sup>, Pl.9<sup>11</sup>, Pl.19a<sup>21</sup>, etc.

used for miniature pagodas for enshrinement, made of gold, silver, ivory, sandalwood, etc.<sup>1</sup> We also find mention of puthuyi ni<sup>2</sup> - the red pagoda and puthuyi prok<sup>3</sup> - the variegated pagoda. These names imply that these pagodas were painted either in one colour or in many colours but not either entirely white or gold as a modern Burman would like to see a pagoda.

The houses for the monks were called klon and if it was a brick building it was known as Kulā klon<sup>4</sup> - the Indian monastery. Most of the monasteries however were built of wood with sac nay muiw<sup>5</sup> - thatch roof ~~or~~ with mwan khon ta cwan<sup>6</sup> - high and grand roof. In some cases the monastery would be profusely decorated and painted so

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1. Pl.308<sup>19</sup>.
  2. Pl.389a<sup>3</sup>.
  3. Pl.377b<sup>4</sup>.
  4. Pl.64<sup>6</sup>, Pl.97<sup>22,25,26</sup>, Pl.132b<sup>14,15</sup>, Pl.164<sup>6,41,45</sup>, Pl.187<sup>2</sup>, Pl.194<sup>16</sup>, Pl.197<sup>4,7</sup>, Pl.198<sup>6</sup>, Pl.205<sup>3</sup>, Pl.212<sup>2,14</sup>, Pl.222a<sup>10</sup>, Pl.234<sup>8,16</sup>, Pl.247<sup>10</sup>, Pl.248<sup>15</sup>, Pl.256<sup>24</sup>, Pl.265<sup>17,38</sup>, Pl.266b<sup>31,44</sup>, Pl.277<sup>10</sup>, Pl.283<sup>6</sup>, Pl.288<sup>3</sup>, Pl.380<sup>18</sup>, Pl.382<sup>3</sup>, Pl.389c<sup>3</sup>, Pl.395<sup>19</sup>, Pl.428<sup>28</sup>, Pl.563a<sup>8</sup>, Pl.581b<sup>7</sup>. For ground plans of these brick monasteries see W.B.Sinclair : "Monasteries of Pagan", JBR.S., X, i, pp.1-4.
  5. Pl.428<sup>28</sup>.
  6. Pl.390<sup>32</sup>. See also Pl.205<sup>3</sup>, Pl.285<sup>3</sup>.

that it would be known by the name of kloṅ prok<sup>1</sup> - the variegated monastery or panpu kloṅ<sup>2</sup> - monastery of wood carvings. The Kulā kloṅ were usually adorned with such decorations and extensions as calac<sup>3</sup> - "flame pediments" over doorways and windows, prasat<sup>4</sup> - multiple roofs, chan wan<sup>5</sup> - "elephant entrance" i.e. porch, uchak<sup>6</sup> - front extension, tulik<sup>7</sup> (old Mon : dirlec , dirlac) - ? assembly hall and pwat tuin<sup>8</sup> - polished pillars. Quite close to these monasteries were built other buildings like sim (sīma) - the ordination hall, piṭaka tuik - library, dhammasā - preaching hall, tanchon - rest house, cārap - alms house, kappiyakutā - store house, etc.<sup>9</sup> For the details of such constructions it would not be superfluous to give a contemporary account. The establishment described below was founded by the great minister Anantasūra and his wife and was finished on

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1. Pl.60b<sup>2</sup>.
  2. Pl.153a<sup>15</sup>.
  3. Pl.64<sup>6</sup>, Pl.153a<sup>4</sup>, Pl.164<sup>5,6</sup>, Pl.205<sup>3</sup>, Pl.234<sup>10,16</sup>, Pl.246<sup>3</sup>, Pl.283<sup>6</sup>, Pl.285<sup>3</sup>, Pl.288<sup>4</sup>, Pl.307c<sup>3,4</sup>.
  4. Pl.85<sup>2</sup>, Pl.165b<sup>5</sup>, Pl.234<sup>16</sup>, Pl.282<sup>12</sup>, Pl.283<sup>6,16</sup>, Pl.285<sup>9,10</sup>, Pl.288<sup>4</sup>, Pl.291<sup>7</sup>, Pl.313a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.382<sup>2</sup>, Pl.428<sup>31</sup>.
  5. Pl.64<sup>6</sup>, Pl.246<sup>3</sup>.
  6. Pl.164<sup>6,45</sup>, Pl.234<sup>16</sup>(uthwak), Pl.283<sup>6</sup>(uthwak).
  7. Pl.283<sup>6</sup>.
  8. Pl.147a<sup>11</sup>.
  9. See Supra. pp.183,194,252,254,255.

17 December 1223.

// ĩy āmanā mañ so k̄an arap hhuik-kā // myā cwā so than  
pañ ti lhyañ klōñ aram̄ cuik lat ruy, // ut-ti-plu so  
tantuin̄ le nhac thap ram̄ lat ruy, // tantuin̄ twañ nhuik-  
kā kalasā uiv ayon̄ nhañ, tū so tañ, tay cwā so pañkrām  
thak kū le tañ e, // kū dhemanā so akhā nhuik-kā //  
sarīredhat-tāw thañ, so tancikū krwac // thuiw apa kā  
phan plu so krwac // thuiw apā kā tancikū nī plu so  
krwac // thuiw apa kā rhuy plu so // thuiw apa kā nuy  
plu so // thuiw apa kā rhuy mu ruy, ratanā ti am̄yək  
khat so // thuiw apa kā chañ cway plu so // thuiw apa  
kā kriy ni plu so // thuiw apa kā klok plu so puthuiw //  
thuiw twañ thañ pā so // rhuy camakhan // nuy camakhan //  
rhuy pok 2 // nuy pok 2 // rhuy tanchon̄ // nuy tanchon̄  
tuiw, phlañ, pujāw ruy, thañ, luik e, // klok puthuiw  
kuiw kā chiy riy ruy, kriy khrañ nhañ, khak e, // athwat  
kā rhuy thwat plu e, // athwat thak-kā rhuy thī chok e,  
// rhuy thī kuiw kā pulay sattā chway e, // athwat ok  
rhuy, kā puchuiw 7 thap lhwam̄ e, // puchuiw thak-kā  
rhuy kvakteñuiy khat e, // rhuy 30 swen so rhuy purhā 1  
khu // nuy 50 swan so nuy purhā 1 khu // klok phlū plu  
ruy, rhuy rāñ riy so purhā 1 khu // rhuy thī nuy thī  
tuiw, le chon̄ e, // thuiw suiw, so athu thū sa  
phlañ, plu ruy, dhāmanā e, // kū twañ kā purhā skhin̄  
chanpu liwmyakhā plu ruy, ratanā ti tok pa chan kray  
ciy e, // kū aram̄ twañ nhuik-kā myā cwā so purhā chanpu

le plu e, // jāt nā rvā le atañ, atav riy e, // kū  
thwat tanchā panthyan lak twañ khin piv ruy, khut so  
kriy kā 47 bisā 8 buih 4 klyap // khut so yut so kriy  
kā 7 bisā 9 klyap // aprī kham so kriy kā bisā 40 // 7  
buiy 5 klyap // rhuy sā wañ so 39 klyap 3 mat // pratā  
rañ kā 159 klyap wañ e, // īy suiw, so ratanā phlañ,  
kū thwat kuiw tok pa ciy e, // pitakat sum pum so trvā  
apum le plu e, // trvā nā am, so parisat takā cañ wañ  
cim, so nhā klok ut ti phway, so sāvā cwā so dhammasā  
le plu e, // tryā haw rā rhuy panlañ le plu e, // panlañ  
thak-kā rhuy thī le chok e, // athak phlañ, kā pitān le  
chañ e, // niraban kuiw luiw so sutāw takā tuiw, chumha  
kham cim, so nhā skhin therra niy rā sāvā cwā so kloñ  
krī le plu e, // tantuin tac thap so apa wankyañ kā  
sāsanā kuiw khyat ruy, stan kyañ, so skhin ariyā tuiw,  
niy cim, so nhā myā cwā so kloñ le acan plu e' // skhin  
ariyā tuiw riy khyamsā cām, so nhā ut-ti phway, so riy  
twañ le tū e, // ut-ti phway, so 4 thon kan le tū e, //  
arhiy, plañ, kā kan krī le 2 chañ, tū e, // riy wañ cim,  
so nhā plwan nhañ, talā le atañ, atav plu e, // riy kēn  
apā wankyañ kā uyan le cuik e, // thuiw kloñ apa kē  
liymyakhā lā lā so sutuaw takā // niy so // ip so //  
ryap so // aluiw ra cim, so nhā // tañ, tay cwā so  
tantuin t wañ rup athu thū sa phlañ, chañ kray tha lyak  
so sāvā cwā so tanchon krī le plu e, // thuiw anak

phlañ, k̄a alhū piy luiw so sutaw tuiw, alhū piy cim,  
so ñhā // mray mrañ cwā so ut carap le plu e, // ĩy  
ñā kloñ nhuik hiy, so // purhā trvā sañghā tuiw,  
khvamsa cim, so ñhā // prañ aca nhuik k̄a // ut nhañ,  
mray mrañ cwā phway, so kappiyakuṭiy le plu e, // aiup  
aklwañ le myā cwā thā piy e, // liymyaknhā lā lā so sū  
tuiw, riy aluiw ra cim, so ñhā // ut nhañ, mray mrañ  
cwā phway, so riy tvañ ñe tū e, // ĩy mhya so anhad mon  
nham plu so koñhu khapsim sa k̄a // sāsanā anhad 5000  
mlok oñ tañ rac cim, so ñhā // aci arvañ myā cwā plu  
sate // // ĩy anhad mon nham plu so koñhu khapsim so  
kuiw // anhad kuiw cā akha mlañ, mlay plu phā rac cim,  
so ñhā // tañlañ lañ cim, so ñhā // purhā trvā nhuik  
samput // chimī // kwam pan // ma prat tañ rac cim, so  
ñhā // sañ kham so skhiñ ariyā tuiw, kuiw chwam pan lup  
klwañ rac cim, so ñhā // anhad mon nham lhū so // ...<sup>1</sup>

At this place (around) the tank called Āmanā (Minnanthu),  
 (we) planted a monastery enclosure which is full of  
 toddy palms. (We) then enclosed it in two lines of  
 walls all made of brick and within (these) walls upon a  
 fine platform (the plinth of which) is in the shape of  
 a kalasā pot, (we) constructed a hollow-pagoda. When  
 enshrining (that) hollow - pagoda, (we) encased the  
 relics of the Holy Body in a sandalwood casket and put

1. Pl.73<sup>6-31</sup>. See also JBR.S., XXVI, i, pp.55-56.

it within a crystal casket, a red sandal wood casket , a gold (casket) , a silver (casket) , a gilt and jewelled (casket), an ivory (casket) , a red copper (casket) and (lastly) within a stone (miniature) pagoda. (Moreover, we) offered reverently and set therein cushions of gold, cushions of silver, parched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers. As for the stone (miniature) pagoda, it was painted and criss-crossed with copper-wire. The spire was made of gold. Above the spire (we) set up a gold umbrella, hung with pearls and coral. (We) wrapped (the whole miniature pagoda) up to the spire with seven folds of cloth and on the cloth was stamped the gold seal of Kyaktanuiy - ? Sun God. There was a gold image of the Lord cast of thirty (ticals) of gold, a silver image of the Lord cast of fifty (ticals) of silver and a gilt image of the Lord made of marble. Over these also (we) spread gold and silver umbrellas. (We) enshrined all these various things. In the (chamber) of the hollow-pagoda, (we) made four images of the Lord placed back to back and thus each facing a cardinal point and (also) made them shine wondrously with gems. Many (more) images were placed (around) the walls. (On the walls) were beautifully painted (scenes from) the five hundred jātaka. (For adorning) the spire of the hollow-pagoda with an ornament (we) weighed



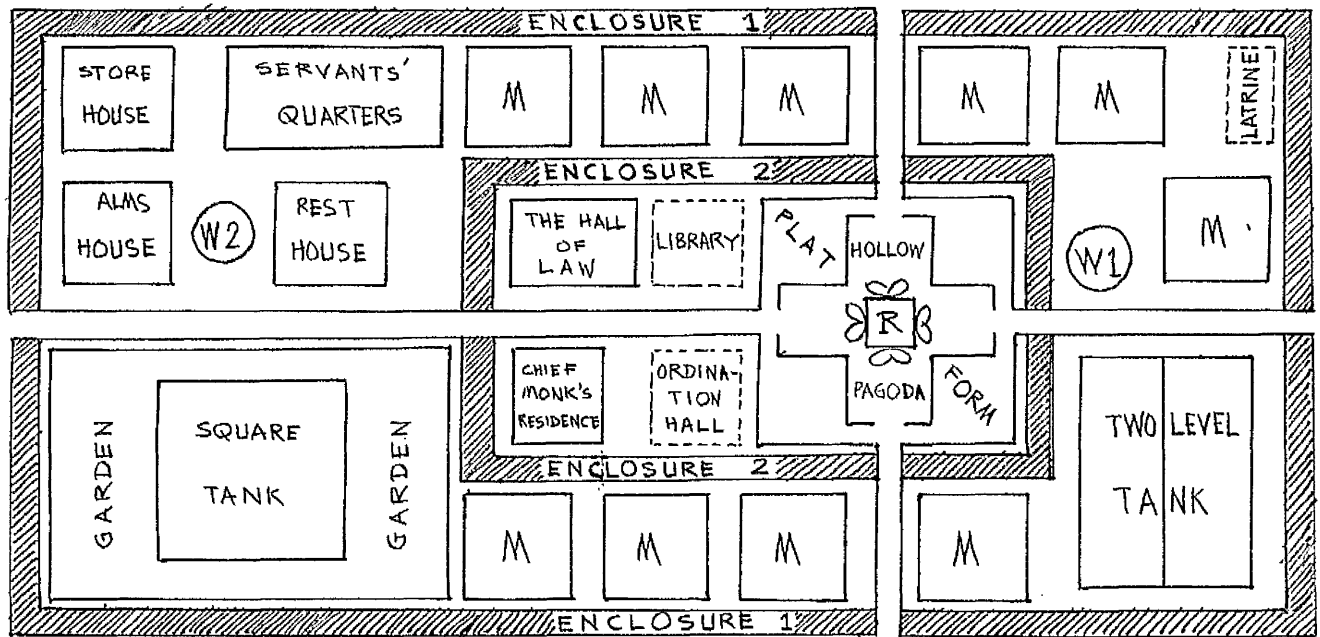
and cut off into the hands of the coppersmith forty seven viss, eight buih<sup>1</sup> and four ticals of copper; seven viss and nine ticals were lost in the (course of the work) and the net (weight of the spire) was forty viss, seven buiy and five ticals. The amount of sterling gold included was thirty nine ticals and three quarters and of liquid quick silver one hundred and fifty nine ticals. With all these precious things (we) caused the spire of the hollow-pagoda to shine. (We) also made (a copy) of the Three Pitaka - the accumulation of the Law. Where the congregation of those who would listen to the Law might assemble, (we) made a pleasant hall of the Law built of stone bricks. At the place of preaching the Law, (we) made a gold throne. Above the throne, (we) set up a gold umbrella and above it also (we) made a canopy. A large and pleasant monastery - the residence of our Lord the Elder also was made, where all good people desiring nirvana might receive instruction.







- 
1. Today there is no intermediary measure between tical and viss. The meaning of the word buih or buiy is unknown. According to this inscription 10 ticals made 1 buih and probably 10 buih made 1 viss, as 100 ticals made 1 viss. Perhaps the word comes from Pali pala. According to R.C. Temple : "Notes on the Development of Currency in the Far East", I.A. XXVIII, pp.102-110, 5 ticals made 1 būil.

In the surrounding place outside the inner wall (we) also made a row of monasteries where our Lords practising piety out of love for the Religion might abide. That our noble Lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also (made). To the east a large tank also was (made) with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and troughs also were beautifully made. All round the tank, a garden was created. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure (we) made a large and pleasant tanchoñ - rest house magnificiently (decorated) with all sorts of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it (we) also made a ? permanent carap - alms house of brick where good people wishing to give alms might give their alms. On the outskirts of the city (we) also made a store house built solidly of brick. For the comfort of the Lord, the Law and the Order who are in this monastery (we) have left there many attendants. In order that all the people coming from the four quarters might fulfil their wants, (we) also dug a well solidly **built** of brick. In order that all these good deeds made by (us) - the loving couple, may last through out the five thousand years of the Religion, (we) made many arrangements. In order that repairs be continuously done on our behalf, that (the premises) may be cleansed, that the regular offer of food, oil-lights,

betel and flowers be always made to the Lord and the Law and that the rice alms be given to the patient noble Lords, (we) - the loving couple, dedicated the following (slaves).

From the details given above we can construct the following rough plan which will help us to see what a monastic establishment in those days looked like.



-  Image.  
 Relic Chamber.  
 Houses for the monks.  
 Well for the monks.  
 Well for lay devotees.  
 Building not mentioned in Pl.73.

Note: the plinth of the platform on which the hollow-pagoda stands is in the form of a kalāsa pot.

CONJECTURAL PLAN OF ANANTASURA'S MONASTERY AT AMANĀ, PAGAN, BUILT  
IN A.D. 1223.

Princess Acawkrvam, daughter of King Uccanā and Queen Sumlūla founded an establishment in A.D. 1248 at Minnanthu, Pagan and left a very interesting account of the expenditure on that work. The establishment consisted of a hollow-pagoda with four images of the Lord, a library with a complete set of the piṭaka, a preaching hall, a big monastery with multiple roofs, a big brick monastery with front extension and an enclosure wall all around them. The expenditure was as follows.

// apon kri kū phway, so kla so nuy kā 1747 pay 3 lum //  
apon kri khwak kā 74 bisā // apon kri puchuiw kā 113  
thañ // apon kri kū thwat lin so rhuy 23 klyap // apon kri  
pratā 92 klyap // apon kri capa 1867 1/2 // apon kri kwamsi  
2 kaḍuñ nhañ, 1160 lum // apon kri nrut 1/8 1/6 1/32 // apon kri  
chā 7 1/2 // apon kri kū thwat khut so kriv kā 66 bisā // 0 //  
piṭakat plu so kla so nuy kā apon kri 2027 // apon kri chen  
504 1/2 1/6 // apon kri capa 2309 1/2 // apon kri chā 110 1/4 1/6 //  
apon kri nrut 1/2 1/8 1/6 1/32 // apon kri kwamsi 10 kaḍuñ nhañ, 4870  
// apon kri calac kloñ hon plu so kla so nuy kā 758 1/4 4 lum //  
apon kri khwak 8 bisā // apon kri puchuiw 68 thañ // apon kri  
capā 504 tañ apon kri kwamsi 2200 // apon kri catuik plu so  
kla so nuy kā 215 klyap // 0 // apon kri Kulā kloñ kri  
ūchak plu so kla so khwak kā 306 bisā // nuy kā 392 1/2 1/4 //  
puchuiw kā 45 thañ // 0 // apon kri tantuiñ plu so kla so  
nuy kā 432 1/2 1/4 // khwak kā apon kri bisā 20 // apon kri lhañ

kha khwak 53 pisa // apon kri puchuiw 12 thañ // apon kri  
capā 182 tai // 0 // apon kri Gulamani plu so kla so nuv kā  
44  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  // rhuy 3 lum khra // apon kri khwak 13 pisa kriy 30  
 // 0 // apon kri Tamhwan Kulā klon plu so kla so nuv kā  
215 klyan // apon kri khwak kā 9 pisa //<sup>1</sup>

On the construction of the hollow-pagoda :-

Grand total of silver	1747(ticals) 3 <u>pay</u> .
Grand total of <u>khwak</u>	74 viss.
Grand total of loincloths	113 pieces.
Grand total of gold (for the spire of <u>kū</u> )	23 ticals.
Grand total of quick silver	92 ticals.
Grand total of paddy	1867 (baskets).
Grand total of areca nuts	2 <u>kadun</u> + 1160.
Grand total of black pepper	$\frac{7}{32}$ (?viss).
Grand total of salt	$7\frac{1}{2}$ (?viss).
Grand total of copper (for the spire of <u>kū</u> ).	66 viss.

On the (copying) of the Pitaka :-

Grand total of silver	2027(ticals).
Grand total of rice	504 $\frac{3}{4}$ (baskets).
Grand total of paddy	2309 $\frac{1}{2}$ (baskets).

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1. Pl.164<sup>33-46</sup> . See also JERS., XXVI, i, p. 57 and XXX, i, pp. 329-30, n. 105.

Grand total of salt	110 (viss).
Grand total of black pepper	$\frac{23}{32}$ (viss).
Grand total of areca nuts	10 <u>kadun</u> + 4870.

On the repairing the old monastery with "flame pediments" :-

Grand total of silver	758 $\frac{1}{4}$ ticals 4 <u>lum</u> .
Grand total of <u>khwak</u>	8 viss.
Grand total of loincloths	68 pieces.
Grand total of paddy	504 baskets.
Grand total of areca nuts	2200.

On the building of the Library :-

Grand total of silver	215 ticals.
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On the building of the big brick monastery with front extension :-

Grand total of <u>khwak</u>	306 viss.
of silver	392 $\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals).
of loincloths	45 pieces.

On the erection of an enclosure wall :-

Grand total of silver	432 $\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals).
Grand total of <u>khwak</u>	20 viss.
Grand total of <u>khwak</u> on cart hire	53 viss.
Grand total of loincloths	12 pieces.
Grand total of paddy	182 baskets.

On the construction of the Culamani (pagoda) :-

Grand total of silver	44 $\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals).
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of gold	3	<u>lun khra.</u>
Grand total of <u>khwak</u>	13	viss.
of copper	30	(viss).

On the building of the Tamhwan brick monastery :-

Grand total of silver	215	ticals.
Grand total of <u>khwak</u>	9	viss.

Here we find that making a copy of the Pitaka is more costly than erecting a hollow-pagoda and to spend a little over one third of the price of the Pitaka would enable one to assume the title of dāyakā - the founder of a big monastery with "flame pediments". The enclosure wall costs nearly as much as the monastery. As rice, salt, pepper, areca nuts and loincloths are mentioned in the cost, it seems that workers were given free food and clothing during the construction of the establishment. Another inscription (A.D.1236) gives a detailed wages and expences.

// panphay piv sa le 4 klyap // kū riv so pankhī piv so le  
7 // kloñ riv so pankhī piv so le 120 // ranāv way so 7 klyap  
// panpu piv ra so 30 purhāsemā piv so 20 tuik ram lin so 2  
klyap // kanāprāñ sac phuiw 10 // ta tuiñ klok apuiw kā 3  
klyap khwev // kū kloñ tenkhā muk cum, ankativ phuiw kā //  
khwak 3 klyap so kā nuy 13 nwā 5 khu so nuy 20 // añak way  
so 5 klyap lanpan so nuy 5 klyap // pvā 62 tanak so kā pvā  
phuiw nuy 77 klyap // nwā nuiw, kā 248 tanak // nwā nuw,  
apuiw kā 25 klyap // serwat phuiw kā capā 320 // klok ut  
300 so e, rikhā capā 30 ankativ thoñ kha pisañ piv so capā  
120 // purān rikhā capā 140 // pankhī rikhā capā 54 tai //

tacañeañ panpu rikhā capā 60 // capā aphuiw kā 4 tañ so 1  
klyap swañ sakā ñuy hū mu kā 38 klyap hi e, // kū thwat kriy  
pise khway so ñuy 3 klyap // ñhuy 1½ so ñuy 13 klyap //  
pratā 3 klyap so le ñuy 2 klyap // kū thwat lakka piy so  
le ñuy 10 // sām phuiw ñuy 10 // kloñ ranāv thup lyok way  
so ñuy 20 // sac ñēñ so lhañ kha piy so ñuy 10 // chiv, than  
hānsapatā chun mliyphlū kvaktāñuy khrit kankut khapañ  
so e, aphuiw kā ñuy 50 // purhā rvap chay chū so le  
purhāsamā piy so le ñuy 10 pankhī piy so le ñuy 20 //  
pratā sañ piy so le pukhrañ phvañ 1 thañ khachī 1 thañ  
// purhāsamā piy so phvañ mañ klyaw 1 thañ khachī 1  
thañ // pankhī piy so pukhrañ phvañ 1 thañ khachī 1  
thañ // laksamā 3 kip so le pukhrañ khachī 30 // purān  
4 yok so piy sa le phvañ 4 thañ khachī 4 thañ // purhāsamā  
mrañ 1 cī // purān laksama mrañ 1 cī // pukhrañ phvañ 2  
thañ khachī 2 thañ // cañkrañ Kulā kloñ phway, so ut kā  
2 phuiw // ut e, aphuiw kā ñuy 60 // lhañ kha kā 22 klyap  
// cañkrañ sac ñēñ so lhañ kha ñuy 6 klyap // tacañ sañ  
piy so lakka kā ñuy 10 // Kulā kloñ tañkhā plu so ñuy 1  
klyap // tañkhā khum klok 1 chū so kā ñuy 1¼ // Kulā kloñ  
phway, so purān lakka 3½ // lhañ kha khwak 1 khlap so  
ñuy 2 klyap // kwamsī 1350 so ñuy 2 klyap // capā 4 tañ  
so ñuy 1 klyap phvañ phlū 1 thañ so ñuy klyap // tañkhā  
khum klok .. so le ñuy .. klyap // ...<sup>1</sup>

1. Pl.971-29. See also JERS., XXX, i, pp.327-329, n.105.



Given to the blacksmiths	4 ticals (of silver).
Given to the painters who painted the <u>kū</u>	7 (ticals of silver).
Given to the painters who painted the <u>klon</u>	120 (ticals of silver).
For the purchase of rafters	7 ticals (of silver).
Given to the wood-carriers	30 (ticals of silver).
Given to the image-makers	20 (ticals of silver).
For painting the walls	2 ticals (of silver).
For painting the ?shrine	2 ticals of gold.
Cost of wood for the ?out-house	10 (ticals of silver).
Cost of a monolith	3½ ticals (of silver).
Cost of plaster for doors and archways of the <u>kū</u> and the <u>klon</u> is 3 cups of <u>khwak</u> at	13 (ticals) of silver.
For 5 cattle	20 (ticals) of silver.
For the purchase of powder	5 ticals (of silver).
For trays	5 ticals of silver.
Cost of honey - 22 <u>tenak</u>	77 ticals (of silver).
Cost of milk - 248 <u>tanak</u>	25 ticals (of silver).
Cost of mortar	320 (baskets) of paddy.
For 300 stone bricks	30 (baskets) of ?store-paddy.
Given to the pounders for crushing the plaster	120 (baskets) of ?store-paddy.
For the masons	140 (baskets) of ?store-paddy.

For the painters	54 (baskets) of store- ?store-paddy.
For the <sup>?</sup> adzers and wood-carvers	20 (baskets) of ?store- paddy.
Cost of paddy - 4 baskets at	1 tical (of silver).
For bring in the ...	38 ticals (of silver).
For the spire of the <u>kū</u> -	
copper 1 viss at	3 ticals (of silver).
1 (ticals) of gold	12 ticals of silver.
3 ticals of quick silver	2 ticals of silver.
Wages for the spire of the <u>kū</u>	10 (ticals) of silver.
Cost of iron	10 (ticals) of silver.
For the purchase of rafters, crossbeams and eaves-boards for the <u>klon</u>	20 (ticals) of silver.
Cart hire for dragging timber	10 (ticals) of silver.
Cost of orpiment, vermilion, minium, chalk, <u>?kyaktañuiy</u> and plumbago altogether	50 (ticals) of silver.
Given to the image-makers for 10 standing Buddhas	10 (ticals) of silver.
Given to the painters	20 (ticals) of silver.
Given to the workers in quicksilver	1 lower garment. 1 waist band.
Given to the image-makers	1 fine black cloth. 1 waist band.

Given to the painters	1 lower garment.
	1 waist band.
For thirty carpenters	(30) lower garments
	30 waist bands.
Given to 4 masons	4 pieces of cloth.
	4 waist bands.
To the image-makers	1 horse.
To the mason-carpenter	1 horse.
	2 lower garments.
	2 waist bands.
Bricks from 2 kilns to construct the promenade of the <u>Kulā klon̄</u>	60 (ticals) of silver.
Cart hire	22 ticals (of silver).
Cart hire for dragging timber for the promenade	6 ticals of silver.
Wages given to the <sup>?</sup> adzers	10 (ticals) of silver.
For making the doors of the <u>Kulā klon̄</u>	1 tical of silver.
For a block of stone for the door threshold	1¼ (tical) of silver.
Wages for the masons who constructed the <u>Kulā klon̄</u>	3½ (ticals of silver).
Cart hire - 1 <u>khlap</u> of <u>khwak</u> at	2 ticals of silver.
For 1350 areca nuts	2 ticals of silver.
For 4 baskets of paddy	1 tical of silver.



kloñ le pri e, // dhammasā pri e, // tryā panlei pri e, //  
// khoñloñ kriy episā 106 pīsā khway e, swan e, // kū thwat  
kā kriy 55 pīsā khway kū thwat lin so rhuy 46 klyap hiy e,  
// purhā liymvaknhā so lin so rhuy 20 // cāsāñ kloñ 5 khu  
kā kriy 55 pīsā khway kū thwat lin so rhuy 46 klyap hiy e,  
plu e, // mlac ok kū ñay le chiv riw e, kloñ twañ puthuiw  
purhā chuiw plu e, // ñoñ 3 pañ cuik e, // riw ñm 3 pā  
plu e, // samaruiw le chok e, pitakat le pri e, // Nāivun  
la chan 7 ryak Tannhañlā niy kā pan e, // Nattaw la chut  
9 ryak Sukrā niy kā lhwat e, kū kā Plasuiw la chut 3 ryak  
Tannhañlā niy thāmanā e, // 0 // Sakarac 599 khu Myakkasuih  
nhac Kuchun la chut 4 ryak Tannhañlā niy mañ mat Nānapicāñ  
kū lhwat e, lhwat so lhū so purhā kywan ...<sup>1</sup>

When the rising sun cast nine and a half foot-steps  
 (of shadow) on Monday 16 December 1236, the hollow-pagoda  
 was enshrined. It was finished after (the lapse of) twenty  
 eight days (i.e. on 13 January 1237). On the day the  
 hollow-pagoda was enshrined a well was dug. On Friday,  
 25 January (1237), the enclosure wall was built. It was  
 finished on 10 February (1237). The golden spire of the  
 hollow-pagoda was set up when the rising sun cast nine  
 and a half foot-steps (of shadow) on Monday 17 February  
 (1237). (On the walls of) the hollow-pagoda were painted

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1. Pl.105a<sup>1-20</sup>. See also JBR.S., XXVI, i, pp.56-57.

14619 Buddhas and scenes from 550 Jāṭaka. The painting was started on Friday, 7 March (1237) and finished on Monday, (?24 March 1237). The monastery was also finished. The Hall of the Law was finished. The throne of the Law was finished. A bell was cast of 106 viss of copper. The spire of the hollow-pagoda (weighed) 55 viss of copper and was coated with 46 ticals of gold. The gold for coating four images of the Lord placed back to back was 20 (ticals). Five ? hostels for the students were constructed. The small hollow-pagoda on the north was also painted. A ruined solid-pagoda ~~within~~ (the enclosure of) the monastery was repaired. Three banyan trees were planted. Three water closets were made. A samaruiw<sup>1</sup> was also built. The Piṭaka was also finished. An application (? to the king) was made on Monday, 13 April (1236). The dedication was made on Friday, 25 November (1236). The hollow-pagoda

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1. Professor Pe Maung Tin connects this word with  $\infty$   $\text{ḍ}$  which Halliday's Mon-English Dictionary, p.444 gives <sup>as</sup> "putridity" and therefore it would mean "lavatory". See JBRS., XXVI, i, p.56. Professor G.H.Luce suggests a "staircase". See JBRS., XXX, i, p.330, n.110. But Pl.310b inscription mentions that 36 posts of samaruiw are given to the monastery. This nullifies both lavatory and staircase. See also Pl.18<sup>3</sup>, Pl.105a<sup>14</sup>, Pl.163<sup>7</sup>, Pl.271<sup>40</sup>.

was enshrined on Monday, 16 December (1236). On Monday, 14 May 1237, the minister Nanapaccaya dedicated slaves ... As the donor was a minister, the application he made was probably to the king for the grant of a site for his intended religious establishment. From the date of the application to the date when he gave land and slaves to the finished establishment a little over a year elapsed.

Thus from the illustrations given above we find that a fairly big religious establishment consisting of a pagoda with many monasteries and other religious buildings around it and enclosed with a brick wall would take roughly a year under normal conditions to complete. We find that a building stated on the eve of the Mongol invasion was left unfinished for fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> Usually the enclosure wall was the first constructed. Sometimes double enclosures were made with the idea that the inner compound was to be reserved for the Lord and the Law and the outer area for the Order. The donors took great care to transform such enclosed areas into delightful gardens with reservoirs and palm trees. Then within the inner wall, not necessarily in the centre, they built the pagoda either solid or hollow in structure. Hollow-pagodas seem to be more popular as they provide four walls on which the scenes from the Jātaka could be painted as a decoration. Moreover, the paintings are the most striking and effective means of convincing the common folk

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1. Pl. 277<sup>1-9</sup>.

of the merit of giving alms and of meditation. Right in the centre of the chamber of the hollow-pagoda, a place was made to receive the relics. The relics were encased and four images of the Lord were placed back to back around that encasement so that pilgrims coming to the shrine from four directions might find a semblance of the Lord who showed them the way to nirvana. Mostly the images were gilt, glimmering in the poor light of the oil-lamps against the background of the dark cave-like construction of the shrine. In the vicinity of the shrine a depository for the Law written on palm leaves, was built. A preaching hall and an ordination hall would also be added to the premises. The chief monk of the establishment would probably get a separate building within the inner wall. In the outer compound were the buildings for the monks, for the lay devotees, for storing provisions and for the slaves of the establishment. In fact many of these establishments served as educational institutes and as such they have remained until the present day in Burma.



Some important pagodas of Pagan. (See map next page).

I. Nyaung-u East Circle.

1. Sudaungbye.
2. Paungdaw-u.
3. Chaukpahla.
4. Shwethabeik.
5. Thetkyamuni.
6. Kyaukgu Ohmin.
7. Yatsauk.
8. Hnasingu.
9. Thamihwet Ohmin.
10. Hnyathat Ohmin.
11. Hgetpyittaung.
12. Gawdama.
13. Gawdama Zedi.
14. Paunglè Ohmin.
15. Shweminwun.

II. Nyaung-u West Circle.

1. Shwezigôn.
2. Shinbinyanza.
3. Thahtaygu.
4. Shwe Zedi.
5. Ngamyethna.
6. Nyaung-u Theinmazi.
7. Myatheinden.
8. Theinmathu.
9. Lawkahmangin.
10. Shitmyethna.
11. Shinmahti.
12. Shinbinnan.
13. Shwegu.
14. Letpyagu.
15. Chedawya.

III. Wetkyi-in Circle.

1. Payani.
2. Mohnyinshwekyauung.
3. Oktamagyaw Okkyauung.
4. Bidagat.
5. Kyanzittha Ohmin.
6. Tazaungkyauung.
7. Gubyaukgyi.
8. Khemawaya.

IV. Taungbileya Circle.

1. Shwekungya.
2. Shwethabeik.
3. Myazigôn.

4. Upalithein.
5. Hilominlo.
6. Binyagyauung.
7. Bindapyitsaya.
8. Shwekyauung-u.
9. Kyin.
10. Bidagat Taik.
11. Minhmyawya.
12. Min-o-chantha.
13. Hnakeikshitsu.
14. Ledatkyauung.
15. Ananda.

V. Pagan Myoma Circle.

1. Bu.
2. Sawhlawun.
3. Bawdhi.
4. Atwingsigôn.
5. Gawdawpalin.
6. Pasittok.
7. Shwegugyi.
8. Thabyinmyu.
9. Sithupahto.
10. Pahtothamya.
11. Nwabyagu.
12. Sinbyagu.
13. Shwesandaw.
14. Guni Ama.
15. Guni Nyima.
16. Gubyaukgyi.
17. Theinmazi.
18. Pènatha.
19. Mingala Zedi.
20. Gubyaukngè.
21. Myazedi.
22. Aggade.
23. Manawhayaza.
24. Nan.
25. Abeyadana.
26. Mèdawyat.
27. Kyazin.
28. Nagayôn.
29. Somingyi.
30. Seinnyet Nyi-ama.
31. Sawlugôn.
32. Lawkananda.

3. Winido.
4. Asawlat.
5. Hnasingu.
6. Nandamyinnya.
7. Dayinpahto.
8. Thambula.
9. Minwaing.
10. Tatkaile.
11. Tayòkpye.
12. Anana.
13. Lebathmauk.
14. Malabyit.
15. Malônbyit.
16. Letputkan.
17. Sulamani.
18. Damayangyi.
19. Sinbyushin.
20. Sawhlawun.
21. Sabwèhmauk.
22. Lemyethna.
23. Anaukhlegu.
24. Myaukhlegu.
25. Anaukzanthi.
26. Ashezanthi.

VII. Pwazaw Circle.

1. Thamuti.
2. Kutha.
3. Peinnè.
4. Damayazika.
5. Thein.
6. Thitmahti.
7. Thitsawadi.
8. Minmayè.
9. Sudaungbyè.
10. Thanbyanzwa.
11. Zeyaput.
12. Kazun-o.

VIII. Twinywa Circle.

1. Thayawade.
2. Bochomi.
3. Kyaunggyi Nyi-ama.
4. Sedana.

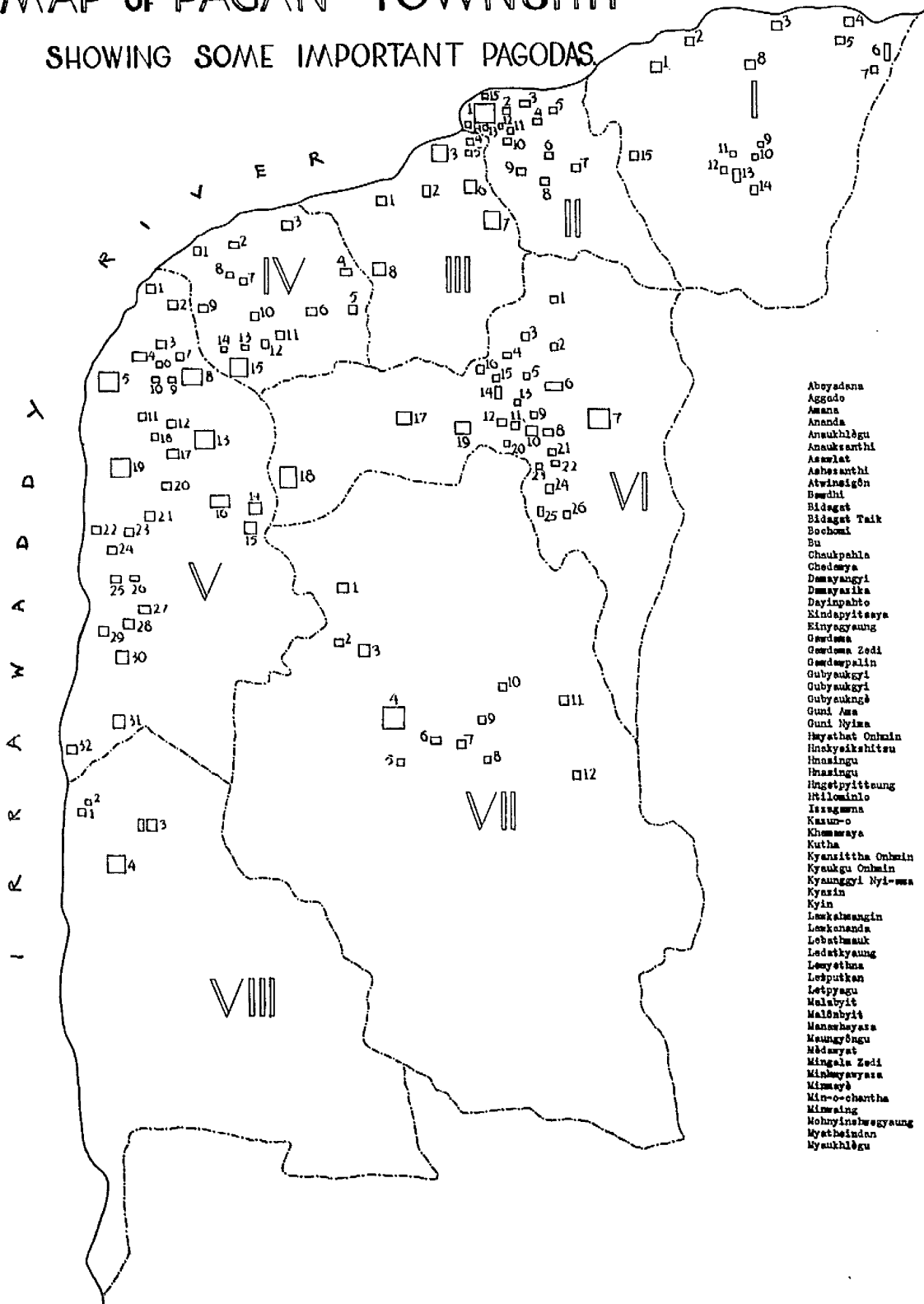
VI. Nanthu Circle.

1. Maungyôngu.
2. Izzagawna.



# MAP OF PAGAN TOWNSHIP

## SHOWING SOME IMPORTANT PAGODAS.



- CIRCLES.
- I NYAUNG-U EAST CIRCLE.
  - II NYAUNG-U WEST CIRCLE.
  - III WETNYI-DH CIRCLE.
  - IV TAWNOBLEYA CIRCLE.
  - V PAGAN MYOMA CIRCLE.
  - VI NAITHU CIRCLE.
  - VII PFAAZAR CIRCLE.
  - VIII TWINTYA CIRCLE.

### I N D E X

Abeysakana	V 25.	Mya Zedi	V 21.
Aggodo	V 22.	Myazigon	IV 3.
Amara	VI 12.	Nagayon	V 28.
Ananda	IV 15.	Nan	V 24.
Anaukhilngu	VI 23.	Nandayinnya	VI 6.
Anauksanthi	VI 25.	Ngayethna	VI 5.
Asawlat	VI 4.	Nyalyagu	V 11.
Asbesanthi	VI 26.	Nyaung-U Thairmasi	II 6.
Atwinaigon	V 4.	Okhamsayaw Okkyauung	III 3.
Bawdhi	V 9.	Pakhetbanya	V 10.
Bidagat	III 4.	Passitok	V 6.
Bidagat Taik	IV 10.	Paungdaw-u	I 2.
Boehoni	VIII 2.	Paungla Onhmin	I 14.
Bu	V 1.	Payani	III 1.
Chaukpahla	I 3.	Peinn	VII 3.
Chedanya	II 15.	Panetha	V 18.
Damayangyi	VI 18.	Sabwamauk	VI 21.
Damayasika	VII 4.	Sawliawun	V 2.
Dayinpahto	VI 7.	Sawliawun	VI 20.
Kindaypitsaya	IV 7.	Sawluhn	V 31.
Kinyayauung	IV 6.	Sedana	VIII 4.
Oardana	I 12.	Seinnyat Nyi-ama	V 30.
Oardana Zedi	I 13.	Shinbinnan	II 12.
Oardawpalin	V 5.	Shinblyansa	II 2.
Gubysukgyi	III 7.	Shimabhi	II 11.
Gubysukgyi	V 16.	Shitayethna	IX 10.
Gubysukng	V 20.	Shwagu	II 13.
Guni Ama	V 14.	Shwegygi	V 7.
Guni Nyima	V 15.	Shwakyungya	IV 1.
Hayathat Onhmin	I 10.	Shwakyung-u	IV 8.
Hnkyakshitsu	IV 13.	Shwawhuun	I 15.
Hnasingu	I 8.	Shwawmaw	V 13.
Hnasingu	VI 5.	Shwethabeik	I 4.
Hngitpitsaung	I 11.	Shwethabeik	IV 2.
Htilominlo	IV 5.	Siwe Zedi	II 4.
Issagarna	VII 2.	Sisawigon	II 1.
Kaun-o	VII 12.	Sinbyahin	V 12.
Khamwaya	III 8.	Sinbyahin	VI 19.
Kutha	VII 2.	Sitpapakto	V 9.
Kyansittha Onhmin	III 5.	Somngyi	V 29.
Kyauku Onhmin	I 6.	Sudungbye	I 1.
Kyaungyi Nyi-ama	VIII 3.	Sudungbye	VII 9.
Kyasin	V 27.	Sulmasani	VII 17.
Kyia	IV 9.	Tatkal	VI 10.
Lakabandun	II 9.	Tawkye	VI 11.
Lakabandun	V 32.	Tasungyauung	III 6.
Lebathauk	VI 13.	Thabyannu	V 8.
Lebathauk	IV 14.	Thabtagu	II 3.
Lebathauk	VI 22.	Thabula	VI 8.
Lebathauk	VI 16.	Thamharat Onhmin	I 9.
Lebathauk	II 14.	Thawadi	VII 1.
Lebathauk	VI 14.	Thawanswa	VII 10.
Lebathauk	VK 15.	Thawawade	VIII 1.
Manabhyat	V 23.	Theln	VII 5.
Manabhyat	VI 1.	Thelgathu	II 8.
Manabhyat	V 26.	Thelmasani	I 17.
Manabhyat	V 19.	Thelmasani	I 5.
Manabhyat	IV 11.	Thitawadi	VII 6.
Manabhyat	VII 8.	Thitawadi	VII 7.
Manabhyat	IV 12.	Upali Thain	IV 4.
Manabhyat	VI 9.	Winido	VI 3.
Manabhyat	III 2.	Yatsauk	I 7.
Manabhyat	II 7.	Zeyaput	VII 11.
Manabhyat	VI 24.		

FROM THE LIST OF PAGODAS AT PAGAN UNDER GOVERNMENT CUSTODY, (RANGOON, 1901).

CHAPTER X.KYWAN - THE SLAVES OF MEDIEVAL BURMA.

Kywan is the Burmese word for slave. From the evidence of the old Burmese inscriptions, we know that Buddhism exercised a great deal of influence on the Burmese ways of life and thinking. The average person understood that life is full of miseries and that everybody is enslaved by greed, anger and bewilderment i.e. lobha, dosa and moha until the time when he is able to free himself from such bondage and attain nirvana. Thus in a sense everybody is a slave and will always remain so until nirvana is reached. Therefore Singhasūra<sup>1</sup> a minister of King Cañsū II, in A.D.1190 made a dedication in the belief that it would help towards his salvation and said:

... rammak kywan aphlac mha teñ taw lhan luiw rakā ...

which Professor G.H.Luce translates: "I want to rebel against this world of slavery to appetite."<sup>2</sup> Although the word "rebel" is used here, what the minister had in mind was a bloodless revolution which involves a series of selfdenials of worldly pleasures. Anyway, for the time being he recognized himself as a slave of all enjoyments.

It would not be improper here to point out that although the

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1. Pl.10a<sup>28</sup>.

2. JBRS., XXVI, iii, p.135.

word kywan is generally translated as "slave" and implies menial service by a person to another, a Burman of the medieval times understood it not in the way ~~way~~ as it is now commonly understood when the mention of slavery recalls to the mind the American plantations. If slavery to him was what the early nineteenth century humanitarians understood and did their utmost to abolish as being one of the most undesirable institutions of mankind, he would not have voluntarily turned himself into a slave as the following illustration will show:

// sankrī Ray Khen mliy sankrī Nā Gway Sañ sē / sankrī Satvā tū // sankrī Ābhīnantasū // amañ kā Nā Krī kuiw le lhū e, // sankrī Pān Rāñ sē sañlyañ samī mīvā kuiw le lhū e, / samī krī kuiw le lhū e, samī nay moñma kuiw le lhū e, // kuiw mīvā sē nhac yok apon pur-hā lhū ruy e, //<sup>1</sup>

I, Nā Krī, (also) known as Sankrī Ābhīnantasū, son of Sankrī Nā Gway Sañ, nephew of Sankrī Satvā, and grandson of Sankrī Ray Khen dedicate myself. My wife, the daughter Sañlyañ the son of Sankrī Pān Rāñ, (I) dedicate. My elder daughter and my younger daughter the moñma are also dedicated. Thus/after dedicating (as slaves) to the pagoda myself, my wife and my two children, altogether four, I write this inscription.

A minister of Tarukpliy called Gangābijāñ made images of the Lord

in silver, bronze and marble, made miniature stupas of gold, silver, sandalwood, ivory, etc. and enshrined them in a hollow-pagoda. He gave twenty six works on pitaka and built two big monasteries and three sheds for the monks. He also performed the kathina ceremony. To these meritorious deeds, he added:-

// sā vokkvā sā miyva 2 yok kuiw le Skhiñ lak e' 3 phan  
lhū tumi e, //<sup>1</sup>

I gave three times into the hands of the Lord my two  
(children) - son and daughter.

Another illustration of this type is found in an inscription dated A.D.1248. Princess Acaw Krwəm Skhiñ daughter of King Uccenā and Sumlūla said after dedicating 3,779 pay of land and 1,250 slaves:

... avan tuiw, mruiw, nā le ratanā 3 pā so, kywān te // ...  
// Iy mhya so ratanā sum pā kā nā asak hiy sa yhuy kā nā  
lup klwañ sate nā kenthā pyāk ruy asak achum nhuik te rok  
kha mū kā // Iy nā lup // klwañ e, suiw nā sā nhac yok  
klwañ ciy sate //<sup>2</sup>

... Besides these (slaves), I also am the slave of the three gems (i.e. the Lord, the Law, the Order) ... As regards these three gems, as long as I live I serve. At the end of my life when this body of mine is destroyed, may my two children serve them as I have served.

Another donor Nā Kram Lhok San dedicated in A.D.1244 ~~two~~ slaves

1. Pl.308<sup>29</sup>.

2. Pl.164<sup>32,47</sup>.

and thirty toddy palms to the pagoda and said :

// ī than 30 sa kā nā asak hi sa yhu<sup>1</sup> nā klwañ sate // nā  
te atañ may mu kā // ī nā miyā nhañ sā 2 yok // nā kuiw cā  
purhā nhañ kloñ ā klwañ rac ciy sate //

With these thirty toddy palm trees, I feed while I am alive.  
 After my death, may my wife and two children carry on  
 serving the pagoda and the monastery on my behalf.

King Gaṅsū II once dedicated as slaves his three children by Queen  
Uiw Chok Pan to the pagoda built by his teacher Mahāthera Dhammayilesa  
 but later he redeemed them by dedicating thirty pay of land in their  
 stead. Another king Putasin Mañ whom unfortunately we cannot identify  
 sent men and money from Burma to effect repairs of the  
 religious buildings at Budh Gaya in India and left an inscription  
 in Burmese recording that the repairs were finished on Sunday,  
 13 October 1298 and that "two children as one's own offspring" were  
 dedicated as slaves there. If a king could turn his own children  
 or children who he regarded as his own into slaves, it evidently  
 means that becoming a pagoda slave in those days was not a  
 degradation in the social status. Apart from this evidence of king's  
 children dedicated as slaves, we have had three examples - firstly,  
 an executive officer and a minister, secondly a princess and thirdly

3-4

1. Pl.207 .  
10
2. Pl.34 . See Supra.p.38.  
9-14
3. Pl.299 . See Supra.pp.143-5 for text and translation of this  
 inscription.

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a commoner who dedicated themselves and their families as pagoda slaves which prove that slavery to those old Burmans did not mean the cruel thing we know. It savoured neither of the slave raids in Africa nor the licentiousness of an organised slave trade where well trained slaves were sold as luxury goods nor the degradation in social status of a modern Burmese pagoda slave who in almost the way as the untouchables of India are considered social outcasts. Broadly speaking, there are five causes for slavery - firstly birth i.e. hereditary; secondly, sale of children by their free parents and insolvent debtors; thirdly, captives in war; fourthly, piracy and kidnapping; and fifthly, commerce, i.e. systematic slave trade. Now in the light of ~~the light~~ of the above evidence we have just discussed, we should add another cause - voluntary.

For hereditary slaves we have ample evidence. In almost every inscription where the list of slaves appears, we have the mention of family groups. Sometimes a phrase like lañ miyā sā cum<sup>1</sup> - husband, wife and children is used to denote that the whole family has been turned into slaves and such phrases as sā can mliy can<sup>2</sup> or sā chak mliy chak<sup>3</sup> - meaning from son to grandson in a line or a chain is added to make it clear that their descendants will also be considered slaves. Sometimes a list of names is ended with this phrase īy kā

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1. Pl.417<sup>10-14</sup>.

2 & 3. Pl.164<sup>31,32</sup>.

achuy kwān te<sup>1</sup> to signify that the persons mentioned above are all related to each other. Some other phrases that occur frequently in the inscriptions to denote that the whole group belongs to a slave family and indirectly that their descendants will also be counted as slaves are apha s̄a l up<sup>2</sup> (father and children one group), amis̄a ta up<sup>3</sup> (mother and children), amis̄a<sup>4</sup> (mother and child), s̄a apha<sup>5</sup> (child and father together two), s̄a ami<sup>6</sup> (child and mother together two) and im thon<sup>7</sup> (the family group). Sometimes imthon<sup>8</sup> simply means domestic servants but mostly when this phrase occurs it means the whole family of slaves. For example:

// kū krī nhuik lhū so kwān k̄a im thon Nā Nantā l miya  
krī Pi Lhū l smī Khvatsanā l smī Manī mithuy Binī l nīma  
Thani l mavā nav Pa Lhū s̄a Nā Nattaw l nhama Mittī l //  
im thon Paw l miyā Jottā l smī Kawarī l smī Ui, Kron l urī  
Hatā l // Rwāsā l s̄a Nā Phlū l // Sunū l smī Manī l smī  
Retanī l nīma Ganī l // apon vokyā miyva cum 21 //

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1. Pl.149<sup>5</sup>.
  2. Pl.18<sup>11</sup>.
  3. Pl.153b<sup>11</sup>.
  4. Pl.153a<sup>22</sup>, Pl.164<sup>26</sup>.
  5. Pl.227<sup>7</sup>.
  6. Pl.227<sup>11</sup>.
  7. Pl.73 (passim), Pl.190a (passim), Pl.200<sup>21,25,26</sup>, Pl.256<sup>4</sup>, Pl.376<sup>5</sup>, Pl.557b<sup>3</sup>, Pl.598b (passim).
  8. Pl.181<sup>3,7,10</sup>.



As for the slaves dedicated to the big hollow pagoda they are the family of Nā Nanta , senior wife Pi Lhū , daughter Khvatsanā , daughter Manī , mother's younger sister Binī , younger sister Thani , junior wife Pa Lhū , son Nā Nattaw , sister Mittī ; the family of Paw , wife Jottā , daughter Kawarī , daughter Ui , Kron , mother's elder brother Hatā ; Rwāsā and son Nā Phlū ; Sunū and daughter Manī , daughter Hafanī , younger sister Canī , The total of male and female slaves is 21.

Thus a slave community appeared and every new child born into that community was considered a slave. Perhaps they used the word sapok<sup>1</sup> for a person born of slave parents. Eventually slave villages came into existence as kyon rwā lum<sup>2</sup> - the whole village of slaves in an inscription dated A.D.1223; kloñ kywan rwā<sup>3</sup> - the village of monastery slaves in an inscription dated A.D.1235, Nhak Pluiyaw Tuin rwā akun<sup>4</sup> - the whole slave village Nhak Pluiyaw Tuin in an inscription dated A.D.1242; simply kywan rwā<sup>5</sup> - the slave village in a dedication of Lord Kankasū's wife in A.D.1242; wat khlak rwā<sup>6</sup> - the rice cooking

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1. Pl.182a<sup>21</sup> , Pl.193<sup>22-23</sup> , Pl.543a<sup>30</sup> , Pl.597c<sup>5,11</sup> .
  2. Pl.51<sup>8</sup> .
  3. Pl.127a<sup>3,4</sup> .
  4. Pl.140b<sup>9</sup> .
  5. Pl.145<sup>8</sup> .
  6. Pl.215b<sup>18</sup> .

village meaning that the villagers were all slaves to the nearby monastery and that they served it as cooks. This appears in the dedication of one of the queens of Tarukpliy made in A.D.1266 and lastly the famous Gubyaukgyi inscription of Prince Rājakumār mentioned the three slave villages of Sakmunalon , Rapāy and Henbuiw.<sup>1</sup>

Naturally owners considered slaves as part of their estates that could be handed down from father to son, or could be bought or sold or used in settling of debts<sup>2</sup> which often led to disputes and law suits for ownership.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps to avoid disputes at a later date, judges were called upon to witness the transfer of ownership<sup>4</sup> which was duly registered, signed and sealed.<sup>5</sup> Amuy kywan<sup>6</sup> - the inherited slaves is the term used by Nā U Lyon to describe eleven slaves whom he inherited from his aunt Yaptaw sañ Khyat Ma , the concubine of King Cañsū I. When Prince Gaṅgāsūra the son of King Cañsū I by Queen Vatamsikā or Ūchokpen died, perhaps without any children to inherit his property, his elder brother Prince Rājasūra took a portion of his estate, undoubtedly leaving the major portion in the hands of the

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1. Pl.362<sup>30-32</sup>.

2. Pl.393<sup>15</sup> (Samā Nay handed over four slaves to the donor in settlement of a debt).

3. Pl.74<sup>8-20</sup>, Pl.78b, Pl.79ab.

4. Pl.56b<sup>6-9</sup>.

5. Pl.77<sup>6,10</sup>.

6. Pl.75a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.392<sup>26</sup>.

widow, the daughter of Ñoñ Rañ Krī. Anyhow, the widow, recorded<sup>1</sup> in A.D.1242 that

// atuiw skhiñ mañ Kañkasū pvañ tau mū orī so amuy hu skhiñ  
atuiw skhiñ mañ Kañkasū o Mrañkī kywan ... 10 kip //<sup>1</sup>

When Our Lord Prince Gaṅgāsūra died, by inheritance, our lord, the senior brother Prince Rājasūra took ... 10 slaves of Mrañkī .

This exercise of the right of inheritance by an elder brother would not be welcomed in Burma to-day, for when a Burman Buddhist dies without children, the widow inherits the whole estate. Apart from this exception of an elder brother inheriting some of the slaves of his younger brother, we have quite a number of cases where the inheritance is in the descending order. For example, we have the following descriptive phrases about the slaves: ami mha lā so kywañ kā<sup>2</sup> - as for the slaves from mother; apha mha lā so kywan kā<sup>3</sup> - as for the slaves from father; aphuiw ka lā so kywan<sup>4</sup> - slaves from grandfather; nā mi nā ā coñ ma kywan hū piy so<sup>5</sup> - slaves given by my mother to help me; arī nā ā piy so<sup>6</sup> - slaves given by my father's

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1. Pl.144<sup>17-18</sup> .
  2. Pl.212<sup>5,8</sup> .
  3. Pl.212<sup>8,12</sup> , Pl.150<sup>4</sup> .
  4. Pl.84<sup>4</sup> .
  5. Pl.120a<sup>2-3</sup> .
  6. Pl.120a<sup>5</sup> .

sister and ñā mi ñā pha ka lā so kywan<sup>1</sup> - slaves from my mother and father. But we have also records where the persons concerned were very anxious to make known to the outside world that the slaves in their possession were not inherited. It will not be uninteresting at this point to consider a few examples where explicit mention is made that the slaves in question were not part of the inherited property but that the owner had earned them by sheer hard work.

A lady called Ui Plañ Cum Sañ making a dedication in A.D.1233 said:

... īy kywān 7 yok sā kā ami lā so kywān le ma hut epha lā  
so kywān le ma hut ña leñ Ña Koñ Sañ nheñ ña tī si mu ruy  
ra so kywā te ...<sup>2</sup>

These seven slaves are not the slaves from mother nor from father. My husband Ña Koñ Sañ and I got them as the fruit of (our work).

Ñā Mañ Sañ and wife said in A.D.1238:

// īy kywan kā ami epha emuy mahut cwem // leñ myā  
 (dherani) mū ruy, ra so kywan te //<sup>3</sup>

These slaves are not inherited from our parents. We, the husband and wife got them by bringing them up.

In A.D.1242, a rich man Ñā Mlhok Sañ said:

1. Pl.150<sup>2</sup>.

2. Pl.70<sup>6-8</sup>.

3. Pl.129<sup>7-9</sup>.

// ña phuiw ka ña phiy ka lā so ña mi ña pha ka lā so  
kywan le ma hut ñā chuiw ñray to sī mū ruy, ra so // kywen  
te ...<sup>1</sup>

These slaves are not from my great grandfather, my grandfather, my mother or my father. I underwent hardships to get them.

A rich lady Ui, Kram Khyan Sai and husband dedicated eleven slaves to the image at the hollow pagoda that they built in A.D.1231 and said:

// i anhae lai miyā nī ruy, lhū so kywan kā ñā tuiw ami apha  
amuy kywan le ma hut // ñā tuiw amlyuiw 7 chak mhā lā so amuy  
kywan le ma hut anhae lai miyā chuiw ñray lup ruy, ra so  
kywan nham nham te //<sup>2</sup>

These slaves that we the loving couple have agreed to dedicate are not the inheritance begotten from our parents nor from our ancestors of seven generations. They are entirely the produce of our labour.

Slaves of another loving couple are described as:

... mon nham nhac yok chuiw ñray pan pan mū ruy ra so kywan ...<sup>3</sup>

Slaves begotten through hardship and toil by the loving husband and wife.

Another rich lady in A.D.1248 said about her slaves:

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- 1. Pl.141b<sup>3-7</sup> .
  - 2. Pl.157<sup>16-19</sup> .
  - 3. Pl.160b<sup>3-5</sup> .

// ami apha mha lā so kywan le ma hut // nā chuiw nray  
lum la mū ruy ra so kywan te //<sup>1</sup>

(These) slaves are not from mother or father. I got them  
 through hardship and endeavour.

Different from the above mentioned examples is the man who received  
 four slaves on his father's death but was made answerable for his  
 father's debts. So he declared:

// īy 4 vok so kywan sañ-kā apha kywan hū ruy akhlañ nī  
lhyañ piv sa ma hut // apha mrī khapay lhyañ chap ruy ra  
sate //<sup>2</sup>

As for these four slaves, they are not given over to me for  
 nothing just because they are my father's slaves. I got  
 them after repaying all my father's debts.

A gentleman went even to the extent of claiming that he got his  
 slaves by virtue of his merit by saying nā wīra lum, la satañ suñ  
ruiy, e, ra so kywan te.<sup>3</sup> Whatever is said except for the monks  
 who receive their slaves as donations we come to the conclusion that  
 if the slaves owned were not part of their inherited property, they  
 must have acquired them through buying or by settling a debt or  
 from success in a law suit. If buying slaves was possible, there must  
 have been some form of a recognised slave trade, about which we

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10-12

1. Pl.161b .  
     6-9  
 2. Pl.204a .  
     24-25  
 3. Pl.572a .

329 32-8

will discuss later.

As for the insolvent debtor who has to give himself up as a slave to his creditor, we have an illustration as follows. There was a piysmā (anvil-maker) called Nā Tañ, Sañ (Mr. Upright). Perhaps he was a master blacksmith with many assistants and slaves. As fate would have it, he went bankrupt in A.D.1227. In order to appease his many creditors he went to one of the ministers of King Nātonmyā (1211-1231) called Anantasūra with the following terms:

// atuiw kywan pvak cī chañ nray kha e, // i y miyā nā snī  
2 vok nā skhiñ kywan so phlac ciy khlyañ // ... // atuiw,  
kywan pvak cī chañ nray kha ruy, // pliy phañ kha so kywan  
tuiw, le hi e, sū mri vū ruy, mri sañ mri nhañ, ma tan tay,  
rup lip so kywan tuiw, le hi e, iy mhya so kywan khapañ  
kā nā skhiñ myā lhyañ piy sate // su laktwañ hi so mhya le  
thut ciy khlyañ e, // su utcā tuiw, chap rya so le chap ciy  
khlyañ e, ...<sup>1</sup>

(My Lord!) We, your slaves<sup>2</sup>, are ruined and (made) miserable. These, (my) wife and my two daughters, (I) want them to become your slaves, My Lord ... As your slave is ruined and made miserable, there are many slaves who have fled and who hesitate (i.e. they will also flee sooner or

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1. Pl.79a<sup>1-13</sup>, Pl.78a<sup>32</sup>.

2. In the form of polite address denoting himself and his wife.

later). Some are already given up to settle debts but there are not enough to settle all debts. I give you and your wife the remaining slaves. (It is my) request that you redeem those who are now in others' possession and settle all our debts ...

Thus, the bankrupt master blacksmith, his family and all his slaves became the slaves of the minister Anantasūra.

We have no direct evidence for war captive slaves nor for slave raids. But we have three examples which we can connect with slavery due to war. In the Great Shwezigon Inscription in old Mon, we find mention that the enemies of Pagan took some of its citizens downstream as captives but they were later freed and restored to Pagan through the might of King Kyanzittha.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it happened just before or soon after Kyanzittha ascended the throne. In the record of a dedication made in A.D.1216 by another minister of King Nātoṃvā called Asaṅkhvā we find

// īy kywon (13 sa kā) mañ Sinkhāpicañ phlac so Pvaṅkhī sā plac pā ruy Taway lyac so // Pukañ rok khlyva(n̄ hū ruy ra) so Calañ kywon te // Phun Sañ Asaṅkhvā mañ pan rakā Pvaṅkhī sā le Pukañ rok e, // Pukañ rok (so) Phun Sañ Asaṅkhvā Pvaṅkhī sā kywon ra sate //<sup>2</sup>

As for these thirteen slaves they are Calañ slaves of the

1. Ep. Birm., I, ii, I B<sup>25928</sup>, and pp.116-117.

2. Pl.42<sup>13-16</sup>.



son of (Prince) Pyamkhi who joined in the sin (i.e. rebellion) of Prince Sinkhapicañ and (? fled) to Tavoy. (He) desiring to return to Pagan the honourable Asankhya asked pardon from the king. Pyamkhi's son therefore came back to Pukam. On reaching Pukam the slaves of Pyamkhi's son were handed over to the honourable Asankhya.

With this information, it is possible to reconstruct the scene as follows.<sup>1</sup> Natonmya, the son and successor of King Cañsū II (1174-1211) belonged to the junior branch of the royal family as his mother was only a commoner. Perhaps due to his ability he was made successor of Cañsū II ignoring some other sons who probably belonged to the senior branch of the royal family and therefore would have had a better claim to the throne. Soon after Natonmya's accession, rebellion broke out. He had five efficient ministers including Asankhya who helped him to suppress them. When all troubles were over he rewarded his five brave ministers handsomely. Sinkhapicañ headed a rebellion and the son of Pyamkhi supported him. Apparently their cause failed and it is not improbable that Asankhya was the very man who suppressed the rebellion and out of sheer clemency, he begged pardon from the king for the young inexperienced prince who was misled by ill counsel. The king pardoned the prince and allowed him to return to Pagan but confiscated his estate and handed it over to his minister as reward for his brave and loyal services.

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1. See Supra.pp.43-46.

We have the same kind of story<sup>1</sup> when King Klacwā (1235-?1249) ascended the throne. Perhaps the sons of his brother whom he succeeded disputed the succession. Two brothers Sinhapikram and Sirivadhanā rebelled and were defeated but escaped. On Sunday, 8 June 1236, when King Klacwā was giving an audience at Kwān Prok Nay - the Small Variegated Hall - Sinhapikram's wife asked the king to forgive her husband and allow him to come back to Pagan. The king forgave the man but confiscated his "slaves, fields and gardens" and gave them to Queen Saw<sup>2</sup>, very possibly the queen of his predecessor and brother King Narasingha - Uccanā (?1231-1235).

As we have already noticed, these last incidents give us only the fact that the king confiscated the slaves of a rebel prince and gave them away to whomever he pleased and therefore these slaves cannot be classed as war captives turned into slaves. Nevertheless it gives us some general idea that in times of war the conqueror captured enemy property including men who owed allegiance to the enemy and distributed them among his followers. Perhaps we can connect the mishap early in Kyanzittha's reign with kidnapping people for slaves.

There are but few direct evidence of the slave trade in our period but as the donors making dedication of slaves to the religious

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1. See Supra.pp.51-53. See also Pl.234<sup>31-34</sup>.

2. Mother of King Uccanā and grandmother of King Tarukpily.

establishments very often mentioned the prices they paid for the slaves, we can very well understand the conditions of the slave trade in those days. Nā Khyat Sañ Myak Mañ (Mr. Love - the black eye) buying eleven slaves in A.D.1214 gave the details as

... kywan yokvā krī 7 yok // yokvā nāy 4 yok apon kywan 11 yok aphuiw nuy 330 khin piy e, // 1

(For the price of) seven adult male slaves (and) four young male slaves altogether 11 slaves three hundred and thirty of silver are weighed and given.

This gives us an average price of thirty ticals of silver for a male slave. The same gentleman in A.D.1223 bought another four slaves at the price of one hundred and twenty ticals of silver together<sup>2</sup>, and one at 35 ticals of silver.<sup>3</sup> Then he made a real bargain when he bought seven slaves.

... Tonplun hi so panthyan, nī sā te up so kuiw aphuiw nuy 140 piy so ... 4

the whole group of brothers and sons of the goldsmith living at Tonplun at the price of 140 silver.

He also got a slave called Nā Khyam<sup>5</sup> from Sukhamin, the sankrī of

1. Pl.75a<sup>4-6</sup> .
2. Pl.75a<sup>22-23</sup> .
3. Pl.75a<sup>30</sup> .
4. Pl.75a<sup>40-41</sup> .
5. Pl.75a<sup>45-46</sup> .

Sacchim, in exchange for his boat called Kramū<sup>1</sup> (?areca palm).

Lastly he bought nineteen slaves at five hundred and seventy ā.e. thirty ticals each.<sup>2</sup> Paddy and copper were also used as mediums of exchange in those days and Anantasū's wife in A.D.1226 bought

... kwān 20 so apñiw ñuy khin piy so ñuy k̄ā ña krañ kriy  
phlū 300 ñuy pvān 200 // apñ 500 khin piy e, //<sup>3</sup>

(for the) price of twenty slaves 300 of Ñā Krañ white copper and 200 of pure silver, together 500, are weighed and given.

Queen Saw in A.D.1301 bought a potter called Ñā On and a gardener

Ñā Kon at thirty ticals of silver and twenty ~~viss~~ of copper

respectively.<sup>4</sup> As Kappikā - personal attendant - to the most

reverend Mlat Kri Nhak Pac Ton she bought Ñā Kumkay at twenty baskets of paddy and three viss of copper.<sup>5</sup> We also find that sometimes slaves

slaves were given away in exchange for elephants and horses. In

A.D. 1164 a gentleman Krañ Cañ gave sixty six Indian slaves in

exchange for an elephant and forty for a horse.<sup>6</sup> It must have been an exceptionally good horse to have cost forty slaves. In A.D.1230,

the wife of Supharac gave fifty domestic slaves for an elephant.<sup>7</sup>

1. See JBRs., XXX, i, p.312, n.64.

2. Pl.75a<sup>57-58</sup>.

3. Pl.77<sup>4-5</sup>.

4. Pl.392<sup>11-12</sup>.

5. Pl.392<sup>30</sup>.

6. Pl.94b<sup>13,14</sup>.

7. Pl.156<sup>3-4</sup>.

In A.D.1249, minister Jeyyapiknam recorded that he bought some slaves in exchange for ten areca-nut palms each.<sup>1</sup> A concubine from a place called Marhak once (A.D.1143) dedicated her slaves to a pagoda and then after reflection she dedicated one hundred ticals of pure silver to the pagoda as the price for a slave woman whom she had dedicated and wanted to set free.<sup>2</sup> But we cannot take this one hundred ticals of silver for a standard price of redemption. The pious lady was buying the slave from the pagoda and it is almost certain she was being very generous and charitable. When a slave called Nā On Cañ who was so fortunate as to save enough money to redeem himself, he paid his master Nā Mum Sai five viss of copper and became a free man in A.D.1253.<sup>3</sup> As is not unusual even to-day in Burma a donor Rammanā Sai was over zealous to amass merit beyond his means and found himself unable to pay the wages of the sculptor who made the image of Buddha. He had to sell one of his slave women in A.D.1272. It goes into record as:

... Iw Let kuiw purhā plu so purhā samā kuiw lekkha acā  
asok nā ron ruy piy sate ...<sup>4</sup>

I sell Iw Let in order to give food and drink and wages to

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16,17

1. Pl.175 .
2. Pl.151<sup>18</sup> .
3. Pl.182a<sup>18-19</sup> .
4. Pl.238<sup>19</sup> .

the image maker.

Thus, a slave would cost approximately from twenty to thirty five ticals in silver or five to twenty viss in copper or twenty baskets of paddy plus three viss of copper, while fifty to sixty six slaves are exchanged with an elephant, forty with a horse and one with a boat. A slave could redeem himself for as little as five viss of copper but the price for redeeming a pagoda slave varied enormously. It depended upon the degree of charity of the redeemer.

Even though the modest sum of five viss of copper was the fee of liberty we find another sort who pay nothing but yet get their freedom. They are those who fled. Nā Khyat Sai, whom we have mentioned above, said in one place that he originally intended a dozen slaves for the pagoda but unfortunately one escaped and therefore only eleven are left.<sup>1</sup> But he insisted on putting on record that the grand total dedicated to the pagoda was twelve, showing great determination that he would not be cheated of a twelfth of his merit because of the trivial fact that one slave had run away. In A.D.1222, Anantasūra and wife dedicated their garden at sāphawchip - the port Yhunpuiw together with Indian slaves to the pagoda.<sup>2</sup> After giving a list of names of these slaves, they summed up thus:

... apon̄ ūyān hi so Kulā krī nāy cum̄ 28 pliy so 2 // apon̄  
30 hi e, //

1. Pl.75b<sup>36</sup>.

2. Pl.76<sup>10</sup>.

All Indian slaves both old and young at the garden numbered 28; two (had) escaped. Total 30.

Runaway slaves were very rare. We find no evidence of such things as tracking down the recalcitrants with blood hounds nor the death penalty. The slaves probably found their lot quite comfortable and thought that to run away was just sheer madness. We have evidence which will be discussed later that the owners were quite merciful.

? Slaves were never taken away from their native places and were allowed to follow their own trade or profession with the added comfort that they had a master who would feed them when everything else went wrong. Perhaps the human sentiment of attachment to one's native place was one of the causes that prevented them from running away. We have no evidence of transferring slaves from place to place. Usually they were attached to the land in their locality<sup>1</sup> or in the case of professionals, people of the same vocations were grouped together.<sup>2</sup> Cowherds remained with their cows in their pasture lands.<sup>3</sup> It was only ownership which changed. Towards the end of the dynasty, in A.D. 1266 a whole group of Indian slaves at Yanpuiw was recorded as having escaped.<sup>4</sup> Yhanpuiw was a port and therefore perhaps was

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- 219
1. Pl. 216 (passim).
  2. Pl. 144 .
  3. Pl. 138<sup>19, 20</sup> .
  4. Pl. 216<sup>33</sup> .

within easy reach of the sea. This proximity to the sea may have tempted them to escape and an uneasy political situation at that time must also have been an added cause. We find mention of two more slaves escaping and in both cases, strange to say the runaways were widows.<sup>1</sup> A mother also escaped with three daughters.<sup>2</sup>

Merciful owners is the outstanding feature of Pagan slavery. A donor<sup>3</sup> in A.D.1198 dedicated 567 1/2 pay of land and 228 slaves to the pagoda meaning that the majority of these slaves worked on these lands and served the pagoda with the produce of the land, but there were also slaves who were skilled artists. For example - firstly, there was the leader of the group who was the general supervisor; then there were the firewood cutter, the granary keeper, the dancer or singer and the drummer who in their own skilled ways served the pagoda. To prevent them from going hungry and probably to keep them from the ill usage of the majority, the donor was careful to leave special provision for them. Out of 567 1/2 pay of land, ten were for the supervisor, five for the woodcutter, five for the granary keeper, five for the singer and three for the drummer.

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1. Pl.376<sup>15,21</sup> .

2. Pl.148a<sup>19</sup> .

3. Pl.19b<sup>9-11</sup> .



Queen Saw<sup>1</sup>, mother of Singhapati and Tryāphya dedicated in A.D.1241, 260 pay of land, two gardens and 178 slaves to the pagoda. But she left detailed instructions regarding the food supply for the slaves who were not connected with the land. There were four night-watchmen of the hollow-pagoda and some musicians. They were provided with 135 baskets of paddy annually and roughly each got three quarters of a basket except an old cañsañ (drummer) and an old pantvā (? singer) who got two baskets each. This shows the donors kindness and care for details.

The wife of Prince Gaṅgasūra, making a dedication of 511 1/2 pay of land in A.D.1242 mentioned that 15 pay were for the slaves.<sup>2</sup> Another Queen Saw<sup>3</sup>, mother of Prince Rājasūra dedicated slaves to the monastery in A.D.1291 and said:

// cā chwañ nhuik lup kluy so kywan tuiw le phvā nā uiv  
mañ kha so kā skhiñ arvā tuiw si mrañ ciy sate //

When any slave who cooks the daily food for the monks becomes sick or ill or (feeble with) old age, the monks must know and see (i.e. give proper treatments).

This is the best security a man could desire against his old age and inability and the Pagan slaves had that security.

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1. Pl.138<sup>30-36</sup> .
  2. Pl.147b<sup>21</sup> .
  3. Pl.275<sup>28-29</sup> .

285 There is another piece of evidence for the liberal mindedness of the slave owners of our period. Very often we find rahan<sup>1</sup> (monk), pancan<sup>2</sup> (? a person who is proficient in the five requisite qualifications) and bhikkhūni<sup>3</sup> (a female ascetic) mentioned among lists of slaves. The only reason we could think of their presence in the lists of slaves is that they were born of slave parents. The Buddhist Order recognized no class distinction and therefore they could not be slaves as well as monks or nuns at the same time. They must have had the permission of their masters first before joining the Order perhaps with the understanding that if and when they left the Order they become slaves again. May be that is why their names are included in the slave lists so that in case they left the Order, they will not be able to deny their heritage. Apart from that, their names appearing in the lists mean nothing. A minister called Gaṅgabiṅṅ allowed two adults and twenty children of his slaves to become monks and novices.<sup>4</sup>

There were also equally broadminded slave owners who set their slaves free out of sheer humaneness. A rich man Na Tuṅṅ Paṅ Saṅ

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1. Pl.7<sup>9</sup>, Pl.174<sup>33</sup>, Pl.200<sup>22</sup>, Pl.211<sup>3</sup>, Pl.256<sup>7</sup>, Pl.308<sup>33</sup>, Pl.376  
(passim).
  2. Pl.146<sup>3</sup>, Pl.226<sup>13</sup>, Pl.232<sup>8,8,9</sup>.
  3. Pl.89<sup>27</sup>, Pl.92<sup>14</sup>.
  4. Pl.308<sup>33</sup>.

in A.D.1258 dedicated nine slaves to the pagoda first and then said:

// Tawli 1 yok // Sarabhī 1 yok // Ya Krwac īy kywan 3 yok  
kā alwat lhyān nā lhwat kha sate // <sup>1</sup>

I release from all bonds these three slaves (viz.) Tawli,  
Sarabhī and Ya Krwac (Miss Casket).

Princess Acaw Lat, daughter of King Narasingha-Uccaṇā and wife of minister Jeyvasaddhiy built a hollow pagoda in A.D.1261 and dedicated sixty eight slaves to it. But she gave another list of fifteen slaves and said:

... īy mhya sa kywan kā phurhā tryā saṅkhā tuiw kuiw le ma  
Mhū lañ sā achuy amlyuiw tuiw kuiw le ma piy nā asak hi sa  
rhuy kā lup ciy so nā ma hi mu kā mrak nu riy krañ hi rā  
lā ciy sate // ... // ī nā lhwat so kywan tuiw kuiw le lai  
1000 piy e // <sup>2</sup>

These slaves - I do not dedicate them to the Lord, the Law and the Order. Nor do (I) give them to (my) husband, children, relatives and friends. May they serve me while I am alive. After my death, they are allowed to go where there is tender grass and clear water <sup>3</sup> ... To these slaves

1. Pl.191a<sup>15-16</sup>.

2. Pl.201a<sup>9-11,14</sup>.

3. Incidentally the use of the phrase mrak nu riy krañ i.e. seek tender grass and clear water when allowing a person to go where there is promise of prosperity suggests rather vaguely that the phrase was a relic of the nomadic past.

whom I have given liberty, I give one thousand pay of land.

The princess was very kind and considerate. She was quite aware of the great difficulty a slave would meet when suddenly freed from bondage - penniless, and unemployed. In A.D.1238, Nā Puik Sañ<sup>1</sup> and wife requested the notables of the village to assemble and in their presence poured the water of libation and allowed a person "to seek tender grass and clear water." Tryā Mvan's wife<sup>2</sup> in A.D.1267 used the same phrase and set free one hundred and ninety slaves. A donor dedicating eight slaves to a pagoda in A.D.1294 said to the slaves<sup>3</sup>:

... noñ khyam sā nuiw ka niy ma khyam sā nuiw ka mrak nu riw krañ, hi ra rā lā /

(After a while) if you still hope of comfort by remaining like this (i.e. as pagoda slaves), stay. If you lose hope of comfort seek tender grass and clear water.

So saying he left the matter entirely in the hands of the slaves. They could seek freedom whenever they wished. With ample funds provided by the rich donor and only an image to look after, they decided perhaps, to remain slaves for ever. That way of life is

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1. Pl.210a <sup>3-4</sup> .
  2. Pl.217 <sup>9-10,28</sup> , Pl.218<sup>1</sup> .
  3. Pl.280a <sup>9-11</sup> .

comparatively easy.<sup>1</sup> As we have noticed above, Minister Gaṅgabiṅ allowed twentytwo of his slaves to join the Order and in addition he redeemed and set free ten debtor slaves.<sup>2</sup> Another interesting point that we have noticed in this connection is in an inscription found at the Kyaukgu Oñmin and dated A.D.1188 in which we read:

// Uttamapharac nḥaṅ maṅ miya Uin Nāy Gwan kuiw khaw ruy  
mlay taṅ Kupa lḥvaṅ thuy taw khla e maṅkrī min e klok cā  
twaṅamaṅ hiy so purhā kywan kā sā mliy acin khapaṅ lwat ciy  
sate //<sup>3</sup>

Uttamapharac and Uin Nāy Gwan the concubine, are summoned (into the royal presence) at Mlay Taṅkup - the earth pavilion, and the royal order is passed. The great king said 'Pagoda slaves mentioned by name in the stone inscription and their children, grandchildren and posterity, are all released.'

This was a king's order to set free pagoda slaves who had been dedicated by others.<sup>4</sup> From the above evidence we are under the impression that

1. There are many pagoda slaves especially of the Pagan area, who not without reason believed themselves to be the descendants of the pagoda slaves from the period under discussion but elected to remain so when the British came and brought with them the abolition of slavery.
2. Pl.308<sup>31-32</sup>.
3. Pl.228b<sup>14-15</sup>.
4. Incidentally, one of the first measures taken by the President of the Union of the Republic of Burma in 1948 immediately after independence was to declare all pagoda slaves free.

the lives of pagoda-slaves were easy but it is necessary to study their duties before coming to a definite conclusion. Therefore let us now turn our attention to the duties of slaves who were dedicated to pagodas or monasteries. In A.D.1197, Jeyvasethiy dedicated one hundred and forty one slaves to a pagoda and a monastery, in order that sāmbut wat // chīmī wat ma prat cim, so nhā<sup>1</sup> - rice food and oil lamps be served without intermission. Slaves whose special duty was to cook rice or food at the monasteries were known as sāmbut khyak kyon<sup>2</sup> or wat khyak kywan<sup>3</sup>. In A.D.1223 minister Anantasūra and his wife made a religious establishment and desired that it should remain for all the five thousand years of the religion. Slaves were dedicated in order that

// anhac kuiwcā akha mlañ, mlay plu dhā rac cim, so nhā //  
tanlañ lhañ cim so nhā // purhā trvā nhuik sāmbut // chīmī  
kwam pan // ma prat tañ rac cim, so nhā // sañ kham so skhin  
ariyā tuiw, kuiw chwam pan lup klwañ rac cim, so nhā //<sup>4</sup>

they may go on for ever doing the necessary repairs (at the establishment); to sweep the compound; to go on serving the Lord and the Law without intermission with rice food, oil lamps, betel and flowers; to go on serving the patient

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1. Pl.16<sup>4-5</sup>.
  2. Pl.50<sup>22</sup>.
  3. Pl.18b<sup>28</sup>, Pl.229<sup>21</sup>, Pl.239<sup>9</sup>, Pl.417<sup>9</sup>.
  4. Pl.73<sup>20-31</sup>. See also Pl.80<sup>21-22</sup>, Pl.164<sup>8-9</sup>, Pl.197<sup>7</sup>, Pl.235<sup>7-9</sup>.

reverend monks with the flowers of rice food on behalf of the loving couple.

As seen in the above quotation when slaves were dedicated to the pagoda, the donors expressed the desire that they serve the Lord on their behalf by using the phrase nā kuiw cā or mimi kuiw cā.<sup>1</sup>

Minister Mahāsmān in A.D. 1255 defined the duties of the slaves of a monastery as:

// īy mhva sa kywan kā aryā saṅghā tuiw kuiw khriy (chiv riw) lak chiv riw khliw riw (sok) riw khapsim so nhā wat khyak cim so temnyak khliw klum cim so nhā lhū sate ...<sup>2</sup>

These slaves are to fetch the water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies, and water to drink. They are (also) to cook the rice food, and to sweep and remove the refuse.

In A.D. 1269, a donor dedicated a laksmā<sup>3</sup> - carpenter and another a panphay<sup>4</sup> - blacksmith - to repair a ruined monastery. Another donor dedicated eleven slaves in the same year so that they would be useful when repairs were needed at his religious establishment.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Pl. 99<sup>9</sup>-10, Pl. 152<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 164<sup>32</sup>, Pl. 236<sup>a6,10</sup>, Pl. 238<sup>6,9</sup>, Pl. 248<sup>11</sup>.
  2. Pl. 186<sup>27-28</sup>.
  3. Pl. 261<sup>7-8</sup>.
  4. Pl. 261<sup>24</sup>, Pl. 262<sup>25</sup>.
  5. Pl. 225<sup>6-7</sup>.

The duties might vary slightly in detail between the slaves who were attached to the pagoda,<sup>1</sup> to the Law,<sup>2</sup> to the Order,<sup>3</sup> and to the sīma<sup>4</sup>. Some of the slaves were to become personal attendants to the head of the monastery.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the slaves of the religious establishments, we also find the mention of domestic helps who were variously termed as īm kywan<sup>6</sup>, īm thon kywan<sup>7</sup> and īm niy<sup>8</sup>. Slaves of the royal household are called either kywan taw<sup>9</sup> or mañ īm kri sañ<sup>10</sup>. The mention of a slave wife is very rare and we find it only twice as kuiw lup<sup>11</sup> and kuiw lup kywan miyva<sup>12</sup>.

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1. Pl.9<sup>5</sup>, Pl.22<sup>16,21</sup>, Pl.50<sup>7-14</sup>, Pl.61<sup>8,20</sup>, Pl.114a<sup>7-9</sup>, Pl.130<sup>3-5</sup>, Pl.131b<sup>9</sup>, Pl.139<sup>8-9</sup>, etc.
  2. Pl.42<sup>28</sup>, Pl.190a<sup>8</sup>, Pl.229<sup>19</sup>.
  3. Pl.114a<sup>7-9</sup>, Pl.127a<sup>3</sup>, Pl.164<sup>13</sup>, Pl.190a<sup>9-11</sup>, Pl.202<sup>22</sup>, Pl.212 Pl.212<sup>17-18,20</sup>, Pl.214b<sup>1</sup>, etc.
  4. Pl.212<sup>15-16</sup>.
  5. Pl.229<sup>20</sup>.
  6. Pl.156<sup>3,4</sup>.
  7. Pl.181<sup>3,7,10</sup>.
  8. Pl.228b<sup>9</sup>.
  9. Pl.228b<sup>5,6,7</sup>.
  10. Pl.421a<sup>2</sup>, Pl.421b<sup>15,17</sup>.
  11. Pl.140b<sup>14</sup>.
  12. Pl.140b<sup>14-15</sup>.



Another interesting thing about the slaves in the inscriptions is the terms used to describe them. When giving a list of slaves, whenever it is necessary short descriptions appear such as im thon<sup>1</sup> for the head of the family, kamay<sup>2</sup> for a widow, Ya<sup>3</sup> as prefix for women of Mon extraction, pucu<sup>4</sup> for young people, nuiw, cuiw,<sup>5</sup> for sucklings, cātat<sup>6</sup> for literates, sami apluiw n̄ay<sup>7</sup> for a young unmarried daughter, nuiw khuiw<sup>8</sup> and wam̄ manā s̄a<sup>9</sup> for foster children. There are some terms used as prefixes to the names of both sexes and unfortunately we are still unable to give the right interpretation.

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1. See Supra.p.322.
  2. Pl.4<sup>7,25</sup>, Pl.73<sup>42,43</sup>, Pl.200<sup>25,26</sup>, Pl.256<sup>6,13,15</sup>, Pl.375<sup>13,17</sup>, etc.
  3. Pl.4<sup>7,15</sup>, etc.
  4. Pl.7<sup>9</sup>, Pl.73<sup>36</sup>, Pl.148a<sup>21</sup>, Pl.256<sup>5,14,15</sup>, Pl.391<sup>7</sup>.
  5. Pl.22<sup>9</sup>, Pl.73 (passim), Pl.74<sup>2,7</sup>, Pl.148a<sup>8</sup>, Pl.181 (passim), etc.
  6. Pl.7<sup>6,9</sup>, Pl.73(passim), Pl.148a<sup>21</sup>, Pl.181(passim), Pl.201a<sup>1,2,4,6,8,10,15</sup>
  7. Pl.256, etc.
  7. Pl.270<sup>11</sup>.
  8. Pl.68<sup>16</sup>.
  9. Pl.103<sup>4</sup>.

They are mhura<sup>1</sup>, mrakra<sup>2</sup>, phut<sup>3</sup>, and uiw, phkhi<sup>4</sup>. Tentatively, we consider them as overseers or foremen of working groups as mrakra and mhura suggests that they were employed for some work.

Regarding literacy among slaves, let us take three inscriptions dated A.D.1227,<sup>5</sup> 1235<sup>6</sup> and 1240<sup>7</sup> where the mention of cātat-literate, appears more frequently than in any other inscriptions. In the first inscription we find 78 slaves among whom 9 were literate (five boys and four girls). In the second, there were 116 slaves of whom 8 were literate (only boys). In the third, there were 140 slaves of whom 17 were literate (13 boys and 4 girls). Therefore very roughly we should say that 9 per cent of the slaves were literate in those days. It is interesting to note that there were girls among the literates of which they formed a quarter. We find that the inscriptions belonging to the latter half of the dynasty are more numerous than the earlier half. It is likely that the percentage of literacy increased towards the fall of the Pagan empire.

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1. Pl.73<sup>51, 52, 53, 56</sup>, Pl.148a<sup>21</sup>, Pl.201a<sup>1, 6, 7</sup>, Pl.256<sup>9, 14</sup>, Pl.376 (passim).
  2. Pl.73 (passim), Pl.75 (passim) etc.
  3. Pl.73 (passim), Pl.74(passim), Pl.200(passim) etc.
  4. Pl.73 (passim), Pl.201a<sup>5</sup>, Pl.256<sup>7, 10, 12, 15</sup>, Pl.375<sup>34</sup>, Pl.376 (passim), etc.
  5. Pl.73.
  6. Pl.181.
  7. Pl.376.

Slaves were of various nationalities. Naturally most of the slave population consisted of Burmans.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, slaves mentioned as belonging to other nationalities had Burmese names. Next to the Burmans comes the Indian slaves.<sup>2</sup> A donor in A.D.1198 dedicated to the pagoda as many as five hundred Burmese slaves and five hundred Indian slaves. A slave called Kulāphlū<sup>3</sup> - white Indian appears once. One hundred and twenty eight Kamrami<sup>4</sup> slaves were dedicated in A.D.1223. But Kamrami here can also be the name of a place and therefore cannot be taken surely as the same with the Kamrami of Pyu, Kamyān and Thak who were reputed to be the earliest inhabitants of Burma. In a list of slaves recorded in an inscription dated A.D.1242 there were thirty one Cakraw<sup>5</sup> slaves from Caku. Perhaps they were the ancestors of modern Sagaw Karens although we have no definite proof to connect them. There were also Sak people who still survive in Akyab district. A whole village of Sak called Munalon was dedicated in A.D.1113 according to the Rājākumār inscription<sup>6</sup> and eight hundred and fifty Sak slaves were mentioned in an inscription

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1. Pl.19b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.65b<sup>2</sup>, Pl.89<sup>1</sup>, Pl.147b<sup>11</sup>, Pl.164<sup>21</sup>, Pl.368b<sup>3</sup>, etc.

2. Pl.10<sup>19,20</sup>, Pl.15<sup>13</sup>, Pl.19b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.50<sup>12</sup>, Pl.65b<sup>2,5,14</sup>, Pl.68<sup>22</sup>, Pl.76<sup>4,10</sup>, Pl.81<sup>1,12</sup>, etc.

3. Pl.43<sup>12</sup>.

4. Pl.94a<sup>36</sup>; see Luce: "Peoples of Burma", p.297.

5. Pl.147b<sup>15</sup>.

6. Pl.362a<sup>30</sup>.

inscription of A.D.1248.<sup>1</sup> Thirty Cin<sup>2</sup> slaves are dedicated to a pagoda in A.D.1266 and we would like to connect this Cin with the Chinese. Slaves called Nā Ton Su<sup>3</sup> (Mr. Hillman) appear frequently but Ton Su<sup>4</sup> slaves are only mentioned twice. Nā Rakhuin<sup>5</sup> (Mr. Arakanese) is a popular name among the slaves. A Syam<sup>6</sup> slave is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D.1301. Fyu appear often but we find only one instance of a Fyu woodcutter<sup>7</sup> as a slave in an inscription. Kantu<sup>8</sup> is also popular as a personal name mostly among woman slaves but it does not appear in its ethnic sense. Ya<sup>9</sup> prefix always denotes a Mon woman's name and as such there are quite a number of Mon slaves. The last in our list are the Krwan<sup>10</sup> - thought to be Cambodians. It mostly appears as a personal name except in

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1. Pl.164<sup>21</sup>.
  2. Pl.216<sup>33</sup>.
  3. Pl.4<sup>16</sup>, Pl.21<sup>16</sup>, Pl.77<sup>14</sup>, Pl.130<sup>14</sup>, Pl.252<sup>12</sup>, Pl.378b<sup>4</sup>.
  4. Pl.392<sup>17</sup>, Pl.393<sup>13</sup>.
  5. Pl.15<sup>27</sup>, Pl.42<sup>10</sup>, Pl.43<sup>9</sup>, Pl.117a<sup>6</sup>, Pl.231b<sup>14</sup>.
  6. Pl.392<sup>26</sup>..
  7. Pl.393<sup>3</sup>.
  8. Pl.29<sup>4</sup>, Pl.144<sup>13</sup>, Pl.148b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.392<sup>10,28,31</sup>.
  9. See Supra.p.347.
  10. Pl.10a<sup>24</sup>, Pl.29<sup>10</sup>, Pl.55a<sup>7</sup>, Pl.216<sup>35,36</sup>.

inscriptions dated A.D.1241<sup>1</sup> and A.D.1266<sup>2</sup>. Thus the slave population of our period had Burmese, Indian, ? Kanyan, ? Karen, Thet, ? Chinese, Taungthu, Shan, Fyu, Kadu, Mon, and ?Cambodian but the Burmese and Indian slaves formed the majority.

The survey of the slaves of medieval Burma will not be complete without looking into the professions in which these slaves were employed. Undoubtedly land, cattle and slaves<sup>3</sup> went together. For example King Tarukpliy gave // mliy 1000 // kywan 1000 // nwā 1000<sup>4</sup> - one thousand (pay of) land, one thousand slaves and one thousand cattle to his wet nurse Ui Pon̄ San̄ soon after his accession to the throne. The vast majority of the slaves would be employed on the san lay - wet cultivation fields, murvan lay - dry cultivation fields, ryē - hill-side cultivation, kuin̄ - kitchen gardens and uyan - gardens. But there were also slaves used in various arts and crafts and to examine by what professional skill they served their masters would perhaps throw a light on the social life of the period. Their professions roughly fall into five categories. Firstly, there are agriculturalists including cowherds, etc., secondly food suppliers

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1. Pl.138 .

2. Pl.216<sup>36</sup> .

3. Pl.20a<sup>1,3,6,7,8,10</sup>, Pl.34<sup>4</sup>, Pl.83<sup>6-7</sup>, Pl.91<sup>14</sup>, Pl.104<sup>7</sup>, Pl.110<sup>5-6</sup>  
Pl.115<sup>8</sup>, Pl.123<sup>3</sup>, etc.

4. Pl.218a<sup>4,7</sup>, Pl.219b<sup>4,7</sup>.

including cooks; thirdly, craftsmen; fourthly musicians; and finally, miscellaneous.

In the first category of agriculturalists, lay sañ<sup>1</sup> or lay su<sup>2</sup> - farmers, tops the list. Then there are lay uyan coñ, kywan<sup>3</sup> - slaves watching fields and gardens, capā cuik kywan<sup>4</sup> - slaves to plant paddy and uyan sañ<sup>5</sup> - gardeners. Next comes the slaves who look after cattle and poultry and for convenience sake we include here herders of other animals as well. They are nwā thin<sup>6</sup>, kiway thin<sup>7</sup>, chit thin<sup>8</sup>, chañ thin<sup>9</sup>, and wampaythin<sup>10</sup>. Queen Saw in A.D.1299 proudly mentioned that among the slaves dedicated to the pagoda was a nwā kloñ cwam<sup>11</sup> - expert cowherd called Nā Lyon. The mention of

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1. Pl.193<sup>26</sup>.

2. Pl.110<sup>7</sup>.

3. Pl.75a<sup>33</sup>.

4. Pl.75a<sup>33</sup>, Pl.175<sup>2</sup>, Pl.200<sup>21,27</sup>.

5. Pl.76<sup>2,10</sup>, Pl.181<sup>20</sup>, Pl.235<sup>1,4</sup>, Pl.392<sup>11</sup>.

6. Pl.138<sup>13,20</sup>, Pl.144<sup>11</sup>, Pl.152<sup>22</sup>, Pl.203<sup>10</sup>, Pl.388a<sup>12</sup>, Pl.423<sup>39</sup>.

7. Pl.73<sup>47</sup>.

8. Pl.153a<sup>19</sup>, Pl.153b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.394<sup>4</sup>, Pl.582b<sup>5</sup>.

9. Pl.76<sup>23,23,24,26</sup>, Pl.217<sup>24</sup>, Pl.257<sup>21</sup>.

10. Pl.183a<sup>12</sup>.

11. Pl.390<sup>33</sup>.

it gives us some idea that cattle farming was also an important occupation in those days.

In the second category, there were food suppliers such as cooks, butchers, milkmen, etc. Old Burmans used separate people for cooking rice and curry and thus they had thamañ sañ<sup>1</sup> - rice cooks and hañ sañ<sup>2</sup> - curry cooks. Perhaps, these slaves were attached to big monastic establishments so that cooking rice alone required an army of slaves. For the house cook they had im thamañ khyak<sup>3</sup>. To supply meat they had amay sañ<sup>4</sup> or may sañ<sup>5</sup> - butchers, sācuiw<sup>6</sup> - keeper of game and muchuiw<sup>7</sup> - hunters. Puik sañ<sup>8</sup> or kwan sañ<sup>9</sup> - net men supplied fish. For sweetmeats, there were nwā nuiw, sañ<sup>10</sup> - milkman and vana, pyāsañ<sup>11</sup> - the honey man. Chewing betel was a

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1. Pl.36<sup>16</sup>, Pl.391<sup>31,32</sup>, Pl.417<sup>12</sup>.
  2. Pl.36<sup>18</sup>, Pl.391<sup>30,31</sup>.
  3. Pl.110<sup>6</sup>.
  4. Pl.391<sup>33,33</sup>.
  5. Pl.153a<sup>22</sup>, Pl.153b<sup>10</sup>.
  6. Pl.36<sup>19</sup>.
  7. Pl.71<sup>7</sup>, Pl.143a<sup>14</sup>.
  8. Pl.7<sup>9</sup>.
  9. Pl.267<sup>4</sup>.
  10. Pl.36<sup>18</sup>.
  11. Pl.36<sup>18</sup>.

regular practice and perhaps demanded specialized service.<sup>1</sup> They had kwam sañ<sup>2</sup>, kwam tau sañ<sup>3</sup>, kwam si tañ sañ<sup>4</sup>, and kwam nyan tau sañ<sup>5</sup> as servers of kwam ya<sup>6</sup> - betel quids.

The third category included craftsmen who were the builders and decorators of the beautiful Pagan architecture. Some made articles of every day use and some were weavers. They were laksmā<sup>7</sup> - carpenter, tacañ sañ<sup>8</sup> - plane man, puran<sup>9</sup> - mason, as builders; panpu<sup>10</sup> - woodcarvers, pankhi<sup>11</sup> - painters, panwat<sup>12</sup> - wood-turners, tankyat sañ<sup>13</sup> - canopy makers as decorators; ut sañ<sup>14</sup> brickmakers

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1. See JBRS., XXX, i, p.312, n.64.
  2. Pl.391<sup>33,34</sup>.
  3. Pl.476<sup>13</sup>.
  4. Pl.229<sup>18</sup>.
  5. Pl.74<sup>28</sup>.
  6. Pl.139<sup>11</sup>.
  7. Pl.81<sup>12</sup>, Pl.261<sup>7</sup>. See Supra.p.345.
  8. Pl.102<sup>14</sup>, Pl.391<sup>35</sup>, Pl.392<sup>24</sup>.
  9. Pl.68<sup>22</sup>, Pl.81<sup>32</sup>, Pl.144<sup>5</sup>, Pl.147b<sup>19</sup>.
  10. Pl.68<sup>22</sup>, Pl.81<sup>8</sup>, Pl.144<sup>5</sup>.
  11. Pl.68<sup>22</sup>, Pl.144<sup>5</sup>.
  12. Pl.144<sup>4,12</sup>, Pl.392<sup>19</sup>, Pl.575<sup>2,11</sup>.
  13. Pl.194<sup>27</sup>.
  14. Pl.594<sup>13</sup>.



to supply bricks; panphay<sup>1</sup>- blacksmith to supply things made of iron and athu sañ<sup>2</sup> or purhā sañ<sup>3</sup>- image makers to supply the images of the Lord. Thī sañ<sup>4</sup>- umbrella makers manufactured golden umbrellas to spread over the images, etc. These builders, suppliers of building materials and decorators must have been very busy as the period under survey is sometimes called the period of temple-builders. There were also panthin<sup>5</sup>- goldsmiths - to make jewellery as well as the spires of temples and pagodas where precious metals and stones were used. For pots and pans, there were uiw thin<sup>6</sup>- potters, kara sañ<sup>7</sup>- jug makers and lanpān sañ<sup>8</sup>- tray makers. For making cloths, there were khra sañ<sup>9</sup> and khrañ nay sañ<sup>10</sup>- spinners, pukhrañ sañ<sup>11</sup>.

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1. Pl.68<sup>22</sup>, Pl.78a<sup>7</sup>, Pl.102<sup>14</sup>, Pl.153a<sup>11</sup>, Pl.261<sup>23</sup>, Pl.413<sup>10,11</sup>.

See Supra. p.345.

2. Pl.392<sup>11</sup>.

3. Pl.391<sup>3</sup>.

4. Pl.148b<sup>3,8,9</sup>.

5. Pl.3<sup>22</sup>, Pl.75a<sup>40</sup>, Pl.144<sup>12</sup>, Pl.387a<sup>9</sup>, Pl.393<sup>5</sup>.

6. Pl.392<sup>11</sup>.

7. Pl.216<sup>30</sup>.

8. Pl.164<sup>25,29</sup>.

9. Pl.391<sup>36</sup>.

10. Pl.391<sup>34</sup>, Pl.393<sup>28</sup>.

11. Pl.392<sup>30</sup>.

loincloth makers, and yansañ<sup>1</sup>- weavers. There were also sānāpḥway<sup>2</sup> which Professor G.H.Luce suggests were chairmakers. Chairs being not in popular use until European influences were felt in Burma, perhaps it meant cushion makers.

In the third category of musicians, players of various musical instruments are found among which the drum seems to be the most popular. Singing dancing along with the drum could be considered the most frequent musical entertainment that the old Burmans resorted to because there were more slaves employed as cañ sañ<sup>3</sup>- drummers and pantvā<sup>4</sup>- nautches (singers or/dancers or both) than any other musician. For singing alone, they had sikhrañ sañ<sup>5</sup>- the singers and for dancing alone, they had kekḥriy sañ<sup>6</sup>- the dancers. Other musicians were , persons to blow tapuiw<sup>7</sup> horns, pasāsañ<sup>8</sup>- side

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1. Pl.148b<sup>5,6</sup>, Pl.164<sup>21</sup>, Pl.194<sup>49</sup>, Pl.216<sup>33</sup>, Pl.217<sup>19,25</sup>, Pl.250<sup>1</sup>, Pl.390<sup>24</sup>, Pl.391<sup>15,22</sup>, Pl.393<sup>6,28</sup>.
  2. Pl.105a<sup>24</sup>. See G.H.Luce:"Peoples of Burma",p.301.
  3. Pl.9<sup>8</sup>, Pl.10a<sup>17,20,22</sup>, Pl.15<sup>11</sup>, etc.
  4. Pl.5<sup>8,10,15</sup>, Pl.9<sup>6</sup>, Pl.10a<sup>19,21</sup>, etc.
  5. Pl.3<sup>18</sup>, Pl.85<sup>9</sup>, Pl.421b<sup>4</sup>.
  6. Pl.15<sup>12</sup>, Pl.31<sup>4</sup>, Pl.391<sup>4</sup>.
  7. Pl.367a<sup>5</sup>.
  8. Pl.10a<sup>18</sup>, Pl.17<sup>20</sup>, Pl.73<sup>36</sup>, etc.

drummers, kwakkhwañ sañ<sup>1</sup> - cymbal players, noññañ sañ<sup>2</sup> - bell players, kharā sañ<sup>3</sup> or ñhañ sañ<sup>4</sup> - trumpeters, candra sañ<sup>5</sup> - ?dulcimer players, narañcra sañ<sup>6</sup> - ?trumpeters, coñ sañ<sup>7</sup> - harpists and saro sañ<sup>8</sup> - violinists.

Lastly, there were professionals of various types. They were laksañ<sup>9</sup> - midwife, kuhā sañ<sup>10</sup> - launderers, lhawkā sañ<sup>11</sup> - boat men, sairvañ sañ<sup>12</sup> - palanquin carrier, chañ chum sañ<sup>13</sup> - oil producer,

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1. Pl.10a<sup>19</sup>, Pl.17<sup>19</sup>, Pl.138<sup>10,34</sup>, etc.
  2. Pl.17<sup>19</sup>, Pl.367a<sup>5</sup>.
  3. Pl.68<sup>22</sup>.
  4. Pl.81<sup>21</sup>, Pl.396b<sup>18</sup>.
  5. Pl.85<sup>9</sup>. See U Po Lat : "Union Culture : Its Sources and Contacts", Burma, III, i, October 1952, pp.4-5.
  6. Pl.138<sup>8,31,33</sup>.
  7. Pl.265<sup>35</sup>.
  8. Pl.387a<sup>3</sup>.
  9. Pl.79b<sup>7</sup>.
  10. Pl.81<sup>17</sup>, Pl.144<sup>14</sup>, Pl.148b<sup>3,9,10</sup>, Pl.392<sup>17,31</sup>.
  11. Pl.376<sup>4,8,10,13,14,24</sup>.
  12. Pl.148b<sup>3,6,8</sup>, Pl.275<sup>19</sup>.
  13. Pl.370<sup>31</sup> (Chañ Sañ), Pl.391<sup>26</sup> (chi sañ), Pl.417<sup>12</sup>.

riy sañ<sup>1</sup> - water carrier, mloñ mliy sañ<sup>2</sup> - ? canal digger, thansañ<sup>3</sup> - wood cutter, lhañ sañ<sup>4</sup> - cartman, ka sañ<sup>5</sup> - harness maker, chā sañ<sup>6</sup> - salt maker, pi sañ<sup>7</sup> - ? salted fish maker, muchit rip<sup>8</sup> - barber and lak sañ thuiw<sup>9</sup> - chiropodists. Cariy<sup>10</sup> and cākhi<sup>11</sup> - clerks also appeared among the slaves. Perhaps these people were insolvent debtors and thus turned into slaves. Cicon<sup>12</sup> - keeper of the granary, also figures as important slaves. There were also some professionals whose works we have been unable to identify. They

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1. Pl.392<sup>5</sup>.
  2. Pl.423<sup>30,31</sup>.
  3. Pl.392<sup>12</sup>, Pl.392<sup>3</sup>.
  4. Pl.392<sup>24</sup>.
  5. Pl.79b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.89<sup>15</sup> (mrañka samā).
  6. Pl.216<sup>33</sup>.
  7. Pl.79b<sup>6</sup>, Pl.252<sup>12</sup>, Pl.253a<sup>3</sup>.
  8. Pl.395<sup>30</sup>.
  9. Pl.79b<sup>8</sup>, Pl.387a<sup>2</sup>.
  10. Pl.144<sup>6</sup>.
  11. Pl.42<sup>28</sup>, Pl.89<sup>21</sup>, Pl.156<sup>6</sup>.
  12. Pl.19b<sup>10</sup>, Pl.68<sup>19</sup>, Pl.140b<sup>1</sup>(kī con), Pl.379<sup>3</sup>, Pl.391<sup>20</sup>(kī sañ).

were bhandasañ<sup>1</sup>, sankok sañ<sup>2</sup>, rakan sañ<sup>3</sup>, uphway sañ<sup>4</sup>, phattā sañ<sup>5</sup>, nagā krañ sañ<sup>6</sup> and alay sañ<sup>7</sup>.

Slavery in medieval Burma is different from its modern conception of slavery. Slaves of those times found their lot tolerably comfortable. The presence of voluntary slaves explains this. In addition to these voluntary slaves, there were hereditary slaves, debtor slaves and war captive slaves. We have no evidence to show the presence of slave raids, piracy and kidnapping. The slave community was considerable and therefore there were slave villages with their own administrative officers as sūkrī<sup>8</sup> - headmen to control the village, kunthəm<sup>9</sup> - to supervise cultivation and sankrī<sup>10</sup> and sañlyan<sup>11</sup> as village elders. Ownership of slaves often changed but

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1. Pl.74<sup>15</sup>. ? Steward.
  2. Pl.138<sup>32</sup>. ? Locksmith.
  3. Pl.216<sup>33</sup>. ? Poet.
  4. Pl.387a<sup>3</sup>. ? Coiffeur.
  5. Pl.392<sup>9</sup>. ? Steward.
  6. Pl.421b<sup>6</sup>.
  7. Pl.422a (iii)<sup>5</sup>.
  8. Pl.89<sup>22</sup>, Pl.148b<sup>11</sup>.
  9. Pl.68<sup>19</sup>.
  10. Pl.25<sup>8</sup>, Pl.43<sup>14</sup>.
  11. Pl.73<sup>49</sup>, Pl.74<sup>4</sup>, Pl.226<sup>23</sup>.

What are their possibilities?

Any case to go to the ...

mostly the slaves were allowed to remain in their own locality.

Perhaps this was one of the causes why run away slaves are rare.

To gain liberty a slave could redeem himself or run away. It seems that there were no cruel laws dealing with run away slaves. The slaves were quite contented with their lot and the masters were merciful. Some owners set them free and even gave them land to cultivate so that they may not be without a livelihood. Some owners even took especial care not to inflict hardship on the old or sick slaves. Slaves were allowed to become monks and nuns. The mention of a slave wife is very rare. Perhaps taking slave wives was unpopular. Slaves were also taught to read and write and very roughly we find that about nine percent of them were literate.

Various nationalities were found among slaves but Burmans and Indians were most numerous. The majority of the slaves were used for cultivation but we also find some of them being used in various other useful works. There were domestic slaves, pagoda slaves and monastery slaves. But this differentiation leads nowhere except for the the information of who owned them. It is only in modern times that the pagoda slaves were considered a sort of social outcast.

APPENDIX IPAY - the Land Measure.

In the inscriptions of our period, with the exception of a few cases where namuin<sup>1</sup> or tamuin<sup>2</sup> are used we find that pay is used as the land measure. There is no means of finding out how big a pay was except what is written in the literature of much later times.<sup>3</sup> The Manu Dhammathat<sup>4</sup> says that a pay is twenty tā square where one tā is seven cubits long. Another version is that it is a twenty five tā square.<sup>5</sup> The Kyithé Le-dat Sayadaw<sup>6</sup> says that there are two kinds of pay - viz. mañ:pay - the king's land measure and chañ:raisā: pay - the poor man's land measure and the first is twice the latter. The latter of measure is also known as pakati

1. Pl.242 (passim), Pl.557b<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps it is a spoonerised Mon word bnan meaning ridges in a paddy field like the Burmese Kansañ: (ကန်ဆင်).
2. Pl.380<sup>9,11</sup>.
3. References mentioned here are kindly furnished by the Burmese Dictionary Department, School of Oriental and African Studies for which I am deeply grateful.
4. The Dhammathat or the Laws of Menoo, (Rangoon, 1896) English translation by D.Richardson, p.156.
5. Selections from the Records of the Hluttaw, (Rangoon 1914), Notes 83, p.31.
6. Jinatthapakāsāñī, (Mandalay, 1923) pp.398-99.

pay - the normal measure. King Bodawpay left an inscription<sup>1</sup>, probably in A.D.1786 soon after the foundation of Amarapura, together with two squares of masonry as a guide for land measures at a place about half a mile south east of the Arakan pagoda, Mandalay. The relevant portion of the inscription is given below.

// Pakati pay Mañ:pay nhac rap twañ // Lokatthacariya phrac  
so Mañ:pay kuiw kā: // Mañgalābhūmkyoau kvoñ: toau mahārañ  
arhe, toñ thon, ka sañ // 25ā toñ sui, khwā ruy, arhe,  
mvaknhā rhac tā kwā twañ Pakati pay rhi re, // thuiw Pakati  
pay mha arhe, 5 tā kwā twañ ta ñī ta ñwat kyom tuñ le:  
thon, sat lvak thā: satañ: // ta mvak nhā soau 25 ā // 2ñ //  
1 i // 4ñ // caturañ: sat soau 141 ā 3ñ phrac ā, // lak sac  
ton tā akhvañ: kui kā: // chan phrū khwañ nak capā Yase: 7  
lum: soau lak 1 ñ // 24 ñ soau 1 ñ // 7 ñ soau 1 ā phrac  
sañ hū so kvañ: gan nhañ, añī thā: satañ: // // thuiw lak  
sac ton ta kui lañ: // vakhu cuik choñ sañ, kvom choñ tuñ  
ma twañ puñ cam thu lup re: sā: thā: satañ: //

In the two measures of Pakati Pay and Mañ: Pay, (the masonry square as guide for) the Mañ: Pay - the standard in the world, is made twenty five tā away to the south outside the great enclosure on the south east of the Mañgalābhūmkyoau monastery. The Pakati Pay is eight tā

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1. List 1261, B.I. 1-2. See also G.Scott: GUB & SS, I, ii, pp.167-9. Hmawbi Saya Thein Gyi suggests A.D.1791 was the date of the inscription. See Pazatvazawin (The By-ways of Burmese History), p.312.



away on the east of (it). A smooth four sided stone pillar rounded at the corners is erected five tā away from that Pakati Pay. (The Mañ: Pay) is 35 tā , 2 ton̄ , 1 muik and 4 laksac on each side and thus the four sides (together) is 141 tā and 3 ton̄ long. As for the measure of laksac , ton̄ and tā -

7 (widths) of Yase: paddy which has black husk and white

grain is 1 laksac ,

24 laksac is 1 ton̄ (cubit) and

7 ton̄ is 1 tā .

This is in accordance with all kyañ: gan. These measures of laksac , ton̄ and tā are also engraved on the now erected main stone pillar so as to serve as standards.

Sir George Scott states that the ton̄ engraved on the stone measures 19.05 inches. Taking it as basis, the Pakati Pay would be 1.7434 acres. It is very likely that the pay used in our period is equal to this Pakati Pay of Bodawpayá's time.

APPENDIX II.

1

TWENTY EIGHT BUDDHAS AND THEIR BODHI TREES.

Interesting lists of trees occur also in the fresco-writings where lists of the 28 Buddhas and their respective Bodhi trees are given. Many of such lists in Old Burmese may be found in old pagodas at Pagan. I have only found one incomplete list in Old Mon - namely in Pagoda No, 228, east of the Tilominlo. Below, against each Buddha, his Bodhi tree is stated, followed by the identification in Old and Modern Mon, Old and Modern Burmese, and the botanical name or names. (I have had valuable help from Messrs. W.G. Cooper and H. Unwin of the Burma Forest Department, from the late Rev. R. Halliday the Mon scholar, and on the Pali side from Prof. Cassin). Apart from the Mahāpadāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II) which gives the trees of the last 7 Buddhas, the main Pali source for the 25 Buddhas is the Buddhavamsa. The Jātaḥ (Fausböll Vol. I, pp. 2-47) claims to follow the Buddhavamsa, but seems to be one in advance regularly from No. 9 Sobhita onwards; and this fact may explain some of the discrepancies in Old Burmese. The Bodhi trees of the first 3 Buddhas

1. TANHANKARA. Pali sattapanni. Mon sren ၵၼ်း B. cañrañ ၵၼ်း: Alstonia (Echites) scholaris. Seems to be Mod. Bur. ၵၼ်း; but this latter name also occurs on the plaques found east of the Ānanda. to be Mod. Bur. ၵၼ်း; but this latter name also occurs on the plaques found east of the Ānanda.

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1. Extract from notes on trees, plants, flowers, etc. by Prof. Luce JERS., XXX, i, pp. 315-318.

2. MEDHANKARA. Pali kimauka, palāsa. Mon pūmpuñ ဝုဠ်  
B. pok ပေါက် Butea frondosa, judas tree. Pok  
also occurs at Plate 224<sup>26</sup>, 245a<sup>10</sup>, 380<sup>2</sup>; and Poktaw  
("jungle of judas trees") at Old Mon Inscr. X<sup>2</sup>.
3. SĀRANANKARA (1) Pali pilakkha [Mon ခြံ တွိုင် ] B. ñoñ  
khyañ ရောင်ချဉ် Ficus infectoria, Parsipal. (2) Pali  
pipphalī. Mon jrey toñ ခြံတောန် B. ñoñ krat ရောင်ကြွတ်  
Fiscus obtusifolia. Ñoñ krat also occurs at Plate 20<sup>14</sup>.
4. DĪPANKARA. Pali pipphalī Ficus religiosa, Pipal.  
Mon jrey toñ ခြံတောန် Ficus obtusifolia B. ñoñ krat  
ရောင်ကြွတ် (do.), ñoñ rwāy ရောင်ရွှေ "golden fig-tree",  
or ñoñ khyañ ရောင်ချဉ် Ficus infectoria.
5. KONDANNA. Pali sālakalyānī. Mon sārakalyān B. s  
sālakalyānī. Boswellia thurifera. O.B. also has yañtuik  
ယင်းတိုက်, Dalbergia cultrata, and kroñ lhyā ရောင်လျာ  
Oxoxylum indicum.
6. MANGALA. Pali nāga Mon kajnu' ဘူလ် "ဘူလ်" B. kamkaw
7. SUMANA. sanuiw ကံတော် Mesua ferrea, Ironwood,
8. REVATA. poached egg tree. Old Mon kajnu also occurs
9. SOBHITA. at Inscr. VIII A<sup>18</sup>.
10. ANOMADASSĪ. Pali ajjuna Pentaptera Arjuna Mon klon  
ရောင် Terminalia Arjuna B. phokkram', or phlokkram  
ပေါက် ကြံ Dolichandrone stipulata (? တောင် ကြံ  
terminalia tomentosa).
11. PADUMA. Pali mahāsoṇa. Mon dluñ ek ဝိုင်အောက် B.
12. NĀRADA. kroñ lhyā krī, kroñ lhyā ñay ရောင်လျာကြီး။

ရွာငွေ ဟု ခေါ် Oroxylum (Calosanthes) indicum.

13. PADUMUTTARA. Pali salaja ("a sweet scented tree", ? sarala, Pinus longilolia) Mon snow. B. tanrhun (?ဝင်းဂျ: Pine-tree. But see No.24, Vessabhū, Infra). O.B. also has ankryan အင်းကြင်း: Pentacme su suavis (probably through confusion with Pali sāla), and krāluiw ကြလှိုဝါ: Dendrocalamus Brandisi.
14. SUMEDHA. (1) Pali mahānimba. Mon slim သို့ ။ လှို B. tanmā, tanmākhā တမာ ။ တမာ သီး: Melia indica, Neem tree or Tragacanth. Tanmā, tamā, tanmākhā occur also at Pl.140b<sup>7</sup>, 159<sup>11</sup>, 220<sup>13</sup>. (2) Pali mahānīpa (kadamba, piyaka). B. ma-ū မော့ Anthocephalus cadamba. [Mon ကြ ].
15. SUJĀTA. Pali mahāveḷu, "big bamboo", Mon? tadūn သန်တလှို, "elephant bamboo". B. wāpankrī "big bamboo tree", or krāluiw wā ကြလှိုဝါ: Dendrocalamus Brandisi.
16. PIYADASSĪ. Pali kakudha, Terminalia Arjuna; piyaṅgu (?? Panicum italicum, pankc seek). Mon dirkuñ. B. riy kenthak, riy khantak ရှေးတက် Crataeva hygrophila. O.B. also has sisyat.
17. ATTHADASSĪ. Pali cāmpaka: Mon cañ မြေ ။ မြေ B. cāmkā, မဲ ကါ: Michelia chapaca, Champac tree.
18. DHAMMADASSĪ. Pali bimbijāla, rattakuravaka, "red amaranth tree", B. myakhā pan မျက်နှာပန်, Pavetta indica or Hemigraphis flava [Mon မိချန် ].

19. SIDHATTHA. Pali Kanikāra, Pterospermum acerifolium.  
B. mahālikā, mahāliykā မဟာလိယကါ: Bauhinia spp.  
 [Mon ကန္ဒကါ ].
20. TISSA. Pali asana, Terminalia (or Pentaptera)  
 tomentosa. B. pyaton, byātok, pitok ပိတောက်  
Pterocarpus spp. [Mon နာချူ || ဆဗ္ဗူ || ဝဂိုဟ်သ္မိလန် ]  
O.B. also has siryāk, Mangifera indica, Mango tree.
21. PHUSSA. (1) Pali āmaṇḍa, Ricinus communis, Caster Oil  
 tree. [Mon twon်တောင့် B. ငြက်ချူ ]. (2) Pali āmalaka  
Mon tirluy တလုံ B. sisya သျှစ်သျှစ်... တဂှ: (=သီးဖြူ),  
Phyllanthus (or Cicca) emblica, Emblie Myrobalan O.B.  
 also has byātok ပိတောက် Pterocarpus spp., and  
 phokkram ဖောက် ငြ (see 10. Anomadassī, supra).
22. VIPASSĪ. Pali pāṭali, Stereospermum (Bignonia)  
suaveolens. B. saṁsat သံသတ် (do); sackhok wat,  
 sackhawat သခွတ် [ ငို ] Stereospermum chelonoides.  
 [Mon ခွေ ]. cf. also sackhawat (Plate 543a<sup>14</sup>), and perhaps  
 saṁkhamwat Plate 177b<sup>15,22</sup>).
23. SIKHĪ. Pali puṇḍarīka ("white lotus", also "a kind of  
 fragrant mango"). B. siryāk phlū သဂှက်ဖြူ "white  
 mango tree". [Mon truk buntān ငြက်ညောင် ]. O.B.  
 also has rhok krī ရှောက်ကြီး: Citrus sp. Old Mon truk,  
 "mango tree", occurs in Inscr. XIII A<sup>4</sup>, and on two of  
 the Ānanda plaques (Ep. Birm. II, Nos. 60, 61).
24. VESSABHŪ. Pali mahāsāla, shorea robusta: B. añkyañ  
 အင် ငြင်း: Pentacme suavis. [Mon ဝိတာန် ]. O.B.

also has tanrhum̃ (see 13. Padumuttara, supra.)

25. KAKUSANKHA. Pali sirīsa, Acacia sirissa. Mon sris  
 ခြောက် B. kutkuiw ကုတ်ကို, Albizzia lebbek, kutkuiw also  
 occurs at Plate 220<sup>14</sup>.
26. KOṆĀGAMANA. Pali udumbara. Mon lwi (?) ဝိ B. riy  
 siphān , ရေသဝန် Ficus glomerata.
27. KASSAPA. (1) Pali nigrodha , Ficus bengalensis, banyan  
 tree. B. prañ ñoñ , prañoñ ပြည်ရွာငါး (do). (2) Pali  
 assattha, Ficus religiosa, the aspen-leaved Pipal.  
Mon jreai sum ခြောက် (do).
28. GOTAMA. Pali assattha, Ficus religiosa. Mon jreai  
 asat (do). B. ñoñ puttahiy ရွာငါးပုဒ္ဓေါ (do).

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Burma is one of the rich countries of South-East Asia where inscriptions are concerned. But "this richness applies only to number and not to age" as there are only a few inscriptions which antedate the eleventh century. At Sriksetra were found a stone fragment containing an extract from Vibhanga, gold-leaf Pali manuscripts, and "five-urn-inscriptions" in Pyu, all of which could be dated to the eighth century or earlier. Two Sanskrit inscriptions found at Vesāli in Arakan also belong probably to the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> This is about all that is known prior to our period A.D.1044-1287. In our period the earliest inscriptions yet discovered are the seals of Aniruddha. They are all on terra-cotta votive tablets and bear the name of Aniruddha in Sanskrit or Pali (Anuruddha in the latter case). Their find spots range from Mongmit in the north to Twante in the south.<sup>2</sup> After these we have Mon inscriptions of Kyanzittha (A.D.1084-1113) edited by C.O.Blagden<sup>3</sup> and published in the Epigraphia Birmanica. The Ananda Temple built by the same king has hundreds of glazed plaques depicting scenes from the Jātaka with Mon legends. As a matter of fact Mon was the official language of the early part of our period. There were also thirty five tablets<sup>4</sup>, bearing the names of some fruits and trees, found in Taungbi village, east of the Ananda, Pagan. Judging by the

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1. ASB., 1919, p.56; ASB., 1921, App.G, No.13.

2. See Supra. pp.10-14.

3. Inscriptions I to XI of Ep. Birm. 4. Pl.604-605.

script and spelling, they are considered to be the earliest writings in Burmese. Probably they belong to the transition period of A.D.1113-A.D.1174 when Burmans started writing their own language using Mon script. The presence of inscriptions written in Sanskrit, Pali, Mon and Burmese during this transition period suggests that before Burmese triumphed over Mon, Burmans were in doubt as to which language would be best to replace Mon. Pali seems to have been the first choice. The Shwegugyi Inscription<sup>1</sup> (A.D.1131) is in Pali verse of very good composition. They even tried Pyu. The Rājakumār Inscription<sup>2</sup> (A.D.1113) has a Pyu copy. But from 1174 onwards Burmese alone became the language of the inscriptions with the exception of a few lines of Pali prayer added in some cases.<sup>3</sup> The Tatkale Pagoda Inscription<sup>4</sup> (A.D.1192) gives us a good example of the script, spelling and style of old Burmese. The script was borrowed from Mon, who in their turn took it from South India. There is a close resemblance between the Pallava (Conjeveram) and Mon-Burmese scripts.<sup>5</sup>

During the latter half of the Pagan dynasty, lithic inscriptions became more numerous than in the earlier half. In addition to these, there were also "ink inscriptions" written on the walls of

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1. Pl.1-2.
  2. Pl.363ab.
  3. See Supra.p.33.
  4. Pl.12.
  5. ASB., 1919, pp.19-20.



the hollow-pagodas, some of which are duplicates of the stone inscriptions. We have the greatest difficulty in deciphering those engraved on what Professor G.H.Luce calls "Webo" stone which were used more frequently in the later period. These are soft stones having no strength to withstand the weathering effect of long exposure. They were used, perhaps for the very reason of their softness as it would be an easy task to engrave on them floral designs around the inscribed surface, a practice which the people of the latter half of our period were very much fond of.

Rubbings were first taken by the method of inking the stone itself and by pressing down paper on it. Thus a negative copy of the inscription was made. Therefore the rubbing had to be read through a mirror. The method was later improved so as to give a direct positive copy from the stone. Professor G.H.Luce/<sup>credits</sup> his servant Maung Sein for improving the technique and as a result "a number of inscriptions deemed illegible can now partially be read."

King Bodawpaya (1781-1819) made a collection of all available lithic inscriptions with a view to putting on permanent record details of land dedicated to the Religion. In effect he wanted to know how much of the cultivable land in his kingdom was not paying any tax. Inscription stones were transferred to his capital where they were to be copied wither in gist or at full length. Unfortunately, the copying (hsin-hto) at full length or (sat-hto) in gist and grouping together according to locality were not done scientifically. But fortunately the search for stones was not

thorough and thus "the stones left in situ far exceed in number those collected." Probably due to transport difficulties, only the smaller stones were removed. The presence of many fragments at Amarapura also suggests that a considerable number of stones were broken in transit. It seems that there is also much truth in the local tradition that under pretext of accident some big stones were destroyed by the workers employed on the removal so as to lighten the work (for which they were not paid). Nevertheless about six hundred reached the capital. The king set a few scholars to study them. Among them Twinthin Mahasithu was the most notable. It seems that these scholars never made a real attempt to read Mon and Pyu inscriptions. Nor did they endeavour to read old Burmese correctly. For example Makuṭa was read Manuha and dates S.657 and S.660 were read S.467 and S.468 in inscriptions found at Thaton and Budha Gaya respectively.<sup>1</sup> One can imagine how many wrong names and dates would go into the chronicle they compiled. Anyhow, towards the end of the eighteenth century Twinthin availed himself of the opportunity of checking the chronicles by means of inscriptions and produced the New Chronicle. Although U Kala (early 18th. century) had incorporated a few inscriptions in his Great Chronicle before this, it was Twinthin who was the first to "make a serious attempt to check history by means of inscriptions". When King Bagyidaw appointed a committee in 1829 to compile a chronicle of the Burmese kings, the committee was

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1. Pl.358 (Mon) and Pl.299 (Burmese).

IV<sup>3</sup> also aware of the desirability of using inscriptions and it occasionally mentioned discrepancies in dates or details between the old chronicles and some inscriptions:

"but they had not the time, the means, or (I am afraid) the courage to collect all the inscriptions, to perfect readings and interpretations, and then demolish the jerry-built structure of the chronicles which they had helped to set up."<sup>1</sup>

After the British annexation of Lower Burma, in 1881 Dr. Emil Forchhammer was appointed Government Archaeologist and he started collecting, this time, the rubbings of inscriptions. As mentioned above, these rubbings were in negative and therefore had to be read through a mirror. Perhaps this difficult method is accountable for many omissions and mistakes made in the transcription of these first rubbings. Another serious fault was added to these defects - a vast number of words were modernised in the process of transcription. Dr. E. Forchhammer died in 1890 and Taw Sein Ko succeeded to his work and published the following "six enormous volumes of the elephant size, numbering altogether, 2,802 pages".

1. The Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava (1892).
- 2 & 3. The Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, 2 Volumes, (1897).

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1. JBR.S. XXXII, i, p.82.

- 4 & 5. The Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, 2 Volumes, (1900 & 1903).
6. The Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura, (1913).

These six volumes contain about half of the inscriptions hitherto discovered. A rough translation of volume one appeared in 1899. As the inscriptions are grouped geographically in the above collection, Dr. C. Duroiselle, successor to Taw Sein Ko in 1919, gave a chronological clue by publishing A List of Inscriptions found in Burma in 1921 (after Taw Sein Ko: Index Inscriptionum Birmanicarum, 1900). Old and Middle Mon inscriptions were published (with facsimile, transcription, translation and notes) in the series known as Epigraphia Birmanica between 1919 and 1936. Except for the Ananda plaques (Volume II by C. Duroiselle) the entire work was done by Professor C.O. Blagden - "a Sherlock Holmes in epigraphy" who also deciphered some Pyu inscriptions.

After the end of the first world war, the University of Rangoon was founded and its Department of Oriental Studies started to make an independent collection of the rubbings of the inscriptions with a view to publishing collotype reproductions first and transcription with translation and notes on them later. Professors Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce were the leading personalities in the movement. Over a hundred new inscriptions were unearthed before the outbreak of the second world war and their collection was much better than that of the Department of the Archaeological Survey of

Burma. As a result of their joint effort a transcription of fifty four inscriptions of Pagan entitled Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan appeared in 1928. The rubbings in their collection are correlated with Duroiselle's List wherever possible so that they could be linked with the six "elephant" volumes. They were arranged chronologically after making a very severe selection so as to omit all copies (i.e. copies made from stones which are now untraceable) and the publishing of fascimiles started in 1933. At present three large portfolios have already been published and two more are in press. They are:

- Portfolio I    Inscriptions of Burma, A.D.1131-1237.
- Portfolio II    Inscriptions of Burma, A.D.1238-1268.
- Portfolio III    Inscriptions of Burma, A.D.1269-1300 and  
undated, doubtfully dated and fragments  
believed to be of the period A.D.1131-1300.
- Portfolio IV    Inscriptions of Burma, A.D.1301-1340 and  
some more inscriptions prior to A.D.1300  
whose dates were determined only after the  
first three portfolios were sent to press.
- Portfolio V    Inscriptions of Burma, A.D.1341-1365.

There are a little over six hundred plates in these five portfolios. Professor G.H.Luce has transcribed all of them and the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies has a microfilm copy of his readings. Of these six hundred some belonged to the post-Pagan period, and some are entirely useless as they are either too

fragmentary or illegible. Therefore for the purpose of this thesis Professor G.H.Luce made a selection of about five hundred plates. An independent reading of these five hundred plates was first made and then checked against Professor Luce's readings as the Professor had had the opportunity of reading directly from the stones wherever the rubbings were found faulty and his infinite care in transcription is unrivalled. Owing to such faults as omissions, careless readings and modernization of spelling, the use of the six "elephant" volumes is avoided as much as possible in this thesis.

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