

A Study of the Prayers and Curses as Contained in the *Bagan* Inscriptions

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Abstract

Prayers and curses are expression of emotions that comes to human's feeling. Prayers and curses come from love and anger. The *Bagan* inscriptions which include prayers and curses will be extracted from Ancient Burmese inscriptions Volume I, II and III. There will be an analysis of the meaning of prayers and swearings according to their categories. The purpose of this paper is to know the curses and prayers and to avoid doing evil deeds, and to do good deeds after knowing them. Although there is no prayer and swearing according to the Theravada Buddhism, prayer and swearing occurs according to the belief of the fruit of *Kamma*. This will be presented in this paper.

Keywords: *Kamma, pathanā, sapana*

INTRODUCTION

Theravada Buddhism was more active in the *Bagan* period. The people of *Bagan* donate with great faith. The practice of recording such donations seems to have begun in the *Bagan* period.

The *Bagan* inscriptions are the records of the meritorious deeds of the donors. The donors included various classes of persons such as kings, nobility, rich men and ordinary persons. The offerings included *stupas*, Buddha statues, pavilions, monasteries, rest houses, mural paintings and *Pitakas*. The prayers and curses symbolized the influence of the Theravada Buddhism. People in *Bagan* wrote prayers and curses in inscriptions in order to imitate and behave from the prayers of the records of the meritorious deeds and to be afraid of curses and not to do damages because of that.

The main reference materials belong to the three volumes of the Ancient Myanmar Inscriptions (ရှေးဟောင်းမြန်မာကျောက်စာများ), compiled and published by the Archeological Research Department. Depending on these volumes, this paper will be presented the prayers and curses written in the *Bagan* Period Myanmar Language during ME. 429 and 649 (1058-1287 AD).

According to the inscriptions that contained prayers and curses, it is found that the religions rite of expressing prayers was life in the early period of *Bagan*. There are 597 inscriptions in those three volumes. The number of the stone inscriptions that contained the prayers and curses are as follows:

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No.	Volumes	No. of the stone slabs	No. of the slabs containing prayers	No. of the slabs containing curses
1.	Ancient Myanmar Inscription (vol. I) (ME 474-600)	225	64	95
2.	Ancient Myanmar Inscription (vol. II) (ME 601-622)	145	38	58
3.	Ancient Myanmar Inscription (vol. III) (ME 622-699)	227	37	43
	Total	597	139	196

A comparison of the number of the slabs that contained prayers and curses shows that there are 139 stone slabs that contained prayers and 196 stone slabs that contained curses.

1. The Meaning of Prayers and Curses

Prayers and curses are found in the habits, customs and religious rites of the various nations

1.1. Expressing Prayer

The word *pathanā* in *Pāli* means saying prayer. The Dictionary of *Pāli* Text Society (PTS) defines it as ‘aiming at, wish, request, aspiration and prayer’. (PTS II. 30/)

1.2. Expressing curse

The *Pāli* word *sapana* makes cross reference to *sapatha*. The Reference Book of *Pāli pada Pitaka* defines it as ‘curses, saying abusive words, swearing or making oath.’ (ပဒါအဝဂ်၊ ၃၊ ၃၀၄။)

The Myanmar Dictionary (မြန်မာစာနိဂ္ဂုံ) defines ‘ကျိန်’ as meaning:-

1. Making the other person believe by swearing that “let it be so if it is done such”.
2. Swearing that such and such danger may fall on the other person. We can imagine that the definition of swearing is commitment.

2. Prayers in Bagan Stone Inscriptions

Various types of Prayers are found as follows;

No.	Type of Prayer	No. of occurrence
1.	<i>Nibbāna</i>	48
2.	Bliss of Men-hood and <i>Deva</i> -hood	29
3.	Buddha-hood	20
4.	Lesser Buddha-hood	9
5.	<i>Arahat</i> -ship	17
6.	Universal Monarch-hood	3
7.	Rich man’s life	2
8.	Powerfulness and longevity	10
9.	Opportunity to worship <i>Arimetteyya</i>	3
10.	Miscellaneous Prayers	16
Total number of Prayers;		157

It is found that some donors expressed two or three prayers. It is also found that some donors requested for themselves only whereas some donors shared their merits with others.

2.1. Aspiration for *Nibbāna*

Most of the donors of ancient Bagan aspired for *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is the highest ideal of the Buddhists. They wrote 'I aspired for *Nibbāna* - နိဗ္ဗာန်ရပ်ဆိုင်းသတေ' (၁/၇၊ ငနွယ်သင်ကျောက်စာ(၅၀၉)' May I enjoy the Bliss of *Nibbāna* which is free from suffering - ဆုဝင်ငြိမ်းမယ်သော နိဗ္ဗာန်ရပ်ဆိုင်း ချံသာလျှင် ခမ်းစ စိတ်သတေ' (၃/၅၂၊ မနောရာဇာသားများကျောက်စာ (၆၃၅) and so on.

2.2. Aspiration for Humanly and *Deva* Bliss

This was the second most aspired ideal of the people of the ancient *Bagan*. They wrote 'Let me achieve the humanly bliss and divine bliss - လူစည်းစိမ်၊ နတ်စည်းစိမ် လျှင်ရလေစေ ကုန်သတေ(၁/၁၈၉၊ မနုဟာဘုရားကျောင်းကျောက်စာ (၄၂၉))' ' Let me enjoy the luxury of *Sakka*, the king of *devas* if I happened to be reborn in the *deva* abode - နတ်တေဇ္ဇ စိတ်သိကြာနတ်မင်၏ စည်းစိမ်ခံစာရလိုသတေ (၁/၁၇၂၊ ရာဇသုရသမီးမောင်နှံကျောက်စာ (၅၉၈)) and so on.

2.3. Aspiration for Buddha-hood

This is the third most aspired ideal of the Buddhists of the *Bagan* period. They wrote 'I aspire for Buddha-hood - ငါ(ကာ)ပုတြာဆုလိုသတေ' (၁/၁၁၊ ငါမင်လည်သင် ကျောက်စာ(၅၁၃)။ ' I aspire for Omniscient Buddha-hood - ငါကာသဗညုဆုကာပည့်ဆင်လိုဝင်(တေ)' (၂/၁၊ မဟာဂေါတမ ဘုရားကျောက်စာ(၆၀၀)) and so on.

2.4. Aspiration for Lesser Buddha-hood

It is found in 9 stone slabs that some donors aspired for Lesser Buddha-hood, *Paccekabuddha*. (၁/၁၇၂၊ ရာဇသုရသမီးမောင်နှံကျောက်စာ (၅၉၈)) The lesser *Buddhas* know the four noble truths in the same way as the Fully- enlightened *Buddhas*.

2.5. Aspiration for *Arahantship*

Another aspiration of the people of the ancient *Bagan* was for *Arahantship*. They wrote 'I aspire for *Arahantship* - ရဟန်းတာဆု လို့ခွင်သတည်း(၃/၅၉၊ မိဖုရားစောပုလဲမယ်ကျောက်စာ(၆၃၆))' ' I wish to become an *Arahant* - ရဟန္တာအဖြစ်လိုဝင်သောတေ' (၁/၂၉၊ အမတ်ကြီးသိင်္ဃသူကျောက်စာ(၅၅၂)။) and so on. *Arahant* is derived from the *pāli* word *Arahanta*. He is a person who has attained to the Path-Knowledge and Fruition of *Arahatta*.

2.6. Aspiration for Universal Monarch-hood

This aspiration is found rarely. It is found only for three times. They wrote 'If I happen to be in human existence, I wish for the luxury of a Universal monarch - လူတေဇ္ဇစိတ်ကာ စက်ကြဝတိယမင်၏ စည်းစိမ်ခံစာရလိုသတေ' (၁/၅၂၊ နားတောင်းများမင်းကြီးကျောက်စာ(၅၆၉))

2.7. Aspiration for a Rich Man's Life

This aspiration is found only on two stone slabs. 'I wish to become a rich man - သတ္တိယံ သုကြွယ်တိလျှင်ဖြစ်စေသတေ' (၁/၅၂၊ နားတောင်းများမင်းကကြီး ကျောက်စာ(၅၆၉)). It is an expression of dislike for poverty and the wish for becoming a rich man.

2.8. Aspiration for powerfulness and longevity

This is found on ten stone slabs. They wrote ‘Let me be powerful among men, let me live long - လူတွင်လေဖန် ကြံစိတ်သတေ၊ အသက်ရှည် စိတ်သတေ’. (၂/၉၂၊ ဥစ္စနာမင်းကြီး၏ ဦးရီးကျောက်စာ(၆၁၇))

2.9. Aspiration for the opportunity of worshipping the Arimetteyya Buddha

This aspiration is found on three stone slabs. They wrote ‘I wish to worship the Great Metteyya - မဟာမိတြာ ဖုလိုဝ်သောတေ’(၁/ ၇၃၊ မန္တလေးနန်းတွင်းရုံအမှတ်၊၂၉၆(၅၇၈)) ¹May I meet the MetteyyaBuddha - ဖုရှာမိန်တြာလျှောင် ဖူးလိုဝ်သတေ’. (၂/၁၊ မဟာဂေါတမဘုရားကျောက်စာ(၆၀၀))

2.10. Miscellaneous Aspirations

Some aspirations are found to be distinctive from the above- mentioned aspirations.

‘Being free from dangers I wish to live long free for all mental and bodily sufferings, free from all dangers and enmities, having mental happiness - အန်တရယ်မဟိသေဗ္ဗရယ် အသက်ရှည်စွာ နိယံရစိတ်၏။ နှလုံးဆိုဝ်ငြိတ်ကိုဝ်ဆင်ငြယ် ခပ်သိမ်းပျောက်+ရယ်။ခပ်သိမ်းသော ချံသာနှင့် ပည့်သော ဖြစ်စိတ်၏။ ကိုဝ်အန္တရာယ်က စသောသတ္တိရ ခပ်သိမ်းသော ပျောက်ရယ် နှလုံး ချံသာသော ဖြစ်စိတ်၏’ (၁/၁၅၉၊ မင်းသားထောက်လှော်ကားကျောက်စာ (၅၉၇))

The above aspiration is found on the stone slabs erected by Prince *Htaukhlawkar* (ထောက်လှော်ကား) in ME 597. The word ‘နှစ်လုံးဆိုဝ်ငြိတ် (နှလုံးဆင်းရဲ)’ is the direct translation of the *Pāli* word ‘*cetasikadukkha*’. The *Pāli* word ‘*hadayasukha*’ is rendered into Myanmar as ‘နှစ်လုံးချံသာ’ (နှစ်လုံးချမ်းသာ) by the people of *Bagan*.

Some donors shared their merits so that others might carnally benefit from such merits. But some donors had the sympathy only for those who showed esteem and praise for their merits. However, some donors shared their merits without any discrimination and wished that others might enjoy the benefits equally.

A comprehensive review of the donors’ aspirations of the ancient *Bagan* showed that they wished for *Nibbāna*, Buddha-hood, *Arahantship*, Humanly and celestial bliss, etc. according to their individual inclination. It is also found that these aspirations already contained in the *Pāli* Literature and is accepted by the *Theravāda* Buddhism.

3. Curses in Bagan Inscriptions

Depending on the mode of cursing, the curses may be roughly classified as follows:-

No.	Type of curse	No. of occurrence
1.	Be fallen into <i>Niraya</i>	170
2.	No chance for worshipping the Buddha	65
3.	Not be liberated by the Buddha	15
4.	May you become a <i>Peta</i>	12
5.	May not be powerful and not live long	28
6.	May not enjoy the bliss of men and <i>devas</i>	3
7.	Miscellaneous curses	47
Total number of curses		340

Strange curse will be presented as Miscellaneous Curses.

3.1. Be Fallen into Niraya

Among the 196 stone slabs that contained the curses, 170 stone slabs expressed this type of curse. So it is deemed to be most resorted curse by the people of *Bagan*.

This curse was described in various usages. They wrote ‘May you be fallen into the *Avīci Niraya* - အဝစိယံအထဲငြိလျှင်ကျက်စိယံသတေ’ (၁/၈၄၊နားတောင်းများမင်းကြီး(၅၈၂)) ‘May you be fallen into the 8 big layers and 128 small layers of purgatory - ငရဲကြီးရှစ်ထပ် ငရဲငယ် ၁၂၈ထပ်လျှင် ကျက်စေသတေည်’(၁/၅၂၊နားတောင်းများမင်းကြီးကျောက်စာ(၅၆၉)) ‘May you be crusted at the bottom of the hell-pot - အဝီစိအထဲငြိ သဒြိဝံလွှစ်စေသတေ’ (၁/၂၀၀၊ ငမဲတောင်ဦးဘုရားကျောက်စာ(၅၂၁)) ‘May you be like the stump in the *Niraya* - ငရဲသစ်ငုတ်လျှင် ဖြစ်စေသတေည်’(၁/၂၀၇၊ နားတောင်းတတ်ဘုရားကျောက်စာ(၅၄၇)) ‘May you be fallen into the *Avīci* for longer time than *Devadatta* - အဝစိယံငြယ်နှိုက် ဒေဝဒတ်ခံသော ထက်လွန်သော ငြယ်နှိုက် စံစိယံ သတေ’(၁/၁၂၊ အထောလတ်ကျောက်စာ(၅၂၇)) and so on.

3.2. Have no chance for worshipping the Buddha.

There are 67 stone slabs that contained this curse. They wrote ‘Have no chance for worshipping the *Arimettayya* - အရိမိတ္တိရယာ ပုရာသခင် အဖူရစိယံ’ (၁/၂၊ မြစေတီခေါ် ရာဇေမာရကျောက်စာ(၄၇၄)) ‘May you have no chance for worshipping the Buddha for endless world-cycles - အကမ္ဘာ၂သော ပုရာလေ မဖူစိယံ သတေ’,(၁/၄၅ သံပျင်ရင်ကောင်း(၅၆၄)) etc.

3.3. May you be not liberated by the Buddha

This curse is found on 15 stone slabs. It was inscribed that ‘let you be not liberated by thousands of Buddhas - ဘုရားထောင်သောင့်ခွတ်ရယ် မဏ္ဍိတ်၍’ (၁/၁၈၉၊ မနုဟာဘုရားကျောက်စာ (၄၂၉)). Although a man has a chance to worship the Buddha, if he is not liberated, he would have to go round the *samsāra* and suffer.

3.4. May you become a Peta

This curse is found on 12 stone slabs. They wrote ‘Let you be a *peta* for innumerable *samsāras* - မရိယံတွက်နိုင်သော သင်္သရာနှိုက် ပြိတ္တာဗ္ဗစိယံ သတေ’ (၁/၂၀၉၊ စာကြိုဘုရားလှကျောက်စာ (၅၅၄)) ‘Be a human *peta* if you are in human existence, be a *deva peta* if you are in *deva* existence - လူဗ္ဗစသောလေလူပြိတ္တာ၊ နတ်ဗ္ဗစသောလေ နတ်ပြိတ္တာ ဗ္ဗစစေသတေ’ (၁/၁၀၉၊ ရွှေပေါင်လောင်ဘုရား ကျောက်စာ (၅၈၇)) and so on.

3.5. May you be not powerful and live long

This type of curse is found on 28 stone slabs. They inscribed on stone slabs that ‘Let you be not powerful and live long – ဖုန်မကြီအသက် မရှည်စိယံသတေ’ .(၃/၃၈ အစောလတ်မောင်နံ ကျောက်စာ(၆၃၂))

3.6. May you not enjoy the bliss of Men and Devas

Just like the prayer for enjoying the bliss of men and *devas*, this curse was made so that the destroyers of their deeds of merit might not enjoy the bliss of men and *devas*. This curse is found on three stone slabs. They wrote ‘လူချံသာ နတ်ချမ်သာ မရ စိယံသတ္တေ’.(၁/၇၊ ငနွယ်သင်ကျောက်စာ(၅၀၉))

3.7 Miscellaneous curses

Unlike the above-mentioned types of curses, some curses were unique. Some such curses will be presented in the following passages.

3.7.1. ‘Let pain blindness, hump-backed-ness, leprosy, etc. be afflicted upon the destroyers of the deeds of merit’ (ဆင်ငြယ်ဝေတနာကြီသော ကီကန်သော ကုန်ကွသော နှဲဝဲသောက စသည်က ပျက်ဆီသသုနိုက် ရောက်စေ သတေ) (၁/၃၂၊ စောမွန်သင်ကျောက်စာ(၅၅၄))

This curse is found on the stone slabs inscribed by *Saw Mon Thin* (စောမွန်သင်) in M.E. 554. The donor cursed that the destroyer of her offertory may suffer not only in the next life but also suffer the derogatory life in this very existence.

‘Just like the earth turns to dusts when destroyed by wind, let you be crushed and lose composure’ (ကံဖာလိယံဖျက်သောအခါ မြွယ်ကြီ တောင်ခပင်မုညညက်၂ ပျက်စိသိုဝ် ကျက်စိစိယံ သတေ။ ဆောက်တည်ရာ မြွှစ်စိယံ ကုန်သတေ) (၁/၈၄၊ နားတောင်းများမင်းကြီးကျောက်စာ(၅၈၂))

This curse is found in the *Nataungmyarmingyi* (နားတောင်းများမင်းကြီး) stone inscription, erected in M.E. 582. In *Pāli* Literature, there is the writing ‘*cunṇavi cunṇam karonti* (crushed to dusts)’.

3.7.3. ‘The dangers of king, fire, water, lightening, axe, elephant, snake, leopard, tiger, gorilla, incurable disease be fallen on you and may die of vomiting blood’ (မင်ကြီဖိုလ်ပျံတန်ကြီးသစ်ယတေ။ မိဖိုလ်ရိယံမုဂြိုဝ်ပုဆိန်ဖိုလ် ဆင်ဖိုလ်၊ မြယ်ဖိုလ်သက္ကောလင်ဖိုလ် သမာကုရယ်မတတ်ရျာသော အနာဖိုလ်ကြီစွာ ၂လျှင်ရိယံဖတ္တလတ်သိယံစိယံတေ။ သုခဲအန်ရယ် သိယံစိယံတေ) (၂/၂၁၊ ညောင်ရံကြီးသမီးကျောက်စာ(၆၀၄))

This curse is found on the stone slab, erected in M.E 604 by the daughter of *Nyaungyangyi*.

3.7.4. ‘Let you be consumed up like the oil that boiled in the iron pot’ (သံအုပ်ကင်တွင် ဣဂြိုက်၂ဆူရယ်ခန်သဆီကယ်သိုဝ်ကုန်ခန် စိယံသတေ) (၃/၃၃၀၀ဗ္ဗဥသေင်နှင့် ငဖုန်ဆုန်သင်လင်မယား ကျောက်စာ (၆၃၀))

This curse is found on the stone slab inscribed and erected by the couple called ‘*ငဝံဗ္ဗဥသေင်နှင့် ငဖုန်ဆုန်သင်လင်မယားကျောက်စာ*’ in M.E. 630.

By looking at the curses that were mentioned here, inscriptions that recorded donations in *Bagan* era were appeared to be influenced by the sense of cursing and swearing oaths. Some of the donors even seem to regard taking oaths as the vital component of the whole inscription. As the inscriptions of donations in *Bagan* era show, it is apparent that there were much more curses than wishes inscribed on the stone.

FINDINGS

Among the total of 597 stone inscriptions under study, there are 139 stone slabs that contained the prayers and their number of occurrences is 244. There are 196 stone slabs that contained curses and their number of occurrences is due to the repetition of prayers and curses on a single stone slab.

From the point of view of the *Thevada* Buddhism, curses amount to ill-will. However, the intention of the donors of the ancient *Bagan* was found to be the desire for long-lasting of

their deeds of merit and the perpetuity of the Buddha *Sāsana*. They just filled up the essential gap for the prolongation by inscribing the curses to ward off the destroyers, feeling frightened of the sufferings they would have to undergo as consequences of their misdeeds. Depending on the mind-set and world outlook of the donors some curses were short and direct. But some curses were lengthy and very ghostly. The custom of inscribing on stone slabs continued up to Inn-wa period. Gradually and eventually this custom faded away. Now, this custom is not found at all.

CONCLUSION

The belief in the existence of thirty one planes and the law of *Kamma* of the Theravada Buddhists is to be found in the stone inscriptions of the early *Bagan* Period. Beings go round the *Samsāra* which consists of four Miserable Abodes, one Human Abode, six *Deva* Abodes and twenty Brahma Abodes- altogether thirty one Abodes. The Human Abode exists in-between the lower Four Miserable abodes and the upper twenty six abodes of *Devas* and Brahmas. Therefore, men go up and down between the lower and upper planes of existence in accordance with the law of *Kamma*. Man has the capability to do both wholesome and unwholesome deeds. Man can create many lives, being possessed of his own *Kamma* (action). During his existence man can find out the way to liberation.

Therefore, the study of the prayers shows that there are two kinds of prayers-mundane and supra-mundane. The prayers for the bliss of men and *Devas*, power and longevity, the luxury of the universal monarch, wealth and property, etc. constitute the mundane prayers. The prayers for *Nibbāna*, Buddha-hood, lesser Buddha-hood, *Arahantship*, the opportunity of worshipping the *Arimetteyya*, etc. constitute the supra-mundane prayers. These prayers come out of human intelligence.

The mundane prayers are the expression of men's desire for well-being in the *samsāra*. The supra-mundane prayers are the expression of men's desire for liberation from the *samsāra*. *Nibbāna* is the noblest and highest ideal of the Buddhists. *Nibbāna* which is free from suffering, *Nibbāna* which is the extinction of the cycle of suffering, *Nibbāna* which is deathless- there are the various attributes of *Nibbāna*. Being convinced of the essence of *Nibbāna*, the people of the ancient *Bagan* had aspired for *Nibbāna*. Their prayer is quite inevitable and worth.

The donors of the ancient *Bagan* made curses for the protection of their deeds of merit and perpetuity of the Buddha *Sāsana*. 'May you fall into *Avīci Niraya*', 'May you not have the chance to worship the *Arimetteyya*', 'May you not be liberated by the Buddha', 'May you become a *Peta*', 'May you not be powerful and live long', 'May you not enjoy the bliss of men and *Devas*', 'May you fall into the *Lokantarika Niraya* where you will not see light of the sun and the moon'- these curses are quite abominable to frighten away the potential destroyers of religious edifices.

The people of the ancient *Bagan* had depicted the grandeur and luxury of the celestial places and the ghostly sights of the hell in the *stupas*, pagodas and caves with their arts. They were meant for envy of their deeds of merit, for deference against destruction of such wholesome deeds and for fear of unwholesome deeds.

Prayers and curses are regarded favourably as powerful words in traditional and religious beliefs of different nationalities. In the Theravada view of Karma which accepts the theory of cause and effect, and of actions and reactions, one will enjoy the good results from good deeds done and suffer the bad results from bad deeds. The prayers and curses in the *Bagan* inscriptions stand testimony to the acceptance of this Buddhist teaching by the people of the ancient *Bagan*.

Thus, it may be concluded that the prayers and curses in the *Bagan* inscriptions are the expression of the inner feelings of the people of *Bagan* who understood felt convinced and believed in the law of *Kamma*. As the Buddhism philosophy suggests that "benevolence is Karma", wishes and curses are just the expressions for charity and anger respectively. Therefore, it can be stated that prayers and curses are a form of belief in merits and demerits in Theravada Buddhism.

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သာသနာရေးဦးစီးဌာန။ (၁၉၈၇)။ *တိပိဋကပါဠိမြန်မာအဘိဓာန်(အတွဲ-၁၃)*။ ရန်ကုန်၊ ပြည်ထောင်စုမြန်မာနိုင်ငံ ဗုဒ္ဓသာသနာအဖွဲ့ ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။

ထွန်းရွှေခိုင်(မဟာဝိဇ္ဇာ)။ (၁၉၉၀)။ *ရခိုင်ဝေသာလီခေတ်ဗုဒ္ဓအနုပညာ*။ ရန်ကုန်၊ မင်းဇော်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။

သာသနာရေးဦးစီးဌာန။ (၁၉၇၆)။ *ပါဠိပဒပိဋကကျမ်းညွှန်း(အတွဲ-၃)*။ ရန်ကုန်၊ သာသနာရေးဦးစီးဌာနပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
မြန်မာစာအဖွဲ့။

(၁၉၉၁)။ *မြန်မာအဘိဓာန်*။ ရန်ကုန်၊ ပုံနှိပ်ရေးနှင့်စာအုပ်ထုတ်ဝေရေးလုပ်ငန်း။

ရှေးဟောင်းသုတေသနဌာန။ (၁၉၇၂)။ *ရှေးဟောင်းမြန်မာကျောက်စာများ(ပတွဲ)*။ ရန်ကုန်၊ ရှေးဟောင်းသုတေသနဌာန ပုံနှိပ်ရေးနှင့် စာအုပ်ထုတ်ဝေရေးကော်ပိုရေးရှင်း။

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သန်းထွန်း၊ ဒေါက်တာ။ (၁၉၆၉)။ *ခေတ်ဟောင်းမြန်မာရာဇဝင်*။ ရန်ကုန်၊ မဟာဒဂုံစာပေထုတ်ဝေရေး။

ဟုတ်စိန်၊ ဦး။ (၁၉၅၄)။ *ပါဠိမြန်မာအဘိဓာန်*။ ရန်ကုန်၊ နိုင်ငံတော်အစိုးရစာပုံနှိပ်ထုတ်ဝေရေးနှင့် စာရေးကိရိယာဌာန။